

# Roman Villas in Istria and Dalmatia, Part III: Maritime Villas

## *Rimske vile u Istri i Dalmaciji III - Maritimne vile*

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*Our topographic and architectural studies of maritime villas in different geographic zones of Istria and Dalmatia have led to inquiries into development, function and organization of the villas. The chronology of the first phases is clear only in rare cases, but there is indication that the Italian development of coastal villas into true maritime villas is parallel in the eastern Adriatic region. Villa plans are indicative of the social structure of the proprietors and their economic and intellectual life. However, the distinction between leisure villas and those that were centers of a productive estate was difficult in the absence of clear indicators of production and storage facilities. In late antiquity, the economic and strategic function, especially of the villas on the shipping routes, was essential.*

*Key words: Roman villa, maritime villa, Roman architecture, east Adriatic coast*

*Istraživanje topografije i arhitekture maritimnih vila u različitim geografskim zonama rimske Istre i Dalmacije omogućilo je uvid u njihov razvoj, funkciju i organizaciju. Kronologija početnih faza je jasna samo u rijetkim slučajevima, ali ima indikacija da je razvoj italskih priobalnih vila u prave maritimne vile imao paralela i na istočnom Jadranu. Građevinski planovi vila upućuju na socijalnu strukturu vlasnika i na njihov ekonomski i intelektualni život. Teško je utvrditi razliku između vila za odmor i onih koje su bile središta proizvodnih posjeda ako nema za to jasnih indikacija, kao što su pogoni za proizvodnju i skladištenja. U kasnoj antici, ekonomska i strateška funkcija je bila najbitnija, osobito vila na plovnim putevima.*

*Ključne riječi: rimske vile, maritimne vile, rimska arhitektura, istočna obala Jadranskog mora*

The recent, comprehensive study of Xavier Lafon has defined the historical phenomenon of the *villa maritima*, primarily in its original territory on the Tyrrhenian coast. Lafon considers maritime only those villas that exhibit architecture on the shoreline and/or in the direct contact with the sea. Any other villas, even with the view of the sea and up to 3 km distant from a shore, Lafon labels as coastal villas or “villas littorales.” Such coastal villas on the productive estates of the Roman aristocracy were the first stage and had, in his opinion, an essential role in the development of monumental villas, which were a crucial step in the birth of true maritime villas (LAFON, 2001, 3-4). The political, economic, and ideological conditions were ripe for the birth of this architectural phenomenon in Italy during the second quarter of the first century BC. Maritime villas became prestige projects, removed from production sites. The sea became an internal, desired space, embraced by floating porticoes. The architecture opened to the landscape. The topography of the Tyrrhenian coast with rocky promontories and protected bays, but also its mythological geography were together conducive to imaginative and

exclusive architectural designs, which took off in the Augustan period. The eastern Adriatic coast has many characteristics similar to the Tyrrhenian coast (Fig. 1).

The political change brought by the Roman colonization in the last years of Caesar's life caused general demographic and settlement transformations. As Illyricum became the frontier zone, economic and political opportunities expanded. Agricultural intensification of cash crops, wine and olive oil, and exploitation of stone and salt caused the rapid transformation of the landscape and society, both in the urban and rural contexts.

The patterns of transformation in Istria and the villas on the island of Brioni in particular have been the subject of our study for some years now. One type of rural architecture that emerged in the Augustan period, the time of unprecedented economic and political growth, was the maritime villa. Just like in Italy, it was created from surplus income and it displayed the socio-political stature of the elite. Lafon included most of the Istrian maritime villas in his catalog, but none from the Adriatic region south of Istria.

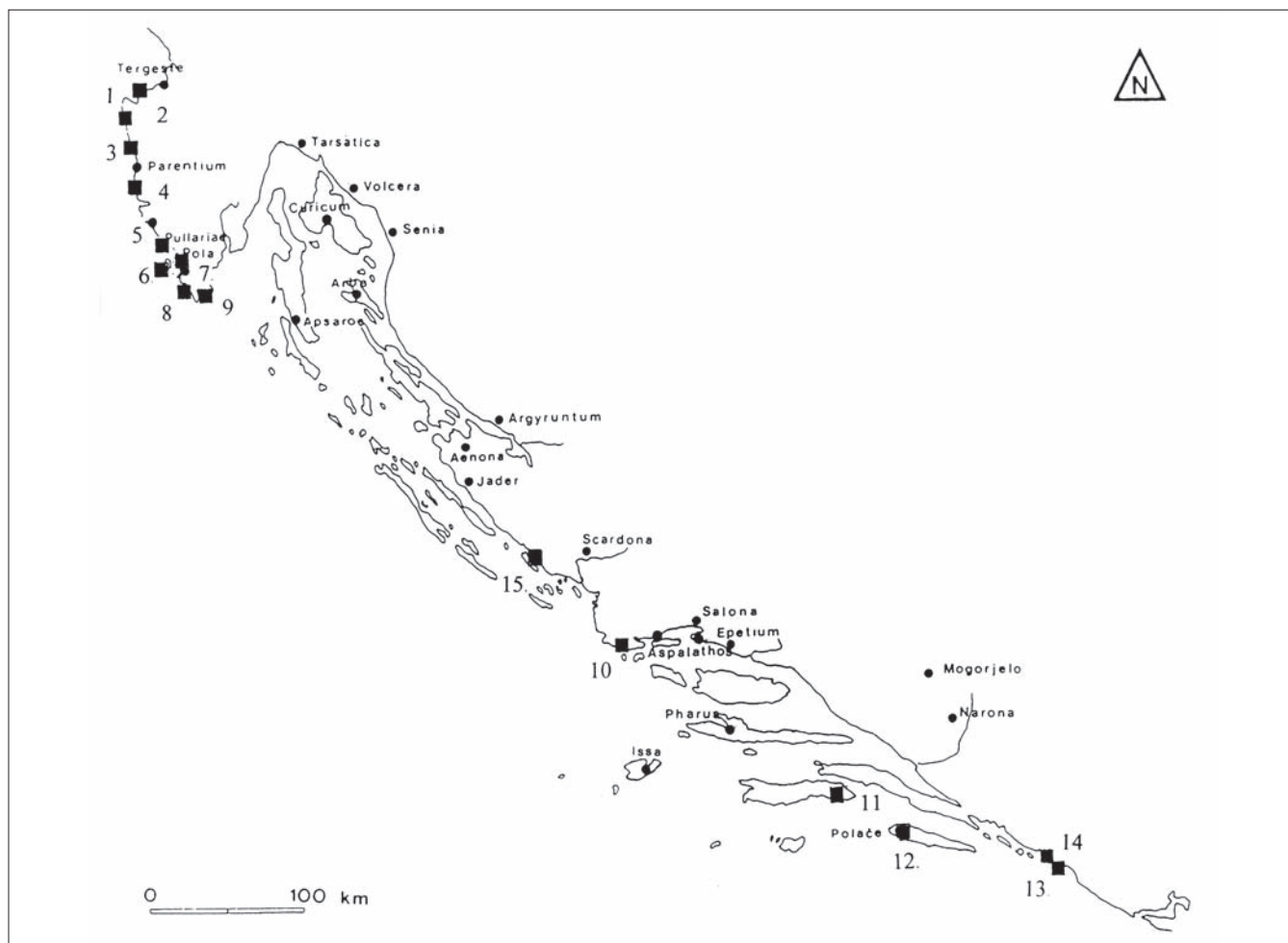


Fig. 1 Map of the eastern Adriatic coast with the sites of maritime villas

1. Fornače, 2. Katoro, 3. Loron, 4. Sorna, 5. Barbariga, 6. Brijuni, 7. Val Bandon, 8. Banjole, 9. Vižula, 10. Stari Trogir, 11. Lumbarda, 12. Polače, 13. Sustjepan, 14. Tiha, 15. Murter

Sl. 1. Karta istočne jadranske obale s položajem maritimnih vila  
1. Fornače, 2. Katoro, 3. Loron, 4. Sorna, 5. Barbariga, 6. Brijuni, 7. Val Bandon, 8. Banjole, 9. Vižula, 10. Stari Trogir, 11. Lumbarda, 12. Polače, 13. Sustjepan, 14. Tiha, 15. Murter

There are numerous villa sites on the coast and islands of ancient Dalmatia, but in the present state of excavation and publication their study is more challenging. Our survey of topography and architecture of maritime villas in Dalmatia led us to a comparative study with Istria and basically with Lafon's pattern of development in Italy. Augustus annexed Istria to Regio X, *Venetia et Histria*, between 18 and 12 BC. As part of Italy the Istrian properties became freed of taxes levied on properties in the provinces. In the proliferation of the Istrian amphorae Dressel 6B we can certainly detect intensification of olive growing and oil production in Istria beginning in the late Augustan period, and it would make sense that the boost came from the change in the status of Istria. Most importantly, Augustus himself would have had direct interest in the Istrian economy if we accept Starac's arguments that imperial estates were located there. He could also have given land grants and leases as rewards for loyalty and service (STARAC, 1995, 139-140). Senatorial investments in Istrian cash crops and access to the new markets in Noricum and Pannonia (both military and civilian) were tied to imperial policies which, accor-

ding to Tassaux (TASSAUX 1982, 265), favored North Italy and Istria. In fact there may have been a broader economic program, as D'Arms credits Augustus with the same policies in Campania (D'ARMS, 1970, 82). Imperial policies and elite economic interests went hand in hand in the development of maritime villas in Istria, and they would have created economies of scale for a few members of the emperor's inner circle.

The map of rural sites published by R. Matijašić in his book on economy of Roman Istria shows a densely populated and fully exploited landscape (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998). Using a simple aerial distance in kilometers, which is considerably shorter than the coastal line itself, one finds an average density of almost one coastal villa per kilometer on the western coast. However, only nine true maritime villas have been archaeologically explored. Five are in the *ager* of Pola, two in the *ager* of Parentium and two further north, in the *ager* of Tergeste.

The centuriation of the colonial territories, established interior and coastal properties, which in Dalmatia also extended to the neighboring islands.

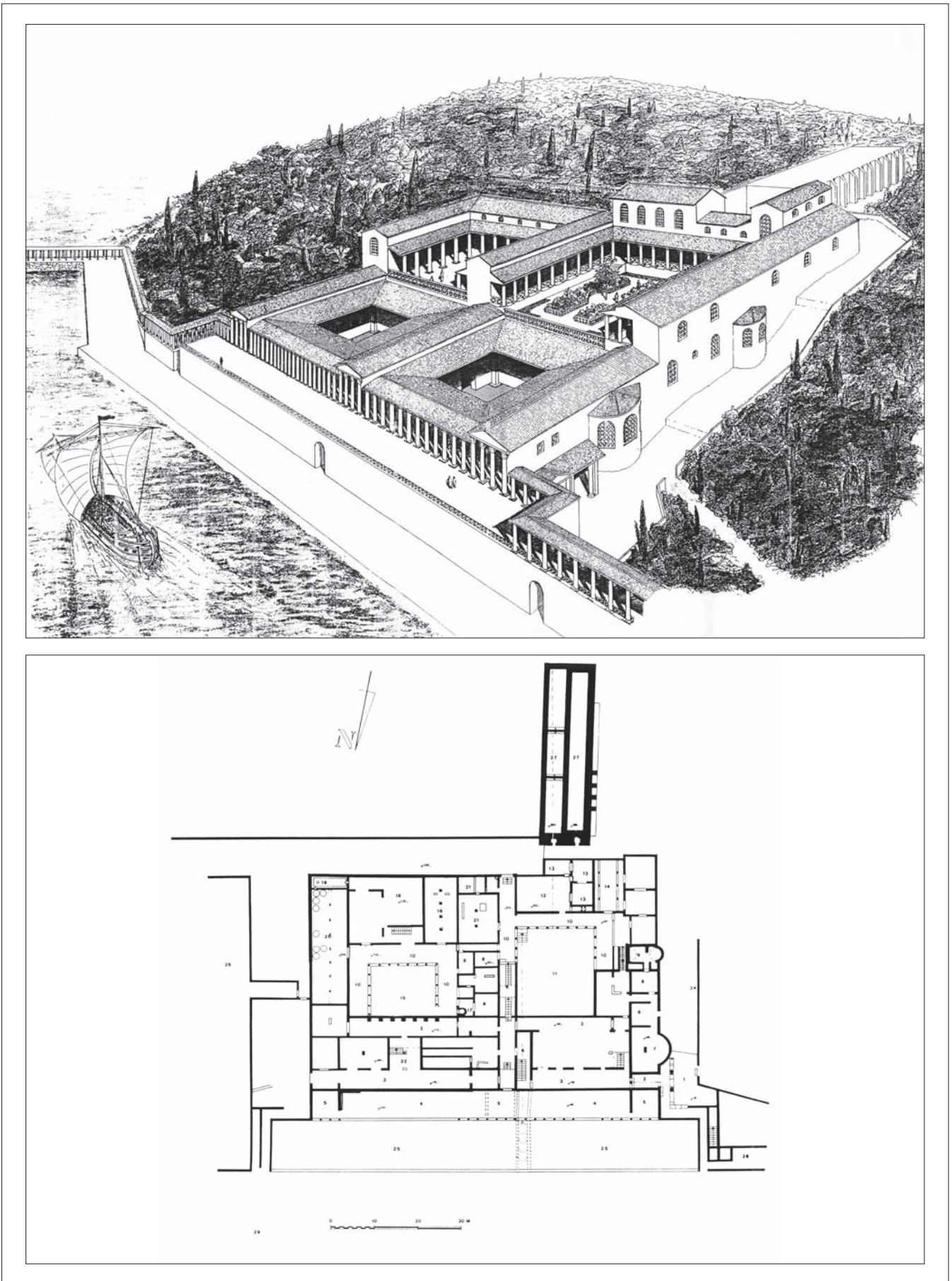


Fig. 2 Brijuni coastal villa and residential area reconstruction (BEGOVIĆ DVORŽAK, 1990)

Sl. 2. Rekonstrukcija i plan priobalne vile na Brijunima (BEGOVIĆ DVORŽAK, 1990.)

Of the three types of coastal properties with maritime villas that Lafon identified in Latium, we find his second type of discontinued properties with a hierarchy of villas, the most evident in Istria. One villa, generally located in the most favorable landscape – in a protected bay or on a panoramic promontory – becomes the focus of architectural embellishment and develops into a true maritime villa. While the building of the first coastal villas in Istria happened in the political context of Caesarian colonization and for the purpose of intensive oil and wine production, the development of the true maritime villas did not occur until the growth of an economy, especially an economy of scale in the early imperial period. This economy and the names of senatorial landowners are documented on amphora and tile stamps and on inscriptions (TASSAUX, 2003, 92-100). The economy was centered on the colonies and the known maritime villas are grouped in their vicinity, an easy day trip away.

In an area about 4-5 nautical miles north of Pola, there are two large sites, one on the island of Veli Brijun, other, just across, on the coast at Valbandon. On the top of this triangle at Fazana happened to be the largest Istrian amphora workshop, owned by the senatorial family of Laecanii.

