

HISPANIC NOTES
& MONOGRAPHS



THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
ALONG THE GUADALQUIVIR
BY GEORGE EDWARD BONSOR

CATALOGUE SERIES

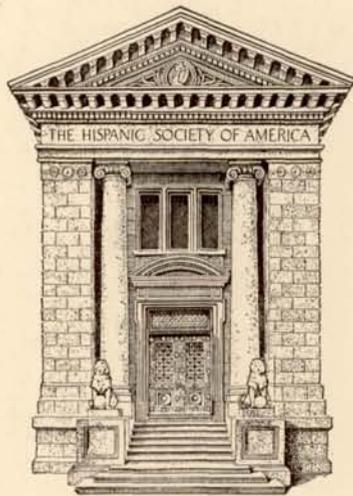
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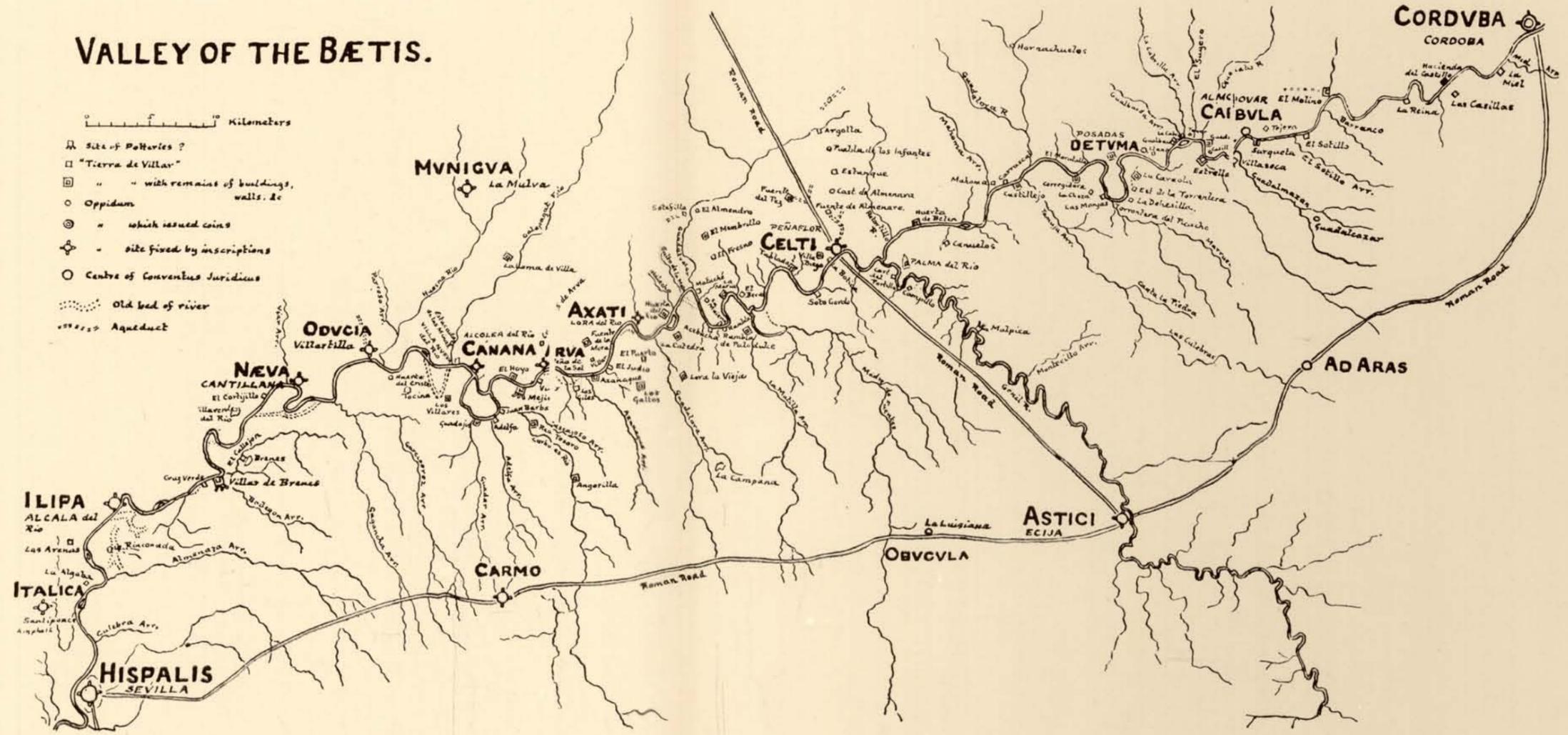
HISPANIC
NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

ESSAYS, STUDIES, AND BRIEF
BIOGRAPHIES ISSUED BY THE
HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

VALLEY OF THE BÆTIS.

0 1 2 3 4 5 Kilometers

- ⊠ Site of Ptolemy's ?
- "Tierra de Villar"
- ⊞ " " with remains of buildings, walls, &c
- Oppidum
- ⊙ " which issued coins
- ⊕ " site fixed by inscriptions
- Centre of Convenus Juridicus
- ⋯ Old bed of river
- Aqueduct



31 emf.

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THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
ALONG THE GUADALQUIVIR

1889-1901

BY
GEORGE EDWARD BONSOR

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY
CLARA L. PENNEY



WITH FORTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS CHIEFLY FROM DRAWINGS BY THE AUTHOR
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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*In the preparation of this book, the unpublished
translations of DR. WINFRED R. MARTIN
and MISS FRANCES COWLES
have been consulted.*

ILLUSTRATIONS

From original pen and ink drawings on paper unless otherwise noted

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INTRODUCTION

ON the sixteenth of October 1885, members of the expedition to the ruins of ancient ARVA (1), organized by the *Sociedad arqueológica de Carmona*, gathered many imprinted handles of Roman amphoræ on the banks of the Guadalquivir. An account of this discovery, which I later presented to the Society, was published in its memoirs (2).

I proposed to continue this research along the entire middle portion of the river's course between Córdoba and Sevilla. For the enterprise I desired a companion who would share with me the joys and hardships of such an exploration. While at Cambridge in 1889, I expressed my desire to several persons at the University, and I had the satisfaction of learning a short time later that the trustees of the Craven Fund (a special fund for archæological study) were sending Mr. W. Gilchrist Clark-Maxwell to Spain for that purpose. We were to commence our research on the banks of the river about the middle of December 1889. We had undertaken to indicate on a map of the valley all the Roman ruins and particularly the potteries of either bank. We were also to make excavations wherever necessary with a view to determining, above all, the location of the riverside *oppida* mentioned by Pliny in the following text:

“. . . dextra Corduba colonia Patricia cognomine inde primum navigabili Baete, oppida Carbula, Decuma, fluvius Singilis, eodem Baetis latere incidens. Oppida Hispalensis conventus Celti, Axati, Arva, Canama, Evia, Ilipa cognomine Ilpa, Italica, et a laeva Hispal colonia cognomine Romulensis . . .” (3).

This exploration, in company with Mr. Clark-Maxwell, came to an end the last of April 1890. I had then to continue alone and in June of the same year, upon the suggestion of my friend and colleague, I began to explore the right bank of the river opposite Tocina in search of ODUZIA. This site I had the satisfaction of fixing at the confluence of the Huesna. In June 1900, I proceeded up the Genil as far as Ecija and the following year at the same time I again saw the banks of the Guadalbacar and the ruins of Setefilla, La María, and La Peña de la Sal.

Numerous fragments of Roman origin, such as stones, bricks, flat tiles, broken bits of pottery, et cetera, found scattered on the ground over an area of from one hundred to three hundred metres, lead one to suppose that there was once on the site a farm, a landed estate (*latifundium*), or an agricultural colony. These settlements, numerous in Andalucía, are known by the terms, *tierra*

de villar, villarejo, villartilla. The following names, *torre, torrejón, torrecilla, castillo, castillejo, canto, cantillo, mezquita, mezquitilla,* and *capilla* indicate the site of a *villar* where there are still to be found ruins which are for the most part Roman cisterns. Other terms are *despoblado* which refers to ruins of some importance, implying the existence of an ancient town; *mesa, meseta, tablada* indicating a raised plateau, partly artificial, on which there is a *despoblado*; *motilla* and *torruño* referring to mounds covering pre-Roman graves; *villanueva* indicating the existence of a neighbouring *despoblado*; *caño, cañuelos, canales, arcos, lumbreras* signifying aqueducts or ordinary ditches, remains of which, crossing the fields or in the vicinity of springs, are still to be seen.

The Roman quarry is revealed by the dimensions of the bed where the stone lay. The blocks used in the large buildings have the following dimensions: at Alcolea del Río, Length 1.20 m.—Width or Height 40 cm.—Thickness 45 cm.; at Fuentes de Almenara, Length 1.20 m.—Width 45 cm.—Thickness 50 cm.; at La Peña de la Sal, Length 1.20 m.—Width 60 cm.—Thickness 60 cm. The discovery of an ancient quarry suggests the idea of a *despoblado* in the vicinity, but, as this may be several miles away, the arrangement of the quarry as well as of the old roads should be studied to determine in which direction the stone was carried.

Wherever there is abundant clay on the river banks, the remains of workshops are still found with the *débris* of the pottery covering the ground. Among these shards were found amphora handles marked with the name of the shop or *fundus* of the potter or owner. Occasionally one also sees the retaining walls of the river banks made of broken bits of pottery.

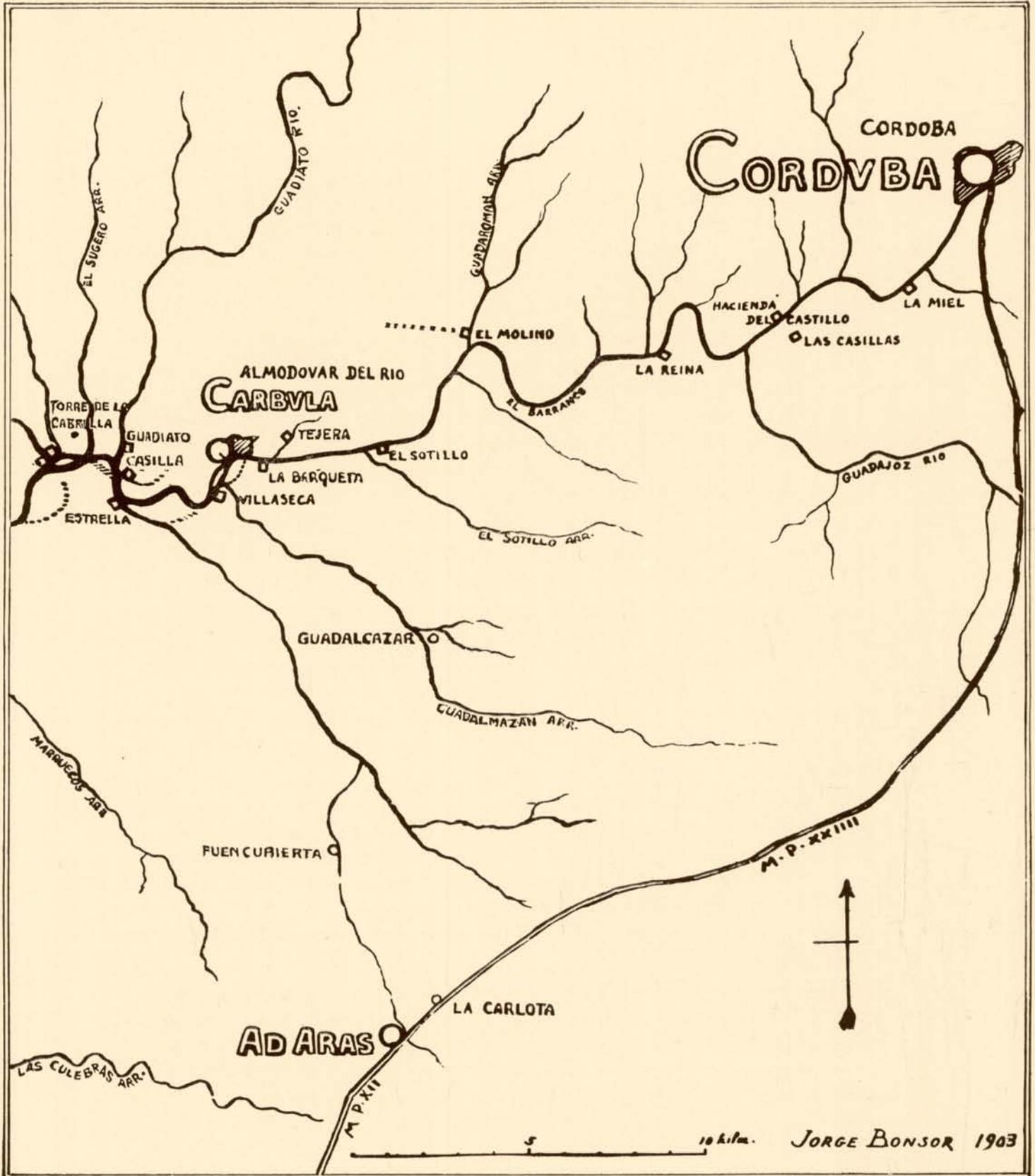
Burial places are found on both sides of the old roads or, rather, in groups on the heights adjacent to the *despoblados*. The natives, Iberians or Turdetanians, buried their dead under tumuli. It must be remembered that the custom of cremation appeared in Andalucía a long time before the Roman occupation. It is known that the Carthaginians, as well as the Celts who invaded Spain, burned their dead. Towards the end of the civil war between Cæsar and the sons of Pompey cremation became general; it disappeared gradually with the rise of Christianity.

Among the remains and materials which characterize the Roman occupation are found: the flat, flanged tile (*tegula*), amphora shards, bricks, although none antedating the Romans, small bricks used in paving houses, marble, the use of which was then very common, in the form of columns, cippi, statues, flagstones, mosaics, et cetera, and the remains of pottery of all kinds, the most characteristic being the red, glazed pottery called Samian or, according to Spanish archæologists, Sagine ware.

The geographical maps of this part of the Peninsula leave much to be desired. Plans of the *términos* (districts) can be procured at *El instituto geográfico y es-*

tadístico at Madrid. They are lithographed and to the scale of 1 to 25,000. I made use of a very accurate plan of the river, to the scale of one centimetre to a kilometre, which had been drawn up for a project, never carried out, of canalizing the Guadalquivir. As for the section above the confluence of the Genil, I have had an opportunity to consult an inedited map of the province of Córdoba which Don Rafael Romero y Barros, curator of the museum in 1890, was kind enough to bring to my attention.

The majority of the archæologists since Morales, Franco, and Rodrigo Caro have been satisfied to collect inscriptions and medals. Those who studied ancient topography felt obliged to find fantastic analogies between the ancient and modern names or else they made commentaries on the confused texts they then possessed. When, under the auspices of Charles the Third, the *Real Academia sevillana de buenas letras* was founded, archæological research in Andalucía made a real advance. The first volume of the *Memorias* of the Academy, published in 1773, presents the names and work of several noteworthy archæologists, among whom must be mentioned Tomás Andrés de Guseme, Sebastián Antonio de Cortés, José de las Cuentas Zayas, and Francisco de Bruna. Unfortunately, among them appeared a forger, the notorious Cándido María Trigueros who was then living at Carmona. In our time, the *R. Academia de la historia* at Madrid and its numerous correspondents are concerned with collecting documents on the history of the country. It has published many archæological works and important series (4). The epigraphic collections of Spain are to be found in the great work of the lamented Doctor Emil Huebner, the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, published by the Academy of Berlin (5). Huebner was also the author of a book one could hardly do without, *La arqueología de España*, published in 1888. Finally, the numismatic collections are taken up in the three volumes of Antonio Delgado, published at Sevilla in 1871 under the title, *Nuevo método de clasificación de las monedas autonomas de España*.



A1310

34.7 x 30.2 cm.

MAP OF THE GUADALQUIVIR FROM CORDOBA TO LA CABRILLA

I

FROM CORDOBA TO THE CONFLUENCE OF THE GENIL

The Guadalquivir, ancient BÆTIS, rises in the mountains of Alcaraz, Segura, and Cazorla; it empties into the Atlantic near Sanlúcar de Barrameda after having flowed about four hundred and forty kilometres. The middle portion explored by us between the cities of Córdoba and Sevilla, following all the windings of the stream, is one hundred and ninety-eight kilometres long.

Córdoba, CORDUBA COLONIA PATRICIA, occupies, on the right bank of the river, the ancient site of the colony of Patricia founded by Marcellus in the year 151 B.C. (Huebner p. 306) on the location of a Turdulan settlement named Corduba. Medals, geographical inscriptions, and numerous other antiquities, a part of which is preserved in the archæological museum of the province, have been brought to light here. We shall take as our starting point the beautiful bridge of Córdoba, the original structure of which is Roman.

At the time of the Arabs there was opposite Córdoba a very populous suburb called Segunda; this name seems to indicate that the suburb existed under the Visigoths and the Romans. It is not mentioned, however, by any classical author.

In going down the river on the left bank, traces of ancient dwelling places are found three and a half kilometres from the bridge below the stream La Miel or Gumiel. One of the milliary columns, which are to-day in the court of the Cathedral at Córdoba, is said to have been found at this place. The Roman road passed two kilometres to the east. Two other columns probably came from the hill of Espino three leagues from Córdoba. These were part of the collection of Villaceballos (6), now dispersed.

Seven kilometres from Córdoba on the right bank, the ground is everywhere covered with bricks, stones, and fragments of Roman pottery. Judging by the area covered by these remains, the site must be classed among the *despoblados*. At a little distance from the river two Roman basins or reservoirs can still be seen. It would appear that it was in the neighbourhood of the farm called *Hacienda del Castillo* that the interesting sarcophagus, probably Visigothic, was discovered which is now in the *Museo provincial* at Córdoba.

The subject represented in bas-relief on this sarcophagus, although of crude execution, is quite clear; it is a hunting scene. We see here a fleeing stag, wounded by a javelin and pursued by two horsemen, one of whom holds a buckler, while the other is about to cast a second javelin. Next come dogs, the man who holds them in leash indicating to them with his finger the direction the beast has taken. The master comes last in a chariot drawn by four horses; his driver holds in his hand an extremely long whip.

Las Casillas is some distance from the left bank. At the foot of a hill an abundant spring rises and is surrounded by a structure, Roman in part. Around this spring the ground is covered with ancient fragments.

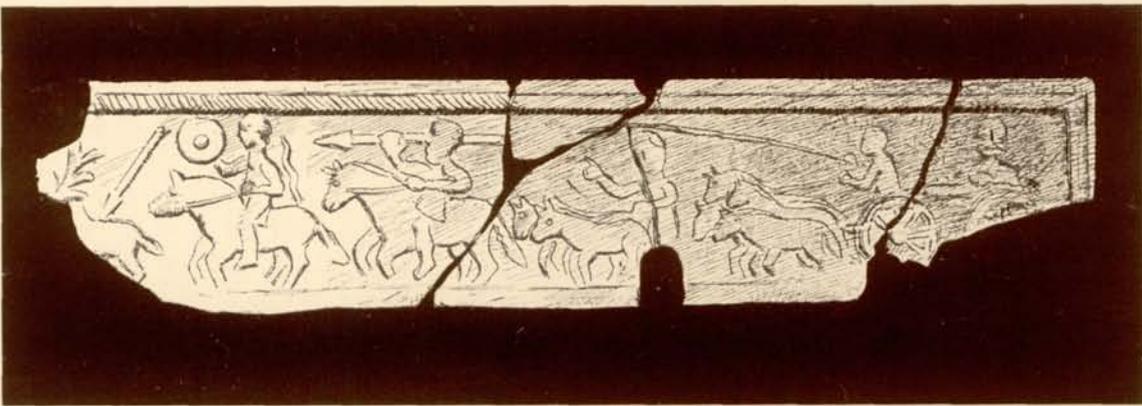
One kilometre farther on, we arrive at the confluence of the Guadajoz, the *Flumen Salsum* of the *Commentaria* (7). This river is not navigable. La Reina is a *villar* where an amphora handle, with the mark reproduced as number 1 of Plate XXXI, was picked up. Guadaromán is so called from the Arabic "River of the pomegranates". Around a mill on the right side of the stream of this name, there are many traces of the Romans. A ditch which crosses the nearby fields seems to lead towards this *villar*.

On the left bank above the stream El Sotillo, there are still some hewn stones to be seen, as well as walls made of amphora shards and earth. This sort of construction is more solid than one would believe and was used by the potters for their establishments on the river.

At La Tejera remains of pottery and hewn stone were noted. La Barqueta is a *despoblado* facing Almodóvar on the left bank. Here, there is a large reservoir twenty-one metres long and eight hundred and eighty centimetres wide; the walls of rubble are seventy-five centimetres thick. Three other rectangular basins of smaller dimensions have fallen in the direction of the river. It is probable that water was raised into these reservoirs, or basins, by means of *azudas*, which are large wheels provided with earthen pots and put in motion either by animals or by the current of the river. The many amphora shards on the bank seem to indicate the existence of several potteries. In 1890, inscriptions, mosaics, and curious bricks of the Visigothic period were found at La Barqueta.

The little town of Almodóvar del Río, CARBVLA, is on the right bank to the east of an imposing cliff crowned by a ruined fortress. The owner of the fortress, the Conde de Torralba, has just undertaken its restoration. The Arabs, like the Romans and their predecessors, Carthaginians, Celts, and Turdulians must have made use of the strategic importance of this superb cliff which commands the whole valley (8). One still finds in the streets of Almodóvar pieces of hewn stone and Roman columns. Most of the medals found in these regions show a beardless head, the hair drawn back and ornamented with a diadem; the reverse shows a lyre and beneath it the word Carbula (9). Several inscriptions were discovered at Almodóvar, including one (Huebner 2322) of geographical significance:

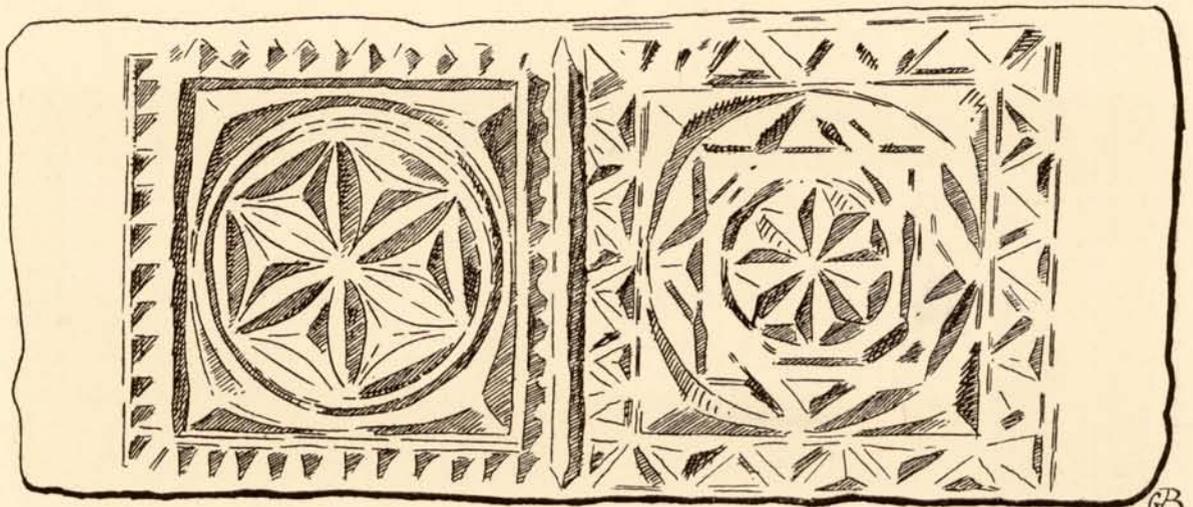
IMP. CAES. VESPASIANO AVG.
 PONTIF. MAX. TRIBVNIC. POTEST
 V. IMPERATORI. XI. P. P. COS. V. DES. VI.
 CENSORI. LIBERISQVE. EIVS.
 PAGANI. PAGI. CARBVLENSIS.



A1311

THE STAG HUNT

5.4 x 15 cm.



A1312

14 x 24 cm.

DECORATIVE BRICKS FOUND AT LA BARQUETA
Carmona. Museo de la necrópolis

This inscription appeared in the midst of important ruins, indicating the existence of a Roman city. It permits us from now on to consider Almodóvar as *CARBULA*, the first *oppidum* mentioned by Pliny on the river below Córdoba.

The left bank between Almodóvar and Posadas revealed to us two ancient sites. The first, at Villaseca, must have been the workshop of a potter. It is near a clay bank at the confluence of the Guadalmezán, where three inscribed handles were found among the pieces of amphoræ scattered about (reproduced as numbers 2, 3, and 4 of Plate XXXI). The third inscription would seem to indicate that in the vicinity there was *fig(lina) Ceraria* of the painted inscriptions from Monte Testaccio (10). The second ancient settlement is situated three kilometres from Villaseca, near the farm La Estrella where a large area of ground on an elevated part of the bank is strewn with old fragments.

La Casilla is a *villar* on an old bank which is now half a kilometre away from the river. A little before reaching it, we noticed a wall of rubble traversed by two courses of brick. This wall, between two hills, must have served as a dam to hold rain water.

Five hundred metres from the river on the left bank of the Guadiato there are some important ruins, including walls of shards and earth and foundations of rubble and hewn stone. The amphora handles picked up here bear the stamp reproduced as number 5 of Plate XXXI. The Guadiato is crossed by a very picturesque bridge of five arches. One kilometre farther on, in the direction of Posadas, upon an elevation on the right bank, there is a beautiful square tower dating probably from the fourteenth century. These towers, called *atalayas*, located at varying distances between the fortified towns, formerly served as observation posts or places of refuge against the invasions of the Moors from Granada and Ronda.

La Cabrilla and Gualbaïda are two *villares* separated by the brook Gualbaïda. The first is protected from the river by a dike which is still three metres high and twenty-five and a half metres long. This wall is built with alternate layers of bricks and stones. The second settlement below the Gualbaïda may have been the site of a pottery. Amphora shards are plentiful here, but we found no stamps.

Posadas, ΔΕΤΥΜΟ, ΔΗΤΟΥΝΔΑ (11), a small city of thirty-three hundred inhabitants, is situated on a plateau on the right bank, thirty-two kilometres from Córdoba. On the river's edge at Posadas, are the ruins of an ancient dike, and in the town shafts of Roman columns, probably found on the spot, have been used to protect the street corners. There are copious springs to the west of the little city. At the opposite end of the plateau, in front of the chapel dedicated to *La Virgen de la Salud*, we noted some interesting Roman substructures. There we saw water conduits leading to a group of cisterns. Some of these cisterns were double and placed one above the other; the vaults are of brick, the walls, of rubble, and the inner surfaces covered with a remarkably hard cement.

The walls of one pottery on the Llano, near Posadas, revealed many courses of stone, brick, and pebbles freely interspersed in the mortar. At the foot of the embankment fragments of earthenware abounded.

Ceán Bermúdez published a funerary inscription found at Las Mezquitillas (12). This name must, we believe, have reference to the Roman cisterns or reservoirs. There are in the mountains near Posadas ancient quarries of black marble veined with white and red (13). Mines of argentiferous lead have also been exploited in these regions; in the old galleries, it seems, are found tools, lamps, and medals, while on the surface are the remains of the dwellings and the graves of the miners (14).

The texts of Pliny have given rise to many debates among archæologists on the subject of the location of DETUMO. We, as explorers, have chosen to rely simply on the testimony of the ruins on the river banks. According to Pliny, DETUMO should have been situated below CARBULA and on the same side of the river as the Genil. This description of the left bank scarcely agrees with our examination of the river banks from Córdoba to the confluence of the Genil. Between these two points there are only two plateaus of a sufficient area and with an adequate water supply sufficiently near for the establishment of a town. On these plateaus are now located the towns Almodóvar and Posadas, and these are on the right bank. We found nothing elsewhere but remains of farms and potteries.

The important ruins observed at Posadas, the dike constructed of hewn stone and the many shafts of marble columns, indicate clearly the existence of an ancient city. DETUMO could not be, as has been supposed, at Palma del Río. We shall see farther on, from the mark of an amphora of Monte Testaccio, that the latter locality bore the name of PALMA in the Roman era. Everything, then, seems to indicate that it is surely to the high bank of Posadas that the OPPIDUM DETUMO must be ascribed.

Huebner believed this name to be of Iberian origin. It varies according to the texts: Decuma, Detumo, Detummo, or Detunda (15). The reading of the medals is believed to be Detumo, Detau, Detum (16). Finally, an inscription painted on an amphora fragment from Monte Testaccio gives us Detaumda (Dressel 4002) which, according to Huebner (17), is probably the oldest form of the name.

On leaving Posadas and going west, a great stone cone, the *meta* or lower part of a Roman mill, is seen at the right of the road.

Near the farm, *Antonio Serrano*, around the remains of a reservoir, were found numerous fragments, including two stamped handles which came from a workshop on the other side of the river. La Caraola, or Caracola, is a *villar* half a kilometre from the left bank. Several reservoirs seen on the slope of the hill must have served to irrigate the lower lands towards the river. At Estrella de la Torrontera we collected imprints which must be attributed to the adjacent pottery of

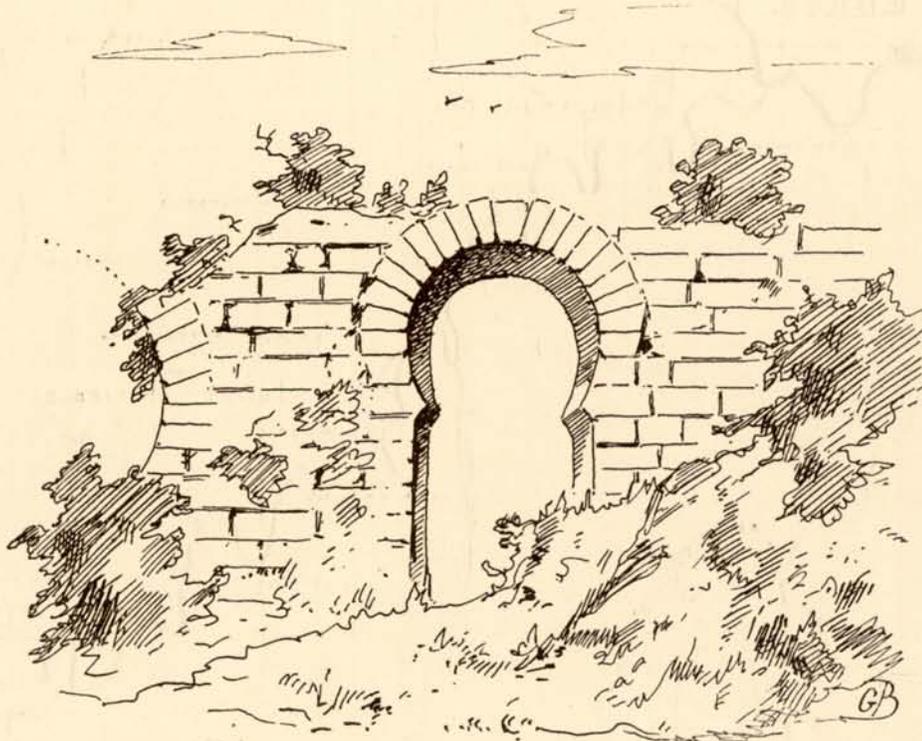


A1314

34.5 x 30.4 cm.

MAP OF THE GENIL TO ECIJA AND OF THE GUADALQUIVIR FROM POSADAS TO TABLADA

V



A1313

11.2 x 15.1 cm.

BRIDGE ON THE BEMBEZAR

La Dehesilla. The numerous pieces of pottery that cover the bank at La Dehesilla tell us of two important workshops, the names of which, suggested by Huebner, might be CVF(iense) and CVCVM(enses); this last, completed by the mark number 2586 of Monte Testaccio, might come from Cucuma or Cucumis (18). Farther on at the bend of the river, the bank rises to a great height, and, as a result, there are heavy landslides during the rainy season. These sloughs on the river banks are designated vaguely by the names *torrontera*, *barranco*, *picacho*, et cetera.

