# THE ROMAN VILLA IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

This book offers a comprehensive survey of Roman villas in Italy and the Mediterranean provinces of the Roman Empire, from their origins to the collapse of the Empire. The architecture of villas could be humble or grand, and sometimes luxurious. Villas were most often farms where wine, olive oil, cereals, and manufactured goods, among other products, were produced. They were also venues for hospitality, conversation, and thinking on pagan, and ultimately Christian, themes. Villas spread as the Empire grew. Like towns and cities, they became the means of power and assimilation, just as infrastructure, such as aqueducts and bridges, was transforming the Mediterranean into a Roman sea. The distinctive Roman/Italian villa type was transferred to the provinces, resulting in a Mediterranean-wide culture of rural dwelling and work that further unified the Empire.

Annalisa Marzano (PhD 2004, Columbia University, New York) is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Reading, and is Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London. She has published on a wide range of topics related to the social and economic history of the Roman world and has participated in numerous archaeological projects. She is the author of two monographs, *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History* (2007), which won the Silver Medal and Honorable Mention at the VIII Premio Romanistico Internazionale Gerard Boulvert, and *Harvesting the Sea: The Exploitation of Marine Resources in the Roman Mediterranean* (2013).

Guy P. R. Métraux is Professor Emeritus of Visual Arts at York University, Toronto, and a member of the Collaborative Program in Ancient History (University of Toronto/York University). He has participated in archaeological excavations in Italy, Turkey, and Tunisia, coauthoring *The San*

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-16431-4 — The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin
Edited by Annalisa Marzano , Guy P. R. Métraux
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*Rocco Villa at Francolise* (with M. Aylwin Cotton, 1985). His 1995 book *Sculptors and Physicians in Fifth Century Greece* won the Raymond Klibansky Prize from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council. A Guggenheim Fellow, his current work focuses on villas in their literary and physical aspects.

# THE ROMAN VILLA IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

*Late Republic to Late Antiquity*

Edited by

ANNALISA MARZANO
*University of Reading*

GUY P. R. MÉTRAUX
*York University, Toronto*

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107164314
DOI: 10.1017/9781316687147



First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by Sheridan Books.

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-107-16431-4 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-316-61594-2 Paperback



Publication of this book has been aided by a grant from the von Bothmer Publication Fund of the Archaeological Institute of America.

Ehud Netzer (1934–2010)
*in memoriam*

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# CONTRIBUTORS

**Annalisa Marzano** is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Reading, UK. She has participated in excavations in Italy, Libya, and Egypt and published widely on the socioeconomic history of the Roman world, including the monographs *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History* (2007) and *Harvesting the Sea: The Exploitation of Marine Resources in the Roman Mediterranean* (2013). She is Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and recipient of a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship.

**Guy P.R. Métraux** is Professor emeritus at York University, Toronto, Canada. He has participated in excavations in Italy, Turkey, and Tunisia and coauthored *The San Rocco Villa at Francolise* (1985) and books of the *Corpus des mosaïques antiques de Tunisie*. His *Sculptors and Physicians in Fifth Century Greece* (1995) received the Raymond Klibansky Prize. He coedited and contributed to the *BAR-IS* book *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers, and Freedmen in the Roman World* (with Eve D'Ambra, 2006). He has been a Guggenheim Fellow.

**Masanori Aoyagi** is Professor Emeritus at the University of Tokyo, Japan. He studied the Casa della Nave Europa in Pompeii and directed the excavations of the Roman villas at Realmonte (Agrigento), Cazzanello (Tarquinia), and Somma Vesuviana (Naples). He has been Commissioner of Heritage for the Japanese Government and Director of the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.

**Alexandra Chavarría Arnau** is Associate Professor at the Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy, where she teaches post-classical archaeology and archaeology of buildings. Her main research focuses on the study of the late-Roman and early medieval western Mediterranean (settlements, churches, cemeteries, and landscapes). She codirects the *European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies*.

**Gian Pietro Brogiolo** is Professor of Medieval Archaeology at the Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy. He has directed dozens of archaeological excavations in northern Italy and Croatia, including investigation of Roman villas and settlements, churches, fortifications, and urban contexts. He has been president of the Society of Italian Medieval Archaeologists, cofounder of the journal *Archeologia Medievale*, chief editor of *Archeologia delle Architetture*, and codirector of the *European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies*.

**Anthony Bonanno** is Professor of Archaeology at the University of Malta. He has participated in excavations in Italy (Himera), Libya (Sidi Khrebish), and Malta (various sites). He published widely, mostly on Roman sculpture and the archaeology of Malta, including *Portraits and Other Heads on Roman Historical Relief up to the Age of Septimius Severus* (1976) and *Malta: Phoenician, Punic and Roman* (2005). He is Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and Corresponding Member of the Institutum Archaeologicum Germanicum and the Archaeological Institute of America.

**William Bowden** is Associate Professor in Roman Archaeology at the University of Nottingham, UK. He has participated in excavations in Italy, Albania, Jordan, and the UK. His publications include *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (2003), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99* (with R. Hodges and K. Lako, 2004), and *Butrint 3: Excavations at the Triconch Palace* (with R. Hodges, 2011). He also coedited three books in Brill's *Late Antique Archaeology* series and in 2015 was awarded a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship.

**Kimberly Bowes** is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA. She has directed archaeological projects in Israel and Albania, and recently completed a National Science Foundation Project on the Roman rural poor in Tuscany. Author of several monographs and edited books on late Roman religion, domestic architecture, and landscape, she has also served as the twenty-second Director of the American Academy in Rome.

**Loïc Buffat** is Director of the *Mosaïques Archéologie* research center (France). He has directed several excavations in southern France, in the regions of Nîmes, Béziers, and Valence. His monograph on the villas of the *ager Nemausensis, L'économie domaniale en Gaule Narbonnaise* (Monographies d'archéolgie méditerranéenne), appeared in 2011.

**Adele Campanelli** has been archaeological manager for the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage since 1980. From 2010 to 2014 she was superintendent for the Office of Antiquity (Soprintendenza Archeologica) for the provinces of Salerno, Avellino, Benevento, and Caserta. From 2015 to 2016 she has been Archaeological Superintendent for the Campania region and, in 2016, Superintendent for Archeology, Fine Arts, and Landscape for Naples Metropolitan area. Currently, she is Director of the Phlegraean Fields Archaeological Park.

**John R. Clarke** is Annie Laurie Howard Regents Professor of Art History at the University of Texas, Austin, United States. He has published nine books and over eighty articles and chapters on ancient Roman art, architecture, and visual culture. Since 2005 he has codirected the Oplontis Project, a collaboration among forty-six scholars worldwide aimed at publishing two contiguous archaeological sites near Pompeii. The first book of the Oplontis Series, entitled *Oplontis Villa A ("of Poppaea") at Torre Annunziata, Italy. The Ancient Setting and Modern Rediscovery*, appeared in 2014 as an Open-Access, born-digital e-book.