Maritime villa on Brijuni, the most elaborate maritime villa known on the eastern Adriatic and probably owned by the Laecanii, together with the entire island (TASSAUX 1982, 246; BEZECZKY, 1998). We need to bring it up here as the only site where the late republican to early imperial building phases are clear (Fig. 2). In a picturesque bay of Verige, we see a “Catonian” villa with a *pars rustica* and *pars urbana*, transformed into a terraced *maritima*, with a new *domus* and monumental porticoes touching the sea. The original villa was a combination of Lafon’s Type A with a central courtyard and Type B (LAFON, 2001, 30), a platform villa with a frontal portico (Fig. 3).

Eventually, in the course of the first century, the entire bay was built with monumental amenities, covering over 6 hectares (GNIRS, 1901-1915) The original *pars rustica* remained operational, while another large agricultural complex was established on the other side of the bay. Villa contained a whole range of long colonnades open to the sea and a peristyle courtyard around which buildings are grouped. The buildings served different functions - residential, religious (temples of Neptun and Venus, and *nymphaeum*), library, *palaestra*, bath, all interconnected by colonnades and pergolas A semicircular colonnade follows the shoreline which had a stonebuilt waterfront (BEGOVIĆ DVORŽAK, 1990, 98). The villa encompasses three varied kinds of landscape: a naturally sheltered bay, slopes of a three hills and gentle surrounding meadows. A rectangular *piscina* in a way connects the monumental baths with that production area. Contrary to Lafon’s observations for most of the early imperial maritime villas in Latium and Campania, we do not see here that production was moved away when monumental parts were added. Display agriculture and pisciculture remained an integral part of this high-power retreat (SCHRUNK, BEGOVIĆ, 2000, 257).

The villa in the deep bay of Valbandon was partially excavated early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and only new excavation could clear its chronology and the relationship between the two parts on the opposite side of the bay (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998, 122). Imaginative architectural forms and the finds of high-quality decoration, including a floor in *opus scutulatum* indicate a luxury

residence. In the southern complex, almost all the residential areas were decorated with mosaics (Fig. 4). Two exedras in the northern part of the bay are decorated with black mosaic with crustae. Behind them lies the northern wing of the residential part. Alongside the mosaics are the remains of decorations of marble plates *opus sectile*. Olive oil production has been confirmed in the area by the finds of several press fragments, but the relationship with the villa cannot be confirmed. There was evidence that the inner part of the bay was enclosed to form a *piscina*, which was fed by a creek that flowed into it. The complex is dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century. There is also some renovation of mosaics from the late antiquity (VERZAR BASS, 1986, 656). The remains of the *fullonica* that belonged to the estate extend as far as Cristo Point. Further assessment of the productive or leisurely function of this villa must await full excavation.

Further up the coast, at Barbariga, 4.5 nautical miles north of the *figlina* in Fazana, was located the largest known oil-producing estate in the early imperial Istria. Of the four production sites located within the 2 square km, one had 5 presses, another 20. In the bay Porto delle Collone near Barbariga the latter site contained remains of a *fullonica* and on Punta Cissana (Punta Barbariga) ground murex shells dating from late Antiquity had been founded (SCHWALB, 1902, 2).

A maritime villa, sprawling over a promontory, seemed to have been the luxury residence of this estate (SCHWALB, 1902, 21). The villa plan on the screen shows three interconnected buildings ending in a mole and the harbor area. The oldest part of the villa is the northern wing. Most of the pavements are white with two black framing borders, while the rest are black with one or two white borders. The first building may well be the original platform villa with a frontal portico, comparable to Lafon’s Type B, to which prestige buildings with mosaics were added (Fig. 5). The villa is dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century. The peristyle was left open to a panoramic view on the seafront and both facades were embellished by monumental stairways. The row of rooms situated on the three side of the peristyle contains black and white mosaics with geometrical motifs and polychrome mosaics. Among the remains are two preserved fragments of frescos that are ascribed to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Pompeian style (MEDER, 2003., 44) (Fig. 6). The thermal facility also belongs to the later construction phase. This site was excavated early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and re-excavation is needed to clarify the phases. There was no evidence of oil production or storage in the villa. It may have been moved away when the villa was expanded.

The land south of Pula forms the southern tip of Istria. It is low, with promontories and deep bays. The resources are stone, agriculture and sheltered bays. The quarries of good limestone are located from north of Banjole to Premantura. The evidence of oil production was found at five sites, including the partially excavated maritime villa of modest size in a cove at Banjole (on the right screen). The building phases are not known, but the plan reveals an original farm with a frontal portico expanded toward the sea (Fig. 7).

East of Banjole, by the present-day town of Medulin, the largest maritime villa in this area, and perhaps the largest one in Istria, occupied most of the promontory of Vizula.

The promontory is located in a deep bay, which offers safe anchorage and protection from all winds. Crossing the open

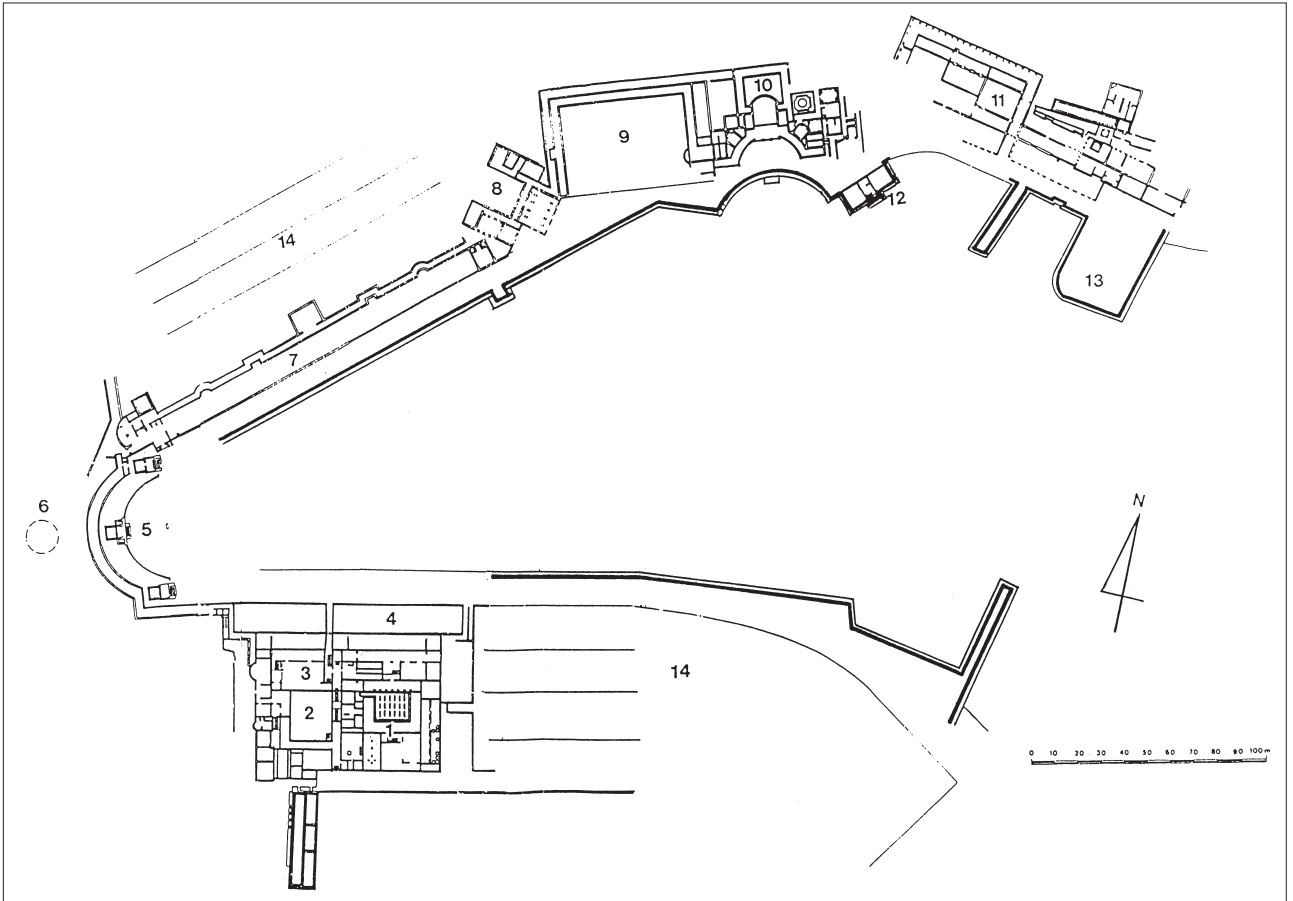
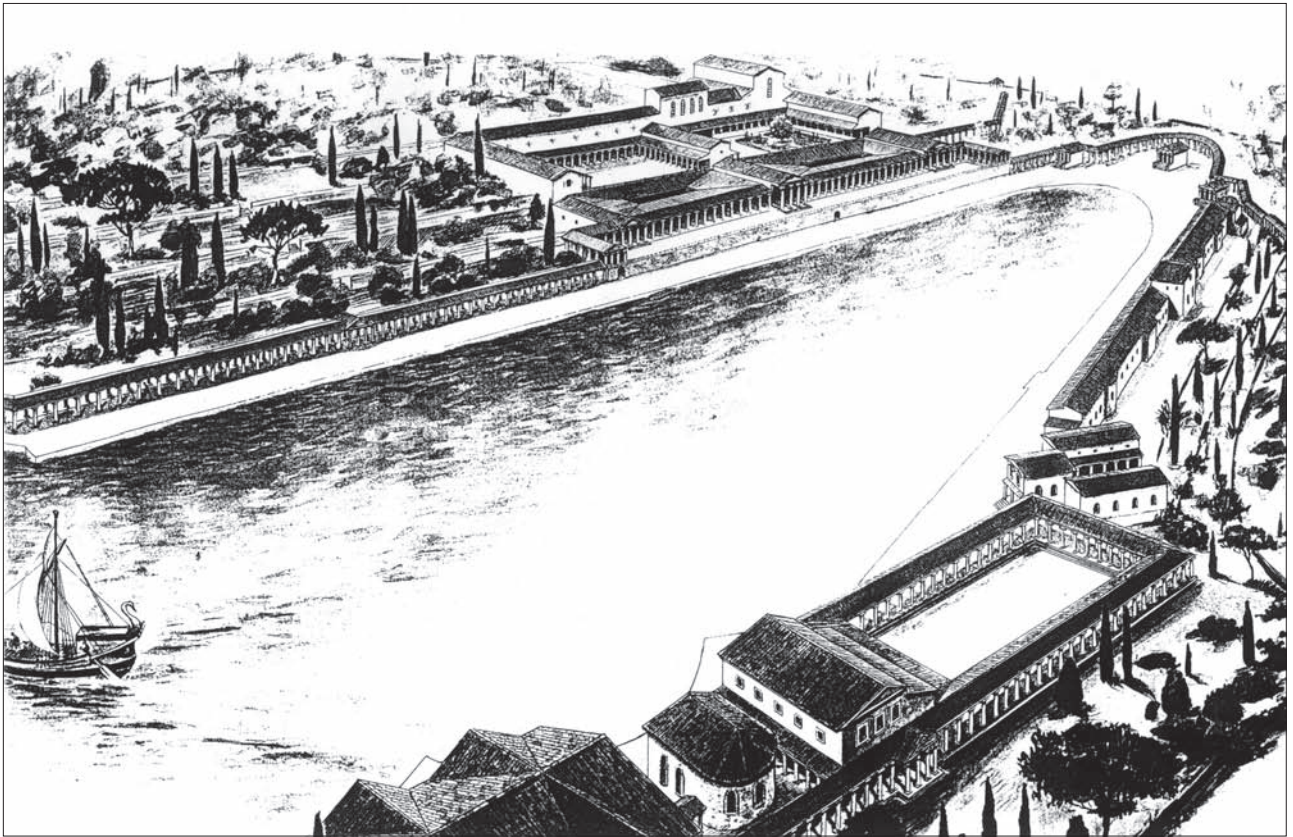


Fig. 3 Brijuni plan of the maritime villa and ideal reconstruction (BEGOVIĆ DVORŽAK, 1994)

Sl. 3. Rekonstrukcija i plan martimne vile na Brijunima (BEGOVIĆ DVORŽAK, 1994.)

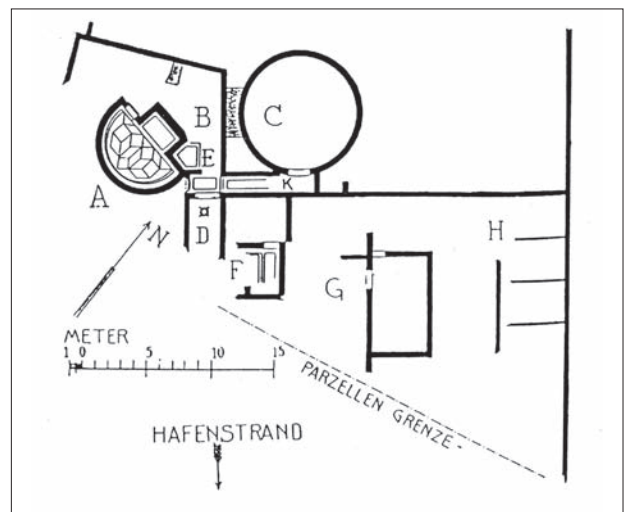
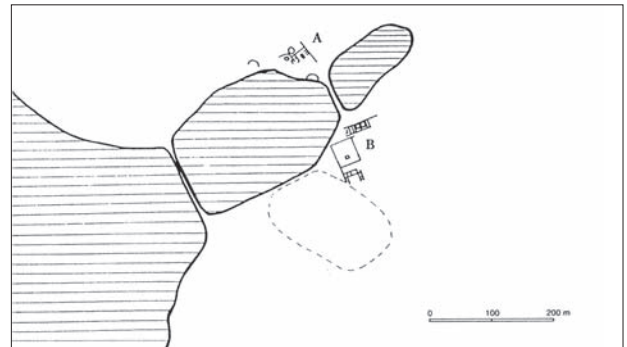
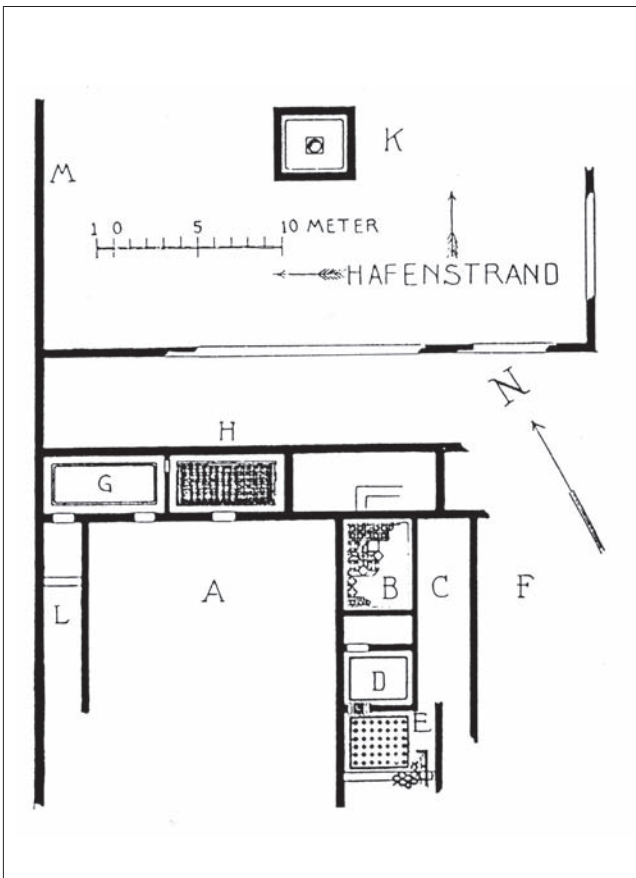


Fig. 4 Valbandon maritime villa plan and photo (GNIRS, 1911)

Sl. 4. Maritimna vila u Valbandonu (GNIRS, 1911.)

