According to all archaeological investigations so far, and the insights obtained by these investigations, we can classify the settlement in Madona Bay into an agglomeration settlement with geographical, cultural and ethnic continuity since antiquity. A naturally protected site on the Brioni Islands, from both sea and land, Madona Bay became in Late Antiquity one of the key points on the Adriatic maritime route. The settlement with high fortification walls was created by successive building alongside a large Roman villa. This villa rustica expanded and developed in time of peace and prosperity, then stagnated and expanded again with the construction of a fullonica and the surrounding settlement. In turbulent times of Late Antiquity the settlement found itself in the anchorage zone of a naval base which was defended, together with the settlement, by massive fortifications. The site became a Byzantine stronghold and refuge in the 6th century and developed the features of a late Roman settlement – castrum. A multi-layered and complex settlement, represents a key archaeological site for documenting the history of Roman colonization and building activity on the islands. The urban matrix of this settlement was created by continuous additions and transformations of antique structures, both civilian and military.

Key words: late antique settlement, villa rustica, Madona bay, Brijuni islands, 2nd century BC - 6th century AD

The late antique settlement is located on the west side of Veli Brijun, in the Bay of Madona, on a low plateau (the difference between the highest part and lowest part is about 2.5 meters), close to the shore and 0.5 m above sea level (2.5 m in ancient times). Madona Bay lies on the western side of Veli Brijun. This spacious, wide and very shallow bay is protected on the northern and southern side by the peninsulas of Rankun and Peneda, on the western side by a small island of Madona (Pusti), and towards the open sea by the broad stretch of the Vanga Island. On the north side, the hilly peninsula of Turanj and Petrovac hill protect it from the bora and other northern winds. On the eastern side the area is protected by large natural wetlands, which stretch all the way to Saline Bay and by the slopes of gentle hills, which reach the highest peak on the island – Straža (54.7 m above sea level). A path from the east led into this naturally protected bay, winding its way between the wetlands and the slopes of the hill, which were relatively easy to defend. On the other side, the shallow waters in front of the bay prevented an easy access of enemy boats. Presumably, well positioned guard-

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A LATE ANTIQUE SETTLEMENT IN MADONA BAY, BRIJUNI ISLANDS

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houses on the hills around the bay and on the islands in front of it, enabled an excellent control of the land and sea routes, making Madona Bay a naturally most protected area of the Brioni Archipelago. The multi-layered and complex settlement in this bay represents a key archaeological site for documenting the history of Roman colonization and building activity on the islands. The late Roman settlement was built on the villa rustica from the 1st century BC. Fig 1

**First structure built on the site**
(according to archaeological excavations)

The earliest architectural finds in Madona Bay belong to a modest villa, dated by Š. Mlakar to around the beginning of the 1st century BC. Its remains were found along the shore, below the level of a later and larger, second villa rustica, which used two walls of the earlier villa to construct its foundations, leaving the rooms of the earlier villa in its substructure. The first villa had a large production area, which comprised approximately one third of its entire space, testifying to its agricultural function (Mlakar 1976, 3; Vitasović 2005, 161). The rooms are lined up in a row, similar to agricultural buildings typical of central Italy, as described by N. Terrenato, and which originated from the Archaic Period (Terrenato 2001, 14). Terrenato’s tipology of Roman villas shows the earlier and later examples of villas and their development. As a consequence of the rise in the sea level from antiquity up to the present by approximately 2 meters, and also of erosion by waves, the sea front of the structure and the first row of its rooms, as well as the retaining wall of the terraces, have been significantly damaged and cannot be defined. R. Matijašić believes the villa marks the first phase of building on the site (Matijašić 1993, 249). According to V. Girardi Jurkić, the villa was built on the site of an older Roman structure from the end of the second or the beginning of the first century BC. (Girardi Jurkić 1981, 94). Fig 2

