HISPANIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD

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HISPANIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Current Perspectives

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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This volume began as a conversation between two colleagues, both working on late antique Spain and impressed by the quality of recent work on the subject in the Iberian languages, both staggered at the widespread ignorance of this work in the Anglophone world. It has ended as their attempt to pay back part of their debt to a scholarly world that has made their own work possible. The essays in this volume have been commissioned by the editors from scholars whose work has made an important impact on the field of Spanish late antiquity. Together, they provide a fairly representative cross-section of the innovative work currently being produced on Spanish late antiquity, both in Spain and outside it. The essays, in combination with the comprehensive bibliography at the end of the book, should offer material of interest to scholars working on many different aspects of the late antique Mediterranean.

Articles were submitted in the language preferred by the contributor, and all translations are by the editors, working in tandem. The aim, no doubt only intermittently achieved, was to effect the consistency of tone sometimes lacking in collective volumes, particularly those translated by many different hands; we make no claim to technical expertise as translators, but hope to have achieved more or less idiomatic English throughout. We would like to thank Julian Deahl and Marcella Mulder at Brill; Larry Simon, the series editor; Humberto Rodríguez for help with the translation of technical architectural terms; the anonymous referees for their many comments and corrections; and most of all, the contributors, whose patience and willingness to revise their original submissions has eased the process of bringing this volume to completion.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used regularly:

AE	*L'année epigraphique*
CCH	Gonzalo Martínez Díez, ed., *La colleción canónica Hispana*. 5 vols. to date. Madrid, 1965–
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CICM	José Luis Ramírez Sádaba and Pedro Mateos Cruz, *Catálogo de las inscripciones cristianas de Mérida*. Cuadernos Emeritenses 16. Mérida, 2000
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CILA	Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucia
CLRE	Roger S. Bagnall, Alan Cameron, Seth R. Schwartz, and K.A. Worp, edd., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta, 1987
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
FHG	C. Müller, ed., *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 1838–1851
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
HEp.	*Hispania Epigraphica*
ICERV	José Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*. Barcelona, 1942
ICG	E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*. 2 vols. Paris, 1856–1865
ICK	*Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage*, 3 vols. to date
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IHC	Emil Hübner, ed., *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianae*. Berlin, 1871. *Supplementum*. Berlin, 1901
ILER	José Vives, *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*. 2 vols. Barcelona, 1971–1972
ILPG	Mauricio Pastor Muñoz and Angela Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*. Granada, 1987
ILS	H. Dessau, ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1892
IRC	*Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne*, 5 vols.
IRG	*Corpus de Inscricións romanas de Galicia*, 4 vols.
IRVT	Josep Corell, *Inscripcions romanes de Valentia i el seu territori*. Valencia, 1997

MEC	Philip Grierson, et al., edd. *Medieval European Coinage*. 2 vols. to date. Cambridge, 1986–
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores Antiquissimi
LL	Leges
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLS	Patrologia Latina, Supplementum
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*
RIT	Géza Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*. Madrider Forschungen 10. 2 volumes. Berlin
TED'A	Taller Escola d'Arqueologia (Tarragona)

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INTRODUCTION

Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski

The historiography of Spanish late antiquity

The present volume was conceived in large part to make known to an Anglophone audience the extent and quality of current work on Spanish late antiquity, not least by scholars working in Spain. For much of the twentieth century, Spanish scholarship went largely unread by scholars outside the Iberian peninsula: the best English book on Visigothic Spain was written in complete ignorance of the literature in Iberian languages.[1] One must concede that there were at the time good reasons for this state of affairs: Spanish scholarship has followed its own trajectory since the dawn of professional scholarship in the nineteenth century, but even more so since the upheavals of the Spanish Civil War and the four decades of Francoism that followed it. Isolated from the European mainstream and preoccupied with insular debates with little resonance beyond the political rivalries of Franco's Spain, Iberian scholarship offered little to outsiders, certainly too little to repay tuition in modern languages which do not form a normal part of the postgraduate curriculum in Anglophone countries. Yet as a consequence of this long habit of indifference, the historiographical revolution that Spain, and to a lesser degree Portugal, underwent at the end of the 1970s, has been too little noticed in English-language literature.[2] The relatively large number of monographs and collective volumes which have appeared in English over the past decade are a testament to rising interest in post-Roman Hispania, but they concentrate overwhelmingly on the last phase of late antiquity in the seventh century, or deal with the more general problem

[1] Thompson (1969).

[2] It is worth noticing that, when they touch on the period ca. AD 200–650, the three most recent and widely-cited English language surveys of the topic—Richardson (1996) and Keay (1989) on Roman Spain, and Collins (1995) on the early Middle Ages—either rely upon, or dispute with, the *communis opinio* of the earlier 1970s, with very little attention to more recent peninsular scholarship.

of Visigothic, rather than Spanish, history.[3] Yet the importance of recent Iberian scholarship—now witnessed by the parity of Spanish with English, German, French and Italian as an official language of *Antiquité Tardive* and the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*—is undeniable.

It is also, however, a very recent development indeed. From the end of the nineteenth century, the chief tasks of Spanish scholarship were inward-looking, the excavation and explication of the nature of *hispanidad*, Spanishness, and the writing of history so as to understand the Spanish present, what has been called the *actualización* of history to serve the present. Every modern culture of scholarship engages to some extent in such attempts to understand its own present, to explicate the lines that tie that present to the past: one need think only of German scholarship's pre-war obsession with discovering a Germanic antiquity that would provide Germany with a past unmediated by the Classical world, a project still under way in contemporary studies of barbarian ethnicity. A Whig interpretation of English history, embodied in Macaulay and his intellectual successors, and famously castigated by Butterfield, remains the basis of almost all undergraduate and popular history writing in English, however reviled it may be by the academic historian. In France, such great *annalistes* as Braudel and Duby could end their careers not with *microhistoire* or the *longue-durée*, but with explorations of France and what the explication of its history signified.

All of which should be enough to suggest that the Spanish obsession with Spanishness is neither unique nor especially problematic. What is less usual, however, is the degree to which debates over *hispanidad* shaped the broader contours of Spanish historiography in the twentieth century. The explanation may lie in the fact that, in Spain, both the nature of the end point, and the route to its arrival were (and are) open to dispute, as they are not in Anglophone cultures of scholarship. Until very recently, to debate what it meant to be English was pointless, hence all that needed discussion was the route by which the English got to where they were; similarly, while American historians have always debated the meaning of being American, few have questioned that America itself is the logical culmination of his-

[3] See, for instance, the collective volumes of Ferreiro (1998) and Heather (1999), in which latter there is much of value, the monographs of Burrus (1995), Handley (2003), and Stocking (2000), and the editions of Burgess (1993) and Bradbury (1996).

tory. In the one case, the *telos* is self-evident, in the other, the teleology. But in Spanish scholarship, both *telos* and teleology have been subject to debate, and have consequently shaped the contours of historiographical discussion to a far greater degree than might otherwise have been the case.

It would be facile, not to mention foolhardy, to attempt to give reasons for this shape of Spanish scholarship. But one might point to nineteenth-century Spain's ambivalent relationship to the Enlightenment and industrial modernity more generally, and to an intellectual environment dominated by a Catholic church steeped in the Counter-Reformation traditions of centuries past.[4] At the beginning of the twentieth century, the influx into the peninsula of modern philological and historical techniques from northern and central Europe added point to debates about the Spanish past which were rooted in modern conflicts between liberals and conservatives. The Iberian past posed special problems in this respect: it was not, as in French scholarship of the period, a matter of pitting Romanist and Germanist interpretations of national identity against one another; rather, it was also necessary to explain the great complicating factors of Islam and Judaism. This inward-looking discourse about the meaning of *hispanidad* was already a feature of the interwar period, but it was greatly intensified by the victory of General Franco in the Civil War. Franco's regime embraced and trumpeted an ideology in which *patria* and *catolicismo* were one, in which the basis of Spanish identity was—and always had been—a pure and orthodox Catholicism. In other words, the Franco regime turned what had once been a controverted historical argument into an article of faith about the foundations of the state: a particular version of the Spanish past had won, by the victor's fiat.

This victory did not end the controversy, but it shifted some prominent voices into exile. In Spain itself, the attenuation of the debate was palpable, owing to the Catholic nationalism endorsed by the state. While much good scholarship was produced, it existed within the narrow parameters of acceptable study, and tended to encourage a strongly nationalist outlook that was only exacerbated by the post-war isolation of Spain and Portugal under Franco and Salazar.

[4] See Castillo in the present volume for a detailed survey of ecclesiastical influence on writing about Spanish Christianity.

Until the 1970s, Spanish scholars paid scant attention to scholarly developments elsewhere. This inattention was reciprocated, inasmuch as the process of sorting the threads of strong scholarship from the tangled mass of doctrinaire or retrogade product proved something few outsiders were willing to do. For much of the twentieth century, therefore, scholarship in the Iberian peninsula went its own way. The effects of that fact on the study of late antiquity were profound.

Because debates about *hispanidad* inevitably circled round the fixed point of Catholicism and its role in the Spanish character, the key period of scholarly interest had of necessity to be the Middle Ages, when that Spanish character was formed. If the *Reconquista* was, for better or for worse, the mould in which *hispanidad* was shaped, then it was equally necessary to understand the Arab conquest that made Reconquest inevitable. That, in turn, brought scholarship to the Visigoths—to Isidore as the idealist of Spanish unity and orthodoxy, and to the "baptism" of Spain at the third council of Toledo.[5] From before the inception of full-blown *franquismo*, clerical scholars like Pérez de Urbel had identified the beginnings of Spain with III Toledo.[6] Consciously or not, anti-Franco exiles like Sánchez Albornoz endorsed the same periodization, searching for the roots of the Spanish identity in the ninth-century Asturias, itself the imagined stronghold of the last Visigoths.[7] Visigothic studies, then, were a vital part of the mainstream of Spanish scholarship. So much later history was seemingly explained by Visigothic precedent that it could hardly be otherwise.

For that reason, much of the best twentieth-century work on Iberian late antiquity is concentrated on the seventh-century Gothic kingdom. The work of scholars like Sánchez Albornoz on every aspect of Gothic society, of García Gallo on Gothic law, or of d'Abadal i Vinyals on Gothic institutions remains indispensable reading.[8] Nor is it coincidental that precisely the work on this period

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[5] This is the sound historiographical argument of Linehan (1993).

[6] See, e.g., Pérez de Urbel (1933–1934); (1952).

[7] The key ideological text is Sánchez Albornoz (1952), which exists in an unreliable English translation, but the full implications of the author's outlook are best explored in the many and scattered volumes of his collected essays: Sánchez Albornoz (1965); (1967); (1971); (1972–1975).

[8] For Sánchez Albornoz see previous note. García Gallo's major works deal with the content and the ideology of Gothic law: (1936–1941); (1942–1943); (1974). For d'Abadal, see his collected essays: (1969); (1970).

was most widely diffused in foreign scholarship. Its preoccupations fitted in with certain strands of institutional history that dominated Anglophone approaches to Iberian history at mid-century, and it was conducted at a level of rigor sufficient that its ideological basis could be ignored.[9] But it is significant to note what unites the work of the three great scholars noted above with the constellation of lesser lights that surrounded them: all their work is essentially forward-looking: beyond the Gothic feudalism of Sánchez Albornoz lies the Reconquista; beyond García Gallo's *Leges Visigothorum* stands the *Fuero Juzgo*; beyond d'Abadal's Goths are the first Catalans, explicitly so in the title of his collected essays, *Dels visigots als catalans*. Spanish late antiquity, for most of the twentieth century, mattered only insofar as it laid the foundations for the great struggles of the Spanish Middle Ages.

Church history, too, flowed in similar chronological channels. Ecclesiastical and theological history was one of the few areas in which Spanish professional scholarship developed as strongly and early as did scholarship in northern Europe. For all its polemical tendentiousness, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, written in 1880–1882, remains as valuable and learned a document of nineteenth-century thought as does Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*, if not his *Staatsrecht*.[10] But the very title of Menéndez Pelayo's opus declares its argument, and though he was long dead when the Spanish Civil War began, he became the intellectual hero of its victors. His catechetical identification of Spanish identity as Catholic identity was also at the core of Francoism. Yet as Castillo Maldonado argues in the present volume, church history could flourish safely in the age of Franco and Salazar. Certainly, the most rigorous approach to ancient texts in the Spanish scholarship of the period was to be found among church historians rather than among ancient or medieval historians at large. For all that rigor, however, there were very specific avenues in which the exploration of Spain's Christian past took place. Much of the work of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s explicitly looked to the Visigothic period for an affirmation of Spanish identity as Catholic in the aftermath of Reccared's conversion and the third council of Toledo in 589. Because of the same focus on Spanish

[9] What remains the leading American textbook on the Spanish Middle Ages preserves more or less intact the outlines of debate in the later 1950s: O'Callaghan (1975), esp. 35–88.

[10] Menéndez Pelayo (1880–1882).

orthodoxy, few Spanish works of any consequence on the indigenous heretic Priscillian exist from before the 1980s. But again, the greatest historiographical impact was chronological—sometimes explicitly, sometimes subconsciously, all agreed that Spanish history began in the year 589.

This complex of historiographical concerns, wrapped up as they were in issues of religious and national identity, meant a very real insulation of the study of Roman Spain from the mainstream of historical controversy: Roman Spain had no self-evident role to play in the story of a *hispanidad* that lurked in the contest between Christian and Muslim which began in 711 or, indeed, in 589. Barbero and Vigil, working from the implicit assumptions and goals of Sánchez Albornoz, were able to cordon off the whole pre-Visigothic history of Spain from the rest of peninsular history by insisting that the areas from which the *Reconquista* sprang had never been penetrated by Rome, by its Christianity, and by its institutions, so that when the Reconquista began, it brought with it an autocthonous culture, rather than the revival of a Visigothic, let alone a Roman, past.[11]

For much of the twentieth century, therefore, the study of Roman Spain escaped the main currents of contemporary Spanish scholarship. Indeed, the historiography of Hispano-Roman studies tended to operate within paradigms formed in the years immediately after the First World War, when the great theoretical edifices of Spengler and Toynbee were paralleled in Spain by the historical pessimism of Miguel de Unamuno. A similar historical pessimism permeated the work of Michael Rostovtzeff, whose path-breaking *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* has cast a long shadow on the historiography of late Roman Spain.[12] Rostovtzeff, an exiled aristocrat and staunch anti-Bolshevik, saw in the Russian revolution the modern equivalent of the barbarization that had overtaken Rome, when the proletariat of the Roman army rose up and swamped its enlightened betters with a cruel, and effectively un-Roman, despotism. This interpretation of late antiquity rooted in class struggle was Rostovtzeff's enduring legacy to Spanish historiography, an inter-

[11] See Barbero and Vigil (1978), and perhaps most importantly the essays collected in Barbero and Vigil (1974).

[12] Though usually cited from P.M. Fraser's second edition (Rostovtzeff [1957]), it was the first edition of 1926 that had so far-reaching an effect.

pretation that underlies many of the historiographical certainties about Roman Spain that held the field until the 1980s.

The basic conviction of twentieth-century scholarship on Roman Spain was that the third century represented a cataclysmic break with the past. Up until that point, Spain's history could be recounted as a triumphal story of continuously advancing Romanization, whose peak came with the Spanish emperors Trajan and Hadrian and with an Antonine age of truly Gibbonian splendor. This was brought to a rapid end first by the general, Rostovtzeffian crisis of the third-century empire, then by the barbarian invasion of Spain attested in the reign of Gallienus. The relative merits of this interpretation are discussed in Kulikowski's contribution to the present volume. What it meant in historiographical terms, however, was an almost total disjuncture between the study of Republican and early imperial Spain on the one hand, and post-Diocletianic Spain on the other.

The first two centuries of empire produced some of the finest work on Spanish antiquity, of which one may single out the work of Antonio García y Bellido amongst Spaniards and Géza Alföldy among foreign scholars.[13] The years after 284 were, by contrast, largely ignored. When they were treated, it was usually in terms of a presumed class struggle, brought on by the oppressiveness of the Dominate and the social or spiritual disquiet that oppression produced.[14] Within this arid analytical framework, the only substantive progress was made on specialized points of institutional history. At the other end of the period, the year 409, in which Vandals, Alans and Sueves invaded Spain, provided an absolute *terminus* for Hispano-Roman history, beyond which Roman historians did not venture. If anything, an unconsciously moralistic interpretation accepted the barbarian invasion as a fitting end for a century mired in exploitation and oppression. The years after 409, documented almost solely in the pages of the Gallaecian chronicler Hydatius, were treated as a post-Roman prelude to the Visigothic history that began in earnest with Reccared's III Toledo. Indeed, all the many multi-volume histories of Spain produced between the 1950s and the 1980s place the break

[13] See any of the works of these scholars cited in the bibliography to this volume.

[14] The work of Balil, technically accomplished and enormously useful to this day, is marred by this rigid interpretative framework: see, e.g., Balil (1959–1960); (1965); (1967); (1970).

between their ancient and medieval volumes in 409, and the hundred or so years on either side of that date are invariably among the least realized chapters in the series.[15]

This sort of neglect of late antiquity is by no means unique to the annals of Spanish scholarship, and indeed it was precisely the appreciation of late antiquity as a discrete and interesting period in its own right that the revolutionary works of Peter Brown and others brought to the attention of the wider scholarly world in the later 1960s and 1970s. But the Spanish case, and the division between Spain's antiquity and its Middle Ages, was undoubtedly more rigid and more extreme than in many other cultures of scholarship, where the later Roman empire or *die Spätantike* was a respectable, if minority, taste. The preoccupation of Spanish historical studies generally with the problem of a *hispanidad* rooted fixedly in the Reconquista and its supposed Visigothic antecedents on the one hand, and the consequent isolation of Hispano-Roman studies, with their own early imperial focus, on the other, meant that what we now think of as a late antique era spanning the later imperial and the Visigothic periods was virtually untouched, save by patristic scholars or those seeking to explain later Visigothic developments.

Change did eventually come, and the turning point in Iberian scholarship, as in modern Iberian history generally, was the death of General Franco in Spain and the almost contemporary Carnation Revolution in Portugal against the Salazar regime. By the end of the 1970s, a generation of scholars trained in the late sixties and early seventies and skeptical of the historical paradigms in which they had themselves been educated, began to challenge the old certainties of Spanish historiography. A series of articles by one of the contributors to the present volume, Javier Arce, systematically uncovered the false assumptions of traditional historiographical paradigms.[16] His 1982 monograph on late Roman Spain is a watershed in the development of the study of Iberian late antiquity.[17] When it appeared,

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[15] Most significantly the *Historia Menéndez Pidal*, published by Espasa-Calpe under the general editorship of the medievalist Ramón Menéndez Pidal in the 1940s and 1950s, and republished in an only partly improved second edition in the 1980s. But one may turn to such well-known series as the Gredos *Historia de España* and find precisely the same state of affairs.

[16] See especially Arce (1978); (1981).

[17] Arce (1982a).

it stood in a field of its own; now, dozens of good monographs on late antique topics appear in Spain and Portugal each year, in every one of the Iberian languages. In part, this has been a result of devolution in Spanish government and the division of the country into seventeen *autonomías*, a reform rooted in the 1978 constitution that did away with the centralized governance of the Franco period, and which was completed by 1983. The existence of the *autonomías* and the provinces within them has provided both the financial support for and the interest in local and regional history on a grand scale. In part, it also reflects the entry of Spain and Portugal into the European Union and the enthusiasm with which scholars in both countries have embraced the international scholarly discourse which European funding encourages and allows.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, much of this recent work has attempted to integrate Spanish late antiquity into the history of late antiquity as a whole. As importantly, this scholarship has succeeded in breaking down many of the fixed barriers of periodization, whether 284, 409, or 589. Both trends reflect the absorption of a vast body of international scholarship by the Spanish academy over a very short period of time. The historiographical revolution of the late 1970s and 1980s overturned the orthodoxies that preceded it. Now, Spanish historiography changes so rapidly that no new orthodoxy has appeared to replace the old certainties. The contributions to the present volume provide an introduction to the changes that have taken place in Spanish scholarship over the past two decades. They also point a way forward towards new avenues of research. Perhaps the most fruitful such route will lie in rigorous dialogue between history and archaeology, for if changes to the historiography of Spanish late antiquity have been momentous, changes to the peninsula's late antique archaeology have been positively earthshaking.

History and archaeology

As with its early twentieth-century nationalist historiography, Hispania shared with much of Europe general practical and theoretical archaeological traditions: large-scale excavations were carried out to reveal structures, with little attention to stratigraphy or analysis of materials. Publications were limited to general articles which rarely included catalogues of finds or other details. That is, mid-twentieth-century

archaeology in Spain, as in so many places, was meant to produce architecture and art, not narrate histories or describe social structures. For church and villa archaeology, these projects nonetheless revealed the outlines of late Roman cultural production in ways that historians, obsessed with Visigothic Hispania, had neglected. The monument-centered methodology of the period consigned to the spoil heap evidence of other, equally important, aspects of late Roman life, such as the subdivision of living quarters, the privatization of public urban spaces and the spoliation of buildings, and resulted in their disappearance from the historical record. More positively, however, the cataloguing impulse of the period produced a series of highly valuable regional archaeological catalogues, such as Estacio da Veiga's record of the antiquities of the Portuguese Algarve, or Pita Merce's collection of site reports.[18] Generally ecumenical as to the chronology, quality and historical import of the remains they catalogued, these careful records described previously excavated sites, as well as unexcavated remains and surface scatters. At the time they performed an invaluable archival function and to this day, even for monuments that have escaped the ravages of modern development, they often remain the only published studies.

The theoretical bases of Spain's archaeology likewise differed little from other European archaeological traditions. That is to say, archaeology was largely text-driven and text-determined. One dug to verify histories described in texts, and archaeological materials were inserted into interpretative frameworks predetermined by textually-driven research agendas and textually-determined results. For late Roman archaeology, this propensity was intimately linked to the construction of chronologies: construction dates were tied to periods of historically-determined prosperity and destruction levels linked to historically-attested wars or crises. Interestingly, while these same general precepts were at work throughout the peninsula, the historical precepts and thus, the archaeological results based on them, varied from region to region.

In the northeast, any destruction levels were typically tied to the so-called Franco-Alamannic invasions of the third century, which exemplified the third-century crisis in Spain, and in keeping with the Rostovtzeffian vision of Hispania's Roman history, were thought to

[18] See Santos (1972); Pita Mercé (1951); (1953); (1954); (1958).

have ended the peninsula's classical culture. Levels of destruction that could not plausibly be assigned to the third century were attributed to the troubles of the early fifth, which signaled the end of the empire and therefore provided a date for the end of occupation on the site in question. In other areas, the Suevic and Visigothic incursions were the wars of choice to explain destruction levels at villa or urban sites, for instance in the Duero valley or Extremadura/Alentejo. In Aragón and the northern Meseta, by contrast, the Bagaudae were blamed for signs of destruction or abandonment. Around these sorts of textually-predetermined "end dates" the rest of a site's history could be arranged, so that the mosaic floors, fine marble and statuary that lay beneath the ashes and rubble of the chosen war necessarily described the period of prosperity that preceded the cataclysm. In the northeast and south the golden age was the second century of Spain's favorite sons, Trajan and Hadrian. In the Meseta and the west, littered with the inescapable remains of great fourth-century villas, the age of Constantine was grudgingly allowed a place at the pinnacle of *Romanitas*.

Naturally, these narratives crafted from biased historical readings and reinforced by circular archaeological logic were often erroneous, and the resultant picture of late antiquity as a period of violent decline and conquest was perpetually reinforced. What distinguishes Spanish versions of this narrative from general accounts of the later empire elsewhere is its tenacity. Divorced from revisionist historical trends until the post-Franco period and relatively uninterested in historical study of the fourth through sixth centuries, Spanish scholarship not only preserved its histories of a catastrophic late antiquity, but because the umbilical link binding the historical to the material cultural record remained uncontemplated and unsevered, the data from those sites excavated and interpreted using earlier historical biases were never questioned. Even as Spanish and Portuguese scholarship began to shed its earlier historiographic baggage, its material record, dominated by those sites excavated between the 1940s and the 1970s, remained frozen in time, misdated and misinterpreted. The rest of Europe moved on, while the Spanish archaeological picture remained little changed, the result being that Hispania's late antiquity began to look very different from that of the rest of the western Mediterranean. As the real origins of that difference, in historiographic fallacy, were unnoticed, Hispania's seeming separation and isolation from the rest of the late Roman Mediterranean deepened.

In the last twenty years, much of this picture has changed radically. Modern archaeological method, including modern recording, the use of new technology, and most particularly, the adoption of open-air, non-trench archaeology, is as accomplished and widespread in Spain as anywhere in Europe. In the same way, archaeology's dependence on text has largely been shattered and many of the important sites excavated early in the century and dated by textual association are being re-excavated and re-interpreted. The result has been an epistemological divorce between historically-attested violence and archaeological abandonment or destruction, which has placed Hispania's material culture once more within a Mediterranean context. Accelerating interest in topography—economic and ecclesiastical, rural and urban—should soon allow us to analyze late antique social changes without appeal to simplistic paradigms of "decline and fall." Advances in ceramic and numismatic studies have not only provided more reliable means of dating late antique stratigraphies, but have similarly described Hispania's continued production and connectedness to Mediterranean trade networks.

At the same time, and perhaps more than in other areas of late antique Spanish archaeology, ceramic studies have documented those trends particular to Hispania, balancing an insistence on Mediterranean contact with an appropriate regard for the development of regional phenomena.[19] However, while the rise of local and regional fine wares and trade networks in the fourth and fifth centuries is widely accepted, the particularity of Hispania's other, more general cultural features has not seen equal attention. In the admirable effort to reverse Hispania's image as an insular backwater, the peculiarities of its material culture have frequently been swept aside. The persistent, widespread richness of inland Spain's fourth-century villa culture has no equivalent in Italy, while in Gaul only Aquitaine is comparable, and yet this important point of distinction remains undertheorized. The unusual health of Spain's late antique cities, at least in the fourth century, also contrasts starkly with the generally grim models used to describe Italian urbanism. The contrast should be instructive on matters of regional economics and euergetism and requires comment. The next generation of Spanish scholarship will have the task of taking on board a total vision of Mediterranean

[19] For an overview, see Reynolds' contribution to the present volume.

archaeology, not only to find Hispania's place in that broader world, but now also to negotiate a space apart.

New editions, new approaches

The poverty of the written sources for late antique Hispania is often remarked, yet rarely explained. It may reflect widespread failures of preservation in the aftermath of the Arab conquest, and the subsequent failure of Spain to participate in the Carolingian renaissance that transmitted so much of Gaul's late antique literature to posterity. Alternatively, it may reflect the relative weakness of Spain's fourth- and fifth-century episcopate, which was in Gaul responsible for so large a part of the province's literature. From the point of view of the historian trawling for evidence, neither explanation provides much comfort. The sources for Spanish late antiquity are likely to remain confined to the sparse corpus we now know and we can hardly expect another discovery as enlightening as the Divjak letters of Augustine.[20]

That collection, published in 1981, contains two letters from a lay theologian named Consentius, possibly identical with other Consentii known from the Augustinian corpus.[21] One of these letters in particular has cast dramatic new light on Spanish history in the early fifth century. The letter, the eleventh in the new corpus, was written in 420 and deals with the events of the previous year. It purports to recount verbatim the tribulations of a Spanish monk called Fronto, whom Consentius has charged with rooting out heresy in the province of Tarraconensis. The subjects on which the letter sheds new light are numerous: it is important to late Roman history generally as a lengthy, first-person account of a court case, something otherwise unknown, and also for its illustration of developments in the colloquial Latin of the period; in the Spanish context, it illuminates the topography of Tarragona; the hierarchy and prosopography of the Tarraconensian church; the integration of barbarians into the provincial

[20] Edited and introduced by Divjak (1981); much discussion in Lepelley (1983). Other notable treatments are Amengual (1979–1980); (1984); Díaz y Díaz (1982b); Frend (1990); Van Dam (1986).

[21] But the identification is not necessary: see Van Dam (1986). The two new letters are translated in Eno (1989), 81–108.

landscape; and the close family connections among secular and ecclesiastical elites. It also reveals a parallel between the policy of the patrician Constantius in Gaul, which deliberately incorporated the local Gallic elites into the administration of the province through the creation of the *concilium Septem Provinciae* and the employment of Gauls in Gallic administration, and his policy in Spain, suggested by the Spanish extraction of the *comes* Asterius, who is central to the narrative.[22] Perhaps most important of all, the letter sheds new light on the second usurpation of Maximus in Gallaecia, an event hitherto known only from two barely comprehensible entries in chronicles, proving that Asterius' chief task in Spain was the suppression of Maximus, rather than the barbarian campaign already known from Hydatius.[23]

This vast haul comes from one small piece of new evidence, and illustrates just how much such discoveries can bring to our understanding of Spanish history. Although the prospects of another such discovery seem limited, our understanding of the existing corpus of sources has been much refined in the past decades through improved editions of long-known texts. A full list of the Christian authors of Spanish late antiquity can be found in the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*.[24] As is so often the case in this period, much of what survives is theological: what was said about the well-studied Potamius of Lisbon by his ecclesiastical enemies is more interesting to the historian than are his own writings.[25] Nonetheless, greater attention to the intellectual connections of Spain's minor ecclesiastical writers, and to the transmission of their texts, a topic whose potential has thus far barely been touched, would perhaps help to overturn older views of Spanish exceptionalism and marginality to the Roman empire as a whole. Certainly such explorations would help make sense of the channels

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[22] On Gaul, see Stroheker (1948) and Matthews (1975). *Ep.* 11*.4.3 shows that Asterius was a Spaniard and that his wife derived from a provincial family of substance; there is also the possibility of a connection with the later Asturius of Hyd. 117 and 120 (= PLRE 2: 174–75), and through him to the famous poet Flavius Merobaudes, on whom see Clover (1971) and Salvador (1998), 89–91. For the evidence Kulikowski (2000b); (2002).

[23] Kulikowski (2000b).

[24] See nos. 537–576; 1079c–1098; and, for the seventh-century, 1183–1301, though one author listed there at 568–570, the minor ascetic Bachiarius, was probably an Illyrian, not a Spaniard: Kulikowski (2004b).

[25] For Potamius, see Montes Moreira (1969) and Conti (1998), which latter includes English translations of his works.

by which the peninsula was linked to the rest of the Roman and post-Roman world. For the most part, however, it is not the minor Spanish writers that have gained the greatest attention recently, but rather texts with greater socio-historical interest. Here, it is new editions of texts that have led the way.

The new edition of the *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium*, by A. Maya Sánchez, has established a reliable text in its two recensions and clarified the problems of the work's authorship.[26] The *Vitas* are not only our best source for episcopal politics in the sixth-century peninsula, but also cast light on the local communal life of Mérida, the relationship between Arians and orthodox, and the difficulties which Gothic kings like Leovigild experienced in controlling even the most important cities of their kingdom. The close connection between Lusitania and the eastern provinces which emerges from the text of the lives is confirmed by the growing number of Greek inscriptions known from such cities as Mértola (ancient Myrtilis); and the accuracy of the technical details of the *Vitas* has been confirmed by the excavations at Santa Eulalia of Mérida.[27] Similarly, if less spectacularly, the recent *Sources Chrétiennes* edition of Pacian of Barcelona improves upon its predecessors and opens up his hitherto obscure letters and writings on penitence and baptism as sources of social history in the coastal Tarraconensis of the later fourth century.[28] The re-edition of Severus of Minorca's letter on the conversion of the Jews—the authenticity of which was definitively proved by the new letters of Consentius discussed above—has fixed the date of Orosius' arrival in Minorca firmly at the end of the year 416, while likewise offering a profoundly improved text.[29]

Even more than these advances in the study of Spanish theologians, it is the chronicle tradition that has profitted most from recent attention. The 1993 edition of Hydatius by R.W. Burgess completely eclipses the standard text of Mommsen, not to mention Tranoy's

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[26] She has, most importantly, done away with the spurious attribution to a supposed deacon named Paul: Maya Sánchez (1992), xxxii–xli. In English, the old translation of Garvin (1946) remains superior to that of Fear (1997), 45–105.

[27] For Mértola, see Torres and Macias (1993), with a chapter on epigraphy. Mateos (1999) treats the evidence of the *Vitas* extensively; see the contribution of Kulikowski in this volume.

[28] Granado (1995), replacing Rubio Fernández (1958). There is an English translation in C.L. Hanson (1999).

[29] Bradbury (1996), 25, for Orosius. Bradbury's edition includes a facing-page English translation.

highly eccentric *Sources Chrétiennes* edition and the uncritical text of Campos often used in Spain.[30] Cardelle de Hartmann's new *Corpus Christianorum* edition of Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar shows in detail how those two texts, and their manuscript tradition, are related to each other.[31] As importantly, the editor builds upon the arguments of Roger Collins, showing that the brief but important source that Mommsen called the *Chronicon Caesaraugustanae* is not a chronicle in its present form, nor ever was one.[32] Rather, these marginal annotations to the texts of one lone manuscript of Victor and John are the traces of one or more lost *fasti* or *consularia*. For this reason, the editor re-titles them the *Consularia Caesaraugustana* and prints them beside the texts of Victor and John which they supplement or modify. The new edition of Isidore's *Chronicle*, which untangles the complicated ramifications of its manuscript tradition, has yet to be absorbed into the academic literature, but will in time prove equally important.[33]

The establishment of these firm texts has had many benefits, not least the suppression of simple errors of fact. Thus in Hydatius, the Vandal king Fredbal disappears as an interpolation, and possibly an invention. More important is the general trend among historians of late antiquity to treat extant literary sources as texts first and sources second.[34] While this has produced important results with self-evidently literary works like those of Eusebius or Jordanes, it is chronicles that have benefited most from this new-found attention.[35] Thus chronicles

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[30] Burgess (1993); Tranoy (1974); Campos (1984). Burgess' Latin text is accompanied by a facing-page English translation.

[31] Cardelle de Hartmann (2002). To these, the new editions of the Gallic chronicles in Burgess (2001a); (2001b) are a useful complement. John is available in English in Wolf (1999), 57–75.

[32] Collins (1994). Edited by Mommsen in MGH AA 11: 221–23 as a series of disembodied entries, the text now appears in Cardelle de Hartmann's edition of Victor and John beside the entries of those authors which it annotates in the MS.

[33] J.C. Martín (2003), 39*–242*. The recent three-volume Budé edition of Orosius, while buttressed by useful indices and notes, does not materially improve upon the standard text of Zangemeister (CSEL 7, 1882).

[34] For this see Av. Cameron (1985); Goffart (1988); Maas (1991) on John Lydus; Whitby (1988) on Theophylact.

[35] On Eusebius see especially Cameron and Hall (1999), with full bibliography; on Jordanes, Goffart (1988). Of the chronicles, see Favrod (1993) on Marius of Avenches; Placanica (1997) on Victor of Tunnuna; Croke (1995); (2002) on Marcellinus Comes; Jeffreys et al. (1986); (1990) on Malalas. Also the numerous articles collected in Croke and Emmett (1983); Holdsworth and Wiseman (1986); Clarke (1990).

are not merely repositories of data, but rather authorial products which can be studied as such.[36] The new editions of Hydatius, Victor and John are attentive to the literary context in which chronicles are embedded, the texts with which they are transmitted and which they often continue: the first entry printed in the new Hydatius is actually the last entry of Jerome's chronicle, a graphic representation of Hydatius' own intention of continuing Jerome. The new editions of Victor and John follow each other organically and the annotations of the Zaragoza *Consularia* appear directly below the entries they modify and are numbered in the same sequence. These points are merely typographical, and yet they reflect an awareness of context which has far-ranging consequences for our understanding of how our sources functioned as complete texts.

In this respect, we have come the furthest in the case of Hydatius. He no longer appears, as he did to Courtois, Tranoy and E.A. Thompson, as a recorder of fact who was not very good at his job.[37] Rather, he is an author of intentional complexity. He believed that an apocryphal letter of Christ to Thomas revealed that the world was going to end, soon and at a specified date: 27 May 482.[38] Thus what he was chronicling was not just the events of the world around him, but rather the last days of the world itself. He was not, perhaps, a sophisticated theologian, and a millenarian belief is too common a trait in early Christian authors to warrant extended comment on Hydatius as a thinker. But this new understanding of the author's perspective has allowed us to use Hydatius' text as a source in a much more sophisticated way than previously. We can see, for instance, how tendentiously he creates a narrative of the fifth century, building up to the apocalyptic invasion of Spain by a Gothic army in imperial service. Hydatius believed the barbarians to be the clearest sign of impending eschatalogical catastrophe, with the result that he deliberately punctuates the annual record of events with more and more intense images of barbarian violence.

But he does so selectively, and distortingly. To make events conform to his beliefs, he suppresses a great deal, not just evidence for

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[36] Muhlberger (1990) is the best full-scale study along these lines.

[37] Courtois (1951); Tranoy (1974); and the series of four articles on "The End of Roman Spain" published by Thompson in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* and reprinted in Thompson (1982).

[38] Demonstrated by Burgess (1989), 155–93, and restated with excessive brevity, omitting the proof, in Burgess (1993), 9–10 and Burgess (1995).

barbarian action in the service of the emperors. He fails to record the second usurpation of Maximus in order to magnify the threat of the barbarians.[39] What is more, he deliberately patterns his description of Theoderic II's campaign of 456 on another favorite millenarian record, the sack of Jerusalem by Titus as recounted in the Latin Josephus, itself a text in need of a proper critical edition and study of its influence. There were no camels in fifth-century Gallaecia—there was the Josephan model of eschatological destruction.[40] This new understanding of Hydatian complexity gives us a new Spanish fifth century. Histories of fifth-century Spain can no longer simply paraphrase Hydatius in modern language, as they did for so long. Rather, it becomes necessary to read Hydatius with as much regard for his silences as for his statements. When approaching him as a source, we must regularly accept the events he records while rejecting the way he would have us understand those events.[41] An equally valuable examination of Victor of Tunnuna's historical perspective, particularly of the theological outlook that guides his work, has appeared in a commentary, and the new edition of John ought to spur similar work.[42]

At the frontier between traditional literary sources and the archaeological evidence lie epigraphy and numismatics. Both have seen significant advances in the past two decades. The epigraphic corpus of Hispania, though scattered, is a rich and increasingly full source for Spanish late antiquity. Vives' old but excellent collection of late antique inscriptions contains little more than a third of those now known from the peninsula.[43] Many new inscriptions have been published over the years in important local corpora, of which Géza Alföldy's *Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* remains the classic example.[44] Now, newly discovered inscriptions, and revised readings of old ones, are regularly published in *Hispania Epigraphica* and the *Ficheiro Epigraphico*, and include many important texts not registered in the *Année*

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[39] Kulikowski (2000b).

[40] Arce (1995) on Hyd. 167. A similar consideration of typological influences in Victor of Vita has brought into question the famous figure of 80,000 Vandals departing Spain under Gaiseric: Goffart (1980), 231–34 on Victor, *Hist.* 1.1.2.

[41] See Kulikowski (2004a), 151–96.

[42] See the commentary of Placanica (1997) on Victor.

[43] Vives' text is *ICERV* in the abbreviations list.

[44] Alföldy (1975), but see such series as CILA, IRC, and IRG and monographs like ILPG and IRVT.

Epigraphique. The superb second edition of volume 2 of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, currently in progress, will eventually be published in fourteen volumes.[45] What this explosion in the epigraphic record can do for our understanding of the period has been demonstrated by the recent monograph of Mark Handley.[46] Numismatics, as the contribution of López Sánchez to the present volume makes clear, can also have broad implications. Most of the revolutionary work on Spanish coinage in late antiquity has come at the far end of the period, on the Visigothic and Suevic coinages. However, the tenth volume of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, which appeared in 1994, clarified many of the complexities of Spanish monetary finds from the fifth century, and the systematization of the barbarian coinages in the first volume of *Medieval European Coinage* has made the economic basis of the seventh century, if not that of the fifth or sixth, considerably less obscure.[47]

New sites, old sites and paradigm shifts

As new editions and studies of the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence have reshaped the history of late antique Hispania, so, too, have a series of recent archaeological projects altered our vision of its economy and material culture, and again challenged scholars to contemplate the relationship between texts and artifacts. Significant in both respects is the discovery of two unusually wealthy and controversial sites, the palace of Cercadilla and the villa of Carranque.

Cercadilla, set some 600m outside the walls of ancient Córdoba, was discovered while constructing the city's new train station, and after emergency excavation, partially destroyed.[48] A series of detailed monographs on the architecture, stratigraphy and ceramic finds of the site have provided a partial palliative for this loss. The site was an unusually large residence, occupying some eight hectares, and its

[45] On the new CIL 2 see Edmondson (1999).
[46] Handley (2003).
[47] Kent (1994); Grierson and Blackburn (1986).
[48] The basic monographs are Hidalgo, Alarcón and Camino (1996); Hidalgo (1996); Moreno Almenara (1997).

various apartments, reception halls and baths radiated off a semicircular courtyard. The residence was well dated by deep stratigraphy in its cryptoportico to the final years of the third century. Its extraordinary size, particularly the size of its main apsed reception hall, already pointed to an extraordinary patron. Fragmentary epigraphic remains which seem to name Constantius and Galerius as joint caesars, led its excavators to date the structure to the years 293–305 and thus to attribute its construction to the emperor Maximian. The emperor would presumably have built it during his brief stay in Hispania prior to embarking on his North African campaigns in 297, though the whole identification has been challenged.[49]

The second site, Carranque, was located near ancient Titulcia, on the banks of the Guadarrama River.[50] The site, as revealed by more than fifteen years of excavation, consisted of a large villa, the agricultural facilities of which have not been uncovered, watermills of indeterminate and possibly medieval date, a temple or nympheum, and most importantly, a large domed building preceded by an elaborate entrance portico. The wealth of the site is extraordinary, although not wholly unprecedented in Spanish villas: the villa mosaics are of high quality and include classical mythological scenes, while the architectural and decorative marbles from the domed structure include valuable imported stones. Again, two pieces of epigraphy, a mosaic panel wishing happiness to one "Maternus" and marble columns bearing the inscription DNT[H], expanded as *Domini Nostri Theodosii*, have led the site's excavator to identify the patron as Maternus Cynegius, Theodosius I's praetorian prefect of the East. The excavator has labeled the domed structure a church, one of the earliest in Hispania, an identification dependent both on the discovery of some out-of-context Christian inscriptions, and the fervent Christianity of the site's supposed patron, Maternus Cynegius.

Carranque and Cercadilla are undoubtedly the two wealthiest, most visually impressive late antique remains to have emerged from Hispania in recent years, or indeed from the western Mediterranean as a whole. Their value is more than aesthetic, however, for they call into question the continued, and in Spain particularly contentious, scholarly relationship between texts and archaeology: modern schol-

[49] Arce (1997b).
[50] Basic reports are Fernández-Galiano (1987); (1999); (2001).

arship that has worked so hard to broker a healthy divorce between narrative history and material remains finds itself called upon again to contemplate these relationships in the face of provocative texts from the sites themselves. Also at issue, although not openly stated, is the widely-accepted thesis of Javier Arce which sees late antique Hispania as a generally impoverished province that boasted no claims to imperial attention and thus to imperially-sponsored industries.[51] The discovery within a relatively short period of two wealthy sites with possible imperial connections necessarily demands either a revision of the theory, the sites, or both. Arce's recently published conference on the site of Centcelles, identified by earlier German archaeologists as the tomb of the emperor Constans, should be seen as part of the same debate.[52]

Important advances in urban archaeology have provided similarly stimulating and provocative results. The model excavations in Mérida and the creation of a local journal to publish their findings have drawn an increasingly detailed picture of the diocesan capital. Particularly important are the excavations beneath the church of Santa Eulalia, which seem to have revealed the shrine praised by Prudentius, and work in the neighborhood of the Morería.[53] The latter project has uncovered an *insula* abutting the city walls, including a moment of destruction in which parts of the *insula* were burned and at least some of its denizens killed. The ceramic evidence dates this moment to the first half of the fifth century and the excavators have tentatively ascribed this destruction, as well as destruction in the necropolis beneath Santa Eulalia, to the Suevic sack of 429 described by Hydatius. Again the problem of reconciling persuasive archaeological evidence to historical events rears its head, but is rather elegantly solved by the model of "spotty destruction." In this interpretation, destructive activity in the city's periphery motivates polemic descriptions of cataclysmic destruction, while the core of the city remains largely untouched and damaged areas like the Morería are quickly resettled and rebuilt. This model, which is so neatly illustrated in Mérida, finds a place for both textual images of cataclysm and convincing archaeological evidence to speak in distinctive voices

[51] This is the one of the fundamental assumptions of Arce (1982a).
[52] Arce (2002b).
[53] See, respectively Mateos (1999) and Alba Calzado (1997); (1998).

and is an important contribution to the history of violence and historico-archaeological theory.[54]

As in Mérida, the local governments of Barcelona and Tarragona have also established urban archaeological projects that have similarly advanced our knowledge of both urban church history and economic evolution. Excavations beneath the cathedral church of Barcelona have revealed a large and complex series of sixth- and seventh-century remains, seemingly a cruciform church, and have called into question the function of the building traditionally identified as the fifth-century cathedral church.[55] Similarly, emergency excavation in Tarragona has produced a new church, possibly of monastic function, and a villa perhaps associated with it.[56] Both projects are noteworthy for the careful preservation of the remains beneath and within functioning modern buildings, a laudable achievement also notable at Mérida.

As important for the revision of traditional paradigms as the discovery and publication of new sites is the reconsideration of old ones. Advances in late antique ceramic studies have made re-excavation a particularly profitable enterprise, and a series of re-excavation projects has produced new dates and interpretations for some of the peninsula's most important late antique monuments. Re-excavation and study by the Taller Escola d'Arqueologia (TED'A) of Tarragona and others in the Francolí basilica and the amphitheater church, both built as *memoriae* to Saint Fructuosus and his deacons, have produced new dating evidence for both structures and reopened the debate surrounding their chronological and functional relationship.[57] In the same way, re-excavations at Portugal's largest rural villa, Torre de Palma, have re-inserted rural agriculture into a monument hitherto primarily known for its mosaics, and showcased the use of new methods in re-excavation projects, in this case the use of rural ethnoarchaeology and a new method of dating lime mortar.[58]

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[54] For a different assessment of the evidence, see Kulikowski's contribution to the present volume.

[55] For an overview of the excavations, see Bonnet and Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (1999).

[56] Mar et al. (1996).

[57] TED'A (1990); del Amo (1979–1989).

[58] Maloney and Hale (1996); Maloney and Ringbom (2000).

The archaeology of the economy has also seen radical change, particularly through the work of dedicated ceramics specialists. Wide-reaching monographs on late Roman fine-wares, transport amphora, and common wares have not only introduced increasing precision in chronological sequencing, but carefully elucidated the complex ties that bound Hispania to Mediterranean trade networks, and simultaneously fractured it into highly regional economies. Several recent projects on Spanish amphorae finds abroad, in Britain, at Monte Testaccio in Rome, and in the Levant, have described the decline of the Baetican olive industries in the late second century, the decreasing role of Hispania in Rome's food supply, yet the tenacious continuity of smaller-scale exports, particularly of Lusitanian *garum*, into the sixth century.[59] These studies, along with the few field surveys to have been conducted in the peninsula, have shifted the spotlight of economic change away from late antiquity and onto the second century, where, in comparison to the fourth- through sixth-century changes, more radical decline in settlement numbers and wine and oil exports may be found.

If any lacunae are to be noted in what is otherwise an extraordinarily fecund area of late antique study, it is the continued absence of detailed site reports, including material analyses, which could foster the careful synthetic studies that must be the field's next goal. Up-to-date catalogues of the peninsula's late Roman villas, churches, and cities should be as common as the increasingly expansive electronic amphorae databases, but such catalogues can only proceed from full excavation reports—and these do not yet exist in sufficient numbers. The slow development of large-scale field survey projects since the successful completion of the Tarragona and Guadalquivir surveys, has likewise prevented analysis of Hispania's countryside comparable to those of Italy and Gaul.[60] If Hispania's villa chronology and topography, and rate of urban transformation differ from those in other provinces, the origins of such difference must be sought in economic forces that have their root in rural settlement.

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[59] Among many, Carreras Monfort (2000); Blázquez Martínez et al. (1999–); Lagóstena Barrios (2001); Reynolds (1995); Reynolds (2000).

[60] For Tarragona, Carreté, Keay and Millett (1995); for the Guadalquivir, Ponsich (1974–1991).

Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Approaches

Each of the eleven contributions in this volume is a product of the radically changed face of scholarship on Roman and late antique Hispania. Representative of the best recent work on subjects ranging from rural economies to heresy, the contribution of each author, in its own way, presents a late Roman Hispania greatly changed from that imagined only two decades ago. The essays are grouped into four thematic sections, each of which begins with a summary of the essays included in it and their contribution to broader scholarly discourses.

While the methods employed in the essays naturally vary according to the subject and the interests of each author, the volume is bound together by a series of thematic and theoretical threads that run through each piece. The first and most obvious is a critical encounter with earlier historiographic paradigms. Each author was asked to frame his or her analysis around a reconsideration of earlier scholarship: Kulikowski challenges the widely-accepted view of fourth-century urban decline; Bowes and McLynn take up the alleged piety of the Theodosian family; Castillo and Escribano reconsider the uniqueness of Spanish Christianity; Fernández and Morillo, and Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes challenge the notion of an isolated, insular Gallaecia, while Chavarría and Reynolds rethink received wisdom on the late Roman economy. In some cases, as with Castillo's study of hagiography, the paradigm at issue stretches back to the disputes of the Enlightenment, while for others it is more recent work that attracts critical attention.

As described above, the study of late Roman Hispania is currently in flux and lacking any single governing orthodoxy. If as a body, however, these essays present any single alternative paradigm in place of earlier traditions it is an insistence that both texts and archaeology must find a place in any interpretation of late Roman Hispania. Many of the paradigms overturned in this volume were based on one or the other type of evidence to the exclusion of the other, a one-sidedness which resulted in the erroneous models of urban catastrophe, the homogeneity of Gallic and Spanish Christianities, or the notion of a northern Spanish *limes*. However, the proposed marriage between words and things must be a cautious and nuanced one, in which both text and material culture are interrogated on their own terms and are permitted to speak with their own distinctive,

and at times discordant, voices. As Kulikowski, Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes, and Chavarría all discuss, textually-based decline or catastrophe narratives are not simply contradicted by archaeological data. Rather, the meaning of both categories of evidence are enriched by interaction with the other. Reynolds' work provides a detailed picture of a world of trade and production almost wholly absent from the textual record, while Escribano unravels a heretical debate whose rich textual record consistently camouflages its identity through the manipulation of words. As a group, these contributions insist that a dialogue between text and artifact is the only means of fully grasping a complex and shifting late antique world, and that scholars from both sides of the historical/archaeological divide neglect their counterparts at their own peril.

These essays do not, however, simply seek to describe past errors, but rather point out new roads, many of them leading out of Hispania to the larger Mediterranean world. Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes, and Fernández and Morillo have provided convincing evidence of a previously unknown *annona* route through Gallaecia and the north coast. Kulikowski has suggested its southern branch may have led through Mérida to Tingitania. The presence of such a supply route might answer major questions in the study of late antique geopolitics: was Mauritania Tingitana incorporated into the *diocesis Hispaniarum* for reasons relating to this route? Did the importance of this route determine Mérida's elevation to diocesan capital? One might also note that the consistent and unusual wealth of Hispania's rural material culture is matched in Europe only by the villas of Aquitaine. The eastern terminus of Hispania's northern *annona* route was Bordeaux, and the villas of Aquitaine cluster in the river valleys south of Bordeaux like grapes on a vine. Can the thriving Spanish Gallic and Aquitanian elites be tied to an imperial gravy-train much as can their counterparts in Britain and Pannonia? If this is the case, what is the real nature of what we describe too generally as "late Roman villa culture?" The problem of the *annona* is also bound up with the problem of fourth-century Spanish urbanism: Kulikowski's picture of urban health contrasts starkly with that of Italy, and yet it is the well-studied Italian cities that have set the agenda for studies of late antique urbanism. How applicable are these models outside Italy and why should Hispania offer such contrast? Finally, Escribano, McLynn, Castillo and Bowes have all unpacked the traditional image of Hispania as a land of particular sanctity and peculiar heresy. These findings

reveal the carefully constructed polemic surrounding ancient definitions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy and thus point the way towards new concepts of pro-Nicene politics, the nature of Arianism and the fragmentation of late antique Christian identities. Above all, these essays seek to re-situate Hispania within its Mediterranean milieu, a homecoming which not only illuminates the ties that bound the late Roman world to its westernmost province, but which will find that world itself changed and reinvigorated by Hispania's presence.

PART ONE

SPANISH GOVERNMENT AND SPANISH CITIES

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The first section of this book is the shortest in the volume, comprising a single article on the government of the Spanish provinces in late antiquity and the role played by peninsular cities. Both topics have been the object of extensive research in recent decades. Indeed, the history of late Roman administration in Spain is one of the few historical topics that flourished throughout the twentieth century, largely impervious to the more problematical historiographic trends discussed in the introduction to this volume. The history of Spanish cities, by contrast, was among the most badly affected by the rigidities of older historiography, with its insistence on a sharp division between early and later empires and the notion of third-century crisis and decline.

In this chapter, Kulikowski lays out the evidence for late imperial government in the peninsula. He begins with the cities and their municipal governments, suggesting that there exists strong evidence for continuity of curial government into the fifth century. The cities formed the basis of peninsular government, which was reworked at the provincial level in the reforms of Diocletian, and the accumulating evidence for these late imperial administrative changes is summarized in what follows. The second part of the chapter looks at the evidence for the physical world of the late antique city in the peninsula. This is a topic that has benefitted enormously from the growing methodological sophistication of Spanish archaeology. The bibliography is now vast, but widely dispersed. Kulikowski both surveys the evidence and addresses the connected problem of how it should be deployed in conjunction with older and less reliable archaeological records. As in his discussion of peninsular government, he insists on the need to look at late imperial realities in the context of their early imperial foundations and to treat the later empire as one stage of a developing Spanish urbanism. In doing so, one finds that many of the old paradigms of decline are completely unsupported by the extant evidence.

CITIES AND GOVERNMENT IN LATE ANTIQUE HISPANIA: RECENT ADVANCES AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Michael Kulikowski

Recent research, which has cleared away many rigid old interpretations, now allows us to systematically investigate the ways in which Spain fits into our broader understanding of late antiquity. Most of the articles in the present volume address one or another aspect of this project, a reflection of the dramatic progress made on certain topics in Hispano-Roman history. A great deal of work has been done on the peninsula's Roman and post-Roman administrative history and on developments in Spanish urbanism, but the large body of new literature is neither readily accessible nor easily digested. In the continuing absence of a more ambitious synthesis, the following pages can serve as a guide to recent work, while suggesting where further effort is needed to test emerging hypotheses.

Late Roman administration and its inheritors

The Spanish provinces of the later Roman empire, and indeed of the empire's successor kingdoms, grew directly out of Republican and early imperial roots, and it is important that we understand them in those terms. This is particularly necessary in a field like administrative or institutional history, which develops slowly and according to rhythms that rarely coincide with the pace of political change. It is quite normal to begin treatments of late antique Hispania with the accession of Diocletian, but doing so disguises the fact that the administrative changes of the tetrarchic period were deeply rooted in the experience, and the administrative experiments, of the previous two centuries.[1] As importantly, a discussion that begins with Diocletian will of necessity take a top-down approach, regarding the

[1] For the traditional chronological break, see, e.g., Arce (1982a).

new tetrarchic provincial structure, and the imperial officials who administered it, as the dominant forces in Spanish history. That perspective, however, misses the fact that the basic organs of Spanish administration, after Diocletian as before him, were the peninsula's autonomous cities, its *municipia* or *coloniae*. The individual city was of considerably greater importance to Spain's development than it was in other western provinces like Gaul and Britain, with which Spain is often bracketed. To consider late Roman administrative change without recognizing that fact risks distortion of the historical record.

The circumstances of the Roman conquest of the peninsula—which took two full centuries, beginning with the Scipionic expedition of 218 BC—helped to entrench regional distinctions which were never fully lost.[2] The Mediterranean and southern Atlantic coasts, as well as the great river valleys of the south and east, had long traditions of Hellenistic, Punic, and indigenous urbanism.[3] These were also the regions that had the longest experience of Roman domination, as well as the regions in which Roman culture was most rapidly absorbed and adapted. By contrast, in the mountain ranges and the Mesetas of the interior, and in the north and the northwest, the Romans brought urbanized government as a novelty. Such differences began to diminish in the reign of Augustus, when the peninsula was organized into the three provinces of Lusitania, Baetica and Tarraconensis and fourteen *conventus* within them.[4]

The *conventus* are a phenomenon known in only a few of the high imperial provinces; they began under the Republic as unofficial groupings of Roman citizens within allied or tributary communities in the provinces. By the reign of Augustus, the *conventus* had acquired a geographical connotation as an administrative unit within a province, corresponding to the governor's assize circuit, and by the Flavian

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[2] Richardson (1996), 1–149, is a reliable overview of the conquest.

[3] For pre-Roman urbanism see Bendala (1994). Strabo 3.2.151 famously comments on the early Romanization of the inhabitants of the Guadalquivir valley. Fear (1996) is an accessible introduction, in English, to the Romanization of Baetica, but should be read with the comments of Haley (1997).

[4] On the origins of *conventus* see Burton (1975); Lintott (1993), 54–69; Galsterer (2000), 346–48; Curchin (1994) for the social effects of the *conventus* organization. The fourteen *conventus* capitals were Tarragona, Cartagena, Zaragoza, Clunia, Astorga, Lugo, and Braga in Tarraconensis; Scallabis, Beja (Pax Iulia), and Mérida in Lusitania; and Córdoba, Écija (Astigi), Seville, and Cádiz in Baetica. The standard account of their boundaries is Albertini (1923), 83–104, but see now the divisions in the second edition of CIL 2.

era, fourteen fixed conventual capitals were established in Spain. As is the nature of institutional phenomena, one hears relatively little about the *conventus* across the imperial centuries, but they were clearly important social and juridical units. They performed social functions as the forum for a group of communities, and we find evidence for both conventual councils and dedications to the *genii* of *conventus*. The conventual councils could serve as interlocutors between local communities and imperial government, as is shown by an agreement of 222 between the council of the *conventus* of Clunia and the legate of the Legio VII Gemina at León.[5] Moreover, the long-term importance of the *conventus* is shown by the fact that they continued to organize the territory of the Spanish northwest after the imperial superstructure had more or less disappeared: in the fifth-century chronicle of Hydatius, there are fully seven references to the *conventus*.[6] The administrative connections between high and early empire are nowhere more visible than in that point.

If the *conventus* was an important organizational unit, however, the cities were considerably more so, and this was in large part a deliberate part of the Augustan plan for the peninsula.[7] Urban centers which already existed continued to be the basic organizing units of territory, and others were created *ex nihilo* to fulfil the same function, and to serve the imperial census and its attendant tax collections.[8] From the imperial perspective, a network of cities controlled by their local elites was an ideal way of controlling an empire. It prevented disturbance and ensured that the tribute and tax due to the empire were delivered, all at a minimal cost to imperial government and with very little official oversight: between them, the three Spanish provinces required fewer than three hundred imperial officials to administer.[9] This model of government through an urban network was imposed on Spain and adopted enthusiastically by the locals. Here, as in many things, the Spanish provincial experience of imperial government differed widely from its nearest neighbor, Gaul. The

[5] CIL 6: 1454 = *ILS* 6109.

[6] Hyd. 93; 172; 189; 197; 213; 243; 244. In the year 400, the *conventus* was still being used to identify the origins of a person: I Toledo = CCH 4: 327.

[7] Navarro and Magallón (1999) on the role of cities in the Augustan plan for Spain.

[8] See Augustus' *Res Gestae* 8.2, with Edmondson (1990).

[9] Abascal and Espinosa (1989), 206; Ojeda (1999). This figure, of course, leaves out the legionary establishment in the northwestern part of Tarraconensis.

vast *civitates* of the Tres Galliae, which largely corresponded to old tribal territories and within which several towns might coexist alongside a *civitas*-capital, simply did not exist in Spain, where after Vespasian the terms *civitas* and *municipium* were functionally interchangeable.[10] In Spain, as in northern Italy after the Social War, the autonomous city was normally the highest level of administration between an individual provincial and the imperial establishment of the province, inasmuch as the *conventus* seem not to have had a governmental apparatus of their own.

What makes this particularly striking is the sheer number of cities involved. By the beginning of the second century AD, about 30 *coloniae* and more than 300 *municipia* dotted the Spanish landscape, though they were not evenly distributed but rather concentrated in Baetica and in coastal and ripuarian regions more generally. The *coloniae* were in origin the deliberate creation of the Roman government, settled with Roman or Latin citizens; the *municipia* were generally preexistent urban centers, some settled by Romans or Latins, while others were indigenous sites. What the two had in common was the privileged status that gave them autonomy over their own affairs and those of their dependent territory. Competition for these privileges, and the promotion to citizen status under Roman law which often went with them, had fuelled the process of Romanization and urbanization in the earlier first century, as local elites strove to live in a Roman fashion in an urban center, in the hopes that looking and acting the part of Roman would in time lead to the legal fact of Roman citizenship.[11] This competition was rewarded by the emperor Vespasian, who owed his throne in part to the legion raised from the Roman citizens of Spain by Galba at the start of the civil war of AD 68–69.[12]

In AD 73 or 74, during his tenure of the censorship, Vespasian issued what scholars have dubbed the Flavian municipal law. This extended to all the peninsula's urban centers the Latin right, making

[10] Lintott (1993), 129–45, for a comparative overview; most Spanish cities referred to themselves indiscriminately as *reipublicae* by the second century: Alföldy (1977), 12–14; Ortiz (1999).

[11] Sherwin-White (1973), 225–36, for the way in which looking the part of Roman could help a city's chances of achieving the status. We can see the mimetic impulse at work in, e.g., the Augustan theatre at Italica, the circus at Lisbon, and the forum at Conimbriga.

[12] In general, Le Roux (1982).

them *municipia iuris Latini*, in which municipal citizens could use Roman law among themselves, intermarry with Roman citizens, and achieve full Roman citizenship by tenure of local office.[13] It is not quite clear how Vespasian's grant was meant to be put into practice, and doing so clearly took some time.[14] We now possess several copies of Flavian municipal laws from different Spanish *municipia*, and recent discoveries have proven that the municipal law applied across the whole peninsula, not just in Baetica where most of the known laws have been found.[15] With the Flavian grant, Spain's various urban centers began a process of convergence that gradually eliminated the practical differences among them. A standard "form-law" was available to the new *municipia*, with spaces left blank for local variations like the size of the curia.[16]

Furthermore, the differences between the constitutions of new *municipia* and older ones, or indeed between *municipia* and *coloniae*, were not large and probably grew smaller over time as a standard pattern of local government took over.[17] In the Hispano-Roman city, the basic institution of government was the annual magistracies—the aediles, the quaestors, and the duovirs described in the municipal laws—which oversaw the smooth functioning of the town itself, took care of its *territorium*, and provided the channel through which the imperial government communicated with the cities that made up the empire.[18] The municipal laws give an account of the functions that each of these officials was meant to perform, and, multiplied

[13] For the Latin right, see Sherwin White (1973), 108–16; Lintott (1993), 132–45; Mentxaka (1993). The evidence for the grant is Pliny, *NH* 3.30, and the fragments of municipal laws themselves.

[14] There is a vast controversial literature on the subject. Alföldy (1999) is the most sensible treatment and contains references to earlier scholarship.

[15] The most complete copy is the *Lex Irnitana*, for which the edition in González Fernández (1986) remains the most accessible. González Fernández (1990) presents texts for all fragments known at its date of publication. Mangas (2000), 83, offers a table showing extant fragments and the chapters of the law which they preserve, with full references to available editions. The new fragment from Duratón (Segovia) in the Roman province of Tarraconensis is discussed in Hoyo (1995).

[16] Long controversial, this is proved by a new fragment: see Castillo (1999), 272.

[17] Cf. the fragments of the municipal laws and the *lex Ursonensis*, a Flavian copy of the originally Caesarian foundation charter of the *colonia* at Urso: ILS 6087 = González Fernández (1990), 19–49. Galsterer (1971) shows how differences between *coloniae* and *municipia* disappeared over time.

[18] See especially Mentxaka (1993) for commentary on the *capitula* of the municipal law dealing with curial government.

by the hundreds of cities across the peninsula, the effect was to create a standard, deeply rooted, mode of government, without which imperial administration could not function. Urban, conventual and provincial priesthoods of the imperial cult—in existence in Spain since the reign of Tiberius, but vigorously promoted by the Flavians—both capped a local magistrate's career and also provided a means for the whole community, and the local elites in particular, to participate in the governance of the empire as a whole, by offering thanksgiving and pious hopes to the ruler of an empire in which each city was an integral, if local, element.[19]

In all these ways, the Flavian municipal law created Hispano-Romans, bringing the elites of every corner of the peninsula into the Roman citizenship and opening the way to participation in the politics of the empire at large.[20] This steady, regular cooptation of local elites into the citizen body was virtually unique in the Roman world, as the Flavian grant itself had been, and as a result of it, the Antonine Constitution of AD 212 had no revolutionary impact on Spain. Every Spaniard of consequence was already a Roman citizen, while the whole of the population that lacked Roman citizenship already used Roman law within their own communities. The interaction between urban elites and provincial government, the routes by which they reached imperial service, or the ways in which they performed functions of imperial government without actually entering into imperial service, have all been explored at the level of local communities.[21] An integrated study of Spanish provincial government has yet to be undertaken, though the materials for it are at hand in the ever growing epigraphic record.[22] The matter is important for

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[19] On imperial cult in Spain generally see Étienne (1958); Alföldy (1973); Cepas (1997), 110–33, for the third century.

[20] This is attested by the increasing participation of Spaniards in imperial politics from the late Flavian period onwards: Étienne (1966); Caballos (1990) for Spanish senators; Caballos (1999) for Spanish equestrians.

[21] See the pioneering work of Alföldy (1987), now updated in idem (1999), or the superb local study of Saquete (1997).

[22] New discoveries and re-editions of old inscriptions are registered the *Ficheiro Epigraphico*, published as a supplement to the journal *Conimbriga*, and in *Hispania Epigraphica*, the eighth volume of which, dated 1998, appeared in 2003. The original CIL 2 and its Supplement are now very old, and must be used in conjunction with more recent provincial and local *corpora*. However, the second edition of CIL 2, of which three fascicles have thus far appeared, will subsume most of these when its fourteen projected volumes emerge. Handley (2003) is an indispensable

late Roman history. The traditional view has been to take the Flavian through Severan period as the apex of municipal autonomy and power throughout the Roman world, and to assume the rapid diminution of its importance in the course of the third century. In part, this impression is created by the decline in the number of inscriptions extant from the period.[23] However, this decline occurs at a different pace in different parts of the peninsula; in broad terms, those areas with the earliest history of Roman contact lost the habit of inscription earliest, those with the latest municipalization lost it latest, suggesting not a decline in public service or the behaviors inscribed, but rather a change in the social function of inscription.[24] Moreover, the loss of the habit of inscription need not mean the loss of the social functions once regularly inscribed.[25]

As it happens, the continuity of urban magisterial functions into late antiquity is well attested, if not on the overwhelming scale which the epigraphy of the high empire allows. Chance finds of late third-century inscriptions show the functioning of the old magistracies into this period of supposed curial crisis and beyond.[26] More substantial evidence is provided by the canons of the council of Elvira, held before the start of the Diocletianic persecution, perhaps in 302 or 303.[27] These canons show the difficulties which early fourth-century Christians had in fitting themselves into an urban landscape that continued to function in much the same way as laid down in the Flavian municipal law: there is, understandably, particular concern

survey of the Spanish epigraphic evidence from c. 300 onwards, although it misses certain continuities with older high imperial practice.

[23] The decline of the epigraphic habit is a universal late Roman phenomenon, for which see Macmullen (1982); Mrozek (1973); Roueché (1997); Witschel (1999), 60–84.

[24] The close parallels between municipalization and the habit of inscription are brought out by Häussler (2002) and Woolf (1999), 77–105. See Meyer (1990) for funerary inscription as an advertisement of the *iura privata* of Roman law. It is worth noting that a similar cultural advertisement took place with the widespread conversion to Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, when inscription, this time recording the inscriber's Christianity, again becomes commonplace: Galvao-Sobrinho (1995), which is, however, challenged by Handley (2003), 12–16, 35–45.

[25] Demonstrated long ago by Robert (1960), despite which Liebeschuetz (2001), 11–19, continues to regard the decline of inscription as evidence for the decline of the behaviors described by inscriptions.

[26] See, e.g., Curchin (1990b), no. 350; CIL 2: 6014.

[27] Duchesne (1887) showed that a date after the start of the persecution is impossible. Doubts about the canons' authenticity are answered by Sotomayor (1991); (2000).

over concourse with priests of the municipal imperial cult, a concern that is manifested by other authors right down to the end of the fourth century.[28] Another canon of Elvira prohibits participation in just the sort of civic procession envisaged in the Flavian *Lex Irnitana*.[29] Perhaps more interesting is the council's prohibition on magistrates, particularly the duovirs, entering a church during their year of office.[30] While this prohibition no doubt reflects the general impossibility of holding municipal office without coming into contact with pagan cult, it seems to likewise reflect the continuing coercive power of chief magistrates, attested in the municipal laws, who might therefore be called upon to condemn fellow Christians.

Later fourth-century evidence shows a similar prolongation of urban magisterial functions; thus the canons of the first council of Toledo prohibit churchmen holding magistracies in their home towns.[31] The continued power of the curia in the later fourth century is also shown in the Luciferian *Liber precum*, preserved in the *Collectio Avellana*.[32] In its narrative, the curia is called to judge the case of a Spanish Luciferian named Vincentius, who insisted on remaining in communion with the schismatic Gregory of Elvira and provoked the hostility of the urban mob.[33] A stray reference from the mid-fifth century shows that, in both substantial provincial cities and small *municipia*, the curial *ordo* continued to exercise a dominant role in local affairs, even after the superstructure of imperial provincial government had disappeared.[34]

In the third and fourth centuries, and presumably the earlier fifth as well, Spain's curial magistrates remained their cities' chief interlocutors with the imperial government. Urban magistrates were par-

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[28] Elvira 2–4; 17; 55. A letter of Pope Innocent (*Ep.* 3.7 = *PL* 20: 485–93) seems to chastise Christian priests who had recently participated in cult, at least if the word *coronati* means municipal priest, and explicitly condemns bishops who had recently given amphitheatrical spectacles for their fellow townsmen.

[29] Elvira 57 and *Lex Irn.* 40.

[30] Elvira 56.

[31] I Toledo 8 (= CCH 4: 331–32).

[32] For extended discussion of the text see Escribano in the present volume.

[33] Coll. Avell. 2: 74. See Fernández Ubiña (1997b); (1997c).

[34] Hil., *Ep.* 16 (Thiel) = *PL* 58: 17, mentions a group of *honorati et possessores* from seven cities in Tarraconensis (Tarazona, Cascante, Tricio, Calahorra, Briviesca, León, and an unknown site called Varega), who have written to him in the context of a local ecclesiastical dispute. That these *honorati* included *curiales* is shown by the fifth-century *interpretatio* to *CTh.* 1.20.1 which defines *honorati provinciarum* as *ex curia corpore*. A *vir honoratus* from Tarragona appears in RIT 946.

ticularly important to the collection of taxes. The curial body as a whole was responsible for the collection of a city's tax burden, even if the precise mechanisms by which these collections were undertaken is not at all obvious to us.[35] In fiscal affairs, it appears that *curatores reipublicae* acted as the voice of their fellow *curiales*; for though the office had begun in the early empire as a senatorial post, it was filled by men of municipal rank when first documented in Spain during the third century, men who, after Diocletian, were appointed by their fellow curiales.[36] *Curiales* also oversaw the collection of the various indirect taxes. We have Spanish evidence for this in the shape of a bronze *modius* which names two late fourth-century *curiales* who guaranteed the fidelity of weights and measures.[37]

The curias of the fourth century were one way in which the force of the Roman state was channeled down to the level of the local city and its territory. Another, lower down the social scale, was the urban *collegia*. Such *collegia* had existed throughout Roman history, some sponsored by the state, others founded privately, and they are well attested, in Spain as elsewhere, by the rich corpus of inscriptions from the early empire.[38] In the later empire, *collegia* were increasingly placed at the disposal of the imperial government, both to facilitate the collection of taxes and to regulate the provision of compulsory services by their members.[39] Attestations of Spanish *collegia* shrink dramatically with the third-century decline in inscriptions but, as with the urban magistracies, chance finds from the fourth century attest the continuity of the old *collegia*. Thus, the same Baetican *navicularii* who are named in many second- and third-century inscriptions reappear in laws of Constantine directed to a *vicarius* and a *comes Hispaniarum*.[40] Similar continuity is shown in the case of the *collegium fabri*, one of the *tria collegia principalia* known from across the empire and collectively responsible for urban fire-fighting. In Spain,

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[35] Goffart (1974); Durliat (1990).

[36] For the *curatores* in general see Burton (1979). The office became elective within the municipalities under Diocletian: Jones (1964), 728. For Spanish examples, see CIL 2: 1115; 2207; 4112 = RIT 155; 6283.

[37] *AE* 1915: 75 = *ILER* 5836. A *horreus* in Tarraconensis, attested in ILS 5911, may or may not have a fiscal context.

[38] Waltzing (1895–1900) and Kornemann (1901) are the basic studies, but see also Jaczynowska (1970); for Spain, see Santero (1978).

[39] The fiscal role of *collegia* in the fourth century is shown by *CTh.* 12.1.179.

[40] CIL 2: 1163; 1168; 1169; 1180; 1182; 1183 with *CTh.* 13.5.4; 13.5.8. In general, see Chic (1999).

such *collegia* are well-known epigraphically during the high empire—in Tarragona we actually know the location, and something of the decoration, of their meeting house—but the Córdoban *collegium fabri*, attested for the first time in an inscription of 247, is named again fully a hundred years later in a rare sort of artefact: a fourth-century *tabula patronatus*, reproducing the same fulsome vocabulary of patronage well-known from the high empire.[41]

There is a point to beginning a discussion of the administration of Hispania in late antiquity with this bottom-up approach, rather than starting from imperial administration, as is more normal. The demonstration of a clear continuity in urban magistracies and institutions, their powers intact, across the gap ostensibly constituted by the Diocletianic reforms, raises questions about the later empire that cannot be asked if we start our discussion with imperial bureaucrats. Although it is increasingly certain that the imprint of imperial officials was nowhere near as minimal during the early empire as was once thought, the sharp distinction between a liberal, unbureaucratic principate and an oppressive, bureaucratized dominate remains an attractive shorthand. Spain, because it lacked the substantial legionary presence of the Rhineland or Britain, was probably less heavily touched by the imperial presence of the early empire; in consequence, we might presume that the increase in the number of imperial administrators after the Diocletianic reforms had a correspondingly greater effect on the Spanish provinces. That presumption, however, will remain speculative without testing, which points up one vital avenue for future research: if Spanish municipal offices continued in the later empire to fulfill many of the same functions as they had done in the early empire, we need to place them beside the peninsula's changing provincial administration and study their interaction.

The reorganization of Spanish administration during the tetrarchic reform was just one small part of a much larger reorganization undertaken by Diocletian and his co-emperors. This was dramatic, including the reform of the mints and currency, the breaking up of the large Severan provinces, the separation of civilian and military hierarchies, the creation of a mobile field army, and the expansion of the imperial office itself by means of an imperial college.[42] All of

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[41] For the Tarragona *collegium* see Koppel (1988); for Córdoba, CIL 2^2/7: 188 and CIL 2: 221 = CIL 2^2/7: 332.

[42] For the mints, Carrié (1994); for the provinces, Seston (1946), 334 and Barnes (1982), 224–25; for the army, Hoffmann (1969).

these measures were a response to instability at the highest levels of imperial government which had been a defining element of Roman politics since the collapse of Gallienus' regime in 268.[43] Diocletian's reforms were by no means unprecedented, and in almost every one of his actions the emperor had been anticipated by one or another of his predecessors: third-century emperors had attempted to reform the currency, the deliberate contraction of provinces had already been tried in the East, Valerian and Gallienus had already instituted the de facto separation of military and civilian commands, Gallienus had created a mobile cavalry force which prefigured the tetrarchic army, and many emperors had hoped that sharing imperial power with a family member would strengthen their hold on power.[44] The novelty of Diocletian's efforts lay in the attempt to make all these changes at once, and in a longevity that allowed the results to take root.

Spain had felt very little direct impact from the governmental crisis to which Diocletian responded, and scholars no longer impute a cataclysmic importance to the scant Spanish evidence. But if the Spanish provinces were little touched by the imperial crisis, they were affected as much as any other by the Diocletianic attempt to entrench stability. The impact came primarily through provincial reorganization, and the expansion of governmental numbers it brought with it, inasmuch as the emperors themselves were virtually unknown in the peninsula: the only tetrarch to visit Spain personally was Maximian, and the only effect of his presence that we can trace is the construction of the Cercadilla palace at Córdoba.[45] In administrative terms, however, the effect was greater, following the normal Diocletianic pattern of subdividing large provinces into smaller ones and grouping them together into a diocese. The earliest certain evidence for a new Spanish diocese made up of six provinces comes from the *laterculus Veronensis*, or the Verona List, now securely dated to 314 after long dispute.[46] That list shows that the provincial reforms and the grouping of provinces into dioceses had taken place in both

[43] The best narrative is Christol (1997); source problems discussed in Syme (1971).

[44] Harl (1996), 125–57, for the currency; Potter (1990), 63 for the provinces; Drinkwater (1987), 25–26 and Ritterling (1903) for Valerian and Gallienus.

[45] Maximian's itinerary at Barnes (1982), 56–60; his visit to Spain is guaranteed by a reference in a contemporary papyrus: Page (1941), 544, no. 135. On Cercadilla as the palace of Maximian, Haley (1994) and Hidalgo (1994); (1996), though Arce (1997b) rejects the connection.

[46] Barnes (1996), 550.

East and West in 314, which in turn means that the reform must have been instituted before the breakdown of the tetrarchy in 305.[47] The creation of the Spanish diocese, for its part, seems to presuppose the provincial division of Spain and had certainly taken place by 298, when we first meet a diocesan *vicarius* of Spain, Aurelius Agricolanus.[48] Given that, it is plausible to think that the new arrangements were created at a single stroke in 293, at the same time that the tetrarchy was created.[49]

Regardless of date, the effects are clear. Spain's three Severan provinces were divided into five new ones. The old Baetica and Lusitania survived, with their capitals at Córdoba and Mérida respectively, but the old Tarraconensis was split into a new, smaller Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis and Gallaecia, with capitals at Tarragona, Cartagena, and Braga, respectively.[50] Meanwhile, the new diocese of the Spains included not just these five provinces, but also Mauretania Tingitana across the straits of Gibraltar. There were also substantial changes to the status of provincial governors. Here again, there are precedents, particularly the conversion of Baetica to an imperial province during the third century.[51] In fact, revisions to the status of Spanish officials may have preceded the new division of the Diocletianic provinces. By 289, the senatorial *legatus pro praetore* of Tarraconensis had been replaced by an equestrian *praeses*.[52] Similar changes affected Baetica and Lusitania.[53] The overall effect was to increase in absolute terms the number of imperial officials present in Spain, which will have made the direct representatives of imperial power considerably more visible in Spanish cities.[54]

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[47] The arguments of Noetlichs (1982) and Migl (1994), 54–68, falter on precisely this point.

[48] He appears in the *Passio Marcelli*, for the text of which see Lanata (1972), with the commentary of Castillo in this volume.

[49] For the date, Barnes (1982), 225.

[50] On this, the treatment of Albertini (1923), 117–26, has not been superseded.

[51] Alföldy (1995).

[52] The last known senatorial legate is M. Aurelius Valentinianus, under Carus; the first known *praeses* is Postumius Lupercus (CIL 2: 4104 = RIT 92); the *praeses* Julius Valens (RIT 91) is not securely dated.

[53] The first attested *praeses Baeticae* is Octavius Rufus, from between 306 and 312. The first attested *praeses* of Lusitania is tetrarchic, though of unknown date: either Aemilius Aemilianus, known from a recently discovered inscription published in Saquete et al. (1993), or Aurelius Ursinus (CIL 2: 5140).

[54] For the size of vicarial and praesidial staffs see Jones (1964), 373–77; 592–96.

As with the reforms more generally, these experiments with the shape of the Spanish provinces follow from older precedents: Caracalla had divided Tarraconensis into two provinces, a *nova provincia Hispania Citerior Antoniniana* and a *Hispania superior*, though the division did not last.[55] The tetrarchic reforms were themselves subject to revision. The Balearic islands, which were included in Carthaginiensis in the Verona List, became a separate province some time after 369.[56] The usurper Magnus Maximus (r. 383–388) created a new Spanish province within the Diocletianic Tarraconensis, probably called the *nova provincia Maxima*, which was suppressed by Theodosius along with Maximus himself.[57] In terms of the government of these provinces, our sample of Spanish officials is too small to allow meaningful prosopographical analysis: between Diocletian and the 420s, we know the names of only sixteen *vicarii* and just over twenty provincial governors.[58] But we know that, as the fourth century progressed, the Spanish provinces underwent the same type of status inflation as we find in the rest of the empire.[59]

What made the Diocletianic changes unique was not their novelty, but their imbrication within a much larger pattern of simultaneous reforms, of which they were merely one local example. The explication of the Spanish role in this larger imperial pattern is probably the most important task for future research. Much progress has been made in this respect, not least by contributors to the present volume, but our approach to the whole question still remains at the formative stage. We have moved beyond the old norm, which treated Spanish changes in a vacuum without reference to the world outside the peninsula, and the logic behind the Diocletianic reorganization—particularly the role of Tingitania in the Spanish diocese and the relationship of the diocese with Britain, Gaul and the Rhineland—has received ever more attention. These vital questions

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[55] Alföldy (2000).

[56] As shown by the *Breviarium* of Festus (369), in which the province does not appear, and the *laterculus* of Polemius Silvius (c. 395), in which it does.

[57] The province appears on a single milestone: CIL 2: 4911 = *AE* 1957: 311 = *AE* 1960: 158. The reading of the provincial name accepted here was proposed by Chastagnol (1965), 286, and though plausible, must remain conjecture.

[58] A full list of provincial governors and *vicarii* appears in Kulikowski (2004a), 313–15.

[59] Both Baetica and Lusitania advanced from praesidial to consular status in the middle of the fourth century: see Kulikowski (2004a), 65–84.

were not asked until very recently, and certainly not on the basis of the evidence nowadays available, but the answers arrived at are often mutually incompatible and difficult to reconcile with evidence from other parts of the empire.

Let us take the case of Tingitania. Obviously there were close ties between the small Roman enclave of Tingitania and the rich province of Baetica, reaching back to the earliest years of the empire; equally, Tingitania was more readily accessible to Spain than it was to any part of Africa.[60] Yet geographically there was never any doubt in the minds of the ancients that Tingitania was part of Africa. The Straits of Gibraltar, however much they acted as a highway rather than a physical barrier, were nonetheless a conceptual dividing line then as now. To link the two regions administratively in conceptual—as well as *de facto*—terms required a rationale. The notion that the new Spanish diocese was meant to supply a Mauretanian *limes* in the same way the Gallic hinterland supplied the Rhine is attractive, but here we run into problems.[61] If the Diocletianic logic centered on defense of the Tingitanian frontier, why were the late Roman units in Tingitania stationed so far behind the southernmost cities of the province?[62] And why was there not a larger disparity between the garrisons of Tingitania and the European provinces of the Spanish diocese?[63] Apart from these objections, there is the problem of recent studies of Tingitania, which do not suggest a provincial scene in need of formalized frontier arrangements.[64]

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[60] The Claudian *coloniae* at Tangiers (Tingi) and Lixus were administered from Baetica: Hamdoune (1994), 81–87, with references, while the Baetican governor of AD 44 was evidently responsible for the supply of the army in Mauretania: Curchin (1990b), 61. Note also the honorary magistracies held by the Mauretanian royal family in first-century Spain: Gil Farrés (1966): no. 1629; 1642–43; CIL 2: 3417 = ILS 840.

[61] Argued in Kulikowski (2004a), 71–76.

[62] The *limitanei* of Tingitania (Not. Dig., Occ. 7.135–39) were deployed in a line just south of Tangiers and Ceuta (Septem), roughly a hundred kilometres north of important southern cities like Banasa and Volubilis.

[63] We may leave aside the comitatensian troops in both peninsular Spain and Tingitania (*Not. Dig.*, Occ. 7.118–134 and 7.135–38; 206–209, respectively) because their presence cannot be dated. The garrison units consist of eight units of *limitanei* in Tingitania (Occ. 26.11–20) and six in peninsular Spain (Occ. 42.25–32), a negligible difference in numbers.

[64] Spaul (1997) suggests that the province was overwhelmingly pacific. Frézouls (1980) is the best statement of older views of Tingitania.

And there is more. Any study of the Diocletianic diocese that makes Tingitania the key to the problem will be incompatible with another, equally plausible hypothesis, that sees the reorganization of the Spanish provinces, in tandem with the tetrarchic and Constantinian emphasis on road building and the walling of cities, as part of the infrastructure of the Spanish *annona militaris*, destined for the supply of the Rhineland. This view, explicitly argued by Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo, is broadly supported by the arguments of Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes in this volume. The acceptance of any one of their theories will require modifications to the others, but it will also require us to rethink the position of Mauretania, and how it fits into the organization of the province. Why, for instance, was Mérida chosen as the diocesan capital? It is by no means central to the Iberian peninsula, but perfectly situated half way between Tingitania, the Ebro and Duero valleys, and the North. What is more, although the *annona* theory is clearly supportable on the basis of the Spanish evidence taken in isolation, much of its evidentiary underpinning will not work for neighboring Gaul, where the walling of urban *enceintes* does not seem to be compatible with a primarily fiscal purpose.

We can multiply the examples of similar contradictions in both the Diocletianic and later periods and only one path offers a real way forward. That is to take much further the recent attempts at viewing the Spanish evidence in a comparative framework. One should of course be wary of making too broad comparisons amongst Roman provinces. The same Latin vocabulary can designate vastly different institutions province by province, and schematic accounts of provincial administration tend not to reflect the extent of local variation. Thus the terms *vicus* and *pagus* seem to to have meant significantly different things in Spain and in neighboring Gaul.[65] That sort of disjunction between vocabulary and semantic content in different parts of the empire is constant in the early imperial period. While it is possible that the later empire brought a greater degree of conformity, that cannot be guaranteed and must not be assumed.

On the other hand, the tetrarchs and their successors did undoubtedly make a real attempt to harmonize institutions across the empire, one that is almost unique in pre-modern history and which came to characterize the later empire as a whole. The paradigmatic case is

[65] See particularly Curchin (1985).

a taxation system based on two units-of-account, the *caput* and *iugum*. Here, we have a single vocabulary in use for a single system of collection and redistribution of a tax on land, its moveables, and its residents, but a single system abstract enough to accommodate the vast qualitative and quantitative differences of productivity across the empire. The way in which the late Roman tax system worked is open to considerable dispute and the evidence is distributed very unevenly, with far too great a concentration in the potentially anomalous papyri of Egypt. Yet it is certain that Diocletian did try to unify the system of provincial taxation in conceptual terms, so that the same principles applied in every corner of the empire. Even if his intentions were not always, or even frequently, successful, the fact of their existence marks a remarkable change from the earlier empire, when the taxation of different provinces was often a fossilized relic of *ad hoc* arrangements dating back to the conquest. In this difference between the pre- and post-Diocletianic empires lies a practicable heuristic for the study of Spain's administrative role in late antiquity: although a comparison between Spain and other regions will not allow us to determine how the Diocletianic arrangements for the Spanish provinces actually functioned, it will allow us to construct plausible hypotheses about how these arrangements were intended to work.

This comparative approach cannot be restricted, as it has been recently, to a discussion of Spain's relationship to its immediate neighbors. Instead, we need to look across the empire at the way in which relatively peaceful provinces functioned in relation to garrisoned, frontier provinces: thus the relationship of Italia Annonaria with Raetia and Noricum, of the Anatolian provinces with Syria and Mesopotamia, or of Achaea with the Danube. Likewise, to understand the role of Tingitania we need to look at the comparative evidence for other geographically anomalous provincial groupings. Some of these, like Crete's connection to Cyrene, have obvious historical precedents, but the grouping of Balkan and Anatolian provinces into dioceses may shed light on the Spanish case. This sort of investigation will, of course, depend upon the relative development of research on regions outside Spain. However, in the absence of a new epigraphic discovery that entirely revolutionizes our understanding of Spanish administration—something that is not out of the question, given the pace of excavation in recent years—a broadly based comparative approach is likely to provide the only avenue for progress beyond the hypotheses canvassed in the present volume.

Thus the two primary desiderata for a study of the late imperial organization of Hispania are, first, an exploration of how Spain fitted into the grander logistic plan conceived by Diocletian and, secondly, a concerted effort at understanding the relationship between the much larger imperial bureaucracy of the later empire and the local government in the *municipia*, which seems to have changed less than was once thought. Progress in this respect is a prerequisite for study of the post-Roman period. Here, a great deal of recent work has been rendered less useful than it might have been by inattention to imperial precedents. Recent work, on the later sixth and the seventh centuries in particular, has been a successful ground-clearing exercise, dismantling old and rigid interpretative paradigms: the idea of a Visigothic internal frontier against the Basques has gone, once an article of faith and necessary for pushing back the origins of the Reconquista to as early a date as possible.[66] Similarly, the Byzantine role in the peninsula has been reassessed and assigned a more plausible significance in peninsular history, restricting the extent of Byzantine Spania and suppressing the notion of a fixed frontier between Visigothic and Byzantine states.[67]

However useful this work on the Byzantine and Visigothic period has been on its own terms, it leaves a caesura of a hundred years or more between the disappearance of Roman imperial government and the establishment of a Visigothic kingdom. Most assessments of this intermediary period are inadequate, for several reasons: nearly all retroject the situation of the seventh-century Visigothic kingdom, and the views of its authors, into the fifth century, thus wildly overestimating both the ambitions and the abilities of Gothic kings before Leovigild. Many other studies fill out our sparse literary evidence by appeal to the *leges Visigothorum*. The problems which this creates stem both from the uncertain chronology of the legislation and also from the generic difficulty of using normative sources to describe actual legal or social practice. One can, with proper caution, use the Theodosian Code to describe the fourth century, because large amounts of literary and epigraphic data exist against which to check

[66] Rooted in the theories of Sánchez Albornoz, the theory was repeatedly articulated by Marcelo Vigil and Abilio Barbero, e.g., the articles collected in Barbero and Vigil (1974), thereby finding its way into all the standard histories of the period.

[67] Vallejo (1993); Ripoll (1996). But note the economic evidence of pottery types discussed by Reynolds in this volume, which suggests that ceramics did not circulate very much between the Byzantine enclave and the rest of Spain.

and corroborate the normative legal sources. No such safeguards exist for the Visigothic Code.

