

# The Romanization of the lands of Xàbia

## 1. Introduction

Although all historical processes play an important role in the formation of peoples, Romanization has marked us in a forceful and lasting way. Just think about our language, which was derived from Latin at the end of the High Middle Ages (although in our case it was brought by feudal conquerors who occupied the land and created the Kingdom of Valencia in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century). Or think of Roman rights, or the division into dioceses that the Catholic Church still uses, and many other facets that Romanization has left us.

However, this process of social, cultural, economic and political assimilation resulting from conquest and occupation by Rome was advanced unevenly in each territory as a result of significant differences between the various peoples of the Iberian peninsula.

The lands of Xàbia, like other territories of the Mediterranean peninsular watershed, were part of the Iberian culture, with long term contacts and relations of all kinds with the various peoples of the Mediterranean. This circumstance favoured rapid assimilation of new Roman models by the Iberian population. Very soon, the characteristic Iberian settlement on high ground gave way to a new occupation of the land. This new pattern of occupation was characterized by the appearance of numerous settlements that in Xàbia were located mainly on the slopes of the valley and on several points along the coast.

The Xàbia valley has a width that varies between 4.5 km at the easternmost end and 2.5 km to the west, with a length of approximately 9km. Its northern limit is defined by the massif of Montgó with the Plana de Sant Antoni. To the south the limits are marked by the massif of Tossalets, which is open at the eastern end where it communicates with the small valley of Cansalades (in which to date no settlements of Iberian or Roman chronology have been found). At the western end, the valley of Xàbia communicates with the lands of Lluca, where one of the Roman settlements is located. The south-west sector is delimited by the northern foothills of Tossal Gros.

The western limit of the valley is marked by the Cretaceous outcrops of the Jesús Pobre area, while the extreme east is the barrier of the Muntanyar (a cordon of fossil dunes) broken by the Arenal beach (former mouth of the Gorgos river). This marks the separation between the valley and the sea and is where amphibious formations corresponding to an old lagoon are found.

The geological materials that make up the valley are basically Quaternary brought by the river. The mountain ranges that delimit the area correspond to Cretaceous formations lined by Miocene strata on the eastern slope of Tossalets.

Although there are no important water sources, this territory is a rich and fertile agricultural area due to the relatively high rainfall, as well as the presence of groundwater and some surface flow which continued in ancient times (La Barranquera) together with seasonal sources, such as the Xàbia or Gorgos river.

## 2. Classical Sources

For a territory with so much evidence of Roman occupation, there are hardly any classical written references. A possible direct reference to these lands is a quote of the geographer of the Bética, Pomponius Mela, a Latin writer of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Mela mentions the *Promontorium Ferrarium*

in his work *De Chorographia* "... From here the sea penetrates into the lands, but this, entering later with great impetus, divides it into two gulfs by the promontory called Ferraria.. ... "II, 91. A little further on, we read: " ... *Ebussos is in front of the promontory called Ferraria, which rises in the Sucronensis Gulf...* "II, 125. From the reading of the quote we can infer that the *promontorium* mentioned must be the set of cliffs, capes and points located between the Cape of Sant Antoni and the Morro del Roàbit (Roàbit point). Another classic geographer, the Greek Strabo (63 BC - 19 BC) writes in his *Geography*: "... *Its name is Dianiom, Artemision, in its vicinity there are good iron mines and two islands, the Planesia and Plumbaria ...* ", III, 4,6. It's likely that those iron mines located near Dénia mentioned by the Greek author, would be responsible for the name of *Promontorium Ferraria*. However, operations for the extraction of iron or any other ore are not known in Xàbia or in the rest of the region. The only information we can provide in this regard is that there are mines for obtaining ferrous ochre (haematite) used as traditional pigments, which are in the Granadella area.

Later, St. Gregory of Tours in his treatise *Gloria confessorum* (Chapter XII and XIII) tells us: "*I learned long ago of an event which occurred in Hispania. When King Leovigildo fought his son, his army - as was customary – fiercely attacked the holy places. There was a monastery of San Martin between Sagunto and Carthago Spartaria, and the monks fled, sensing that the army had arrived at that place. They hid on an island in the sea, leaving their old abbot. The Goths arrived and destroyed the contents of the monastery which had been left unguarded, insulting the abbot who was stooped by old age but righteous in his holiness. One of them drew his sword as if to cut the abbot's throat: instantly he fell backwards and exhaled his spirit. Seeing this, the others fled in panic and when the incident became known to the king he ordered that everything that had been stolen from the monastery be returned*" (Llobregat, 1977).

This document (which narrates a historical event between 582 and 584 AD – a period of struggle between Leovigildo and Hermenegildo) has enabled historians to locate in our area (with many reservations and without any archaeological evidence) the famous monastery of San Martín from Visigothic times. This would be perpetuated in the place-names *Capdedartí* and *Cap de Sant Martí*, documented since the medieval period. However, this event occurred during the Byzantine domination of the south and south-east of the peninsular, which was occupied from the south of Portugal to the mouth of the Júcar (552-625), which makes the entry of Visigothic troops into a territory controlled by the Imperials unlikely. Apart from the quote provided by Chabás on a notarial document by Francesc Urteaga, from 1566, in which Joan Oliver sells to Pere Segarra an estate in Cap Martí, on the border with the ruins of a monastery (Chabás, 1919), we do not currently have any definitive archaeological evidence to provide light on this subject.

### 3. Historiography

The first references from the modern era on the historiography of Xàbia in Roman times are found in the work of the chronicler Gaspar Escolano, *Décadas de la Historia de la Insigne y Coronada Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia* (1610), who in his work considers that the monastery of Jerónimo de la Plana, occupied the remains of a primitive Visigothic monastic foundation. Francisco Diago, in his *Anales del Reyno de Valencia* (1613) and before that, Rafel Martí Viciano, in his *Crónica* (1564), identified Xàbia with the city of Saetabucula, "the small Xàtiva", which appears in the tables of Ptolemy (geographer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), linking it with the city of Saetabis, the current Xàtiva.

Another character, Pere Xolbi, a provost of Xàbia, left us a few but interesting historical-archaeological references about his town in the work of Tomás López *Relaciones geográficas, topográficas e históricas del Reino de Valencia* (1777). As for the Roman era, Xolbi tells us, speaking of the Fontana Point and its surroundings, that "*In the vicinity of the fort of San Martín*

*fragments of individual tombs, one for each body, with bones, etc. have been discovered, and other buildings, and especially those that showed the melting of metal. Then pipes, conduits, and lead pipes that led to jars and tinajas (huge jars) were found in the ground".*

In the mid-nineteenth century, Pascual Madoz mentions in his *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar* (Volume IX, pp. 1847) some notes of interest on Xàbia, making reference to the possible location of Hemeroscopeion in these lands.

We will have to wait until the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to find the first notes and rigorous studies on Xàbia from the pen of the wise and learned Roque Chabás (1844-1912). These are articles, notes and transcripts of documents published in the magazine *El Archivo* (1886 - 1893), which were first published in Dénia and then in València. Standing out among them with regard to Roman times, is the report of the appearance of the Roman relief found in Xàbia, which was published in number 4 of the magazine edited in 1886; we also find other references in *Historia de la ciudad de Dénia* (1874-1876) by the same author.

Well into the twentieth century is the *Geografía General del Reyno de Valencia* (1920), a work published in several volumes. The volume corresponding to the province of Alicante was written by F. Figueras Pacheco (1880-1960), a scholar from Alicante, who provides several interesting facts about the ancient history of Xàbia. Years later, the same author published an archaeological synthesis about our town: "*Panorama arqueológico de Jávea y sus cercanías*", (1945) an article which appeared in the Spanish Archive of Archeology.

Also from the 1940's there is a series of works of variable extent and interest, such as notes published by José Belda - at that time director of the Provincial Archaeological Museum of Alicante - within the *Memorias de los museos arqueológicos provinciales*, as well as some reports which appeared in the *Noticario Arqueológico Hispano* of the early fifties. In 1944, Juan Bover, a local researcher, published an important set of data on the archaeology of the area: *Yacimientos arqueológicos de Jávea. Reseña y catálogo de los Objetos hallados en los mismos* in the *Saitabi* magazine of the University of Valencia. At the same time there is the review about the island of Portitxol by J.Segarra (1947) which appeared in another number of the same magazine.

Between the fifties and the sixties there are few works focused on the ancient history of Xàbia, only some reviews written by J. Belda, mentioned above.

Studies in the seventies are more profuse. The works of G. Martín (1970), *Las pesquerías romanas de la costa de Alicante* stands out with the extensive study together with M<sup>a</sup>Dolores Serres *La factoría pesquera de la Punta del Arenal y otros restos romanos de Jávea ( Alicante)* published by the SIP (1970) within the series *Trabajos varios*. Also E. Llobregat dedicated a study on Xàbia in his works on Late Antiquity: *Materiales Hispano-Visigodos del Museo Provincial de Alicante* (1970), and especially his magnificent book on the *Primitiva Cristiandad Valenciana*, published in 1977. 1976 sees the first study on the underwater archaeology of Xàbia, *Le Mouillage de la anse de la Fontaine in Javea*, by P. Laugier and F. Carrazé, published in *Cahiers d'Archeologie Subaquatique*, in which a good number of finds from the bay are recorded - basically amphoras.

From the mid-eighties until the late nineties, there were many works on Xàbia. Most are relatively extensive syntheses such as the studies of A. Espinós and F. Polo (1985), J.B. Codina (1985) and J. Segarra (1985). In this context the 1986 appearance of the *Xàbiga* magazine edited by the Soler Blasco Museum was particularly important. Several studies on the Roman era have been published in it. Four by J.Bolufer: "*La necròpolis del Muntanyar*", *Xàbiga* 1 (1986); "*Les llànties romanes de la punta de l'Arenal*", *Xàbiga* 2 (1987); "*Un grafit ibèric sobre àmfora itàlica del museu de Xàbia*" *Xàbiga* 3 (1987); "*Ceràmiques tarda tardastarnes de la Punta de l'Arenal*", *Xàbiga* 4 (1988); That

by R. Arroyo i J. Bolufer "Anàlisi numismàtica del conjunt monetari de la Punta de l'Arenal" *Xàbiga*, 4 (1988), and "Resultats de la segona campanya d'excavacions d'urgència en la necròpoli romana del Muntanyar (Xàbia, Marina Alta)", *Xàbiga* 7 (1994), by J. Casabó.

Quite a few studies on this period also appeared in various publications and conferences disseminated more widely. Among these we can highlight: "*Una marca d'àmfora mauritana de la Punta de l'Arenal de Xàbia*", within the *Actes del Col·loqui d'Arqueologia Romana de Badalona* (November-December 1985); "*El poblament romà de Xàbia*", within the *Actes del III Congrés d'Estudis de la Marina Alta* (Sant Vicent / Alacant 1992); "*Les ceràmiques tardanes importades (s IV-VII de ne) del jaciment romà of the Punta de l'Arenal (Xàbia, Marina Alta)*", in the *Actes de la Va reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica de Maó* 1988, (Barcelona 1994), the three by J. Bolufer; "*La Rana (Gata, Marina Alta), un nuevo taller de ánforas del Territorio de Dianium*" by J. Bolufer and I. Banyos, in the Proceedings of the XXI C.N.A. (Teruel-Albarracín 1991), "*Dos casos de poblament romà al País Valencià: La Vall de Xàbia / La Vall dels Alforins*", by J. Bolufer and A. Ribera, in the Proceedings of the *I Congreso de Arqueologia Peninsular* (Porto, Portugal, 1993). There are also extensive references to the Roman era in Xàbia in works covering broader areas, among which are: "*Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Alicante*", by M.A. Rabanal and J.M. Abascal, in the magazine *Lucentum*, volume IV (1985). *Inscripcions romanes d'Ilici, Lucentum, Allon, Dianium i els seus territoris*, by J. Corell (1999), *El mundo funerario romano en el País Valencià*, by R. Gonzalez (2001), or the booklets on the History of the Marina Alta about the Roman Period and Late Antiquity: "*Bajo Imperio y la época tardía en la Marina Alta*" by J. Bolufer, "*La cristianización*". by R. Gonzalez and "*La Romanización de Dianium*", by J. A. Gisbert, (Prensa Alicantina, 1999). From this last author are the works: "*Dues terrisseries romanes del territori de Dianium. Els jaciments de l'Alter de Perdigó i de la Teulera de Jesús Pobre (Dénia, Alacant)*" (1992), "*Àmfores i vi al territorium de Dianium (Dénia). Dades per a la sistematització de la producció d'àmfores al País Valencià*" (1998) and "*Vi tarraconense al País Valencià. Una mirada des dels forns d'àmfores, arqueologia de les vil·les i derelictes de la costa de Dianium (Dénia)*" (2009), works in which some sites in the Xàbia valley are studied. More recent works have been: "*La villa romana de la Punta del Arenal*", by M. Olcina, in *Xàbia, Arqueología y Museo* (2004), as well as the works; *Puertos y navegación en las costas valencianas meridionales* (S. IX dC), by A. Espinosa and others (2006) and the publication *El poblamiento rural de Dianium, Lucentum, Ilici y la ciudad romana de la Vila Joiosa (siglos II aC-VII dC). Bases para su estudio*, by Carolina Frias (2010). And the catalogue of the exhibition held in the Museum of Xàbia "*Romans against Romans. Sertorius and the civil wars in southeastern Hispania*", Feliciano Sala Selles and others (2017).

#### 4. The Roman conquest

Romanization, i.e. the process of change and the substitution of the political, economic, social and cultural structures of the Iberian peoples by those brought from Rome, began with the war between the two great powers that then dominated the Mediterranean: Rome and Carthage.

This conflict, the Second Punic War, began in the year 219 BC when Carthaginian troops commanded by Hannibal attacked and occupied Sagunto / Arse, an important and great city allied with Rome. Until that moment, conflicts generated with Rome by the expansionist policy of Carthage on Iberia, had been solved by means of pacts establishing their respective areas of influence in the peninsular. The southern half more or less belonged to Carthage and the northern half to the Republic of Rome.