**Second structure built on the site - large villa rustica**

The second villa rustica built over the structures of the first villa described above, was significantly larger in size and had its rooms differently arranged. It was a typical 1st century villa, built on the platform (terrace) retained by walls, like those in the villa at Settefinestre,
near Cosa (Ager Cosanus) and the villa in Boscoreale, with rooms on three sides surrounding a central courtyard, and the high external wall on the fourth side. Its dimensions were 63x51 m (210x170 Roman feet). The construction probably took place in the middle of the 1st century BC. The only find dating it is the roof tile (tegula) with the stamp of (PANS)AE VIBI, dated to the period between 50-40 BC. Another tegula with the same stamp was found at the villa rustica in Verige Bay on Brioni Islands. These are the only chronological indicators of the beginning of the villa construction on the island (Bezeczky and Pavletić 1996, 151). The second villa rustica went through several rebuilding and expansion phases. The agricultural sector of the villa certainly had two building phases. The spaces for wine production and storage belonged to the first phase, while those for oil were added later. The original villa was a wine producing farm with a large wine cellar and three presses. The building was oriented northeast to southwest. It had a U-shaped plan, with a spacious courtyard and working and living spaces along its three sides. The courtyard was enclosed by porticoes on three sides and by a fence wall on the fourth, facing the sea, and open to a panoramic view. Figure 3 The villa had its harbour facilities with a dock, which is still visible on aerial photographs and has been explored during the
underwater survey in 1985. Several large stone blocks that could belong to a small dock were observed. One of the blocks was perforated (Jurišić, Orlić 1998). The walls of the villa were 45 to 53 cm (1.5-1.7/1.8 R. f.) wide and built of masonry stone blocks (8 to 14 cm), set in mortar. The masonry blocks had the width to length ratio of 1:3, what indicated that it was built in the period from the first century BC to the first century AD.

The orientation and layout of this villa again followed Vitruvius' rules for relationship to the natural environment and insolation in a coastal location (De arch., VI, 129-132). The residential wing was located on the south-western side with the best insolation. The entrance into the villa was on this side, and the entry corridor, leading into the courtyard, set it apart from other spaces. The original layout of the residential rooms was difficult to reconstruct because of later modifications, but it seemed that it was similar to that of the villa rustica in Verige. The bedrooms varied in size, and the master bedroom, made for the owner or vilicus, had two alcoves. The size of the courtyard was 31 x 28.7 m (106 x 98 Roman feet), while the width of the portico was 4 m (14 Roman feet). The 60 cm wide fence wall on the fourth side was found partially preserved and incorporated into the fortification walls, built in Late Antiquity. On the south-western side of the courtyard, there was a large cistern, 7.35 x 3.3 m (25 x 11 R. f.), which served for collecting rain water from the roofs of the porticoes. Along the south-eastern side, an oecus, a large hall with a central row of columns, used for reception and dining, was located, as well as a kitchen, storage rooms, and a large pressing room with three wine presses, 13 x 10.6 m (44 x 36 R. f.). The pressing room was raised about one meter above the other rooms. The access was provided by a flight of wooden stairs located by the wall of the room in front of it. The floor in the pressing room was paved in opus spicatum technique. The size of the spicae was 7.5 x 12 x 1.8 cm. A lacus for holding must was placed next to the presses. A large cella vinaria, 23.2 x 7.9 m (79 x 27 R. f.), with up to 56 dolia, was oriented toward the southeast. A row of seven central columns, round in section and placed on square masonry bases, divided the cellar and supported the span of the roof. The columns were constructed of wedge-shaped stones, set in mortar. The rooms facing the courtyard next to the cellar were probably also used in wine-making process. The large space on the north-eastern side, if correctly reconstructed, served as a stable and agricultural storage area. Fig 3