**Antonio De Simone** is Professor Emeritus of Roman Architecture at the Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa, Naples, Italy. He excavated and restored several sites on the Bay of Naples, including the Villa of the Papyrii in Herculaneum, the House of the Menander and the Suburban Baths in Pompeii, and Villa Arianna at Stabiae. He has been Commissioner for the Comitato Nazionale Beni Archeologici and is currently member of the board of directors at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.

**Girolamo F. De Simone** is Contract Professor of Conservation at the Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli, Italy, and Director of the Apolline Project. He leads the excavations of the Roman villa of Pollena Trocchia (Naples) and the ancient town of Aeclanum (Avellino). His research mostly focuses on Roman economy and ancient landscapes. He has published on late-antique Campania and the environment of the Vesuvian region. In 2011 the European Association of Archaeologists awarded him the European Archaeological Heritage Prize.

**Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey** is Professor Emeritus and Queen's Research Chair at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. His villa publications include *The Villas of Pliny from Antiquity to Posterity* (1994) and a book forthcoming in *Ex Horto: Dumbarton Oaks Texts in Garden and Landscape Studies*, produced while a Visiting Scholar at Dumbarton Oaks. He is Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and was James S. Ackerman Resident in the History of Art at the American Academy in Rome.

**Giovanni Di Maio** is a geologist and expert in geoarchaeology of the Pompeii region. He has

often collaborated with the archaeological superintendences in several Italian regions, as well as with research institutes and universities, both in Italy and abroad, including a project by the German Archaeological Institute investigating the ancient landscape of the Sarno River and the Oplontis Project. He has authored or coauthored many publications on the ancient Sarno River Plain and on the Bronze Age tsunami that affected the Bay of Salerno.

**Maurizio Gualtieri** is Professor emeritus of Classical Archaeology at the University of Alberta, Canada. He has coordinated and directed several archaeological projects, including work at the Etruscan site of Artimino, the pre-Roman settlement at Roccagloriosa in Southern Italy, and the Roman villa at Ossaia/Cortona. He has received major grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. His publications include, as editor, the two-volume study on Roccagloriosa and a book on the Ossaia villa, and the monograph *Lucania Romana* (2003). Current work includes the final publication of the excavations and survey (with H. Fracchia, University of Alberta) in the Upper Bradano Valley (Potenza).

**Thomas Noble Howe** is Professor of Art and Art History at Southwestern University Georgetown, USA and Coordinator General/Scientific Director of the Restoring Ancient Stabiae Foundation, Italy. His dissertation is *The Invention of the Doric Order* (1985) and he has authored commentary and illustrations for a translation of Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). He is currently the excavation director and the author/editor of the report on the discovery of the Prima Porta-style Garden of the Villa Arianna at Stabiae. His current work involves the development of political spaces in the Hellenistic world and the later Roman Republic.

**Riccardo Iaccarino** holds degrees in management of cultural heritage and in medieval archaeology from the Federico II and Suor Orsola Benincasa universities in Naples, Italy. He took part in archaeological projects run by the universities of Naples, Siena, L'Aquila, and Nice. Since 2008, he has worked as a freelance professional archaeologist and has published various articles online and in journals.

**Maria Antonietta Iannelli** is an officer at the Soprintendenza Archeologica, Salerno, Italy. She holds degrees in classical archaeology from the Università degli Studi di Salerno (1977) and Università degli Studi di Pisa (1983). Since 1985 she has been in charge of cultural archaeological heritage for the Sarno Valley and, from 1995, also for the Salerno area, Irno Valley, and Amalfi Coast. She is the director of the Minori Roman villa museum and site and of the National Archaeological Museum of Pontecagnano. She has been the scientific director for the investigations of the Roman villa of Positano since 2003.

**Luciana Jacobelli** is associate researcher of the Istituto per le Tecnologie Applicate ai Beni Culturali (CNR, Italy). She has participated in many excavations, mostly in the Vesuvian area, and has published over fifty scholarly articles and monographs on pictorial decorations, architecture, and daily life in Pompeii and Stabiae. Most cited works are *Le pitture erotiche delle Terme Suburbane di Pompei* (1995), *Gladiators at Pompeii* (2003), and *Nascere, Vivere, Morire a Pompei* (with Eva Cantarella, 2011).

**Kenneth Lapatin** is Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California. He has excavated in Italy, Greece, and Israel and curated exhibitions on Greek vases, polychrome sculpture, ancient gems, Roman silver, Hellenistic bronzes, and the reception of antiquity in diverse periods. Among his many publications are *Mysteries of the Snake Goddess: Art, Desire, and the Forging of History* (2002); *Luxus: The Sumptuous Arts of Greece and Rome* (2015); and *Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World* (2015 – awarded the London Hellenic Prize).

**Maria Papaioannou** is Associate Professor in Classical Archaeology and Director of the Centre for Hellenic Studies at the University of New Brunswick, Fredrickton, Canada. Her work centers on domestic architecture in Roman Greece and as

a junior Fellow of the Getty Foundation Arts of Rome's Provinces Seminar, she has contributed to the book *Beyond Boundaries: Connecting Visual Cultures in the Provinces of Ancient Rome* (2016). Recipient of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant, she is conducting laser scanning of an *insula* at Abdera and a basilica on Kalymnos.

**Gisela Ripoll** is Associate Professor in Archaeology at the Universitat de Barcelona, Spain, and former member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (2001). Her *Toréutica de la Bética* (1998) received the Raoul Duseigneur Prize (Institut de France, 2001). She coedited *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)* (with J.M. Gurt, 2000), *Mélanges d'Antiquité Tardive. Studiola in honorem Noël Duval* (with C. Balmelle and P. Chevalier, 2004), *Elites and Architecture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (with M. Jurković , 2007), and *Arqueologia funerària al nord-est peninsular (segles VI-XII)* (with N. Molist, 2012).

**Israel Roll (1937–2010)** was Professor emeritus at Tel Aviv University, Israel, Director of the Apollonia-Arsuf excavations (1977–2006), and Codirector of the excavations of the Roman Temple at Kedesh, Upper Galilee (1981–1983). He has also conducted surveys and excavations of Roman road stations and sections of paved roads (including their building techniques) in order to map the Imperial Roman road network in Judaea, defining its chronology on the basis of inscribed milestones and written sources, and aiming at the reconstruction of the communication system in Roman and Byzantine Palestine.

