

## Chapter 17

### The villas of the eastern Adriatic and Ionian coastlands

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#### Introduction

The eastern coasts of the Adriatic and Ionian seas – the regions of Istria, Dalmatia and Epirus – saw early political and military intervention from Rome, ostensibly to combat Illyrian piracy but also to participate in the internecine struggles between Macedonia and its neighbors, sometimes at the request of one or other of the protagonists. Istria fell to Rome in 177 BCE and was ultimately incorporated into *regio X (Venetia et Histria)* of *Italia* by Augustus in 7 BCE. After 168 BCE, much of the coast to the south was effectively under Roman control, with merchant shipping able to operate under Roman protection.<sup>1</sup> The Illyrian tribes, however, notably the Delmatae, continued to exist in periodic conflict with Rome until they were finally subdued by Octavian (who later took the name of Augustus) from 35-33 BCE. Further to the south, many of the tribes of Epirus sided with the Macedonians against Rome in the Third Macedonian War, consequently suffering significant reprisals at the hands of Aemilius Paullus in the aftermath in 167 BCE. Epirus was formally incorporated within the Roman province of Macedonia after 146 BCE.

The founding of Roman colonies in Epirus (at Butrint, Photike, Dyrrhachium, and Byllis), Dalmatia (at Iader, Narona, Salona, Aequum, possibly Senia, and Epidaurum), and Istria (at Tergeste, Parentium, and Pula) is likely to have had a decisive effect on land-holding patterns because land was redistributed among civilian colonists from the Italian peninsula as well as veterans.<sup>2</sup> The colonies of Pola and Parentium in Istria in particular had more extensive territories than those known for Dalmatia.<sup>3</sup> The centuriation of this hinterland also extended to

the numerous islands, although it should be noted that in some cases, notably on the island of Hvar, this land division may have been much earlier, belonging to the *chora* of Greek settlements such as Pharos.<sup>4</sup> There is also evidence of extensive centuriation around Nicopolis, the town founded by Augustus following his victory at Actium in 31 BCE.<sup>5</sup> Although there remains some doubt as to whether Nicopolis was ever a veteran colony, it was populated through a synoecism that transplanted the populations of many existing towns to the new city.<sup>6</sup> Other areas of centuriation have been noted in other regions not immediately adjacent to colonies (for example the Drinos valley close to the site of the town of Hadrianopolis)<sup>7</sup> and the territories of the *coloniae* may have included areas of land at some distance from the towns themselves.

Epirus was one of the first areas outside the Italian peninsula where the senatorial aristocracy of Rome established major land holdings and estates to a significant level. These were the “Epirote men” noted by Cicero and Varro, of which the most famous was Titus Pomponius Atticus, Cicero’s correspondent and archivist, who owned an estate in the territory of Butrint.<sup>8</sup> Epigraphic evidence shows that Dalmatia and Istria also saw the Roman senatorial class establish major estates.<sup>9</sup>

The first villas in this restructured landscape appear in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Although the term villa is the cause of some debate (and in antiquity could be used in a wide variety of circumstances), I shall use it here in its modern definition to denote residential buildings whose owners aspired to, or participated in, the leisured life of the Roman aristocracy with its accompanying complex architectural and decorative vocabulary. A large number of these sites have been identified in the coastal lands of the eastern Adriatic (figs 1 and 2), and it is not my intention to offer an exhaustive treatment of them but rather to provide an overview of some of

the evidence and highlight some facets of these villas with particular reference to the better understood and documented examples.

Some of the Istrian villas, such as that built around Verige Bay on the island of Brioni, were built on a colossal scale with all the architectural ambition of the *villae maritimae* of the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, while others, particularly those of the Ionian coastlands, appear to have been more modest in size. The area was within easy reach of Italy (and of Rome itself) and would have been well-known to many inhabitants of the Italian peninsula: it is unsurprising that the villas of the region have strong similarities with their Italian contemporaries. Istria in particular, as part of *regio X*, was an area that had particularly strong links to the senatorial aristocracy of Rome, and this is reflected in the *villae maritimae* of the region, which are on a greater scale and aspiration to villas elsewhere on the Adriatic coast.

Many of the villas also have evidence of late Roman phases, including in some cases the construction of churches. These late antique manifestations mark some of the changes that were occurring in the late Roman countryside and in the lives of the land-owning classes, and it is clear that the occupation of villa sites in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century was often radically different than that of the early imperial period. As luxury residences, the villas did not survive beyond late antiquity although some show some signs of early medieval activity.

### **Methodologies and frameworks of research**

Archaeological research in the region has very much reflected prevailing geo-political situations. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, European powers (which invoked the Roman Empire as a natural ancestor) played out their own imperial ambitions on the archaeological sites of the western Balkans. In the post-WWII period, however, pre-Roman tribes were co-opted into

different constructed ancestries in Albania and parts of Yugoslavia (utilizing opposing pseudo-historical narratives) while the post-Roman period was re-imagined as an era in which modern national identities began to coalesce. At the same time, constructs of past ethnic identities were invoked as justification for territorial claims.<sup>10</sup> In Greece, the creation of an idealized Hellenic ancestry (a process which began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) continued, with Byzantine Christianity forming the bridge between a mythologized classical past and the present-day Greek population.<sup>11</sup> In these post-WWII national narratives, the Roman period represented an uncomfortable cultural hiatus in that, as a foreign invading imperial power, Rome could not be incorporated within a linear history of national development. This had a decisive impact on the study of Roman archaeology in much of the area in question (with the exception of Istria), a situation that has not changed markedly following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. Roman sites tended to be examined (if at all) within a passive framework in which buildings and their decoration were studied according to typology, and compared to one another rather than being used to inform wider questions regarding the society that constructed them.

These differing research frameworks, in which archaeological material was used to illustrate pre-conceived historical narratives, have unsurprisingly led to an archaeological focus on recovering building plans and decorative elements such as sculpture and mosaics rather than the establishment of detailed archaeological sequences relating to the construction phases or use of these buildings. Although there are exceptions to this tendency, the result is that many villas are dated according to very wide or loose chronologies, making it difficult to observe wider regional correlations in villa building with any degree of reliability. Equally, there is an almost total absence of environmental archaeology or faunal-remains study that would better define the types of agricultural regimes that accompanied the villas.<sup>12</sup> Gaffney noted that relatively little

had changed in the study of rural settlement in Dalmatia since Wilkes had lamented “the paucity of archaeological evidence” for the topic more than thirty-five years before.<sup>13</sup> Gaffney criticized the work that has occurred since then as “lacking in methodological rigour, ... qualitative in nature and consequently ... limited in analytical potential”.<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory evidential base, however, a large number of villas are known from the region and certain themes can be explored regarding the social context of these buildings and the economic systems that supported them.

### **The villas of the early empire**

As noted above, the incorporation of these eastern Adriatic regions into the Roman Empire had some effects on settlement patterns, though not all changes are attributable to historically documented events.<sup>15</sup> The defended hilltop settlements that were characteristic of the region until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE were often abandoned prior to, or during, the Roman period,<sup>16</sup> or saw settlements move to the more accessible lowlands, though some, such as Radovin near Iader, remained occupied into late antiquity.<sup>17</sup> A similar trend can be observed in farms and many (although not all) of the fortified farmsteads of the Hellenistic/Illyrian period did not survive into the Roman period. Those that did were often occupied in a way that did not involve significant structural change, with the earlier buildings continuing to be occupied in the Roman period.<sup>18</sup> Interesting examples of this include Malathrea near Butrint in Epirus, where a strongly fortified Hellenistic farm with four corner towers, constructed half-way up a steep valley side, survived to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>19</sup> The earlier structure was subdivided by a number of roughly-built walls, which may be associated with this later occupation. Whether occupation was constant, however, is less certain, a point to which I will return below.

Some Roman villas do show signs of earlier occupation, although the evidence is seldom conclusive. Although it is sometimes argued that the coastal and lowland locations of the villas were not favored during the pre-Roman period, this perception may relate more to archaeological methods than ancient reality, as the work by Chapman *et al.* in the hinterland of Zadar suggests Bronze and Iron Age settlement on the lowlands, and a similar picture is suggested by field survey carried out as part of the Adriatic Islands Project.<sup>20</sup> Investigation on some villa sites does suggest that they occupy the sites of earlier settlements. These include the villa at Diaporit near Butrint in Epirus, which was occupied from perhaps the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, and the villa at Soline Bay on the island of Hvar.<sup>21</sup> Many of the villas in the area of Naronia also seem to have been located at earlier settlements,<sup>22</sup> although the nature of that earlier settlement and its precise relationship to the villas is difficult to ascertain. Given the geographical variation and ancient ethnic diversity of the Adriatic coast, it is clear that no clear *supra*-regional pattern of rural settlement change or development can be envisaged, though in some areas (especially those of the Roman colonies), changes would have been very significant.

During the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, or possibly slightly earlier, the coastal plain and islands of the eastern Adriatic saw the rapid installation of villas. These were particularly prevalent along the western coast of Istria, where there is an average density of almost one villa per kilometer.<sup>23</sup> The villa economy here was significantly different to that further south, with intensive production of wine, olive oil, and sometimes purple dye as indicated by deposits of murex shells at villa sites).<sup>24</sup> Much of this area of Istria was under direct ownership of Rome's senatorial aristocracy, as evidenced by stamps on amphorae and tiles and also by epigraphic evidence.<sup>25</sup> This included the *Laecanii*, who owned the largest amphora workshop in Istria (at Fazana, producing Dressel 6B amphorae). The workshop was subsequently taken into imperial control under Domitian,

giving some indication as to the scale and importance of oil production in the region.<sup>26</sup> Most probably the *Laecanii* owned one of the largest and most elaborate villas on the Adriatic coast, which was built around Verige Bay on the island of Veli Brijun, the largest island of the Brijuni archipelago (fig. 3). This is the most extensively explored and published of the Istrian villas and one of the only sites in the region where the late Republican and early Imperial phases have been clearly identified. Amphora stamps of the *Laecanii* link the Verige Bay villa with other villas that exploited the resources of the Brijuni archipelago, suggesting they were part of a single estate.<sup>27</sup>

The villa at Verige Bay began perhaps around the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BCE as a *villa rustica* focused primarily on wine production. The first phase, built in a slightly elevated position around 50 m from the shore, was built around a small peristyle, with a long wine storage room with a number of *dolia defossa* (large, half-buried ceramic vessels in which the must fermented into wine) on the east side, the pressing facilities to the south, and modest residential quarters to the east. Perhaps in the mid-Augustan period this earlier villa was augmented with a major *pars urbana*, or residential quarter, built around a second larger peristyle with a sunken central courtyard. The new rooms included an Egyptian *oecus* (a reception room in the form of a basilica) paved with *opus sectile* and a substantial *triclinium*.<sup>28</sup> Slightly later, the entire complex was extended towards the shoreline where a wide terrace backed by a portico some 80 m long was built, creating a unified façade for the two earlier villa phases. There were a number of elaborate reception spaces with mosaics that would have greeted those arriving by sea. The complex was supplied with water from a well/*nymphaeum* tapping a spring at a higher level a short distance away that also fed a series of cisterns.