Consequently, the only way to accurately assess the rise of the Spanish Visigothic kingdom under Leovigild, and to explicate the history of the intervening years, is to work forward from imperial arrangements, rather than backwards from the late sixth and seventh centuries. It can be argued that large parts of Spain remained more or less under imperial administration until 460, the year of Majorian's failed expedition against the Vandals—imperial office-holding survived in the peninsula until that date, and it remained possible for Spaniards to hold imperial office elsewhere, between them the two best criteria for assessing the existence of imperial government in a given region, because rooted in the belief of late antique authors themselves.[68] For several decades before Majorian, the imperial control of Spain had been mediated through Gothic allies, but there is no evidence to suggest that either Theoderic II, Euric or Alaric II were able to maintain continuous control of the peninsula after 460. Indeed, until the reign of Leovigild, Gothic rulers in Gaul, and then in Spain alone, seem to have controlled very little of the peninsula apart from eastern Tarraconensis and a corridor leading to Mérida.[69] Rather than reading extensive Gothic control back from the late sources, study of administration and organization in the later fifth and most of the sixth century should focus on the institutions that demonstrably survived the disappearance of imperial government, which is to say the curial government in the cities and the urban territories which they controlled. When one does this, it becomes clear that for much of the fifth and sixth centuries, Spain's history was one of more or less autonomous cities which were generally opposed to any attempt to diminish their authority or subject it to a larger power. Because of this, Leovigild's reign saw a Gothic kingdom established by conquest, city by city, rather than the reassertion of a pre-existing royal authority.

What precisely the city territories of the later empire and the immediately post-imperial period were like remains obscure to us, and will continue to do so in the absence of new evidence. There is no hint that their numbers declined substantially before the seventh century, when the episcopal divisions of our extant high medieval

[68] See Harries (1994) for the criteria.
[69] Kulikowski (2004a), 256–86, for an extensive survey of the evidence.

sources were probably first established; earlier ecclesiastical evidence suggests a much closer correspondance to high imperial municipal divisions.[70] Given that, we should not presume a radical transformation in the political geography, either in the later empire, or in its immediate aftermath, but rather posit substantial continuity with Roman political organization. The sources of the later sixth and the seventh century have barely been touched by this perspective, and are more often read in the retrospective light of Asturian and high medieval feudalism. Yet that the late Roman template remained the basic shaping force in the sixth- and seventh-century peninsula is much the most plausible hypothesis. It needs extensive testing, and for that testing to be productive, the questions about the Diocletianic and post-Diocletianic period outlined above will need to be answered in greater detail, and with greater nuance. A parallel source of evidence with which to shed light on our questions of Spain's administrative shape now exists in the form of urban archaeology. Although the evidence for the sixth and later centuries is sketchy at best, the same was until very recently true for the third, fourth and fifth centuries as well. Now, however, there exists a sound basis for assessing the physical state of peninsular cities in the late and immediately post-imperial period, evidence, in other words, for the physical world within which the institutions at which we have been looking functioned.

The urbanism of late imperial Hispania

No one is yet in a position to offer a comprehensive overview of developments in Spain's late antique urbanism, though preliminary attempts at synthesis are possible.[71] The difficulty involved is partly

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[70] *Pace* Arce (1982a), 101. The eighth-century *nomina hispanarum sedium* (CCSL 175: 421–28), which probably had a seventh-century base text, names about eighty episcopal *civitates*. The twelth-century *Liber censuum* of the Roman church gives Spain 67 *civitates*, more or less the number of episcopal sees known in the seventh century from conciliar *acta* (for a list see Orlandis [1987], 218–19). But both the fourth-century canons of Elvira and the sixth-century *parrochiale Suevum* (CCSL 175: 411–20; David [1947], 19–44) show a much closer resemblance to the Flavian municipal map of Spain. Neither document is without problems—many of the bishoprics attested at Elvira are never heard of again, while it is possible that the *parrochiale* reflects an inflated number of transitory bishoprics in the wake of Martin of Braga's evangelization.

[71] Kulikowski (2004a) is the first large-scale attempt at the project.

historiographical, partly evidentiary, and many of our difficulties with the evidence presently available actually derive from the rigid interpretations of older historiography. Traditional interpretative paradigms of Hispano-Roman urbanism go well beyond generic visions of post-Antonine urban decline. Instead, we are told, the crisis of the third century broke up the old social contract of the city, making it impossible for curias to maintain the infrastructure of their cities and causing a decline in the civic patriotism of *curiales*. At the same time, external threats from barbarian invasion and the internal violence of class struggle—the *amenaza exterior y inquietud interna* of a famous article—further destabilized a ruling elite already reeling from economic woes.[72] As a result, cities decayed, monumental architecture crumbled, the epigraphic habit disappeared, and Hispano-Roman elites fled from the cities. Spain had undergone a stark process of *ruralización*, in which the dominant stratum of society shifted its primary residence, and hence the political center of gravity, from city to country. This killed the glorious urbanism of the Flavian and Antonine era and created a new world in which wealth, power and culture were rural, divorced from cities whose only role was to house bishops and imperial officials. This sketch may look like caricature, but it remains substantially intact in Spanish historical literature, supplying the framework even for iconoclastic works that challenge its premisses.[73] It has, more unfortunately, informed influential works of synthesis in other languages as well.[74]

The old view has been perpetuated by many decades of archaeological research which explicitly linked material findings to a chronology drawn from the sparse narrative evidence, for instance the invasion of southern Spain by Moors during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the invasion of barbarians from the Rhineland into a corner of northeastern Spain in c. 260; the Diocletianic reforms of the 290s; the

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[72] The article, Balil (1970), has had an uncharacteristically wide influence for a Spanish work of the period, because it was published in a volume on the Legio VII Gemina that circulated widely outside Spain. This sort of interpretation is not, of course, confined to Spain, having found its most eloquent articulation in Rostovtzeff's 1926 *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*.

[73] E.g., Montenegro et al. (1986) or the countless interchangeable works of J.M. Blázquez. Cepas (1997), 24–27, surveys crisis models for third-century Spain. García de Castro (1995) consciously rejects the traditional model of decline and collapse, but instead demonstrates how pervasive the old paradigms remain, as does Fuentes Domínguez (1997).

[74] On Spain, Liebeschuetz (2001) reflects the *communis opinio* of the 1970s.

invasion of Vandals, Alans and Suevi in 409.[75] This subordination of the material evidence to a framework drawn from political history is problematical, because the two sorts of evidence do not answer the same set of questions. It is certainly possible to read a narrative of events from the static remains of an archaeological assemblage and, in theory, we ought to be able to link historical events to the material residue they leave behind. But the theory is very difficult to put into practice, because both narrative and material record are too lacunose, and too much the product of chance, for us to be certain that a material residue which happens to have been uncovered and an historical datum which happens to have been recorded, reflect one and the same phenomenon.

We can take Mérida as an example. Though a great city in the Roman and Visigothic periods, it has been a small provincial town since the Middle Ages. As a result, its ancient and medieval remains are well preserved by comparison with cities whose modern fortunes have been better. The city has also benefitted from the exemplary care with which its archaeological sites have been excavated and published since the 1980s. Two such sites of particular importance are the zone of the Morería and the area around and beneath the church of Saint Eulalia. The Morería excavations preserve several blocks of the Roman city, two in their entirety. The church of Santa Eulalia preserves a suburban villa property, over which a large necropolis developed, several mausolea and numerous burials predating the erection of the earliest basilica. Both these sites display evidence of a substantial destruction phase in the fifth century. At the church of Santa Eulalia, mausolea were razed to ground level, simpler grave markers systematically demolished, and the entire zone levelled. In the Morería, many of the *domus* were badly damaged. In one house, two bodies lay crushed beneath the tiles of the collapsed roof; in another, a body had been properly buried which, given the Roman abhorrence of intramural burial, suggests a period of siege during which people inside the walls were prevented from reaching extramural cemeteries. At each of the two sites, all the evidence for destruction is contemporaneous, though we do not know whether

[75] For the Mauri, *Hist. Aug., V. Marci* 21.1, with Arce (1981). For the barbarian invasion under Gallienus, Victor 33.3, Eutropius 8.8.2, and Jerome, *Chron.* s.a. 2280 (ed. Helm, 221); Oros. 7.41.2, all of which notices are drawn from the lost *Kaisergeschichte*.

the evidence from the two separate zones was contemporary. The excavator of Santa Eulalia, however, has repeatedly stated that the destruction at both Santa Eulalia and the Morería can be correlated to a known and well-dated historical event, the attack on the city of Mérida by the Suevic king Heremigarius in 429 attested by the chronicler Hydatius.[76]

While possible, this connection is unlikely. In the Morería, close dating of the destruction phase is impossible, because trenches with good stratigraphy contain no diagnostic artefacts. At Santa Eulalia, the stratigraphy is worse, but dateable material exists in greater quantity. This consists of various ceramics, some of which may be as early as the 420s, but most of which date from later in the century. The 429 date drawn from the literary source is not really in keeping with what the archaeological evidence taken on its own terms would suggest. What is more, even if the material evidence did show an earlier date than it does, there would still be no good reason to suppose that it documented the attested Suevic siege. For most of the fifth century, Mérida was, as the diocesan capital, the chief prize in the most disputed part of Spain. Our record of narrative events consists of a single chronicle, which demonstrably omits information out of keeping with the author's prejudices.[77] There is, in other words, no good reason to think that the destruction attested in the archaeological record bears any connection to the handful of historical episodes preserved in Hydatius, rather than to some other episode of violence of which we lack all mention. The only thing to suggest such a connection is a deeply felt need for alternative sources of evidence with which to confirm what is known from traditional textual sources.

Only the thoroughness of the main site report on Santa Eulalia allows us to check the excavator's conclusions against the record of his evidence, and to reach a conclusion different from his. That sort of opportunity is rare, and even in the case of Santa Eulalia, it is possible only with the full site report and not with the many recent overviews of late antique Mérida which state that Heremigarius' sack is confirmed by the archaeological evidence. This one example illustrates the pitfalls, but the importation of dates from textual sources

[76] Hyd. 80.
[77] See the introduction to this volume.

into the archaeological chronology of a site is very common.[78] Yet when sites are excavated, dated, and published according to a framework derived from the literary evidence, they can hardly help but confirm it. This has produced a circularity of argument that underpins most studies of late Roman Spain: much of the material evidence seems to confirm old historical interpretations precisely because it was excavated and published in the belief that those interpretations were correct. The trap is all too often invisible. One can only guard against it by reading full excavation reports, rather than summaries, abstracts, or popularizations. When one does so, the material record can provide not merely a supplement to traditional textual sources, but rather an independent alternative to them which can be studied on its own terms before being brought into dialogue with other sources.

For Spain, we are only just beginning to be able to do this. Within the last fifteen years, excavation and publication at most Spanish sites has come to equal the highest international standard; previously, the modern site report was the exception not the rule, though pioneering exceptions paved the way for the recent explosion of evidence.[79] Now, at the start of the twenty-first century, the number of modern site reports available can rival the bulk of the evidence in older, and frequently unreliable, site reports. We can begin to use the material record as a genuinely independent set of evidence, assessed on its own terms and then used to cast light on other sources. In other words, the opportunity for real synthesis now exists. Even so, we have still to come to grips with problems inherent in this new, if highly agreeable, state of affairs. What, for instance, do we do with the older archaeological evidence? Dug unscientifically, perhaps dated by reference to historical dates rather than the internal evidence of the material record, and impervious to checking by the interested reader, does it still have any utility? The most rigorous response would demand we discard it entirely, though that is perhaps extreme. In fact, what we cannot do is much clearer than what we can: we must not simply add the new, incomparably more reliable

[78] As it is in artefact typologies like the highly refined typology of Spanish late antique personal ornament, periodized according to dates drawn from the literary evidence of Hydatius, the *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, and III Toledo: Ripoll (1998a).

[79] E.g., Aquilué (1984) on Ampurias, TED'A (1987); (1989a) on Tarragona.

archaeological evidence, to the vast bulk of the older material and treat them as equally valid guides to historical interpretation. Doing so is, in a historian's terms, like treating Jerome and the twelfth-century Sigebert of Gembloux as equally valid evidence for fourth-century biography. Instead, we must allow the better evidence—dug without historical preconception and susceptible of checking by someone other than the excavator—to guide our interpretations. When we turn back to the older evidence, we need to recognize that the circumstances in which it was produced means that it cannot be used to guide historical interpretation without potentially introducing circularity into the argument.

In practical terms, this means allowing those sites that have benefitted from modern excavation and publication to provide the framework within which we interpret material changes in Spanish late antiquity. Dramatically more progress in this respect has been made in rural archaeology than in urban, reflecting in part the greater ease of reinterpreting old site reports in places where new construction has not supervened, as it has in most cities. For this reason, the papers of Chavarría and Bowes in the present volume can deploy the evidence of rural archaeology to discuss long-standing problems of late Roman villa culture and its interpretation. Even though as much good evidence has been excavated and published for the cities as for the countryside, it is less well distributed and, when compared to the hundreds of cities that existed in Roman Spain, still very sparse. There are a handful of sites with extensive modern excavation over a large part of the ancient city's surface area; a larger number in which a few modern excavations have been undertaken, but not extensively enough for us to judge their representativeness; and a third, and very promising, group of cities that were largely unknown to the older archaeology and where modern archaeological research is beginning to make inroads. To the first group belong Mérida, Tarragona, Córdoba, Valencia, Ampurias, and to a lesser degree Conimbriga;[80] to the second group Barcelona, Zaragoza, Cartagena,

[80] Mérida: Alba (1997); (1998); (1999); (2000); (2001); Ayerbe (1999); Ayerbe and Márquez (1998); Barrientos (1997); (1998a); (1998b); (2000a); (2000b); (2001); Caballero and Mateos (1991); (1992); (1995); Cruz Villalón (1985); Durán (1991); (1998); (1999); Estévez (2000a); (2000b); Feijoo (2000a); (2000b); Hernández Ramírez (1998); Márquez Pérez (1998); Márquez Pérez and Hernández (1998); Mateos (1992); (1994–1995); (1995a); (1995b); (1999); (2000); Mateos and Alba (2000); Montalvo (1999); Montalvo et al. (1997); Nodar (1997a); (1997b); Palma (1999a); (1999b); (2000); (2001); Palma

Toledo, Clunia, Lisbon, Tiermes, Astorga, and perhaps Complutum, Seville and Munigua;[81] to the third, Gijón, Coimbra, Braga, and Mértola.[82] While the length of these lists is cause for celebration, one must note that they leave out important cities like Lérida, Gerona, Málaga, and Sagunto. In some, we are wholly reliant upon archaic

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and Bejarano (1997); Sánchez-Palencia, Montalvo and Gijón (2001); Sánchez Sánchez (1997); (2000); (2001).

Tarragona: Aquilué (1993); Alföldy (1997); Carreté and Dupré (1994); Carreté, Keay and Millett (1995); del Amo (1979–1989); Dupré et al. (1988); Güell et al. (1993); Hauschild (1983a); (1984–1985); (1994); Járrega (1991); Koppel (1988); López i Vilar (1993); (1997); (2000); Macias (2000); Mar (1993); Mar and Ruiz (1999); Mar, Roca and Ruiz (1993); Mar et al. (1996); Pauliatti and Pensabene (1993); Peña Rodríguez (2000); Piñol (1993); (2000); Rovira (1993); Ruiz (1993); (2000); Ruiz de Arbulo and Mar (2001); TED'A (1987); (1989a); (1989b); (1990); (1994); Vilaseca et al. (2000).

Córdoba: Carrillo et al. (1995a); (1995b); Hidalgo (1996); (1999); Hidalgo and Ventura (1994); Jiménez Salvador (1994); León (1993a); (1993b); Marfil (2000); Márquez Moreno (1993); (1998a); (1998b); (1999); Monterroso (2002a); (2002b); Moreno et al. (1996); (1997); Murillo et al. (2001); Ventura (1991); (1993); (1996); Ventura et al. (1993); (2002).

Valencia: Albiach et al. (2000); Blasco et al. (1994); Escrivà and Soriano (1989); (1990); Marín and Ribera (1999); Marín et al. (1999); Ribera (1998); (1999); (2001); Ribera and Soriano (1987); (1996); Roselló and Soriano (1998); Soriano (1990); (1994); (1995).

Ampurias: Aquilué (1984); Llinàs (1997); Llinàs et al. (1992); Mar and Ruiz (1990); (1993); Marcet and Sanmartí (1989); Nolla (1992); (1993); (1995); Rocas et al. (1992); Sanmartí (1984); Sanmartí et al. (1990).

Conimbriga: Alarcão et al. (1976); Alarção and Étienne (1977); (1979); Bost et al. (1974); Delgado et al. (1974); Étienne and Fabre (1976); Alarcão (1997).

[81] Barcelona: Bonnet and Beltrán (1999); (2000a); (2000b); Granados (1987); (1995); Granados and Rodà (1994); Gurt and Godoy (2000).

Zaragoza: Beltrán Lloris (1993); Beltrán Lloris and Fatás (1998); Aguarod and Mostalac (1998); Hernández Vera and Núñez (1998).

Cartagena: Abascal and Ramallo (1997); Berrocal and Laiz (1994); Laiz and Ruiz (1988); Laiz, Pérez and Ruiz (1987); Ramallo (1989); (1999); (2000); Ramallo, Ruiz and Berrocal (1996); Ramallo and Ruiz (1996–1997); (1998); (2000).

Toledo: Carrobles (1999); (2001); Carrobles and Rodríguez (1988); Sánchez Montes (1999); Sánchez-Palencia (1996); Sánchez-Palencia and Sáinz (1988); (2001); Velázquez and Ripoll (2000).

Astorga: Amaré (2002a); (2002b).

Complutum: Fernández-Galiano (1984a); (1984b); Méndez and Rascón (1989a); (1989b); Rascón (1995a); (1999).

Seville: Campos Carrasco (1993); Campos Carrasco and González (1987).

Munigua: Grünhagen (1982); Grünhagen and Hauschild (1983); Hauschild and Hausmann (1991); Meyer, Basas and Teichner (2001); Raddatz (1973); Vegas (1988).

[82] Gijón: Fernández-Ochoa (1992); (1997); Fernández-Ochoa, García and Uscatescu (1992).

Clunia: Gurt (1985).

Tiermes: Argente (1992); (1993); Argente et al. (1984); Argente and Díaz Díaz (1994); Casa Martínez et al. (1994); Fernández Martínez (1980).

site reports, in others extensive excavations have not been published. A number of less important cities—chiefly Segobriga, Valeria, Ercavica, Castulo, and Elche—have yet to feel the impact of recent archaeological advances, despite extensive excavation in earlier times. Thus, though the mere fact of that excavation made them much cited in the older literature, they are largely superfluous to a modern assessment. The sketch that follows is necessarily brief, based on evidence from cities in which recent archaeological research has been conducted and published in such a way that the reader can check its conclusions. It points to general conclusions that are emerging from recently published evidence, with no pretence to anything other than provisional status. Dramatically more excavation is needed to test the conclusions tentatively suggested here, but if nothing else, the reader will note the contrast between interpretations suggested by the recent evidence, and traditional views of ruralization and decline.

As in a discussion of the administration of late Roman Spain, it is important not to begin a survey of late Roman urbanism in Spain from a starting point in the third century, whether the accession of Diocletian or some imagined moment of singular crisis in the preceding decades. Instead, we need to recognize that urbanization and Romanization were interchangeable phenomena, to the extent that becoming Roman meant creating a Roman-style townscape, fuelled, as noted above, by the competition for Roman law status. For that reason—whether they were superimposed on pre-existing towns or created *ex nihilo* in a new location chosen by Roman government—Spanish cities became remarkably homogeneous in the course of the later first and the second century. Each was equipped with the basic architectural hallmarks of a Roman city: an orthogonal street grid with a forum or fora at its center, public baths, and, if the city was large enough, a theatre, amphitheatre, or circus. Relatively little new monumental construction is attested after the middle of the second century. This has traditionally been explained in terms of the declining public spirit of the *curiales*, a sign of incipient ruralization, or perhaps a decline in curial financial capacity.

These interpretations are untenable: recent studies of Spanish imports have shown that the second-century slackening of monu-

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Coimbra: Carvalho (1998).
Braga: Martins and Delgado (1994); (1996).
Mértola: Torres and Macias (1993).

mental building corresponds not to a decline in the peninsular economy, but rather to a steady growth in the Spanish capacity to import luxury goods, a capacity that grows even more dramatically after the early third century, in a time of putative crisis.[83] Nor is it a case of the Hispano-Roman wealthy neglecting their cities in favor of a new rural focus. The later second and much of the third centuries seems to have been marked by a general economic expansion, at least insofar as rural regions previously unexploited, many of them agriculturally marginal, were now brought under the plough.[84] Wherever the question has been asked, moreover, there is a clear correspondence between economic activity in local municipal centers and their surrounding *territoria*.[85] All of this suggests that, as in the case of the declining habit of inscription, monumental construction is not an *a priori* sign of decline. On the contrary, it seems to have served a functional social end, which became less necessary once the peninsula and its elites had become juridically and socially Roman.

By taking this functionalist approach, we avoid setting out our argument in essentially moral terms of rise and fall, Antonine perfection and third-century decline, and simultaneously cease to privilege our own, anachronistic preference for the monumental classical city over other forms of urbanism. Once we accept that the Romanizing impetus of the first two centuries AD was just one phase of ancient Spanish urbanism, we can turn to the question of how maintenance, disuse and alteration altered—or failed to alter—the Flavian and Antonine cityscape in later centuries. We have seen that the curias and their magistrates survived into the fifth century. From the very beginning, the most important task they faced was the maintenance and the regulation of the existing cityscape, as the Flavian municipal law makes very clear.[86] We have physical evidence for this oversight at Ampurias, where there was a coordinated and well-supervised

[83] Aquilué (1992); Pérez Centeno (1999), 75 with references. Exports also grew. Although the industrial export of olive oil from Baetica declined (Remesal [1997]), the *garum* industry grew and spread to every coastal region of the peninsula: Nolla and Nieto (1982) and the many works cited at Gorges (1992), 104 n. 83; Fernández-Ochoa (1994a); (1994b); Puertas Tricas (1986–1987); Rodríguez Oliva (1993).

[84] See particularly Fernández Corrales (1989); Aguilar, Guichard and Lefebvre (1992–1993); further discussion in Kulikowski (2004a), 130–50.

[85] See particularly the pioneering results of the *Ager Tarraconensis* survey: Carreté, Keay and Millett (1995). On this point, their conclusions are confirmed in many places, e.g. the territory of Conimbriga: Pessoa (1991); (1995).

[86] *Lex Irn.* 19; 62; 79; 82–83. Cf. the laws collected in *CTh.* 15.1.

sealing up of the abandoned Hellenistic neapolis, a task that must have meant curial oversight. Evidence for the maintenance of aqueducts and road surfaces, which only recently began to excite the interest of archaeologists, has also been found.[87] Changes in other cities imply similar curial supervision and should be interpreted in terms of the responsiveness of local elites to changing tastes among the population.

Fashion certainly does seem to explain the differing patterns of use among different sorts of monumental building. Thus circuses and amphitheatres were maintained everywhere in the peninsula, sometimes until astonishingly late: at Zaragoza, the amphitheatre was repeatedly repaired, with new sand floors laid, until early in the sixth century or so.[88] At Tarragona, the amphitheatre was redecorated with spolia from the disused theatre, and was repeatedly restored, under Elagabalus and then again under Constantine.[89] Tarragona is only one of many examples of the disuse of theatres, which seem never to have very popular in Spain, where many were disused even in the second century.[90] In other cities, for instance Sagunto, the theatre was modified to accept gladiatorial shows, turning it into a sort of amphitheatre.[91] Only in a few important cities like Mérida did theatres indisputably remain in use, presumably because they advertised the city's status as an imperial center.[92] Similarly subject to shifting tastes were large public baths. In many cities, these were clearly in use right through the fourth century, but in others they had disappeared by the end of the third, as in Complutum where the main bath complex known in the city was integrated into the

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[87] E.g., road repairs at Mérida, Barrientos (1998b); Sánchez Sánchez (2000), and at Valencia: Albiach et al. (2000), 67–68.

[88] Beltrán Lloris (1993): new sand floors continued to be laid down until eventually the fifth row of the *imma cavea* was covered over. *CICM* 51 shows that chariot races were being held in fifth-century Mérida, just as *Cons. Caes.* 85a (CCSL 173A: 27) does for Zaragoza, though in the latter case, the presence of a circus building is not necessary.

[89] Alföldy (1997), 68–85; Vianney and Arbeola (1987); Beltrán and Beltrán (1991); Mar, Roca, and Ruiz (1993); Pérez Centeno (1999), 23, with references; RIT 98–99 for the Constantinian reforms.

[90] As at Tarragona: Mar, Roca, and Ruiz (1993); Cádiz: González, Muñoz, and Blanco (1993); and Cartagena: Ramallo and Ruiz (1998), 122. In general see Jiménez Salvador (1993).

[91] Hernández Hervás et al. (1993).

[92] Chastagnol (1976), for the Constantinian inscriptions of Mérida. Similar evidence at Córdoba, where the architectonic evidence suggests redecoration in the second and again in the fourth centuries: Márquez Moreno (1998a), 190–92.

adjacent curial building around this time.[93] Because we cannot document a quantitative decline in the venues available for bathing, we seem once again to be looking at a change in taste, with a shift from public bathing to more discreet private baths attached to individual residences. In other words, no matter what category of monument we turn to, we seem to be seeing neither a decline in public spirit, nor in curial capacity to take care of their cities, but rather a shift away from the Romanizing and metropolitan tastes of the Classical city, and towards a local, provincial development out of that model. As modern western scholars, with our aesthetic sense indelibly marked by the preferences of the Italian Renaissance, we are perfectly within our rights to regard these changes as distasteful. But we are ill-advised to assume that Hispano-Romans shared our view of the subject, or perceived the changes we can document to their towns as being for the worse rather than the contrary.

Perhaps more important than the fate of any individual urban monument is the fact that early imperial street grids and fora for the most part continued to articulate urban space in the later empire. Beginning in the third century, however, we begin to witness a series of changes to the basic shape of the second-century city. The most prominent, and earliest, of these was the intrusion of private construction into certain types of public space. This generally involved the extension of residences into the porticoes of public streets or the remodelling of larger townhouses to take over the street area between *insulae*. Such changes altered early street plans, generally at periods with signs of economic growth like the the upgrading of *domus* on richer plans, or the remodelling of temples in the fora.[94] The best-known examples come from recent excavations in Córdoba, where the cooptation of formerly public space by *privati* had clearly begun by the middle of the third century, and in Mérida, where it began somewhat later.[95] Chronologies vary widely, the phenomenon becoming visible in the early third century in some cities, and as late as

[93] For catalogues of bath sites, Mora (1981); Fernández-Ochoa and Zarzalejos (2001). At Gijón, the baths remained in use through the fourth century: Fernández-Ochoa, García and Uscatescu (1992). At Zaragoza, by contrast, public bathing seems to have disappeared: Aguarod and Mostalac (1998), 11; similar phenomena can be observed at Toledo: Rojas (1996); and at Valencia: Blasco et al. (1994); Marín Jordá and Ribera (1999). For Complutum, see Rascón (1995a); (1999): the date is either very late third- or, perhaps more probably, early fourth-century.

[94] As at Córdoba: Carrillo et al. (1995a); Ventura Villanueva (1996), 147.

[95] León (1993b), for a summary of evidence from Córdoba.

the middle of the fourth century in others. We can, however, find examples from every urban site in which modern stratigraphic excavations have been conducted. The explanation for such changes will have varied, but we should probably understand it in terms of changing social needs: by the early third century, the representational value of a perfect, metropolitan-styled Roman city performed a less necessary social function than did competition in private display.

This sort of evidence is relatively uniform across Spain between the early third and the early fourth century, regardless of fluctuations in the prosperity of individual sites as reflected in the quantity of imported luxury goods. It was in the middle of the fourth century that Spanish cities began to diverge more broadly in terms of their physical environment, a result, one must imagine, of the changes introduced by the Diocletianic reform of provincial administration.[96] This impact was not confined to such obvious spheres of imperial influence as the *annona militaris*. A Spanish role in the *annona* may be correlated with the walling of Spanish cities in fairly large numbers in the later third and early fourth century, as argued by Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo in this volume. However, even if city walls are not necessarily to be understood in terms of an annonary role, they were very expensive investments which may have necessitated imperial finance.[97] Certainly, the monumental palace built at Córdoba at the turn from the third to the fourth century seems to have been a massive piece of imperial investment. It is this sort of impact that, throughout the fourth century, made the greatest difference to urban change Spanish cities.

In a few key cities, chiefly imperial capitals like Mérida and Córdoba, the fourth century brought building works on a vast scale. Much the best-known manifestation of this trend is the palace of Cercadilla at Córdoba. In antiquity, the palatial complex was extramural, lying parallel to the circus and completely dominating the western approach to the city.[98] The western end of the complex was

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[96] See in general Seston (1946); Barnes (1982); Williams (1985); with Carrié (1994) on the mints.

[97] See Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo in this volume, accepting the arguments of Wacher (1998) for Britain.

[98] All the material evidence is in keeping with a late third- or early fourth-century date, but the one piece of epigraphic evidence fixes the construction between 293 and 305: Hidalgo and Ventura (1994); Hidalgo (1996), 141–47. This western circus remains hypothetical but very likely; the earlier eastern circus of the city had gone out of use much earlier.

completely closed and the only access came from the city. A long plaza, flanked by barracks, led the way into a courtyard articulated by a semicircular cryptoportico. Basilicas, baths, and private quarters ran symmetrically off this portico like the spokes of a wheel, while the whole complex was supplied with water by the diversion of one of the city's three aqueducts. Whether the palace was designed for the provincial governor or for the emperor Maximian, it was certainly the product of imperial initiative, and it had profound long-term effects on the shape of the old intramural zone of Córdoba.[99] Mérida, for its part, was in a state of constant renovation during the fourth century. The famous Constantinian inscriptions from the city's circus and theatre are now matched by extensive material evidence for the growth and embellishment of deluxe townhouses, perhaps a reaction to the large number of imperial officials now pouring money into the local economy. Private individuals responded to the imperial example, and we have evidence for a revival of private euergetism in the monumental core of the city, particularly in the theatre where a new *versura* was built towards the end of the fourth century.[100] Parallel evidence exists at Tarragona, and it seems likely that similar finds await us at Braga and Cartagena, both still relatively little known.[101]

These examples from Spain's diocesan and provincial capitals illustrate how cities that experienced regular imperial patronage flourished. The munificence of the emperor and his officials was not restricted to the capitals, as evidence from such places as Lisbon demonstrates, but the gap between imperial cities and those with no permanent imperial establishment grew wider and wider.[102] While the basic shape

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[99] Maximian appears as the Iberian Ares in a fragmentary papyrus: Page (1941), 544, no. 135, which has led Hidalgo (1996) to identify the palace as designed for him; see, however, the objections of Arce (1997b). The long-term effect was to shift all the public activity away from the southern forum of the city and into the older colonial forum, nearer to Cercadilla: Carrillo et al. (1995b), while the centers of population began to cluster near the river, possibly because of a diminution in the amount of available water with the diversion of an aqueduct to Cercadilla.

[100] The Constantinian evidence is published in Chastagnol (1976). For the brick-stamps at the theatre, which suggest a late fourth-century date for the creation of a new *versura*, see Durán (1998); (1999). For Mérida generally, see the series of *memorias* published under the title *Mérida: Excavaciones Arqueológicas*, which has appeared irregularly since 1997, each containing dozens of relevant contributions, many of which are listed individually at n. 81 above.

[101] For Braga, see Martins and Delgado (1996); Díaz Martínez (2000b); for Cartagena, Ramallo (2000).

[102] CIL 2: 191, with Andreu (2001).

of the second-century city remained intact everywhere, in a great many cities the physical infrastructure deteriorated. This was true even of great cities like Zaragoza, where by the 370s all of the secondary sewers had silted up and, even in the main forum, the drainage conduits no longer carried waste water into the sewers and thence to the Ebro.[103] Parallel processes are visible throughout Spain's cities, and the chronology everywhere seems to be very late fourth-century. A few cities defied this pattern, mostly commercial centers like Barcelona or Alicante on the Mediterranean and Gijón on the Bay of Biscay.[104] A few interior cities like Complutum also experienced substantial growth, though it is hard to gauge the reasons for their success.[105] On the whole, however, it seems likely that Zaragoza was typical of Spanish cities as a group: there were no functional changes to urban space, no reimagining of city plans, merely the physical decay of what existed and a failure to repair it.

In time, similar physical deterioration becomes visible at the most important cities, but it does so only in the fifth century, and seems to have come more suddenly than in places like Zaragoza. Much the most striking evidence comes from Tarragona. The Roman city was built at the base of tall hill a few hundred meters from the Mediterranean coast and was among the very earliest Roman sites in the peninsula. Tarragona had been enclosed in a wall since Republican times, but it not clear that the Republican and Augustan city occupied the whole surface of the urban *enceinte*. Certainly there seems to have been little previous construction on the hill, which was completely reshaped in the Flavian era and turned into a massive imperial precinct, dominating the old Republican *colonia*.[106] Built on three terraces, themselves a massive earth-moving project, the Flavian complex included at its apex a temple of the imperial cult, a forum in which the council of the *provincia Tarraconensis* met, and a circus on the lower terrace. The upper complex was accessible

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[103] Beltrán Lloris and Fatás (1998) is the best short introduction to the archaeology of Zaragoza, with references to relevant site reports. For the sewers, Mostalac and Pérez (1989), 104–13, with more recent corroboration in Hernández and Núñez (1998).

[104] For a summary of the evidence, Kulikowski (2004a), 85–129.

[105] Rascón (1995a) for the best overview, though the basis for his conclusions has yet to be published *in extenso*.

[106] For the walls, Hauschild (1983a); Hauschild (1993a); with the historical sketch of Carreté, Keay and Millett (1995).

only through the vaults of the circus, separated from the rest of the city by the Via Augusta which passed through town at this point.[107] In the city, but not of it, the provincial complex was perhaps the most imposing monument to imperial power in the whole peninsula, in constant use and regularly maintained throughout the fourth and well into the fifth century. In the 440s, however, the provincial forum lost its grandiose rectangular articulation: in at least one substantial section, its paving stones were torn up and carted off, replaced by a domestic rubbish pit.[108] On the other hand, the northeastern corner of the same forum was still being used as a marketplace until the 440s, and the last extant imperial dedication in Spain, from 472, was probably put up here as well.[109]

Tarragona provides the most dramatic example of this phenomenon, but it is not alone; in the fifth century, great cities like Seville and Córdoba that once housed multiple fora now had only one public square.[110] This covering over of large public spaces—spaces with social and symbolic as well as functional ends—implies the disintegration of the social function which had once made them necessary. In other words, the old modes of Roman behavior, implied by the physical shape of the city, must have changed to the point that their physical backdrop was no longer necessary. The growing Christianization of the urban population may have been the chief force at work here. Christianity acted as a powerful social solvent on traditional behaviors, though perhaps not as thoroughly or as rapidly as patristic authors would have liked. That slowness is also visible to

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[107] For the forum, see generally TED'A (1989a), 435–48; (1989b). To this should be added the evidence of engineering from Aquilué (1993); the study of decoration in Pauliatti and Pensabene (1993); and the study of the forum portico in Güell et al. (1993). For the circus, see Dupré et al. (1988); Piñol (2000). On the provincial cult, Alföldy (1973).

[108] For the rubbish pit, TED'A (1989a). The access towers which had led from within the *cavea* of the circus to the southern corners of the forum continued to be the main routes of passage between the Part Alta and the Part Baixa until the third quarter of the fifth century, when one tower was turned into an ashpit which clogged the stairwell entirely: Carreté and Dupré (1994). Similar changes are suggested by alterations to the southwestern corner of the cult precinct: Vilaseca and Diloli (2000).

[109] CIL 2: 4109 = RIT 100, with Rovira (1993), though the inscription was not found *in situ*. For commercial uses, Sánchez Real (1969); López i Vilar (1993). Parallel evidence from the circus is lacking. Its maintenance into the late fourth century seems clear, and there are no signs of disuse before the late sixth or the seventh century: see the cautious evaluation of "Excavations arqueològiques Tarragona," (2000), 64.

[110] For Córdoba, see Carrillo et al. (1995b), 49.

the modern observer. Across Spain, intramural areas once occupied by Roman public buildings came to be physically Christianized only very late; for many decades, even after the fora went out of use, no new Christian townscape seems to have replaced them.

Not until the very end of the fifth century, and more frequently the middle of the sixth, is there decisive evidence for a new city, articulated by its Christian monuments, replacing the old Classical plan. This point is important, inasmuch as we are conditioned to think of late antique urbanism in terms of gradual Christianization. In Spain, however, all the most recent archaeological evidence suggests that Christianity remained a largely peripheral phenomenon for a very long time.[111] In some places, Barcelona being the best known and most cited example, a peripheral site within the walls, perhaps once a house church, became the center of a new Christian city.[112] But in most Spanish cities, this familiar paradigm seems not to have applied. Rather, monumental Christianity remained not just peripheral, but actually extramural into the fifth century, while the intramural zones of Spanish cities were physically Christianized only very slowly.

The first Spanish churches were martyrial and for that reason located in the suburban cemeteries where martyrs were interred.[113] By the end of the fourth century, we cease to hear very much about a non-Christian population in Spanish cities, though some small evidence for contemporary pagans does still survive.[114] Yet despite this seeming dominance, Christian cult and episcopal power remained suburban and extramural. Only when the old public spaces—the temples and fora—had lost all their social content did the physical manifestations of Christian authority come to occupy central intramural spaces. Thus at Tarragona, an episcopal church and palace were built at the apex of the city, on the site of the old imperial cult precinct, the walls of which were knocked down to put up the *episcopium*. The symbolic significance of this construction cannot be missed, and was no doubt quite deliberate, but it is striking how late

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[111] For one possible explanation of this fact, see Bowes' contribution to the present volume.

[112] See especially Bonnet and Beltrán (2000a); (2000b).

[113] For the study of Spanish martyr cult see Castillo Maldonado in this volume.

[114] See Alföldy (1992) for a clearly pagan gravestone from late fourth- or early fifth-century Tarragona.

it took place—at the very end of the fifth, or perhaps the beginning of the sixth century, fully fifty years after there had ceased to be imperial government in Spain.[115] Before then, the evidence for Christian cult at Tarragona comes from a vast *corona funeraria* outside the walls, in which at least two basilicas and thousands of graves are known from the fifth and sixth centuries.[116] A similar chronology for the intrusion of cult into the center of the city is known at Zaragoza, where the earliest cult had clustered in the cemetery on the south side of the city.[117] At Valencia, where one of the most impressive intramural episcopal complexes in Spain has been excavated right atop the old Flavian forum, it is impossible to date the earliest stage of construction. The foundations of a small, centrally-planned church, colloquially known as the Cárcel de San Vincente, cut across remains of the fifth century, which may perhaps suggest a date for the Christian evidence as a whole.[118]

All of this recent archaeological evidence suggests that the rapid Christianization of the townscape postulated in earlier literature was a much slower, and later, process than once imagined. Another supposed feature of late antique cities called into question by recent evidence is the disappearance of the old *pomerium* and the consequent beginnings of intramural burial by the end of the fourth century.[119] Although intramural burial may in other provinces be a sign of

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[115] Aquilué (1993), 97–107, whose findings would seem to be corroborated by the older evidence noted in Hauschild (1994) for liturgical objects found in the close vicinity.

[116] The excavations of Serra-Vilaró in the early decades of the twentieth century destroyed vast quantities of evidence in a search for the tomb of Tarragona's local martyr Fructuosus; the results of his digs are summarized in Serra-Vilaró (1948), with photos of the earliest known basilica in the city. Del Amo (1979–1989) attempts to salvage and reinterpret all that remains from these early digs. Recent work has targeted undisturbed funerary zones as much as possible, e.g. excavations of low-status burials in the Parc de la Ciutat: TED'A (1987) and further recent work in Bea and Vilaseca (2000) and García and Remolà (2000). A previously unknown basilica complex was discovered in the early 1990s and is now partly preserved in the underground car park of the Parc Central shopping center: see the preliminary reports of Mar et al. (1996); López i Vilar (1997); (2000).

[117] See Mostalac and Pérez (1989); Casabona (1990); Aguarod and Mostalac (1998), 79–80.

[118] There is a large bibliography on the remains found under the Plaza de Almoina and in its vicinity: see especially Ribera and Soriano (1987); (1996); Soriano (1994); Albiach et al. (2000). Rosselló and Soriano (1998) is a popular account of the excavations with color photographs.

[119] The old but much cited García Moreno (1977–1978) insists on a generalized move to intramural burial across Spain, restated in Liebeschuetz (2001), 89.

changing social fashions, and of the transition away from Classical antiquity, in Spain there is almost no reliable evidence for it before the Arab conquest.[120] In only one city, Valencia, do we find definite signs of intramural burial in the immediately post-imperial period, perhaps as early as the fifth century though the date is not certain.[121] Elsewhere, in important cities like Tarragona and Zaragoza and also at tiny settlements like Saldania, the prohibition of intramural burial is constant.[122]

In other words, emerging evidence suggests that we must radically adjust both the chronology and some of the substance of our understanding of Hispano-Roman cities in late antiquity. The old Classical townscape seems to have been a more potent shaping feature than anyone had ever thought. Some will find it difficult to believe that so many Spanish cities lacked intramural churches, particularly episcopal seats, until the late fifth or the sixth century. Perhaps they did not—it is possible, perhaps even likely, that various intramural house-churches were the focus of most cult and of episcopal oversight from the Constantinian period onwards. But if that is the case, they are archaeologically invisible, and only at Barcelona can we be certain that a *domus* church within the walls grew into a major ecclesiastical site by the late fifth century.[123]

All of these changes to the shape of the Hispano-Roman city were contemporary with the fifth- and sixth-century troubles described in such apocalyptic terms by Hydatius and our other literary evidence. The fifth century saw not just the barbarian invasions of 409, and all their attendant horrors, but also the repeated and violent attempts of the Roman government and its Gothic proxies to stabilize the situation. It is natural to assume that the sieges and the battles that seem to define the period in the literary sources would have had some visible effect on the physical culture of the peninsula, but this

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[120] The intramural cemeteries that one finds most frequently cited are either not in fact intramural, as at Mérida and Segobriga, or based upon old excavations of which no extensive record was published and no verifiable trace remains: Barcelona, Roda, Iluro, Clunia, and Veleia.

[121] Escrivà and Soriano (1989); Ribera and Soriano (1996), 199, for the evidence of ceramic dates; Albiach et al. (2000) refines the chronology.

[122] Saldania is modern La Morterona about forty miles north of Palencia. For the burials, Pérez and Abasolo (1987); Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón (1990).

[123] A basilica, baptistery and *episcopium* were built into four *insulae* in the north-eastern corner of the city: Granados (1987); (1995); Granados and Rodà (1994); Bonnet and Beltrán (2000a), the last correcting earlier reports.

is in fact much harder to document than one might suppose. An apparent increase in the deposition of coin hoards undoubtedly reflects crisis, and, as always in such cases, the really significant point is that the hoards, once deposited, were not recovered.[124] But the extant coin hoards cannot be correlated to particular episodes of fifth-century instability, still less be deployed in tracing the conflicts of the era.[125] The rapid disappearance of the physical environment for the old public life of the Roman city may likewise have borne some relationship to the new political circumstances. But again, there are no grounds for direct correlations. Only the example of Mérida, discussed above, seems relatively straightforward.[126]

When all is said and done, we may be certain that the hazards of fifth-century history made an impact on Spanish cities, without being able to document the ways in which they did so. A few surviving hints do seem to show that at least some Goths tried hard to behave as imperial officials might once have done. Thus we possess a famous inscription from Mérida recording the repair in 483 of the city walls and the bridge across the Guadiana by bishop Zeno, together with Salla, a Gothic count in the service of Euric.[127] Euric, like his elder brother Theoderic II before him, made a serious attempt to control the peninsula, though without a great deal of success.[128] But Mérida was a center of great enough importance to merit a continuous attempt at holding it; thus we see patronage in the city being exercised jointly by a Gothic general and the city's bishop. It

[124] Wightman (1985), 195.

[125] On the other hand, the distribution of coin finds is of more general historical significance: see López Sánchez in this volume.

[126] Traditional attempts to trace Gothic settlement on the basis of ethnically-diagnostic artefacts are of no use. The mechanical ascription of ethnicity to artefacts, as by Kazanski (1993) and Bierbrauer (1992); (1994), is theoretically indefensible: Brather (2000). The main "Visigothic" cemeteries of the Meseta, known since the earlier twentieth century and first studied in depth by Zeiss (1934), probably do represent an incoming population gradually becoming integrated with another local population, and if that is the case, we can hardly be looking at anything other than Goths and Hispano-Romans. But just because certain types of artefact tend to be found in "Gothic" graves in the Meseta does not mean that the same artefacts, particularly those found outside a sealed archaeological context, also represent Goths, still less that they can be used as indicators of Gothic settlement. *Pace* García Moreno (1994) and Ripoll (1998a), artefacts do not carry ethnicity in that clear-cut a fashion. Curta (2001) offers a theoretical model for modelling ethnicity in the archaeological record that might, one day, be applicable to Spain.

[127] Vives (1938) = *ICERV* 363 = *CICM* 10.

[128] For the narrative, see Kulikowski (2004a), 197–214.

is worth noting, however, that the local aristocracy remained an equally important force in the creation of Mérida's cityscape. The first basilica of Santa Eulalia, built at some point around the turn of the fifth to the sixth century, may well have been sponsored by a *vir inlustris* named Gregorius, whose mausoleum held a unique place of honor in the new church.[129] We know nothing of this Gregorius apart from his epitaph, but the date of his death in 492 makes it likely that he is the last Spanish *vir inlustris* known to us who gained his honorific rank from actual service to a Roman emperor.

Nevertheless, the figures of Zeno, Salla and Gregorius in late fifth-century Mérida foreshadow the development of Spanish urbanism in the sixth century. Sixth-century archaeology is a field still in its infancy, at least in Spain. If our understanding of the fourth- and fifth-century peninsula is dramatically less developed than we would like, it is positively rich by comparison with the sixth.[130] The evidence is far too scattered to allow for even the plausible generalizations sketched out above for the late Roman and immediately post-Roman decades. On present indications, it seems that the sixth century saw the real disappearance of the old Hispano-Roman shape of the city, and its replacement by a much less monumental and largely Christian urbanism.[131] This conclusion may eventually prove wrong, however. Imported fine pottery becomes dramatically rarer in Spain during the fifth century, particularly at inland sites. The local and regional imitations that replaced imports have not yet benefitted from the refined typologies of African sigillata, and Spanish common ware is only now beginning to be studied seriously.[132] Unfortunately, the absence of reliable ceramic dates after the fifth century may mean that sixth-century sites which we now regard as decayed or even abandoned, may eventually prove to have been livelier than we now think.

The one point on which our conclusions are unlikely to need dramatic revision is the sort of monumentalism and construction that existed in sixth- and seventh-century cities. If Zeno and Salla repaired walls and bridge, Gregorius probably built a church. It is precisely this type of Christian euergetism that dominates the evidence for the

[129] See Mateos (1999), 159–60.
[130] There is a survey of sixth-century evidence in Kulikowski (2004a), 287–309.
[131] Gurt and Palet (2001).
[132] See Reynolds in this volume.

sixth and seventh centuries. We find laymen acting as church patrons, for instance the Gothic *vir inlustris* Gudiliuva who dedicated three churches at Acci at his own expense in the late sixth and early seventh century.[133] On the other hand, most church patronage was in the hands of bishops. In the 540s, bishop Justinian of Valencia showed himself a consummate heir to the Roman aristocratic tradition of lavish giving: an inscription celebrates his role as a builder of new churches and restorer of old ones, a patron of festivals and a preacher, an instructor of virgins and monks, and a writer who would instruct future generations.[134] The *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium* contain a far more extensive trove of such examples, which must have existed on a smaller scale in episcopal sees across the peninsula. The archaeological record confirms this ecclesiastical focus of monumental construction in the sixth century and the Visigothic kingdom of the later sixth and seventh centuries. At Mérida, excavation has confirmed the details of the *Vitas Patrum*, uncovering not just the constantly embellished basilica of the Santa Eulalia complex, but even the *xenodochium*, or pilgrim's hospital, built by Bishop Masona.[135] Meanwhile, there is the possibility that the first intramural church of the city has now been located, again just where the *Vitas* lead us to suppose it would be.[136]

Mérida preserves the best evidence for sixth-century urbanism, but it is not the only city of which at least something is known. The Byzantine period at Cartagena, for instance, is increasingly well documented. Evidence for the city's fortification in the period, famously commemorated in the inscription of Comentiolus, and for the extent of the city's populated surface area, remains controversial.[137] However, in the old theatre of the city we can see the transformation of the area above the *cavea* into a thriving intramural neighborhood, the houses conforming to the shape of the stands and centering on a

[133] *ICERV* 303, on which see Y. Duval (1991).
[134] *ICERV* 279 = *IRVT* 117.
[135] Mateos (1999); Godoy (1995b), 278–81, for the liturgical aspects.
[136] Márquez Pérez and Hernández López (1998), though the evidence is as yet too slight to be probative.
[137] The Comentiolus inscription is *ILER* 5757 = Abascal and Ramallo (1997), no. 208, on which see most recently Fontaine (2000) and Handley (2003), 61. Ramallo (2000), 586–87, calls into question the construction of a new late antique wall near the port, once widely maintained in, e.g. San Martín Moro (1985); Ramallo and Méndez (1986).

communal oven.[138] Elsewhere, new houses were built in the later sixth century, but stood at a new angle to the old street plan, suggesting a major change to the way in which the city was understood.[139] Another site that may have lain within the Byzantine province of Spania was El Tolmo de Minateda, about ten kilometers southeast of Hellín in Albacete province. This fortress, which overlooked the routes between the coast of Murcia around Cartagena, the southern Meseta, and upper Andalucía, was well placed strategically and readily defensible. Its rocky peak was extensively refortified in the sixth or seventh century, using as a base an earlier late antique wall built out of stones of the Augustan period.[140] The extent of the remains of El Tolmo was entirely unsuspected until uncovered by a period of heavy rains in 1988, but no firm stratigraphy could be recovered. As a result, chronologies are sketchy. We cannot definitively connect the site with the sixth-century Byzantine occupation of the region, but it is very likely to have had precisely some such connection, whether as an element of, or a response to, the new Byzantine province.

As the foregoing suggests, even a very general picture of urban development in the sixth century still lies beyond our power. The wholesale decline of monumental architecture cannot help but make the modern historian think in terms of decline. Nevertheless, the evidence from cities like Ampurias and Barcelona suggests both the decomposition of the Classical townscape and the survival of a successful and populous, but distinctly post-Classical urbanism.[141] We can expect that, in time, the advancing tide of Spanish archaeology will clarify the evidence of these later late antique centuries as much as it has the third-, fourth- and fifth-century landscape that preceded them. In the meantime, there remains the task of integrating the new evidence from those centuries into our understanding of the political, administrative, and social history of the period.

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[138] Ramallo, Ruiz and Berrocal (1996); Ramallo and Ruiz (1996–1997); (2000).
[139] Laiz, Pérez and Ruiz (1987).
[140] On the site see Abad Casal et al. (1993a); (1993b); Abad Casal (1996).
[141] Rocas, Manzano and Puig (1992); Llinàs, Manzano, Puig and Rocas (1992); (1997) for the Sant Martí excavations at Ampurias. Gurt and Godoy (2000) for an impressionistic, but reliable, sketch of sixth-century Barcelona.

PART TWO

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH

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From the unusual and early church council at Elvira to the peninsula's most famously devout son, the emperor Theodosius, Hispania's contribution to the Christian history of the Mediterranean is well-established and well-known even beyond specialist circles. And yet, a legacy of scholarship reaching back to the sixteenth century imparted a peculiar slant to this Christian history, and a bias the effects of which linger, often unnoticed, even today. The need to find in early Christian Hispania a prototype for an embattled conservative Catholicism led scholars from the Counter-Reformation onwards to portray the peninsula as an island of fervent orthodoxy. In this early model, the progress of Christianity in the peninsula began with an imagined voyage of Paul, while the council of Elvira in the early fourth century attested to its uncommonly early maturity. Not only was Christianization unusually swift and complete, but also unusually orthodox: generally free from the great doctrinal controversies that swirled around the rest of the fourth- and fifth-century Mediterranean, Hispania was held out as an island of right-thinking belief. Its flirtation with Arianism was short and incomplete, and its own national heresy of Priscillianism confined to a primitive north, a product of rural Galicia. In its early and potent conversion to Christianity, Hispania was isolated from its western provincial peers.

As Castillo describes in this volume, the slow revision of this model began over a century ago with the careful, critical studies by Spanish patristic scholars, archaeologists and historians. This process of reevaluation continues, probing those aspects of Hispania's Christian history in which this legacy has been most deeply entrenched. Each chapter in this section revisits a major theme in the history of early Christian Hispania, the Christianity of the emperor Theodosius, the Priscillianist controversy, the cult of the saints, and elite piety in general. Each, in its own way, seeks to problematize commonly-held views on these themes by challenging the evidentiary basis on which received wisdom stands. While the alternative visions of late antique Christianity offered by each author vary, all four essays share a tendency to see

the peninsula as possessing a Christianity less advanced, less isolated, less peculiarly fervent than previous scholarship has suggested.

One of the more substantial and long-standing props supporting a fervently orthodox Hispania is the belief of its most influential son, the emperor Theodosius. Theodosius' decisively pro-Nicene legislation struck a new note in a century known for Trinitarian fence-riding by emperors either Arian in their own right, or committed more to ecclesiastical unity than doctrinal absolutism. Theodosius' pro-Nicene and anti-pagan legislation has been hailed as a milestone in the development of Caesaropapist political philosophy and its origins have been sought in Theodosius' Spanish origins, where both he and his equally devout court are believed to have been inculcated with potently Nicene values. McLynn questions most of the basic tenets of this thesis. He suggests that Theodosius' famous *Cunctos populos* legislation of 380, which declared Nicene Christianity orthodox and all other beliefs heretical, was waved off by disbelieving contemporaries and that the law itself, which provided no means of enforcement, lacked the teeth to cause either supporters or detractors to take notice. Through a detailed analysis of Theodosius' known history, McLynn points to the limited time spent by the emperor-to-be in Hispania and so questions the degree to which he should be understood as Spanish. Without any formative Spanish influences, it becomes increasingly difficult to see Spain as the source of Theodosius' religious philosophy. McLynn instead looks to the influence of the powerful Thessalonican church, and to Theodosius' own political inexperience, which allowed him to be pushed more easily into rash legislation than his seasoned predecessors had been. While the crux of McLynn's arguments circles around the figure of the emperor, he also examines Theodosius' supporters as a potential source of influence on the emperor's legislation, if not his beliefs. McLynn is unable to find the ready-made supporting cadre of fervent Spaniards proposed by previous scholarship, but instead produces a mixed bag of persons, largely of eastern origin or experience, which a young emperor was forced to scrape together from both his predecessor's and his own supporters. McLynn particularly examines the most famously devout of these ministers, the Spaniard Maternus Cynegius, and finds that Maternus' reputation as anti-pagan hammer was much exaggerated, and the putative Spanish origins of his beliefs to be unfounded.

If Theodosius is typically emblematic of Hispania's home-grown, virulent orthodoxy, Priscillianism is often portrayed as Hispania's home-grown heresy. Seemingly limited to the peninsula and adja-

cent parts of southern Gaul, the Priscillianist heresy boasts a large modern bibliography, nearly all of which seeks to understand the controversy within conditions nurtured by the special geographical milieu of Spain. The heresy's rural aspects, including alleged agrarian rituals and rural retreats, have been attributed to Hispania' rural environment, and its doctrinal archaisms and worrying interest in non-canonical books seen as a symptom of isolation from mainstream religious currents. ESCRIBANO proposes a radically different view. A careful examination of two important sources for the controversy leads her to suggest that "Priscillianism" was nothing more than a continuation of the Arian controversy under a different name, and specifically the struggle between lapsed Arian bishops and rigorist groups, now termed Priscillianists, who refused the former readmittance to the episcopal ranks. Escribano describes the earlier struggles between these two factions. She documents the refusal of a certain group of rigorists, led by Gregory of Elvira, to submit to the homoean creed imposed at Rimini, and the group's subsequent persecution by bishops who had succumbed to pro-Arian pressures. She notes that the Luciferian and Sabellianist doctrines held by the rigorist camp are imputed to the later Priscillianists, and that the two controversies shared a geographic continuity, where the lapsed factions in Mérida and Faro appear as the leading anti-Priscillianist faction. Finally, Escribano points to the abiding interest in the debate's outcome by both the papacy and Theodosius, further supporting the notion that this was not a peculiarly Spanish problem, but rather the continuation of a debate raging throughout the empire. Unlike McLynn, Escribano sees Theodosius' intervention in the affair as evidence of his heavy-handed pro-Nicene belief and a desire to trump his rival Maximus by wielding a heavier orthodox stick.

The issues of imperial devotion and heretical doctrine address the broader problem of Christian practice and culture as experienced in the Iberian peninsula. Specifically, how did Christian cult, administration and physical apparatus develop during the fourth through sixth centuries in Hispania, and what particular character, if any, did it assume? The importance of the cult of the saints in Hispania is trumpeted through the writings of Spain's own poet of the martyrs, Prudentius. From his laudatory verses, martyr cult is often assumed to have been well-developed and widespread by the late fourth century, and martyrs like Eulalia and Fructuosus believed to have enjoyed the peninsular, if not empire-wide fame that Prudentius describes. CASTILLO provides a cautionary antidote to Prudentius'

enthusiasm. He describes how forged or newly-created medieval *passiones*, deemed authentic by predisposed Counter-Reformation scholars, perpetuated a vision of early, developed martyr cult in order to foster the image of an ontologically unique Spanish Catholicism. By carefully sorting the false from the historically verifiable, Castillo suggests that there is less early evidence for martyr cult in Hispania than in other provinces, and what evidence exists points only to local, small-scale veneration at that time. Only the sixth and seventh centuries witnessed the real spread of the cult of the saints, by the use of mechanisms common to all Mediterranean Christendom, namely the staged *inventio* or discovery of new saints' graves and the importation of foreign relics. The function of relics in Spanish society, as objects of divine intercession or as a means of solidifying episcopal power, is likewise identical to that found in other regions. Unique to Hispania seems to be a near absence of local confessor or ascetic saints, although extra-peninsular examples, such as Martin of Tours, were venerated and their relics imported.

Both Castillo and Escribano deconstruct the model of a pious, isolated Hispania by emphasizing those elements of its Christian history that are shared by a larger, Mediterranean Christian culture. Bowes takes a different tack and emphasizes what distinguishes Hispania's Christian culture, and the nature of its Christian communities, from its neighbors. Her point of departure is Hispania's Christian archaeology, particularly Christian buildings. An overview of Hispania's built Christian topography of the fourth and early fifth century reveals a fairly typical, albeit slightly late and understated, urban church archaeology, but an unusually rich rural Christian culture associated with villas. Bowes suggests that this discrepancy in wealth and architectural sophistication between the rich rural shrines and more prosaic urban churches points to a differential expenditure of Christian resources on the part of the elite, a disparity that seems to have privileged the private at the expense of urban bishopric. Bowes then revisits the textual sources for episcopal health and relations between bishop and the secular elite. She suggests that the Spanish episcopal network was unusually thin and weak, and often buffeted by powerful interests. Peninsular elites seem to have lived their Christian lives within a community centered not on episcopal oversight, but instead governed by patronage and friendship. In her analysis, the Spanish pious elite of Theodosian fame are notable not for the fervency of their beliefs, but for their conservative resistance to new Christian communal ideals.

"*GENERE HISPANUS*": THEODOSIUS, SPAIN AND NICENE ORTHODOXY

Neil McLynn

The emperor Theodosius I was the most famous son of late antique Hispania.[1] His Spanish origins were much trumpeted, not least because (unlike the uncouth Illyrian homelands of so many recent predecessors) they did not embarrass his panegyrists. At Rome in 389, Pacatus would regale Theodosius with a veritable hymn to the "other earth" that had borne him, set between two silver seas and teeming with treasures both vegetable and mineral.[2] Pacatus also notes Spain's human resources, which had supplied the empire with soldiers, statesmen and poets—and some notable emperors. Theodosius' earliest biographer (who may well have taken his cue from another Latin panegyrist) was already claiming Trajan as a direct ancestor for his subject, and deftly constructs his portrait as a series of flattering comparisons.[3]

Although Theodosius never once set foot in Spain after becoming emperor, his Hispanic origins have figured prominently in studies of his reign—while he continues to figure prominently in accounts of late antique Spain. For his roots have seemed to help define his regime, and he in turn has served to define his native province. As emperor, Theodosius provides the focus for a bustling group of Spanish friends and relations who supply the enduring links with the homeland that are lacking in his own case. A year after his praetorian prefect Maternus Cynegius died in 388, the widow would convey his body

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[1] This paper develops certain ideas originally presented in McLynn (1997). I am grateful to Kim Bowes for encouraging me to return to the subject and for supplying me with materials; and to Ryosuke Takahashi for hunting down an important item.

[2] *Pan. Lat.* 2 (12).4. Nixon and Rodgers (1994), 451 n. 12, explain Pacatus' effusiveness on Theodosius' province merely as cover for the obscurity of his native city; but earlier Latin panegyrists had managed to confine Pannonia to an aside (*Pan. Lat.* 10 [2].2.2, 11 [3].3.9); cf. Symmachus, *Or.* 1.1, hopefully suggesting that Africa could supply an adoptive homeland for his Pannonian honorand.

[3] Ps.-Vict. 48.1: *genere Hispanus, originem a Traiano principe trahens*; ibid., 8–10 for comparison with Trajan. Festy (1999), xxxv–xxxviii, cautiously suggests a panegyric by Symmachus as the source.

from Constantinople all the way back to Spain;[4] a silver platter celebrating the tenth anniversary of the emperor's accession, and presented to a court official, would likewise find its way westwards to eventual burial in a Spanish field;[5] the provincials of Asia would commemorate their Spanish governor by erecting (with imperial permission) a monument in his native Barcelona.[6] The connections suggested by such examples have encouraged historians to use the (relatively) well-documented activities of Spaniards in Theodosian Constantinople as the basis for inferences concerning contemporary aristocratic practices in Spain proper; while assumptions about the cultural horizons of fourth-century Spain have likewise been applied to the Theodosian regime.[7]

At the heart of this correlation is religion: specifically, what has been identified as a distinctively Spanish (or Hispano-Gallic) approach to Christian orthodoxy.[8] During the reign of Theodosius the imperial government made what proved a definitive commitment to the Nicene interpretation of the relationship between God and Christ; decisive steps were also taken to eliminate pagan cult entirely from public life. Scholars have readily equated these policies of Theodosius the emperor with the personal preferences of Theodosius the man; the well-attested pious initiatives ascribed to the compatriots in his entourage have encouraged the further step of supposing a connection between the aggressive "Catholicism" espoused by Theodosius and his provincial roots.[9]

In the first section of this paper, I shall argue that the demonstrable facts about Theodosius' religious legislation do not, in fact,

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[4] Cons. Const. s. a. 388 (Burgess [1993], 242): *transtulit eum matrona eius Achantia ad Hispanias pedestre.*

[5] I am unpersuaded by the fifth-century date recently proposed by Meischner (1996). For a rebuttal, see Arce (1998).

[6] CIL 2: 4512: the statue was *concessam beneficio principali.*

[7] The fullest and most sophisticated account of these interrelationships remains Matthews (1975), 101–72; the sheer vigor of the presentation has tended to occlude the cautious note sounded throughout over the relevance of the "provincial background from which these associates [of Theodosius] *may* have derived their piety" (171).

[8] Matthews (1975), 146; cf. his own, more modulated formulation of a transpyrenean continuum at 149–50.

[9] The association is clearly expressed in Williams and Friell (1994), 52: Theodosius was "a devout Nicaean, in keeping with his whole Spanish background"; see ibid., 56, for Spain as "staunchly Catholic" and on the corresponding zeal of Theodosius' "kinsmen and compatriots."

warrant the inference that he brought with him upon his accession a ready-made policy concerning the enforcement of Christian orthodoxy. Having broken this cherished linkage, I shall ask some further questions about the nature of the Theodosian regime, and its connection with the emperor's homeland. In the second section, I shall reconsider the stages that took Theodosius so dramatically from quasi-exile on his Spanish estate to the imperial throne, and in doing so shall examine the role that his attested "Spanish" supporters played in the formation of his regime; in section three I shall consider the influences that acted upon him as a young man, and shall argue the relative insignificance of Spain among these. In a final section I shall discuss one particular case in which Theodosius commented upon an ecclesiastical controversy that affected Spain; this will also involve a reconsideration of the behavior of the best-known of Theodosius' Spanish ministers, Maternus Cynegius.

The orthodox emperor and his laws

The earliest surviving expression of Theodosius' commitment to Christianity is a famous law that he issued in February 380, just over a year after assuming the purple.[10] The emperor announced his desire that all his subjects should follow the religion that Saint Peter had brought to the Romans and bishops Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria followed: "that is, that in accordance with apostolic teaching and evangelical doctrine we should believe in one godhead of Father and Son and Holy Spirit under a like majesty and a holy trinity"; he further commanded that while all who followed these teachings were to embrace the name of catholic Christians, any dissenters were to be judged insane, to incur the "infamy" of heretical dogma and to see their meeting places denied the name of churches: "they are to be smitten first with divine vengeance, and afterwards also by punishment on our initiative, which we shall have taken up on the basis of the judgement of heaven."

The emperor's sentiments have appeared unequivocal; they also seem to break new legislative ground. Although Nicene spokesmen

[10] *CTh.* 16.1.2. For a guide to the considerable bibliography, see Barceló and Gottlieb (1993); there is now a detailed analysis by Escribano (2002a).

had complained bitterly at the oppressive interference of the "pro-Arian" emperors Constantius II and Valens, neither of these had legislated concerning precisely what doctrines he wanted his subjects to follow, or had threatened them with punishment for non-compliance. The law thus provides strong *prima facie* evidence for the view that Theodosius brought to the empire an entirely new approach to Christian politics: the most straightforward explanation for so drastic an innovation is that the law reflects Theodosius' own, and strongly held, views. However, there are serious questions about what the edict achieved—and what it was intended to achieve.

The law first appears in the literary tradition with the publication of the Theodosian Code; and within a few years the lawyer-historian Sozomen, who was familiar with the Code, would provide a historical context. Sozomen explains that it represented an initial announcement of the emperor's future policy, advertising his theological leanings so that his subsequent initiatives would not seem excessively peremptory. The people of Constantinople thus become guinea-pigs for an experiment that would eventually encompass the whole East. However, in order to make historical sense of the law Sozomen is required to compress the chronology, so that immediately after promulgating the edict Theodosius enters the city to enforce it, whereas in fact he only arrived nine months (and a hectic campaigning season) later.[11] The fact that the law had no apparent effect in this intervening period has caused much scholarly perplexity.[12] Nor has this been resolved by the most recent suggestion, an attempt to rationalize Sozomen's version by interpreting the law as Theodosius' announcement of his intention to make Constantinople his capital, advising the inhabitants (and in particular the clergy) of the behavior he expected from them when he did so—an ingenious and attractive thesis, but one which matches neither the terms of the law itself nor Theodosius' actions when he did finally arrive.[13] The problem, one

[11] Soz., *HE* 7.5, explaining Theodosius' actions as a straightforward implementation of the terms of the law.

[12] A. Ritter (1965), 28–31, thus attempted to interpret the law as a programmatic statement without legal force.

[13] Errington (1997a), 411–16. The argument (at 413) that the law was directed specifically against clergy overstates the precision of the separate fragment excerpted and included in the Code as *CTh.* 16.2.25. The compilers of the Code seem to have seized on this sentence (which nowhere mentions clergy) in an attempt to identify some legal substance to the edict; but on the "sacrilege" denounced here,

suspects, is that (like Sozomen and indeed the compilers of the Theodosian Code) we know Theodosius' later actions and so tend to read these back into his earlier legislation; and in doing so we infer his original intentions from the eventual consequences of his acts. The editors of the Code excerpted what they took to be the legal substance from a longer (possibly much longer) text that, in the fashion of imperial pronouncements, would preach and bluster: in the few cases where modern scholars possess the whole text of an edict, as for example concerning the religious commandments of Constantine, they have been able to reach startlingly different conclusions depending upon which passages they have chosen to emphasize.[14]

Our best clue to the law's immediate resonance comes from the sole contemporary reference to it, a reference so indirect that its very relevance has often been denied.[15] But during a speech delivered in Constantinople, a defiant response to taunts from the heretics who still held the cathedral, Gregory of Nazianzus rattled out, fifth in a list of eight questions addressed to his opponents: "What disregarding of a royal decree did we jealously resent?"[16] In refusing to identify this royal decree with Theodosius' edict, the most recent editor of this text argues that Gregory would not have relegated so revolutionary a law to so minor a profile.[17] However, this assumes precisely what needs to be proved, that Theodosius had indeed put his political money where his legislative mouth was. And in fact, the literary context not only indicates conclusively that the reference is indeed to the February edict, but shows how little the sound and

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see n. 27 below. In installing Gregory Nazianzen, already repudiated by the bishops of both Rome and Alexandria, Theodosius showed little concern for the terms of his own law.

[14] Note the different interpretations of the purport of Constantine's "Letter to the Provincials," despite its being preserved in full by Eusebius (*VC* 2.48–60): according to Cameron and Hall (1999), 247, "Eusebius clearly asserts that customary religion is not forbidden"; Barnes (1981), 210, sees evidence that "sacrifice remains totally prohibited." Heather and Moncur (2001), 61, emphasize the importance of reading the text as a whole—as we are of course unable to do with *Cunctos Populos*.

[15] As by McLynn (1997), 171 n. 4; cf. Escribano (2002a), on Gregory's "mutismo . . . llamativo."

[16] Greg. Naz., *Or.* 33.13. For exact parallels to this sense of *zelotûpein* in Gregory, of claiming something for oneself and resenting its mistreatment, see *Or.* 7.6; *Or.* 43.17, 31.

[17] Moreschini (1985), 21–22. The accompanying translation by P. Gallay reverses Gregory's meaning: 'Quel décret impérial avons-nous méprisé, pour que nous provoquions l'animosité?'

fury of the legislator's rhetoric in fact signified. Gregory was defending his record as leader of the minority Nicene community at Constantinople; his arguments, however, were not for the benefit of his ostensible Arian interlocutors, who simply provided a convenient enemy against whom to rally his audience, but for critics inside his own congregation.[18] He felt himself obliged to answer two serious—if mutually contradictory—charges, of first aspiring too high in claiming the right to lead the city's Nicene community, and then achieving too little as their leader. The comments on the royal decree serve precisely to bridge the transition between these two awkward points. He has just reminded his audience that he had come to them not as some self-invited carpet-bagger, and will soon proclaim his readiness to suffer being "tyrannized." To make the transition he resumes a theme he had sounded earlier, the contrast between his own moderation and the excesses of his opponents. Hence the questions flung at the latter: had he imitated their insatiability, escalated the situation, disputed the possession of churches with them, or sought money? Then comes the reference to disregarded legislation, which leads to further questions, whether he had cultivated magistrates against the heretics or informed against their recklessness. The entire sequence of thought here, from ecclesiastical property to imperial legislation and its enforcement, is governed by the terms of Theodosius' law, which the homoeans were technically flouting by retaining possession of the churches. Gregory would therefore have been within his rights to make representations to the city magistrates against the Arians and to bring charges against their "recklessness," the madness denounced by the emperor.

On first reading, this might seem to support a strong reading of the law: Gregory is being more moderate than the emperor, and glorying in this moderation. But the overall context of the speech excludes such an interpretation. For Gregory's position in relation to his congregation meant that Theodosius' law could only serve him as a rhetorical tool if it was not even conceivably a practical one.

[18] The context of the speech has puzzled commentators. Bernardi (1968), 165–68, suggested that it was intended for circulation as a pamphlet only in written form; McGuckin (2001), 259–61, interprets the speech as a quasi-forensic reply to the Arians after an attempt to prosecute him, "making it clear to his hearers that he has gathered evidence" in order to deter further attacks. Both interpretations require an improbably elaborate form of indirect dialogue between Gregory and his opponents.

Had it been feasible to bring the law to bear against the Arians, Gregory's more hot-headed followers (whose combative zeal he frequently deplored) would either have tried to do so themselves or least have prevented Gregory from making so uncontroversial a virtue from his restraint. A further, and more decisive, point relates to the magistrates whom Gregory neglected to "cultivate." Officials at Constantinople would have listened just as alertly as the rest of the populace when the herald proclaimed the edict, and will have inspected closely the copy posted in the agora.[19] These men were waiting for Theodosius as eagerly as anyone; delegations bustled back and forth between the city and Thessalonica, as civic leaders sought to establish relations with the new court.[20] Had they been able to detect even a clear hint in the law that the emperor intended to provide official sanction for his own preferred Nicenes—and to displace the incumbent homoeans—we can be sure that they would have responded.[21] The testimony of Gregory—a number of whose orations were delivered in the nine months between the edict and Theodosius' arrival—shows conclusively that they did not. The sole attempt to translate the emperor's words into action was a private initiative, which failed to impress either the local authorities or Theodosius himself.[22]

Contemporary readers of the law, in its original context, did not see it as an expression of crusading zeal. Instead, responsible officials will have recognized—as in other laws from the same period—the quality of the emperor's legal advisers.[23] For the phrasing of the law seems designed to deny even the most ingenious litigator any practical leverage. Crucially, there were no provisions for enforcement: it is carefully stated that vengeance would come first from God, and

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[19] For the publication of edicts, see Matthews (2000), 185–95.

[20] Theodosius celebrated his first consulate at Thessalonica on 1 January 380, and the first anniversary of his accession less than three weeks later: both occasions will have provided occasions for civic embassies and personal appeals.

[21] The new senators appointed for Constantinople by Theodosius in the first months of his reign (Themistius, *Or.* 14. 183c; Heather and Moncur [2001], 221–22, 229) can be expected to have been particularly responsive to the imperial will. When claiming that the "one law" for city magistrates in the capital at this time was to appease the populace (*De Vita Sua* 670) Gregory Nazianzen does not imply any conflict with their allegiance to the emperor.

[22] For the relationship between the attempted Nicene coup by Maximus and Theodosius' law, see Errington (1997b), 37–39; McGuckin (2001), 313–24, underlines the seriousness of the venture and the support Maximus enjoyed at Alexandria.

[23] Honoré (1998), 41–44.

that the emperor would stir himself to action only after this.[24] The solemn award to the Nicenes of the exclusive name of catholics, and recognition of their meeting-places as the city's only genuine churches, made no immediate difference to the ecclesiastical topography of Constantinople—the emperor had rebranded the cathedral and its clergy, rather than confiscating the former and stripping the latter of their status and privileges.[25] Nor is "the disgrace—*infamia*—of heretical dogma" that is meanwhile to be suffered by the madmen who persisted in rejecting the apostolic teaching on the trinity to be understood in its technical sense as a loss of civil rights (as Sozomen would understand it two generations later); it is rather a suitably ominous metaphor to convey the enormity of heresy.[26] Another fragment of the same law, which has been transmitted separately, equivocates similarly with legal terminology. Although the provision that anyone who ignorantly muddled or negligently violated the sanctity of the divine law was committing "sacrilege" again seems ominously to criminalize theological deviance, in fact it amounts only to a tautology—as the phrasing of another Theodosian law, published the following year, confirms.[27] Gregory, indeed, might well have had the law in mind when he summed up the emperor's policy in an autobiographical poem at the end of 381 as operating by "a written law of persuasion," eschewing the rule of force.[28]

Theodosius' language should not mislead us into thinking that he had committed himself irrevocably. Indeed, an earlier fourth-century emperor had issued a similar edict; and this had been allowed quietly

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[24] The rendering of the crucial words *post etiam* as "but later" by Errington (1997a), 412, blurs its restrictiveness.

[25] Contrast (for example) Constantine's law against the Donatists, *CTh.* 16.5.1, subjecting their clergy to curial responsibilities. The same tactic had been used against Nicene clergy in Asia Minor a few years previously: Basil, *Ep.* 237.

[26] Errington (1997a), 414, sees the homoeans as "explicitly made subject to the penalties attached to *infamia*"; but the usage here recalls the figurative language of *CTh.* 16.5.5 (*episcoporum nomen infamant*) rather than the specific reference to civil penalties in, e.g., the anti-Manichaean law *CTh.* 16.5.7.

[27] *CTh.* 16.2.25. *Sacrilegium* is applied in contemporary legislation to improper petitions (*CTh.* 10.10.16, a. 382) or improper destruction of vineyards (*CTh.* 13.11.1, a. 381); its figurative quality is apparent from Theodosius' anti-Manichaean law of 381, which holds offenders against an earlier enactment, *tamquam in ipsius depictae legis iniuriam veluti sacrilegii reos* (*CTh.* 16.5.7).

[28] *DVS* 1304, retaining the ms reading *engraphon*; this might be interpreted as indirect criticism of the more coercive policy that Theodosius began supporting after Gregory had left Constantinople.

to lapse. Whereas Theodosius was by implication branding Demophilus, the homoean bishop of Constantinople, insane, two decades earlier Constantius II had issued a much more direct and withering pronouncement against another senior bishop, Eudoxius. On hearing that the latter had accepted a transfer from his own city and been consecrated at Antioch, he sent a blunt admonition to the church there: "Eudoxius came without our authority; let no one suppose that he had it, for we are far from regarding such persons with favor. If they have recourse to deceit with others in transactions like this, they give evidence that they will refine away the truth in still higher things. For from what will they voluntarily refrain, who, for the sake of power, follow the round of the cities, leaping from one to another, as a kind of wanderer, prying into every nook, led by the desire for more?"[29]

It soon becomes clear, however, that the emperor was less concerned about Eudoxius' ambition than his doctrinal soundness. Claiming that he had been consorting with the restlessly speculative theologian Aetius, he reminds the Antiochenes of the doctrinal profession that he had himself made in Antioch, when "we confessed that our Savior is the Son of God, and of like substance with the Father." Like Theodosius, he too expressed his conviction that "the iniquitous proceedings" of the heretics would "fall back upon their own heads"; in the meantime, it was "sufficient to eject them from meetings and from public conferences; for I will not now allude to the chastisements which must hereafter overtake them, unless they will desist from their madness." It remained the duty of good men to retain and augment the faith of the Fathers "without busying themselves with other matters." The Christians of Antioch, that is, were instructed to police themselves. Like Theodosius, Constantius here maintains a careful balance between earnest preaching and politic prudence. Like Theodosius, too, he refers his subjects to their bishops for guidance, urging "those who have escaped, though but recently, from the precipice of this heresy, to assent to the decrees which the bishops who are wise in divine learning, have rightly determined for the better."[30]

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[29] Soz., *HE* 4.14.
[30] Soz., *HE* 4.14. For the background, see McLynn (1999), 72–80.

In formulating his missive to Antioch Constantius was governed by the same concerns as Theodosius. He too desired to achieve Christian unity, and he was as confident as his successor that his own chosen formula was the most effective way to achieve this. However, in this case we can see more clearly into the circumstances. Constantius was in the West, and had temporarily fallen under the influence of Eudoxius' enemies; both the theological position he endorses and the rumors he retails about Eudoxius betray the source of his information—a last-minute deputation, which succeeded in getting him to revoke a letter which he had just handed to an envoy from Eudoxius, which would have carried back a very different message to the Antiochenes.[31] But they had stretched the truth about Eudoxius and his connections with Aetius, and even more so about their own ability to create a consensus. Eudoxius therefore weathered the storm, and having earned further promotion to the see of Constantinople two years later, he would preach a famous sermon to Constantius himself.[32] When Theodosius issued his broadside less than two decades later, senior members of the homoean establishment at Constantinople would still remember this, and could therefore hope that the emperor would realize that he too had been fed false information by their bishop's enemies; and that he would likewise change his mind when he came to Constantinople and met Demophilus (and sounded the feelings of the rest of the episcopate).

When he issued the law, at Thessalonica, Theodosius was especially susceptible to distorted reports. He had no personal experience of the eastern provinces of the empire; the local church of Thessalonica was unusual in being oriented towards Rome, a strong proponent of the Nicene creed, rather than to the more complex alignments of the East. There was no shortage of Nicene pressure in the East, most strongly in Egypt but also in Syria and eastern Asia Minor, and stretching to Gregory Nazianzen's outpost in Constantinople (it is likely, indeed, that the edict responded to an appeal from an element in Gregory's coalition); but it is by no means clear that the Nicenes enjoyed an overall ascendancy.[33] They were

[31] Soz., *HE* 4.13.

[32] Socr., *HE* 2.43.7–11, with McLynn (1999), 80–85.

[33] For a trenchant statement of the case that the homoeans were already beaten, see Barnes (1997); for an indispensable study of the solidity of their position in the preceding generation, see Brennecke (1988).

also bitterly divided; and Theodosius' edict reflects an alignment maintained by the bishop of Thessalonica but by very few of his eastern colleagues. There is no need to assume that it reflected the emperor's own western, Spanish views. Even more than Constantius in Rome, Theodosius was a temporary prisoner of lobbyists; in other matters too he was liable to be tricked, and was moved to exclaim against the shameless covetousness of petitioners, who often trapped him into granting "what should not be granted."[34] The next time that he pronounced on divine substance, certainly, his language had become more nuanced.[35]

Theodosius nevertheless proved much less flexible than Constantius, who after committing himself to a theology based on substance terminology in his letter to the Antiochenes would endorse a complete reversal of this within two years. Theodosius remained Nicene. When he arrived in Constantinople he made Demophilus a non-negotiable offer, of security of tenure in return for public assent to the Nicene creed; the bishop refused this, and the majority of his congregation marched out of the cathedral with him to establish a schism that continued to embarrass the authorities at Constantinople at the time of Theodosius' death.[36] Here Theodosius acted quite differently from his predecessors, who had shown themselves reluctant to take direct action against any properly consecrated bishops whom they encountered, even when doctrinal complications were involved. Valentinian I had convened a hearing of provincial bishops to determine the fate of the alleged heretic Auxentius of Milan (a test that Demophilus, like Auxentius, would easily have survived);[37] Valens had meanwhile defused the doctrinal defiance of Basil of Caesarea by attending mass and receiving the eucharist from him—and Demophilus was certainly a far less intransigent proposition for a churchgoing emperor than Basil.[38] Yet Theodosius left no apparent room for compromise.

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[34] *CTh.* 10.10.15 (November 380).
[35] *CTh.* 16.5.6 (January 381).
[36] Soz., *HE* 7.4.
[37] On Valentinian's handling of Hilary's attempt to unseat Auxentius, see most recently Barnes (2002a).
[38] For Demophilus' complaisance, see Basil, *Ep.* 48. For Valens' eucharistic dealings with Basil, see McLynn (2004). Cf. Lenski (2002), 252–53, on Basil's subtlety: his behavior was "less like a bold defence of the faith than a courtship dance," but no less challenging for that.

It might therefore be argued that the broader picture is unaffected by the reinterpretation of the status and purpose of *Cunctos populos* offered above: that however cautiously Theodosius might have spoken (or might have allowed his lawyers to speak on his behalf) in 380, he had brought with him from Spain a clear vision of the faith and acted upon this as soon as was possible. In the third section of this paper I shall propose a different explanation for this eventual constancy of ecclesiastical purpose. First, however, it is necessary to establish the context for the emperor's Christian legislation. We have no direct evidence for whatever ideological baggage the emperor might have brought with him to Thessalonica, and then Constantinople; we can, however, explore the circumstances in which he obtained power, and investigate the people who obtained high office under him and their likely role in the shaping of his regime.

From Cauca to Constantinople

Theodosius' accession to the imperial throne must have seemed highly improbable just two years earlier, as he endured a first winter of retirement in his native Cauca. During this interlude Theodosius was busily engaged in the routines of civic life and rural estate-management;[39] in the winter of 376/377 his Spanish wife Flaccilla was also expecting (if indeed she had not already delivered) their first son.[40] Domesticity had to compensate the thirty-two year old Theodosius for the sudden interruption of a highly promising career: he was field commander of a sector of the Danube front when the execution in mysterious circumstances of his father, a celebrated general, made his position untenable.[41] Although his return to Spain seems to have been by prudent choice rather than a formal dismissal, the threatening shadow cast by the enemies who had engineered his father's death loomed over him even there—and friends were in such short supply that as emperor he made a point of rewarding "with

[39] *Pan. Lat.* 2 (12).9.2–4.

[40] Theodosius' son Arcadius was born during the twelve months before May 377 (deduced from his death aged 31 on 1 May 408); his daughter Pulcheria was probably but not certainly born in Spain.

[41] The fullest discussion of this puzzling episode remains Demandt (1969).

honors, money and any other favors" those who had demonstrated their loyalty to him and his father "when fortune had turned sour."[42]

These circumstances might seem to imply that Theodosius' administration gestated in a distinctively Hispanic womb. We might suppose Theodosius assembling, in retirement, the coalition that would sustain him as emperor; that by marrying into the local elite and finding common cause with like-minded peers he equipped himself—no doubt unintentionally—with a government-in-waiting, a group of cronies who, when their neighbor's luck again turned, called in the favors they had done him in his time of troubles. Such an interpretation would obviously bear upon the questions raised in the previous section: whatever Theodosius' own views, we might suppose steady pressure in favor of the Christian orthodoxy that eventually prevailed from the parochial entourage that accompanied (or followed) him eastwards. On the other hand, there are important questions about these supposed Spanish associates. We can begin with the future emperor's Spanish bride, Aelia Flaccilla—did Theodosius really find her in Spain? His brother had also married a Spaniard—but the wife was the close relation of a fast-rising minister, and the match is much more likely to have been made between him and the general than by the couple themselves in Spain.[43] And Flaccilla's sister was already married to a man who would hold office under Theodosius in Constantinople: if this man was already serving at court, it becomes reasonable to suppose that Theodosius' marriage had been contracted there, before his father's downfall.[44] Nor can we even be sure that the favors that Theodosius so lavishly rewarded were done by friends in Spain rather than at court;[45] it is therefore necessary to examine the extent to which Theodosius' attested Spanish courtiers serve to root him in his native province.

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[42] Ps.-Vict., *Epit. De Caes.* 48.9; threats are also mentioned by Ambrose, *De obitu Theod.* 33.

[43] The daughter of Honorius was married in c. 384, implying that the match was made in the late 360s, when Theodosius Senior was active at court. For Claudius Antonius and "Maria," the probable wife, see *PLRE* 1: 77 (Antonius 5).

[44] See n. 74 below; the date of their son's wedding, in c. 392–394 (*PLRE* 1: 620 [Nebridius 2]), indicates that the couple were married before the execution of Theodosius senior.

[45] The services he rewarded also benefited his father (*erga se vel patrem*: Ps.-Vict. *Epit. De Caes.* 48.9); a court context can be supposed for the latter at least.

One ancient narrative source, and one source alone, purports to tell the story of Theodosius' restoration from his provincial retirement and of his accession to the purple. This is the fifth-century ecclesiastical history of Theoderet of Cyrrhus, which describes how the emperor Gratian, dismayed at the crisis created by the disastrous battle of Adrianople, recalled Theodosius from Spain and sent him immediately into battle, where he won a victory so great that at first the news prompted incredulity at court; confirmation of the number of barbarian dead ensured Theodosius' immediate elevation.[46] Historians routinely, and rightly, dismiss the account as an edifying fable; but they have remained reluctant to dismiss it entirely, and the ghost of the bishop's version still haunts most modern interpretation of Theodosius' elevation. In what remains the most influential recent analysis, for example, Theodoret's events are retained while the sequence of events is neatly reversed, to yield a prompt decision by Gratian's court in Theodosius' favor in the immediate aftermath of Adrianople; likely supporters of the distant commander are identified among Gratian's civilian and military commanders, whose influence ensures that he is summoned as already an emperor-designate, being offered a cosmetic campaign after his arrival to seal his claim.[47] This version makes Theodosius the senior partner in the imperial college from the outset (and therefore free to impose his own preferred policies), and affords a central role to his Spanish supporters.

However, there are problems. The evidence for Theodosius' western supporters—especially in the all-important military—hardly seems commensurate with the king-making influence claimed for them.[48] Moreover, the decision-making process seems at once impossibly fast and improbably slow. In order to accommodate a formal summons, Theodosius' return and a campaign in the five months available, the court must have picked its man almost instantaneously when the scale of the defeat at Adrianople became clear; but if the matter was so urgent and the consensus so conclusive, one wonders why the court committed itself to the uncertainties of so long an interregnum rather than just offering Theodosius the purple immediately. Such considerations have recently prompted a more drastic revision

[46] Theodoret, *HE* 5.5.
[47] Matthews (1975), 91–92.
[48] Lizzi (1997), 136–38.

of Theodoret's account.[49] In order to create an opportunity for Theodosius to win the victory that earned him the empire, his recall from Spain is here dated a year earlier than usually supposed, to 377; this allows him to be already campaigning in Illyricum in 378, and earning promotion to the rank of *magister equitum* on the basis of a victory against Sarmatian raiders. This feat (and the ineligibility of the only other military *magister* present at Gratian's court) secures his appointment to command the eastern army—and his own bargaining skills then assure him the purple as part of the deal. Such revisionist exercises are salutary; but this version too betrays the lingering influence of Theodoret. For without Theodoret there is in fact no good evidence that Theodosius actually won a military victory in the interlude between his reappointment to a Danube command and his proclamation.

The one securely attested military success that Theodosius obtained before his accession had come several years earlier, when he defeated a Sarmatian incursion while serving as *dux* of Moesia, in 374.[50] When presenting his panegyric before the emperor in Rome in 389, Pacatus says only that Theodosius returned from Spain to the Danube to *fight* the Sarmatians; this has been interpreted, reasonably enough, as a reappointment to his previous area of responsibility—perhaps even to the same post of *dux Moesiae*.[51] If Theodoret is discounted, the case that Theodosius earned the purple with a further victory over the Sarmatians rests on two brief allusions by the panegyrist Themistius. In a speech delivered before the emperor in 379, just after his accession, Themistius claims that Theodosius was being summoned to the purple "even from that time, the time when" he defeated the Sarmatians—which he had done in 374, and on its most natural reading the sentence would hark back to this earlier triumph.[52] In the second passage Themistius compares (if we accept a plausible emendation) Caesar's victory over the Gauls to Theodosius', "while acting as cavalry commander," over the Sarmatians.[53] Only

[49] Errington (1996a).
[50] Amm. Mar. 29.6.14–16.
[51] *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).10.2; see Errington (1996a), 449.
[52] Themist., *Or.* 14.182b. *Pace* Errington (1996a), 450 n. 79, the construction clearly points back to a somewhat remote past; the comparison with the reappointment of Epaminondas also implies that Theodosius' renown dated from a previous campaign.
[53] Themist., *Or.* 15.198a.

if the participle *hipparchôn* is interpreted in the technical sense of "serving as *magister equitum*," however, is there any reason to distinguish this from the 374 victory. As *dux Moesiae* Theodosius would certainly have commanded cavalry regiments, which were doubtless prominent in any success against mounted Sarmatian raiders;[54] and not only does Themistius himself provide a parallel for the use of *hipparchos* in this more general meaning (and none otherwise for the narrow technical sense), but Greek usage elsewhere is flexible.[55] Elsewhere Themistius mentions only a single promotion, from regimental to field command, a step that Theodosius had already taken in 374;[56] nor are the other arguments that have been used to support a victory in 378 and a subsequent promotion significant.[57] Moreover, the very inconclusiveness of the testimony of Themistius weighs heavily. For had it really been possible to claim that Theodosius had earned the purple by a specific feat of arms (no matter how inflated by propaganda), this would have made him the first legitimate emperor ever to do so; we should therefore expect very much more explicit recognition of the achievement from his panegyrists and the historians.