**Ursula Rothe** is Baron Thyssen Lecturer in Classical Studies at the Open University, UK. She has been involved in excavation projects in Italy, Portugal, and the Netherlands, and was project lead at the Roman-Byzantine site at Tall Zira'a in northern Jordan. She is on the Archaeology Committee of the Roman Society and is Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Her research focuses on cultural processes in the Roman provinces, and her publications include *Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire* (2009).

**Oren Tal** is Professor of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, Israel, and, since 2007, Director of the Apollonia-Arsuf Excavation Project. He specializes in the material culture of the classical- and medieval-period Near East and its social, political, and economic implications. Tal's scientific work reflects his efforts to improve thematic interests and to develop new methods and approaches, interdisciplinary in nature, using archaeological evidence for historical analysis in order to gain a better understanding of ancient societies.

**Felix Teichner** is Professor of Roman and Early Medieval Archaeology at Philipps-Universität Marburg, Germany. He has directed excavations in Germany, Hungary, Kosovo, Croatia, Scotland, Portugal, and Spain. His research focuses on geoarchaeology, Roman provincial archaeology, the early Middle Ages, and Al-Andalus. His publications include the monograph *Entre tierra y mar* (2011) on Lusitanian villas and studies on Roman cities of the Iberian Peninsula. He was Humboldt Research Fellow and is Fellow of the German Archaeological Institute. He is currently directing a geoarchaeological project on the "Roman Maritime Economy" funded by the German Science Foundation.

**Andrew Wallace-Hadrill** is Professor of Roman Studies and Director of Research of the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge. He is also Director of the Herculaneum Conservation Project and has served as Director of the British School at Rome (1995–2009). Among his most cited publications are *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1994) and *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008).

**Zeev Weiss** is Eleazar L. Sukenik Professor of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, and has been Director of the Sepphoris excavation project since 1991. Trained in classical archaeology, he specializes in Roman and late-antique art and architecture in the provinces of Syria-Palestine. His publications include many articles as well as two major books: *The Sepphoris Synagogue: Deciphering an Ancient Message through Its*

*Archaeological and Socio-Historical Contexts* (Israel Exploration Society 2005) and *Public Spectacles in Roman and Late Antique Palestine* (2014).

**R. J. A. Wilson** is Director of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Sicily at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver), Canada. In 2013 he won the UBC Killam Research Prize in recognition of his contributions to scholarship. A graduate of Oxford University, he has been Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer of the AIA, Fellow at the Getty Research Institute, and Dalrymple Lecturer in Archaeology at Glasgow University. He is the author of five books, most recently *Caddeddi on the Tellaro: A Late Roman Villa in Sicily and Its Mosaics* (2016).

**Mantha Zarmakoupi** is Birmingham Fellow in Visual and Material Culture of Classical Antiquity at the University of Birmingham, UK. She has participated in excavations in Italy, Turkey, and Greece and has codirected an underwater survey around Delos and Rheneia. She has published widely on Roman luxury villas, including the monograph *Designing for Luxury on the Bay of Naples (c.100 BCE–79 CE): Villas and Landscapes* (2014), as well as on the urban development of late Hellenistic Delos. She has been Fellow at Freie Universität in Berlin, New York University (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World), the University of Cologne (Humboldt Stipendium), the Getty Research Institute, the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies, and the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book began at an international conference "The Roman villa in the Mediterranean basin," cosponsored by the Mishkenot Sha'ananim Konrad Adenauer Conference Center, Jerusalem, and the Restoring Ancient Stabiae (RAS) Foundation of Castellamare di Stabia, and their directors, Mr. Uri Dromi and Professor Thomas Noble Howe, respectively. We wish to express mighty thanks to them and their sponsoring institutions, and to convey our gratitude and that of all the conference participants to the dedicatee of this book, Professor Ehud Netzer (1934–2010), for a memorable day's visit to Herodium, where he was a gracious host.

The editors were able to include some of the conference participants, but more contributors were sought to ensure Mediterranean-wide coverage of Roman villas and the many historical issues they present. It was clear that a mere conference-proceedings publication would be inadequate to the ambitious program of the conference. A small editorial committee (Professors Wilson, Weiss, Howe, du Prey, and Mr. Dromi) was formed to make suggestions. Contributions began to come in by late 2010 and continued as solicitation for contributions and requests to participate continued.

The former Archaeology and Renaissance Studies editor of Cambridge University Press in New York, Asya Graf, is owed a debt of gratitude for her advice and encouraging attitude. She found the right anonymous assessors whose helpful insights much improved the manuscript and whom we thank; she also shepherded the manuscript and illustrations through the process of approval for publication. This was successful, and we are grateful to the Syndics of Cambridge University Press for accepting our proposal. It is to Beatrice Rehl, Publisher of Archaeology, Art History, and Religious studies, editor *par excellence*, that our most enthusiastic thanks must go for her patience, timely warnings, and fine insights.

The book has benefited greatly from a subvention of the Publication Subvention Program of the Archaeological Institute of America. Early and welcome financial support from the Queen's Research Chairs Program of Queen's University (via a contributor to the book) for photographs is gratefully acknowledged.

As editors, our greatest gratitude goes to Mehmet Deniz Öz, as much for his instinct for structuring the book as for voluntarily undertaking the editorial work for the illustrations and maps. In an international endeavor of this size, illustrations were inevitably received in various formats; Mr. Öz has brought them into uniformity and order, which has served the contributors and the book well. They, and we, are fortunate to have secured his considerable skills and talents.