In 237 BC, the troops of Carthaginian warlord Amilcar Barca landed in the south of the peninsula; effectively beginning control over the various indigenous peoples that occupied the southern half of

Iberia. His successor, Asdrubal founded Qart Hadasht (Cartagena) around 227 BC establishing a new pact with Rome which moved the previous boundary established in Mastia (Cabo de Palos), towards the Ebro, significantly widening the area of Carthaginian expansion and influence.

Hence the Carthaginian attack on Sagunto / Arse ended in a long conflict between both powers with the Iberian Peninsula as the main backdrop. In the end this became a territory conquered by Rome. In 218 BC Roman troops arrived at the old Greek colony of Emporion (Empúries, l'Escala de Empordà) initiating the conquest of the peninsula. Around 212 BC, Rome entered Sagunto and shortly after, in 209 BC, they conquered the capital Cartago Nova and in 206 BC arrived in Cádiz. This date marked the end of the Second Punic War in the peninsula, a conflict which ended definitively with the Carthaginian retreat after the battle of Zama (202 BC).

With the Carthaginians out, Rome began the conquest and occupation of the entire territory. This was a long process conditioned by the receptiveness of the diverse and heterogeneous peoples who occupied the Iberian Peninsula and their resistance to the conquerors. The various peoples that we define as Iberians very quickly accepted the new occupiers, and were assimilated by new governors coming from Rome. In parts of the peninsula without contact with other Mediterranean peoples, occupation was largely effected by the sword and would only end in the time of Augustus (27 - 17 BC) with the pacification "manu militari" of the Cantabrian area.

At that time the land of Xàbia belonged to the Contestanii and was a completely Iberian territory. Since the end of prehistory it had been open to contacts and influences by other Mediterranean peoples. As noted above, classical sources do not provide any information about our lands at this time, which were nevertheless marked by profound sociological changes among the Iberian peoples. Everything suggests however, a relatively peaceful process. This is characterized by the abandonment of traditional walled Iberian habitations at high altitude and the emergence of new patterns of occupation. These are marked by the creation of new, small settlements located mostly in flat areas or on gentle hillsides, bordering plains and valleys but also in some cases (as in Xàbia) on mid levels, taking advantage of flat spaces on mountains such as the Montgó. These settlements are archaeologically characterized by a ceramic record in which Iberian pottery abounds together with materials of Italian imports (Dressel 1 wine amphorae, black gloss ceramics, etc.) and late Punic ceramics. In Xàbia, sites dating from this time are known only by superficial surveys and we do not have archaeological excavations to provide data on the structure of these settlements.

Excavations carried out elsewhere in the Valencian territory in sites with similar characteristics, such as the Cova de les Bruixes (Poble Nou de Benitatxell) have shown building structures of little identity, such as ditches and holes excavated in the geological soil and bases for stones made with earth. These simple structures, which we must interpret as small agricultural holdings, would have used traditional Iberian construction techniques with canopy coverings and ramparts like those mentioned by Varró (116-27 BC): "... *The fourth and last fence, artificial, is a wall, there are four types: made of stone, as in the Túscolo countryside; of baked tiles, as in the Gallic territory; of crude tiles like on the Sabine plain, of earth and stones rammed in moulds, like in Hispania and the Tarentino countryside ...*" (*De re Rustica*, Lib.I.XIV) or Plini the elder (23-79 AD): "... *are there not mud walls in Africa and Hispania which they call "of moulds" because they grow, rather than being built, cast between two boards ? Such walls last for centuries because they are immune to rain, wind, fire, being stronger than any cement ...*". (*Naturalis Historia*, Lib.XXXV, 169, chapter 48).

In Xàbia, five of these settlements seem to have been abandoned before the change of era (Cap de Martí, Rafal, Teuleria, Punta del Barranc de la Cova Roja and the village of Xàbia). Others, such as

the site of Capçades / Rebaladí and the Assegador de les Valls, lasted a little longer, probably until the first quarter of the first century AD, or perhaps a little more.

In other cases, such as the Vall de Peixet and the Duana, ceramic materials seem to indicate continuity in occupation which would have extended into the High Imperial period, lasting until late antiquity. However, since we are dealing with interpretations of materials from surface surveys and, as in the case of the Duana, of excavations that have not yielded structures, we cannot have total certainty about the origin of these settlements. They could well equate to early foundations from the late-republican period at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, or more probably from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

## 5. Xàbia during the High Roman Empire

After the conquest, Rome divided the peninsula into two large provinces: **Ulterior**, which more or less included the areas lying west of a not always accurate line which crossed the peninsula from the south of Cartagena to Galicia, and **Citerior** province, which occupied the territory to the east of that line and in which the lands of Xàbia were located. At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, Augustus created a new division that divided **Ulterior** into two new provinces: **Baetica**, which occupied the south of the peninsula and **Lusitania** to the west, separated from Baetica by the Guadiana river. This division, with small variations, lasted throughout the early empire until new provincial divisions were made in the time of Diocletian, already in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

All the area known as *ager Dianense* was inside the extensive *Provincia Citerior* or *Tarraconensis*, with its capital in Tarraco, although the capital of the *conventus iuridici* to which these lands belonged was Cartago Nova. The *conventus* were minor administrative divisions within the provinces (in the Citerior there were seven) which basically had a judicial function that was exercised in the capital of the *conventus*.

This vast province depended on the emperor, who delegated his authority to a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* with residence in Tarraco, the capital of the province. Below the *legatus* there was an extended network of imperial officials and other auxiliary and subordinate personnel who would take care of provincial administration.

A new and extensive period in politics was inaugurated by Augustus (63 BC - 14 AD) which culminated with the creation of the Empire (27 BC). This was forged on the basis of the old Roman Republic, but in which the emperor now became the supreme political and military leader. At the same time, a new stage began which in our area was characterized by consolidation of the process of Romanization. Throughout the empire and in a general way, there was the beginning of a long period of social and political stability and economic growth, which was to be called by historiography as the **High Empire**. This lasted until the period of the Military Anarchy (235-284 AD).

Throughout this stage the lands of Xàbia were included within the *ager* of the city of Dianium, a vast territory that occupied approximately the current regions of Safor and Marina Alta. The oldest known reports about Dianium tell us about this city and its port during the civil conflict between the two Roman factions of the *Optimates* and the *Populares*. These were headed respectively by Sila and Mario, who fought to get the power of Rome first in Italy and finally in Iberia. Salustio (86-35 BC) tells us in the *Historiae* that during this confrontation, known as the Sertorian Wars (82-72 BC), the port of Dénia served as the base of operations and supply of the army of Quintus Sertorius. Beyond the conflict between the Roman factions, which ended with the triumph of the *Optimates* at the hand of Pompey, the role developed by Dianium favoured and deepened the Romanization

process in these lands. Thus a Roman military detachment was installed at the archaeological site of the Peña de l'Àguila at the western end of the Montgó, of which numerous remains are conserved (Sala et al. 2014). Undoubtedly contacts between these Italian legionaries and the local population would favour and accelerate the process of acculturation of the Iberian peoples of these lands.

The decisive factor in the process of Romanization was the development of cities, which were the centres of dispersal of this new model imported from Rome. Within this dynamic, the role of Dianium was reshaped by its intervention in the Sertorian conflict, having supported the losing side. Thereafter, there are few documentary references mentioning Dianium, a small town linked to the role developed by its port. This had commercial activity that capitalized on the output of wine, oil and to a lesser extent other agricultural produce from its territory, as well as the import of products of Italian and North African origin in late republican times. These imports become much more diversified during the High Empire. According to Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) in his work *Naturalis Historiae*, Dianium was a *Civitas stipendiaria*, a category of indigenous city that had to pay tributes and taxes to Rome and a unique case in the entire Valencian country. Possibly that situation was punishment imposed by Rome for supporting the side of Sertorius during the civil confrontation between Mario and Sila. However, it seems that Dianium had already attained the rank of municipality in the time of Tiberius (14-37 AD) (Gisbert, 1999).

There are a little over a hundred Latin inscriptions throughout the territory of Dianium (Corell, 1999). These enable us to approximate some of the characteristics of the organization of this *municipium*, as well as the origin, beliefs and rituals practised by its population. Most of the known inscriptions are funerary (approximately 65% of the total), i.e. epitaphs that recall the name and usually some features of the deceased. In Xàbia, we know of only two inscriptions on stone and other minor examples on domestic utensils. The most significant piece corresponds to a *stela* (slab) of local limestone that was recovered in the Riba district, where it had been reused in the construction of a shed. The inscription is clear and simple: *Q · (vintvs) Cornelivs / Clemens · Hic / Sitvs · Est*, i.e., here lies Quinto Cornelius Clemens.

The name and family name of this person are widely represented in Latin epigraphy and clearly indicate its Italian origin. The characteristics of the monument as well as its typeface (square capitals) and the simplicity of the epitaph indicate that it is an ancient inscription from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

The other inscription on stone was found at Punta del Arenal. It is a fragment of a white marble plaque of which only two letters survive. They do not provide information about its use or function, although it probably also equates to a funerary inscription. Other inscriptions relate to names that were engraved on ceramic pieces after firing which would probably refer to the owners of the vessels. The name of *Elpi (s)* can be seen engraved on the side of a ceramic jar of reduction fired clay from the Punta de l'Arenal. This name is well documented in Latin epigraphy and is usually associated with people of servile origin. The name *Lucanus* was found on a fragment of the side of an amphora from the Duana site. There are two graffiti on two terra sigillata plates from the Punta de l'Arenal. The first is of two letters C H, perhaps initials of a name. The second is an almost complete dish of Italian terra sigillata, which preserves an engraving on the inner face: *SATVRNINVS LVP*, which can be expanded to *Saturninus L (ivens) V (otum) P (osuit)*, i.e., *Saturninus offered it willingly for a promise* (Corell, 1999). Some authors interpret this as an offering in fulfilment of a promise to an unspecified deity. *Saturninus* is a well-documented name, especially as *cognomen* (family name) although as *nomen* (forename) it appears linked to people of servile status or sometimes freemen.

From these few data, we can infer the very early presence of Italian citizens in the valley of Xàbia, as would have been the case of Quinto Cornelio, a Latin who would undoubtedly have lived in the

settlement of Vilanova, a site located a only short distance from where the inscription was found. This settlement was a small agricultural farm located in the centre of the valley on the gentle slope of a south facing hill, right on the banks of the Barranquera. This is a small freshwater course that crosses the valley from its origin in the Rana to the west, eventually draining into the river Gorgos. The site had a long occupation starting in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC that ended at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Materials recovered in surface surveys indicate some of the characteristics of the settlement, such as the presence of *tegulae*, quadrangular and semicircular tiles, and stone blocks. There are also other items that bring us closer to the agricultural activities that were carried out, such as *dolia* (large earthenware vessels) some fragments of millstones, remains of hydraulic mortar and loom weights.

Apart from the problematic dating and differentiation between late-Iberian settlements and the truly Roman ones of the late republican era, the last years of the first century of AD saw a large and dense population consolidating throughout the valley and along its coastline; a population seeming to maintain the characteristics and pattern of land occupation initiated in the wake of the Roman conquest. Small farms that bordered the valley multiplied and the important settlements of the coast: the Duana, the Punta de la Fontana or Arenal and to a lesser extent the island of Portitxol were born or consolidated.

When the great empire of Rome had been enlarged, consolidated and pacified by its first emperor Augustus (27 BC - 14 AD), unprecedented social and economic development of that huge territory was made possible.

Classical sources generically designate farms located in the countryside as *villae*. According to Columela (one of the most important Roman agronomists of the first century AD), these areas were composed of three parts: *urbana*, that is to say housing and other residential constructions; *rustica*, dedicated to livestock, workers and slaves; and the *pars fructuaria* which corresponded to harvest stores. The agricultural territory or *fundus* always appeared to be linked to the villa. In Xàbia, the only Roman site from this time that we can consider as a villa is the Punta de la Fontana or Arenal, with an important luxurious architectural complex and other structures linked to the processes of agriculture and fishing. The remaining settlements, except Duana and the island of Portitxol, are consistent with mostly small farms without architectural components or sumptuous constructions.

There are many documented settlements dating from the High Empire in Xàbia (from the reign of Augustus until the period of the Military Anarchy (235-284 AD)). Eighteen sites from between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD are known. The great majority of these are in the valley and on the coast. But there is also evidence of occupation (always of little importance) in high places with very few possibilities for agricultural use, such as the hill of Santa Llúcia (162 m elevation) and the tip of the Barranc de la Cova Roja (235 m high), located on the sunny side of the Montgó.

It seems that these elevated settlements had already been abandoned before the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Occupation of the settlement of Capçades / Rebaldí, which was probably absorbed by nearby sites, also ceased. While two new settlements appeared: Tossals and Tarraula.

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century three small agricultural settlements were abandoned: the Vall dels Puces, the Camí de les Valls and the Assegador de les Valls. Also it seems that during this period the Atzúbia site was temporarily abandoned, becoming occupied once more from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. This retraction of settlement seems to be part of a more general crisis affecting a significant number of rural settlements in the *ager dianensis* which were abandoned during the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Perhaps this reversal of Roman settlement in Xàbia is indicative of population re-grouping,

going from seventeen sites in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, to thirteen active settlements during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> century is characterized by the great political, social and economic crisis created throughout the empire during the period known as the Military Anarchy (235-284). During this period there was a continuous succession of emperors (who came to power in most cases by the violent death of their predecessor) and an appearance of usurpers to the imperial throne. At the same time banditry, looting and destruction caused by barbarians became endemic. In the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Germanic barbarians entered the Tarraconensis province from Gaul, causing a great deal of carnage.

This crisis seems to have affected our area in a milder way. However, the insecurity and instability of the time is evidenced by the presence of a military garrison (*vexillatio*) known through a cave inscription in the Cova de l'Aigua (Montgó, Dénia) dated between 235-238 AD. It is also reflected in the hoard of coins (668 sesterces and 1 dupondius) known as the treasure of the Mirador. This was found in an unspecified place in the municipality of Xàbia or Dénia having been hidden between 241-242 AD. It was comprised of coins dated between the years 69 and 240 AD (Abascal et al, 1995). The economic impact of the crisis was manifested both in Xàbia and the region by the abandonment of some rural settlements, but above all by a downturn in commercial activity. This is indicated by the disappearance of the great potteries of Almadrava (Els Poblets) and also perhaps seen in the amphora workshop of Rana (Gata) where production of flat-based amphorae seems to have stopped. These amphorae would have been containers for wine produced in the Xàbia valley and surrounding areas.