La Monja and La Chozas are both *villares*; the latter is situated on the old river bank. Corregidora, EDOPPIANVM, is a *despoblado* more than four hundred metres in extent. Ruins of reservoirs, pottery kilns, and a retaining-wall made of shards and stones, measuring twenty-eight metres in length and seventy-five centimetres in thickness, are found there. The *débris* covering the ground bears witness to the importance of the workshops. According to the stamps, the name of the owner was probably P. M. Oculatius, or Oclatius, and that of the locality was Edoppianum (19), FIG(linae) EDOPP(iani) (Dressel 4328, 2605).

Above the small stream (*arroyo*) of Moratalla, was the workshop where appeared the handle bearing the stamp reproduced as number 21 of Plate XXXI. We now reach the confluence of the Bembezar. A kilometre up this river, on the left bank, is found the old site of Moratalla which may be the fort of Morad, mentioned in the twelfth century by the Arabian geographer Edrisi, on the old route between Sevilla and Córdoba.

On continuing up the Bembezar, at about nine kilometres from the river, will be found the ruins of a Moorish bridge which originally in all probability had five arches, although only one is now standing. The intrados of the arch, showing exactly two-thirds of a circle without any indication of a point at the upper part, would denote the best period of Arabic architecture. I do not believe that such a bridge with Moorish arches has been found elsewhere. This fact justifies me in giving here a sketch of it. The road which passed there is no longer in existence.

A few kilometres farther up the river is the little town of Hornachuelos on a rocky elevation at the foot of which flows the Bembezar. El Castillejo is the name given to an isolated rock rising from the low lands of the left bank and near which extends a *villar*. Another similar rock appears in the middle of the river. We found here several handles bearing the mark of La Dehesilla, already mentioned. This fact would indicate that the two riverside potteries formed part of the same enterprise.

Carrascal is on the right bank where we noted some *débris* near a spring. At Mahoma are traces of a farm near a stream of the same name five hundred metres from the river. Cañuelos is a *villar* on the old bank and near a spring that waters a *huerta*.

At Ermita de Belén, SAXVM FERREVM, two kilometres to the northwest of Palma del Río on the right bank, important old substructures were discovered during the construction of the railroad and, later, during the construction of the new bridge over the Guadalquivir. We noted here many potteries with walls of shards and earth as well as ditches, reservoirs of rubble encased in brick, and a large pottery kiln. The amphora handles picked up here in abundance present two names: Fortunatus and Euty(chianus). The latter is found again in its complete form in the painted inscription (Dressel 3892) of Monte Testaccio. The local designation which appears on these handles is especially interesting, SAXOFFER or SAXUM FERREUM. By this iron rock must be meant the nearby elevation upon which is the chapel of the *Virgen de Belén*. At the foot of the hill there is a spring, reputed miraculous, and from the bank of the river itself escape slender streams of chalybeate water.

Dressel published twenty-four variants of the stamps of SAXUM FERREUM coming from Monte Testaccio (3166, 3167a-u).

Two kilometres below Belén, one comes to the Retortillo, crossed by an ancient bridge. This little river separates the domains of the provinces of Sevilla and Córdoba north of the Guadalquivir. It was also in Roman times the boundary line between the *conventus juridici* of CORDUBA and HISPALIS.

Cortijo de la Vega is a *villar* two kilometres to the east of Peñaflor; opposite, on the right bank, is the confluence of the Genil.

II

THE BANKS OF THE GENIL AS FAR AS ECIJA

The Genil, the most important of the tributaries of the Guadalquivir, rises near Güejar in the Sierra Nevada; its course covers nearly two hundred and fifty kilometres. It waters Granada, Santa Fé, Loja, Iznájar, Puente Genil, Ecija, and Palma del Río. The name Singilis borne by this stream in Roman times is probably of Celtic origin; Belgrade in Serbia was called Singi-dunum (20). The actual name Genil probably came from an Arabic corruption of Singilis.

Palma del Río, PALMA, is a little city of seventy-seven hundred inhabitants, surrounded by gardens or *huertas* with palm trees which would have justified its name at any time. Groves of orange trees, the chief wealth of the district, extend along the banks of the Genil about ten kilometres above Palma. They are watered by means of great wooden wheels, here called *azacayas*, which lift the water and which are put in motion by the current of the river. This method of irrigation, requiring no dam and not hindering navigation, must date back to the most remote times. To-day, there surely are in this part of the valley of the Genil more than a hundred of these *azacayas*. Each one supplies four or five ditches which are subdivided to connect with reservoirs distributed throughout the grove and which are sometimes several kilometres from the river. Nothing could be more surprising than the sound made by these numerous *azacayas* of the Genil in yielding toilsomely to the strength of the current; one fancies he hears in the midst of the rushing of the water the harmonious notes of organs and of bells (21).

The existence of Palma in Roman times seems to us demonstrated by the discovery at Monte Testaccio of a mark which Doctor Huebner has interpreted as P(almense) M(arci) Ocu(latii), f(iglinæ) Palma (Dressel 2617). A painted inscription from the same source gives us: Oclatium Pal(mense) (Dressel 4328). We have already mentioned an important workshop of this same Oculatius at Corregidora on the Guadalquivir (22).

The *cortijo* of El Portillo is on the left bank of the Genil. The fields that surround the farm of this name are covered with remains of the Roman era. It was here that I picked up an incomplete stamp on which the name CEPAR can be distinguished. The *figlinæ cepariæ* of Monte Testaccio were a part of the imperial patrimony.

AVGGGNNN

FIGVL CEPA (Dressel 2564)

The three Augustuses indicated on this stamp were, first, Septimus Severus and his sons; next, towards the middle of the third century, Valerianus, Gallienus, and Salo-
 ninus (23). I believe that the location of the imperial workshops of CEPAR()

BARBA() (Dressel 2559), and GRUME() (Dressel 2569) should be sought on the river bank at Córdoba itself, or at a short distance above that city.

The *huerta* of El Campillo is a *villar* offering little of interest. Las Monjas is located two kilometres above Palma opposite the *huerta* of La Barqueta. A pottery kiln and the *débris* covering the ground indicate the existence of a workshop, but I found no stamps there. In 1898 some inhabitants of Palma found at Las Monjas several Christian burial places. They claimed to have seen a mosaic that covered a tomb and represented a young girl with two ducks. Upon another mosaic they read the words, *Sevi* and *Conss* (24).

Malpica is located near the farm of the same name, six kilometres from Palma and on the right bank of the Genil. At the time of my first visit with Mr. G. Clark-Maxwell in March 1890, there was on the river bank a thick bed of amphora shards where we found many marks. These fragments have since completely disappeared. The marks found there have the names of Q(uinti) and C(ai) J(ulii) Alb(ense) with an unknown local designation, SAT() or STA()—FIA()—ANIC()—HEC()—PAR(). There were found here, also, two stamps with the initials Q. I. C, or Q. I. G, followed by the name SEG(). A certain L. Segolatus is mentioned by Dressel (3993-3999) among inscriptions of Córdoba, but I believe that it has to do here with a locality, probably ancient Segovia on the Genil (25) for which I discovered the site nine kilometres up the river southeast of Malpica.

Valbuena is situated above the mill of the same name. The force of the current, having undermined the bank at the bend of the river, has uncovered a pottery kiln, reservoirs, and walls built of *tegulae* and broken bits. The stamps gathered here all give the same name, G. I. ALB (reproduced as numbers 35, 49, 50 of Plates XXXI-XXXII) already noted at Malpica, indicating the same owner for both places. At Isla Grande the landslides of the bank have exposed the ruins of a workshop with amphora handles in abundance, but they offer us few stamps, and these are either incomplete or indistinct (*see* numbers 51 to 54 of Plate XXXII). At Las Animas there is a spring which is utilized for a *huerta*, and on the bank there is a pottery kiln.

The many windings of the course of the Genil will have been noticed on our map. The territories included between these curves of the river are called in this district *islas*, although they are not, strictly speaking, islands. The *despoblado* of importance called Isla del Castillo, SEGOVIA, is located eight kilometres as the bird flies north by northwest of Ecija. It is one of the most interesting archæological sites of the environs of this city. A plateau, partly artificial, is seen rising on the right bank of the Genil to a height of forty metres. The landslides of the river bank have uncovered walls of houses, drains, water pipes, wells, and cisterns; in the river itself appeared two large marble columns.

These ruins show clearly the site of an ancient city of which the extent was, also, easily recognized by the remains on the surface of the ground. These include bricks, flat flanged tiles (*tegulae*), pieces of amphoræ, and Saguntine pottery characteristic of the Roman occupation. On the other hand, however, an examination of certain excavations made by the inhabitants of Ecija four or five years ago, on the highest part of the plateau, on the same spot as El Castillo, authorizes us to antedate the existence of this city to a period prior to the Romans. In the excavations left open, I was able to see a wall built of small stones and clay recalling the method of construction of the pre-Roman colonists of Acébuchal near Carmona (26).

Beside this structure I picked up many fragments of a pottery decorated with bands and with lines painted with brown, red, or yellow ochre. This pottery has been noted around Carmona in the upper part of the tumuli of Entremalo and Alcaudete. It antedates the Second Punic War.

The peasants whom I questioned on the subject of the excavations at El Castillo were unable to give me any exact information; they assured me, however, that on different occasions marble columns, inscriptions, and even statues had been found on this spot and transported to Ecija, but that these discoveries, long past, were due to a flood of the Genil or to a chance turning of the plow.

Access to the city on the elevation had to be gained by ramps, one on the north and the other on the south. Land, uncultivated and often flooded, extends northward and seems to indicate that the plateau had originally been formed, or perhaps only made higher, by earth carried in that direction. It is even probable that a canal would thus have been constructed here running from one curve in the river to the other. This would have made of the plateau a real island.

I propose to identify this site with ancient Segovia, which according to the *Commentaria* (25), was located on the Genil, one day's march from Carmona in the direction of CORDUBA. "Cassius his rebus incensus: mouet castra; & postero die Segoviã ad flumẽ silicẽse uenit". The manuscripts of Paris give Siliciense, but in the opinion of Nipperdey and the regretted academician, Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, who himself advised me to make these investigations on the Genil, the word should be read Singiliense.

As for the topographical indications regarding SEGOVIA, the antiquarians and epigraphists of the eighteenth century trusted to the judgment of Cándido María Trigueros of the *R. Academia sevillana de buenas letras*, who lived at Carmona. He had the deplorable idea of composing several false inscriptions in support of his dissertations on the ancient geography of the region. In 1772 he sent these inscriptions to Don Sebastián Antonio de Cortés. They were published in the *Memorias* of the Academy following the interesting article by Cortés upon the discovery of MUNIGUA (27).

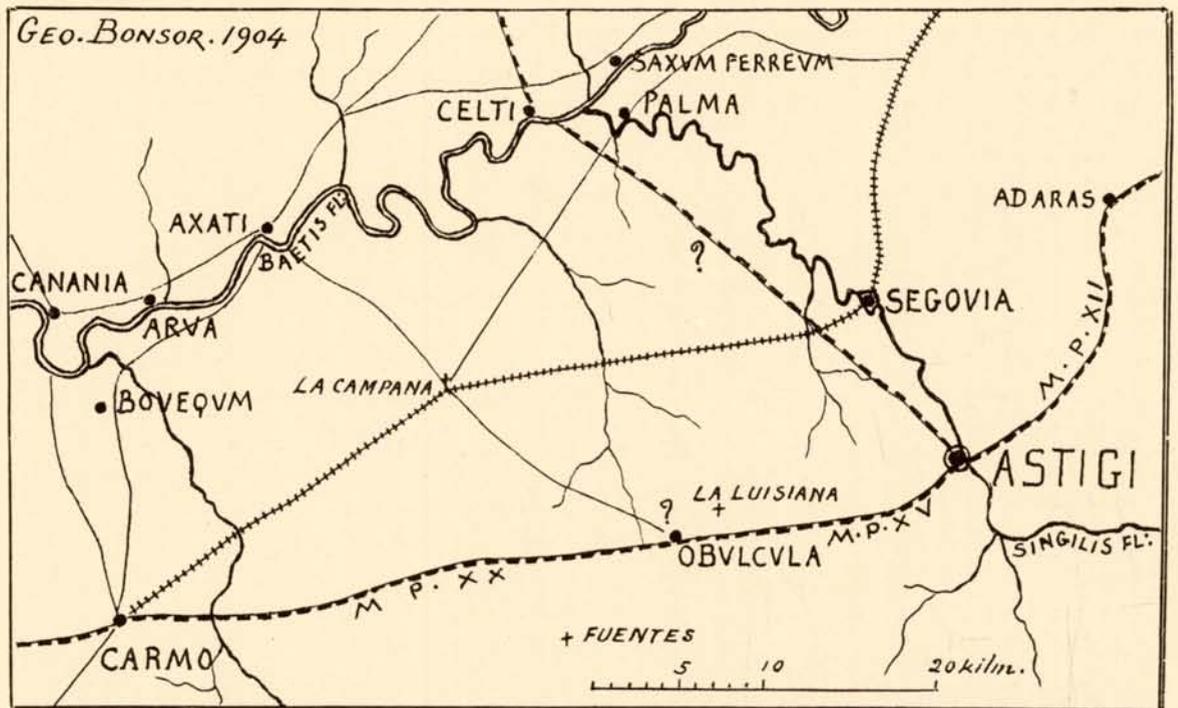
Trigueros imposed, in this way, on conscientious learned men, such as Pérez Bayer, Masdeu, and Ceán Bermúdez. The invention of a site for SEGOVIA in the immediate neighbourhood of Carmona is the work of Trigueros. He had reached the point of identifying the Silicense with the Corbones, and SEGOVIA with a *despoblado* located on this river, one league north of Carmona (28). This epigraphic fraud was definitely unveiled only in 1862 by Doctor Huebner (29). We must, however, recall that Manuel de Valbuena, a contemporary of Trigueros, did not allow himself to be influenced by the latter's communication, and in his Spanish translation of the *Commentaria*, guided only by the text, he did not hesitate to place SEGOVIA on the Genil. My friend, M. Engel, brings to my attention that this view was followed by J. R. Joly (30). He calls this Segovia the Lesser. It is, in fact, improbable that Cassius, obliged to proceed in haste towards Córdoba, should have broken camp at Carmona to stop the next day only a league and a half from his point of departure.

From Carmona to Córdoba there was a choice between two routes: first, the great Roman military road of the *Itinerarium* by way of OBUCULA, ASTIGI, and AD ARAS, the other, farther to the north, was one of the old migratory trails traced from time immemorial by flocks. The great age of the *veredas* is shown by the many vestiges of primitive peoples and the groups of tumuli to be found along their courses. This road passes La Campana and goes towards Isla del Castillo on the Genil. Cassius should not have encountered, in this direction, any obstacle to his progress. He also would have avoided passing OBUCULA where Thorius of Itálica was at the head of an insurrection of provincial troops. The distance from Carmona to Isla del Castillo is nearly equal to that between CARMO and ASTIGI, according to the *Itinerarium*, thirty-five M. P. or about fifty kilometres.

The names SEGOVIA and CELTI, to-day Peñaflores on the Guadalquivir near the confluence of the Genil, remind us of the Celtic invasion of this part of the valley. This SEGOVIA of BÆTICA is probably a namesake of that Segovia in the north, one of the six cities of the Arevaci, which bears the same name to-day. The Celts, who came from the north, spread out in Lusitania and reached the valley of the BÆTIS. The Carthaginians drove them back later into the Sierra Morena and the Sierra de Ronda where they were still found in the time of Pliny (31).

On the right bank, one kilometre from Isla del Castillo, is Villar where there are numerous remains, but no trace of a workshop.

Near a farm by the name of Alcotrista, on a raised bank, the landslides have uncovered several potters' establishments. From the *débris*, it was easy to see that there had been manufactured there, not only large spherical amphora, but also pots and vessels of various forms, flat tiles, and bricks. The farmer assured us of having seen stamped tiles and that he probably had also brought up from the embankment whole amphoræ. I regret that we had not the leisure to stop longer at this place where research could not fail to have been fruitful.



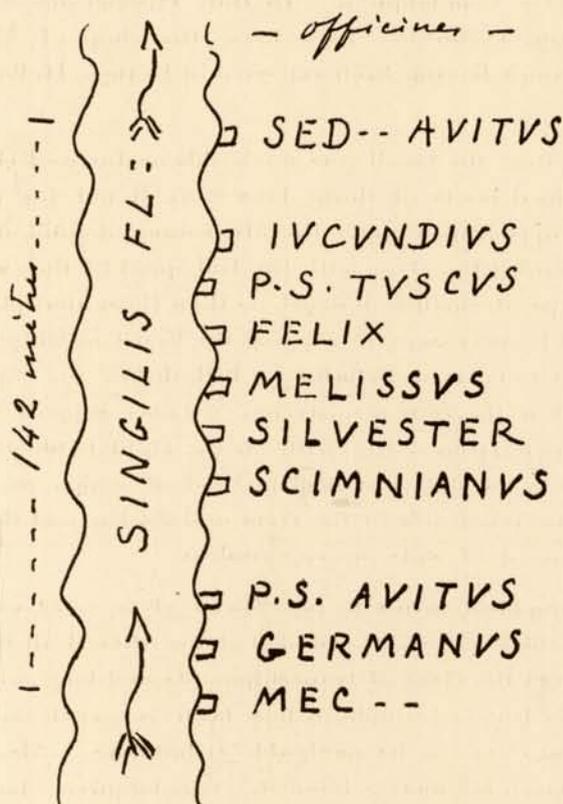
A1315

12.3 x 18.1 cm.

MAP OF THE ANCIENT ROADS FROM CARMONA TO THE GENIL

According to our marks the potters or proprietors of this station were probably Cassius and Lacon, those with the names Avitus and Tuscus were found here accidentally (reproduced as numbers 60, 61, 55, and 58 of Plate XXXII). They belong to the group of workshops at Las Delicias, three kilometres farther up.

Some years ago, Las Delicias was pointed out to me by Don Antonio Ariza of Sevilla who was then Secretary of the *Comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de la provincia*. He had already brought back from a visit to this district several stamped handles of which he gave me a copy. This station of Las Delicias is situated near the *huerta* of the same name, five kilometres from Ecija, on a natural elevation on the right bank. An examination of the fragments of pottery that can be seen accumulated at the water's edge has permitted me to distinguish ten establishments appearing on the bank in the following order:



The spring and the clay bank belonging to this station are found a little distance up the river. Some years ago a number of whole amphoræ was discovered at Las Delicias and sent to Sevilla. I was at Carmona when these were passing through in the carts of the *cosarios* from Ecija. As can be imagined, this cargo of amphoræ made a sensation all along the route. There are said to have been found, also at the

same time, several stones in the form of millstones for the preparation of the clay. These stones are said to be now at Ecija.

Some kilns still exist at Las Delicias. I cleared out one that was constructed mainly of pebbles and potters' clay. The terra cotta slabs covering the floor of the kiln each measured: Length 47 cm.—Width 29 cm.—Thickness 8 cm. These establishments did not produce amphoræ exclusively, but also manufactured bricks, tiles, various kinds of vessels, and lamps. I picked up in the refuse-heap of the pottery of Iucundius a piece of a basin in the form of the *lebrillo* of to-day; it bore the word *Secun(dus)* written on it with a sharp point before baking. It was probably the name of a workman who so designated a number of these vessels which he wished to recognize when they came from the oven.

Rare stamps from Las Delicias have been picked up at various points in going down the Genil and the Guadalquivir. In Italy Dressel discovered all these marks in abundance at Monte Testaccio. Elsewhere, the shop of Melissus is the most widely known, its stamps having been reported in France, Holland, Switzerland, and England.

In the time of Pliny, the Genil was navigable as far as Ecija. It would still be so for the flat-bottomed boats of those days were it not for the mill dams which probably made their appearance under the Mussulman dominion. Boats loaded with heavy amphoræ descended the river with the full speed of the current. The boats of the Genil were perhaps of smaller dimensions than those that plied the Guadalquivir. In this case it would be necessary to suppose the first transshipment of the merchandise at the quays of *CELTI*, near Peñafior, a little below the confluence of the Genil on the right bank. For the return upstream, we may suppose that the empty boats were laboriously drawn from a tow-path on the right bank where were the workshops. At least this is the only practical method of which we can think when we consider that the numerous bends of the river and the force of the current would have rendered the employment of sails or oars useless.

The spherical amphora seems to have been given over exclusively to the exportation of oil. Its thick sides and rounded shape offered all the necessary guarantees of strength against the risks of transshipments and long sea journeys. It should be remarked that this form of amphora has been reported only in the immediate neighbourhood of the river, or its navigable tributaries. Also, the excavations at Carmona, a city fourteen kilometres from the Guadalquivir, have yielded only one example (32). None has appeared on the banks of the Corbones above Real Tesoro where this tributary ceases to be navigable.

I believe that I can deduce from the preceding observations that the transportation of oil to the riverside establishments, where the amphoræ, made on the spot, were filled, was effected in skins on muleback. This is, moreover, the method employed to-day for plantations at a distance from the highways and railroad stations.

These establishments included not only a potter's shop, but perhaps, also, store-houses, a mill, and a press where the products of the neighbouring plantations were handled. The boats moored at the bank in front of these stations, so we find there the ruins of wharves made of bricks, pottery shards, and the waste of potteries—the only materials available on this alluvial soil where stone is lacking. We shall see farther on that the cities also had their wharves. The imposing ruins seen on the river bank at Peñaflo, at Cantillana, and at Alcalá del Río give the impression of immense structures either in rubble, or in brick, or in stone, well deserving the designation *Portus* of the inscriptions.

Ecija, COLONIA AUGUSTA FIRMA ASTIGI was one of the four seats of jurisdiction of the province, Ulterior Hispania Baetica (Huebner p. 201 and number 1970). The other *conventus juridici* were at Córdoba, Sevilla, and Cádiz. It was at Córdoba that the proconsul resided (33). The importance of Ecija at the time of the Empire is confirmed by many remains. Martín de Roa in 1629 noted more than two hundred columns distributed among churches, convents, and private houses. Perhaps more are seen to-day enclosed on the street corners. The most beautiful are found in front of the churches of *Santa María* and *Santa Bárbara*. There is at Ecija, as in most of the old cities of Andalucía, a street of *los mármoles* recalling an important discovery of columns, statues, and inscriptions. The foundations of the city walls and the gates which were destroyed in recent times, although some parts are still standing, show a symmetrical structure of large, hewn blocks laid without mortar, on which the Arabs raised their walls of *tapia*. Fate decreed, about thirty years ago, that a modern arena for bullfights should be erected on the very site of the Roman amphitheatre.

Many inscriptions from Ecija figure in the *Corpus*. Among them we should mention number 1481 which recalls the ancient commerce in oil of this region. It is the base of a statue with an inscription to the memory of a wealthy merchant of Ecija, Marcus Julius Hermesianus, entitled *Diffusor olearius*, that is to say, as Doctor Huebner observed, not only was he a producer, but he also bought the oil of the district for exportation (34). He lived at Ecija which was probably at that time the centre of oil production. An inscription painted on an amphora from Monte Testaccio (Dressel 3897) gives us the name M. Julius Hermes. Handles have also been found with the mark Hermes (Dressel 2913). The workshop of this last stamp was not exactly in the immediate vicinity of Ecija. We located it at the *villar* of Brenes between Cantillana and Alcalá del Río.

Under the Visigoths Ecija preserved its importance; it was the seat of a bishopric. In 1886 they discovered, in the church of *Santa Cruz*, a Christian sarcophagus upon the face of which three Biblical scenes are represented in bas-relief, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Good Shepherd, and Daniel in the Lions' Den. Cartouches placed above the figures give their names inscribed in Greek letters (35).

We were at Ecija the nineteenth of June 1900, a memorable day with the overwhelming heat at fifty-one degrees centigrade. In the *patios* of the town we could still breathe, but when it became necessary in the afternoon, late to be sure, to return to our encampment at Las Delicias, five kilometres away, illness forced me to take refuge, midway on the trip, in an olive plantation. I was obliged to wait for night to continue the journey. At camp my men had also suffered a great deal. Moreover, our supplies of the morning were lost; we had to throw away the meat, the fruits were spoiled, the soap was melted, and the petroleum for our cookstove had evaporated.

On the coat of arms of Ecija appears a sun accompanied by a legend of which we were forced to admit the justice, *Civitas solis vocabitur una*. In the old popular sayings, this place was called "the frying-pan of Andalucía". "Never was a name better deserved," says Théophile Gautier in his *Voyages en Espagne*, "situated in a depression, it is surrounded by sandy hills which shelter it from the wind and reflect the rays of the sun like concentric mirrors; everyone there is absolutely fried . . ." (36).

III

FROM THE GENIL TO THE CORBONES

Peñaflor, CELTI, is a large market town of three thousand inhabitants, situated on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, two and a half kilometres below the confluence of the Genil. At the time of the Christian conquest there was only one stronghold, mentioned under the name of Castillo de Anaflor, in the grant of the territory by Ferdinand the Third to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. There should be, however, important ruins in the vicinity of this castle, if we recall that in the eighteenth century a large portion of the walls surrounding a Roman city was still standing.

The extent of the remains and some imposing ruins that can be seen to-day on a plateau by the riverside, to the west of Peñaflor, leave us no doubt as to the site of CELTI. According to Pliny (37), this town, as one descends the BÆTIS, was the first *oppidum* under the jurisdiction of HISPALIS. The *Itinerarium* mentions this station on the Roman road from HISPALIS to EMERITA, twenty-seven miles from ASTIGI (Ecija) and forty-four from REGIANA (38). Despite all the archaeological proofs favouring the precise data of Pliny regarding its location on the river bank, the majority of modern authors, basing their ideas on the various transcriptions of the *Itinerarium*, have striven to establish CELTI elsewhere: Flórez and Cortés, at La Puebla de los Infantes, about ten kilometres from the river, Fernández-Guerra and Saavedra, at Las Navas de la Concepción, twenty-five kilometres away, and, finally, Don Antonio Blázquez, still farther off, near Constantina in the midst of the Sierra Morena (39). However, Gutiérrez Bravo, Ceán Bermúdez, and Father Fita chose Peñaflor, taking into consideration the importance of the local ruins, the discovery of an inscription, and some geographical medals (40).

Medals of CELTI are rare. Aloïs Heiss was entirely unaware of them; Delgado (41) presents four variants, showing a beardless head with a helmet or a woman's head crowned with ears of grain and on the reverse a wild boar upon an iron spear with the legend CELTITAN or CELSITAN. The first form is authentic according to the examples of Flórez, Bravo, and the *Museo arqueológico nacional* at Madrid; the second form is doubtful as it comes from a medal in a poor state of preservation in the collection of Gutiérrez Bravo, probably the same medal that Leyrens of Sevilla possessed in 1770 (42).

The name CELTI seems to indicate that this town was probably inhabited by the Celtici of the neighbouring Sierra (43). The primitive Iberian name is unknown; Chilasur (Huebner 1087) has been suggested, as it appears on an inscription from Alcalá del Río, ILIPA MAGNA (44).

Let us pass on to the description of the principal ruins of Peñaflores. We shall, following that, give a report of the excavations.

In the first place we must mention the Port, a most remarkable pre-Roman structure. The dike, El Higuera, is built of large blocks of rock with no trace of hewing. These blocks measure about three metres in length, one metre in width, and one in thickness. This imposing Cyclopean dike, strengthened by several rectangular projections, is an irrefutable witness to the existence of this city well before the Roman occupation.

Near the cemetery of Peñaflores, Cortinal de las Cruces, was found the tomb of a Roman family, similar in form to those of the necropolis at Carmona, but constructed in a single block of rubble. The funerary chamber contains five niches for urns; the passage leading to the entrance has four more.

Discovered also in a nearby field were several urns which had simply been placed in the earth. In the Street of *San Pedro*, around the opening of a well, we saw a mosaic representing fish, et cetera.

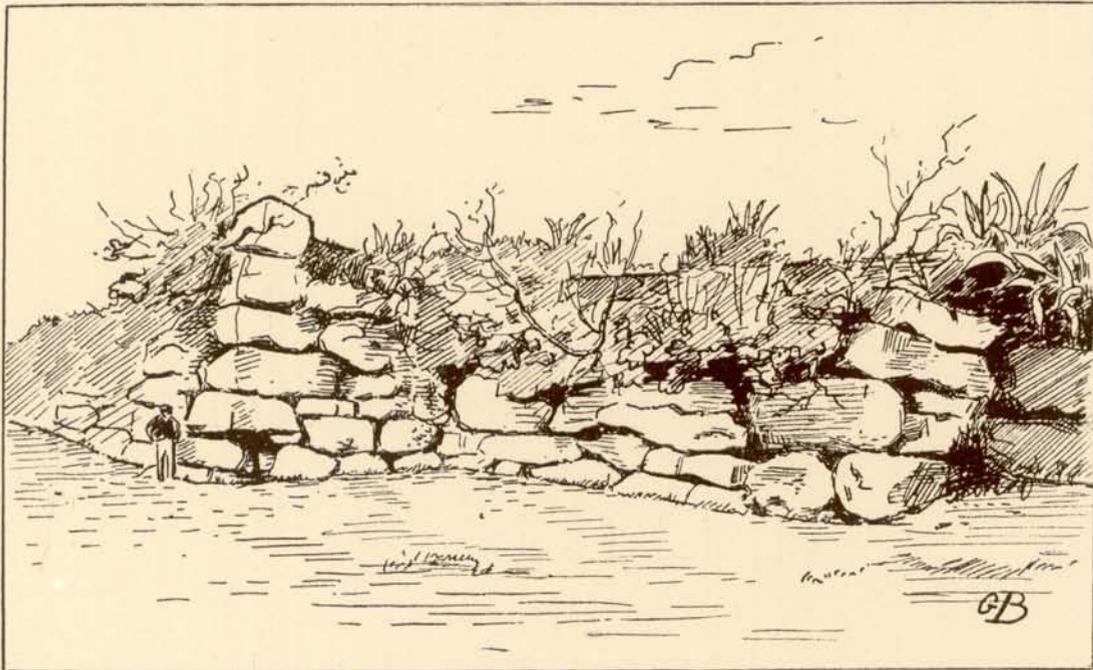
In the field of La Moncrua or Moncloa are immense capitals, bases, and shafts of columns of Corinthian style in a beautiful reddish marble. At the house of Don Antonio Coba, who was then alcalde, we saw in the *patio* two statues of draped men, the heads missing. At the home of Don Antonio Parias, deputy to the Cortes, there were two inscriptions, probably inedited, A1320 and the one below:

ROMVLA. AN. XVII PIA. IN. SVIS H.S.E.S.T.T.L.D.M.S
--

In the spring of 1890 Mr. G. Clark-Maxwell and I together explored a part of the plateau of CELTI at the place called La Pared Blanca where, in a plantation of olive trees, were seen, almost on a level with the ground, the foundations of several large buildings.

The first trench that was opened up gave us a lead pipe at a slight depth. Following this for about twenty metres brought us to the discovery of a rectangular basin, the impluvium of a Roman dwelling. Near at hand we raised two of the four columns which were probably placed at the corners of the basin to uphold the roof which had disappeared. This basin was paved in white marble; in the middle was the spout for a fountain attached to the end of the pipe we had followed (45).

“When water is to be made to rise [in jets]”, says Pliny (46), “a lead pipe is used; water, it should be remembered, always rises to the level of its source”.