How, then, did Theodosius become emperor? The versions discussed above all suppose that he was selected by a council of senior officials, military and civil—just as his predecessors Valentinian and

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[54] Not. Dig., Or. 41 records eight *cunei* of cavalry under the control of the *dux Moesiae Primae.*

[55] Themist., *Or.* 11.152c uses *hipparchos* and *pezarchos* for subordinate commands. For the variety of terms used to denote *Magistri Equitum* by Zosimus, see the index in Paschoud (1989), 2: 204. When Themistius pairs Theodosius with his "ancestor" as "most horsemanlike" (*Or.* 15.187a) Heather and Moncur (2001), 240 n. 101, suspect a reference to his having held his father's rank of *magister equitum*—but the twinning of archery and horsemanship means that the "ancestor" here (as at 198a) must be Gratian, whose skills in these two fields attracted much remark: Aus., *Grat. Act.* 14.64; Ps.-Vict., *Epit. De Caes.* 47.4.

[56] Themist., *Or.* 15. 188c: Theodosius had been successively a regimental commander (*taxiarchos*) and general.

[57] Errington (1996a), 449, cites *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).10.3 as evidence for a promotion: but here *tum* and *cum* are correlative (cf. ibid. 19.3; 18.4) and refer back to the situation described in the previous sentence; in the phrase *in altiorem provectus* the comparison is with the military apprenticeship mentioned earlier at 8.3–9.1. Errington also notes that in September 379 Ausonius credits Gratian (*Grat. Act.* 2.9) with the victory titles *Alamannicus*, *Germanicus*, and also *Sarmaticus*, the last by virtue of his "conquering and forgiving" them. This need not point to a specific victory in 378, and certainly not one by Theodosius—while even if all three titles indeed relate to the campaigns of 378–379 (and the first two are already attested for Gratian in an inscription from 370), Gratian himself had clashed with trans-Danubian raiders, albeit Alans rather than Sarmatians, in the summer 378 (Amm. Marc. 31.11.6): his panegyrist would be translating these into classically acceptable victory material.

Jovian had been.[58] But although Theodosius' panegyrists duly show Gratian awarding him the purple, this does not require us to believe that he had been properly nominated. As we have seen, there is no reason to believe that Theodosius was formally summoned from Spain to resume his command. The aftermath of Adrianople provides a plausible context in which an out-of-favor patriot might volunteer his services to an embattled regime; but in reappointing him to his former sphere of operations on the Danube, Gratian was hardly designating him for greatness. There is thus no reason to suppose that Theodosius' elevation was the direct result of either seniority or a spectacular feat of arms, and indeed none to believe that a vacancy in the imperial college had yet been announced.[59] We would therefore do well to consider the circumstances that point to the use of more questionable means.

Theodosius was proclaimed in mid-January: sitting idle in their winter quarters, soldiers had the leisure to discuss the failings of the existing regime, making this the preferred season for fomenting usurpation.[60] An unsanctioned acclamation by Theodosius' troops, taken up by other units, could well have provided the initial momentum: but the camps make a much more likely starting-point than Theodoret's phantom battlefield.[61] Theodosius' name—or rather, his father's—will have resonated among officers in the western army;[62] one likely supporter can be adduced.[63] Gratian, who had already had one co-emperor thrust upon him four years previously, again went through

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[58] Jovian: Amm. Marc. 25.5, with commentary by Heather (1999); Valentinian: Amm. Marc. 26.1 (cf. 27.6, for a further conclave when Valentinian fell dangerously ill).

[59] Gratian remained in command of an undefeated and highly experienced army; the fact that no co-emperor had been appointed by January might suggest that his advisers were waiting until dynastic prestige had been restored by a victorious demonstration in the spring before making any arrangements for the East.

[60] Compare the acclamation of Julian in February 360, following a dinner with officers at Paris: Amm. Marc. 20.4; the usurpation of Magnentius was launched during a dinner-party on 18 January 350 (*Cons. Const.* s.a. 350; for the setting, Zos. 2.42.3–5).

[61] Sivan (1996) weakens an interesting argument by building upon Theodoret's alleged victory.

[62] Jovian (Amm. Marc. 25.5.4) and Valentinian (30.7.4) had each owed his elevation in part to his father's reputation.

[63] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 5.107–112 places Maiorinus, maternal grandfather of the later Augustus, at Aquincum in Pannonia, controlling "Illyricum with the tracts of the Danube," when Theodosius was named emperor at Sirmium; the new emperor then appointed him *magister utrius militum* and took him east with him (*venturus . . . habuit*). This suggests that he had been Gratian's *comes Illyrici* or *dux Valeriae*

the necessary motions. But there is no need to suppose that he showed any enthusiasm for the arrangement. Indeed, having marched his army across his whole empire the previous year to support his uncle's Gothic campaign, he marched back to Gaul during the summer of 379 without, it would seem, striking a blow to help his new colleague—thus condemning Theodosius to a succession of embarrassing defeats.[64] He might have accepted the *fait accompli* of Theodosius' elevation, but he refused to help him consolidate his regime.

All this is of direct relevance to the present paper. On the one hand, our view of Theodosius' accession affects our interpretation of his legislative initiatives: the more complex his task of regime-building was, the more difficult it is to see these as simple expressions of his own instinctive beliefs. Here, then, are further grounds for interpreting *Cunctos Populos* as a studiously non-committal assent to a petition from Nicene partisans. Moreover, any controversy attached to the accession bears upon the role of the Spaniards attested in the emperor's entourage, who on the conventional view operate, like Theodosius himself, from a position of strength—an influential lobby at Gratian's court that makes an easy transition into a governing caucus. The less support Theodosius enjoyed from his senior partner, the more widely he would have to cast his net in order to form a workable government coalition. We should therefore hesitate before accepting the widespread view that Theodosius imported an entirely new, ready-made government into the East. Far from having his pick of Gratian's ministries, and a commission for a lavish relaunch of the eastern empire under new management, he perhaps had to scratch together what personnel he could—with few takers except those (fellow-Spaniards, in particular) on whom he had a personal claim.

(cf. Zosimus 4.16.4 describing a *dux Valeriae* as "commanding the garrison in Pannonia and Moesia"). The suggestion by Errington (1996b), 1 n. 4, that Pannonia belonged to Maiorinus' sphere in his later post, under Theodosius, depends on a misreading of Sidonius' admittedly tortuous Latin. Sivan (1996), 208–209, and Lizzi (1997), 137; 140–41, emphasize the likely role of the eastern generals Saturninus and Victor; but whatever their subsequent importance to Theodosius there is no reason to suppose that they were involved in his accession.

[64] Sivan (1996), 205, rightly emphasizes the importance of the panegyric delivered by Ausonius in September 379, which confines Theodosius within a single brief parenthesis (*Grat. Act.* 2.7: *tali participe oriens ordinatur*). A later historian would create a demonstrably false emergency on the Rhine to explain Gratian's hasty return (Socr., *HE* 5.6, resumed in 5.11); Ausonius offers not the slightest hint of trouble, contrasting instead the peace of Gaul with the wars in Illyricum (*Grat. Act.* 11.52).

Nor was this group necessarily able to displace the existing establishment immediately. A recent review of Theodosius' administration during the first year-and-a-half at Thessalonica convincingly suggests that ministers were making a sustained effort to reassert "the forms and workings of civil government," but refers somewhat loosely to the emperor's "western officials, who came with him to the East."[65] In fact, the only indisputable westerners to hold office during Theodosius' first year were not "with him" at all: his first two praetorian prefects of the East, Olybrius and Neoterius, will presumably have been based at Antioch.[66] Florus, the *magister officiorum*, may well have been Spanish and was indeed perhaps a relative;[67] but the one Theodosian official who demonstrably "came with him to the East," his attendant praetorian prefect Eutropius, was himself an easterner, whose previous offices had all been held in the East, and who seems (like Theodosius himself) to have taken advantage of the defeat at Adrianople to revive a stalled career by busying himself at Gratian's court.[68] It was Eutropius to whom Theodosius addressed the bulk of the "mini-code" that represents by far the most ambitious legislative initiative of this early part of his reign;[69] if ministerial influence is proportional to the legislation each received, we should have to count Theodosius' regime at Thessalonica as already an "eastern" one.

The first certain Spaniard to hold office under Theodosius was his uncle Eucherius, inaugurated consul in January 381, just six weeks after Theodosius entered Constantinople. Although a law addressed to Eucherius in his previous capacity as Gratian's *comes sacrarum largitionum* was posted at Carthage in February 380—on the very day that Theodosius issued his *Cunctos Populos* edict from Thessalonica—he had probably left Gratian's service the previous year, to accompany his nephew to the East.[70] In lineage and previous career, Eucherius

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[65] Errington (1997b), 22, 24.

[66] A two-part law addressed to Neoterius was posted at Antioch (*CTh.* 7.13.9; 7.18.3).

[67] Matthews (1975), 111.

[68] For a full discussion, see Bird (1988). Errington (1996b), 24 n. 134, affirms without argument Eutropius' western origins, following *PLRE* 1: 317 (Eutropius 2); but the connection with the veterinary author Eutropius of Bordeaux is most improbable, and the Suda's description ("Italian sophist") refers only to the fact that the *Breviarium* is written in Latin. See further Hellegouarc'h (1997), vii–xi. Symm., *Ep.* 3.47 offers a glimpse of Eutropius' activities immediately before Theodosius' accession.

[69] On this cluster of nine laws, whose subject-matter ranges across four different books of the Theodosian Code, see Honoré (1998), 41–42.

[70] *CTh.* 1.32.4, of May 379, to the *comes* Arborius seems to show a successor to

was the least distinguished consul for nearly a generation, but Theodosius was not blinded by family loyalty when he conferred the honor. Rather, Eucherius became a vehicle for dynastic self-assertion. For in the ceremony-driven, and acutely status-conscious, political culture of late antiquity, the two consuls served above all to symbolize the underlying unity and proper ordering of an empire that was now divided between two separate courts.[71] In 381, however, something seems to have gone seriously awry with this symbolism. While eastern sources uniformly list the consuls as Eucherius and Syagrius, in that order, the western sources, with equal consistency, have Syagrius first and Eucherius second. The confusion is unique in the whole fourth century.[72] The western rationale would be that because Gratian was senior emperor, his appointee Syagrius took precedence; Theodosius seems to have been introducing a new principle, whereby any form of family relationship to an emperor trumped the seniority rule. The persistence of the discrepancy on papyri and inscriptions throughout the entire year suggests that neither court was willing to concede, which would suggest in turn that the upstart Theodosius was being deliberately contentious.[73] In appointing, as Eucherius' successor the following year, another relative (this time by marriage) he showed his determination to win his point—and win it he did.[74] How all this affected the conduct of Eucherius' consulship we cannot tell. But it is nevertheless significant that Theodosius brought his most experienced Spanish relative into play not to participate in his administration but to symbolize the eastern regime—and to embarrass the emperor whom he had previously served.

By contrast, it would take several years before Spaniards became prominent in the eastern administration. Moreover, the most con-

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Eucherius already in place (*PLRE* 1: 97 [Arborius 3]). The other law addressed to a *comes sacrarum largitionum* in this interlude—*CTh.* 6.30.3, to Catervius, dated August 379—might be misdated.

[71] *CLRE* 4–6.

[72] *CLRE* 22.

[73] The evidence is presented in *CLRE* 296–97: Eastern papyrus of December 31: *P.Lips.* 28.1; Western inscription of mid-November: *ICUR* n.s. 5: 13344. The two different consular styles also appear on the Acts produced by the church councils of Constantinople (July) and Aquileia (September); for the argument that these councils reflect a struggle to establish pre-eminence, see McLynn (1994), 106–49.

[74] On Antonius, see n. 44 above. As a former praetorian prefect, he was better qualified than Eucherius, which might help explain the western court's readier acceptance of his appointment.

spicuous example, Cynegius, would claim to have passed "through all the grades of honours" of the civil hierarchy—a statement that has a precise significance and implies a series of government posts before he is first attested at the highest court rank in 383.[75] Although there is no reason to doubt Cynegius' Spanish origins, he will thus probably have seen little of his homeland for many years; his claim to preferment rested upon long experience under previous emperors as well as his provincial affiliation.[76] The same probably applies to the empress's brother-in-law Nebridius, unless we suppose that this tenuous affinity alone persuaded Theodosius to appoint him *comes rei privatae* in 382, to an office more arduous than decorative, and which was at that very time undergoing a significant reorganization.[77] The only Spaniards, in fact, who are known to have been imported directly from Spain to bolster the new Theodosian regime are women: and they were put to use on the marriage market, precisely to consolidate connections between the dynasty and the eastern military elite.[78] Rather than seeing the imposition of a cabal of Spaniards—and of a set of distinctively Spanish values—we might therefore envisage a pattern of negotiation and adaptation.

In negotiating their social advancement, moreover, Theodosius' Spanish ministers were ultimately bound neither to their homeland nor to their imperial compatriot. The praetorian prefect Florus, probably the first Spaniard to hold high office under Theodosius, seems to have departed for Rome with almost indecent haste at the end of his term, to invest his recently-acquired standing in a matrimonial alliance between his daughter and an established senatorial family—if he is indeed the father of the Projecta whose trousseau has caused

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[75] ILS 1273: *per omes gradus honorum provecto*. For the gradations see Jones (1964), 378–79. The prefecture was *honorum omnium apex*: Amm. Marc. 21.16.2. Cynegius' preceding offices both carried the same rank of *illustris*; if the rubric of *CJ* 5.20.1 (rather than the date) is emended, he would be *vicarius*—and therefore *spectabilis*—in 381; we should thus infer several previous offices conferring the clarissimate and perfectissimate. Cynegius (who would die in office in 388) may well have been considerably older than Theodosius.

[76] The spirited attempt to make Cynegius an easterner, by García Moreno (2002b); (2002c), depends heavily on inferences drawn from the prefect's Greek cognomen, which might be compared with that of Theodosius himself.

[77] Jones (1964), 414 n. 7, on the implications of *CTh.* 5.14.31. For the background of other holders of the post, Delmaire (1989), 94–119.

[78] For the summons of Serena and her sister directly from Spain, see Claudian, *Laus Serenae* 111–116; cf. 177–188, for their subsequent marriages to Stilicho and an unnamed *dux*.

so much controversy among art historians.[79] The bride died almost immediately; but she is commemorated (along with her grieving father) as an authentic Roman of Rome.[80] The marriage made by Nebridius at Constantinople to a senatorial heiress should likewise be credited to individual adaptation rather than imperial strategy: when Nebridius died, at any rate, Theodosius' attempts to find a substitute were determinedly rebuffed, while Nebridius himself would be remembered in Constantinople as a city prefect rather than a member of the Spanish dynasty.[81] Nebridius' sister, the empress Aelia Flaccilla, would likewise be celebrated at her death as a true daughter of Constantinople. The two geographical poles of Gregory of Nyssa's funeral panegyric are "the city" where she lived and the outer darkness of Thrace, where she died.[82] Nor does Gregory's Flaccilla represent any western orthodox purity. She had a "special" disgust for Arianism, but this stemmed from her inherent disgust for pagan idolatry, from which she had "learned" (the preacher modestly leaves us to guess under whose tutelage) to reject the heresy.[83]

Gregory reminds his audience of the bodyguards who had kept Flaccilla from view during her lifetime; Theodosius, too, was from the very time of his arrival at Constantinople hedged by the same screen of eunuchs that had served—and helped define—his predecessors.[84] We should not underestimate the constraints that the palace imposed upon any new dynasty. Theodosius also inherited the panegyrist Themistius, whose orations illustrate better than any other source the emperor's naturalization in his new capital. In matching Theodosius to Homeric precepts, Platonic principles and classical precedents Themsitius, at one level, was merely translating another

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[79] The arguments on each side are conveniently available in Alan Cameron (1985) and Shelton (1985).

[80] For the verse epitaph by Pope Damasus, where Projecta is snatched *ex oculis Flori genitoris*, see Ferrua (1942), 201–205, no. 51.

[81] Palladius, *Dial. de Vita Iohann. Chrys.* 16 (Olympias "the widow of Nebridius the ex-prefect"); 17 (Theodosius' efforts to marry her to his kinsman Helpidius). The unaided reader would never guess that Nebridius was also an imperial relative.

[82] Greg. Nyss., *Oratio funebris in Flaccillam imperatricem* (ed. A. Spira, Leiden, 1967), 480–81. On the speech in general, see Holum (1982), 23–29.

[83] Greg. Nyss., *Orat. funebr.* 489.

[84] Bodyguards: Greg. Nyss., *Orat. funebr.* 483. Gregory Nazianzen already deplores Theodosius' eunuchs (and suggests that they continue to exercise heretical influence) in a sermon that probably dates from January 381 (*Or.* 37.18); see also *DVS* 1425–1431, and *Or.* 42.26, both referring to the same period.

uncouth Latin into acceptable Greek; he was unabashedly doing for Theodosius what he had done for Valens before him, exalting a new emperor at the expense of a predecessor for whom he had previously done likewise.[85] But this was also an exercise in collusive transformation. For Themistius' Theodosius is no longer a Spaniard; his pretended connection with his "forefather" Trajan is diluted into a generalized claim upon the entire back-catalogue of imperial virtue.[86] Instead, Themistius makes Theodosius a philosopher; and he in turn would abandon a lifelong principle to become an imperial official himself, accepting the city prefecture (and provoking howls of criticism).[87] This might have been, as has recently been argued, an old man's decision to cash in his reputation and so provide for a comfortable retirement; but perhaps we might take seriously Themistius' claim that in Theodosius he had found the philosopher-king that he had always sought—or rather, we should take seriously the possibility that the ageing panegyrist at last made the mistake of believing his own propaganda.[88] Theodosius spent more time in Themistius' Constantinople than had any of his predecessors, and arguably needed more rhetorical help than any of them as he sought to establish the independent political legitimacy that he was unable to win on the battlefield. The emperor's apparent dependence upon him might thus have persuaded Themistius to accept office in what he would hope to present as a spirit of philosophical partnership, only to discover (like so many others who were drawn into the imperial orbit) that the association redounded more to the emperor's credit than his own.

The relationship that developed between Theodosius and Themistius again brings into focus the point that while the emperor welcomed Valens' former panegyrist into his service, he would decisively reject his predecessor's preferred bishops, a move that becomes the more striking given the political uncertainty of the early part of Theodosius' reign. I shall suggest that this shift occurred largely by accident. The

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[85] For this feature of Themistius' technique, see Heather and Moncur (2001), 24–28; 208–209; 232.

[86] Themistius invokes Trajan at *Or.* 16. 205a as Theodosius' (childless) "forefather and ancestor," to justify a learned allusion to the merits of adoptive succession; he uses the same expression at *Or.* 34.7–8 to refer to Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius. Other "ancestors" include Theodosius' young colleague Gratian.

[87] Heather and Moncur (2001), 285–98.

[88] For Theodosius the philosopher, see especially Themist., *Or.* 34.10. Themistius' motives are examined sceptically by Heather and Moncur (2001), 295–98.

new emperor's ecclesiastical policies can, in fact, be sufficiently explained by reference to his religious education: he was the product not of a doctrinaire Spanish orthodoxy but of an altogether more "catholic" environment.

The Christian soldier

After Theodosius' birth in Spain in 346, he is next attested twenty-two years later, on campaign with his father in Britain. And despite the common assumption that he spent the intervening years being educated in Spain, absorbing the outlook of the provincial gentry, the only source for this is exactly the same passage of Theodoret whose worthlessness has already been noted.[89] Having already established that Theodosius did not arrive in office with a religious program (let alone a distinctively Spanish one), or with a ready-made government of Spanish associates, we must therefore consider in what sense, and to what degree, he himself should be considered to be "Spanish."

Theodosius, it has been remarked, belonged to "a familiar class of imperial candidates."[90] The emperor under whom he first served, Valentinian I, was himself the son of a *magister militum*; indeed, Valentinian's own career had followed exactly the same pattern of disgrace and temporary retirement. There has seemed, however, to be a significant social difference between the two. While Valentinian's father Gratianus was a career soldier who earned promotion from the ranks, a much more genteel background is conventionally attributed to Theodosius.[91] Yet there is no evidence concerning the respectability of Theodosius' origins—or rather, of his father's. The Spanish estate to which Theodosius retired in 376 might easily have been the father's reward for his successful career; Gratianus, certainly, was able to cut a sufficient dash after retirement to his home province to entertain an emperor at his villa. A certain level of social respectability for the family is suggested by the elder Theodosius' brother,

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[89] Theodoret, *HE* 5.5.1.

[90] Matthews (1975), 93.

[91] Williams and Friell (1994), 23: "Theodosius' family were provincial aristocrats"; Richardson (1996), 295, on "the great aristocratic landowners of whom Theodosius was himself one." Matthews (1975), 107–108, is properly skeptical.

Eucherius, whose career in the civil branch of the imperial government presupposes possession of a proper literary education. But Eucherius, who may well have been considerably younger than his brother, might have been helped upwards by the latter rather than rising in parallel;[92] we should certainly not assume that the family could claim high office as a birthright. Ambitious provincials of this period were notoriously clannish: we likewise find a clutch of relatives hovering round Augustine at Milan, as he negotiated the "spreading foothills" of the court bureaucracy.[93]

It is therefore necessary to examine what little is known of the career of Theodosius senior. When he leaps to prominence in the sources in 368, he was already "experienced in warfare"; a catalogue of his victories implies that he was already commanding an army in 366.[94] But how much further back beyond this did his military career stretch? While it is possible to imagine him as a middle-aged Spanish cavalier, patriotically buckling on his sword in the early 360s and riding from his estates to help defend a Rhine frontier denuded by Julian's Persian adventure, this seems most unlikely. Theodosius' recorded exploits suggest instead the ruthless efficiency of the career soldier.[95] Nor was it typical of Valentinian I, an army man through and through, to entrust senior commands to amateurs. He most probably promoted Theodosius because he trusted him—that is, because he knew him personally.[96] Valentinian had grown up in the army, serving with his own father in Africa in the 330s and then soldiering through the reigns of Constans and Magnentius to retain a regimental command under Constantius II, before his

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[92] Eucherius was still active in Constantinople in 395 at the time of his nephew's death: Zos. 5.2.3.

[93] Matthews (1989), 273–74.

[94] Amm. Marc. 27.8.3: *officiis Martiis felicissime cognitus; Pan. Lat.* 2(12).5.2, with Nixon and Rodgers (1994), 517–19.

[95] Thompson (1947), 90–91, notes the "shocking ferocity" of the discipline imposed by Theodosius.

[96] Even if Ammianus exaggerates Valentinian's "hatred" for all those *bene vestitos . . . et eruditos et opulentes et nobiles* (30.8.10), of the emperor's other *magistri militum*, Iovinus, Merobaudes and Dagalaifus had previously seen service in Gaul (the latter having also supported Valentinian's election as emperor), while Equitius was a fellow-Pannonian and the tribune of Valentinian's sister-regiment; the background of the "rough and fearsome" Severus is unknown, but can be inferred from the support he commanded to oppose a "Gallic" candidate for the throne in 367 (Amm. Marc. 27.6.3).

temporary disgrace in 357.[97] The elder Theodosius had thus probably entered the military like most others, as a young man, in search of upward mobility.[98] His brother's access to a literary education might suggest that he was a decurion, attempting to escape the constraints of small-town civic obligations.[99]

The relevance of this is that if Theodosius senior was already in the army in the 350s (or indeed in the 340s), his son was probably with him. Young children accompanied their fathers as a matter of course in the late Roman army; they were automatically included on the regimental payroll until Valentinian attempted to put a stop to the practice.[100] The whole army had become a family business. A Pannonian officer's son would grow up at his father's post in Northern Italy, whole families (travelling in government vehicles) would accompany troops being transferred from one end of the empire to the other, and an imperial prince in the Rhineland would find his playmates among the sons of the soldiers;[101] both the commander of an Egyptian garrison and his soldiers would have their children at hand.[102] In other words, Theodosius' precise birthplace was irrelevant; he was an "army brat," whose true origins are to be found not in Spain but in the camps.[103]

The Roman army had always functioned not only as a fighting machine but also as a vehicle for socialization. But whereas recent scholarship has done much to recognize the army's success in providing

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[97] For Valentinian's service in Africa see Symm. *Or.* 1.1 (claiming that this made Africa also his *patria*); the hospitality shown by his father to Magnentius implies family support for the usurper's regime.

[98] For recruitment ages, see Nicasie (1998), 88–90.

[99] Relevant legislation from this period, trying to prevent curials from joining the army to escape their obligations, includes *CTh.* 12.1.37 (344), 38 (346/57); 7.3.1 (353); cf. especially 7.21.2 (326/54), on *curiales* seeking to join the *protectores*, the pool from which future regimental commanders were drawn. Note also *CTh.* 8.4.4 (349), trying to prevent civil servants from transferring to the army.

[100] *CTh* 7.1.11. Jones (1964), 630–31.

[101] Sulp. Sev., *V. Mart.* 2.1 (Martin's upbringing); Amm. Marc. 20.4.11 (troop transfer *cum familiis*); 27.6.8 (Gratian's playmates).

[102] Bell et al. (1962), 28 (references to Abinnaeus' children); 54–55 (no. 12), for a brawl between a soldier's son and village youths; 121–22 (no. 59), for a veteran resident at the fort seeking promotion for his son.

[103] Both Jovian and Valentinian, although sons of serving soldiers, were born in their fathers' home towns: Ps.-Vict., *Epit. De Caes.* 44.1 (Singidunum); Libanius, *Or.* 20.25 and Amm. Marc. 30.7.2 (Cibalae); cf. Martin's birth at his parent's home of Sabaria (Sulp. Sev., *V. Mart.* 2.1). One suspects a custom of sending wives "home" for childbirth.

for the acculturation of barbarian recruits in late antiquity, the social formation of the military elite that supplied the successive ruling dynasties of the period has been neglected.[104] For the sons of successful officers, "education"—the bonding processes of the critical teenage years—took a distinctive form. Theodosius would not be sent to study with the rhetors (in Spain or anywhere else); like other military men, he remained a consumer of *paideia* rather than an exponent.[105] He therefore stands in sharp contrast to young provincial Christians such as Jerome, Augustine and Gregory Nazianzen, who established their religious identities during their rhetorical education, away from the familiar comfort of their home environment;[106] Theodosius never left "home," nor did he imbibe the narrow orthodoxy of a provincial church. Pacatus explains how he had spent his formative years in a "partnership at camp" with his father, shivering through the winters and sweating through the summers: the parallels that the panegyrist offers (the sixteen-year old Scipio Aemilianus, and the childhood apprenticeships of Alexander and Hannibal) imply that long before his first attested campaign in Britain, Theodosius was already undergoing the mentoring process that provided, for the sons of officers, the equivalent of rhetorical education for civilians.[107]

The experience of another soldier's son offers a parallel. The future Saint Martin, according to his hagiographer, was fifteen when he was frogmarched to the colors in accordance with an imperial edict. An apparent contradiction here with the conscription regulations in the Theodosian Code, which set the age at nineteen, has suggested that a crisis was responsible.[108] But Sulpicius Severus misleads by

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[104] For useful critiques of the alleged barbarization of the army, see Elton (1996a), 136–52; Nicasie (1998), 97–116.

[105] A son of the *magister militum* Eusebius (*PLRE* 1 [Eusebius 39]) is exceptional in being credited with *logoi* (Lib., *Ep.* 459); but the father had died when the children were young, and their formidable mother (Julian, *Or.* 3.110b-d) seems to have imposed her own stamp on their upbringing; Hercul(i)anus, son of the *magister equitum* Hermogenes, similarly came to Libanius as an orphan. No serving soldiers' sons are recorded among Libanius' pupils; the Gessius of *Ep.* 436 is not (despite Seeck [1906]) a son of the *magister peditum* Barbatio.

[106] See McLynn (forthcoming).

[107] *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).8.3, for Theodosius' *castrense collegium*; cf. Valentinian with Gratianus (above, n. 97), and Masaucio (Amm. Marc. 26.5.14). On Ammianus' service with Ursicinus, see Matthews (1989), 78, adducing the traditional practice of *tirocinium*.

[108] Sulp. Sev., *V. Mart.* 2.5: discussed by Fontaine (1967–1969), 2: 456–459, and Woods (1995b), 286 n. 42, who suggests a recruiting drive by Magnentius in 352, in the aftermath of the battle of Mursa.

presenting Martin as a victim of the recruitment laws. For he was by no means an ordinary recruit; he was spurning a privilege, not shirking a duty. His father was a tribune, an officer who had been posted to a backwater: Martin's forced enlistment, which coincided with the passage through North Italy of the *comitatus*, and saw him appointed to an elite guards regiment, was his father's work—an attempt to give his son the best possible start to far the most promising career available to him.[109] Three years later, moreover, Martin was the *contubernalis* of "his tribune," the regimental commander, whose influence over him was sufficiently paternal to temper his enthusiasm for immediate commitment to full-time Christian asceticism; this arrangement had presumably been operative from the outset.[110] *Contubernium* was decisive in shaping any soldier's career;[111] the billeting of officers' teenage sons with their fathers created the associations that "commended" them for promotion.[112] This will inevitably have created a heavy burden of expectations, setting such children in a cultural mold not easily to be broken.

The army, rather than his Spanish home town or the schools that would shape his most famous Christian contemporaries, is thus the source of Theodosius' Christianity.[113] Having a Christian father to instil the faith into him, he missed the opportunity to rebel that so stimulated Martin. Nor did the experience of growing up as a Christian in the post-Constantinian army present Theodosius with any difficult choices. Even Julian's mischievous program of "re-paganizing" the military—still a recent memory when Theodosius joined his regiment—had done relatively little damage to the consciences of Christian officers, much to the dismay of certain militant commentators.[114] Military discipline prevailed, minimizing both the impact of the

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[109] Martin, an officer's son, remained *inlitteratus* (Sulp. Sev., *V. Mart.* 25.8): we might infer that he had not studied with a *grammaticus*.

[110] Sulp. Sev., *V. Mart.* 3.5. Woods (1995b), 282–87, argues ingeniously that the tribune was the future emperor Valentinian; but it seems most unlikely that Sulpicius should have omitted to mention this detail.

[111] Lact., *DMP* 20.3 for Licinius' connection with Galerius, *contuberii amicum et a prima militia amicum*.

[112] Thus Ammianus on Jovian (25.5.4: *paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis*), Valentinian (30.7.4), and Potitus son of Ursicinus (31.13.18: *meritis Ursicini patris . . . commendabilis*).

[113] The best available survey of this topic is Tomlin (1998).

[114] See Tomlin (1998), 32–35, for how the army "took Julian's paganism in its stride."

Apostate's reforms and the effects of any Christian backlash after his death. Christian soldiers might demonstrate their faith in the mess by a gesture over their wine-cups, but such declarations were governed by the solidarity imposed by the boisterous solemnity of the drinking-party.[115] The discreet profile of Christianity in the military culture in which Theodosius was raised might likewise be measured by the modest "garrison chapels" which have been identified at certain military bases along the Rhine.[116] Theodosius was the product of an elite military sub-culture which undoubtedly took its religious commitments seriously, to the extent that a detail of junior officers conveying a prisoner to court would leave him unguarded, and able to commit suicide, while they attended a church service; but this incident itself suggests how easily Christian observance had been integrated into the rhythms of military life.[117]

At the same time, a military upbringing—especially in the Rhine army—will have distanced a young man from the doctrinal problems that so exercised the fourth-century episcopate. Valentinian's officers were a powerful and privileged elite (with the emperor himself, as Ammianus lamented, fostering their arrogance)[118] and would be more accustomed to patronizing the bishops of Gaul than to looking to them for doctrinal guidance. Iovinus, the predecessor of Theodosius' father as *magister equitum*, would thus decorate a funerary chapel at Reims with a verse inscription in gold lettering that proudly itemizes his offices, before proclaiming their dedication to a greater cause.[119] The general remains as fully in control of his baptism and burial as he had been of his battles; he negotiates his posthumous arrangements directly with Christ, with no bishops or clergy to mediate.[120]

Valentinian's Christian soldiers did not need to look to the local churches of Gaul for a lead, when they had in the emperor himself the first baptized Christian to wear the purple. Attempts to find a

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[115] Greg. Naz., *Or.* 4.84; for a properly shocked civilian's account of the unchristian excesses of military drinking, see Ambr. *De Elia* 46–50.

[116] Tomlin (1998), 28, gives references.

[117] Amm. Marc. 28.6.27. The description (*festo die . . . pernoctabant*) might imply that the occasion was Easter. Ammianus does not mention any imperial wrath or danger of punishment; contrast the pair of similarly negligent *protectores* at 15.3.10–11.

[118] Amm. Marc. 27.9.4.

[119] CIL 13: 3526.

[120] Wightman (1985), 293–94, notes the peculiarity of this arrangement, which confused her editors sufficiently for them to index Iovinus as "bishop of Reims" (380).

distinctively "Spanish" character to Theodosius' Christianity ignore the parallel with Valentinian, another emperor of provincial extraction who also promoted a number of compatriots to high administrative office, and who even (as we have seen) shared the experience of temporary retirement in his home province shortly before obtaining the throne, with corresponding exposure to the theology on offer from the clergy there. With Valentinian in Pannonia (unlike Theodosius in Spain) we even know something of the bishops whom he would have encountered—and these cannot be credited with any influence on his religious policy.[121]

Although claimed by the Nicenes as one of their own, Valentinian in fact succeeded so well in distancing himself from the doctrinal battle that bishops despaired of involving him.[122] Where Theodosius would publicly endorse the faith of Bishop Damasus of Rome, Valentinian had publicly questioned his ethics; but not even those Christian ideologues who were thwarted by the emperor's stern pragmatism found room to question the integrity of his faith.[123] His brother Valens would fail to achieve such immunity from criticism; but the severest onslaughts against his "persecution" were reserved until after his death, and besides, the vastly more complex ecclesiastical situation of the East represented a much tougher consignment for a Christian emperor.[124] And until the very end of his reign, Valens' "strategy of communion" succeeded well enough in marginalizing opposition; the shadow of his death at Adrianople makes it impossible to fathom the "late repentance" that led him to recall certain Nicene exiles, or to gauge how successfully he would have managed the forces he thereby unleashed.[125]

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[121] The nearest known see to Valentinian's home at Cibalae was Mursa, whose homoean bishop Valens reached the apogee of his influence with the council of Rimini, during Valentinian's exile.

[122] Socr., *HE* 4.12 describes an embassy to enlist Valentinian's support against his brother's policies led by Eustathius of Sebaste, which was abandoned when the emperor proved "inaccessible."

[123] Valentinian to Damasus: *CTh.* 16.2.20. Venting his frustration at Valentinian's endorsement of Auxentius of Milan in *Contra Auxentium*, Hilary of Poitiers can only conclude that the emperor had been tricked.

[124] On Valens' management of the Eastern churches, see Brennecke (1988).

[125] Barnes (1997), 4–6, has recently disputed the historicity of Valens' recall of the exiles; Errington (1997b), 27–29, argues persuasively for the credibility of the contemporary testimony of Jerome and Rufinus.

Theodosius' ecclesiastical policy would be very different from that of Valens. Moreover, it deviated sharply from that of the one Christian emperor he had served. His failure to maintain the model of Christian rule that Valentinian had established should be attributed not to Spanish temperament or training, but to a combination of circumstances that complicated the already difficult job of refereeing the quarrels of the eastern bishops. First, and perhaps most importantly, he was obliged to depend upon his churches much more than had his predecessor. The sheer centrality of Christian liturgy in the new emperor's public self-presentation (which would begin with the procession to install Gregory Nazianzen in the cathedral of Constantinople, and reached a climax with the public penance before Ambrose in Milan) argues not an increase in imperial piety but an increased demand for the ceremonial services that the church could supply—a demand that pressed especially heavily at the start of his reign, when he was seeking to assert his independence from Gratian but lacked the authentic military victories which traditionally provided the means for such self-assertion. Theodosius thus found himself steered into a closer alliance with a specific group of bishops than any of his predecessors—much as he found himself steered into his embrace of Themistius. On this reading, Theodosius' consistency reflects less the strength of his personal faith than the weakness of his political situation.[126]

Nor was Theodosius' choice of the Nicene bishops as his partners necessarily pre-ordained. Another consequence of his upbringing in the army of Valentinian I was that Theodosius came to the purple uniquely ill-equipped to manage the complexities of eastern church politics.[127] Not indeed because he was a doctrinaire Nicene: rather, Valentinian had remained so far above the doctrinal battle that his subordinates could easily fail to realize that there was a battle to be fought at all. At Thessalonica, remote from the complications that obtained elsewhere, Theodosius developed a pattern of ritualized interactions that bound him closely to the bishop of that city—and

[126] For the context of Theodosius' churchgoing, see McLynn (2004).

[127] Valens would be derided for his lack of qualifications for empire: but if Lenski (2002), 52–53 is correct in suggesting that he was recruited as a *protector domesticus* in 359, he would have had a grandstand seat for the complex ecclesiastical manoeuverings of Constantius' council of Constantinople in 360—whose decisions he would later strive to uphold.

so generated the cautious commitment that is reflected in *Cunctos Populos*. There is no need to suppose any final decision: the engagement between state and church took shape one ceremony at a time. The practical implications of his initial commitments need not have been brought home to Theodosius until he saw Demophilus' congregation streaming away from the cathedral of Constantinople, by when it was too late for any immediate volte-face. Both the emperor and his Nicene protégés were fortunate indeed to have in Gregory Nazianzen—the greatest orator of his generation—a preacher able to compensate for any empty spaces in the cathedral during the critical transition phase; when Gregory succumbed to the contradictions inherent in his new role, they took no chances in selecting as his successor the ex-praetor Nectarius, who knew from personal experience how best to show off lay piety to advantage. It might well be, therefore, that Theodosius stumbled by accident upon the discovery that a Christian emperor could ignore majority Christian opinion in his capital, by withholding the oxygen of publicity that only the cathedrals could supply. Having unintentionally committed himself to a party more thoroughly than had any of his predecessors, that is, Theodosius was perhaps surprised to realize that he had thereby cut a Gordian knot. The lesson took time to absorb fully (and doubtless went as much against his own instincts as it did against precedent) but Theodosius gradually learnt to disregard the homoean opposition—which has allowed history to disregard it too.

From Theodosius to Cynegius: innocents abroad?

Some five years after his accession, in 384, Theodosius received a long petition from two clergymen. The presbyters Faustinus and Marcellinus appear to belong to the Palestinian city of Eleutheropolis, but in their appeal to the emperor they range freely across the whole empire, and through the previous sixty years of its history.[128] The

[128] Faustinus Luciferianus et Marcellinus, *De confessione uerae fidei et ostentatione sacrae communionis*: the text is preserved in the dossier known as the Collectio Avellana (ed. O. Guenther, CSEL 35). The conventional title, *Libellus precum*, will here be used for convenience. The authors switch to the first person when describing the attacks by Turbo of Eleutheropolis (*Lib. Prec.* 107–108). Further dimensions of this remarkable text are explored by Escribano in this volume.

emperor did not need reminding "how impious and deadly" the Arian heresy was (*Lib. Prec.* 5); they nevertheless lead him from Arius (6–11) through the catastrophic denouement to Constantius' council of Rimini-Seleucia (12–19), in order to introduce the confrontations between time-servers and confessors that Constantius' policy had triggered (20–47)—the highlight being the clash between the fallen Ossius of Córdoba and his young but indomitable antagonist Gregory of Elvira (32–41). But although on that occasion virtue had triumphed, prevarication had endured. The central body of the letter meticulously charts the survival of a collaborationist conspiracy through the reigns of Jovian and Valens (48–67); a range of contemporary cases shows this network still continuing to oppress genuine Christians in Spain, Gaul and Rome (68–69), in Egypt (92–101), and in their own city of Eleutheropolis (102–110). The petitioners plead eloquently that the emperor should halt the campaign of persecution that these crypto-heretics are conducting in his name (111–124).

This text is of capital importance for several reasons. Above all, it shows the terms that skilful petitioners would use—and the survival of another work by Faustinus, a treatise on the Trinity addressed to the empress Flaccilla, suggests that the authors knew what they were about—in order to make a case to Theodosius.[129] Faustinus and Marcellinus had a difficult task, for they were not Catholics such as the emperor had supported but followers of the schismatic Lucifer of Cagliari, who had in effect declared the whole of the mainstream church excommunicate. They therefore take pains to deprecate the "invidious" Luciferian label (86–91), just as contemporary homoeans would vehemently reject that of "Arians."[130] Central to their argument is the claim that the emperor's anti-heretical legislation was being exploited by wicked prevaricators, the survivors of previous heretical administrations who cared more about their wealth than the purity of their faith (83, 85, 97, 106, 110, 114). Again and again they confront Theodosius with the enormities being perpetrated in

[129] Faustinus, *De trinitate sive fidei adversus Arianos*; there also survives a creed addressed by Faustinus to Theodosius, proving his Nicene orthodoxy: *Confessio fidei* (CCSL 69: 357).

[130] An important part of this strategy—the emphasis on a connection with the hermit Paul of Thebes (93–94)—again attests a sensitivity to their audience's tastes: for the contemporary circulation of Jerome's biography of Paul in a Theodosian milieu in Constantinople, see Rebenich (2000).

his name. An unholy alliance of Origenists, Anthropomorphites, Apollinarists, Pneumatomachians and Tritheists were using the emperor's edicts to take possession of the churches (114).[131] To explain all this, they insist repeatedly on the limits of Theodosius' horizons (68, 106, 128). Indeed, so limited do they assume these to be that they casually make Damasus of Rome, singled out by Theodosius as an exemplar of right belief in *Cunctos Populos*, one of the principal villains of their piece (79–83).

No less egregious are the bishops of Spain, whose heartless campaign against the supporters of Gregory of Elvira is duly recorded (73–76). Had Theodosius retained any contact whatever with the Spanish church, he would have been heavily predisposed to these alleged persecutors—but even though a son of the bishop of Barcelona was one of his ministers, it does not even occur to Faustinus and Marcellinus to take any such prejudice into account.[132] "All Spain knows," they say confidently of their implausible assertions about Gregory and Ossius (44);[133] a whole Spanish province is likewise imagined lamenting the death of a Luciferian layman (74); in appealing to Theodosius they bracket the Spaniard Gregory with the bishop of Oxyrhyncus in Egypt (98).

The most remarkable aspect of the petition, given all this, is that it succeeded. Attached to the text is a letter from Theodosius, instructing his praetorian prefect to assist the petitioners.[134] Whoever drafted the response has clearly digested the contents of a complex case; accepting that Faustinus and Marcellinus are orthodox Christians, he recognizes the soundness of their heresiology, and grants their central request for a guarantee of freedom of worship and immunity from harassment.[135] Theodosius intends his instructions to have

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[131] The process deplored in *Lib. Prec.* 114 relates to Theodosius' legislation, especially *C.Th.* 16.5.6. In arguing for the limited scope of this law, Errington (1997b), 48–51 is correct in principle, but underestimates the scope available in practice for activists to exploit imperial legislation.

[132] I am not persuaded by the argument of Granado (1995), 352–58, that Theodosius' minister is to be distinguished from the son of Pacianus of Barcelona.

[133] Cf. *Lib. Prec.* 44, on Emerita.

[134] Theodosius' letter is attached to the petition under the rubric *ad has preces ita lex Augusta respondit: Coll. Avell.* 2a (CSEL 35: 45–46).

[135] Note at *Coll. Avell* 2a.4 (*usque adeo omnipotentis dei mota patientia est ut poenam quae criminosis post fata debentur, in exemplo omnium ante fata sentirent*) the parallel with the mechanism forecast in *Cunctos Populos*: divine punishment having in this case already smitten the prevaricators—the petitioners had cited the examples of Ossius (*Lib.*

general force, since he addresses not only Faustinus and Marcellinus' own case but also the other alleged victims of mischief—and he echoes the petition faithfully in conjoining, in a new East-West pairing to match that of Peter and Damasus in *Cunctos Populos*, the "holy and admirable bishops" Heracleidas of Oxyrhyncus and "Gregory of Spain."[136]

The prefect to whom Theodosius addressed his letter was Maternus Cynegius. Cynegius would be responsible for translating the emperor's careful phrasing into practical terms—and while the Luciferians of Italy and Spain remained far beyond his reach, the disputes at Eleutheropolis and Oxyrhyncus might well have felt uncomfortably close. Although Theodosius' prefects were normally based in Constantinople, when Cynegius was appointed in 384 he was on a mission that took him to Antioch and then further south, to Egypt. We should appreciate the tact it will have required to fulfil the emperor's command to provide security to the Luciferians without at the same time upsetting a regional hierarchy that was still struggling to consolidate its hold; at Antioch, in particular, one of Lucifer's protégés was causing serious complications at just this time.[137]

Cynegius is not generally regarded as a tactful politician, at least in his approach to religious affairs. Theodosius' letter is of interest not only as his most substantial extant communication to a Spanish supporter, but also because Cynegius is firmly established as the single most spectacular example of "Theodosian" Spanish zeal: the "full-blooded religious enthusiasm" that he brought to his tour of the Eastern provinces has led scholars to portray this as an "aggressive pilgrimage of violence."[138] Our views of Cynegius are as relevant to the themes of this book as those concerning Theodosius himself: for even if we detach Theodosius from any orthodox crusade, Cynegius' record might still justify views that a particularly toxic strain of Christianity was exported to the East under the Spanish emperor, and encourage us to trace this back to Spain itself.

Prec. 38–39), Potamius (41–42) and Florentius (43–44)—Theodosius wishes to confirm this message.

[136] For discussion, see Honoré (1998), 53.

[137] For the difficulties created for Flavianus of Antioch by followers of Paulinus, see Soz., *HE* 7.11.

[138] Matthews (1975), 140.

On the face of it, the evidence looks impressive enough. Two very different sources, the Latin Constantinopolitan Consular Chronicle and the Greek pagan historian Zosimus, both report that Cynegius suppressed pagan activity during his term of office.[139] Libanius' speech *On the Temples* deplores the outrages committed against temples in Syria during this same period and reserves the fiercest criticism for a government official who has usually been identified with Cynegius.[140] A further spectacular act of vandalism in Syria during the reign of Theodosius, recorded by the Christian historian Theodoret—the destruction of a temple of Zeus at Apamea, initiated by the "governor of the East" and completed by the local bishop—has also been associated with either Cynegius or a direct subordinate.[141] Legislation received by Cynegius during his term of office—and thus, it can reasonably be supposed, inspired by him—has also been interpreted to represent a hardening of the government position against heretics and pagans.[142]

In conjunction, all these pieces of evidence have seemed conclusive, and much has been built upon them.[143] But each part of the case is subject to question. The legislation associated with Cynegius, for example, by itself reflects merely a continuation of a trend that had started with the pagan Eutropius. Neither the sole anti-pagan law addressed to Cynegius nor the two that concern heresy in fact do more than reiterate existing provisions;[144] moreover, it is only by a forced reading of the laws drafted by Cynegius himself in his earlier office of *quaestor sacri palatii* that any extremism whatever has been discovered in his "legal voice."[145] Moreover, despite the cumulative force of the literary sources, each one of them presents difficulties. Libanius does not name the miscreant who duped Theodosius into

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[139] *Cons. Chron.*, s. a. 388 (Burgess [1993], 242); Zos. 4.37.3.

[140] Lib., *Or.* 30 (*Pro Templis*). For the identification of the perpetrator with Cynegius, see Petit (1951).

[141] Theoderet, *HE.* 5.21.7. Petit (1951), 301, suggests Deinas, *comes orientis* during Cynegius' term.

[142] Matthews (1975), 140.

[143] Archaeological evidence has been adduced to suggest a further Cynegian outrage: Gassowska (1982).

[144] *CTh.* 16.10.9 on sacrifice adds nothing to a similar law of 381 (*CTh.* 16.10.7); *CTh.* 16.5.13–14 merely reaffirm the provisions of *CTh.* 16.5.11–12.

[145] Honoré (1998), 50–57, suggesting an improbable association between *CTh.* 15.1.22 on demolishing illegal buildings and the demolition of temples, and labelling the *refusal* of state aid to any campaigns to expel heretics in *CTh.* 16.5.11 "blatantly populist."

authorizing the one operation against an eastern temple that he specifically discusses; but he introduces this character only at the end of the speech, in language very different from that he had applied to the powerful Christian courtiers whose influence he had acknowledged at the beginning.[146] Nor does the villain act like a praetorian prefect, operating by delation rather than by executive action, and refusing to acknowledge responsibility for his deeds; above all, perhaps, the emphasis on his duty of "care" for Theodosius' interests and for the emperor's "house" would seem to suggest a lower-ranking official who could nevertheless claim to enjoy the emperor's friendship—one might hazard a guess that he was a provincial administrator of the *res privata*.[147] The sole established link between Libanius' vandal and Cynegius, their both having formidable Christian wives, certainly seems inconclusive.[148] Still weaker, moreover, is the case for Theodoret's official. The historian contrasts the timidity of the state official, who abandoned his enterprise in the face of difficulties, with the bishop's resolve; nor does he seem to be describing a praetorian prefect.[149]

With Zosimus the case is rather different. Here Cynegius *is* named, and receives credit for the systematic closure of temples "across the East." However, Zosimus shows the prefect executing an imperial command which relates not to Syria but to Egypt. Cynegius' closure of the eastern temples occurs while he is *en route* to Egypt—but it is there, and especially at Alexandria, where he not only displayed images of Maximus but also "closed all entrance to the temples, and prohibited sacrifices celebrated since time immemorial and every traditional cult."[150] The problem here is that this is Zosimus' final word

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[146] At *Or.* 30.3 Libanius warns the emperor against those who will wish to "frustrate" both of them, and urges them to listen quietly; he waits until c. 45 before introducing the "abominable fellow" who had "deceived" the emperor into authorizing the closure of one specific temple. The reference to a legally established magistrate (19, 25–26) would also be odd if Libanius is making Cynegius, the judge of the court of appeal, his chief villain.

[147] Lib., *Or.* 30.46–51 deals with the "scoundrel" and his activities. Gregory Nazianzen's brother Caesarius was a "friend" of Valens while responsible for the "care" of the imperial treasuries in Bithynia: Greg. Naz., *Or.* 7.14–15. There are also chronological difficulties with the traditional identification: see the important paper by Wiemer (1995).

[148] Lib., *Or.* 30.46; for Achantia wife of Cynegius, see below.

[149] Theodoret uses exactly the same expression of the *comes orientis* Julianus (*HE* 3.11): hence Petit's suggestion of Deinas (n. 141 above), but this raises the question why we should suppose him to have been acting under the prefect's direct orders.

[150] Zos. 4.37.3; 4.45.1 has him dying on his way back from Egypt, a passage

on the ending of Egyptian paganism. He makes no reference whatever to the demolition of the Serapaeum which occurred in 391, and so credits Cynegius with completing a job that was not begun in earnest until several years after his death. Here Zosimus seems to deviate from his principal source Eunapius.[151] What is more, the several Christian sources on the dramatic events in Alexandria, including the well-informed and detailed contemporary account by Rufinus, find no place whatever for Cynegius—although these authors are alert to the involvement of imperial officials.[152] When Libanius wrote his plea for the temples, moreover, he proclaimed Egyptian paganism still inviolate.[153] Zosimus thus seems, at the very least, to have overstated Cynegius' role.

A possible solution for the puzzle comes from our fullest source of information on Cynegius, the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*. The entry for 388 begins by noting Cynegius' death "at Constantinople"; it then says that he restored all the provinces to their former glory, "and he penetrated as far as Egypt, and he overthrew images of the pagans."[154] The closing reference to his widow Achantia's conveyance of his body back to Spain the following year, which denotes the conclusion to the original recension of the surviving text, supplies a vital clue to its provenance: it was probably brought to Spain by Achantia herself, having been compiled at Constantinople on her behalf.[155] Obituaries, and especially those commissioned within the family, easily inflate a man's achievements; and not only modern scholars but arguably also Zosimus (whose account overlaps significantly with the chronicle's) have read too much into the last in particular of those claimed for Cynegius.[156] Few would dream of taking his alleged (and

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that his editor plausibly suspects Zosimus of inventing to establish continuity: Paschoud (1979), 438.

[151] Eun., *Vit. Soph.* 6.11.1–7, referring to the account in his History. Although Paschoud (2000), lxv, has recently reaffirmed his view that in Book 4 Zosimus depends exclusively on Eunapius, Zosimus' account of the Gothic wars seems clearly to show him conflating several parallel accounts: see Heather (1991), 147–48; 334–36.

[152] See esp. Ruf., *HE* 11.22–23; Socr., *HE* 5.16; Soz., *HE* 7.15.

[153] For the survival of the Nile festival, see Lib., *Or.* 30.35–36; for the Serapaeum, 44.

[154] *Cons. Const.*, s.a. 388: *Hic universas provincias longi temporis labe deceptas in statum pristinum revocavit et usque ad Egyptum penetravit et simulacra gentium evertit.*

[155] For the adventures of the text between Constantinople and Spain, see Burgess (1993), 197–98.

[156] Zosimus matches two of the chronicle's three items, the visit to Egypt and the closure of pagan shrines. He gives the prefect the rather different mission of exhibiting the usurper Maximus' images at Alexandria: it is not surprising that the

more firmly emphasized) success in regenerating the provinces so literally. The mission to revive local government is noted also by Libanius, who connects it with Cynegius' promotion from quaestor to prefect and thus provides a firm starting-point, in 384; but although modern scholars have happily expanded the mission to make it last several years, they do so only to accommodate the prefect's supposed campaign of violence.[157] Having promoted Cynegius in order to enhance his authority during a difficult mission, however, Theodosius will have wanted him back in Constantinople as soon as possible to take over the management of his department. We might thus infer a single tour through the Levant, of several months' duration at most, during which Cynegius inspected the curial rolls of the successive cities he passed on his journey southward.[158] The wording of the chronicle, moreover, can be understood to mean that any putative overthrow of idols was reserved for Alexandria.[159]

The visit to Alexandria, the "crown of all cities," was the highlight of Cynegius' tour—and indeed, as far as the chronicle is concerned, of his whole career.[160] The arrival of the emperor's deputy was bound to cause a sensation in a city that had not seen an emperor since Diocletian, and is not known to have hosted any previous fourth-century prefects. Prominent citizens were thus offered a unique opportunity to impress and oblige one of the key figures in the incumbent regime: their erection of an honorific statue to their guest suggests the alacrity with which they responded, and Cynegius would seem to have maintained his interest in local affairs (to the alarm of some of at least of the leading citizens) after returning to Constantinople.[161]

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chronicle entry suppressed any such activity on behalf of a recently-eliminated public enemy; Eunapius is the most likely source.

[157] Lib., *Or.* 49.3. Petit (1951), 301, has Cynegius entrenched at Antioch throughout his prefecture, organizing commandos of iconoclast monks; *PLRE* 1: 236 (Cynegius 3) envisages a second mission to Egypt in 388; Matthews (1975), 140, has one, but prolongs it into 387.

[158] Lib., *Or.* 49.3 speaks of Cynegius' appointment, his instructions to go to the Nile, and his return to the Bosporus; at *Or.* 1.231 he likewise indicates that Cynegius was merely in transit at Antioch. In *Or.* 33.27 he also mentions a visit to Egypt by another official, the *comes orientis* Deinas, in 386: there is no need to suppose that Cynegius was there at the time.

[159] Such appears to have been the interpretation of an early reader, the chronicler Hydatius, whose version reads *usque ad Aegyptum penetrans gentium simulacra subvertit*: Hyd. 18.

[160] Amm. Marc. 22.15.6: *vertex omnium civitatum*.

[161] Statue: ILS 1273. In *CTh.* 10.10.19, of March 387, Theodosius tells the senators of Alexandria that he had written to ask Cynegius to continue his suppression

At Alexandria, Cynegius found himself in the most vibrant remaining center of public paganism, where visitors thirty years earlier had been able to enjoy "every sort of consecrated shrine and lavishly adorned temple," to see priests, diviners and other temple staff everywhere, to find altars ablaze, with everything still being performed according to the proper rites; nor had much changed since.[162] The sheer visibility of public pagan cult must have come as a shock after Constantinople and Antioch, let alone Spain. Alert Christian notables might therefore have recognized an opportunity to indulge their visitor's tastes by contriving a satisfying triumph over local idolatry. No more than the refusal of a ceremony organized in his honor, or the cancellation of a festival that coincided with the visit, would be needed to justify the claim in Cynegius' obituary—a version which somehow found its way into Zosimus a century later, and so into historiographic legend.[163]

On this reading, Cynegius no more impressed an inflexible Spanish iconoclasm upon the stubborn pagans of the East than Theodosius imposed an inflexible Spanish Catholicism upon stubborn heretics. Rather, in any encounter with the institutions of Egyptian paganism during his tour the prefect is likely to have gone away "thinking that he had done much, but in fact achieving nothing," as Libanius sourly commented of his efforts to reform the councils.[164] Cynegius, that is, was constrained by the inherent limitations of the empire's administrative machinery, which left him incapable of doing much more than to manage and manipulate local initiatives to best advantage—just as he would have been obliged to manage the claims of Faustinus and Marcellinus, should he have stopped at Eleutheropolis. In imple-

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of criminal delation, and orders them to feel secure in the possession of their properties. We might infer that Cynegius had been named by anxious petitioners who felt vulnerable to informers; nothing in the law, certainly, implies that the prefect was present in Alexandria at the time.

[162] *Expositio totius orbis* 34–36; see also Epiph., *Haer.* 51.22 for the survival of exotic practices into the 370s. Haas (1997), 128–59, has a useful survey of the evidence.

[163] Burgess (1993), 197 n. 32, points out that the notice on Cynegius was most probably written in Constantinople rather than Spain, and suggests (198 n. 33) that this was a *deluxe* illustrated edition: the hypothesis advanced here requires either that one copy of this version remained in the eastern capital for Zosimus to discover a century later, or an intermediate source.

[164] Lib., *Or.* 49.3. *Pace* Paschoud (1979), 1: 424, and other commentators, there is no reason to connect the "disturbances" for which Libanius here blames Cynegius with anything other than his interference in civic politics.

menting his program of curial renewal the Christian prefect Cynegius may well have allowed his religious sympathies to affect his handling of individual cases, just as the pagan emperor Julian was suspected of doing two decades earlier; but (as was remarked in Egypt of Julian) he remained a transient phenomenon whose impact on the interplay of local forces could only be temporary—he was a small cloud that soon passed.[165]

Cynegius' efforts won him the consulate for 388; when he died during his year of office he would lie in state in Holy Apostles, where the empress Flaccilla had been buried two years earlier—another spectacular example, then, of Spanish integration into the Constantinopolitan landscape.[166] The honor reflects not only his eminence but also the delicacy of the political situation, with Theodosius absent en route to the uncertainties of civil war. Nor was it necessarily preordained that Cynegius should then have endured the further journey back to Spain. The decision was made by his widow Achantia, who should be allowed her own projects and priorities. A spectrum of possibilities presents itself, from the purely domestic—with Achantia simply taking her husband on a journey that the couple had always planned—to the geopolitical, which would see Theodosius pressing his prefect into service even in death, to help reclaim their homeland symbolically from the Spanish usurper Maximus. But we should not neglect the scope for overlap between the political and the personal; with the arrival in Constantinople at just this time of a new empress (and one unaccompanied by her husband), Achantia might well have found herself receiving less honor in her widowhood than she had expected.[167] Removing her husband from Holy Apostles would certainly be a dramatic gesture of self-assertion; the long journey west would then become a pilgrimage in reverse, conveying a set of relics that would receive more honor (and provide a more meaningful role for their custodian) in their obscure homeland than in the artificial splendor of Constantinople.

Finally, we should consider the likely impact upon his native Spain of Cynegius' return, after an absence of a decade if not indeed much longer. Here the lavish villa at Carranque, a hundred miles from

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[165] Athanasius' comment is reported by Ruf., *HE* 10.35.

[166] *Cons. Const.*, s.a. 388: *cum magno fletu totius populi deductum est corpus eius ad apostolos.*

[167] A hint of the tensions created by the arrival of Galla survives in the report of the chronicler Marcellinus Comes (s.a. 390) of her "ejection" by Arcadius.

Cauca, provides a tantalizing hint that at the very least helps us to frame in physical terms our questions about the connection between Theodosius' Spanish associates and Spain itself. The jauntily ungrammatical command from the mosaicist Hirinius that "Maternus" should enjoy using the main bedroom is the sole, and admittedly unprepossessing, evidence to link Carranque with Theodosius' prefect; the case is much reinforced—but by no means settled—by the remarkable array of marble decoration in the basilica, with apparent indications of imperial authorization.[168] What matters here is the implied context. The Theodosian monograms on the marble at Carranque shows that the owner was a direct beneficiary of the Spanish emperor's regime, just as Cynegius' posthumous return to Spain implies that he had maintained, in some concrete way, a base in his own native province. This raises the question of how the likes of Cynegius managed their distant Spanish portfolios from Constantinople (especially during such periods of tension as the war with Magnus Maximus), to which the most likely answer is suggested by the four Theodosian cousins who strayed into a brief prominence in the early fifth century, when their backyard became a political battleground:[169] the regional stature of these men implies a process of intra-familial trickle-down, whereby remittances to collateral relatives boosted the family name and enhanced its local status. In this respect, reflex benefactions from court would have had real consequences upon provincial society, such indeed that the indirect impact of the Theodosian dynasty upon Spain might have outweighed Spain's significance in shaping the dynasty itself.

But any such long-range patronage will also have created tensions, which Carranque once again helps us to visualize. For whichever collateral Maternus was enjoying the prefect's bedroom in 389 (whether at Carranque or elsewhere) will not necessarily have relished the arrival of the late master's hearse; nor, having removed Cynegius from the splendor of Holy Apostles, is Achantia likely to have been content merely with his discreet reinterment in his native soil. Rather, she arrived as the custodian of a set of relics. And here too the finds at Carranque, where the villa is matched by a large basilica complex, 400 meters distant, prompt some highly suggestive thoughts. The

[168] Fernández-Galiano (2001), 121 (mosaic inscription), 129–131 (marble).
[169] Zosimus 6.4; Oros., *Hist.* 7.40. See Matthews (1975), 309–10.

addition to the basilica at Carranque of a small but elaborate mausoleum, and the elaborate structures built to connect the two, raise interesting questions about the relationship between the funerary and congregational functions of the church there, which in turn bear upon that of the overall relationship between these Christian buildings and the villa;[170] all this should in turn inform the parallel question that historians must consider, about the impact upon Cynegius' Spanish property (and its trustees) of the arrival of his widow, equipped with the wherewithal for a Christian cult.

This overall picture, where Cynegius' remains were conducted to a private rural mausoleum rather than to a city cathedral for public reburial, would also explain why this most Christian prefect of the Christian emperor from Spain would not be enrolled among the Spanish saints, despite the vigorous market for such commodities.[171] Carranque shows that it was possible for Achantia, rather than consigning her husband to the bosom of the Spanish church, to create for him (and for herself) an extraterritorial enclave. This will have been a potent presence on the local religious landscape in the short term, but one ultimately (like the phenomenon of villa-churches in general) unsustainable.[172] After his career at the imperial court, in other words, Cynegius was no longer "Spanish"—just like Theodosius himself.

* * *

The central argument of this paper has been that while we cannot delimit with any definitive accuracy the cultural horizons of Theodosius or (as the prime representative of his Spanish "coterie") Cynegius, we can at least ask meaningful questions about them—and in doing so we can propose revisions to accepted interpretative frameworks. There is an important corollary, which relates directly to the other papers contained in this volume. This concerns the need to re-examine the evidence for the cultural horizons of late antique Hispania itself with perspectives undistorted by the glamor of the Theodosian court. The accretion of material evidence in recent years, such as

[170] Fernández-Galiano (2001), 71–80. See also Bowes in this volume.

[171] The best source is the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius: for the Spanish context, see Palmer (1989) and Castillo Maldonado in this volume.

[172] For tensions between such establishments and the clerical hierarchy, see in general Bowes (2001), 335–38.

this volume for the first time makes available in English, promises at last (as was predicted a quarter-century ago)[173] to close the gap between the relatively detailed information our sources supply concerning the Christian initiatives taken by individual late-antique Spaniards abroad, and the hitherto impressionistic nature of our understanding of the religious character of their native Hispania. As the evidence for local variety and the scope for individual Christian initiative accumulates, it might even be that in parallel with the distinctly "unorthodox" picture argued here of Theodosius' confessional allegiance, we should find cause to question the Nicene solidity of Theodosian Spain itself.[174]

[173] Matthews (1975), 147 n. 1: "The best prospects for an increase in knowledge are provided by archaeology."

[174] As suggested tentatively in McLynn (1997), 174–75.

HERESY AND ORTHODOXY IN FOURTH-CENTURY HISPANIA: ARIANISM AND PRISCILLIANISM*

Victoria Escribano

At the close of the year 384, Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, sent a *consulta* to Pope Damasus in Rome, posing questions debated in the heart of the Spanish church and requesting the pronouncement of the *sedes apostolica*. This *relatio* arrived in Rome after the pope had died, that is, after 11 December 384. One of the first acts of Damasus' successor, Pope Siricius, was to call a council in Rome to ponder the problems raised in the report and to compose a *responsum* with the council's findings directed not only to Himerius, but to all the churches of Hispania.[1] The missive, in the inclusiveness of its recipients and in the tenor of the positions it adopts, took the form of a decree, the equivalent of an imperial rescript but in this case issued from the papal chancellery.[2] Although Himerius' letter has not been preserved, its contents can be reconstructed from the papal response. Its subject was those factors causing conflict and rupture in the Spanish church, namely the reconciliation of those who had yielded to Arianism, and the diffusion of Priscillianism, whose followers had recently been declared Manichaeans at the council of Bordeaux in 384.[3] Siricius opted for a moderate response, steering a course between severity and permissiveness. He rejected the excessive measures for

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[1] Siricius, *Ep.* 1.1: *Directa ad decessorem nostrum sanctae recordationis Damasum fraternitatis tuae relatio me iam in sede ipsius constitutum, quia sic Dominus ordinauit, inuenit. Quam in conuentu fratrum sollicitus legeremus tanta inuenimus, quae reprehensione et correctione sint digna, quanta optaremus laudanda cognoscere . . . consultationi tuae responsum competens non negamus.* Siricius, *Ep.* 1.19: *Nunc fraternitatis tuae animum ad seruandos canones et tenenda decretalia constituta magis ac magis incitamus, ut haec quae ad tua rescripsimus consulta in omnium coepiscoporum nostrorum perferri facias notionem, et non solum eorum qui in tua sunt diocesi constituti: sed etiam ad uniuersos Carthaginenses ac Baeticos, Lusitanos atque Gallicos.*

[2] Callam (1980), 36.

[3] Pietri (1976), 2: 1045–56; Callam (1980), 25–26; Sardella (1998), 247–54. All three studies claim that Priscillianism was the real focus of the letter's treatment of heresy.

dealing with Arians and apostates proposed by Himerius, yet imposed a strict code of discipline for monks and clerics as well as regulations on the clerical *cursus*. He also took advantage of the circumstances to speak out against the death penalty as a means of repressing apostates.[4]

In the same year (384) two Roman presbyters, Marcellinus and Faustinus, penned a petition to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, a *preces* conventionally known as the *Liber* or *Libellus precum*. In it they denounced the persecution they had suffered by remaining faithful to the Nicene Creed and rejecting the reconciliation of the bishops who had adopted imperial homoean doctrine.[5] After the triumph of Nicene orthodoxy under Theodosius, such lapsed bishops had preserved their sees by abdicating their Arian positions, and relentlessly and violently pursued those accused of Luciferianism, including Marcellinus and Faustinus.[6] Theodosius responded to the petition with a rescript, in which he declared the orthodoxy of the disciplinarians headed by Gregory of Elvira in the West and Heraclidas of Oxyrhynchus in the East, and denounced the heresy of their enemies. The authors of the *Libellus precum* included in the list of their persecutors a certain Hyginus of Baetica, the same Hyginus who, according to Sulpicius Severus, in 379/80 had denounced Priscillian to Hydatius of Mérida, thus beginning the Priscillianist controversy.[7] According to the *Libellus*, Hyginus' collaborator in Baetica was none other than Luciosus, probably the same person who read out the *sententiae* of the anti-Priscillianist council held in Zaragoza around 379.[8] This coincidence, together with the early and persistent accusation of Sabellianism levied at the Priscillianists, suggests a link

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[4] Siricius, *Ep.* 1.5: *quia, docente Domino, nolumus mortem peccatoris, tantum ut conuertatur, et vivat* (Ezech. 18:23).

[5] On these presbyters, their origins and sources, see notes 55 and 67 below and the treatment of McLynn in this volume.

[6] The supplicatory petition was called the *Libellus precum* after its first edition by Sirmond in 1650. In this study, I follow the edition of M. Simonetti (CCSL 69: 359–92); the letter is also edited as part of the *Collectio Avellana* in which it is preserved (Coll. Avell. 2 = CSEL 35: 5–46). The best studies of the text are Fernández Ubiña (1997b); (1997c), many of whose conclusions are followed here.

[7] *Libellus precum* 75; Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.46.8: *Hyginus, episcopus Cordubensis, ex uicino agens, comperta ad Ydacium Emeritae sacerdotem referret.*

[8] *Libellus precum* 75: *Cesaragusta in secretario residentibus episcopis Fitadio, Delfino, Euticio, Ampelio, Augentio, Lucio, Itacio, Splendonio, Valerio, Simposio, Carterio et Hidacio, ab uniuersis dictum est: recitentur sententiae. Lucius episcopus legit.* See F. Rodríguez (1981), 17. This thesis was also defended by Chadwick (1978), 53.

between the consequences of the Arian controversy in Hispania and the beginnings of the Priscillianist conflict. In the same way, a comparative study of the decree of Siricius and the rescript of Theodosius indicates that the bishop of Rome and the emperor of Constantinople were more deeply involved in the Priscillianist dispute than has previously been thought.[9]

Recent studies of the Priscillianist conflict have attempted to resolve two fundamental questions: whether or not the members of the heresy were Manichaeans, and why Priscillian and his closest followers were condemned to death for sorcery, not for heresy, in a civil verdict in which the principal accuser was a bishop, Ithacius of Faro (Ossonoba).[10] The answer to the first question must be a firm negative, as there is no evidence of any affinities between Priscillianist thought and Manichaean theology, although certain Priscillianist practices may have seemed suspicious and easily associated with magic.[11] In effect, the activities described by the Zaragozan canons—Sunday fasts, retreat to *cubicula* and *montes*, celebration of the *conventus* in private houses, barefoot rituals, concealing and not consuming the eucharist in church, the presence of women at male meetings in which the former received or imparted lessons—permitted the linkage of Priscillianists with Manichaeans and the accusation of magical practices. Through this convenient chain of allegation it was possible to apply to the Priscillianists the inflexible imperial legislation against magic, and to make them victims of the social aversion awakened by the Manichaeans.[12]

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[9] For a general overview of the Spanish church during the fourth century, see Fernández Ubiña (2002a); Vilella (2002); Marcos (2002). Cf. McLynn (1997) and his contribution to the present volume.

[10] Stockmeier (1967); Girardet (1974); Vollmann (1965); (1974); Chadwick (1978); Van Dam (1985), 88–114; Escribano (1988); (1990); (1994); Sfameni Gasparro (1990); Burrus (1995); Vilella (1997). The current state of the question is reviewed in Escribano (2000a); (2002a).

[11] As claimed by Goosen (1976), 47–78, based on the commentary of the Würzburg Tractates. This is based not only the lack of correspondence between Priscillianist and Manichaean theology and anthropology, but also the contradictions in their modes of ascetic life. Priscillianist doctrine was neither Manichaean nor Gnostic, but the result of personal life experience, justified most often with biblical parallels, rather than intellectual speculation. It is the ideology of a *praxis*, in the words of Jacques Fontaine, and should be judged as such. The Tractates display an archaic character and Pauline foundations in their theology, with spiritual elements present in eastern and western traditions. See Lorenz (1966), 18–23. On the stages through which the heretical image of Priscillian was formed, beginning with his reputation as a Gnostic in Sulpicius Severus and Jerome, see Burrus (1995), *passim.*

[12] See Breyfogle (1995) and Escribano (2002c).

As to the second question, the final, fateful outcome of the Priscillianist conflict was determined by an unexpected political event, the usurpation of Maximus (383) and by Priscillian's daring in directing his *provocatio ad principem* directly to Milan, after challenging the *iudices suspecti* present at the council of Bordeaux (384). The pretender at Trier, seeing his legitimacy questioned in this way by an aristocrat linked through bonds of friendship and perhaps blood with the Milanese and Constantinopolitan courts,[13] interpreted this as an act of political rebellion and ordered the opening of a civil case against the heretics, placing at its forefront the accusation of *maleficium*, a crime punishable by death.[14]

If the results of the controversy are fairly well delineated, its beginnings are still obscure. Scholars now admit that the decisive fact which permitted the transformation of ecclesiastical dispute to public crime was Hydatius of Mérida's appeal to imperial power. Upon the conclusion of the council of Zaragoza, Instantius, Salvianus and Priscillian, bolstered by the support of certain clergy and the local population, attempted to have Hydatius replaced as bishop of Mérida by Priscillian himself.[15] When the initiatives presented by Hydatius and Ithacius to the *saeculares iudices* failed, Hydatius asked for and

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[13] Indeed, the fact that Priscillian and some of his followers were members of the highest strata of Hispano-Aquitanian society, not to mention their ties to circles close to Theodosius, may have influenced the accusation of Manichaeism and magic, and the sentence of capital punishment. This hypothesis was formulated by Matthews (1975), 168–72, and later amplified by García Moreno (1997).

[14] After Instantius was removed from the episcopate by the council of Bordeaux, Priscillian rejected the episcopal tribunal claiming it was composed of *iudices suspecti*, including Hydatius and Ithacius, and turned to the emperor. He did not, however, turn to Maximus as has traditionally been maintained, but rather to the pro-Arian Valentinian II at Milan, where he could count on powerful allies. This was a clear act of political rebellion against the usurper. This thesis is defended in Escribano (1994), 405–407, based on the following considerations: the omission of the name of the addressee in all the sources that allude to the *provocatio* (Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.9; Hyd. 13); the disproportionate and immediate reaction of Maximus; the gravity of the crime imputed in public court; and the current implications of the betrayal itself. On *maleficium*, see Massoneau (1933), 243–61. *Maleficium* appeared among the five high crimes punishable by execution which Constantius II made unpardonable. In 367 these were defined by Valentinian (*CTh.* 9.38.2): *sacrilegus in maiestate, reus in mortuos, ueneficus siue maleficus, adulter, raptor* and *homicida*. Cf. *CTh* 9.38.4, a. 368. See Grodzynski (1984).

[15] This is the deed concealed by the *memorandum* describing the incidents at Mérida in the *Liber ad Damasum*, 39.48, for which see Escribano (1995). When this failed, the Priscillianists opted to consecrate Priscillian bishop of Ávila: Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.47.4.

obtained a rescript from the emperor Gratian, thanks to the intervention of Ambrose of Milan and the concealment of the true numbers of the accused. The rescript was directed *contra pseudoepiscopos et Manichaeos* and as a consequence of it, supposed heretics were to be expelled from their churches and their cities.[16]

But how did such radical antagonism develop in the heart of the church, antagonism so serious that it could only be resolved through imperial intervention and the expulsion of the censured as false bishops and Manichaeans? From a chronological analysis of the Priscillianist controversy, it seems a clear case of what Sulpicius Severus terms *discordia episcoporum* and *certamina*, and indeed Jerome likened the controversy to a fight between *factiones* while Priscillian himself explicitly said that beneath the appearance of religious polemic lay real personal rivalries.[17] Thus, in essence, the Priscillianist crisis was a conflict of authority between opposing groups of bishops inside the Spanish church. In addition to the religious issues, this interpretation clarifies the exclusive claims on episcopal power made by Priscillian and his followers on one side, and by Hydatius and Ithacius on the other, and failing this, the recourse to *iudices saeculares*—to Gratian, to the *magister officiorum* Macedonius, to the *quaestor sacri palatii*, to the *praefectus praetorio Galliarum*, to the *proconsul Lusitaniae*, to the *vicarius Hispaniarum*—all with the ultimate goal of expelling the rival party from the ecclesiastical community.[18] On the other hand, there was surprisingly little doctrinal debate for a case involving allegations of

[16] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.47.5–6; *Liber ad Dam.* 50.40–41; Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.47.6–7.

[17] Sulpicius Severus uses the phrase *discordia episcoporum* to describe the disorder, exemplified by the Arian and Priscillianist disputes, affecting the church of his time: *Chron.* 2.51.9. At the same time, Sulpicius encapsulated the verbal contest and violent conflict that characterized the Priscillianist debate with the word *certamen*, which appears twice and is used in the plural to refer to the conflict's events: *Chron.* 2.47.1; 6.48.6. Jerome was secretary to Damasus when Priscillian and his closest associates arrived in Rome and in his *De uiris illustribus* 121 (ca. 392), he recorded the various opinions on the Priscillianists' heretical character, and used the term *factio* to describe the group constituted by Hydatius and Ithacius: *Priscillianus, Abilae episcopus, qui factione Hydatii et Ithacii Treveris a Maximo tyranno caesus est, edidit multa opuscula . . . usque hodie a nonnullis gnosticae id est Basilidis vel Marci, de quibus Irenaeus scripsit, haereseos accusatur, defendentibus aliis non ita eum sensisse, ut arguitur.* For Priscillian's own views see *Lib. Apol.* 40.33.

[18] Between 380 and 383 both sides invoked the highest civil authorities during their *certamen*, including the governor of Lusitania, the *vicarius* of Hispania, the prefect of Gaul, the chief of the palatine offices in Milan and the emperor himself, all demonstrating the use of judicial orders to obtain condemnatory and inappelable sentences against the enemy: Escribano (2002a).

heresy. Priscillian and his followers were accused of being false bishops, Manichaeans, practitioners of harmful magic and *actores turbarum*. The Priscillianists, for their part, denounced Hydatius *in actis ecclesiasticis* and petitioned for his removal, while Ithacius was on the point of being judged a *perturbator ecclesiarum* by the *vicarius* of Hispania.[19]

The rancor and acrimony displayed during the conflict, the procedures followed and their unwavering purpose, the scarcity of doctrinal controversy and above all, the tragic outcome of this personal contest, all beg the question of first causes.[20] That is to say, how did the whole conflict begin? What could pit two sectors of the Spanish episcopate against each other in so fierce a manner? It is true that between 379 and 385 the central question in the dispute was always the problem of Manichaeism and the alleged magical activities of the Priscillianists. This is made clear by the similarity between the conduct censured by the canons of Zaragoza and those crimes for which the Priscillianists were condemned at Trier.[21] However, these

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[19] Suspicions of Manichaean error and magic rituals are explicit in the council of Zaragoza and also appear in the *Liber Apologeticus* and conciliar canons: Escribano (2002c). In the trials at Trier, the Priscilliansts were finally convicted of *maleficium* (Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.50.8): *is* [Evodius] *Priscillianum gemino iudicio auditum convictumque maleficii nec diffitentem obscenis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egisse conuentus nudumque orare solitum nocentem pronuntiauit.* The denunciation of the Priscillianists as *actores turbarum* was formulated by Ithacius in 383 before the praetorian prefect of Gaul, Gregory, who gave the order to transfer the accused to Trier to be judged: Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.2. After the council of Zaragoza, Instantius, Salvianus and Priscillian accused Hydatius *in actis ecclesiasticis* through one of his presbyters, distributing libelous pamphlets throughout the churches of Lusitania, and seeking the support of other bishops outside the province to effect his removal. Armed resistance by a portion of the citizenry put a halt to their plan: *Lib. ad Dam.* 39.48. After having been rejected by Damasus at Rome and by Ambrose at Milan, the Priscillianist leaders used the *magister officiorum* to have the rescript repealed. Once they had regained their lost sees, they accused their principal enemy, Ithacius, of being a *perturbator ecclesiarum* before Volventius, the *proconsul Lusitaniae*, and later before Marinianus, the *vicarius Hispaniarum*: Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.1–4.

[20] The rancor is described by Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.46.8–9; 2.50.2–5. Ambrose of Milan and the panegyricist Pacatus censured bishops who acted as accusers in a public court and sought the death penalty for accused: Ambrose, *Ep.* 26.3: *posteaquam episcopi reos criminum grauissimorum in publicis iudiciis accusare alii et urgere usque ad gladium supremamque mortem*; Pacat., *Pan. Lat.* 2 (12).29.3: *Fuit enim, fuit et hoc delatorum genus qui nominibus antistes, re uera autem satellites atque adeo carnifices, non contenti miseros auitis euoluisse patrimoniis calumniabantur in sanguinem et uitas premebant reorum iam pauperum, quin etiam, cum iudiciis capitalibus adstitissent, cum gemitus et tormenta miserorum auribus ac luminibus hausissent, cum lictorum arma, cum damnatorum frena tractassent, pollutas poenali contactu manus ad sacra referebant et caeremonias quas incestauerant mentibus etiam corporibus impiabant.*

[21] See the comparison in Breyfogle (1995) and Escribano (2002c).

were patently not the reasons for which Hyginus himself originally denounced the group. The accusations of Manichaeism and magic made by Ithacius before the council of Zaragoza were not proven in the council's proceedings.[22] Neither Damasus, Ambrose nor Jerome ever clearly admitted the heretical character of the Priscillianists. Neither was asceticism itself cause for the persecution.[23] Priscillian was not the only person in the late fourth-century West striving for an ascetic-monastic ideal, but he was the only one to be judged in a civil court and condemned to death. Despite some initial hostility towards asceticism, which had won important adherents among the aristocratic elite, in no case did the ecclesiastical hierarchy react as it did against Priscillian. In fact, if not for Maximus' usurpation, the Priscillianists would have beat back their adversaries, given that, before the usurpation in 383, they had already forced the annulment of Gratian's rescript and been restored to their sees.[24]

It can be argued that behind the act which began the conflict—Hyginus of Córdoba's denunciation of the Priscillianists to Hydatius of Mérida—one can find the consequences of the Arian dispute. This dispute lay between groups of rigorists, who in spite of imperial pressure had remained faithful to a traditional Trinitarian theology, and those who had given in to the homoean creed imposed on the Nicene bishops at Rimini but who, after the deaths of Constantius II and Valens, had retained their sees. The cause of antagonism was the refusal of the first group to reconcile with the second, to which the latter responded with fierce persecution. In support of this hypothesis is the information found in the letter of Himerius to Damasus, the *Libellus precum* presented by Marcellinus and Faustinus to Theodosius in 384, and the long-standing and constant accusation of Sabellianism

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[22] Ithacius had made the charge of *sacrilegii nefas* against the Priscillianists during the council, claiming they had used magical incantations to sanctify or consecrate the first fruits of the harvest, and demonic incantations to the sun and moon during their consumption. He also claimed they had used an evil unguent, whose efficacy diminished in relation to the eclipses and lunar cycles: *Lib. Apol.* 20.23: *Inter quae tamen novum dictum et non dicam facto, sed et relatione damnabile nec ullo ante hoc heretico auctore prolatum sacrilegii nefas in aures nostras legens Ithacius induxit magicis praecantationibus primitiuorum fructuum uel expiari uel consecrari oportere gustatus unguentumque maledicti Soli et Lunae, cum quibus deficiet, consecrandum*. Priscillian himself was said to possess an amulet marked with the name of God in Hebrew, Latin and Greek and bearing the image of a lion: *Lib. Apol.* 31.26.

[23] At least not from its beginnings: Rousseau (1978), 56–67; Chadwick (1978), 87–150; Burrus (1995), 25–46; Barahona Simões (2002), 149–94.

[24] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.48.5.

leveled at the Priscillianists. This was the first heresy condemned by Priscillian in the *Liber Apologeticus*, composed to be presented at the council of Zaragoza (c. 379). The accusation was repeated in the First Council of Toledo (400), by Orosius (414), Augustine (415), Leo the Great (447) and in the canons of the first council of Braga (561). The chain of people, doctrine and circumstance that ties together the Arian and Priscillianist controversies is thus an important one and the thesis presented here is based on these ties, which have until now escaped scholarly attention.

The relatio *of Himerius (384) and the* responsum *of Siricius (385)*

Although bishop Himerius' letter has not been preserved, Siricius' response makes it possible to reconstruct the questions on which Himerius sought papal judgment. The questions pertained to the readmission of Arians into the church, the appropriate liturgical season for baptism, the treatment of penitents who had lapsed into *cultus idolorum*, and the regulation of virginity and celibacy in monks and clergy. Many points addressed in the letter present certain affinities with the practices prohibited in the anti-Priscillianist canons of Zaragoza: allusions to baptism on Epiphany (1.2.3); to the need for regulating the clerical *cursus* (1.8.12; 1.9.13); to the cohabitation of clergy with young women (1.12.16); a basic mistrust of monks (1.13.17); suspicions of magic and paganism (1.3.4); the recommendation of abstinence and celibacy for clergy and monks (1.4.5; 1.6.7; 1.7.8; 1.13.17); and observations on penitence (1.5.6). As various scholars have noted, these concerns describe a religious reality in which polemic surrounding the "Priscillianist" way of life continued to circulate.[25]

The omission of all reference to Priscillianism in the correspondence of Himerius can be explained not, as some scholars have claimed, because heresy and heresiarch were only equated after Priscillian's death, but rather by the moment in which the appeal was made.[26] By placing Himerius' *relatio* in historical context it is

[25] Pietri (1976), 1047–49; Callam (1980), 25–26; Sardella (1997).

[26] Neither is his name mentioned in the *acta* of the council of Zaragoza, probably celebrated in 379. Only after Priscillian's death did the concept of Priscillianism as a label for the followers of Priscillian's teaching appear and spread. We find the term used for the first time in the phrase, *secta Priscilliani* in the *incipit* to the acts

possible to understand both its content and why it affected so periphrastic a style. When Himerius of Tarragona sent his *relatio* to Rome, the council of Bordeaux had already condemned Instantius and removed him from his see, while Priscillian had appealed to the emperor and was, along with the rest of the accused, awaiting judgment for *maleficium* at Trier.[27] The council's decision, which found the followers of Priscillian to be heretics, carried with it the loss of clerical status for the guilty, and thus expulsion from their episcopal seats. However, the situation must have been particularly confusing: before the usurpation of Maximus, the Priscillianist bishops had managed, through the collaboration of the *magister officiorum* Macedonius and the good will of Gratian, to have the rescript against them repealed. In consequence, they had reclaimed their episcopal sees without any protest.[28] Their enemies' luck, on the other hand, was failing: the Priscillianists had accused Ithacius of being a *perturbator ecclesiarum* before a proconsul of Lusitania specially nominated for the purpose. After Ithacius had fled to Gaul and convinced Gregorius, the praetorian prefect at Trier, to open a case against the Priscillianists as *auctores turbarum*, Priscillian succeeded, again through the mediation of the *magister officiorum*, in having the proceedings against Ithacius transferred to a higher court, that of the *vicarius* of Hispania.[29]

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of the first council of Toledo (*Priscilliani sectatores et haeresem*), in the *professiones fidei* (*Priscilliani uel sectae eius*), and in the *sententia definitiva* (*secta Priscilliani*): see the critical edition of the *incipit exemplar professionum habitarum in concilio Toletano contra secta Priscilliani aera CCCCXXXVIII* in Chadwick (1978), 306–10. The earliest use of the term *priscillianista* appears in Orosius, *Commonitorium de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum* (414). This was the source used by Augustine, *Ep.* 36.2 (post-414), *Ep.* 166.3.7 (415), *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas* (415), *De natura et origine animae* 3.7 (419), *Contra mendacium* (420), *Ep.* 237.1–3 and *De haeresibus* 70 (c. 429). It is possible, but not certain, that Orosius supplied the term to Consentius in *Ep.* 11* (420/421), if Van Dam (1986), 528–530, is correct to surmise that Orosius is the visitor to whom Consentius refers in *Ep.* 12*.9. The accusation of Priscillianism became a commonplace by the mid-fifth century: Burrus (1995), 166 n. 7.

[27] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.7–2.50.1: *Hispaniarum litteris, omnes omnino inuoluerat, deduci ad synodum Burdigalensem iubet. Ita deducti Instantius et Priscilianus: quorum Instantius prior iussus causam dicere, postquam se parum expurgabat, indignus esse episcopatu pronuntiatus est. Priscillianus, uero, ne ab episcopis audiretur, ad principem prouocauit . . . Ita omnes, quos causa inuoluerat, ad regem deducti.* On this point, see Bernays (1885), 98 n. 17. On the *prouocatio* inherent in an act of refusing a suspicious judge, see Kaser (1966), 424; 440.

[28] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.48.5–6: *largiendo et ambiendo ab imperatore cupita extorquerent. Ita corrupto Macedonio, tum magistro officiorum, rescriptum eliciunt, quo calcatis, quae prius decreta erant, restitui ecclesias iubebantur: hoc freti Instantius et Priscillianus repetivere Hispanias; nam Saluianus in urbe obierat: ac tum sine ullo certamine ecclesias, quibus praefuerat, recepere.* On Gratian's attitude to heresy see Messana (1998).

[29] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.7.

In sum, during the final months of 384 there existed two wholly different and contradictory sets of imperial and ecclesiastical decisions. On one side lay the decisions of Gratian, supported by the entire imperial administrative apparatus, that found the Priscillianists in the right, absolved them of the charge of being false bishops and Manichaeans, and restored them to their episcopal rights, at the same time as admitting the charges of *perturbatio ecclesiarum* against their enemies and providing the means of having them tried by the *vicarius* of Hispania. On the other side stood the resolution of the council of Bordeaux that had declared the Priscillianists to be heretics. The council had been convened by Maximus who had further aggravated the issue by having Priscillian and his closest followers tried for *maleficium* in Trier.

The letter from Himerius to Damasus was written in these circumstances of conflict—conflict over whose rights should prevail, over whether or not Priscillianist practices were heretical—and of social disorder between partisans on both sides. The bishop of Tarragona would have taken pen in hand with a caution prompted by the gravity of the times and with concern over who might have shared Priscillian's views.[30] For the Priscillianists had turned to Damasus before on two previous occasions, and both coincided with decisive moments of the controversy. The first was in 379 before the Council of Zaragoza. After Ithacius had levied the charges of Manichaeanism and magic against them, the Priscillianists decided not to attend the council and sought the aid of Damasus instead, prompting his letter to the prelates of Hispania. In the letter he reminded the clergy of the procedural impossibility of judgment *in absentia*, an impediment with which he himself had experimented in his dispute with Ursinus.[31] As a result, the Priscillianists were not condemned, an outcome which, in practice, served as a papal endorsement of their position.[32]

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[30] As suggested by Callam (1980), 25–26, and Sardella (1997). Both scholars suspect that Himerius may have shared some of the positions of the condemned, which would explain the text's elusive language as well his absence from the council of Zaragoza. Had he attended, his seniority would have forced him to preside, since it was because of his seniority that Siricius charged him with delivering the decree to his episcopal colleagues in the other provinces of Hispania: Siricius, *Ep.* 1.20: *et pro antiquitate sacerdotii tui.*

[31] *Lib. ad Dam.* 43: *nemo illic nostrum inter illa repraehensus tua potissimum epistula contra inprobos praeualente, in qua iuxta euangelica iussa praeceperas, ne quid in absentes et inauditos decerneretur. Nos tamen, etsi absentes fuimus.* On the Ursinus affair, see Lippold (1964).