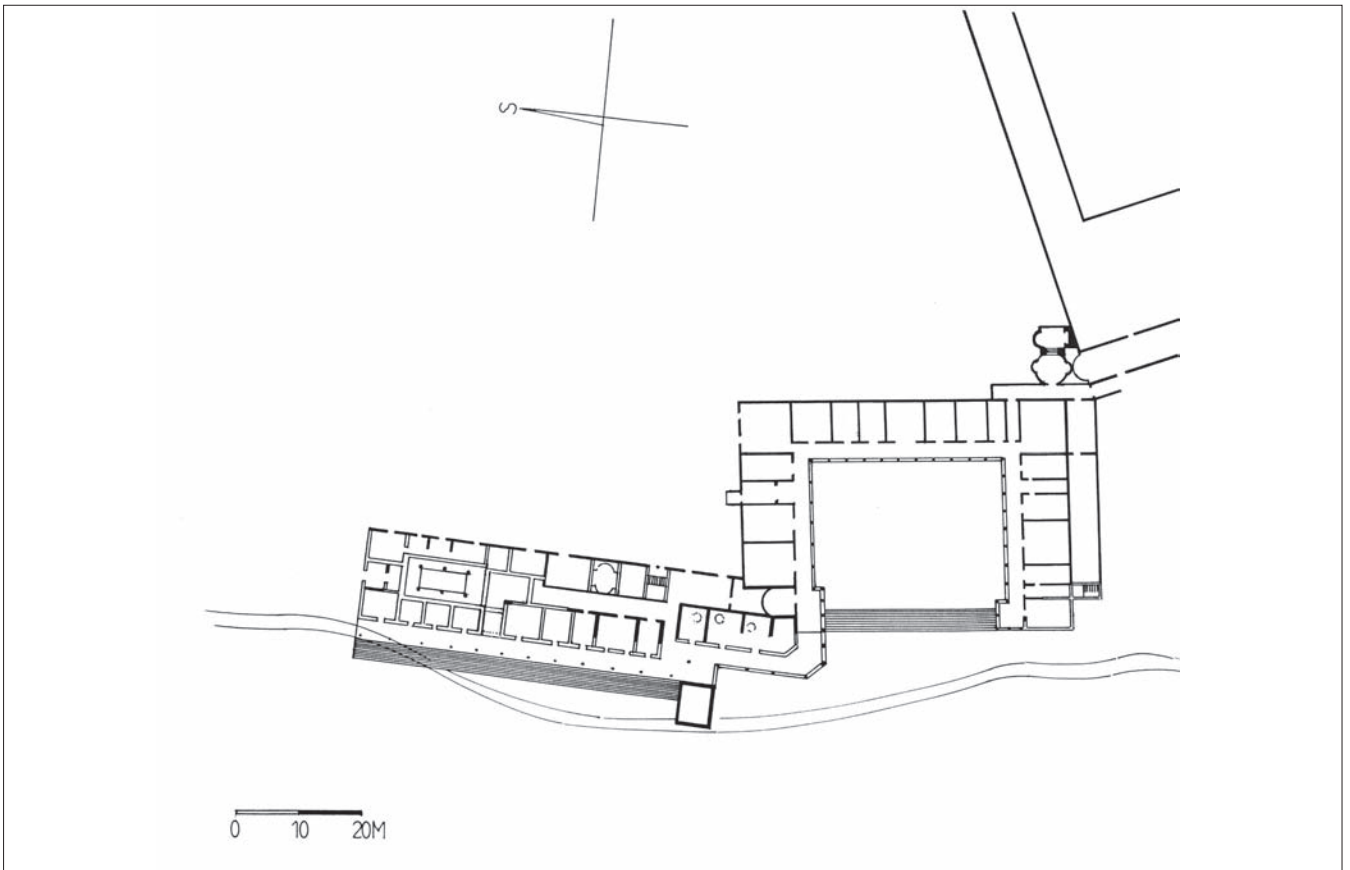


Fig. 5 *Barbariga coastal villa and maritime villa plan (SCHWALB, 1902)*

Sl. 5. Plan vile u Barbarigi (SCHWALB, 1902.)

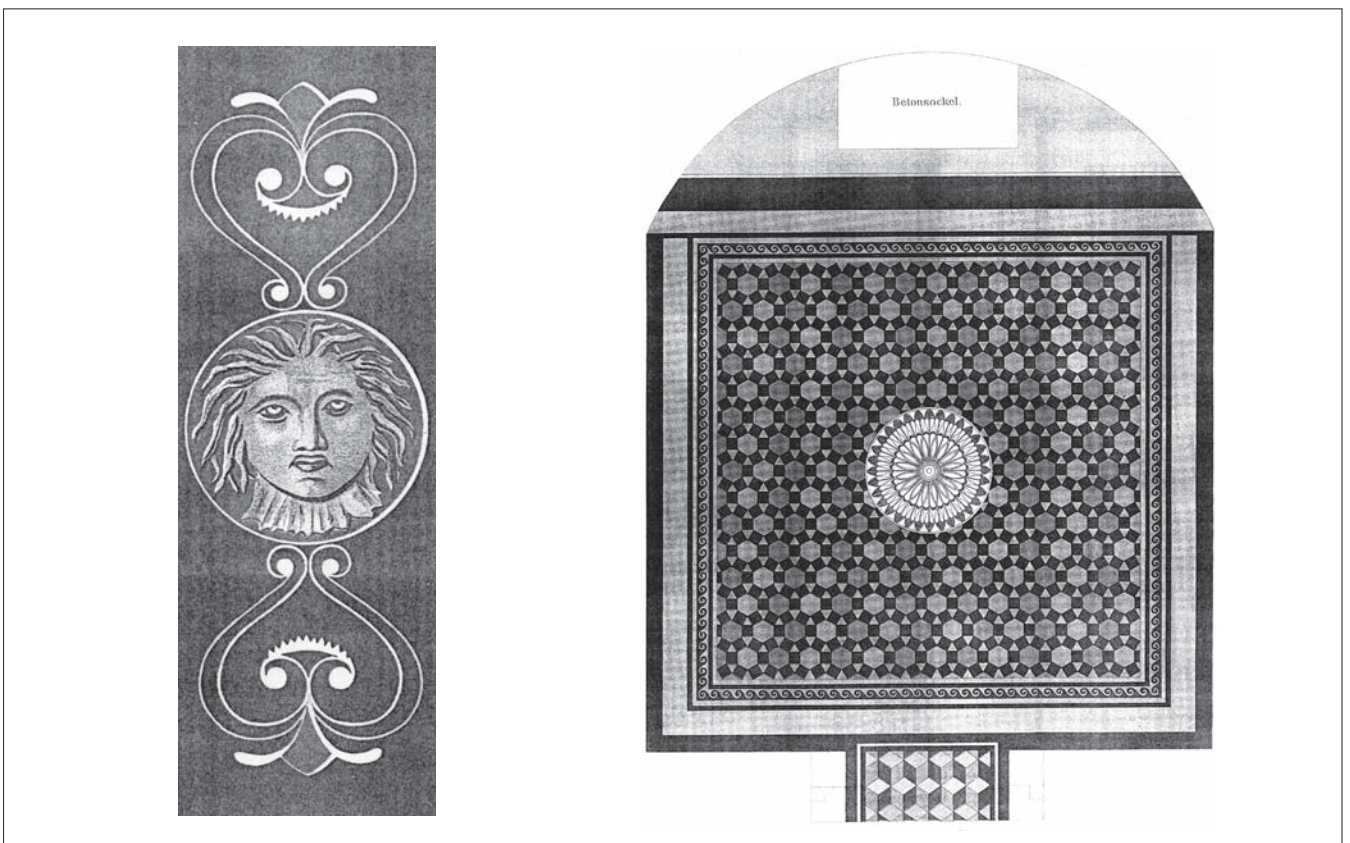


Fig. 6 *Barbariga mosaics and frescoes (SCHWALB, 1902)*

Sl. 6. Mozaik i freska iz vile u Barbarigi (SCHWALB, 1902.)

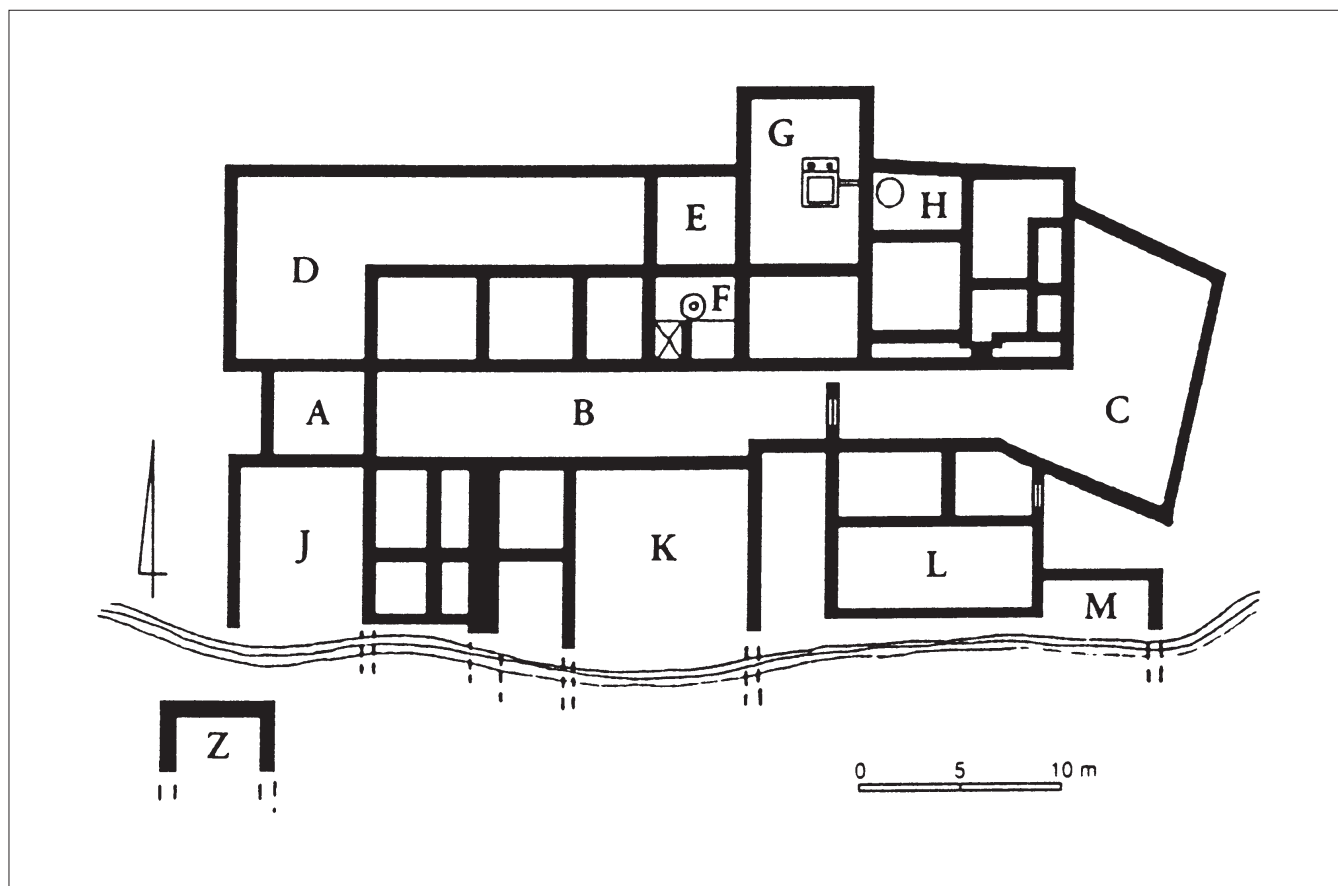


Fig. 7 Maritime villa on the bay of Banjole plan (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998)

Sl. 7. Maritima vila u zaljevu Banjole (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998.)

sea between the tip of Istria and the island of Unije is very dangerous under the north wind (bora). Ships sailing up or down the Adriatic need to wait in a protected area during such conditions. Fleets would winter in such safe bays. The villa had a panoramic position and would have had a visual control of the straits leading into the bay.

Since 1995, the remains on the promontory and submerged structures have been surveyed. Several small areas have been excavated. Visible walls stretch for a kilometer along the shores and some are now submerged. Various buildings are arranged at different angles. The whole villa, built on three terraces, covered about 10 hectares (DŽIN, 1995, 75, 77). The size and layout with dispersed structures are comparable to the imperial villa at Pausilypon by Naples, which covers 9 hectares (LAFON 2001, 406-407, Fig. 136). Portions of long porticoes and loggias with mosaic floors have been uncovered, like on the photo here, at a point where a monumental stairway connects terraces (Fig. 8). Finds of mosaics, marble and statuary indicate considerable luxury. Small finds date the complex from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Some investigated structures showed partitioning in late antiquity, perhaps to house an increased population, possibly military.

We shall now turn to two maritime villas in the territory of Parentium, present-day Porec.

Two nautical miles south of the city, on a narrow promontory of Sorna, today within the tourist complex called Green Lagoon, a large villa (150 x 130 m) was excavated in the 1960's.

The villa straddles the promontory and long porticoes open to the wide vistas on all three sides. The axial symmetry of the two peristyle complexes indicates a unified design, not a two-phased development (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998, 126). A large *triclinium* is centrally located at the highest point of the promontory. The light comes from the peristyles on each side. In the east bay close to the sea there is the bath (Fig. 9). The rooms decorated in polychrome mosaic, and wall paintings dated to between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century have been excavated. The structure in the lower left corner was added in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, according to the excavator. There were no signs of agricultural activity in the excavated areas or in the vicinity. Here we may truly have an imperial-period villa built for the purpose of *otium*. In the second phase, in the center of the building, a small rectangular construction was put up with lateral additions, very likely a church.

Four nautical miles north of Parentium, a large, productive estate was spread over two bays Santa Marina and Cervar and a promontory between them. In the bay of Cervar-Porat, was located the second largest amphora workshop in Istria, active from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (JURKIĆ GIRARDI, 1979). It also produced *terra sigillata* and tiles early in the first century. The senatorial owners, Cornelius Sisenna, Statilius Taurus and Calvia Crispinilla, are confirmed by stamps on *sigillata, amphorae* and tiles. Under Domitian, this workshop as well as the one owned by the Laecanii became imperial property. The fate of the other properties of these families is unknown.