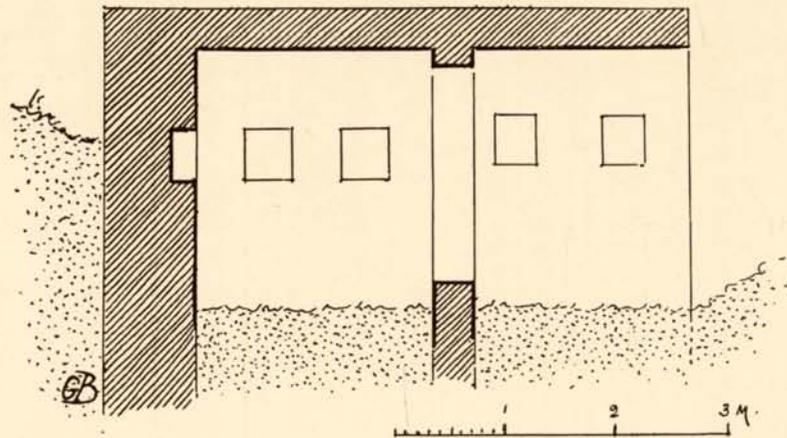
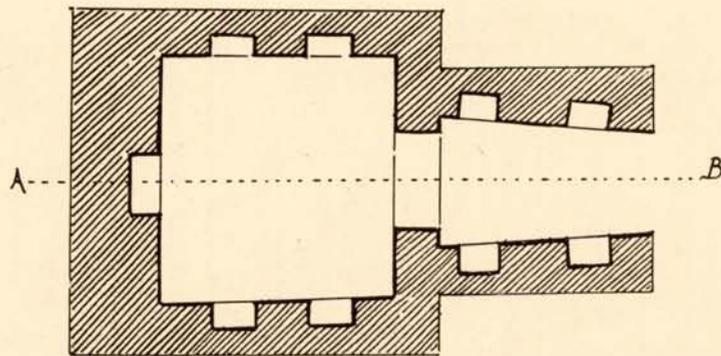


A1316

11.4 x 17.4 cm.

EL HIGUERON, CYCLOPEAN DIKE OF PEÑAFLOR

PLANTA



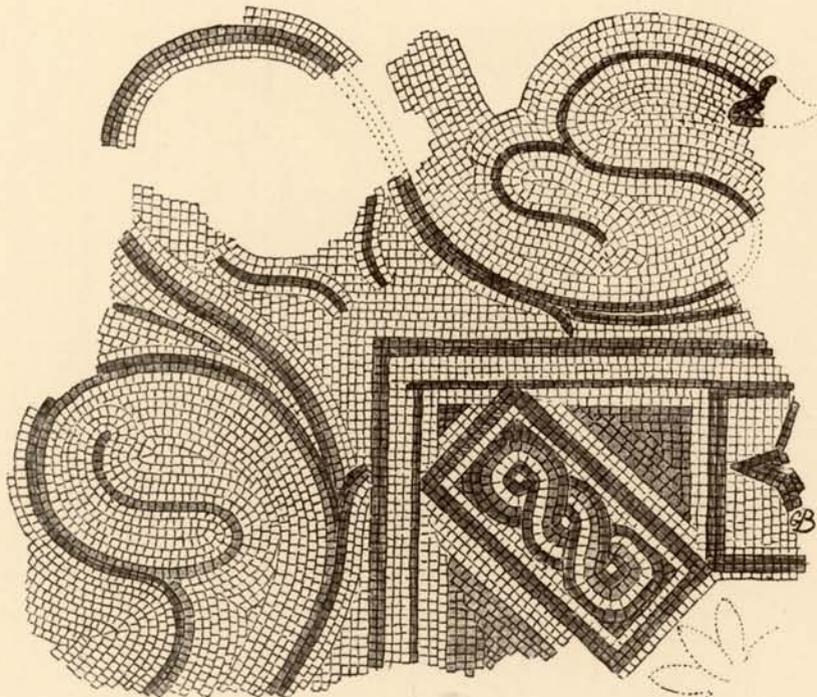
SECCION

A1317

15.3 x 11.2 cm.

ROMAN TOMB AT PEÑAFLOR

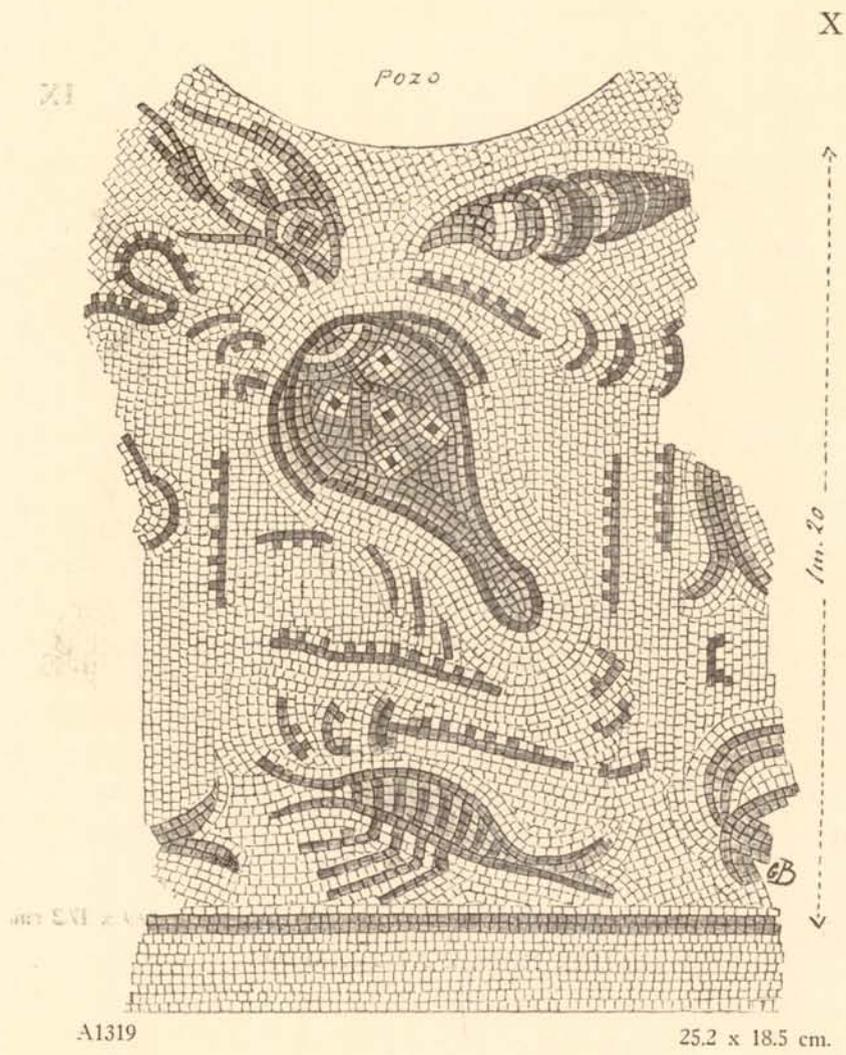
IX



A1318

19.9 x 17.2 cm.

ROMAN MOSAIC AT PEÑAFLORES



XI

Pozo

X

1m. 20

MS. 5VI

A1319

25.2 x 18.5 cm.

ROMAN MOSAIC AT PEÑAFLOR

The circumference of our pipe measured twenty-one centimetres; it was, according to the system adopted by Vitruvius (47), a *fistula denaria*, that is to say, the sheet of lead used to make this pipe was ten inches in width, of regulation length, about ten feet, and had to weigh one hundred and twenty Roman pounds.

Old lead is plentiful at Peñaflo. A little while before our visit, there had just been discovered near the stream to the west of the town a large number of Visigothic coffins of lead reinforced with iron tenons. The owner of this windfall offered to sell it to us in a block, assuring us that we should make a good bargain because of the quantity of silver contained in the lead. But, on the other hand, as the coffins were without ornamentation and without inscriptions, we had no interest in acquiring them.

Our excavators proceeded next to the river bank where they discovered a potter's establishment composed of two rooms, the workshop proper where the pottery was fashioned and the drying room with its circular kiln. The lower part of this kiln was hollowed in the rock. It was full of the shards of the pottery made there, plates, pateræ, and various vessels of red clay with or without glaze or rather yellowish with a mat surface. Most of these vessels were decorated with bands of colour. Among these vestiges were discovered two medals of Claudius and one of COLONIA ROMULA (Sevilla).

The walls of this workshop were constructed of fragments of amphoræ and mortar with several courses of brick and supports of hewn stone. There must have been in the vicinity of the ancient town a series of similar establishments, to judge by the ruins with their refuse heaps encountered on the river bank. We collected there several handles of amphoræ with stamps, among others a good number with the initials Q. F. C. and, also, the mark TREBIL. There were found at Monte Testaccio, Figlina Trebecianor(um) (Dressel 3204a) and f(undi) Trebeciani (Dressel 3205). Huebner derives this name from Trebecius (48).

CELTI was provided with water by an aqueduct, traces of which are easily followed across the fields in the direction of the springs called Fuentes de Almenara, three and a half kilometres to the north of Peñaflo, where one can still see the ruins of a structure which surrounded or covered the very spot where the water gushed forth. The large underground conduits near these springs are made of hewn stones. The water then passed into a gutter of rubble which appears on the surface of the ground. In the vicinity of the town this channel rose up on arches, forming a real aqueduct, now destroyed. We believe, however, that we recognized the foundations of the columns. Upon the plateau of CELTI, as has already been said, the distribution of the water was effected by means of lead pipes.

From Peñaflo we visited in the Sierra, Las Navas de la Concepción and La Puebla de los Infantes.

The latter town was called at the time of the Reconquest, *CANABULLA* (49). The Roman remains that we saw there are insignificant, but the ancient mining exploitations of lead and copper in the region are particularly interesting. We were shown several stone hammers used by the native miner, with which were found fragments of primitive pottery. These hammers are large stones encircled by a groove in which was fixed the handle. Some twenty of these stones were sent to the orator Castelar on the occasion of his last visit to La Puebla. Another of his admirers of the Sierra was instrumental in having sent to him a collection of one hundred and six silver medals from a copper mine, called El Bracho, which we visited. Here a peasant showed us one of the medals that he had saved relating to the Proclia family.

The system of water-conduits in the old mines still exists; we cite a small aqueduct at La Puente, at La Fuente del Pez, a reservoir, and near the *huerta* of La Higuera, another aqueduct with several arches still standing.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient exploitations of the Sierra, one meets rather frequently the *despoblados* of Roman-native character, accompanied by humble burial places, probably miners', such as I have mentioned at the quarries of El Judío near Carmona (50).

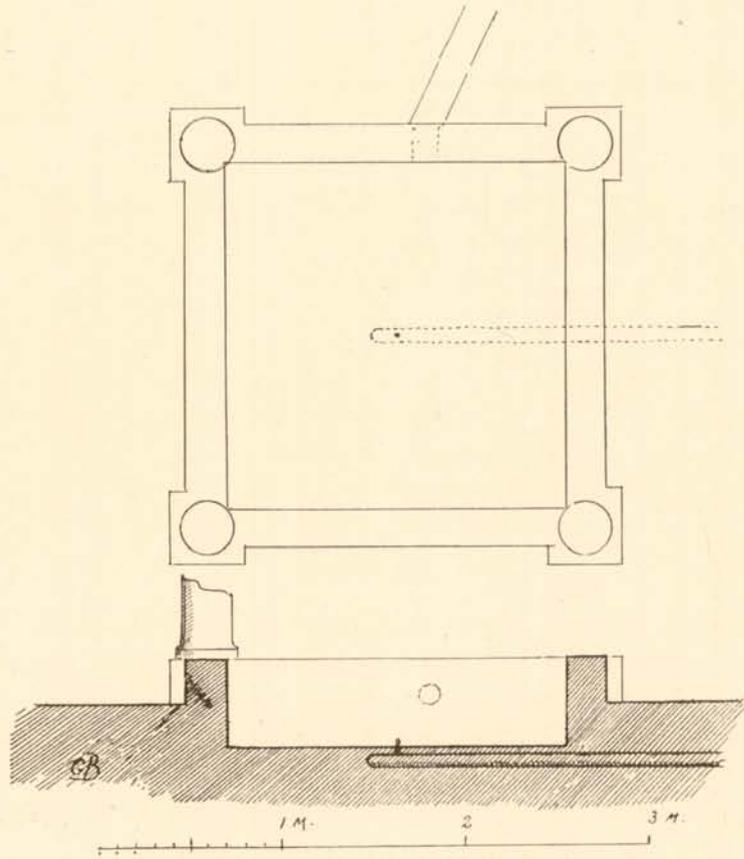
These mines had probably been exploited successfully by the Iberians a long time before the arrival of Hamilcar Barca. Diodorus (51) gives us a touching description of the suffering endured by the miners in Spain:

“. . . But after that *Iberia* came into the Hands of the *Romans*, the Mines were manag'd by a throng of *Italians*, whose Covetousness loaded them with abundance of Riches; for they bought a great number of Slaves, and deliver'd them to the Task-masters and Overseers of the Mines . . . Now though these Slaves that continue as so many Prisoners in these Mines, incredibly enrich their Masters by their Labours, yet toyling Night and Day in these Golden Prisons, many of them being over-wrought, dye under Ground. For they have no rest nor intermission from their Labours; but the Task-masters by Stripes force them to intolerable hardships, so that at length they dye most miserably. Some that through the Strength of their Bodies, and vigour of their Spirits are able to endure it, continue a long time in those Miseries, whose Calamities are such that Death to them is far more eligible than Life!”

This description referred probably to the rich silver mines in the region of Cartagena, but I believe that it can be applied to all the ancient exploitations of the Peninsula. The part of the Sierra Morena that concerns us used to produce, and still produces abundantly, lead, iron, and copper. The lead of *BÆTICA* was much prized; the supply is seemingly inexhaustible, as at the present time more than half of the lead used in Europe comes from the mines of Spain (52).



INSCRIPTION FROM PEÑAFLORES



A1321

20.7 x 15.4 cm.

BASIN WITH SPOUT AT PEÑAFLORES

Let us return to the bank of the river. One kilometre below the plateau of CELTI, there is a curious bit of wall on the bank to which has been given the name of La Botica (the pharmacy). It is constructed of shards carefully laid with mortar and shows one course of pebbles and several others made of the necks of amphoræ.

At Villadiego may be seen one of the ancient watch and refuge towers called *atalayas*. This is octagonal and dates back probably to a period before the Christian conquest. Close to the tower is a small chapel dedicated to the patroness saint of Peñaflores, the Virgin of Villadiego. Roman materials abound on all sides. There are a spring, the ruins of basins, hewn stones, and just at the entrance to the chapel, serving as a seat, a beautiful Corinthian capital.

Soto Gordo is a *villar* on the left bank, near the stream of the same name, where the sloughing off of the bank exposed a well seventy-three centimetres in diameter. Its masonry, forty-five centimetres thick, is made of alternate courses of bricks and stones.

On the right bank is Tablada. One sees foundations built of large stones, several walls, and rectangular basins of rubble, these last so solid that they have slid into the river whole. Two other semicircular basins, sweating rooms, or *laconica*, were found three hundred metres farther on. The trenches for the water are hollowed in large cut stones covered with paving stones. The spring, which is very copious, is not used now but flows freely towards the river making a way for itself across the ruins.

Near the confluence of the little stream called Madre Vieja or Madre de Fuentes (53) the river has in recent years completely changed its course. This is why a part of the old bank, called Barranco de los Ciegos, rising to a great height, is to-day more than two kilometres from the Guadalquivir. The Madre Vieja rises in the vicinity of Fuentes and of ancient OBUCULA near La Luisiana. This stream was called El Guadalbardiella (54) in the time of the conquest by Ferdinand the Third (1240-1247).

Let us give our attention to a cistern and large reservoir near the farm called Palo Dulce. The cistern, built of rubble, has a circular opening ninety centimetres in diameter. The interior is in the form of a silo, its walls plastered with the hydraulic mortar used by the Romans. The reservoir is one of the largest we have seen thus far. It is 32.20 metres in length and 19.75 in width. As there is no spring in the vicinity, we presume that it was intended to catch the rain water from the adjacent heights.

El Berro is a *villar* to the left of the stream of the same name where we found some vestiges of fine pottery, fragments of glass decorated in relief, and a sigil-lated handle.

On the right bank is an important *despoblado*, La María, visited in 1758 by Guseme (55) who claims to have seen many fragments strewn on the surface of the ground around a spring and upon a small elevation close at hand. He mentions also the foundations of a square edifice that he took to be a tower and which was probably only a simple basin or reservoir of which there are so many. He hands down to us, also, a name Iunius, which appears on the lower part of a funerary cippus (Huebner 1069). In the opinion of Ceán Bermúdez (56), La María was the site of an ancient town called Nema of the Turdetani. This name, Nema, comes from the incorrect reading of an inscription copied by Caro (Huebner 1182). The error consisted in writing NEMENSES for NÆVENSES, derived from Næva, now Cantillana.

At the time of our first visit to La María in 1889, we noticed nothing on the bank of the river, while in 1901 a landslide of the banks along an extent of more than four hundred metres uncovered the traces of four distinct potteries. These were located about one hundred metres apart. The first, going downstream, yielded a hundred or so handles, only one of which bore a stamp (reproduced as number 115, Plate XXXIV). At the second establishment appeared the mark reproduced as number 111 of Plate XXXIII. At the third, near the ruins of a kiln, was found a stamp f(iglinae) GRUMESE(S) (Dressel 2569), imperial potteries AVGGGNNN. This stamp is probably here by chance, as the location of the imperial potteries should be sought near Córdoba. Huebner (57) believed that the name of this locality, Grumen or Gruma, was of native origin. This third workshop gives us some graffiti traced on the body of the amphora before the baking. We read there the names of Piso and Victor.

The fourth of these riverside establishments gave us also the remains of a kiln and many handles, not one of which, however, was marked. Near the spring of La María and to the east of a century-old fig tree, we discovered the inscriptions reproduced as numbers 116 and 118 of Plate XXXIV. Lastly, five hundred metres from the farm near the railroad appeared the three inscriptions reproduced as numbers 113, 114, and 117 of Plate XXXIV. La Rambla and Acébuchal are two *villares*. The mark reproduced as number 126, Plate XXXIV was noted at Acébuchal.

An important pottery at La Mayena has as a principal mark the native name Atitta (reproduced as numbers 127, 128 of Plate XXXIV) for which Monte Testaccio (Dressel 3132) gives us the variant RFI.linkedATIlinkedATE (58).

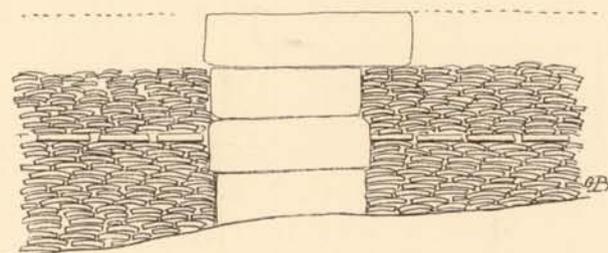
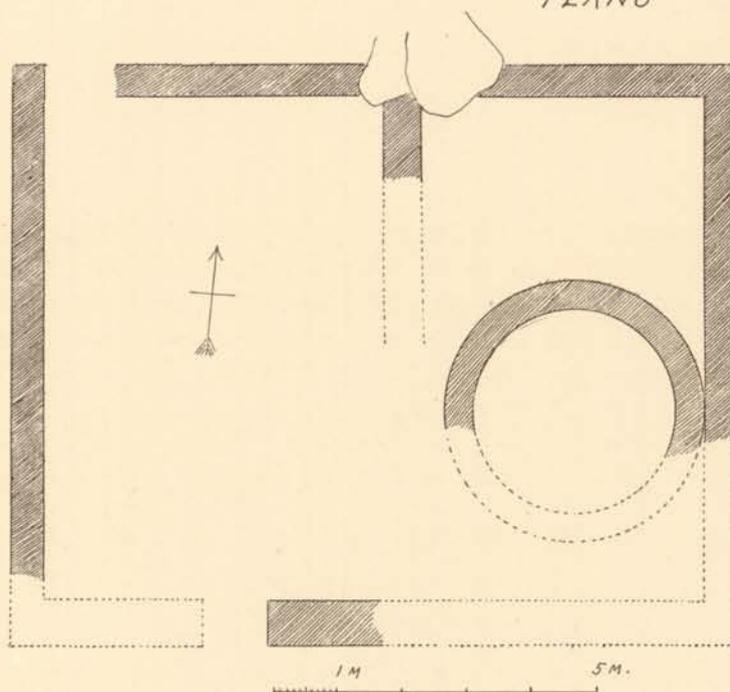
At Mataché on the bend of the river on the right bank there is a long extent of *tierra de villar*, probably the remains of a group of farms.

Arriving at the confluence of the Guadalbacar, LACCA FL:?, we proceeded up this river in the direction of Setefilla by an old road which follows the left bank.

At El Moral are the remains of Roman habitations, the walls of which are built of waste fragments from the potteries of La Mayena according to the inscription with the name Atitta found here.

XIII

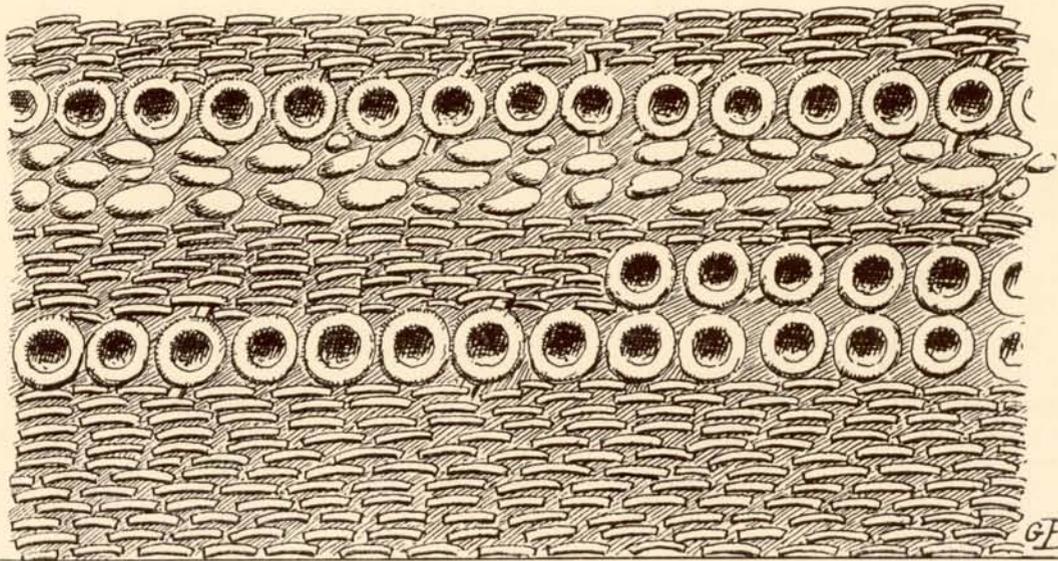
PLANO



A1322

25.3 x 20.2 cm.

PLAN OF A POTTER'S KILN AT PEÑAFLO

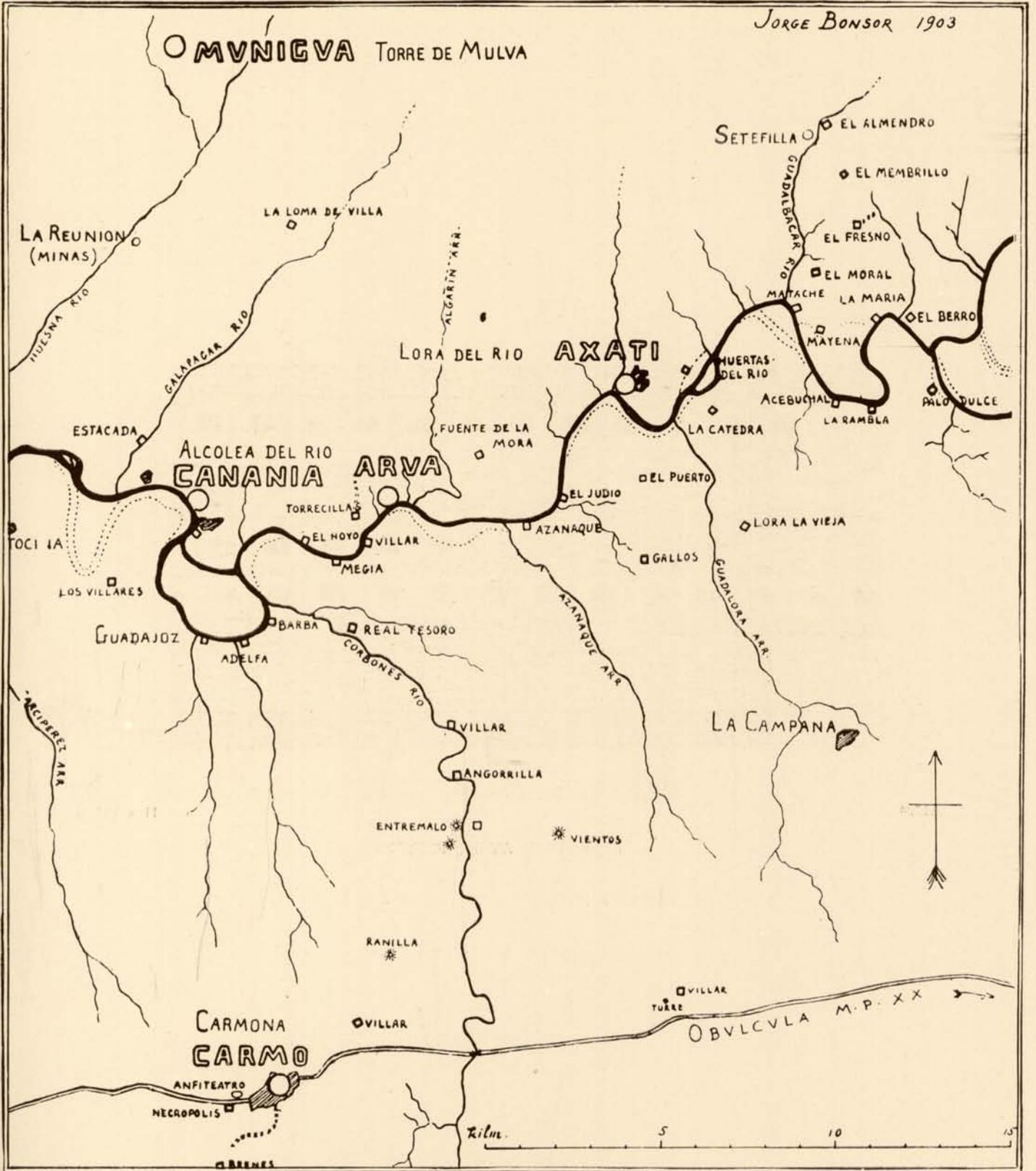


GB

A1323

10.6 x 17.5 cm.

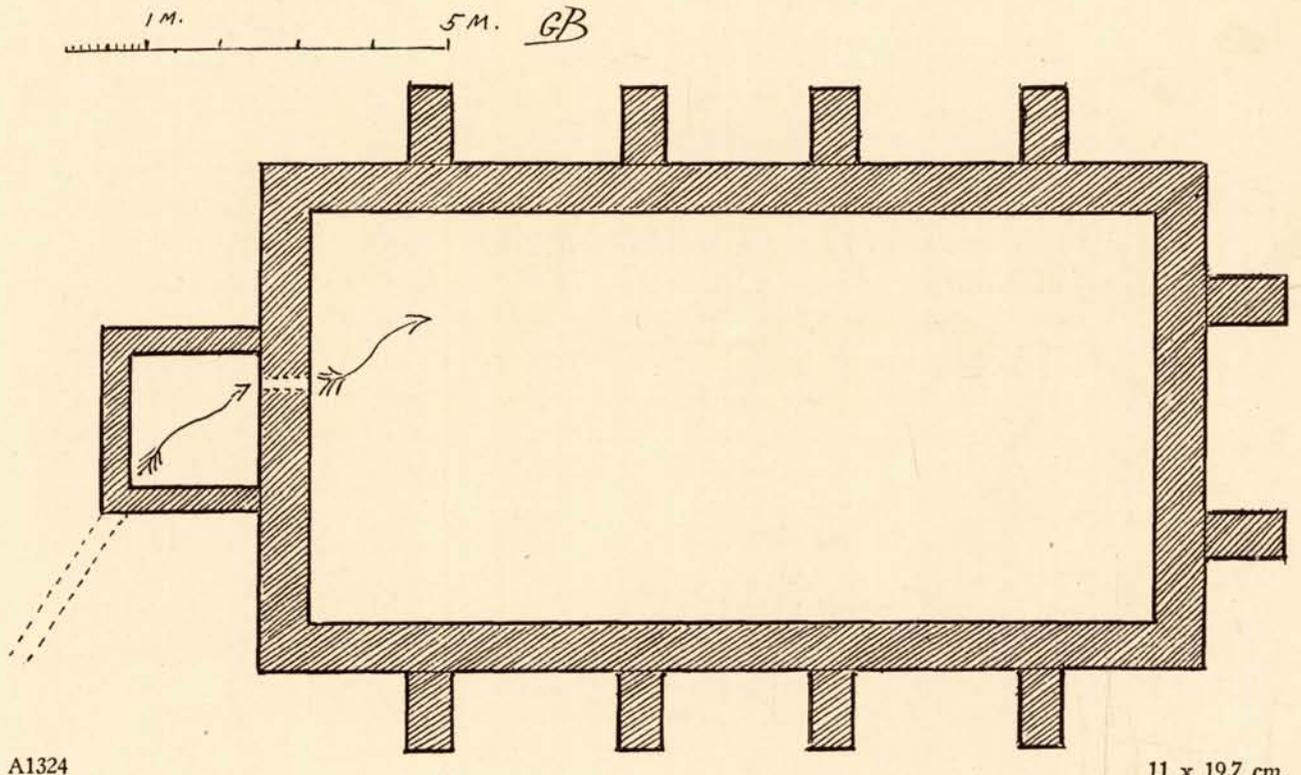
WALL OF A POTTER'S ESTABLISHMENT, KNOWN AS *LA BOTICA*



A1333

34.5 x 30 cm.

MAP OF THE GUADALQUIVIR FROM PALO DULCE TO TOCINA, SHOWING CARMONA



A1324

11 x 19.7 cm.

RESERVOIR AT EL FRESNO

We saw at El Fresno in the middle of the fields a Roman reservoir in a good state of preservation, now serving as a watering trough. It measures 11.20 metres in length and 5.40 metres in width. The walls are reënforced on the outside by some ten pillars or supports. Near this structure is a piscina *limosa*, a small basin through which the water flows before entering the reservoir.

El Membrillo is a *despoblado* about two kilometres southeast of Setefilla. There are many remains to be seen here, basins and trenches of rubble and two abundant springs, one of fresh water and the other of sulphurous water highly esteemed by the neighbouring people for its medicinal qualities. Near the farm of El Membrillo appeared a fragment of an inscription in the beautiful characters of the time of Tiberius:

| Divo. Avgvs. — .

Six kilometres from the river and eleven from Lora del Río, is the most picturesque site that we observed in the course of this exploration. The plateau of Setefilla stands in the midst of a group of rocky elevations, apart from the general mass of the Sierra Morena, among which winds the Guadalbaccar. To the north of the plateau, on the highest portion, appears a fortress in ruins. It is composed of an enclosing wall of *tapia* (adobe); in the centre rises a tower of stone, probably of the fourteenth century. Here are also many cisterns mentioned by Guseme, but they are not Roman, as he believed. At the most, judging by the reddish cement of the walls, they date no farther back than the Arabs. Of the ancient city which spread out beside the fortress there is nothing left to-day. On the foundations of an old church now rises the shrine of the Virgin of Setefilla, patroness saint of Lora. The outer buildings include a stable and several small houses where pilgrims who visit the shrine may lodge.

The geographer Edrisi of the twelfth century mentions at the left of the road from Lora to Córdoba, on the summit of a mountain, the fortress of Chant-Fila, which, he says, has been occupied for a long time by the Berbers. At the period of the conquest Saint Ferdinand made a gift of the city and the *castillo* of Septefila to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. This city existed up to the beginning of the sixteenth century; the last inhabitants left to establish themselves at Lora in 1539 (59). Since then, this *despoblado* has been vaguely designated as Sietefilla or Setefilla.