[32] The Priscillianists denied the accusations against them five times (*Lib. ad Dam.*

The second instance took place in 382. Priscillian, Instantius and Salvianus had been expelled from their sees by virtue of the rescript against false bishops and Manichees,[33] and traveled to Rome to defend their innocence before the *sedes apostolica*. Already they had obtained a favorable verdict from Rome in regard to the *supplicatio in absentia*.[34] Now they sought a papal ruling on their orthodoxy and the reestablishment of their episcopal dignity. They even ventured to suggest a solution: either a judgment should be issued directly by Damasus, in the presence of the accuser Hydatius, or failing that, a council should be convened in Hispania.[35] Damasus refused to receive the group, probably not so much because he shared in the imperial decision against them, but rather because he found himself unable to interfere.[36] After all, the church could not interfere in matters decided by imperial rescript.[37] Given these precedents, Himerius wrote to Damasus in 384 knowing that the bishop of Rome had not spoken out against the positions held by the Priscillianist bishops.[38] Furthermore, given Damasus' bloody rise to the see of St. Peter, Himerius probably also knew of the pope's open battle against rigorists like the Novatianists and Luciferians.[39]

42; 43; 48; 49 and 53). However, the acts of council of Toledo I (*Exemp. profess.* 72–73), Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* 2.47.2–4) and Hydatius (Hyd. 13) all claim that they were condemned. The lack of consensus indicates that the supposed condemnation was a matter disputed immediately after the council and became of major importance in the later stages of the dispute. For the texts and historiographic debate, see Escribano (2002c), 95–98.

[33] Applied by force, the legislation provided for the expulsion from their cities and the confiscation where *profana institutio docetur* (*CTh.* 16.5.3, a. 372). See Kaden (1953); Lieu (1985); Van Dam (1985), 80–82; Escribano (1990).

[34] *Lib. ad Dam.* 41.51.

[35] *Lib. ad Dam.* 54.42–43. These two solutions are provided for in the *rescriptum ordinariorum* of 379 for episcopal cases in which the metropolitan proved to be suspect.

[36] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.48.4: *Damaso . . . ne in conspectum quidem admissi sunt.*

[37] Caspar (1930–1933), 1: 218; Girardet (1974), 584–86. Gratian's rescript *ordinariorum* (379) set a precedent according to which bishops could only be judged by their peers, or by a tribunal presided over by one hierarchically superior, i.e. their metropolitan or the bishop of Rome. In the same year, Gratian reserved criminal cases for secular tribunals. The association between Manichaeism and magic would have made those guilty of the former susceptible to accusations of *maleficium*, a *crimen publicum* punished severely under imperial law. See Pietri (1976), 1: 762, who claims that Damasus' abstention was not dictated by politics, but rather that he suspected that the Priscillianists were actually guilty, and that his abstention was thus equivalent to a condemnation.

[38] An aspect analysed by Ferreiro (2002), 637, who underlines the decisive importance of the Priscillianist conflict in the construction of papal primacy.

[39] On Damasus' rise, see Lippold (1964) and Puglisi (1990).

Siricius' response is dated to 2 February 385 and thus preceded the opening of the Priscillianist trials at Trier.[40] This sequence of events means that we should read Siricius' pronouncement not as a consequence of the trials, but rather as an attempt to influence them. In fact, although the investigation had been delayed by Martin of Tours, the importance of trial's outcome was already apparent, given the gravity of the accusation of *maleficium*.[41] Martin himself, who had followed the defendants to Trier, "did not desist from chiding Ithacius so that he would abandon his accusation," and only agreed to leave after extracting from Maximus the promise that no bloodshed would ensue.[42]

Like Martin, Siricius was aware that the crime of *maleficium* required the death penalty. His desire to avoid this outcome explains the tone of moderation assumed in his resolutions, his exhortations to reconciliation and his solemn declaration against capital punishment. Siricius' decision to frame the letter as a decree, and the general audience for which it was intended, show that it was intended as a declaration of authority in the conflict. In both its content and its vocabulary, the letter assumed the form of an imperial rescript. The imitation of legal texts is clear from its preamble, executive clauses and other devices, and also in its forms of sanction and promulgation. Furthermore, the text makes use of legal vocabulary to describe the letters exchanged: the letter of Himerius is called a *consulta* or *relatio*, and the pope's own response is termed a *responsum*. Imperative verbs such as *iubemus, diximus, censemus, mandamus*, and *decernimus* are used frequently to describe the pope's views.[43] Finally, the threaten-

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[40] Sardella (1997), 251, however, claims that the response post-dates the trials.

[41] On Martin's presence in Trier, see Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.50.4–5: *namque tum Martinus apud Treveros constitutus . . . denique quoad usque Martinus Treveris fuit, dilata cognitio est.* After referring to Priscillian's refusal of the episcopal tribunal and his petition to the emperor, Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.9, reproaches the *inconstantia* of the bishops in Bordeaux for having permited the imperial tribunal to try *tam manifestis criminibus*, instead of translating the *audientia* to another council: *permissumque id nostrorum inconstantia, qui aut sententiam uel in refragantem ferre debuerant aut, si ipsi suspecti habebantur, aliis episcopis audientiam reseruare, non causam imperatori de tam manifestis criminibus permittere.*

[42] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.50.5–6: *non desinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accusatione desisteret . . . et mox discessurus egregia auctoritate a Maximi elicuit sponsionem, nihil cruentum in reos constituendum.*

[43] *Relatio* and *consultatio* are terms used by Siricius to refer to Hydatius' initiative, while he calls his reply a *responsum*: Siricius, *Ep.* 1.1. These aspects of the text are discussed by Pietri (1976), 2: 1054.

ing tone assumed at the end of the letter is significant: the apostolic see would pronounce against any who contravened the canons transmitted to the bishop of Tarragona, a warning which Himerius was intended to transmit not just to the prelates of his diocese, but also to those of his province and Carthaginiensis, Baetica, Lusitania and Gallaecia. This final provision is the most serious index of the all-embracing nature of the resolution.[44]

That Siricius' decree was intended as a solemn pronouncement on the Priscillianist question is further supported by three other pieces of evidence.[45] In the *exemplar professionum* of the council of Toledo in 400, it is recorded that Siricius had sent a letter to the Spanish episcopate, urging reconciliation after the council of Zaragoza.[46] The letter mentioned is of course the decree described above. Secondly, after the execution of the sentences handed down at Trier, Siricius censured those proceedings in a letter to Maximus.[47] The latter found himself obliged to send the pope the acts of the trial containing the accused's confessions of Manichaeism, in order to justify the sentence.[48]

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[44] Siricius, *Ep.* 1.20: *Responsa reddidimus . . . Nunc fraternitatis tuae animum ad seruandos canones et tenenda decretalia constituta magis ac magis incitamus, ut haec quae ad tua rescripsimus consulta, in omnium coepiscoporum nostrorum perferri facias notionem . . . Et quamquam statuta sedis apostolicae uel canonum uenerabilia definita, nulli sacerdotum ignorare sit liberum.*

[45] Cf. the differing view of Pietri (1976), 2: 968.

[46] *Exemp. Profes.* 70–80: *Exemplar definitivae sententiae episcoporum translatae de gestis. Episcopi dixerunt: Legatur scriptura sententiae. Et legit. Etsi diu deliberantibus utrum post Caesaraugustanum concilium in quo sententia in certos quosque dicta fuerat, sola tamen una die praesente Symphosio, qui postmodum declinando sententiam praesens audire contempserat, arduum nobis esset audire iam dictos, tamen litteris sanctae memoriae Ambrosii, quas post illud concilium ad nos miserat, ut si condemnassent, quae perperam egerant et implessent conditiones quas praescriptas literae continebant, reverterentur ad pacem (adde quae sanctae memoriae Siricius papa suassiset).*

[47] The letter directed by Siricius to Maximus has not been preserved, but it is possible to judge its contents from Maximus' reply *ad Siricium papam* (*PL* 13: 590–92).

[48] The confession came to signify not only Priscillian's culpability in religious error, but also the competence of the civil authority to repress it by virtue of legal precedent and the legitimacy of the sentence. *Ep. ad Siricium* 4: *quid adhuc proxime proditum sit Manichaeos sceleris admittere, non argumentis, neque suspicionibus dubiis uel incertis, sed ipsorum confessione interiudicia prolatis, malo quod ex gestis ipsis tua sanctitas, quam ex nostro ore congnoscat.* Cfr. Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 2 (3).12.3: *(Maximus) . . . alia uia sanctum uincere parat. ac primo secreto arcessitum blande appellat: haereticos iure damnatos more iudiciorum publicorum potius quam insectationibus sacerdotum.* According to Sulpicius Severus, Maximus used these words in 385 to justify to Martin of Tours the sentences handed down at Trier. In addressing the man who had participated in the council at Bordeaux (384) and interceded with the emperor to refrain from judging clergy, Maximus emphasized the legal basis for the case (*iure*) and the procedure (*more iudiciorum publicorum*). Furthermore, he repeated the common belief that Priscillianists had been condemned by the accusations of the clergy and stated that the court had been convened for crimes against the *ius*, not against *religio christiana.*

Finally, after the fall of Maximus, Siricius excommunicated the bishop of Trier, Felix, in whose ordination Ithacius and probably Hydatius had interfered. Furthermore, he and Ambrose sent letters to the Gallic episcopate urging them to separate themselves from Felix and enter into communion with Rome and Milan.[49] It would therefore seem that Siricius set out to punish those responsible for Priscillian's execution.

The decree, the solicitude of his actions, and the excommunication of Ithacius' supporters, suggest that Siricius did not remain on the sidelines of the Priscillianist controversy, and that although he did not share in its followers' rigorist tendencies, he disapproved of the judicial proceedings brought against them and of the resolution of church matters before public tribunals. For that reason, Siricius took an even more committed attitude to the controversy than had Damasus before him. Himerius' letter had indicated that divisions existed within the Spanish episcopate over the punishment merited by apostates, the corruption of virgins, and a liberal and undisciplined clergyman who invoked patriarchal tradition to reject the obligation of continence. In his response, Siricius opted for compromise between rigorism and extreme laxity and permissiveness. He rejected the excessive remedies proposed for dealing with apostates and Arians, but imposed a strict code of discipline for monks and clergy as well as the regulation of the clerical *cursus*. He also used the opportunity to express his opposition to capital punishment as a means of repressing heresy.[50] It is significant that the apostolic see, lying out of reach of the usurper and awaiting the verdicts from Trier, omitted to make

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[49] This fact is given in c. 6 of the council of Turin (398): *Illud praeterae decreuit sancta synodus ut, quoniam legatos episcopi Galliarum qui Felici communicant destinarunt, ut si quis ab eius communione se uoluerit sequestrare, in nostrae pacis consortio suscipiatur, iuxta litteras uenerabilis memoriae Ambrosii episcopi uel Romanae ecclesiae sacerdotis dudum latas, quae in concilio legatis praesentibus recitatae sunt.* On the division of the Gallic episcopate between the Felicians, and the anti-Felicians who were in communion with Rome and Milan, see Ambrose, *De obitu Valent.* 25. The council of Nîmes (396) tried to put an end to the schism, but only the Felicians attended.

[50] Sardella (1997), 250–51; Pietri (1976), 2: 1050–56. Siricius excommunicated those who reconciled with the Arians by re-baptizing them. Instead, he ordered that the apostates be received on their deathbeds and he imposed Roman rule over the baptismal liturgy. He rejected rigorist excesses, but also the lack of discipline of their opponents. He displayed severity towards lax monks, required chastity for priests and deacons and condemned bigamy. He concluded his letter by emphasizing the regulations over the ecclesiastical *cursus*, including a long list restricting those who might enter the clergy.

any allusion to Manichaeism, and instead reduced the dispute to a disagreement over the correct balance between rigor and laxity, imposing a Roman code of discipline as the basis of reconciliation. This was the way the church of Rome made public its position in the conflict.

Nearly all the matters regulated in Siricius' decree refer either directly or indirectly to the Priscillianist controversy, although they do so through the lens of discipline and observance. However, the only heresy specifically mentioned is that of the Arians. Himerius' first question to the papacy was whether the many converts to Arianism—which is to say those who had subscribed to the creed of Rimini—could be accepted as penitents with a simple laying on of hands or if, as some Spanish rigorist bishops desired, it was necessary to re-baptize them. This latter position was defended by Gregory of Elvira, who claimed that the Arian defectors were consummated heretics, thus unable to be ordained or receive the sacraments. Siricius reaffirmed the decision of pope Liberius, who held that the annulment of the council of Rimini did not thereby annul the ordinations or sacraments of those who had signed it. The ex-Arians, like the Novatians and other heretics, should be treated as reconciled schismatics for whom it was not necessary to repeat baptism.[51]

Himerius furthermore requested a papal opinion about the necessity of penitence and the place of sinners in the church. The pope dissociated these references from the Priscillianist question and deduced from Himerius' preoccupation with reconciliation and penitence that rigorist, anti-Arian groups continued to act in Hispania. Such groups had expanded during the pontificates of Liberius and Damasus, and, with Gregory of Elvira as their leader, held attitudes of anti-Arian intransigence similar to those of Lucifer of Cagliari.[52] Gregory of Elvira is known to have rejected penitence for grave, *ad mortem* sins,

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[51] Siricius, *Ep.* 1.2: *Prima itaque paginae tuae fronte signasti, baptizatos ab impiis Arianis plurimos ad fidem catholicam festinare, et quosdam de fratribus nostris eosdem denuo baptizare uelle: quod non licet, cum hoc fieri et Apostolus uetet* (Ephes. 4:5), *et canones contradicant, et post cassatum Ariminense concilium, missa ad prouincias a uenerandae memoriae praedecessore meo Liberio generalia decreta prohibeant, quos nos cum Nouatianis aliisque haereticis, sicut est in synodo constitutum, per inuocationem solam septiformis Spiritus, episcopalis manus impositione, Catholicorum conuentui sociamus.*

[52] Pietri (1976), 2: 1048 n. 1. Fernández Catón supports the existence of a third ascetic/rigorist party hostile to Priscillian. See Fernández Catón (1962), 166.

as well as the admission of apostates into the Church.[53] Priscillian himself maintained the same attitude of intransigence in the matter of penitence.[54] I believe these groups were in fact one and the same. That is to say, the rigorists who denied the reconciliation of Arian converts were the same group who would later be called Priscillianists and whom Hyginus would denounce because of their refusal to embrace lapsed bishops. For the principal support for this theory, we must turn to the *Libellus precum*.

The Libellus precum *of Marcellinus and Faustinus (384) and the* rescriptum *of Theodosius (384/385)*

In 384, two Roman presbyters[55] presented to Theodosius a supplicatory petition in which they sought the emperor's aid on behalf of bishops, clergy and faithful accused of Luciferianism and persecuted by catholic clergy.[56] In order to demonstrate the validity of their claims, and as was common in this legal procedure, the *precatores* laid out the *gesta rerum* upon which their application rested. Throughout their exposition, they emphasized that the persecuted were rigorist groups who, in the course of the Arian controversy, had remained faithful to the Nicene Creed and refused to give in to the pressures of pro-Arian imperial power. The persecutors, for their part, were

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[53] On *ad mortem* sins, see *Tractatus de libris scripturarum* 10 (*PLS* 1: 419). The disciples of Novatian disputed the efficacy of penitence after fornication and refused to readmit apostates from the church. Pacian of Barcelona wrote against Novatianism between 377 and 392: *Ep.* 3, *Contra Tractatus Novatianorum*.

[54] Orella (1968).

[55] The text would seem to indicate that these presbyters had lived both in Rome and in Eleutheropolis, as they use the first person to narrate the attacks of Damasus (*Libellus Precum* 79) and those of Turbo (*Libellus Precum* 107–108). Their profound knowledge of western events seem to indicate a Roman origin, while their information on the East is not always as precise: for example, they say that Athanasius translated the works of Lucifer into Greek because he had written nothing in this language that had the same quality (*Libellus Precum* 88: *Quos quidem libros, cum per omnia ex integro ageret, suspexit et Athanasius ut ueri uindicis atque in Graecum stilum transtulit, ne tantum boni Graeca lingua non haberet*). It is possible that the works of Lucifer were translated into Greek, as he had followers in the East and in Egypt, but it is impossible to believe that Athanasius carried out the translations, let alone for the stated reason. See Saltet (1906), 315 n. 1; Gustafson (2003), 250–51. Cf. McLynn in this volume.

[56] The petition was directed to Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius. The emperor Gratian, assassinated on 25 August 383, is not mentioned and Pope Damasus, who died on the 11 December 384, is mentioned as still living. Theodosius' response dates to the end of 384 or the begining of 385.

inconstant clerics who had bent before imperial will and altered their beliefs in keeping with the predominant power, catholic or Arian, of the time, without losing their seats during the controversy.[57] They were Nicene bishops in the days of Constantine, who had accepted the creed of Rimini imposed by Constantius, returned to orthodoxy under the catholic Jovian, and turned again to the obligatory Arianism adopted by Valens.[58] Now, in the days of Theodosius, they had again become defenders of a triumphant orthodoxy, violently attacking those who had stood firm in their Nicene stance, labeling them heretics and applying the imperial force placed at their disposal.[59]

According to the petition, the Arian converts' virulent response stemmed from the true catholics' demand that the converts submit to the traditional penitential discipline imposed on heretics, and that they abandon their functions within the church.[60] The prevaricators responded by accusing the *catholicae fidei defensores* of heresy and denouncing them before the public officials, so that harsh imperial legislation might be brought to bear against them.[61] For such crimes, Theodosius had already provided punishments including infamy, exile, prohibition from assembling, and the confiscation of cult sites.[62]

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[57] The confrontation is reviewed in Fernández Ubiña (1997c), 104.

[58] The petitioners emphasize the great number of bishops who had left the faith and fallen into Arianism under Constantius, thus reinforcing their portrait of the impious emperor: *Libellus precum* 28: *Et tacemus, quod fortassis ipsum illum Constantium, quamuis regni potestate terribilem,tantorum tamen episcoporum unita constantia confutasset et frangeret, fortassis etiam et intellegere fecisset magnum pretium esse istius fidei, pro qua nullus episcoporum exilium proscriptiones tormenta mortemque recusaret. Sed paululum territus tantum episcoporum numerus cateruati, dederunt manus impietati et ad maiorem iam uesaniam incalluit impietas tam facili strage multitudinis.*

[59] Fernández Ubiña (1997c), 119, has noted that in the twenty years between the council of Rimini-Seleucia (359) and the accession of Theodosius (379), many bishops changed their religious creed as many as five times. At Rimini alone some 400 bishops apostasized. On the political dimension of the Arian controversy, see the fundamental studies by Meslin (1967); Simonetti (1975a); Hanson (1988); Gregg (1985); Fernández Ubiña (1997a).

[60] *Libellus precum* 55: *An non scripturae diuinae impugnantur, quando cum episcopis Filii Dei negatoribus pax ecclesiastica copulatur? Quis est enim, qui considerans uim diuinae religionis pacem perfidorum Deo placere confidat, nisi si, ut a patribus decretum est, in laicorum se numerum tradant suae perfidiae dolentes?*

[61] *Libellus precum* 56: *Hinc rei sumus, hinc sub nominis uestri auctoritate patimus persecutiones ab his episcopis, qui pro nutu prioris imperatoris haeresim uindicantes contra fidem catholicam perorabant, heu gemitus: idem episcopi aduersus fideles et catholicae fidei defensores haeretici prius imperatoris decreta praeferebant, idem et nunc episcopi aduersus fideles et catholicae fidei defensores catholicorum imperatorum iura proponunt.*

[62] After *Cunctos populos* (*CTh.* 16.1.2, a. 380), which had already provided the punishments of infamy and prohibition of assembly for heretics, successive Theodosian laws issued between 381 and 384 called for the confiscation of cult places and exile

In support of its case, the petition described specific cases of incarceration, torture and death and offers details of names and places. The geographic extent of crimes committed against ultra-Nicenes stretches across both halves of the empire, from Oxyrhynchus and Eleutheropolis in the East to Trier, Rome, and Baetica in the West, the last of which seems to have witnessed the greatest violence and brutality.[63] Among the episodes that required the emperor's help and protection, Marcellinus and Faustinus relate the story of the presbyter Vincent of Baetica, *uerae fidei antistes*, deliberately adopting the language of martyrdom to describe his fate. The lapsed bishops first approached the provincial proconsul, accusing Vincent of heresy. Later, *sub specie intercessionis*, these bishops appropriated the coercive power of the state to round up a crowd of common people, whom they set upon the presbyter's church one Sunday with the intention of killing him. Vincent was not murdered, however, for he had been forewarned and was absent. In revenge, his enemies thrashed his servants to death.[64] Later, in order to terrorize his supporters, the ex-Arians planned a series of exemplary punishments for the leaders of the group. One of the city's most eminent *decuriones*, who had remained firm in his faith and decried the perfidy of the prevaricators, was cast into chains and left to die of hunger and cold.[65] With the

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for those who persisted in their heretical beliefs: *CTh.* 16.5.6, a. 381; 16.5.11, a. 383; 16.5.12, a. 383; 16.5.13, a. 384. See Di Mauro Todini (1990); Errington (1997b); Gaudemet, Siniscalco and Falchi (2000).

[63] In Oxyrhynchus, the bishop Heraclidas was expelled from the city and his churches were furiously attacked by the Arian Theodore and his partisans. In Eleutheropolis, the persecutor was the bishop Turbo and his victims the virgin Hermione and Severus (*Libellus precum* 94–112). In Trier, the bishop Bonosus was incarcerated (*Libellus precum* 77), while in Rome the principal responsibility for the persecution fell on Damasus (*Libellus precum* 79: *Eodem tempore grauis aduersum nostros persecutio inhorruerat infestante Damaso egregio archiepiscopo*). See Puglisi (1990), 127–29. On Hispania, *Libellus precum* 91: *sicut et in hoc impii sunt, quando sacrilegas institutiones pro arbitrio hominum editas sub Christiani nominis auctoritate defendunt. An non summa impietas est iniquitates suas et sacrilegia sub Christi nomine uindicare? An non summa impietas est piam doctrinam sub Christi nomine consecratam humanis appellationibus denotare? Sed haec fraus, haec atrocitas aduersus fideles in Hispania et apud Treueros et Romae agitur et in diuersis Italiae regionibus.*

[64] *Libellus precum* 73–74: *contra quem (Vincentius) primum quidem interpellauerunt Baeticae prouinciae consularem, tunc demum sub specie intercessionis postulatae ex aliis locis plebeia colligitur multitudo et irruunt die dominica in ecclesia et Vincentium quidem non inueniunt, eo quod ipse praemonitus etiam populo praedixerat, ne illo die procederent, quando cum caede ueniebant . . . Sed illi, qui ad caedem parati uenerant . . . certa Christo deuota ministeria, quae illic inuenta sunt, ita fustibus eliserunt, ut non multo post expirarent.*

[65] *Libellus precum* 74: *Ex quibus unus principalis patriae suae, eo quod fidem firmiter ut fidelis in Deo retineret execrans labem praeuaricationis, inter eos et ipse catenatus fame frigore necatus est.*

help of a number of the local people, *decuriones* from other cities and supporting presbyters, the prevaricators assaulted the basilica Vincent's followers had erected in the countryside and profaned the holy objects by placing them at the foot of an idol in a nearby temple.[66]

According to the petition, the reason for these atrocities was Vincent's refusal to prevaricate, which is to say that he refused to accept Arianism and remained in communion with Gregory of Elvira, who was the symbol of the Nicene resistance.[67] According to Marcellinus and Faustinus, the instigators of this *crudelitas* were Luciosus and Hyginus.[68] Hyginus was, of course, the bishop of Córdoba who had denounced the bishops Instantius and Salvianus and later, the layman Priscillian before Hydatius of Mérida. It was Hydatius' disproportionate reaction that in turn sparked the conflagration that we know as the Priscillianist controversy.[69] Luciosus, for his part, attended the council of Zaragoza in 379 and was charged with reading out the *sententiae* against the dissidents.[70] But this is not the only coincidence. The *Libellus* also identifies as persecutors of anti-Arians both Ossius, the predecessor of Hyginus in the see of Córdoba, and Florentius of Mérida, who was in communion with Ossius and was the predecessor of Hydatius.

In their historical discussion of the Arian controversy, Marcellinus and Faustinus looked back to the age of Constantius who in his zeal to achieve both theological and political unity, sought consensus around a single trinitarian formula and began by making the homoean creed of Rimini obligatory in 359.[71] From this point onward bishops

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[66] *Libellus precum* 75.

[67] *Libellus precum* 73: *In Hispania Vincentius presbyter uerae fidei antistes quas non atrocitates praeuaricationis illorum, eo quod beatissimo Gregorio communicaret.* It is difficult to know the source of Marcellinus and Faustinus' source of information on Hispania. Priscillian, Instantius and Salvianus traveled to Rome in 382 and while there they may have made contact with rigorist groups while they waited to be received by Damasus. Familiar with the events in Baetica, they may have passed this information on to their Roman contacts.

[68] *Libellus precum* 75: *Egregii et catholici episcopi Luciosus et Hyginus huius crudelitatis auctores sunt. Crudelitas* forms part of a description that includes tyranny, barbarism and the use of assassination as a means of eliminating one's enemy. See Escribano (1993); (1996); with Dauge (1981) on the *crudelitas* of barbarians.

[69] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.46.9: *Is (Ydacius) sine modo et ultra quam oportuit Instantium sociosque eius lacessens, facem quandam nascenti incendio subdidit, ut exasperauerit malos potius quam compresserit.* See Fernández Ubiña (1997c), 111; (1991).

[70] Chadwick (1978), 26; 33.

[71] See Meslin (1967), 253–291; Simonetti (1975a), 211–349; Pietri (1989); Hanson (1988), 315–86.

could be distinguished either as prevaricators who adopted the creed of Rimini, or those who maintained the *fides catholica*. Among the prevaricators, the *Libellus* mentions Potamius of Lisbon, Ossius of Córdoba, and Florentius of Mérida, the latter of whom remained personally true to Nicaea but was in communion with the other two prevaricators. Potamius of Lisbon had been notable as a pro-Nicene defender, but around 355 apostasized in exchange for a rural estate (*fundus fiscalis*).[72] More than to the temptation of wealth, however, Potamius owed his defection to personal ambition and the desire to become the privileged mouthpiece of power in the peninsula in an environment in which religious disobedience was equivalent to political disloyalty.[73]

Ossius of Córdoba had likewise been a light of Nicene orthodoxy and presided over the council of Serdica,[74] and yet he, too, abandoned his convictions for fear of exile and of losing his preeminence in ecclesiastical politics to the rising imperial favorite, the bishop of Lisbon.[75] Ossius had personified anti-Arian resistance in Hispania

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[72] *Libellus precum* 32. This took place slightly before Ossius' exile in 356: de Clercq (1954), 455. The evolution of Potamius' theology as the first bishop of Lisbon is studied by Montes Moreira (1969), who distinguishes three doctrinal phases in his religious life: a first, Nicene phase, which lasted until 355 (according to the *Libellus precum*), a second, Arian phase which began as late as 357 (as described by the *Opus historicum aduersum Valentem et Ursacium* of Phoebadius of Agen and the *Contra Arrianos* of Hilary of Poitiers), and a third return to orthodoxy (according to *Potamii ad Athanasium* dating to 359). See also Montes Moreira (1975). Of Potamius' Arian writings, only a letter fragment is cited by Phoebadius of Agen in *Contra Arianos* 5. Of his orthodox works, two homilies (*De Lazaro* and *De martirio Isaiae prophetae*), a dogmatic tract (*De substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*) and the *Epistula ad Athanasium* have been preserved. However, Potamius is known to have produced other pieces during both his militant orthodox and Arian phases: Simonetti (1974), 129–37; Fernández Ubiña (1994a), 386–88; Yarza (1999).

[73] Simonetti (1974), 131 n. 16, suggests that Potamius' abandonment of orthodoxy was motivated more by political opportunism than the reward of a public estate (*praemio fundi fiscalis*).

[74] Simonetti (1974), 128, states that Ossius' participation in the dispute was due to his friendship with the emperor, minimizes his role in the theological debate, and raises doubts as to the bishop's intervention in the doctrinal decisions at Nicaea and Serdica. Simonetti considers Ossius as a typical representative of a western trinitarian posture that favored traditional generic formulas rather than real theological reflection on the question. On the other hand, Fernández Ubiña (1994a), 385, claims that Ossius was an active participant in the first religious debates that culminated in the council of Nicaea and the proclamation of the homoousian theology. In the council of Serdica, over which Ossius presided, anti-Eusebian canons were approved at his request. It is also possible that he intervened in the drafting of an anti-Origenist creed.

[75] As has been convincingly argued by G. Fernández (1993), 315. The sources

and had supported the relentless hounding of Constantius in Milan.[76] After Potamius' apostasy, Ossius rejected him as a heretic before the council of Spanish churches, and the bishop of Lisbon responded by presenting a complaint against Ossius before Constantius.[77] In 356 the emperor again summoned Ossius and, after interrogating him, exiled him to Sirmium, under the watchful eye of Germinius. This geographical isolation and political displacement prompted Ossius to back down, and he, as well as Potamius, subscribed to the doctrine of Sirmium in 357, a creed that Hilary of Poitiers would term "the blasphemy."[78] As a result, Ossius reclaimed his position as imperial representative in the ecclesiastical affairs of the peninsula and received the charge of exiling any bishops who refused to promote the conversion to Arianism.[79] Given the methods which were said to have been employed against Gregory of Elvira, it was a task that Ossius carried out with diligence and conviction. Florentius of Mérida, who was said not to have subscribed to the new "blasphemy," agreed to remain in communion with Ossius and Potamius, becoming one of them in this way.[80] The successors to the sees of Ossius of Córdoba and Florentius of Mérida were Hyginus and Hydatius, respectively, the two most significant bishops in the initial persecutions of the Priscillianists. If the earliest enemies of the Priscillianists were the successors of two ex-Arian bishops, one must assume that the denunciation of Instantius, Salvianus and Priscillian occurred in a religious

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for and interpretation of Ossius' fall may be found in de Clercq (1954), 474; Fernández Ubiña (2002b).

[76] Athanasius reproduces a fragment of the famous letter directed by Ossius to the emperor: *Hist. Arian. ad mon.* 43–45. On the other hand, the passage does not mention the intrigues with Potamius and blames the exile of Ossius on the emperor's advisers Ursacius and Valens.

[77] *Libellus precum* 32: *Sed et ipse Osius Potami querela accersitus ad Constantium.*

[78] *De syn.* 11: *Exemplum blasphemiae apud Sirmium per Osium et Potamium conscriptae.* This statement and a reference in *De synodis* 3, in which Hilary describes the formula of 357 as the *sententia Potami atque Osii*, indicate that both Ossius and Potamius were present and active at the council. See also Montes Moreira (1969), 108–10. Potamius' intervention in the affair of Pope Liberius, his literary activities in favor of Arianism and the fact that Phoebadius of Agen twice associated him with the anti-Nicenes Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Belgrade (Singidunum), all indicate that by the beginning of 357, he had already assumed an important role in the Arian movement. See Montes Moreira (1969), 75–77; 315–23.

[79] *Libellus precum* 32.

[80] *Libellus precum* 44: *quia Florentius haec passus est, qui nondum subscripserat impietati, sed tantum quod communicauit praeuaricatoribus fidei non ignorans eorum praeuaricationem.*

and geographic atmosphere already thick with hostility between "prevaricators" and "rigorists."[81]

The third significant piece of evidence in favor of the theory presented here is the doctrinal similarity between Gregory of Elvira's rigorist theology and the theology immediately and consistently associated with the Priscillianists, namely, Sabellianism. In the petition presented to Theodosius, Marcellinus and Faustinus eulogized Gregory of Elvira as a defender of trinitarian homoousianism and the leader of Nicene resistance in Hispania, contrasting him to Ossius, the mouthpiece of political Arianism after his desertion at Sirmium.[82] After 357, Constantius had commissioned Ossius to rally the Spanish clergy behind the formula of Sirmium, under pain of exile. In the face of Gregory's disobedience and refusal to renounce his beliefs and commune with the apostates,[83] the bishop of Córdoba availed himself of the *generale praeceptum regis* and turned to the *vicarius* of Hispania, Clementinus, to carry out the emperor's expulsion order, although the *vicarius* then refused to send a bishop into exile before he had been deposed.[84] The similarity between the procedures followed against Gregory of Elvira, the leader of the Spanish rigorists, and those applied against the Priscillianists just a few years later—the denunciation before the *vicarius*, the imperial injunction—seems quite plain. Of further interest are the trinitarian tendencies of the bishop of Elvira. His tractate *De fide* was written in 360 in defense

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[81] The third and most acrimonious persecutor of Priscillianists was Ithacius, who, as bishop of Faro (Ossonoba), seems to have emerged from an area not implicated in the rigorist-prevaricator struggles, though to give his see as *Odyssipona*—the see of Potamius, in other words—goes too far. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the evidence for Ithacius' see, the lone manuscript of Sulpicius Severus' chronicle, is badly transmitted in the form *Itacio Sossubensi episcopo*. Sigonius' 1581 edition of the chronicle corrected *Sossubensi* to *Ossonubensi*, making Ithacius the bishop of *Ossonuba*, modern Estoi near Faro in the Algarve.

[82] *Libellus precum* 33–41.

[83] *Libellus precum* 33: *Sed ad sanctum Gregorium Eliberitanae ciuitatis constantissimum episcopum fidelis nuntius detulit impiam Osii praeuaricationem; unde et non adquiescit memor sacrae fidei ac diuini iudicii in eius nefariam communionem. Sed Osius, qui hinc plus torqueretur, si quis ipso iam lapso staret integram fidem uindicans inlapsa firmitate uestigii, exhiberi facit per publicam potestatem strenuissimae mentis Gregorium, sperans quod eodem terrore, quo ipse cesserat, hunc quoque posse cedere*. See Fernández Ubiña (1994b).

[84] *Libellus precum* 36: *sed da tu prior sententiam eum de episcopatu honore diciens et tunc demum exequar in eum quasi in priuatum quod ex praecepto imperatoris fieri desideras*. The *vicarius* asks Ossius that Gregory be condemned before-hand and deprived of his episcopal dignity, after which the *vicarius* would carry out the imperial order as Ossius had requested. In the end, Gregory was left free.

of Nicene trinitarianism and in open debate with the Sirmian formula of 357 and the homoean creed of Rimini of 359.[85] The bishop of Elvira had to retract this anti-Arian text twice, as some of the passages of the first version had been censured for Sabellianist or Monarchian tendencies.[86]

Sabellianism was in fact the oldest doctrinal error attributed to the Priscillianists, and from the first moment of the controversy the group was accused of refusing to distinguish between the Son and the Father. It is difficult to isolate Priscillian's own ideas, because the *Priscilliani in Pauli apostoli Epistulas canones a Peregrino emendata* have been expurgated, as their title indicates.[87] The Würzburg Tractates are more explicit in doctrinal material (*Liber de fide et de apocryphis*, *Liber Apologeticus, Liber ad Damasum*), yet have an apologetic character inasmuch as they claim to be demonstrations of orthodoxy.[88] The fragment of a letter included by Orosius in his *Commonitorium* to Augustine and attributed to Priscillian was thought by contemporaries to prove the group's Manichaean tendencies, reducing its evidentiary value.[89] However, the imputation of Sabellianism that dogged the Priscillianists from the beginning to the end of the dispute is indicative, and in this case, the evidence of longevity and persistence are all relevant.

In the *Liber Apologeticus*, composed in 378 or 379 as a defense before the council of Zaragoza, the first accusation against which the Priscillianists defended themselves was one of Sabellianism.[90] For

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[85] See the commentary of Simonetti (1975c).

[86] As is indicated in the preface to the second edition (*Praef.* 5–8). In the final lines he represents himself as a Nicene Trinitarian and enemy of the heresies professed by Sabellius, Photinus and Arius. According to Simonetti, by insisting on unity of substance, Gregory remained faithful to the dominant tendency in western trinitarian thought observable in Potamius, in Phoebadius, in Lucifer of Cagliari and in Hilary before his exile to Asia. Around 270, Dionysius of Rome had already fallen into the same Monarchian intepretations of the trinity: Simonetti (1974), 145; Mazorra (1967); Simonetti (1975b); Fernández Ubiña (1994b).

[87] Ed. Schepps, CSEL 18: 109: *correctis his quae prauo sensu posita fuerant.*

[88] Ed. Schepps, CSEL 18: 3–106. On the chronology and authorship of the Würzburg Tractates, see Vollmann (1974), 490; 552–59; Chadwick (1978), 93–138; Escribano (1988), 57–113.

[89] Oros., *Comm.* 2.

[90] The Priscillianists present themselves here as a persecuted community, which had been accused of all forms of heresy, beginning with Patripasianism. Priscillian denied the allegation (*Lib. Apol.* 5: *Anathema sit qui Patripasianae heresis malum credens catholicam fidem uexat*), although the list of texts which he cites in his defense appear,

their part, the bishops who gathered at the council of Toledo in 400 with the aim of reconciling the Spanish church according to the dictates of Ambrose and Siricius, made the first condition for readmittance into communion the abjuration of the doctrine of *filius innascibilis*.[91] Orosius, in the *Commonitorium de errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum* which he presented to Augustine in 414, attributed to Priscillian a heretical trinitarian doctrine that affirmed that Christ was Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[92] With this information, Augustine, in the *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas* of 415 and the *De haeresibus* of ca. 429, accused Priscillian of having reestablished the ancient dogma of Sabellianism.[93] Later, in 447, Leo the Great, inspired by the *memorandum* sent to him by Turibius of Astorga, listed the sixteen propositions which comprised Priscillianist heterodoxy. The first in the series of heretical errors affirmed that the Priscillianists denied the true doctrine of the Trinity and were Sabellians or Patripassians.[94]

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in the opinion of Chadwick (1978), 126, to be self-incriminating. The trinitarian question reappears in the *Liber ad Damasum*, and in the *Tractatus* 3 and 6, and although his theology resembles the concepts and language of Hilary, a clear Monarchian tendency is discernable. Simonetti (1974), 146–47, claims this is not an unfounded accusation, and connects Priscillian's Sabellianism with that of Gregory of Elvira, pointing to a vein running throughout Spanish anti-Arian theology. For Simonetti, the fact that Prudentius in his *Apotheosis* distinguishes between the Patripasians and the Sabellians seems incongruent, but probably indicates that at the end of the fourth century, Sabellianism was considered a real danger in Hispania.

[91] *Exemp. Profess.* 10: *Dictinius episcopus dixit . . . Hoc enim in me reprehendo, quod dixerim unam dei et hominis esse naturam*; ibid. 25: *Symphosius episcopus dixit . . . Iuxta quod paulo ante lectum est in membrana nescio qua dicebatur filius innascibilis hanc ego doctrinam . . . damno*; ibid. 50–55: *Et Comasius praesbyter ex chartula legit: Cum catholicam et Nicaenam fidem sequamur omnes, et scriptura recitata sit quam Donatus praesbyter, ut legitur, ingessit, ubi Priscillianus innascibilem esse filium, dixit, constat hoc contra Nicaenam fidem esse dictum . . . condemno*. On the complex manuscript tradition of the council's *acta*, see Aldama (1934); Barbero (1963).

[92] Oros., *Comm.* 2. According to Orosius, the Priscillianists only pretended to admit the trinity: *Trinitatem autem solo verbo loquebatur, nam unionem absque ulla exsistentia aut proprietate asserens, sublato et patrem, filium, spiritum sanctum hunc esse unum Christum docebat.*

[93] Augustine, *Contra Prisc. et Orig.* 4: *Priscillianus Sabellianum antiquum dogma restituit, ubi ipse pater qui Filius qui et Spiritus Sanctus perhibetur; De haer.* 70.2: *De Christo Sabellianum sectam tenent, eundem ipsum dicentes non solum Filium, sed Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum.*

[94] Leo, *Ep.* 15.1–2: *Primo itaque capitulo demonstratur quam impie sentiant de trinitate divina, qui et patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam atque eandem adserunt esse personam, tamquam idem deus nunc pater, nunc filius, nunc spiritus sanctus nominetur nec alius sit qui genuit, alius qui genitus est, alius qui de utroque processit, sed singularis unitas in tribus quidem vocabulis sed non in tribus sit accipienda personis. Quod blasphemiae genus de Sabellii opinione sumpserunt, cuius discipuli etiam Patripassiani merito nuncupantur, quia si ipse est filius qui et pater, crux filii patris est passio et quidquid in forma servi filius patri oboediendo sustinuit, totum in se pater*

The council of Braga in 561 echoed this tradition: when it approached the problem of Priscillianism, the first question introduced was the censure of the Sabellian doctrine on the Trinity.[95] As is well-known, Schepss' discovery of the Würzburg Tractates stimulated the uncovering of new texts of supposedly Priscillianist origin. Of the many proposed, only two are more or less unanimously deemed to have been written by the group, or by Priscillian himself. These are the *De trinitate fidei catholicae*, and the Monarchian Prologues.[96] In both documents a predilection for Monarchian theology and modalist language is evident. Finally, scholars have pointed out that the professions of faith given at Toledo, beginning with the first, are stamped with an undeniable anti-Priscillianism stemming from their anti-Sabellianism.[97] It seems clear, then, that the trinitarian question was the aspect of the Priscillianist controversy which was most commonly emphasized and discussed.

Sabellian trinitarian characteristics include a certain theological archaism, a preference for Old Testament exegesis, and a soteriological ideology based on doctrinal truth and ascetic practices found in the work of Gregory of Elvira, all of which are paralleled in Priscillianist thought and way of life.[98] This coincidence makes it even more likely that, initially, the rigorist group gathered around the bishops Instantius and Salvianus and the layman Priscillian belonged to tenaciously anti-Arian sectors of the population, those not disposed to permit lapsed bishops to remain in their sees. The persecuting bishops, Hyginus, Hydatius and Ithacius, were close to the bishops who had lapsed during the recent controversy.[99] Although

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ipse suscepit. In the synthesis with which he begins the text, Leo reviews with extraordinary precision the definitive errors of Priscillianism: trinitarian Monarchianism, dualistic Manichaeism, the practice of magical arts, astrological beliefs, and the reading of apocryphal texts: Leo, *Ep.* 15, *praef.* 1–12.

[95] I Braga 1 (561): *Si quis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum non confitetur tres personas unius substantiae et uirtutis ac potestatis sicut catholica at apostolica ecclesia docet; sed unam tantum ac solitariam dicit esse personam, ita ut ipse sit pater qui Filius, ipse etiam sit paraclitus Spiritus, sicut Sabellius et Priscillianus dixerunt, anathema sit.*

[96] On the *De trinitate*, see Morin (1909); (1913), 151–205; *PLS* 2: 1487–1507. Cf. Orbe (1958). On attribution of the Monarchian Prologues to Priscillian, see Chapmann (1906).

[97] Madoz (1957); Aldama (1934), 106–108. Barbero (1963), 34, tentatively attributes the Toledan professions to someone in Gregory's circle during the second half of the fourth century.

[98] Simonetti (1974).

[99] In the case of Hyginus, the *Libellus precum* leaves no room for doubt. Hydatius and Ithacius were probably ordained by lapsed bishops.

the struggle changed its terms and methods over time, its origins should thus be sought in the consequences of the Arian controversy in Hispania.[100]

From this perspective, the Theodosian rescript acquires additional significance. The rescript is probably dated to the end of 384 or the beginning of 385 and directed to the praetorian prefect of the East, Maternus Cynegius, a militant Christian and the privileged recipient of many Theodosian edicts between 384 and 388.[101] This *epistula* from Theodosius to Cynegius is a good example of the use of law as a method of government and communication between Theodosius and his subjects. It also confirms the emperor's status as an agency of appeal for the resolution of ecclesiastical conflicts. On this point the document also illuminates the state of relations between church and empire. On the one hand, the rescript suggests the validity and applicability of the principles defended in 380 in the edict of Thessalonica, according to which it was the business of the church to define orthodoxy through its bishops.[102] The emperor should provide the means of imposing orthodoxy or punishing infractions, but not define the faith.[103] On the other hand, Theodosius' accession to the throne made manifest what Bonamente has called the "ministerial" theory of political power, in which, following Ambrosian theology, God guards and protects the empire in exchange for the emperor's respect for divine law and his support of the true faith,

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[100] This interpretation makes understandable the presence of Phoebadius of Agen and Delphinus of Bordeaux at the council of Zaragoza, as both were veterans in the fight against Arianism. It also helps to explain the episode at Mérida in which Instantius, Salvianus and Priscillian attempted to remove Hydatius from his episcopal seat after one of his presbyters had accused him in *actis ecclesiasticis*. It is likely that Hydatius had been ordained by the prevaricator Florentius of Mérida. On the attendees at the council of Zaragoza, see Escribano (2002c); (1995); Burrus (1995), 50–56.

[101] *PLRE* 1: 235–36 (Maternus Cynegius 3). His mortal remains were transferred to Hispania by his wife, Achantia, after the fall of Maximus (388), on which basis scholars have inferred his Spanish origin, though García Moreno (2002c) disagrees. Cynegius quickly rose in the political ranks under the protection of Theodosius, serving as *vicarius* in 381 (*CTh.* 5.20.1), *comes sacraraum largitionum* and *quaestor sacri palatii* in 383, praetorian praefect from 384–388, and consul in 388. For his career see Marique (1963); Chastagnol (1965), 289–90; Matthews (1967); (1975), 140–45.

[102] Barceló and Gottlieb (1993); Gaudemet (1997); Escribano (1999); (2002b).

[103] *Lex Augusta* 2: *fidei autem nihil ex nostro arbitrio optemus uel iubeamus adiungi. Nemo enim umquam tam profanae mentis fuit, qui cum sequi catholicos doctores debeat, quid sequendum sit, doctoribus ipse constituat.*

a point of view markedly different from the political theology of Eusebius.[104]

In the rescript to Cynegius, Theodosius deemed Marcellinus and Faustinus' petition to be just, and declared all those who communicated with Gregory of Elvira in the West and Heraclides of Oxyrhynchus in the East to be orthodox, and considered all those who persecuted them to be heretics, in agreement with the exclusive system established in the *Cunctos populos* and later anti-Arian legislation. In this way he reiterated the criteria by which civil authorities, charged with guarding the law and punishing disobedience, might distinguish orthodox from heretic, namely public communion with particular bishops, a method much more easily practicable for provincial bureaucrats than was theological interrogation. Furthermore, Theodosius expressly authorized the orthodox to meet where they chose and ordered Cynegius to carry out his *praeceptum*.[105]

Given its similar content, one wonders if this rescript was also issued before the sentencing of the Priscillianists at Trier and whether Theodosius was in it attempting to contradict the opinions of Maximus and undermine his position in the West. Two points may be adduced in support of this interpretation: first, within regular legislative procedure, the function of responding to *preces* fell to the *quaestor sacri palatii*.[106] However, in this case, either Theodosius himself or a close associate concerned with religious matters penned the response. A recent study of Theodosian laws has attempted to identify specific quaestors through the analysis of their style and vocabulary. The author of the rescript in question was not the quaestor responsible

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[104] Ambrose, *Expositio Ev. Sec. Lucam* 4.29: *Dei minister sit qui bene potestate utitur*. The means by which these relations were transformed suggests the comparison between the *Cunctos populos* (*CTh.* 16.1.2, a. 380) and the events of the council of Nicaea in 325, where Constantine, acting as *pontifex maximus* and attempting to resolve religious conflict, imposed the homoousian doctrine under pain of exile. On the contrast between Ambrose's ministerial theory and the political theology espoused in Eusebius' *Triakonterikós*, see Bonamente (2000). Cf. McLynn (1994), *passim*.

[105] *Lex Augusta* 6: *In quo petentum laudanda illatio est, qui communicantes Gregorio Hispaniensis et Heraclidae Orientali, sanctis sane et laudabilibus episcopis, optant in fide catholica sine oppugnatione alicuius ac molestia uiuere nullisque appetentum insidiis conuentionibusque pulsari*; ibid. 7: *non conuentio aliquid, non appetitio, non fraus attemptet aliena; utantur, quo in loco uoluerint, proposito suo*; ibid. 8: *Sublimitas tua praeceptum nostrae serenitatis . . . ita iubeat custodiri, ut Gregorium et Heraclidam sacrae legis antistites ceterosque eorum consimiles, qui se parili obseruantiae dederunt, ab improborum hominum atque haereticorum tueatur et defendat iniuriis sciantque cuncti id sedere animis nostris, ut cultores omnipotentis dei non aliud nisi catholicos esse credamus*.

[106] See Harries (1988).

for the redaction of laws between August 383 and December 385 and its special authorial status would seem to point to the emperor's personal interest in the matter.[107] Secondly, Theodosius' decision in this case departed from the whole tenor of his legislative and political agenda. By the time the rescript was issued, Theodosius had broken openly with the pro-Arian politics of his predecessors in the eastern empire and had legislated with severity against different forms of Arianism and Sabellianism. However, after entering Constantinople, the emperor allied himself with the episcopal elite around Meletius, who had reformed the Nicene platform to make it acceptable to the homoiousians. Theodosius thus distanced himself from ultra-Nicene positions.[108] Most importantly, at the council of Constantinople in 381, after the unexpected death of Meletius, Theodosius refused to place on the episcopal throne of Antioch the ultra-Nicene candidate, Paulinus, who was supported by the western bishops Damasus and Ambrose and who had been ordained by Lucifer of Cagliari, the symbol of intransigence against the reconciled Arians.[109]

In the rescript to Cynegius, contrary to his previous actions, Theodosius allied himself openly with the rigorists in communion with Gregory of Elvira. This was not simply a matter of personal affinity, but perhaps also had a political motive as a means of discrediting the religious policies of Maximus. Although political expediency had obliged Theodosius to recognize the usurper as Augustus after the death of Gratian in August 383, and although the two signed a *foedus* in the second half of 384, Theodosius' peace with Maximus was a tense one. Earlier in 384, when Maximus had attempted to invade Italy, Theodosius had demonstrated his willingness to defend Valentinian II, despite the latter's favoring of Arianism.[110] Contradicting the usurper's religious policy while the trials at Trier were under way was a means of undermining his position in the West and reducing his support in Hispania. Given the division of the empire, the rescript was not applicable in the west-

[107] Honoré (1998), 53.

[108] On Theodosius' anti-Arian and Sabellian legislation, see *CTh.* 16.5.6, a. 381; 16.5.11, a. 383; 16.5.12, a. 383; 16.5.13, a. 384, and the commentary of Di Mauro Todini (1990), 117–251; Errington (1997a). On Melitius, see Studer (1984); Pouchet (1992); Lizzi (1996); Errington (1997b); Tuillier (1997); N. Gómez (1997); (2000).

[109] A. Ritter (1965); Simonetti (1975a), 532–34.

[110] The connections between Trier, Milan and Constantinople after the usurpation of Maximus have been conveniently analysed by Vera (1975).

ern empire, but it had the effect of making public the eastern emperor's opinion about who was orthodox and who was a heretic—opinions in neat contradiction to those of Maximus.[111]

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In sum, it seems likely that the origin of the Priscillianist controversy was part of the struggle over episcopal sees between the rigorists and prevaricators that followed the end of the Arian controversy. The coincidences of geography, chronology and persons involved, as well as the theological affinities documented here, give strong support to that interpretation. As the controversy progressed, allegations of sorcery and Manichaeism and the usurpation of Maximus altered its evolution. Siricius' decree and Theodosius' rescript attest to both men's intervention in Hispania's religious conflict, but in ways and at moments dictated by political circumstances. Those circumstances were those of the wider empire, not merely the parochial concerns of the peninsula. Thus, just as it had begun in the larger struggle over imperial Arianism, so the Priscillianist controversy continued to develop in close connection to the politics of the empire at large.

[111] See De Robertis (1941); Luzzato (1946); Gaudemet (1956); De Dominicis (1954), 329–31; Sirks (1986); Voci (1985); De Bonfils (2001).

ANGELORUM PARTICIPES: THE CULT OF THE SAINTS IN LATE ANTIQUE SPAIN

Pedro Castillo Maldonado

Critical study of the sources, both the primary evidence and the large bibliography it has generated, has made it possible to evaluate the important role of the cult of the martyrs and confessors in peninsular history, and to understand its integration into a larger Mediterranean phenomenon. Until very recently, however, the integration of the Spanish evidence into Mediterranean norms has not been at all clear: the uniqueness of the Iberian Middle Ages, the hegemony of the most conservative form of Catholicism in the modern era, and the contemporary politics of Spain and Portugal have all helped to create a vision of peninsular history as a *unicum*, even from its beginnings in antiquity. In order to emphasize the particularism of the Iberian peninsula, a strange local character has often been postulated, an idiosyncracy in the inhabitants of the region that exists eternally and outside time. Thus, to take two late antique examples, the truculent rhetoric of Potamius, or Prudentius' taste for bold poetic strokes, are connected to a specifically Spanish aesthetic, a manifestation of an *hispanidad* meant to stress atemporal national characteristics.

The historiographical background

The theme treated in this essay, the cult of the martyrs and confessors, cannot be divorced from these arguments, nor for that matter can any discussion of Spanish Christianity more generally. The medieval and modern construction of Spain's early and glorious Christian past, the dominance of a generalized and self-regarding piety, and more recently the secular identification between church and state, all combined to create strong paradigms which retarded historical investigation and, by extension, hagiographical study. That Spain was immediately and totally Christianized has been taken as an established fact, as if it were the ineluctable destiny of its national

character from the time of the peninsula's first inhabitants, the Iberians—descendants of Tubal, according to Genesis the fifth son of Japhet.[1] Christianization was rapid, not only in the principal cities, but across the whole of the land, thanks to the efforts of missionaries and monks possessed of a zeal similar to that displayed by the evangelizers of the Americas.

In this way, St. Paul's stated desire to visit the peninsula (Rom. 15: 24; 15: 28) was understood as a voyage that had actually taken place and one from which commenced the victorious expansion of Spanish Christianity, a development that continued unbroken through late antiquity. It meant little that no late antique tradition recorded the existence of local Pauline churches, or that Spanish ecclesiastical writers of late antiquity were absolutely silent on the topic. It was preferable to follow the indications of authors from outside the peninsula who strove to magnify the universal missionary labor of the apostle—Clement, the *Canon Muratoriano* or Jerome, for example—even if their testimony had no foundation other than the words of Paul himself.[2] This scholarly habit of endorsing the Pauline mission is an old one: the *Passio SS. Torquati et comitum*, a Mozarabic invention of the eighth century, purports to record the evangelization by disciple-martyrs of each of the Christian communities of the peninsular southeast.[3] At the end of the sixteenth century, the forgeries discovered in the Torre Turpiana and the Sacro Monte of Granada seemed to confirm the apostolic genesis of Spanish Christianity, at the same time as they supplied it with relics as exceptional as a cloth impregnated with the tears of the Virgin Mary and the remains of a whole *martyrum exercitum*. Even if the parchments of the old minaret of the mosque and the "lead books" of Granada were promptly denounced as false in higher ecclesiastical courts, the supposed relics were authenticated by the exclusive jurisdiction of the local bishop (thanks to a privilege granted by the Council of Trent), which explains

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[1] The theory that the genesis of the Spaniards and their monarchy lay in Tubal was formulated by Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, *De rebus hispaniae* 1.3 (CCCM 72: 13), based on the testimony of Jerome, *In Gen.* 10.5; *In Ez.* 38–39, and Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2.29. It was embraced enthusiastically by such forgers as Annius of Viterbo, who in the seventh book of his *Benerosi sacerdotis chaldaici, antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri quinque, Commentariis Ioannis Annij Viterbensis* (Antwerp, 1552), offered a fabulous list of Spanish kings beginning with Tubal.

[2] Clem., *1 Cor.* 5.1.6–7 (Ayán [1994], 76–78); *Fragm. Murator.* (S. Ritter [1926], 215–67); Jerome, *Ep.* 71.1.

[3] Vives (1947), 227–30. Cf. Vives (1948); Sotomayor (1979), 156–59.

why they can still be taken to be genuine.[4] What is more, in the eighteenth century the Granadan Alcazaba Cadima assisted in attempts to ratify the authenticity of this prestigious past, although these were fortunately frustrated.[5]

A similar scholarly heritage underpins Spain's Jacobean tradition. The first references to the arrival of St. James—the famous Spanish Santiago—on the peninsula date to the seventh century, but they appear in a document from outside Spain, the *Breviarium apostolorum* and seem to have generated no response within the peninsula itself. The veneration of Santiago was neither generalized nor especially celebrated in the Visigothic era.[6] Instead, one has to wait for the ninth-century *Martyrology of Florus* before one finds references to a *translatio* of the apostle's relics to Compostela, and it was only in the twelfth century that the cult of St. James—now Santiago Matamoros, the "Moor-Slayer"—underwent its greatest development.[7] In conjunction with the idea of crusade and the beginnings of the famous medieval pilgrimages to Compostela, the saint came to be regarded as the national patron *par excellence*. And so by the end of the twelfth century the church of Zaragoza was pleased to connect its Basilica del Pilar with the renowned apostle.[8]

The impulse to claim an illustrious ancestry was not entirely unknown to the local churches of late antiquity. From the *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium*, we can see how the Arian kings of Toledo attempted to capitalize on the prestige of the martyr Eulalia, although they ultimately failed to do so thanks to her long-standing connection to the orthodox bishops of Mérida, the old capital of the Spanish diocese.[9] Similarly, the tendentious, and perhaps Isidorian, redaction of the *Decretum Gundemari* attempts to establish a saintly justification for jurisdiction over Cartagena, the capital of the old Byzantine province of *Spania*, by then suppressed.[10] To this end, we witness the manufacture of a confessor-martyr, Leocadia of Toledo, hitherto unknown.

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[4] *Conc. Trid., Sessio* 25 (Mansi 33 [1902], 172).
[5] On these Granadan finds see Sotomayor (1986); (1988); (1995–1996).
[6] Schermann (1907a), 207–11. Cf. Schermann (1907b), 253–56; de Gaiffier (1963). The *Breviarium Apostolorum* is interpolated into Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum*.
[7] *Martyr. Fl.*, VIII Kal. Aug. 1 (Dubois and Renaud [1976], 136).
[8] Sotomayor (1989a); (1995–1996).
[9] *VPE* 5.6 (CCSL 116: 62–71), with Collins (1980).
[10] In Vives et al. (1963), 403–407. Cf. Sejourné (1929), 86–91; González Blanco (1986).

Toledo, the capital of the Gothic kingdom, used Leocadia to underscore the *antiquitas* of its episcopal see in the face of cities like Mérida and Cartagena with better genuine Christian pedigrees, by composing a *passio* that set the saint at the pinnacle of a whole list of peninsular martyrs. More explicitly, Braulio of Zaragoza (d. 651) writes to Fructuosus of Bierzo (d. 665) that the province in which he lives "can claim a Greek origin."[11] This desire for ancient origins was by no means the special preserve of Spanish churches. The *Breviarium Apostolorum* makes the same claim of St. Philip for Gaul.[12] This Philippic tradition in Gaul, however, met with much less success than did the Jacobean in Spain: the desired apostolicity was actually won by the monks of Limoges in the tenth century, who—working from a summary notice in Gregory of Tours—declared one Martial to have been the evangelist of all Aquitaine, a declaration rewarded by a solemn declaration to this effect in 1031.[13]

The need to provide Spain with a venerable Christian past has always worked alongside a need to emphasize the singularity of Spain's Christianity. Thus Spanish Christianity has been regarded not only as the very early product of the apostles, but also as something absolutely unique—as if Spain were a remote island, exempt from controversies and phenomena outside its own frontiers. The fact that Hispania's most famous fourth-century churchman, Ossius of Córdoba, was the counselor of Constantine, convoker of the ecumenical councils of Antioch, Nicaea and Serdica, and controversial signatory of the homoean formula of Sirmium,[14] has not stopped scholars from believing that the peninsula kept itself aloof from the religious convulsions that shook the rest of the Roman empire, and that such a state of affairs could only be explained by Spain's divine selection. Only Priscillianism and Arianism succeeded in disquieting the victorious progress of what was viewed as the Mediterranean's most orthodox Catholicism. But even during these two moments of heterodoxy one was at least dealing with, in the first instance, a purely Spanish heresy—a national heresy, as it were—and in the latter case with a foreign, barbarous element that could be dismissed as extrinsic to the Spanish character. Moreover, Priscillianism could

[11] Braul., *Ep.* 44 (Riesco [1975], 180).
[12] Schermann (1907b), 266–67.
[13] Mansi 19 (1774), 510.
[14] Fernández Ubiña (2000a).

be understood as something basically popular, confined to the rural and backward redoubt of *Gallaecia* and thus separate from the rest of Spain, even if this approach neglected the participation of large parts of the Spanish church in the controversy, the presence of peninsular elites in Priscillianist circles, and the trans-Pyrenean successes of the heresy. In the case of Arianism, it was normal to underscore the chronological coincidence between the conversion to Catholicism and the inception of national unity in the Visigothic era, though that meant setting aside the much earlier conversion to orthodoxy of the Suevic kingdom and the orthodoxy of the Byzantine population in their southeastern province of *Spania*.

Throughout the early modern and modern periods, Spain's dominant piety, its deeply conservative Counter-Reformation spirit, and the limited penetration of Enlightenment thought into the peninsula, meant that all scientific criticism of the documents that might have brought this interpretative paradigm into question was avoided. Attitudes like those of Melchor Cano (d. 1560) lamenting the popular credulity which automatically credited anything in print, or Luis Vives (d. 1540), attacking the forger Annius of Viterbo and his *Antigüedades de España*, were very much the exception.[15] Hagiographical texts were fully accepted as disinterested historical productions, at the same time that false documents designed to magnify the scope of Spanish Christianity—the so-called *cronicones*—were being composed.[16] Even such important historians as Nicolás Antonio (d. 1648) and the Marqués de Mondéjar (d. 1708), who were influenced by the analytical techniques of the Bollandists and Maurists and possessed acute critical faculties themselves, at one time or another labored under the weight of tradition and the general compulsion of the era: one thinks of Nicolás' surprising defense at Rome of the Granadan *plomos*, and of the Marqués' dogged support for the Jacobean tradition. It was not for nothing that Philip V (d. 1756) prohibited debate over patriotic traditions like that of the Pilar of Zaragoza or the supposed arrival of Santiago in Spain, nor is it strange that the false *cronicones*, despite their being a phenomenon common to other regions, survived with greater ease in Spain. Spanish authors of the

[15] M. Cano, *De locis Theologicis* 11.6 (Salamanca, 1563); L. Vives, *De tradentis disciplinis* 2.5 (Antwerp, 1531).

[16] For an introduction to the *cronicones* see Caro (1992), 45–78; 163–87.

Enlightenment and of the nineteenth century had simply to bear their dead weight.[17]

For its part, contemporary nationalism has sometimes ratified this singular vision of peninsular history, and even its supposed multitude of saints. The first provincial emperors of Rome, Trajan and Hadrian, are exhibited as a source of national pride. For the Christian era, nationalism underscores how the Spaniard Theodosius installed Catholicism as the single and official religion of the empire at the same time as another man of Spanish origin, Pope Damasus, set about universalizing the cult of the martyrs. In the same way, a Spanish "saint" like Hermenegild, champion of Catholicism in the face of the alien Arian heresy embodied by his father Leovigild, is said to have received veneration as a martyr in Spain very soon after his death in 585, ignoring the fact that this sanctity is attributed to him only by foreign authors like Gregory the Great and only recorded in ecclesiastical writings from outside the peninsula like the *Synaxary of Constantinople* or the *Historical Martyrologies*.[18] Again in the same fashion, Isidore of Seville, the reputed author of the *Laus Spaniae*, is taken to have united the Spanish civilizing element—its glorious Roman-Catholic past—with the Gothic element, a product, in the most simplistic historiography, of central European *Germania*.

Nevertheless, and perhaps paradoxically, the nationalist Catholicism that ruled both Iberian countries in the middle years of the twentieth century had at least one positive result: it encouraged the study and the critical editing of Hispano-Visigothic sources, especially patristic ones, from which later, and less biased, historical investigations have been able to benefit. So in 1950, the Francisco Franco Prize went to the edition of the *Pasionario Hispánico*.[19] Similarly, in Portugal, a *Congresso de Estudos da Comemoraçao do XIII Centenário da morte de S. Fructuoso* was celebrated in 1966, with the participation of rigorous scholars to be sure, but designed by its organizers in a climate of religious fervor and rhetoric of Luso-Spanish friendship to serve "at one and the same time the national culture and the spiritual interests of the Church and of the Fatherland."[20] To this historiographic

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[17] Rey (1999), 52–88.

[18] Greg. Magn., *Dialog.* 3.31 (*PL* 77: 289–93); *Synax. Eccl. Constant.* m. oct. 30.8 (Delehaye [1902], 179); *Mart. Flor.*, Id. Apr. 2 (Dubois and Renaud [1976], 60).

[19] Fábrega (1953–1955). The first volume is a study, the second a critical edition.

[20] Silva Pinto (1967), 9.

preconditioning, one must now add the present-day resurgence of so-called "peripheral nationalisms" in Spain. These have frequently sought to revitalize and validate the legends of local martyrs and confessors for regionalist-nationalist aims.

Yet even while such interpretative habits remained strong, the groundwork for new perspectives was being laid and the vision of Hispania as something unique, isolated, peculiar and even ahistorical, has nowadays become unsustainable. The revision of texts through philological investigation, as well as significant historical advances, now permits us to set Spanish Christianity within the landscape of the late antique Mediterranean. Forgeries like the *Pseudo-Dexter* of Father Jerónimo Román de la Higuera may have impeded rational historical and hagiographical study for years,[21] but the road to modern investigation was opened by historical works like those of Flórez and Villanueva, of Fita on epigraphy and Férotin on Spanish liturgical books.[22] The advances of García Villada were cut tragically short by the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939.[23] After that war ended, it was José Vives who, not without grave difficulties, cleared the way for critical hagiography according to Bollandist method, at the same time as he created a priceless tool for future research in his corpus of Spanish Christian epigraphy, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, published in Barcelona in 1942.

The 1940s were also the decade of pioneering philologists like Vázquez de Parga and Fernández Pousa, to whose work one may add that of American scholars like Garvin, Nock and Aherne, and of French Hispanists like de Gaiffier and David.[24] In the 1950s, Fábrega Grau's edition of the *Pasionario Hispánico* marked an important stage in Spanish hagiographical investigation, while the most important book on the topic in the past fifty years is undoubtedly a monograph of García Rodríguez, *El culto a los santos en la España romana y visigótica*, published in Madrid in 1966. Since then, hagiographic research has been enriched by contributions from the world of philology (most especially those of Díaz y Díaz, Codoñer Merino,

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[21] Flavius Lucius Dexter (Pseudo-Dexter), *Chronicon* (*PL* 31: 56–571). Román de la Higuera was unmasked by J. Godoy (1868).

[22] Villanueva (1803–1852); Flórez et al. (1747–1961); Fita (1909a); (1909b) for the publication of the epigraphic calendar of Carmona; Férotin (1904); (1912).

[23] García Villada (1929–1936).

[24] Vázquez de Parga (1943); Fernández Pousa (1944); Garvin (1946); Nock (1946); Aherne (1949); de Gaiffier (1948); David (1947).

and Martínez Díez), archaeology (Schlunk and Palol in Spain, Almeida in Portugal), and from history (the studies of monasticism begun by Orlandis, and Sotomayor's key work, *La iglesia en la España romana*).[25] At present, studies by Fontaine and members of his school have helped to locate Spanish late antiquity within a much wider cultural world and also underscored the maturity of the seventh-century Visigothic state and its cultural manifestations, among them the cult of the martyrs and confessors.[26]

All of this work has been advanced by the academic recognition of late antiquity as a distinct historical period, and of the role which hagiographical sources have to play in historical investigation of the period. To cite just one case which marks a major stage in the Spanish historiography of late antiquity, the gaps in our understanding of Spanish urban topography pointed out by Février in the 1970s were promptly filled in by García Moreno and Barral i Altet making use of a wide variety of literary sources, not least hagiography.[27] At the same time, the renowned works of Orselli on the cult of the saints and the patronage exercised by martyrs and confessors, and of Peter Brown, incorporating sociological and anthropological perspectives, have opened up new paths of research, in which archaeology, philology and history all have a role to play.[28] Because of this research, we are now able to leave behind centuries' worth of interpretative models, and place the late antique Christianity of Hispania, and the Spanish cult of martyrs and confessors, in the broader late antique context to which it clearly belongs.

The historical martyrs

Any study of the cult of Spanish martyrs brings us up against the thorny problem of their historicity, a question intimately connected to understanding their veneration. At the end of the nineteenth century, Allard began his study of persecution in Hispania by stating

[25] Díaz y Díaz (1974); Codoñer (1983); Martínez in CCH 1; Schlunk and Hauschild (1978); de Palol (1967); de Almeida (1962); Orlandis (1976); Sotomayor (1979). For an accurate picture of the state of such studies in Spain see Teja (2000).

[26] Fontaine (1980a); Guerreiro (1992).

[27] Février (1974); García Moreno (1977–1978); Barral (1982).

[28] Orselli (1965); Brown (1981).

that "Christian origins in Spain are little known."[29] When it comes to Spain's native martyrs, Allard's assertion remains—and may always remain—valid. Apart from Fructuosus and his companions at Tarragona and the martyrs Justa and Rufina in Seville, our documentation is for the most part entirely limited to the testimony of Prudentius' *Peristephanon*, written a full century after the last general persecution in the Roman world.[30] More dubious still is the historicity of all those martyrs who do not appear in the text of Prudentius, for instance Felix of Seville or Crispin of Écija, who are documented only much later in the so-called *Mozarabic Calendars* and *Mozarabic Liturgical Books*.[31] The historicity of the martyrs of Tarragona is placed beyond question by the text of their martyrial narrative, the early redaction of which allows us to assign them to the Valerianic persecution of the mid-third century. The Sevillan martyrs Justa and Rufina may perhaps be placed in the context of the sixtieth canon of Elvira which denies the title of martyr to those who destroy idols and thus cause their own deaths.[32] If that is the case, then it gives us a *terminus ante quem* of the earliest years of the fourth century, depending on what date one assigns the council. The chronology of the other presumed Spanish martyrs is, as V. Saxer put it well, "at the whim of the inventory."[33] Most are assigned to the Diocletianic era, though without any probative evidence to that effect.

The most noteworthy feature of the *Passio SS. Martyrium Fructuosi episcopi Tarraconensis, Augurii et Eulogii diaconorum*, often wrongly described as their *acta*, is the absence of any popular pogrom against Christians and indeed a certain social consideration for the bishop himself.[34] This may reflect the text's redaction during the so-called Little Peace

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[29] Allard (1886), 5.

[30] Castillo Maldonado (1999), 404. Note, however, that shortly before Prudentius wrote, Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 21, attests cult to the martyrs Justus and Pastor at Complutum.

[31] The calendars were published as an appendix in Férotin (1904), 449–96 and were edited systematically in Vives and Fábrega (1949a); (1949b); (1950). There is a synthesis in Vives (1941). The Spanish liturgical texts most useful for the reconstruction of the *sanctorale* are edited in Férotin (1904); (1912) and Vives (1946), this last the only liturgical book that is stricty-speaking Visigothic. The hymnary, edited in Blume (1897), is of less interest because of its late date and its dependence on the *passiones*: Gil (1976), 187.

[32] Elvira 60 (CCH 4: 261). Tejada (1850), 87–88, *contra* García Villada (1929), 271.

[33] Saxer (1996), 238.

[34] Franchi (1935), 183–99.

of the church, which opened in the reign of Gallienus and ended in the Great Persecution that affected the West between 303 and 305—that is to say, during a time when there was an interest in emphasizing the integration of Christians into the civic body. If that is the case, the text would date to within a very few decades of the historical events described, a chronological proximity that is confirmed by linguistic and morphological study.[35] Although the very fact that their *passio* was redacted might lead one to suppose that Fructuosus and his companions received cult from a very early date, we cannot document the existence of a basilica with evidence for *tumulatio ad martyres* until the fifth century. At that point, we find the old necropolis of the Francolí river and the so-called Grupo Eroski, both of which consist of groups of buildings associated with a burial site, as well as a *memoria* put up in the amphitheatre of Tarraco by the middle of the sixth century.[36]

This type of topographical duality, with cult sites both beside the bodies and *ubi sanguinem fundit*, is also found in Africa, for instance in the celebrated *basilica in Mappalibus* and the *mensa Cipryani in Agro Sexti*.[37] Tarragona does not, it should be pointed out, seem to have benefited from the prestige which derived from the possession of such martyrs, in contrast to a city like Barcelona which had enjoyed rather less historical importance in the past. Late antique Barcelona experienced real demographic growth, but at Tarragona we witness contraction and, more importantly, a diminution of the city's importance in the peninsular urban network. There can be little doubt that the fate of the local saint's cult reflected this more general trend in the city's history. In fact, the fame of the local martyrs Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius was eventually obscured in the Middle Ages by the cult of the foreign proto-martyr Thecla.[38]

By contrast with Fructuosus and his companions, the Sevillan martyrs Justa and Rufina were an example of voluntary martyrdom or

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[35] Delehaye (1966), 104–105; Franchi (1935), 129–81.

[36] del Amo (1979–1989); TED'A (1994); Godoy and dels S. Gros (1994); Godoy (1995a); Godoy (1995b), 187–202; Saxer (1994), 453–55. See also the introduction to the present volume and the contributions of Bowes and Kulikowski.

[37] Saxer (1994), 454. For the Cyprianic religious topography of the time of Augustine: Aug., *Conf.* 5.8, with Saxer (1980), 183–85 for the buildings.

[38] See del Amo (2000) with bibliography and discussion. For the hagiography, Dagron (1982). For an introduction to the role of the saint in Latin hagiography, see Rordorf (1984), with Davis (2001) on the cult more generally.

incitement to martyrdom, and their *passio* is more complex than that of Fructuosus. The extant redaction of the *Passio Iustae et Rufinae* is late, but it contains indisputably historical elements.[39] Justa and Rufina were, in other words, authentic historical figures. However, given that their cult is not attested until the Visigothic era, one may hypothesize that the two saints profited from episcopal promotion over time, coming to prominence only after their aggressive attitudes and Christian zeal in the face of political power had ceased to be a problem for Christian communities and was instead an attitude that could be commemorated with pride, as shown in the contemporary *Passio Eulalie Emeritensis*.[40] The aforementioned canon of Elvira—"if anyone destroys idols and is killed in the same place"—together with the long itinerary of voyages and torments described in the *passio* of the Sevillan martyrs, makes this a possibility, as does the silence about these martyrs in all the sources until the seventh century, with the exception of a dubious allusion in the *Martyrologium Hieronimianum*.[41] The cult came to be generalized in the seventh century, a significant point given that few martyrs and saints received cult across the whole peninsula during late antiquity; it would seem that the cult of Justa and Rufina belongs to the generalized search for past martyrs that became common in the West during the sixth and seventh century, as we shall see below.

If the *passiones* of Fructuosus and of Justa and Rufina document genuine martyrs, the supposed military martyrs of Spain are more problematic. They have suffered from a historiographic simplification long since denounced by de Gaiffier: because the accounts deal with soldiers, their protagonists are dated almost mechanically to the Diocletianic persecutions and assigned to the Legio VII Gemina, which was stationed at León.[42] This has been the case with Emeterius and Chelidonius, whom we meet in Prudentius, and with Servandus and Germanus, documented for the first time in the seventh century.[43] Marcellus, too, is a martyr commonly ascribed to León. In reality, he was an African, from Tangiers (Tingi) in Mauretania, and even

[39] Riesco (1995), 142–49; Cumont (1927).
[40] Riesco (1995), 50–67.
[41] *Mart. Hier.*, XIV Kal. Aug.: . . . *In Spanis Iustae* (Delehaye and Quentin [1931], 384–85); García Rodríguez (1966), 231–34.
[42] de Gaiffier (1943), 132.
[43] Prud., *Peristeph.* 1; 8. For Servandus and Germanus, *ICERV* 209; 310.

though one recension of his *acta* is early and genuine,[44] his cult is not attested in the peninsula until the tenth century.[45]

Marcellus' story underwent significant transformations in these later years, when he was turned into the father of twelve children who were likewise soldiers and martyrs.[46] He was also assigned the role of father to the so-called Three Crowns of Córdoba, martyrs whose existence was already noted in Prudentius.[47] The historical existence of these three martyrs is more than probable given the presence of the emperor Maximian in Córdoba—a residency now attested by the monumental palace of Cercadilla—which would have stimulated the zeal of local and provincial authorities for persecution. On the other hand, the connection of these Córdoban martyrs with Marcellus and his military past is evidently a creation of the High Middle Ages, indeed of the thirteenth century.[48] Still, the existence of thirteen tombs in Marcellus' *martyrium* at Marialba near León, which underwent two construction phases during the fourth and fifth centuries, has made possible a variety of hypotheses, the most plausible of which is that the building helped to create the legend, rather than vice versa.[49]

The legendary passiones

Regardless of these problems of historicity, we can see how, at the beginning of the fifth century, Prudentius emphasized the military character of some of his heroes, extending military and warlike terminology to all the martyrs, the *militia Dei*.[50] Underlining the agonistic character of martyrdom by use of an entire military lexicon is a phenomenon common to all the Mediterranean regions in this period, as we find in Gaul with Victricius of Rouen and Sidonius Apollinaris.[51] Something else Spain shared with the rest of the

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[44] Lanata (1972), 513–16; (1973), 202–204.
[45] de Gaiffier (1943), 116–27; (1969); Fernández Ubiña (2000b), 398–409.
[46] Luc. Tudens., *Chron.*, praef. 2 (CCCM 74: 6).
[47] Prud., *Peristeph.* 4.20.
[48] de Gaiffier (1943), 127–39; Fernández Ubiña (2000b), 409–11.
[49] Hauschild (1968); (1970), for the buildings; Viñayo (1970) and Sotomayor (1979), 60–62 for the legend.
[50] The military lexicon was commonly extended to the martyrs and, later, to confessors as well: Fontaine (1963); (1980b).
[51] Victricius, *De laude sanct.* 9.49–50 (CCSL 64: 90); Sid. Ap., *Ep.* 3.1.3.

Mediterranean world was the composition of *passiones* for past martyrs, creating a literary drapery with which to cover up the absence of reliable historical facts. The phenomenon stemmed both from the desire of the faithful to know the details of the martyrdom and also, perhaps especially, from the promotion of specific cult centers by interested parties.

In such circumstances, hagiographers were required to provide their protagonist with an historical life. This endeavor could generate a large body of literature, sometimes with astonishing speed. That was certainly the case with St. Vincent, a Zaragozan martyr executed at Valencia. The extant story of his martyrdom is full of hyperbole and striking descriptive passages, in accordance with public taste. That would explain, at least in part, the wide diffusion of his cult, which is documented outside the peninsula—in Gaul, Spain, Italy, Dalmatia, and the Byzantine empire—at very early dates. The *Passio Vincentii* was written towards the end of the fourth century and shows how early the composition of legendary *passiones* began—we do not need to wait for the Visigothic period to find *vitae* filled with legendary characteristics.[52] The Valencian martyr also illustrates the fluid relationship of Spanish with African Christianity, inasmuch as Vincent's cult is attested in Africa both by epigraphy and by the sermons of Augustine.[53]

The imaginative elements found in the legendary passions developed dramatically after the reading of martyrial narratives was incorporated into liturgy. This practice is explicitly documented in the seventh century, but we have evidence for its having begun in the fifth.[54] In the Visigothic period, this liturgical role, and the literary production that it necessitated, created a corpus of *passiones* in the shape of *libelli* which were later integrated into a *liber passionarium*.[55]

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[52] Lacger (1927); Franchi (1959); Saxer (1987); (1991).

[53] Aug., *Serm.* 274; 275; 276; 277 (*PL* 38: 1252–1268); *Serm. Mor.* 11 (Morin [1930], 243–45); and an allusion in Aug., *Serm.* 4 (*PL* 38: 51), with de Gaiffier (1949), 267–72. For the epigraphy, Y. Duval (1982), nos. 2, 19, 87, 88, 150, 159 and 160, with Y. Duval (1982), 2: 645–48.

[54] Braul., *V. Aem.* 2 (Oroz [1978], 180) for the seventh century in Spain. In general, de Gaiffier (1954a).

[55] The *Passionarium*, which grouped together the passions of martyrs that were read either in the monastic office or at mass, belongs to a period which cannot be defined with precision, either the seventh century (Díaz y Díaz [1966], 528) or the eighth (Quentin [1907], 139). It saw the light of day as a book in the ninth century (Díaz y Díaz [1957], 453), even though the oldest extant codices date to the

Even if the corpus of Spanish *passiones* is not especially voluminous compared to that of other western regions—a deficiency that is characteristic of all types of Spanish hagiographical literature—it is quite consistent. Almost all the legendary passions are linked to a persecutor named Datianus,[56] conforming to what Delehaye defined as an "epic cycle."[57] That the Datianus-passions were a "publishing" success is beyond question: the persecutor Datianus became so popular that he appears in late Gallic and Italian accounts as a Spanish borrowing, thereby generating clear anachronisms.

Despite its scope and success, this Visigothic martyrial literature, with its strongly monastic flavor, lacks any historical credibility; its value derives from the information it can give us about the period in which it was redacted, and then it is chiefly useful for details of local topography. In terms of the historicity of Spanish martyrs, the one thing that we can safely affirm is that, at the start of the fifth century, most of the saints commemorated by Prudentius were regarded as having been martyrs. With the exceptions of Eulalia and Vincent, Prudentius' testimony need not indicate a general or universalized cult in the peninsula, but rather implies the existence of local veneration. Despite the legendary *passiones*—an army of national glories fervently defended from any shadow of doubt until a few decades ago—a letter of Cyprian of Carthage can be used to situate Spain within its proper historical context during the epoch of persecution.[58] Cyprian shows that the attitudes of third-century communities of Spanish Christians were similar to those held elsewhere in the Mediterranean during and after the persecution begun by Decius in the middle of the third century: persecution generated *libellatici* and apostates, and pointed up the links between Spanish churches and their sisters at Rome and Carthage.[59] On the other hand, dis-

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tenth and eleventh centuries: Fábrega (1953–1955); Riesco (1995); see also de Gaiffier (1954a); Díaz y Díaz (1981).

[56] Datianus is the protagonist of the following *passiones: Eulalie Barcinonensis*, *Felicis Gerundensis*, *Innumerabilium Cesaraugustanorum*, *Iusti et Pastoris*, *Leocadie*, *Vincentii*, *Vincenti*, *Sabine et Christete*. Although they name a different persecutor, the *Passio Cucufatis* and the *Passio Eulalie Emeretensis* also belong to this cycle of passions. See Fábrega (1953–1955), 1: 67–75, who interprets the cycle as the result of a *passio de communi*, with the criticisms of de Gaiffier (1954b) and, from the historical perspective, Tovar (1992); (1994). This group of passions has been the object of detailed formal and structural study: Laguna (1992); Galán (1992); L. Merino (1992).

[57] Delehaye (1966), 222; Aigrain (1953), 223–35.

[58] Cypr., *Ep.* 67.

[59] Sotomayor (1982).

tance from the East and the small number of Spanish Christians until the end of the fourth century, would necessarily have limited the effect of persecution in the peninsula. It is against that circumscribed background that we must place the authentic Spanish martyrs at whom we have looked.

The small number of historical Spanish martyrs is illustrated by the absence of martyrial epitaphs.[60] This deficiency would be made good later on, principally in the Visigothic era, by three different processes: first, the miraculous discovery of relics belonging to supposed local martyrs from the past; second, the importation of cults from the rest of the Mediterranean; and finally, the replacement of martyrdom as the chief or even sole criterion of sanctity with a broader definition, so that confessors and others who had not suffered martyrdom could be turned into objects of cult. These were the same developmental stages of saints' cults that we find in Gaul and Britain, the other two western provinces in which the experience of persecution had been strictly limited. Thus in this instance we once again find the long cherished belief in Spanish exceptionalism to be wholly unfounded.

The inventio *of relics*

The importance of the *inventio* of relics is shown by the fact that Ildefonsus of Toledo (d. 667), in praising the metropolitan cathedral of the city, could begin his account with Bishop Asturius and his discovery of relics at distant Complutum, modern Alcalá de Henares.[61] This event has been dated to c. 400, when such miraculous inventions were much in vogue following Ambrose's discovery of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius in Milan in 386.[62] This was the same period during which Pope Damasus undertook a campaign to discover and memorialize all the martyrs of Rome.[63] Not long afterwards, in 415, the remains of the protomartyr Stephen came to light in the Palestinian town of Capharmagala.[64] For Spain, both Paulinus

[60] Y. Duval (1993).
[61] Ildefonsus, *DVI* 1 (Codoñer [1972], 116–18).
[62] Ambr., *Ep.* 77; Paulinus, *V. Ambrosii* 14 (Pellegrino [1961], 70–72). See von Campenhausen (1929); Meslin (1967); Lizzi (1989).
[63] See *Saecularia Damasiana.*
[64] *Ep. Lucani* (*PL* 40: 807–18). There is a French translation of the eastern *passio* in Van Esbroeck (1984), 101–105.

of Nola and Prudentius record the presence of martyrs at Complutum, so we may understand Asturius' actions either as an *inventio* or as his official recognition of—and borrowing from—the sanctity of certain tombs that were already being honored locally.[65]

The *inventio* of the Córdoban martyr Zoilus came later. Although he is documented at the start of the fifth century by Prudentius, his cult seems to have benefited from the miraculous discovery of his relics by the bishop Agapius at the start of the seventh century, as recounted in his *passio*.[66] The canons of the second council of Seville demonstrate that the bishop of Córdoba was suffering from political and ecclesiastical challenges in this period. This fact would make it quite plausible if the revelation of Zoilus' relics, taking place as it did in a climate of political instability, was designed to win for the bishop the popular fervor which the *inventio* would arouse.[67] If that is the case, he would have been following the line of action long since inaugurated by Ambrose in Milan. Agapius certainly did promote the cult of this local martyr, even taking over a *basilica parbola* previously dedicated to the foreign martyr Felix for the purpose.[68]

The case of Mantius, an obscure martyr said in his *passio* to have been the victim of "Jewish perfidy," is more complex.[69] It is possible that his *inventio* took place in the seventh century in the context of the anti-Jewish legislation sponsored by the Gothic monarchy at that time.[70] According to the narrative of the *passio*, the saint's body was buried beneath the great altar of the church, which is to say in the same liturgical space as had been used by Ambrose in Milan. A similarly obscure case is known from León.[71] From a metrical inscription there—dated to the year 630 despite the confused redaction of its text—we can deduce either the miraculous discovery by an unnamed bishop of relics of the abbot and martyr Vincentius of

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[65] Paul. Nol., *Carm* 31.605–10; Prud., *Peristeph.* 4.41–44.

[66] Prud., *Peristeph.* 4.19; *Pass. Zoil.* 1; 4–5 (Riesco [1995], 244–49), with de Gaiffier (1938).

[67] II Seville 7 (Vives et al. [1963], 167–68); García Moreno (1994), 572.

[68] *Pass. Zoil.* 7 (Riesco [1995], 248): the phrase *basilicam parvulam* probably refers here to a small oratory in the form of a *memoria*. See also the *uilis eclesia* of the *Pass. Zoil.* 8 and the *templum non magni operis* of the *Pass. Mant.* 7.

[69] *Pass. Mant.* 2 (Riesco [1995], 324–33); Díaz y Díaz (1982a); with the exhaustive study of this saint in Fernández Catón (1983).

[70] Cf. Guerreiro (1993), 545–46.

[71] *ICERV* 285.

León, or the discovery by the abbot and bishop Vincentius of the relics of the monastery's patron, in all probability the martyr Claudius.[72]

Similarly difficult is case of the *famula Christi* Treptes, documented in a fifth-century sarcophagus inscription, but already marked out as virgin and saint in the epigraphic calendar of Carmona.[73] Treptes may be a case of "archaeological sanctification," which is to say the transformation of a simple fifth-century nun into a saint by her seventh-century successors.[74] If that hypothesis is correct, it is perhaps the same process that took place with the more famous saint Leocadia, possibly the founder of a basilica who was later made into its titular patron, and thence into a virgin and martyr.[75] The many references to *inventiones* in the martyrial literature, for instance the *inventio* of the saint's body by a widow in the *passio* of St. Vincent, should be seen as *a posteriori* hagiographical inventions, fabricated in order to justify the possession of relics or the existence of particular *loca sanctorum*.[76] The same may be said of the fate of two purely literary *inventiones*, which fabricate their martyrs *ex nihilo*: Eulalia of Barcelona was in reality a mere doublet for the homonymous saint of Mérida, while Victoria, the supposed companion of Acisclus, is an early medieval copy of the foreign martyr Christina.[77]

In all of this, Hispania followed the example of other Mediterranean regions, procuring valuable relics of earlier martyrs, which in turn stimulated cult. This was a universal necessity, but one that was especially felt in the West because of its shortage of historical martyrs. The earliest cases would have been directly inspired by eastern *inventiones*, for example that of Stephen the proto-martyr, and especially by the Ambrosian finds in Italy. Later, in the Visigothic period,

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[72] Y. Duval (1993), 175–76. There exists a twelfth-century *Passio Vincentii abbatis s. Claudi Legionensis* which places the martyr in the Suevic period.

[73] *ICERV* 148; 333b.

[74] Vives (1941), 46 and more cautiously in idem (1975).

[75] David (1947), 219.

[76] *Pass. Vinc.* 25–26 (Riesco [1995], 82–101).

[77] The first cultic document for Eulalia of Barcelona is the hymn *Fulget hic honor sepulcri* (Blume [1897], 167–68), dated to the seventh century by Pérez de Urbel (1926), 136, which may indicate the doubling up of the saints Eulalia during the late antique period itself, even though it does not in any way affect the historicity of the Barcelonan martyr. See Moretus (1911), though Fábrega (1958) supports the historicity of Eulalia of Barcelona. As to Victoria, she appears together with Acisclus in the *Mart. Lyon.* XV Kal. Dec. 3 (Dubois and Renaud [1976], 208). See also Vives (1953); de Gaiffier (1966).

this sort of activity continued and grew in scale. The literary accounts of *inventiones* in Hispania are late and brief, confined to the *Passio et inventio Zoili* and the *Passio Mantii*, but they are enough to underline the central role of bishops in the process of *inventio*. This makes good sense, given the spiritual and political capital that the relics of a popular martyr could bring to a church and its bishop.

The importation of foreign saints

Another way to find new objects of devotion was to turn to non-local saints, a process best achieved through the importation of their relics.[78] Maximus of Turin, at the start of the fifth century, declared in a sermon that he venerated all martyrs, even though he was especially devoted to those who had relics, an attitude that proves their importance in the expansion of honors and festivals.[79] Hispania shared with the rest of the western provinces a reluctance to dismember bodies. Thus, in the final, interpolated, chapters of the *Passio Fructuosi*, the martyred bishop makes a *post mortem* apparition to reproach those who had hidden his relics.[80] By contrast, the objects that had come into contact with a saint's relics were themselves venerated: in the second half of the seventh century, the knife which had been used to cut off a piece of the veil that covered St. Leocadia of Toledo was itself accorded real religious respect.[81] Nevertheless, it is more than probable that the temptation of *translatio* was too great to deter the dismemberment of saints' bodies. That would help explain the overwhelming diffusion of relics of the popular martyr Vincent, from whose *passio* we can deduce an early *translatio*, and the accompanying expansion of his cult.[82]

Fourth- and fifth-century *translationes* might be explained by the desire to preserve the remains of holy persons in an era of instability. But the expansion of cults by means of dispersing their relics is

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[78] For the nature and significance of relic cult see in general Herrmann-Mascard (1975); Bozóky and Helvétius (1999).