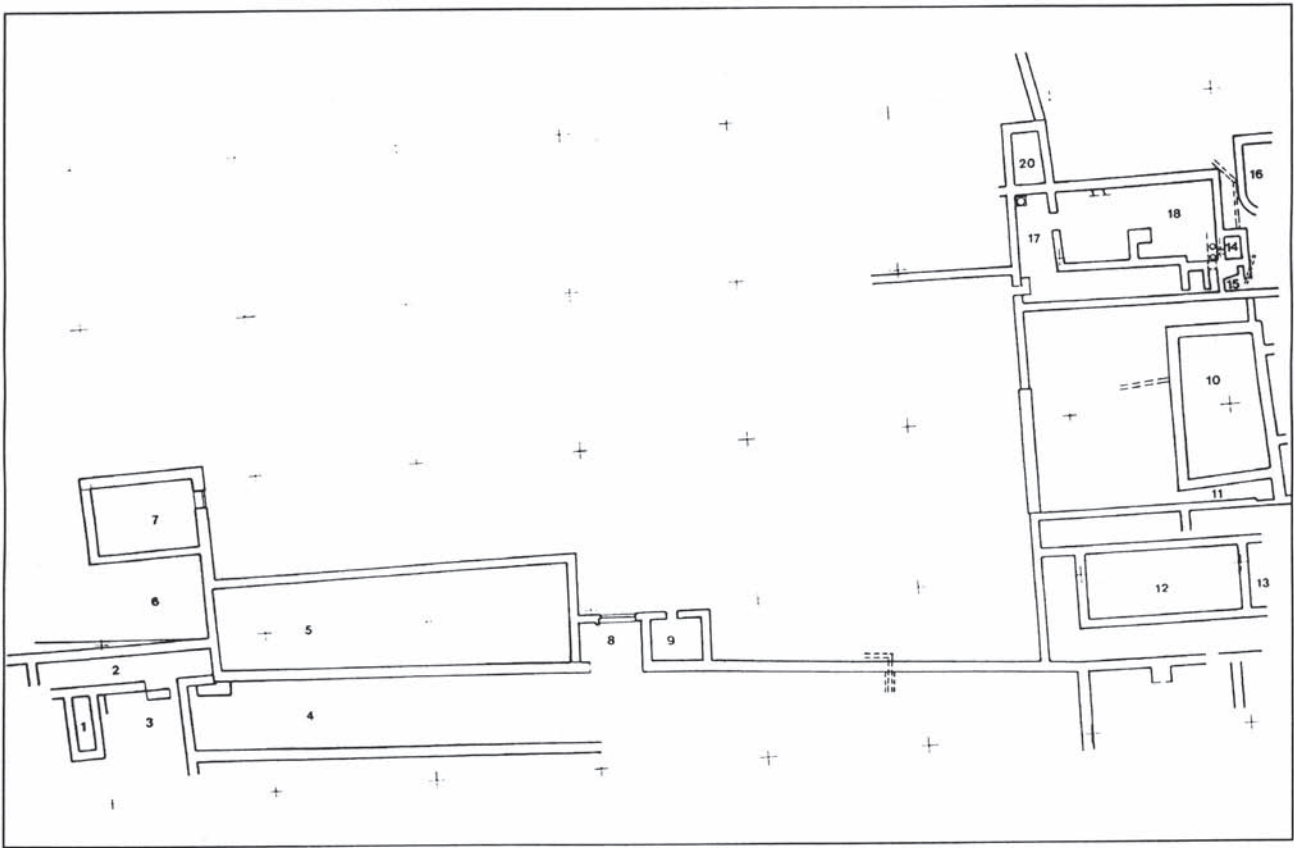


Fig. 8 Maritime villa on the peninsula of Vižula - plan and photo (DŽIN, 1995)

Sl. 8. Maritimna vila na poluotoku Vižula (DŽIN, 1995.)

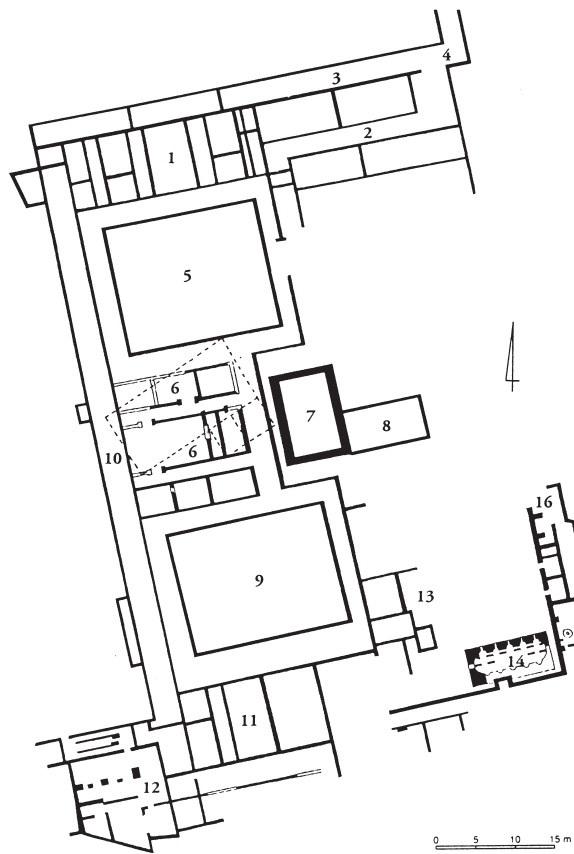


Fig. 9 *Sorna maritime villa - plan and photo* (JURKIĆ GIRARDI, 1981)

Sl. 9. Maritimna vila u Sorni (JURKIĆ GIRARDI, 1981.)

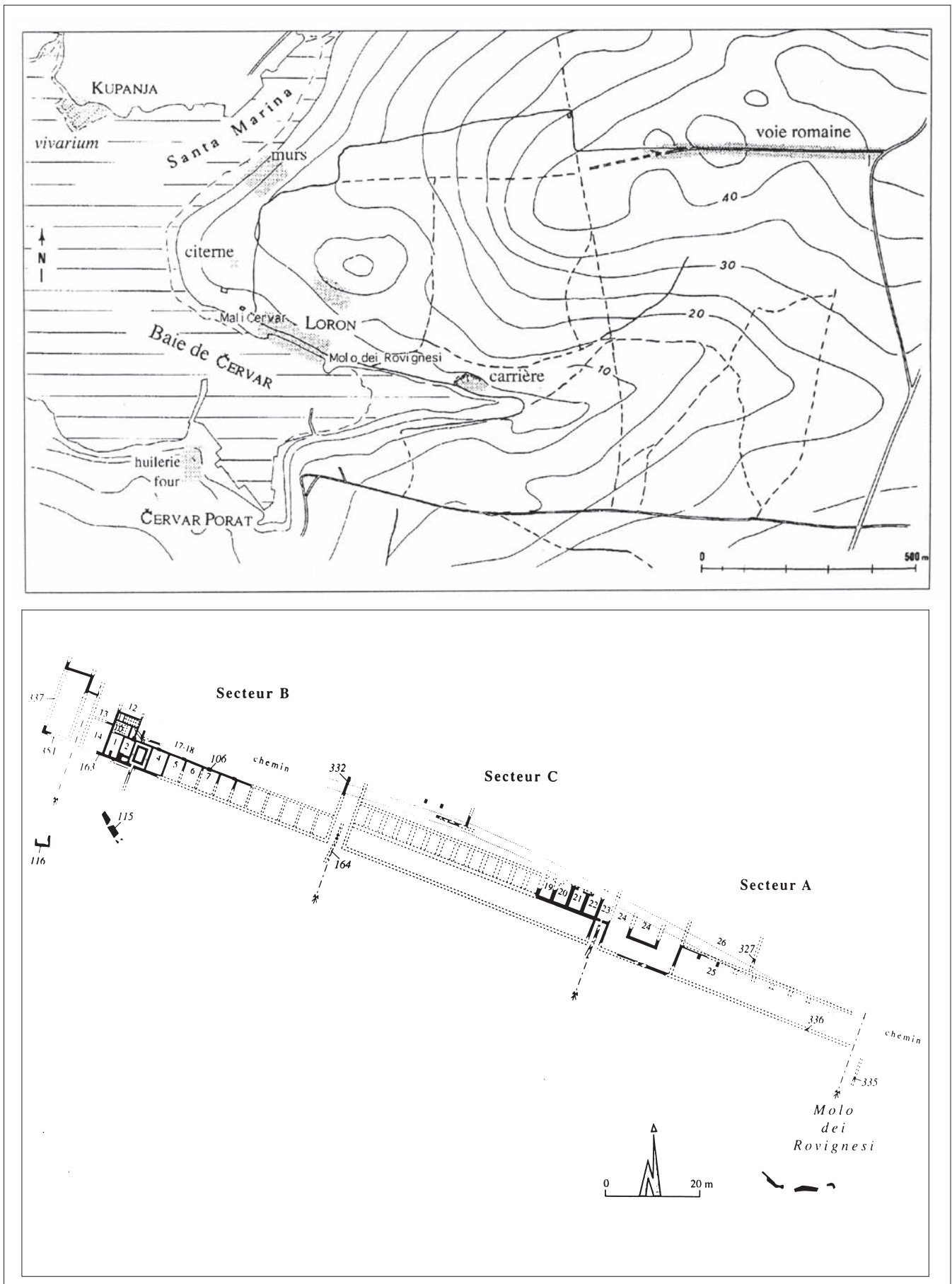


Fig. 10 Loron maritime villa - part of the plan and map of the site (TASSAUX, MATIJAŠIĆ, KOVAČIĆ, 2001)

Sl. 10. Maritimna vila u Loronu - plan nalazišta (TASSAUX, MATIJAŠIĆ, KOVAČIĆ, 2001.)

It is possible that their maritime villas also fell into imperial hands. Two fragments of black and white mosaic, clearly parts of a large area, deriving from the locality of Loron are now exhibited in Poreč museum. The framing border, which enters the field of the mosaic, a white ivy leaf on a dark background in the corner of the composition, and the two strand white guilloche on a dark background are typical motifs of mosaics of the Flavian era, at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (MEDER, 2003, 29). Kilns and buildings with oil presses were excavated in the 1970's on the south side of the bay.

Recent Franco-Croatian excavations on the north side of the bay, at Loron, have uncovered further production installations. A structure with a long row of rooms on the shore and more structures on the slope, one with a hypocaust have been excavated so far (TASSAUX, MATIJAŠIĆ, KOVAČIĆ, 2001, 89, 312) (Fig. 10). A maritime villa connected with this production site has been located at Loron, but is awaiting excavation. Walking for over 500 meters along the curving shoreline and on the slopes of the promontory between the bays, one can see evidence of dispersed buildings constructed both at sea level and on terraces. A *piscina* has been located at the end of the second bay. The site has been recently published.

The first maritime villa in the territory of the Roman colony of Tergeste (present-day Trieste), covered a low promontory, today called Katoro - golden house (Ca d'oro - *domus aurea*) and reached into two bays on either side. The position is panoramic with vistas on all sides. The site is only partially excavated. Some architectural remains of a high level were found on the top of the promontory - peristyle, row of the rooms, massive terraces, and walls in *opus isodomum* technique (Fig. 11). The building may be dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century. The baths were located in the north St. Margaret's bay, while a large, semicircular *piscina* with compartments takes up the south bay (GLUŠČEVIĆ, BOLŠEC FERRI, 2003, 116). The finds of architectural decoration, including marble revetments, polychrome mosaics and frescoes indicate a high level of luxury. The villa was built for the purpose of *otium*. No evidence of agricultural production has been found. The most important result of the present excavations was the discovery of a late Roman cemetery to the east of the baths, but still inside the villa complex. One tomb with two burials has monumental architecture and contained imported ceramic and glass vessels, a silver bracelet, a fish hook and a bronze coin of emperor Diocletian. Monumental tomb with fine glass and pottery in *terminus post quem* end of 3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century were found near the bath on site Tiola (BOLŠEC FERRI, 2003). Clearly, the baths lost their function in late Antiquity and were abandoned or perhaps became a Christian chapel, with an adjacent cemetery. Such developments are not uncommon in luxury villas in Istria and elsewhere in the late Roman Empire. The tomb was covered with stamped roof tiles of the first century date, further indication of substantial changes in the villa and robbing of building material. Three tiles had the stamp of P. Clodius Quirinalis, prefect of the fleet at Ravenna at the time of emperor Nero and a senatorial owner of estates in the Triestine territory. He was most likely the owner of the luxury maritime villa at Barcola by Trieste, where many of his tile stamps were found (FONTANA, 1993). It is not impossible that he was also the proprietor and builder of the Katoro villa.

The second maritime villa in the territory of the colony of Tergeste is Fornace near Piran. Fornace is an old toponym for the place located in the neighbourhood of Bernardin, where a Gothic monastery of St. Bernard of Siena used to stand and where a Roman tombstone was found. De Franceschi associates the name Fornace with a brickworks that supposedly stood on that spot (DE FRANCESCHI, 1924, 260). Archaeological remains are situated in a valley which forms a natural amphitheatre of the shore. A large part of the archaeological site was probably destroyed during the construction of the Sellveti soap factory in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Morteani, foundations of Roman structures with mosaics, coins and pottery fragments were discovered on the spot where buildings of the former factory are seen today (MORTEANI, 1885, 365). Archaeological test excavations revealed three walls running north-south underlying 0,70 m deep alluvial deposit. Two walls were built in the *opus reticulatum* technique, whereas the third, later wall was built in the *opus incertum* style. The large amount of shells and snails found in a dump among the walls indicate *fullonica*. Archaeological remains from a uniform layer indicate the site was inhabited from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC till the late antiquity. The fragments of pottery (*terra sigillata*), glass and metal are of a great level (STOKIN, 1992, 79-84) (Fig. 12).

Lafon mentioned some other maritime villas south of Tergeste - Barcola, Jernejeva draga, Valdoltra (Ankaran), Bolnisnica, Zisterna, Malija, and probably Simonov zaljev - today in Italy and Slovenia (LAFON, 2001, 454-458). And on the territory of Croatia - San Giovanni della Cornetta, Punta Molin, San Lorenzo di Daila, Tar Valletta, San Eleuterio, Orseno, Val Salma, Molin Blas (LAFON, 2003, 458-459).

Our research in the Adriatic region south of Istria showed a different picture. First, the area had a different political and economic position in the Roman state. It remained the provincial territory of Illyricum, which Augustus removed from the senatorial provinces and established as an imperial province. There is considerably less documentary or literary evidence for senatorial landowners than in Istria. There is no direct evidence of senatorial economies of scale, although natural resources are comparable to those in Istria. The secondary role of agriculture could be seen in the size of colonial territories when compared to those in Istria. While Pola and Parentium had about 650 and 450 centurias respectively, Iader had about 50, Salona about 80 and Epidaurum about 50. The primary function of these cities was that of military and civilian ports and places of exchange between the Mediterranean and the mainland. The islands, because of their location and formation of channels, had utmost navigational significance. Villa owners were probably involved in maritime commerce and the military.