We saw at Setefilla only one Roman inscription, long since known elsewhere. This was found enclosed in the wall of a stable. In order to examine it, a dunghill which covered it had to be removed. Here is the text which appears in Huebner 1071:

EX·TESTAMENTO
 SATVRNINI. RVFI. F
 SERGIA. SALVIA. LIB
 ET. Heres
 LACVM. ET. AERAMENTA
 F. C.

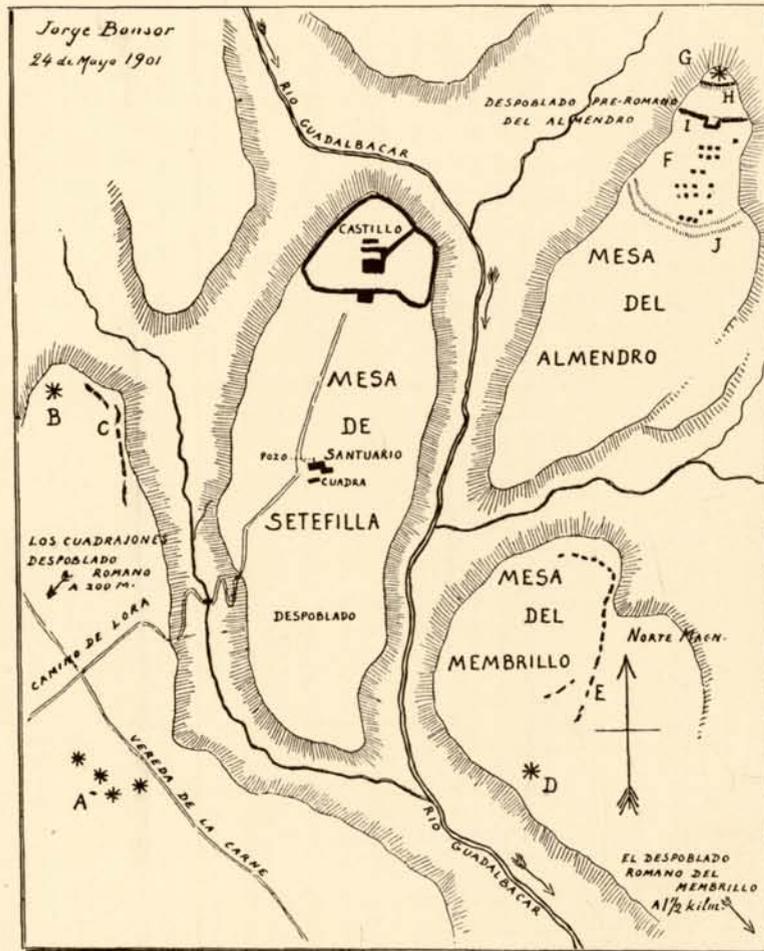
It is probable that this inscription originated in the *despoblado* of El Membrillo. It refers doubtless to the sulphur baths which we have mentioned (60).

Upon a plateau near Setefilla, called Mesa del Almendro, I recognized some important pre-Roman ruins. Upon the most elevated part of this plateau, there are walls of stone, hardly squared at all, forming an enclosure within which the soil is strewn with remains. At the northern extremity is a mound, or artificial eminence, which must have served as a lookout. We have noticed mounds similar and probably of Celtic origin on all the inhabited mesas: at Tablada, near Viso del Alcor, at Isla del Castillo, the site of *SEGOVIA* on the Genil, on the Mesa de Gandul, the location of a large city, probably the *LUCURGENTUM QUOD JULII GENIUS* of Pliny (61), finally, at Carmona, near the Cristo de la Sedia, a large artificial elevation which overlooked this portion of the city wall.

These mounds, differing from tumuli in that they do not cover burial places, are composed of stones, earth, and a great deal of waste from the pre-Roman potteries. Upon another mesa, near the *despoblado* of El Membrillo, I noticed a tumulus and some large enclosures made of rough stone similar to those from Acébuchal near Carmona (62). In these enclosures the flocks took refuge in case of attack. Other tumuli, which are certainly funerary, appear on the heights to the west and southwest of Setefilla.

About three kilometres above Setefilla the Guadalbaccar receives at the left the waters of the stream called Lacca which flows near La Puebla de los Infantes. At the time of our visit at La Puebla some years before, our attention was called to the name of this stream. I again find it indicated upon a map of Andalucía, published in France, in my possession (63). Huebner (64) recognized the Iberian origin of this name by the word *lacas* or *lacam* on the medals from Segontia. The Arabic corruption of *lacca*, according to Simonet (65), would be *bacca*. For this reason I have inferred that the name Guadalbaccar conceals an ancient original name, the *Guad-al-Bacca* or *Lacca* which should not be confused with the *Lacca* of the Monte Testaccio inscriptions. This *Lacca* was probably the river *Becca* of the Arabs and was located on the southern coast in the province of Asidona (Medina Sidonia).

Las Huertas del Río is located one kilometre and a half east of Lora, on an old bank on the right shore about three hundred metres from the present course of the river. There we saw two kilns for amphoræ, around which were many stamped handles. There were two workshops here, the proprietors of which should have



A1325

27.1 x 21.7 cm.

MAP OF THE MESA OF SETEFILLA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

KEY TO MAP OF THE MESA OF SETEFILLA
AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

THIS free hand map of the mesa of Setefilla and its surroundings was drawn from the top of the tower of the *castillo*. It serves no more than to give an idea of the arrangement of the ruins, no measurements having been taken of the land. At sight the plateau of Setefilla seems to be about eight hundred metres in length from north to south.

The map is marked as follows:

- A. A group of unexplored tumuli
- B. A large tumulus
- C. A native enclosure
- D. A large tumulus
- E. A native enclosure made of large stones
- F. Pre-Roman *despoblado* including several buildings of which only some columns of large hewn blocks still remain in place
- G. A lookout, a mound of earth and stones. This end of the Mesa del Almendro is higher than the *castillo* of Setefilla
- H. First wall, or barrier, of earth and stones
- I. Second barrier with a tower in the middle made of large blocks of hewn stone
- J. Third barrier, or rampart, of earth and stones

The people of these regions seem to have succeeded each other in the following order:

1. The natives, shepherds or farmers, descendants of the Neolithic populations, are represented by the tumuli and the enclosures of large rough stones A, B, C, D, E.
2. At the time of the Celtic invasion, the plateau of El Almendro was inhabited and fortified. It would be necessary to undertake investigations at the end opposite the plateau to discover the necropolis. It should be composed of incinerary graves like those of La Cruz del Negro near Carmona.
3. Under the Romans, the inhabitants of these regions went down into the valley and along the banks of the river. Two kilometres to the southeast of Setefilla, in the vicinity of the farm of El Membrillo, there is the important Roman *despoblado* of which we have already spoken.

been Ennius Julius and Hispanus. The local denomination appears to be Saeni or Saeniane(?). The stamp (reproduced as number 145 of Plate XXXIV) which was also found there would seem to indicate the existence in these parts of a pottery Riv(ense) located probably at the confluence of the brook Helecho.

There are traces of farms at La Catedra on the left bank opposite Las Huertas del Río.

Lora la Vieja is an important *despoblado* on a hill three kilometres and a half from the left bank and five kilometres southeast of Lora del Río. There are still some sections of walls here marking a fortified enclosure. The ground in the interior is covered everywhere with ancient remains. I picked up two stamps (reproduced as numbers 148, 149 of Plate XXXIV). The former, number 148, must relate to the locality, and its workshop should be on the river bank near La Catedra.

The lake mentioned by Guseme (66) as existing in the midst of the ruins was probably a reservoir. It was dry at the time of our visit. An old road passes this *despoblado* going towards La Luisiana and Fuentes where OBUCULA was located on the Roman road between Carmona and Ecija.

Gallos is a *despoblado* five kilometres to the south of Lora and three kilometres to the west of the plateau of Lora la Vieja. We noted a spring here, blocks of hewn stone, and Roman remains scattered over a rather large area of ground. In an act of Alfonso the Tenth, 1254 A.D., fixing the boundaries of Carmona, mention is made of a stream rising in a region called Meçina and flowing into the Guadalejar, now called the Azanaque. The source of this stream, located definitively in the vicinity of the farm Los Gallos, justifies us in believing that this *despoblado* was called in the thirteenth century Meçina, an Arabic transformation of Messianum, originating in the name of a Roman owner, Messius. An inscription painted upon a fragment of amphora from Monte Testaccio, Messianum, refers perhaps to this locality (Dressel 4432).

El Puerto is a *villar* between Los Gallos and Lora, where a funerary inscription was found (Huebner 1058, 1059).

Lora del Río, AXATI MVNICIPIVM FLAVIUM (Huebner 1055), is a city of eighty-five hundred inhabitants situated on the right bank of the Guadalquivir. The foundations of the old city walls and of the fortress are of Roman hewn stone. The appearance in the vicinity of the castle, according to Guseme, of many Roman remains, columns, fragments of ancient sculpture, burial places, and inscriptions, including one geographical, warrants us in fixing here the site of AXATI, the fourth town down the river from Córdoba. The Axati inscription (Huebner 1055) transmitted to us by Caro is no longer in existence. Guseme (67) asserts that fonts for holy water for the church of Lora were made from it.

Doctor Huebner corresponded with the physician at Lora, Doctor Luis Benítez, who after 1860 kept him informed of the discoveries in the region. Benítez wrote

a great deal, but he never published anything. I found out at the time of my last visit to Lora in 1891 what had become of his papers. I learned that some years after his death a stranger had appeared and had taken everything away!

El Judío, COLOBRARIA (?), is an important pottery station on the left bank upon an old road between Lora and Carmona. After having passed the stream El Judío, one encounters farther down the river many remains scattered over an area of more than four hundred metres along the river bank, comprising structures of shards and rubble, pottery kilns, and basins. The stamps gathered here bear witness to the existence of several establishments one of which would have been in the name of G.Ae(li) Optati followed by the local denomination Col(), perhaps Colobrarria "of the adders".

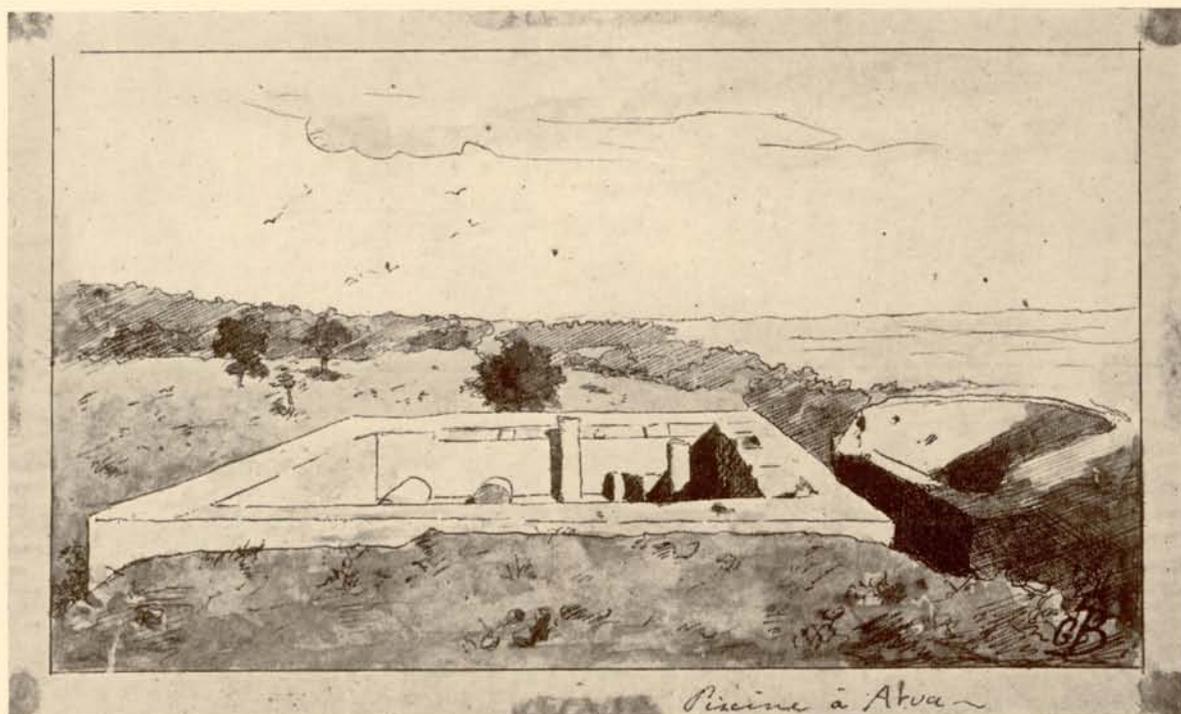
Guseme (68) in 1757 described the ruins which were found at Castillo de Azanaque: "It still has", he says, "an ancient fortress with its towers and enclosure all greatly injured by the ravages of time". To-day, there is nothing more to be seen than some walls of rubble which are not exactly those of a fortress but more like a Roman reservoir, measuring on the inside 29.80 metres in length and 22.80 metres in width. This could be the reservoir which gave its name to the *villar* of La Alberca (69) mentioned in the delimitation of the territory of Carmona in the time of Alfonso the Tenth, *el Sabio*.

Traces of farms appear at Los Giles between the streams of Los Giles and La Trinidad.

La Mora is a spring which waters a *huerta* two kilometres from the right bank of the river on the former road between Lora and Alcolea. Near the spring are Roman waterways hollowed in the rock. The surrounding ground is covered with ancient *débris*. About thirty years ago graves and fragments of inscriptions, which have since disappeared, were discovered here.

The site of the ancient Arva, ARVA MVNICIPIVM FLAVIVM, the fifth riverside *oppidum* below Córdoba, is indicated to us by important ruins, known by the name of El Castillejo. They are located on a small plateau near the mill La Peña de la Sal, halfway between Lora and Alcolea. We owe this discovery to Guseme. His visit to the place goes back to the year 1757, but his observations were not published until fifteen years later in the first volume of the *Memorias* of the *R. Academia sevillana de buenas letras*. It is regrettable that despite the irrefutable proofs he offered then, the majority of the archæologists still persist in placing ARVA at Alcolea.

Huebner gives four geographical inscriptions of ARVA, one of which, 1065, was probably transmitted by Morales, from "a statue-base which I saw there with the statue, all of beautifully worked marble". Rodrigo Caro mentions this first inscription as well as two others (Huebner 1060, 1066) and a part of a fourth, the

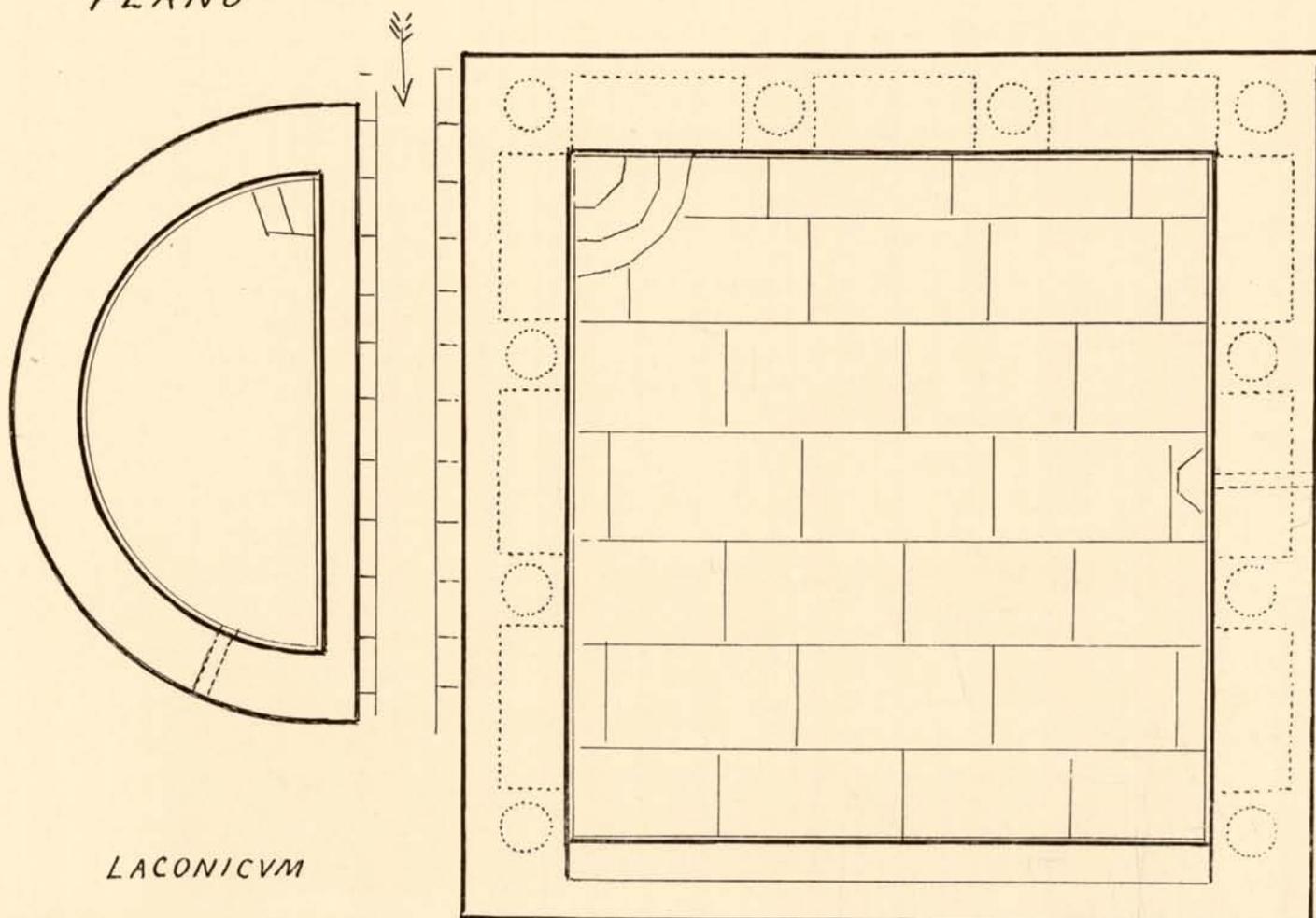


A1327

VIEW OF THE ROMAN BATH AT ARVA

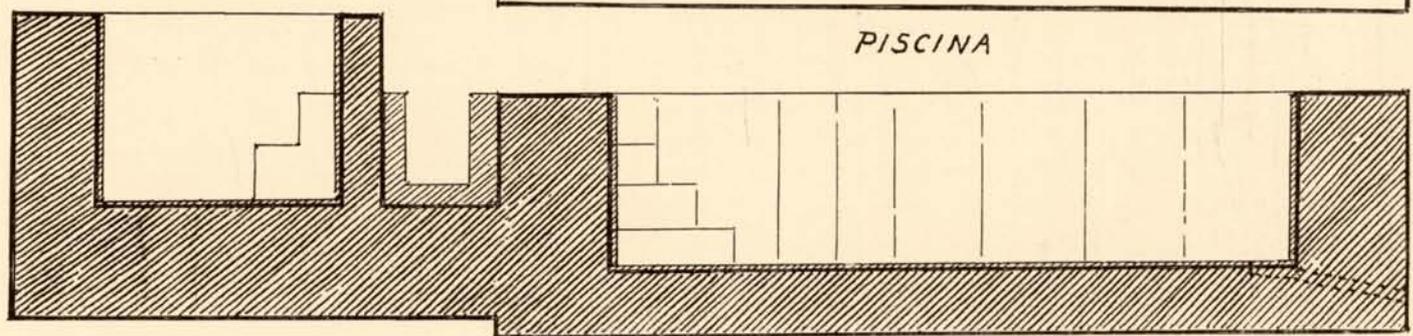
10 x 16.4 cm.

PLANO

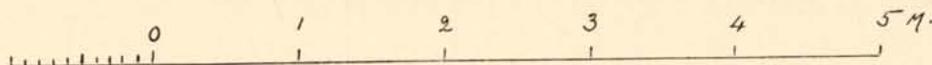


LACONICVM

PISCINA



SECCION



21.5 x 24.2 cm.

A1326

PLAN OF THE ROMAN BATH AT ARVA

GB

most important from a geographical point of view. This last inscription was still at La Peña at the time of Guseme's visit. It is regarding this and the inscription of M. Egnatius Venustus that he says, "They exist here embedded in a wall of the houses where the water-mill people dwell" (70). They were in the collection acquired by the Conde del Aguila and sent to Sevilla where Cándido María Trigueros was entrusted with copying them in facsimile for publication in the *Memorias* of the Academia. These two statue-bases are now in the *Museo arqueológico provincial* at Sevilla.

The eight agricultural *centurae*, or hundred acres of ground, mentioned in the inscription of Q. Fulvius (Huebner 1064) must necessarily be located in the neighbourhood of ARVA. Unfortunately our investigations thus far have not permitted us to identify a single one of the following localities bearing the names: ORES(is), MANENS(is), HALOS(?), ERQVES(is), BERES(is), ARVABORES(is), ISINES(is), and ISVRGVT(ana).

Important excavations have been conducted on two different occasions at La Peña de la Sal and on the mesa of El Castillejo. The first one was in 1885 by the *Sociedad arqueológica de Carmona* under the direction of Don José Pérez Cassini who drew a topographical map of the ruins. At that time, they opened some Roman burial places west of the ancient city and found, among other objects, a medal from CARMO, a piece of lead upon which is depicted a horse with the initials MFA (Municipi Flavi Arvensis) above it and two glass vials with the name of the glass-blower AVG(ius) imprinted on the base (71). In 1890, M. Arthur Engel having joined us, we explored El Castillejo and discovered, first, several rather uninteresting mosaics; then we cleared away a beautiful pool which Guseme had taken for a smelting furnace. It was tiled with white marble and surrounded by columns of a greenish-gray marble with violet veins. There were a few columns at the bottom of the basin as well as a fragment of a Corinthian capital. Besides the bath, there is another structure semicircular in form. It was a sweating-room called a *laconicum* (72). After having perspired in this sort of oven, the bather would plunge into the cold water of the basin. Pliny (73) tells us that the use of cold water after excessive perspiration was introduced to Rome by Musa, the physician of Augustus. Connecting the two structures was a small brick conduit joined to a ditch of rubble, the source of which we traced to La Mezquita, a spring located one kilometre to the north.

Another basin on the river bank was also cleared. This one, a polygon in shape, occupied the centre of a room and was only fifty centimetres deep. The water ran out through a clay pipe sunk in the mortar. The floor of several of the adjoining rooms of the same dwelling was covered with mosaics showing the usual geometrical designs. The excavations on the plateau brought to light foundations of dwelling-places, mosaics, brick pavements, and tiles of stone and marble. In a

small room with a mosaic we noted traces of tempera painting on the walls. In the middle of the wall there was a composition, complete in its painted frame, forming a square seventy centimetres on a side. It represents the revels of an old Silenus and a bacchante on a bed on the greensward at the entrance to a dark grotto. The bacchante is seeking to push the Silenus to the foot of the couch as he grasps her bosom. The Silenus is depicted as bald and big-bellied; his skin is brown and hairy (74); she has a white skin, is crowned with ivy, and a thyrsus is placed at her side. In the foreground there is a satyr whose proportions are less than those of the Silenus, undoubtedly to express an inferior degree of divinity. We know that the satyrs, joyous companions of Bacchus, were sons of Silenus. The satyr (75) rests one knee on the ground and raises his right hand towards the fat Silenus in an attitude of prayer. This interesting painting has been sent to the museum of the Roman necropolis at Carmona where a place of honour has been reserved for it (76). The excavations yielded other fragments of painting, the most interesting of which shows a draped standing woman.

Later, M. Engel (77), having continued the excavations at El Castillejo alone, discovered, among the numerous fragments accumulated in a well, a small bust of Jupiter-Serapis, a piece of a head with wavy hair, recalling the coiffure of the Emperor Othon, and a small caryatid with a short tunic and legs crossed like the barbarian or Phrygian prisoners of the funerary monuments.

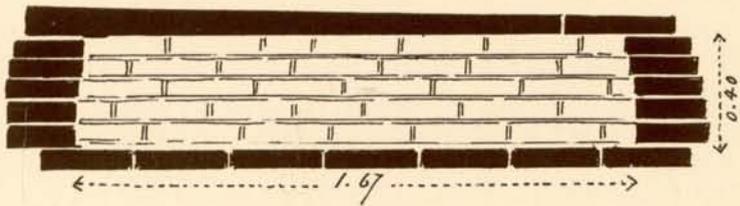
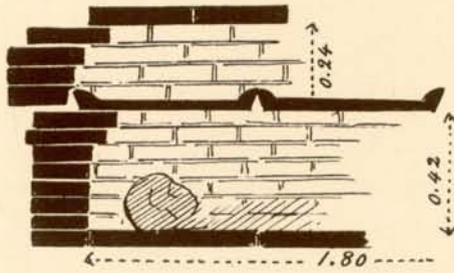
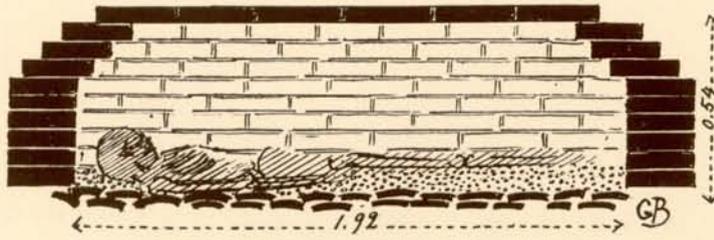
A short time after these last discoveries, we were hastily recalled to La Peña to be present at the building of a new road from Lora to Villanueva by way of Alcolea, which was going to pass just between the mesa of El Castillejo and the river. A trench several metres in depth had to be dug at this point. From the beginning, many Christian tombs were discovered there in vaults built of bricks faced with flat Roman tiles with flanges (*tégula*).

In a brief time we examined and made notes on twenty-one burial places for adults and eleven for children. They were then destroyed to make way for the new road. A lead coffin, reënforced on the inside with tenons of iron, was also found. Unfortunately, it was without ornamentation or inscription.

These tombs contained no furnishings. The bodies were probably placed in them nude on a thin bed of earth spread for the purpose on the bottom of the vaults. In every case where the skeleton was still in a good state of preservation, the head was invariably placed towards the west. The majority of the vaults were, besides, wider at the west than at the east. Little vaults containing the bones of children surrounded the adults' graves.

All these particulars characterize Christian burial of the fifth century. The bricks as well as the flat-edged tiles used in the construction of the vaults are surely Roman. In the earth near one of the tombs, appeared a medal of Valentinian the

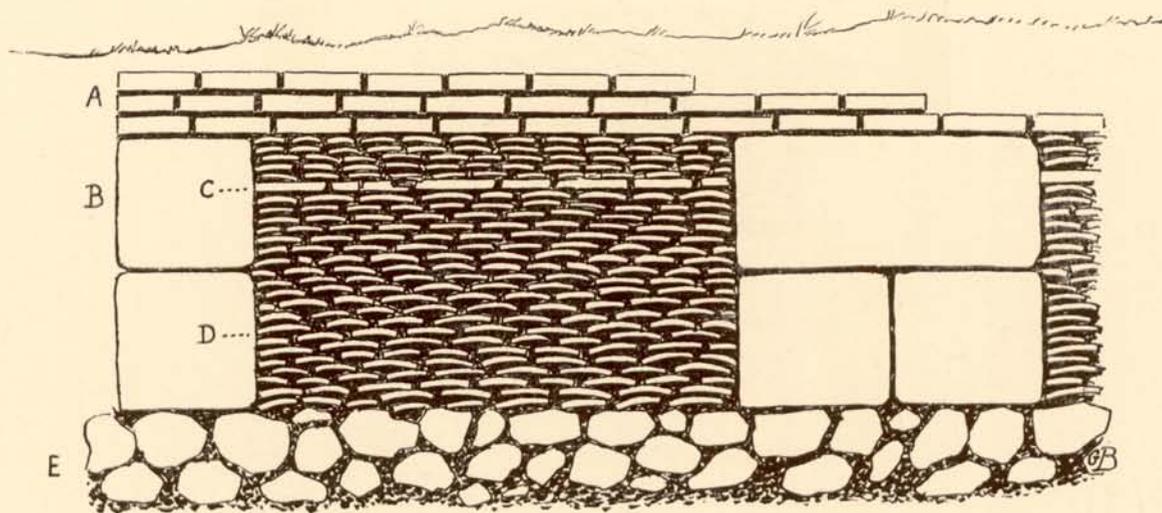
XX



A1328

20.6 x 15.4 cm.

CHRISTIAN GRAVES AT LA PEÑA DE LA SAL

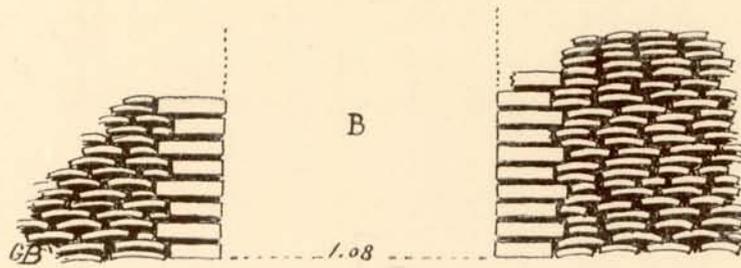
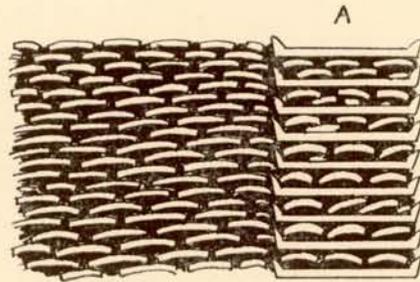


A1329

12.4 x 23.5 cm.

WALL OF THE POTTERY AT ARVA

- A. Bricks (29 x 23 x 6 cm.)
- B. Square hewn stones (120 x 60 x 60 cm.)
- C. Course of fragments of flat tiles
- D. Construction of amphora shards
- E. Stones



A1330

18.2 x 16.4 cm.

WALL OF THE POTTERY AT ARVA

- A. Pillar formed of tiles and amphora shards
- B. Entrance formed of bricks and shards



A1331

14.6 x 14.5 cm.

AMPHORA, BOWL, PILE OF DISHES, AND MATRIX

Third, and farther on, in the direction of Alcolea at Las Torrecillas, where the public baths of ARVA were situated, a gold coin of Arcadius was picked up.

In deepening the trench for the new road, under the Christian graves, Roman structures were found entirely covered over with river mud, indicating that a flood had been the cause of their destruction.

The majority of these buildings were the workshops of potters. The walls were made of amphora shards with courses of large bricks and sections of rubble with supports of hewn stone. Inside one of these workshops, we had an opportunity to see the socle of a potter's wheel still in place and beside it, a large vessel with a wide mouth containing the prepared potter's clay. In an adjoining room were several amphoræ, one of which was full of lime, and in a corner were piles of heavy dishes and refuse of all sorts of pottery.

Examination of these remains furnished a small object of terra cotta which might have served as a matrix. The amphora handles picked up there all show the imprint engraved on this object. Hence, it may be concluded that it belonged to the workshop we had just discovered beneath the Christian graves. This mark gives us the name, or rather the initials, Q(uintus) F(ulvius) R(usticus), and the local designation Riv(ense) (78), referring to a *rivus* or nearby stream. Perhaps it has to do with the conduit from La Mezquita (Dressel 3128 a-c) which, on emerging from the above-mentioned bath, led towards the river and must necessarily have passed this workshop. A deposit of amphora shards near the mill of La Peña de la Sal acquainted us with the name of another workshop called SALSENSE (Dressel 3721). This name which has been perpetuated to our time probably was derived from a small saline spring trickling from the rock upon which is built a part of the river dam.