Probably during the post-Augustan period, the Verige Bay villa was enhanced by a series of major individual structures that stretched around the north side of the bay. The head of the bay was adorned with three temples (dedicated to Venus, Neptune and possibly Mars) linked by a semi-circular portico. Adjacent to this was what seems to have been an outdoor apsidal *triclinium*, which formed one end of a 150 m long colonnaded *ambulatio* with a central tower. At the eastern end of this structure was a further building interpreted as a library, followed by a massive bath suite connected to a peristyle garden or *palaestra* measuring 54x38 m. In front of the baths was a *piscina* (now submerged), giving the villa a supply of fresh fish. A large industrial complex (little investigated) primarily devoted to the processing of olive oil occupied the final area of the bay.

Verige Bay in many ways conforms to Xavier Lafon's definition of a true maritime villa in which the buildings were in direct contact with the sea itself.<sup>29</sup> The sea was an integral part of the architecture of the villa, which was linked to the water by porticoes and other architectural features that were lapped by the waves themselves. These villas were often separated from the productive landscape, although supported by it. Annalisa Marzano has noted that textual sources make a clear distinction between the *villa rustica* as a center of production and the *villa maritima* as a place of luxury and relaxation, although she suggests that the reasons for this may be ideological, based on the perceived superiority of the *villa rustica* as a means of generating socially acceptable wealth.<sup>30</sup> Certainly at Verige Bay, this separation was not apparent, with the *pars rustica* of the original villa remaining fully operational as the *pars urbana* became ever more elaborate and the second major agricultural complex was built across the bay, together with the *piscina*. It is clear that large-scale productive activity continued throughout the life of the



villa, recalling the links of agricultural and marine production with social status familiar from the pages of Varro.<sup>31</sup>

The Brijuni archipelago also has evidence of salt production and quarrying together with six *villae rusticae*, which have seen varying degrees of excavation. The villa at Kolci recalls the first phase of the Verige Bay villa, being built around three sides of a courtyard with the southeast and northeast wings occupied by productive facilities including tanks and pressing beds (fig. 4). It seems to be primarily devoted to the production of olive oil.<sup>32</sup> A similar villa has been identified in the late Roman fortified settlement of Castrum (discussed further below), although in this instance the original *villa rustica* was expanded with a range of small rooms interpreted by the excavators as slave quarters, as well as a *fullonica*. The latter was a facility for the laundering and dyeing of cloth, with remains at some sites possibly representing a primary stage in the production of cloth.<sup>33</sup> The original activity at the site seems to have been wine and subsequently expanded to include oil, though the phasing of the site, never conclusively published, is uncertain.<sup>34</sup>

In 2004, Vlasta Begović Dvoržak and Ivančica Dvoržak Schrunk identified a further nine villas on the Istrian coast that they suggest conform to Lafon's definition of a *villa maritima*, although they note that some of these villas show evidence of extensive productive activity as well as architectural elaboration. They include two villas in the hinterland of the colony of Tergeste (present day Trieste). One, at Katoro, occupies much of a promontory and incorporates an impressive system of terraces (fig. 5). The rooms were decorated with mosaics and marble veneers; there was a large *piscina* (now submerged) to the south of the promontory.<sup>35</sup> The second, at Fornače, was largely destroyed during the construction of a soap factory but preserves traces of a *fullonica* together with structures built in *opus reticulatum*, a building technique

possibly indicating high-status buildings (see below). Meanwhile at Valbandon, on the mainland a few kilometers from Brijuni, an elaborate villa was built on both sides of a narrow bay, part of which was seemingly enclosed to form a *piscina* supplied with water by a stream (fig. 6). Here, too, there was evidence of other productive activity – parts of olive presses were found in the vicinity.<sup>36</sup>

Production was also a key element of the villa estate at Barbariga, which was probably one of the largest oil producing estates in early imperial Istria. Four sites with oil production facilities were noted within a 2 km<sup>2</sup> area, including one with 20 olive presses. The area also has evidence for a *fullonica* with evidence of murex shell processing nearby.<sup>37</sup> The fact that multiple productive sites are located *within* a relatively small area has some implications for the running of the estate. The *Laecanii* amphora stamps, as well as naming the estate owners, also mention a large number of *vilici* who were seemingly managers of different parts of the estate, and the individual villas in the Brijuni and Barbariga estates were probably each overseen by a *vilicus*.<sup>38</sup>

At Barbariga, unlike the Verige Bay villa, there is no evidence for productive activity at the main residential complex on the waterfront (fig. 7). This stretched across 120 m of the western shoreline of a promontory. The earlier wing of the building, apparently dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, was based around a portico almost 70 m long, fronted by a flight of steps *c.* 50 m wide that led down to the water. The later wing of the villa, which included a bath complex, was built around a peristyle, the fourth side of which had no buildings, allowing an uninterrupted view of the sea from atop a wide flight of steps, which led directly from the peristyle to the shore.<sup>39</sup> Even the Barbariga and the Brijuni villas, however, were eclipsed by one that was possibly the largest on the entire eastern Adriatic coast, covering the promontory of Vizula at the southern tip of Istria, though little is known of its layout and chronology. Built across three

terraces and now partly submerged, its remains are visible along a kilometer of the shoreline, and it seems to have covered an area of around 10 ha. Partial excavations have revealed mosaics, statuary and grandiose porticoes, giving some idea of the grandeur of the complex.<sup>40</sup>

Like Verige Bay, other maritime villas on the Istrian coast also appear to have been associated with productive estates. Of particular interest is that located slightly to the north of the colony at Parentium (modern Porec), where the bay of Cervar-Porat has proved to be the location of a major site of *amphora*, tile, and *terra sigillata* production. Stamps on these products confirm that the owners of this estate were Sisenna Statilius Taurus (consul in 16 CE) and later Calvia Crispinilla (one of Nero's more notorious mistresses), although from the reign of Domitian the stamps indicate imperial control of this activity.<sup>41</sup> On the north side of the bay, at Loron, there was a major waterfront complex some 180 m long with a linear complex of multiple rooms, part of which formed a substructure for a raised terrace in the *basis villae* associated with a peristyle complex on the slope behind (fig. 8).<sup>42</sup> Although in plan it appears to be a monumental villa based around a central courtyard or garden some 50 m wide, recent excavations suggest that most of the complex appears dedicated to production, with multiple furnaces present in many of the rooms.<sup>43</sup> The entire area, including the adjacent bay of Santa Marina, appears to have been the focus of intensive activity, with a massive structure, possibly a *vivarium* for fish farming, clearly visible under the water at the western end of the Santa Marina bay. This *vivarium* (together with others on the Istrian coast) may have been connected with the industrial production of fish sauce (*garum*, *liquamen*) rather than merely supplying fresh fish with which a villa owner could impress his guests.<sup>44</sup> The Loron site reminds us to be wary of too rigidly interpreting these coastal complexes as mere luxury villa sites for delectable residence.

The *villae maritimae* of the Istrian coast were the most spectacular aspect of the region's villas, but there are also numerous examples of *villae rusticae* (with varying degrees of architectural elaboration) suggesting intensive productive activity. Xavier Lafon saw such villas as part of a hierarchical structure in which they supported the true *villae maritimae* which were essentially non-productive in nature, an interpretation which has been supported by Vlasta Begović Dvoržak and Ivančica Dvoržak Schrunk, even though the presence of major production facilities at, or close to, most of the *villae maritimae* suggests that this division was by no means constant.<sup>45</sup> The majority of sites identified as villas by Marina De Franceschini in her survey of the villas of *regio X* were on or very close to the coast, although this is likely to relate as much to the visibility of structures as it does to site distribution.<sup>46</sup> One of the few non-coastal Istrian villas for which a plan is known is a small *villa rustica* at S. Domenica di Visinada, a short distance to the north-east of the colony of Parentium (modern Porec) and within the zone of centuriation associated with the Roman colony (fig. 9). The villa, which measures no more than 20 m across, comprises a complex of six rooms laid out around a portico with an *impluvium*. The building was not elaborately decorated, with simple pavements of *opus signinum*, *opus spicatum*, and brick *tesserae*. There was evidence of an olive mill and an inscription datable to 176 CE which named the owner as a freedman named Sextus Appius Hermias.<sup>47</sup>

Other *villae rusticae* for which partial plans have been recovered have been found in the region of Pula. These include a villa at Šijana, at which the residential rooms and those associated with agricultural production appear intermingled (fig. 10). The villa was based around a courtyard which led on to a small *triclinium* which was apparently flanked by a granary, with a long stable block forming the northeast side of the courtyard with a cowshed to the south.<sup>48</sup> Evidence of oil production was found in the form of a press and large *dolia*.<sup>49</sup> A building of

similar size was found at Šaraja, to the north of Pula (near the village of Peroj), the north wing of which was used for olive oil production with evidence for presses, an olive mill and large tanks for the settling of sediment (fig. 11).<sup>50</sup> There are at least 30 sites in the region of Pula that have evidence of oil production, and a similarly intense level of activity was noted in the territory of Tergeste (Trieste), with no less than 17 rural complexes, of which 11 were luxury villas with productive quarters, with the other 6 having evidence only of productive activity.<sup>51</sup> This picture, however, is drawn more from the evidence that happens to be available rather than a clear absence of a high-status residential complex. Dating evidence for these sites is very limited, although Robert Matijašić suggests that the remains point to intense activity between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE, driven initially by the arrival of colonists who were allocated land in the territory of Pula.<sup>52</sup>