It is true that archaeological research has been focused on the coastal cities at the expense of rural areas, but the map on the left (published by Mate Suic in 2003) reveals the pattern of Roman and native settlements. The green dots, prevalent in the northern half of the Adriatic, are locations of the native Liburnian communities that received municipal autonomy in the first century BC. The pattern of land ownership was not conducive to villa development. Only five coastal villas and no maritime villas have been located on the Liburnian coast.

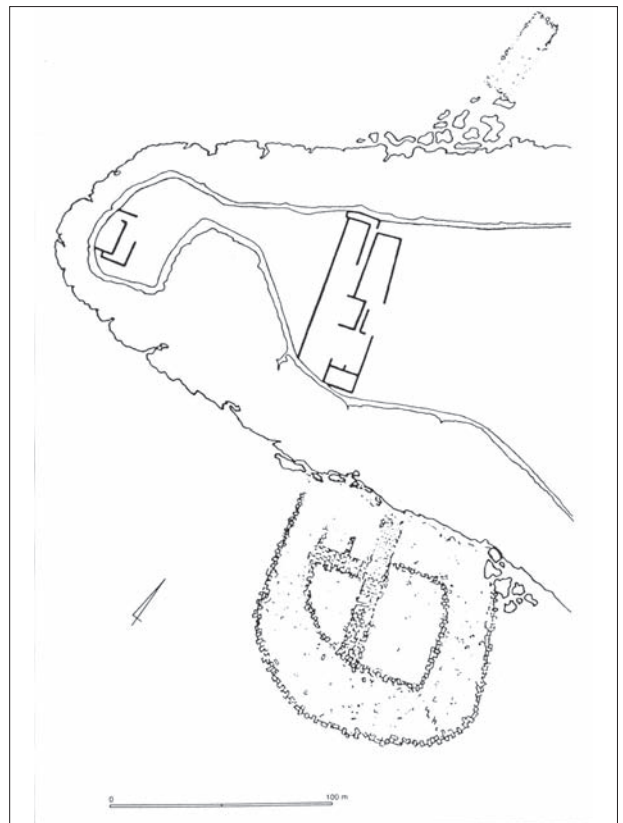


Fig. 11 Katoro maritime villa - plan and photo (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998.; GLUŠČEVIĆ, BOLŠEC FERRI, 2003.)

Sl. 11. Maritimna vila u Katoru (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1998.; GLUŠČEVIĆ, BOLŠEC FERRI, 2003.)

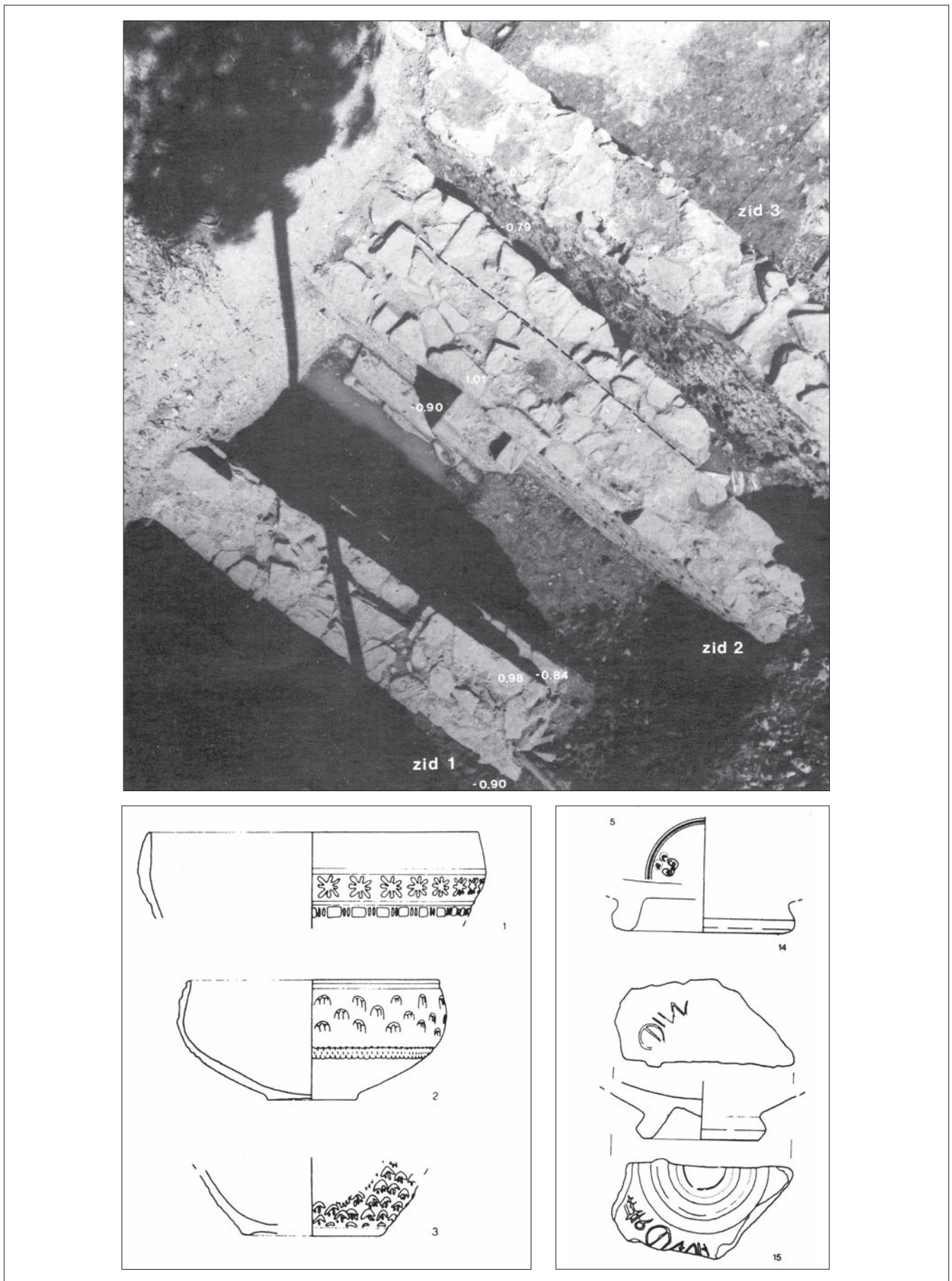


Fig. 12 Fornace kod Pirana maritime villa - photo and findings (pottery and glass) (STOKIN, 1992)

Sl. 12. Maritimna vila u Fornaci kod Pirana s keramičkim i staklenim nalazima (STOKIN, 1992.)

None has been excavated to any extent. There are 23 coastal villas on the islands in this region; three have been partially excavated. There are some villas located near Caska in the deep bay - but there have not been excavated yet. Again, there are no known true maritime villas. There is some evidence of the estate of Calpurnius Piso's family was on the island of Pag. The inscription *Calpurnia L. Pisonis Auguris Fillia* had been found on the site Cissa today Caska (ZANINOVIĆ, 2001, 153). There is also evidence for the relationship between the senatorial and imperial properties in the SC de Pisone padre II. 71-90, in which the goods of Piso are confiscated to the state with the exception of the saltus in Illyricum; "it pleases Senate to return saltus to Tiberius Caesar Augustus our princeps, by whose father, the divine Augustus, it was given to Gnaeus Piso Senior".

Villas in the southern half of the Adriatic are better known overall, both from excavations and publications, as seen on the map (published by Marin Zaninovic in 1995). True maritime villas are, however, rare. We shall discuss five villas from this area. They were chosen for their special features or functional significance.

The first one is a maritime villa in the bay called Stari Trogir, 22 nautical miles west of the colony of Salona and 12 nautical miles west of Tragurion. Pliny the Elder mentioned Tragurion as "*marmore notum*." The quarry was exploited from the time of Greek colonization in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC into the Renaissance. The villa may be connected with that activity, but it also lies in an agricultural area and in an important nautical location. The bay is well protected from all winds and a small island in front of it provides further protection. It is also at a point where ships sailing from Salona up the coast would leave the channel and go into open waters.

The site has been surveyed but never excavated. The remains of a stone quay and a circular structure are visible in the sea (KIRIGIN, MARIN, 1989, 123-124) (Fig. 13). This circular structure of 8 m in diameter may be part of a *piscina* with a central circle framed by lateral rectangular compartments, known from the maritime villas north and south of Rome, illustrated by Lafon. Most date from the Augustan period. On the beach there are remains of the baths and a large cistern, divided into two compartments (Fig. 13). A circular tower was built in Byzantine times on top of the baths, when the villa probably had the most strategic significance. More walls are visible on the slope, as the villa was raised on terraces, nested in the semicircular shape of the bay. The visible architectural remains spread out about 100 x 30 m.

Further south on the coast, six nautical miles south of present-day Dubrovnik, was the Augustan colony of Epidaurum. Its Croatian name Cavtat derived from Latin *Civitas*. The suburban area was covered with vineyards and olive groves until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Two suburban, maritime villas have been located on each side of Epidaurum, one across the bay on the Sustjepan promontory, the other in Tiha bay, 300 meters from the Epidaurum harbor. Both bays are protected from the sirocco and the bora and provide good anchorage. Epidaurum was an important port on the shipping line between the Ionian and Adriatic seas and in the trans-Adriatic network.

The villa on the Sustjepan promontory was partially excavated in the early 1970's. It spread over three terraces with porticoes on the first and second. Along the shoreline were remains of a cistern, storage rooms and a mole (ZANINOVIĆ, 1988, 93). These would indicate that some agricultural production occurred on the site, although none has been confirmed. Thirteen skeletal burials of the mid-late 6<sup>th</sup> century were found within the walls of the lower portico (Fig. 14).

The site in Tiha bay has never been excavated and the modern construction has obliterated Roman structures, except some massive walls of a cistern on the site of Donji Obod (Sutivan). An inscription was found there in 1547, which honored Augustus' legate to Illyricum, P. Cornelius Dolabella (FABER, 1966, 26). A head and fragments of a statue were also found, perhaps of Dolabella himself. The postulated villa has been traditionally attributed to him as well (ZANINOVIĆ, 1988, 95). Under the sea it is visible some walls and harbour remains (FABER, 1966, 25). A villa and perhaps an estate would make sense, but more as a strategic than economic asset.

There are two island villas on Korčula and Mljet. The first one is maritime villa at Lumbarda and its location and masonry are notable. It was located on a promontory, on an elevated, panoramic position, at Lumbarda on the island of Korčula, between the two bays named Bili Žal and Pržina. In the bay Bili Žal some architectural remains have been found - the harbour and the part of the villa. The site controls sailing in the Peljesac channel and the route to and from Naronia. The villa also sits at the edge of a fertile valley, still today renown for its vineyards. The site has been surveyed, but not excavated. The layout shows two rectangular buildings (29 x 25 m and 27 x 24 m) connected by a 93 m long, seafront portico 4,66 m wide (ZANINOVIĆ, 2001, 151). One stretch of exposed wall is built in *opus reticulatum*, a technique rare in the eastern Adriatic and outside of Italy in general (Fig. 15). Lafon has discussed the rare appearance of this building method in maritime villas in provinces and saw it as an indication of property value and of high position of the original owner in relation to Rome. In Italy, this opus is always used in monumental villas, mostly in Augustan or early imperial age. Lafon further quoted Torelli's argument that provincial use of this opus was for public architecture and that domestic usage was exceptional. We may have at Lumbarda a villa of an equal status to public architecture and built not only by a Roman architect, but also by Roman masons. We can compare it to the maritime villa in Fornace near Piran (STOKIN, 1992, 79). Was the "grand cru" of this island or its strategic position the reason for this high-power estate? Appian has written that Octavian occupied Korčula and the neighboring island of Mljet (where our next villa is located) during his campaign of 35-33 BC and killed and sold into slavery their inhabitants (Illyr. 16).

The next site is in the same general area, on the north side of the island of Mljet, facing the Peljesac channel. Now safety rather than control governed its location at the bottom of a deep bay, its entrance protected by a line of small islands. There are two maritime villas in the bay: an early imperial and a late imperial. The village is now called Polace, from Latin *palatium*. The early villa has dispersed buildings and



Fig. 13 Maritime villa in the bay Stari Trogir - plan and photo  
(KIRIGIN, MARIN, 1989, according to Jelić)

Sl. 13. Maritimna vila u zaljevu Stari Trogir (KIRIGIN, MARIN, 1989.,  
prema Jelić)



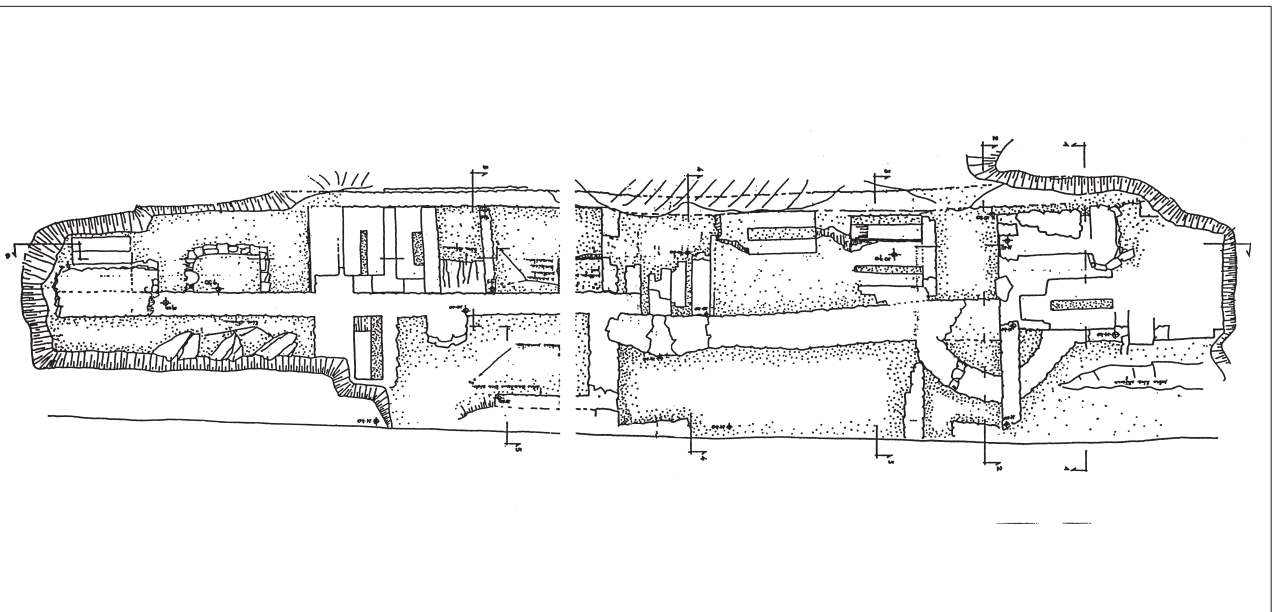


Fig. 14 Maritime villa on the peninsula of Sustjepan - plan and photo (ZANINOVIĆ, 1988)

Sl. 14. Maritimna vila na poluotoku Sustjepan (ZANINOVIĆ, 1988.)