The original layout of the rooms on this north-eastern side is hard to reconstruct due to later modifications. Large oil-producing facilities with three olive presses, built in a later phase, are protruding out of the original ground-plan. Drainage channels built of bricks
were 42 x 21 m. The elongated building comprised of rooms grouped on both sides of a longitudinal corridor and a semicircular corner room on the east end. On the west side, a semicircular pool at the west end possibly served as a small spa. (Vitasović 2005, 176). M. Mirabella Roberti dated the building to the 1st or 2nd century (Mirabella Roberti 1936). The structure was completely built in accordance with the construction methods of classical antiquity. Rows of cut stone using the *opus isodomum* technique are today extraordinarily well visually separated from the subsequently later built fortification wall (Mlakar 1976, 21; Vitasović 2005, 173). Fig 5 The structure was built certainly before the fortifications that took advantage of its walls and followed its layout. Its functional relation to the former villa is not clear. It can be assumed that the building was added in order to increase the residential space of the *villa rustica* or perhaps its administrative capacity. The nearby saltworks and quarries also made up part of the estate. Judging from its position and the later built small door in the fortification wall, the building was connected with the saltworks in Soline bay and might have represented the centre of the imperial procurator (*conductor salinarum*). The main façade facing the south-east cannot be defined (reconstructed) with certainty, because it was built into the defensive wall later. The main entrance had to be from this side.

**Building constructed on the south east side of the *villa rustica***

On the south-eastern side of the second *villa rustica*, a new villa was later built, a detached building with a tower on the eastern side. Its estimated dimensions were 42 x 21 m. The elongated building comprised of rooms grouped on both sides of a longitudinal corridor and a semicircular corner room on the east end. On the west side, a semicircular pool at the west end possibly served as a small spa. (Vitasović 2005, 176). M. Mirabella Roberti dated the building to the 1st or 2nd century (Mirabella Roberti 1936). The structure was completely built in accordance with the construction methods of classical antiquity. Rows of cut stone using the *opus isodomum* technique are today extraordinarily well visually separated from the subsequently later built fortification wall (Mlakar 1976, 21; Vitasović 2005, 173). Fig 5 The structure was built certainly before the fortifications that took advantage of its walls and followed its layout. Its functional relation to the former villa is not clear. It can be assumed that the building was added in order to increase the residential space of the *villa rustica* or perhaps its administrative capacity. The nearby saltworks and quarries also made up part of the estate. Judging from its position and the later built small door in the fortification wall, the building was connected with the saltworks in Soline bay and might have represented the centre of the imperial procurator (*conductor salinarum*). The main façade facing the south-east cannot be defined (reconstructed) with certainty, because it was built into the defensive wall later. The main entrance had to be from this side.
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The late antique settlement

Although there is no clear evidence that in the Flavian era the Brijuni estate along with Laecanius's figlina in Fažana had come under imperial ownership, the production facilities and the defence structures on the Brijuni islands in Late Antiquity indicate a certain state investment in the archipelago. The evidence for the state involvement may be found in the conversion to productive use of the central courtyard of the villa rustica in Madona Bay and the industrial activities related to the similar installations in the servicing sector of the maritime villa in Verige Bay. There A. Vitasović found many loom weights in addition to manufacturing installations. The findings of stone basins, drainage channels and presses in both villas could indicate the installations of a fullonica. In the course of the 2nd and 3rd century, economic changes took place on the islands (perhaps caused by a decrease in olive oil production), resulting in a new building activity. The large maritime villa in Verige Bay was further expanded in order to include new servicing facilities - fullonica - a workshop for dyeing fabrics. Probably in the same period a fullonica was installed in the courtyard of the villa rustica in Madona Bay (Suić 1987, 201; Matijašić 1998, 241-251). According to Diocletian's Edict from 301, (Bradley 2002, 21) fullonicae were controlled as important production facilities. The final processing and dyeing of fabrics had to be standardized, systematized and organized, in other words, supervised by high government officials – the procurators. The quality of finished products was under state protectorate, which implied a quality guaranty. M. Suić interpreted the fullonica workshops in Madona and Verige Bays as Bafium Cis-sense Venetiae et Histriae, a state manufacture of military clothing, mentioned in Notitia dignitatum from 435 (Suić 1987). This settlement also had an ample supply of water from the nearby natural pond, eastward of the settlement. The water could also have been used for the needs of the fullonica.