Between these two potteries there was a third called "of the middle", MEDIANVM Fig(linae) Med(ianae) (Dressel 2615, 2616). These three riverside establishments as well as a fourth suggested by the mark QFRS†SIP (Dressel 2869d), the location of which we have not found, belonged to the same resident of ARVA, Q. Fulvius Rusticus. This man was not, as one might believe, a simple potter, but rather a personage of importance and perhaps, says Huebner, the cacique of the place. The potters who worked in these potteries were slaves and they marked the amphoræ with the name of their master, of their workshop, or locality. Another handle from ARVA gives us the mark Q. Ful(vius) N(---) or NTC() (Dressel 2897), another place name in this vicinity. One amphora from Monte Testaccio hands on to us the name of Fulvius Charisianus (Dressel 3876) who, according to the inscription in the *Museo provincial* at Sevilla, was the grandson of Fulvius Rusticus, patron and pontifex of ARVA (Huebner 1064).

Several other stamps picked up at La Peña de la Sal ending in the letter A ought, we believe, also to be classed among the geographical imprints. Thus, the

handle marked SALSA (Dressel 3162) should designate a pottery Sals(ense) at A(rva). The very numerous handles LPAEOA (Dressel 3060) and PNN (79) for which there is the variant PNNAR, must necessarily belong to the workshops of the territory of ARVA. These marks are reproduced as numbers 177, Plate XXV, 216, 218, Plate XXXVI, 236, Plate XXXVII. Also in the same district should be placed the *fundus perscianus* (Dressel 2618) as well as another, the property of one Clodius, designated IALI according to the inscription reproduced as numbers 196-199, Plate XXXVI.

To facilitate the shipment of these large amphoræ, there was at ARVA, on the bank of the river, a sort of quay or harbour which we find mentioned on some handles:

P. ARVA P(ortu) Arva (Dressel 2711a)
 ARVA PDVIC (Dressel 2712)
 ||| MIN (Dressel 3030a)
 P. ARVA (80)
 ICTOR

Las Torrecillas are ruins, on the road from Alcolea eighteen hundred metres from the site of ARVA, which were destroyed by the diggers of the new route March 12th, 1890. There was a large bathing establishment here, for which a part of the aqueduct is still standing. We followed up its course in the direction of a plantation of orange trees, called *Huerta de las lumbreras* where the water is still flowing abundantly. This word, *lumbrera*, must mean the rectangular open wells at long intervals along the course of the underground pipe.

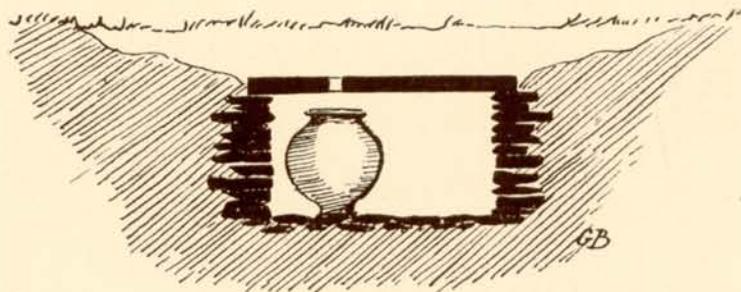
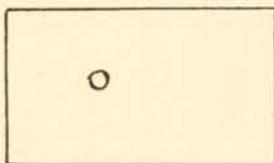
Villar is on the left bank. The ancient materials scattered over an area of three hundred metres indicate the ruins of farms.

At Megía, eight hundred metres from the vestiges mentioned above, we noted on the bank of the river a retaining wall of amphora shards. From this structure come the imprinted handles (81) reproduced as numbers 300-303 of Plate XXXVIII.

Real Tesoro is a *despoblado* two kilometres south of Megía on the right bank of the Corbones. The tilled fields are covered with remains among which were collected several handles bearing the incomplete name of a place LIC() which might well be the name of this locality: F.ALB.LIC F(iglinae) or F(undus) Alb(ense) Lic() (Dressel 2695). The Corbones would have been navigable as far as Real Tesoro only a part of the year during the rainy season. The landing place for this district on the BÆTIS must have been Megía. Such, at least, is what the discovery of the stamp of Modestus Vegetus at the two stations would indicate.

We shall point out in passing two tumuli on the bank across the Corbones near the present farm of Real Tesoro. Upon a neighbouring *cerro* are scattered fragments dating back to pre-Roman occupants.

XXIV



A1332

11 x 17 cm.

BURIAL PLACE AT LA LOMA DE VILLA

El Hoyo de San Sebastián is one of the most important pottery stations on the banks of the river, judging by the numerous handles found here. Some of these are of geographical interest. One (reproduced as number 321 of Plate XXXVIII) read in reverse means II, duorum, CC, of the two Caiuses, L, probably Licinius, according to several inscriptions from La Torre de Mulva and from Alcolea. The linked letters MVN refer to the town of Munigua (82) now the *despoblado* of La Torre de Mulva fourteen kilometres north of El Hoyo de San Sebastián. The inscription reproduced as number 327 of Plate XXXIX refers to the same owners, but to another locality in the vicinity, the site of which has not yet been ascertained. LIMI, probably Limica (83) might well be the *despoblado* called Loma de Villa (84), halfway between El Hoyo and La Torre de Mulva. Here we saw hewn stones, shafts of marble columns, and an interesting burial place that had been discovered a short time before. This grave was rectangular in form, its walls made of small stones, more or less flat. A large flagstone which covered the grave was pierced with a hole to correspond with the mouth of a cinerary urn placed beneath so that the libations poured upon the stone flowed directly upon the ashes of the deceased. We saw at the Roman necropolis of Carmona several examples of similar pipes for libations.

In the courtyard of the Casa de Campo at La Loma de Villa, there was a small funerary stone that my guide was eager to carry away to sell at Sevilla. The inscription was of little interest however.

D.M. S
M. AVRELIVS
CEMERVS
VIXIT. ANNII
XXXX. III MEN.
V.DIES. VII.PI
VS IN SVIS
H.S. E
S. T. T. L.

IV

FROM THE CORBONES TO SEVILLA

This river, the Corbones, *SALSUM FL.*; under the Arabs was called Guadajoz, and it is mentioned by this name at the time of the Reconquest in the act of Alfonso the Tenth delimiting the territory of Carmona (85).

The Guadajoz of to-day in the vicinity of Córdoba, corresponding to the *Flumen Salsum* of the *Bellum hispaniense*, leads me to believe that in the Roman era the Corbones must have been included among the many "brackish rivers" of *BÆTICA*. It is rather curious that this stream should still be known by its primitive name which was probably of Celtic origin.

The Corbones rises in the Sierras of Morón and of Olvera. Its waters La Puebla de Cazalla, near which was located the ancient Carula, and it crosses the territories of two very old towns, Marchena and Carmona.

Juan Barba and Adelfa are riverside sites covered with traces of farms and potteries. We picked up there the stamp reproduced as numbers 336-337, 339-341 of our List (Plate XXXIX). A mark from Monte Testaccio (Dressel 2928) gives us *G.I.F. BOVEQ* Gai Julii Felicis Boveq, Bo (Dressel 3152 a-b), Boeq, Boveq, or Bovequm. This name, Huebner (86) says "I believe is an indication of a gens as in many analogous examples, Clouniquum, Cossouqum, et cetera, compiled in my *Monumenta*". The name, Bovequm, pointed, to us, to the existence of a pre-Roman settlement in the vicinity. In fact, upon a *cerro* forming a part of the hill called Coronas de Guadajoz, three hundred metres from the river, there is a large area of ground covered with *débris*, numerous amphora shards, unhewn stones, and pebbles which would go into the construction of native huts. About three kilometres southeast, are the *despoblado* of Villapalmito, *BOVEQVM* (?), and the tumuli of La Harinera on the *vereda* from Carmona to Lora. It is the probable location of Bovequm in the centre of immense *dehesas* which formed part of the old pasturage grounds of Carmona. It must have been inhabited from the beginning by herdsmen and shepherds. The soil itself would hardly have changed since primitive times. Near the springs, the ruins of huts, or of vanished villages, one still finds the *motillas* which cover graves. A group of tumuli in the *dehesa* of La Trinidad is of exceptional archaeological interest. This necropolis shows us the importance of the pastoral population of these parts before the time of the Romans.

There is a railroad station at Guadajoz, *PORTVS CARMONENSIS*, at the junction of the line from Carmona. The ruins of the village of Guadajoz (a name

formerly applied to the Corbones also) are to be found at the bend of the river on the left bank. The disappearance of this once important village dates back some sixty years (87). In the Roman period, the river landing-place of Carmona, the *PORTUS CARMONENSIS* of a Monte Testaccio inscription (Dressel 3126), was probably located at Guadajoz. Moreover, among the very important Roman remains which cover this spot we discovered several stamps, numbers 343 to 350 of our List (Plate XXXIX).

Carmona, *CARMO*, is an old city of about eighteen thousand inhabitants fourteen kilometres from the left bank of the Guadalquivir. It stands on a very high rocky plateau which dominates all this part of the valley. From Peñaflores to Sevilla the profile of its white houses and its towers can be seen on the horizon. Carmona is the most important archæological station of the region. In all ages great significance has been attached to its strategic situation. Cæsar singles it out among all the cities of *BÆTICA* as the strongest (88). The conquering Muza in 712 made himself master of Karmunah by treachery, say the Chronicles. "It was one of the strongest cities of Spain which could be taken neither by assault nor forced by a long siege" (89). Under the Moors, it was for more than a half century the lair of an independent Berber emir who was continually at war with his powerful neighbours of Sevilla and Córdoba. The appearance of the plateau of Carmona standing out against the blue sky called forth the admiration of Ferdinand the Third when he presented himself in 1247 before its walls. Doubtless it was under the influence of this impression that the Saint-King conceived the idea for the coat of arms which he granted the city, a silver star on a field of azure with the proud device: *Sicut Lucifer lucet in aurora ita in Wandalia Carmona* (90). In the fourteenth century, Carmona served as a refuge to the last partisans of Peter of Castilla. Here, Martín López of Córdoba maintained a heroic siege lasting nearly three years.

The modern city occupies the same site as ancient *CARMO*, so that with the slightest excavations Roman substructures are being uncovered constantly. Moreover, the foundations of the alcázares, of the city gates and walls are also Roman.

Twenty-five variants of the medals from *CARMO* have been counted. The principal type shows a beardless head with a helmet, which the venerable Flórez identified as the god Mars, but which Delgado and La Rada connect more logically with Astarte, mother of the Carthaginian gods (91). Other medals give us the head of Hercules covered with a lion's skin, or that of Mercury with the caduceus. On the reverse the name of the city is invariably seen, *CARMO* or *KARMO* on an eared titulus placed between two spikes of wheat.

The Roman necropolis discovered in 1881 (92) is located one kilometre west of the Sevilla gate on the edge of the only suburb of Carmona. Two old roads cross the necropolis; one seems to make its way towards the heights of the range of hills called Los Alcores, the other leads across the olive plantations. This latter

is probably the highway of the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus and of the vessels called after Vicarello. These two itineraries agree in placing CARMO twenty-two miles from HISPALIS, Sevilla, which equals thirty-three kilometres, evaluating the mile at fifteen hundred metres.

The part of the necropolis actually uncovered includes nearly five hundred funerary monuments. These are family tombs (*sepulcra familiaria*), burial vaults, cremation ditches (*busta* and *ustrina*), graves of children, cinerary urns simply placed in the ground, foundations of mausoleums circular or rectangular in form, funerary enclosures, and a columbarium.

Tumuli, antedating the Romans, have also been explored on the most elevated part of the necropolis. These, to us, indicate two distinct occupations. They cover burial vaults, probably belonging to the Iberians or the Turdetani, or perhaps, crematory pits that I believe may go back to the Liby-Phœnicians, to the Carthaginians, and to the Celts (93).

In the immediate vicinity of the necropolis one sees on the northwest an amphitheatre hollowed in the rock. Of this there still remain the arena and about seven tiers. At the south are two quarries from which probably came the hewn stones used in the construction of the numerous funerary structures once on the surface of the ground.

The tombs are placed on each side of the old roads or in groups around a central monument. These family tombs of Carmona are small mortuary chambers hollowed in the rock and entered by a stairway, or more often by a rectangular well, one metre long, sixty centimetres wide, and three to four metres deep. The walls of these wells are notched with small steps to facilitate the descent. At the bottom is the entrance to the funerary chamber and the tomb, properly speaking, the walls of which contain little niches for cinerary urns. Under the niches is a heavy bench thirty centimetres wide which encircles the chamber and upon which were placed the vessels used for libations, the dishes for offerings, lamps, and the various objects from the living in memory of the dead.

The majority of the cinerary urns at Carmona are in the shape of a small sarcophagus and are of stone, clay, or marble. Others are spherical, of glass, enclosed in leaden cases. Among the ashes contained in these urns, there is usually a medal, a stylus and a stone tablet, a pair of depilatory pincers, a metal mirror, an iron ring with engraved agate and several glass vials called lachrymatories.

The walls of the funerary chambers are coated with mortar or with stucco and painted in the style of the well-known decorations of Pompeii, with crowns and garlands of flowers, with fruits, birds, dolphins, et cetera.

An examination of the many cremation graves acquaints us with the various methods in use at that time for incinerating the dead. When a body was burned

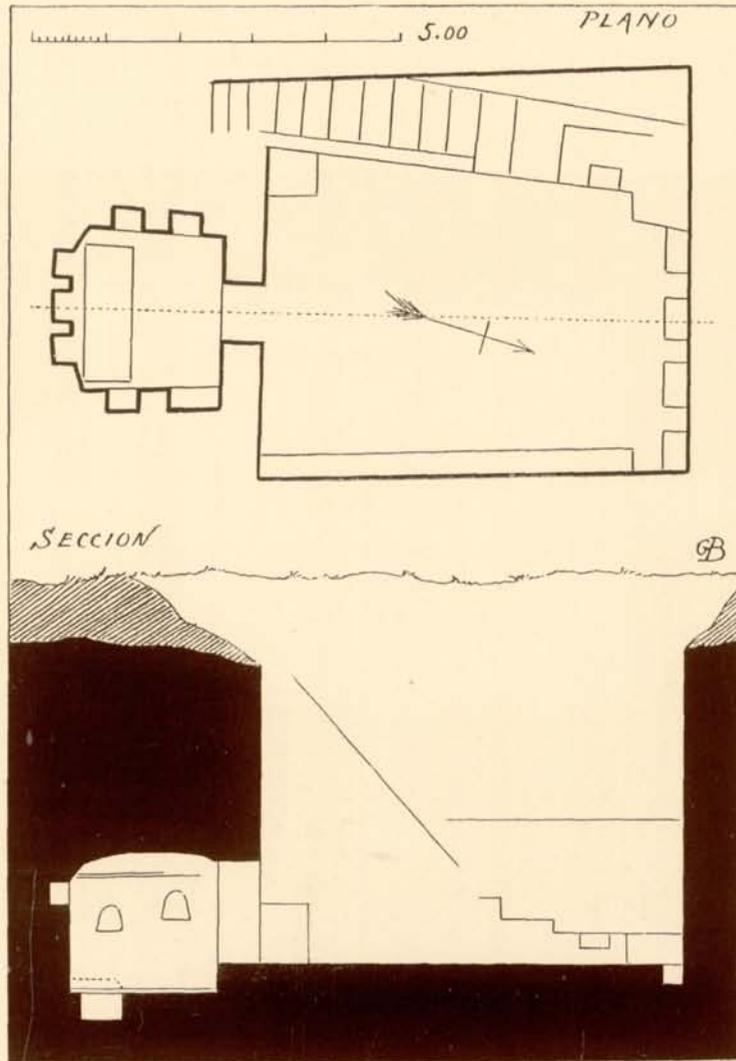
upon a hill, it would seem that they were satisfied to erect the funeral pile on the ground itself, while in spots less exposed to the winds, they hollowed out a rectangular ditch, more or less deep, in the rock itself. It was a sort of open oven filled with wood where they laid the body. The pyre being enclosed on all sides by the walls of the ditch, the family did not have the pain of seeing the body slide to the ground as, in the other ceremonies, must have occurred rather frequently. Perhaps also, much less wood was needed than for a pyre built above the ground. The Romans gave to these funeral sites the names of *bustum* and *ustrinum*. In reference to these two words we adopt the definition which is the most generally conceded. When, after having burned the body, they covered the ashes with earth and erected a monument over them, this spot was called a *bustum*. If the ashes were gathered in an urn and this was deposited elsewhere, the pit which had served for the cremation took the name *ustrinum*. It would follow, then, that the *bustum* was used only once, while the *ustrinum*, generally placed near a family tomb or a columbarium, could be used indefinitely.

The *bustum* of the necropolis of Carmona is in the shape of an elongated rectangle with the proportions of a human body and generally measures 1.80 metres in length, 1.05, in width, and thirty centimetres in depth. In the centre is a smaller trench 1.05 metres long, 30 centimetres wide, and 52 centimetres deep in which collected the mingled ashes of the body and the pyre. This second ditch was covered with three large flagstones which served as the foundation for the funerary monument, gravestone, or column that was erected on the surface. One of these flagstones was generally pierced to allow the libations poured on the base of the monument to penetrate to the very ashes of the dead (94).

Regarding the shape given to the funeral pyre, these places would seem to indicate that the custom in BÆTICA differed from that in Italy. According to Virgil and Ovid (95), the custom was to give to the pyre a square base, like an altar, whence probably came the terms *ara sepulcri* and *funeris ara*. At Carmona the pyre was in the shape of a bed of the same dimensions as the bier (*feretrum*) upon which the dead person was carried from the town to the necropolis. This bier, placed directly upon the pile, was burned with the body. Therefore, we find among the ashes, ornamental pieces of metal, iron rods, and nails from the *feretrum*. The use of these elongated crematory ovens dug in the ground was in existence at Carmona a long time before the Roman occupation. I noted similar cinerary ditches under many tumuli distributed over the whole extent of the chain of Los Alcores, especially at Acébuchal and at La Cruz del Negro (96).

Let us pass on to the description of the principal funerary monuments of the necropolis at Carmona (97).

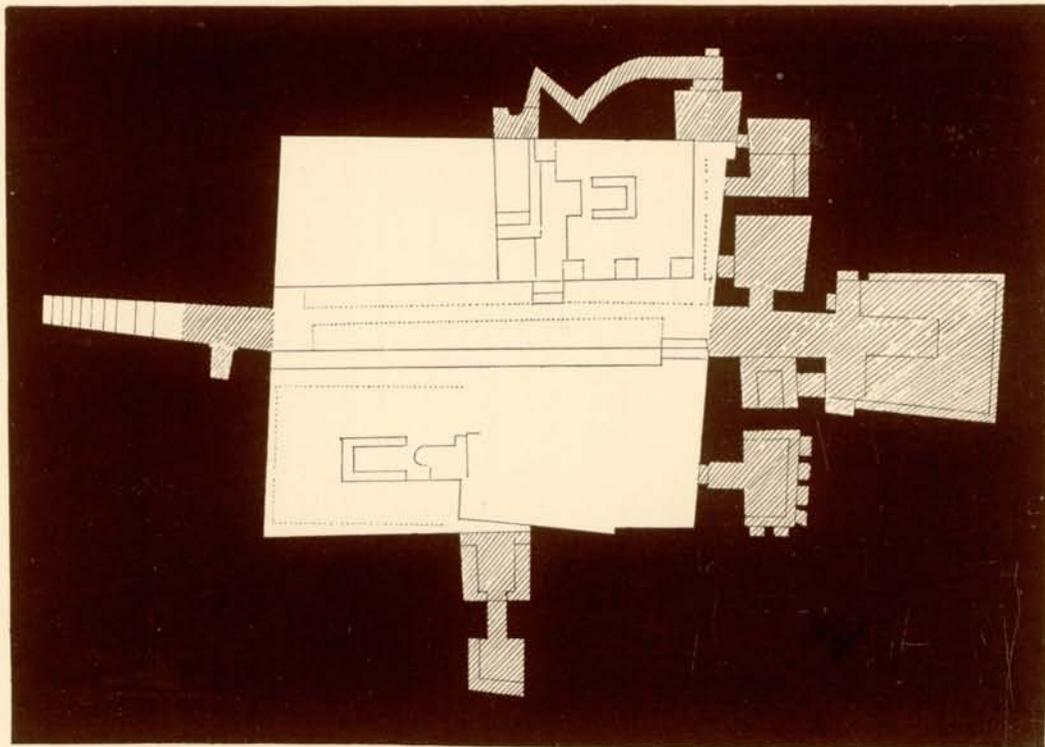
Number 194 is the tomb called that of Postumius with a rectangular enclosure six metres deep to which a stairway descends. At the bottom are an altar and the



A1334

21.2 x 15.5 cm.

TOMB OF POSTUMIUS, CARMONA



A1335

TOMB OF THE ELEPHANT, CARMONA

21 x 29.8 cm.

funerary chamber containing seven niches for urns and a grave dug in the soil of the chamber. The ceiling is decorated with paintings in tempera, representing flowers, birds, and dolphins. On the border, Father Fita (98) deciphered the name of the painter, C.SILVANUS (Huebner 5416).

In the earth filling the enclosure, several beautiful glass vials were found and one inscription (Huebner 5422):

Q. POSTVMIVS
HYGINVS ET
POSTVMIA CYPARE
VXOR

In a collection of inscriptions copied in Spain by an anonymous traveler before the beginning of the seventeenth century and preserved in the library of Turin, is the following inscription which was then at Carmona (99)

L.SERVILIO.L.F
POLIONI IIIIVIR
M.M.BIS PRÆFECTO
C.CÆSARIS QVATVOR
VIRALI potestate
pontif
SACRVM PVBLICORVM
MVNICIPALIVM
PONT. DIVI. AVG.
POSTVMIA. Q.F
PRISCA. VXOR
D

Postumia Prisca was probably the daughter of Q.Postumius Hyginus. Her husband, L. Servilius Polio, was probably twice the prefect (*præfectus urbi*) of Carmona under Gaius Cæsar, otherwise called Caligula, who was emperor only four years, from 37 to 41. We ought, then, to attribute the tomb of Postumius to a time prior to Tiberius, a date agreeing, moreover, with the characters of the inscription.

Number 47 is the grave of Prepusa (100) including an enclosure with an entrance on the Roman road, an *ustrinum*, an altar, and a funerary chamber with six niches. This last contained various objects, including a rectangular urn of white marble inscribed on three of its sides:

ANN. XXV | OSSA PREPVSAE | EVNI. FILIAE

Number 68 is the tomb of Titus Urius with a rectangular entrance-well leading into a chamber containing six niches. The ceiling is painted with flowers,

fruits, and birds. Under the niche at the back we read: T. VR— (Titus or Titinius Urius) and under another, the inscription, TIT. VRIA T. SERVA ANNX S[TTL] written in the mortar, indicating that this niche had contained the urn of a ten-year-old female slave of T. Urius.

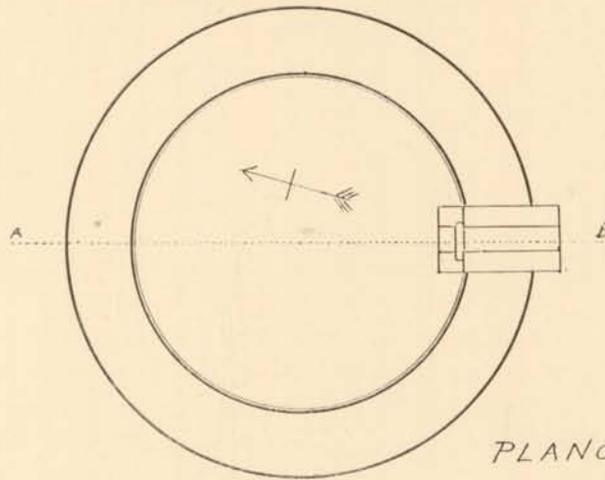
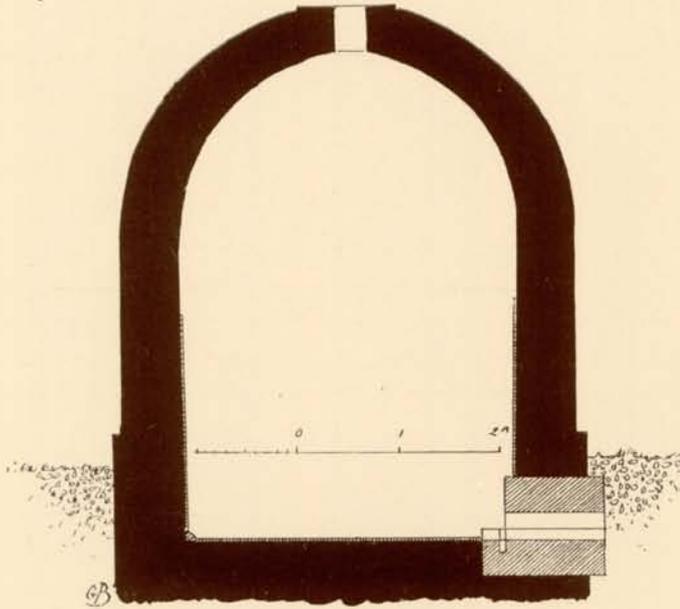
Number 440, the Columbarium-Triclinium (101), is a funerary enclosure with a large triclinium in the middle, carved in the rock. Upon the walls which encircle it are seen several tiers of superimposed niches. There is also in the enclosure a well of drinking water hollowed out of the rock, an oven for cooking foods, a small basin (*labrum*), and an altar behind which an *œnochoë* was hidden.

Number 2, the tomb of Las Columnas, is perhaps the most remarkable of the necropolis (102). It is reached down a stairway followed by a corridor leading into the funerary chamber which resembles the atrium of a Roman house. The ceiling is supported by four rectangular pillars, the whole cut in the rock. Among these, there is a circular opening in the vault communicating with the mausoleum on the outside. Through this opening the libations were poured.

The walls of the tomb present nineteen niches for urns as well as a large cavity in the shape of a bath which we believe to be the *suggrundarium* made to receive the bodies of infants dying before dentition. It is known that these bodies were not burned but simply placed in the ground. Some interesting burial places for children have been found at Carmona, such as within an amphora opened lengthwise, between two bronze plates separated by marble sides, or simply in a little grave covered with a flat, flanged tile (*tegula*).

Number 199, the tomb of the Elephant, is a vast funerary enclosure which must have been at the left of the ancient Roman road from CARMO to HISPALIS. It is entered by descending a stairway of nine steps; at the bottom, to the right, is the *lararium*, a large niche reserved for the small statues of the lares. This enclosure is 15.35 metres long, 11 metres wide, and its present depth is about 4 metres. It contains three triclinia. The first, at the right of the entrance, was probably used on fine winter days, for it is exposed to the sun the greater part of the day. The second, on the left, is in the shade and was the summer triclinium. Some bases of columns surrounding it would indicate that it was covered with a roofing or perhaps with a simple trelliswork of climbing plants supported by pillars, as was the custom. The third triclinium which was to serve in bad weather is situated in a room entirely hollowed from the rock and lighted by a small window over the entrance. Some of the doors in the walls of the enclosure give access to different subterranean subsidiary rooms. There is, first, the kitchen with its massive stone table and over it a circular opening in the arch serving as a chimney. Beside the table is a deep well and, farther on, a sort of large niche containing a statue carved in high relief in the rock. This statue, of crude workmanship, represents a seated human figure inclining a vessel held between her hands towards a basin in front of the niche. A conduit made

SECCION

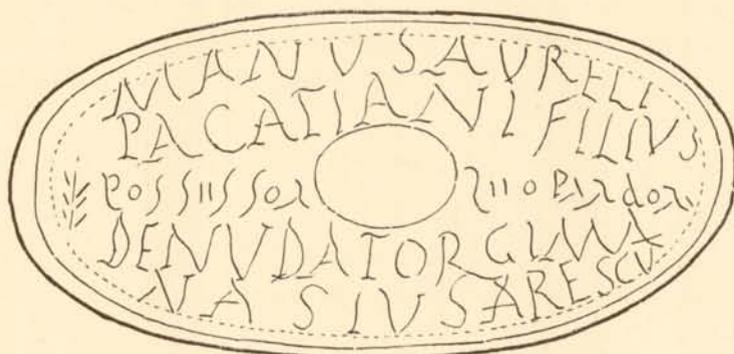


PLANO

A1336

26.8 x 15.7 cm.

CISTERN OR ROMAN BATH AT ALCOLEA



A1337

20 x 15.5 cm.

INSCRIPTIONS ON VOTIVE BOATS FROM ALCOLEA

in the rock connects the well and the bath. On the side opposite the statue is a double chamber, the one at the back probably used as a storeroom for the vessels and other utensils used in the funerary ceremonies. Another room on the left of the covered triclinium, with an opening on the court in the form of a window, might have been the vestiary. Finally, the funerary chamber, the tomb proper, contains six niches.

An elephant of limestone, crudely sculptured, was drawn up from the well. We placed it on a pedestal at the right of the entrance to the underground triclinium. It is probable that this elephant was the totem, suggesting an African origin for the family owning this large tomb.

The little museum of the necropolis; built in 1888 on the hill of the field of Los Olivos, contains some interesting antiquities among which should be mentioned:

The collection of glassware which is rather remarkable: vials of various forms and glass urns enclosed in leaden boxes on the cover of which are read the names in graffiti:

1. P.CALVI PVNICAN
2. P.M.PPABVLAE (PP. for F)

Urn of marble, clay, or stone. Upon these last appeared the following names:

3. ATITTAII (II for E)
4. VRBANIVAL
5. GALLAII
VICAII
6. PYLADES S.T.T.L
7. FABIÆ Q. MAVRÆ
XXXI

A set of small cups of a reddish clay with ornaments in relief recalling the pine-cone or the ivy leaf; some are covered with a vitreous glaze

Several small objects of amber, of bone, and of ivory

A necklace of twenty-five rock crystal beads, styli, depilatory tweezers, keys and locks, belt buckles, rings, mirrors, medals, et cetera

The collection of sigillated amphora handles found during the exploration of the Guadalquivir

Mosaics from Carmona, ARVA, and Alcolea

Inscriptions from La Luisiana, Alcolea, and Carmona

A collection of Roman bricks (103).

About five hundred metres above Alcolea on the right bank are vestiges of potteries, the stamps of which give the initials reproduced as numbers 351 and 353 of

our List (Plate XXXIX). The mark DOM or DOMS was noted on the bank near the church (numbers 357 and 358, Plate XXXIX).

The new branch of the river which flows half a kilometre south of Alcolea has been in existence only since 1823.

Alcolea del Río, CANANIA MVNICIPIVM FLAVIVM, the name of the sixth *oppidum* down the river from Córdoba, appears in the texts of Pliny in different forms: Ciniana, Caniana, Camania, Camana, and Canana. This last version would appear definitive according to two inscriptions in Huebner, 1074, 1182, furnished us by Strada and Guseme, but the originals of these are not to be found to-day. Fortunately, a new inscription, found in 1888 at Alcolea, has enlightened us on this point and fixed the true name of this ancient city as CANANIA. This inscription, acquired by us, was sent to Carmona (104)

[M.TH]ACIO.L.F.QVR.LV[Po]
 HVIC.ORDO.MVN.[M.F.]
 CANAN LOC. SEPV[LT]
 FVNER.IMPENS[AM]
 STATVAM.PEDES[TR]
 DE[CR]EVIT
 L.THACIVS.LVPV[S]
 PATER.ET.CORNEL[IA]
 SECVNDA.MATE[R]
 [H].V.I.R (105)

Ancient CANANIA was situated upon the mesa to the north of the church of Alcolea. More than half of the land of this plateau has fallen into the river, and each new flood of the Guadalquivir continues the work of destruction. Nevertheless, there is still in existence near the mesa a small Roman edifice, remarkably preserved. It was saved, thanks to the circumstance of its having served as a chapel, until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was a sort of cistern, circular in form, measuring 3.50 metres in diameter. It is covered with a semispherical vault from which it derives its name La Bola, by which this little monument is known to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The height is 5.35 metres. The stones of the outer facings, arranged like the knots of a mesh, show us one of the most characteristic types of Roman masonry, the *opus reticulatum*. The top of the cupola is pierced by an air hole, a circular opening of brick, 37 cm. wide. The door of this cistern as well as the conduits for the entrance and outlet of water were probably at the west; this part is now destroyed. We cleared away the bottom of this small monument, and at the south we noted a conduit thirty centimetres wide hollowed between two superimposed cut stones. The part of the conduit adjoining the cistern reveals an elongated cavity, a sort of groove in the stone, where the water gate slid; this was lifted when the cistern had to be emptied for cleaning. Rather than a cistern, this small monu-

ment seems to us to be a steam bath or laconicum. To the air hole of the cupola was applied a sort of trap door (*clipeus*) which could be opened or shut according to the temperature desired within.