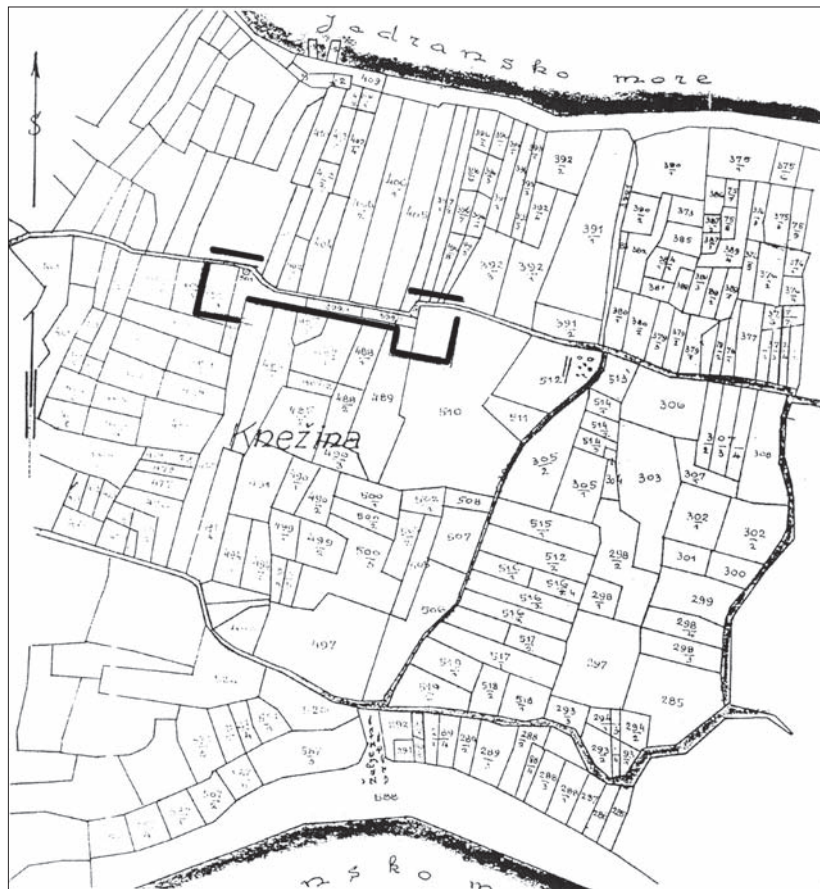


Fig. 15 Maritime villa in Lumbarda on the island of Korčula - plan and photo (ZANINović, 2001)

Sl. 15. Maritina vila u Lumbardi na otoku Korčuli (ZANINović, 2001.)

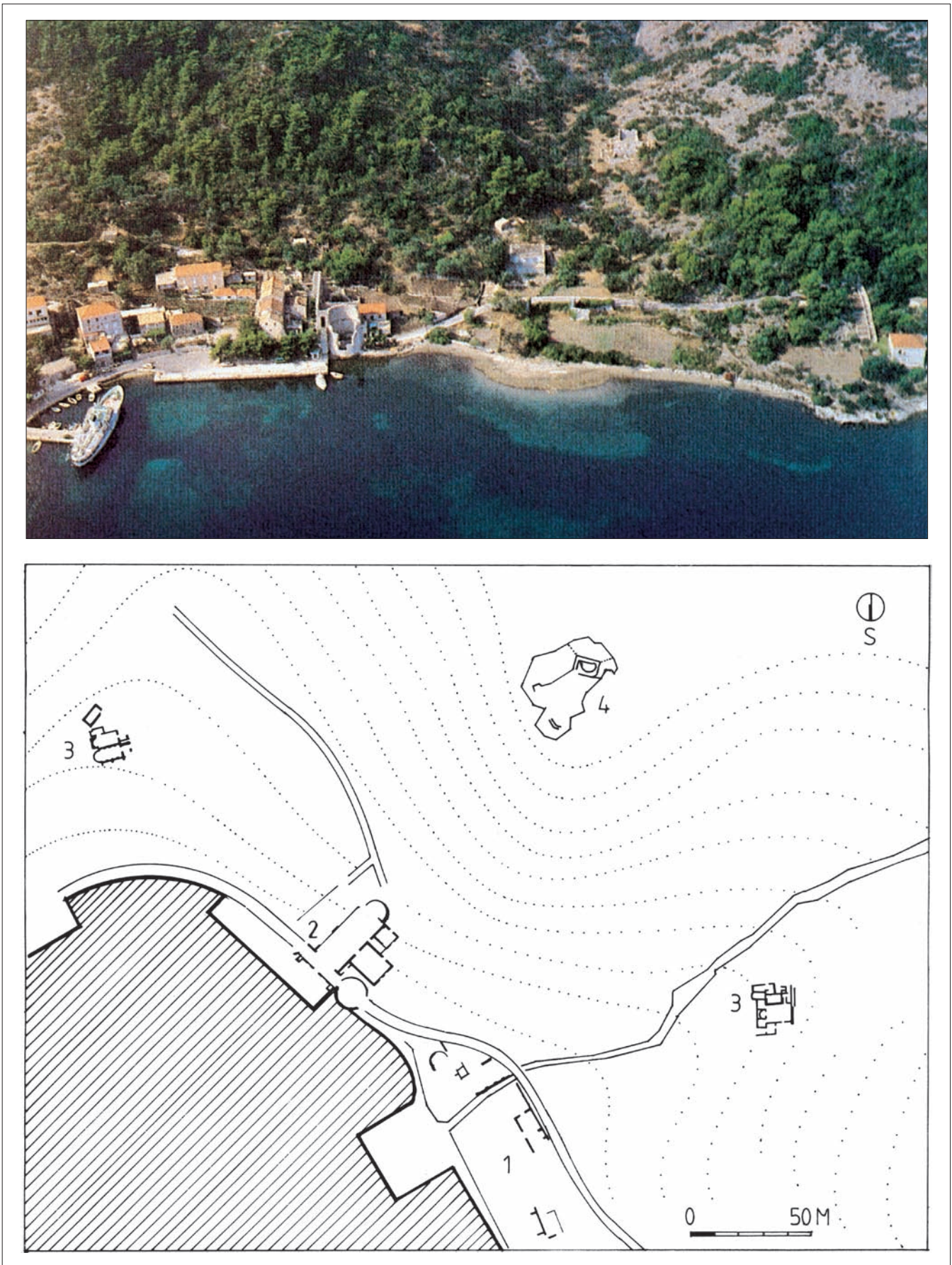


Fig. 16 Maritime villa in Polače on the island of Mljet - plan (1. early imperial villa, 2. late antique villa) and aerial photo (BRUSIĆ, 1988; FISKOVIĆ, TENŠEK, 1999)

Sl. 16. Maritimna vila u Polačama na otoku Mljetu - plan (1. ranocarska vila, 2. kasnoantička vila) i zračni snimak (BRUSIĆ, 1988.; FISKOVIĆ, TENŠEK, 1999.)

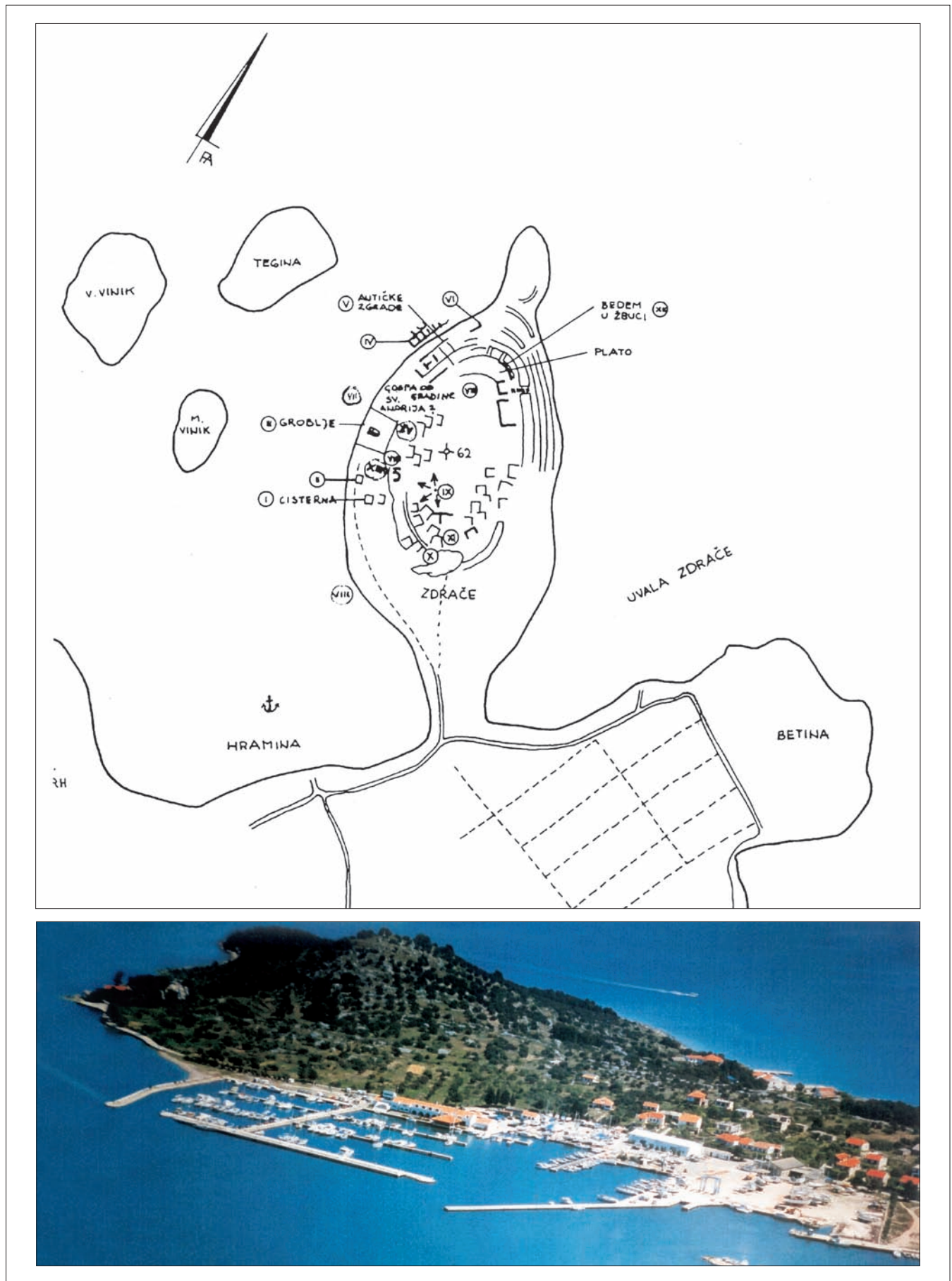


Fig. 17 Maritime villa on the island of Murter - plan and map (FABER, 1998)

Sl. 17. Maritimna vila na otoku Murteru (FABER, 1998.)

only parts of the baths with mosaics have been investigated (ZANINOVIĆ, 1990, 730). There was a creek flowing into the bay, which would have supplied water to the villa, the baths and perhaps a *piscina*. The later villa, built in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, is a compact, two-story cross-shaped building with polygonal corner towers (Fig. 16). Walls are in parts preserved up to 20 meters in height (FISKOVIĆ, 1999, 63). Documentary evidence tells us that in 489 king Odoacer gave the entire island, then an imperial estate, to his high official Pierius as a payback for his loan. Pierius was the likely builder of the villa, which has been suggested to function as his hunting lodge. Underwater finds in the harbor showed the luxury character of the site from the first to the sixth century (BRUSIĆ, 1988, 139-142). Its military function in the 6<sup>th</sup> century is attested by North African and Phocaeen Red Slip Ware and by North African amphorae. Pottery and architectural evidence indicate that several maritime villas, possibly state owned, became in late antiquity fortified settlements and probably military and flotilla bases and commanders' posts.

The maritime villa is a possible villa on the island of Murter. The island lies close to where the mouth of the river Krka (*Titus*) flows into the sea, not far from the ancient Scardona. Murter is called Colentum in view of Pliny's quote (NH III, 140). The villa is situated on peninsula with long porticoes and row of the rooms facing the sea (FABER, 1998, 114). The villa from the 1<sup>st</sup> century is only partly excavated. The long porticus, ten rooms (one with an apse), big cisterna (10 x 5,5 m, 1,8 m high) and the bath, which have been excavated on the beach, indicate the luxury villa with panoramic views. The medieval name for this site is *Villa magna* (Fig. 17).

Roman colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast were located in the best agricultural zones: Parentium and Pola on the western coast of Istria; Iader in the large coastal plain, today called Ravni Kotari; Salona in the fertile bay of Kasteli; Naronia in the Neretva delta; and Epidaurum in another coastal plain, today south of Dubrovnik. The geography of the islands offers the same diversity of terrain and resources, but their location and the arrangement of channels have utmost navigational significance. The foundation of the colonies was directly relevant to the development of the rural settlement of the villas and the most significant changes occurred in the narrow coastal zone.

The building of the first coastal villas in Istria happened in the political context of Caesarian colonization and the economic development of intensive oil and wine production. The early economic ties with the Aquileian area, clearly significant in the marketing process of the Istrian oil and wine, are seen in the use of roof tiles stamped with *Pansae Vibi* in Istrian villas (Verige) and urban centers (Pula, Porec). Again, it was only in Istria that the initial phase of the coastal villas was evidenced. Lafon's Type A with a central courtyard and Type B, a platform villa with a frontal portico, both current in central Latium in the second to early first century were transplanted onto the Istrian soil.

The appearance of monumental, maritime villas was however less relevant to the foundation of colonies than to the subsequent course of the economy. The course of the economy had direct bearing on the building boom in the Augustan period, equally in the urban and rural settings. The second factor was

the growth of political power base first in the community and then, even more importantly, in Rome. The Istrian political and economic elite had the high political offices in Rome. Through their maritime villas in Istria they maintained the proper level of social life and status display between the home base and Rome. The similarity in architectural design and features with the villas of Baiae are clear. Still in the sixth century Cassiodorus would write: "Not undeservedly it [Istria] is called the Campania of Ravenna..." (*Var.* 12. 22. 3-5.) Our understanding of the maritime villas in Istria is enhanced by our knowledge of the identity and activities of the local senatorial landowners.

The picture in Dalmatia is much less clear. The first changes in urban and rural settlement patterns began in the fourth century BC, with the founding of Greek colonies on the islands of Vis and Hvar and then a secondary colony on the island of Korcula. Greek colonization did not cause general demographic and settlement transformations, which started only with the political change that Roman colonization brought in the last years of Caesar's life. The veteran-agrarian, coastal colonies of Iader, Salona and Naronia date from that time, while Epidaurum was founded by Augustus. The extensive settlement and exploitation in the Roman period has been documented for the lowlands in Ravni Kotari, but specific relations to coastal villa sites were not established in the study (CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIĆ, 1996) The present state of research does not allow us to identify the building phases of any of the coastal and island villas. The role of the Greek colonial elite and of their rural buildings in the development of Roman villas is also unclear. Maritime villas of the early Empire could have belonged to high officials sent directly from Rome, rather than to local, colonial elite. Their location and masonry in at least one case point in that direction. Provincial administration and military activities might have been more relevant initially than the economy. The lack of documentary evidence for economies of scale is noticeable. The economic growth was evident, but the political power of the Dalmatian elite might have remained only local. In comparison to the situation in the early imperial Istria, we may suggest that the necessary condition for building of maritime villas was the social stature that only the political power in relation to Rome could provide.