Massive fortifications erected in the 5th century around the settlement proved, among other things, the special importance of the production facilities situated within the settlement (Suić 1987, 186-201).

In the late antique period the entire complex of structures built on this site became a settlement. We may propose three steps in the formation of that settlement:

1. Slave quarters and quarters for the workers which could be associated with the construction of the large maritime villa in Verige Bay in the course of the first half of the 1st century. It was built on the north east side of the villa rustica.
was erected by Marcus Aurelius Iustus, whose name is known from the stamps on the amphorae produced in Fažana at the beginning of the 3rd century. Fig 6 At the end of the 3rd century Emperor Diocletian carried out an administrative reorganization of the Empire. From the year 284 onwards, Milan became its western seat, which implicated that Istria and Brioni should come under the direct authority of the vicar (vicarius) in Milan. Struggles for the imperial throne in the 4th century affected the Istrian Peninsula as well. In 326, Crispus, the son of Constantine the Great was killed by his father’s command, probably in the villa on the Vižula peninsula near Medulin. Significant changes occurred following Constantine’s Edict on the tolerance of religions in 313, according to which the Christian Church became legitimate, and gained authority. This, in turn, opened a new era for the Roman architecture and art.

During the 3rd and 4th century, new construction took place around the villa rustica, which could have solved the problems of housing a large number of inhabitants. Cisterns, fireplaces and bread ovens were found there (Girardi Jurkić 1981, 93-94). New structures formed along the former access roads towards the villa and new streets were established. The former roads towards the villa rustica and its access to the sea remained the key communication lines inside the set-

2. The process very common in the western part of the Roman Empire in late antique period - the village built on villa rustica for the agricultural workers - “agriculture village” (N. Christie 2006)

3. The production workshop - fullonica built in the courtyard of the second villa rustica.

4. Building of the fortifications around the settlement.

Epigraphic and material finds from the 2nd and 3rd century in Istria are numerous, although the written historical sources are scarce. Latin inscriptions linked to important families, as well as freed civilians and soldiers were found in the towns and on country estates (Zaninović 1991; 1994). The first major threat was the attacks of the Quadi and Marcomanni across the Danube, which happened during the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius in 167. The incursions went deep into the territory of the Roman Empire, all the way to Italy. During the entire 3rd century there were ongoing battles for the defence of the frontier (limes). It is very probable that this historical context influenced the life on Brioni, although there is no evidence of any destruction. East of the villa rustica, a late antique building was found, with a walled-in ara (votive altar) in its foundation, dedicated to the Goddess Flora, implying the importance of agricultural activities (Mlakar 1976, 8).
The summarly published coin finds from the late antique settlement showed that there was a significant increase in coin circulation in the second half of the 3rd century. A new situation for money economy must have arisen, beside the fact of inflation at that time. However, the great majority of coins belong to the 4th century, particularly to the period between Constantine and Theodosius (Miške 2002, 181-186). The overall coin emission was certainly greater in the Empire at that time, but the 4th century boom in the commercial activity in the Adriatic is visible on many key sites on the sea-routes, such as Diocletian’s palace in Split, Polaće on Mljet island, Hvar on the island of Hvar, Ubli on Lastovo island and Lumbarda on Korčula island. The majority of imported pottery finds at those sites, especially from North Africa, date to the 4th century (Schrunk 1989). The pottery finds from the Brijuni sites are not published. We have only occasional reports of sizable amounts of African amphorae and red slip ware of the 4th century from the late antique settlement and the Verige sites on Brijuni, but they show a significant rise in the Empire-wide commercial contacts (Bezeczky 1998, 57; Matijašić 1998, 371). Numismatic and ceramic evidence support the argument for the presence of the fullonica and for the officials and perhaps some troops associated with it. Another evidence for population increase and prosperity, and also for identity of the inhabitants of the late antique settlement are the 4th century. The new street network completely outlines the former area of the villa. The settlement was built in a planned manner with two streets lengthwise and one across. Small squares were formed at crossroads, and the most significant buildings were oriented towards these squares. The production part of the settlement was separated from the residential one. The administrator’s palace was situated alongside the south-eastern rim of the settlement. Warehouses were located on the way to the harbour. The urban pattern was dense. Fig. 7 In the period of relative political and economic stability during the reign of Diocletian and his successors (end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century), until the end of the era of Constantine the Great, the newly formed settlement round the villa was characterized by a period of intensive production and relative prosperity, as witnessed by the late antique necropoles, situated along the access roads towards the settlement (Marušić 1986, 84-91). Mlakar placed the construction of the late antique settlement in Madona Bay in the period of Diocletian – the end of the 3rd century or of Constantine the Great and his successors (Mlakar 1976, 39). Suić connected the beginnings of the settlement with the building of the fullonica in the courtyard of the villa rustica (Suić 1987). What is certain is that the settlement had been formed before the fortifications were built in the 5th century.
The changes that occurred in Madona Bay during the 5th century were an indirect consequence of wars at the borders of the Roman Empire and insecure living conditions. After the invasion of the Huns in northern Italy and the destruction of Aquileia in 452, intensive work to strengthen and renew the fortifications in Istria began. In this period the first fortification wall around the settlement was probably built. These fortifications did not include all the existing structures at the site, but only a certain part – those buildings whose outer walls could easily be incorporated into the fortifications. The walls enclosed an irregular rectangular area of 124 x 89.4 x 110.3 x 76.5 m. They were 2.6 m wide, with an even greater thickness (2.9 m) at the corners. In the process of their construction, the material from deserted structures on the islands was partly used, such as a fluted column which served as a lintel on the south-western entrance of the fortified settlement. Fig 9