As well as the *villae maritimae* and possibly associated *villae rusticae*, a number of *villae suburbanae* have been noted including a spectacular example at Barcola on the outskirts of Trieste.<sup>53</sup> The villa seems to have developed from a relatively modest building with an *atrium* and peristyle to a vast complex including a large garden, a *nymphaeum* and a so-called *palaestra*. The villa featured extensive use of *opus sectile* pavements and mosaics. A possible productive area was not explored. Tile stamps suggest that the villa was owned by P. Clodius Quirinalis, who was prefect of the fleet at Ravenna during the reign of Nero.<sup>54</sup> A further complex including a colossal semi-circular *exedra* with radiating rooms and a bath house may have been part of a major maritime wing of the villa, or possibly a separate villa altogether.<sup>55</sup> Other possible suburban villas have been recognized at Pula and further to the south at Erešove Bare near Narona, although there is no understanding of the role played by such complexes in the economic life of the *coloniae*.<sup>56</sup>

Istria was exceptional in the scale and density of its coastal villas. The coasts of Dalmatia and Epirus, although in some areas very similar to that of Istria in terms of opportunities for agricultural exploitation, did not see the same level of villa construction. The region immediately to the south of Istria as far as the colony of Iader has seen little exploration of villa sites although a number are known, particularly on the islands.<sup>57</sup> These may have included one of the estates of the *Calpurnii Pisones* from epigraphic evidence from the island of Pag and elsewhere.<sup>58</sup>

By contrast with the region around Iader, the picture from southern Dalmatia suggests intense exploitation of the landscape in the hinterland of Salona and the adjacent islands, with widespread production of wine, olive oil, and also salt.<sup>59</sup> Adam Lindhagen argues for major production of Lamboglia 2/Dressel 6A wine amphorae in the region, probably centered on the island of Issa, for the export of huge quantities of wine from the region.<sup>60</sup> The Adriatic Islands Project noted numerous wine and olive presses, as well as frequent cisterns, indicating irrigation to support intensive agricultural production. Of particular interest is the evidence from the small island of Šćedro (which lies to the south of the larger island of Hvar), where there was a major coastal villa with evidence of mosaics and a possible *vivarium* (fishpond). There were also traces of a Roman farm in the interior, but most intriguingly, Roman material was found in the collections of stones removed during plowing that are deposited along the edges of the fields across the islands, suggesting that the clearance of the fields occurred during the Roman period. This has led Vincent Gaffney to speculate that the island effectively formed a single estate, with a luxury residence and a further settlement housing the field hands.<sup>61</sup>

The area around Narona, particularly to the north and along the valley of the Naro, saw intensive activity in areas similar to those that had seen the most intensive activity in the pre-Roman period. Villas seem to have been numerous, though few have been coherently

excavated.<sup>62</sup> One of the most substantial is a *villa rustica* at Dračevica. Covering an area of more than 60 m<sup>2</sup>, there are 10 rooms known of a larger complex.<sup>63</sup> The Dračevica villa had large amounts of imported tiles produced at the *figlina Pansiana* and C. Titius Hermerotis' workshops on the northern Adriatic coast. The *Pansiana* workshop was probably located in the delta of the Po valley and was under direct imperial control from the reign of Augustus until the reign of Vespasian, when production apparently ceased. *Pansiana* stamps have also been found at another impressive villa at Dretelj on the Naro, which had mosaics, marble veneers, and painted plaster, although no plan of the villa is known, and also in the area of Vitaljina, located in the Naro valley as well.<sup>64</sup> *Pansiana* stamps are by far the most dominant of the imported stamps in the region; they may indicate that the imperial tile-makers kept an eye on villa-construction along the coast and inland and sent their products to where there was a good market for them.<sup>65</sup>

As in Istria, it is the major maritime villas in southern Dalmatia, of which there are a number of examples on both the mainland and the islands, that have seen the greatest level of archaeological attention although excavation remains piecemeal. These include a substantial site at Stari Trogir, 22 nautical miles (just over 40 km) to the west of Salona, where a villa was built on a series of terraces running around a semi-circular bay. Of special interest was a circular structure, interpreted as a fishpond, built within a series of rectangular compartments recalling similar structures from Italy.<sup>66</sup> Another villa at Sustjepan close to the Roman colony at Epidaurum was also built over a series of terraces and included some evidence of productive activity in the form of storerooms.<sup>67</sup> Elsewhere there is little evidence of productive activity at the *villae maritimae* of the region, although further excavation may prove otherwise.

As well as the *Pansiana* brick stamps in the region of Naron, there is possible evidence of imperial involvement in the supply of materials and craftsmen to the region in the form of a

very substantial *opus reticulatum* wall used at a villa at Lumbarda on the island of Korčula, a building technique rare in domestic building in the region.<sup>68</sup> Use of *opus reticulatum* is very unusual on the eastern side of the Adriatic, first appearing in the Actium monument at Nikopolis, where Malacrino argued its use was indicative of the presence of Italian workers, so its appearance in the construction of a villa may well indicate the same.<sup>69</sup>

Moving southward, the situation of Roman villas in Epirus (an area divided between the modern states of Albania and Greece) is less clear, though again the lack of evidence may be due to the level of research and the bias of researchers. However, the often unrelenting and precipitous rocky coastline of much of this region was less suited to villa building than the bays and islands of Istria and Dalmatia, although one would expect to find numerous villas in the area of *Dyrrhachium* (Durrës).<sup>70</sup> There are, however, a number of villas that have now been recognized around the Roman colony of *Buthrotum* (Butrint) and on the nearby Ionian island of Corfu.<sup>71</sup>

The most fully excavated of the Epirote villas is that of Diaporit on the shore of Lake Butrint (fig. 12). The villa, which faces west towards the town of Butrint, has its origins in the Hellenistic period, probably the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE. It was an undefended lowland site, quite different from the fortified farmsteads that characterized the region in the 4<sup>th</sup> and earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE. In the late Augustan/early Tiberian period, further structures were built on the shoreline, though few remain. Around 40-80 CE, a larger and more grandiose villa replaced these buildings. The new structures were constructed on a different orientation to those which preceded them and were seemingly built with the deliberate intention that they should face directly towards the city of Butrint. The villa was built on a series of terraces around a garden or peristyle on the lower terrace. The west wing, closest to the water, also contained a large apsidal



fountain, probably supplied with water by a spring that issued from the hills to the rear of the site (fig. 13). Although the waters of the lake have risen since antiquity, it is likely that the buildings of the villa extended out into the water, creating that direct relationship which for Lafon characterizes the true *villa maritima*.<sup>72</sup>

The eastern wing of the villa was built on an upper terrace and included what was probably an opulent dining or reception room that allowed a view across the central garden to the lake beyond. This room was paved with a geometric mosaic that framed a large rectangular panel of *africano* marble. The south wing comprised a bathhouse, although its earliest elements were largely buried beneath later phases. From 100-200 CE, there was almost continuous construction work on the villa. The terracing system became more sophisticated to accentuate the height of the buildings, while the bath complex became progressively more grandiose. In its last phases (c. 200 CE), it boasted a large apsidal room with a plunge bath and a hexagonal room in a dominant position on the upper terrace. The excavations revealed no sign of any productive activity, and it seems clear that the sole function of the building was as a luxury residence. It seems likely that it was only intermittently occupied (perhaps on a seasonal basis), given that it lies in a very exposed position on the lake making it often difficult to land boats there.

Between 200 and 250 CE, Diaporit was apparently abandoned as a luxury residence. All the marble was removed from the rooms, and a small oven was inserted into the *frigidarium* of the bathhouse. A crude door was cut between the *frigidarium* and an adjacent room with a hypocaust. Refuse from this secondary use of the bath was thrown through the doorway and rapidly accumulated above the hypocaust. On the upper terrace, some wooden buildings were constructed, with post-holes cut through the mosaic of the reception room mentioned above. A further small keyhole-shaped oven or furnace was subsequently built in the corner of this room

(fig. 14). After 250 CE, it appears that the complex was abandoned completely before the site was reoccupied in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (see below).

None of the remaining coastal villas of the region have been excavated to any extent, but it is clear that many of the known examples have characteristics in common with Diaporit. As well as views over water, those sites that can be identified as villas include bath complexes with polygonal rooms, extensive use of terracing, and often the presence of natural springs for abundant supplies of fresh water. These features can be seen at probable villas at Riza (on the coast to the north of Nikopolis), Strongyli (on the Ambracian Gulf), and Benitses and Acharavi (on the island of Corfu). The extensive remains at Ladochori near Igoumenitsa may also belong to a major coastal villa, which featured an elaborate *mausoleum* containing highly decorated sarcophagi.<sup>73</sup>

### **Transformations in late antiquity**

Although the dating of many of the villas described above is unreliable, they seem to have been primarily a phenomenon of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. However, a number of the villas have evidence of late Roman phases. These include the villas of Valbandon, Barbariga, and Vizula<sup>74</sup> and others described in greater detail below. Many of the possible villas in the area of Naronia also have evidence of late antique occupation, although detailed excavations are lacking.<sup>75</sup> It should not be assumed that there was necessarily direct continuity of occupation between the earlier and later phases. As noted above, at Diaporit in Epirus, the villa was seemingly abandoned around 250 CE, with no direct continuity between the villa and the Christian site of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In 537 CE, Cassiodorus wrote that:

“What Campania is to Rome, Istria is to Ravenna—a fruitful province abounding in corn, wine, and oil; so to speak, the cupboard of the capital. I might carry the comparison further, and say that Istria can show her own Baiae in the lagoons with which her shores are indented, her own Averni in the pools abounding in oysters and fish. The palaces, strung like pearls along the shores of Istria, show how highly our ancestors appreciated its delights. The beautiful chain of islands with which it is begirt, shelter the sailor from danger and enrich the cultivator.”<sup>76</sup>

It is intriguing that Cassiodorus writes of the “palaces” as creations of the past, but notwithstanding some rhetorical flourishes, it seems that Istria was still a highly productive landscape. However, the relationship between the villas and their settings was clearly changing. Many of the sites show evidence of significant quantities of wine and oil being imported from the Aegean and North Africa, indicating that their inhabitants were no longer being wholly supplied with these staples from their immediate hinterlands. At the same time, as is the case in many other places in the Roman Empire, there is evidence of rural productive activity moving into the urban centers with late antique oil presses found in recent excavations in Poreč, Pula and Umag.<sup>77</sup>

On the larger of the Brijuni islands, the villa at Verige Bay clearly saw some activity into the 6<sup>th</sup> century and possibly later. The excavator, Anton Gnirs, suggested that the central apsidal room of the bath complex on the north side of the bay (perhaps a *triclinium*) was converted into a church in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, with the adjacent *frigidarium* used as a baptistery. Christian burials in sarcophagi were found outside the apse. There were other undated changes to the main residential complex including the construction of a lime kiln in the peristyle of the *pars urbana*.