## 6. The land of Xàbia in the Late Empire and Late Antiquity

The framework of crisis and general instability in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century seems not to have had a profound effect on the structure of Roman settlement in Xàbia. Only the Lluca settlement failed to survive beyond the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, being abandoned sometime in the middle of that century as apparently confirmed by the finding of a Trajan Decius sesterce (249-251 AD) .

The serious problems that the empire was suffering were faced decisively by Diocletian (245-313 AD) who acceded to the imperial throne in 284 AD, initiating the last stage of the empire until the removal of the last western Roman emperor in 476 AD. Diocletian solved the serious military problems caused by a variety of barbarian peoples who pressurized the borders of the empire, putting an end to a large extent to the *Bagaudes* (a kind of bandit), who were responsible for looting and destruction within the borders of the empire, especially in Gaul and the Peninsula. There was a profound administrative and political restructuring of the empire under this emperor, who created the Tetrarchy, which divided the rule of the empire between two Augustus and two Caesars. At the same time he increased the number of provinces (which would go from 48 to 104), now grouped in dioceses controlled by a *vicarius* and linked to several Prefectures of the Praetorium. Xàbia, together with the rest of the Valencian lands south of the Júcar, now became part of the new Hispania Carthaginensis province, with its capital in Carthago Nova (Cartagena), the place of residence of the provincial governor. This and five new provinces created in the peninsula (later increased with the Baleares province), formed the **Diocesis Hispaniarum**, governed by a *vicarius* to which the provincial governors were subordinated. At the same time, this diocese along with those of Britain and the two of Gaul, would be included within the Prefecture of Gaul, controlled by a prefect of the Praetorium.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century fifteen settlements remained occupied, thirteen of which had been created in previous times. Two new occupations were established in areas part way up the sunny side of the Montgó, being locations with a great visual overview of the region but with little or no agricultural

use: the *Penya de Pons* and the *Tossal de Santa Llúcia*. These sites are small and with a poor ceramic record. Due to the characteristics of the locations they may have developed activities related to livestock and goat grazing. A function of control and surveillance of the area cannot be ruled out at least for the *Tossal de Santa Llúcia*, which had been occupied from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

The definitive partition of the Empire took place at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It was divided between the sons of the emperor Teodosio: Arcadio (395-408 AD) became emperor of the East and Honorio (395-423 AD) of the West. A few years later, at the end of the first decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, different barbarian peoples came into the Iberian Peninsula: Swabians, Vandals and Alans, and not long after, the Visigoths in the year 415 AD. Through a pact (*foedus*) with Rome in 416 AD, the Visigoths accepted a commitment to expel the other peoples. In exchange they could settle in Aquitaine, where they ended up founding the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse. Years later, around 472 AD, the Visigoths occupied Tarraconensis, breaking the previous pacts with Rome. These convulsive times elsewhere did not affect the population of Xàbia, where eighteen settlements in the municipal area during the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD have been recorded, with three new occupations as compared to the previous century: *Camí dels Canons*, *Senioles* and *Cova del Montgó*. However, these were settlements of slight importance with a limited material record, especially with respect to the last two.

The following century was marked in the Peninsula by the disappearance of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse. This was broken up by the pressure of the Franks who scared the Visigoths into the Iberian Peninsula where they created the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo (507 AD). There are very few reports from the sources of those times which were characterized by a succession of Visigothic monarchs. In most cases these rulers ended their mandate suddenly at the hands of opponents or supporters of another option to occupy the Toledo throne. Other events of a warlike nature marked this time of instability, such as the incursion of the Franks into Tarraconensis (531 AD) and the uprising of the Cordobans against Visigothic power in the time of King Aquila.

From that time on, the empire of East intensified pressure on the south and south-east of the Peninsula. In the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, the confrontation between King Áquila and Atanagildo (a Visigothic nobleman who aspired to occupy the throne), provoked the entry of imperial troops into the peninsular territory. This was in response to a call made by the latter with the intention of dethroning Aquila. In the summer of 552 AD, Emperor Justinian's troops disembarked and after supporting the army of Atanagildo, they consolidated their presence on a wide coastal area that extended approximately from the mouth of the Guadalquivir to the Júcar River. Xàbia and the rest of the territory of Dianium were then under Byzantine power, although for some researchers the northern limit of the area occupied by imperialists is further south.

Until recently, we did not have any archaeological evidence to support Byzantine presence in our area. However, the discovery of a bronze inkwell in the tomb of a scribe in the great necropolis of Oxirrinco (Egypt), has enabled us to interpret an almost identical piece which appeared in the excavations of the Muntanyar necropolis 32 years ago. The inkwell found in Xàbia corresponds to a piece produced in a workshop in the eastern Mediterranean (perhaps Egypt) probably in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, during the Byzantine period of domination of both Egypt and the south and south-east of the Iberian Peninsula (Padró and Bolufer, 2016). This enables us to relate the finding in the Muntanyar with imperial control of this part of the peninsular, explaining the arrival of products from the eastern Mediterranean.

Years later, under the reign of Suintila (621-631 AD), this region was reincorporated into the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo. A Dianense bishop named Antonius was mentioned for the first time

in the Toledo council of 636 AD. Perhaps the Byzantine occupation had stopped the presence of prelates of the bishopric of Dianium in the councils.

There was still a significant population in the municipality of Xàbia in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, at least during the first decades. Nine agricultural settlements occupied the wide space of the valley and its slopes, but there were other less suitable places, as indicated by a few ceramic materials collected in the Cova del Montgó, perhaps related to livestock activities. Also the important sites along the coast continued to be active and occupied: the Duana, the Punta de la Fontana and the Island of Portitxol. Soon however, perhaps in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century or shortly before, it seems that the island settlement was abandoned.

In the following century, on the eve of the Muslim entry and occupation, only three settlements maintained a degree of activity: the Punta de la Fontana, the Duana and Atzúbia. Archaeological evidence stops after the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the remainder of the sites.

We do not know what happened to these people. Although the population of the territory of Xàbia was concentrated in the three settlements mentioned above, we cannot explain such a noticeable decline in demography. Still more, when archaeological evidence recovered in the Duana and Punta de la Fontana dated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD indicate insignificant occupation. Only the recent excavation of the Atzúbia site shows a relatively rich archaeological record, with structures and materials that allow us to interpret that settlement as an agricultural enterprise which was still active in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.

We have not found any evidence of human occupation in the municipality, neither on land nor in the sea, from this time until the 9<sup>th</sup> - 10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Thus, the first centuries of the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula which started in 711 AD, represent a profound population gap in Xàbia and also in the region at large.

## 7. Communications in Roman times. Roads, ways and maritime routes.

Xàbia is located in the easternmost part of the country, on the promontory that divides the Valencian coast into two great gulfs. This is just where the mountain ranges of the pre-Betic system reach the sea, creating a coastline of high cliffs which characterize this sector of the central and southern coast of the Marina Alta. The location of these lands and their orography have been responsible for a degree of isolation which has conditioned their historical development. Xàbia and the whole Marina in general were in a marginal corner of the road network during Roman times. The great Via Augusta, which connected Rome (the capital of the empire) with Cádiz, crossed our long country from north to south, diverting its route to the Ribera where it crossed the river Júcar heading for the city of Xàtiva (*Saetabis*). Thence it went up the natural corridor of the Costera until it arrived at the Font de la Figuera, where the road forked towards Elx (*Illici*) through the Vinalopó valley, while the other branch went inland towards *Cástulo* (Linares, Jaén).

In addition to this route there was another one from *Sucro* (the Vint-i-huitena ?, Albalat de la Ribera), which diverted to *Portum Sucrone* (Cullera), continued south to reach *Dianium* and from there, by a route still not well clarified, would go south heading for the Roman city of Vila Joiosa (most likely the *Allon / Allonis* mentioned to the ancient sources), to continue on towards *Lucentum* (the Tossal de Manises, Alacant) linking with the coastal route of the Via Augusta from *Illici* (l'Alcudia, Elx). When arriving in Dénia, several branches left this *municipium* in a south and south-west direction. The remains of a bridge from Roman times was found on the river Gorgos a few years ago (Gisbert 1999). This is very close to the current N-332 bridge and suggests the existence

of a new route which according to J.A.Gisbert would have headed east on the Gata to Benitzaina road, then linked with the Vell de Teulada road to the south.

Be that as it may, that which has not yet been resolved is the continuation of the great coastal road south from *Sucro* to *Dianium*. The orography of the Marina Alta makes it very difficult to consider passage to the south by the narrow, difficult and insecure pass of the Mascarat, despite the existence of a mountain path for people and horses. Possibly, this coastal route would have followed the way marked in the *Historia Roderici*, but in reverse. In one of this document's episodes written in Latin and dated in the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Cid and his troops acquired a lot of booty that was hidden in a cave near Polop in the Marina Baixa. From there, El Cid's men burdened with the considerable wealth they had seized, went towards Ondara and Dénia following the route that passed through *Portum Tarnani*, i.e. the pass of Tàrbena, or as it is currently known, the "Coll de Rates". They crossed the valley of Xaló to pass through La Llosa, a place name that clearly indicates the passage of an important road or path; From there, the road to Ondara and Dénia passed through flatlands without further complications. This route, despite being in use in medieval times, would simply have followed an old road active since Roman times or even earlier. This seems to be indicated by the evidence of Iberian settlements along the way and the place name *Rates*, which some researchers interpret as an Iberianism related to the Basque word *arrate*, formed by *arri* and *arte*, meaning something like "between stones".

In Xàbia, Roman settlement seems to follow and adapt to a series of old lanes that were the main axes of road communication in the valley of Xàbia until the last century. Basically, all these lanes follow the same orientation as the valley, that is from west to east. Others running perpendicular to these with a mainly north-south orientation seem to relate to later times, definitely the medieval period. Although in some cases they also seem to structure the Roman community settled in those places; like the lane which is part of the highway which goes up to the Poble Nou de Benitatxell following the gully and the vale of Lluca,

From north to south, the first road is the Camí Vell de Pedreguer (in the Modern age called *camí de València*) which starts from the western end of the valley going towards the port and the Duana. There are still some kilometres of this road which are not asphalted, keeping the remnants of paving in some fords. To the south, the Camí Vell de Gata, also known as the Barranqueres, maintains a similar layout with a south-west direction at the western end and a north-east direction at the easternmost end, where meets the Camí Vell de Pedreguer going towards the port.

The camí de Cabanes (called *de les Cabanes* in late medieval documentation) is a long lane which runs at the foot of the south slope of the Xàbia valley: From the north-west end, it skirts the valley and south of the plain ( Pla) and extends to Portitxol. The way to the Poble Nou begins from the Camí de Cabanes, heading south. There are numerous sites on the side of this road such as Lluca, and others outside the Xàbia area: the Pous de l'Abiar (Poble Nou de Benitatxell), Les Moraires, the Tossal del Camí del Rei, Paigi and others within the municipality of Teulada. The Cabanes road linked with other roads at the western end that went towards Dianium and from there towards Sucro and Valentia.

Other minor roads also seem to be linked to communities and settlements of Roman chronology, such as the Assegador dels Forandons in the south-west corner of the valley. This has an east-west orientation, which connected the settlements of Forandons and Ecles (Gata); the Camí de les Tarraules (with a small settlement beside it) which connects the Assegador de Cabanes with the Poble Nou road; and the roads that skirt the bay, from La Duana to la Caleta, which connected settlements as important as the Duana and the Punta de la Fontana.

But without doubt, the most important communication route of Xàbia during Antiquity was the sea. The optimal natural conditions of the wide bay, as well as the Portitxol, with protected areas and watering points, favoured the arrival of vessels and the presence of a related commercial activity documented archaeologically from the 8<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. However, the largest number of underwater finds recorded on the coast of Xàbia date from Roman times between the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 7<sup>th</sup> AD century, with a concentration in the 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> century BC and between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.

The great majority of the marine routes would have been of coastal cabotage, with boats that came down the coast from the ports to the north: Dianium, Saguntum, perhaps Tarraco, etc.; or came up from the south from Allon, Lucentum, Portus Illicitanus and perhaps Carthago Nova, always making short trips which followed the general currents that flow down the peninsular's Mediterranean coast from north to south. Though in the Gulf of Alacant they turn from south to north up until the end of the Cap de la Nau.

Some of the great maritime traffic of the Roman epoch went towards Rome or *Gallia Narbonensis* from the peninsular's Mediterranean coast via the Balearic islands, starting from the end of the Cap de la Nau, taking advantage of the current that goes eastwards from there.

## 8. Economic activities

The characteristics and location of the Roman settlements in Xàbia allow us to get an idea of the economic activities that took place in them. The natural resources of this area suggest an economy centred on agriculture (the primary activity of these lands until very recent times), combined in some cases with other developments such as at the coastal settlements of the Duana, the Punta de la Fontana and the Isla del Portitxol, where fishing and commercial activities, and perhaps salt exploitation of the Saladar would play an important role.

In Roman times there were substantial changes in agriculture which affected the possession and production of farms, with the improvement and extension of crops and the emergence of new crops from other parts of the Mediterranean. However, the crops of the Mediterranean triad: wheat, vine and olive, were the most important. Cultivation of the vine had a particularly large expansion in the Marina Alta from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, as evidenced by numerous workshops known in the region where they made amphorae for wine. Also cereals, above all wheat and barley, occupied a significant part of the cultivated land along with legumes such as lentils, beans, peas, almortas (grass peas) etc. which are documented in many sites on the Mediterranean peninsular and would undoubtedly also have occurred here. The olive tree was one of the well represented trees in the agriculture of Xàbia and the Marina Alta. This is demonstrated by the discovery of millstones (*orbis*) of the mills to make oil (*trapetum*), counterweights of olive presses and some of the amphorae for containing oil manufactured in the workshop of Almadrava (Els Poblets) and other workshops of the Safor .