Finally, the contributors are the main object of our thanks, not only for the quality of their texts but for their patience with our many questions and editorial interventions, their wide view of the purpose of the book, and their responsiveness in communicating with us.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *AA* | Archäologische Anzeiger |
| *AAA* | Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών – Archaiologika Analectka ex Athenon (Athens Annals of Archaeology) |
| *AE* | L'Année épigraphique |
| *ActaArchHung* | Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae |
| *AErgoMak* | Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη - Archaiologiko Ergo ste Makedonia kai Thrake |
| *AfrRom* | L'Africa romana |
| *AISCOM* | Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico |
| *Amoenitas* | Amoenitas. Rivista Internazionale di Studi Miscellanei sulla Villa Romana Antica |
| *AnalRom* | Analecta romana Instituti Danici |
| *AnnESC* | Annales: économies, sociétés, cultures |
| *AnMurcia* | Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología |
| *ANRW* | Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt |
| *AnTard* | Antiquité Tardive |
| *AntAfr* | Antiquités africaines |
| *Antiquity* | Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology |
| *AntW* | Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für die Alterumswissenschaft |
| *Aquitania* | Aquitania. Une revue inter-régionale d'archéologie |
| *ArchDelt* | Archaiologikon Deltion |
| *ArchEspArq* | Archivo Español de Arqueología |
| *ArqPort* | O arqueólogo português |
| *Athenaeum* | Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità |
| *AttiTaranto* | Atti del Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto |
| *BaBesch* | Bulletin antieke Beschavung |
| *BAMaroc* | Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine |
| *BAProv* | Bulletin archéologique de Provence |
| *BARev* | Biblical Archaeology Review |
| *BAR-BS* | British Archaeological Reports – British Series |
| *BAR-IS* | British Archaeological Reports – International Series |
| *BASOR* | Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research |
| *BCH* | Bulletin de correspondance hellénique |
| *BCTH* | Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques |
| *BdA* | Bolletino d'arte |
| *BÉFAR* | Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Athènes de Rome |
| *BICS* | Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies |
| *BJb* | Bonner Jahrbücher des rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande |
| *BMon* | Bulletin monumental. Société française d'archéologie |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Britannia* | Britannia. A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies |
| *BTCGI* | Bibliografia topografica della colonnizazzione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche, edited by G. Nenci and G. Vallet. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, and Rome: ÉFR, 1977 |
| *CAG* | Carte archéologique de la Gaule |
| *CahÉtAnc* | Cahiers des études anciennes |
| *CBI ANUBiH* | Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka I umjetnosti Sarajevo |
| *CÉFR* | Collection de l'École française de Rome |
| *CIL* | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1863–) |
| *CMT I,1* | Corpus des mosaïques antiques de Tunisie I,1. Utique, edited by M.A. Alexander et al. 1973. Tunis and Washington, DC: Institut National d'archéologie and Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies |
| *CP* | Classical Philology |
| *CQ* | The Classical Quarterly |
| *CRAI* | Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris) |
| *CSEL* | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna: Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter |
| *CuPAUM* | *Cuadernos* de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid |
| *DHA* | Dialogues d'histoire ancienne |
| *DOP* | Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| *DossArch* | Dossier d'archéologie |
| *Ergon* | To Ergon tes Archaeologikes Etaireias |
| *Gallia* | Gallia. Archéologie de la France antique. |
| *Germania* | Germania: Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Komission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts |
| *GZM* | Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Sarajevo |
| *HAD* | Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb |
| *Histria Antiqua* | Histria antiqua. Casopis Međunarodnog Istraživač kog Centra za Arheologiju – Journal of the International Research Centre for Archeology |
| *IEJ* | Israel Exploration Journal |
| *IJNA* | International Journal of Nautical Archaeology |
| *ILS* | Dessau, H. 1892–1916. Iscriptiones Latinae Selectae, 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann |
| *InsFulc* | Insula Fulcheria |
| *Italia Meridionale Tardoantica* | "L'Italia Meridionale in età Tardoantica." Atti Taranto 38, Naples 1999 |
| *JdI* | Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts |
| *JECS* | Journal of Early Christian Studies |
| *JEH* | Journal of Ecclesiastical History |
| *JRA* | Journal of Roman Archaeology |
| *JRS* | Journal of Roman Studies |
| *JSAH* | Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians |
| *LibAnt* | Libya antiqua |
| *LibSt* | Libyan Studies |
| *LTUR* | Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, edited by Steinby, E.M., 6 vols. Rome: Quasar |
| *MAAR* | Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome |
| *MÉFR* | Mélanges de l'École française de Rome |
| *MÉFRA* | Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité |
| *MémAcInscr* | Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres |
| *Migne, PG* | Migne, J.P. (ed.)1857-1866. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series* |

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| | *graeca*. Paris: Imprimerie Catholique |
| *Migne, PL* | Migne, J.P. (ed.) 1844-. Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina. Paris: Apud Garnier Fratres |
| *MM* | Madrider Mitteilungen |
| *MonAnt* | Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei |
| *Mouseion* | Mouseion. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada |
| *NAHisp* | Noticiario arqueológico hispánico |
| *NEAEHL* | The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land (1993–) |
| *NSc* | Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Notizie degli scavi di antichità |
| *NSAL* | Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia. Notiziario |
| *ÖAW* | Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| *Oebalus* | Oebalus. Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità |
| *OJA* | Oxford Journal of Archaeology |
| *Opus* | Rivista internazionale per la storia economica e sociale dell'antichità |
| *PBSR* | Papers of the British School at Rome |
| *PIR2* | Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III, 2nd edn. Berlin: W. de Gruyter (1933–2015) |
| *PLRE* | Jones, A.H.M., J. R. Martindale and J. Morris 1971–1992. The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. 4 vols. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press |
| *Prakt* | Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias |
| *RAC* | Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Stuttgart: A. Hiersmann |
| *RANarb* | Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise |
| *RendNap* | Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli |
| *RendPontAcc* | Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti |
| *RM* | Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung |
| *RStPomp* | Rivista di studi pompeiani |
| *S.H.A.* | Scriptores Historiae Augustae with an English translation by David Magie. 3 vols. 1921–1932. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) |
| *TCCG* | Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle, edited by N. Gauthier. Paris: De Boccard |
| *Topoi* | Topoi. Orient-Occident |
| *Vesuviana* | Vesuviana. An International Journal of Archaeological and Historical Studies on Pompeii and Herculaneum |
| *YCS* | Yale Classical Studies |
| *ZPE* | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigrafik |

# INTRODUCTION

ANNALISA MARZANO
AND GUY P.R. MÉTRAUX

The expansion and proliferation of villas into the Mediterranean under Roman hegemony is the topic of this book. In addition, the historical trajectory of the villa as a formula and phenomenon is outlined for different parts of the empire. Villas – extra-urban, suburban, or seaside country houses, many with productive estates or facilities contiguous or nonadjacent to them, others purely residential – were unmistakable signs of Roman social and economic presence. Roman villas expanded into Italy and the coasts and inland areas of the *mare nostrum* (and ultimately into the northwestern provinces of the empire) along with other agricultural, physical, institutional, and sociocultural phenomena of the new hegemony.[1] There were exceptions, most notably in the eastern empire, where a widespread residential tradition and culture on agricultural estates did not develop. However, villas were signs of Roman economic organization and signifiers of Roman cultural presence in annexed lands and coastlines, and they became both normal and normalizing by the late second century BCE in central and southern Italy and a little later in the northern peninsula. Elsewhere, landscapes readily receptive to the implantation of villas and their proliferation in the imperial period further assured Roman presence in terms of architecture, agricultural practices, decorative expectations, and social *mores* throughout the Mediterranean. Roman villas were still in use and under construction well into the fifth century CE and even later; they were sustainable propositions, adaptable and attractive in many different climes and conditions, and, in Western culture, a permanent ideal of life.[2]