The Adriatic towns and settlements of the 4th and 5th century were characterized by their location on the maritime routes and their role of administrative and church centres (governors' palaces, church seats and Early Christian churches). They were the refuge of the local population and the population from a broader area gravitating towards these towns (Brusić 1993, 224). The settlements offered the benefit of safe harbours, sometimes even winter berthing places for ships. The craftsmen who lived in the towns helped to repair and service transiting ships, and some locations had full ship-building facilities - navaliae. One of them is Novoža on the island of Pag, which got its name from the above Roman word (according to M. Suić). The settlements had accommodation facilities for the passengers and ship crews, warehouses with food supplies, especially grain (horreae), and buildings for a permanent or temporary stay of troops.

The column probably originated from the temple area in Verige Bay, what would set the year 391 as a terminus post quem. Namely, prior to that year, the permission for the dismantling of pagan temples could not have been obtained. After the downfall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 and the establishment of the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in the west and Byzantium in the east, the fortifications in Madona Bay were upgraded in accordance with the Byzantine rules of fortification architecture.
blocks of larger dimensions (regularly- and irregularly-shaped), positioned mostly in a reticular (not layered) pattern (Mlakar, 1976, 23–27). We can assume that the fortifications of this period were built according to the Byzantine construction regulations and under the supervision of state architects, following the well known manuscript De strategica o tactica, written by an anonymous officer in Belizar's army (Lawrence 1983, 180). Fig 10 At the time of Justinian's Reconquista, the fort probably functioned as a military and ecclesiastic centre.