Of the numerous antiquities from Alcolea, which were sent to the museum of the necropolis at Carmona, we shall mention:

Two glass urns in their leaden cases found buried in a half amphora

A beautiful mosaic with the head of Medusa in the centre and a Triton at each corner

A fragment of a statue: it is the right leg, the foot clad in the cothurnus characteristic of Diana

A leaden tablet showing a woman carrying a garland (the gift of M. Engel)

A white marble capital upon which are represented in relief, between three engarlanded bucrania, the attributes of the sacrifice, a broad knife (*secespita*), the vessel (*præfericulum*), and a bowl (*patera*).

In 1889, M. Arthur Engel had the good fortune to acquire at Alcolea eight little votive boats of lightly glazed red clay. These objects of rare worth are said to have been discovered at the southern end of the plateau of the ancient city. Their length varies from 11.5 cm. to 14.5 cm. and their width from 4.5 to 7.5 cm. They all show a central depression on the inner and outer faces and all but one have a little rim at the sides. Two are decorated on the outside with inscriptions traced with a point. They have been interpreted by M. Engel in an interesting article which he sent in 1890 to the *Revue archéologique* (106). With his permission I reproduce here the two boats showing the graffiti.

The majority of the inscriptions from Alcolea, published in the *Corpus*, have disappeared. That of M. Postumius Quartus, copied in the sixteenth century by Franco, is scarcely legible, being part of the fountain of the *Comendador* on the Constantina road. Another, ---.ERG.SENECIO, is on the threshold of a door. At the home of the well digger Camilo I copied the two following fragments:

| TVAM EQVESTREM |
| AVRATICIAM . PONI |

IPEIC:
PeD

Another fragment has been recently communicated to me by Don Fernando Coca, a physician at Alcolea:

VIANA
VM^oVET?

In following the right bank of the Guadalquivir, one arrives at the comparatively modern market town of Villanueva del Río, so named from its relation to Alcolea which is only two kilometres away. The columns of granite and marble on the thresholds of the doors at Villanueva come from the mesa, the site of CANANIA.

There are some remains at Estacada de las Minas at the crossing of the Galapagar, one kilometre north of Villanueva.

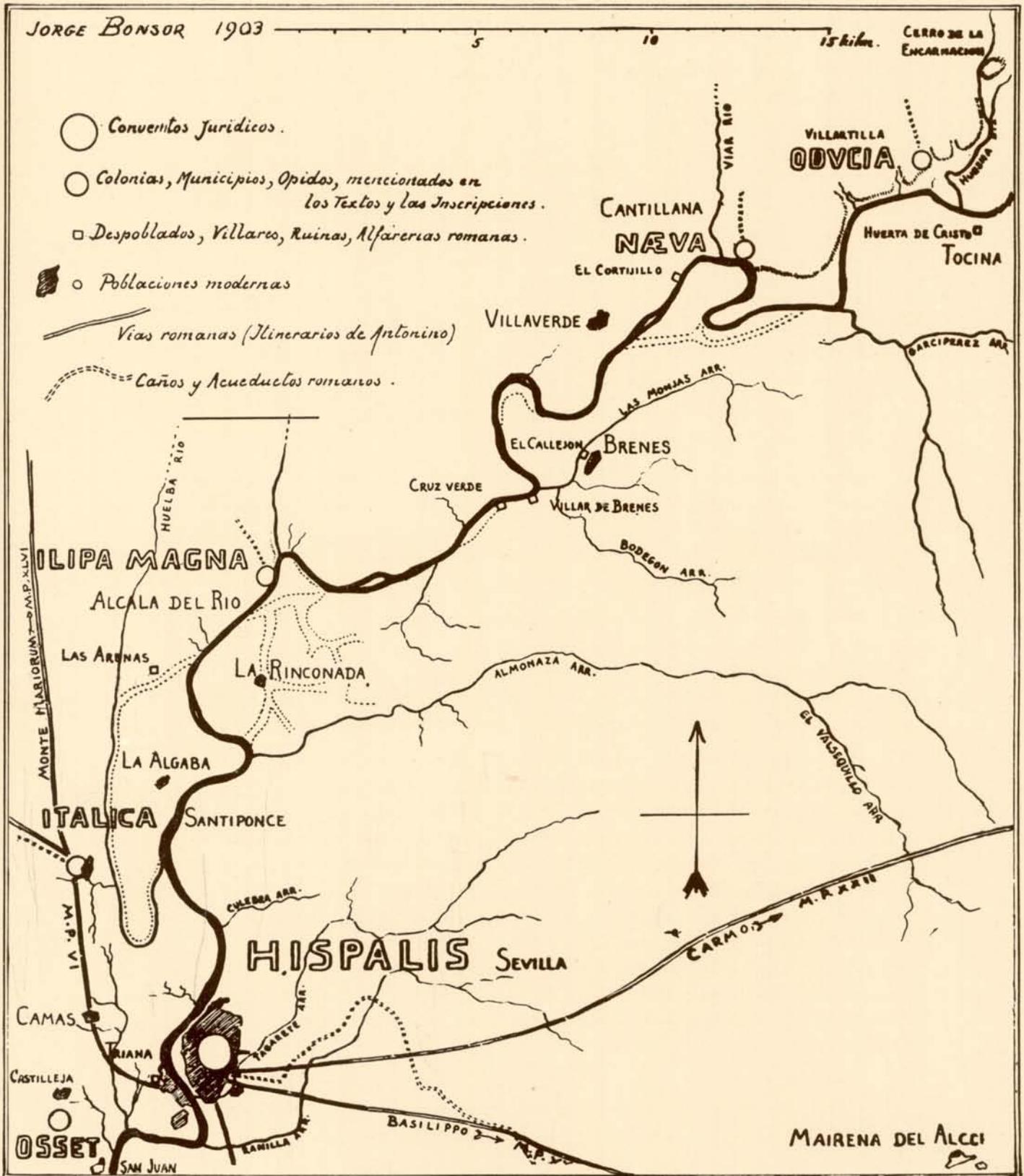
From the left bank of the Guadalquivir an old river bed can be seen making a wide detour southward, separated by more than two kilometres from the present bank. At the outer bend of this old arm at Los Villares, we found among the *débris* in the midst of the tilled fields an old amphora handle bearing the stamp reproduced as number 361 of our list (Plate XXXIX).

At Tocina we observed nothing Roman. It held true of the entire left bank as far as Cantillana, with the exception, however, of some unimportant rubbish noted near the *huerta* of Cristo one kilometre west of Tocina. The gravestones which probably were seen here by Cárdenas came from a large *despoblado*, on the other side of the river, about which the tenant of the *huerta* gave us valuable information.

An inscription in the *Corpus* indicated the existence of a locality named ODUZIA which should have been situated on the river between CANANIA and NÆVA, that is to say, between Alcolea and Cantillana. Huebner suggests the neighbourhood of Tocina, a name which seems to be a corruption of Oduzia. I recognized the location of that ancient city on the opposite bank a little below the confluence of the Huesna at a place called Villartilla, a part of the farm of Malagón (107). There still exist on the spot important ruins among which we listed walls of rubble sixty centimetres thick, forming a series of rooms, six metres long and four to five metres wide. Also to be seen are baths and reservoirs which fed several ditches. The farmer of Malagón assured me that among the Roman rubbish covering a large area of the territory, on different occasions, mosaics, shafts of columns, and fragments of statues have been discovered.

The name, ODUZIA, has not been reported by any author. It appears in Huebner (1182) in an inscription which tells us that the *lintrarii* or boatmen of CANANIA, ODUZIA, and NÆVA erected a monument to their patron, C. Aelius

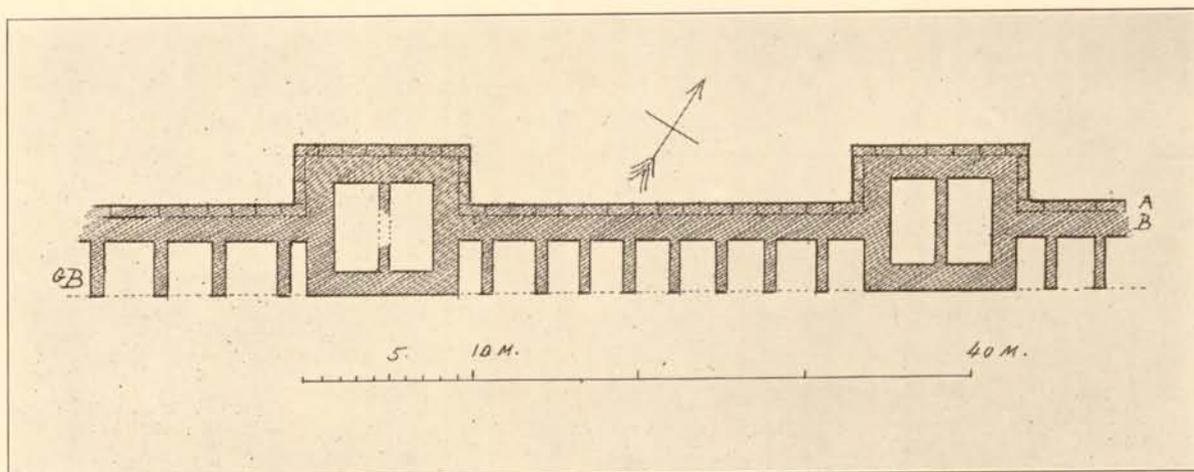
JORGE BONSOR 1903



A1338

35 x 30 cm.

MAP OF THE GUADALQUIVIR FROM TOCINA TO SEVILLA



A1339

23.1 x 9 cm.

ROMAN WALL AT ALCALA DEL RIO

Avitus. The word Oduciensis is found also upon another incomplete inscription that was copied by Ambrosio de Morales at Lora del Río (Huebner 1056). I shall add to these inscriptions an amphora mark probably geographical picked up at La Peña de la Sal (reproduced as number 286 of Plate XXXVIII) and the following from Monte Testaccio BRO. ODV. BRO.C.ODV. Broc(ci) Odu(ciense) Dressel (2736a-c), and finally POR ADV, Port(u) Odu(ciense) (Dressel 3058a-c). This last indicates clearly that ODUZIA, like most of the riverside towns, had a landing place on the river.

In going up the Huesna about fourteen kilometres, we come to La Torre de Mulva, site of ancient MUNIGUA. The name of this locality was revealed to us by several inscriptions discovered upon the spot in 1756 by Don Sebastián Antonio de Cortés and Don José de las Cuentas Zayas, members of the *R. Academia sevillana* (108). The following year their colleague, Guseme, also visited these ruins. Since then a priest from Cantillana attempted excavations at Mulva which were unscientific, since he persisted in searching for treasure which he believed existed at this spot. Only when ruined did he abandon the work. The trenches he opened in all directions reveal the substructures of large buildings as well as cisterns and subterranean passages. He found granite columns, mosaics, and lastly, statues and inscriptions for which he cared little and which others hastened to carry away. They have since disappeared.

The locality of MUNIGUA is one of the most remarkable archaeological sites in the neighbourhood of the river. The ruins, still imposing enough, rise from the midst of a plain surrounded by mountains, very close together, shutting in the horizon on all sides except towards the south where is seen the valley and in the distance the plateau of Carmona.

The *despoblado*, to-day called Torre de Mulva, a reminder of MUNIGUA, consists of a group of great walls with some brick arches in a remarkable state of preservation. The town proper used to extend to the east of these walls. One can still trace its perimeter by the fragment-strewn lands which rise slightly above the level of the plain. A little distance to the east are old quarries which I did not have time to visit. Huebner gives us six inscriptions from MUNIGUA. They are found upon large bases of statues of a granite found in this part of the Sierra. Two of these pedestals are now in the museum at Sevilla (Huebner 1049, 1051); two others have disappeared. The fifth, inscribed with the name of Licinius Victor, was still to be found on the ground at the time of our visit in 1890. Lastly, the sixth which is of marble (Huebner 1378) has been placed in the town hall of Carmona. Two of these inscriptions must date from Titus, a short time after the death of Vespasian, between the years 79 and 81. The title Flavium with which this city was honoured, according to the inscription of Carmona, must go back to the time of Constantine. Moreover, it is this date which the elongated characters of this last inscription seem to confirm.

After CANANIA, the texts of Pliny give us EVIA, ÆVA, or EVA, for which the inscriptions have reestablished the true name, NÆVA. One cannot help noticing at Cantillana, NÆVA, the imposing ruins of the quays or landing places of ancient NÆVA. There are walls of brick or hewn stone to be seen and immense masses of rubble which are still suspended on the right bank or have fallen into the river. The town here being very high, it was necessary to lay out the wharves in terraces one above the other joined by gently sloping ramps. It is to this pile of stones and these accumulations of ruins in the river that the town owes its present name of Cantillana, from *cantillo* or *canto* (stone). Fragments of the Roman occupation abound in the streets of Cantillana. Everywhere are seen flagstones and cut stones, shafts of marble columns, and some inscriptions. An abundant spring near a chapel north of the city still flows through the old Roman conduits.

One kilometre below the confluence of the Viar, at El Cortijillo, there is a small rubble basin in the midst of the fields. The land around it is covered with fragments. Farther on, the market town of Villaverde gives no sign of Roman occupation. Below Villaverde, there is marshy land covered with reeds, a refuge for migratory birds. This *cañaveral* of Villaverde is famous in Andalucía. Every year a large number of starlings are captured there and sent to the markets of the neighbouring towns.

To the west of Brenes we found traces of a *villar*, El Callejón, near the ruins of a small aqueduct, only three pillars of which remain.

At the confluence of the stream Bodegón at Villar de Brenes, VIRGINENSIA, there is an important pottery establishment. We picked up several amphora handles there reproduced as numbers 362-364, 366-367 of our List (Plate XL). In these last three marks must be recognized a local name which we find again at Monte Testaccio in the following forms: VIR (Dressel 3213), VIRG (Dressel 2628c), VIRGIN (Dressel 2628a), VIRGINENSIA (Dressel 2627). In addition, the painted inscriptions reported by Dressel mention the f(iglinae) V(irgi)nieses (4189) and again f(iglinae) Vir(ginienses) (4472). Huebner tells us that this name must have been derived from a spring Virgo (109). There is a spring here on the bank of the river beside the ruins of these potteries as well as a clay bank.

One kilometre below this last station at La Cruz Verde near the ferry, there is a *villar*, small in area.

The considerable Roman ruins that are still to be seen at Alcalá del Río, ILIPA MAGNA, the inscriptions, and the medals leave us no longer in doubt concerning the location of ILIPA, the eighth town down the river from Córdoba. It probably was surnamed Magna (110) to distinguish it from other places of the same name in BÆTICA. Strabo (111) tells us that ships of medium size could go up to HISPALIS and ITALICA. He adds that there were silver mines in the region. These old mines were probably at Almadén de la Plata, thirty kilometres north of Alcalá. Iron and

copper mines abound in this part of the Sierra. A few silver mines are now being worked, notably at San Nicolás del Puerto and at Puerto Blanco near Cazalla (112).

There must have been also at Almadén de la Plata, PAGUS MARMORARIUS, some remarkable quarries of white marble with bluish veins exploited by the Romans. This idea is gained from an inscription found in the vicinity, telling us that Almadén was then called PAGUS MARMORARIUS (Huebner 1043).

Strabo (113) claims that Posidonius observed at ILIPA an extraordinary flood of the BÆTIS which would have enabled the soldiers of the garrison to draw up the river water from the top of the city walls, whereas, in ordinary times, the tide did not reach halfway up the bank.

An inscription (Huebner 1085) discovered in 1784 near the farm called Haza del Villar between La Algaba and Santiponce mentions an Irenaeus who was dispensator or administrator of the PORTUS ILIPENSIS. The ruins of this harbour, or landing place, at Alcalá del Río are still more remarkable than those at Cantillana. The masses of construction appearing on the bank and as far as the middle of the stream show some walls still in place with foundations of rubble and upper sections of brick. It would seem that this structure was independent of the walls encircling the city. In the centre of the ruins covering the bank at the time of our visit on April 10th, 1890, we saw a circular well 2.80 metres in diameter made of hewn stone without mortar. This well was full of earth. It would be interesting to empty it.

We picked up at Alcalá del Río two fragments of inscriptions, probably indented, but offering otherwise little interest.

LIV — — —

OPCIA — — —

VINE — — —

L.SEPT — I — —

PERTIN — — —

ADIA — — — —

P — — —

This last inscription as well as that of the PORTUS ILIPENSIS, mentioned above, dates probably from the time of Septimus Severus, 193-211. Another inscription discovered at Alcalá in 1858, now in the museum at Sevilla, commemorates the building or the restoration of the gates and arches of the ancient city at the expense of a certain Urchail, son of Atitta, a native of a locality, the site of which is unknown, called Chilasur (Huebner 1087).

A large part of the wall of ILIPA, measuring from four to six metres in height, still exists north of the town. This wall is reënforced by square towers placed about twenty-five metres apart. They are built of rubble of remarkable durability, with

outer facings of cut stone which have been carried away but of which the impress is still visible. Inside the city wall is a series of small parallel walls, the supports of the arches which bear the ramparts. The walls of Aurelius at Rome were laid out in almost the same manner (114). At Alcalá one may see many marble columns forming the posts of houses or the thresholds of doors. It is said that Roman graves have also been discovered outside the city on the road to La Huerta del Rey.

Delgado publishes twenty-three variants of the medals of ILIPA. The common type shows a fish facing right, with a crescent above it, and below, between two lines, the legend ILIPENSE. The reverse has an ear of grain. These emblems, wheat and fish, allude to the productions of the country. The fish shown here is the shad, in Spanish *sábalo* (*clupea alosa*), fishing for which is the chief occupation of the natives in the spring. The shad of the ILIPA and CAURA (Coria del Río) medals has upon its back one or two fins indiscriminately.

Between Alcalá and Santiponce we found only one *villar*, of little importance, called Las Arenas. It was situated on a slight elevation four kilometres from Alcalá.

The changes in the river bed have always been very much dreaded in this region. The plains of La Algaba and La Rinconada are furrowed by old beds, which recall as many catastrophes that have come at various times to the riverside population. For this reason the present site of ITALICA is about three kilometres from the Guadalquivir. In the time of Pliny the river flowed towards the *villar* of Las Arenas; it then took the direction indicated by the little river Huelba and so passed to the east of Santiponce where the wharves of ITALICA were.

The village of Santiponce, ITALICA, occupies the eastern part of the old Italic upon a slight elevation to the right of the old river bed. The town extends westward among the groves of olive trees. This location for ITALICA, which was still called Sevilla la Vieja at the end of the sixteenth century, has since been confirmed by excavations, inscriptions, and, above all, by the imposing ruins to be seen everywhere.

A LIST IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF HISTORICAL FACTS, ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AND PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO ITALICA

206 B. C. Scipio Africanus founded after the second Punic War (115) the Vicus Italicensis (Huebner 1119) as a place of retirement for his veterans.

49 B. C. The inhabitants of ITALICA, declaring themselves on the side of Julius Cæsar, closed the gates to Varro, lieutenant of Pompey (116) (Huebner 1119).

27 B. C.-19 A. D. The medals of the city of ITALICA bear the likenesses of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius and of Julia, Drusus, and Germanicus (117).

52 A. D. On the eighteenth of September, Trajan was born at ITALICA.

117-138. Reign of Hadrian. It was probably at this time that the large public buildings, temples, baths, and the amphitheatre were built. To honour Hadrian, whose family was from ITALICA, the city assumed the surname COLONIA AELIA AUGUSTA (118) (Huebner p. 145). Two inscriptions (Huebner 1131, 1132), on which are mentioned the stone cutters or quarrymen of the emperor at ITALICA, show us clearly the imperial munificence to which the city was indebted for its public monuments. Hadrian was born at Rome and not at ITALICA, as has often been claimed. However, his father, Hadrianus Afer, a cousin of Trajan, was from ITALICA. This family was originally from Picentia. The mother of Hadrian was from GADES (Cádiz).

172-175. Under the threat of an invasion from BÆTICA by the Berbers of Mauritania, the seventh legion was sent from León (CASTRUM LEGIONIS SEPTIMAE) to ITALICA where it was obliged to make a fairly long stay. One still finds at Santiponce flat tiles with the mark L VII GF (Huebner 1125, Dressel 6525b), referring to the sojourn of the legionaries in BÆTICA.

140-251. This was the most flourishing commercial period between BÆTICA and Rome, lasting from the time of Antoninus Pius to the time of Gallienus. The exportation of oil was then considerable, judging by the fragments of Spanish amphoræ from Monte Testaccio. Among the stamps on amphora handles picked up by Dressel (2631a-h), we see the marks of ITALICA in the following forms, IT, ITA, ITAL, ITALICÆ (119).

414-709. Under the Visigoths ITALICA was the seat of a bishopric of the second province, BÆTICA, of which HISPALIS, Sevilla, was the metropolis (120).

570-586. At the time of the struggle between the Catholics and the Arians, Hermenegild, leading the Catholics, took refuge at Sevilla where his father Leovigild came to attack him. The latter established his camp at ITALICA and had the walls of the city repaired.

636. Death of Isidore of Sevilla. According to Lucas of Tuy, Isidore was buried at ITALICA by a bishop of that city, named Eparcius.

712. Conquest of this part of the valley by the Arabs.

844. Norman invasion. They came up the Guadalquivir in eighty boats, surprising Sevilla first, Coria del Río next, and finally took possession of a town called Talyata, two miles from Sevilla, whence they were routed by the army of the Emir Abderrâhman the Third sent in all haste from Córdoba (121).

889. Talyata, however, must have withstood this disaster. Forty-five years after the departure of the Normans its name still appears in the chronicles. Two powerful Arabian families of the country, who had revolted, invited the Berber hordes of Mérida and Medellín to join them in attacking the rich renegades of Sevilla. The Berbers accepted this offer eagerly and like vultures threw themselves

on the plantations which were washed by the river, and devastated them. When they reached Talyata, they massacred the inhabitants and made slaves of the women and children. They then repulsed the governor of Sevilla who had advanced to meet them and forced him to take refuge at Huévar. Returning from Talyata, they devoted three days to pillaging the neighbouring property and returned to Mérida with their booty (122).

1063. When the bishop of León, Alvitus, came to ITALICA to look for the body of Isidore of Sevilla, the city was no longer in existence. The relics of the saint were found under the ruins of an ancient church that he is said to have founded (123). The destruction of Talyata or ITALICA must date back, therefore, to the end of the ninth century.

1298. Founding of the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo by Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán *el Bueno*. Many materials from the neighbouring ruins appear in the construction of this monastery.

1525. Peraza, Luis de. *Historia de Sevilla*. This is a description of the state of the ruins which were found at that time near Santiponce. Then there were only some tiers of the amphitheatre to be seen.

1575. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España*. Alcalá de Henares, 1575. Morales (1513-1591) was the father of archæology under Philip the Second and was the first to declare that the ruins near the village of Santiponce were not those of Sevilla la Vieja, as was supposed in his time, but of another city, a neighbour of HISPALIS, called ITALICA.

1595. "A las ruinas de esta ciudad (Itálica), hice una canción cuando allí llegué año M. D. XC. V" said Rodrigo Caro, poet and archæologist. In the first part of his *Memorial de la villa de Utrera*, he speaks of the ancient geography of the province of Sevilla, the ruins and inscriptions of Santiponce, determining the location of ITALICA. His manuscript, finished in 1604, was not published until 1883 by the *Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces*.

1634. Caro, Rodrigo. *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrissima ciudad de Sevilla y chorographia de su convento iuridico*. Sevilla, 1634.

1711. At this time, the amphitheatre was nearly destroyed so that the materials might be used in the construction of a dike at Sevilla as a protection against the eating away of the land by the Guadalquivir, according to a letter that Martí, Dean of Alicante, wrote to the Marquis Scipione de Maffei, cited by Montfaucon (124). Father Flórez (125) visited the amphitheatre of Itálica a short time afterwards.

1753. At the place called Los Palacios were found two bases of statues of the emperors Probus and Carus. The inscriptions belonging in 1825 to the amateur Weterell of Sevilla were published by Father Flórez (126).

1760. At the same place was found an inscription to the Emperor Florian who ruled only two months in 276 (127).

1781-1788. Excavations of Don Francisco de Bruna and the Conde del Aguila; discovery of statues, said to be of Nerva and Trajan, to-day in the museum at Sevilla (128).

1799. A monk from the monastery of San Isidoro, José Moscoso, found the great mosaic of circus games and the muses reproduced in the work of Laborde who visited ITALICA in 1802. Ceán Bermúdez also is said to have made a drawing of this mosaic in 1801. It is no longer in existence (129).

1802. The monks of San Isidoro, with Father Zevallos at their head, raised opposition to several renewed attempts to destroy the amphitheatre and the ruins in the neighbourhood of the monastery. Zevallos died in 1802, leaving a manuscript on this subject entitled *La Itálica* published in 1886 by the *Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces*, Sevilla.

1810. *Gasetta de Sevilla*, 8 February 1810. According to a decree of Joseph Napoléon, we find that, first, the name of Itálica, succeeded by that of Santiponce, was restored; second, the convent of San Isidoro del Campo furnished fifty thousand *reales* to carry out some excavations; third, guardians were named to protect the ruins (130).

1827. Matute y Gaviria, Justino. *Bosquejo de la Itálica*. Sevilla, 1827.

1839. Excavations of Don Ivo de la Cortina y Ropero were carried out with the help of a number of prisoners who worked under military surveillance. According to an inventory of the antiquities collected at this time, published by Gali (131), we learn that some choice pieces were then presented to the Queen, to the Ayuntamiento of Sevilla, and to an amateur, the secretary of the French embassy. It is probable that the head of Minerva offered to the Queen is no other than the superb head of the goddess Roma, mentioned with so much admiration by Huebner, in the palace of *San Telmo* (132). The statues of Rome personified are generally covered with a helmet like that of Minerva. I do not know whether this marble has been photographed nor what has become of it since the death of the Duchess of Montpensier. The colossal head of Trajan went from the town hall of Sevilla to the museum where it now is. The marble head given to the secretary of the embassy is not identified. He is said to have received in addition, several vessels, two lamps, and a gladiator's head in terra cotta.

1851. In a grove of olive trees, called La Alcantarilla, near San Isidoro, were discovered several vaults built of Roman materials and of a relatively modern period (133). On the same spot in 1861, was found a lead coffin of the time of the Visigoths. It is now in the museum. About 1885, having been invited to visit the exca-

vations of Don Antonio Ariza, in the same plantation I had occasion to observe the parallel arrangement of the graves and the orientation of the skeletons from east to west, with the head west. This seems to indicate as at ARVA a Christian necropolis. A skull pierced by a bronze nail was probably also found here (134).

1856-1862. The *Diputación provincial* and Queen Isabella gave the sum of five thousand pesetas to continue the clearing out of the amphitheatre. The Queen visited Itálica September 23rd, 1862.

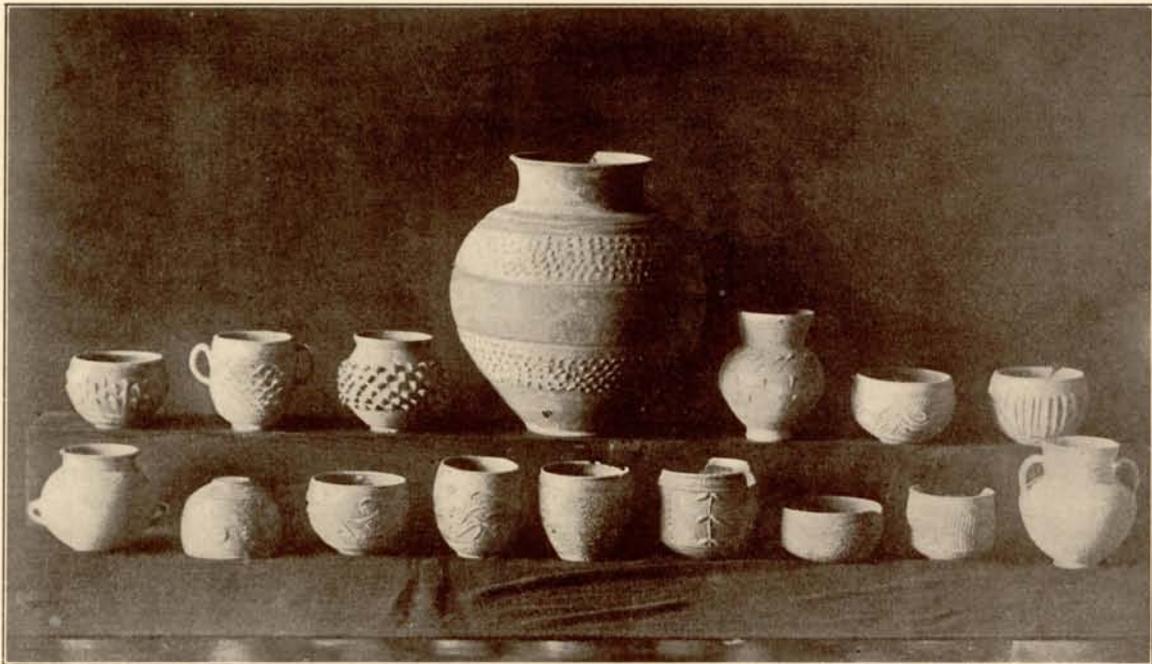
1860. The architect, Don Demetrio de los Ríos, undertook the excavations of the baths and of the amphitheatre. In 1862 the Academy of history published his work (135).

1872-1874. He uncovered, at the place called Los Palacios, a series of mosaics of the greatest variety with a total surface area of 851 metres. Demetrio de los Ríos directed these excavations financed by the owner of the land, Her Excellency the Señora Viuda de Ignacio Vázquez (136).

1886. The *Comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de la provincia* assumed charge of continuing the clearing away of the caves of the amphitheatre and discovered, on a level with the ground of the arena, arrangements of stones showing the presence of subterranean structures of the same sort as those of the amphitheatres at Rome, Capua, Pozzuoli, and Syracuse. These structures at Itálica showed a central quadrangle with a wide passage that crossed it and divided the arena lengthwise. In the stones that are visible on the level of the ground, there are grooves into which the ends of the girders fitted. On these girders, the floor, serving as a roof for these underground passages, rested. It is now known that these floors hid trapdoors like those of our theatres allowing the appearance in the midst of the arena, as though by magic, of the scenery necessary for the great spectacles described by Dion Cassius (137).

1888. On October 10th, 1888, a large tablet of bronze 1.55 metres long and 90 centimetres wide was found at Itálica. The inscription covering it comprised sixty-three lines, each of about one hundred letters. This bronze was bought for twenty-five thousand pesetas and is to-day in the *Museo arqueológico nacional*, Madrid. Don Manuel de Berlanga published a translation of this interesting inscription in 1891. It was also commented upon by Mommsen and Huebner. It is part of a senate decree on the subject of gladiatorial combats proposed to the senate by the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-192 A. D.). This regulation fixed the price of the performances, the number of the series of combatants, the price for the various classes of gladiators, and the duties of the lanistae, under whose eyes the gladiators trained (138).