Roman villas spread ineluctably both geographically and over time. As with many other phenomena, villas were exportable items that came to be indispensable – though with regional variations. Villas had become naturalized in Sicily as of the Roman conquests on the island in the mid-third century, and so entrenched had they become that rich proprietors of villas were being harassed by Gaius Verres, the proconsul (governor) of Sicily, in 73–71 BCE.[3] The landscapes of the new provinces of Africa, Spain, and Greece came to be populated – some densely, others thinly – with villas in the Roman style. With the exception of the Roman east – Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, where alternative methods of agricultural exploitation were used – the villa with an agricultural estate was a conspicuous phenomenon of the Roman Empire from its inception in the Republic and Empire, as of the first century CE through late antiquity.[4]

The Mediterranean-wide diffusion of villas came in part from their effectiveness as formulae for rural organization and agricultural exploitation. It also came from their most distinguished examples: villas of refined rural and sea-side living, meaningful enjoyment, and fashionable and up-to-date decoration that were developed in the late Republic and early empire, especially around Rome and most

impressively on the Bay of Naples.[5] The glamour and allure of these villas was permanent and exemplary – their memory was still current as late as the sixth century CE – and they constituted an ideal that, in various ways, was often manifested in provincial venues.[6] There were geographical and chronological variations, but the model of Roman villas in Italy, while strongly developed and changed as needed, was vigorously maintained throughout the empire from the late Republic through late antiquity.

This book is intended to outline some of the varieties of Roman villas and the various ways they interacted among themselves, with the landscape and larger economic picture, and within the late Republican and imperial hegemonies through late antiquity. This is a timeframe of some six to seven hundred years, so not all aspects of the phenomenon can be broached. Still, we – and most especially the other contributors to this book – have sought to situate villas in their settings and landscapes both geographically and socially, without claiming to be either complete or definitive. Our introductory chapter presents certain themes about villas that are prompted by issues raised in the chapters of this book.

The Roman hegemony in its administrative guises was effected by "hard" devices: land division (*centuratio*) needed to stabilize the extent of an annexation, distribute agricultural property (sometimes to demobilized soldiers as citizens of new colonies) in newly annexed regions, and determine taxation for territories outside Italy. There was even a scheme (*alimenta*) to make loans to owners of agricultural estates to provide for local charities for orphans and possibly poor families.[7]

Writers on agriculture over some six centuries in Latin literature are, in a way, the least helpful for the architectural documentation of Roman villas and even their physical spread. There are many reasons for this: The agricultural treatises stay "on message" pretty strictly, preferring to discuss how to set up a facility for pig husbandry or build a strong terrace wall for a raised garden rather than matters of taste and decoration. Their writers eschew much specific discussion of the villa's architecture itself.

Another "hard" aspect of villas – in fact, of all farms and rural residences anywhere and at any time – was equipment (*instrumentum*, pl. *instrumenta*), namely hardware and animals and also, in Roman contexts, a slave agricultural workforce. *Instrumentum*, particularly the case of equipment such as presses, is a theme tangential to several of the chapters in this book, but some considerations on how the interpretation of slavery relates to the interpretation of certain villas can be found in the introductory chapter.

Are social and cultural issues merely "soft" issues about Roman villas? We think not. Our introduction presents, in very brief outline, certain aspects of behavior among villa owners that reoccur with fair regularity in the record: clustering. Geographically, villas tended to group themselves near cities or towns, famous beauty-spots and places of resort, and in areas of particular interest in the way of markets or other advantages. A second aspect of clustering is social: the homogenization of Roman élites (social, military and financial upper strata) in the way of certain aspects of plan, types of rooms denoting systems of hierarchy and hospitality, and a certain uniformity of taste in iconography and decoration throughout the Roman Empire. What it meant to be Roman at various times was to commission craftsmen to make something "like" what others had commissioned. Of course, individuality in theme and decoration of villas was not infrequent, but a certain predictable repertory of themes and uniformity of styles were also repeated from villa to villa, and the media of mosaic floors and wall painting were almost universally adopted.

Of course, the topics about Roman villas outlined above and presented in the introductory chapter are by no means mutually exclusive or separable; they overlap in theme and content, and the contributions in subsequent pages take up many and expand them.

This book, which presents Roman villas in a Mediterranean-wide perspective, is divided into sections that correspond to current and future research in the field of Roman villas.[8] Defining so capacious and, at times, so slippery a historical and architectural category as the Roman villa with its

physical phenomena is difficult, especially in the very wide geographical scope we have proposed.

This book's aims are essentially twofold. First, to present very recent discoveries and ideas about villas, both where the scholarly attention to the archaeology of the Roman period (such as Greece and even southern Italy) is a relatively recent phenomenon and to current innovative interpretive work of sites already well-known or in the process of discovery (such as the villas of the Bay of Naples). Second, to investigate the diffusion and the social and economic function of villas in the various provinces and the types of production activities they embodied. This book is only a starting point in the much needed interpretative work of the large archaeological datasets that have become available in recent years and in the dialogue and exchange of information that needs to occur among scholars working in different geographic areas. In addition, we address an important question: How did the villa – its architecture, decoration, contents, estates, and activities – fulfill the need for certain types of social interactions and certain kinds of agricultural and resource exploitation to make the many different landscapes of the Mediterranean recognizably *Roman*?

## Presentation of This Book

The topic of this book is villas, but we have limited it to the villas that belonged to private owners (*privati*) or to villa estates that became imperially owned as a matter of bequest or confiscation. We have excluded (except for passing mention, especially for instances of emulation) rural or maritime palaces attributable to imperial patronage and ownership such as the Villa of Hadrian at Tibur, the retirement palace of Diocletian at Spalatum (mod. Split), and many others. An exception also includes the large buildings termed *palatia* built in northern Italy by royal but non-Roman occupiers who fancied emulating Roman imperial villas on a smaller scale. The decisions about houses in the countryside taken by persons of ordinary fortune, some wealth, or even great wealth – but not owners with imperial responsibilities and requirements in terms of iconography, space, and amenities – are what we have chosen to emphasize.

In addition, further investigation of the *origins* of the type of rural residence and agricultural exploitation in the environs of Rome and its nearby districts must await greater elaboration than we have offered here: The question is still open to archaeological discovery. Instead, this book covers the Mediterranean-wide spread of villas rather than their Roman origins.

This preface has outlined the scope, but not the details, of the project, so we have organized the chapters into the following broad sections. Of course, there are overlaps and unusual juxtapositions.