In a more limited way, the Romans in the Mediterranean peninsular also cultivated other fruit trees such as fig, peach, plum, cherry, almond and walnut. The use of wild fruits such as blackberries, holm-oak acorns and other mountain species has also been documented in nearby areas.

### 8.1. The vineyard and wine

There are several pieces of archaeological evidence that demonstrate the importance of grape cultivation and the production of wine both in Xàbia and in nearby areas. Several amphora

production workshops have been located at the western end of the valley of Xàbia, but outside its municipal area: La Rana in the Gata area; the Alter de Perdigó and the Teulera within the Dénia area.

The first of the workshops, la Rana, is located on the banks of the Barranquera, next to an important aquifer and in an area with clay soils ideal for the manufacture of ceramics. At this site, we have been able to verify the manufacture of flat based amphorae that are generically known as Dressel 30. These are medium-sized containers, with a capacity of approximately 20-25 litres, which would have been used to package and market the wines produced in the valley. We can place the activity of these amphora kilns between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, although some of the fine ceramics found in the site make us lengthen the occupation of this workshop until at least the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Perhaps these potters' kilns continued producing other pieces of common ceramic for domestic use (pots, jars, bowls, etc). It seems that wine amphorae were also produced in the Alter de Perdigó, in this case Dressel type 2-4, with dates centred in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The Teulera workshop, located at the foot of the western end of the Montgó, very close to Jesús Pobre, produced amphorae of the types Dressel 2-4, Dressel 30 and Olive 3, with a chronology placed between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. None of these sites has been excavated. However we know of other workshops such as the one in Vinyals (Ondara), Xaló, and the important pottery grouping of the Almadrava, located on the seashore at the eastern end of the Els Poblets area. Here, the remains of three ovens with a rectangular layout, covered with a vault and with the firing chamber excavated in the ground are known. These workshops were active from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (or shortly before) and the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, producing wine amphorae of types Dressel 2-4, Dressel 30 / Galoise 4, Almadrava 4 and also of type Olive 3, the latter containers were definitely destined to contain and transport oil.

The amphora workshops in the valley of Xàbia mentioned above, would probably have had characteristics similar to Almadrava, but with more modest dimensions. Thus, between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and at least until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, wines produced in this area would have been packaged in these amphorae.

Apart from the production of the aforementioned wine containers, other items recovered in the Roman sites of Xàbia could be indicators of wine-making. In addition to presses, which we will discuss when dealing with oil production, there are materials that could be related to this process which are very common in the Roman settlements of Xàbia. These are tubs or basins lined with hydraulic mortar called *signinum*, made with lime mortar and broken ceramic fragments, remains of which we have found in thirteen sites in the municipality. These structures can be detected by the presence of remnants of the mortar. However the existence of *signinum* may not be related exclusively to the production of wine. It could also correspond to oil mills and workshops and even to other activities, such as the tubs and basins located in the Punta del Arenal, where they could have been involved in the process of salting fish. Only data provided by an archaeological excavation would be able to clarify whether these structures belonged to a vineyard, an oil production workshop or some other function. The only Roman site in the valley where the remains of one of these tubs are preserved is that of the Ecles (Gata), where one can see a section of a basin 175 cm long and about 50 cm high on the edge of a vineyard terrace.

Recent excavations carried out at the Atzúbia site have brought to light what could be the oldest vestiges of a vineyard known in Xàbia. This is a series of small rectangular and elongated pits excavated in the marly soil, within which two rootstocks of vine would have been planted, one at each end of the pit. This technique, which is well documented archaeologically, is known as *de fossa* or *scrobis*, and perhaps equates to the planting technique described by Plini the Elder as *alveolus* (A. Martin, 2015).

## 8.2. The olive tree and olive oil

Olive oil, one of the crops of the Mediterranean "triad", was also produced in the valley. However, thus far the archaeological evidence is not as clear as in the case of wine. As far as we know, the only olive oil amphorae in the valley of Xàbia were produced in the pottery of Teulera (Jesús Pobre). Neither do we know of olive millstones (*orbes*) in our area. Yes, large limestone counterweights have been found in some sites in the valley of Xàbia. These would have formed part of classical beam presses; elements that could equally belong to workshops for the pressing and production of oil as for the production of wine.

These mechanisms consisted of a large beam with a counterweight on one end which was connected to it by a moving screw or windlass (*tórcul*), while at the other end the beam remained fixed on the top. The olive paste was placed in layers under the beam, being framed by "*arbores*", vertical trunks, usually four, which served as a guide to the beam and secured it. The action of the screw at the counterweight lowered the beam, pressing the olive paste and extracting the oil. We know of a large, cylindrical limestone counterweight from the site of Benimadroc, a rural settlement with a long chronology (1<sup>st</sup> century BC - early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) located on the northern slope of the central area of the valley. The piece is located on the edge of an agricultural terrace. It is a large block of worked limestone, cylindrical in shape and partially broken at one end, conserving a maximum length of 135 cm and a maximum diameter of 84 cm, although originally it would have been longer. A hole about 8 cm in diameter and 7 cm deep is preserved in the centre of the end that has not been cut. This item weighs approximately 2,000 kg. Similar counterweights have come to light in other sites nearby, such as the settlement of Estanyó (Dénia), also interpreted as an part of a *tórcul*. Another counterweight, probably belonging to a press for obtaining oil, was recovered in the settlement of the Duana. In this case it is a large, for the most part worked, block of limestone which is more or less rectangular in shape. It has a notch in the form of a dovetail at the top, and two smaller ones, similar and only partially preserved, located on the corners on the opposite side. The piece has approximate dimensions of 130 cm x 95 cm x 82 cm, and a weight greater than 2,500 kg. The site has been profoundly transformed and altered by the intense urbanization of this marine district. However, the significance of the findings that have been made and its long period of occupation (from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD) allows us to consider it as one of the most important settlements of the municipality during the Roman era.

Also at the site of the Punta de l'Arenal there was at least one large press, the base of which is preserved (now covered by the garden). It has a rectangular shape of about 8.8 m x 7.5 m, excavated in the tosca rock. It has square recesses located in the inner angles that correspond to the ties of the "*arbores*" and a gutter that frames the space of the press which would have directed the liquid to the drainage on the south-western side. Other elements related to a press which appeared at the site are two limestone blocks with two notches or recesses in which to embed two trunks or beams. We cannot know if this press was used to make oil, wine or other products.

We have located large blocks of roughly worked stone that could be part of these mechanisms In other sites in the valley, such as the Vall de Peixet and the Forandons.

## 8.3. Cereals

The third most important crop in the Mediterranean area is wheat, or perhaps more generally, cereals. These grains, the basis of human nutrition for thousands of years, were also essential in the Xàbia of Roman times. Archaeologically, the use of cereals can be verified by numerous discoveries of millstones in the sites. These are made of stone, are circular in shape and always small, which obliges us to think that they basically had a domestic use. These millstones are very simple

mechanisms formed by two superimposed circular pieces. The upper wheel having a slightly concave shape, would turn on the fixed, slightly convex lower wheel. Most of the millstones found in the Xàbia sites are made of volcanic stone, which indicates that they came from distant workshops and were a product of commercial exchange. Also the large ceramic containers called *dolia* (a type of semi-buried jar that would function as a storage silo with an approximate capacity of 300 kg) which were unearthed abundantly in most of the sites in the municipality, can be considered as indicators of agricultural activity. They were used as receptacles for cereals, although they would also serve to contain other products such as wine or oil.

A very unique piece related to the cultivation and consumption of wheat is a circular ceramic stamp found in the Punta de l'Arenal. This would have been used to mark the loaves before cooking them. On one of its faces the piece displays a decoration with a kind of leaf or spike and other similar motifs.

#### 8.4. Livestock and grazing

It is very difficult to show evidence for this activity in the lands of Xàbia during the Roman era. The only references that we can provide from materials recovered in archaeological excavations of this period (the Duana and Punta de l'Arenal) and from surface surveys, are indirect and related to textile manufacturing activities. This is attested to by the presence of ceramic quadrangular loom-weights in many sites. These are perforated at the top end and have marks in some cases. We must assume that these home-made looms would be used mostly for wool, although you cannot rule out the use of linen as documented in relatively nearby areas such as Saetabis (Xàtiva). However the valley soils do not seem to be particularly suitable for this crop.

Small settlements located in the high areas of the Montgó (Cova del Montgó, Penya de Pons, the Punta del Barranc de la Cova Roja and even the Cova del Barranc del Migdia) would also probably be related to goat grazing, an activity that has traditionally taken place on the slopes of the Montgó. This would explain the occupation of such marginal places during this time.

Fauna studies carried out in nearby regions show a wide range with a significant presence of oxen / bulls (which would be used as a work force) sheep, goats, cows and pigs and also chickens and geese, with very few equines.

#### 8.5. Fishing

The situation of Xàbia with a vast maritime coastline and the location of the most important Roman settlements of the municipality next to the sea, oblige us to think about the outstanding role that fishing activity had in Xàbia in these times. The site of the Punta de l'Arenal, a place traditionally known as Punta de la Fontana, has been interpreted by several researchers (Tarradell & Ponsich, Martin & Serres) as a salting factory. Until recently this was the northernmost such site known on the Mediterranean peninsular coast (other factories of the late Roman period have since been located in Dénia and Cullera).

In addition to the large basin excavated in the tosca rock which is interpreted as a nursery to keep the fish and other smaller tanks (normally plastered with a layer of hydraulic mortar) where fish would be handled and prepared, the Punta site has provided a good collection of portable items related to fishing, such as bronze needles for stitching nets and lead and ceramic counterweights used with these as well as other fishing gear.

Perhaps the salt flats located in the Saladar to the south of the settlement were related to this fishing activity. These would have obtained sea water through the Séquia de la Nòria, an imposing channel of more than 280 m excavated in the rock. This name was already acquired in the Modern period, when this great canalization underwent various transformations and adaptations. Although we do not have conclusive data for the Roman period, there are abundant references which document tuna fishing in the Arenal and in the south-east end of the bay using the art of the *almadrava* (fish trap) and in earlier times the *tonaires*. Moreover, the house called “de la Xanca” was established on the Roman site in Modern (and perhaps in earlier) times. This was a building where tuna fish were prepared and salted. The *almadrava* tower was also installed here. This was a construction made of wood and other light components which served to monitor the arrival of the tuna schools to be captured in the *almadrava*. Following the interpretation proposed by Professor Nieto (2005), these structures were designated *hemeroskopeion* and *thynnoskopeion* by the Greeks. (This common name was interpreted by chroniclers and the historiography as that of a Greek colony located in the Marina Alta.)

The presence of at least two amphorae of the Dressel 7-11 type with firing defects (made for the transport of fish sauces) led us to believe that these containers were manufactured at Punta de l'Arenal (Aranegui, 1981). However, these pieces which were safeguarded in the San Rafael farm, were part of the farm owner's collection and it seems that they came from the Cádiz area.

## 8.6. Monetary circulation

The Xàbia museum keeps a collection of coins from the Roman period which were recovered in several surveys carried out by the local researcher J. Segarra Llamas mostly from the rich and extensive coastal site of the Punta de la Fontana. Although this collection of eighty-one copper coins is generally in a rather bad state of conservation, it has enabled us to carry out a study providing data on monetary circulation in the most important settlement of Xàbia during this period (Arroyo and Bolufer, 1988).

The set includes only a dozen coins before the Late Roman Empire, although other evidence and materials testify to the vitality of the site in the High Imperial period. This scarce representation is possibly a consequence of the random collection of the pieces. Hence, we have seven coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and only one from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and another from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. There is a specimen from the previous epoch, the Ebonist period of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, at which time the Point had not yet been occupied and which we should consider as a residual piece.

The period which is best represented corresponds to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, between 320 and 400. The coins of this time account for more than 80% of the total, especially those between 379 and 400, which comprise half of the pieces from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. No coins have been documented from the 5<sup>th</sup> century. However it seems that the various serious economic problems which the empire underwent in the last century of its existence meant that bronze coinage circulating during this century consisted basically of emissions from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. This would explain the abundance of currency from this period in the whole of the Arenal collection. The last moments are represented by four small vandal bronzes that would be from between 523 and 530, a few years before the Vandal kingdom was conquered by the Byzantine troops of Belisarius. It is possible that some of the small unclassified coins of this group are also vandals, evidenced in many settlements on the Valencian coast (and more recently in the interior of the country). This shows intense trading relations with North Africa and the Balearic Islands, either during the period of Vandal rule (429-534 AD), or later after the conquest by Justinian. It has only been possible to determine the workshops of a few coins. However the mints of Cyzicus, Roma and Nicomedia are present, showing a similar scenario to other settlements on the Valencian coast, with a majority of

workshops from the eastern Mediterranean. This is in contrast to a general trend of sites in the interior which are dominated by the workshops of Rome and others located north of the Pyrenees (Arelate, Lugdunum and Treveris).

The remainder of the Roman coins in Xàbia that have been identified (3 bronzes from the Duana site and 8 pieces from other places in the municipality), show a similar scenario to that seen in the Punta del Arenal, with a predominance of bronze coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (7 pieces out of a total of 11) and a token presence for previous periods (a republican *as* and a Trajan *dupondium*) and later (a small Vandal bronze from the Muntanyar necropolis).

## 9. Ceramics. Commercial relations

### 9.1. Imported fine tableware

The study of fine ceramics enables us to get close to aspects of the daily life of those who lived here for six hundred years. The repertoire is quite wide, with respect both to styles and diversity of form. In all cases we can conclude that the fine table ceramics found in Xàbia were imported. This is a clear indicator of the ease and breadth of the trading relationships between the territories that made up the Roman Empire. Such links were maintained even when the superstructure represented by the empire disappeared in 476 AD. Over such a long space of time this produced a great diversity in the ceramic repertoire, especially in fine ware which was subject to changes and fashions that did not affect the so-called common, or everyday, ceramics so much. These have a more stable range that reflected the needs for which they had been created: pots, casseroles, jars, bowls, etc. However, some of these every day ceramics entered the Mediterranean trade circuits together with the distribution of other products.