[79] Maximus of Turin, *Serm.* 12.2 (CCSL 22: 41).

[80] *Pass. Fruct.* 7 (Riesco [1995], 78). See Franchi (1935), 157–68.

[81] Cix., *V. Ildeph.* 3 (Gil [1973], 1: 59–66). This text, attributed to bishop Cixila of Toledo (d. 783) is considered on linguistic grounds to be the work of a tenth-century forger. See Díaz y Díaz (1959), no. 595.

[82] *Pass. Vinc.* 27 (Riesco [1995], 100); Saxer (1995), 148.

particularly characteristic of the Visigothic era, when many new cults, whether of foreign or Spanish martyrs, were superimposed onto the local scene. Thus we find evidence for relics of Fructuosus of Tarragona and his companions in churches at Medina Sidonia, Zahara, and La Morera, all in the south of the peninsula.[83] More frequently, however, the desire of local communities for devotional objects was satisfied by the real quarry of martyrs—the importation of foreign remains. The evidence for such imports comes early in Gaul, with Victricius of Rouen, and in Italy, with Ambrose and with Gaudentius of Brescia.[84] In Spain, we possess no evidence for such early importation of relics, but the Christian epigraphy of the peninsula is notably deficient in the fourth and fifth centuries, which may explain the silence. Our first reference for the phenomenon comes from the start of the fifth century, when important eastern relics—those of the protomartyr Stephen—played a decisive role in the Christianization of Minorca.[85] However, when another Balearic bishop, the sixth-century Vincent of Ibiza, tried to affirm his *auctoritas* using a supposed letter of Christ (written in Latin, no less), he won nothing but the severe censure of his metropolitan Licinianus of Cartagena.[86]

At the end of the sixth century, coinciding with similar activities by Gregory the Great in Italy and Gregory of Tours in Gaul, the peninsula received a great number of foreign relics. Thus, an important inscription from the south of the peninsula, dated to 652, mentions eastern relics of Babilas and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, African relics of Saturninus, Italian relics of Gervasius and Protasius, and, finally, Gallic relics of Ferreolus.[87] Apart from the fifth-century Balearic episode, mentioned above, eastern relics—those of Babilas, Mucius, Hadrian and others—tend to be concentrated in the southern part of the peninsula. This leads one to suspect that their appearance may date to the Byzantine occupation of southeastern Hispania, although the fact that Baetica has a better epigraphic record in this period may also skew the evidence.

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[83] *ICERV* 304; 326; 328.

[84] Victricius, *De laude sanct.* 6.32–36; 11.4–12 (CCSL 64: 78; 86–87); Gaudentius, *Serm.* 17 (*PL* 20: 959–71).

[85] Severus of Minorca, *Ep.* (Bradbury [1996], 80–125). On the role of the Spaniard Orosius in the arrival of Stephen's relics in Minorca see Gauge (1998).

[86] Licinianus, *Ep.* 3 (Madoz [1948], 125–29). See Castellanos (2000); González Salinero (2000).

[87] *ICERV* 307b.

On the other hand, direct contacts between other parts of Spain and the East are possible, as is shown by an *ampulla* discovered in Ampurias. This is a souvenir, a *eulogia*, from the Egyptian sanctuary of St. Menas, dated to the second half of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh.[88] A sixth-century reliquary discovered at Monte da Cegonha probably also has a Holy Land provenance.[89] Other eastern healing saints attracted solemn cult as well, for instance Cosmas and Damian after whom the monastery of Agali—which went on to produce many of the metropolitan bishops of Toledo—took its name.[90] All these examples are evidence for Spanish pilgrimages to the East, following the path famously opened up by the Spanish virgin Egeria; certainly contact with the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean was not infrequent, as is proved if nothing else by the eastern origins of the Méridan bishops Paul and Fidelis, and by the presence of an acephalous eastern bishop whose case was discussed at the second council of Seville.[91] Despite all this, however, the number of eastern festivals celebrated in Spain was relatively small and is for the most part documented in liturgical texts and calendars of a very late date.

African saints and their festivals were only somewhat more popular, and were known in Spain both from their relics and from the accounts of their martyrdoms, as is shown by the hagiographical embellishments in the life of Felix of Gerona which depend directly on the *vita* of a homonymous saint of Thibiuca.[92] Prudentius mentions a solemn festival of Cyprian, the only African martyr whose feast was generally observed in Spanish churches: it is also attested in Pacian of Barcelona, the *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium*, calendars, and liturgical books, an exceptional diffusion given that peninsular cults were ordinarily local, or at best regional.[93] Ultimately, some African saints would become naturalized in Spain, as was the case with

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[88] Palol (1992); Mancho (2000), 502; catalogued as no. 60 in Lambert and Pedemonte (1994), 222.

[89] Moutinho Alarçao et al. (1995). For commercial relations in this period see Reynolds in this volume.

[90] Puertas (1975), 32–33.

[91] *VPE* 4.1; 4.3 (CCSL 116: 25, 31); II Seville 12 (Vives et al. [1963], 171–72). Avitus of Braga, Hydatius and Orosius all travelled to the Holy Land as well.

[92] Delehaye (1921b), 241–46 and Ruiz Bueno (1996), 960–63. See de Gaiffier (1954b).

[93] Pac., *Ep.* 2 (Rubio Fernández [1958], 64–79); *VPE* 6.10 (CCSL 116: 44–46).

Cyriacus and Paula, supposedly martyrs of Málaga or Almería according to the *Martyrology* of Usuardus and other documents.[94]

We know that, in recognition of the royal conversion to orthodoxy, Gregory the Great sent Reccared certain *benedictiones* from Italy. These included a fragment of the *lignum crucis*, hairs of John the Baptist, and a key impregnated by contact with the *confessio vaticana* and enriched with particles of the chains of St. Peter.[95] The Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Protasius also received tribute in Spain and there are epigraphic references to their relics.[96] Nevertheless, the earlier evidence for cult to Gervasius and Protasius in Africa, and their Spanish attestation in territory that had formed part of Byzantine *Spania*, suggests that their introduction to Spain may have been due to the Byzantines.[97] Specifically Roman cults are less well attested, and though Prudentius had already commended the feast of Hippolytus to his bishop, it was to be Laurence whose cult achieved the greatest success in Spain.[98]

Gaul provided Hispania with not only its most successful imported cult but also with the only non-martyr saint to receive universal veneration in Spanish churches: Martin of Tours.[99] According to Gregory of Tours, Martin's relics had played a major role in the conversion of the Sueves to orthodoxy under Chararic.[100] Martin's relics are attested in Visigothic territory, some brought by the grandfather of the ambassador Florentius, others attested epigraphically in Baetica.[101] To all this we must add the many basilicas and monasteries dedicated to the saint, in many of which we may suspect the presence of his relics.[102] In the opposite direction, of course, the cult of the Spanish Vincent came to be so popular in Gaul that he would be the first dedicatee of the church of St.-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.[103]

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[94] *Mart. Usuard.*, XIIII Kl. Iul. 2 (Dubois [1965], 249); see also the so-called Calendary of Córdoba (Pellat [1961], 98–99), with de Gaiffier (1942).

[95] Greg. Mag., *Reg. Ep.* 9.229.125–130 (CCSL 140A: 810). This was the same process that Gregory followed with the Lombard queen Theodelinda: *Reg. Ep.* 14.12.35–40 (CCSL 140A: 1083).

[96] *ICERV* 307b; 333b.

[97] Aug., *De Civ. Dei* 20.8.7.

[98] Prud., *Peristeph.* 11.231–38.

[99] García Rodríguez (1966), 336–42.

[100] Greg. Tur., *De Mirac. S. Mart.* 1.11.

[101] Ibid. 3.8; *ICERV* 304; 316; 330.

[102] See, for instance, a chapel dedicated to Martin in sixth-century Tarraconensis: Monreal (1989), 36.

[103] His cult is attested in Gaul as early as 455, in collocation with saints Eulalia

Gregory of Tours tells us that the inhabitants of Zaragoza paraded Vincent's relics around the walls of their city to fend off the besieging army of Childebert and Clothar; this may well have provided the inspiration for the Merovingians to supply themselves with their own relics of the Zaragozan deacon. Another such example of the exchange of saints' cults between Spain and Gaul is that of the Spanish martyr Eulalia, who would actually become the heroine of the first *passio* written in French.[104]

However, to these foreign saints one should add certain biblical figures—the apostles Peter and Paul, John the Baptist, Stephen and the Virgin Mary—who received cult quite widely in Spanish churches and who served to temper the dominance of more localized objects of veneration. The apostle Peter, in particular, combined in his person all the prerequisites favoring the early extension of cult. Even before the fourth century, he possessed an extraordinary celebrity derived from his central role in the gospel stories. This popularity is clearly demonstrated by sepulchral iconography: in the corpus of early Christian sarcophagi from Spain, Petrine themes are those found most frequently.[105] To this we may add the hymn which Prudentius dedicated jointly to Peter and Paul—the "princes of the apostles," as he calls them in his hymn to Saint Laurence.[106] Prudentius underscores their importance as martyrs, to whom solemn cult is offered in the Roman capital. If, by the start of the fifth century, cult to Peter had spread widely in the peninsula, it reached its apogee in the seventh. Such was its popularity that Martin of Braga could suggest Peter as an exemplary Christian name for those about to be baptized.[107] An inscription from Alcalá la Real (Jaén) which may be a dedication-calendar also provides an echo of Petrine cult.[108] A Roman festal calendar is incorporated within this inscription, which explains the collocation of the two apostles side by side, and also

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and Agnes: *ICG* 610. For the siege of Zaragoza, the relics of Saint Vincent and the basilica of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, see Greg. Tur., *Hist.* 3.29; *Liber Historiae Francorum* 26 (MGH SRM 2: 283–85); Gislemar, *Vita S. Droctovei abb. Paris.* 11; 16 (MGH SRM 3: 540; 542); *Mart. Usuard.* (Dubois [1965], 364). See also Saxer (2002), 21–44.

[104] It is contained in the ninth-century MS 150 of the Abbey of Saint-Amand: Dion (1990).

[105] Sotomayor (1975).

[106] Prud., *Peristeph.* 12; 2: 457–72.

[107] Mart. Brac., *De corr. rust.* 15.

[108] *ICERV* 335.

suggests the origins of their festival in Spain. The importance of Petrine veneration is shown by the substantial number of religious installations that bore his name, and by their status: the best example is the church *in suburbio Toletano*, the site of numerous general councils and very closely linked to the seventh-century Visigothic monarchy, in so far as royal expeditions departed from there.[109] Likewise, the Visigothic orational shows in its *Completoria ad Sancto Petro* that a church dedicated to Peter existed in Tarragona, while the Caulian monastery in Mérida was dedicated to the two apostles and Saint Laurence.[110] Braulio of Zaragoza may allude to the two apostles in one of his letters, when he complains of the anxieties caused to those bishops who must guard the relics they possess and defend them from thieves and from constant petitions.[111]

Another biblical personage who received generalized cult was John the Baptist. With his self-evident connection to the baptismal rite, he came to more or less monopolize dedications of baptisteries, as is shown in the rite of baptism outlined in the *ordo baptizandi*.[112] Along with Peter, John was one of the Christian names proposed by Martin of Braga, as well as being among the most common names in the ecclesiastical prosopography of Spain.[113] If relics of John formed part of the gift sent by Gregory the Great to Reccared upon his conversion to orthodoxy, the Gothic monarchy itself seems to have been very closely tied to the cult of the Baptist, at least to the extent that king Reccesuinth declared himself specially devoted to it.[114]

Just as the cult of John the Baptist was undoubtedly associated with the baptismal rite, so that of Stephen was unquestionably martyrial in character. The admiration which Prudentius expressed for this protomartyr at the start of the fifth century derived directly from the story in the Acts of the Apostles, without our being able to speak of any Spanish cult to Stephen in this early period.[115] However, if we add to Prudentius' testimony the fact that the Latin translation of the *inventio reliquarum* of Stephen was made by the Spaniard Avitus of Braga, and the fact that his relics came to the Balearic islands

[109] As shown by the Visigothic *Liber ordinum* 48 (Férotin [1904], 151).
[110] Vives (1946), 176; *VPE* 2: 91 (CCSL 116: 19).
[111] Braul., *Ep.* 9: 25–32.
[112] *Liber ordinum* 85 (Férotin [1904], 218).
[113] Mart. Brac., *De corr. rust.* 15.
[114] Greg., *Reg. ep.* 9: 229 (CCSL 140A: 810). For Reccesuinth, *ICERV* 314.
[115] Prud., *Peristeph.* 2: 371–72.

by the hand of another Spaniard, Orosius, the impact made by his cult becomes clearer. The most spectacular evidence is without doubt the arrival of his relics at Minorca, where they led to the conversion of the island's Jewish population.[116] We know a good deal about the later importance of this cult in the African provinces, without being certain whether a parallel development took place in Spain or whether, as the concentration of relics in the south of the peninsula suggests, Spanish cult to Stephen largely derived from Africa.[117]

Even though Prudentius had already praised the Virgin in his description of the Nativity, Marian cult in Hispania is only documented quite late.[118] The Prudentian testimony belongs, of course, to the Roman era, but otherwise Marian cult appears to have become solidly rooted in the sixth and seventh centuries, in time surpassing the cult accorded to other biblical figures. A church at Loja in Granada province, dedicated to Peter and Paul, contained relics of Mary.[119] Moreover, Mary became the titular dedicatee of churches, for instance in a *cella* dedicated to her in a *fundus*, which may suggest a private dedication similar to that found in a basilica from the province of Córdoba.[120] One could multiply such examples of church construction, but the importance of her cult is perhaps attested more usefully by liturgical texts: the abnormally large number of orations, the redaction of the *De perpetua virginitate Sanctae Mariae* by Ildefonsus of Toledo, and the formalization of the celebration of her festival at X Toledo in 656.[121] Quite a number of Marian liturgical texts have been attributed to Ildefonsus himself, as has the inspiration for the conciliar ruling which integrated the Marian feast day into the Nativity cycle so as not to celebrate the Incarnation during Easter or Lent.[122] A law of Ervig alludes to this festival, the *dies sanctae Mariae*, tied to the mysteries of the Assumption and Incarnation, even though celebrated seven days before Christmas.[123]

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[116] Seguí (1937); Bradbury (1996).
[117] García Rodríguez (1966), 164–65.
[118] Prud., *Cath.* 11.55.
[119] *ICERV* 316.
[120] *ICERV* 323 and 308, respectively.
[121] X Toledo 1 (CCH 5: 517–21).
[122] Ibañez and Mendoza (1975), 93–190; Pinell (1998), 128–35.
[123] *LV* 12.3.6.

Saintly confessors and the redefinition of sanctity

Apart from *inventio* and *translatio*, a third means of increasing the number of saints who could receive cult was by redefining the concept of sanctity. The roots of Christian sanctity lay in the martyrdoms of the epoch of persecution, but in peaceful times other models of sanctity were sought out and assimilated to that original. It became possible to achieve sanctity through ascetic discipline, by transcending the body itself: bishops, anchorites, monks, and consecrated virgins could suffer the ascetic life as "martyrs without blood," in the words Sulpicius Severus uses to describe Martin.[124] This universal development in the cult of the saints is readily visible in Spain. When Braulio of Zaragoza wished to praise the hermit Aemilian, he said that he fasted for weeks and "with the full suppression of his flesh, won the palm of victory."[125] Braulio also has Aemilian divide his cloak amongst the needy, in open imitation of Martin of Tours, the only western confessor whose sanctity was completely beyond question despite his not having been martyred. Braulio, in fact, describes Aemilian as a new Martin, thereby affirming this expanded version of what constituted sanctity.[126] The formulations of Isidore show that this conceptual shift was not confined to the Gallic model of Martin. In the *Etymologies*, Isidore affirms the existence of a second kind of martyr, the martyr *in occulta animi virtute* or *tempore pacis*.[127] This statement is directly indebted to the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, the Roman bishop with whom Isidore's elder brother Leander had a close and active relationship.[128] The Roman influence on this concept is also shown in the *De vana saeculi sapientia* of Valerius of Bierzo, who defines this class of martyr in a similar fashion.[129]

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[124] Sulp. Sev., *Ep.* 2.12 (CSEL 1: 144).
[125] Braul., *V. Aem.* 29 (Oroz [1978], 205–206).
[126] Braul., *V. Aem.* 27 (Oroz [1978], 202–204).
[127] Isidore, *Etym.* 7.11.4 (Oroz et al. [1993–1994], 676).
[128] de Vogüé (1989), 133. Only two of Leander's works are extant: *In laudem ecclesiae* (F. Rodríguez [1991], 35–38; Fontaine [1991], 262–69) and *De institutione uirginum* (J. Velázquez [1979]). Pinell (1998), 71–96 hypothesises that Leander was the principal author of the *Psalmographus* (Pérez de Urbel and González [1950–1955]; Pinell [1972]).
[129] de Vogüé (1989), 136–39.

All the same, the cult offered to confessors was quite restricted in Hispania. The Priscillianist affair may have caused a certain reticence about unregulated asceticism which could not help but affect any consideration of such rigorists and, by extension, any cult that might be offered to them.[130] Even Aemilian, without doubt the Spanish confessor who achieved the greatest renown, had to suffer recriminations from his bishop and his monks.[131] In these conditions, the only confessor who received official cult was the Gallic Martin of Tours.

This is not to say that confessors were not popular and revered in Spain, only that they did not enter into official liturgical cult. The peninsula did, for instance, partake in the unprecedented literary success enjoyed by Latin translations of the lives of eastern anchorites and hermits. Thus alongside the western *vitae* of Ambrose and Martin, Valerius of Bierzo had Rufinus' *Historia Monachorum* and Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* and *Vita Pauli* copied.[132] These eastern ascetic heroes were not objects of veneration, but rather formed a sort of *legenda aurea*, suited to the edification of listeners and readers, as well as offering a repertory of ascetic techniques. This was certainly the case with Valerius of Bierzo's own *De genere monachorum*, from among whose numerous examples we can find not the slightest trace of cult. Relics of such eastern confessors might arrive in Hispania as part of a lot, and when this happened they suffered no discrimination, though neither did they receive any specific or solemn cult: this interpretation is suggested by an inscription from La Morera, of uncertain date, wherein a *Pauli conf.* appears alongside eastern and local martyrs.[133] On the other hand, the absence of special feasts in honor of such eastern confessors was not something peculiar to the peninsula. Rather, we know that many of the eastern ascetics held up as examples in Palladius were never the object of solemn veneration in any church anywhere.

Local confessors fitted into more or less the same pattern. Their cult appears to have been restricted to spontaneous tributes beside their burial sites, which neither passed into the common devotions of a region nor entered into any liturgical books. In other words,

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[130] Díaz Martínez (1994), 375; Marcos (2000), 203.
[131] Braul., *V. Aem.* 13 (Oroz [1978], 192–94).
[132] Díaz y Díaz (1951); Udaondo (1997).
[133] *ICERV* 328.

local confessors received neither official nor liturgical cult, but rather a communal recognition of their sanctity, perhaps on the basis of the *signa* and *miracula* that appeared at their resting places. This was certainly the case with Fidelis, Paul, Masona, Renovatus and Innocentius, at whose tombs miracles were recorded in the *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium*.[134] The same thing happened with the tomb of Donatus, the African founder of the monastery of Servitanum.[135] It would seem that his activity as the founder of monasteries was enough to win him a certain sanctity. This may also have been the case with the confessor Pimenius, whose tomb lay in a monastery at Chaves, and of Victorianus of Asan, to whom the Gallic poet Venantius Fortunatus composed an epitaph.[136]

In this context, one should also take notice of the important Spanish rupestrian centers that served as eremitical retreats, among them Las Gobas (Laño), Sta. María de la Peña (Faido), and the Cueva de La Camareta (Agramón, Hellín).[137] In the seventh century, these sites represent something half way between honorable recognition and actual veneration, undoubtedly benefitting from the air of admiration and respect that attended the retiring and saintly life of some of their inhabitants. Relics are recorded at these sites and in graffiti one finds acclamations, invocations, a rich onomastic corpus and, finally, dedications of liturgical spaces. By way of example, one may cite the hypothesis of I. Velázquez, which sees in a certain Cila, whose name appears at the Cueva de La Camareta as a holy man of God, the figure around whom this eremitical complex was founded.[138] It does not seem too adventurous to suggest that some of these ascetics acquired such fame for their sanctity that they generated veneration which manifested itself in dedications and visits. For this reason, many of the simple names in the graffiti scratched on the walls of these caves may attest not members of the eremitical community, but rather the religious experience of pilgrimage.[139] If that were indeed the case, it would suggest the extraordinary popularity of these ascetic saints. But like the other named local confessors,

[134] *VPE* 5.15.4 (CCSL 116: 101).
[135] Ildefonsus, *DVI* 3 (Codoñer [1972], 120–21).
[136] XII Toledo 4 (Vives et al. [1963], 390); *ICERV* 283.
[137] Azkárate (1988); Monreal (1989); González Blanco et al. (1993).
[138] I. Velázquez (1993), 317–18.
[139] Handley (2003), 160–165; 170–171.

there is no sign of cult. Only Aemilian proved an exception to this general rule and won liturgical recognition, as shown by both the *Vita Aemiliani* and Braulio's hymn in his honor.[140]

By contrast, the late antique sources are entirely silent about figures later known as doctors of the church. One has to wait until the Middle Ages before sanctity is attributed to them and they receive cult in consequence.[141] Earlier, although we might find a certain hagiographical slant in their biographies, as in the story of Isidore's death told by Redemptus, the ecclesiastical or episcopal saint—one who had achieved his sanctity by means of service to the church—was much less common in Spain than in other western provinces.[142] Again, although a hagiographical imprint might affect the image of some kings, this is much less noticeable in Spain than in Gaul, and we never have the sense that Spain was a land of saints ruled over by equally sanctified kings. Indeed, the Arianism of the Visigothic monarchy before the end of the sixth century, and the *morbus gothorum* thereafter characteristic of it, both served to impede any such development.

The best proof of the limited cult of confessors in Spain is the scarcity of *vitae* about them and the late date of those that exist: the *Vita vel passio Desiderii episcopi Viennensis*, the work of the Gothic king Sisebut, dealt with a foreign bishop and martyr; the *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium*, the *Vita Fructuosi*, Braulio's *Vita Aemiliani*, and Valerius' *De genere monachorum* are all seventh-century. The translations, or *Verba seniorum*, sponsored by Martin of Braga and Paschasius of Dumium on the biographies of eastern saints are only slightly earlier.[143] To these one may add late texts with a stronger hagiographical imprint, for instance the *Elogium Ildephonsi*, the *Encomium vita S. Iuliani*, and the *Obitum beati Isidori*, in which last there is no hint of actual cult despite its panegyrical tone. All this seems to reflect a sparse and late development compared with neighboring regions.[144] In light of

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[140] Braul., *V. Aem.* 2 (Oroz [1978], 180); Braul., *In festo s. Aem.* (Blume [1897], 125–27). For the *vita Aemiliani* viewed from the historical perspective see Valcárcel (1997); Castellanos (1994); (1998).

[141] Valcárcel (1995); Baños (1989), with Connolly (1990).

[142] Castillo Maldonado (2001).

[143] Over and above the editions cited, see Domínguez del Val (1990); Freire (1971). There are English translations of the Spanish *vitae* in Barlow (1963) and Fear (1997).

[144] On the genre, see González Marín (2000), with Castillo Maldonado (2002), 137–39, for an evaluation of the Spanish productions.

the old historiography of Spanish Christianity, it is ironic that the only Spanish exceptionalism we can detect in the cult of confessors is not the existence of an army of saints, but rather a scarcity of them.

The chronology and power of saints' cults

Uncovering the earliest signs of a saint's cult and its historical evolution is an especially interesting problem. In the *Passio Fructuosi, Augurii et Eulogii*, the care with which the date of the martyrdom is preserved probably suggests the intention of including the martyrs in a local register, perhaps along the lines Cyprian documents in Africa: it was the responsibility of individual churches to guard the memory of their martyrs in their calendars, recording *locus, dies et nomen*.[145] Given that the redaction of Fructuosus' *passio* dates to the end of the third century or the very beginning of the fourth, we can affirm that the martyrs were by then officially venerated at Tarragona, the most immediate and obvious manifestation of which was their annotation in the local calendar. Unfortunately, later additions at the end of the *passio*, which refer to their cult and to the veneration of their relics, cannot be dated with precision. However, given that the martyrs appear in Prudentius, we have a definite *terminus ante quem* of the late fourth century for the inception of their cult.[146]

It is also possible that a canon of the council of Elvira is referring to relic cult when it prohibits women's nocturnal vigils in cemeteries.[147] If that is so, the early date of the council would suggest a chronology for the development of Spanish relic cult more or less similar to those of other western regions, and indeed earlier than is documented in Gaul.[148] Nevertheless, it is really only at the end of the fourth century and the start of the fifth that we can detect the full maturation of relic cults.[149] By that point we have Paulinus of Nola's evidence for *tumulatio ad martyres* in his burial of his dead son Celsus at Complutum, beside the remains of the martyrs. The most

[145] Cypr., *Ep.* 12.2.1.
[146] Prud., *Peristeph.* 6.130–41.
[147] Elvira 35 (CCH 4: 253).
[148] Beaujard (2000), 23–58.
[149] Although there were examples of the rejection of such cults, for instance that of the Spaniard Vigilantius, known from Jerome: see Castellanos and del Pozo (1995–1996).

important evidence is of course Prudentius' *Peristephanon*, a poetical composition with a markedly epic character, and it is from Prudentius that we gain much of our understanding of early Spanish saints' cults.[150] Prudentius, whose political career and voyages to Rome are well-attested, shared an aristocratic and quasi-ascetic character with Gallic contemporaries who were likewise promoters of saints' cults.

At Rome, the poet affects not to marvel at the magnificent forum, as a modern day tourist would, but rather at the riches of the martyrs housed in the Roman suburbs.[151] No doubt the efforts of Damasus had given to Roman martyr cults a great luster that dazzled Prudentius, accustomed as he was to provincial cults of more modest and local character.[152] Overcome with enthusiasm, he determined to bring these foreign saints to the attention of his countrymen so that they would be incorporated into the festival calendar of his city. The recommendation he made to his bishop Valerian shows that he was thinking in terms of official liturgical cult.[153] As it happens, a large number of cultic acts are attested in Prudentius, and in a notably advanced state of development given the early date of his work. All the manifestations of martyr cult present in other provinces—festivals, processions, pilgrimmages, collective prayers and songs—are attested in the Spanish context by Prudentius. More importantly, he attests to the recognition of all the other facets—spiritual, theological, religious, social, institutional and political—which had come to play a part in the understanding of Christian sanctity.

It is well known that the first objects of devotion, the first to be dressed in sacrality, were the martyrs. Within this seemingly precise term, there hid an ambiguity which did not lend itself to precision. The term *marturium*, having been employed in Biblical texts, continued to retain its classical connotation as a synonym of *testimonium*. In what we can call the "protohistoric" phase, the martyr was chiefly notable in his condition of *testis*, a status superseded beginning in the second century by what we may call its "historic" meaning, those who achieved a more perfect *imitatio passionis Christi* by suffering death at the hands of persecutors. All the same, the protohistoric mean-

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[150] Paulinus, *Carm.* 31.601–10 (CSEL 30: 328–29). For Prudentius see Lana (1962); Palmer (1989); Evenepoel (1996).
[151] Prud., *Peristeph.* 2.541–44.
[152] Sabattini (1972), 34–35.
[153] Prud., *Peristeph.* 11.231–34.

ing of the term continued to offer real semantic opportunity in late antiquity.[154] Prudentius played constantly with the possibilities of this double meaning, a habit he shared with contemporary authors outside the peninsula, most notably the African Augustine.

But in Prudentius we can observe a conceptual advance: he argues that those who had suffered persecution could be assimilated to the status of martyrs, as in the case of the confessor Engratia who, on account of the *tormenta* she suffered, was a "martyr in life." In the case of the confessors Gaius and Crementius, he says that "both bore lightly the taste of martyrdom."[155] For all that, in the Hispano-Roman poet we find an outline of the eventual supersession of the historical connotation of martyrdom as the suffering of death, a development that allowed the title of martyr to be given to a confessor like Engratia. Put another way, the evidence of Prudentius represents an intermediate phase, the consideration of certain confessors from the era of persecution as martyrs, who would in turn go on to serve as models for later extensions of sanctity to a new type of confessor—the ascetic or bishop—who belonged to the era of peace. In the same years that Prudentius provides our Spanish evidence, we find Paulinus of Nola in Italy honoring Felix as a martyr in his *carmina*, even though we know from Augustine that the saint was simply a confessor.[156]

The martyr was a particular sort of safeguard for his community, and martyrdom could be identified as a second baptism, the sacrament that washes away sins.[157] The baptismal element of martyrdom is adduced as early as the second half of the fourth century by such Spanish authors as Gregory of Elvira and, in the sixth and seventh centuries, it was developed explicitly by Isidore and Ildefonsus of Toledo.[158] Probably because of this connection, a baptistery at

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[154] On the terms *martyr* and *confessor*, see Delehaye (1921a); Peeters (1921); Delehaye (1927), 75–121; de Gaiffier (1957); Hoppenbrouwers (1962); Pietri (1991); Février (1991); Grégoire (1996), 41–48; Boesch-Gajano (1999), 3–18.

[155] Prud., *Peristeph.* 4.109–44 and 4.181–85.

[156] Paulinus, *Carm.* 14.1–13 (CSEL 30: 45–46); Aug., *Ep.* 78.3 (CSEL 34: 335); in the end, Felix of Nola entered into the canon of martyrs by the hand of Gregory of Tours: *De gloria martyrum* 103.

[157] Orig., *Exhort. ad mart.* 30 (Koetschau [1899], 26–27); Cypr., *De exhort. mart.* 4 (CCSL 3/1: 185).

[158] Gregory of Elvira, *Tractatus* 15.13 (J. Pascual [1997], 336); Isidore, *Eccl. off.* 2.25.2 (CCSL 113: 102–103); Ildefonsus, *De cognitione baptismi* 119 (Campos [1971], 350–51).

Calahorra was dedicated to the city's local saint, illustrating not just the conceptual but also the practical bond between the baptismal rite and the martyrs.[159] In fact, the eighth hymn of the *Peristephanon* is very probably an epigraphic poem intended by Prudentius not for publication but rather to decorate the baptistery at Calahorra, thus placing it in the same category as the *carmina epigraphica* of Damasus and some of Paulinus' compositions.[160]

As safeguards of the community, martyrs had the capacity to intercede with the divine because of their privileged position *apud Deum* in the *concilium sanctorum*. This aspect of the martyrs is secondary in Prudentius, but came to be the basis of the many invocations gathered together in the Spanish *Hymnary* and the so-called Mozarabic liturgical books. This intercessory role is, in other words, rather late, and reflects a more developed theological understanding of the saints: they are only intermediaries for divinity, not themselves workers of miracles, but rather transmitters of the works of God.[161] We can see the development of this idea in the works of Braulio, who makes it clear that the miracles performed by the hermit Aemilian were in reality the works of Christ, for whom the saint served as the intermediary.[162] Such theological concerns had not reached this level of development in the era of Prudentius. The poet was no theologian, and for him the martyrs possessed an ability to act tied directly to their *loca sanctorum* and to their relics, something that accords with a phase in which relics acted as talismans.[163]

Relics brought the faithful a material and unmediated object which could help them overcome anxiety about their eternal fate, while providing protection in the present life. But beyond that role, relics might become sensual objects in a way that strikes us as distasteful. We see this in the account of the martyrdom of Zoilus and the *inventio* of his relics. After the body of Zoilus was revealed to him, bishop Agapius could do nothing but repeatedly kiss the relics, even though such close and affective contact with saintly *virtus* could not fail to have consequences: Agapius' teeth fell out and the following night

[159] Prud., *Peristeph.* 8.1–4.
[160] Schetter (1982).
[161] Camarero (1982), 447–48. There are, however, examples of protective intercession in earlier, non-liturgical works, e.g., Hyd. 175; Greg. Tur., *Hist.* 3.29.
[162] Oroz (1978), 176, with citations from the *Vita Aemiliani.*
[163] As Saxer (1980), 230–79, defined it for Africa.

the martyr himself issued a reprimand.[164] This illustrates how much power was retained by relics, which preserved the traces of the martyr's own sanctity. The power of relics could heal, as is particularly visible in Prudentius. Christians present at the martyrdom of Vincent were said to have collected the tiniest droplet of his blood on small cloths, *brandea*, in order "to cure their health."[165] The account of this procedure in Vincent's *passio* may instead be a record of what took place at the *fenestra confessionis* at his martyrial sites in Valencia.[166] The fundamentally therapeutic or exorcizing function of the confessors and their relics is very evident in Gaul. Aemilian, the only Spanish confessor to achieve generalized cult in the peninsula, assumed precisely such a healing function, basically as an exorcist, on the model of the Martin of Tours.[167]

Such was the *virtus* contained within relics that *vestigia sacra* could pass into other relics *ex contaxtu*. In their flight from Ávila, the martyrs Vincent, Sabina and Christeta were said to have left their footprints in rock.[168] Here we may see a reflection of a phenomenon long known in antiquity and present in the *ex votos* (*plantae pedis*) of savior gods like Isis and Mithras. This pagan precedent may have led to attempts to deny the truth of this sort of relic, but it should be stressed that, outside the mystical perspective of the believer, there is no cultic, sociological, or anthropological difference between a false relic and a true one: both were objects of veneration.

Because of their miraculous powers, saints played important roles as city patrons, a topic that has been much studied. Here, Spanish developments are very similar to those elsewhere and there is no difference between the concepts of saintly *patrocinium* expressed in Prudentius and those found in the Aquitanian Paulinus of Nola.[169] Indeed, from the Hispano-Roman period onwards, saints played a preeminent role in the creation of social cohesion within the city. In this sense, the saint's festival, with its hymns and processions, permitted a momentary suspension of social categories, pulling all groups

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[164] *Pass. Zoil.* 6–7 (Riesco [1995], 246–48).
[165] *Pass. Vinc.* 20 (Riesco [1995], 94); Prud., *Peristeph.* 5.341–44.
[166] Blasco et al. (1994); Soriano (1995); Ribera (1999); Albiach et al. (2000).
[167] This is demonstrated by the tally of his miracles, e.g. Braulio, *V. Aem.* 19–24 (Oroz [1978], 196–200). For Martin, see Rousselle (1990), 109–22.
[168] *Pass. Vinc. Sabine et Christete* 7 (Riesco [1995], 219–20).
[169] San Bernardino (1996), 129–58.

together as a civic body—the *indiscreta multitudo* sung about by Prudentius.[170] The sense of identification between the martyr and the city could become total, in such a way that some cities would bear their martyrs before them at the end of time, as Prudentius describes in his fourth hymn. The martyr was in a real sense a citizen, indeed the first citizen and, according to Prudentius, omnipresent, the same perspective that we find in the African *De miraculis sancti Stephani*.[171] It signifies the translation of the daily realities of late antique civic life, with its *patrocinium* exercised by notables, into a society whose values were growing ever more aristocratic and military. The martyrs and their holy sites played an important political role as bulwarks against the hostilities of enemies.[172] Hydatius describes how the Vandals profaned a church in the suburbs of Seville which Isidore suggests was dedicated to Vincent. The desecrator, King Gunderic, was the object of *ultio divina*, which also fell upon the Sueve Heremigarius after he profaned the church of Eulalia at Mérida.[173]

Civic pride caused Prudentius to create a hierarchy of cities according to their merits, which is to say, according to the number of martyrs which each could boast.[174] Prudentius, indeed, attests to a clear rivalry among cities in this respect when he lays stress on Vincent's Zaragozan origins rather than the place of his martyrdom: Vincent had, says the poet, been buried *in urbe . . . ignota*, that is, Valencia.[175] The contrary position is taken by a hymn attributed to Justinian of Valencia (d. 548),[176] which argues with no less emphasis: *noster in stola, noster in gloria, noster in officio, noster in tumulo, noster in patrocinio*.[177] In Rome, Damasus had established the dictum that a martyr pertained to the place in which he or she had suffered, not the place from which he or she had come, thereby defending the great martyrial riches of his own city.[178] This chauvinistic, patriotic, even nationalistic preoccupation with the exclusive, or at least the primary, claim to an individual martyr was evidently shared by some of the cities of Hispania.

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[170] Prud., *Peristeph.* 6.148–50.
[171] Evod. Uzal., *Miracula* (*PL* 41: 833–54).
[172] Vilella (1994).
[173] Hyd. 89–90; Isid., *Hist. Vand.* 73.
[174] Prud., *Peristeph.* 4.1–64.
[175] Prud., *Peristeph.* 4.97–98.
[176] Linage (1972).
[177] Villanueva (1821), 10: 219–21.
[178] Damasus, *Epigram.* 46.4–5 (Ferrua [1942], 188–89).

Yet despite his depiction of this sort of rivalry, Prudentius also attests to the tendency towards the regionalization or even the universalization of martyrial *patrocinium*.[179] The poet's supra-regional vision reflects an enthusiasm for a new Christian empire, uniting distant regions under a single faith.[180] Paulinus of Nola, for his part, solemnly describes the *patrocinium* of Ambrose, Martin, Delphinus and Vincent over Hispania.[181] That shows, as little else, the extension of saintly patronage far outside the merely local or civic sphere, and the same phenomenon appears in evidence for seventh-century pilgrimage: Fructuosus of Bierzo journeyed to a *basilica-martyrium* of Eulalia of Mérida and to the neighborhood of Seville where he went to a church dedicated to Gerontius.[182]

The bishop's role

Prudentius, like contemporary authors outside the peninsula, showed himself to be a constant *amicus martyris*. Subsequently, however, the possession or guardianship of relics made it possible for individuals to portray themselves as *custodes* of martyrs, and thus as privileged agents of sanctity.[183] A seventh-century council held at Braga reproached bishops who had themselves carried in on litters carrying holy relics in their hands.[184] But it was difficult to prevent this sort of identification between bishops and the relics entrusted to them. The connection between the martyr Eulalia and the orthodox bishops of Mérida was so close that some of the bishops, Masona for example, could achieve effects more generally realized by a martyr: liberating a city from its enemies or from disease and famine.[185]

As privileged keepers of sanctity and intermediaries with the martyr, bishops found in saints' cult a field in which to formulate a new civic euergetism, going on to sponsor a whole program of construction centered on *loca sanctorum*. Indeed, Visigothic conciliar legislation refers

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[179] Prud., *Peristeph.* 1.10–12.
[180] Prud., *Peristeph.* 2.437–44.
[181] Paulinus, *Carm.* 19.152–54.
[182] *V. Fruct.* 11.4–7; 13.2–4 (Díaz y Díaz [1974], 98, 102).
[183] Cf. Castellanos (1996).
[184] III Braga, praef. (Vives et al. [1963], 370–72). For the liturgy of martyr and confessor cults, see Fernández Alonso (1955), 381–86.
[185] *VPE* 5.2.12–20 (CCSL 116: 48–49).

explicitly to saints' cult as a driving force for construction undertaken by lay and ecclesiastical aristocrats.[186] Cities, as the repositories of most relics, would be the privileged geographical space for such activity, as in King Sisebut's construction of a basilica dedicated to Leocadia in Toledo.[187] As happened in the rest of the Mediterranean, such emplacements altered the physical and mental topography of a city, moving from an urbanism centered around the forum to a plurifocal urbanism in which the *suburbia* acquired a higher profile. In Mérida, the existence of an important suburban neighborhood around the basilica, *martyrium* and *xenodochium* of Eulalia implied an urbanistic change of the first order. Archaeological excavation in and around Saint Eulalia—some of the most important work of the past two decades—has corroborated the constructional phases of which we were previously informed in the *Vitas Patrum*.[188]

The physical impact of cult could be felt in the countryside as well. Prudentius, for instance, used Emeterius and Chelidonius, his local patrons, as guarantors of the truth of his God in the face of the "barbarous rudeness of the Basques."[189] Gregory of Tours relates a prodigy that took place at the baptistery of Osset in the vicinity of Seville: the baptismal font filled itself miraculously with water which was later employed to irrigate the fields.[190] Some archaeologically attested buildings in rural areas can probably be understood as *martyria*, for instance La Alberca, which shares an architectonic model with the famous martyrial installation at Marusinac, Salona, or La Dehesa de la Cocosa, part of a *latifundium*, or the problematic *confessio* of São Frutuoso de Montelios which follows the Ravennate model of centrally-planned architecture.[191] By such means, martyrs and confessors were not just civic guardians, but also helped to effectively Christianize a whole diocese, country as well as city, thus serving the interests of the bishops.

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[186] See, e.g., IV Toledo 33 (Vives et al. [1963], 204).

[187] Eul., *Liber apol.* 16 (Gil [1973], 2: 475–95). The date, 29 October, is attested by the so-called Second Calendary of Silos and the calendary of León (Vives and Fábrega [1949b], 361; 372). It cannot be documented archaeologically: Palol (1991).

[188] Caballero and Mateos (1992); Mateos (1992); Caballero and Mateos (1995b); Mateos (1995); Arce (1999).

[189] Prud., *Peristeph.* 1.94.

[190] Gregory of Tours, *Glor. mart.* 23.

[191] Hauschild (1971); Serra Ràfols (1952); de Almeida (1962).

This function was not limited to an evangelizing saint like Aemilian, but was instead one that all buildings tied to martyrs and saints could fulfill. A mid-seventh-century bishop of Asidona named Pimenius undertook a whole political program of consecration and dedication of churches within his diocese.[192] This required a massive distribution of relics, which included not just local martyrs but also those of Gaul, Africa, Italy and the East. Pimenius also consecrated a basilica at Salpensa, where he records his deposition of relics of John the Baptist, Eulalia, Justa and Rufina, and Felix, followed by the dedication of the basilica. It is the only time that his physical presence at a consecration is attested, with the phrase *a Pimenio antistite*.[193] The explanation for this expressive formula is simple: Salpensa is distant from the *ager Asidonensis* and was in consequence a flashpoint for disputes with the neighboring diocese of Seville. For this reason, Bishop Pimenius of Asidona took care to clarify his responsibility for the deposition of relics and the dedication of the church that housed them.

* * *

In sum, apart from the earliest period in which we have only the sparsest documentation, we can distinguish two stages in the Spanish cult of the martyrs and confessors. The first, Hispano-Roman phase, is characterized above all by the local veneration of the few native Spanish martyrs that existed. The second, Visigothic phase, is characterized by processes similar to those found in the rest of the Mediterranean West: the expansion of local cults, the importation of foreign martyrs, and an expansion of the concept of sanctity to include confessors, those who had not suffered martyrdom. One might object that the two apparent phases in the development of saints' cult reflect gaps in our documentation, rather than real change in the cult of the saints, but the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. It is true that the documentation for the fourth, fifth, and even the sixth century is deficient, particularly in terms of epigraphic and archaeological testimony, and that the cults may have been more substantial than the extant evidence suggests. At the same time, there can be no doubt that saints' cults blossomed in the Visigothic period,

[192] Castillo Maldonado (2003).
[193] *ICERV* 306.

from the later sixth through the seventh century. We should stress that, as happened everywhere, local martyrs and saints could always count on the greatest local affection. Nonetheless, the peninsula also participated in the Mediterranean *koine*, with the consequent interchange of ideas and objects of cult: African, Italian, Gallic, eastern and even Pannonian saints found a home for themselves in Spanish churches.

To maintain the old vision of *Hispania* as a region detached from the processes that affected the rest of the Mediterranean is to give credit to an historical paradigm intended chiefly to consolidate and define differences among early modern and contemporary nation-states. Hispania was part of a late antique world in which the cult of the saints acquired a central importance difficult to comprehend with our present-day outlooks. Saints' cults shaped the rhythms and the landscape of daily life, privileging some aspects of life and some physical spaces over others, and opening up enormous possibilities for social representation. The inhabitants of late antique Hispania could find in the cult of the saints and martyrs a perfect substitute for the cultural and religious community of the classical city, along with a new social idiom that was universally understood.

"UNE COTERIE ESPAGNOLE PIEUSE": CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN FOURTH- AND FIFTH-CENTURY HISPANIA

Kim Bowes

> Have you changed your ways, sweetest Paulinus? Are the Vasconian woodlands and the snowy hospitality of the Pyrenees and forgetfulness of our sky the cause? What curse shall I not rightfully call down on you, land of Spain?[1]

The series of letters posted across the Pyrenees to his friend Paulinus by the Bordelais rhetor, Ausonius, drew to a close a deep, decade-long friendship. Paulinus had vanished into Hispania with his new Spanish wife and ensconced himself in uncommunicative silence on her estates. By 393, when the above verses were penned, Ausonius had come to suspect the cause of his friend's silence, and wondered if Hispania might be to blame. The letter imagines Paulinus in a deserted Spanish countryside, haunting ground of the mad Bellerophon, a vagrant, "avoiding the traces of men."[2] For Ausonius, Bellerophon symbolized the radical Christian ascetic and Hispania was both the home and seedbed of such dangerous extremists. Only a few years earlier, Ausonius' circle of Bordelaises *amici* had collided with Hispania's newest ascetic radical, Priscillian, who had inadvertently brought about the disgrace and death of two women of Bordeaux, both daughters and wives of Ausonius' friends.[3] For Ausonius, Hispania and its denizens were tarred with the brush of extremist religious belief.[4]

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[1] Ausonius, *Ep.* 21.50–52 (ed. Green [1991]): *vertisti, Pauline, tuos, dulcissime mores:/ Vasconei saltus et ninguida Pyrenaei/hospitia et nostri facit hoc oblivio caeli.*

[2] Ausonius, *Ep.* 21.69–72.

[3] Urbica was stoned to death by a mob at Bordeaux in 384; she was either the mother of Ausonius' son-in-law, or the daughter of Ausonius' grammarian colleague, Urbicus. See Green (1991), 328; Trout (1999), 73–74. Euchrotia, wife of Ausonius' colleague Delphidius, was executed with Priscillian in Trier in 386. See Ausonius, *Prof.* 5.35–38.

[4] Trout (1999), 67–77.

To a certain degree, modern scholarship has agreed with Ausonius. The extreme pro-Nicene beliefs of Spain's most famous citizen, the emperor Theodosius, have prompted scholars to look to his court and find there an emperor surrounded by a "coterie espagnole pieuse."[5] Maternus Cynegius the idol-smasher, Egeria the pilgrim, the ascetic Melania the Elder, all displayed varying (and debated) Spanish pedigrees, and all, including the emperor himself, were assumed to derive their faith from some vague "Spanish experience." This gang of fervently pious Spaniards collected around the emperor in Constantinople, some assuming high administrative positions and indirectly influencing Theodosius' religious policy.[6]

Aspects of this traditional picture have undergone important modifications. McLynn, in this volume, shows that Theodosius himself was a Spaniard in name only, that his pro-Nicene legislation had precedents in earlier edicts, and that rather than being the product of Spanish influence, such legislation was more likely spurred on by eastern, particularly Thessalonican, pressures.[7] Bravo, in two recent prosopographical studies of the Theodosian administration, has noted that the Spaniards at court only rarely achieved high-level positions, and that their appearance in relatively large numbers dates from before the accession of Theodosius.[8] The *coterie espagnole pieuse* is no longer quite so "Theodosian," or quite so powerful, as once imagined.

These revisionist studies have tended to focus on the emperor himself, and on a more exacting history of his administration, while the role of Hispania in the Theodosian narrative has received less critical attention. Piganiol and others were quick to assume that the Spaniards around Theodosius derived their piety from their homeland, where "le christianisme y est pratiqué avec une exceptionnelle ferveur."[9] Matthews, the most careful and lucid chronicler of the Theodosian court and its impact on Theodosian policy, was more cautious. He emphasized that the activities of pious Spaniards outside the peninsula were chronicled far better than their lives within it, and that with the exception of the Priscillianist controversy, evidence for Christian practice in Hispania is meager. Thus, Matthews'

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[5] Piganiol (1972), 238.
[6] See particularly Stroheker (1963), 107–24; Matthews (1975), chs. 5–6.
[7] See also McLynn (1997).
[8] Bravo (1996); (1997).
[9] Piganiol (1972), 4.

masterly study was forced to rely heavily on Gallic sources, a solution which made sense given the two regions' close bond, but which, as Matthews himself recognized, had the potential to blur any differences that may have distinguished them.[10] The original question, then, remains open: was there something special, something "different," about religious practice in the Iberian Peninsula, something which produced the particularly "intense" piety observed in these aristocrats of the late fourth and early fifth century?

Since Matthews' seminal study, trends in Spanish historiography would seem to have answered his question with a resounding "no." Modern studies have emphasized the degree to which Hispania's religious culture shared in trends common to the late antique world. This shared culture is typically elucidated by selecting various phenomena fundamental to the articulation of late antique societies—for instance, the rise of the bishop, the appearance of pious women, or the creation of new episcopal topographies—and finding examples of these phenomena in the Spanish historical record.[11] The recent historiography of Spanish Christianity has thus been a litany of "sameness." This emphasis on sameness over difference is a natural and laudable reaction to the centuries of Spanish scholarship which, as Castillo describes in this volume, claimed Hispania as a well-spring of fervent ur-Catholicism. And yet, in rejecting the ontologically unique, recent Spanish scholarship seems to have thrown out the baby with the bathwater: by insisting on sameness, legitimate discussion of historical difference, both relative and comparative, has all but vanished.[12]

It should be noted that this discourse of sameness has largely taken place with respect to one category of evidence alone: texts. Material culture and archaeology enters these discussions only as a side-note, usually as proof of whatever trend is under discussion rather than as a discursive element in its own right.[13] Matthews himself had hailed archaeology as the greatest hope for catching Spanish Christianity in action, a palliative for the chronic shortage of Spanish texts. Yet

[10] Matthews (1975), 145–47; 160.

[11] See Fernández Ubiña (2002); Teja (1997); García Moreno (1980); Gurt, Ripoll and Godoy (1994).

[12] On sameness and difference, and the fundamental distinction between the ontologically "unique" and the relative "different," see Smith (1990), 36–42 and *passim*.

[13] See particularly García Moreno (1991); (1992).

archaeology can do more than just stand in for missing texts. It speaks with its own language and when examined in its fullness, can describe individual action inscribed within broad-based socio-economic trends in ways that texts do not. Archaeology thus provides a fresh well of material from which a nuanced discussion of sameness and difference might spring.

In consequence, this chapter seeks to take up the problem of the "pious Theodosian Spaniard" through the lens of archaeology, particularly Christian architecture, and to compare the general strands of Spanish archaeology and religiosity to those elsewhere in the Roman West. The first section of paper offers a survey of Hispania's late antique religious architecture. The period under consideration encompasses the whole of the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries, providing the Theodosian period of focus with a before and an after, and embracing monuments which can rarely be dated to regnal periods. I will suggest that while Hispania's slow pace of urban, particularly intramural, church building is more or less paralleled elsewhere in the West, the quantity and quality of its rural religious structures, particularly funerary structures, is unique. Christian building in Hispania thus seems to form part of its unusually rich villa culture, and as such, Christian building resources may have been directed inward to the estate, rather than outward to episcopal centers.

The second section considers the relationship between the rural elite and the episcopate during this period, and interrogates the notion of Spanish elite "piety." Bishops assume a relatively low profile in fourth- and early fifth-century Hispania. The peninsula's episcopal network was unusually sparse, its bishoprics scattered across a vast landscape, and its few historically attested bishops were often buffeted by local secular powers. I will argue that with important exceptions, the ranks of "pious Spaniards" were dominated not by bishops, but by unusually powerful laymen and women, as well as by lower clergy who often seem to have opted out of episcopal office. The low profile of the Spanish episcopate seems to have resulted in the formulation of alternative concepts of Christian community which side-stepped local bishoprics and their communities. Thus, text and material record both point to the same trend: elite Christian identity in Hispania assumed a Janus-face, turned outward to extra-peninsular sources of holiness, and inward to the estate where the conceptual Christian community centered round the *familia* and its Christian

amici. These alternative conceptions of Christian community had a significant impact on the fourth-century Spanish episcopate and its relationship with the elite, and helped to shade the specific color of Christianity in fourth-century Hispania.

1.1 *The religious archaeology of late antique Hispania: the city*

When the problem of a "special" Spanish Christianity was elaborated in the mid-1970s, early Christian archaeology in the peninsula was just entering a period of rapid development. The publication of three major surveys of early Christian and Visigothic art and architecture, the establishment of regular conferences dedicated to the subject, and the organization of major research projects on various aspects of late antique society have all helped to produce a radically different picture of late antique Spanish Christendom than existed thirty years ago.[14] The most significant advances have taken place in the urban milieu, with the development of advanced methodology and specialized teams, resulting in a greatly enriched picture of urban church archaeology. Some nine churches in urban or suburban locations are now tentatively dated to the late fourth through first half of the fifth century, not a great number to be sure, but significantly more than were known thirty years ago (see Fig. 1). These include the churches or possible churches at Tarragona (Tarraco), Barcelona (Barcino), San Cugat (Castrum Octavianum), Terrassa (Egara), Valencia (Valentia), Elche (Ilici), Seville (Hispalis), and Mérida (Emerita Augusta), although some of these may date outside the period in question.[15] Ongoing excavations in other provincial capitals at Braga (Bracara), Cartagena (Carthago Nova) and Córdoba (Corduba) have yet to reveal early Christian churches, while other major episcopal centers

[14] The surveys are Palol (1967); Schlunk and Hauschild (1978) and Godoy (1992). The fruits of a number of these recent research projects can be found in this volume. See also Gurt, Ripoll and Godoy (1994). The conference is the *Reunió d'Arqueología Cristiana Hispànica* (cited in the bibliography as *RACH I–V*). Pere de Palol's introductions to each volume provide an accurate barometer of the conference's changing philosophy.

[15] Two other Tarraconensian churches, Santa Maria de Roses and the basilica of the Neapolis at Ampurias, have recently been dated broadly to the fourth-fifth century without supporting archaeological evidence. See Puig i Griessenburger (1999) and Nolla and Aquilué (1999), respectively. Previous analyses had dated them to the later fifth or sixth centuries.

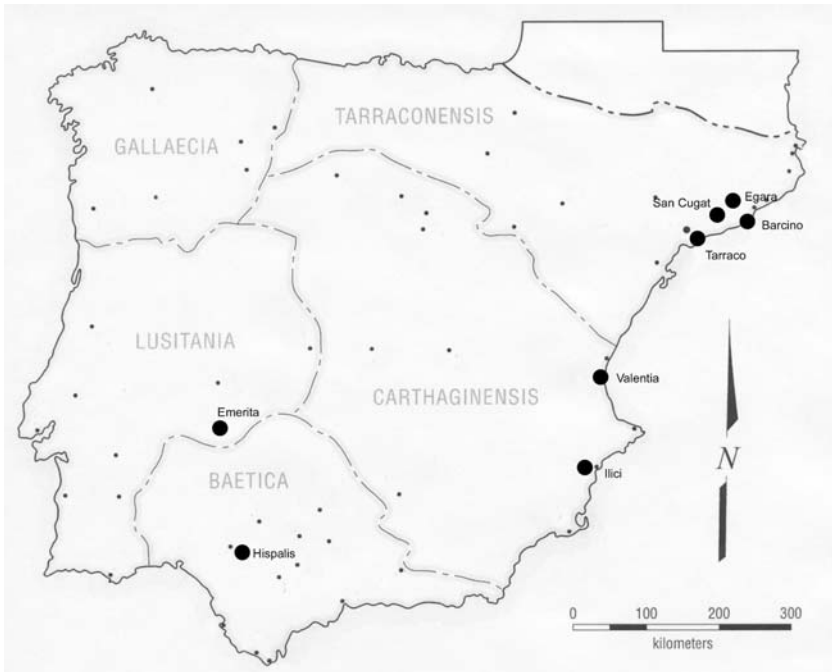


Figure 1. Map of urban churches discovered to-date. Fourth to mid-fifth century. After Kulikowski (2004a).

such as Faro/Estoi (Ossonoba), Granada (Elvira), Toledo (Toletum), León (Legio) and Zaragoza (Caesaraugusta) also remain devoid of known fourth- or fifth-century church structures.[16] In some cases this is due to a dearth of excavations in these cities while in others, for instance Toledo or Córdoba, more extensive work has revealed sixth- or seventh-century churches, but not their earlier predecessors.

The great majority of urban/suburban churches from this period are funerary in function and a number probably served as martyria. The city that boasts the peninsula's earliest martyriological tradition,

[16] While not included in this survey of peninsular Christian architecture, mention should be made of recent discoveries in Mauretania Tingitana. Recent excavations in Ceuta (Septem) have produced an early Christian basilica whose form is still unclear, but may date as early as the late fourth century: Fernández Sotelo (2000). Epigraphic finds in Tangiers (Tingi) point to a cult of Epiphanius, sainted bishop of Cyprus, located in the city's necropolis, and what may be a basilica has been unearthed in Zilil: Villaverde Vega (1998).

Tarragona (Tarraco) has also produced its largest and best-known martyrial church, in the suburban area called Francolí (Fig. 2).[17] The church was built in a pre-existing necropolis, located west of the city, whose heyday in the third and fourth centuries produced a number of fine sarcophagi and sepulchral mosaics, and a number of centrally-planned mausolea with subterranean crypts. While little remains of the church's structure or liturgical apparatus, it is reconstructed as a large three-aisled basilica that presumably served eucharistic, as well as funerary/martyrial functions.[18] Epigraphic evidence indicates its dedication to the martyred third-century bishop Fructuosus and his deacons Augurius and Eulogius, although whether the church held the bodies of the martyrs or only their relics remains uncertain.[19] New excavations in the church of Santa Eulalia in Mérida (Figs. 3a and 3b) have produced what seems to be the late fourth-century shrine of that martyr, a modest, single-aisled, apsed structure, also surrounded by mausolea and two necropoleis.[20] Only in the late fifth century was the first basilica built over the site. Finally, the early Christian structures at San Cugat (Castrum Octavianum), fifteen miles outside Barcelona, are associated by tradition with the site of the martyrdom of Cucuphas, a native of Scilli in North Africa who was believed to have been martyred at the *castrum* during the Decian persecutions (Fig. 4).[21] However, no archaeological material has been produced in support of this attribution.

A few intramural cathedral churches are also known from excavation, but many more probably await discovery beneath the many unexplored downtowns of modern cities. The best known is the cathedral of Barcelona, whose excavation is ongoing.[22] Set inside and adjacent to the city walls, the church (some 17m wide, its length uncertain) and western baptistery were built into a Roman house whose overall form was oriented northeast by southwest, an orientation assumed

[17] The excavations at Francolí were carried out by Serra i Vilaró in the 1920s and 1930s and the bibliography is immense. Bibliographies and reviews may be found in del Amo (1979–1989); (1999); Godoy (1992), 187–88.

[18] Godoy (1992), 190.

[19] Godoy (1992), 190; Y. Duval (1993), 175.

[20] Mateos (1999).

[21] Barral (1974); Riu i Barrera (1999); full bibliography in Godoy (1992), 207–208.

[22] On the cathedral's first phase and its dating, see Granados (1992). A complete bibliography is given in Godoy (1992), 203.

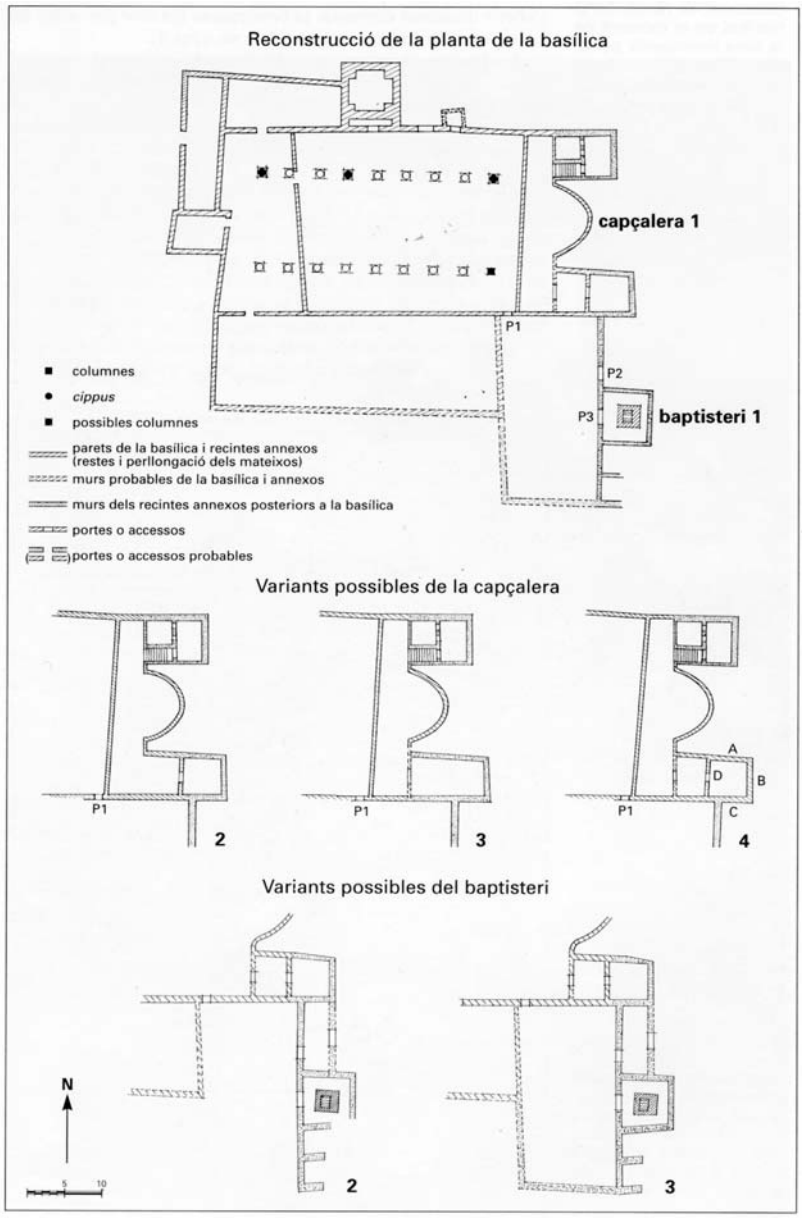


Figure 2. Francolí basilica, Tarragona. Amo i Guinovart (1999), 173.

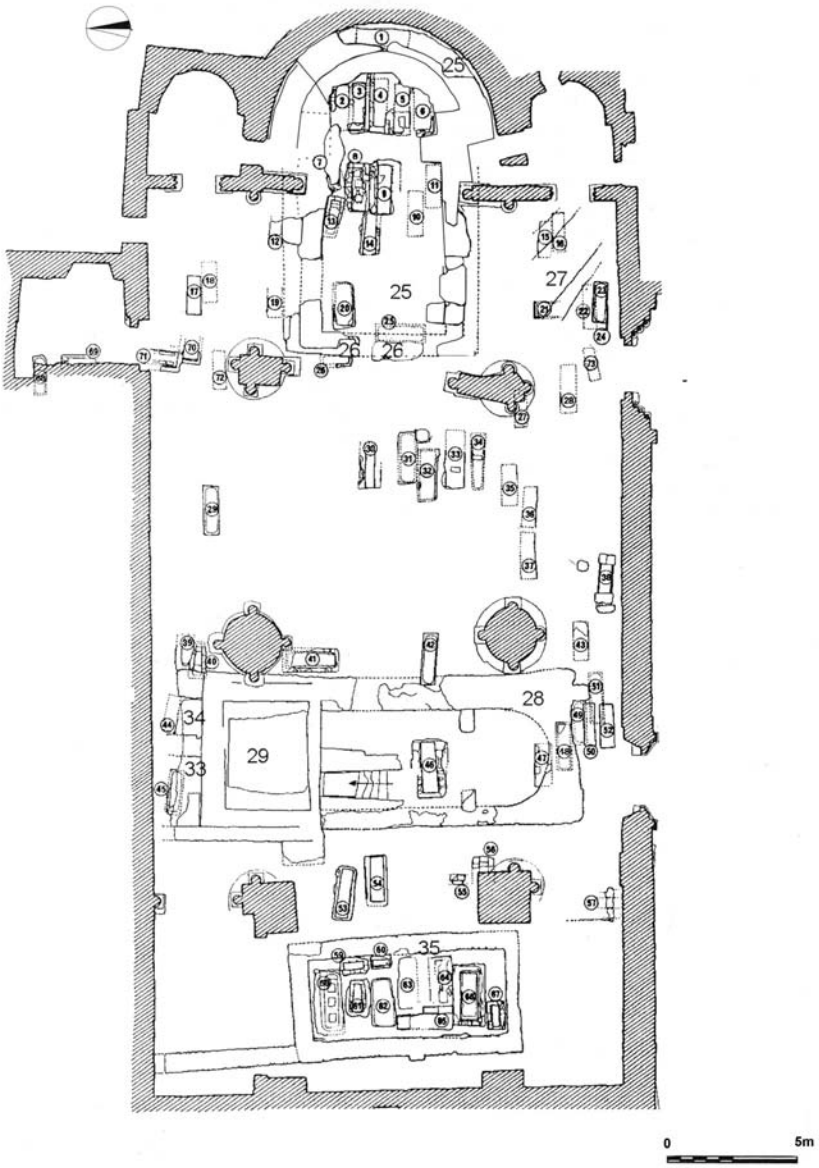


Figure 3a. Santa Eulalia, Shrine complex, Mérida. Structure 25 is identified as the shrine of the saint, while 28 and 35 are mausolea. The surrounding basilica is later. Mateos Cruz (1999), fig. 14.

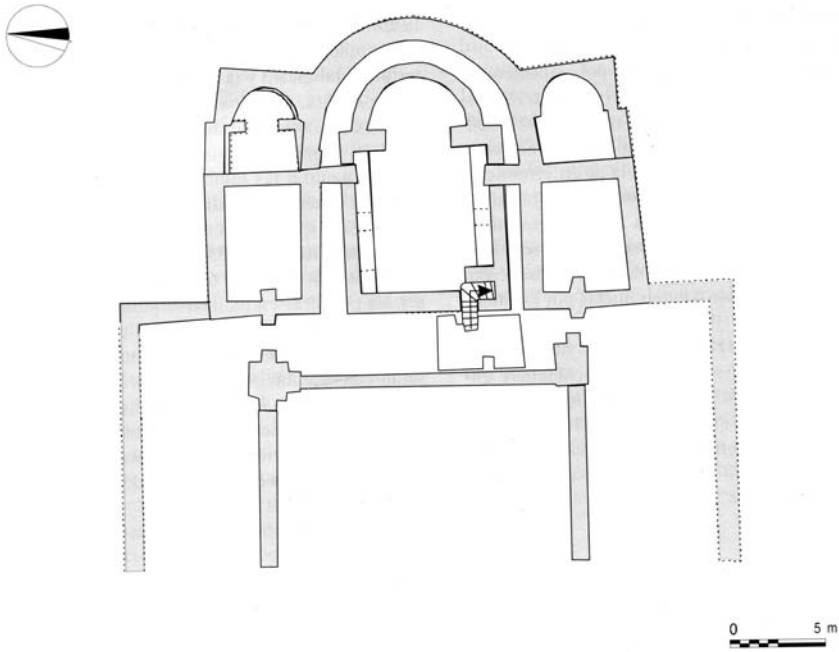


Figure 3b. Santa Eulalia, basilica and earlier martyr shrine. Mateos Cruz (1999), fig. 29.

by the later basilica (Figs. 5a and 5b). The baptistery was appended to the southwest of the house, and contained a square or cruciform font. It was laid over the *decumanus minor* which ran from the city walls to the forum area, and thus, the church's construction would have caused a major change in the city's urban fabric and circulation patterns. Recently, some archaeologists have objected that the basilica as described above possesses such irregular orientation and circulation patterns that it cannot have served as the cathedral church. They propose instead that the original cathedral lay to the southeast, still unexcavated beneath the Gothic cathedral (Fig. 5c).[23]

In Valencia, what may be the cathedral area, set adjacent to the Roman city forum, is also being excavated.[24] The earliest definitive church structures date to the seventh century. However, the devel-

[23] Godoy (1992), 206–207; Bonnet and Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (1999); (2000).
[24] The most recent reports are Albiach et al. (1998).

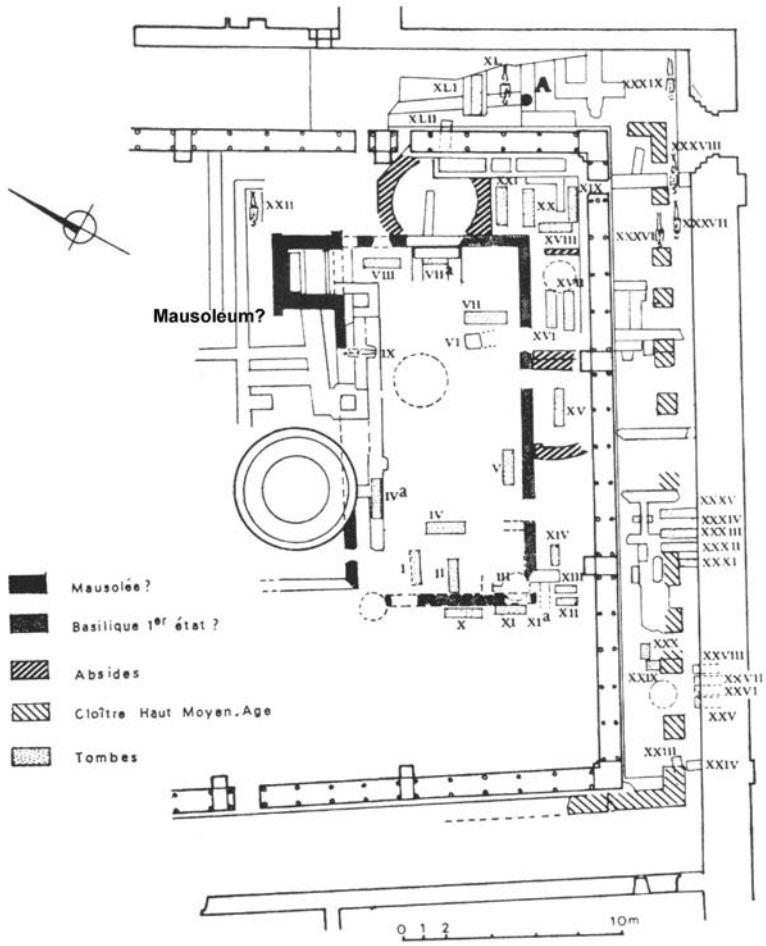


Figure 4. San Cugat, *Castrum* and church. Godoy Fernández (1992), fig. 31.

opment of a fifth-century necropolis in this area, particularly to the east and south of the *macellum* chapel, has led excavators to suggest that the area may have witnessed cult activity prior to the chapel's construction, perhaps as early as the late fourth or early fifth century.[25] The locations of the cathedrals of Mérida, Tarragona and Seville

[25] Problematic for this theory is the fact that between the fourth/fifth century and the construction of the chapel, a well was sunk in the middle of the small site, an intrusion that makes little sense if the space served cult or commemorative purposes.

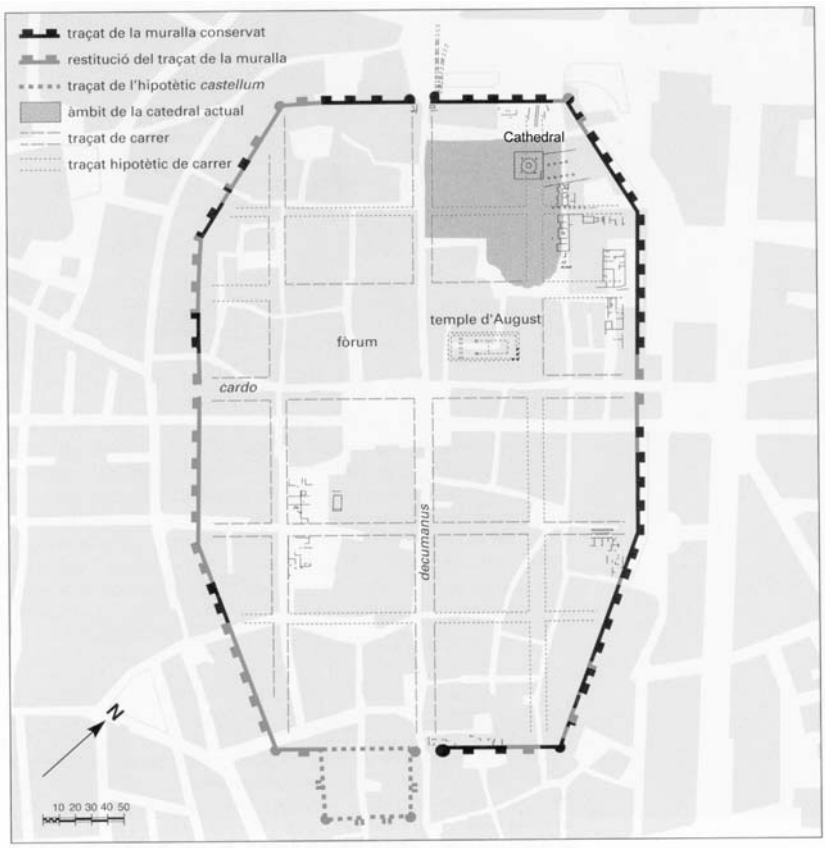


Figure 5a. Barcelona, city plan showing location of cathedral. Puig i Verdaguer (1999), 85.

have been identified with high probability, but the sites remain unexcavated and cannot be dated even hypothetically.[26]

Finally, one possible urban monastic church from this period has recently been unearthed in Tarragona. Emergency excavations on the site of the Parc Central shopping center, near the Francolí complex, produced the remains of a villa and a church, separated by a

[26] On Mérida, see Mateos (1995c), 241; for Tarragona, see Hauschild (1994); Aquilué (1993); Macias et al. (1999), 79–80. At Seville, a baptismal font was discovered in the Alcazar, originally rectangular in shape but later transformed into an octagon. See Bendala Galán and Vegueruela (1980); Blanco Feijeiro (1971), 171. The early font is presumed to date to the fourth or early fifth century.

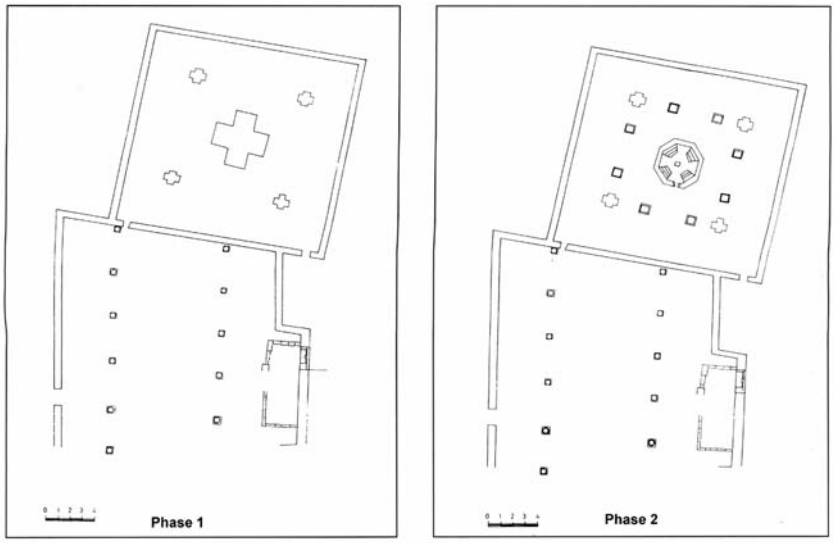


Figure 5b. Barcelona, cathedral complex. Oriol Granados (1992), figs 10–11.

Roman road (Fig. 6).[27] The villa seems to date to the mid-fourth century and was largely abandoned by the mid-fifth, while the church may date to the mid-fifth century, although the chronological indicators are less than clear. The Parc Central church is a three-aisled basilica, preceded by an atrium surrounded with rooms. This feature, along with the discovery of an inscription to the sainted nun, Thecla, has led its excavators to identify it as a monastic church.[28] The numerous graves found in and around the church, and the funerary counter-apse on the church's west end, all indicate that, whatever its daily use, the church also served funerary functions.

Formally, these Spanish churches present no great surprises to students of early Christian architecture. The majority show a general preference for the basilica in both congregational and martyrial contexts. The Francolí church is a large (40 × 25m) basilica, three-aisled, flanked by a mausoleum on the north, and a later baptistery to the southeast.[29] The Parc Central basilica presents a more complex,

[27] On the Parc Central, see Mar et al. (1996); Mar (1999); Palol (1999b), 166–68.

[28] *HAEC HIC BEATA THECLA VIRGO CHRISTI, EI PATRIA AEGYPT ANN LXXXVII UT MERUIT IN PACE REQUIEVIT DOMINI*: Mar and Salom (1999), 177.

[29] Given the paucity of the remains, proposed measurements of the basilica vary enormously. The most recent reconstruction, del Amo (1999), 173, describes a building some 40 × 25m.

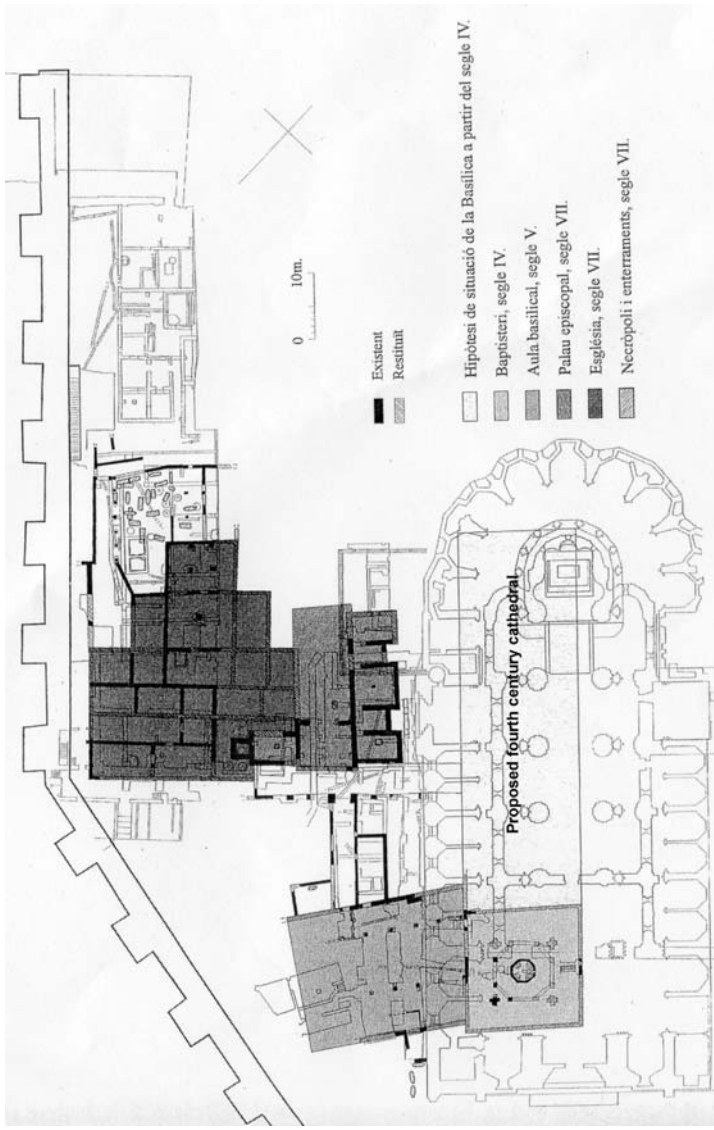


Figure 5c. Barcelona, proposed alternative cathedral complex. Bonnet and Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (2000), 180.

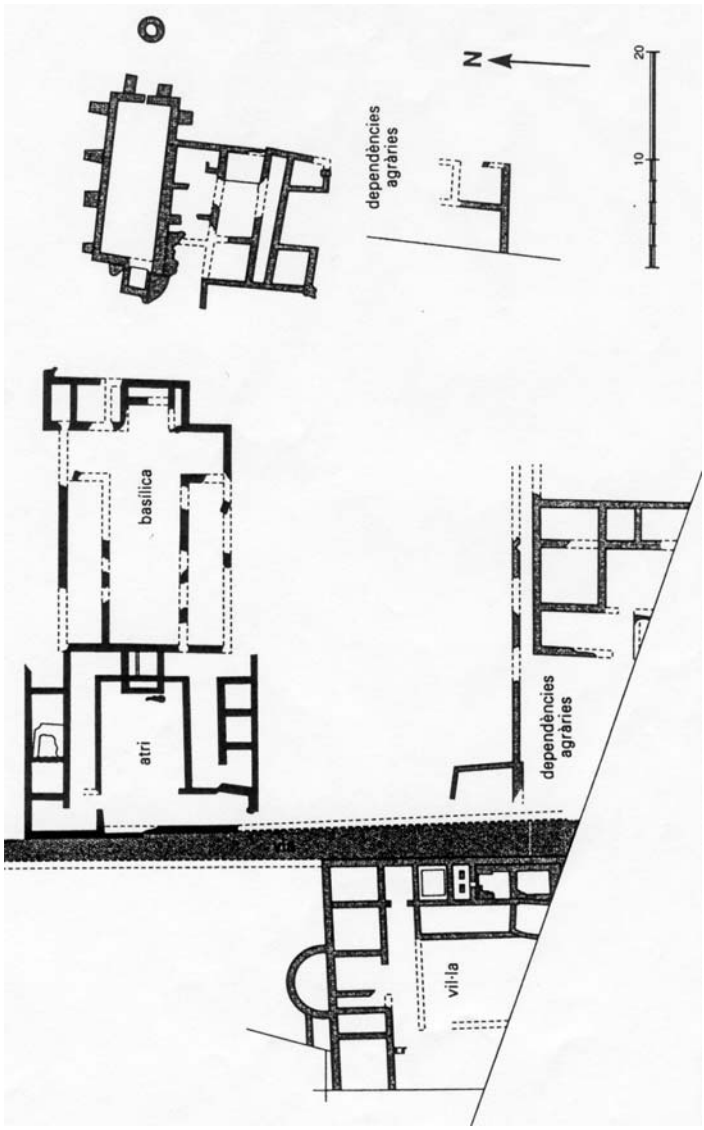


Figure 6. Parc Central complex, Tarragona. Mar (1999), 176.

interior transept design. A number of single-aisled churches have also been identified in Hispania, although the dates of most of these are disputed, as is, in some cases, their church function. The first phase of the church at San Cugat is reconstructed as a single-aisled hall, built against an earlier northern mausoleum. Other single-aisled examples include the church at Terrassa (Fig. 7), whose earliest structural phase is dated to the fifth century with a possible fourth-century predecessor,[30] or the enigmatic building at Ilici, variously identified as a church or synagogue (Fig. 8).[31] The late fourth-century shrine at Santa Eulalia in Mérida was also built as a modest (13 × 7m) single-aisled structure with an eastern apse. Thus, the small corpus of Spanish fourth- and fifth-century churches seems to reflect Mediterranean church-building trends, yet perhaps retains a certain archaism. The other notable characteristics of sixth-and seventh-century Spanish church plans, such as the so-called counter-apse, tripartite square sanctuaries or cruciform plans, are not obvious in their fourth- and fifth-century predecessors.[32]

Similarly modest and unremarkable is the decoration of these structures. Funerary mosaics for private individuals and occasional mosaic floors form the most common decorative feature and appear in the churches at Tarragona, Mérida, and San Cugat. Wall mosaics, frescos and liturgical or architectural sculpture are fairly limited and of modest quality when present. The private mausolea surrounding the churches at Francolí and Mérida show a generally greater wealth of decoration, as well as more innovative design, than do the churches they accompany.

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[30] Moro (1987); Moro and Tuset (1997); Moro (1999).

[31] Schlunk (1952); Rámos Fernández (1991); Márquez Villora and Poveda Navarro (1998). The pavement in the structure was laid to mark out three stripes or "aisles." Three fragmentary mosaic inscriptions have been found in each aisle, including one set within a *tabula ansata* towards the east end. In the southeastern aisle is found the building's only figurative mosaic, a fragmentary marine scene with a boat. The absence of any Christian liturgical equipment, the poor Greek, and the term 'PR(os) EYXH' or "presbyters," in the inscriptions led some investigators to label the building as a synagogue. Other, more recent analyses have emphasized that presbyters are epigraphically attested in Christian buildings as well, and that the marine/boating scene is unlikely to appear in a synagogue, but might better be identified as Jonah and the Whale.

[32] On the counter-apse, contra Godoy Fernández (1992), 66–87. See also N. Duval (1998a).

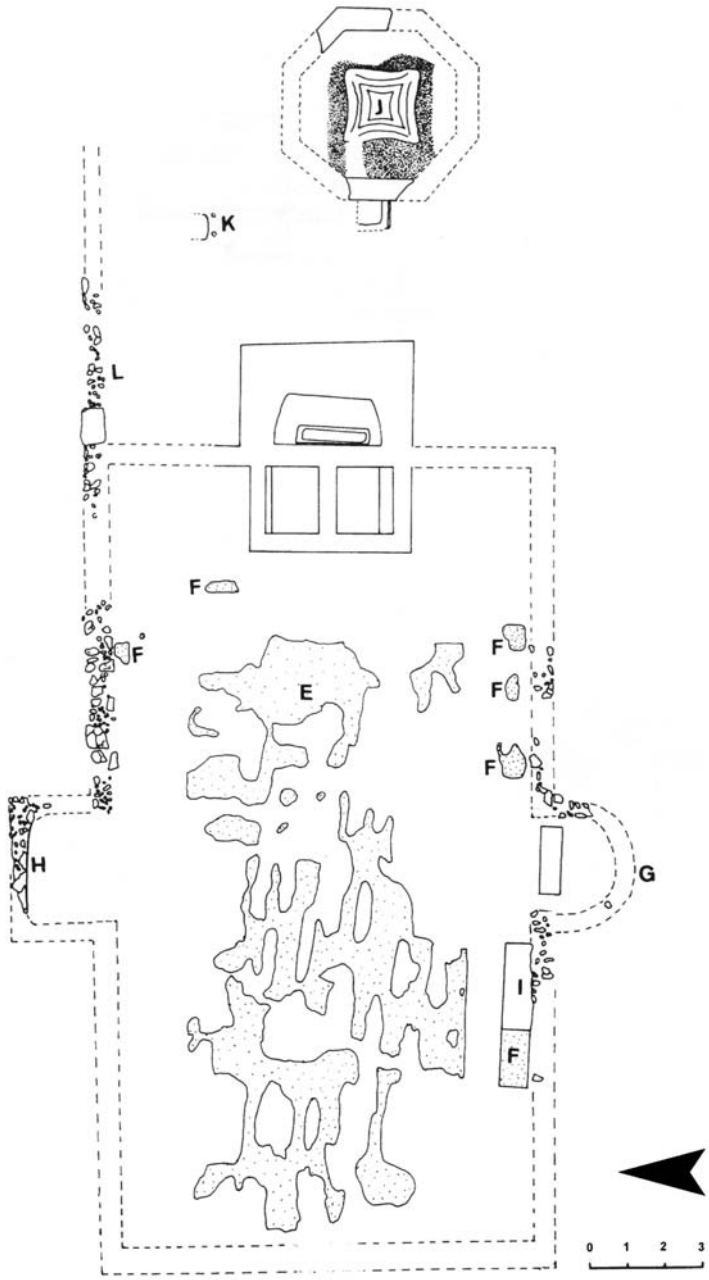


Figure 7. Terrasa, Phase 2 church. Godoy Fernández (1992), fig. 86.

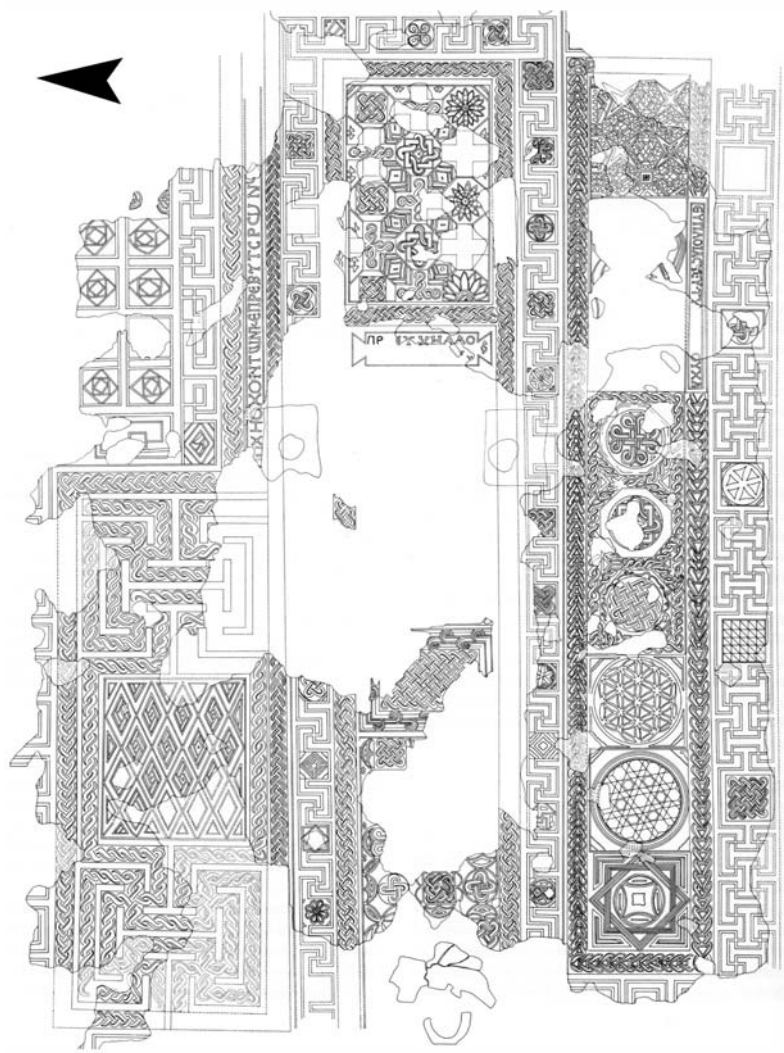


Figure 8. "Church" of Elche, mosaic floor. Schlunk and Haushild (1978), fig. 86.

The urban corpus' most notable feature, particularly in those examples excavated or re-excavated with modern methods, is its relatively late chronology. It must be emphasized that churches are notoriously hard to date, given the paucity of ceramics in their ruins, and some of the above-listed churches remain dated only by architectural form or mosaic style. Nonetheless, recent re-excavations have provided solid dating for a number of structures and in almost every case, this has adjusted the chronology later rather than earlier. The Barcelona *domus* seems to have been converted to cathedral use only in the mid-fifth century or later, although an unsupported fourth-century date has been adduced for the putative church beneath the modern cathedral.[33] A mid-fifth-century date is now adduced for the Francolí martyrial basilica.[34] In the late fourth century, when Prudentius penned his glowing encomium of her cult, Santa Eulalia's shrine in Mérida consisted of the modest, apsed shrine: it would take nearly a century for a basilica to be raised over the site.[35] Similar mid-fifth-century dates have been attached to the other members of the group, with the exception of Elche, dated to the mid-fourth century by coin finds and the style of its mosaics.[36] The contested identification of this building as a church, however, makes its early date less significant. That is to say, the current corpus indicates that church building in urban centers, both funerary and congregational, only gained real momentum in the middle years of the fifth century or later. Prior to that time, urban cult practices have left little archaeological trace, but we may imagine that martyrial commemoration took place in the open air (although the epigraphic and other archaeological signs that accompany such activities are also largely absent),[37] and that

[33] The cathedral is dated by a ceramic series taken from a well covered by the new basilica floor. See Granados (1992). For the unsupported fourth-century date, see Bonnet and Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (1999) and Duval (1998b).