## Chapters 1 and 2: Overviews and Introduction

Chapter 1 covers several general key themes connected to villas, both in ancient literary texts and in modern scholarship. It also places the villa in the broader context of the Roman countryside, with its various determining features (e.g., centuriation). This general thematic treatment is followed by the contribution by Ursula Rothe (Chapter 2). Her chapter outlines the parameters of Roman villas in legal and historical scope and also provides a brief view of Roman villas away from the Mediterranean basin, namely those in the northern provinces of Gaul, Germany, Britain, and the Roman East.

## Roman Villas on the Bay of Naples and Its Hinterland: Current Research

Villas in Italy were the exemplars for many Roman villas in the provinces, so current research in this area is the first to be considered. The emphasis is on Italian villas on the Bay of Naples and in central Italy.

The famous Villa of the Mysteries just outside Pompeii is freshly presented by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (Chapter 3). His analysis embeds this very well-known dwelling in two new contexts, as a venue for a new kind of hospitality enjoined on villa-owners by the new empire of the late Republic,

and as the architectural artifact of an adaptation of *local* (Oscan) building and measuring methods to new Roman needs. Local building practices and the urgency of social demands profoundly shaped the dwelling and make it much less archetypal of the "classic" villa than it has been regarded heretofore. The equally famous Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata), currently under active reinvestigation and publication by the University of Texas at Austin and the *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei*,[9] is treated in two ways: by John R. Clarke (Chapter 4) in light of the discoveries of the Oplontis Project after several seasons of work, and by Mantha Zarmakoupi (Chapter 5) in terms of her recently published work on architectural and natural design of major villas on the Bay of Naples.[10] Together, their contributions outline new concepts of how dwellings in settings can be analyzed, and Clarke's demonstration that the site of the Oplontis Villa A was high on a cliff-like bluff overlooking the Bay (instead of its present geologically inland site) gives the villa a quite different character than that which the modern visitor experiences.

The settings of villas and how gardens were incorporated within them is the topic of Thomas Noble Howe's contribution on the very grand villas at Stabiae (Chapter 6). These had elevated settings on the south coast of the Bay and panoramic views to the north but hardly any space among themselves, in a crowded juxtaposition that is the mark of social clustering. Howe outlines how aristocratic *domus* in Rome and grand villas in Stabiae were part of the same instinct among the élites of family and/or finance. Location (the premier value-maker of real estate in any age) may have been more important than either space in a setting or adjacent productive land for such villas.

Grandest of all instances of conspicuous consumption in country houses were the villas known as *villae maritimae*, coastal dwellings often of dazzling luxury in the way of contents, decoration, and architectural elaboration. Chapter 7 presents an overview of the discoveries from the recent excavations of such a luxury maritime villa in Positano (Amalfi Coast). In that these villas were often without adjacent agricultural land, they could be characterized as "useless" (*inutilis*), a term of serious moral reproach. However, were they unproductive just because they presented a face of pleasurable ease (*amoenitas*)? Annalisa Marzano, in her contribution here (Chapter 8) and in a recent book-length study on the Roman maritime economy in all its aspects, shows that pisciculture, essential in the "Mediterranean diet" of Roman times, could be a lucrative business for owners of coastal villas who had the cash for the very high upfront investment in the technical equipment and construction required for effective farmed fishery. Their investment could also result in some unusual and charming seaside architecture, combining pleasure and profit in equal measure.

The Bay of Naples was famous for its villas, but its hinterlands (to the north, the *ager Campanus* and the *ager Falernus*, to the northwest, the territories of Nola and other Campanian towns) were areas of intense cultivation and habitation. The abrupt termination of the villas on the Bay in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE has disfigured what was, in fact, an ongoing history of agricultural exploitation in the region. In areas not immediately affected by the catastrophe, villas flourished; an instance is to be found at Somma Vesuviana, a large and importantly decorated villa still under excavation by the authors of the contribution on it, Professors Antonio De Simone, Masanori Aoyagi, and Girolamo F. De Simone (Chapter 9). The villa had a long history with varied phases of alternately refined and architecturally innovative construction and reconversion to agricultural uses.

## Roman Villas in the Mediterranean: Current Research

This section, the longest of the book, provides a geographical coverage of Roman villas in the Mediterranean basin. It begins with villas in southern Italy, where Roman implantation of villas began early and intensively, as Maurizio Gualtieri shows (Chapter 10); together with cultivation and

habitation, water resources and transportation infrastructures (by river, sea, and roads) went hand-in-hand with villas. Villas were long-lived in southern Italy, lasting well into the fifth century CE.

The same was the case for northern Italy. The presence of villas began later than in the southern part of the peninsula, but the importance of the area north of the Po as the gateway to and from Italy made for an even longer tradition of villas and villa-building. This is shown in the contribution of Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Alexandra Chavarría Arnau (Chapter 11): the royal but non-Roman occupiers of the area in the newly dismembered Roman hegemony delighted in villas and grand rural dwellings sometimes called palaces.

The agricultural estates of Sicily were of diamond importance to the alimentation of the Roman *metropoleis* of the Western Empire: Together with Africa, they assured both the private market and the public system of food supply and dole. Roger J.A. Wilson's contribution (Chapter 12) reviews the legendary wealth of the province in the late Republic and its rich villas into late antiquity. The culture of late antique villas in the way of mosaic floors made by superior craftsmen called to Sicily from North Africa is among their notable features, as Wilson shows here and in other publications.

While villas were among the first implantation of Roman presence in southern and northern Italy, in general they appear rather late – only in Augustan times or later in the first century CE – in the great Republican conquests, namely southern Gaul (Gallia Narbonensis) and Aquitania, and Hispania and Lusitania. Indeed, between the eastern part of southern Gaul and Aquitania to the west, there were significant differences between the two regions both in implantation and longevity of villas, as Loïc Buffat shows (Chapter 13). The extreme abundance and brilliance of the late antique aristocratic villas of Aquitania, as famous for their mosaics as for, in the case of the Chiragan villa, their sculptural contents, emphasizes the flourishing of Roman culture in the far west, a late blossoming that went along with a strong intellectual and literary culture.[11]

Like southern Gaul and other parts of the western Roman empire, Hispania and Lusitania (modern Spain and Portugal) had some early implantation of villas (for the east coast of Hispania, already in the late Republic and Augustan times), but integration of these provinces into the Roman Mediterranean-wide economy as well as a strong urban culture prompted a mighty spread of villas. Felix Teichner (Chapter 14) shows how an architecturally timid beginning for villas, based in an existing Hispanic tradition of farms and farming, does not prepare us for the inventive designs and ideas of the villas beginning already in the later second and into the third century (see also Gisela Ripoll's contribution in Chapter 22).