The early stages of our research and the available evidence make any conclusions only preliminary. We see many similarities with Italy, allowing for the time lag. Istria had politically and socially the most active landowning elite with relation to Rome. Dalmatia is an exciting area and we hope that future years and international cooperation will be fruitful.

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## SAŽETAK

### Rimske vile u Istri i Dalmaciji III - Maritimne vile

Pojam maritimna vila (*villa maritima*) u literaturi su prema tekstovima Kornelija Neposa uveli A. Boethius i J. B. Ward-Perkins, te A. Mc Kay, upotrijebivši taj izraz za najluksuznije rimske uzmorske vile ranog Carstva. No tek posljednja sažeta studija Xaviera Lafona definirala je povijesni fenomen maritimne vile prvenstveno na teritoriju odakle je potekla, obali Tirenskog mora. Lafon smatra maritimnim samo one vile koje imaju dominantnu arhitekturu na obali mora kao i one u izravnom dodiru s morem. Također, i vile građene visoko na stije-ni iznad mora, kao npr. Tiberijeva vila Jovis na Capriju. Sve druge vile, čak i one s pogledom na more i do 3 km daleko od obale Lafon je okarakterizirao kao priobalne vile ili "*villas littorals*". Takve priobalne vile rimske aristokracije na posjedima uz more bile su prvi korak i prema njegovu mišljenju odigrale su presudnu ulogu u razvoju monumentalnih vila koje su bile odlučujući korak u stvaranju pravih maritimnih vila. Politički, ekonomski i socijalni uvjeti kasne Republike bili su presudni za nastanak tog fenomena u Italiji tijekom druge polovine 1. st. pr. Kr. Maritimne vile bile su prestižni projekti bogate elite koji su se odijelili od proizvodnih područja. More je postalo unutarnji, ugodan prostor okružen "lebdećim" porticima. Arhitektura je otvorena prema krajoliku i koristi sve prednosti zadanog pejzaža. Konfiguracija tirenske obale sa stjenovi-

tim uzvišenjima i zaštićenim uvalama, ali također sa svojim mitološkom nasljeđem, dovele su do jedinstvenoga i ekskluzivnog arhitektonskog projekta vile s "lebdećim" porticima iznad morske obale koji se formirao u Augustovu razdoblju.

Istočnojadranska obala ima mnogo sličnosti u konfiguraciji terena s tirenskom obalom i bila je pogodna za slične projekte. Političke promjene koje je donijela rimska kolonizacija u posljednjim godinama Cezarova života, uzrokovala je opće demografske i krajobrazne promjene, te izgradnju novih naselja. Budući da je to područje postalo prostor uz prve borbene linije za daljnja osvajanja Ilirika, ekonomske i političke promjene oštro su se izražavale. U skladu s novonastalom situacijom intenziviranje poljoprivrede i proizvodnja žita, vina i maslinova ulja, te eksploatacija kamena i soli, uzrokovalo je brzu preobrazbu krajolika i društva jednako u urbanom kao i ruralnom području. Tip arhitekture koji se pojavio u Augustovu razdoblju iznimnoga ekonomskoga i političkog razvoja, bila je maritimna vila. Isto kao u Italiji, nju je kreirala ekonomija velikog mjerila i iskazivala je socijalno-politički status rimske elite. Xavier Lafon uključio je mnoge istarske vile u svoju komparativnu studiju, ali područje južno od Istre, područje rimske Dalmacije ostao je neistražen prostor na njegovoj karti.

Naša studija topografije i arhitekture maritimnih vila na ovom području vodi nas u komparativnu studiju s Italijom i posebno s Lafonovim modelom razvoja u Italiji. Popis rimskih vila iz pregleda lokaliteta na istočnojadranskoj obali (Rimske vile I.) pokazuje gusto naseljeno područje i potpuno eksploatirani krajolik. I brojnost istraženih i ubiciranih rimskih vila vrlo je velika, ali ipak na području Istre samo je devet maritimnih vila arheološki istraženo - od toga pet njih u ageru kolonije Pola, dvije u ageru Parentia i dvije dosta sjevernije u ageru Tergeste. Na području Dalmacije ustanovljeno je pet maritimnih vila. Od tri tipa priobalnih posjeda s maritimnim vilama koje je Lafon opisao u Laciju, u Istri i Dalmaciji nalazimo drugi tip diskontinuiranog vlasništva sa subordinacijom izgrađenih vila na posjedu jednog vlasnika. Jedna vila, uglavnom ona koja je smještena na najpovoljnijem položaju, u zaštićenoj uvali ili na poluotoku sa širokim vizurama prema moru, postala je sjedište vlasnika i prerasla u pravu maritimnu vilu, npr. vile na Brijunskom otočju (BEGOVIĆ, SCHRUNK, 1999.), također, vile na otoku Ugljanu (SUIĆ, 1976.) i u Lombardi na otoku Korčuli (RADIĆ, 2001.). Dok se građevine prvih priobalnih vila u Istri događaju u političkom kontekstu Cezarove kolonizacije i zbog intenzivne proizvodnje vina i maslinova ulja, razvoj pravih maritimnih vila nije se dogodio sve dok razvoj ekonomije, pogotovo ekonomije velikog mjerila u ranocarskom razdoblju nije zahvatio Istru. Te velike ekonomije i imena posjednika senatorskog staleža dokumentirane su žigovima na amforama i crijepu (*tegulae*) te na natpisima. Proizvodnja je bila usmjerena na kolonije i izvoz kao i opskrbu vojske. Poznate maritimne vile grupirane su tako blizu da su bile međusobno udaljene poprilično jedan dan laganog puta. Na području oko 4 - 5 nautičkih milja sjeverno od Pule nalaze se dvije velike maritimne vile, jedna na otočju Brijuni - u uvali Verige, a druga odmah preko puta na obali - Val Bandon (gotovo u vizuelnom kontaktu). Na vrhu tog područja koje ima oblik istokračnog trokuta - u Fažani, nalazila se najveća istarska radionica keramike (amfora, *te-*

*gulae* itd.) *figlina* u vlasništvu senatorske obitelji Laecanii. Vilu na Brijunima uzastopno smo objavljivale, kao najviše elaboriranu maritimnu vilu na istočnojadranskoj obali koju su vjerojatno prvi posjedovali Laecanii (TASSAUX, 1982.) zajedno s pripadajućim otočjem, a kasnije prelazi u carsko vlasništvo (STARAC, 1995.). To je ujedno vila u kojoj su najjasnije razjašnjene kasnorepublikanske i ranocarske faze. U slikovitoj uvali Verige nalazimo "Katonovu" vilu sa *pars rustica* i *pars urbana* kasnije pretvorenu u terasastu maritimnu vilu s novim domusom i monumentalnim portikom duž cijelog pročelja vile koji gotovo dodiruje more (sl. 3.). Originalno vila je bila kombinacija Lafonova tipa A, sa središnjim dvorištem i tipa B vila na povišenoj platformi s frontalnim portikom. Tijekom 1. st. cijela uvala je bila izgrađena monumentalnim sadržajima (*amenities*) koji su se protezali na gotovo 6 ha. Izvorni *pars rustica* ostao je kao operativan dio i nakon izgradnje maritimne vile, dok je drugi gospodarski dio izgrađen na sjeveroistočnom kraju zaljeva Verige. Pravokutna *piscina vivaria* donekle povezuje monumentalne terme s tim gospodarskim dijelom. Suprotno Lafonovim zaključcima, za većinu ranocarskih maritimnih vila u Laciju i Kampaniji, ovdje nismo primijetili da bi se proizvodni dio izdvojio od reprezentativnih dijelova koji su kasnije dodani. Velika *cella vinaria* (kapaciteta blizu 80 *dolia*) i *piscina vivaria*, ostale su integralni dio vrlo luksuznih dodatnih sadržaja.

Maritimna vila u dubokoj uvali Valbandon (sl. 4.) bila je djelomično istražena početkom 20. st., ali tek nova istraživanja trebala bi razjasniti njezin razvoj i odnos između dva istražena dijela, smještena na suprotnim krajevima uvale. Maštovita arhitektonska forma, kružna dvorana uz samu obalu mora, nalazi vrlo luksuzne dekoracije, uključujući i pod izveden u *opus scutulatumu*, definiraju je kao luksuznu rezidenciju. Istraženi dijelovi vile ne sadržavaju proizvodne pogone. Na širem području nađeni su fragmenti preša za masline, ali njihov odnos s vilom nije istražen. Postoje naznake da je unutarnji dio uvale bio formiran kao *piscina* (unutarnji dio bio je pregrađen, što je i danas vidljivo), a u njega se ulijevao manji vodotok, što je moglo biti važno za smanjenje saliniteta u uvali. Bez novih arheoloških istraživanja nemoguće je donijeti više zaključaka o izvornom izgledu ove vile.

Nešto sjevernije, na obali kod Barbarige 4,5 nautičkih milja sjeverno od *figline* u Fažani, bila je smještena maritimna vila s velikodimenzioniranim pogonima za preradu maslina, izdvojenim od luksuznih dijelova vile (sl. 5.). U okolnom području, oko 2 km, registrirana su četiri proizvodna pogona - jedan od njih s pet preša, drugi s dvadeset. U blizini vile bili su pogoni *fullonicae* koji datiraju iz kasne antike i nalazi mljevenih školjaka tipa *murex*. Maritimna vila nalazi se na blagom poluotoku i bila je očito luksuzna rezidencija tog posjeda (SCHWALB, 1902.). Tlocrt vile podijeljen je u dvije građevinske cjeline. Prva cjelina prostorija orijentiranih oko središnjeg dvorišta (prema istoku i zapadu), bila je prema moru otvorena portikom po cijeloj dužini pročelja koje je završavalo velikim stepeništem (koje je vodilo na obalu). Ta cjelina skromnije uređena mogla bi predstavljati prvi izgrađeni objekt koji je i prema položaju najbliži gospodarskom dijelu kompleksa. Na nju se nadovezuje na južnom dijelu dodana druga cjelina, vrlo luksuzno opremljena (s nalazima mozaika

i zidnih slika) koja je imala prostorije na tri strane izgrađene oko prostranog peristila, okrenutog prema moru. Iz peristila monumentalno stepenište vodilo je na obalu. U jugoistočnom dijelu bio je prigrađen termalni dio maštovito zakrivljena oblika. Iz istog ugla vodi veliki portik prema pristaništu i molu s druge strane poluotoka. Po prilici na sredini dužine velikog portika uzdizala se manja građevina (koncipirana kao *diaeta*). Građevne cjeline završavale su pristaništem i velikim otvorenim prostorom, vjerojatno veliki vrt na istočnoj strani kompleksa. Prva cjelina mogla bi biti originalna vila na platformi s frontalnim portikom koja odgovara Lafonovu tipu B, a zgrada s luksuznim mozaicima bila je nadograđena na taj prvi objekt. Peristil je koncipiran s panoramskim pogledom na more. Vila je bila arheološki iskopavana i istraživana početkom 20. st. Revizijska arheološka istraživanja bila bi nužna. Sjeverno od vile nađeni su veliki proizvodni pogoni za tiještenje maslina, ali spoj vile s tim dijelom nije utvrđen. Također, nema tragova skladišta na dvije građevne cjeline vile, pa bi to moglo podupirati Lafonovu teoriju da su nakon pretvaranja skromnije priobalne vile u luksuznu maritimnu vilu proizvodni pogoni bili izdvojeni ili maknuti.

Područje južno od antičke Pule odlikuje se velikim poluotocima i dubokim uvalama. Prirodne pogodnosti su nalazišta kvalitetnog kamena, vrlo plodna polja i zaklonjene uvale. Nalazišta kvalitetnog vapnenca nazvanog i mramorni vapnenac nalaze se na položajima od Banjola do Premanture. Tragovi proizvodnje maslinova ulja registrirani su na pet nalazišta, uključujući i djelomično istraženu maritimnu vilu u dubokom zaljevu Banjole (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1999.). Na maritimnoj vili u Banjolama nisu definirane faze izgradnje. Tlocrt pokazuje vilu sa središnjim hodnikom (djelomično nalik na prvi objekt u Barbarigi) i s portikom po cijeloj dužini pročelja s panoramskim pogledom prema moru (sl. 7.).

Istočno od Banjola u dubokom Medulinskom zaljevu nalazi se druga maritimna vila na poluotoku Vižula (sl. 8.). Poluotok se nalazi ispod Medulinske gradine u dubokoj zaklonjenoj uvali zaštićenoj izduženim poluotokom Premantura. Prijelaz brodova otvorenim morem od ovog vrha Istre do prvog otoka Unije bio je vrlo opasan, posebno zbog sjevernog vjetrova. Brodovi koji su plovili Jadranom prema jugu često su morali čekati u takvim zaštićenim uvalama povoljne uvjete za plovidbu. Vila na poluotoku Vižula imala je izvanredan položaj za nadzor ulaza u zaštićeni akvatorij, a građena je s panoramskim pogledima prema moru i okolnom terenu. Prvi je ovu vilu počeo istraživati A. Gnirs 1908. g. Istraživanja su nastavljena 1995. g. pod vodstvom V. Jurkić Girardi i K. Džin (DŽIN, 1995.). Gnirs je ovu vilu opisao kao vrlo luksuzni kompleks i povezao je s boravkom Konstantinove majke Helene i sina Crispa. Godine 1995. izvršeno je geodetsko snimanje vile koje je pokazalo protezanje arhitektonskih cjelina u dužini od oko 1 km uz obalu poluotoka. Pojedine cjeline protežu se u različitim smjerovima, tlocrta zaokrenutog u odnosu na duge cjeline i prilagođavaju se konfiguraciji terena, a arhitektura je vidljiva i ispod površine mora. Arheološki je istražen veliki portik na samoj obali mora u dužini od 18 m poda pokrivenog crno-bijelim mozaikom. Na krajevima portika bile su lođe, a u jednoj od njih nađen je pod u tehnicu *opus scutulatum*. Veliko reprezentativno stepenište vodilo je od obale mora pre-

ma vrhu poluotoka i povezivalo prostorije na nekoliko terasa koje su imale panoramski pogled prema moru. Istražen je niz reprezentativnih prostorija s pragovima velikih dimenzija i nalazima mnogo vrsta vrlo luksuznih mramornih obloga i podnih ploča, te je nađeno mnoštvo ulomaka mozaika i dijelova antičkih statua. Po veličini i položaju, vila se može usporediti s carskom vilom Pausilypon kod Napulja koja je pokrivala oko 9 ha. Prema nalazima, vila se može datirati od 1. do 6. st. Istražen je dio kasnoantičkih adaptacija vile koji pokazuju da je mogla poslužiti za smještaj znatnog broja stanovnika, posebno u jednom razdoblju možda i vojnih elemenata.