[34] See del Amo (1999). A proposed single-aisled predecessor to this building, dating presumably to the fourth century, has found few modern proponents: Laag (1931); for the arguments against this earlier phase, see Palol (1967), 58.

[35] Mateos (1999), 56–58; 112–39.

[36] On the coin finds, and recent chronological efforts, see Rámos Fernández (1991); Márquez Villora and Poveda Navarro (1998). The addition of the apse, chancel screens and possibly a baptismal font attest to a later church function, perhaps by the sixth century. It should be added that the first attested bishop of Ilici does not appear until the early sixth century: Llobregat (1975).

[37] On the paucity of fourth-/fifth-century epigraphic evidence for the cult of martyrs see Y. Duval (1993), 173.

regular masses continued to take place in structures built for other purposes, such as homes, warehouses and baths, with only minimal structural alteration.

The absence of major fourth-century Christian architecture in Hispania should not be wholly surprising. As recent scholarship has been at pains to point out, the presence of flourishing Christian communities and martyrial cult, both of which Spain undoubtedly had, did not at this time necessarily entail a concomitant investment in Christian architecture.[38] Constantinian and post-Constantinian church building was a limited phenomenon, affecting principally the great Holy Land and Roman shrines, North Africa, and a handful of other cities.[39] In many provincial cities, the *domus ecclesia* probably continued as the primary Christian meeting site for decades after the Peace of the Church.[40] Even in Rome, the intramural community churches of the fourth century were often humble affairs.[41] Urban church building in Gaul may most closely approximate that of Spain in its chronology and modest form and decoration. A longer tradition of urban excavation in France has uncovered a greater number of these churches, and in general it may be that church building got underway somewhat earlier there, with a handful of churches tentatively dated to the late fourth and early fifth century.[42] Nonetheless, as in Hispania, most Gallic cities received their first churches only in the first half of the fifth century or even later.[43] Thus, while monumental Christian architecture in Spain may have had somewhat later beginnings than did its Gallic neighbors, the disparity should not be overstated, particularly given the difficulty in dating church structures generally.

1.2 *The religious archaeology of late antique Hispania: the countryside*

If urban church building in Hispania can be said to broadly echo, albeit in a slightly delayed fashion, trends elsewhere in the West, the same cannot be said for activity in the countryside (Fig. 9). Christian

[38] Cantino Wataghin (1996), 27.
[39] Krautheimer (1986), ch. 2; N. Duval (1975).
[40] Cantino Wataghin (1988), 202–14.
[41] See now Curran (2000), ch. 4.
[42] For example, Narbonne (Clos-de-la-Lombarde), Marseille, Grenoble, Lyon, Bordeaux, Toulouse(?), Rouen.
[43] For example, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges or Fréjus.

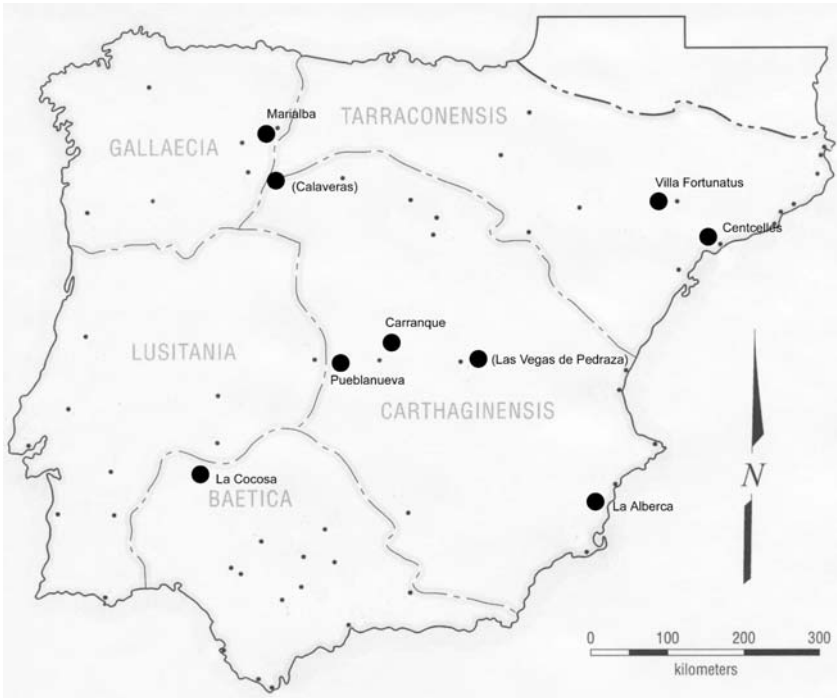


Figure 9. Map of rural religious structures discovered to-date. Fourth to mid-fifth century. After Kulikowski (2004a).

architecture in the Spanish countryside is remarkable, if not unique, in both its quantity and quality. Some nine Christian rural sites have been plausibly identified as belonging to this period, although the Christian function of one has been thrown into doubt.[44] Nearly all these rural structures are funerary in nature, either mausolea or martyria. Almost all are associated with rural villas, usually as free-standing buildings set to one side. The richness of design and materials that is notably absent in urban sites can be found here in abundance. Thus, Hispania's countryside emerges as a significant site of late antique religious activity, vying with or surpassing that of the city.

[44] The villa and church of Monte da Cegonha, and the villa and church at São Cucufate, are not included in this survey. In both cases, the early date for the church is unsupported by archaeological evidence. See Alfenim and Lopes (1992) and Alarcão, Étienne and Mayet (1992), respectively.

The most obvious distinction between urban and rural Christian structures is a functional one, for rural Christian buildings are most often private mausolea.[45] Exemplary is the mausoleum at Las Vegas de Pueblanueva (Toledo) (Figs. 10a and 10b).[46] Set some five hundred meters from the unexcavated villa, the structure is a large (24m in

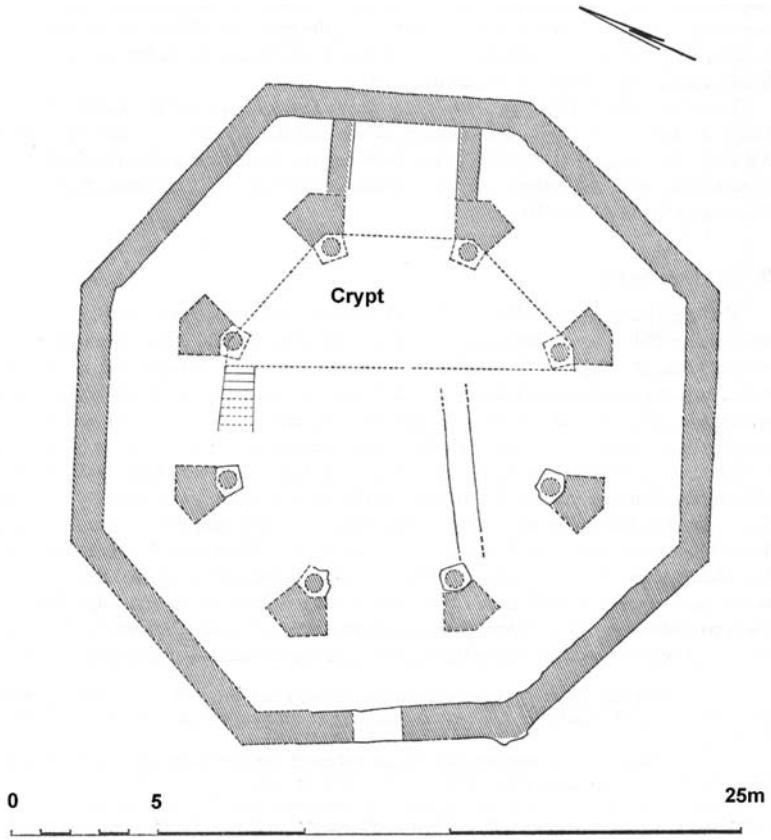


Figure 10a. Pueblanueva, mausoleum, plan. Hauschild (1978), fig. 15a.

[45] Two basilican churches, both seemingly tied to Roman villas and both with accompanying baptisteries and/or mausolea, have been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century; these are Las Vegas de Pedraza in Segovia and Las Calaveras near Valladolid. Neither has been completely excavated and their dating is thus hypothetical. For Pedraza, see Calleja Guijarro (1965); Izquierdo Bertiz (1974). For Calaveras, see Regueras and Olmo (1997).

[46] Hauschild (1969); (1978); Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), 129–31.

diameter), double-shelled octagon with subterranean crypt. Entered through the west end, the octagonal center was surrounded by an ambulatory, culminating in an eastern chamber or niche of uncertain function. The crypt was entered from within the building and originally contained three sarcophagi, one of which was a fine example of Constantinopolitan workmanship depicting the Twelve Apostles. Another example is the unusual La Cocosa mausoleum, an east-west oriented, vaulted tetraconch (11.4 × 6.8m), preceded by a narthex,

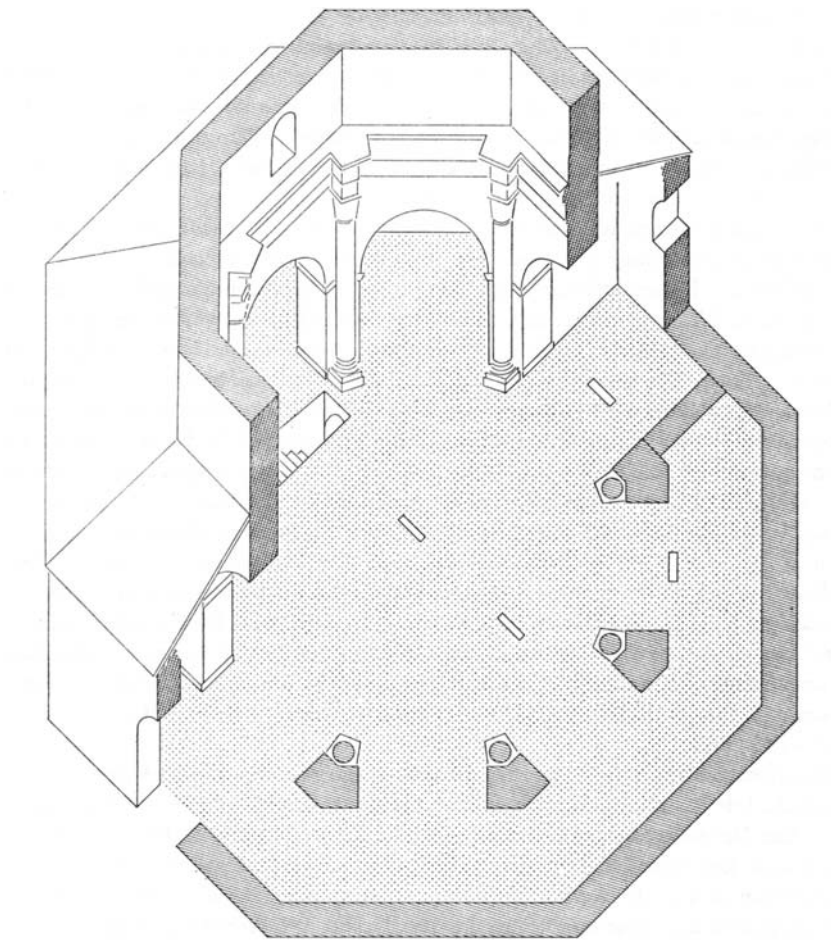


Figure 10b. Pueblanueva, mausoleum, axonometric reconstruction. Hauschild (1978), fig. 16.

the whole encased in a rectangular outer wall (Fig. 11).[47] The eastern apse of the tetraconch was larger than the other three and in its center, beneath the floor, was set a single east-west oriented marble sarcophagus. Glass mosaic tesserae found during excavation indicate that the walls and/or vaults were decorated with mosaic.

Also vaulted, and also displaying an unusual plan is the mausoleum of La Alberca (Murcia) (Figs. 12a and b).[48] Set adjacent to a villa with fine late antique mosaics, the double-storied mausoleum with apse was oriented west-east and encased in a thick, exterior wall enlivened by regularly spaced buttresses. The function and date of the structure are given largely by its formal parallels with the martyrium of S. Anastasius at Marusinac, Salona, of early fourth-century date (Fig. 12c).[49] At Marusinac, the martyr's remains were laid in the

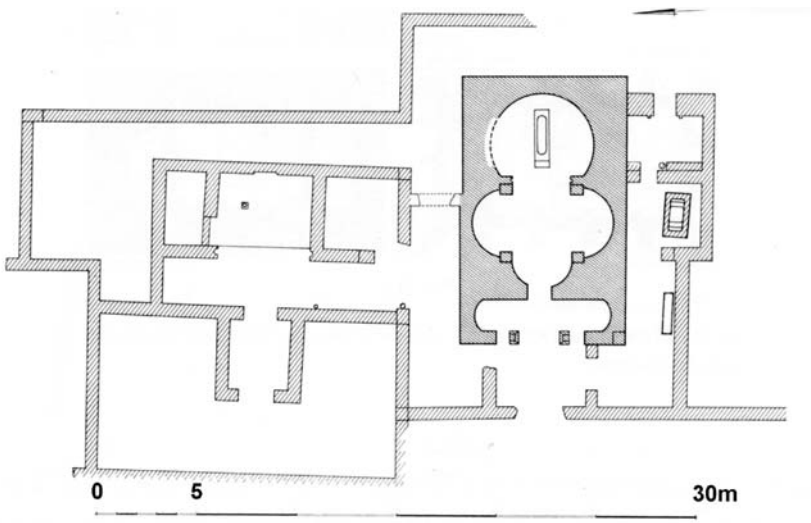


Figure 11. La Cocosa, mausoleum, with surrounding later structures. Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), Wg. 6.

[47] Serra Ràfols (1952), 111–43; Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), 11–12.

[48] Schlunk (1947); Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), 10–11; 112–14. On the villa, see Gorges (1979), 308.

[49] Dyggve (1951), 77–78; Dyggve and Egger (1939), 106–107. Further evidence of a connection between Hispania and Salona is provided by a Salonitan inscription: *ILJI* 2276, commemorating the Spanish martyr Vincent, on which see Handley (2003), 144.

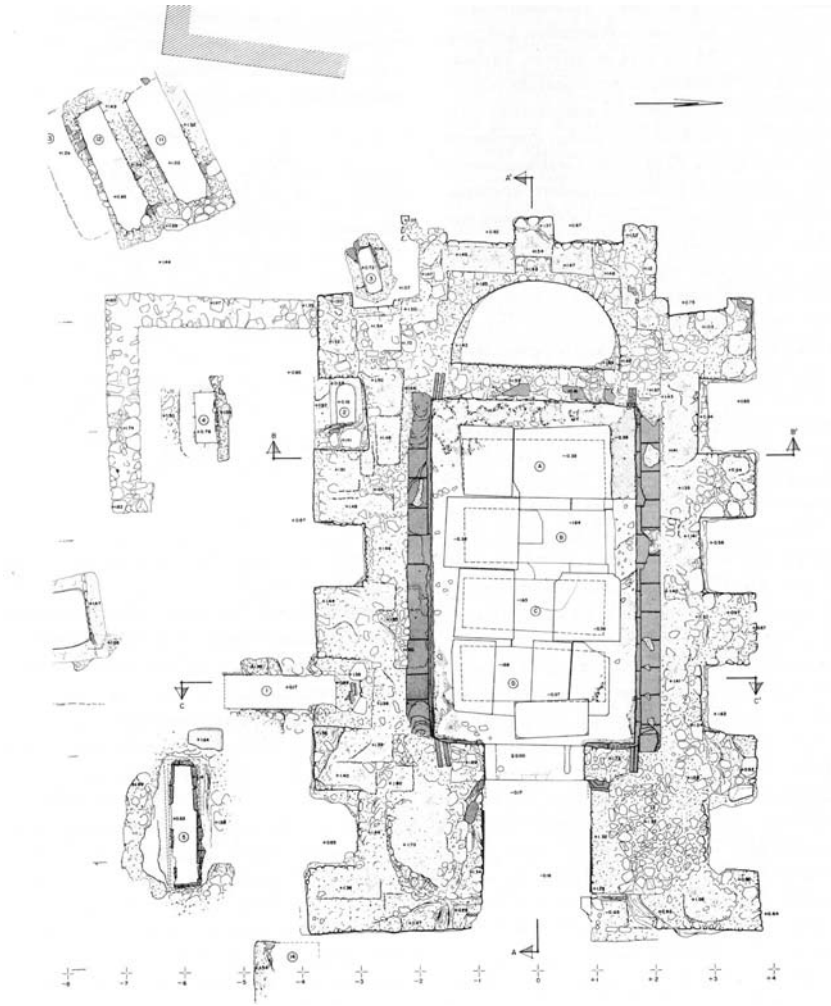


Figure 12a. La Alberca, mausoleum. Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), fig. 76a.

crypt apse, while private, family burials were placed in the main crypt chamber and the two were connected by a *fenestella confessionis*. The absence of this feature at La Alberca has led archaeologists to doubt whether the Spanish structure had any martyrial function.

Spain's most famous rural Christian mausoleum is the monument of Centcelles, but recent work has thrown its funerary function into

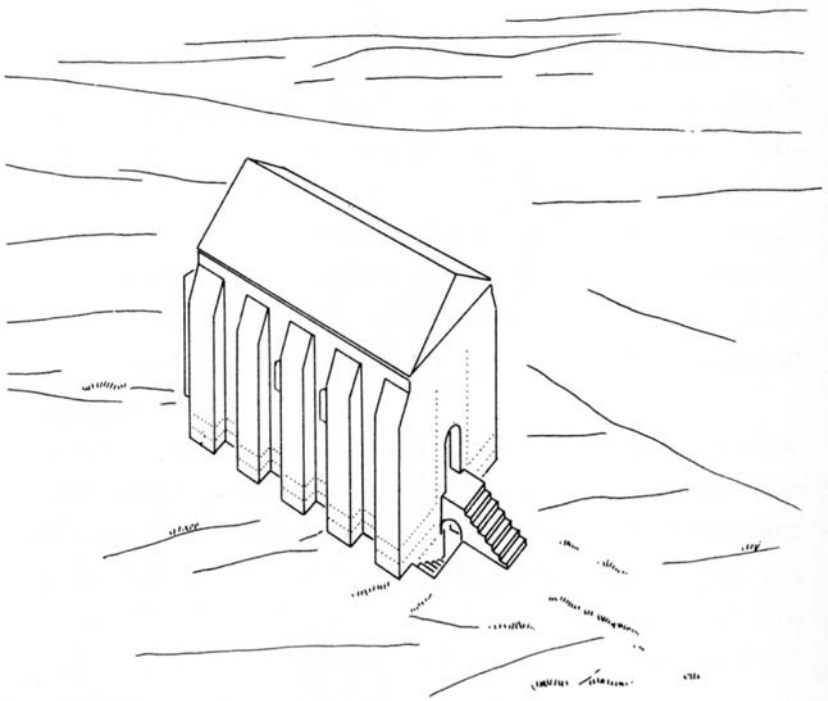


Figure 12b. La Alberca, reconstruction. Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), fig. 76b.

doubt. The building in question was a circular vestibule in the villa's newly refurbished residential quarter (Fig. 13a).[50] While the other rooms in this part of the villa seem never to have been finished, this vestibule was roofed with a brick dome and the dome encrusted with a series of mosaics, depicting Christian and secular scenes (Fig. 13b). The mosaics were arranged in three tiers, the lowest depicting a stag and boar hunt, the center a series of Old and New Testament scenes, and the uppermost tier a group of four scenes of seated or enthroned figures, alternating with personifications of the four seasons. The presence of the enthroned figures and a barrel-vaulted chamber beneath the floor led the excavators to identify the building as a converted imperial mausoleum, allegedly that of the emperor Constans (d. 350).[51]

[50] The original publications include, among many, Hauschild (1965) on the architecture; Rüger (1969) on the ceramics, and Schlunk (1988) on the mosaics.

[51] Schlunk (1988), supported by Arbeiter and Korol (1989).

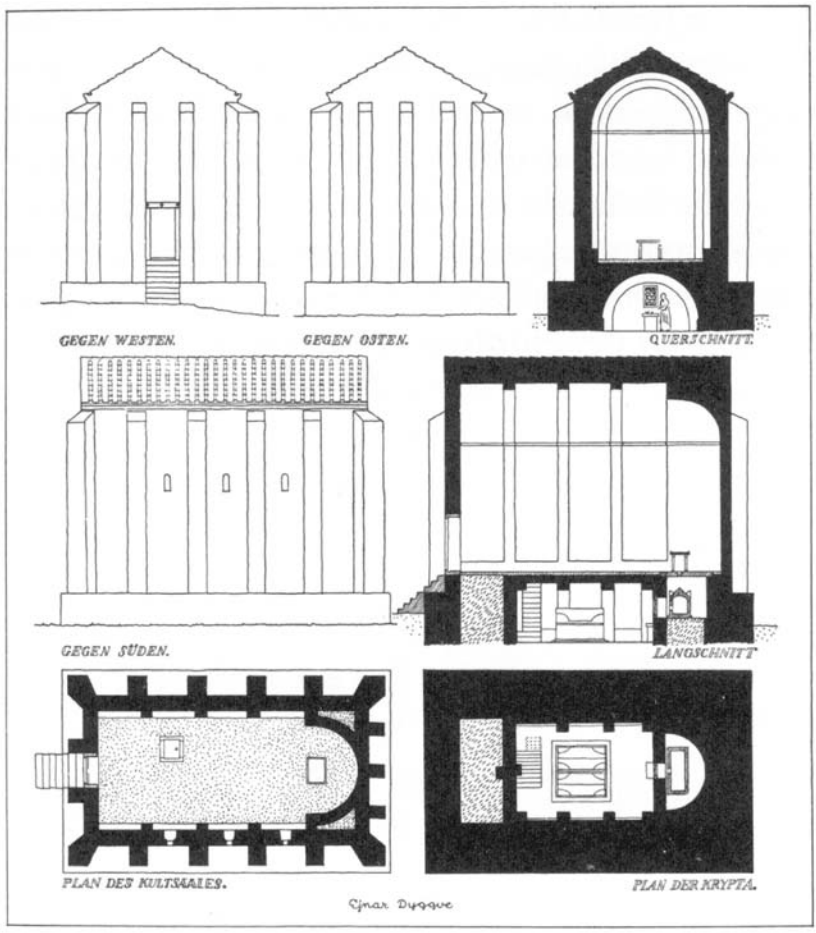


Figure 12c. Marusinac, Anastasius martyrium/mausoleum, Salona. Dygvve and Egger (1939).

A recently published conference, however, has cast doubt on the building's function and date.[52] The four enthroned scenes have been identified as images of the villa's *dominus*, or less plausibly as depictions of a bishop or a married seigniorial couple.[53] The ceramic evidence used to date the villa's late antique remodeling has been pushed slightly later, to the early fifth century, and the "crypt" is alleged to

[52] Arce (2002b).

[53] On the *dominus*, see Warland (2002) and Warland (1994), 192–202; for the seigniorial couple, see Warland (2002); for the bishop, Arce (2002a); Isla Frez (2002).

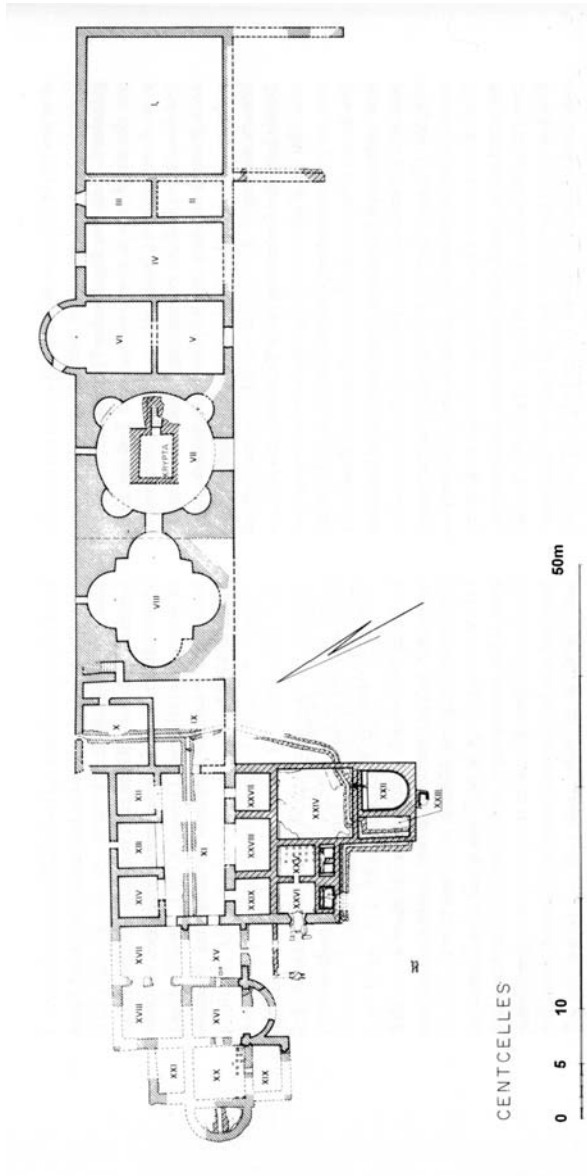


Figure 13a. Centcelles, villa. Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), fig. 79.

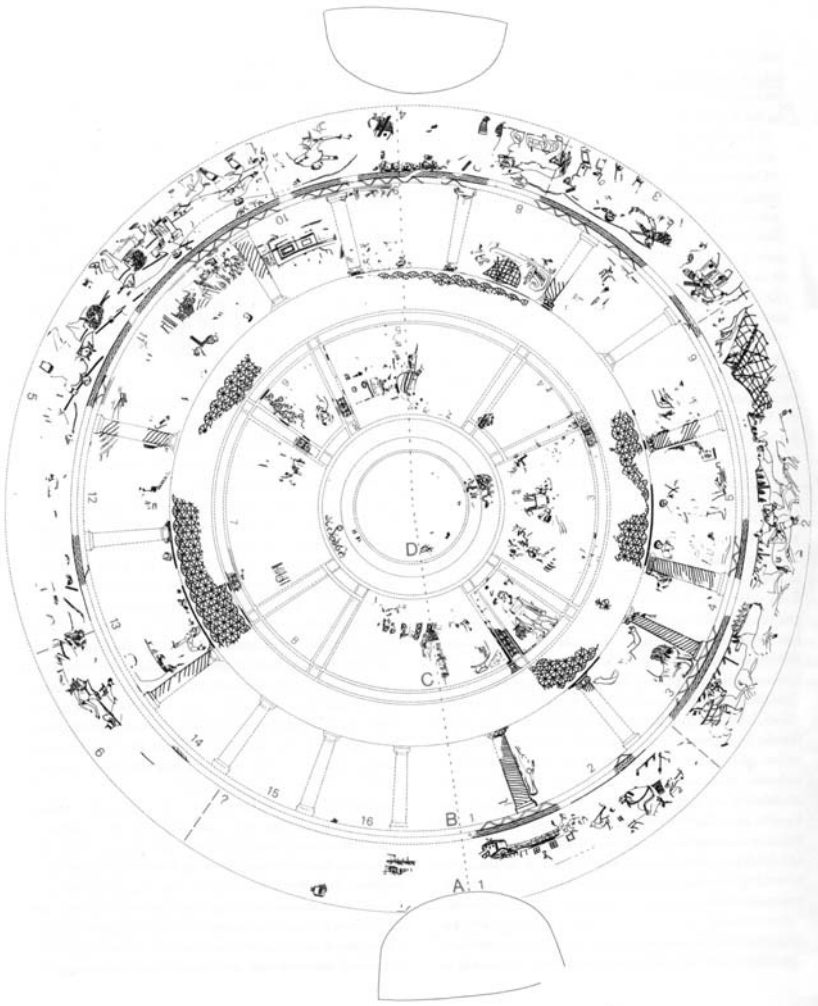


Figure 13b. Centcelles, vault mosaics, sketch. Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), fig. 80.

be of medieval date.[54] While many of these objections are not wholly convincing by themselves, the fact remains that Centcelles can only with difficulty be understood as an aristocratic mausoleum. Christian funerary traditions on the peninsula, as we have outlined them above,

[54] Ceramics: Remolà (2002). Crypt: Brenk (2002).

consistently find the mausoleum as a separate structure, set apart from the villa proper. Even if the villa was partially abandoned when the "mausoleum" was constructed, as the excavators claim, a *dominus* willing to pay for the expense of gold-glass mosaics would surely have constructed a proper mausoleum with stand-alone, topographic visibility, one of the hallmarks of such monuments. Thus, it seems most likely that that the domed room at Centcelles with its mosaics was simply an unusually ornate vestibule.

While the preponderance of Christian rural monuments are private mausolea, two sites, Marialba (León) and Villa Fortunatus (Huesca), may be identified as martyr shrines or martyrial *memoriae*. The shrine at Villa Fortunatus was built into one of the villa's dining rooms, whose entrance area was modified to form a tripartite "sanctuary" with a miniature (3.4m × 1.1m) crypt (Figs. 14a and b).[55] Access to this crypt was controlled by a series of projecting walls forming a kind of chancel, and the crypt itself was simply a sunken area reached by four small steps. Given the size of the sunken area and its evocation of crypt architecture, excavators have labeled it a pseudo-crypt and suggested that it probably held a reliquary. In another area of the villa was found a mosaic inscribed with the name "Fortunatus" bisected by a chrismon; it is not clear if this mosaic preceded the construction of the shrine or was contemporary with it. At Marialba, a large (23.4 × 16.3m), free-standing apsed building, perhaps a pagan temple, was set near what appear to be the ruins of a late Roman villa (Fig. 15).[56] The building was converted to Christian use by the insertion of thirteen carefully-constructed and contemporary graves into its apse, and by the addition of a narthex and groin vaulting. The insertion of the graves and the contemporary modification of the structure points strongly to martyrial function, as does a local legend of thirteen soldier saints, though this can be traced no earlier than the thirteenth century.[57]

The difficulty of making functional distinctions between the private mausolea on the one hand, and these quasi-public martyria or *memoriae* on the other, is highlighted by one of the most significant and controversial discoveries of recent years, the site of Carranque

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[55] On the villa and mosaics, Puertas (1972); Guardia Pons (1992), 83–102. On the church, Palol (1986), 2001–2003; Palol (1999a); Godoy (1992), 227–37, esp. 232.
[56] Hauschild (1970); Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), 147–48.
[57] Viñayo (1970); Castillo in the present volume.

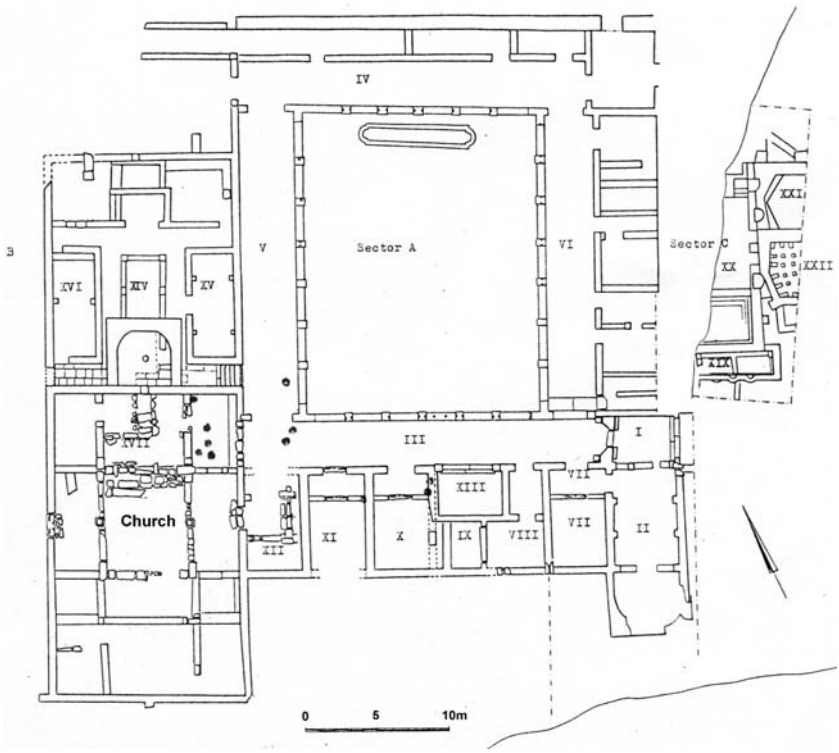


Figure 14a. Villa Fortunatus, villa and church. Guardia Pons (1992), fig. 7.

(Fig. 16a).[58] The villa boasts some of Hispania's finest late antique figural mosaics, including one inscribed panel wishing happiness to a certain "Maternus."[59] This inscription, plus the general wealth of site, has led the excavator to identify its patron as none other than Maternus Cynegius, Theodosius' praetorian prefect and anti-pagan hammer. Adjacent to the villa is an apsed building, identified as a temple or *nympheum*,[60] and a large domed building which has been

[58] The bibliography is capacious, but largely repetitive. For the most recent findings, see articles in Fernández-Galiano (2001). Overview articles include Fernández-Galiano (1987); Fernández-Galiano, Patón Lorca and Batalla Carchenilla (1990); Fernández-Galiano (1999).

[59] *OFICINA MA[—]NI/PINGIT HIRINVS/VTERE FELIX MATERNE/HUNC CUBICVLVM.* For a review of interpretations of this inscription see now Gómez Pallarès (1997), 148–52.

[60] Fernández-Galiano and Ayllón (2001).

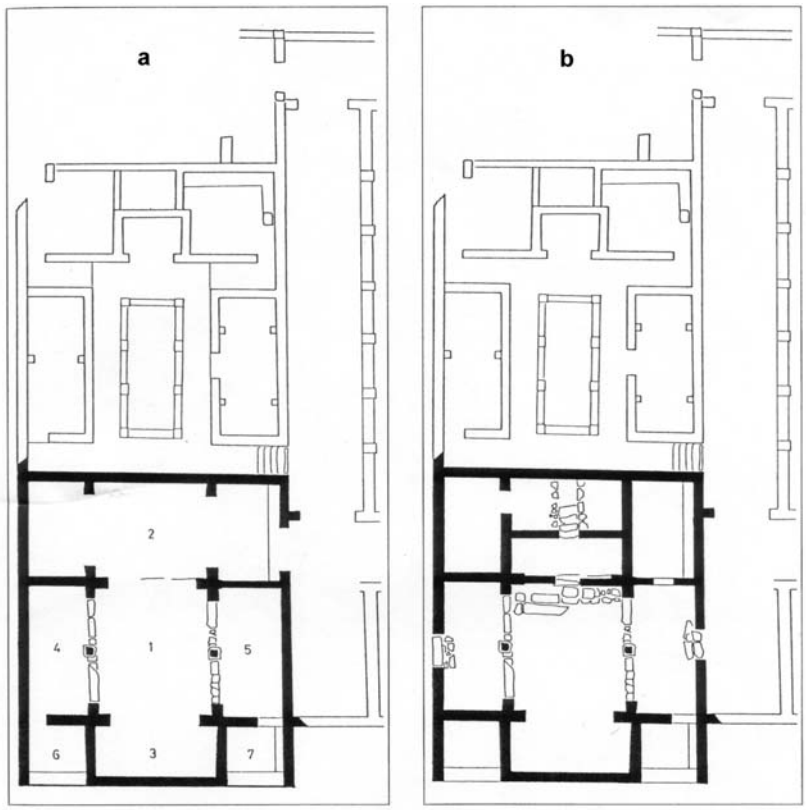


Figure 14b. Villa Fortunatus, pre-Christian (a) and Christian phases (b). After Palol (1999a), 193.

identified as a Christian church and dated, along with the villa, to the late fourth century (Fig. 16b).

This so-called church complex is in fact two complexes: the domed building preceded by a grand entrance portico, and a tetraconch mausoleum with two seemingly contemporary tombs and its own attached portico.[61] The whole complex reaches some 70m in length. While the near-complete destruction of the domed building has made

[61] The two complexes are alleged to have been planned together, although the execution of the mausoleum complex may slightly post-date that of the main complex. Additionally, it is not clear if the tetraconch mausoleum was entered solely through the U-shaped portico group, or also through the main entrance portico, to which it is also attached.

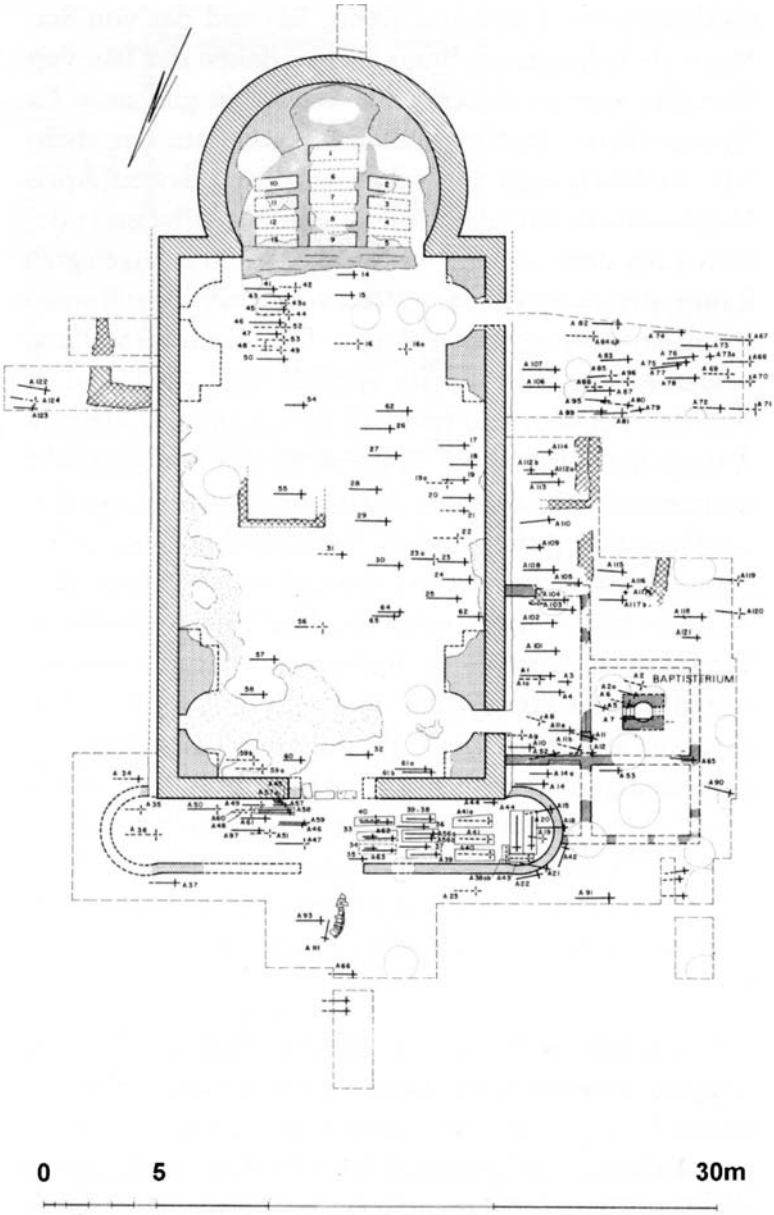


Figure 15. Marialba, martyrium, with surrounding later structures. Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), fig. 88.

it difficult to trace its original disposition, it seems to have been constructed in an *opus mixtum* and laid out as a centrally planned cross-in-square, its dome supported by piers and lateral barrel vaults, while corner spaces were covered with sail, or domical vaults. The vaulting was of brick, and remnants suggest that at least the corner spaces utilized the pitched-brick technique, rather than the horizontally-laid bricks more common in such sail vaults (Fig. 16c).[62]



Figure 16a. Carranque, villa. Fernández-Galiano, Patón, Lorca and Batalla Carchenilla (1990), fig. 1.

[62] The towers of the Theodosian landwalls in Constantinople offer one of the few parallels for the use of pitched brick in sail vaults. See J.B. Ward-Perkins (1958), 79–87.

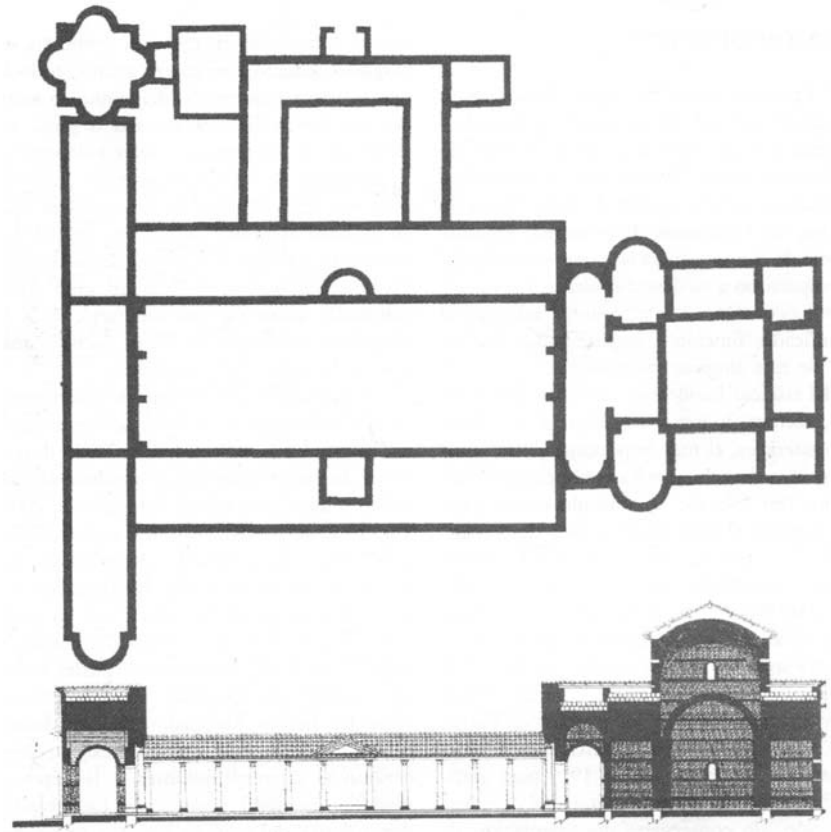


Figure 16b. Carranque, domed structure, plan and reconstruction. Fernández-Galiano (2001), 72.

The decoration of this hall seems to have been lavish in the extreme. Fragments of red and green porphyry *opus sectile* and marble from Tunisia, Chios and Turkey decorated the walls and floors.[63] Some of these fragments were carved with chrismons and crosses, which provide the only clear evidence for the complex's Christian function. However, as these marbles were found in a destruction layer, they may belong to a later Christian use—as a result, the building's original function remains elusive. Additionally, some of the

[63] Rodá (2001). For the ivories found in the building, see Baquedano (2001), 148–49.



Figure 16c. Carranque, domed structure, north corner, vault detail. Author.

building's columns were inscribed DNT[H], which has been expanded as *D(OMINI) N(OSTRI) TH(EODOSII)* and interpreted as an imperial quarry mark.[64] The connection to the Theodosian house seems to strengthen the attribution of the site to Maternus Cynegius, which nonetheless remains controversial.[65]

Whatever its function, the building's plan, materials and construction techniques betray an eastern inspiration and it is in this regard that some light may be shed on its origins and use. The plan particularly calls for some comment, as the cross-in-square design appears for the first time in sixth-century churches, again, largely in eastern environs.[66] If the building does date to the late fourth century,

[64] Mayer Olivé and Fernández-Galiano (2001), 129–30.

[65] Arce (1993c).

[66] While cruciform buildings with a central dome are common in later fourth- and fifth-century architecture (eg. Galla Placidia [Ravenna], Sta. Maria in Cantazaro [Puglia]), cross-in-square buildings are rare in this period and only enjoyed widespread use much later. See Krautheimer (1986), 253; Mango (1986), 96–104. Precedents, however, may be found in Macedonia and the coasts of Asia Minor in the mid to later fifth century, although it is not clear if these were local creations or imitations of now lost structures in Constantinople. These buildings, such as Hagios David in Thessaloniki, are all churches, are much smaller than Carranque,

its plan is a *unicum*, without any clear precedents or contemporaries in the surviving material record. The two-part plan of the complex, with its mausoleum and domed structure, each with separate porticoes, is also unusual, and suggests that the complex may have served two linked functions, funerary and commemorative/ritual.

In the late fourth century, one similarly bifurcated complex, including a mausoleum and accompanying cruciform structure, enjoyed pan-Mediterranean fame: the complex of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, begun by Constantine himself. Although the textual sources are hopelessly confusing and the site has been totally destroyed, Constantine's original foundation seems to have been a single monument in which was combined a mausoleum AND *memoria*, designed to hold both his own remains and monuments to the Twelve Apostles.[67] In 357, Constantius, intent on constructing a proper martyrium while balancing an appropriate regard for his father's remains, separated the mausoleum from the *apostoleion* by constructing a separate martyrial church, probably of cruciform shape, where he placed the newly-translated apostolic relics. Constantine's tomb rested in a separate but attached mausoleum that would serve as the imperial burial space for future centuries. The whole complex was surrounded with meeting halls, porticoes, baths and fountains.[68]

The Constantinopolitan *apostoleion* was enormously influential and many copies, all of radically different form, have been identified in both East and West.[69] The most interesting copy for our purposes was built by another of Theodosius' administrators, Flavius Rufinus, in his Chalcedonian villa outside Constantinople. There, this Gallic aristocrat from Éauze constructed his own *apostoleion*, fitted out with relics of Peter and Paul obtained from Rome. Although nothing remains of his project, textual sources attest that Rufinus constructed

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and are built of generally poorer materials. The form does appear in secular buildings, such as the audience hall of al-Mundir in Resafa (Mango [1986], 52) or the Chalke Gate preceding the Great Palace (Mango [1959]), both dating to the sixth century. The absence of a terminal apse at Carranque is problematic for all these comparisons, although a few eastern cruciform martyria, such as the fifth-century martyrium at Hieropolis in Asia Minor (Krautheimer [1986], 161–62), also lack an apse, since the focus of cult was located in the building's center.

[67] The following discussion follows Mango (1990); for another interpretation, see Krautheimer (1964).

[68] Eusebius, *V. Const.* 4.54.

[69] Krautheimer (1986), 69–70, especially n. 5.

both a martyrial monument, and a separate mausoleum.[70] Clustered around the *apostoleion* was a monastery, organized around a courtyard and stocked with Egyptian monks imported for the purpose.[71]

We are now confronted by a series of coincidences which, if we could unravel them, would tie together Rufinus, Maternus Cynegius, Carranque, and the Holy Apostles. Maternus Cynegius was the only non-imperial personage ever to be buried in the real Holy Apostles, where he was laid to temporary rest in 388. A year later in 389, Maternus' widow Achantia disinterred her husband and set out with his body for the long journey westward to Spain where she intended to bury him permanently.[72] Since its discovery, Carranque has naturally been identified as the final destination of this journey. Also traveling west in that same year was Maternus' colleague, Rufinus, who used the opportunity to obtain Roman relics for his own apostolic memorial.[73] If Carranque could be conclusively shown to belong to Maternus Cynegius, if the funerary complex there could be shown to be demonstratively Christian and if it does indeed date to the later fourth century, then it is possible that Carranque may represent yet another Holy Apostles-inspired creation, built, like both the original and Rufinus' nearly contemporary project, as a combination martyrium and mausoleum.

Given the ambiguous archaeological evidence, these "ifs" can only be a series of prosopographical pipe-dreams. We can only hope that the full publication of the site will provide more definite answers. Stripped of an individual attribution and the historical information derived from it, however, the archaeology of Carranque still tends to point to a massive funerary project, probably Christian, which nonetheless resists categorization as a church. Its materials and plan all point to a highly personal funerary project, probably of eastern inspiration, so important to its patron that a preoccupation with the dead outweighed even the expense lavished on the villa spaces for the living. The problem of Carranque further illustrates that in the

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[70] Callinicus, *Vita Hypatii* 66.19; Claudian, *In Ruf.* 2.446–449; Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 11.5. Secondary source analyses: Pargoire (1899); Janin (1950), 459–60; Matthews (1975), 134–35.

[71] Unfortunately, Rufinus met with an untimely death at the hands of Arcadius and was thrown into the sea; he was thus presumably never buried in his tomb.

[72] Cons. Const. s.a. 388.1 (Burgess [1993], 242).

[73] On the date of Rufinus' trip to Rome, see Symm., *Ep.* 3.84. See also Matthews (1975), 134.

private sphere of the rural villa, martyrial *memoria* and personal mausoleum may not have been functionally separate categories, but could be combined in one monument. Indeed, some of the mausolea we examined earlier also seem to straddle the line between mausoleum and martyrium. Indications of ritual function may be evidenced from the eastern niche at Pueblanueva, or the second story of the La Alberca mausoleum, which, although it produced no altar or other furnishings, could have housed a reliquary or relic-based funerary ritual.

A private cult of relics would not necessarily leave the kind of archaeological footprint found in public martyr cult (multiple clustered burials, epigraphic commemoration, or a *fenestella confessionis*), and thus no archaeological confirmation of this theory can ever be forthcoming. Yet the textual record seems to describe the private veneration of relics as something of a late antique fad. Constantius' translation of the relics of the apostles in 356/7 launched a rash of relic collecting which rose to fever pitch in the Theodosian period, and relics seem to have found their way into private hands as readily as onto episcopal altars.[74] Relics were hung over beds, kept on one's person, or placed in special structures constructed to hold them. Like the Falernian wine and Baetican oil of an earlier age, relics were also collected by and exchanged as gifts between elites, and Spanish and Gallic aristocrats were at the center of the relic-collecting rage. Indeed, one of the first documented instances of relic veneration is the early fourth-century Spaniard Lucilla, who was said to have carried with her a martyr's bone of dubious pedigree and kissed it before taking communion.[75] The above-mentioned Rufinus collected the relics of Peter and Paul for his private *apostoleion*. Paulinus of Nola acted as a broker between Sulpicius Severus and Rufinus' sister-in-law, Silvia, during Sulpicius' attempt to obtain relics from the Holy Land.[76] Paulinus also sent his Gallic friend a piece of the Holy Cross, given to him by the Spanish Melania the Elder, and suggested that Sulpicius might want to hold it back from the collection beneath his church altar, "for daily protection and healing."[77] Indeed,

[74] Mango (1990), 60.
[75] Optatus, *Contra donatist.*, 1.16.
[76] Paulinus, *Ep.* 31.1.
[77] Paulinus, *Ep.* 32.8 (ed. Hartel, CSEL 29: 283): *Si vero magis placeat uobis hanc de cruce benedictionem ad cotidianam tutelam atque medicinam in promptu habere, ne semel condita in altario, non semper ad manum, ut usus exigit.*

one of Sulpicius' churches at his estate of Primuliacum was specifically constructed in anticipation of holding relics, perhaps the body of Martin which he failed to obtain, or his more successful bids for the corpse of Martin's follower, Clarus, and unspecified materials from the Holy Land.[78] Comments dropped by Paulinus suggest this church may have additionally been a "family" church, that is, a family burial church, although whether the "family" was Sulpicius' blood relatives or his new monastic *familia* is not clear.[79]

Thus, while the majority of rural Hispania's Christian architecture seems to fit most comfortably in the category of mausoleum, many of these structures include a more elaborate architectural setting that would not be out of keeping with a private cult of relics. The widespread popularity of relics among elite Christians and a certain interest in bonding one's personal *memoria* with that of the saints makes this possibility logical, if not archaeologically demonstrable. The possibility should, however, make us aware that the dearly held art historical division between mausoleum and martyrium may have been permeable in the private sphere.[80]

Just as the functional aspects of these rural Christian buildings show a surprising variety and complexity, so, too, do their designs and construction techniques. Unlike the garden-variety plans and generally modest materials of Spain's urban churches, the peninsula's rural commemorative monuments display a dizzying array of plans and materials, many of them otherwise unknown in Hispania. While standard designs can be found within the corpus, Hispania's countryside also boasted a number of real Christian architectural oddities, displaying plans that were either rare or unique for their date. Centrally-planned structures enveloped by ambulatories like that of Pueblanueva were found only in the imperial capitals and the Holy Land by the late fourth century; their wider dissemination took place only later.[81] The two-story La Alberca mausoleum bristling with exter-

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[78] Paulinus, *Ep.* 31 and 32.6.

[79] Paulinus, *Ep.* 31.1; Trout (1999), 242.

[80] On the distinction, which emerged with the critique of André Grabar's seminal book, (Grabar [1946]), see J.B. Ward-Perkins (1965) among others.

[81] For example at Palazzo Pignano, Lombardy (mid-fifth-century), or the baptistery at Butrint, Albania (sixth-century). The only exception of which I am aware is the circular structure at Carthage, which is approximately contemporary with Pueblanueva. This building actually had a double ambulatory surrounding a dodecagonal center core and was set near a Christian basilica. It seems to have served martyrial functions. See Senay (1980); Ennabli (1997), 99–102.

nal piers is the only example of its kind in the West, a lone pioneer far from its Dalmatian homeland.[82] Similarly the foregoing analysis of the main Carranque structure has demonstrated the difficulty of finding any clear parallels for its plan in either East or West.

Similarly far from home are the vaulting techniques used to construct some of these rural *memoria*. Pitched-brick vaulting was used to construct the crypt vaults at Pueblanueva, La Alberca, and the main vaulting at Carranque. Pitched brick was an eastern innovation, probably from the coasts of Asia Minor, that had spread only as far as Dalmatia and perhaps Milan by the mid to later fourth century. The rest of the West, including Rome, continued to cling to its own western traditions of vault construction, using *opus caementicium* in combination with amphorae or tubes, while the brick vaults of Ravenna would appear only in the mid-fifth century or later.[83]

The preponderance of "eastern" borrowings in these buildings would thus seem to call for some special comment, as would the general question of what might be called architectural "influence." As Reynolds' study in this volume makes clear, direct trade with the East, as evidenced by the ceramic record, only reaches any notable volume somewhat later, in the fifth century. Before that, Hispania's *annona* ties continued to be directed towards Gaul and Rome and thus, from the point of view of trade and economy, fourth-century Hispania enjoyed no particularly close ties with the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the eastern plans and techniques found in fourth-century Spain were dead ends, never entering the subsequent mainstream of later Spanish architecture nor even migrating to the cities, but rather remaining frozen in time and space on rural estates. Rather than ascribing the eastern features of these monuments to a broadly-based notion of artistic or cultural influence, it would be better to see them as monuments of individual experience and inspiration.[84] The unusual plans, materials and techniques seem to be relics of interaction with other, probably well-known monuments, expressions of influence exerted on single, cosmopolitan individuals.

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[82] See Dyggve and Egger (1939).

[83] Deichmann (1956), 23–38; Hauschild (1978), 73–76. On the one exception, S. Aquilino in Milan, dated now to the third quarter of the fourth century, see Krautheimer (1986), 81, and Kinney (1970–1971).

[84] *Contra* Blázquez (1969). On individual agency in funerary architecture, see J.B. Ward-Perkins (1965), *passim*.

Prospective mausoleum patrons seem to have taken memories of such monuments back with them to their Spanish estates, along with a certain amount of materials and local labor, to construct their own versions of foreign monuments.

Just as Hispania's rural Christian monuments present structural and material differences from the peninsula's urban churches, they also seem to present a slightly different chronology. With the possible exception of La Alberca, which is dated somewhat earlier, the whole of the rural Christian corpus has been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century. Certain monuments, such as Pueblanueva, Marialba, Villa Fortunatus and La Cocosa, have been more firmly dated than others and re-excavation would undoubtedly alter chronologies based principally on architectural style. However, if the proposed dates are to be trusted, rural Christian buildings in Hispania had their heyday a generation or more before urban basilicas began to appear in any numbers. That is, while most of the rural structures described above were seemingly built between 375 and the 420s, urban basilicas enter the scene in significant numbers only in the second or third decades of the fifth century, if not later.

This chronology of Christian rural buildings thus roughly matches the final and most prodigious boom of villa construction in the peninsula.[85] As nearly all of these Christian structures are associated with villas, the flurry of Christian building may be associated with a general flourishing of rural building culture. Indeed, contemporary with the construction of these great Christian monuments was a more limited number of pagan villa-temples.[86] While these temples were largely limited to southern Lusitania, and may have served orna-

[85] See Chavarría in this volume.

[86] Five definite examples have been unearthed, all but one in Lusitania: Milreu, São Cucufate, Los Castillejos, Olhão, and Carranque. Milreu: Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), 111–12; Hauschild (1993), 165–76; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (1994), 647; São Cucufate: Alarcão, Étienne and Mayet (1990), 127–30; Los Castillejos: Aguilar Saenz and Guichard (1993), 40–41; Olhão: M. Santos (1972), 263–77; Carranque: Fernández-Galiano and Ayllón (2001). All five are rectangular, apsed structures and the first four are encircled by a gallery, like the so-called *Umgangstempelen* of Gaul and Germania. None of these temples, however, has produced any epigraphic or other evidence that would indicate clear cultic use. Given that at least one (Milreu) has been identified as a *nympheum*, and that *nymphea* seem to straddle the line between ornamental pleasure rooms and cultic buildings, it may be that these structures do not represent any real pagan activity, but merely a regional ornamental fad.

mental as much as cultic purposes, their presence describes a Spanish world where religious building generally had relocated to a new center of material gravity, the rural estate. The great villas with their overabundance of reception and dining rooms, their endless mosaic floors and manic obsession with apses, domes and all manner of unusual shapes, formed an elite sign language, where buildings, like letters, served to bond the island that was the rural estate to the greater web of aristocratic culture and identity.[87] Temples, churches and mausolea were, in one sense, simply an extension of a built culture that flourished in Hispania more fully than in any other western province. That is, the strong rural component in Spain's early Christian architecture is in part an outgrowth of its unusually strong villa system.

Overall, the above conclusions point to a rural Christian building tradition centered on elite Christian burial and martyr cult, and marked by enormous material and architectural sophistication. This phenomenon seems to have preceded the urban church building effort by as much as half a century. The next question then becomes, how unusual is this? Is this picture of an early, rural, private memorial culture, and a generally later, more impoverished urban ecclesiastical architecture, echoed elsewhere in the Roman West? A survey of Christian fourth- and fifth-century building in the West finds it to be very unusual indeed. Gaul, including Aquitaine and the Pyrenees region, has produced only a few rural Christian monuments of this period, most of modest rectangular form,[88] although a few examples, such as the large villa basilica with baptistery at Loupian in Hérault, or the small mausoleum/shrine at the villa of Vandoeuvres near Geneva, more closely echo the elaborate Spanish monuments.[89] Thus, the late fourth-century Gallic countryside seems to have witnessed

[87] On elite rural culture, see *inter alia* Schneider (1983), with Morand (1994) on the careful use of images to describe dominial power; Balmelle (2001) on the great villas and villa owners of Aquitaine; Roberts (1994) and Fontaine (1972), for some ways in which letters and poetry bound the landed elite to each other and to their rural environment.

[88] Examples include mausolea at La Celle (Var) and possibly the crypt at Saint-Maximin (Var). On La Celle: Démains d'Archimbaud et al. (1995); Brun (1999), 1: 333–38; 2: 835–40; on Saint Maximin: Février (1995). For a survey of the villas of Aquitaine, which have thus far not produced any clear Christian monuments, see Balmelle (2001).

[89] On Loupian: Pellecuer (1995); Lugand (1988); on Vandoeuvres: Terrier (1991); (1993).

some Christian aristocratic building, but on a far more modest scale. Further afield, a few scattered parallels for the great Spanish rural monuments can be found in the circular church with baptistery accompanying the villa at Palazzo Pignano, dated tentatively to the mid-fifth century, or the similarly-dated *memoria* at the villa of Muline (Ugljan) on the Dalmatian coast.[90] The best comparisons would seem to appear in the Roman *suburbium*:[91] however, the great mausolea associated with Roman suburban villas are largely pagan, while the Christian elite opted to build their mausolea adjacent to martyr shrines.[92]

However, while individual or even small groups of villa-based Christian memorials may be found in these regions, no other region counts rural Christian monuments as its most important or most numerous examples of the genre. In Gaul, Italy and the eastern Adriatic, urban and suburban churches provide the earliest and richest examples of Christian architecture. All three areas saw the construction of a few extensive and important urban episcopal centers in the fourth century and the widespread construction of churches in other urban centers in the early fifth century. Church building in the countryside was a later affair, usually of the later fifth or sixth century. A fourth-century, rural Christian memorial culture simply does not play as important a role in these regions' Christian topography as it does in Hispania.

The only region that is similarly marked by a villa-based Christian material culture is Britain.[93] The fourth-century Romano-British elite were, like their Spanish counterparts, invested heavily in the material elaboration of their villas, and the zenith of Romano-British art in the fourth-century was umbilically linked to this villa culture.[94]

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[90] On Palazzo Pignano, see Passi Pitcher (1990); on Muline, see Sui (1960); Chevalier (1996), 1: 96–98.

[91] On villa-mausolea with late antique phases from the suburbs of Rome see di Gennaro and Griesbach (2003), 143–45; Rea (2003), 251–56; and Volpe (2003), 226–28.

[92] For example, the imperial villa of Maxentius with its accompanying mausoleum. Indeed, the tetrarchic emperors seem by preference to have placed their monumental mausolea in proximity to palatial villas in much the same way the Spanish elite did. See Waurick (1973). However, the practice came to an end with the advent of Christianity, when imperial mausolea were built adjacent to churches, rather than residential complexes. See M. Johnson (1986).

[93] Frend (1955); Thomas (1981); Scott (2000), ch. 8; Dark (2000), 18.

[94] Perring (2002), 41–44; Scott (2000).

Christian material culture, although it trailed the heyday of the villa by some two decades, was likewise strongly tied to the rural elite. From the small chapel at Lullingstone and the baptismal font in a Wiltshire villa to the many pieces of chi-rho inscribed jewelry, silver and mosaics from villas, Britain's rural elite created a Christian material culture richer than that of its small, somewhat primitive urban churches.[95] Thus, the Romano-British elite seem to have shared with its Spanish coevals a desire to use the estate as a locus for Christian material expression, although declining to indulge in the latter's Christian architectural fantasies. By contrast, the Gallic elite, closer to Hispania both geographically and culturally, and similarly invested in villa culture generally, did not share this particular preoccupation to the same degree.

In conclusion, Hispania's early Christian archaeology exhibits some unusual features, particularly in its topographic diversity. Hispania's fourth and early fifth centuries witnessed an explosion of Christian building in the countryside, and moderate growth of urban shrines and basilicas, the result being that, in purely material terms, the rural sphere vied with the urban as a focal point of Christian material culture. Important functional differences separated urban and rural Christian building: rural Christian structures were chiefly mausolea and/or martyr shrines and generally private in function, while urban centers consisted of public episcopal and martyrial basilicas. Rural memorials were very often constructed with materials or designs of eastern or extra-peninsular origin, and certain aspects of their construction may point to ritual use that blurred the boundary between personal memorial and martyrial commemoration. City churches on the other hand were fully in the mainstream of western basilican building, although the development of a monumental urban topography may have lagged a decade or so behind other western provinces.

These divergences along urban and rural, public and private lines may indicate an asymmetrical attraction of Christian resources towards the countryside. Given the generally later, more modest urban shrines, we might also suggest that Spanish elites chose to invest their pious capital in the private, rather than the public sphere. This may further

[95] Lullingstone: Meates (1979); St. Lawrence School, Bradford-on-Avon: unpublished; Jewelry: Mawer (1995). On urban churches, Thomas (1981), 157–80; 186–90, updated now by Dark (2000), 51–53, for newer discoveries in London and Lincoln.

indicate that urban episcopal centers, with their martyr shrines and cathedral churches, did not command the euergistic attentions of elites, a problem which may have exacerbated the slow architectonic development of episcopal centers. The last decades of the fourth century saw a marked acceleration in Christian conversion among the senatorial aristocracy, including that of Hispania.[96] The wealth of these new converts would prove critical in the expansion, both material and spiritual, of the later church. In Hispania, the archaeological record would seem to find these elites keeping their building capital close to home, while the traces of their euergetistic activities in the urban, public churches are harder to trace. The impact that this imbalance of resources and attention may have had on the later development of Christianity in the peninsula will concern us next.

2 *Christian communities: bishops and the landed aristocracy*

Hispania's built Christian topography was thus marked by two centers of gravity, an urban center of bishops, slow-growing and of modest resources, and a rural center of landed elites who directed their Christian building efforts not towards the urban episcopate, but towards their own rural estates. As we have seen, it is this bifurcated topography, especially its strong rural element, which lends Spain's Christian archaeology its peculiar quality. This further suggests that the relationship between episcopal communities and rural elite communities had a formative influence on the course of Christian development in Hispania. Yet maps are not territory, and the topography of Christian material culture can only hint at the many relationships that bound or separated these two communities. This landscape can only be fully re-peopled by texts, texts already well-worn by scholarly study, yet still rich in evidence of episcopal-elite relationships. What follows, then, is an examination of bishops and lay Christians in Hispania with the specific aim of illuminating the nature of Christian communities in city and country. The community centered on the bishop was just one of several Christian com-

[96] Salzman (2001), 90–93, has quantified this trend, placing the majority of conversions in the 380s or later. Barnes (2002b) has sharply criticized her methodology, claiming that it seriously underrepresents pre-Gratianic conversions.

munal identities current in fourth-century Hispania. Spanish elite concepts of Christian community did not necessarily revolve around local bishops and their churches, but on networks that drew elites both out of the peninsula to external sources of holiness, and inward to the interconnected world of the landed estate, leaving the local bishop in only a supporting role between them.

While this re-analysis of the well-trodden textual material will apply the new lessons culled from archaeological material, some problems remain. Most significantly, the relative absence of sources from Hispania continues to require the use of some Aquitanian sources, particularly those that document elite-episcopal relationships outside the sphere of heretical controversy. Despite the close cultural ties that bound Aquitaine with its sister across the Pyrenees, particularly the overwhelming importance of elite villa culture to both regions, the Christian material remains of each region are significantly distinct. Thus, the hazards of using Gallic source material to describe what is already a self-confessedly "different" Hispania are probably worse than generally imagined. And yet, there is no help for it, other than to reduce Gallic material to a supporting role as much as possible and to recognize that in certain instances, over-heavy Gallic seasoning may be drowning out local Spanish flavors.

2.1 *Bishops and episcopal communities*

Bishops in fourth-century Hispania were relatively rare. A glance at the episcopal map of early-fifth-century Spain tells a simple tale: with the exception of Baetica, bishops in Hispania were few and far between (Fig. 17). Clustered around their early forerunners in *conventus* capitals, the thirty bishoprics known from the early fifth century generally paralleled the peninsula's demographics, with a greater density of centers in northeast Tarraconensis, eastern Gallaecia, and the highly urbanized Baetica.[97] Exceptions include the great villa belt

[97] The number of bishoprics in Baetica/southeastern Carthaginiensis is often overestimated, as the many presbyters present at the early fourth-century council of Elvira are erroneously assumed to have represented episcopal centers. There is no evidence to support this supposition, and indeed, none of these centers ever became bishoprics in subsequent centuries. Thus, the total number of Baetican/south Carthaginiensian bishops in the fourth century should be 14. See also Sotomayor (2002).

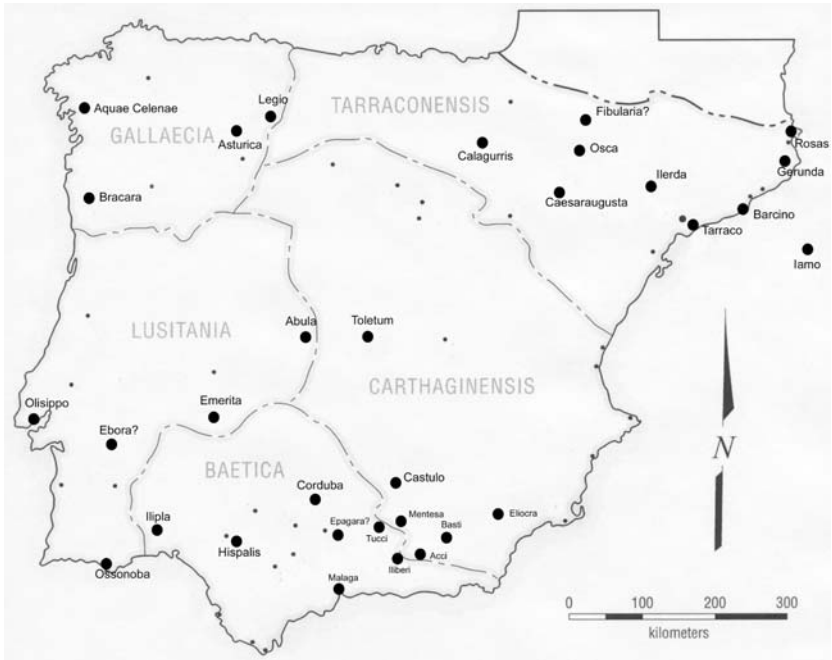


Figure 17. Map of bishoprics, testified by the mid-fifth century. After Kulikowski (2004a).

of the upper Duero which had few urban centers and no bishops, and Lusitania where the bishops of Mérida, Lisbon and Faro were left with a number of important cities and huge swathes of villa-rich land to supervise. In any case it was, by western standards, a thinly spread affair. In neighboring Gaul, the ratio of bishops to land area was 1:7,400km^2.[98] In Italy, one might expect to find a bishop every 3,400km^2.[99] In Hispania, however, bishoprics were scattered on average

[98] Criteria: bishoprics attested prior to the mid-fifth century; only those attested through epigraphic, synodal or other textual reference were included: bishops known only from local tradition, dubious episcopal lists, or assumed from the presence of martyr cult, were not included. Data for Gaul from Duchesne (1900–1915). Total bishops: 74; land mass: 547,030km^2. The *Notitia Galliarum* is not a reliable record of late fourth-/early fifth-century episcopates and was not used in this calculation: Harries (1978).

[99] Data taken from Lanzoni (1923). Bishoprics: 89. Land Mass: 301,323km^2. Included were bishops first attested at the Council of Rome, 465. When these bishops are excluded, the density is 1:4,600km^2.

every 15,000km^2.[100] The comparatively low number of historically-attested Spanish bishops might be chalked up to the absence of Spanish conciliar records from the fifth century, as these are the principal evidence for episcopal expansion elsewhere.[101] However, even when the evidence for such councils resumes in the sixth century and the additional documented bishoprics are added to the total, Hispania remains a starkly under-bishoped province by any standard.[102] The Spanish bishop would thus have found his geographic area of responsibility much larger than that of his Gallic or Italian colleagues, and his hold on the furthest regions of his diocese would have depended very much upon his personal interest and energies.

Unfortunately, the interests and energies of Spanish bishops remain shrouded in mystery. Hispania produced no great writer-bishops, no Augustine or Ambrose, and what little we know of the fourth-century episcopate comes largely from non-Spanish sources, particularly through the records of two theological controversies, the Arian controversy of the 350s and 360s, and the Priscillianist debate of the 380s. As Escribano emphasizes in this volume, these two battles may have been part of the same doctrinal squabble. However, the stage on which the debates took place and the relationship between the bishops in question and their lay counterparts changed significantly in the intervening twenty years.

Hispania's best-known and most influential fourth-century bishop was Ossius of Córdoba, whose sixty-three years on the episcopal throne were spent in the battle against Arianism. However, Ossius' energies were largely directed outside the peninsula. A portion of his long episcopate was spent in the East espousing the Nicene cause or being railroaded out of it, and evidence for his local Spanish activities is hard to trace. Although he attended the council of Elvira, he did not preside over it and it has proven impossible to ferret from its canons any of Ossius' at-home episcopal "style."[103] Ossius

[100] Data from Vilella (2002), plus the sees of Egara (450), Calagurris (457), Roses (fifth-c.?) and Ilipla (466). For the latter two, see Agnello (1953), no. 82 and González (2001), respectively. Total bishoprics: 34; land mass: 504,782km^2. From the Council of Elvira, only those sees represented by a bishop are included.

[101] That such now unattested councils did take place is suggested by testimony of Fronto, in Aug. *Ep.* 11*, on which see below.

[102] Some twelve new episcopates appear for the first time in the first quarter of the sixth century.

[103] De Clercq (1954), 115–17.

did, however, preside over the council of Serdica in 343 and the unusually detailed transmission of that council's record provides a more intimate glimpse of the bishop at work. Although it is impossible to gauge the degree to which legislation proposed in far-away Illyricum was prompted by any Spanish experience, a number of the canons personally sponsored by Ossius are particularly interesting for this investigation, as they find further resonance with later Spanish activities.[104] Canon 2 censored covetous bishops who tried to obtain promotion to more prestigious sees by garnering lay support. The ability of local laymen to push through their favorite candidates was a generic problem, yet Ossius' concerns would prove especially prophetic in Hispania, where thirty years later the lay-promoted and supported Priscillian would jump into the episcopal scene. Given Ossius' worries in 343, one wonders if Priscillian was only the tip of the iceberg.

Another canon with important Spanish resonance addressed landowning bishops, particularly those from poor sees (canon 15, Latin text). Such bishops were permitted to leave their see to attend to their private estates for three weeks per year, providing they did not attend church in the local city and thus offend its bishop. The dispensation was made with the hope that the bishops' estates would contribute to the local poor, and the time limit was imposed to rein in overly entrepreneurial bishops. The landowning bishop is presented here as a familiar creature, and a particular problem in nascent, poor dioceses. Could Ossius have Hispania in mind? In only twelve years time, one of Ossius' rivals, Potamius of Lisbon, was said to have traded his pro-Nicene orthodoxy for a *fundus fiscalis* offered him by the emperor, a nefarious deal that only highlights the other side of Ossius' charitable bishop/farmers: land in the Roman world equaled both wealth and power, commodities that the embryonic Spanish episcopate probably could not yet offer its prelates, who were thus forced to moonlight, even speculating on their creed in order to maintain status.[105] Nonetheless, it would be perilous to assume that episcopal poverty plagued only the Spanish church; the many similar canons handed down by councils throughout the fourth

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[104] On Spain, Ossius and Serdica, see Fernández Ubiña (2001), 173–76; Chadwick (1978), 5; De Clercq (1954), 397–401.

[105] On Potamius' *fundus*, see *Libellus Precum* 32 = *Coll. Avell.* 2 (ed. Guenther, CSEL 35: 14). Conti (1998), 21, suggests the story may be fabricated.

and fifth centuries point to an endemic problem which Spanish bishops undoubtedly shared with many of their brethren in other provinces.

Like Ossius, other Spanish bishops known from the first half of the fourth century are presented as actors on the great Arian-versus-Nicene stage, with no indication of the character of their local diocese or their relationships with their flocks. With the advent of the Priscillianist controversy, however, local communities and particularly elite-lay relationships come to the fore. The laymen who were completely absent from the earlier controversies suddenly spring to life in starring roles.[106] The countryside, which had been largely absent from earlier urban-based narratives, becomes the stage upon which the drama of heresy is set. The evidence for a certain factional, if not doctrinal, continuity between the Arian/Nicene problems of the 360s and 370s and Priscillianism is quite convincing.[107] And yet the nature of the protagonists and the topography they occupied seems to have changed dramatically. This may simply be an evidentiary bias, as the sources for the Arian troubles of the 360s are scarce and of second-hand nature, while those for Priscillianism are comparatively rich and multi-faceted. However, the change may also reflect a significant new reality, namely, the accelerated conversion of the landed elite that took place during the 380s. Suddenly, the lay Christian aristocrat was a force to be reckoned with, and in Hispania gave the peninsula's "national heresy" its defining shape.

Much of Priscillian's controversial career as confessor, ascetic leader and preacher was spent in layman's garb, and his sudden and irregular elevation to the episcopate of Ávila bore all the hallmarks of political maneuvering and none of episcopal administration or ministry.[108] This layman from a *familia nobilis* was almost certainly a local landowner, possibly in Lusitania.[109] Well-educated and persuasive, he counted among his devoted followers two bishops of unknown sees, male and female members of the landed elite, as well as common

[106] García Moreno (1991), 225–26.

[107] See Escribano in this volume.

[108] On the man, Chadwick's masterly discussion (Chadwick [1978], ch 1), has been amended by Burrus (1995), ch. 1, particularly in the latter's emphasis on Priscillian's lay status as the real challenge to the episcopate.

[109] While Gallaecia is often given as Priscillian's home base, the origins of the conflict were in Baetica and Lusitania and it is here that his support network was probably most powerful. See Chadwick (1978), 11 and Escribano (1988), 184.

folk. The heterogeneity of his constituency was the heterogeneity of the rural Lusitanian world, a world of wealthy, probably newly converted *domini* and *dominae*, and of coloni whose faith was tied to that of their masters.[110] Added to this volatile mixture was the heady power of a new asceticism, all the rage among Christian aristocrats from Cappadocia to Rome. Priscillian's particular brand of asceticism was anchored in a rural world. Because of his rural retreats and prayer meetings, his accusers could allege fertility rituals and agrarian magic, and from his inclusion of powerful female *dominae*, the bookkeepers and eagle-eyed managers of the rural estate, would emerge allegations of sexual deviancy and abortion.[111]

Priscillian's particular rural world of Lusitania also had a particular episcopal flavor. It was desperately short on bishops, bishops who, as we have already noted, found great swathes of countryside under their theoretical control, but almost certainly beyond their direct management. Priscillian's see, Ávila, sat in an especially deep rural heartland, far from the hostile bishoprics to the south. Thus, Priscillian's movement embraced a countryside largely untouched by episcopal presence, making his message all the more authoritative and thus all the more threatening to an overtaxed episcopal system.[112] Whatever their doctrinal motivations, it is also important to remember that the majority of the Priscillianist battles were waged not in church councils, but in the secular courtroom.[113] The first salvo was fired on church ground at the council of Zaragoza (379), a council which Priscillian and his followers refused to attend. Frustrated by the council's inability to judge the heretics *in absentia*, Hydatius of Mérida and Ithacius of Faro took their complaints to a secular court. Although the two bishops may have initiated the change from episcopal to secular venue, it was a move they would later regret. Their

[110] On his followers, see Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.46.20. Earlier studies interpreted Priscillian's broad support base as evidence of a class movement: Barbero (1963). A more recent account finds the movement's appeal in the interstices between ecclesiastical and elite power: Cracco Ruggini (1997), 41. Escribano has emphasized the movement's urban base: Escribano (1988), 205–206; (1992), 273.

[111] On the rural flavor of Priscillianism, see Chadwick (1978), 17–19; Breyfogle (1995). On women, Burrus (1998), *passim*.

[112] Bowes (2001), 337–38.

[113] For an exacting survey of the events between the council of Zaragoza (379) and the council of Bordeaux (384), see Escribano (2002b), whose chronology is followed here.

appeal to the *iudices saeculares* was blocked.[114] A later rescript issued by Gratian was overturned.[115] And then they became the hunted: Priscillian and his followers accused Ithacius of being a "disturber of the church" before a handpicked and friendly governor of Lusitania, and when that move was blocked, he arranged to have Ithacius tried before the *vicarius* of Hispania himself.[116] As manipulators of the local secular arm, the bishops of Mérida and Faro simply could not compete with Priscillian, whose connections in the Spanish capital far exceeded even that of its own bishop. Only with the chance death of Gratian and the rise to power of the insecure Maximus did the Priscillianists find the secular arm they had so deftly twisted turn definitively against them. Important, too, is the fact that the Priscillianists' temporary setbacks—Gratian's rescript and a hostile praetorian prefect—all took place in judicial courts outside the peninsula, where presumably their local power networks were weaker.[117] As a local powerbroker, Priscillian the lay aristocrat seems to have wielded a far bigger stick than did his episcopal peers.

The soap-opera related in Consentius' letter to Augustine, dated to 420/421, describes a strikingly similar situation.[118] The drama is billed as another Priscillianist plot, but by this time the Priscillianist label had attached itself to a whole range of disciplinary and factional disputes, and it seems clear that this Tarraconnensian-based conflict had nothing to do with the earlier movement.[119] Nonetheless, the relationships between pious laymen and local bishops preserve much of the earlier controversy's flavor. First, the entire drama was staged through the efforts of Consentius, a layman from the Balearic islands whose self-confessed idleness did not prevent him from sending his monk-spy, Fronto, to spread discord amongst the Tarraconnensian episcopate. Fronto narrates an incredible story, the center of which was one Severus, a powerful and wealthy landowner, a presbyter of Huesca and the head of the alleged "Priscillianists."[120] In a tale more comic than believable, Severus loses his "sacrilegious

[114] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.47.19–25.
[115] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.48.20–22.
[116] Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.1–16.
[117] On the praetorian prefect, Gregory, see Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49.5–6.
[118] Augustine, *Ep.* 11*. On the date, Kulikowski (2000b), 137–39.
[119] Van Dam (1986).
[120] *Ep* 11*.2.6–7: *Severum quendam presbyterum divitiis atque potentia, litteris etiam clarum.*

books" to barbarian raiders when riding out to his Huescan estate. Severus' neighboring bishops, Sagittius of Lérida and Syagrius of Huesca, the latter of the locally powerful Syagrii, are both in his pocket and both work to help him hide the damning books. The ensuing trial is a farce, Fronto is unmasked as a spy and narrowly escapes mob violence, and Severus and his episcopal friends are all forgiven.

While the tale is absurd, and many of its details may be fabrication, the social dynamic is probably true to form.[121] The rural estate is again a center of action, this time as the retreat and spiritual center of the wealthy Severus. Here, the landed elite are already enmeshed in the episcopal system as either bishops or clerics. However, episcopal obligation takes a second seat to ties of aristocratic *amiticia* and patronage that bind the bishops Sagittius and Syagrius to Severus, particularly in the face of charges by an outsider, Fronto.[122] Severus even involves the secular arm, his brother-in-law the *comes Hispaniarum*, Asterius, although unlike the original Priscillianists, Severus' allies within the episcopal court are so disposed toward him that the comital presence is ultimately unnecessary.

The maneuverings of Priscillian and the debacle orchestrated by Consentius find laymen, particularly the landowning elite, at the center of ecclesiastical relationships. Their role, however, cannot be understood simply as part of the increasing elite participation in the episcopate.[123] Priscillian, Syagrius and Sagittius show no interest in wielding the bishop's scepter to carve out church communities centered on episcopal power, binding a body of faithful together through church discipline and church law. That is, unlike an Ambrose or a Martin, their power was wielded not primarily through the episcopate and its grounding in apostolic and scriptural authority, but through networks of powerful friends, bonded to them by ties of patronage and *amicitia*. These traditional networks were in and of themselves communities, communities much older than the still-nascent episcopate, and in Hispania they were the glue that knit together a powerful landowning class. These communities might readily overlap with

[121] While one reading claims the letter is simply a patchwork borrowed from romance and hagiography (Moreau [1983]), most scholars have accepted that the basics of the tale are probably true, but perhaps heavily ornamented.

[122] See García Moreno (1991), 237.

[123] The conclusion of García Moreno (1991), 231–37.

that centered on the episcopate and share membership and values, but the governing rules of each were essentially distinct and, in the early fifth century, power was still far more effectively wielded through communities bonded by land, wealth and patronage than those guaranteed by the apostolic succession.[124]

The same lack of interest in a purely church-centered community may also lie behind Hispania's repeated problems with rapid episcopal promotions based on status and patronage, rather than on promotion through the church-defined *cursus*. Priscillian, it will be remembered, jumped from layman to bishop solely through popular support, blatantly ignoring the council of Nicaea's requirement that the wealthy and powerful should proceed through the regular clerical grades.[125] In 384, perhaps in response to Priscillian's rule-breaking, bishop Himerius of Tarragona wrote to Pope Siricius complaining, among other things, of a patent disregard for the clerical *cursus*.[126] In 385, Paulinus (not yet of Nola) emerged from lay *otium* on his wife's estates in Tarraconensis to be ordained as a presbyter in Barcelona. Not only did he manage to skip the intervening clerical grades, but he also wriggled out of the service responsibilities which should have required him to stay in the church that ordained him.[127] Indeed, the new cleric of Barcelona left for Italy soon after, never to return, and his cold reception by Pope Siricius as he passed through Rome may have been a tacit condemnation of yet further Spanish indifference to episcopal protocol.[128] While even the ultimate upstart, Ambrose of Milan, had nodded to ecclesiastical protocol by squeezing his clerical *cursus* into the week preceding his hasty ordination, Spanish bishops seemed to have dodged even the pretence of conformity.

Thus, the fourth-century Spanish episcopate was a community that had not wholly come into its own. The mid-fourth-century prelates, embroiled in the Arian controversy, seem to have spent little time

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[124] This was Burrus' conclusion from the results of the earlier Priscillianist struggles. While the events related by Consentius have little to do with "Priscillianism," Burrus' description of a struggle between public and private value systems similarly describes this later controversy.

[125] See Chadwick (1978), 33–34.

[126] The complaint is reconstructed from Siricius' reply, Siricius, *Ep.* 1.10 (*PL* 13: 1143).

[127] Paulinus, *Ep.* 1.10; 3.4.

[128] Trout (1999), 113–14. Pope Innocent's *Ep.* 3 (*PL* 20: 486–493) to the Spanish bishops, written in 403–408, indicates that irregular ordinations of an unspecified variety continued.

nurturing and disciplining their own flocks. The poverty of their sees or their own self-interest may have kept them focused on personal estate management alongside their episcopal duties. The increased pace of elite conversion in the 380s brought with it an interest in ascetic, particularly rural, villa-based asceticism, whose compatibility with aristocratic ideals of *otium* made it at least as attractive a Christian option as the still-feeble episcopate. The phenomenon that was Priscillian presented a considerable challenge to this city-bound, thinly spread episcopal system. For Priscillian stood for a different kind of Christian community, one whose rigorist elitism and rural asceticism stood sharply at odds with the all-embracing, integrated communities bishops strove to construct. Yet even outside ascetic societies, Spanish elites found the transition from secular to episcopal hierarchies difficult, as the network of patronage and friendship consistently trumped purely church-based power structures. One wonders if the continued strength of the *curiales* in Spanish cities denied bishops the broader organizational powers they enjoyed in other provinces, such as Italy, suffering from heavy urban blight.[129] In any case, it was only in the later fifth century that the power and numbers of the Spanish episcopate began to truly grow.

We should note again that these problems facing the Spanish episcopate were not unique to Spain. Irregular ordination, the challenges presented by asceticism, even episcopal poverty and the slow growth of episcopal sees, were dilemmas faced by bishops from Dalmatia to Carthage. Spanish bishops seem to have simply confronted a larger hydra with more heads. The combination of the sparsest episcopal network in the West, and one perhaps composed of poorly-endowed sees, with a Christian aristocracy unusually invested in its estates and its own elite power networks, made an already difficult episcopal adolescence significantly worse, and made its growth to adulthood significantly slower than in other provinces.

This image of a slow-growing episcopate, surrounded by a wealthy elite whose contribution to episcopal affairs was fractured at best, dovetails neatly with the archaeological picture. The relatively late construction of episcopal churches and martyr shrines in the cities, the paucity of evidence for urban euergetism by a Christian elite,

[129] See Kulikowski's piece in this volume. For Italy, see Brogiolo and Gelichi (1998).

and the richness of rural Christian architecture, reflect the divergent impulses between rural and urban, public and private, which shine through the textual material. The second decade of the fifth century saw both the appearance of the earliest urban basilicas in Tarraconensis and the participation of elites like Syagrius and Severus in the clergy. Yet this same period also witnessed the construction of the villa-church at Villa Fortunatus, set, like Severus' villa, between the episcopal sees at Huesca and Lérida, its private, pseudo-crypt a reminder of the continued power of the rural private holy. And just to the north at Coscojuela a presbyter-*dominus*, probably much like Severus himself, was buried beneath a fine sepulchral mosaic, his choice of villa graveyard over urban martyr shrine emblematic of the divisive effects the rural, private holy might have on the growing Church community.[130]

2.2 *Non-episcopal elites and communities*

If the episcopate and episcopally-centered communities exerted only a mild attraction on Spanish elite Christians, what other options existed for organizing Christian life? To answer this, we must turn now from the episcopate to the non-episcopal elite and examine their various Christian experiences. The "non-episcopal elite" is a purposefully shapeless category, embracing laymen, ascetics and lower-level clergy, whose specific place in the church hierarchy differed, but who shared an elite culture shaped by patronage, friendship, education and common literary/artistic traditions. This was the "coterie espagnole pieuse" of Constantinopolitan circles, such as Maternus Cynegius or Nummius Aemilianus Dexter; it was writers and poets like Orosius and Prudentius, ascetics such as Melania the Elder, and pilgrims, the famous Egeria or the more enigmatic Poemia.[131] Most of these elites were members of the senatorial aristocracy, many seemingly related by blood or marriage to the Theodosian *gens*. The non-episcopal elites also included the nameless Christians who built the great villa memorials of the Spanish countryside. As Chavarría

[130] On Coscojuela, see Fernández-Galiano (1987), 65–66.

[131] Useful summaries of this Christian elite's activities can now be found in Vilella (2002); Bravo (1997); Teja (1997).

suggests in this volume, many of these villa owners may also have been members of the senatorial class. However, we should beware of overly-narrow categorizations, as the status of many textually-attested figures is unknown, while lower-status elites, as we can see them through humbler villas, seem to share many of the values and behaviors of their senatorial brethren. While bishops assume brief, walk-on roles in the historical record, Hispania's non-episcopal elite were major protagonists in many of the fourth- and fifth-century's greatest dramas.[132]

And yet, this has always been part of the problem. Spain's Christian elite become historically visible only when they leave Hispania, and as many of these Spaniards spent the majority of their lives outside the peninsula, the *Hispanitas* of persons such as Melania the Elder, Aelia Flaccilla or Maternus Cynegius would seem, as McLynn has demonstrated for Theodosius, only skin-deep. And yet, these peripatetic habits may be meaningful in their own right. Many Spaniards who departed the peninsula for foreign shores seem possessed of a particular Christian *curiositas*, a desire to seek out special sources of holiness.[133] Egeria's Holy Land odyssey is the most famous, a journey undertaken for both edification and inner spiritual vision, but the later years of the fourth century saw many of her countrymen set sail with similar aims.[134] Orosius left Braga, abandoning his presbyteral post there in search of knowledge, a heresiologist's education he felt only Augustine could offer, and continued his schooling at Jerome's knee in Jerusalem.[135] Bragans were on the move in those years, for Orosius reports that two members of the Avitus family departed from that city, one heading to Rome, the other to Jerusalem.[136] Both were looking for doctrinal direction and found it, returning home with books by Victorinus and Origen, respectively. Also sent book-hunting were six Spanish scribes, dispatched to Jerome by the Baetican

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[132] As noted by Fontaine (1997), 69.

[133] On *curiositas* in late antiquity, Palmer (1989), 41–53. For a list of Spaniards travelling for religious purposes see Vilella Masana (1995).

[134] On Egeria's purpose, see Hunt (1982), 86–89; 120–23. On Spaniards seeking spiritual direction outside the peninsula, see Torres Rodríguez (1985), 32. The evidence in favor of her Gallaecian origins is summarized by Wilkinson (1999), 1–4. I am unconvinced by attempts to relocate her to Gaul, e.g. Sivan (1988).

[135] Oros., *Comm.* 2. See also Arce in this volume.