Existing Mediterranean traditions of farm dwellings and methods of farming outside of Italy are difficult to apprehend archaeologically: Roman implantations often overlaid them. However, Anthony Bonanno's study (Chapter 15) of villas on Malta reveals that preexisting methods of Phoenician/Carthaginian farming sometimes continued into Roman times. This is especially significant because Roman agricultural writers paid fulsome tribute to Carthaginian agricultural writers – in particular the so-called Mago – as the basis of rational agriculture, and Malta, a possession of Carthage before the third-century BCE conquest, may have presented a source of practical knowledge about agricultural exploitation, if not of villas.

When Carthage was defeated for good in the Third Punic War (149–146 BCE), a vast Roman land-grab took place in North Africa, which was strongly to affect politics and social relations in both Italy and Rome itself. The new province was widely invested with new or refounded towns and agricultural estates of proverbial productivity. In consequence, numerous villas developed in the early imperial period but increased in size and clout from the second century CE to late antiquity. Roger J.A. Wilson's contribution (Chapter 16) synoptically reorganizes the scattered scholarship on African villas to give a one-stop view of both the monuments and the interpretive problems about their development, and he does so as he carefully distinguishes the

various categories of *villae* as well as their geographical distribution. As far as we are aware, no other study has broached the topic with this panoramic view.

Of course, Romans and Italians posted abroad in military units or traveling for business or cultural purposes needed environments that, in their familiarity, may have done something to mitigate their longing for home. Oren Tal and the late Israel Roll (Chapter 17) show how a Roman villa with a plan neatly adapted from Italian prototypes and accessories such as *lararia*, both quite foreign to their setting, found their place on the coast of Palestine during the early years of the Roman reoccupation in the later first century CE. The villa may have been more villa-like than a permanent dwelling: Tal interprets it as a *mansio* or guesthouse on a military road, intended to house official personnel and others on business in a temporary way. The Roman villa recalling familiar spaces and domestic arrangements was an exportable commodity.

Exportability is also a major issue for Roman villas. The imagery of villas, as we discuss briefly in the introductory chapter, was internally exported to the decoration of urban houses in Pompeii and elsewhere. This also occurred externally, a radiation of villa-like ideas to urban houses outside Italy. In the Roman east, villas in the Italian mode do not exist, or do so as exceptions. However, people in the Roman provinces who were willing, even anxious, to participate in the new hegemony could adapt the plan of their urban houses, their decoration, and the spatial sequences of rooms to Roman villa ideas. Zeev Weiss's contribution (Chapter 18) shows how the Jewish elites of Galilee adopted villa-like ideas to their *domus*; he broaches the much larger and very important (and as yet unexplored) topic of *provincial* adoptions of Roman/Italian villa ideals in urban houses.

Villas expanded into the Mediterranean and became naturalized in the newly annexed provinces. While the conquest of Africa in the mid-second century CE was Rome's great military achievement, the almost-simultaneous annexation of Greece (with the defeat of the Greek Confederacy and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE) was a cultural triumph. Works of art in vast quantities went from Greece to Rome as spoils of war, but despite its relatively small economic importance, Greece lodged in Roman conceptions as the capital of culture, art, and the sciences. The Greek countryside was easily adaptable to Roman villas, and Maria Papaioannou's contribution (Chapter 19) shows how the existing infrastructure of roads and towns incubated, then supported, a new spread of villas. Her district-by-district account of Roman villas in the Greek peninsula provides a survey comparable to Wilson's account of North African villas, to our knowledge not heretofore available. In addition, with ingenious generosity, she presents the main outlines of the villas of Herodes Atticus, a grandee of the later second century CE and a friend of emperors: He imported to Greece the contexts and even some of the contents of imperial and grand private dwellings more familiar in Rome and Italy.

The Adriatic or Dalmatian coast opposite Italy, from Istria to Epirus, was brought into the Roman hegemony in the late Republic; unsurprisingly, Roman villas there became numerous. Their development and history is presented by William Bowden (Chapter 20), in what is also a valuable synoptic account of very scattered publications that are difficult, in some cases, to access.

## Roman Villas: Late Antiquity

Late antique villas from the third through the sixth centuries CE have become important historical and cultural evidence for both the continuous traditions of Roman economic and social structures and their persistence. A contribution by Guy P.R. Métraux (Chapter 21) on various aspects of late antique villas, based in part on literary and archaeological sources and on the structure of sculptural ensembles in Aquitania (Chiragan portraits) and Gallia Belgica (Welschbillig portraits), outlines how they summed up the cultural context they sought to embody.

Along with villas in Aquitania, the most spectacular construction and decoration of Roman villas occurred in late antique Hispania: special consideration is given to that province in Gisela Ripoll's contribution (Chapter 22), which provides the

history of villas in the peninsula as well as report of recent and very important discoveries and interpretations. Besides emulating the Roman prototypes or making variations on them, late antique villas were often iconographically steeped in the classical culture of gods, myths, history, and personalities (mosaic floors and sculptural contents).

As the concentration of estates and the growing grandeur of villas in late antiquity built by competitive patrons willing to deploy money and energy on inventive designs, decoration, and contents, so too did they take on new ideas. At the time, the most widespread new idea was Christianity, and by the fourth century and with the stamp of imperial approval, owners were prompted to add architectural amenities of the Christian cult (*mausolea* with special symbols, chapels) as well as explicit symbols in the mosaic floors of their villas. The Christianization of villas, a notable late development of the Roman form, is the topic of Kimberly Bowes' contribution (Chapter 22): Her examples range throughout the Western Empire, emphasizing both the singularity of regional expressions and their pervasiveness.

## Roman Villas: Later Manifestations

The emulation of the Roman villa in western architectural traditions is a vast topic that cannot be effectively summarized in this book. However, its importance is such that two contributions touching on both mental and material manifestations of villas have been included.