The first products indicative of romanization are the black-gloss ceramics, also called Campanian ceramics, which were a continuation of a long tradition which started with Attic black-gloss ceramics from Greece. Few remains have been found in the Xàbia sites and almost all of them conform to late forms of the repertoires of *Campanian A* pottery, produced in the workshops in the Naples area, and *Campanian B*, produced in the workshops of northern Campania and the South of Lazio.

The scarcity of these ceramics which were always recovered in superficial surveys, does not enable us to be precise beyond placing them between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. We have been able to verify the presence of black-gloss Campanian ceramics in the settlements of Vall de Peixet, Vall de Sala, Benimadroc, Vilanova, Teuleria, Capçades, Capçades / Rebaldí, Atzúbia, Duana and Punta de la Fontana.

But the most characteristic ceramic of the Roman period is undoubtedly *terra sigillata*, the new red-gloss tableware which replaced the black-gloss ceramics from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Some examples have the brand or stamp of the manufacturer printed on them. The first products came from Italy, and are known as *Terra Sigillata Aretina*, because many of the workshops that produced these ceramics were located around Arezzo. In Xàbia they have a fairly wide distribution being found in ten of the settlements. In most cases they are scarce. We highlight the sites of the Duana, the Vall de Peixet and especially the Punta de la Fontana; however they only account for 8% of the total imported Roman fine ceramics.

Soon they were imitated in other parts of the empire, such as the province of Narbonensis, south of Gaul, which had a very large production that took over the markets of the western Mediterranean

during the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In the settlements of Xàbia, as in the rest of the Valencian lands, we basically find products from the pottery centre of the Graufesenque (in the old *Condatomagus*, now Millau). The southern Gaul sigillatas form the most numerous group of fine ceramics, making over 28% of the total of imported fine ware. We have found fragments of southern Gaul sigillata in twelve sites. Of these, those from the Vall de Pexet and the Punta de la Fontana stand out, providing 53% of that type of ceramic recovered in Xàbia.

From the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, the new red gloss tableware was also imitated in potteries in the Iberian Peninsula. The most important were undoubtedly those located in *Tritium Magallum*, which is now known as Tricio (La Rioja). From here came the ceramics known as *Terra Sigillata Hispánica*, products that were distributed to the Mediterranean coast via the Ebro valley. These ceramics had neither the success here nor the diffusion of the southern Gaul products, but even so they are present in nine of the municipality's Roman sites and together represent 12% of imported fine ceramics.

From the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, new products of fine tableware were introduced into the market, which until that time had been occupied almost exclusively by the classic sigillatas. These new ceramics, the *Terra Sigillata Africana* or *Terra Sigillata Clara*, were a lighter red in colour and ended up displacing and replacing the classic sigillatas fairly rapidly depending on the area. This phenomenon was early in the Punta de la Fontana and the remaining Xàbia sites, as it was in the Valencian region in general. Thus we find these products from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century probably already displacing the classic sigillatas at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In addition, while in other areas such as Valentia, we find *Terra Sigillata Hispánica Tardía*, typical of the 3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> centuries (although in a very low percentage ) these products are not even documented in Xàbia. These new ceramics were manufactured in the great pottery centres of the Roman provinces of North Africa in present-day Tunisia, and ended up spreading throughout the empire, evolving and spawning various types until the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The production of African sigillatas was initiated with *Terra Sigillata Clara A*. They reached the Punta de la Fontana site as early as the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, being the major ceramic type during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century up until the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when a new product appeared, *Terra Sigillata Africana C*. The *Clara A* is documented in fifteen of the Xàbia Roman sites, representing 16% of imported fine ceramics, with a very significant concentration in the Duana and Punta de la Fontana settlements.

*Terra Sigillata Clara C* is a ceramic very different from the rest of the African products (both *Clara A*, and the later *Terra Sigillata Africana D*). It is characterised, among other features, by a limited repertoire of forms, the thinness of the walls and fineness of the surfaces that in some cases appear to be burnished. Chronologically, the oldest forms of *C* were produced around 230-235 AD, and arrived by the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In Xàbia, we have found *Clara C* in only six sites, together representing 7% of the imported ceramics.

From the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards, a new product, *Terra Sigillata Africana D* spread throughout the markets of the empire, becoming the bulk of the fine tableware in Roman settlements. It was very widespread throughout the Mediterranean, the European Atlantic coast and even continental Europe and the Black Sea. The export and distribution of this ceramic, with ups and downs, continued until the entry of the Arabs into the Maghreb. *Terra Sigillata Clara D* is present in eighteen of the Roman settlements in the area, being the most numerous of the fine ceramics from the Duana site, with almost two hundred inventoried fragments. In total, these ceramics represent 23% of the fine tableware found in Xàbia.

Also between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD other fine ceramics produced in remote areas reached the Xàbia settlements. They are products that comprise a much smaller proportion than the previous ceramics, but which indicate the breadth and diversity of the commercial relations of these lands in Late Antiquity.

The oldest chronologically is the *Terra Sigillata Clara Lucente*, characterised by its brown, iridescent gloss, which was produced in south-east France. The production of this ceramic started in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and lasted until the 5<sup>th</sup> century, being centred in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It was distributed mainly on the shores of the western Mediterranean. It has been documented here in eight sites, representing 3% of imported fine ceramics.

At the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century the production of *Terra Sigillata Paleocristiana Gris* began, peaking in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD although in some cases it lasted until the 6<sup>th</sup> century. This ceramic is characterized by its grey coloured clay and gloss and also for decorations based on printed motifs. It seems that it was produced in three regions of southern France, though only those manufactured in the Provençal and Languedoc workshops reached here. It had a wider distribution than the *Lucente* pottery, extending even to the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It is only present in five Xàbia sites, representing a mere 0.7% of the total fine ceramics.

The last group is that of *Late Roman C*, produced between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in the region of Focea in present-day Turkey. This group consists of medium-sized bowls with a reddish-brown gloss and simple decorations made on wheel or stamped on the base. In Xàbia these have been found in only three sites, the Vall de Peixet, the Punta de la Fontana and especially the Duana, which has a relatively high frequency that emphasizes the importance of this settlement during Late Antiquity. However, taken together, late Roman C represents 1.3% in the set of imported fine ceramics.

## 9.2. Other ceramic products

As well as fine tableware, other ceramic products have been found in the Roman settlements. Without doubt the most abundant is everyday pottery of oxidised or reduction-fired clay (in the latter case used principally for cooking food). The pieces have great a diversity in form and function and were in most cases manufactured in local and regional workshops. However, from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, workshops in the Roman province of Africa produced and exported an enormous amount of every day crockery: casseroles, plates / lids, pots and other less common forms. These vessels, produced in the same workshops as the African Sigillatas, are very abundant in the Xàbia sites, especially in the Punta de la Fontana and the Duana. Other everyday ceramics for culinary and domestic use appear in Xàbia settlements but this time in less significant quantities. Within this group are plates and dishes of Italian origin fabricated in workshops in the centre and south of the Italian peninsula in late Republican times and during the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. There are also mortars, in many cases also of Italian production, which for the most part can be dated between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Also from the High Imperial period (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD) there seem to be vases of “bitroncoconic” form, and perhaps other pieces of black clay ceramic from the Gallic workshops of the Lugdunum (Lyon) area. In much later times, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup>, we find pieces of everyday ceramics of beige clay coming from the workshops of neighbouring Eivissa, and other forms of kitchen-ware (pots / casseroles) made by hand and/or turned, sourced in some cases from the Carthage area and other undetermined areas of the Mediterranean.

In addition to the fine crockery and some every day ceramics, many of the oil lamps are of foreign origin. The most numerous and best-known group is that from Punta de la Fontana. Within this

group, the pieces with known origin dating from the High Imperial period came from central Italy, while those from the second half of the 2nd century and until the end of the 5th century came from North Africa. Also of foreign origin are the so-called "thin-walled" ceramics. These are a kind of goblet used to contain and consume liquids, functioning as drinking glasses. The most important set is that from the Punta de la Fontana. Produced since the late Republican era, they were gradually replaced by blown glass vases and other ceramic forms from the 1st century AD. Standing out among the materials from the Punta de la Fontana are numerous fragments of pieces produced in Baetica (Mayet XXXIV and XXXVIII) in the middle of the 1st century.

### 9.3. Amphorae

Along with imported crockery, various other products came to the settlements of Xàbia by sea. Undoubtedly, the most important import during the first centuries of Romanization was wine, produced on the Tirrenian coast of central Italy and in the area of Vesuvius (Tchernia, 1986), which landed packed mostly in *Dressel 1* amphorae. Other merchandise such as salted produce from factories of the Straits of Gibraltar, both on the Peninsula and in North Africa, arrived but in a much lower proportion. The presence of some amphorae to transport wine from neighbouring Eivissa is confirmed but it is less significant.

The panorama drawn by amphorae recovered from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD shows a radical change from what we had seen during the late Republican period regarding to the origin of the products. The later panorama was dominated by products from the Iberian Peninsula. These were both amphorae from the workshops of Baetica destined for the transport of salted fish, oil and to a lesser extent wine, and amphorae from Tarraconensis, containers destined mainly for the transport of wine. However, if we compare the amphorae found underwater with those recovered in the Punta de la Fontana site (undoubtedly the best known in the whole municipality) we can see how in this coastal site, the most numerous amphorae dating from the High Imperial period are Tarraconensis products. These are twice as numerous as the amphorae from Baetica. However, the reverse is the case for amphorae originating underwater, with an absolute predominance of amphorae from Baetica over those of Tarragona. Undoubtedly, the predominance of Tarraconensis amphorae in land sites is due to the large percentage of regional products that comprise this archaeological record, which has containers coming from nearby workshops located in the Xàbia valley and its surroundings, such as La Rana (Gata) and La Teulera (Jesus Pobre), and others a little further away such as Almadrava (Dénia).

From the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, but mainly during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, amphorae of North African origin started to appear. They became the majority from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and into the 4<sup>th</sup> century while Iberian products from Tarraconensis, Baetica and Lusitania represented a very low percentage, almost disappearing after the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Although it is not always possible to ascribe types of amphora to particular contents, it appears that most of the North African amphorae found in Xàbia from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD transported salted fish and fish sauces, though some types contained oil and even wine, such as the *Dressel 30*. We know of a handle from the Punta de la Fontana that bears the brand: MARCAES / TVBVS, that is: MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS / TUBUSUCTU, which refers to the city of *Tubusuctu* (now Tiklat, Algeria), situated in the old African province of *Mauretania Cesariense*.

The 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD mark the end of the Roman world in our area, with a very significant decrease in amphora material which parallels the decline in settlements. These being were abandoned up until a definitive end of occupation in the Punta de la Fontana and the Duana during the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, and during the second half of that century in Atzúbia. The few amphorae identified from the latter centuries indicate a predominance of material of North African

origin, as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but with a proportional increase in the number of containers from the eastern Mediterranean. Regarding contents, the current state of study does not allow us to specify the merchandise transported in many cases; however, it seems that the majority carried oil, and to a lesser extent, wine and salted fish.

## 10. The settlement of Xàbia in Roman times

We know of some twenty-eight archaeological sites with materials from Roman times in the municipality of Xàbia. In some cases evidence is poor, with only a few fragments which do not enable us to evaluate the identity and characteristics of the settlement. In most cases however, the record is broad enough to be able to approximate the chronology and define some of the features that would have characterized the settlement. We have only a few data from archaeological excavations: Those made in 1963 in the Punta de l'Arenal by Gabriela Martín; the eight emergency interventions made in the neighbourhood of Duanes between 1990 and 2015; the salvage excavation made in 2004 around the chapel of Santa Llúcia and the intervention in the Atzúbia site in 2015-2016. The rest of the information comes from exhaustive surveying of the municipality carried out since 1985, as well as other data compiled in the bibliography.

Almost all of these sites are located within the physical space of the Xàbia valley, bordering on either side or located in the central area. Only two sites, with few materials, are located to the south-west of the valley: Camí de la Tarraula and Lluca. While three others, which are probably the most important if we consider the volume of known archaeological materials and the duration of occupation, are located next to the sea: the Duana, the Punta de la Fontana and the island of Portitxol.

In order to get an idea of the functions of these settlements, several factors must be considered such as the location and characteristics of the area, as well as the presence of a series of materials in the sites that provide us with information on the structures that would have accommodated them.

The vast majority of the sites located in Xàbia throughout this long period of more than six hundred years, should be considered as small farms. However, the richness and exceptional nature of some findings allow us to point out the complexity and importance of some of the settlements.

Among them is the **Punta de la Fontana** (also known as the **Punta del Arenal**). Indeed, the abundance and notoriety of the remains meant that the site of the Punta del Arenal was well known as being ancient, having been mentioned by scholars of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and more recently by scholars of the last century and the present.

The site is located in the middle of the bay, occupying the rocky point, "punta" of tosca that closes the Arenal beach to the north-west. To the west of the site lies the Fontana, a fresh water spring that was used in the past to supply boats. The site, now restricted to the spur or point just mentioned, once occupied a greater area, as evidenced by the remains of a mosaic floor located more than a hundred metres north of the *Banys (de la Reina Mora)*, and other archaeological evidence.

A large collection of archaeological materials was found during the construction of a house (1963). Among them were architectural remains filling two large contiguous rectangular tanks. These were excavated in the tosca stone, preserving the original plaster of pink hydraulic mortar made of lime and crushed ceramic. Originally however, it seems that there would have been a single rectangular tank more than 15 m in length, about 4.25 m wide, with an approximate height of 3 m; meaning a capacity of about 20,000 l.

The magnificent set of tosca stone architectural remains found there would definitely be consistent with residential buildings (that which classical sources call the *pars urbana*) of the rich owners of this *villa*. We know of a total of 14 column capitals from the site. Twelve are carved in the simply formed Tuscan style, while the other two, which are much better elaborated and with a richer decoration, correspond to the Ionic order. These two capitals were the only ones that rested on shafts with an octagonal section. We also know of 14 column bases all with two *torus* and *scotia* mouldings, four of which were on plinths. Only one base retained remnants of a decoration based on vertical grooves that would have continued into the shaft, which has not been found. In some cases, these remains still preserve spots of lime mortar and/or white paint. We suppose therefore, that these magnificent capitals, bases and column shafts were originally covered with lime mortar and/or painted in most cases white, but also in *almànguena* (aluminium iron peroxide), ochre, green or blue; colours that were used in Punta de l'Arenal to decorate the walls of some of the rooms. It is very probable, as was the case in the Banys de la Reina in Calpe, that the Arenal site had thermal baths. This seems to be indicated by the finding of several *tubuli* (ceramic tubes of a truncated cone shape) and other ceramic elements related to the heating systems of those structures.