[136] Oros., *Comm.* 3. Altaner (1968) suggests that the two Aviti described by Orosius need not have been from Braga itself, but rather from Hispania more generally.

couple Lucinius and Theodora for the purpose of copying the famous scholar's works.[137]

While some left the peninsula seeking holy knowledge, others went in search of holy presence. Paulinus of Nola, although tied to the peninsula only by property and marriage, nonetheless spent his formative ascetic years in Tarraconensis, and buried his infant son with the martyrs at Complutum.[138] Yet oddly, neither his son's spirit nor the offer of a priesthood in the church of Barcelona were sufficient inducement to stay in Hispania, for the voice of Saint Felix at Nola called to him more insistently than did any of Prudentius' much-praised Tarraconnensian martyrs. Rufinus' sister-in-law, Silvia, of either Gallic or Spanish roots, seems to have traveled in the East on a relic-hunting mission, charged with procuring relics for Sulpicius Severus' new church at Primuliacum near Toulouse.[139]

Holy travel was, like asceticism, very much in vogue in these years: pious Christians of means seem to have flocked to holy sites and holy men, and the Spanish were no exception. And yet, what effect did the allure of the foreign have on local, Spanish sources of holiness whose impresarios, the local bishops, were unusually few and weak? Examples of local Spanish euergetism are meager in comparison with the floods of money and devotion flowing eastward. Prudentius spread the news of Spanish martyrs to the world and yet in his time their public, urban shrines remained relatively unadorned while prospective patrons, such as Paulinus or Poemia, built martyr shrines abroad. Lucinius and Theodora did spare part of their fortune for the churches of Baetica, although the lion's share seems to have been dispatched, along with their scribes, to the Holy Land.[140] The Jerusalem expatriate Avitus remembered his Bragan church and posted home a part of the newly-found relics of Saint Stephen.[141] As he seemed loath to leave the East himself, he placed them in the unreliable hands of Orosius, who never returned to Spain but

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[137] Jerome, *Epp.* 71 and 75.

[138] On Paulinus' time in Hispania, see Trout (1999), 67–103. On the burial of his son at Complutum, Paul., *Carm.* 31.602–610.

[139] Paulinus, *Ep.* 31.1.

[140] Jerome, *Ep.* 75.4. See also *Ep.* 71.

[141] *PL* 41: 805–818. On the identity of the various Aviti see Torres Rodríguez (1985), 21–24 and Altaner (1968). The latter also provides a detailed reconstruction of Avitus of Braga's travels, which included as much as fifteen years in Constantinople and Jerusalem.

scattered the relics between Minorca and North Africa. And Prudentius, while he claimed to be too poor to give the local church any monetary support, could at least offer his advertising services and advice.[142] The further extent of such acts are obscured by the lack of any local episcopal chronicles, yet on the face of it, the hearts and the pockets of Hispania's pious elite were frequently drawn elsewhere, to extra-peninsular sources of holiness.[143]

The problem did not go unnoticed. The presbyter Vigilantius, originally a friend of Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus, returned from the Holy Land full of disgust, making his way back to his native see of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges in southern Aquitaine.[144] There, he penned an angry circular decrying not only the cult of relics, which he described as "a bit of powder wrapped in cloth," but also the lamentable economic effects foreign relic-mania had had on local communities. He forbade local Christians from sending monies to the East, insisting that it be spent on the local "waiting poor."[145] Jerome, whose own Bethlehem community depended heavily on such donations, immediately countered with an excoriating treatise. One wonders if Jerome's attack, plus the weight of other pro-martyr locals such as Victricius of Rouen and Exsuperius of Toulouse, might have resulted in Vigilantius' transfer from Comminges to Barcelona, where a later source reports him as presbyter.[146] While Vigilantius' anti-martyr stance may have been hard to swallow, his calls for local euergetism would have resonated with Lampius, the bishop of Barcelona. Lampius had conferred the priesthood on Paulinus only

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[142] Prud. *Epilogue* 5.7–10. On his advice to the local bishop Valerian, see *Peristeph.* 9.

[143] The poverty of the Spanish episcopate has been commented upon by Arce (1982a), 145–46, although his corollary, that the poor episcopate reflects a largely impoverished Hispania (ch. 5), is harder to accept.

[144] See Massie (1980), particularly for the identification of his see as Saint-Bertrand. Jerome gives it as Calagurris, where he says Vigilantius was born, but Calagurris is only a *mansio*, while the capital of the region, and its bishopric, is at Saint-Bertrand. The main sources for Vigilantius are Jerome, *Ep.* 58.11; 61; 109, and *Contra Vigilantium.* See also Hunter (1993); Stancliffe (1983), ch. 21; Trout (1999), ch. 8.

[145] The content of this pamphlet is reconstructed from Jerome, *Ep.* 61 and *Contra Vigilantium.*

[146] Gennadius, *De vir. ill.* 36. Jerome had reported him as presbyter in Saint-Bertrand-des-Comminges (*Ep.* 109.2). Chadwick (1978), 12, reconciles the two sources by assuming the presbyter had moved sees and explains the change as representative of the intimacy between the Aquitanian and Spanish episcopates. Here I differ from Hunter (1993) who assumes that resistance to the cult of the saints, particularly translation, was common to Gaul, and that Victricius and Exsuperius were the real "outsiders."

to watch as he, his Spanish wife, and their fortune set sail for Nola where they proceeded to build the churches Barcelona still lacked.

The allure of the external, foreign holy was, however, only one of twin dangers Vigilantius found threatening the local church. The flipside of the search for holy places and persons was the search for the holy in oneself. Eastern ascetic practice found its most enthusiastic proponents in the West among the aristocracy, where the ideals of physical withdrawal and spiritual meditation mated easily with traditional rural *otium*. Throughout southern Gaul and Hispania aristocrats were tuning in and dropping out and their spiritual epicenter was the villa, whose fields and vineyards had become ripe with Christian significance, the *domini* themselves transformed into *agricoli Christiani*.[147] Hispania's reputation as a hotbed of rural asceticism was fostered most obviously by Priscillian, whose followers seem to have engaged in rural retreat. His followers were chastised for absenting themselves from the urban churches on important feast days, remaining, "at home, in villas or in the mountains."[148] Fasting, prayer and rurally-inspired ritual formed the base of an episodic monasticism, where holy days were celebrated, much to the chagrin of the episcopate, through rural asceticism rather than urban liturgy.[149]

However, it is difficult to see beyond the heavily polemicized Priscillianist evidence to the less controversial, villa-based piety practiced by Lucinius and Theodora and other Spanish elites inasmuch as no descriptions of their communities have survived. Thus, it is necessary to look to nearby Aquitaine, where Paulinus of Nola's correspondence with Sulpicius Severus permits us a glimpse of how villa-asceticism and villa piety might have been articulated, and how these Christian communal ideals conflicted with those of the local episcopate. Sulpicius' community was probably located somewhere west of Toulouse, in the villa heartland of the Garonne valley.[150] Having divested himself of much of his property, Sulpicius converted his remaining family estate, Primuliacum, into a Christian community composed of like-minded friends and the estate's slaves and workers.[151]

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[147] See Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* 2.1005–1054; Fontaine (1972), 591.

[148] Council of Zaragoza, c. 4.

[149] Chadwick (1978), 10, insists on the periodicity of Priscillianist retreat.

[150] Here I follow Stancliffe (1983), 30–31 n. 3, rather than Fontaine (1967–1969), 1: 32–40.

[151] Paulinus, *Ep.* 24.1–4, indicates that Sulpicius gave up most, but not all, of his property, retaining some either wholly or in usufruct.

Primuliacum is typically heralded as one of the West's first monasteries.[152] However, while its members embraced ascetic practices, such as tonsures, humble dress and a life of prayer, the community was equally defined by a web of patronage and *amicitia*.[153] Primuliacum was the fruit of an inspired friendship, that between Sulpicius and Martin of Tours. Sulpicius had spent the two years prior to his retreat with Martin, and Primuliacum was not only inspired by Martin's community at Marmoutier, but, upon Martin's death, Sulpicius' estate community adopted Martin as its saintly patron. Paulinus of Nola, another role model and *amicus*, was revered there as well, and his image stood side by side with Martin's in the community baptistery.[154] Indeed, the famous epistolary correspondence between Sulpicius and Paulinus, in which theological interpretations were aired, relics exchanged and Christian life described, was not simply an exchange of "Christian letters," or the expression of a Christian friendship. The letters and friendship shaped the very nature of Christian experience at Primuliacum, and Paulinus, as a Christian pen-friend, was a member of the community as surely as were Martin and Sulpicius himself.[155] That is to say, the ties that bound and shaped the Primuliacum community were the same as those that bound and shaped the rural aristocracy.

This communal identity was nowhere more apparent than in the estate's buildings, the traditional site of aristocratic self- and communal-representation. In the case of Primuliacum, the most prominent buildings were two churches, joined by a baptistery.[156] One of these churches is described as the church of Sulpicius' family, and one wonders if Sulpicius had incorporated a family mausoleum, presumably of his recently deceased wife, into the complex.[157] Indeed, Paulinus may have enriched his own family's *memoria* near Bordeaux with a church only a year before the impressionable Sulpicius completed his own project.[158] The primary purpose of Sulpicius' churches,

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[152] Lienhard (1977), 97–98, was more skeptical.

[153] On the practices at Primuliacum, see Stancliffe (1983), 30–47.

[154] *Ep.* 32.1.

[155] On the critical importance of friendship in the definition of the Nolan and Primuliacum communities, see Conybeare (2000), ch. 2, where letter exchange is compared to sacramentary exchange. See also Trout (1993); (1999), 239–43.

[156] Paulinus, *Ep.* 32.1.

[157] Paulinus, *Ep.* 31.1. (ed. Hartel, 267): *de sacris sanctorum reliquiis benedictionem, qua adornetur domestica tua ecclesia, ut fide et gratia tua dignum est.*

[158] The evidence comes from *Ep.* 12 and 20. See Trout (1999), 148–49 for the argument.

however, was the memorialization of the community's role model, Martin of Tours. While Sulpicius was not able to procure Martin's body for his new foundation, he did obtain that of his follower, Clarus, as well as a variety of Holy Land relics.[159] These relics were sent by friends, including Silvia, the sister-in-law of Rufinus, who came from nearby Éauze.[160] It will be remembered that at the same time as Sulpicius retreated to Primuliacum, Rufinus may have consecrated his own martyrium *cum* mausoleum *cum* monastery outside Chalcedon.[161] Finally, the whole complex bore the literal traces of Paulinus and Sulpicius' correspondence. Epigrams and ekphrastic verses from Paulinus' letters appeared everywhere in the churches and baptistery, explaining, chiding, and embracing Paulinus and his wife Therasia into the community's prayers.[162]

Thus, the churches of Primuliacum were reified expressions of a community whose ascetic practices may have been "monastic," but whose Christian experience was ultimately bound, even created, by that which bound all elite landed aristocrats, namely patronage and friendship. The family mausoleum, if there was one, would have commemorated Sulpicius' senatorial *gens*. The church dedicated to Martin was the spiritual home of the community's divine patron, while the baptistery bore the images of both Martin and the community's other holy *amicus*, Paulinus. The churches' relics were themselves relics of epistolary friendships, while the whole complex was described and explained by Paulinus' accompanying verses. Holiness at Primuliacum was defined, literally, by family and friends. The formative role of *amicitia* at Primuliacum breaks down many of the boundaries we tend to see between "ascetic communities" such as Primuliacum, which were probably quite rare, and more worldly villa-oriented Christianity. Even "respectable Christians," who in the last decades of the century became ever more numerous, shaped their Christian lives around the same communities that bounded their secular existence, communities defined by family, patronage and friendship and conceptually centered in the rural estate.[163]

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[159] *Ep.* 32.6–7. On the failure of Sulpicius to gain possession of Martin's body, see L. Pietri (1983), 102–12.

[160] *Ep.* 31.1.

[161] Sulpicius' retreat is dated to 394/395. Matthews suggests that Rufinus' *apostoleion* was consecrated and its owner baptized on the occasion of the council of Constantinople in 394, a council which otherwise seems to have conducted little real business. Matthews (1975), 135–36.

[162] *Ep.* 32.

[163] On "respectable Christians" versus ascetics, see Brown (1972), 178.

The correspondence between two Spanish and/or Gallic women of the late fourth or early fifth century provides another glimpse of this world.[164] One letter, posted to the author's married female friend, recommends that the friend celebrate the Christmas season by retreating from public life and her husband for the three weeks preceding Epiphany. The letter describes more than the widespread acceptance of practices damned by the episcopate as "Priscillianist": it describes an elite Christian "community," here of only two women, whose support and advice shapes their Christian lives. It is an intensely personal vision and one which side-stepped contemporary patristic teaching in the interest of immediate, personal concerns. The author declares that her friend's timed ascetic withdrawal will permit her to claim equal status with true virgins: "I am not willing for you to enclose the grace of God within the boundaries of one person."[165] Her image of this retreat is crafted around a metaphor of the Virgin Mary in pained childbirth, her labor recreated in the married friend's ascetic labor, both of which give birth to salvation.[166] Both notions rub uncomfortably against contemporary episcopal ideas on the holy supremacy of virgins and the effortless birth of Christ and do so to craft a message tailored to its addressee, the married woman, for whom the image of childbirth would have had special resonance. The insistent equation of "privacy" and salvation, again matched by Mary, who banished even Joseph from the Nativity birthing room, and further equated with the Egyptian desert, describes a Christianity in which the climaxes of the holy year were best consummated in an "especially private and solitary place." Periodic withdrawal from the city and one's family removes one to another Christian com-

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[164] These are the two letters bound in *Codex Sangallensis* 190, published by Morin (1928) and reprinted in *PLS* 1: 1038–1044. Given the discussion of a three-week Epiphany retreat in the second letter and its close parallels in the fourth canon of the council of Zaragoza (380), Morin assigned them to a late fourth- or early fifth-century Spanish context and attributed them to the hand of the fourth-century ascetic Bachiarius. Given the fairly clear female authorial hand, Morin's attribution to Bachiarius has been contested and the letters more correctly ascribed to an anonymous woman or women of the same time. See Burrus (1994) and (2000). It should be noted, however, that the problem of Epiphanic absences from church is also addressed in the twenty-first canon of the Council of Agde (506) (Munier [1963], 202–203). It might therefore be best to broaden the letters' specific attribution from a late fourth-century Spanish provenance to a wider, fourth- through sixth-century Hispano-Gallic context.

[165] *PLS* 1: 1040: *Nolo enim gratiam dei intra unius personae angustias claudas.*

[166] *PLS* 1: 1040.

munity, formed of Christ, the Holy Spirit, and indeed, the exhortatory epistolary friends who inspire the retreat and, like the female attendants at a birth, cheer the ascetic on to its completion.

The poems of Ausonius and Prudentius, two men of differing Christian commitment, also vividly illustrate these communal concepts and cement them firmly in the rural world of the elite villa. Christian ideals are found only sporadically in Ausonius' oeuvre, but significantly, it is in his poetic recital of daily life on his estate that Christian belief and Christian ritual make their most significant appearance.[167] The author's daily round begins with a morning prayer in the villa chapel, a ritual sandwiched between waking and a visit to his cook.[168] Ausonius' prayer is a petition, both for a sinless life and personal salvation, but also for his own standing in his community: "May no real crime bring me to ruin, nor suspicion tarnish my name . . . Let me be moderate in food and dress, dear to my friends and ever careful to do naught to shame the name of my father."[169] Ausonius' prayer not only displayed his Christian piety to his audience of peers, but inscribed that piety within a shared world of poetry and conversation, a world the *Ephemeris* itself was written to cement.

Prudentius, who seems to have read Ausonius' *Ephemeris*, likewise included a "daily round" among his published poems.[170] Unlike Ausonius' vision of a life in which prayer, visiting, eating and sleeping commingle in busy succession, the more sober Prudentius presents his readers with nothing less than a guide to Christian living. His *Cathemerinon*, a ritual of daily prayer, was written not for congregational use but for domestic prayer.[171] Its prayers for rising, morning, mealtimes, and evening, Lenten fasts, Christmas and Epiphany have a ritual quality that has prompted more than one scholar to paint

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[167] On Christianity in Ausonius, see Green (1993). For an overview of the purpose and date of the *Ephemeris* and the *oratio* particularly, see Green (1991), 245–46; 250–51.

[168] *Ephemeris* 3. The rural context is suggested by 8.40–43, although this poem may have been added to the *Ephemeris* later: Green (1991), 263.

[169] Ausonius, *Ephemeris* 3.62–67: *. . . nec vero crimine laedar/nec maculer dubio; paulum distare videtur/suspectus vereque reus. male posse facultas/nulla sit et bene posse adsit tranquilla potestas./sim tenui victu atque habitu, sim carus amicis/et semper genitor sine vulnere nominis huius.*

[170] On Ausonius' influence on Prudentius' *Cathamerinon*, see Charlet (1980).

[171] Charlet (1982), 86–87. A recent study of Prudentius' *Peristephanon* suggests that it, too, was intended for extra-ecclesiastical use: Palmer (1989), ch. 3.

Prudentius as a monk who created on his Calagurritan estate a Primuliacum-like ascetic community.[172] The poems themselves, however, provide no support for this thesis, and the occasional reference to overindulgence in wine, a meal of fresh fish or mothers mourning a deceased family member point to a more worldly setting.[173] The *Cathemerinon* was not written as a description of a day, but an imagined vision of individual, internal piety and a life of Christian days and Christian seasons.[174] Like the same author's *Peristephanon*, it is likely that these poems were crafted for Spanish aristocratic peers, either as a unit or in pieces, dispatched, like those of Ausonius, to edify, delight and present something of Prudentius himself.[175] The *Cathemerinon* presented an old man's longing to re-craft his life in perfect Christian form.[176] For Prudentius and his peers, it was this interiorly-oriented, domestic piety that was emblematic of the ideal Christian life.[177]

The imaginative geography of both Ausonius' and Prudentius' Christian lives is consistently a rural one; prayers take place to the twittering of birds and the lowing of cattle, and birds, cattle, forests and vines are set alight with Christian meaning.[178] Just like the dome of Centcelles, where rural pursuits, the seasons and seigniorial representation are joined through a binding web of Christian signification, the ideal Christian life is intimately bound to the estate. This tendency to view Christian life through the lens of domestic villa life shared by an intimate group of contemporaries is emblematic of the so-called poets of "landowning spirituality."[179] It should not escape our notice that these Christian "bards of the villa" were not found throughout the empire: they were almost wholly a product of Spain

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[172] For an overview of this thesis and bibliography, see Charlet (1982), 51–55; Evenepoel (1993), 125–26. For disagreement, see Kah (1990), 307–19.

[173] See *Cath.* 2.29–32; 3.31–50; 10.118, respectively.

[174] On the *Cathemerinon* as private piety, see Rand (1920), 78: "It is not so much a hymn as a poem of reflection—in which description, narrative and allegorical exposition are all germane—written for a moment of the day when a hymn would have been appropriate."

[175] On the private function and Spanish circulation of the *Peristephanon*, see Palmer (1989), ch. 3, esp. 90–97.

[176] As suggested in *Praef.* 32–38.

[177] See Fontaine (1972), 579.

[178] See especially *Cath.* 1.31; 3. Also, Fontaine (1972), 589–90.

[179] Jacques Fontaine's numerous works have brought this group to life, insisting on their connectedness across the Pyrenees and their shared literary and spiritual project. Fontaine (1972); (1974); (1981).

and Aquitaine. Yet theirs was not simply a spirituality defined by literary style. From Prudentius and Ausonius' poems of Christian daily life to Paulinus' spiritualization of the villa landscape, theirs is also a vision of Christian community. This communal ideal grew from the dualistic concept of classical *otium*, which praised a reflective, solitary contemplation that was itself nurtured by constant outreach to a community of epistolary contacts and periodic visitors.[180] In its Christian manifestation, the imagined heart of Christian life continued to lie in the rural home, surrounded and nurtured by a community of elite Christian peers. Furthermore, by tying his hopes for salvation to the publication of his poetry, Prudentius describes the translation of the elite poetic impulses that served as the glue of this community into hard, salvific currency.[181] If Christian poetry and Christian letters could save one's soul, both Christian life and afterlife might be lived out within these same rural aristocratic circles.

These kinds of communal identity, both the ascetic and the more worldly, stood in ambiguous relation to a community defined by the bishop. In some cases, as in that of Paulinus at Nola, amical and episcopal communities eventually merged. Even here, however, the ease of Paulinus' transition from ascetic to bishop disguises the audacity of his original Nolan foundation, which had sidelined Nola's existing bishop, Paul, and wrested from his control southern Italy's most important martyr shrine.[182] While Paul seems to have murmured nary a word of protest, in other cases, Christian estate communities scraped more uncomfortably against the episcopate. The anonymous female writer advocating Christmas retreat repeatedly defends her advice against anticipated detractors, even comparing those who partake of public rituals with the Simeon of Macabees, who "would not have been vulnerable at all to the plots of his enemies if . . . he had kept to the solitude of his own property."[183] Sulpicius' writings

[180] On Christian *otium*, see Fontaine (1972). Trout (1988) has emphasized the incompatibility of classical *otium* with Christian asceticism for devotees such as Augustine. For that majority of elites who desired to lead more worldly Christian lives, those aspects of *otium*, such as continued wealth and periodic participation in public life, would not have proved problematic.

[181] On the imagined link between poetry and salvation, see also Evenepoel (1993), 46.

[182] Trout (1999), 162, although even here the "presumptuousness" of Paulinus' move is not explored fully.

[183] *PLS* 1: 1043: *Et intelligat quia ipsi Symeon causam mortis vagandi per civitates cura generavit, qui nequaquam inimicorum patuisset insidiis, si in hoc mense possessionis suae secreta servasset.*

likewise reflect an uneasy tension between Primuliacum and local bishops.[184] His raillery against low-born clerics come to new-found power carries the unmistakable whiff of elite snobbery.[185] He asks only to be left to "live as a Christian," seemingly without any sense that his estate community with its churches and baptistery and aristocratic membership might present a challenge to episcopal authority.[186] Vigilantius' diatribe, however, perhaps aimed specifically at Primuliacum, makes plain the danger: "If all men were to seclude themselves and live in solitude, who would frequent the churches? Who would remain to win those engaged in secular pursuits?"[187] In the eyes of the episcopate, estate-based communities siphoned off not only potential monetary resources, but an elite presence that lent the church legitimacy and earned it new converts.

This is not to suggest that these elites, particularly those who had opted not to take ascetic vows, necessarily abandoned their local episcopate and its church altogether. Ausonius himself complains of having to travel to town to attend Easter services and the urban cult of the saints, either in local Calagurris or far-away Rome, drew Prudentius' from his rural base. Rather, it is that these elites' emotional and spiritual center of gravity lay in their own villa-centered communities; it was here that ideals were shaped, ideas traded and the notion of spiritual peace and even salvation were imaginatively placed. It is also important to recognize that estate-based piety, whether ascetic or otherwise, and the pursuit of foreign sources of holiness were not contrary urges but part of the same phenomenon. Integral to both was a tendency on the part of the elite to shape Christian life through their own, preexisting aristocratic networks, networks that spread over the whole Mediterranean, encouraging travel, relic exchange, doctrinal debate and even the flow of capital.[188]

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[184] Stancliffe (1983), 289–96.

[185] *Dialogues* 1.21.

[186] *Dialogues* 1.2.2. See Stancliffe (1983), 290–96.

[187] Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium* 15 (*PL* 23: 351A): *Si omnes se clauserint, et fuerint in solitudine, quis celebrabit Ecclesias? quis saeculares homines lucrifaciet?* Given Vigilantius' previously close relationship with Sulpicius, its abrupt end, and the proximity of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and Primuliacum, Vigilantius may very well have had Primuliacum in mind. On the relationship between Vigilantius and Sulpicius, see now Trout (1999), 221.

[188] Such networks and their impact on Christian life and doctrine have been most evocatively discussed by Clark in the context of the Origenist controversy: Clark (1992).

Vigilantius' attempts to stem Holy Land donations and rural asceticism were attacks against a single monster, and Jerome's furious reply fought to save not simply ascetic withdrawal, but his own financial lifeline which flowed from the same, elite source.

Conclusions

Matthews' original question demands an answer: is there anything in the Christian culture described in the preceding pages which displays a particular Spanish character? Aristocratic asceticism, holy travel and the articulation of Christian communities through aristocratic power structures were general features of the fourth- and fifth-century Christian West, and there is insufficient evidence to claim them particularly for Hispania. The fact that so much of the above textual history relies on Aquitanian sources makes it difficult to pick out regional differences in what is necessarily a regionally muddled picture.

While it may not be possible to describe Hispania's local Christian culture with the precision one might like, the foregoing history describes a Christian culture quite different from that which has dominated the scholarly discourse. The archaeological evidence from hundreds of villas points to a particularly strong Spanish landed aristocracy, or at any rate, one bent on projecting its power through the construction of great villas. By the latter half of the century, more and more of these elites began to convert to Christianity, although a strong pagan lobby may have existed alongside them. And yet Hispania's episcopate remained weak: its network was among the most diffuse in the West and it lacked any strong administrative figures until late in the fifth century. The result seems to have been a landed elite that, lacking any compelling episcopal presence, simply carried on without bishops, living their Christian lives and concentrating their euergistic impulses largely within their own communities, communities that spread from the rural villa to the imperial court and the Holy Land, but which often sidestepped the local episcopate.

The most revealing evidence for these communities, however, is the Christian monuments with which we began this discussion. This rural Christian architecture, seemingly unique to Hispania, was the physical expression of elite communal identity. As rural villa monuments, they betray an elite tendency to use the estate as a center of

Christian gravity, the locus of a combined familial and saintly commemorative impulse. At the same time, these monuments bear the unmistakable imprint of the foreign. The unusual plans and imported building styles reflect an extra-peninsular Christian experience, a relic of a foreign holy brought home to the estate. Like Sulpicius' Holy Land relics and his pictures of Paulinus, these Spanish villa monuments reflect a Christian ideal shaped overwhelmingly by individual experience.

And yet monuments like Pueblanueva or Carranque are more than statements of self-centered, individualistic "private" piety. They are also conversations in stone. For villa architecture of all kinds, whether a triclinium or a martyrium, was a statement of individual identity made to a community. That intended community was not, as we like to imagine, the dusty coloni who arrived periodically to pay their rent, although the later fifth- and sixth-century villa-churches would indeed be built with them in mind. Fourth-century rural building, sacred and secular, was aimed at fellow members of the elite, a community of friends and colleagues both local and international. Buildings communicated identity as readily as did letters, and when the two media combined, as in epistolary ekphrases, their shared, communicative function is readily apparent. Ausonius' estate and his panegyric on it are both expressions of Ausonius himself, constructed so that others "might better know him, and know themselves," while Paulinus and Sulpicius exchanged plans and descriptions of their respective church complexes not simply as examples of ekphrastic virtuosity, but as symbols of shared faith.[189]

If Christianity was experienced "differently" in Hispania than elsewhere it was in the power of these elite Christian communities, a power that trumped or simply ignored episcopal influence. Rather than a "pious," or "fervent" Christian elite, archaeology describes a group living within its own, age-old community structures, according to its own internal logic of power and hierarchy. Only in the later fifth and sixth centuries would these communities be fully integrated into a new church dynamic. It was only then that the real Christianization of Hispania began.

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[189] Ausonius, *De Herediolo* 17–19; Paulinus, *Ep.* 32.10. On the latter, see Conybeare (2000), ch. 4.

PART THREE

SPAIN AND ITS PROVINCIAL NEIGHBORS

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The articles in the third section of this volume are concerned with the relationships between the Spanish provinces and their provincial neighbors—Gaul and Africa—and the broader world of the Roman West. Taken together, the contributions demonstrate how far recent scholarship has progressed beyond the insular interpretations of the mid-twentieth century, when Spanish developments were treated in sometimes hermetic isolation from the history of other provinces. The contribution of Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes represents one aspect of this trend. On the one hand, the authors lay out the ways in which the early imperial history of the peninsular north and northwest, what can generically be termed the Cantabrian basin, conditioned its late imperial development: the region was largely un-urbanized before the beginning of the first century AD, and its urbanization and Romanization took place chiefly within a military framework because of the strategic value placed on its mineral products. The road networks and settlement patterns of the region grew up around the necessities of military and administrative communications, and created the physical spaces of the region's late antique history. Indeed, it was administrative expedients going back as far as the Augustan period that culminated in the creation of the Diocletianic province of Gallaecia. Another way in which the region's earlier history is reflected in later developments is the persistence of indigenous social relationships, modified by Roman norms, but by no means superseded during the imperial period. Continuity of indigenous traditions did not necessarily signify resistance to Romanization, but it did result in the preservation of social networks, not least extended, patrilinear kinship groupings. Such networks tended to disappear in more Romanized regions while their survival in the north resulted in a more powerful local cohesion, particularly during the fifth-century invasions when the solidarity they provided aided in local resistance.

At the same time as the authors emphasize the ways in which the Cantabrian basin formed a region with special characteristics different from those of other Spanish provinces, they also explore how the

region was integrated into a larger imperial administrative structure, even before it became its own province in the tetrarchic period. In particular, Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes argue that the military presence of the early imperial period is of a piece with the later military shape of Gallaecia, and that the latter can plausibly be explained by the role played by northern Spain in the *annona militaris* which bound the whole empire together from the later third until the earlier fifth century. In the course of their argument, they contribute to the debate on one of the great historiographical constructs of Spain's late Roman history—now largely discarded—the notion of a *limes Hispanus* defending the north of Spain against some enemy, whether native or foreign.

If Díaz and Menéndez treat the evidence of urbanism and fortification as just one element of their examination of the Cantabrian basin, towns and town-walls are the focus of the study of Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo. Over the years, these authors have jointly and individually examined various aspects of northern Hispano-Roman urbanism, as well as the phenomenon of urban fortification across the peninsula as a whole. In their contribution to the present volume, they present a refined and updated version of their ongoing attempt to catalogue the urban fortifications of Roman Spain and to develop a typology with which to describe them. This piece provides the first comprehensive treatment of the subject in English since the pioneering work of Ian Richmond in the 1930s, challenging a number of prevailing views still based on his study. It also suggests a more comprehensive theory for the very large number of Spanish wall-circuits constructed in the Diocletianic and late tetrarchic periods. The authors point to the tremendous expense represented by urban wall construction, arguing that this cost was simply too much for any individual city to bear while still putting up the wall in a timely manner. They therefore argue for a concerted effort on the part of the imperial government, whereby the construction of walls, and contemporary work on the region's road networks, fitted into a strategic plan for the defense of the Spanish *annona militaris*. If their arguments are correct, they overturn the long-held conviction that wall-building is chiefly a response to crisis, reflecting the instability of Spain from the third century onwards and the relative isolation of its cities, with their consequent need for self-defense. Instead, it suggests the close connection between the Spanish provinces and the wider network of imperial administration.

The contribution of ARCE similarly addresses the question of Spanish connections to other provinces, but from a rather different perspective. Arce describes the relationship between the Spanish provinces and the westernmost province of Africa, Mauretania Tingitana (or Tingitania), from the high imperial period through the Arab conquest. He explores the ways in which the Diocletianic integration of Tingitania into the Spanish diocese was nothing other than an extension of long-standing administrative expedients of earlier times. He goes on, however, to argue that the relationship between Tingitania and the Spanish provinces should not be understood as a special relationship between Hispania and Roman Africa as a whole. Instead, Arce suggests that the historiographic trope of a close connection between late antique Africa and the Spanish provinces is largely based on circumstantial evidence, and that the connections between the two regions were not dramatically closer than those between Spain and other parts of the western Roman world. The author, in other words, brings the sort of skepticism to received conclusions that characterized his ground-breaking studies of the 1970s and early 1980s to a historiographical commonplace as yet unchallenged in the scholarly literature.

All three of the articles in this section deal with the relationship between Hispania and its neighbors, an approach that has driven some of the most productive research on peninsular history in the past two decades. All demonstrate that to fully understand the role that the Spanish provinces played in late antiquity requires an appreciation of the histories of the provinces that surrounded them. Hispania, in other words, can be understood neither as an historical *unicum* set miraculously outside the common history of the empire, nor as a mere appendage of neighboring provinces like Africa or Gaul in which the historical record is somewhat more complete. Instead, we must appreciate regional variation both between Spain and its neighbors, and among the Spanish provinces, as well the different roles they might be expected to play in a larger imperial strategy.

THE CANTABRIAN BASIN IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES: FROM IMPERIAL PROVINCE TO PERIPHERY*

Pablo C. Díaz and Luís R. Menéndez-Bueyes

> As the barbarians ran wild through Hispania and the deadly pestilence continued on its savage course, the wealth and goods stored in the cities were plundered by the tyrannical tax-collector and consumed by the soldiers.[1]

This description of the year 410 was penned by the chronicler Hydatius, part of his long narrative of barbarian incursions into the Iberian peninsula. It is a description, relayed in catastrophic terms and adorned with apocalyptic imagery, that narrates the arrival of invaders who, violating the values represented by Roman rule and the Catholic faith, would terminate imperial rule over northern and northwestern Hispania. Hydatius promises retribution against those who overturned what he perceived to be the foundations of cosmic order: the power of the empire, and the peace of the church. In appropriating the *topos* of the destructive enemy, the bishop of Aquae Flaviae (modern Chaves) paints an image of such destructive force that the exterior threat against the country engulfs even those who should have theoretically defended its interests.[2]

At the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, the empire's fiscal and military machinery formed the two most visible elements of Roman authority, authority which still remained firmly entrenched in the empire's western provinces.[3] In the chaos which followed the barbarian incursions across the Pyrenees, these elements of order seemed to have turned against the local population and the text cited above thus seems to signal the end of imperial control over northern Hispania. This sense of deception and betrayal runs

* This project was carried out under the auspices of BHA2002–04170–C05–04.

[1] Hyd. 40: *Debaccantibus per Hispanias barbaris et seuiente nihilominus pestilentiae malo opes et conditam in urbibus substantiam tyrannicus exactor diripit et milites exauriunt.*

[2] Hyd. 38: *Barbari qui in Hispanias ingressi fuerant caede depredantur hostili.*

[3] Matthews (1975), 319; Arce (1982a), 31–62.

deep through Hydatius' narrative: time and again, he returns to images of abandonment, if not treachery, on the part of those who represented Rome and her interests, for instance Aëtius or the Visigothic *foederati*.[4] This deep sense of deception makes the chronicler turns his gaze towards the interior, especially those areas of Gallaecia closest to him. Through his chronicle we can trace the gradual atomization of power and the substitution of Roman administrative machinery with local authorities of diverse forms and scope. Hydatius describes the way in which a Roman province, with integrated administrative and economic structures, became a peripheral area, each day more isolated and marginal to the great events of the Roman and post-Roman world.

This short description of the year 410 marks for us a "before" and an "after" in the evolution of the territory that interests us here. The text also serves as a means of approaching the century which had just ended, while its emphasis on the economy and the army can serve as a point of departure for examining Roman political authority in the area. In doing this, however, we must bear in mind the sparseness of the literary sources and the difficulty of reconciling them with confusing archaeological remains: these have too often led to a scholarly controversy that makes up for the minimal evidence with a superfluity of unsupported hypotheses.

Geography (See Fig. 1)

The creation of the province of Gallaecia in Diocletian's reforms probably came about as a result of administrative inefficiencies in the older arrangement. Governing the northern and northwestern corners of Hispania from Tarragona, the capital of Tarraconensis, undoubtedly presented practical problems. In fact, even during the early empire there had been a tendency to assign the northwest its own administrative structures, which were particularly necessary for a region whose mineral products represented significant strategic and economic interests.[5] Diocletian's provincial reform was thus the culmination of a process that had begun centuries earlier.

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[4] On Hydatius' changing attitudes throughout the chronicle as a result of his disillusionment and expectations, as well as his adaptation to changing circumstance, see Molè (1974); (1975); Thompson (1976), 4–18.

[5] Diego Santos (1974); Cepas Palanca (1997), 29–35.

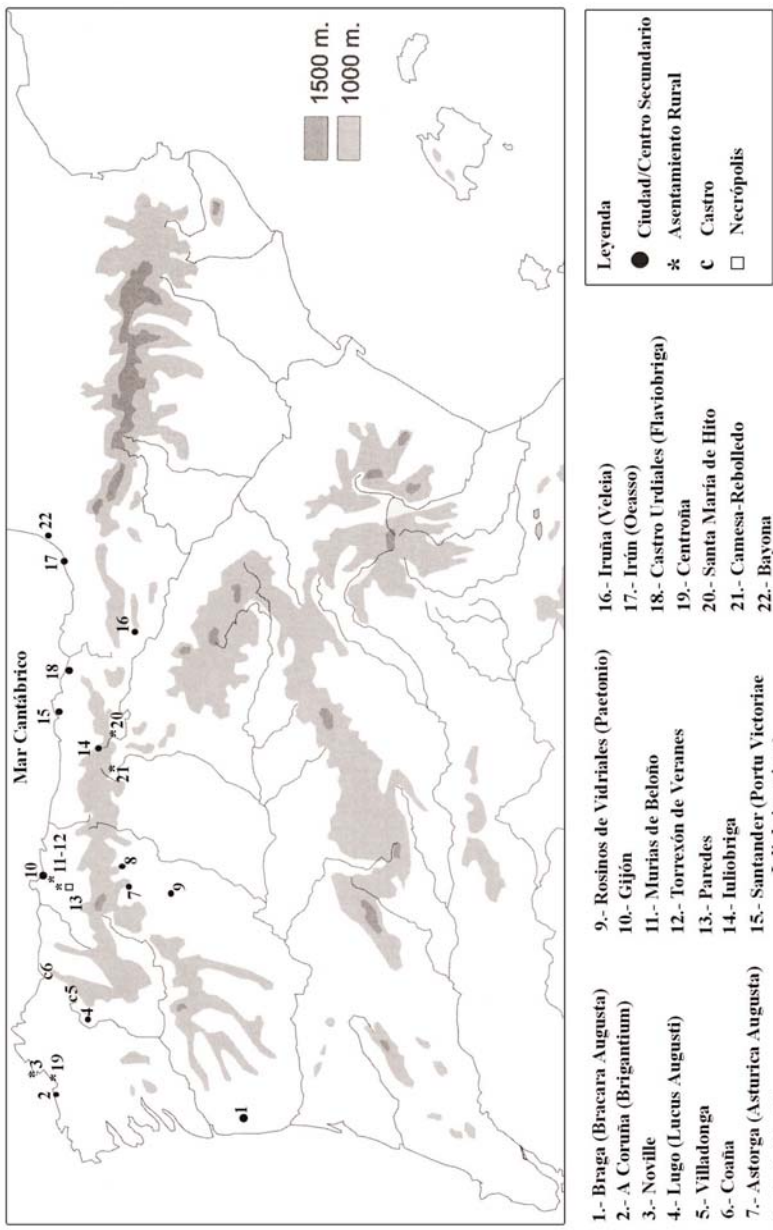


Figure 1. Significant sites of the Cantabrian Basin, fourth and fifth centuries.

The first problem, naturally, was to define the boundaries of the new province. The old *conventus* of Braga (Bracara), Lugo (Lucus Augusti) and Astorga (Asturica Augusta) were certainly incorporated into the new province, but the status of the territories of the northern Meseta, particularly the *conventus Cluniensis* (Burgos), are less clear. Indeed, the evidence for the inclusion of Clunia comes largely from late and often vague sources. The first of these is the *Notitia Dignitatum* which seems to situate Iuliobriga (Reinosa, Cantabria) inside the limits of Gallaecia.[6] Hydatius' assignment of Theodosius' hometown, Cauca (Coca), to Gallaecia would also seem to place the frontiers of the province far to the east and south.[7] Some have claimed that Hydatius' testimony may manifest the chronicler's desire to assign a Gallaecian origin to Theodosius, an emperor whom the bishop particularly associated with the glory of Roman *imperium*, rather than actual evidence for the boundaries of the province. On the other hand, one should note that Hydatius generally avoids this sort of blatant exaggeration.

The third reference to Gallaecia's boundaries dates from the middle of the fifth century. When the Sueves agreed to a partition of power in Hispania, first with Aëtius and later with the appointees of Valentinian III, their domains are described as encompassing Lusitania and Gallaecia.[8] Jordanes, who reports the fact, seems to be quite clear on the positioning of the frontiers: "The Suevi formerly occupied as their country Gallaecia and Lusitania, which extend on the right side of Spain along the shore of Ocean. To the east is Austrogonia . . . to the north Ocean, and to the south Lusitania."[9]

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[6] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.30; Tranoy (1981), 389–408, esp. 403.

[7] Hyd. 2: *natione Spanus de prouincia Gallicia ciuitate Cauca.*

[8] In 452 a new *comes Hispaniarum* was named, one Mansuetus. Accompanied by another *comes*, Fronto, he came to negotiate peace and territorial boundaries with the Sueves: Hyd. 147. Two years later, after the assassination of Aëtius, Valentinian III sent a new ambassador, Justinianus: Hyd. 153. The sources ascribe no specific function to this mission, which was one among many that Valentinian III sent to various barbarian peoples. It seems likely that after Aëtius' death, the emperor wished to confirm the agreements made between Aëtius and the Sueves in previous years. Although there are no direct references to these accords, it seems that they resulted in the division of spheres of power between the *imperium* and the Suevic king. From Hydatius we know that the Sueves returned Carthaginiensis to the Romans (Hyd. 161), in what was doubtless part of this division.

[9] Jordanes, *Get.* 230: *Quibus antea Gallicia at Lysitania sedes fuere, quae in destro latere Spaniae per ripam Oceani porriguntur, habentes ab oriente Austrogonia . . . a septentrione Oceanum, a meridie Lysitaniam.* The author is describing the Suevic king Rechiar's invasion of

There is no reason to reject Jordanes' testimony on this point, for his sources of information came directly from the imperial chancellery in Constantinople and probably from western sources copied in Italy, particularly Cassiodorus.[10] The document(s) that Jordanes consulted made use of imperial administrative references, in which Gallaecia was the space encompassed by the Atlantic Ocean, the Bay of Biscay, Lusitania and, to the east, Autrigonia.[11] The use of the archaic, pre-Roman designation for Autrigonia will be addressed below, but what seems clear is that the area that the Romans called Gallaecia, and which the reforms of Diocletian elevated to provincial status, was indeed all the territory between the Duero and the ocean, embracing the Atlantic and Cantabrian coasts and terminating at the mountains which close off the northern Meseta from the Ebro Valley. What we typically call the Cantabrian basin would thus have been the territory which in broad terms corresponded to the fourth-century province of Gallaecia.[12] Apart from some internal points of diversity, it is clear that the area to the south of the Cantabrian Mountains formed a basically homogeneous cultural horizon.[13] Furthermore, the oft-assumed "cultural rupture" that is said to have separated the northern and southern slopes of the range is probably overstated: save for the different modes of settlement found among the modern provinces of Galicia, Asturias-Cantabria and the País Vasco, both sides of the mountains formed a definable cultural unit.

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lands which did not belong to him, for which the Visigothic king Theoderic II condemned him.

[10] Croke (1987).

[11] The text seems to clearly record the frontier boundaries of a military treaty. It does not describe the renewal of a *foedus*, as Zecchini (1983), 280, believes, but rather an agreement between "equals." On the location of Autrigonia and its problems, as well as the late date of the reference, see Solana Sáinz (1974), 125–27.

[12] The use of the term "Cantabria" in late antique sources also presents significant problems, as in the exemplary instance of the Serena Constantia whose enigmatic epitaph (ILCV, nº 4448) describes her as "Cantabria." However, for our purposes, the definition which appears in an eleventh-century gloss on the Codex Emilianense 39 is illuminating: here the "Cantabria" of the Visigothic sources is said to be located in the central part of the Cordillera Cantábrica, where the Ebro has its source, a designation that corresponds to the region's limits during the high empire. The mention of a *senatus Cantabriae* in *V. Aem.* 26.33 cannot therefore refer to a city of that name. However, as Sánchez Albornoz (1972–1975), 1: 42, indicated, it seems unlikely that a senate would govern a whole region, while Barbero and Vigil (1974), 54, suggested that the senate was evidence of self-governing Cantabrian authority. For the problem generally see González Echegaray (1977), 27–39; (1998) 73–115.

[13] Palol (1977), 163; Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón (1996).

Roman antecedents

A brief consideration of the area at the time of the Roman conquest provides some important insights into its character in the late Roman period. The regions with which we are concerned here were fundamentally different in socio-structural terms from other Iberian lands that passed under Roman rule. The Cantabrian Basin was one of the least urbanized areas of Hispania prior to the Roman conquest, and the advent of Roman rule meant the creation of many urban centers *ex novo*, centers which would articulate the territory's political and economic geography.[14] The new centers of Braga, Lugo, Astorga and Clunia became *conventus* capitals, Léon (Legio) served as a military center, while Bergidum (Castro Ventosa), Pisoraca, Segisama, Iuliobriga, Birovesca, and Veleia were important communication nodes, controlling the natural access points to the Cantabrian Range and the head of the Ebro valley. These new cities were the set-pieces of a vast artificial program, one which created urban-based territories where none had existed previously.[15]

This incipient organization of the northern territories would eventually yield to one with a more evolved civil character, as is indicated by epigraphic documents such as the *Tabula Lougeiorum*, or the recently discovered Edict of Augustus.[16] The latter document seems to show how *civitates* were formed in the northwest of the peninsula, their political organization based on bringing together the indigenous population of the region according to a Roman municipal model. This was the culmination of a long and complex process of integration set in motion by Roman conquest,[17] in which the socio-economic and settlement model of the hill-fort would be transformed into that of the *oppidum*.[18] Gradually, these new centers acquired secondary,

[14] The zone generally represented a juridical vacuum, largely because it contained so few municipalities in comparison with the other regions of Hispania: Galsterer (1971); J. Santos (1985); (1986).

[15] This "artificial" character would explain why these cities seem to have held so little attraction for surrounding inhabitants: Fabre (1970). In general, see the synthesis in Fernández-Ochoa (1993). For a review of the major cities and the problem generally, see the articles collected in Rodríguez Colmenero (1998).

[16] Dopico Cainzos (1988); Grau Lobo and Hoyas (2001).

[17] López Melero (2001), 36–37. These arguments are largely shared by Alföldy (2001), 24–25.

[18] On this phenomenon, see Bendala Galán et al. (1988).

satellite centers, either by the creation of new types of settlements, such as *vici* or *villae*, or by the integration and transformation of earlier centers into the new municipal organization.[19] By the early third century, the secondary hill-forts seem to have disappeared from the settlement maps of some regions, a phenomenon which is particularly well-documented in the alpine regions of the Asturias.[20]

The lack of an indigenous territorial articulation likewise meant the construction of a road network that connected the power centers of the neighboring provinces with the those of the northwestern territories. The link between Astorga and Tarragona via the head of the Ebro valley and Zaragoza (Caesaraugusta), organized the whole of the northern Meseta, while the connection with Bordeaux (Burdigala) further linked the northwestern territories with the Gallic provinces. To the south, meanwhile, Astorga was linked by road to Mérida. The combination of these two road networks, skirting the mountain systems of the Cantabrian range and Gallaecia, became a means of organizing and articulating space.[21] The administrative centers of the north and northwest were unified by these routes, together with their transversal branches. Moreover, within this network there was also the road that led south from Braga, along which flowed the metallic blood that gave the zone its undisputed significance in the imperial economy—the gold from its mines.

At the beginning of the first century, the Cantabrian region was, in the eyes of Rome, an integrated region. It was a conquered territory, and in Roman legal terms, there remained little doubt as to the emperor's control of its activities. Augustus' recent conquests in the area had already produced wealth in the form of slaves, and over the short term, seemed a guarantee of peace and stability. The foundation of cities and the creation of a nascent administration generated the essential machinery by which Roman initiatives were carried out. These same institutions channeled the flow of economic benefits to Rome in the form of military recruits and raw materials which, in the absence of productive agriculture and specialized crafts, meant largely metals and particularly gold.

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[19] Pérez Losada (1996).

[20] Carrocera Fernández (1996); Menéndez-Bueyes (1999–2000).

[21] A synthesis of the state of Roman road studies in this area can be found in Novo Güisán (1992), 277–326. For specific areas, see Estefanía Álvarez (1960); Mañanes and Solana (1985); Rabanal (1988); Iglesias Gil and Muñiz (1992).

The conquest of the region, still recent at the beginning of the first century, had entailed a series of wars, ferociously waged and logistically difficult, owing to the terrain. An interim of peace was a necessary precondition to demilitarizing the northwestern territories, and the consequent presence of the army meant military levies of local men. In turn, these men assisted over time in the Romanization of the province when they returned home from their tours of duty. The large number of Asturian and Cantabrian auxiliaries in the Roman army is well attested, and almost forty units of auxiliaries were composed of men from these areas.[22] Furthermore, the construction of an administrative apparatus required supplementary efforts in which soldiers also played a major role. They were frequently occupied in civil construction duties, for instance the construction of cities and roads.[23] In the same way, soldiers were enlisted for the new administrative posts, and above all, assumed control of the mines and the transport of gold to ports, probably mainly to Tarragona.[24] By the end of the first century AD, the road network was substantially in place, the passes through the Cantabrian Mountains were secured, and the coast was dotted with Roman enclaves, anchorages and ports that guaranteed a regularized, safe and comfortable transport.[25] The transport of metal, however, remained as the single reason for continued military presence in the region.

It is impossible to know if direct conflicts took place between the local populations and Roman troops between the end of Augustus' Cantabrian wars and the arrival of the Sueves. During these four centuries, the people of northern Hispania probably preserved their traditional extended family structures, which had little in common with Roman traditions. Such indigenous forms of kinship, which naturally created cohesion among sub-groups, might occasionally result in political relationships at odds with those sanctioned by Rome.[26]

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[22] Roldán Hervás (1974), 49–158.

[23] Morillo Cerdán (1998).

[24] R. Jones (1976), 45–66, held that the distribution of Roman troops in northern Hispania reflected the needs of the mines. See also Le Roux (1985).

[25] For the mountain passes, Pérez González and Fernández Ibáñez (1986). Rome not only established administrative centers in the principal ports of the Cantabrian region, particularly those tied to the interior, but the homogeneous archaeological record at all coastal sites indicates a regular maritime route connecting these points: Pérez González and Illarregui Gómez (1992); Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1994), 157–90. For the specific study of Galicia, see Naveiro López (1991).

[26] González Rodríguez (1997), 117–20.

Insofar as local populations did not hold Roman citizenship, the acceptance of the Roman *tria nomina* was only an unofficial option, and not very prevalent. Hence, we are left with a minimalist picture of the region's integration, consisting chiefly of an acceptance of Roman power, a renunciation of armed resistance, a submission to imperial economic demands, a respect for the military levy if backed by threat of force, and such labor contributions as were required. The other social phenomena we can observe in the region—continuity of an indigenous religion that largely resisted syncretism with Roman deities, the persistence of traditional habits in legal documents (particularly when these did not involve Roman citizens or crimes prosecuted officially), and the persistence of traditional patterns of land tenure and of pasturage in marginal areas—none of these things was incompatible with being part of the Roman world.[27]

Anthropological models and comparative studies with other imperial enterprises show that continuity in traditional forms of life does not necessarily constitute a symptom of resistance. This would particularly have been the case under a Roman *imperium* that demanded only minimal compromise and tended to respect local customs. The forms of integration which we commonly term Romanization—urban life, participation in Roman priesthoods and cults, Italian styles of dress and leisure—were probably restricted to those who consciously sought to integrate themselves into Roman power structures and their hierarchy. It was this local elite, actively striving for integration into the Roman system, who took the greatest steps towards its realization, a trend which would continue through to late antiquity.[28]

Given all this, the persistence of fortified habitation in the region should not be seen as an anomaly. Florus' image of a population ejected from their traditional settlements and relocated to new, less defensible settlements, is largely the product of a wartime context in which resettlement may have been undertaken as a preventative or punitive measure.[29] This model of forcible relocation should in no way be taken as the norm. Rather, the voluntary shift in settlement

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[27] Forms of ownership and land tenure centered around patrilineal extended families seem to be found in northwestern Hispania during the Visigothic period and are linked to the similar developments in the medieval period: Díaz Martínez (2001), 349 nn. 77–79.

[28] Pitillas Salañer (1998). Cf. Pereira-Menaut (1988); (1992).

[29] Florus, *Epit.* 2.33.60.

patterns and in forms of land exploitation would have occurred slowly, especially in the absence of any major technological or social changes that might have accelerated the process. Where it occurred, the substitution of villages and other kinds of settlement for the old fortified hill-top sites should be associated with new economic and social conditions, and where possible should be analyzed on a case-by-case basis in relation to mineral exploitation, the availability of water, the pacification of the area, the shift from pastoral to cultivated lands, and the change from seasonal transhumance to more sedentary forms of pastoralism.[30]

Indeed, even the appearance of villas, the quintessential form of Roman rural colonization, should not necessarily imply the disappearance of other forms of agrarian settlement. We associate the Roman villa with its *pars urbana*, a space where *Romanitas* was put on display, but this image of the villa tells us nothing about the mechanisms by which these estates were managed, nor the forms of land tenure they adopted. Rural landowners might elect to farm their lands with slaves, paid laborers, tenants or any combination thereof. [31] The coexistence of a large estate with a hill-top site which may have housed the estate workers is not impossible.[32] Such a villa proprietor might be Roman or a Romanized local. We have already noted that an important part of the population was disposed to adopt Roman ways and in fact late sources describe a number of indigenous persons as large proprietors, a clear sign of the adoption of Roman agrarian forms by the local population.[33]

A good example of this phenomenon is the complex of villas associated with the territory of modern Gijón, the ancient name of which is unknown. These villas mark a rich cluster of settlement along the road running from Lugo de Llanera (Lucus Asturum), although in this case, there may have been a hiatus in occupation between the second century and the end of fifth. Among these, the villas of Murias de Beloño and Veranes are significant,[34] as their later occupation

[30] The relationship between fortified sites and the exploitation of mineral and agricultural resources is discussed in Orejas Saco del Valle (1996).

[31] Rosafio (1994), 150. For a discussion of the agrarian economy of Hispania and the evolution of the villa system, see Ariño Gil and Díaz (1999); (2002).

[32] Pérez Losada (1991), 404–407; Arias (1996), 184.

[33] Barbero and Vigil (1974), 189–90; also Stroheker (1965), 82.

[34] Although some doubts remain, the villa functioned until the fourth century and perhaps even continued through the seventh. Between the seventh and eighth

may be associated with a preexisting watch tower on the fortress site of Curiel.[35] Development around a communication artery, as well as possible links between villas and watch towers may also be found near Siero, where archaeology is revealing a real nucleus of authority that provided an alternative center of power to Gijón between the fourth and eighth centuries. This area presented excellent conditions for the development of communication networks, and included the secondary transverse road that linked *Lucus Asturum* with the Cangas de Onís area, marking the central Asturian corridor parallel to the sea. Also in this area ran the so-called *Vadiniense* road, a south-north route that probably ran through the port of Ventaniella and would have bounded the territory of the *civitas Vadiniensis*.[36] Associated with this road, which would later form much of the coastal portion of the Camino de Santiago, is the Roman bridge of Colloto and its hoard of bronze coins.[37] Nearby, on the road to Lucus Asturum and Gijón, and watched over by the tower of Naranco, lay the villa of Paredes and its extraordinary necropolis, both dated to between the second half of the fourth and the early fifth century. The quality and range of materials from this necropolis delineate a rural community which, regardless of the origins of its landlord, was wholly immersed in Roman ways of life.[38]

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centuries, the large aula of the eastern terrace was converted to a cult site dedicated to Saints Mary and Peter, and the surrounding rooms were converted to serve the church: Gil Sendino (2002).

[35] This structure consists of an oval built with large, rough-hewn limestone blocks and pierced by a monumental portal. The portal's masonry style is reminiscent of the Roman gate of Gijón, as well as certain parts of the villa of Veranes. The complex is dated by ^{14}C to some time between the eighth and tenth centuries: Gutiérrez González (1998), 189–94.

[36] Fernández-Ochoa (1982), 51–54; Martino García (1998–1999). It is important to remember that the population of this area seems to be quite late and that this road would also serve to connect the area of Liébana, where a coin of Valentinian II (*Reparatio Reipub*) was found in Turieno (Liébana, Cantabria): see Cisneros et al. (1995), 195–96. This coin may also speak to possible contacts between Liébana and Cangas de Onís and its associated commercial road.

[37] The chronology of the bridge is debated, and even its Roman date has been rejected: see Menéndez Granda (2001).

[38] Requejo Pagés (2001). This necropolis is similar to those of the so-called "Duero" type. The grave goods derive from a vigorous local manufacturing tradition: Fuentes Domínguez (1989), 257–58; Carretero Vaquero (1990). This local character would explain the differences with grave goods from other areas of the peninsula, for example those of the necropolis of Tarragona. It is therefore thought that these necropoleis respond to a complex local reality, in which materials relating to manufacturing (metal hardware) and hunting (knives) coexisted with those of

The concept of the "periphery" is much discussed, and the perception of the Spanish northwest as the *finis terrae* is well attested.[39] Yet this fact does not necessarily imply a concomitant functional distinction. Britannia, a substantial portion of Gaul, the frontier provinces of the Rhine and Danube, a large part of the African interior and the extreme eastern parts of Asia, all found themselves in similar positions. In each case, the idea of the frontier was implicit, for beyond the provincial confines lay an enemy hostile to the empire. The limits of the province were consequently points to be defined, watched and controlled. At the same time, and irrespective of their actual degree of permeability, the frontiers were zones of permanent contact with the "outside."[40] Gallaecia, by contrast, stood at the extreme west of the known world, and beyond it lay only a sinister sea, one that only coastal traders with commercial interests dared navigate. While pirates or other enemies might reach its Atlantic and Cantabrian coasts—ships arrived with hostile intent on more than one occasion during the fifth century—there was no nation beyond Gallaecia that could present a danger.[41] Given this relative security, the sentiment engendered by the region ought in theory to have been one of security, particularly as the triangle formed by the

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military character (belt buckles from *cingulae*) known from the Rhine, Danube and England: Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón (1997). We should also add that among these graves it is possible to distinguish certain formal differences pointing to social and functional hierarchies, although not, it must be emphasized, in relation to a military *limes*. An excellent example of this problem is the northern necropolis of La Olmeda, on which Abásolo, Cortés and Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón (1997), 127–46. Here, the diversity of graves, their wide topographic dispersion and the impossibility of proving that any represent comitatensian troops, as the excavators claim, lead us to believe that the necropolis held various rural populations, some quite large, who may have occasionally been levied into private armies. Finally, other authors like Jiménez Garnica (1990), 190, identify these troops as those sent by Honorius after 420 under the leadership of *comes hispaniarum* Asterius and the *magister militum* Castinus (Hyd. 74; 78). Their mission was to control strategic roads and thereby ensure the continued function of the public transport system, as well as to prevent local usurpers from among the ever-more powerful Spanish aristocracy: Arce (1993b), 230.

[39] Díaz Martínez (2001), 329–33; Arce (1996), 73, with references to Silius Italicus, *Punica* 17.637 (*terrarum fines Gades*); Pliny the Elder, *NH* 5.76 (*Gadibus extra orben conditis*); *Expositio totius mundi* 59 (*est ibi finis mundi*). See also Barahona Simões (1992).

[40] Lee (1993), who emphasizes the frontier's permeability to news and information.

[41] Hyd. 164; 189, mention the arrival of Heruli on the northern and northwestern coasts of Hispania. It is possible that these barbarians were in the service of the empire, who used them in the last years of precarious control in the west and who came to form their own unit of *palatini* (Not. Dig., Occ. 5.18): Jones (1964), 244; Richardot (1998), 82–83.

coasts of Gaul, Spain and Britain was essentially a Roman sea, and one in which commercial and military navigation took place at a much lower intensity than in the Mediterranean.

Late antique realities: gold, soldiers and the problem of the limes Hispanus

It seems to be generally accepted that, by the fourth century, the major gold mines of the northwest had ceased to be exploited, a phenomenon that is well-attested at least in the mining complexes of the western Asturias which were abandoned as late as the middle of the third century.[42] The cessation of mining corresponded to a profound crisis in the city of Astorga, where major public and private buildings were abandoned at about the same time.[43] Although mining continued in the Caurel Mountains around Lugo and along the Asturian coasts, it took place on a much smaller scale.[44] In fact, the system seems to have been privatized, taken over by the large landowners who were the only individuals with sufficient capital and labor to support such an endeavor. We would, in consequence, expect that the quantities of metals produced would be greatly reduced.[45] On the other hand, the imperial military was not withdrawn, and may have continued to play some role in the local industry. The excavations at Las Merchanas (Salamanca) have revealed that the late reoccupation of the site was related to nearby mining activity. Here, mining seems to have continued until the fifth century, and may have relied on a military presence to supervise operations.[46]

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[42] Domergue (1986), 38–42; Domergue (1990), 221–23 and 351; Sánchez-Palencia (1995), 148; Orejas Saco del Valle (1996), 183; Maya González (1989), 130–31. In fact, there was a general shortage of gold during late antiquity, and the gold mines of the west were generally inactive: Depeyrot (1996), 214–16 (although see Banaji [2001] 39–88, who argues the reverse). Claudian's reference to gold in the area should be taken as a literary *topos*: Claudian, *Laus Serenae* 30.74–78: *Cantaber Oceanus vicino litore gemmas / expuit; effossis nec pallidus Astur oberrat / montibus: oblatum sacris natalibus aurum / vulgo vena vomit, Pyrenaeisque sub antris / ignea flumineae legere ceraunia Nymphae.*

[43] García Marcos, Morillo and Campomanes (1997), 528.

[44] The discovery of an important hoard near Caurel has been related to this activity. See García Figuerola (1996). Some fortified sites which have produced various materials of late date, have likewise been related to possible mining activities in the area: Dorribo and Reboredo (2000), 109–14.

[45] Edmondson (1989), 90–91; 95.

[46] Maluquer de Motes (1968). Edmondson (1989), 91.

The *Notitia Dignitatum* suggests that the Legio VII Gemina, permanently stationed in León since the time of Vespasian, remained in the region and continued to make use of locally recruited auxiliaries with permanent garrisons, although new units were added and some old units may have moved.[47] The *Notitia* also indicates that new reinforcement units had been sent to the region, mobile troops of *palatini* and *comitatenses* that patrolled the countryside.[48] It has been argued that the references in the *Notitia* are a collection of anachronistic relics describing an earlier situation, and that the *Notitia*'s Spanish troops no longer existed, but were retained in the document by an immobile administration that neglected to remove them.[49] Against such charges it should be noted that the Roman army did evolve, and that the military administration did not become paralyzed until well into the fifth century.[50] In fact, the very existence of the *Notitia* is evidence of this continuity. The text has been variously dated to between 394 and 437, and during its textual life it was amended and changed, though not consistently, which explains the occasional anachronism.[51] While it is perfectly possible that the Cantabrian units shown in the *Notitia* did not always meet their full theoretical strength, it is hard to imagine that a unit would be attributed to a particular station unless the administration intended to send it there, or unless it was, in fact, already in place. The explicit textual references to the movement of units from the neighborhoods of Brigantium and Astorga to Iuliobriga and Veleia (Iruña) respectively, implies active attention to internal security and a response to new exigencies.[52]

But what were these exigencies? To answer this question, we need to again take up a debate that most would consider resolved already—

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[47] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.24–32, approximately 5,000 soldiers. For one recent study of this chapter of the *Notitia*, its specific interpretative problems and significance, see García Moreno (2002a).

[48] Not. Dig., Occ. 7.118. A total of 11 *auxilia palatina* and 5 *comitatenses*, that is, some 10,500 soldiers in total. In this case, as in the former note, numbers are only approximate given the difficulty of knowing how many troops were included in each unit: Elton (1996a), 89–100.

[49] The presence of anachronisms, as well as the non-homogeneous character of the work, have led some to claim the *Notitia* as an amateur rather than an official document: Van Berchem (1952), 58; 94; 117–18.

[50] Liebeschuetz (1993); Elton (1996a), 265.

[51] On the chronological problems of the text, see Demougeot (1975). For general assessments of the text, Jones (1964), 418–60; 1417–50; Clemente (1968); Goodburn and Bartholomew (1976).

[52] Roldán Hervás (1974), 187; 219; 226.

whether or not a *limes Hispanus* existed.[53] The fourth century is usually presented as a time of prosperity for the western empire, before the crisis that brought about its extinction. The Rhine-Danube frontier was the real focus of conflict, until the Gothic crossing of the Danube proved the frontier to be unsustainable. If this is a fair representation of the case, what sense could there be in maintaining troops or assigning new mobile units to a peaceful area in which even the mines no longer demanded a military presence? The rebuttal claims that mining did in fact continue, but that as the techniques of extraction had changed, these activities are no longer archaeologically detectable, and that the continuity of mineralogical activity is instead visible in the constant repair of northwestern roads, whose maintenance is attested by over a hundred fourth-century milestones found in modern Galicia and northern Portugal.[54] This argument, however, is both unconvincing and circular: one of the functions of the army was to repair roads and it is likely that the roads of the northwest continued to be maintained simply because the usual agent of their repair—the army—was still active.

An alternative explanation for the presence of the army and the repair of the roads is Gallaecia's role as a supplier of troops to the German and British *limes*.[55] According to this interpretation, Gallaecia was incorporated into the late Roman administration with new functions; the province was elevated from praesidial to consular status in the second half of the fourth century, a promotion which may have resulted in politically-motivated road repairs. Such administrative

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[53] The idea, originally proposed by R. Grosse, has been defended by García y Bellido (1961), 132. The most elaborate version of the argument is found in Barbero and Vigil (1974), 14–21. Palol (1958), 209–217; (1970), claimed to have found support for the hypothesis in the so-called Duero necropoleis. For a time, the idea of the *limes* was widely held by historians of Roman Spain, e.g. Blázquez (1980), 345–95. However, in the last twenty years the theory of the *limes* has been rejected by various scholars, both on the basis of textual evidence (for example, Arce [1980], 593–608; Domínguez Monedero [1983], 101–32; Novo Güisán [1993], 61–90) and also on that of archaeology (Fuentes Domínguez [1989], 103–17; 169–86). For further bibliography on these arguments, see note 38 above. The most troubling aspect of all these recent revisions has been the absence of any convincing explanation for the continued military presence in the area.

[54] Lomas Salmonte (1989), 235; Domínguez Monedero (1983), 114; Fuentes Domínguez (1996), 218–19, who here follows Edmondson (1989), 97–99. For the milestones, Caamaño Gesto (1997).

[55] Fuentes Domínguez (1996), 218–19; Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1999), 102–108.

changes and public works, which would have included the parallel reinforcement of urban fortifications and the elaboration of food and supply collection centers within urban nuclei, were motivated by the need to reorganize the old mining districts to meet the needs of the *annona*. The produce of Lusitania and the southeast would have followed the Vía de la Plata as far as Astorga, where it met the roads leading from Braga, and thence gone on to the German frontier or to Tarragona. This interior axis paralleled a maritime route in the Bay of Biscay, used for the same purpose and providing a connection to the port of Bordeaux. This maritime route would have been supplied by a hypothetical coastal road, along with the pre-existing interior routes which seem to have been fortified at this time.[56]

The reconstruction of urban fortifications, flourishing trade, and the presence of military units in the region all seem to point to the re-elaboration of a system of provisioning, tribute and transport, and to a period of economic prosperity. There are earlier parallels to this, not least the network of *stationes militares* organized by Augustus on imperial roads, while in the late antique countryside of the northwest, *turres* and *castella* were a common defensive presence.[57] Elsewhere, in the region of Valencia for example, such castles and towers persisted until the Islamic period. This type of installation could serve multiple functions, as supply stations, relays, or points of defense and control. They typically appear next to principal or secondary roads and were frequently associated with imperial *horrea*, thus serving both as supply points for the *annona militaris* and also to house other administrative activities. Various examples exist along the Vía de la Plata and in other parts of central and eastern Hispania, and in the Pyrenees, and are given various designations in the textual sources.[58] One important, but little-studied, aspect of this phenomenon is the possible garrisoning of military detachments in *oppida*, old indigenous

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[56] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 256–57, which suggests that the *Cohors II Gallica*, mentioned in the *Notitia*, was stationed in Gijón, although no supporting archaeological evidence exists.

[57] Suetonius, *V. Aug.* 32 for the *stationes*.

[58] We know from *CTh.* 7.16.1 and 11.7.3–5 of troops expressly charged with guarding the roads and the collection of the *annona* who were, at least on one occasion, identified with the *burgarii* (*CTh* 17.14.1). These troops appear to have been settled in fortresses and to have received payment in kind. On various occasions, the sources also refer to certain sites associated with the control of mountain passes, as well as with frontiers between different areas of the empire, a concept quite distinct from that of the *limes*. See Mayer i Olivé (1993–1994), 207–12.

hill-top sites, and in new fortified settlements created *ex novo*. All these types of settlement were prevalent among the coastal populations of the Astures, and in some cases, it is possible that such installations may have continued to serve these functions throughout late antiquity.[59]

A hypothesis that regards the northern part of Hispania as a region supplying the *annona* helps explain many problematic issues, and suggests that the region was fully integrated into imperial political and economic structures into the fifth century. On the other hand, sources describing this supply route and its annonary functions are scarce and fraught with difficulties, and the mere presence of Baetican amphorae in Germany is insufficient to prove the route's existence.[60] It is clear that this hypothetical route would have served as a critical strategic axis, converting the whole area into a zone of importance for the Roman state. The movement of units into Iuliobriga and Veleia, documented in the *Notitia*, as well as the stationing of a unit at Bayonne (Lapurdum) in the French Basque region, implies the defense of the road to Bordeaux and Trier, but it raises the question of whom the road was to be defended against. If the goal was to protect the supply of precious metal or produce destined for the German *annona*, why was a military system analogous to that of Gaul, or along the Ebro valley to Tarragona, not established? While answers to such questions may not be forthcoming, it seems clear that the troops listed in the *Notitia Digitatum* were intended to protect a route of importance from someone who had rendered it insecure.

The hypothesis of a permanent *limes* defending the south of the Cantabrian range from the ferocious people that lived to its north, is one constructed along grand logical lines. It has been used to explain many things—the military movements described in the *Notitia*, the formation of new units, and many other peculiarities of northwest Hispania. But in the end, the theory creates as many problems

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[59] Carrocera Fernández (1995); Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1999), 45; Camino Mayor et al. (2001), 24–29. These sites may be compared with that of La Poza (Campó de Enmedio, near Reinosa) in the Cantabrian region: Iglesias Gil and Muñiz Castro (1994–1995), 328–29; Muñiz Castro (1999), 298. Some of the sites labeled as "castros" on the slopes of Monte Naranco (Oviedo) may form part of this environment, although these sites may be better termed watch-towers, built to control the flat area between Oviedo and Lugo de Llanera through which ran the region's major communication routes, routes which persisted through both the Roman and medieval periods. See Menéndez-Bueyes (2001), 143–44.

[60] Remesal (1986), 112, for the amphorae.

as it resolves. First, it is based on certain technical details: the troops of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occidentalis 42, seem to have the character of *limitanei*, troops that, after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, were assigned to the defense of the frontier, though usually under the command of a *dux limitis*. Because of these troops, it is deduced that the north of Hispania must have contained a frontier.[61] However, the characterization of the Spanish troops as *limitanei* does not derive from their express designation as such in the *Notitia*, but rather because their command structure echoes that of frontier regiments.[62] The military reorganization that took place in the fourth century reduced the categories of troops to two: frontier troops (*limitanei*), garrisoned in permanent stations, and mobile troops of the field army, essentially the *palatini* and *comitatenses*. Given the long-standing, permanent status of the troops in northern Hispania—which as we have seen goes back to the time of Vespasian—they may simply have been assimilated to the category of *limitanei* and given the same chain of command as those troops of the frontier.[63]

This solution may seem slightly forced, but it is equally impossible to imagine that the Roman government would establish a *limes* in a territory that was not a true frontier, and one whose population was slowly assuming a Roman way of life and accepting imperial overlordship.[64] This does not mean, however, that the troops of the *Notitia* were inactive, although it is likely that they would have mustered against external threats only rarely. On the other hand, it is possible that the situation changed towards the end of the fourth century, particularly in the easternmost territories of the Cantabrian range. It was long believed that Iuliobriga had been practically abandoned during the third century. However, the recent identification of some objects dating to the fourth century may be associated with the aforementioned stationing of troops in that city.[65] It is important to remember that the relationship between army and military camps is not

[61] Barbero and Vigil (1974), 14–21.
[62] Barbero and Vigil (1974), 17.
[63] The ambiguity of military designations, the imprecise knowledge of their contingents and the possibility that units might change from one category to another, were problems common to the late Roman military: van Berchem (1952), 89–111; Elton (1996a), 99–101.
[64] On the evolution of the term *limes* until it acquired the specific meaning of a defensive frontier structure of military nature, see Forni (1987); Isaac (1988), 125–47.
[65] Pérez González and Illarregui (1997), 617.

necessarily an axiomatic one, for the lines of Hydatius with which we began this essay suggest that some soldiers, at least, were located in the cities. The same may be true in the case of Veleia. If Hydatius' polemic were not so over-determined, it might indicate a need to confront local populations opposed to Roman rule for one reason or another, particularly in the eastern areas of Cantabria.

When we turn to the fifth century, the phenomenon does not seem to generate so many problems. The appearance of the Basques in this period, and the isolated references to confrontations between Sueves and later Visigoths, and local populations of an ethnic or social character such as the Bagaudae, are manifestations of local power that had developed out of pre-existing ferment. Catalysts for the development of local power may have included the desire of certain cities for autonomy, their capacity for local organization, or the reemergence of buried ethnic tensions which were maintained over time and rose to the top with the diminution of Roman power, or indeed when Roman power had become excessively oppressive. Assuming that the defenses were built up exclusively against Bagaudae or generic bandits does not resolve the problem of the sources: the Bagaudae of Hispania are not attested until 441 and appear only in distinct geographic areas, such as the middle Ebro valley, where there is no evidence for troop concentrations in the fourth century.[66]

Thus it is possible that the army would have remained in the north of Hispania for five centuries for a variety of reasons, and that it was the evolving tide of present circumstance that determined its function in the region at any given time. Military conquest, organizational manpower, mineral exploitation (including extraction and transport), transport of the *annona militaris*, and finally control of rival power structures emerging or reemerging during the mid-fourth century, are all connected motives which resist a monocausal explanation, let alone one that would explain the events of five hundred years. Given the absence of precise documentation, the epigraphic and literary evidence, as well as archaeological information from military camps and military equipment, all add up to form a picture characterized by constant flux and change.

One example of these evidentiary problems is the difficulty in identifying the military camps mentioned in the *Notitia*, a difficulty

[66] Domínguez Monedero (1983), 116; on the date, Hyd. 117.

that has in the past been used to deny the existence of these same troops. For instance, although the camp at Petavonium has produced near-sterile archaeological levels from the mid-third century onwards, the *Notitia* claims that Petavonium was the home of the *Ala II Flauia Hispanorum Ciuium Romanorum*.[67] This disjunction has led some to suppose that the unit was not based at Petavonium, or that it never existed in practice.[68] In the absence of systematic excavation, one should leave open the possibility that the late Roman unit was based somewhere outside the early imperial camp, either in the civilian nucleus of Petavonium or near Castro de San Pedro, an easily-defensible hill on which occupation seems to have persisted throughout late antiquity, although even this evidence is debatable.[69] However, the relationship between the *cohors I Celtiberorum* mentioned in the *Notitia* and the Cidadela camp (Sobrado dos Monxes, Coruña), strategically situated on the route from Lucus Augusti to A Coruña (Brigantium), is confirmed by archaeological evidence dating from the second through the fourth century, an abandonment date that coincides with the unit's transfer to Iuliobriga, which is mentioned in the *Notitia*.[70] Such a transfer to an urban location should not be ruled out in other cases: according to the *Notitia*, León and Lugo were both seats of military detachments and the possibility that troops may have been billeted at Astorga should not be discounted simply because of the absence of archaeological evidence, which is similarly absent from León and Lugo.[71]

The final explanation of the military presence in Hispania was to defend the province from invasion. The tactics of defense-in-depth which were widely adopted in the late empire explains the presence of troops far from frontier points at which breakthroughs were expected, and the use of the Hispania units for this purpose should

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[67] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.27: *tribunus cohortis secundae Flauiae Pacatianae, Paetaonio*.

[68] Romero Carnicero and Carretero Vaquero (1998), 1103, following Arce (1985), 52–61.

[69] Martín Valls and Delibes de Castro (1975), 17.

[70] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.30; Caamaño Gesto (1996).

[71] The city walls of Astorga have much the same form as others in the northwest, especially those of León and Lugo, so much so that a regional fortification program may be suggested: see Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992), 348, and their contribution to the present volume. It is also possible that a military engineer and the Roman army were responsible for the construction of this group of walls: García Marcos et al. (1997).

not be discounted.[72] However, the army or armies of Hispania eventually showed themselves to be completely ineffective in this role. The problem is complicated, but from the evidence of Hydatius, as well as that of Zosimus and Orosius, it seems that at the time of Constantine III's usurpation, there were troops in Hispania and they proved unable to defend it against the barbarian incursions.

First, the troops were incapable of opposing the usurpation itself. According to Zosimus, two brothers, Didymus and Verinianus, Spanish aristocrats and relatives of Honorius, had intended to solicit the aid of troops from Lusitania, but these troops lacked sufficient strength and the brothers were forced to raise an army of slaves and peasants from their properties.[73] We do not know if the Lusitanian army to which Zosimus refers was one of the units cited in the *Notitia*, and the location of which he has confused, or whether he is referring to a recently created urban garrison, perhaps one of the units of *comitatenses* assigned to Lusitanian provincial officials.[74] It is also possible that some of the Lusitanian troops mentioned in the *Notitia* had been moved to Gaul or Italy after the invasion of 406, or that they accepted the new military leadership designated by Gerontius and the praetorian prefect, Apollinaris, under Constantine III's orders.[75] In any case, Gerontius entrusted the Pyrenean defense of Hispania to the *honoriaci*,[76] previously the usurper's shock troops, who had

[72] Richardot (1998), 110–12; Luttwak (1976).

[73] Zosimus 6.4.3; Orosius, *Hist.* 7.40.6; Sozomen, *HE* 9.11. See García Moreno (1997), 81–90, for this episode as a whole. Recourse to private armies was a common solution of the time. From Oros., *Hist.* 7.40.8 we know that the passes of the Pyrenees were traditionally guarded by a peasant militia (*rusticanorum utili custodia*), who had been recruited when Gerontius, charged by Constantine III with organizing Spanish military matters, had entrusted the duty to some barbarian soldiers termed *honoriaci* (Zosimus, *HN* 6.5.1; Olympiodorus 13.2; Sozomen, *HE* 9.12). Aside from the fact that Sozomen believed this action to have caused the ruin of the country, it is significant that these duties were given to peasant militias. Rome simply did not consider the Pyrenees a strategic barrier, but rather preferred a network of fortified cities and villas through the Ebro and Duero valleys: Balil (1970), 605; 610. On private armies in Hispania, see Sanz (1986). For a wider perspective, see Whittaker (1993).

[74] Le Roux (1982), 397, has noted that *burgarii* appear in specific relation to Hispania in a decree of 19 February 398 (*CTh* 7.14.1), and that they seem to have held specific police functions.

[75] Zos., *HN* 6.4.2–3; Oros., *Hist.* 7.40.5 calls them *iudices*. Arce (1988a), 101, believes that the army may have accepted the new leadership.

[76] Orosius 7.40.7–9. The *honoriaci* were composed of barbarian soldiers, perhaps mixed with slaves, who received this designation after Honorius' emergency levy to combat the invasions of 406: Richardot (1998), 87; Elton (1996a), 93.

recently been given the right to sack the lands around Palentia in the northern Meseta.[77] These *honoriaci*, according to Orosius, refused to fight against the barbarians entering from Gaul and instead joined them. Hydatius dates the event to October of 409 and it was for the following year that he penned his lament on the calamities wrought by barbarians, taxes and, notably, Roman soldiers—presumably these very *honoriaci*, theoretically loyal to either Constantine III or his rebellious general Gerontius, though perhaps soldiers loyal to the court at Ravenna.[78] In any case, Hydatius does not specify, probably because he did not know.

When, in 420, we again find a Roman army operating in Spain, now against the Vandals, it is a new army with new leadership, described by Hydatius as a *comes Hispaniarum* Asterius and a *vicarius* Maurocellus.[79] Two years later, a *magister militum*, Castinus, with Roman troops and Gothic auxiliaries, executed a failed attack against the Vandals in Baetica.[80] These units are usually identified with the *palatini* and *comitatenses* described in the *Notitia*, and with a unit billeted in Pamplona described by a letter of Honorius dated to between 407 and 423.[81]

The growth of local authorities

Strangely, the arrival of the Sueves, Vandals and Alans, particularly in the above-mentioned description of Hydatius, fully exposes the military, political and social scenario in late fourth-century northwest Hispania. It is only in the disordered response to the chaos

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[77] The custom of paying *foederati*, either *laeti* or *limitanei*, with land, became common in this period, at the same time that the regular units mentioned in the *Notitia* ceased to be effective in practice: Liebeschuetz (1993), 275.

[78] The dates of Gerontius' usurpation are unclear: Wynn (1997), 96–98, believes the revolt could not have taken place before August of 410, which would refute the notion of Arce (1988a), 115, that Gerontius had precipitated the entry of barbarian troops into Hispania for his own use against Constantine III.

[79] Hyd. 66.

[80] Hyd. 77.

[81] Not. Dig., Occ. 7.118–134, with Arce (1988a), 77. A recent edition and English translation of Honorius' letter is Sivan (1985), who reviews the state of the question and the earlier bibliography. Another perspective can be found in Livermore (1996), who argues against the proposals put forth in Demougeot (1956). Kulikowski (1998) offers a diplomatic edition and demonstrates the difficulty in deploying the text as evidence.

provoked by the invasion that the earlier Roman reality becomes truly apparent, allowing us to see the curious synthesis between ancestral indigenous elements and Roman influence. Roman presence lay heavily on the area, a fact made increasingly clearer by recent archaeological discoveries. The extent of urban forms and the colonization of the countryside through villas, recorded in our texts even during the second half of the fifth century, is evident both in the valleys of Galicia, and in the Meseta north of the Duero, where some of the greatest late Roman villas in all Hispania are to be found.[82] Even areas far from Astorga, along the Asturian coast and particularly near Gijón, are proving to have been far more Romanized that we had previously imagined.[83]

Similarly, Roman coins and imported objects appear in habitational areas identified as "indigenous," for instance the hill-top forts and caves of the eastern Cantabrian coast reutilized as dwellings in the fourth century. The materials found at these sites are not limited to locally produced Romanized goods, but include, albeit on a modest scale, materials imported from the eastern Empire and thus attest to these sites' participation in long-distance trade routes.[84] Whether such commodities arrived by sea, or by overland transport from Mediterranean ports in eastern Hispania is difficult to determine. Although the interpretation of coin hoards continues to be fraught with controversy, the abundant presence of Roman coins cannot be due only to the Roman military presence, particularly when such finds have appeared in the mountainous interior of Lugo and Asturias and in the Cantabrian coastal region.

Indeed, during late antiquity, the northern areas of the peninsula seem to have been abundantly and regularly supplied with coin.[85] Most came from Roman and western mints, although the presence of eastern coins may be further evidence for maritime supply.[86] In

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[82] Hyd. 213 for late textual evidence. For Galicia, Pérez Losada (1995); (2002). For the Duero valley, Regueras (1996); Hernández and Benéitez González (1996); Cortes Álvarez de Miranda (1996); Hernández Guerra (1998).

[83] Fernández-Ochoa, García Díaz and Gil Sendino (1996); Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1999), 111–13.

[84] Arias Vilas (1997); Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1994), with Reynolds in this volume.

[85] See López Sánchez in the present volume.

[86] Naveiro López (1991), 167–74. Balil already noted the similarity between the Galician hoards and those of Britain. See Balil (1971), 33. For the evidence specific to Asturias, see Fernández-Ochoa (1982), 206–207. On the other hand, fourth-century

the specific case of the Asturias, we are well-informed about the maritime relationships of Gijón throughout the entire late antique period, and the coin finds from the Colloto Bridge, nearly all dating to the fourth century and proceeding from both eastern and western mints, provide further data.[87] The penetration of coins into the interior is probably related to the maintenance of communication routes (further suggested by the bridge finds), both maritime and terrestrial, and by the establishment of villas, whose highest density in central Asturias is coincident with the highest density of late antique coins.[88]

The discovery of isolated coin finds at rural sites, although less frequent and occurring over a wider chronological period, should not be interpreted as "stray coinage" at the margin of circulation, but rather as evidence for the integration of some villas into the larger webs of exchange and as a sign of the social and economic power wielded by urban elites over the countryside.[89] This interpretation is particularly suggestive in a series of Asturian villas which seem to have been closely linked with the coastal area around Gijón.[90] This phenomenon forms an important point of comparison with the villas of Britain, where fourth-century villas continued to be bound to the city.[91] This notion might also be extended to other areas in the peninsula, such as the northern Meseta, where some villas, such as those in the hinterland of Clunia, maintained their own production of late Spanish *terra sigillata*.[92] This suggests not auto-consumption at villa sites, but rather a situation in which villas had a direct relationship with urban centers of consumption.[93] A comparative analysis of archaeological materials from urban centers and rural residences, with particular attention to ceramic circulation, typically points to a general rupture in economic interdependence during the fourth century, in which urban and rural environments evolved their own inter-

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numismatic finds are scarce in Cantabria: Pérez González and Illarregui (1997), 620; 622.

[87] Rodríguez Otero (1994), 233–34.

[88] Fuentes Domínguez (1996), 219; Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón (1996), 223; Arce (1993b). For the distribution of villas, Novo Güisán (1992), 254.

[89] Bost (1992–1993).

[90] For the importance of a city's *territorium*, see Gurt, Ripoll and Godoy (1994), 162–64.

[91] Rivet (1969), 226–27; Percival (1976), 144; 168; Reece (1980); Frere (1987), 289–90; Esmonde Cleary (1989), 110–16; Reece (1992); Esmonde Cleary (1999).

[92] Arce (1993b), 243–49.

[93] As has been detected in Palencia, Palol (1977), 158–59; (1987).

nal economic and commercial circulation.[94] Such a disparity between urban and rural material culture is visible in the areas to the north of the Duero and in the middle Ebro valley.[95] However, the opposite seems to have been the case in the central Asturian region: here, coin finds of AE2 from Colloto and Nava show a clear bond with Gijón, while a wide rural area surrounding the city received various ceramics and eastern coin issues that arrived by maritime trade.[96]

Thus, the archaeological and numismatic evidence clearly indicates that the northwestern peninsula was a full economic participant in the empire, integrated into its structures of exchange and circulation. Put another way, there is no evidence for the rejection of Roman material culture, and where Roman objects do not appear, the explanation is most likely to be the extreme poverty of local inhabitants whose level of development did not permit or demand participation in wider economic networks. Such absences are similarly common to other thinly populated areas which received little attention from their Roman conquerors.[97]

However, when we come to examine the evolution of social structures during late antiquity, it is more difficult to gauge the real scope of transformation. The inscription of the Pico Dobra (Torrelavega, Cantabria), previously used as evidence for the late persistence of indigenous forms in the region, has now been re-dated from the fourth to the second century.[98] In any case, this inscription may also serve as evidence for the use of Roman systems of dating, as well as for the integration into local culture of Roman external symbols, such as Roman names and institutional references. The decorated inscriptions from the Vadinienses, a tribal subgroup of the Cantabrian people, whose fourth-century date has been generally accepted, likewise

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[94] Keay (1989), 190–91. See also Reynolds in the present volume.

[95] Cepeda (2000), 171; clarifications in García Figuerola (1999), 23–25.

[96] Currently, the spread of AE2 type coins extends to Baetica and to the eastern litoral in Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis, all areas which show marked linkages between their Mediterranean ports and associated inland sites: see Cepeda (2000), 168–71, with López Sánchez in the present volume. These connections between coast and interior will be further illuminated by studies of imported ceramics, which constitute a good reference point for contemporary economic activity.

[97] This may be the case in the intermediate areas of Cantabria or the País Vasco, areas without particular mineral resources or the possibility of large-scale agriculture, or in infertile, unpopulated mountainous areas. One such example of sparse settlement is described in Aja Sánchez (1999).

[98] Vigil (1961), with the new date in Iglesias Gil and Ruiz (1998), 64–68.

present a gradual assimilation of Roman nomenclature. Furthermore, one can increasingly trace the presence of Roman formal influences on this epigraphy as one moves north into areas which traditional historiography has regarded as the least Romanized, and thus more primitive, than areas to the south.[99]

Our proposal here, of a slow and rational process of indigenous structural evolution, is in keeping with the same process of political and economic integration of these communities into the Roman cultural *koine*. The process did not take place at the same pace in different geographical areas, given regional variations in levels of resistance to and interest in *Romanitas*, as well as variations in mineralogical and agricultural resources and their strategic and demographic impact. In some ways, however, the independent evolution which these communities experienced was profoundly influenced by Roman models up to the point that these communities could still be identified by their tribes and ethnic names without any sense that these identities rejected or contradicted *Romanitas*, even at the moment when Roman power disappeared

When we encounter these communities in the fifth century, their individualism is readily apparent in their capacity to act in organized and independent ways, but in no case do we see any element of "marginal primitivism." A careful reading of Hydatius reveals the steps of this process, as well as the different forms it took. For instance, in 411 the chronicler notes that the denizens of Hispania who survived the disasters had resigned themselves to living under barbarian rule.[100] However, he notes in 430 that at least in central Gallaecia, a part of the population (*plebs*) had been able to retain or reoccupy fortified sites (*castella tutiora*), and successfully confront the Sueves, as well as reaching treaties and agreements with them.[101] The meaning of the term *castellum* is somewhat problematic: it is clear that the term refers to fortified sites, but given the apposition in the phrase *civitates et castella*, it seems likely that *castella* differed

[99] Vigil (1983); González Rodríguez (1997); Liz Guiral (1996); Menéndez-Bueyes (2001), 206–13.