During the 5th and 6th century an intensive militarization of Istria and of the entire Adriatic changed the character of the settlements on Brioni. There was a continuous military presence in towns, while villas in well-positioned bays became naval bases. The analysis of the long-term history of this settlement on Veli Brijun shows the development from the villa rustica from the 1st century BC to the late antique settlement and an important early medieval naval base with two harbours, one protected from the strong northern winds, the other from the southern. The other safe harbour was in Verige Bay, near the maritime villa (Begović Dvoržak 2001, 177). Brioni were an important naval station on the trans-Adriatic routes, which connected the key north Italian cities, Aquileia and Ravenna, with...
of the late antique fortified settlement (the Byzantine castellum) did not witness major changes between the 6th and the 16th century - the time when the settlement was abandoned. The preserved matrix from the 5th / 6th century remains a valuable contribution in evaluating the creation, existence, metamorphosis and decay of urban structures from that period. The matrix of this late antique settlement shows a strong classical tradition: an orthogonal grid in the zone of the villa rustica and orderly streets whose intersection forms a square. On the other hand, residential blocks are more modest in size and more densely packed, with a slight departure from the orthogonal grid. A similar grid could be found around the Byzantine castellum, on the oldest, elevated part of Dubrovnik, around which the medieval settlement developed eastward, departing from the grid due to the land configuration.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAAd  Antichità altoadriatiche, Atti delle Settimane di Studi aquilesi, Aquileia-Udine
ARR  Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb
BITEN HAZU  Bilten Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti
GZM  Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja, Sarajevu
IZDANJA HAD  Izdanja, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb
IZDANJA JAZU  Izdanja Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti
AGLOMERACIJSKO KASNOANTIČKO NASELJE
U UVALI MADONA NA OTOCJU BRIJUNI

Vlasta BEGOVIĆ, Ivančica SCHRUNK


Prva villa je sredinom 1. st. pr. Kr. preslojila druga villa rustica dimenzija 63 x 51 m, dok su dijelovi prve vili ostali u njenim substrukcijama. Druga villa rustica, građena preko prije opisanih struktura prve rustičke vili imala je znatno veće dimenzije i drugačiji raspored prostorija. Bila je tip kompanijske rimske vila građena na platformi (terasi) s podzidima kao villa Settefinestre, Cosa (Ager Cosanus), s prostorijama koje su na tri strane okruživale centralno dvorište, s visokim ogromnim zidom na četvrtoj strani koji je bio okrenut prema moru. Jedini nalaz koji je datira u tijeku 1. st. pr. Kr. odnosno 2. st. pr. Kr., te se vele u amfori, a odnosno u uvali Verige. Strukture koje su dodane u 1. do 2. st. posl. Kr. predstavljaju objekt s kolum s njene jugoistočne strane i nastambe za robove i radnike s sjeveroistočne strane vili. Početak 3. st. uvećanja se novi proizvodni pogoni za preradu maslina na rustičkoj vili. Oko vili izgrađuje se kasnoantičko naselje.

Strukture koje se u to vrijeme nalaze na lokalitetu okružuju u slobodnom rasporedu rustičku vili iz 1. st. pr. Kr. i povrse su u cijelini tek izgradnjom fortifikacija sredinom 5. st. koje nisu uključile sve gradnje u svoj areal. Morao je i prije toga postojati onaj faktor kohezije koji je strukturu na tom području pretvorio u naselje s ulicama, a to je izgradnja proizvodnih pogona koji se smještaju u dvorište rustičke vili i formiranje na Brijunima jedne od niza pomorskih baza na vitaralno važnom plovnom putu Jadranom. U razdoblju kraja 3. i tokem 4. st. dogodile su se izravne promjene koje možemo pratiti u nekoliko segmenta.

Elementi koji su kroz stoljeća od rimske villae rusticae stvorili naselje:
1. Nastambe za robove i radnike zaposlene na gradnji maritimne vile u uvali Verige, građeni, sjeverno od villae rusticae.
2. Nastambe za robove i radnike zaposlene na poljoprivrednim radovima
3. Izgradnja proizvodnih pogona - fullonica (specijalizirana radna snaga vidi se po grobnim prizomima na nekropolama - sarkofazi i zidani grobovi – 4. i 5. st.)
4. Izgradnja fortifikacija na kasnoantičkom naselju (druga pol. 5. st. i 6. st.)