Decorative architectural items have also come from the Punta, among which is a tosca stone arch that has remnants of the original white lime coating on it. This piece would have been part of the top finish of some architectural structure or perhaps of some funerary monument of the Muntanyar. Four large, more or less rectangular limestone blocks have a functional character. They bear several marks that make us think of their use as parts of a beam press to make wine or oil.

Other elements and structures found carved on the rock can be related to fishing and agricultural activities that would have taken place there. Examples are the rectangular base of a press of approximately 8.40 m x 7.30 m, as well as several tanks and silos excavated in the tosca rock. We know of at least 13 rectangular and 11 circular basins, some of which were plastered with a layer of hydraulic mortar. However, the structure that has given the popular name to the site is the *Banys de la Reina Mora* or *Clot de la Reina*. It is a large rectangular tank excavated in the tosca which communicates with the sea through two channels, 31 m and 26 m in length respectively, and through which the seawater enters and circulates, partially filling the tank. It has a rectangular floor, 27.30 m long, 6.85 m wide and with an approximate depth of 3.50 m. The interior of the tank is divided in half by a wall that defines two areas; to the north-east, the area closest to the seawater inlets and the deepest, is a space 12.7 m long that appears to be covered by about 110 cm of water. On the opposite side, the tank is partially covered by the modern structures of the house. In the open section there is a structure in the form of a double row of blocks carved in the same tosca rock. The blocks are 105 cm in length, and separated from each other by 12 cm. The water level oscillates between 10 cm and 20 cm in this section. Running around the inside perimeter of the site there is a 90 cm wide bench or platform, made on the same rock, that would have allowed passage beside the water. Between this platform and the wall of the tank are some carved holes which perhaps served to fix a wooden structure (Olcina, 2004).

Study of the archaeological materials allows us to establish the occupation of the Punta de la Fontana as lasting for more than six hundred years, between the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and early 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. It is certain that there would have been changes in the settlement over this long period. To date we have found only one important restructuring that seems to have occurred in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD when some of the sumptuous architectural elements of the *villae* were destroyed and served to amortize the great cistern. However, despite these changes, the archaeological materials indicate an intense occupation of this place that lasted, following the dates provided by some of the imported ceramics, at least until the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD (Arasa, 2010).

Another important Roman site, the **Duana**, is situated in the north-west corner of the bay at the foot of the southern slope of Cape of Sant Antoni. This settlement occupied a flat area framed by the slopes of the Mesquida and the Pedres and the mouth of the river just in front of the Grava beach next to the port. There have been numerous underwater finds in this section of the coast which we generically call the Tangó, with materials that cover a vast period that began in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and lasted until the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.

There have been several archaeological excavations on the Duana site. Although they have contributed a large collection of archaeological materials, they revealed only remnants of the architectural structures of the settlement, which were much destroyed by old agricultural use of the area, and above all by modern urbanization of the neighbourhood. Thus, in the six interventions made, only the remains of the base of a wall of small stone blocks bonded with earth, and a possible clay floor and fragments of ceramics (1990 excavation) have been located. Also, during the excavation carried out on the site of the old Clergy warehouse (1998), a possible dump was located containing abundant ceramic materials from Roman times, as well as the lower part of a *dolia* that was preserved below the central dividing wall of a 19<sup>th</sup> century building. Perhaps the best-known find is a large quadrangular stone counterweight that could be part of a beam press, probably for the production of oil.

The location of the site near the historical port of Xàbia, which has a rich underwater archaeological record, and the presence of other materials related to agricultural exploitation, enable us to interpret the Duana as an agricultural development, which at the same time had a commercial function related to interchange by sea.

The archaeological materials recovered in the Duana give us some information about the characteristics of the settlement. The frequent appearance of blue vitreous tiles would correlate with mosaic floors; fragments of lime mortar slabs with an *almànguena* (aluminium iron peroxide) paint; and a fragment of marble plaque, would be indicators of structures which had a particular architectural and social significance. Construction materials of thermal bath heating systems have also been found. These could indicate the existence of a small *balneolum* (bath), highlighting a special sumptuousness of the settlement. Proof of this importance is reflected in the find of the famous marble relief from the Roman era, which appeared in the Mesquida area very close to the Duana at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and which would probably have come from this site. The piece is a white marble plaque, partially broken, 59 cm long, with a conserved height of 28 cm and is 7.5 cm thick. The relief shows three characters, two on foot and one on horseback, who head off to the left. The attitude of the first character, with a round object in its left hand seems to indicate the action of an offering, but the break in the plaque prevents precise description. F. Arasa, who recently studied the piece in detail reveals the difficulties in interpreting it, both in terms of representation and its function. This author identifies the knight with one of the *Dioscuri* (Castor, probably) which suggests a funerary interpretation in which the rider could be embodied with the deceased. According to this, the plaque could be interpreted as part of a funerary urn. The type of representation and other details of the relief allow dating between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Arasa, 2010).

The broad record of the Duana ceramic materials allow us to frame the site's period of occupation as between the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.

**The Island of Portitxol** is the last of the Roman coastal settlements of Xàbia. The island has a total area of 7.86ha and is located in the centre of the small bay of Portitxol, framed between Cap Prim and Cap Negre, south-east of Xàbia Bay.

The site has been known since ancient times with several, not very extensive bibliographical references that mention the presence of structures and other finds on the island. As mentioned in the section on classical sources (above), some authors refer to this site as the island mentioned in the passage by Saint Gregory of Tours when speaking of the monastery of San Martín.

During the agricultural transformation of the last century, wall foundations, mortar paving, a marble floor slab and a column base of toska stone, as well as two burials were found on the island. In addition, numerous ceramic remains were recovered from the site, with fragments of Bronze age ceramics (related to the nearby site of Cap Prim), Phoenician ceramics and especially ceramics from Roman times, with a chronology that we can place between the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, with particularly high percentages of materials from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. From then on the island was abandoned to be occupied once more in medieval Islamic times.

The location of the site allows us to assume some function related to fishing. However the importance of the bay of Portitxol as an anchorage is attested to by the presence of anchor stocks as well numerous amphorae and other materials recovered from the bottom of the small bay. These suggest a function linked to commercial activity as indicated by the toponym “Portitxol”, derived from the Latin form *porticeolu*, small port.

Apart from these coastal settlements, most of the settlements from the Roman period in Xàbia have common characteristics that allow them to be considered as small farms scattered throughout the valley and its surroundings. We find some exceptions, such as the hill of **Santa Llúcia**, where there is a small site which occupies the top of this 162 metres hill. Archaeological surveys of this site found (in addition to a possible burial), a channelling that supplied rainwater to a cistern. These hydraulic structures were built sometime earlier than the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Ceramic remains and other construction materials have also been recovered at the site, such as fragments of *tegulae* (overlapping roof tiles) and remnants of *opus signinum* flooring.

The location of the site on the top of a hill seems to rule out an agricultural function. Perhaps this occupation is related to the wide visual and control sphere of this place over the valley and the bay.

The ceramic materials display two periods of occupation in Roman and late Roman times, a first phase between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and a second period with a less intense occupation during the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

The remaining Roman settlements of Xàbia, some 23 sites, can be considered as agricultural holdings. In most of the cases they are characterized by their location in flat or gently sloping hillside areas, with generally good soils for agriculture. Their archaeological record (which always comes from surface surveys, and is therefore incomplete and subjected to a certain randomness) includes various construction elements (*tegulae*, quadrangular tiles, stone blocks, etc.) and usually documents other materials which can be considered generically as characteristic of an agricultural operation:

- a.) *Dolia*, big ceramic jars used to store agricultural products (oil, wine, cereal, etc.).
- b.) Remains of hydraulic mortar of lime, also called *opus signinum*, belonging to basins or tanks that we must in most cases associate with the making of wine, oil and other products.

The **Vall de Peixet** is located at the western end of the valley, near the Barranquera. The settlement occupies the upper part and the south-eastern slope of a completely terraced hillock. The ceramic

material is quite abundant, with a very broad chronology that seems to start at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and lasts until the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

1 km north of this site on the Vell de Pedreguer road, we find the **Vall de Sala**. It occupies a slope facing south and east which is completely transformed by agricultural terraces. The ceramic material, which is not very abundant here, offers a chronology between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

In a flat area near the Vell de Gata road is the **Vall dels Puces**, a small settlement with characteristics similar to the previous ones. Its archaeological material frames a chronology between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. A fragment of ceramic tube that is often associated with the heating structure of thermal assemblies came from here.

To the east of la Vall dels Puces, also near the road Vell de Gata, is the **Benimadroc** settlement. It occupies the southern gentle slopes of a hill terraced for agriculture. In this site there is a cylindrical counterweight of a press worked in limestone (described above), popularly known as *el Banquet dels Moros*. (The Moors' banquet). The celebrity of this item and its antiquity correspond very well with the popular name with which it was baptised. The ceramic record from the site gives a chronology of between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The Roman site of **la Vilanova** is located to the south of the Vell de Gata road next to where the Garçó water mill once was on the side of La Barranquera,. It occupies a terraced hillside area facing east and south. The ceramic material traces a broad chronology between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

There are other settlements in the valley, close to the sites that we have just mentioned and with similar characteristics in terms of location and situation, but of which we have only very limited information. In the most part the scarcity of data of these sites must be considered as a consequence of the deep agricultural and urban transformation of the area. In these cases the amount of material is very small and information very incomplete. From west to east we have the **Assegador de les Valls**, a late-Iberian settlement with some material from the High Imperial period (1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD); the **Camí de les Valls**, with remains scattered in a wide area and a chronology between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; **Vall de Castelló**, with sparse Roman material of undefined chronology; **Tossals**, with some ceramics of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, and **Senioles**, where along with some ceramics of undetermined Roman chronology there is material from the 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Further to the east, merely about three hundred and fifty metres north of the village of Xàbia at the base of Calvari, there is a small settlement that we have named the **Costera del Calvari**, from which only a few materials of late chronology (5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) are known.

To the extreme south-west of the previous sites, but still in the valley, we find **Forandons**. This settlement is located very close to the river Gorgos just when it enters the municipality of Xàbia. It occupies an east facing slope on the edge of one of the few water sources of the municipality, the Font d'Andó. This is a spring that enabled the watering of a small vegetable garden in historical times and which perhaps was already in use in Roman times. Based on the known archaeological material, we can frame the chronology of the site between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

At the extreme east of the valley, in the area generally known as the Pla, there is a series of sites on the southern side at the foot of the mountains that delimit the valley to the south. These five settlements are all located where the hills abut the plain, in areas which are almost flat or on a gentle hillside to the south of the Camí Cabanes, a livestock route that crosses the Xàbia valley from west to east.

The first settlement from the west is that of **Capçades**. This is located in an almost flat area touching the Camí Cabanes. The archaeological remains are relatively abundant in this site and, together with material that characterizes agricultural holdings (fragments of *dolia*, *opus signinum*), there are fragments of circular mill stones and loom weights. The chronology of Capçades extends from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The site we have called **Capçades-Rebaldí** is just 300 m south of Capçades, and even closer to the Rebaldí site, next to the east side of the Sabatera gully. It is a late Iberian occupation which continued on until the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. It is located possibly on a gentle slope which is now composed of rocks. It seems that erosion produced by fire could have stripped the earth from the base of this north-facing hill. This settlement was undoubtedly absorbed by the nearby sites of Capçades or Rebaldí, which persisted until late antiquity.

The **Rebaldí** is a settlement located on the north-west slope of the hill of the same name very close to the two sites mentioned above. Little Roman material is known from this site, but it shows a wide chronology between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Further to the east, on the south side of the Cabanes road, are the settlements of **Atzúbia** and **Tossalet**. Both have a similar location, being on a gentle, almost flat slope at the foot of the Sierra de los Tossalets and with a north / north-east orientation. The sparse material found in Tossalet covers a very short time span, between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Until recently, the only thing we knew about the settlement of Atzúbia was based on information provided by the ceramics recovered from surface surveys, material that indicated two periods of occupation; a first phase between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and a second phase between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Two excavation campaigns of 2015 and 2016 enabled the discovery of seventeen silos of Roman and late Roman chronology dug in the natural geological soil. These silos had fallen into dis-use and reused as landfills and garbage dumps during the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Three of the silos also served as burial sites for six individuals. One of those structures (EU 19), which had a circular layout, a diameter of 160 cm and a maximum preserved depth of 70 cm, was filled with dark earth, pebbles, numerous terrestrial snail shells and some marine mollusc shells. It also contained ceramic fragments which have enabled the assemblage to be dated to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. The characteristics and location of this settlement allow us to interpret it as a small farming development with a population that, at least during the last period of occupation, balanced its diet with the consumption of land snails and to a lesser extent, of marine molluscs. The most important thing about this site is that we are seeing the last occupation known until now of a population from late antiquity. This was a continuation of Roman heritage, with a set of ceramics basically for kitchen and domestic use that display a repertoire which can be considered as preceding the forms from periods after the Muslim conquest (8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD).

In the south-east of the municipality there are three sites: **Tarraula**, **Covatelles** and **Lluca**. The first site is located on the Camí de les Tarraules, on a gentle slope facing north / north-east at an altitude of about 90 m, on ground with less agricultural potential than in the valley. Archaeological materials give us a chronology of between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Some 1500 m south of the Tarraula site in Les Covatelles, there are some disconnected finds that may belong to a small settlement on the edge of the Covatelles gully. The clearest piece from this site is a coin (*Antoninian*) of Emperor Allectus (293-296 AD).

The Roman settlement of **Lluca** is also outside the main valley area, being located at the north-east end of the Coma de Lluca (vale of Lluca), where the gully of the same name begins. It is an ideal place with rich agricultural land and abundant water. The famous Iberian treasure of Xàbia was

found here and there was an important farmhouse in medieval times which survived until the beginning of the 16th century.