Marble from Verige Bay may have been reused in the episcopal complex in Poreč, although there is no obvious use of decorative *spolia* from the villa elsewhere in Brijuni.<sup>78</sup> Late Roman pottery including Late Roman 1 amphorae and Phocaean Red Slipware have also been found in the harbor, while the main residential building on the south side of the bay contained fragments of Late Roman 1 and Late Roman 2 amphorae. Late Roman amphorae have also been noted at the Kolci Hill *villa rustica*.<sup>79</sup>

The most striking late Roman activity on the Brijuni islands comes from the site of Castrum, where a *villa rustica* was surrounded by a wall circuit at an unknown late Roman date to create a fortified site that was densely inhabited in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries (fig. 15). The villa included late Roman olive presses but also had amphorae showing importation of oil, wine, and fish sauce from Tunisia and other parts of the Mediterranean, suggesting that local supply was not sufficient at certain points. There were also large quantities of Aegean slipwares and African Red Slip.<sup>80</sup>

Most of the datable late Roman pottery finds from the Brijuni villas have not been recovered from stratified archaeological contexts and so indicate little more than that there was activity on these sites between the 4<sup>th</sup> and late 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, they show the extent to which these sites were connected to supply networks originating in both the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, the latter perhaps via Ravenna. It is possible that Castrum along with other similar island sites on the Adriatic was garrisoned and was connected to the Byzantine military supply networks of the second half the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as seems to have been the case at the Byzantine enclave at Koper slightly to the north.<sup>81</sup>

Other villas on the Adriatic coastline have similar late phases. At Polače, on the island of Mljet close to Narona, an earlier villa was dramatically embellished in the late Roman period

with an impressive two-story apsidal building with polygonal corner towers on the façade (fig. 16). This seems to have been at least in part an audience hall, reflecting the late Roman development of second-story reception rooms.<sup>82</sup> It is often associated with a certain Pierius, an official of the Ostrogothic king Odacer who is recorded as giving the island to him in 489 CE, although it has recently argued that the apsidal building is more likely to date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century and was associated with the emperors Licinius or Galerius.<sup>83</sup> It may have had a military function in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and a late antique fortification and two Early Christian churches have been noted. Amphorae and slipwares from North Africa and the Aegean again indicate that basic products such as oil and wine were being imported, although whether this indicates permanent residence or sporadic use of the site is not known.<sup>84</sup>

The character of villas in late antiquity was clearly very different to those of the early Empire which were predicated on both luxury living and intensive production. Although there are sites such as that at Polače that clearly continued to function as élite residences, others are characterized by the subdivision of buildings into smaller residential units and the insertion of burials (for example in the latest phases at Loron and also at Sustjepan), phenomena that have been recognized in formerly grand houses elsewhere in the Roman empire. Another common feature in many of the villa sites on the Adriatic and Ionian coasts is the appearance of Christian churches, which became one of the predominant mechanisms for elite display from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup> Numerous Early Christian buildings have been partially excavated or recognized and many are associated with the sites of earlier villas.<sup>86</sup> Of the villas noted above, as well as the possible church noted by Anton Gnirs at Verige Bay, churches have been found at, or close to, Katoro and Fornače with that at Katoro associated with a major late Roman cemetery.

The relationship between the villas and Christian churches is by no means straightforward, as the case of Diaporit in Epirus clearly shows. There, a three-aisled basilica was constructed in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century on the remains of a villa that had been abandoned as a luxury residence almost 250 years earlier (figs. 12-14). The villa itself was extensively quarried for building materials. The church was built to house three tombs which were almost entirely emptied of their contents in the later Middle Ages. Only a single leg remained, which gave a calibrated radiocarbon date range of 80-250 CE, suggesting the tombs had been used to house the bodies of individuals treated as Christian martyrs in the persecutions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. The martyrdom of St Therinus is recorded as having taken place in an as yet undiscovered amphitheater at nearby Butrint in 251 CE, although the earliest documentary source dates to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. A major cult site dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste was also located at the port of Saranda (ancient Onchesmos) some 18 km to the north, and it is clear that martyr cults became key points in the late antique landscape.<sup>87</sup> The church at Diaporit was accompanied by a complex that suggested a small hostel for pilgrims, which also had a productive aspect or at least storage facilities evidenced by the remains of numerous *dolia* fragments. Burials in the villa bathhouse seem to have accompanied the latest phase of this Christian complex which was abandoned about 550 CE.

The evidence from Diaporit certainly does not suggest that the church belonged to the latest phase of the villa, but rather that the site of an abandoned villa was used and quarried for the construction of a later, possibly unrelated, Christian complex. However, although the residential buildings at Diaporit had long since been abandoned, it is still possible that the site remained part of a coherent property and was thus available to be used to express the élite mores of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The relationship between the villas of the early Empire and the

Christian buildings that appear on them in late antiquity is a matter for further archaeological work.

### **Conclusion**

Although villas can be found along the length of long coast of the Adriatic and Ionian seas and its numerous adjacent islands, there were marked regional variations in the density of villa distribution and scale and opulence of their construction. While some of the variation in distribution may well be simply due to 20<sup>th</sup>—and 21<sup>st</sup>—century research priorities, it is clear that the villas of Istria were built to a scale and level of luxury that was not replicated anywhere else on this stretch of coast. The reasons for this stark difference may partly lie in the fact that Istria, as part of *regio X* of Italy, had closer links to the senatorial aristocracy of Rome than other parts of the eastern Adriatic. However, textual and epigraphic evidence indicates that Roman senatorial families held estates on the coastlands of Dalmatia and Epirus as well, so this could not have been the only factor. Shifts in landholding patterns must also have been important: the colonies of Pula and Parentium had vast associated territories by comparison with the colonies south of Istria. The sheer size of the major estates may have been a factor in generating the wealth that enabled their proprietors to create such grandiose architectural visions on the bays and islands of Istria. By contrast with some of the Italian *villae maritimae* which were wholly devoted to the pursuit of *otium*, many of the Istrian villas give good evidence for extensive production of oil and wine.

Many of the villa sites in question were excavated in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and few have been investigated with sufficient precision to allow more than the broadest outlines of their construction phases and chronologies. However, the most grandiose buildings seem to belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries CE. Although many have traces of late antique occupation, evidence for

this late building indicates that these sites fulfilled a very different role in the late Roman period. In particular, there is evidence for significant importation of staple products like wine and oil that in the early Empire would have been produced on an industrial scale in the region. The villas of late antiquity were clearly consumers as much as they were producers, perhaps suggesting the presence of garrisons connected to the military supply networks of the late Roman Mediterranean. In addition, the widespread evidence of Christian building suggests that the villas were architecturally very different from the villas of the early Empire, which by the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries had become primarily sites that could be quarried for ordinary or exotic building materials. Cassiodorus's "palaces, strung like pearls along the shores of Istria" and the other villas of Dalmatia and Epirus were ultimately the products of a highly specific and relatively short-lived socio-economic system.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Wilkes 1969, 29-31.

<sup>2</sup> Bowden 2011; Wilkes 1969, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkes 1969, 226.

<sup>4</sup> Kirigin 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Doukellis 1988.

<sup>6</sup> Hjort Lange 2009, 100-02.

<sup>7</sup> Giorgi 2002; Giorgi 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Cicero, *Att.* 1.5, 2.6; Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.1-2; 2.2.1.

<sup>9</sup> Lindhagen 2009, 100-101; Tassaux 1982.

<sup>10</sup> Kaiser 1995.

<sup>11</sup> Bowden 2003, 22-6.

<sup>12</sup> This is now changing. Work at the villa of Loron, for example, includes publication of some faunal remains: Tassaux *et al.* 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Gaffney 2006, 89; Wilkes 1969, 394.

<sup>14</sup> Gaffney 2006. 89.

<sup>15</sup> Bowden 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Wilkes 1992, 190-192.

<sup>17</sup> Batović 1968.

<sup>18</sup> This perception may be skewed by elements in wood or other perishable materials not recognized with archaeological techniques not yet designed to record them.

<sup>19</sup> Condi 1984.

<sup>20</sup> Zadar hinterland: Chapman *et al.* 1996; Adriatic Islands Project: Gaffney 2006, 91-93.

<sup>21</sup> Diaporit: Bowden and Përzhita 2004; Soline Bay: Kirigin *et al.* 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Prusac 2007, 143-59.

<sup>23</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunk 2004, 66. Anton Gnirs carried out much of the early work on the villas of Istria with reports published almost annually in the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* from