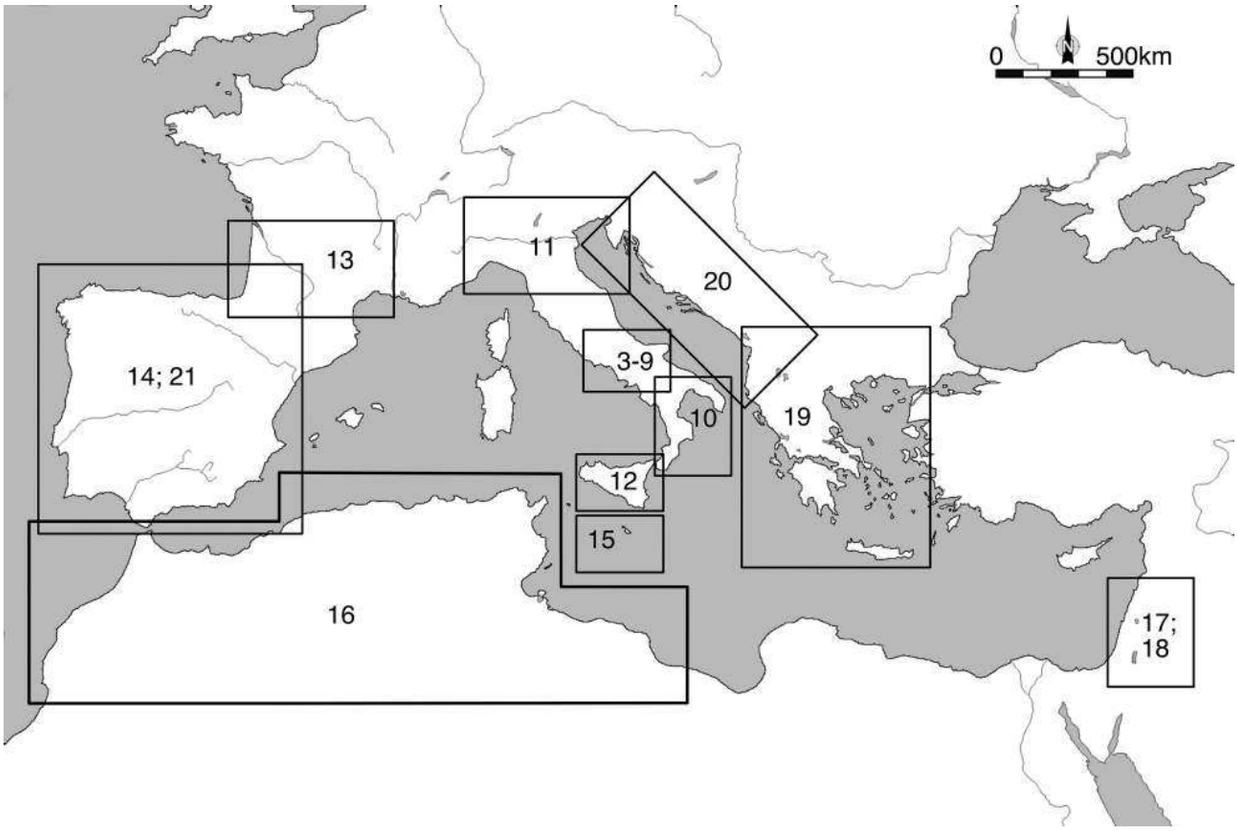
Managing private and public aspects of life is a perennial issue in domestic design: How the king's bedroom generates the *enfilade* of public spaces is a problem for palaces, and it is also a problem for villas and *domus* of *privati*. In fact, the relation of public and private modes was a concern in Roman domestic architecture; even more important, they became and still are design issues. Is a dwelling intended to incubate the private person or to represent him or her? Pierre du Prey's contribution (Chapter 24) shows how Pliny the Younger's preoccupation with procuring privacy in two of his villas in the face of his *persona* as a public figure was realized both in Pliny's intentions and in much later reconstructions of his privacy and the private/public dilemma. The Roman villa as an instrument of combined private delectation and public instruction is given an archetype in J. Paul Getty's reconstruction of the Villa of the Papyri in a canyon in Malibu, California. Kenneth Lapatin shows us how it worked (Chapter 25). The original villa near Herculaneum, possibly owned by L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, Julius Caesar's father-in-law, was emblematic of the luxury of late Republican Roman elites as well as the repository of a philosophical library. Its emulation, the Getty Villa at Malibu, has developed from being the personal project of a wealthy man into an international, well-funded, and established center for learning about the ancient world, in part on the basis of a repository of Greek and Roman art that was, after all, one of the purposes of Roman villas: great cultural tradition, viability (agricultural in the case of Roman villas, financial in the case of the Getty Villa), and a vigorous exponent of knowledge. Roman villas and their culture are exportable beyond the Mediterranean to the Pacific coast of the United States.

## Notes

1. For definitions, see Leveau 1983, the articles in Magnou-Nortier 1993, and Ursula Rothe in this book (Chapter 2).
2. General histories of Roman villas are few in number. Notable among them are McKay 1975, 100–35, 156–200, 210–37, Percival 1976, Mielsch 1987, 1999, Ackerman 1990, 35–62, Smith 1997, and vol. 2 of Gros 1996; useful compendium of articles in Reutti 1990; Ayoagi and Steingräber 1999; most recently, articles in Ciardiello 2007. Some Roman villas and their tradition are discussed in Bentmann and Müller 1970. Surveys of large geographical regions are also few in number: for the Bay of Naples, D'Arms 1970 (reprint 2003); for central Italy, Marzano 2007; for environs of Rome, De Franceschini 2005 and individual articles in Santillo Frizell and Klynne 2005; for Tibur and Tusculum, Tombrägel 2012 and Castillo Ramírez 2005, respectively; for maritime villas, especially in Italy, Lafon 1981b and 2001. For the Iberian

Peninsula, Gorges 1979; for Aquitania, Balmelle 2001; for Republican villas near Rome, articles and introduction in Becker and Terrenato 2012; for late antique Italy, Sfameni 2006. Rescue excavations in the countryside have also become important: for Gaul, the *Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives* in its volume for 2005 has accounts of its activities for Roman villas. For villas in northern Gaul, Germania, and Britain see most recently the articles in Roymans and Derks 2011.

3. The evidence of Sicilian villa owners was used by Cicero in his speeches *In Verrem* to document Verres' abuse of his official position.
4. Rossiter 1989; Foss 1976, 47–8, 73–4.
5. D'Arms 1970, 2003; Zarmakoupi 2013.
6. The copying of metropolitan styles in provinces is a theme of empire discussed in Maier 2006, 78–111.
7. The extent to which the alimentary scheme implemented by Trajan was targeted to poor families is controversial; see Jongmann 2002.
8. The impetus for this book came from an international conference in 2008 organized by Thomas Noble Howe (Southwestern University) and Uri Dromi; the latter, director of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim Center in Jerusalem, kindly made the resources and hospitality of the Center and the Konrad Adenauer Conference Center available to the participants; the conference was conceived by Professor Howe in the context of the *Fondazione Restoring Ancient Stabiae* (RAS) project. This book includes contributions from many of the 2008 participants, but since then, the editors have asked numerous others to contribute in order to assure geographical, thematic, and chronological coverage of villas throughout the Roman world in the Mediterranean.
9. The first book on the Oplontis Project has been published as an e-book (Clarke and Muntasser eds. 2014). For other publications generated by the Project see list on the official webpage: www.oplontisproject.org/bibliography/.
10. Zarmakoupi 2014.
11. The sculptures of the Chiragan villa are part of Guy P.R. Métraux's contribution (Chapter 21).




Map 1. Overview of the geographic areas covered in the book, with reference to the maps.