The Roman site was located near the Lluca house, a space which has been changed and occupied by the golf course. Gabriela Martín (1970) mentions the existence of a wall that is considered to have a Roman chronology; undoubtedly this must be the great wall that closes the north-east end of the Coma de Lluca. This is more than three metres thick at the base and forms a kind of dam that would have retained the waters that came down from the l'Abiar. This now unused solid structure is made with large stone boulders at the base, while the upper part is thinner with a masonry of medium and small blocks. It preserves remains of mortar plaster on the inside. Although a Roman chronology cannot be ruled out, it seems that the structure was in use in modern times.

The not very abundant archaeological materials recovered in the Roman site of Lluca frame a timespan between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

There are several sites dating from Roman times which are located in very marginal locations and at relatively high elevations on the north side of the valley on the southern slope of the Montgó. The **Penya de Pons**, is located at about 241 m above sea level. It occupies one of the natural terraces of the Montgó slope in an area terraced for agriculture and largely covered with pine trees. The few ceramic materials recovered offer a chronology of the 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. To the north-west of the Penya de Pons, in the upper part of the Migdia ravine and at about 375 m above sea level, is the important Chalcolithic necropolis of the **Cova del Barranc del Migdia**. A few fragments of every day ceramics from Roman times were recovered in excavations carried out in the site's chamber of the burials. These have chronologies from the 3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

About 735 m to the east, occupying a location similar to the Penya de Pons, is the **Punta del Barranc de la Cova Roja** located at an elevation of 235 m. Only some ceramics dating from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC have been found in this site with other, probably High Imperial materials.

The last site is in the **Cova del Montgó**, about 525 m above sea level. This settlement, which had a very important prehistoric occupation, was also occupied in late Roman times as documented by a few materials from the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

## 11. The necropolises and burial sites of Roman times.

Despite the numerous settlements scattered throughout the municipality, there are very few reports about the presence of burials or necropolises in Xàbia. The great cemetery area of the Muntanyar is an exception. It is located at the edge of the Punta de l'Arenal site, an important population centre which endured for more than 600 years. The long occupation of the site and its importance, generated an extensive necropolis that, as far as we know, was used only for the rite of burial. However the most singular and characteristic feature of this Roman and late antiquity cemetery of Muntanyar was the excavation of burial pits in the tosca rock. Indeed, the historical and traditional use of Muntanyar as a quarry for the extraction of tosca stone blocks (definitively banned in 1972), was responsible for the discovery and destruction of most of its tombs by the *arrancador* stonemasons, as well as the casual appearance of coins (always of Roman chronology) and other pieces of personal adornment.

The first documents that tell us about the existence of graves and burials in the Muntanyar are notes written in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the provost Pedro Xolbi. However the first archaeological investigations were in the 1930's. These investigations, promoted by local scholars

such as G. Cruañes, discovered burials and collected some items of grave goods such as a Visigothic openwork bronze buckle that was donated to the Provincial Museum of Alicante in 1933. They also found pieces of glass. An outstanding find was a blown glass bottle which had a spherical body and annular ring, a long neck with a glass thread wound spirally around it, an everted rim and a handle. The piece, dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD was recovered by J. Bover Bertomeu in 1935.

The first scientific and rigorous excavations of the Muntanyar began in 1985, followed later by other archaeological interventions carried out during the years 1989, 2001 and 2005. Altogether, eighty-five tombs have been discovered, corresponding to pits excavated in the rock. They have a generally trapezoidal shape with usually rounded ends, the head end being wider. They have two dominant orientations: south-west to north-east (with the head in the south-west) and south-east to north-west (with the head in the north-west).

Many of the pits retained a groove carved along the edge to accommodate the tomb cover. However, only one of the pits which came to light in the 1985 excavation retained the original cover system. This consisted of two large tosca slabs, roughly rectangular in shape with a central ridge, little marked, which were topped by a layer of pink lime mortar which covered the pit. In the remainder, reuse of the pits or the work of *arrancador* tosca stonemasons would have been responsible for the disappearance of the original covers.

The funeral rite used in the necropolis was always burial, placing the corpse in a supine position in the pit. Corpses have been documented in some cases, and re-use of the graves with several burials is common - up to four in one of the graves of the 1985 campaign. Linked to this necropolis are two rectangular tosca *sarcophagi* that were exposed during construction works of the San Rafael villa carried out in the early sixties at Punta de la Fontana. The two pieces, preserved in the garden of this property, contained the remains of a burial.

Characteristic of this cemetery is a scarcity and poverty of grave goods. Perhaps this can be attributed to the late chronology of most of the graves discovered (3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) and the generalization of Christian rituals from the 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Thus grave goods or pieces of adornment accompanying the deceased were documented in only seven tombs: a blown glass *unguentarium* (pit 15) and a ceramic vase of *Terra Sigillata Clara Lucente* (trench 19) recovered in the 1985 excavation; a bracelet made of sheet bronze and a coin, also in bronze, of Emperor Constantius II (pit 44) and a hexagonal bronze ring (pit 45) of the 1989 excavation; a circular glassy bead (pit 54), the remains of an iron buckle and a bone ring (pit 60) and a small bronze coin from the Vandal era which accompanied a child's burial (pit 64) of the 2005 excavation campaign. To this we should add two very unique bronze pieces that were found in the 1985 excavation of tomb number 6, a pit that appeared to be full of dirt but without burial remains. The two pieces comprise a bowl with slightly flaring straight walls and a convex base of which little more than half remains and a conical cover with a hole in the apex and a groove on the edge recessing into the bowl. These look like an inkwell coming from the Mediterranean east, with clear parallels with a piece discovered in the necropolis of Oxirrinco (Egypt) which dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.

No anthropological study of the remains uncovered in the Muntanyar has yet been carried out. We can therefore only quantify the relationship between the burials of adults and children using the dimensions of pits which were preserved in their entirety as a reference. Thus, despite the tally of eighty three graves from all the excavations carried out, only forty-seven maintained the original dimensions, of which about thirty three would have belonged to adults and fourteen to children. This means an approximate ratio of 70% adults to 30% children.

In conclusion, we can say that the Muntanyar was the great cemetery of the settlement of Punta de l'Arenal. Originally it would have extended over an approximate area of 6,000 m<sup>2</sup> and, from rough calculations, some 900 pits could have been excavated there. Its wide time frame covers about 600 years, between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

It appears that some tombs and other materials of Roman chronology also occurred in the **Punta del Castell**, about 800 m south-east of the Muntanyar. At least this is what some researchers say who knew this area before it was urbanized and totally disfigured; burials that would undoubtedly be linked to the nearby site of Punta de la Fontana.

Two graves covered with slabs were found and destroyed on the island of **Portitxol**. According to J.Segarra Llamas (1947) these were uncovered on the high and flat part of the islet, near a flooring of marble slabs. The pits contained human remains and some pieces of grave goods at the head end; casseroles and "several bright objects" that Segarra interpreted as pieces of glass that would have been destroyed at the time of extraction.

A burial from Roman times was also located and excavated on the top of the **hill of Santa Llúcia**. This tomb was found as a result of carrying out archaeological salvage excavations next to the chapel in 2004. The funeral structure consisted of a rectangular pit made with *tegulae*. It was 150 cm long, approximately 45 cm wide and oriented East-West. The tomb was re-used as an old channel excavated in the calcareous rock that would have collected and taken rainwater to the east, probably towards the cistern / water tank which is still in use on the esplanade in front of the chapel. The ceramic materials recovered by the intervention allow us to date the pit towards the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD or maybe a little later. However, the excavation of the tomb did not provide information about the burial, which may have been moved in ancient times. Only one possible fragment of femur (or perhaps another long bone) was found between the *tegulae* at the bottom of the pit.

The most recent excavations carried out in the **Atzúbia** site (2015-2016) have enabled us to discover a new burial area of very late chronology (second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century / beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD), which we cannot call a necropolis. It consists of several inhumations (six in total) inside three silos (structures excavated in the natural "tap" floor which had fallen into dis-use). These burials should be considered as those of a group of socially excluded persons (serfs, slaves?).

There are reports about possible Roman tombs in other places in the municipality. It appears that some tombs built with *tegulae* were destroyed during agricultural work carried out in the first half of the last century in Vilanova, where a Roman settlement is located. Perhaps these burials could be related to the aforementioned funeral inscription of la Riba which came to light but a short distance from this place.

Other, even less certain reports talk of the appearance of supposedly Roman burials elsewhere in the municipality. It seems that some burials inside pits were found on the edge of the Pla road during the construction of buildings for the Pla airfield in 1937. It was also reported that several tombs were found and destroyed in the district of La Duana on the south bank of the river near its old mouth during urbanization and construction works in the 1970's. This site is now occupied by Jaume I Avenue.

## 12. Bibliography

ABAD CASAL, L. i ABASCAL PALAZÓN, J. M. (1992) *Textos para la historia de Alicante: Edad Antigua*, Colección de Textos para la Historia de Alicante, Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Alacant.

ABASCAL PALAZÓN, J. M.; OLCINA DOMÉNECH, M. i RAMÓN SÁNCHEZ, J. (1995) *Un tesoro de sestercios romanos procedente del territorium de Dianium (Hispania Citerior)*, MARQ, Alacant.

ARASA, F. i ROSSELÓ, V. M. (1995) *Les vies romanes del territori valencià*, Els Valencians i el Territori, 7, Publicacions de Divulgació General, Conselleria d'Obres Públiques, Urbanisme i Transports. València.

ARASA, F. (2010) "Novedades en la escultura del País Valenciano", *Escultura romana en Hispania VI. Homenaje a Eva Koppel*, J. M. Abascal-R. Cebrián (eds.), Murcia, p. 315-337.

APARICIO PÉREZ, J.; SAN VALERO APARISI, J. i MARTÍNEZ PERONA, J. V. (1979) "Illa del Portitxol", p. 256; "Vall de Pedret (sic)", p. 257, *Vària* 1, núm. 6, Universitat de València, València.

ARANEGUI GASCÓ, C. (1981) "La producción de ánforas en el País Valenciano: estado de la cuestión", *APL*, volum XVI, SIP de la Diputació Provincial de València, València, p. 529-538.

----- (1996) *Els romans a les terres valencianes*. Col·lec. Politècnica, 61, Edic. Alfons el Magnànim IVEI, Generalitat Valenciana, Diputació Provincial de València, València.

ARROYO ILERA, R. i BOLUFER MARQUÉS, J. (1988) "Anàlisi numismàtica del conjunt monetari de la Punta de l'Arenal", *Xàbiga*, 4, Ajuntament de Xàbia, Inst. de Cult. Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia, p. 25-38.

BELDA DOMÍNGUEZ, J. (1944) "Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Alicante", *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, volum IV (1943), Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 161-168.

----- (1945) "Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Alicante", *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, volum V (1944), Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 159-165.

----- (1946) "Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Alicante", *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, volum VI (1945), Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 157-165.

----- (1950) "Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Alicante. Inauguración oficial", *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, volum IX-X (1948-49), Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 337-340.

----- (1953) "Río Gorgos", *Noticario Arqueológico Hispánico*, vol. I (1952), notícia núm. 373, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 225.

----- (1953) "Jávea (Alicante) y Gorgos", *Noticario Arqueológico Hispánico*, vol. I (1952), notícia núm. 468, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 236.

----- (1953) "Desembocadura del río Gorgos", *Noticario Arqueológico Hispánico*, vol. I (1952), notícia núm. 97, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, p. 188.

BOLUFER MARQUÉS, J. (1986) "La necrópolis del Muntanyar", *Xàbiga*, núm. 1, Ajuntament de Xàbia, Xàbia, p. 109-126.

----- (1987). "Una marca d'àmfora mauritana de la Punta de l'Arenal (Xàbia, Alacant)", *Actes del I Col·loqui d'Arqueologia Romana* (Badalona 1985), Museu de Badalona, Badalona, p. 443-445.

----- (1987) “Les llànties romanes de la Punta de l’Arenal”, *Xàbiga*, 2, Ajuntament de Xàbia i Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia, p. 7-30.

----- (1987) “Un grafit ibèric sobre àmfora itàlica del Museu de Xàbia”, *Xàbiga*, 3, Ajuntament de Xàbia i Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia, p. 37-40.

----- (1988) “Ceràmiques fines tardanes de la Punta de l’Arenal”, *Xàbiga*, 4, Ajuntament de Xàbia i Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia, p. 39-53.

----- (1990) “El Muntanyar (Xàbia)”, *Excavacions arqueològiques de salvament a la Comunitat Valenciana (1984-1988)*, Intervencions rurals, Generalitat Valenciana, València, p. 97-99.

----- (1990) “La Lluca (Xàbia)”, *Excavacions arqueològiques de salvament a la Comunitat Valenciana (1984-1988)*, Intervencions rurals, Generalitat Valenciana, València, p. 96.

----- (1992) “El poblament romà de Xàbia”, *III Congrés d’Estudis de la Marina Alta* (Dénia, 1990), Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert-Institut d’Estudis Comarcals de la Marina Alta, Dénia, p. 141-152.

----- (1994) “Les ceràmiques tardanes importades (s. IV-VII de n.e.) del jaciment romà de la Punta de l’Arenal (Xàbia, Marina Alta)”, *Actes de la III Reunió d’Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (Maó 1988), Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, II de l’IEC, Barcelona.

----- (1999) “Bajo Imperio y la época tardía en la Marina Alta”, *Historia de la Marina Alta*, fascicles 13 i 14, Prensa Alicantina i Institut d’Estudis de la Marina Alta, p. 145-168.

BOLUFER, J. i BANYOS, I. (1995) “La Rana (Gata, Marina Alta), un nuevo taller de ánforas del Territorio de Dianium”, *Actas del XXI Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (Teruel-Albarracín 1991)*, vol. III, p. 1043-1056.

BOLUFER, J. i RIBERA, A. (1995) “Dos casos de poblament romà (litoral/interior) al País Valencià: la vall de Xàbia-la vall dels Alforins”, *Actas Iº Congreso de Arqueología Peninsular* (Porto 1993), *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, vol. 35 (1), Porto, p. 293-324.

BOLUFER, J., OLCINA, M., CASABÓ, J., REUS, F. i BAS, O.; 2004. Xàbia. *Arqueologia y museo. Museos Municipales en el MARQ*. Museu Arqueològic d’Alacant. Alacant. 120.