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- 1902-1915. The most comprehensive recent treatment, listing primary bibliography on all sites, is that of De Franceschini 1998. Other syntheses can be found in Matijašić 1982, with lengthier treatments (in Serbo-Croat) in Matijašić 1998. A fairly complete list of the maritime villas of Istria can also be found in Lafon 2001, 454-9, with more complete descriptions of many of these in Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004.
- <sup>24</sup> On the question of *fullonicae* in Istria, see Tassaux 2009, who argues that many sites have been mistakenly identified and were in fact associated with wine and oil production or possibly salt production.
- <sup>25</sup> Tassaux 2003.
- <sup>26</sup> Tassaux 2003: 102; Verzár-Bass 1986, 651-4.
- <sup>27</sup> Bezeczky 1995; Bezeczky 1997. There is a very extensive literature on the Verige Bay villa. It is usefully summarised, together with the evidence for the *villae rusticae* on the Brijuni islands, in Schrunck and Begović 2000.
- <sup>28</sup> The name Egyptian *oecus* derives from Vitruvius's description of this type of room (*De Arch.* 6. 3. 9).
- <sup>29</sup> Lafon 2001, 4. Lafon separates his maritime villas from coastal villas (*villas littorales*), a device which, although typologically convenient, does not fully reflect the use of the term *villa maritima* in ancient sources. See Marzano 2007, 15-16, for a less strict application of the term, effectively encompassing any villa near the sea. Marzano also notes that villas on lakes could also be described in the sources as *villae maritimae*.
- <sup>30</sup> Marzano 2007, 19-22.
- <sup>31</sup> Purcell 1995.
- <sup>32</sup> Wine production has also been suggested; Schrunck and Begović 2000, 265-8; Bezeczky 1997, 58-62; Matijasic 1982, 54-5.
- <sup>33</sup> On *fullonicae* in general see Wilson 2003, with references. For *fullonicae* in Istria, see Tassaux 2009.
- <sup>34</sup> Schrunck and Begović 2000, 267-8; Bezeczky 1997, 62-8.
- <sup>35</sup> De Franceschini 1998, 443-4; Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004, 76; on the fishpond (*piscina*): Carre and Auriemma 2009.
- <sup>36</sup> De Franceschini 1998, 677-94; Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004, 68; Matijasic 1982, 59-60.
- <sup>37</sup> Schwalb 1902; Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004, 68.
- <sup>38</sup> Bezeczky 1997, 69-71.
- <sup>39</sup> De Franceschini 1998, 589-618; Schwalb 1902.
- <sup>40</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004, 72.
- <sup>41</sup> Tassaux 2003, 98; Tassaux *et al.* 2001, 315-21.
- <sup>42</sup> Tassaux *et al.* 2001.
- <sup>43</sup> This recent work by a collaborative Croatian-French-Italian mission began in 2003 and has published annual reports in the journal *Histria Antiqua*. D'Incà *et al.* 2010 for full bibliography of this project to date.
- <sup>44</sup> Carre and Auriemma 2009. I am grateful to Annalisa Marzano for bringing this volume to my attention.
- <sup>45</sup> Lafon 2001; Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004, 65-8.
- <sup>46</sup> De Franceschini 1998.
- <sup>47</sup> Babudri 1920; De Franceschini 1998, 484-6.
- <sup>48</sup> Matijašić 1982, 60-61. The villa was excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the evidence for identifying the functions of these rooms is not wholly clear.
- <sup>49</sup> Matijašić 1982, 60-61.
- <sup>50</sup> Matijašić 1982, 61-2.
- <sup>51</sup> Region of Pula: Bezeczky 1997, 45; Trieste region: Fontana 1993, 196.
- <sup>52</sup> Matijašić 1982, 62-3.
- <sup>53</sup> Fontana 1993; De Franceschini 1998, 694-742.
- <sup>54</sup> Fontana 1993.
- <sup>55</sup> De Franceschini 1998, 733; Fontana 1993, 733.
- <sup>56</sup> Begović and Schrunck 2003, 102.
- <sup>57</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunck 2004, 78-9.
- <sup>58</sup> Wilkes 1969, 331.
- <sup>59</sup> Zaninović 1995.
- <sup>60</sup> Lindhagen 2009.
- <sup>61</sup> Gaffney 2006, 104.
- <sup>62</sup> The evidence is summarised in Basler *et al.* 1988. See also the useful gazetteer in Prusac 2007.
- <sup>63</sup> Wilkes 1969, 397.
- <sup>64</sup> Dretelj villa: Wilkes 1969, 396-7; area of Vitaljina: Prusac 2007, 152.
- <sup>65</sup> Other workshops are represented in the Narona region. There is a very extensive bibliography on the brick-stamps of Istria and Dalmatia, helpfully listed by Pedišić and Podrug 2008.

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- <sup>66</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunk 2004, 79.
- <sup>67</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunk 2004, 79.
- <sup>68</sup> Kilić-Matić 2004, 98-99.
- <sup>69</sup> Malacrino 2007; Bowden 2011, 107.
- <sup>70</sup> This is particularly true given the rampant commercial and private construction along the coast in the Durrës area in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, although there is little incentive for builders to report archaeological discoveries.
- <sup>71</sup> Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
- <sup>72</sup> Lafon 2001, 3-4.
- <sup>73</sup> Publication of these sites is limited. Full references can be found in Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
- <sup>74</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunk 2004.
- <sup>75</sup> Prusac 2007, 143-59.
- <sup>76</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae* 12.22.
- <sup>77</sup> Matijašić 2007. The “ruralisation” of the late-antique city is now widely recognised; see Métraux in this volume.
- <sup>78</sup> Gnirs 1915, 141, n. 11; Schrunk and Begović 2000, 274.
- <sup>79</sup> Bezeczky 1997, 55-62; Begović and Schrunk 2011
- <sup>80</sup> Bezeczky 1997, 67-8.
- <sup>81</sup> This supply network is discussed by Reynolds 2004, 241-2.
- <sup>82</sup> Polci 2003.
- <sup>83</sup> On Pierius see Hodgkin 1885, 141, 170. The 4<sup>th</sup> century date was suggested by Turković 2011.
- <sup>84</sup> Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Schrunk 2004, 85.
- <sup>85</sup> Bowden 2008.
- <sup>86</sup> The bibliography on these sites is very extensive. Many, however, are helpfully listed with earlier bibliography in the gazetteer in Chevalier 1995.
- <sup>87</sup> For the martyrdom of Saint Therinus (recorded by Bishop Arsenios of Corfu): Soustal 2004, 20 (with references). For the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Saranda, see Mitchell 2004.

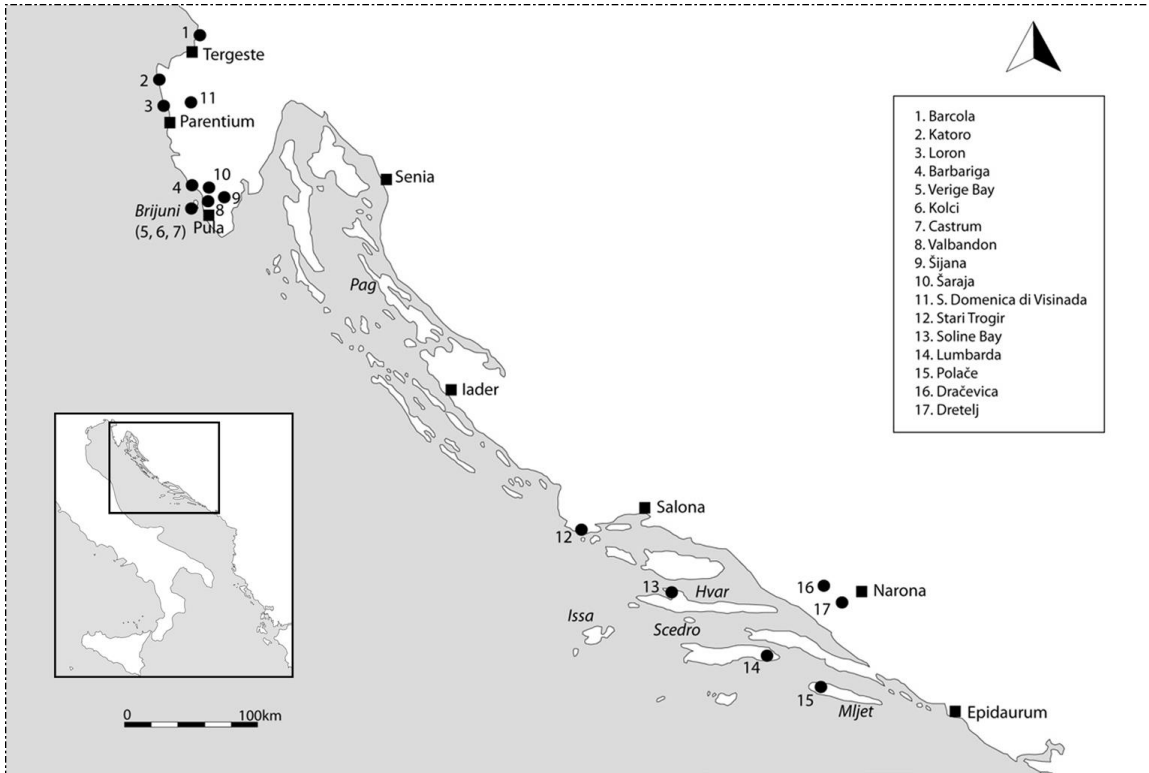


Fig. 1 – Map 1, showing Iстриan and Dalmatian coastal villas mentioned in the text (W. Bowden, mainly after Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Shrunck 2004).

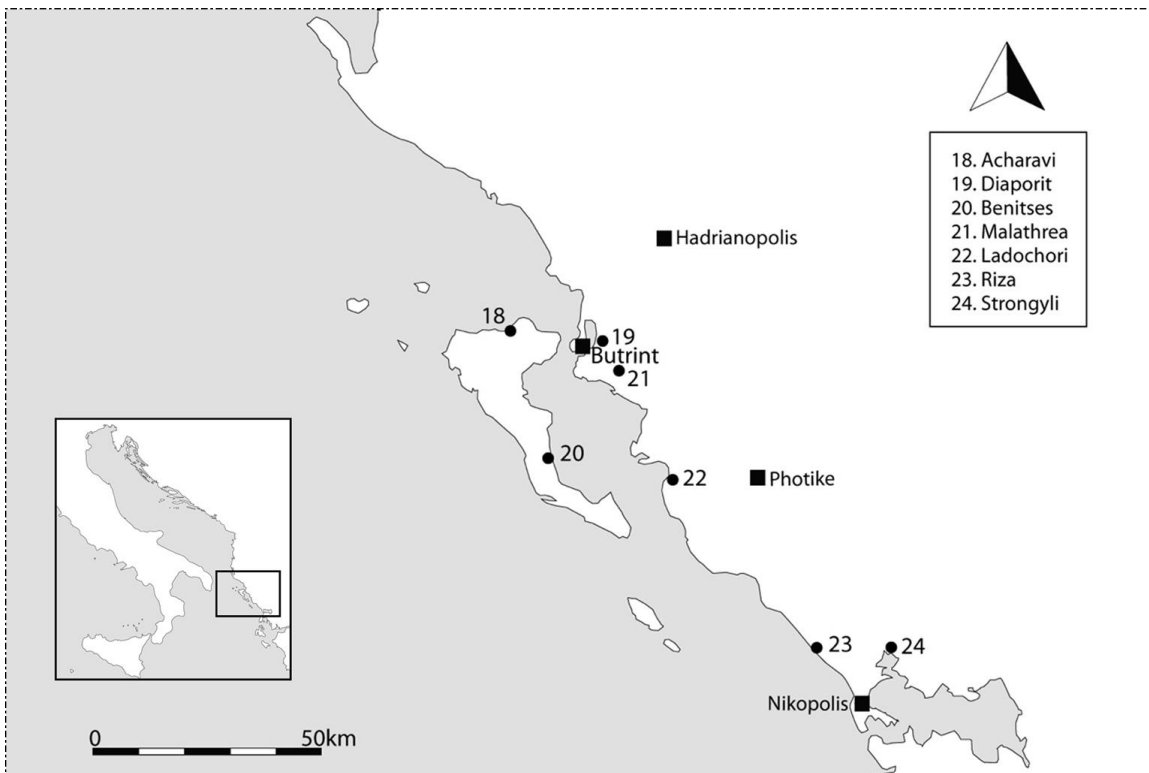


Fig. 2 – Map 2, showing Ionian coastal villas mentioned in the text (W. Bowden).