1889. The excavations of M. Arthur Engel were carried on at the presumable spot where the bronze tablet had been found the year before. This place was in the



POTTERY VESSELS WITH DECORATIONS IN RELIEF
Carmona. Museum of the Roman necropolis



OBJECTS

Carmona. Museum of the Roman necropolis

midst of the ruins of a building still unclassified, with a sort of gallery divided into compartments. These excavations having yielded nothing, M. Engel turned to the ruins of the baths where there were tombs of masonry containing urns of black clay and many funerary inscriptions. Finally, he made excavations in the plantation of La Alcantarilla near San Isidoro where he found skeletons lying under large tiles of whitish clay, almost level with the ground (139).

1890. Gestoso y Pérez, José. *Sevilla monumental y artística*. Sevilla, 1890. v. 3, p. 600-618 (chapter on Itálica).

1892. Gali Lassaletta, Aurelio. *Historia de Itálica municipio y colonia romana*. Sevilla, 1892. (The work of an enthusiast.)

1898. Bonsor, G. E. *Le Musée archéologique de Séville et les ruines d'Itálica*. In *Revue archéologique*. 1898. v. 1, p. 1-15. (Contains a map of the environs of Itálica, nine illustrations of statues, and a phototype of the amphitheatre.)

1898. Excavations of Mr. Archer M. Huntington and M. Arthur Engel. The discovery, behind the house of José Rodríguez in Santiponce of a circular edifice of brick, the purpose of which has not been ascertained, and at a place called Haza del Palacio, several burial places, some of brick, others of stone. On the third of February 1898, they discovered, at a spot called Pajar de Artillo, a copper vessel containing a bar of gold, weighing 3702 grams, another of silver weighing 3875 grams, and 135 imperial gold coins dating from Nero to Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and wife of Lucius Verus (140).

1900. In October 1900, at Santiponce near the place called El Peladero the foundations of a small temple were discovered where appeared many remains of sculpture and a beautiful statue, almost whole, of Artemis (height 2.23 metres, base 11 centimetres). The columns of the monument have Corinthian capitals. The statue and four columns acquired by the *Diputación provincial* are now in the museum at Sevilla. The architect, Don Francisco Aurelio Alvarez, drew a plan of the ruins which, engraved on a marble slab, was attached to the pedestal of the statue.

1901. In the vicinity of the monument where the statue of Artemis was found, the right leg of a Hermes was excavated. The ankle was winged, and beside it was the lyre called testudo made from the carapace of a tortoise. This beautiful fragment was also sent to the museum at Sevilla.

1903. During the month of July, the *Comisión de monumentos* continued the excavations at Santiponce, where they discovered Christian graves similar to those at ARVA. The vaults built of large bricks were covered with flat, flanged Roman tiles. The interior contained a coffin of lead with a skeleton. There were also around this vault the graves of children (141).

1904. Fernández y López, Manuel. *Excavaciones en Itálica (Año 1903)*. Sevilla, 1904.

Don Manuel Fernández, secretary of the *Comisión de monumentos*, corresponding member of the *R. Academia de historia*, Madrid, and president of the *Sociedad arqueológica de Carmona*, directed the Itálica excavations after 1900 and died at Sevilla on May 21st, 1905.

The marshy, often flooded plain separating Santiponce from Sevilla made the construction of a road in a direct line between them almost impossible. Therefore, we believe that the Roman way, like the modern road, took the direction of the village of Camas. The distance between Santiponce and Sevilla by this road is nine kilometres, a distance which agrees exactly with the VI M.P. of the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus.

Triana, the *VILLA TRAJANA* or the *TARJANAH* of the Arabs (142) is a suburb of Sevilla and must always have been an important pottery station. We did not, however, collect any stamped amphora handles there. It would be necessary to seek them on the river bank a short distance above the town.

It was at Sevilla, *HISPALIS COLONIA ROMULA* (Huebner p. 152) that our explorations on the river ended. Ancient *HISPALIS* on the left bank was the seat of one of the four *conventus juridici* of the Farther Province. Its location is confirmed by many relics discovered there which figure in private collections and in the museums of Sevilla (143). Some ruins of large Roman structures still exist *in situ*, including (144):

Foundations of walls and towers of the Roman enclosure near the gate of Macarena

The aqueduct called Caños (de la Puerta) de Carmona, the origin of which is at the springs in the neighbourhood of Alcalá de Guadaira

The mysterious underground cavities of the Calle Abades

The possible temple of the Calle de los Mármoles where can still be seen in place three enormous shafts of columns; two others from the same structure were placed at the entrance to the Alameda de Hercules in 1574

Roman tombs have been discovered in the gardens of *San Telmo*.

Lastly, we shall call attention to the old quarries of *HISPALIS*, eighteen kilometres east of Sevilla. The most remarkable are in the *dehesa* of Las Canteras, between Alcalá and Mairena, near the old road from Sevilla to Gandul. This probably is the Roman way of the *Itinerarium* from Cádiz to Córdoba by way of Sevilla and Antequera. This road does not pass through Alcalá, for which we do not know the Roman name, nor through the mesa of Gandul which lies two kilometres to the left. It is probable that this last site is Pliny's *OPPIDUM LUCURGENTUM JULII GENIUS* (145). The quarries of this *despoblado* extend in the direction of Mairena near

the necropolis of Bencarrón which I began to explore in 1895 (146). From Gandul the Roman road continued down to Vega and by the *vereda* Arahal towards the farm, six kilometres west of Arahal, called Mejillán. Upon two *cerros* near Mejillán, formerly fortified, rise the castle of El Cincho and the tower of La Membrilla. The extent of the fragments that cover the soil, the appearance of a statue and of some inscriptions justify us in placing at Mejillán the station of BASILIPPO which, according to the *Itinerarium*, was twenty-one Roman miles from HISPALIS.

V

CONCLUSION

I

The occupation of Turdetania by the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians was so complete that in the time of Augustus the majority of the city, and even the rural, population was of Punic origin. The Celts, who invaded the Peninsula in the fourth century B. C., had been driven by the Carthaginians back into the mountainous parts of the country. In the time of Pliny they were still in the Sierra Morena and in the mountains of Ronda. Nevertheless, in the valley of the BÆTIS, Strabo tells us that the natives had wholly adopted the Roman customs and manner of living to such a degree that they had even forgotten their own language (147).

The BÆTIS was navigable at that time as far as Córdoba. Ships of heavy tonnage could go up the river as far as HISPALIS, Sevilla, smaller ones went as far as ILIPA, Alcalá del Río. From here to Córdoba, small boats were used (148).

The inscriptions found at Sevilla mention two kinds of river boats, the *scapha* and the *linter*. We learn that the boatmen or *scapharii* who traded with the COLONIA ROMULA, HISPALIS or Sevilla, raised several monuments to the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius as well as to the well-known citizens L. Castricius Honoratus and Sex. Julius Possessor. The latter was prefect of provisions and of the verification of the oil-supply of Africa and Spain as well as imperial procurator of the BÆTIS (Huebner 1180).

The *linter* was probably a flat-bottomed boat, its shape like the little votive barks of terra cotta found at Alcolea by M. Engel (149). This sort of craft seems to have been used above the tide limit. An inscription tells us that the *lintrarii* of NÆVA, Cantillana, of ODUCIA, Villartilla near Tocina, and of CANANIA, Alcolea del Río, three successive stations on the right bank, erected a monument, probably at Sevilla, to their patron C. Aelius Avitus (Huebner 1182).

All that part of the country watered by the river became more and more wealthy through its commerce with Rome. The products exported to Italy by the riverside people were considerable, a little gold and much silver, copper, iron, lead, vermilion, salt, salt-provisions, woolens, honey, wax, wheat, wine, and above all, oil. The oil was famous. Pliny classes the oil of BÆTICA in second rank between that of Venafrum and that of Istria (150).

We have already suggested that the transportation of oil from the distant plantations must have been made in skins on the backs of mules as is done to-day. At the riverside establishments the spherical amphoræ made there were filled. The

boats loaded with these amphoræ went down the river as far as the wharves of the cities situated below the tide limit, Alcalá del Río and especially Sevilla, where the amphoræ were put aboard the sea-going vessels. When this transfer was effected, the ships went down the BÆTIS.

Opposite HISPALIS, on the hill at the right, was the OPPIDUM OSSETT (151). Pliny mentions next LUCURGENTUM QUOD JULII GENIUS which, in my opinion, must be located rather far from the BÆTIS, on the Guadaira above Alcalá, at a point where that river was probably navigable a part of the year (152). Directly below the confluence of the Guadaira is a *despoblado* called Torre de los Herberos, the acknowledged site of ORIPPO. Opposite this is Coria del Río, ancient CAURA. Farther on the river divides into three branches forming two large islands, the Isla Mayor and the Isla Menor. The Guadiamar, ancient MENOBA, empties into the right arm. Upon the left arm, twenty kilometres from the bank, was located SIARUM or SEARO, a *despoblado* near the farm of Zarracatín, two leagues and a half south of Utrera. SEARO may have had a landing place on the BÆTIS at the confluence of the Salado.

At the left, on a chain of high hills bordering the estuaries, were the towns of UGIA, Las Cabezas de San Juan, NABRISSA, Lebrija, COLOBONA, La Mesa de Bolaños, and HASTA REGIA, La Mesa de Asta. In the lowest part of the estuary, is modern Trebujena, the Tarbuxena of the Arabs which seems to have been derived from the *figlinæ Trebecianæ*, after the Roman owner, Trebecius (153). The amphoræ from Monte Testaccio refer to a *fundus Trebeciani* (Dressel 3205) and to a *figlina Trebecianor(un)* (Dressel 3204a). I, myself, picked up at Peñafior the stamp TREBII. The region of Trebujena should be searched for sigillated amphora handles to confirm the original name of this site.

Huebner mentioned several geographical terms of Andalucía which, like Trebujena, probably were derived from the names of the Roman owners, such as, Maracena, Maïrena, Meçina, and Paterna, from the names Marcus, Marius, Messius, and Pater-nus (154).

Near the mouth of the BÆTIS were the following sites, EBURA, a *despoblado* of the farm of Eborá, and LUCIFERI FANUM, Sanlúcar de Barrameda. At the tip of Chipiona, on the reefs of Salmedina, there was an old lighthouse, Turris Cæpionis. It is, Strabo (155) tells us, a marvellous structure built on a rock which the waves beat on all sides. Lastly, at the end of Rota, opposite Cádiz, we believe that the oracle of Menestheus mentioned by Strabo was located.

The crossing from GADES to Rome lasted about a week (156). In case of bad weather the ships could take refuge midway at CARALIS, Cagliari, at the southern end of the island of Sardinia. If they arrived at OSTIA during the night, a lighthouse showed them the entrance to the Tiber. Pliny observed that the risk

lay in mistaking this steady beacon for a star, since from a distance it had that appearance (157). There was not any real harbour at OSTIA in the time of Augustus. The mouth of the Tiber was obstructed by sand bars and mud banks so that ships were forced to cast anchor at a distance from the coast where the river boats went to receive the merchandise. But later, the Emperor Claudius, who reigned from 41-54 (158), having built the port of OSTIA on a canal that was excavated about four kilometres north of the old mouth, the largest ships could then go up as far as the warehouses of Rome. These were located at that time outside the walls on the left bank of the Tiber. They were later included within the wall of Aurelius and Probus (271-276).

For the best conservation of the oil, it had to be poured, immediately on arrival in the warehouses, into large jars (*dolia*) or into other receptacles in the form of cisterns made for this purpose. As for the empty amphoræ, it was necessary to break them; impregnated with oil, they could be of no further use. This is the explanation of the accumulation of shards near the river, the formation of which must have required many years. Monte Testaccio still is more than thirty-five metres high and about a thousand paces long. The archæological importance of this hill of fragments has been shown us by the excavations of Doctor Heinrich Dressel. His first publication on the subject dates back to 1878 (159). Twenty-one years later, in 1899, he released the remainder of his researches in the second part of the fifteenth volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* published by the Academy at Berlin. I am acquainted with this volume of the *Corpus* through two important communications sent by Huebner to the *R. Academia de la historia*, Madrid, and which appeared in the *Boletín* (160).

II

Dressel divided into three parts the inscriptions which he found on amphora handles from Monte Testaccio,

1. The marks or stamps on the handle
2. The inscriptions painted on the body of amphora
3. The graffiti.

We shall not have to deal with this last division as it is relatively unimportant.

The stamps, *signacula*, made before baking, that are found on the handles, acquaint us with the name of the potter, that of the proprietor, or that of the locality (Dressel 2558-3583). The inscriptions appearing on the neck and body of the amphora are painted in black or more rarely in red (Dressel 3636-4528). One kind was executed with a brush and another seems to have been traced with the point of a reed used as a pen. Not one of these commercial legends has been noted in Spain, since the

amphoræ did not receive their markings until the eve of their shipment to Rome. The painted inscriptions give us the consular date between the years 140 and 251 A. D., that is, from Antoninus Pius to Gallienus. Below this, there are figures and the letter P (*pondo*), showing the weight of the amphora. Then come the names of persons and places. Huebner divided these last into three classes

1. The names of large cities, preceded by the letter R with a line through it, meaning *recognitum*
2. Names ending in *um* and in *ense*, indicating the name of the amphora's contents, derived from that of the owner or dealer, the producer, or the place of production
3. The names of the potters' workshops, as upon the handles.

The letter R barred, interpreted *recognovi* or *recognitum*, followed by the name of a city seems to indicate that an examination of the production or shipment of the merchandise took place at that point. In the basin of the BÆTIS, these cities were ASTIGI, ECIJA, CORDUBA, Córdoba, and HISPALIS, Sevilla, which, in the Roman era were precisely the three capitals or jurisdictions adjoining the river and its tributary, the Genil. This examination was made perhaps for the sake of verifying the country's production of oil, an estimate that is mentioned on the inscription of the Sevillian *scapharii*.

Several other similar centres, the names of which are preceded by the sign of examination, the letter R crossed out, were situated on the sea coast or on other rivers. These were MALACA, PORTUS, LACCA, SUL ---, and SCOP ---. MALACA, Málaga, is mentioned only once (Dressel 4203). PORTUS, POR (Dressel 4384), PORT (Dressel 4371), AT PORTV(m) (Dressel 3976), PORTENSE (Dressel 3826), must all refer, we believe, to the PORTUS GADITANUS, the present Puerto de Santa María at the entrance to the Guadalete (161). Ten kilometres above this town, at the tide limit of the river, is El Portal (162), the landing place for Jerez. In recent times have been discovered, near El Portal, inscriptions, tombs, and important remains of potters' establishments (163). My intention was, upon the suggestion of Father Fita, to undertake some research work in these parts. Unfortunately I have not had an opportunity to carry out this project. It would be necessary to search the piles of rubbish left from the pottery kilns on the banks of the old branch of the Guadalete, called the Madre Vieja, where many sigillated amphora handles would probably be found.

The name LACCA, preceded by the stamp of inspection, is found on a great many amphoræ. It probably refers to the principal city of an important commercial district not on the Guadalquivir, nor on the Guadalete. The Iberian origin of this name, indicated by the word *lacas* or *lacam* on the medals of SEGONTIA, is reported to us by Huebner (164). We also find it in many town names in the Celtic regions

of the Peninsula, Laccobriga, for example. Simonet (165) gave to the word *lacca* the meaning of lagoon, or natural basin formed by a spring, and he supposes that the river of the province of Sidonia, called by the Arabs Guadi Lacca, Bacca, or Becca was so named on account of the nearness of the great lake of La Janda. The Orientalists, Dozy (166) and Gayangos, believed, moreover, that the battle ending with the defeat of Roderick and the Visigoths was fought in the vicinity of this lake and the Barbate.

However, in the twelfth century, Edrisi gave to the Barbate the same name it bears to-day, and he calls Guadi Becca an intermediary stream of water between the Barbate and the Canal of Santi Petri which would be the Salado de Conil. But the Salado is not navigable; the entrance is often dry at low tide (167). It is, moreover, so near the Barbate that we cannot but believe that it was rather to this river that the name Guadi Becca applied at the time of the Conquest, more than four centuries before Edrisi. The Barbate can be ascended nine kilometres from its mouth, as far as Vejer de la Frontera which was called in the sixteenth century Bejer de la Miel and which may be the Becca of the Arabs. There still exists a reminder of this name in Altos y Meseta de Meca by which is meant the chain of hills dominated at the northern end by Vejer.

I propose, therefore, to identify the Becca of the Arabs with the LACCA which in Roman times appears so often on the amphoræ of Monte Testaccio (Dressel 3717, 3718, 3731, et cetera). But in this case, as for PORTUS and the Guadalete, it would be necessary to search on the banks of the Barbate for the remains of potteries that might confirm the location of LACCA at Vejer.

This ancient town, not being located on the coast, is not mentioned by Strabo nor by Pliny. Neither was it on the Roman road which at this point, skirting the shore, passed through BELON and BESIPE, crossed the hills called Altos de Meca, and went towards MERCABLUM, the *despoblado* of Patria (168). However, there must have been in BÆTICA other streams called Lacca just as there were several called Salsum, Menoba, et cetera. I believe that I can refer this name originally to a tributary of the Guadalquivir, the Guadalbacar. On the other hand, upon an amphora from the jurisdiction of CORDUBA, found at Monte Testaccio, appeared the inscription LACCI FESTVS FIG (Dressel 4025) seeming to show the existence of another city or river called Lacca in the vicinity of Córdoba. Edrisi, himself, in the twelfth century mentioned on the road from Badajoz the station Dar-al-Bacar. This would be the present ruins of the castle of Bacar, twenty kilometres northwest of Córdoba on the top of a mountain at the base of which winds the Guadiato. Edrisi (169) mentioned another station, Dar Albacar, in the province of Ciudad Real, between Pedroche and Calatrava.

SUL--- (Dressel 4322) is an inscription, the first two letters of which are certain (170). It refers here, perhaps, to an ancient seaboard town named SUEL

which was located, according to the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus, twenty-one miles west of MALACA. It is now the Campillo de Val de Suel near the tower of Fuengirola.

SCOP --- (Dressel 4200) is another point for examination of cargoes, the site of which is unknown. The name might have been derived from *scopae* (171) in Spanish *escobas*, brooms, or the plant from which brooms are made; or maybe, it is derived from *scop(uli)*, *escollos*, rocks that project from the ocean, a reef.

At Torre de Ares opposite Tavira, ancient Balsa, there have been found many amphora handles with the stamp Fig(linis) Gemelliani(s) (Dressel 2611). This name must have been derived from the owner Gemellus (172). It is probable that this same Gemellus had a second establishment at Scalensia, since we find the mark Scalensia Gemelli (Dressel 2619). This last place should be located on the banks of the Guadiana near Mérida, EMERITA; that is at least what the stamp seems to indicate, Scalensia Eme ---.

The ANAS, Guadiana, was navigable like the BÆTIS, Strabo (173) tells us, although only for ships of smaller tonnage that did not ascend so far. On the bank of this river, near San Bartholomeu de Castro Marim, Doctor J. Leite de Vasconcellos (174) discovered a pottery establishment where spherical amphoræ were manufactured, but the handles found there yielded no stamps.

III

We do not know in what era this important commerce between the cities of the BÆTIS valley and the metropolis of the Empire was organized. The consular date found on the amphoræ from Monte Testaccio goes back to the time of Antoninus Pius, but Huebner reminds us that the lower part of this hill of shards has not been explored by Dressel. Thus, we must await the discovery of more ancient amphoræ, perhaps of an era prior to the construction of the port of OSTIA, under Claudius.

On the subject of navigation above Rome itself, Pliny (175) says, "The Tiber . . . like its tributaries the Tinia and the Glanis, is navigable only by means of reservoirs (ponds) where water is retained and from which it is released. It is still necessary to close them for nine days if there is no rain. Even with this system, however, the Tiber, because of the rocks that cover its bed, is for long periods more suited to navigation by rafts than by vessels. . . . Aside from the Glanis of Aretinum, there are forty-two streams emptying into it, among which the principal ones are the Nera and the Anio. The latter is navigable itself and bounds Latium on its landward side. The Tiber still receives all the waters and springs that lead to Rome and is capable of carrying the largest ships from the Italian Sea. . . . Nor to any river has less liberty been left, since both its banks are protected with dikes".

According to this passage, it is clear that there used to be on the Tiber, above Rome, a system of locks such as we understand to-day which allowed them to hold

or release the water at will. Everything leads us to believe that the Guadalquivir was controlled in the same way. A second examination of the many ruins that obstruct the course of the river opposite Alcalá del Río has shown me not only a series of wharves on the right bank, but also that on this spot, at the tide limit, there must have been a river dam and a lock. Eighteen kilometres higher up at Cantillana there was a second dam with its lock. Here is visible in the middle of the river a mass of construction in the place formerly occupied by the lock. Having had an opportunity to visit these ruins at a time of year when the river was exceedingly low, I noticed that a large part of the foundations of the dam was still there. I commend these ruins to the attention of any engineer who may have the leisure to study them with a view to drawing up a plan of restoration for these important works.

The structures upon the right bank opposite Alcalá are especially interesting. There are still in place several walls varying in thickness from 1.10 to 3.10 metres. The water-covered foundations are built of broken limestone rubble set in mortar of remarkable strength. Above the water level, the outer surfaces of the walls are made of beautiful bricks, carefully aligned (176). Certain parts still show fifteen successive courses of these bricks forming a compact mass that the riverside people, despite all their efforts, have not been able to destroy.

Up the river from these great structures for retaining the waters of the BÆTIS, the Romans probably constructed a series of less important locks which have left hardly any trace. These should be found with the existing dams which are all old and at other places where sigillated amphora handles, denoting the presence of a *portus*, have been found. By this word *portus* must be understood not only the riverside wharves where the boats went to load or unload their merchandise, but, also, probably the passage, opening, or channel built in the dam, namely, the lock itself. This is, to-day, one of the meanings of the Spanish word *puerto*.

Admitting this supposition, there must have been locks at Villartilla, the site of ODUZIA on the right bank opposite Tocina, according to the imprint POR(tu) ODV(ciense) (Dressel 3058), at Guadajoz, fourteen kilometres from Carmona, the site of the PORT(us) CARMO(nensis) (Dressel 3126), at El Castillejo, near the mill of La Peña de la Sal, the site of P(ortu) ARVA (Dressel 2711), and at other places, the sites of which are unknown such as: Porto Sedati (Dressel 3172), Porto Populi (Dressel 3094), Porto Lucidi (Dressel 2990), Port() An() (Dressel 2656), Port() Pah() (Dressel 2647). We should have to look for these not only on the Guadalquivir and the Genil, but also on the Guadalete which by means of locks was perhaps navigable well above the place now called Portal de Jerez.

An inscription found at El Haza del Villar near La Algaba has preserved for us the name of Irenaeus who under Septimus Severus was *dispensator Portus Ilipensis* (Huebner 1085), an office which consisted probably in collecting the toll charges on navigation and regulating the operation of the big locks at Alcalá del Río. We

have already mentioned the name of another imperial official of the river administration, Sextus Julius Possessor, who was procurator *ad ripam* BÆTIS (Huebner 1180) according to an inscription that was found in the foundations of the beautiful Arabic tower La Giralda at Sevilla.

IV

This excellent organization of the navigation on the BÆTIS probably disappeared with the breaking up of the Empire towards the second half of the third century. The Barbarian invasion and the civil war having succeeded in ruining commerce, the dams and locks were abandoned, and the river floods brought destruction in their wake. We have stated that the amphoræ picked up by Dressel on the upper part of Monte Testaccio dated back to the year 251. It would be only a little after this date then that the exportation of oil from BÆTICA ceased. As for navigation, the chronicles of the Visigoths and the Arabs record that in their times ships were still sailing down the river loaded with merchandise. Under Alfonso the Tenth, *el Sabio*, only one boat was plying between Sevilla and Córdoba. This fact is mentioned in a license issued to the inhabitants of Sevilla in 1253 (177).

In the fourteenth century, mills having been built on the sites of the old dams, a dispute arose between the millers and the boatmen over the right of way. Peter of Castilla in 1360 ordered free passage for the boats and appointed the *alcalde mayor* of Córdoba to determine the proper dimensions for the channels in the *puertos*. This official fixed the depth at six feet and the width at twenty-eight feet. The latter dimension was taken from a vault of the Cathedral of Córdoba, called the *Arco de las bendiciones*, under which the banners of departing warriors were blessed. In this way, one could still descend the river without transshipment, and we also learn that in 1402, Henry the Third made the trip from Córdoba to Sevilla by the river route. Eventually, the ordinances of Peter of Castilla came to be respected hardly at all by the powerful lords of the country to whom belonged the mills and the fishing rights. Finally, towards the first half of the fifteenth century, all traces of navigation seem to have disappeared.

In 1734, we learn that the floating of a raft of wood from the Sierra de Segura was organized for the building of the tobacco factory and other large buildings in Sevilla. In 1811 and 1812, during the French occupation of the valley, Sevilla being obliged to renew her food supply by way of the river, military engineers built flat-bottomed boats which descended the river from Córdoba with transshipments at the only dams then in existence, those at Peñafior and at Lora. There were eighty boats employed in this service, forming three divisions as follows: thirty-four from the point of departure, the mills at Córdoba, twelve from the dam of Peñafior, and thirty-four from that at Lora. The whole trip from Córdoba to Sevilla was made in four days. The return journey of the empty boats required ten days since they

had to be laboriously towed from a path which had been hastily built. I gathered most of the preceding facts from the Dictionary of Madoz, who also relates some experiments which have been made since then and many projects scarcely practicable. All these were futile, and we still ask whether navigation is possible. I believe this question already solved, if we consider the means which the Romans employed in the second century, the most flourishing period of their occupation.

There are many reasons offered to-day against navigation in the central portion of the river. There is, first, the question of the harbour at Sevilla which is occasionally without water at low tide in the summer so that large ships would find difficulty in anchoring if the damming of the water was allowed farther up the river. There is also the railroad company, serving the towns of the valley, which would naturally oppose navigation as injuring considerably its interests. But above all, there is to be feared the question of the enormous expenses involved in this task of canalizing a river which changes its course frequently. However, when we consider fully the advantages that navigation would offer to the whole country, it is probable that these difficulties could be overcome. As for the method to be used, I would suggest simply the restoration of the locks in the places where they were located about two thousand years ago.

V

To sum up, our archæological exploration of the Guadalquivir has resulted mainly in important geographical discoveries. We have visited in this region the traces of the riverside towns mentioned by Pliny. Likewise, we discovered the location of other ancient towns, such as ODUZIA and SEGOVIA, the names of which we learned through inscriptions. Moreover, the amphora handles which were collected during our explorations on the river banks constitute a real mine of geographical information. These imprints designate, for the most part, the more or less important localities between the towns; they are the *figlinae*, workshops, landing places, dams, streams, springs, estates, et cetera. Considering the importance of these marks from a geographical point of view, I have believed it my duty to compile a complete list, three hundred and seventy-four in all, which I present herewith with the sources indicated.

Carmona, January 11th, 1905.

<i>La Reina</i>		<i>Moratalla</i>	
1	A·FER	21	HOEBI
<i>Villaseca</i>		<i>Castillejo</i>	
2	T--VA	22	LFCCVFL
3	--bC	23	CVFL
4	CAERAR	<i>Huerta de Belen</i>	
<i>Guadiato</i>		24	(FORT VNTM)
5	CIVIBAR	25	(E·SFA·QVA)
6	(CIVIBAR)	26	·SFA·QVA
<i>Antonio Terrano</i>		27	SX·FRCALV
7	CVC	28	SAX·FERR
8	G·DEC	29	FERR EV†
<i>Estrella de la Torrontera</i>		30	RAT·T ?
9	G·DEC	<i>Cortijo del Portillo</i>	
10	NQJL	31	VFNCEPA CORALODFA ?
11	FVJ	<i>Malpica</i>	
12	LFC	32	C·I·ABSA
<i>La Dehesilla</i>		33	(G·I·A·F·I·A)
13	M·FVC	34	C·I·AL·B
14	F·SCVFM	35	G·I·A·B
15	LFCCV	36	C·I·A
16	FCCV·FM	37	C·I·ALB
17	QFSCVFM	38	E·I·A·I·D
<i>Corregidora</i>		39	(P·A·I·C)
18	FIGED (P) PPAEF		
19	PMOCV FIGEDO		
20	PM		

A1340

35 x 20.6 cm.

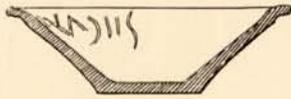
STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

40	Q·I·A	60	CAS
41	Q·I·A	61	LACONE
42	Q·I·A	62	LA·G·P·O·F
43	Q·I·C·S·E·G	63	L·A·R·G·E·R
44	Q·I·G·S·E·G	<i>Las Delicias</i>	
45	Q·I·M·E·N	64	P·S·A·V
46	M·Q·F·F	65	(P·S·A·V)
47	Q·I·M·E·N	66	P·S·A·V·I·T·I
<i>Valbuena</i>		67	Q·A·V
48	Q·I·M·E·N	68	Q·A·V
49	G·I·A·B	69	L·V·I·V
50	G·I·A·L·B	70	L·V·I·V·C·V
<i>Isla grande</i>		71	I·V·C·V·N·D
51	A·V	72	I·V·C·V·N·D
52	E·E·C·L	73	P·S·V·S·C
53	F·E·L	74	L·A·E
54	P·N·D·N	75	S·I·L·V·E·S·T·R·I
<i>Alcotrista</i>		76	II·S·I·L·V·E·S·T·R·I
55	P·S·A·V·I·T	77	C·A·M·I·L·I M·E·L·I·S·S·I
56	L·A·C·O·N·E		
57	F·C·C·O		
58	P·S·V·S·C		
59	C·A·Q·V·E		

A1341

35 x 21 cm.

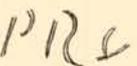
STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

78	L̄ĪĪME LISSĪCI	96	FICV
79	LIVNIM ELISSI	97	S·Y
80	IIIVN̄MELISSI ETMELISSĒ	98	ADE
81	FSCIMM	99	SICIN
82	FSCIM NIANO		
83	F&S NI/		<i>Peñaflor</i>
84	GERM	100	Q·F·C
85	CIC·P	101	O·F·C
86	MEC	102	O·T·V
87	MEC--	103	CIB
88	FELICI	104	FA
89	FELI	105	IIIEFILV
90	MAR	106	TREBII
91	MIVC	107	NII---
92	I·V·M	108	CNAC
93		109	DAP
94	FIGLI		<i>El Berro</i>
95	TL	110	A
			<i>La Maria</i>
		111	M̄F·CEL
		112	EG·N·NC EGRVMEZE

A1342

35 x 20.6 cm.

STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

113	M·S·T	<i>El Moral</i>	131	M
114	S·T· ψ		132	AITÆ
115	Q·C· ψ ·CH			<i>Huertas del Rio</i>
116	ICCRA		133	NNIV ψ
117	L·S·LVP!		134	TTENN·IV ψ
118	IFPV		135	TTENN·IVLI
119			136	NIORIVLSAE
			137	PEC·SÆN
120			138	SAENI
121	PIRL		139	IA·ZÆNI
122	PILO		140	ÆNANSA
123	VLL		141	SÆNANS
124	IR		142	HISPSÆN
125	Q		143	CENSAEN
	<i>Accebuchal</i>		144	FR·SÆNAE
126	L·EL		145	TTMMIRIV
	<i>La Mayena</i>		146	PM ^s ?
127	RA·AN		147	IXP ^s ?
128	AITÆ			<i>Lora la Vieja</i>
129	AVIHR		148	L·V·TROPIA
130	AVIHR·A		149	ORFS
				<i>El Judío</i>
			150	CON
			151	CONS
			152	CONSFC

A1343

35 x 26 cm.

STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

153		172	
154		173	
155		174	
156		175	
157		176	
158		177	
159		178	
160		179	
161		180	
162		181	
163		182	
164		183	
165		184	
166		185	
	<i>La Peña de la Sal</i>	186	
167		187	
168		188	
169		189	
170		190	
171		191	

A1344

35 x 20.6 cm.