BOVER BERTOMEU, J. (1944) “Yacimientos arqueológicos de Jávea. Reseña y catálogo de los objetos hallados en los mismos”, *Saitabi*, vol. II, núm. 13, Un. de València, València, p. 263-271.

BUXÓ, R. (2005) “L’agricultura d’època romana: estudis arqueobotànics i evolució dels cultius a Catalunya”, *Cota Zero*, n. 20, Barcelona, p. 108-120.

CABALLERO ZOREDA, L. i ARGENTE OLIVER, J. L. (1975) “Cerámica paleocristiana, gris y anaranjada, producida en España. Cerámicas tardorromanas de la villa de Baños de Valdearasos (Burgos)”, *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, núm. 32, CSIC, Madrid, p. 113-150.

- CABANILLES, A. J. (1795-1797) *Observaciones sobre la historia natural, geografia, agricultura, población y frutos del reyno de Valencia*, Madrid.
- CARRERAS CANDI, F. (1922) *Geografía general del reino de Valencia*, Edit. Martín, Barcelona.
- CASABÓ BERNAD, J. (1994) “Resultats de la segona campanya d’excavacions d’urgència en la necròpolis romana del Muntanyar (Xàbia, Marina Alta)”, *Xàbiga*, 7, Museu Arqueològic i Etnològic Soler Blasco, Aj. de Xàbia i Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia, p. 65-76.
- CASTAÑEDA ALCOVER, V. (1919) *Relaciones geográficas, topográficas e historicas del reino de Valencia hechas en el siglo XVIII a ruegos de D. Tomás López*, Madrid.
- CHABÀS LLORENS, R. (1874-1876) *Historia de la ciudad de Denia*, Dénia.  
 ----- (1886) “Miscelánea”. *El Archivo* 4, Dénia.  
 ----- (1985) “Rectificaciones a la epigrafía romana de la provincia de Alicante”, *El Archivo*, volum III, núm. XI, juliol 1889, Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Alacant, p. 258.  
 ----- (1919) “Las galeras del duque”, *El Tiempo*, article aparegut el 5 de juny de 1919, Alacant.
- CODINA BAS, J. B. (1985) *Desde Jávea*, València.
- CORELL i VICENT, J. (1999) *Inscripciones romanes d’Ilici, Lvcentvm, Allon, Dianivm i els seus territoris*, Edita Nau Llibres, València.
- COSTA CHOLBI, P. i CASTELLÓ MARÍ, J. (1999) “La cultura ibérica. Economía y sociedad”, *Historia de la Marina Alta*, Prensa Alicantina, Prensa Valenciana i Institut d’Estudis de la Marina Alta, p. 109-120.
- COSTA MAS, J. (1977) *El Marquesat de Dénia*, Universitat de València, València.
- CRESPO RUANO, J. B. (1986) “La isla del Portichol, importancia de su estudio, como probable emplazamiento de Alone”, *I Congrés d’Estudis de la Marina Alta*, Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Alacant, p. 149-155.
- DOMERGUE, C. (1987) *Catalogue des mines et des fonderies antiques de la Péninsule Ibérique*, volum I, Série Archéologie, vol. VII, Casa Velázquez, Madrid.
- ESCOLANO, G. (1610) *Décadas de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reyno de Valencia*, Valencia.
- ESPINÓS, A. i POLO, F. (1985) *Xàbia. Anotaciones históricas de una villa mediterránea*, Ajuntament de Xàbia i Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia.  
 ----- (1996) “El port de Xàbia”, *Xàbia marinera. Memòria gràfica*, Comissió de Festes Mare de Déu de Loreto, Ajuntament de Xàbia, Xàbia, p. 15-23.
- FERNÁNDEZ IZQUIERDO, A. (1991) “La arqueología subacuática: una disciplina científica / L’arqueologia subaquàtica: una disciplina científica”, *Catàleg de l’exposició Un segle d’arqueologia valenciana*, SIP, València, p. 20-21.  
 ----- (1994) “La arqueologia subacuàtica en la Comunidad Valenciana”, *Preactes II Jornades d’Arqueologia del País Valencià*, (l’Alfàs del Pi 1994), Generalitat Valenciana, València, p. 255-268.

FERNÁNDEZ NIETO, J. (2005) “Hemeroskopeion=Thynnoskopeion. El final d'un problema històric mal enfocat”, *Aguaits*, núm. 22, Institut d'Estudis de la Marina Alta, Pedreguer, p. 7-31.

FIGUERAS PACHECO, F. (1945) “Panorama arqueológico de Jávea y sus cercanías”, *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, vol. XVIII, núm. 58, CSIC, Madrid, p. 1-33.

GARCIA Y BELLIDO, A. (1936): *Los hallazgos griegos de España*. Madrid. p. 94.

----- (1947) (Reedició 1982) *La España del siglo primero de nuestra era (según P. Mela y C. Plinio)*, Espasa-Calpe, Col. Austral 744, 4a edició, Madrid.

GISBERT SANTONJA, J. A. (1999) “La romanización de Dianium: ciudad y *territorium*” i “La romanización de Dianium: el *ager dianensis*”, *Historia de la Marina Alta*, fascicles 11 i 12, Prensa Alicantina, Prensa Valenciana i Institut d'Estudis de la Marina Alta, p. 121-144.

----- (1992) “Dues terrisseries romanes del territori de Dianium. Els jaciments de l'Alter de Perdigó i de la Teulera de Jesús Pobre (Dénia, Alacant)”. *Actes del III Congrés d'Estudis de la Marina Alta*, 1990. Alacant. p. 89-100.

----- (1998) “Àmfores i vi al *territorium* de Dianium (Dénia). Dades per a la sistematització de la producció d'àmfores al País Valencià”. *Actes del 2on Col·loqui Internacional d'Arqueologia Romana. El vi en l'antiguitat. Economia, producció i comerç al Mediterrani occidental*. Badalona: Museu de Badalona. p. 383-417.

----- (2009) “Vi tarraconense al País Valencià. Una mirada des dels forns d'àmfores, arqueologia de les vil·les i derelictes de la costa de Dianium (Dénia)”. *El vi tarraconense i laietà: ahir i avui: actes del simpòsium*. Tarragona. p. 125-150.

GONZÁLEZ VILLAESCUSA, R. (1991) “Aspectos de la romanización del País Valenciano a través del estudio de las necrópolis rurales”, *Cullaira* núm. 3, Fundació Municipal del Patrimoni Històric i Arqueològic, Cullera, p. 53-69.

----- (1999) “La cristianización: los cimientos de una nueva sociedad” i “La cristianización: los rituales funerarios”, *Historia de la Marina Alta*, fascicles 15 i 16, Ed. Prensa Alicantina, Prensa Valenciana i Institut d'Estudis de la Marina Alta, p. 169-192.

GURT, J. M. i NAVARRO, R. (2005) “Les transformacions en els assentaments i en el territori durant l'antiguitat tardana”, *Cota Zero*, n. 20, Barcelona, p. 87-98.

GUTIÉRREZ BEHEMERID, M. A. (1985) “Capiteles romanos de la provincia de Alicante”, *Boletín de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, volum LI, Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid, p. 93-106.

----- (1988) “Bases para el estudio del capitel jónico en la península Ibérica”, *Boletín de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, vol. LIV, Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid, p. 63-135.

GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, S. (1988) “El poblamiento tardorromano en Alicante a través de los testimonios materiales. Estado de la cuestión y perspectivas”, *Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, vol. V (Arte y poblamiento en el SE. peninsular durante los últimos siglos de la civilización romana), Secretaría de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Murcia, CICYT, Murcia, p. 323-338.

IVARS BAIDAL, J. A.; MOLINA VIDAL, J.; MORA CHACÓN, J. M. i VIVENT VELASCO, O. (1994) “El poblamiento de época romana en Jávea”, *Xàbiga*, 7, Aj. de Xàbia-Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, Xàbia, p. 19-64.

JÁRREGA DOMÍNGUEZ, R. (1991) *Cerámicas finas y tardorromanas del Mediterráneo oriental en España. Estado de la cuestión*, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, vol. XI, CSIC, Madrid.

LAUGIER, P. i CARRAZÉ, F. (1976) “Le Mouillage de la anse de la Fontaine a Jávea”, *Cahiers d'Archéologie Subaquatique*, núm. 5. CNRS, p. 99-103.

LLOBREGAT CONESA, E. (1970) “Materiales hispano-visigodos del Museo Provincial de Alicante”, *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia-Saguntum*, 10, Universitat de València, València, p. 189-204.

----- (1977) *La primitiva cristiandat valenciana*, L'Estel, València.

----- (1983) “Relectura del Ravennate: dos calzadas, una mansión inexistente y otros datos de la geografía antigua del País Valenciano”, *Lucentum*, 2, Universitat d'Alacant, Alacant, p. 225-242.

LLORENS, M. DEL M. (1987) “Hallazgos numismáticos, 1985-1986”, *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia-Saguntum*, 21, Universitat de València, p. 427-440.

MARTÍN DEL CASTILLO, G. (1966) “*Terra sigillata* clara estampada con ruedecilla”, *IX Congreso Nacional de Arqueología* (Valladolid, 1965), Secretaria General de los Congresos Arqueológicos Nacionales, Zaragoza, p. 358-366.

----- (1968) “La supuesta colonia griega de Hemeroskopeion: estudio arqueológico de la zona Dénia-Jávea”, *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia-Saguntum*, núm. 3, Universitat de València, València, p. 7-63.

----- (1968) “La supuesta colonia griega de Hemeroskopeion: estudio arqueológico de la zona Dénia-Jávea”, *Saitabi*, vol. XVIII, Universitat de València, València, p. 2-59.

----- (1970) “Las pesquerías romanas de la costa de Alicante”, *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia-Saguntum*, núm. 10, Universitat de València, p. 139-153.

MARTÍN DEL CASTILLO, G. i SERRES, M. D. (1970) *La factoría pesquera de la Punta de l'Arenal y otros restos romanos de Jávea (Alicante)*, Sèrie TV del SIP núm. 38, SIP, València.

MARTÍN i OLIVERAS, A. (2015) *Arqueologia del vi a l'època romana. Del cultiu al consum. Marc teòric i epistemològic*. Premi d'Arqueologia Memorial Josep Barberà i Farrà, Dotzena edició, Societat Catalana d'Arqueologia, Barcelona.

MONRAVAL SAPIÑA, M. (1992) “La pintura mural romana en el País Valenciano”, *I Coloquio de Pintura Mural Romana en España* (València-Alacant, 1989) Universitat de València-APMR en Hispania, València, p. 43-60.

OLCINA DOMÈNECH, M. H. (2014) “Ciutats romanes valencianes”, *Actes de les Jornades sobre Ciutats Romanes Valencianes*, desembre 2013, MARQ, Alacant.

----- (2004) “La villa romana de la Punta de l’Arenal”, en BOLUFER, J. (coord.) *Xàbia. Arqueologia y museo*, MARQ, Alacant.

PADRÓ PARCERISA, J. i BOLUFER MARQUÉS, J. (2016) “Història de dos tinters”, *Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de Castelló*, 32, Castelló de la Plana, p. 235-239.

PILES, L. (1942) “Investigaciones arqueológicas en busca de Hemeroscopeion, trabajo monográfico presentado al grado de licenciatura en Historia”, *Saitabi* 4-5, València.

PONSICH.M. i TARRADELL, M. (1965) *Garum et industries de salaison dans la Méditerranée Occidental*, Presses Universitaires de France. Paris.

PREVOSTI, M. i GUITART, J. (2005) “Els estudis del món agrari romà a Catalunya: un estat de la qüestió”, *Cota Zero*, n. 20. Barcelona, p. 41-52.

RABANAL ALONSO, M. A. (1985) “Fuentes literarias del País Valenciano en la Antigüedad”, *Actas de las I Jornadas de Arqueología de la Universidad de Alicante, Arqueología del País Valenciano. Panorama y perspectivas*, Universitat d’Alacant, Alacant, p. 201-255.

RABANAL ALONSO, M. A. i ABASCAL PALAZÓN, J. M. (1985) “Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Alicante”, *Lucentum*, vol. IV, Universitat d’Alacant, Alacant, p. 191-244.

RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, A. (1985) “La romanidad tardía”, *Historia de la Provincia de Alicante*, vol. I, Ed. Mediterráneo, Murcia, p. 394-436.

SALA, F.; ABAD, L.; BAYO S. i DOMÉNECH, C. (2014) "Las huellas de las guerras sertorianas en el sureste de Hispania: elementos para la revisión histórica", en F. Cadiou et M. Navarro Caballero. *La guerre et ses traces. Conflits et sociétés en Hispanie à l'époque de la conquête romaine (IIIe-Ier s. a.C.)*, Ausonius Mémoires 36, Bordeaux, p. 181-202.

SEGARRA LLAMAS, J. (1947) “La isla del Portichol (Jávea)”, *Saitabi*, vol. V, núm. 23-24. Universitat de València, València, p. 70-72.

----- (1985) *Jávea. Sus orígenes y su historia*, Aj. de Xàbia, Xàbia.

SENENT IBÁÑEZ, J. J. (1947) “En torno a Hemeroskopeion”, *Boletín Arqueológico del Sudeste Español*, 8-11, III Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español, Junta de Museos Municipales de Arqueología, Cartagena, p. 239-245.

TCHERNIA, A. (1986) *Le vin de l'Italie Romaine. Essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 261, Roma.

VARRÓ, M.T. (1928) *Del Camp* (Traducció i revisió de Salvador Galmés). Escriptors llatins. Fundació Bernat Metge. Barcelona. 150.

VICIANA, M. de (1564) *Chrónyca de la inclita y coronada ciudad de Valencia y de su reyno*, València.

VIÑALS, M. J.; BELLOUMINI, G.; FUMANAL, M. P.; DUPRE OLLIVIER, M.; USERA, J.; MESTRES, J. i MANFRA, L. (1993) “Rasgos paleoambientales holocenos en la bahía de Xàbia

(Alicante)", *Estudios sobre el cuaternario* (València 1991), AEEC–Universitat de València, València, p. 107-114.