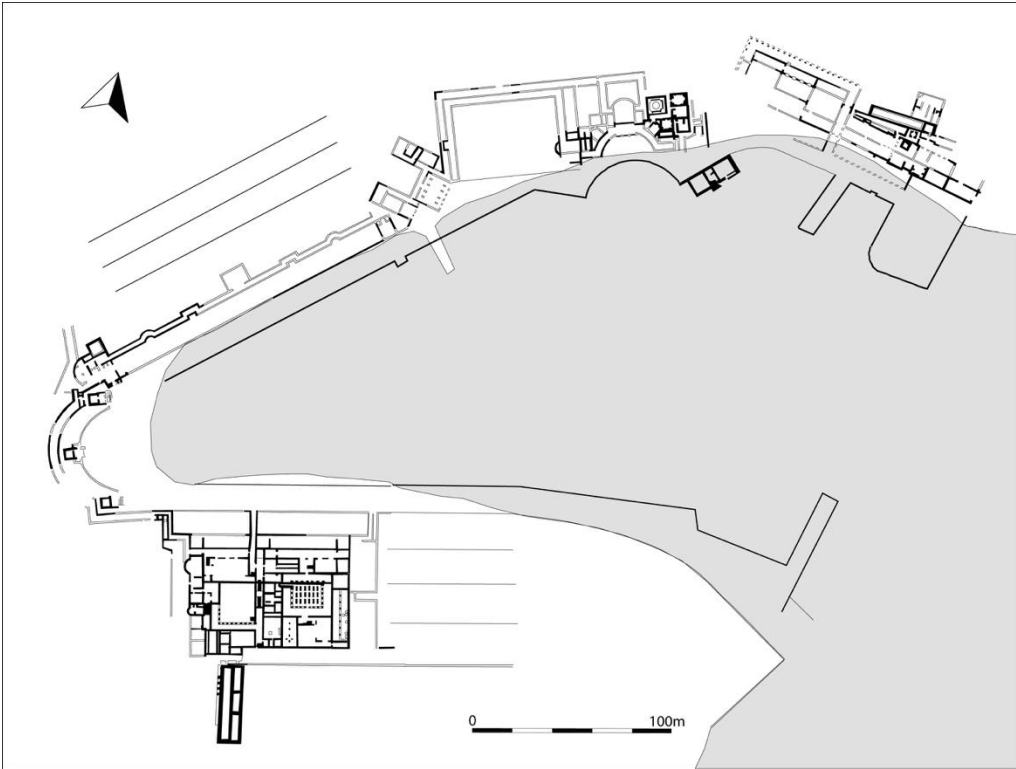


Fig. 3 – The Verige Bay villa on the island of Brijuni. The early villa rustica is on the south side of the bay. The approximate edge of the current bay is also shown (W. Bowden after Schrunk and Begović 2000).

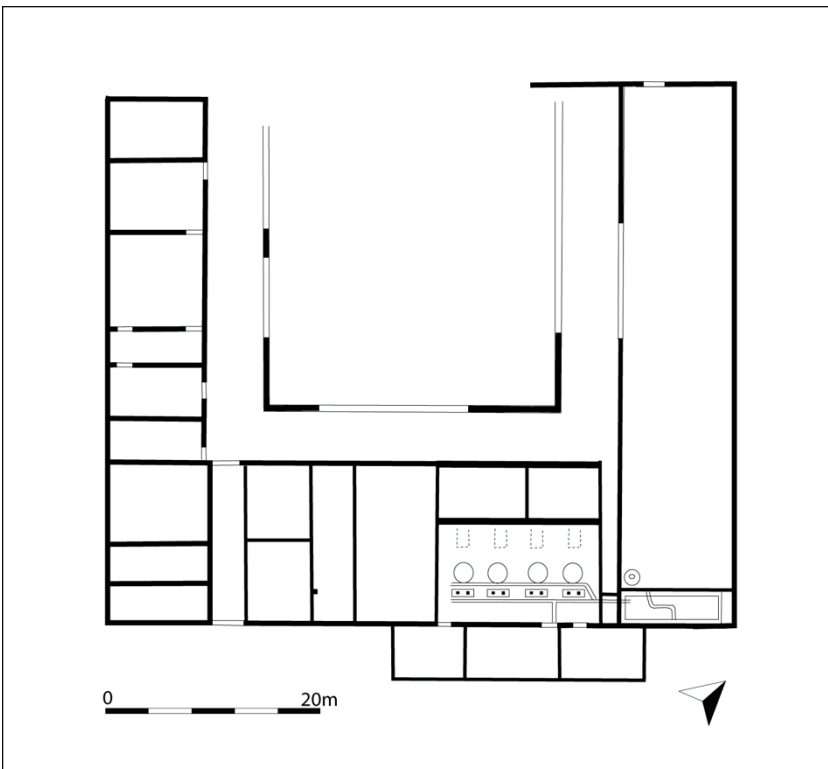


Fig. 4 – The villa at Kolci. Productive facilities are concentrated in the eastern part with a large storage room forming the northeastern wing of the villa (W. Bowden after Matijašić 1982).

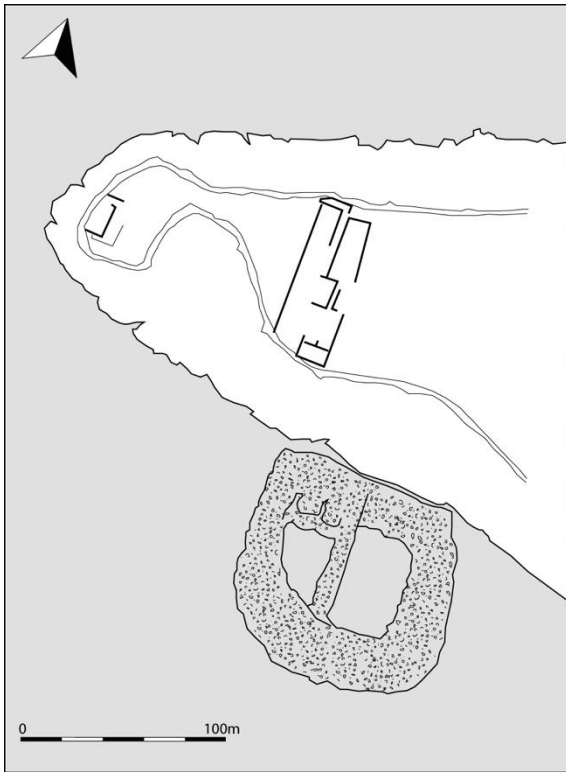


Fig. 5 – Villa occupying a promontory at Katoro, with evidence of a substantial piscina (W. Bowden mainly after Begović Dvoržak and Dvoržak Shrunk 2004).

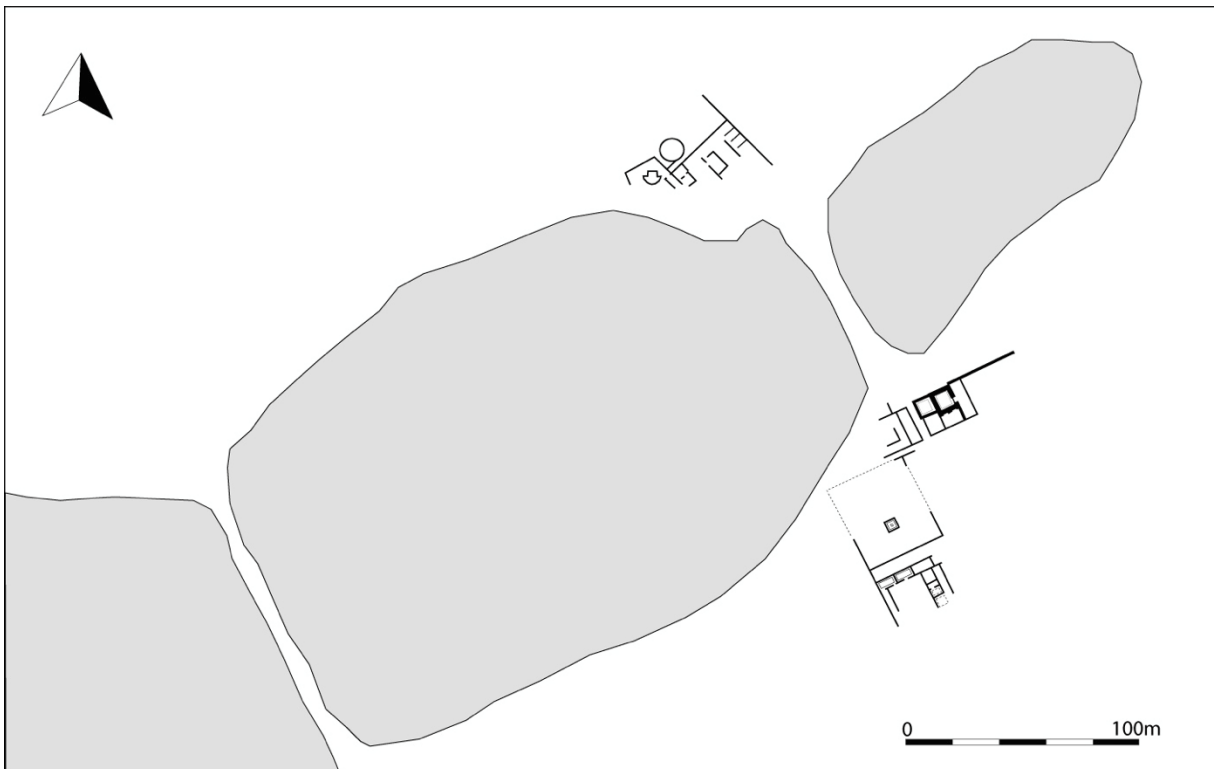


Fig. 6 – Villa at Valbandon, built on both sides of a bay that was also used as a piscina (W. Bowden after Matijašić 1998).