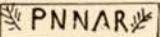
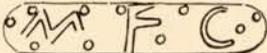
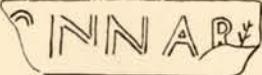
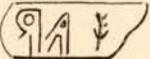
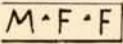
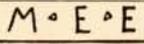
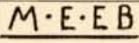
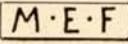
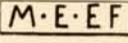
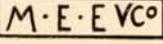
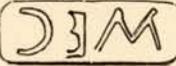
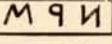
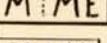
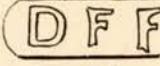
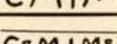
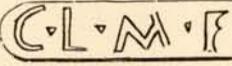
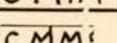
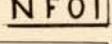
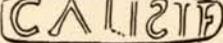
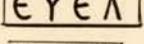
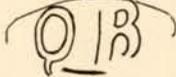
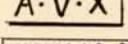
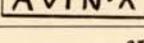
STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

192		213	
193		214	
194		215	
195		216	
196		217	
197		218	
198		219	
199		220	
200		221	
201		222	
202		223	
203		224	
204		225	
205		226	
206		227	
207		228	
208		229	
209		230	
210		231	
211		232	
212		233	
		234	
		235	

A1345

35 x 20.7 cm.

STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

236		257	
237		258	
238		259	
239		260	
240		261	
241		262	
242		263	
243		264	
244		265	
245		266	
246		267	
247		268	
248		269	
249		270	
250		271	
251		272	
252		273	
253		274	
254		275	
255		276	
256		277	
		278	

A1346

35 x 20.7 cm.

STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

279	AV.	301	STA
280		302	LVR
281		303	L·M·E
282	CAMILI SILVESTRI	<i>Hoyo de San Sebastian</i>	
283	X	304	PATI
284	II	305	M·C·S
285	X	306	MCS
286		307	MMCS
287	Q·AC	308	MCSR
288	Q·AG	309	MMCSV
289	TIT	310	MMCSR
290	OC	311	MMC·SR
291	RIVE	312	MMC·SAE
292	RIV	313	MCLSI
293	RIV	314	MCCSM
294	A·C	315	C·IM
295	A·C	316	DEF
296	CHR	317	DEF
297	ROMVLI	318	PNN
298	ARVA PDV·C	319	PNN
299		320	
	<i>Mejia</i>	321	WM JCCII
300	TFANN	322	WM JCCIII
		323	CLM
		324	CLM

A1347

35 x 20.6 cm.

STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

325	BCCLLM	345	921c
326	ITCCLIM	346	S†T†T
327	IICCLLM	347	ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛ
328	ELIMFP	348	MMED
329	QVA	349	ⲓⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛ
330	F·F	350	ⲓⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛ
331	PHIL		<i>Huertas de Alcolea</i>
332	PHILO	351	L [∇] Q [∇] S
	<i>Real Tesoro</i>	352	LOSE
333	L·M·V	353	(L [∇] Q [∇] R)
334	Q·L·S		<i>Alcolea del Rio</i>
335	ALB·LIC [∇]	354	SPSÆ
	<i>Juan Barba - Adelfa</i>	355	G [∇] ANTONQVE†
336	LSP·BO	356	SLAEON
337	LSPBOEQ	357	(DOM)
338	IIIFPBEQ	358	(DOMIS)
339	(ERP)	359	PROCLINI
340	L·E·F·PC	360	C·S·R
341	G·A·F ROVTO		<i>Los Villares</i>
342	PR [∇] II	361	AVG
	<i>Guadajoz</i>		
343	IT [∇] SER		
344	ERNI [∇]		

A1348

35 x 20.7 cm.

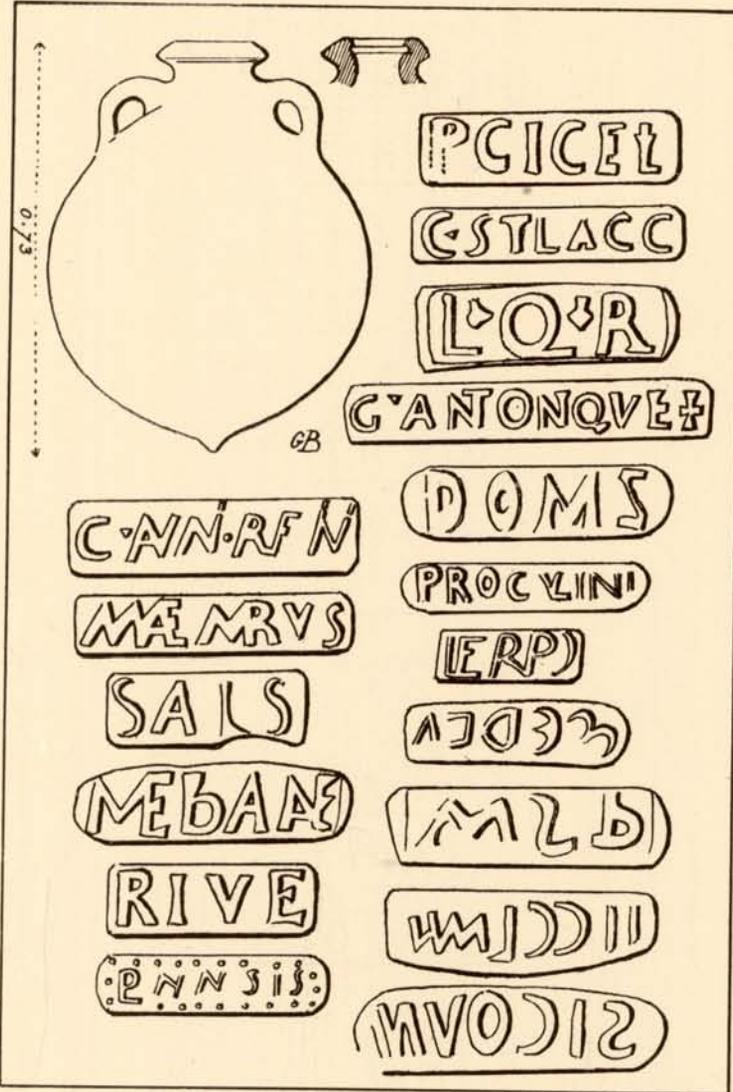
STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE VALLEY OF
THE BÆTIS

*Villar de Brenes*362 HERMES363 ISHERME364 QVCVIR365 V·IR·III366 VIRAV367 VIR·TTT*Alcala del Rio*368 BAR·SI*Santiponce*369 PRI370 MHAS371 IFAMV372 LEV·GEN373 MAR374 DN

A1349

21.3 x 10.3 cm.

STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES FROM THE
VALLEY OF THE BÆTIS



A2120

25.3 x 16.8 cm.

AMPHORA AND MARKS FROM POTTERIES ALONG THE
GUADALQUIVIR

NOTES

References to inscriptions reproduced in *Inscriptionum hispania latinae* and *Tituli picti in amphoris in Monte Testaceo* are included in the text as Huebner and Dressel followed by the inscription number.

(1) ARVA was situated seventeen kilometres north by northeast of Carmona on the right bank of the Guadalquivir near the mill of La Peña de la Sal.

(2) Sociedad arqueológica de Carmona. *Memorias*. Sevilla, 1888. [v. 1], p. 56-62; with a lithographic plate of the principal marks.

The collection of sigillated amphora handles from the banks of the Guadalquivir and the Genil is now deposited in the little museum of the Roman necropolis at Carmona. Mr. W. G. Clark-Maxwell published a report on our research in *The Archaeological journal of London*, September 18th, 1899, under the title, *The Roman towns in the valley of the Bætis between Cordoba and Seville*.

Besides the brief notice which appeared in the *Memorias* of the Archæological Society at Carmona, I myself sent to the *Concurso Martorell* of Barcelona (1892) a manuscript entitled, *Exploration archéologique des rives du Guadalquivir entre Cordoue et Séville* for which I was granted an *accessit* of one thousand pesetas. This manuscript is preserved in the *Archivo municipal* of Barcelona.

In the *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, December 1901. año 5, p. 837-857, I published an article on the section of the river near Carmona under the title, *Los pueblos antiguos del Guadalquivir y las alfarerías romanas* (23 p., 1 map, 7 pl.). M. Arthur Engel, our associate in the excavations at ARVA, published several articles on the discoveries at La Peña de la Sal, Alcolea, and Itálica, *Fouilles exécutées aux environs de Séville, Les barques votives d'Alcolée* in the *Revue archéologique*. 1890; *Rapport sur une mission archéologique en Espagne, 1891* in *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*. 1892. v. 3. My manuscript for the *Concurso Martorell*, corrected and considerably augmented, appears here in its definitive form. I intend this work for the Royal Academy of History at Madrid of which I have had the honour since 1885 to be the Correspondent at Carmona.

(3) Plinius Secundus, Caius. *Naturalis historia*. D. Detlefsen recensuit. Berolini, 1866-82. III, III, 10.

(4) Among them, there are the *Memorial histórico español*, *España sagrada*, *Memorias*, and the *Boletín*.

(5) Huebner, Emil. *Inscriptiones hispaniae latinae*. Berolini, 1862. (Preussische akademie der wissenschaften. *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, v. 2.)

Ibid. *Supplementum*. 1892.

Idem. *Ephemeridis epigraphicae*. Berolini, 1897. v. 8, pt. 3; 1903. v. 9, pt. 1.

Hereafter this reference will be given in the text as Huebner followed by number or page reference.

(6) López de Cárdenas, F. J. *Franco ilustrado*. Córdoba [1775?]. pt. 1, p. 103.

(7) Cæsar, C. J. *Commentaria*. Venetiis, 1517. *vof* CV. (*De bello hispanium*).

(8) Almodóvar del Río is mentioned from the earliest period of the arrival of the Arabs, Yusuf having taken possession of it in 759. Ferdinand the Third recovered it in 1240. In 1359 Doña

Juana de Lara, wife of Don Tello, the illegitimate brother of Peter the Cruel, was imprisoned in its castle. It was here that Don Fadrique, Duke of Benavente, died, incarcerated by order of Henry the Third.

(9) Delgado, Antonio de. *Nuevo método de clasificación de las medallas autónomas de España*. Sevilla, 1871. v. 1, p. 52-55, plate 7.

(10) Dressel, Heinrich. *Tituli picti in amphoris in Monte Testaceo et in emporio repertis* No. 4181 and numerous variants. F. Ceraria, Caerara, Caerar (No. 2584).

(11) Ptolemaeus, Claudius. *Περὶ τῆς γεωγραφίας*. Basileae, 1533. p. 83.

(12) Ceán Bermúdez, J. A. *Sumario de las antigüedades romanas que hay en España*. Madrid, 1832. p. 376.

(13) Madoz, Pascual. *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España*. Madrid, 1849. v. 13, p. 175.

(14) Nothing has been published on this subject. This discovery was communicated to us by the miners.

(15) Pliny. III, III, 10; Ptolemaeus. p. 83.

(16) Huebner. *Monumenta linguæ Ibericæ*. Berolini, 1893. no. 127.

(17) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes para la geografía antigua de España*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1899. v. 34, p. 499-500.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 492, 497.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 500.

(20) Arbois de Jubainville, M. H. d'. *Les Celtes depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'en l'an 100 avant notre ère*. Paris, 1904. p. 2.

(21) A wheel for raising water, similar to the *azacayas*, was discovered in the Río Tinto mines and presented by the directors of the Company to the British Museum. This wheel measures about four hundred and sixty centimetres in diameter; it is entirely of wood except the bronze axle. Under the word *antlia* (Smith, Sir William. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities*. London, 1848) there is shown a large wheel loaded with jars to raise water by means of the stream's current. It would seem that these wheels are still in use on the Eissach River, the ancient Atagis, in the Tirol. "Lucretius (v. 517) mentions a machine made on the same principle: 'ut fluvios versare rotas atque haustra videmus'" (Smith. p. 100). Other wheels more or less resembling those of Palma are in actual use in Andalucía. Madoz (v. 5, p. 582; v. 6, p. 219; v. 7, p. 437) speaks of the famous *gruas* of Carpio on the Guadalquivir, the *azudas* of Castro del Río, and the *chirrones* of Ecija.

(22) The chronicler, Rodrigo Mendes Silva (*Poblacion general de España*. Madrid, 1675. f79) in searching for an illustrious origin for Palma, claims that the missing Munda was probably the cradle of this city and that it was rebuilt by a certain Aulus Cornelius Palma. Palma was taken from the Moors in 1239 by Don Alonso de Molina, brother of King Ferdinand the Third.

(23) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 478.

(24) Engel, Arthur. *Nouvelles archéologiques; communications de M. Arthur Engel*. In *Bulletin hispanique*. 1899. v. 1, p. [38]-39.

- (25) Cæsar. *fCXC* [i.e. XC]. (*De bello Alex.*)
- (26) Bonsor, G. E. *Les colonies agricoles pré-romaines de la vallée du Bétis*. Paris, 1899. p. 95.
- (27) Trigueros, C. M. [Letter, addressed to Señor Don Sebastián Antonio de Cortés and included in appendix two of his report, regarding the inscriptions of ancient Munigua.] In R. Academia sevillana de buenas letras. *Memorias literarias*. 1773. v. 1, p. 218-227 and 3 plates.
- (28) The only *despoblado* on the Corbones, in the direction of Carmona, is ten kilometres to the northeast near the mill of Angorilla. Here, on the right bank, can be seen the ruins of reservoirs and pools near which some mosaics have been discovered. The vestiges scattered on the surface of the tilled fields are insufficient for proving the existence of a town. My friend, Don Manuel Fernández, president of our archæological society at Carmona, led into error by Trigueros, mentions Los Villarejos as the probable site of SEGOVIA (Fernández y López, Manuel. *Historia de la ciudad de Carmona*. Sevilla, 1886. p. 315).
- (29) Huebner. *Inscripfen von Carmona, Trigueros und Franco, zwei spanische inschriften-sammler*. In *Rheinisches museum für philologie*. 1862. v. 17, p. [228]-268. On the subject of the forged Hebrew inscriptions, the work of Trigueros, consult Fita, Fidel. *Epigrafía hebrea de Carmona; lápidas espurias*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1890. v. 17, p. 170-173.
- (30) Joly, J. R. *Ancienne géographie universelle comparée à la moderne*. Paris, 1801. v. 1, p. 16.
- (31) Plinius. III, IV, 11; III, III, 10, 11.
- (32) In the Roman necropolis. This amphora had been divided like the two shells of a walnut to receive the body of an infant.
- (33) Huebner. *La arqueología de España*. Barcelona, 1888. p. 169.
- (34) At one time I saw this inscription at the home of the Marquesa de Peñafior. Later, however, it was said to have been sent to the *Museo arqueológico nacional*, Madrid.
- (35) Fita, Fidel. *Sarcófago cristiano de Ecija*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1887. v. 10, p. 267-273.
- (36) Gautier, Théophile. *Voyage en Espagne*. Paris, 1858. p. 302 (*tr.*). Gautier was in Ecija in the month of May, 1840.
- (37) Plinius. III, III, 7.
- (38) The inscriptions give us Regina, between Cazalla and Guadalcanal, where Ambrosio de Morales saw the geographical inscription (Huebner 1027).
Fita, Fidel. *Excursiones epigráficas*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1894, v. 25, p. 137.
- (39) Blázquez, Antonio. *Nuevo estudio sobre el Itinerario de Antonino*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1892. v. 21, p. 73.
- (40) Gutiérrez Bravo, Patricio [*pseud.* of José del Hierro?]. *Noticia geographico histórica de una inscripción romana . . . de la villa de el Arahál*. Sevilla, 1765. p. 40.
Ceán Bermúdez. p. 275.
Fita. *Excursiones epigráficas*. p. 134.

- (41) Delgado. v. 1, p. 113-115, plate 16.
- (42) Ceán Bermúdez, p. 275-276.
- (43) Delgado. v. 1, p. 113; Garofalo, F. P. *Sui Celti nella penisola iberica*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1899. v. 34, p. 106.
- (44) Fita, Fidel. *Fraga.—Inscripciones romanas é ibéricas*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1894. v. 25, p. 295.
- (45) We sent this lead pipe to the museum of the necropolis at Carmona.
- (46) Plinius. XXXI, XXXI, 1, 2, *tr*.
- (47) Vitruvius Pollio, Marcus. *Architectura*. Utrini, 1829. v. 3, pt. 2, p. 273-274.
- (48) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 495; Idem. *Nuevas observaciones sobre la geografía antigua de España*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1900. v. 36, p. 407.
- (49) Guseme, T. A. de. *Noticias pertenecientes a la historia antigua y moderna de la villa de Lora del Río*. In R. Academia sevillana de buenas letras. *Memorias literarias*. Sevilla, 1773. v. 1, p. 250.
- (50) Bonsor. *Les colonies agricoles*. p. 49.
- (51) Diodorus, *siculus*. *The historical library . . . made English, by G. Booth*. London, 1700. p. 191-192.
- (52) The United States and Spain are responsible for half of the production of lead in the entire world (*General report and statistics of mines and quarries for 1901*. In *The Times*. London. Weekly edition. April 3rd, 1903.)
- (53) *Madre*, mother, is used in Spanish for the bed of a stream of water.
- (54) Guseme. p. 251; Fernández López. p. 144.
- (55) Guseme. p. 236.
- (56) Ceán Bermúdez. p. 256, 280.
- (57) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 500.
- (58) The name ATITTA appears on various inscriptions in Huebner's *Inscriptionum*, among others, one of Alcalá del Río (1087) and on a cinerary urn found at Carmona.
- (59) Guseme. p. 236.
- (60) Huebner mentions a manuscript of Guseme on the subject of Setefilla, which I have not had an opportunity to see. It is entitled, *Breve noticia del despoblado de Setefilla* (Bibl. Acad. Matrit. E162 f. 52 sq.).
- (61) Plinius. III, III, 7. An inscription found at Alcalá de Guadaira is mentioned by Huebner (1264).
- (62) Bonsor. *Les colonies agricoles*. p. 99.
- (63) Dufour, A. H. and Vuillemin, Alexandre. *Mapa de Andalucía con sus nuevas divisiones*. Paris, L. Turgis et fils [ca. 1843?].
- (64) Huebner. *Monumenta linguæ Ibericæ*. no. 95.

- (65) Simonet, F. J. *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozárabes*. Madrid, 1888. p. 285.
- (66) Guseme. p. 241.
- (67) *Ibid.* p. 232.
- (68) *Ibid.* p. 242-243.
- (69) Alfonso X, *el Sabio. Privilegio*. Sant Fagunde, April 2nd, Era 1293 (A. D. 1255). (Quoted in Fernández López. p. 143-145.) Alberia should be read Alberca.
- (70) Guseme. p. 239-240.
- (71) Bonsor. *Notas arqueológicas de Carmona*. In *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*. 1899. año 3, p. 425, 426.
- (72) Vitruvius.
- (73) Plinius: XXV, XXXVII, 1; Smith p. 187.
- (74) This conventional colouration of the skin, brown for men and white for women, has been observed in the most ancient known paintings, in Egypt and recently in Crete in the painted decorations of the Palace of Knossus discovered by Mr. Evans.
- (75) The satyr represented here is probably Staphylus, son of Silenus, who is said to have been the first to mix wine with water (Plinius. VII, 57, 226).
- (76) Gift to the museum from the associated explorers MM. Engel, Clark-Maxwell, and Bonsor.
- (77) Engel. *Rapport*. The bust of Serapis is at present in the possession of the owner of the land. The two other pieces were presented by M. Engel to the little museum of the society, El Ateneo, of Sevilla.
- (78) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 494.
- (79) Dressel (3041a-y) offers twenty-four variants for this mark. Most of them we ourselves found at this spot.
- (80) Appears on both handles of the same amphora.
- (81) Dressel. *Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae; instrumentum domesticum*. Berolini, 1891-99. (Preussische akademie der wissenschaften. *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. v. 15, no. 3919.)
Number 303 of my List was probably Lucius Modestus Vegetus (Dressel 3017a).
- (82) Munigua was discovered in 1756 by Sebastián Antonio de Cortés and José de las Cuentas Zayas (Cortés, S. A. de and Cuentas y Zayas, José de las. *Noticia de dos inscripciones anecdotas en que se hace memoria de un municipio antiguo llamado Muniguense*. In R. Academia sevillana de buenas letras. *Memorias literarias*. Sevilla, 1773. v. 1, p. 171-227).
- (83) This name is probably of Celtic origin, cf. the Limici of Pliny (III, III, 14) and the Civitas Limicorum in Galicia (Huebner 2516).
- (84) The property in 1889 of Don Manuel Baquero y Martínez, justice of the peace at Villanueva del Río.
- (85) This act, preserved in the *Archivo municipal* of Carmona, was published by Fernández y López (p. 143-145).

- (86) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 498, *tr.* and *Monumenta linguæ ibericæ*. p. 137.
- (87) Here one of the largest fairs of Andalucía used to be held. This fair, named for Guadajoz or Carmona, was transferred to Mairena del Alcor. In 1841, there was only one inhabitant left at Guadajoz, one house, and a church which was threatened with ruin. The images and the parish registers of this church were finally sent to Carmona.
- (88) "Carmonēses: quæ est longe firmissima totius Prouinciæ ciuitas" (Caesar. *vof* LXIII. *Bello civ.*)
- (89) Akbar Machmua. *Ajbar Machmuâ . . . tr. y anotada por Don Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara*. Madrid, 1867. p. 28.
Dozy, R. P. A. *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*. 3 ed. Paris, Leyde, 1881. v. 1, p. 53.
- (90) An Arabic or even a Punic origin has been suggested, with a certain degree of probability, for this star on the escutcheon of Carmona (Fernández y López. p. 126-127).
- (91) Delgado. v. 1, p. 66; Rada y Delgado, J. de D. de la. *Necrópolis de Carmona*. Madrid, 1885. p. 16.
- (92) By the owners of the land, Don Juan Fernández López and M. George Bonsor.
- (93) Bonsor. *Les colonies agricoles*. p. 135-138.
- (94) Rada y Delgado. plate 16.
- (95) Virgilius Maro, Publius. *Aeneid*. Oxford, 1890. VI, 177. Ovidius Naso, Publius. *Tristium*. Jacobopoli, 1847. III, 13, 21. Smith. v. 1, p. 555.
- (96) Bonsor. *Les colonies agricoles*. p. 32, 79.
- (97) Numbered in the order of discovery (Fernández y López, Juan and Bonsor, G. E. *Itinerario de la necropolis romana de Carmona*. Sevilla, 1889).
- (98) *Inscripciones inéditas de Carmona* [comp. by Sebastián Gómez Muñiz and others]. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1877. v. 10, p. 393.
- (99) "In Carmona Villa". Anon. Taur. f. 706-5121 ins. post ú, 1380.
- (100) Rada y Delgado. plate 6, 7.
- (101) *Ibid.* plate 15.
- (102) *Ibid.* plate 8, 9.
- (103) Bibliography of the Roman necropolis at Carmona:
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- (104) Fita. *Excursiones epigráficas*. p. 131.
- (105) Clark-Maxwell, W. G. *The Roman towns in the valley of the Batis, between Córdoba and Seville*. In Royal archæological institute. *The Archæological journal*. 1899. v. 56, p. 254.
- (106) Engel, Arthur. *Les barques votives d'Alcolée*. In *Revue archéologique*. 1890. p. 1-3.
- (107) Property of Don Anselmo Rivas of Sevilla.
- (108) Cortés, S. A. de and Quantas y Zayas, José de la. *Noticia de dos inscripciones anecdotas en que se hace memoria de un municipio antiguo llamado Muniguense*. In R. Academia sevillana de buenas letras. *Memorias literarias*. Sevilla, 1773. v. 1, p. 171-227.
- (109) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 496.
- (110) Ptolomæus. II, IV, 13.
- (111) Strabo. *Geography*, tr. by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer. London, 1857. v. 3, bk. 2, p. 2, 3.
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- (114) Middleton, J. H. and Jones, H. S. *Rome*. In *The Encyclopaedia britannica*. 11 ed. Cambridge, England, 1911. v. 23, p. 607; Middleton, J. H. *Ancient Rome in 1885*. Edinburgh, 1885. p. 488-494.
- (115) Huebner. *La arqueología en España*. Barcelona, 1888. p. 106.
- (116) Caesar. *vºf LXIV. (De bello civili.)*
- (117) Delgado. v. 2, p. 137.
- (118) Hirschfeld, Otto. *Inscriptiones galliae narbonensis latinae*. Berolini, 1888. no. 1856. (Preussische akademie der wissenschaften. *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. v. 12.)
- (119) Dressel. *Inscriptiones urbis Romae latinae*. no. 1899; Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 488.

- (120) *De las divisiones antiguas de provincias. In España sagrada.* Madrid, 1859. v. 4, p. 106-285.
- (121) Dozy. v. 2, p. 256-258; Ibn 'Adārī, *Al-Marrākushi. Historia de Al-Andalus . . . tr. por Francisco Fernández González.* Granada, 1860.
- (122) The commentaries do not agree on the location of this city of Talyata. Tejada or Tucci must be eliminated; its ruins are twenty-eight miles from the river, likewise, Tablada which is a vast plain south of Sevilla with no traces of any established city. We must conclude, with Dozy, in accordance with the Arabic texts, that Talyata was situated half a league west of Sevilla and consequently on the opposite side of the river. Moreover, the appearance of the Berbers on the right bank is best explained in this way. They came into the valley by the old Roman way, the most direct route from Mérida to Sevilla passing through ITALICA. This is the first city they would have encountered in coming down from the Sierra Morena. Also, we are convinced that the Talyata which was pillaged in the ninth century, first by the Normans and then by the Berbers, could have been no other than the wealthy ITALICA.
- (123) *España sagrada. 3. ed.* Madrid, 1860. v. 9, p. 230-233; 1786. v. 35, p. 86-92.
- (124) Montfaucon, Bernard de. *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures.* Paris, 1719-24. v. 2, pt. 2, p. 212.
- (125) *España sagrada. 2. ed.* Madrid, 1776. v. 12, p. 227-282.
- (126) Zevallos, Fernando de. *La Itálica.* Sevilla, 1886. p. 25.
- (127) *Ibid.* p. 26.
- (128) *Ibid.* p. 26-27.
- (129) Laborde, A. L. J., comte de. *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne.* Paris, 1806-20. v. 2, pt. 1, p. 30.
Ceán Bermúdez. p. 284.
- (130) Engel. *Fouilles.* p. 8, note.
- (131) Gali Lassaletta, Aurelio. *Historia de Itálica municipio y colonia romana.* Sevilla, 1892. p. 209.
- (132) Huebner. *La arqueología de España.* p. 262.
- (133) Delgado. v. 2, p. 141, note.
- (134) Oloriz Aguilera, Federico. *Estudio de una calavera antigua, perforada por un clavo, encontrada en Itálica.* In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín.* 1897. v. 31, p. 257.
- (135) Ríos y Serrano, Demetrio de los. *Memoria arqueológico-descriptiva del anfiteatro de Itálica.* Madrid, 1862.
- (136) *Idem.* *Itálica; últimos descubrimientos de 1874.* In *La Ilustración española y americana.* 1875. año 19, p. 34-35, 83-86, 134.
- (137) Dion Cassius. *Histoire romaine . . . tr. en français par E. Gros.* Paris, 1870. v. 10, p. 115-117, 127-131.
- (138) Rodríguez de Berlanga, Manuel. *El nuevo bronce de Itálica.* Málaga, 1891.
Fabié, A. M. *El nuevo bronce en Itálica.* In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín.* 1892. v. 21, p. [385]-398.

- (139) Engel. *Fouilles*. p. 8-9.
- (140) Caballero-Infante y Zuazo, Francisco. *Aureos y barras de oro y plata encontrados en el pueblo de Santiponce al sitio que fué Itálica*. Sevilla, 1898.
- (141) *El Liberal*. July 17th, 1903.
- (142) Jungfer, Johannes. *Noms de lieux hispaniques d'origine romaine*. In *Bulletin hispanique*. 1904. v. 6, p. 270.
- (143) There are two museums in Sevilla, the *Museo provincial* and the *Museo municipal*.
- (144) Gestoso y Pérez, José. *Sevilla monumental y artística*. Sevilla, 1890. v. 1, p. 13-42.
- (145) Plinius. III, III, 7.
 Lucurgentum instead of Luurgentum or Vergentum, according to the inscription brought back by Bravo (Gutiérrez Bravo, P. *Bética romana*. 2, 163).
 "En Alcalá de Guadaira tenía un clerigo de menores esta inscripcion y no quise darmela (Huebner 1264):
 M. IVNIVS
 .BRVTVS
 LVC.VRGEN†
 ANN.XXIII
 H.S.E.S.T.T.L
 IVLIA.PATERNA
 VXSOR.D.S.P.f."
- (146) Bonsor. *Les colonies agricoles*. p. 40-49.
- (147) Strabo. III, II, 15.
- (148) *Idem*. III, II, 3.
- (149) Engel. *Les barques votives*. p. 1-3.
- (150) Plinius. XV, III, 2.
- (151) The *cerro* of Chamoya, between San Juan de Alfarache and Castillejo de la Cuesta.
- (152) Lucurgentum may have been located on the Mesa de Gandul where there are many ruins.
- (153) Huebner. *Nuevas observaciones*. p. 407.
- (154) *Ibid*. p. 406.
- (155) Strabo. III, I, 9.
- (156) Plinius. XIX, I, 3.
- (157) *Ibid*. XXXVI, XVIII, 1.
- (158) Strabo. III, I, 9.
 Plinius. IX, V, 3.
 Reclus, E. *Nouvelle géographie universelle*. Paris, 1883. v. 1, p. 458.
- (159) Dressel. *Ricerche sul Monte Testaccio*. Roma, 1878.
- (160) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes and Nuevas observaciones*.

- (161) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 486.
- (162) Five kilometres southeast of Jerez de la Frontera.
- (163) Fita. *El Portal del Guadalete. Nueva inscripción romana*. In R. Academia de la historia. *Boletín*. 1901. v. 39, p. 306-308.
- (164) Huebner. *Monumenta linguae ibericae*. no. 95.
- (165) Simonet. p. 285.
- (166) Dozy. v. 1, p. 305-307.
- (167) Madoz. v. 5, p. 130.
- (168) The ruins of Patria (MERCABLUM) are located four kilometres east of Conil (Ceán Bermúdez. p. 246).
 MERCABLUM, according to the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus, was sixteen miles from BESIFE and twelve miles from the temple of Hercules (Island of Santi Petri).
- (169) Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Al-Idrīsī. Descripción de España*. Madrid, 1901. p. 53.
- (170) Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 495.
- (171) *Idem*. p. 494-495.
- (172) Leite de Vasconcellos Pereira de Mello, José. [Article] In *O Archeologo português*. v. 5, p. 143.
 Huebner. *Nuevas fuentes*. p. 493.
- (173) Strabo. III, II, 3.
- (174) Leite de Vasconcellos Pereira de Mello. [Article] In *O Archeologo português*. v. 4, p. 329.
- (175) Plinius. III, III, 1, 3.
- (176) These bricks are 30 cm. long, 22.5 cm. wide and 8 cm. thick.
- (177) “. . . quito á todos los Christianos vezinos de Sevilla . . . la cuenta de marauedis que me daban del barco que iba á Cordoua de ida y de venida, y el derecho que me dauan” (Alfonso X, *el Sabio. Privilegio*. Sevilla, December 6th, 1291. In Ortiz de Zúñiga, Diego. *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de Sevilla*. Madrid, 1795. v. 1, p. 200).

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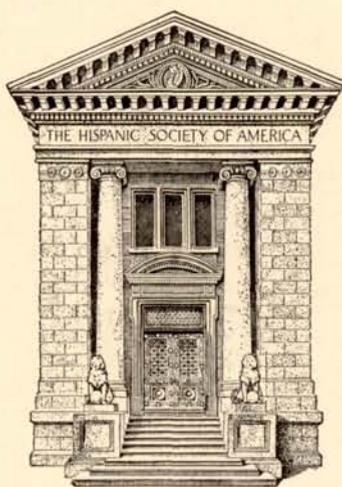
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