Proizvodni pogoni i izgradnja fortifikacija oko naselja na Brijunima u kasnoj antič daju indikacije o nekim državnim ulaganjima na otočju. Evidencije državnog ulaganja mogle bi se prepoznati u promjeni proizvodnih djelatnosti u centralnom


Izgradnju u uvali Madona prije izgradnje fortifikacija pokazuju smjerovi rasprostiranja bedema koji formiraju nepravilni četverokut. Nepravilni oblik fortifikacija značajno pokazuje građevine koje su na ovom području bile prije izgradnje bedema. Fortifikacija su upotrijebljene ranije strukture tj. jake zidove onih objekata koji su tada bili ugrađeni u bedeme što se izvorno vidi na jugoistočnom dijelu uz kulu gdje se zid u tehnički opus isolomum vizualno odvaja od iza njega kasnije izgrađenog obrambenog zida. Na ovom području u vrijeme izgradnje fortifikacija nalazali su se velika villa rustica iz 1. st. pr. Kr., skromne izgradnje uz sjeverni zid građene u 1. st., objekt građen jugoistočno od vile datiran prema arheološkom materijalu u 1./2. st. (Mirabell Robert 1936.) i objekt građen sjeverozapadno od vile koji odaje kasnoantički stil gradnje, izgrađen svakako prije 452. g. kada se pretpostavlja da je počela izgradnja fortifikacija naselja. Fortifikacijski četverokut bio je dimenzija 110,30 (jugozapadni bedem) x 76,50 (jugoistočni) x 89,40 (sjeverozapadni) x 124 m (sjeveroistočni). Pet ulaza vodilo je u naselje. Ulazi su različitih dimenzija - sjeveroistočna vrata 2,4 m širine i manja sjeveroistočna 1,7 m širine. Ispred njih nalaze se ulazne kalne, četverostotčevi tločasti i dvostruki ulazovi (propugnaculi). Ulice se formiraju uz rustičku vilu s njene sjeverozapadne, sjeveroistočne i jugoistočne strane, a sjeveroistočna obala (pokazuje) i nastambe za radnike građene uz sjeveroistočni zid vile. Također pretpostavljamo prema objektu s lezenima građenom južno od ulaza u vilu, da je prebivalište obliko vile i pristup u dvorište postao ulica, a ne naktirati prolaz.
Začetak naselja je u gradnjama nastamba za radnike i robove uz sjeveroistočni žid villae rusticae nastao u 1. st. u vrijeme građenja maritimne vile u uvali Verige – radno naselje (slučne nastambe nalazimo na vili Settefinestre u Ager Cosanus blizu Cose u Italiji (Etruria Romana).

U 2. i 3. st. događa se tipična izgradnja ruralnog naselja uz rimsku vilu - velike vile transformiraju se u agrikulturna sela (Christie 2006.). Krajem 3. i u 4. st. fullonica ima radnike i obrtnike specijalizirane za pojedine procese proizvodnje. Dio ekonomske baze ovog posjeda su također solane i kamenolomi. Specijalizirana radna snaga i njihov status vidi se u priložima s nekropolom (sa sankofazima i zidanim grobovima). Naselje dobiva prve fortifikacije u 5. st. U bizantskom razdoblju fortifikacije kasnoantičkog naselja bile su pojačane pod kontrolom državnih graditelja i izvedene prema bizantskim pravilima gradnje. Na prostoru veličine cca 95 x 130 m izgrađen je nepravilni četverokut jakih obrambenih zidova debljine 2,6 m, pojačan na uglovima do debljine 2,9 m, s pet ulaza, dvokrakim stepeništima koja su vodila na vrh bedema i tornjem na jugoistočnom dijelu. Naselje s obrambenim zidinama, koje je nastalo sukcesivnom izgradnjom područja uz veliku rustičku vilu, u turbulentnim vremenima kasne antike postaje zona pomorske baze na vitalno važnom plovnom putu Jadranom, a kasnije u 6. st. bizantska vojna utvrda i refugij. Bitno je različita slika naselja u 4. i 5. st. u komparaciji s bizantskom utvrdom izgrađenom na naselju u 6. st.