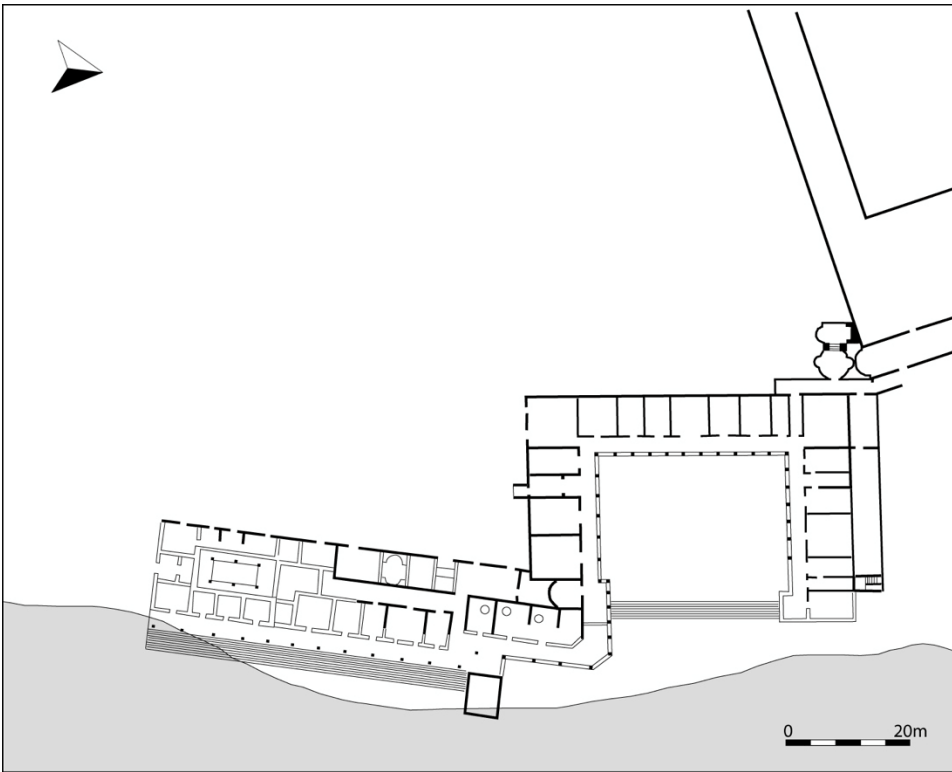


Fig. 7 – The Barbariga villa, with the earlier wing on the left (south) side (W. Bowden after Schwalb 1902).

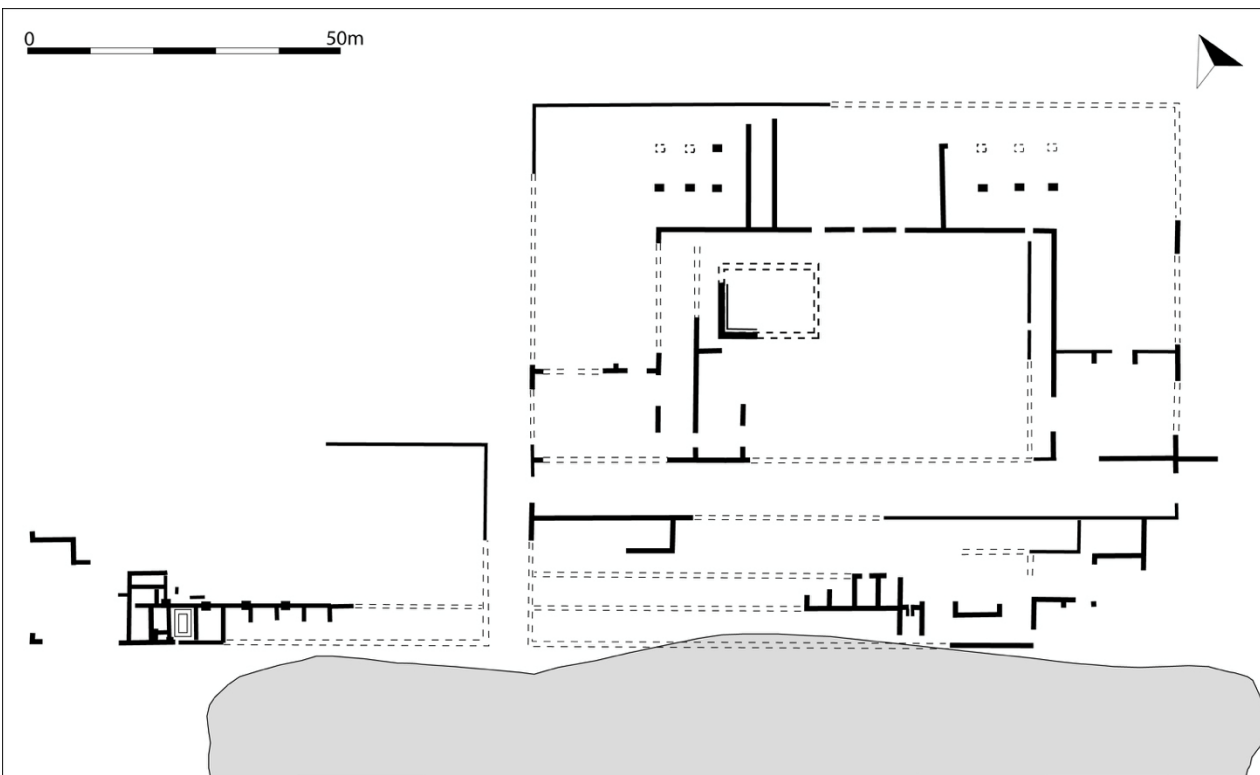


Fig. 8 – The villa at Loron, much of which seems to have been devoted to productive activity (W. Bowden after Kovačić et al. 2011).

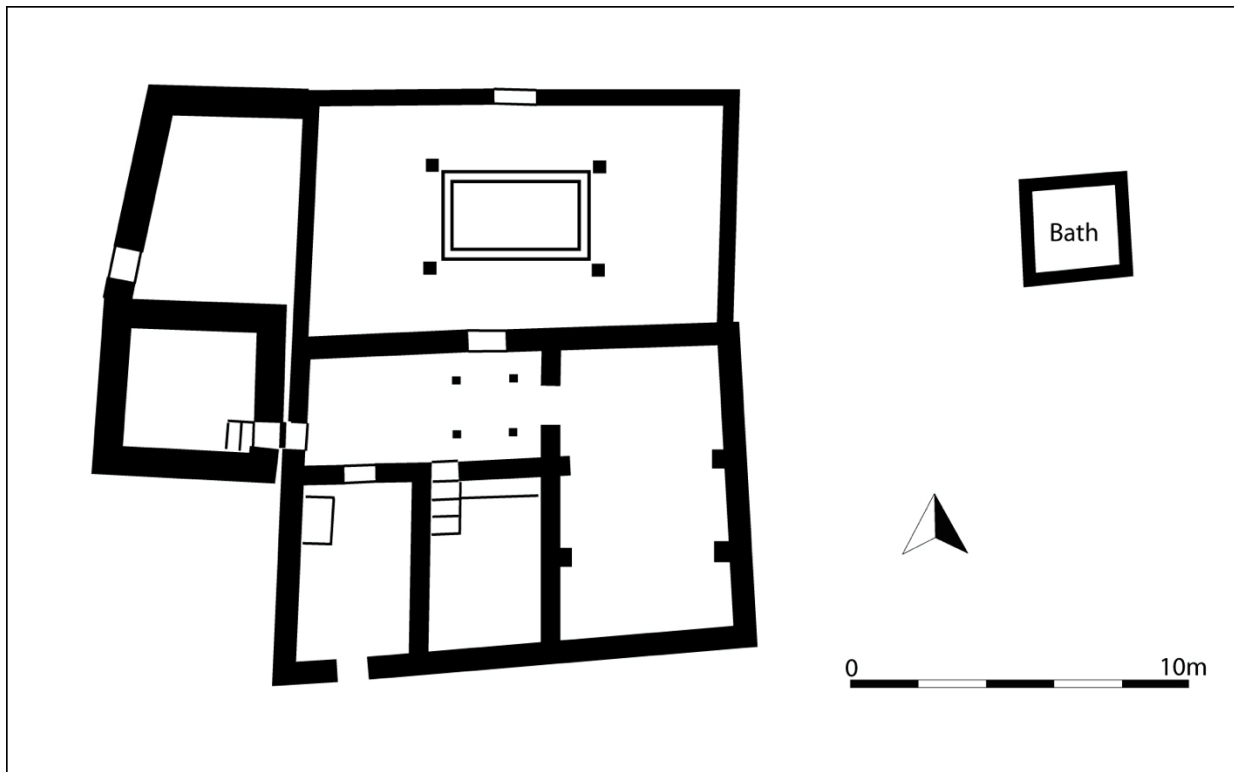


Fig. 9 – S. Domenica di Visinada, one of the few non-coastal villas in Istria for which a plan is known (W. Bowden after Babudri 1920).

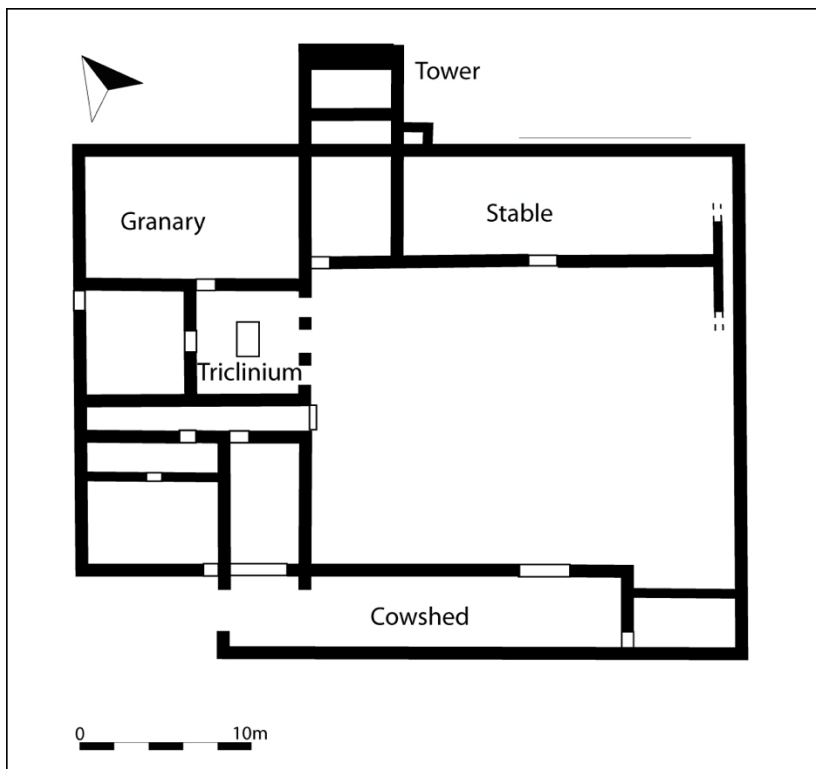


Fig. 10 – Villa rustica at Šijana (the interpretations of the room functions are those of the excavator) (W. Bowden after Matijašić 1982).