Na teritoriju antičkog Poreča (*Parentium*) nalaze se dvije maritimne vile. Prva je na poluotoku Sorna, dvije nautičke milje južno od grada koja se danas nalazi u okviru turističkog kompleksa Zelena laguna. Vila veličine 150 x 130 m bila je arheološki iskopavana i istraživana 1960. g. (sl. 9.). Nalazi se na poluotoku s panoramskim pogledom na tri strane prema moru. Dva peristila na vrhu poluotoka između kojih je veliki triklinij pokazuju građevinu izvedenu u jednom dahu (ne u fazama) izvanredne koncepcije i simetrije (MATIJAŠIĆ, 1999.). Nema naznaka poljoprivredne djelatnosti na užem području vile pa bi ona pripadala u red luksuznih ranocarskih objekata namijenjenih za *otium*. Na obroncima poluotoka i prema moru redaju se prostorije različitih namjena. Na samoj obali mora u uvali istražene su terme. U kasnoj antici dograđena je prostorija tlocrta zaokrenutog prema osnovnom tlocrtu, na samom vrhu poluotoka koju neki autori interpretiraju kao *horreum*, a neki kao sakralni objekt.

Četiri nautičke milje sjeverno od Poreča istraživana je maritimna vila koja se protezala u dvije uvale Stari Červar i Marina i područje poluotoka između njih. Na vili je istražen i niz skladišnih prostora. Druga vila s opekarskom peći nađena je u nedalekoj uvali Červar porat koja je bila aktivna od 1. do 4. st. (JURKIĆ GIRARDI, 1981.). Proizvodila je amfore, keramiku (*terra sigillata*) i crijep (*tegulae, imbrices*) u ranom 1. st. Vlasnici senatorskog staleža, *Statilius Taurus*, *Cornelius Sisenna* i *Calvia Crispinilla* potvrđeni su mnogobrojnim žigovima na amforama, keramici i crijepu. Vila prelazi u carsko vlasništvo za vrijeme Domicijana. Istraživanja gospodarskog dijela na sjevernom dijelu zaljeva kod Lorona su kompletirana pod vodstvom F. Tassaux, R. Matijašića i V. Kovačića (sl. 10.). Istraženi su redovi skladišta i strukture na obali s nalazom hipokausta (TASSAUX, MATIJAŠIĆ, KOVAČIĆ, 2001.). Na području dužine oko 500 m dalje na poluotoku i u uvali Marina ustanovljeno je mnoštvo ostataka građevinskih cjelina kako uz more, tako i na terasama. Na vanjskom rubu uvale Marina otkrivena je *piscina*. Opisano područje potrebno je istražiti da bi se kompletiralo saznanje o prostiranju vile i njezinu izgledu. Ovdje je istražena veza maritimne vile i njezina proizvodnog dijela, ali nisu ustanovljene faze gradnje, pa je teško govoriti o istodobnosti.

Dvije posljednje istražene maritimne vile nalaze se na teritoriju kolonije Tergeste na sjevernom dijelu Istre. Prva na poluotoku Katoro nalazi se u blizini Umaga i još u Republici Hrvatskoj, a druga u blizini Pirana u Republici Sloveniji. Vila na niskom poluotoku Katoro (*Ca d'oro - domus aurea*) zauzima područje poluotoka i dviju uvala s panoramskim pogledima na tri strane prema moru (sl. 11.). Područje je samo djelomično istraženo i pokazuje vrlo reprezentativne strukture



i luksuzne nalaze. U tijeku su istraživanja terma na lokalitetu Tiola u sjevernoj uvali (N. Bolšec Ferri) i hidroarheološka istraživanja južne uvale i podmorja vile, gdje je otkrivena velika polukružna *piscina* (GLUŠČEVIĆ, BOLŠEC FERRI, 2002.). Pojedinačni nalazi pokazuju vrlo luksuznu arhitektonsku dekoraciju - peristili i prostorije s mozaicima, ostaci zidnih slika, nalazi stupova, dovratnika. Nema podataka o poljoprivrednoj djelatnosti na užem području vile i možemo je svrstati u ranocarske objekte namijenjene za *otium*. Vila je građena na stijena niskog poluotoka. Najvažniji rezultati istraživanja 2003. g. pod vodstvom N. Bolšec Ferri bilo je otkriće kasnoantičkog groba istočno od terma na rtu Tiola, u okviru kompleksa vile. Grob s dva pokojnika bio je izveden u monumentalnoj arhitekturi i sadržavao predmete od keramike i stakla, srebrnu narukvicu te brončani novac cara Dioklecijana (BOLŠEC FERRI, 2004.). Terme su u kasnoj antici očito izgubile svoju izvornu funkciju i bile napuštene ili pretvorene u kršćansko svetište s grobljem uokolo. Takve promjene relativno često su ustanovljene na luksuznim vilama u Istri (primjer Brijuna), a i na drugim područjima tokom kasne antike. Grob je bio pokriven s tegulama sa žigom iz 1. st., što je daljnja indikacija promjene na vili i sekundarne upotrebe građevnog materijala. Tri *tegulae* imale su žig *P. Clodius Quirinalis, prefect flote* u Raveni u vrijeme cara Nerona i senator s posjedima na teritoriju kolonije Tergeste. On je prema istraživanjima najvjerojatnije bio vlasnik maritimne vile kod Barcole u blizini Trsta, gdje je nađeno mnoštvo tegula s njegovim žigom. Moguće je da je on bio vlasnik i graditelj i vile na poluotoku Katoro.

Maritimna vila Fornace nalazi se u dolini anfiteatralnog oblika na obali mora južno od Pirana, na rubu prostranog piranskog zaljeva. Vila s panoramskim vizurama na zaljev nadzire uplovljavanje i kontrolira širi akvatorij. De Franceschi povezuje naziv Fornace s *fofnax, -acis* - peć (STOKIN, 1992.). Danas su vidljivi samo skromni ostaci vile, jer je dio strukture bio uništen izgradnjom tvornice sapuna Selveti, građenoj sredinom 19. st. Zapisi prije gradnje tvornice spominju prostorije s mozaicima, fragmente keramike (*terra sigillata*), numizmatičke nalaze. Istraživanja 1986. g. provedena na prostoru veličine 10 x 5 m rezultirala su nalazom mnoštva keramike i stakla (neki od njih vrlo luksuzne izvedbe), po kojem je taj dio vile datiran u 1. st. pr. Kr. do 1. st. po. Kr. (sl. 12.). Također, u sondi su otkrivena tri zida, dva od njih izvedena u tehnici *opus reticulatum* otkrivena u dužini 3 m, širine 0,60 m i visine 1,90 m. Treći zid izveden je u tehnici *opus incertum* i predstavlja vjerojatno kasnoantičku nadogradnju. U štiti između ta dva zida nađeno je mnoštvo ljuštura školjaka tipa *murex* i kućica morskih puževa, što ukazuje na moguće pogone *fullonicae* u kasnoantičkom razdoblju na vili (BENUSSI, 1927.). Isti autor spominje ostatke purpurne boje, dijelove mozaičnih podova, sarkofag, cisternu, keramiku i staklo nađene na vili. Vila se nalazi u blizini samostana Sv. Bernarda na kojem je nađen antički nadgrobni spomenik (STOKIN, 1992.).

Istraživanja na području istočnojadranske obale južno od Istre pokazuju sasvim drukčiju situaciju. To područje imalo je različit politički i ekonomski položaj u Rimskom Carstvu, u usporedbi s Istrom. Dalmacija je ostala dio teritorija Ilirika, koju je August od senatorske provincije unaprijedio u carsku provinciju s legatom na čelu. U pisanim dokumentima mnogo

je manje podataka o senatorskim posjedima nego na području *Histriae*. Primarna uloga gradova na obali rimske *Dalmatiae* bilo je formiranje vojnih i civilnih luka. Otoci su zbog položaja i zaštićenih plovnih kanala između njih imali važnost kontrolnih točaka na plovnom putu Jadranom. Vlasnici vila najvjerojatnije su bili angažirani u pomorskoj trgovini i u vojnim službama. Istraženo je pet maritimnih vila na području Dalmacije, mada i one samo djelomično.

Maritimna vila u uvali Stari Trogir smještena je zapadno od Salone, u blizini Trogira. Na morskoj obali vidljiva je cisterna pregrađena stupovima po sredini, bazeni terma u obliku segmenta kruga i *piscina vivaria* kružne forme s radijalnim komorama (sl. 13.). Na nekoliko terasa iznad mora vidljivo je u razini terena mnoštvo zidova, a rasprostiranje arhitekture može se pratiti u cijeloj uvali (KIRIGIN, MARIN, 1989.).

U okolici antičkog Epidaura nalaze se dvije maritimne vile. Sjeverno od Epidaura u uvali Tiha, čije ime ukazuje na zaštićenost od vjetrova, izgrađen je turistički kompleks (hotel Epidaurus) na lokalitetu rimske vile. Danas su ostali vidljivi samo masivni zidovi cisterne. Na lokalitetu Donji Obod položaj Sutivan nađeni su ostaci antičke cisterne dimenzija 7,5 x 7,5 m (25 x 25 rimskih stopa) debljine zida oko 1 m, sačuvane do 2,5 m visine (FABER, 1966.). U ruševinama je prema Evansu nađen poznati natpis Kornelija Dolabele zajedno s fragmentima statue (EVANS, 1883.). Prema tim nalazima pretpostavljeni vlasnik vile je *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, prvi namjesnik carske provincije Dalmacije (14. -20. g.). U okolici naselja Donji Obod su izvori pitke vode. U moru ispred uvale Tiha ima tragova zidova, vjerovatno ostataka nekog pristanišnog objekta i lukobrana, a jedan plato izgledom nalik građenoj obali proteže se ispod morske površine (FABER, 1966.). Vila je mogla imati prije strateški nego ekonomski značaj.

Druga vila nalazi se na poluotoku Sustjepan i prostire se na tri terase. Portici su nađeni na prvoj i drugoj terasi i s njih se pružaju panoramski pogledi na more. Na obali se nalaze ostaci cisterne, skladišta i mola (sl. 14.). Izvan zidova portika na prvoj terasi nađeno je 13 kosturnih grobova s priložima koji se datiraju u sredinu 6. st. Značajni nalazi novca Justinijana I. u grobovima upućuje na vojnu funkciju vile u kasnoj antici (ZANINOVIĆ, 1988.).

Maritimna vila u Lumbardi na krajnjem južnom rubu otoka Korčule smještena je na poluotoku između uvala Bili žal i Pržina (sl. 15.). Dva velika četverokutna prostora (29 x 25 m i 27 x 24 m) povezuje dugački trijem (93 x 4,66 m), građen u tehnici *opus reticulatum*. Ta tehnika indikacija je za vlasnika visokopozicioniranog u odnosu na Rim, i vilu koju su gradili rimski arhitekti, ali i izvođači. Ostaci arhitekture vidljivi su i u uvali Bili žal (ZANINOVIĆ, 2001.). Osim navedenih dijelova ova monumentalna vila nije istražena. Zauzimala je područje poluotoka koji je mogao biti pretvoren u izdvojenju cjelu s panoramskim pogledima na Pelješki kanal, prema otoku Mljetu i morski prolaz između Korčule i Mljeta. Vila se nalazi na važnom strateškom položaju za nadzor plovnih putova Jadranom.

Maritimna vila u Polačama na otoku Mljetu (čije ime dolazi od *palatium*) građena je u dubokom zaljevu, zaklonjenom otocima i zaštićenom od svih vjetrova. U uvali su ostaci dviju maritimnih vila, jedne ranocarske i druge kasnoantičke (sl. 16.). Ostaci ranocarske arhitekture vidljivo su smješteni u slo-

bodnom rasporedu uz morsku obalu, a nađeni su ostaci terma, zidovi vile i natpis o proširenju hrama staroitalskom božanstvu Liberu. Gradnja kasnoantičke vile veže se uz dokument po kojem istočnogotski vladar Odoakar 489. g. daruje otok Mljet *comes* Pieriusu. Monumentalna palača s velikom dvoranom i poligonalnom apsidom na prvom katu, pročelja flankiranog s dvije osmerokutne kule izgrađena je u sredini uvala i vjerojatno je presložila ostatke vile iz ranocarskog razdoblja. Zidovi su očuvani do visine 20 m (FISKOVIĆ, 1999.).

Maritimna vila je po svemu sudeći bila i vila na otoku Murteru. Murter je uskim kanalom odijeljen od kopna i nalazi se blizu utoka rijeke Krke (*Titus*) u more. Plinije ga spominje kao *Colentum*. Na poluotoku (u blizini današnjeg naselja Murter), uz njegovu zapadnu stranu, nalaze se ostaci velike rimske vile iz 1. st. Istraženi dio vile prostire se uz more u dužini od 50 m. Istražen je veliki portik uz more (sl. 17.), niz od desetak prostorija (od kojih jedna s apsidom) i terme, te *piscina* dimenzije 10 x 5,5 m, visine 1,8 m (FABER, 1998.). Vila nije nikad potpuno istražena i poznati su samo opisani dijelovi. Srednjovjekovni spisi spominju ime *Villa magna* za Murter.

U ovom kratkom pregledu maritimnih vila može se naći mnoštvo sličnosti s maritimnim vilama u Italiji, posebno na Tirenskom moru (Sorentum, Capri) i na području Napuljskog zaljeva (antičke *Stabiae*). U 1. st. Istra je bila područje intenzivne poljoprivredne proizvodnje (vino i maslinovo ulje). Aktiv-

na proizvodnja poduprta carskom politikom, te opskrba vojske prijeko potrebnim proizvodima kao i pomorska trgovina i nadzor plovnih putova, dovodi do enormnog bogaćenja pojedinih obitelji s posjedima na istočnojadranskoj obali. Distribuciju poljoprivrednih proizvoda prati i proizvodnja keramike i amfora za čiju sirovinu su lokalno postojali povoljni uvjeti, te brodogradnja i brodarstvo. Evidentirana je i iznimna graditeljska djelatnost u tom razdoblju, što je sigurno bio poticaj za lokalnu proizvodnju građevinskog materijala, te pojačani rad kamenoloma. Sve to dovodi do gospodarstva velikog mjerila i predispozicije za gradnju takvih luksuznih objekata kao što su maritimne vile. Njima je iskazana moć i bogatstvo pojedinih obitelji, one predstavljaju veliku vrijednost kojom se iskazuje socijalni status rimske elite. Građene su tako da zadive posjetitelja, osobito onog koji dolazi s mora i da pruže maksimum komfora vlasniku, njegovoj obitelji i gostima. Maritimne vile zauzimaju velike površine uz more (područja poluotoka i zaštićenih uvala) i središte su velikih zemljišnih posjeda na kojima se obično nalazi još niz manjih vila. Na istočnojadranskoj obali ima evidentiranih tragova boravka rimske aristokracije i pripadnika senatorskog staleža, te članova carskih obitelji, a prvi pokazatelj boravka visokopozicioniranih pojedinaca su upravo maritimne vile. Njihova istraženost još uvijek nije u razmjeru s njihovom važnošću i nadamo se da će buduća istraživanja nadopuniti saznanja o njima.