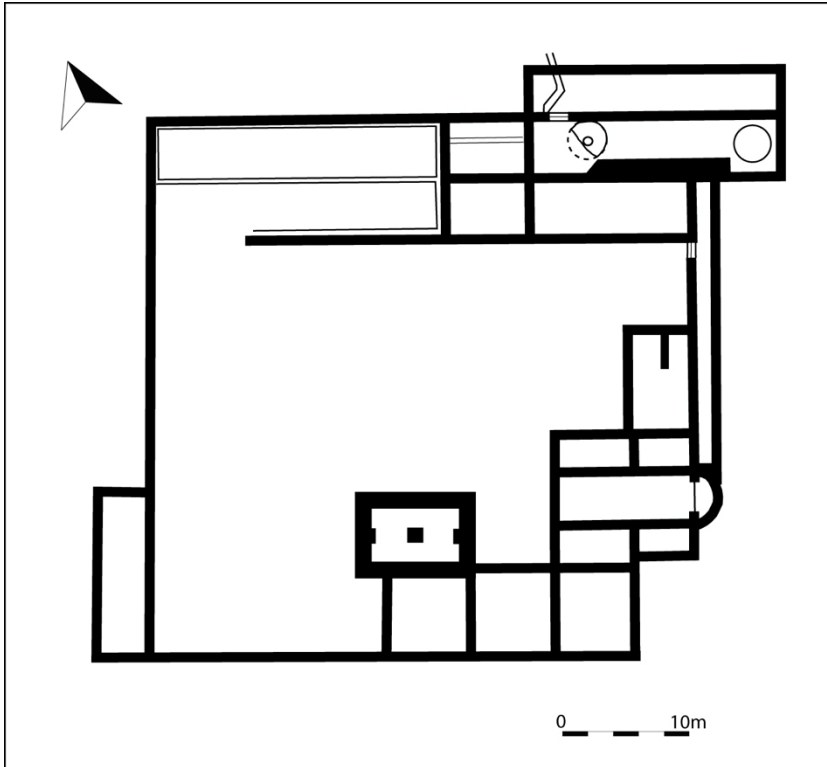


Fig. 11 – Villa rustica at Šaraja (W. Bowden after Matijašić 1982).



Fig. 12 – The villa and Early Christian complex at Diaporit near Butrint (W. Bowden).



Fig. 13 – Large apsidal fountain (*nymphaeum*)

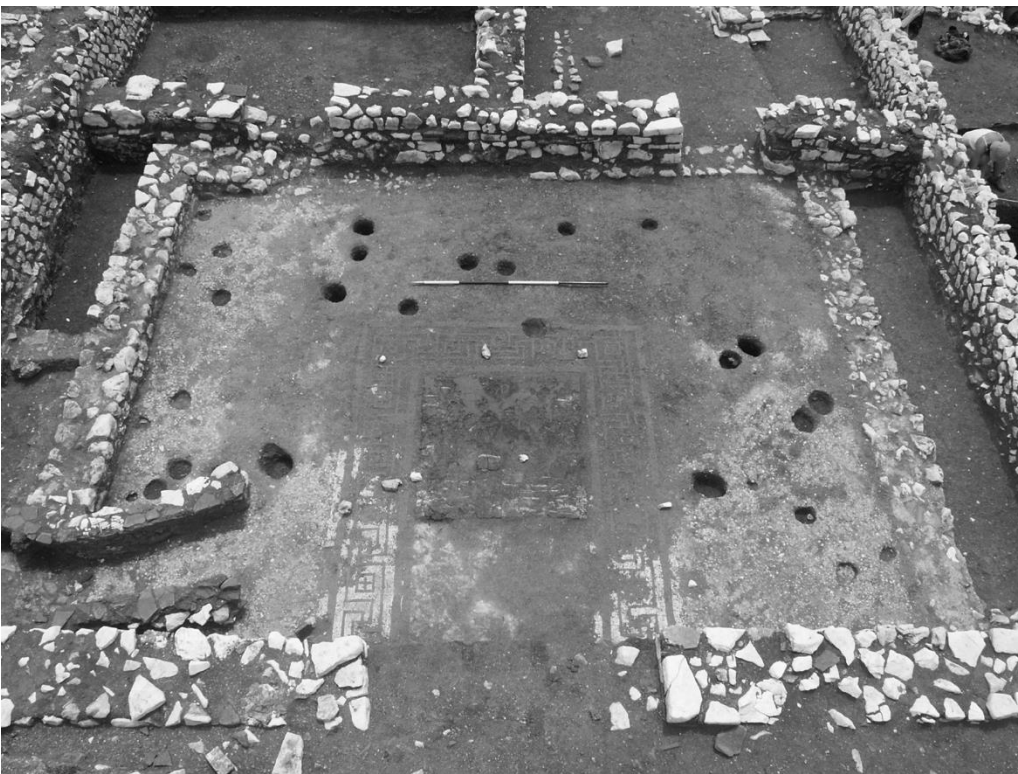


Fig. 14 – Reception room on the upper terrace at Diaporit, where the mosaic is pierced by post-holes dating to the 3rd century (W. Bowden).

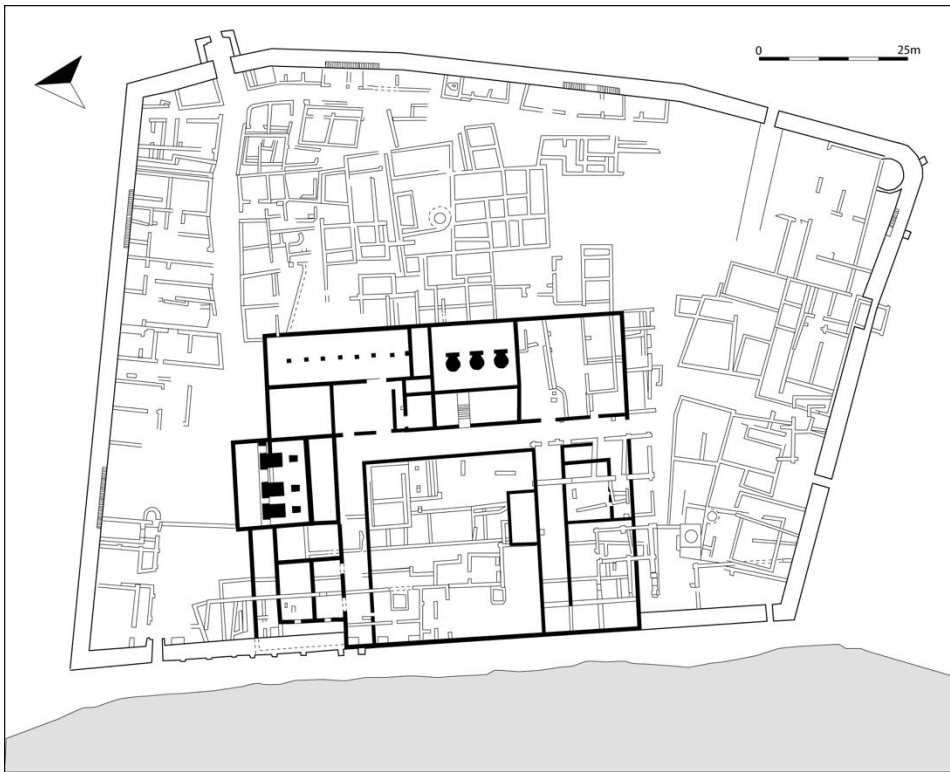


Fig. 15 – The late-antique fortified complex at Castrum. The original villa rustica is shaded (W. Bowden after Schrunk and Begović 2000).

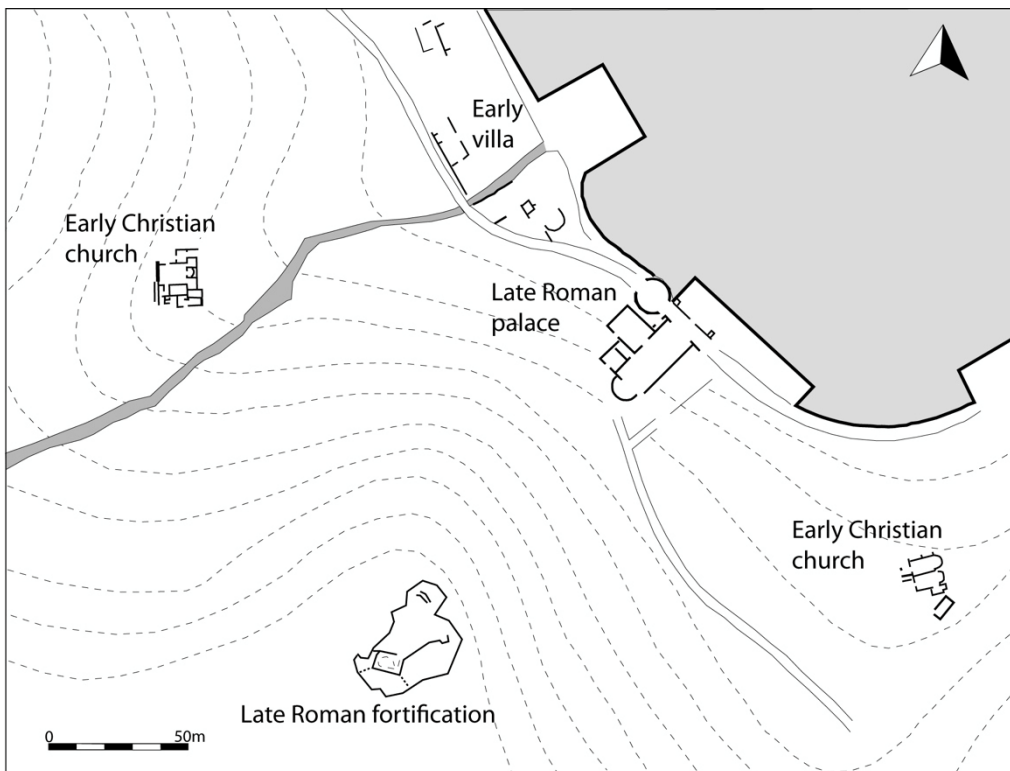


Fig. 16 – The major late antique site at Polače (W. Bowden after Turković 2011).