[100] Hyd. 41: *Spani per ciuitates et castella residui a plagis barbarorum per prouincias dominantium se subiciunt seruituti.*

[101] Hyd. 81: *Sueui sub Hermerico rege medias partes Gallaeciae depraedantes per plebem quae castella tutiora retinebat acta suorum partim caede, partim captiuitate, pacem quam ruperant familiarum que tenebantur redhibitione restaurant.*

from cities not only in size and form, but also in status. The origins of the *castella* probably lie in non-Roman juridical categories and in the context of the early fifth century, the word probably refers to population sites dependent on the city, but with their own administrative structures.[102] In the sources for late antique Hispania, the term *castellum* is used interchangeably with *castrum*, and thus we should probably imagine the political structures of the *castellum* merged with the physical form of the *castrum*.[103]

Indeed, Hydatius' references to *castella* and *castra* seem to be reflected in the archaeological evidence.[104] A general picture of fortified site occupation and its significance in this period is difficult to formulate, given local variation. However, it seems that during the late empire, some hill-top sites that had been abandoned in the early empire were reoccupied, some as permanent settlements, others probably only in times of insecurity. Still others may have been reoccupied with the specific intention of creating military defensive points.[105] This phenomenon of reoccupation is particularly prevalent along communication routes, for instance in Bierzo and the interior areas of modern Galicia, the plateaus of Soria between the Duero and Ebro valleys, the rim of the Meseta at the foot of the Cantabrian mountains,[106] and along the Vía de la Plata.[107] This process may have been motivated by the general insecurity felt since the third century, and the *latrones* who appeared in the environs of Braga in 456 or 457 would have represented the tip of an increasing unstable iceberg.[108] The presence of these outlaws indicates yet again both the lack of authority, and resistance to it, in certain areas and under certain circumstances, with the result that modern scholars have tended to lump such phenomena together with the Bagaudae, despite the fact that these latter had a very different identity and purpose.[109]

In 431, Hydatius decried the Sueves for breaking their peace accords with the *Gallaeci*, and Hydatius himself went on a delegation to Gaul

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[102] In early fifth-century North Africa, the local government was formed of local *seniores*, a system probably equivalent to a local council: Lepelley (1979), 132–34.
[103] Novo Güisán (2000), 61–62.
[104] López Quiroga and Rodríguez Lovelle (1999).
[105] Esparza Arroyo (1986), 388.
[106] Palol (1977), 158; Bohigas et al. (2001), 49–56.
[107] Domínguez Bolaños and Nuño González (1997).
[108] Hyd. 172.
[109] Van Dam (1985), 16–19; 25–56.

to meet with Aëtius, probably in order to request his aid.[110] We do not know the identity of these *Gallaeci*, a term Hydatius uses from this point on to refer to the inhabitants of the northwest. It is possible that his term is based on the old Roman administrative province and is thus a reference to the denizens of Gallaecia, but his other uses of it could equally imply an ethnic, autochthonous or idiosyncratic cultural identity. In any case, the appearance of the term *Gallaeci* in Hydatius' narrative marks the region's increasing independence from imperial power and administration.[111]

The second form of resistance to the Sueves recorded by the bishop of Aquae Flaviae took place in the cities, which the author generally distinguishes from the *castella*.[112] The so-called crisis of the third century had only a limited impact on the cities of Hispania. In those cities in which municipal activities continued, whether within traditional frameworks or according to new models, the roads continued to offer administrative and economic links between cities.[113] Signs of urban recovery in the early fourth century, consolidation during the fifth and sixth centuries, and continuity through the Islamic invasions, are found in numerous urban centers in Hispania, and the northwest is no exception.[114]

We do not know at what moment, and under what conditions, the Sueves occupied Braga and converted it into their royal seat.[115] Lugo, however, seems to have resisted Suevic domination until 460. It is not clear from Hydatius whether the Sueves were already occupying a part of this city, or were living outside it, but by taking advantage of the Easter celebrations, they assassinated some of its Roman inhabitants (*Romanos*), including the *rector*.[116] Earlier, Hydatius records a similar outbreak of hostilities between the Sueves and *Gallaeci* after the assassination of another notable.[117] However, in con-

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[110] Hyd. 86. Other references to treaties with the *Gallaeci* or a portion of their number include Hyd. 91; 105; 181; 191; 199; 216.

[111] López Pereira (1981).

[112] Hyd. 41.

[113] Arce (1993a), 177–79; (1993b), 227–49; Gurt, Ripoll and Godoy (1994); Fuentes Domínguez (1997).

[114] Revuelta Carbajo (1999).

[115] Díaz Martínez (2000b).

[116] Hyd. 194: *Per Sueuos Luco habitantes in diebus paschae Romani aliquanti cum rectore suo honesto natu repentino securi de reuerentia dierum occiduntur incursu.*

[117] Hyd. 191: *aliquantis honestis natu.*

trast to his repeated reference to *Gallaeci*, in his narrative of Lugo, Hydatius uses the term *Romanos* and explicitly mentions their *rector*. This personage has been variously interpreted as the governor of the city, or even the provincial governor, which has led scholars to claim a continuity of Roman administration in the area.[118] This interpretation is further supported by the rapidity with which Suniericus and Nepotianus, both of whom are described as *comites*, sent a contingent of the Gothic army from Gaul to aid the city.[119] However, in the final analysis there is no convincing evidence to indicate that Roman control over the province persisted to this late date, nor even that such control continued in the territory of Lugo. However, it is clear that within the city there remained not only a part of the Roman population, whom Hydatius distinguishes from the *Gallaeci*, but also a part of the Roman administrative structure, including some military remnants, that had persisted for the previous fifty years.

It is possible that the situation was similar in Astorga when the Goths entered in 457, claiming to be fighting in the imperial name against Sueves who remained after the Gothic campaigns against Braga and Porto.[120] Again, we do not know if the Sueves were living inside Astorga, but the chronicler believed that the city was captured by a treacherous act of the Goths against the local population, Romano-Gallaecian in origin, who refused to resist the Gothic soldiers, as they thought they were friends. In the fifth century, Astorga was considered a city secure enough within its walls that two bishops and their accompanying clergy were living there as refugees when the Goths arrived.[121] The *Palentina civitas*, possibly the city of Palencia, may have undergone a similar fate, while *Couiacense castrum*, probably modern Valencia de Don Juan, thirty miles from Astorga, was able to resist the Gothic assault.[122] In the case of *Couiacense castrum*, as with that of Aquae Flauiae in whose church Hydatius was captured soon after Lugo was taken, the nature of the settlements in question

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[118] *Rector civitatis*: Burgess (1993), 113; provincial governor: Thompson (1977), 12; an heir to the *tribunus cohortis lucensis* mentioned in the Not. Dig., Occ. 42.29: Palol (1977), 161.

[119] Hyd. 196.

[120] Hyd. 179: *qui dolis et periuriis instructa, sicut eis fuerat imperatum, Asturicam, quam iam paredones ipsius sub specie Romanae ordinationis intrauerant, mentientes ad Sueuos qui remanserant iussam sibi expeditionem, ingrediuntur pace fucata solita arte perfidiae.*

[121] Hyd. 179.

[122] Hyd. 179.

and their relationship with their territories remains unclear.[123] However, the local population is clearly described as having offered organized resistance, rallied either by civil authorities or the local bishop, who is known to have played this role on numerous other occasions in this period.[124] In the cases in which no clear capacity for coordination and centralization of resistance seems to have existed, we might suspect that authority became atomized and that the peace agreements to which Hydatius occasionally refers were either negotiated by individual cities or local communities capable of unified will and action.

One means of mustering communal action, particularly in the power vacuum left by the invasions, was probably the ancient ethnic structures that, during the *Pax Romana*, had lost their political dimension and become instead elements of social and territorial cohesion.[125] If we accept that the movement of troops into the eastern Meseta and the Cantabrian Mountains during the fourth century was tied to problems with the Basque population (leaving aside for the moment similar references to Cantabrians and other peoples), we should suppose that the same process of increasing local ethnic cohesion occurred in other marginal areas.[126] It is no accident that the first mention of this matter from after the invasions appears in Hydatius' description of the raids carried out in 449 by the Suevic king Rechiar on Vasconia, an event seemingly tied to his having accepted Theoderic I's daughter as his wife.[127] That is to say, agreements with the Goths might serve as a guarantee of stability in an area increasingly challenged by unified local groups.

During the mid-fifth century, the Basques seem to have presented a major problem for both Visigoths and Sueves. The *Aurigensium loca* mentioned in 460 may have been the lands of as yet unlocalized *Aurigenses*, possibly living in the *Aregenses montes* which Leovigild invaded in 575 and which submitted after he captured one Aspidius, described

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[123] Hyd. 196. Late antiquity is poorly represented in the archaeological record of Aquae Flaviae: Rodríguez Colmenero (1997), 60–64. The relationship between the size, function and classification of late antique urban nuclei was constantly evolving and often highly relative: B. Ward-Perkins (1996), 2–11.

[124] Tranoy (1977); Isla Frez (2001).

[125] Barbero and Vigil (1974), 50; Sayas Abengoechea (1987).

[126] Ausonius, *Ep.* 29; 31. See also Barbero and Vigil (1974), 21–26.

[127] Hyd. 132: *Rechiarius accepta in coniugium Theodori Regis filia auspicatus initio regni Vasconias depredatur mense Februario.*

as *loci seniorem*.[128] But while this reference might be called into question, the conflict between Sueves and the Aunonenses that took place slightly later cannot. Hydatius claims that in 465 or 466 the Sueves attacked the *Aunonensem plebem*, and immediately after, the Visigothic king dispatched a delegation to them, though without effect.[129] The delegation was probably the same as that led by Opilio in the following year, sent by the Visigothic king in Gaul, again to the Aunonenses.[130] These Aunonenses seem therefore to have functioned as an independent political entity, opposing the Sueves, defending territory and exchanging embassies with the Gothic court. Slightly later, in 468, they made peace with the Suevic king, either voluntarily or again on account of Gothic intervention.[131]

Knowing exactly where these Aurigenses or Aunonenses were located is not critical, although some indications do exist. An island of *Aunios* is mentioned by Pliny on the coast of the *conventus* of Lugo, probably the modern island of Ons.[132] A similar location is suggested by the *Parochiale suevum*, a document of the second half of the sixth century, in which the church of Aunone is included under the episcopal jurisdiction of Tude and labeled a *pagus*.[133] The *Parochiale*, which identifies Aunone with a rural territory, includes a long series of ethnic designations among its lists, again pointing to the general recuperation of ethnic-based groupings in this period, and their function as units of both political and ecclesiastical administration.[134] It is possible that such identities had persisted during the whole of the Roman period, as they presented no impediment to Romanization; in fact, they may always have been used as a means of administrative organization under the empire, though perhaps less so than in the Suevic period.

This phenomenon was probably quite extensive thoughout the north of Hispania. Ethnic identity and group consciousness could be maintained without affecting Roman relations and only when the power of Rome diminished or, conversely, when its presence became

[128] Hyd. 197; John of Biclar, *Chron.* 35.
[129] Hyd. 229.
[130] Hyd. 235.
[131] Hyd. 243.
[132] Pliny, *NH* 4.112.
[133] *Par. Suev.* 12.12 (CCSL 175: 419).
[134] On the double significance of this document, see Díaz Martínez (1998), 35–47; García Moreno (1998).

overtly oppressive during the fourth century, did these entities take on renewed political meaning or organize themselves militarily. The reappearance of earlier geographic references is linked to this same phenomenon: Jordanes uses the old designation of Austrogonia, Hydatius speaks not only of Vasconia, but also of Cantabria and Vardulia, and years later unknown or archaic regional names reappear as well, for instance Carpetania, Celtiberia, Sabaria or Orospeda.[135] This process of renewed localism was undoubtedly helped along by the confused aftermath of the early fifth-century usurpations, and later by the chaos of invasion and the inability of the barbarian tribes (in this area, particularly the Sueves) to coherently unify territory.[136]

This resumption of indigenous solidarity and supra-local cohesion in the absence of effective political control at a higher level may have provided a source of security across northern Spain. It is likely that in areas with different social groupings, the local aristocracy whether of indigenous or Roman origin, would have assumed leadership by forming systems of patronage that would eventually lead to feudal relationships.[137] But in more marginal areas, where no such power reached or where the predominant economic systems of hunting or pastoralism had not produced a strongly vertical social hierarchy or divisions of labor, large family groups would have been preserved as the principal social entity. Such extended families appear in the early Middle Ages as a phenomenon on the wane, but were still a potent social force.[138]

The initial inability of the Sueves to maintain a stable administration in the territories that theoretically formed their *regnum* would have reenforced this process of fragmentation and local identity, and stored up a legacy of future problems: the sources describe frequent disruptions of Visigothic rule by Runcones and Sappos, two indigenous groups who appear in the sources side by side with Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques. The difficulties which the church faced in organizing this region multiplied the extent of the problem. The

[135] Hyd. 131; 164.

[136] Díaz Martínez (2000a): the process could be accelerated by the detachment of cities from their territories in such a context, so that the cities lost the capacity to control the rural and peripheral areas theoretically within their jurisdiction.

[137] Barbero and Vigil (1978), 22–33.

[138] Glick (1979), 137–42.

orthodox clergy had to face not just Suevic Arianism, but also the popularity of Priscillianism and a resistant rural paganism, all of them elements contributing to territorial fragmentation. The control of the Suevic kings was only superficial for much of the period and consisted, as we have seen, largely of occasional punitive and looting raids. In consequence, local power structures were not only permitted to grow, but large areas remained completely outside any central power structure. In this area, old alliances and identities grew ever stronger, extended over ever wider spaces and took on an increasingly political cast. In some cases, such groups formed around a tribal identity, for instance in the case of the Basques and to a lesser extent the Cantabrians. In other cases, these groups were influenced by Roman power structures sufficiently sophisticated to have formed the basis for the future kingdom of Asturias.[139] In first half of the sixth century, the Sueves would consolidate their position, and in doing so, take into account the realities of earlier days. By then, however, the process of dislocation from the western empire was an accomplished fact, and the north of Spain, far from the new centers of political action, had become a peripheral world.

[139] Menéndez-Bueyes (2001), 173–251.

WALLS IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF LATE ROMAN SPAIN: DEFENSE AND IMPERIAL STRATEGY

Carmen Fernández-Ochoa and Ángel Morillo

Over the past twenty years, scholars have debated the nature of the wall-circuits of late Roman cities, suggesting interpretations that range from pure defense to symbolic purposes of one kind or another. The expansion of wall-building in the Roman West during the later empire and particularly in the last three decades of the third century—the best-known example, of course, being the Aurelianic walls of Rome—has traditionally been seen as a direct consequence of barbarian invasions in the years between 254 and 280.[1] The invasions of 260–262 and those of 270 are often seen as particularly important and are said by many authors to have affected Gaul and Spain with unusual force. Even today, the importance of the first of these invasions for Spain is still accepted, although the older belief that the Alamannic invasion of 270 affected the Iberian peninsula seems nowadays to have been completely discarded.[2]

Because of the lack of objective data, it remains difficult to establish a causal relationship between invasions and wall-building, particularly because the phenomenon of wall-building is not the special province of the middle and late third century, but rather extends across the whole fourth century.[3] What is more, the strictly defensive character of late Roman walls was long ago called into question by Rebuffat, who proposed among other possible reasons a city's desire to demonstrate its prestige.[4] Such an impulse would hark back to a tradition born at the end of the Republic, when a new concept of the urban wall-circuit was defined as a representation of the urban space as a whole.[5] Nevertheless, one should not deny altogether the existence of imprecise correlations between historical events

[1] Richmond (1931); Cozza (1987).
[2] Arce (1978); (1982a), 94.
[3] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 251.
[4] Rebuffat (1974); (1986).
[5] Gros (1992), 215.

and the destruction or construction of some late antique walls.[6] The general instability of the empire in the period may well have favored the construction of new wall-circuits, or the repair and re-enforcement of old ones, at least as a preventative measure. That is not to discount the possibility that urban wall-circuits may also have constituted a demonstration of the municipal wealth and prestige achieved by certain cities, just as monumental construction had done in previous centuries.

We have in the past addressed the Spanish dimensions of this problem, both in general terms and through the analysis of such specific examples as Gijón, Astorga (Asturica Augusta), and Iruña (Veleia).[7] In addition, we have gradually compiled a systematic, critical catalogue of late imperial defensive constructions in Spain, adding new wall-circuits to it as they have been identified—for instance Burgo de Osma (Uxama) and Sagunto (Saguntum)—or modifying older chronological attributions to take into account recent archaeological advances. Our analysis has above all centered on the need to redefine the study of late Roman wall-building in Spain methodologically, in keeping with the advances made on the subject in the international scholarly literature.

Even within this methodological perspective, the interpretation of late Roman wall-building in Hispania presents problems that are difficult to solve. In the first place, there is the difficulty of fixing an absolute date for the construction of each wall-circuit. In each and every case, we lack literary or epigraphic sources which attest the construction or reconstruction of late Roman wall-circuits, and the majority of known walls offer only approximate dates, based either on their amortization of clearly earlier structures or on their archaeologically verified use during the late Roman period. Given all the imprecision inherent in that sort of dating, we can only ever arrive at *termini post quem* of greater or lesser specificity.[8] Similarly, except at sites which are no longer inhabited, it is difficult to obtain reliable stratigraphic information from the excavation of urban walls. Sometimes, the late Roman wall-circuits have been hidden or buried beneath

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[6] Johnson (1983), 67.

[7] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1991); (1992); (1997b); Gijón: Fernández-Ochoa (1992); (1997); Astorga: García Marcos et al. (1997); Iruña: Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1997a).

[8] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992), 344.

medieval or modern fortifications, with corresponding alterations to late antique strata. At other times, walls have been demolished down to their foundations or are known only in very small sections which provide scant information. If the foregoing problems are common to all studies of Roman walls, in Spain we must also deal with the additional problem of chronological imprecision in the ceramic typologies of the late Roman period.[9] What is more, a dangerous tendency to make chronological attributions on merely historical or typological grounds has not been totally eliminated.[10] Consequently, later Roman walls in Spain have until recently been dated only very generally, to a long period between the mid-third and the early fifth century.

For all these reasons, it is difficult to formulate conclusions about late Roman wall-building that are valid for the whole peninsula. Nevertheless, certain general questions can sensibly be asked. Some time ago we posed the question of whether or not one could demonstrate the existence of a program, or programs, of fortification in Spain of the sort known from other parts of the empire, or whether we ought to consider Spanish wall-building strictly in terms of decisions taken at the municipal level. On the basis of the evidence compiled in our catalogue of Spanish walls and outlined below, it does in fact seem possible to postulate at least one such deliberate program of peninsular wall-building.

Late Roman walls and a new urban landscape

Before turning to that question, however, we must survey the evidence as it presently exists (Fig. 1). In the current state of knowledge, only twenty-four Spanish wall-circuits can be regarded as late Roman on archaeological grounds, namely those of Astorga (Asturica Augusta), Braga (Bracara Augusta), Chaves (Aquae Flaviae), Lugo (Lucus Augusti), León (Legio VII), Gijón, Tiermes, Burgo de Osma (Uxama), Iruña (Veleia), Coimbra (Aeminium), Conimbriga, Evora (Ebora), Cáceres (Norba Caesarina), Coria (Caurium), Caparra (Capera), Mérida (Emerita Augusta), Inestrillas (Contrebia Leukade),

[9] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 252–53.
[10] As was already pointed out by Lander (1984), 151.



Figure 1. Late antique city walls in Hispania.

Zaragoza (Caesaraugusta), Gerona (Gerunda), Barcelona (Barcino), Sagunto (Saguntum), Elche (Ilici), Castulo and Pollentia. We may also take into consideration several wall-circuits which are probably late Roman but whose date has yet to be proven, particularly those of Satinponce (Italica), which, if shown to be late antique, would together with the walls of Castulo be the only late Roman walls known in Baetica, and those of Idanha-a-Velha (Civitas Igaeditanorum), Pamplona (Pompaelo), and possibly Santander, which last poses greater difficulties.

An issue that has generated a great deal of polemic is how we should regard the role of later Roman wall-circuits in relation to the general configuration of the Hispano-Roman city over time. The evidence presently available allows us to classify late Roman fortifications in various groups that take account of the origin of the wall and the presence or absence of an earlier wall-circuit, as follows:

1. Walls that reuse older defensive lines: a) over indigenous foundations: Inestrillas b) over early imperial circuits: Barcelona; Gerona; Mérida; León; Zaragoza (?).
2. Walls built on a new plan: Iruña; Pollentia; Tiermes; Gijón; Lugo; Braga; Astorga (?); Conimbriga.
3. Late walls of indeterminate origin: Evora; Caparra; Coimbra (Aeminium); Coria; Chaves; Cáceres; Sagunto; Elche; Castulo; Burgo de Osma.

As the variety of types in this classification shows, there are no significant differences between the types of late imperial wall found in Spain and those found in the rest of the empire.

In terms of the spatial relationship between the late imperial wall-circuit and the high imperial city, some fortifications adjusted the urban perimeter of the earlier period, at times reducing it significantly (Conimbriga, Iruña, Astorga, Burgo de Osma, Zaragoza, Mérida), while others maintained the older perimeter (León, Barcelona) or even expanded it (Braga). In the case of Lugo, a sector of the early imperial city was abandoned in order to expand into a zone which had not been occupied previously. We find the same sorts of variation in both the course followed by a wall-circuit and in the surface area occupied by it, aspects of construction that were largely determined by the topographical characteristics of the existing city. Fortifications built on a new plan tended to adopt irregular forms,

though these can also be found in walls built over earlier defensive structures (e.g. Gerona, Mérida). In only a few early imperial wall-circuits did the late Roman wall maintain the original regularity of its predecessor (León, Barcelona).[11] At Zaragoza, however, recent investigations seem to suggest the *de novo* construction of a late Roman wall on a rectangular plan, which has hitherto been identified, wrongly, as the foundational plan of the Roman *colonia* built on the site.[12]

The geographical distribution of these Spanish wall-circuits requires special attention, both because it is intimately linked to any general understanding of the problem, and because any new discovery might disrupt the present picture and require adjustments to present hypotheses (see Fig. 1). The majority of late imperial wall-circuits are concentrated in the north of the peninsula, in the Roman provinces of Tarraconensis and Gallaecia, and at the northen edges of Lusitania and Carthaginiensis. Within this large region, the most significant group is found in the northwest. Only the walls of Evora, Mérida, Castulo, Elche, Sagunto, and Pollentia (along with the hypothetical late imperial wall at Italica), fall outside the region, leaving much the largest number of late walls concentrated in a relatively small area. As we shall see, this localized distribution of late Roman walls within the peninsula can be understood only within the context of the new administrative and strategic shape given to Spain during the later empire. Before that question can be taken up, however, we must turn to the chronology of the Spanish walls.

The phases of wall-building: towards a typological and chronological definition

(a) *materials*

Our analysis of late Roman wall-circuits in Spain published several years ago laid out the principal typological and constructional characteristics of the wall-circuits of this period, which can be summarized as follows.[13] As with all walls of the late Roman period, the

[11] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992).

[12] For this unpublished information, we thank the team of archaeologists directed by M.C. Aguarod for the Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza.

[13] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992).

structure of late walls in Spain is made up of two exterior facings with an internal fill of *opus caementicium*. In most cases, stone facings worked in *opus quadratum* predominate for the exterior of the walls, an architectural technique employed in the wall-circuits of Barcelona, Gerona, Zaragoza, Iruña, Tiermes, Mérida, Cáceres, Lugo, Conimbriga and Gijón (see, e.g., Figs. 2 and 3). In the last three cases, the technique was confined to the sections around the gates and we do not know if the same constructive technique was employed in the other wall-circuits of the Asturias, Astorga and León. In every case, however, we can document the use of local stone or stone drawn from nearby quarries. Clearly, the characteristic constructional technique of the region can be explained by the ease with which good quality stone could be obtained.

Within this apparent technical uniformity, we can observe notable variants in the dimensions of the blocks, the quality of their workmanship, their finishing and the system by which they were bonded together. For the most part, the walls make use of dry-stone masonry (*a hueso*, in Spanish), although the use of mortar has been documented at Zaragoza, Gijón, and Inestrillas and the use of metal dovetail pins is probably demonstrated at Gijón and Tiermes by the imprint left on the stones. The arrangement of ashlars with stretchers and headers (*a soga y tizón*) is also fairly common. Among the blocks used in wall facings, epigraphic and architectonic remains from demolished buildings of earlier eras are common and the same practice is known from the fill between the facings. Nevertheless, these reused materials represent only a very small percentage of the structure of the walls as a whole.[14]

In the western sector of the wall of Iruña and in the wall-circuits of Lugo and Gijón, ashlars worked in different styles were used, and it is also possible to note some cases in which a dual technique was used in the facings, for instance at Gerona, where the so-called "cyclopean" wall of the late Republic was used as a foundation. In Gijón, it is possible to distinguish three distinct types of facing all pertaining to a single phase of construction. The example from the wall of Gijón may offer new clues to the original structural configurations of other Gallaecian walls, inasmuch as the original state of the late Roman facings at Astorga, Lugo and León has hitherto

[14] As already realized by Balil (1961), 104–105.

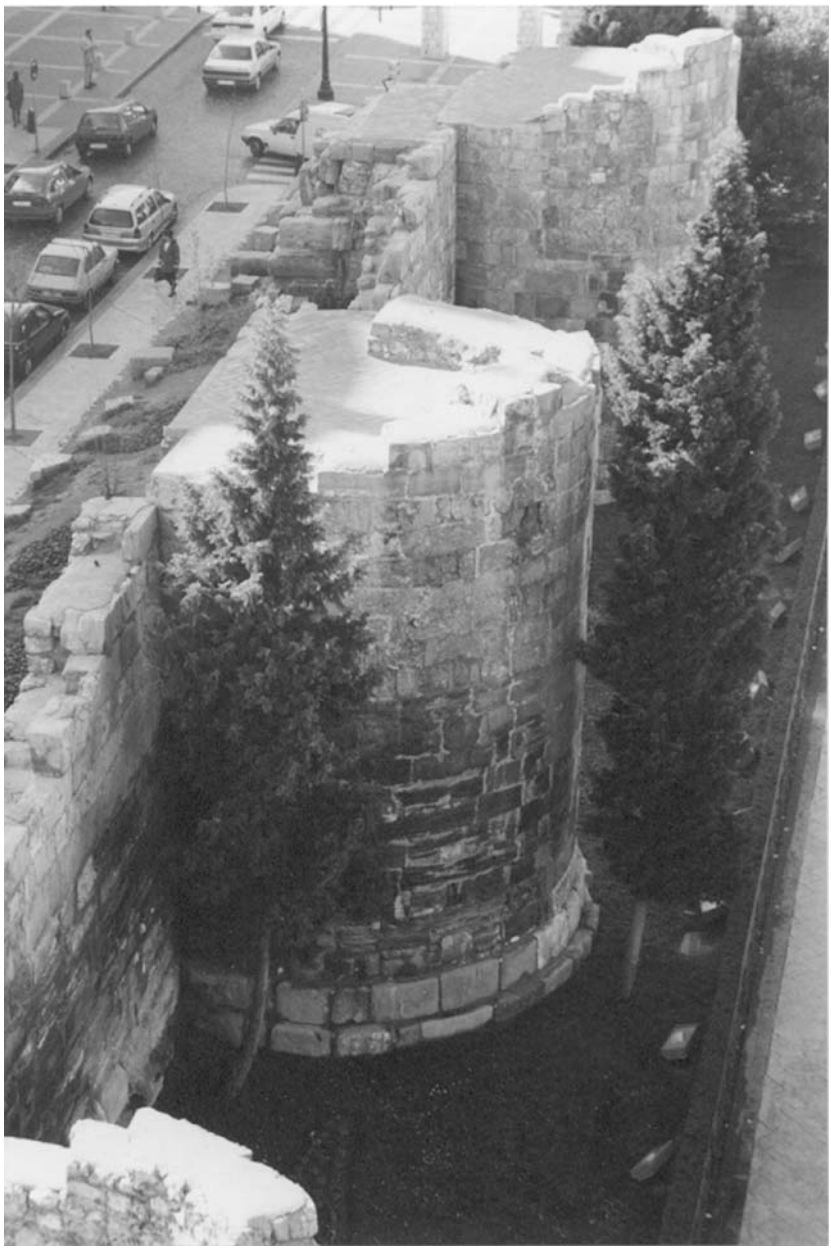


Figure 2. Caesaraugusta. Late antique circuit in the area of San Juan de los Panetes. Photo: F. Escudero



Figure 3. Gijón. Remains of eastern entrance tower. Photo: C. Fernández-Ochoa.

been subject to much controversy. On the other hand, the same solution cannot be extended to the walls of Iruña, where the available evidence seems to point to two distinct constructional moments or projects.

Unlike the exterior facings of wall-circuits, interior facings have been more exposed to deterioration caused by continuous urban habitation in sites with very long histories, and they are consequently rather less well known. The few examples of interior facings that have been preserved seem to indicate a greater regularity in terms of the size and the arrangement of the material (largely simple ashlar), but with a less monumental appearance than the exterior facings (e.g., Fig. 4). The internal fill which ties the two facings together is almost always *opus caementicium*, in some cases of excellent quality, as at Conimbriga. At Inestrillas, Zaragoza, and Mérida, however, concrete gives way to a simple nucleus of different-sized stones held together with earth, while both types of fill are found together in different sections of the walls of Gerona and Lugo.

(b) *breadth and height*

In all known examples, the thickness of wall sections exceeds the three meters found in the fortifications of Inestrillas, generally varying between three and five meters in breadth. Only the walls of Iruña, Zaragoza and León, with their disproportionate breadth of seven meters, exceed the average norm, which with the possible exceptions of Zaragoza (6.42m) and León (7m), is not dramatically different from wall-circuits throughout the late Roman West.[15]

Because of the subsequent leveling of late Roman wall-circuits, it is almost impossible to give even approximate heights for wall-circuits and their towers. The walled perimeters of Lugo and Barcelona permit one to infer that they reached, or possibly exceeded, ten meters in height, which would bring them close to the heights calculated for Gallo-Roman walls, and there can be no doubt that towers rose several meters above parapet walks.[16] Foundations, which all the walls must have possessed, have only been confirmed archaeologically at León, Gijón and Lugo (see Fig. 5). In each case, the

[15] Johnson (1983), 37.
[16] Bedon et al. (1988), 108.



Figure 4. Asturica Augusta. Interior elevation of eastern wall section. Photo: V. García Marcos.



Figure 5. Legio. Excavation of western section of the late antique circuit. Photo: F. Escudero.

foundations were laid with a minimal preparation of the terrain and did not reach any great depth. The deepest known foundation is that of León, which was sunk 2.7 meters below the level of the wall's base. The constructional material employed in the documented foundations is composed of blocks and stones of different types and size bonded with light mortar and thus designed to facilitate drainage. In the lower part of the walls of Barcelona, Tiermes, Cáceres, Gijón and León, one finds a foundation shelf or footing. The Gijón example leads one to believe that the construction of foundation shelves was not a necessity and was governed by no fixed norms; instead, such shelves appeared only where the geological or topographical characteristics of the terrain required them. Given the sparseness of the available evidence, we cannot document an aesthetic purpose in the finish of Spanish fortifications similar to that found in Gallo-Roman walls.

(c) *towers*

Without exception, those Spanish wall-circuits that can be assigned to the late Roman period had projecting towers on the exterior. As is well known, towers constitute one of the most significant attributes of late Roman fortifications, whether military or civilian. The forms, dimensions and positions of towers show great variation, not only in Spain but also in the other western provinces, and the general opinion that semicircular towers were the commonest type in Spain is unacceptable.[17] In fact, the number of Spanish walls fortified with square towers is practically identical to those with semicircular ones. To the first group belong Barcelona, Gerona, Iruña, Conimbriga and perhaps Astorga and Cáceres. To the second group, walls with semicircular towers, belong Zaragoza, Inestrillas, Iruña, Tiermes, Mérida, Lugo, León and Gijón (see, e.g., Figs. 6 and 7). The existence of a polygonal tower on the northwestern corner of the walls of Barcelona is well known, but at present no other examples with the same characteristics are known. Similar problems are posed by the circular towers of Gerona, because of chronological uncertainties. Barcelona is also the only wall-circuit in which circular corner towers are documented, as the exception of Cáceres remains unproved.

[17] Bedon et al. (1988), 110; Balil (1961), 115–16.



Figure 6. Caesaraugusta. Interior fill of a tower, San Juan de los Panetes area. Photo: F. Escudero.



Figure 7. Legio. Eastern section of circuit. Photo: V. García Marcos.

At present, it is impossible to pronounce definitively on the apparent coexistence of semicircular and square towers in the walls of Astorga. The discovery of a tower of the latter type in the walls of the Asturian capital might perhaps be placed in the context of one of the city's gates, while Iruña still requires a more detailed analysis of its earliest constructional moments.

The variety in the types of towers extends to their dimensions, in which regularity is impossible to discover and irregularities can be found within a single wall-circuit. The largest semicircular towers are found at Lugo (13.4m), while Gijón (between 4.6 and 5m) and Tiermes (4.5m) present the smallest and most similar dimensions. Square towers vary between 5.3 and 6 meters on each side at Barcelona and the 6.2 meters of the Torre Gironella at Gerona. This apparent similarity of measurements among the square towers provides comparanda for the evidence lacking at Conimbriga, Iruña and Astorga, which also had square towers. If the dimensions of towers was not fixed, neither was there any definite norm for the distance between towers. The distances were certainly shorter than they had been in the early empire, but there was substantial variation in the intervals from city to city, and even within a single wall-circuit from one length of wall to another. The distances are never greater than twenty meters, save at Inestrillas, where they reach twenty-four meters. Examples with the most regular rhythm are the walls of Gijón (6 to 10m), León (9m), Barcelona (6 to 10m), and Zaragoza (13 to 14m). Variations in the distance between towers must have borne some relationship to the actual topography of the space to be defended, because in the weakest zones of the wall-circuit, towers tend to be greater in number. Equally, some regard the late Roman propensity for reducing the length of wall between towers as a tactical measure aimed at reducing the number of dead angles on the towers and easing the deployment of war machines such as *ballistae*.[18] Whether or not that is the case, the distance between towers seems to constitute a significant difference between Spanish walls and those in the rest of the western empire, and Balil considered the accentuation of the general late Roman tendency to multiply wall towers a peculiarity of the Iberian peninsula.[19]

[18] Balil (1961), 109.
[19] Richmond (1931), 98; Balil (1961), 108.

(d) *gates*

Because their character as transit zones has been maintained over the centuries, gates are the elements of defensive construction that have survived least well, sometimes because they have been pulled down to make way for urban growth, sometimes because they have undergone repeated remodeling. Only a limited number of gates has survived in which the remains are sufficient to document the original structure. All the entry points of Spanish wall-circuits follow a very simple general scheme, consisting of a narrow gate with one single passage or opening, flanked by two towers projecting outwards. The only exception is the main gate of Gijón, which consists of a double arch supported on a central pillar, while a proposed reconstruction of the "Porta de Regomir" of Barcelona would make it very similar to that of Gijón.[20] Both semicircular and square flanking towers are known, and identical numbers of each survive from Spanish fortifications, semicircular at Inestrillas, Iruña, Lugo and Astorga, square at Gerona, Gijón, and Conimbriga (e.g., Fig. 3). All of these were built in *opus quadratum*, which indicates that special attention was given to these sections of the wall-circuit. Given the overall state of the evidence, one should follow Johnson in rejecting a correspondence between square towers and military sites and round towers and civilian sites.[21] The use of one or the other type of tower had to do with taste, fashion or the specific constructional program for each wall-circuit or each constructional phase, while we must leave open the possibility that, in some cases, a gate's morphology corresponded to its design in an earlier period. As is the general tendency across the later Roman empire, the majority of late Roman walls in Spain have no trace of posterns, which have been documented only at Iruña and Mérida.

(e) *architectural elements*

We know very litttle about other architectural elements pertaining to the structure of late Roman walls in Spain. The general disappearance of the upper part of the walls impedes any detailed

[20] Gijón: Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 239–48; Barcelona: Pallarés (1969), 27–29.
[21] Johnson (1983), 50.

understanding of such important details as the system of roofing used in the towers and the possible existence of crenellated parapets. The parapet walk is preserved at Barcelona and perhaps at Lugo, even though we can in neither case be certain whether medieval alterations have hidden the original structures. On the other hand, various internal stairways have been identified within the walls of Lugo (Fig. 8) and there remains the possibility of an exterior staircase giving access to the upper part of the wall of Barcelona.[22] Given the enormous disparities in both the structure and the building techniques of late Roman walls in Spain, it is impossible to use these elements as valid criteria for typological classification, for which reason we have from the start left aside certain urban fortifications which are traditionally regarded as belonging to this period.[23]

(f) *dates*

Balil, at the beginning of his investigation of late imperial defenses in Spain, grouped town walls into two different, but related, structural styles: those which he classified as in a "Spanish legionary style," the principal characteristics of which had already been defined by Richmond and which were concentrated in the Spanish northwest (León, Lugo, and Astorga, to which he added Zaragoza); and those wall-circuits derived from the first phase of the Aurelianic walls of Rome (Barcelona and Coria).[24] To his so-called legionary walls he attributed a chronology somewhat before the first phase of the Aurelianic walls. In so far as he made the walls of Rome the inspiration for those of Barcelona and Coria, the latter must have postdated the former. However, with the evidence now available, this typological dichotomy can no longer be sustained. Spanish walls display the same structural diversity as one finds elsewhere in the empire. Indeed, the only constructional oddity of Spanish walls—the proximity of their towers—is documented in both of the two groups defined by Balil. If there is no reason to doubt Italian influence on some of Spain's late antique wall-circuits, neither is the fact that

[22] E. González Fernández et al. (2002).

[23] The attribution of wall-circuits like that of Coria to the later empire has been based exclusively on their structural resemblances to other, better-known examples.

[24] Richmond (1931); Balil (1959–1960), 196–97; (1961), 129.



Figure 8. Lucas Augusti. Interior stairs of late antique circuit. Photo: E. Ferrer Sierra.

these were stronger in some cases, like that of Barcelona, than in others a cause for special attention.

The detailed analysis of the constructional characteristics of the late Roman wall-circuits of Spain uncovers great architectural and structural variety, even if none are really set apart from the general traits of walls from this period.[25] The problem arises in knowing whether or not we can attribute to specific traits a concrete chronological scope within the broader late Roman period. At present, we are still very far from having reached that objective; in fact, we will only arrive at it when we possess a complete archaeological register of most of the late antique wall-circuits of the empire. For this reason, we ought to definitively abandon the *a priori* stylistic criteria of classification which are used in many works on the topic. Strictly archaeological dating is the only valid point of departure for any working hypothesis about styles or programs of fortification. In this way, and without at all denying the indisputable value of the classic works of Richmond and Balil, we must invert the logical order of reasoning followed by these authors, considering in the first place the dates at which wall-circuits were constructed and only then, if it proves possible, turning to typological resemblances among them which might lead to more general conclusions.

Although we cannot produce a definitive genealogy of Spanish wall-circuits, precisely attributable to successive eras, progress made in the investigation of certain wall-circuits in the Spanish northwest—Lugo, Astorga and Gijón—together with rigorous excavations at centers in the northern Meseta like Tiermes, offers a frame of reference within which to pose questions. The best evidence for Spanish walls is unevenly distributed, because of the greater or lesser advances made in different excavations over the past decade. A brief overview of the chronological attributions accepted for Spain's late antique walls, with brief comment on those which have been the subject of the greatest scholarly attention, is therefore in order.[26]

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[25] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992), 339–43.

[26] Obviously, it is not possible to enter here into a detailed analysis of the evidence which has produced the chronologies now applied to each of the *enceintes* discussed, but the interested reader can find this information documented in Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1997), to which should be added more recent contributions: García Marcos et al. (1997); Fernández-Ochoa (1997).

One of the best dated wall-circuits is that of Gerona. The ceramic and numismatic material discovered in the fill of the western flanking tower of the Portal de Sobreportes, situated within the Casa Pastors, suggests a date between 260 and 290–300, probably between 284 and 300.[27] The late imperial wall was put up over a late Republican predecessor, which was used as a foundation. The chronology of the wall of Barcelona, by contrast, still poses substantial problems. At one time it was thought that the entire fortification belonged to a moment of panic caused by the wave of barbarians that assaulted the Catalonian coast during the reign of Gallienus.[28] Balil distinguished two side-by-side wall-circuits, but believed both to be late antique and separated by only a few years. In his view, the first was built in the "legionary" style, the second inspired by the Aurelianic walls of Rome. This second circuit was constructed between 270 and 310, that is, in the tetrarchic era.[29] Pallarés later identified the first circuit as Augustan, while a *terminus post quem* for the later circuit has been proposed on the basis of the craters found in the Bajada de Santa Eulalia and a coin of Claudius II Gothicus (r. 268–270), found in the *opus caementicium* of the circular tower in the Plaza de los Arrieros.[30] Recently, Járrega has pushed the chronology of the wall's construction forward to the beginning of the fifth century, on account of the fourth-century coins found in the interior fill of tower number 11 in the calle Tapinería.[31] Other authors also incline towards a chronology near the end of fourth century, basing their argument on a constitution of 396 preserved in the Theodosian Code that commanded municipalities to construct or repair their walls.[32]

For Tarradell, the wall of Pollentia should be dated to the second half of the third century, because its construction amortized buildings already destroyed in the barbarian invasion. The *terminus post quem* has been confirmed by excavation of the fill of the wall, and later publications have maintained the same chronology without

[27] Nolla and Nieto Prieto (1979), 182–83. The excavators relate the raising of this late Roman wall to the possible destruction of Gerona by the Franco-Alamannic invasions.
[28] Richmond (1931), 98–99; Taracena (1949), 437–38.
[29] Balil (1957), 222–30.
[30] Pallarés (1969), 42; Verrie et al. (1973), 772–73.
[31] Járrega (1991a), 330–31.
[32] *CTh.* 15.1.34; see Granados and Rodá (1993), 29–30.

proposing a more concrete date.[33] The late wall-circuit at Zaragoza has similarly been placed in relation to the invasions of the third century.[34] Recent excavations undertaken at various points along the wall have made it possible to date its construction to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century.[35] Taracena established the chronology of the wall of Inestrillas as late antique.[36] Hernández Vera maintained this chronology, attributing the late antique refortification of the old Celtiberian wall-circuit to a need to protect the principal routes into the Meseta against a supposed second wave of Frankish invaders during the last third of the third century, even proposing the existence of a Roman garrison at the site.[37] However, recent archaeological investigation, still unpublished, places in question the late Roman attribution of these walls and suggest that they pertain to the early imperial occupation of the site. On the other hand, the continuity and intensity of habitation at the site during late antiquity, the epigraphic remains, and the typology of the gate, all raise numerous doubts about so early a chronology.[38]

Nieto dated the wall of Iruña to the second half of the third century on the basis of reused epigraphic remains, as well as materials from the second half of the third century found beside the lowermost ashlars of the structure.[39] Elorza, however, pushed its construction forward to the start of the fourth century, while the most recent investigations place it under the tetrarchy.[40] The excavations conducted at Tiermes since 1978 have allowed the site's wall, wrongly dated by Taracena to the first century, to be redated. The stratigraphy established during the excavations of 1992–1993, both in the southeastern sector and in the area of the city's rupestrian complex, fixes the construction of the wall at the end of the third century.[41]

Taking as a basis the date suggested by the abundant epigraphic material reused in the fabric of the wall of Astorga, Richmond estab-

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[33] Tarradell (1977), 28; Arribas (1983); Arribas and Tarradell (1987).
[34] Ĭñiguez (1959), 267.
[35] We thank F. Escudero and M.L. de Sus for this unpublished information about the wall of Zaragoza.
[36] Taracena (1942), 23.
[37] Hernández Vera (1982), 135–36.
[38] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 254.
[39] Nieto (1958), 143.
[40] Elorza (192), 191–93; Iriarte (1993); Gil Zubillaga (2002).
[41] Fernández Martínez (1980); Argente et al. (1992).

lished a *terminus post quem* for its construction in the second quarter of the third century, a chronology that has been accepted by later writers.[42] In the 1970s, Mañanes conducted an excavation in the zone of the Puerta de Hierro, identifying the remains of one of the gates of the Roman wall without clarifying its chronology.[43] Excavations in a property at c/ La Cruz no. 10, which is located beside the eastern length of the wall, have definitively cleared up remaining doubts about the date of the wall's construction, which can now be placed at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century on stratigraphic grounds (Figs. 9 and 4).[44] Excavation has also demonstrated that, at the same time as the fortified wall-circuit was put up and as a result of the accumulation of deposits created by its construction, the street-level of large sections of the city, especially those closest to the wall, was raised, by as much as several meters in some areas.

As he did in the case of Astorga, Richmond maintained that the late imperial wall of the camp of the Legio VII Gemina at León must have been built at the end of the third or the start of the fourth century, because of the dates of the epigraphic material reused in the process of construction. The excavations undertaken in León by García y Bellido in 1961 and 1967 detected the existence of two wall-circuits standing side-by-side. The older of these dated back to the Flavian period, when the Legio VII was installed at its camp in León. At the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, a second wall-circuit, five and a quarter meters wide, was built against its outer face.[45] This chronology has been maintained by later research,[46] while excavations at the Roman gate in the area of the Puerta del Obispo have now confirmed this chronology with indisputable stratigraphic data.[47]

During the later empire, the city of Gijón was fortified with an imposing wall (Fig. 10). This fortification was an irregularly planned linear circuit reenforced with semicircular towers, that was well-

[42] Richmond (1931), 90–91; Balil (1959–1960), 192.
[43] Mañanes and García Merino (1985), 181–219.
[44] García Marcos et al. (1997), 528.
[45] García y Bellido (1970b), 575; (1976), 76.
[46] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992), 331–32; García Marcos (1996), 79–80; Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1999), 72–73.
[47] García Marcos (2002); Morillo and García Marcos (2003).



Figure 9. Asturica Augusta. Eastern section of late antique circuit. Photo: Ayuntamiento de Gijón.

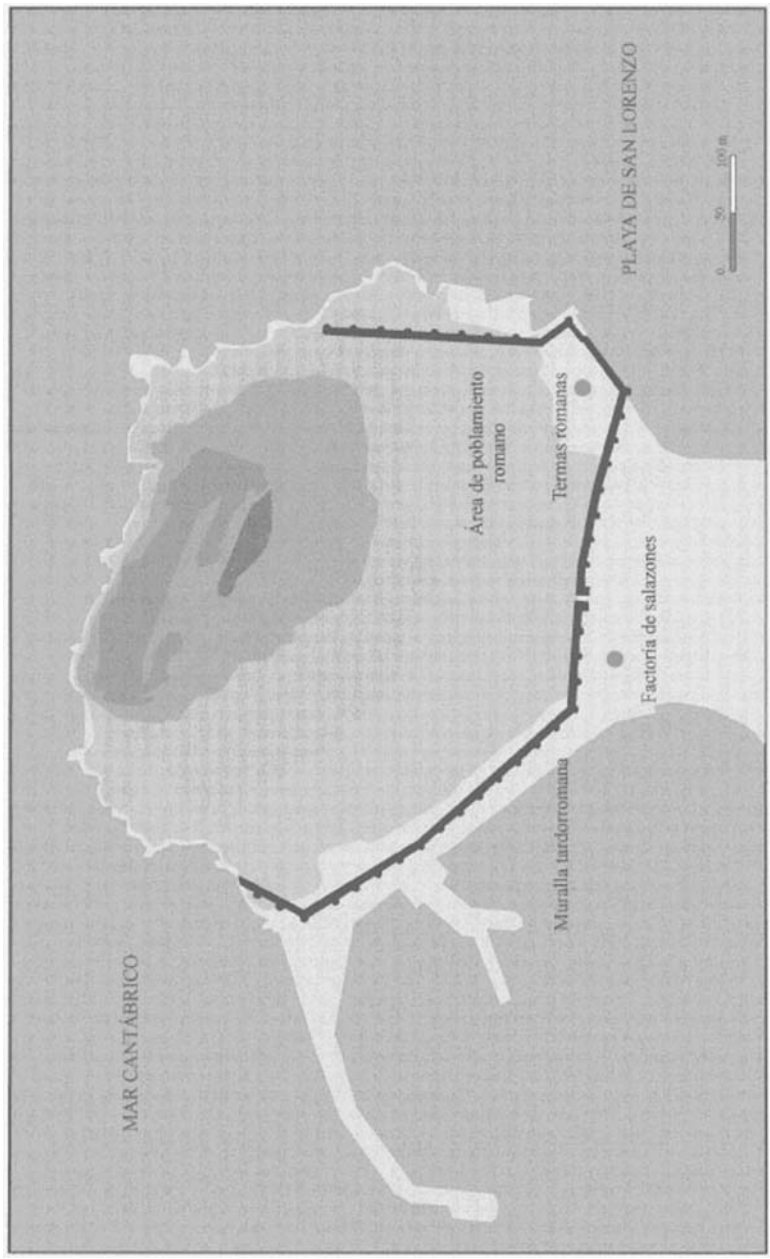


Figure 10. Gijón. Plan of walled area. After C. Fernández-Ochoa.

adapted to the local topography and enclosed within it the original nucleus of the city. The perimeter of the wall measures 850 meters, enclosing a surface area of sixteen hectares. Close study of the archaeological material associated with the perfectly preserved stratigraphy of the wall foundation permits us to date its construction after the start of Diocletian's reign and during the years of the tetrarchy. The fortifications of Gijón were fitted with semicircular towers of four or five meters in diameter and slightly raised, situated at roughly eighteen-meter intervals. Within the whole structure, the remains of the city's principal gate, the only gate thus far discovered, stand out (Fig. 3). This gate was formed by two square towers, 5.4 meters to each side, separated by a gap of 7.5 meters. The remains of the foundation and the elevation suggest a dual entrance, that is to say, a double arch the hypothetical reconstruction of which we have undertaken using a module of 16 × 16 feet as a base and examining comparanda from other known examples.[48]

Scholars agree that the wall-circuit of Lugo is late imperial (Fig. 11). Richmond, on the basis of the epigraphic remains used in the fabric of the wall, dated it to between AD 250 and 325, classifying it as "Spanish legionary style."[49] Arias Vilas narrowed down the moment of construction to some time between 260 and 310, while the most recent investigations confirm a date at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century.[50] By contrast, the course of the wall-circuit at Braga is still not definitively known, even though it is believed to have taken in a larger space than the early imperial city, also including within its circuit some peripheral neighbourhoods.[51] One might suggest a date at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century for its construction, a suggestion confirmed by the recent investigations of Sande Lemos in the Finca do Fujaçal.[52]

Those authors who have studied the walls of Conimbriga tend towards assigning it a late imperial date, inasmuch as the wall cut through some of the deluxe houses in the eastern part of the city

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[48] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), *passim*.
[49] Richmond (1931).
[50] Arias Vilas (1972), 113; Rodríguez Colmenero (1996), 130; González Fernández et al. (2002).
[51] Martins and Delgado (1994).
[52] Sande Lemos et al. (2001).



Figure 11. Lucus Augusti. Aerial view of late antique circuit.

which, together with the reused early imperial spolia in the wall, constitute an indisputable *terminus post quem*. Correia dated this construction to some moment of danger, whether in the third or the fifth century.[53] Recently, a tetrarchic date has been advanced, both because of the reuse of the outer wall of the baths complex for a length of the new wall circuit and, more importantly, because of the third- and early fourth-century coins found in the houses destroyed by the wall.[54] Nevertheless, indisputable stratigraphic evidence is still lacking.

The construction of the walls of Cáceres has traditionally been attributed to the third century.[55] Beltrán Lloris put forward a date in the second century, though without adequate archaeological basis.[56] For the date of the wall of Coria, a *terminus post quem* in the second half of the third century can be established on the basis of the epigraphic and architectonic elements used in the construction of the wall. Richmond, though without studying the wall itself, grouped Coria together with the northwestern walls in the so-called "legionary style," while Balil pointed out its close typological parallels with the wall-circuit of Barcelona.[57] Nevertheless, one author has pushed the chronology forward into the fifth century on the basis of historical arguments.[58] Thouvenot considered both possibilities, but inclined towards the third century.[59] For the wall of Evora, Alarcão proposed a date at the beginning of the fourth century, though on the basis of historical arguments.[60] The still unpublished excavations of Correia confirmed the wall's late Roman chronology though not its precise date, which has likewise not been clarified by more recent work.[61]

Finally, we also lack concrete dates for the walls of Mérida. Calero proposed that these were repaired and reenforced in the fifth cen-

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[53] Correia (1940–1941), 262.

[54] Baths: Alarcão and Etienne (1977), 153–54; Coins: Moutinho Alarcão et al. (1989), 8.

[55] Richmond (1931), 99; Balil (1959–1960), 95.

[56] Beltrán Lloris (1975–1976), 106–107; Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992), 322.

[57] Richmond (1931), 99; Taracena (1949), 43; Balil (1959–1960), 194–95.

[58] Díez Martos (1956), 291–93.

[59] Thouvenot (1961), 338–39.

[60] Alarcão (1988b), 2: 59.

[61] Balesteros and Mira (1994).

tury, without explaining the reasons for this conclusion. The recent excavations in the Barrio de la Morería, where a long stretch of the wall-circuit with evidence of two gates and what may be a smaller door were found, have still not been published in detail. The most widespread opinion regards this reenforcment of the early imperial wall as having been undertaken in the fifth century. Nevertheless, we should not dismiss the possibility of a reenforcement of the older wall in the tetrarchic period.

With the rest of the late Roman wall-circuits, we lack convincing stratigraphic evidence. Some walls which have been known for a long time have not been the object of methodologically modern excavation, nor even the thorough revision of existing data. In other cases, problems beyond the control of investigators have made it difficult to confirm key apects of the dating and use of fortifications, which makes it necessary to fall back either on arguments of an historical nature or on imprecise *termini post quem*. Fortunately, the growing number of excavations which, during the past decade, have applied adequate methods of dating now offers basic points of reference for a more exact understanding of wall-building within its larger historical dynamic.[62]

In the present state of the question, we can propose the existence of different groups, or "generations," of walls, on the basis of the dates which have been assigned to them.[63] A first group is made up of the wall-circuits erected in a period between the last decades of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. Stratigraphic dates admit of no dispute in the cases of Astorga, Braga, Lugo, León, Gijón, Tiermes, Iruña, Zaragoza and Gerona; the walls of Castro Ventosa (Bergidum Flavium) may eventually be found to belong with these, although there are some doubts as to the urban character of the site. The chronological span during which this first generation of walls was constructed extends for some thirty years, corresponding roughly to the period of the tetrarchy. The imprecision of the archaeological record in this period makes it impossible to establish more concrete dates. Ceramic materials have yet to be dated with

[62] The comparison of two works on the subject separated from one another by only half a decade offers offers a telling illustration of how much progress has been made: cf. Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1991); (1992) with Fernández-Ochoa (1997).

[63] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 255–56.

precision and the lack of well-dated stratigraphic contexts makes it difficult to go beyond a reasonable typological seriation. Numismatic finds, for their part, present the inescapable problem of the long circulation of late Roman coins. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the fully Constantinian period (c. 320), material culture underwent significant transformations which lasted throughout the whole fourth century and which are now beginning to be defined with greater clarity in peninsular contexts. None of the walls of our first generation preserve at their foundations materials attributable to this Constantinian period. For this reason, we can accept that their construction took place at a clearly earlier historical moment, which is to say, in the tetrarchic period.

Diocletian's administrative and military reorganization of the empire, as well as the important technical innovations which he made to defensive works on the imperial frontiers, offer a very plausible background against which to place the political decision that lay behind the program of urban fortification in the Spanish north and northwest, a program which developed only over time, but took place entirely before the Constantinian era. We may also include within this group certain wall-circuits which are less well-known archaeologically—Chaves, Coimbra, Conimbriga, Evora, Cáceres, Coria, Caparra, Inestrillas, Sagunto, Elche, Castulo and Pollentia—for all of which the chronology proposed by scholars rests on less substantial arguments, whether imprecise *termini post quem* or reasoning from the historical record.

A second group of walls, this one of later date, seems to be taking shape as well, even though for the moment it is much less well-defined than is the first group. The revision of the material deposited in one of the towers of the wall-circuit of Barcelona has led Járrega to move its date of construction forward to the beginnings of the fifth century.[64] The *termini post quem* for the epigraphic materials reused in the construction of the walls of Burgo de Osma and Mérida also point to a moment at the end of the fourth or the start of the fifth century. In this context, we should also take note of the evidence for partial reforms in one of the towers of Tarragona, originally of Republican origin.[65] Nevertheless, the chief problem in evaluating

[64] Járrega (1991a), 330–31.
[65] Hauschild (1984–1985), 26.

this second group of late Roman walls in Spain is our continuing inability to date the moment of their construction stratigraphically. For that reason, we cannot eliminate the possibility that in some of the above cases we are dealing not with new construction, but rather with small reforms to old wall-circuits undertaken at a later date. It is not possible to establish definitive conclusions on the basis of the evidence sketched above and discussed at greater length in earlier publications. On the other hand, it is possible to formulate some reasonable hypotheses that allow us to advance the investigation of wall-building in late antique Spain, as well as our understanding of the period's history.

A tetrarchic program of military fortification: the walled cities of the Spanish north and northwest

The walls which we have classified as belonging to our first group are better defined chronologically and structurally than are those of the second. The sweeping progress of archaeology across the north of the Iberian peninsula in recent years has given us convincing evidence for the dates of construction of the wall-circuits of Gerona, Astorga, Braga, Lugo, Gijón, Tiermes, Iruña, and León.[66] Except for León and Gerona, these wall-circuits were all built on new plans, and the largest concentration of walls dated within this period are in the northwest. The principal cities of the region—León, Lugo, Astorga, Braga—as well as Gijón, were enclosed within powerful defensive systems in the last years of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. All of these cities were urban nuclei of only small or medium size, in no way comparable to the great cities of eastern Tarraconensis or Baetica. What is more, their fortifications demonstrate evident structural similarities among themselves, a fact which was long ago established by Richmond and Balil. Richmond, as we have seen, went so far as to coin the idea of a "Spanish legionary style" that encompassed all these northwestern wall-circuits along with the walls of Zaragoza. In describing the architectural style of

[66] We extend our thanks to V. García Marcos for the new evidence on the dating of the wall of León, derived from his excavations in the vicinity of the Puerta Obispo.

these walls as "legionary," Richmond was drawing an implicit connection between the walled cities of the Spanish northwest and the constant presence of the Roman military in that part of the peninsula throughout the imperial period.

Some relationship between the army and the wall-circuits of the northwest does indeed seem indisputable. The stationing of military units in two of these walled cities—the old legionary post of the Legio VII Gemina at León and Lugo, both garrisons attested in the *Notitia Dignitatum* at the end of the fourth century—constitutes a significant link between these two historical phenomena.[67] For one thing, it is significant that the most advanced and innovative defensive designs, developed chiefly at military sites along the imperial frontiers from the middle of the third century onwards, were applied in the wall-circuits of Gallaecia. Two among these tactical innovations stand out: the use of towers, preferably with semicircular plans, projecting from the line of the wall; and the thickening of walls in order to facilitate the movement of defenders and the deployment of artillery along parapet walks. One might likewise observe the greater height of wall curtains and the shortening of distances between towers, as well as the reenforcement of defensive systems around gates, which cease to be wide lanes and are converted into narrow, easily controlled passages.

These innovations really do create a new model of fortification, set apart from the traditional Augustan models for the first time. Nevertheless, although these innovations were certainly military in origin, they were soon applied indiscriminately to the construction of new wall-circuits of both military and civil character.[68] This means that even if the new designs derived from military architects, that fact is not in itself enough to determine whether the actual work was undertaken by soldiers or by civilian workmen.[69] We are similarly unsure of whether military architects were personally involved in the construction of these urban fortifications, because innovations which developed in a military environment could be readily integrated into the general repertory of Roman architects. It is nowadays generally accepted that the army participated in the construction

[67] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.25–29.
[68] Lander (1984), 302–303.
[69] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1997a), 739.

of the late Roman walls of Aquitaine, a region far from the militarized frontiers and intimately tied to Hispania.[70] Until very recently, we lacked evidence for direct military involvement in the construction of town walls in Spain, even though numerous factors suggest the influence of the army units stationed in the area on northwestern wall-circuits.[71] Now, however, our growing understanding of the structure and chronology of these wall-circuits allows us to locate this program within a larger geopolitical strategy that affected not just Hispania in particular, but rather the empire as a whole. The evidence for military planning can be extended to other parts of the peninsular north, for instance in the northern Meseta and the Ebro river valley, and even to Lusitania, where we find wall-circuits dated to the same period. The most significant such example is Iruña, the strategic importance of which is demonstrated in precisely this period by the presence there of a military unit, the *cohors I Gallica*.[72]

Spanish walls in the geopolitical strategy of the later Roman empire

The changes made to imperial defensive strategy as a result of the third-century collapse of the early imperial military organization are widely known. The structure of the army was radically transformed. Even though a large number of troops known as *limitanei* continued to be deployed along the frontiers, they were now supplemented by mobile defensive forces within the empire, the so-called *comitatenses*, which could be deployed quickly in order to protect imperial territory and particularly the cities of the empire. In other words, the old strategy was transformed into what Luttwak christened a system of defense-in-depth.[73] As a consequence of these changes, it became necessary to station troops in the empire's cities in order to enhance their efficiency, a system which presupposes positive distinctions among cities on the grounds of tactical suitability.[74] Civil and military functions

[70] Maurin (1992), 378–79; 383.
[71] This fact led us some time ago to suggest the possible existence of a regional program of fortification: Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1992), 345. Now, recent but still unpublished discoveries in León have offered the first direct evidence for the involvement of the army in the construction of the late Roman wall.
[72] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.32.
[73] Luttwak (1976).
[74] Balil (1959–1960), 182.

must have been combined in some of these cities, a phenomenon which Le Roux has described as the integration of the military element into the life of the city.[75] This means that, as we try to determine which cities played an important role within imperial strategy, we are faced with the difficulty of distinguishing late Roman military from civilian material culture. This is, in fact, one of the principal problems of late antique military archaeology, especially in interior provinces like Hispania which lacked frontier armies.

The only written source which makes reference to the presence of troops in Spain is the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which probably reflects the situation at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, although the text poses notable chronological and interpretative problems, beginning with the question of its date. The *Notitia* locates various units of *limitanei* within the Iberian peninsula and lists their stations as follows: the *Legio VII Gemina* at León, the *cohors Lucensis* at Lugo, the *cohors II Flavia Pacatiana* at Paetaonio, the *cohors Celtiberae* at Iuliobriga, the *cohors I Gallica* at Iruña and the *cohors II Gallica* at an unidentified station called *ad Cohortem Gallicam*.[76] These troops, despite falling within the category of *limitanei*, are not found under the authority of a *dux* or a *comes*, as would be normal, but rather fall under the direct command of a *magister militum*.[77] Alongside these *limitanei*, the *Notitia* attests to the presence in Spain of eleven *auxilia palatina* and five *legiones comitatenses* without fixed station.[78] It is significant that three of the bodies of *limitanei* recorded in the *Notitia*—the *Legio VII Gemina*, the *cohors Lucensis*, and the *cohors I Gallica*—are found stationed in cities which possess powerful late antique defensive systems, León, Lugo and Iruña respectively. The same sort of correlation is also attested at Lapurdum (Bayonne), a walled city in the extreme southwest of Gaul which played an important role in communications between the Spanish and Gallic dioceses and in which one finds stationed the *cohors Novempopulanae*.[79] It is tempting to think that the city of Gijón, the Roman name of which is unknown

[75] Le Roux (1982), 392.
[76] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.25–32.
[77] This argument was wielded by Arce (1982a), 67–72, among others, to challenge old theories about the existence of a *limes* in the north of Spain during the fourth century.
[78] Not. Dig., Occ. 7.118–134.
[79] Not. Dig., Occ. 42.19.

despite its important fortifications from this period, might have had a place within this system, perhaps as the station of a fourth-century military unit, for instance the *cohors II Gallica*, the station of which is unknown but which the *Notitia Dignitatum* situates *ad Cohortem Gallicam*.[80]

All these coincidences surely lend support to the notion of a close relationship between the garrisons attested in the *Notitia* and the walled cities of the Spanish north. It remains to ask whether the cities which enjoyed these powerful defenses had walled themselves on their own initiative and whether they bore the high costs of construction by themselves. Some of the walled cities were, like Zaragoza, grand urban centers which would have had few problems with such an undertaking. But the majority of our examples are cities of the second or third rank, which had suffered a profound and archaeologically visible economic recession from which they were only slowly recovering.[81] It seems improbable that these cities possessed the economic means or sufficient technical ability to undertake investments of such magnitude, particularly given that cities of much greater size did not do so at the same time.

This fact is especially significant for the wall-circuits of the Spanish northwest, where profound urban remodeling, sometimes affecting the whole surface area of a city appears to coincide with the construction of the walls. The best-known example of this is found at Astorga, where urban topography was profoundly altered at the same time that the late walls were constructed.[82] Rather than municipal initiative, one might suspect the impetus of some external agent, probably the Roman state itself, which selectively decreed the fortification of some urban centers rather than others. This does not mean that all late Roman walled cities were militarized, or that their walls were entirely the work of the army. On the contrary, the emperor will have used the military forces stationed in the area as one more tool within the complex administrative machinery of the state, thereby helping to lessen the involvement of the municipalities in the financial and organizational aspects of such works. Basing his arguments on approximate mathematical calculations applied to

[80] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 262.
[81] Fernández-Ochoa (1998), 80; Morillo (1999), 344–46.
[82] García Marcos et al. (1997), 528.

British evidence, Wacher has recently pointed out that only direct state intervention in the financial aspects of the work could make possible the erection of wall-circuits in a reasonable space of time. If, on the other hand, the city had to carry these costs on its own, the financial burden would have caused the construction to stretch out over a very long period of time.[83]

If the military, and hence the state's, involvement in the business of wall-building was quite generalized, then it needs to be examined within the context of the new geopolitical strategy of the Diocletianic empire. Within this strategy, Hispania and the southern Gallic provinces played an important role which cannot be understood strictly in terms of passive defense against potential enemies or invaders, but rather in terms of a more general protective purpose. We may leave aside both defense against some hypothetical menace—whether land, sea, or river-based—and also the supervision of mining activities, in which the Roman state's interest had clearly declined.[84] Instead, we should look at the Meseta and Lusitania and the collection there of taxes-in-kind for the *annona militaris*, principally grain, but also other products for consumption, such as Baetican oil, and probably animals like horses and mules (*iumenta*), as well as manufactured goods like hides and textiles.

The transport of such items to army units stationed on the German and British *limites* had to be secured. To this end, it was sensible to reenforce the intermediate transit stations of the *annona*, among them the principal urban centers of communication and the northern ports, and to enclose them with powerful walls. As van Berchem argued long ago, the collection of the late imperial *annona* necessarily implied the development of an infrastructure of state granaries along the principal road routes in order to collect and administer the renders. According to the same author, the cities would have been charged with the collection of the *annona militaris* within their own *territoria*, a fiscal decentralization which completed the administrative decentralization brought about by the praetorian prefectures and the regional vicariates.[85] We should perhaps place within this larger governmental plan the walling of certain cities in keeping with their new functions.

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[83] Wacher (1998), 48–49.
[84] Land defence: Balil (1959–1960), 196; water defence: Arce (1982a), 82.
[85] Van Berchem (1977), 336.

A variety of indirect evidence exists to suggest that the supply of the *annona* was the principal task with which the *diocesis Hispaniarum* was charged within the new strategic plan of the *pars occidentalis*.[86] The most significant evidence is without doubt a line from Claudian, in which he notes that in moments of crisis when the city of Rome could not count on the renders of Africa, it turned to the grain of Spain, Gaul and Germany.[87] The allusion to these three provinces taken together confirms that they constituted a separate economic region from the point of view of the *annona*, the normal tasks of which did not include feeding the Eternal City. Their purpose, above and beyond self-sufficiency, can be discovered in supplying the needs of the frontier troops.[88] The inclusion of Spain within the prefecture of the Gauls alongside Gaul, Germany and Britain, would seem to confirm this hypothesis. Further evidence to this effect is the abrupt interruption of Spanish oil exports to Rome, substituted by the produce of Africa Proconsularis, a region included within the prefecture of Africa. The supply of Baetican olive oil could thus be channeled in virtually its entirety towards the northern military zones.[89] Remesal emphasized the special role which Gallienus played in this reorganization, which can be characterized as a functional segmentation of the empire.[90] It is possible to attribute to this cause the presence of such atypical troops as *limitanei* in the north of Spain at a time when the military task of guarding and controlling the gold-mining operations in the region had come to an end with the cessation of state exploitation of the mines in the middle of the third century.[91] Only the new task of supervising the *annona* can explain the persistence of military garrisons in an Iberian peninsula that was peripheral, both on account of its distance from regions exposed to real dangers and its long centuries of peace.

Another indirect witness to the new role assigned to the Spanish diocese within the empire-wide strategic map is the intensive improvement

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[86] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (2002).

[87] Claud., *In Eutr.* 1.404–409: *invectae Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes / Cinyphiisque ferax Araris successit aristis. / Teutonicus vomer Pyrenaeique iuvenci / sudavere mihi; segetes mirantur Hiberas / horrea; nec Libyae senserunt damna rebellis / iam transalpina contenti messe Quirites.*

[88] Morillo (1999), 344–45.

[89] Remesal (1986), 112; see also Reynolds in this volume.

[90] Remesal (1991), 362.

[91] Domergue (1990), 221–23.

and maintenance of the road network in the northern part of the peninsula which can be observed during the whole of the late Roman period, especially during the second half of the third century and the first decades of the fourth (Fig. 12).[92] The state's interest in the communication networks of the peninsular north and northwest is attested by the large number of milestones which refer to the repair and new construction of roads, many times at the behest of the ephemeral emperors of the mid-third century.[93] Overall, however, the most intense period of work on the northern and northwestern roads coincides geographically and chronologically with the walling of the first group of Spanish cities.

It is not possible to explain the work on the Spanish road system solely in terms of the propaganda interests of these emperors, especially given its concentration in so peripheral a region.[94] On the contrary, the object of this road-building policy is evidently the maintenance of connections between the peninsular north and west and the southwest of Gaul, where Bordeaux acted as grand redistribution center for produce. Moreover, the road system linked the capital of the Spanish diocese, Mérida, via its military headquarters at León and via Bordeaux, with the capital of the Gallic prefecture at Trier (Augusta Treverorum), precisely the city that organized the supply of the German *limes*.[95] The network ran along the so-called Camino de la Plata (the old silver route from Astorga to Mérida) and routes XXXI and XXXIV of the Antonine Itinerary, which linked Astorga with routes XVII and XVIII from Braga. The city of Astorga would therefore act as the hinge of a great network of communications which ran eastwards, either to Tarragona or, turning across the Basque country towards Gaul, to Bordeaux. This would have been a genuine *annona* route during the later empire, which had as its parallel the coastal route that, at least according to the Ravenna Cosmographer, shadowed the northern littoral from Braga to Irún (Ossaron). The value of this long distance route for the supply of the *annona militaris* to the northern frontiers is shown by the traffic

[92] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1994), 189; (1999), 104.
[93] Caamaño (1984); Naveiro (1991); Lostal (1992); Iglesias Gil and Muñiz (1992), 67–70.
[94] *Contra*, Arce (1984), 290.
[95] Fuentes (1996), 215.

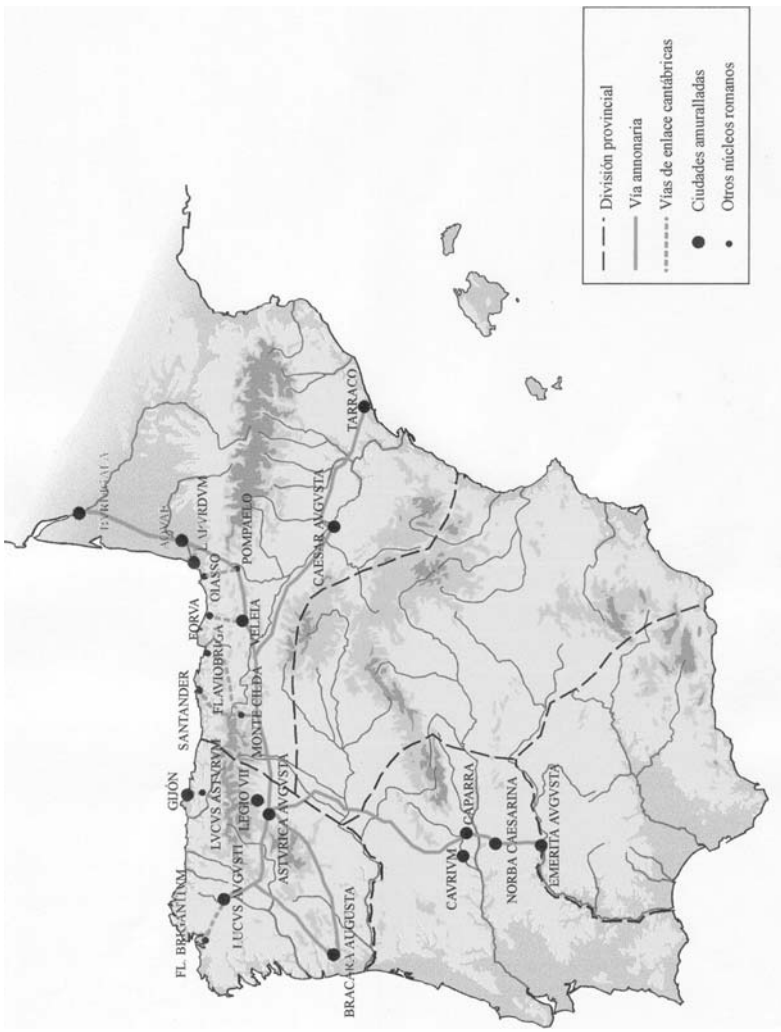


Figure 12. Late antique city walls and road networks in Hispania.

in Spanish olive oil.[96] These two longitudinal axes, which met at Bordeaux, were also interconnected by various transverse spurs.[97] The presence of various units of the army along the length of the principal east-west route in Spain confirms the interest of the Roman administration in guarding a road of vital strategic importance.[98]

Given all this, it seems logical to place the walled cities of our first group, made up principally of cities in the northwest along with Iruña, alongside the creation of this network of roads. Having done so, we may go on to ask how far the other cities walled in this period, for instance Gerona and Tiermes, were integrated within this same strategic program. Even though their geographical position seems to set them apart, in both cases we are dealing with medium or small centers of population of a type similar to the walled cities of the northwest and, more importantly still, cities that occupied significant positions in relation to lines of communication within the peninsula. Gerona is a good example, guarding as it does one of the principal trans-Pyrenean routes that could have served to channel the *annona* of eastern Tarraconensis in the direction of Gaul. The same role within the network of the *annona* may have been played by other cities like Zaragoza or Inestrillas in the Ebro valley, the walled cities of Lusitania (Evora, Cáceres, Coria, Caparra), or the other walled cities scattered across the peninsula and generally dated to this period, even though we lack an adequate stratigraphic basis to be certain of this.[99]

Many questions remain open if we place those Spanish cities walled at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century within a larger strategic reorganization of the empire, but recent investigations in Gaul and Britain suggest that contemporary urban fortifications also correspond to a pre-established program. Investigations undertaken in Aquitaine have revealed that the wall-circuits of Bordeaux, Bourges, Perigueux, Poitiers and Saintes were all built during the last three decades of the third century and the first few of the fourth, and that they constitute a first generation of late imperial walls in the region. Maurin, who collected this evidence, also argued for the

[96] Remesal (1986), 112.
[97] Fernández-Ochoa (1997), 256–57.
[98] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1999), 104; (2002).
[99] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (2002).

direct participation of the army in the construction of these walls, which, it should be noted, flank the principal route of communication between northern Gaul and the western passes across the Pyrenees into Spain.[100]

The same dates are attested for the earliest walled cities and forts on both sides of the English Channel along the so-called *litus saxonicum*, supposedly built to defend the coast against the incursions of Saxon pirates.[101] The fortified wall-circuit of Gloucester, near the west coast of Britain, offers a very similar date of construction.[102] One might even ask whether the growth of Channel piracy in this period, well documented in the literary sources, was not precisely a response to the stimulus provided by the transit of fleets supplying the *annona* and proceeding from Spain towards Germany and Britain. The protection of both land and sea routes by means of fortified cities seem to constitute parallel phenomena, explicable within a common plan.[103] We ought therefore to situate the construction of the first wall-circuits in Spain within this historical context, connecting fortification programs in Gaul and Britain with the contemporary phenomenon in Spain. At least in the case of Aquitaine, there is not the slightest cause to doubt this explanation, and probably all the fortification programs can be understood as part of a single common strategy.

To judge from the documentation available, the construction of wall-circuits does not seem to be attested between the end of the tetrarchic period and the final decades of the fourth century. However, from then until the final breakdown of the Rhine frontier in the earliest years of the fifth century, the archaeological evidence seems to indicate a new period of building activity of a defensive character. The wall-circuits of Barcelona, Burgo de Osma and Mérida, as well as a possible reform of the walls of Tarragona, may perhaps correspond to this second phase. Nevertheless, as we have already pointed out, numerous doubts remain about the date of construction of each of these examples, even if certain indications have led their respective investigators to relate the construction of these fortifications to

[100] Maurin (1992), 378–79.
[101] Johnson (1983), 206–209.
[102] Hurst (1986), 121–22.
[103] Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo (1999), 105–108.

the imminent invasions of the fifth century. Just as problematical is the thorny question of the lesser fortresses called *turres* and *castella* in the late antique sources. The disparate criteria used to catalogue these supposed fortresses or refuges, and the absence of monographic studies, complicates enormously their identification and correct interpretation. At the present time, we do not know if this hypothetical second generation of fortifications, which is also attested in neighboring regions like Aquitania, conformed to some preconceived strategic plan of the Roman state, or whether it was the spontaneous, emergency reponse of some urban centers or local populations, either in the face of social and political dislocation at the end of the fourth century, or as a result of the fear provoked by the possibility of imminent barbarian attack. What does not seem in question, however, is the existence of a first generation of Spanish walls, corresponding to the turn of the third to the fourth century, and related to a system of defense that took in the other western provinces as well.

SPAIN AND THE AFRICAN PROVINCES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Javier Arce

For Pliny the Elder, the western world began at the Straits of Cadiz: "On the right as you enter [the Straits] from the ocean is Africa, and on the left Europe, with Asia between them . . . The ocean straits . . . are fifteen miles long and five miles broad, from the village of Mellaria in Hispania to the White Cape in Africa: . . . so narrow is the mouth through which pours so boundless an expanse of water. At the narrowest part of the straits stand mountains on either side, enclosing the channel, Abyla in Africa and Calpe in Europe."[1] In other passages, Pliny emphasizes the proximity of the African coasts to Spain, and shows that even in the early imperial period, some African regions were administered from Baetica.[2] The relationship between Africa and Hispania, particularly its southern and eastern parts, was dictated by this geographic proximity and manifested itself as much in shared administrative structures as in military, economic and ideological ties. This remained as true for late antiquity, between the fourth and eighth centuries, as it had for the earlier empire.

The incursions of the Mauri

One characteristic of the relationship between Hispania and Africa is the sporadic but insistent incursions by Mauri onto peninsular territory. These are first attested in the second century and were

[1] Plin., *NH* 3.3–5: *Origo ab ocasso solis et Gaditano freto . . . Hinc intranti dextera Africa est, laeva Europa, inter has Asia. XV p. in longitudinem quas dicimus fauces occeani patent, V in latitudinem, a vico Mellaria Hispaniae ad promunturium Africae Album . . . tan modico ore tam inmensa aequorum vastitas panditur . . . Proximis autem faucibus utrinque impositi montes coercent claustra, Abila Africae, Europae Calpe* (trans. Rackham). Album is modern Ibel Musa in Morocco, and Mellaria is a town beside Gibraltar.

[2] Plin., *NH* 5.2: *Iulia Constantia Zilil, regum dicioni exempta, et iura in Baeticam petere iussa*, with reference to the Augustan period.

undoubtedly fostered by the ease of passage between the neighboring regions. On the other hand, the motive for these raids is more difficult to determine. At times they may have been prompted by internal scarcity or famine in Tingitania, or simply by the need for subsistence, particularly given the fame of Baetica's resources. The raids may likewise have been prompted by dissent among the tribes of Mauretania Tingitana. In any case, the raids of Mauri into Spain seem never to have been undertaken for conquest or territorial domination.

The principal source for the first of these incursions is the *Historia Augusta*, in the life of Marcus Aurelius. "Against the Mauri, when they wasted almost the whole of Hispania, matters were brought to a successful conclusion by [the emperor's] legates."[3] Who were these *Mauri* and how many of them passed into the Iberian peninsula? Although it has been suggested that they were inhabitants of the Rif Mountains, this cannot be established with any certainty.[4] The use of the verb *vastare* in the text of the *Historia Augusta* is exaggerated, as is the scale of the incursion alleged by the phrase *omnes Hispanias*. From another passage in the *Historia Augusta*, this time in the *vita* of Septimius Severus, we know that Baetica was the aim of the raid, and that as a result of these incursions, the future emperor Septimius Severus could not carry out his duties as *quaestor* and had to decamp to Sardinia.[5] Since we know that Severus assumed the quaestorship in 171, we can date the Moorish incursion accordingly.[6] The emperor Marcus Aurelius, then residing in Carnuntum, quickly decided to name his friend Aufidius Victorinus as legate to both Baetica and Hispania Citerior (Tarraconensis) in order to remedy the situation.[7]

The appointment of Victorinus was only an emergency measure and his nomination was accompanied by the dispatch to Hispania of an able military administrator, L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus. The latter's mission is attested by an inscription from Rome which

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[3] *V. Marci* 21.1: *Cum mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent, res per legatos bene gestae sunt* (trans. Magie).

[4] Bénabou (1976), 150.

[5] *V. Sev.* 2.3–4: *mauri Baeticam populabantur*, on which see Astin (1959) and Eck (1971).

[6] Birley (1988), 48–50.

[7] Birley (1987), 228–29; Alföldy (1969), 38–42. The appointment of a single *legatus* for both Baetica and Tarraconensis may indicate that both provinces were affected.

describes him as *procurator Augusti et praepositus vexillationis per Achaiam et Macedoniam et in Hispania adversus Costobocas et Mauros rebelles*.[8] In other words, Iulianus was sent from Greece in order to take control of the fight against the Mauri. Aufidius Victorinus, for his part, had to fall back on the contingents of the Legio VII Gemina which were stationed in Hispania to beat them back.[9] The operations lasted for at least two years, inasmuch as a military diploma dated to 173 was issued from Sardinia and speaks of military leave granted to a soldier who had fought in Spain.[10] Some authors have also suggested that the conflict included a naval dimension.[11] We have no evidence for the precise timing or the development of these incursions. Nor do we know what motivated them, though the cause of the "invasion" has been identified both as a result of pressures created by nomadic Saharan tribes on the inhabitants of the Rif *massif*, and as a simple search for subsistence resources.[12] The effects of the raids on the peninsula are equally hard to gauge, although localities like Mulva (Munigua) seem to have responded by hastily erecting fortifications.[13] Yet in the final analysis, it is probably correct to label the incursion an "adventure of sporadic and opportunistic character."[14]

Nevertheless, this adventure repeated itself some years later when a tribe of Mauri again crossed into the peninsula. We know of this second incursion from two inscriptions, one from Antequera (Singilia Barba) and the other from Santiponce (Italica).[15] Both are statue bases dedicated to C. Vallius Maximianus, *procurator Augustorum*. The inscription from Antequera is a dedication from the city to Maximianus "for having liberated that place from the long siege waged by the *Mauri*."[16] In the inscription from Italica, Maximianus receives honors for having restored peace to the province of Baetica after routing the enemy.[17] The Italica inscription makes no mention of a *bellum*

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[8] ILS 1327, but see also the different interpretation of Pflaum (1960–1961), 456–64.
[9] Alföldy (1970), 389–90.
[10] CIL 16: 127.
[11] Starr (1960), 189; Bénabou (1976), 150.
[12] Rachet (1970), 207–208; Bénabou (1976), 149–51.
[13] Grünhagen (1982).
[14] Bénabou (1976), 149; 151.
[15] ILS 1354a (Singilia); 1354 (Italica).
[16] ILS 1354a: *ob municipium diutina obsidione et bello maurorum liberatum.*
[17] ILS 1354: *quot provinciam Baeticam caesis hostibus paci pristinae restituerit.*

mauricum, but given that it mentions the same individual and refers to the restored *pax*, it should be taken to complement the inscription from Antequera. On the other hand, because the Italica inscription makes no reference to a siege of that city itself, one may assume that Italica was not in the path of the raid. The chronology of this second raid can be deduced from the *Tabula Banasitana*, dated to 177, in which Vallius Maximianus is described as the procurator of Mauritania Tingitana under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[18] Both documents indicate that Mauri raids could include prolonged sieges of cities, a surprising fact that may suggest that the second wave of incursions affected southern Baetica more significantly than had the first conflict.[19] The threat of hostilities from Berber tribes against the south of Hispania was thus a reality during the second century. But the Roman response was undoubtedly swift and harsh, and we hear of no other attempts for over 150 years.[20]

At the end of the third century, we again have evidence for Roman military expeditions against the Mauri, specifically in 297 when a campaign was undertaken by the emperor Maximian, the imperial colleague of Diocletian. The theater for this campaign was as much Hispania as it was areas of Mauritania itself. A Strassburg papyrus refers to an "Iberian War" waged by Maximian.[21] The panegyrics of the period suggest that this war was waged against Franks who had taken up piracy along the southern coast of Hispania, but various modern scholars believe that these battles were waged, as they had been in the high empire, against the Mauri.[22] However, this hypothesis is difficult to prove and it is perhaps better to conclude that the campaigns originated against Frankish pirates, and later car-

[18] Seston and Euzennat (1961), 317–18; Bénabou (1976), 153.

[19] Bénabou (1976), 154 n. 173, suggests that the phrase *labentem civitatum statum et praecipitantes iam in ruinas principalium virorum fortunas*, refers to restrictions on gladiatorial games in Italica, the lamentable state of the cities and the ruin of local aristocratic fortunes, and thus reflects the devastation caused by the Moorish raids. For the text, see Olivier and Palmer (1955), 331, ll. 23–24. Recently, Alföldy has published another document relating to the incursions, an inscription from Liria (Valencia), in which one L. Cornelius Potitus, *primipilus*, is described as having perished *in bello maurico*: Alföldy (1985), which includes a complete study on the problem of the Mauri raids.

[20] Alföldy (1985), 106–109.

[21] *P. Stras.* 480 = Page (1941), 544 no. 135. See also Arce (1982a), 20–22.

[22] E.g., Romanelli (1959), 502 n. 3. The texts are collected at Arce (1982a), 20–22.

ried over into battles on African soil against the *Mauri quinquegentani* in the territory of Caesariensis.[23] What seems certain is that in anticipation of possible incursions, and in order to maintain more direct control over Mauretania Tingitana, which had always been rather marginal to the rest of the African provinces and had maintained a high degree of autonomy because of its mountainous geography, Tingitania was incorporated into the new *Diocesis Hispaniarum* through Diocletian's administrative reforms.[24]

Tingitania: province of the diocesis Hispaniarum

Tingitania appears as part of the Spanish diocese in every one of the administrative lists of the post-Diocletianic era, from the earliest, the *Laterculus Veronensis*, to the latest, the *Notitia Dignitatum*.[25] In the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, written in 449 but reflecting the situation at the end of the fourth century, the province is included among the *nomina provinciarum* of Hispania, while a brief reference in Festus' *Breviarium* (369–370) states that "now through all Spain there are six provinces: Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, Lusitania, Gallaecia, Baetica, and also across the straits, on the soil of African land, is a province of the Spains which is named Mauretania Tingitana."[26] Thus during the fourth and part of the fifth century Mauretania Tingitana belonged to and was administered from the Iberian peninsula. Although we hear of a *praeses* of Tingitania named Cl. Valerius Marcellus, the first official known after the formation of the new Spanish diocese is Aurelius Agricolanus, attested as *agens vicem praefectorum praetori* (i.e., *vicarius hispaniarum*) at Tangiers (Tingi) in October of 298.[27] Aurelius appears in the *Acta Marcelli*, a document whose

[23] This is the view of Frézouls (1980), 93. See also Bénabou (1976), 236. A triumphal monument at Mérida recorded the victories: Arce (1982c).

[24] Shaw (1986); Arce (1982a), 35–38.

[25] The Verona List was traditionally dated to between 297 and 312/320, but Barnes (1996) shows that it must come from 314.

[26] Polem. Silv., *Lat.* 4.7 (MGH AA 9: 538–39): *Tingitana trans fretum, quod ab oceano infusum terras intrat inter Calpem vel Abinnam*; Fest., *Brev.* 5.3.

[27] Valerius was *praeses provinciae Mauretaniae Tingitanae, vir perfectissimus*, between 277 and 280: Chastagnol (1965), 282 n. 1. Agricolanus is attested at *Acta Marc.* 2.22: see *PLRE* 1: 31.

authenticity some have questioned.[28] Nonetheless, many scholars have used this reference as evidence for a transfer of the capital of the new Tingitania to Tangiers from Volubilis, on the grounds that the latter city was at this point practically abandoned and lay outside the new administrative and strategic orbit of the province.

Even before the creation of the tetrarchy, as we have seen, at least part of Tingitania had been administered from Baetica. Afterwards, perhaps as a result of the incursions of the Mauri, the whole of Tingitania came to be part of Hispania and an inscription from this time mentions the *Nova Hispana Ulterior Tingitana*.[29] With the arrival of Maximian in Carthage in 297, the diocese of Africa was reorganized in the same way that Spain had been. In Africa, military garrisons were reinforced to restore imperial control of a region whose worrying remoteness from central authority prompted fears of rebellion and usurpation. Thus Byzacena was detached from the old Africa Proconsularis and Mauretania Caesariensis was divided into two, Caesariensis to the west and Sitifensis to the east. The territory of Numidia was separated from Tripolitania and formed into Numidia Cirtensis in the north and Numidia Melitana in the south. Thus, seven new African provinces were created from the four old ones, a move intended to promote greater governability and control. Mauretania Tingitana, however, remained separate. Rather than merging with its natural neighbors to the east, it was amputated from its continent and, with its now-reduced territory, abandoned to its own destiny like its capital Volubilis. It was attached to the Spanish diocese, thus under the administration of the Spanish *vicarius* and ultimately the praetorian prefect of Gaul.[30] The move had the double objective of securing the Straits and quelling the incursions of nomadic people into the peninsula.[31]

As a consequence of this new organization a fairly large hinterland was created between the frontier of Tingitania and the new province of Caesariensis.[32] This left a series of villages outside the new administrative scheme: a passage in the *Laterculus Veronensis* notes

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[28] However, see Castillo in the present volume

[29] CIL 8: 21813, with Albertini (1923), 116 n. 2.

[30] Not. Dig., Occ. 3.1: *sub dispositione viri illustri praefecti praetorio Galliarum.*

[31] This can be deduced from the campaigns of Maximian: Seston (1946), 325; Carcopino (1945), 246; Rachet (1970), 256–58.

[32] Rachet (1970), 264 n. 56; cf. Arce (1982a), 48.

that although Tingitania passed under the administrative umbrella of the Spanish diocese, a series of Tingitanian villages and their inhabitants remained essentially free of Roman control: *gentes barbarae, quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus . . . quae in Mauretaniae sunt: Mauri Quinquegentiani, Mauri Mazices, Mauri Barbares, Mauri Bacaute*s.[33] These peoples or *gentes* fell under imperial control (*sub imperatoribus*) but preserved a degree of autonomy and were considered *barbari*, even though they dwelt within the frontiers of the empire.

The army of Tingitania

Chapter 26 of the *Notitia Dignitatum* describes the disposition and numbers of the military establishment in the new province. The troops, designated as *limitanei*, were under the command of a *comes Tingitaniae*.[34] A *praefectus alae Herculeae* was stationed at Tamuda (Tamuco), and various cohorts were garrisoned elsewhere.[35] Together, these garrisons constituted a frontier line.[36] A mobile army, or *comitatus*, constituted the other part of the Tingitanian military force, and boasted particularly high troop numbers.[37] The archaeological evidence for this military presence indicates that some of these troops came from northern Gaul: the techniques and forms of certain military hardware found on Tigitanian military sites can only have come from workshops in northern Europe, since no *fabricae* seem to have existed in Hispania or in Tingitania in this period.[38] We know very little about the lives of these *limitanei* and nothing about their contact with the local population. They were undoubtedly farmers and rural laborers who carried out occasional policing duties and increasingly mixed with and became a part of the native population.[39] Perhaps because of this organization, the military and political

[33] *Lat. Ver.* 13–14 (ed. Seeck, 251–52). The significance of this has been underscored by Shaw (1986), 82.
[34] Not. Dig., Occ. 26.12–20.
[35] See Arce (1982a), 66–67.
[36] Cagnat (1912), 762–65; Warmington (1954), 26, who proposes that garrisons may have served as protectors of imperial granaries.
[37] Not. Dig., Occ. 7.135–139, with Arce (1982a), 82, for details. Shaw notes that this is one of the largest bodies of troops in the empire: Shaw (1986), 68.
[38] Boube (1960).
[39] See Elton (1996b) for a vision of how this commingling took place.

situation of fourth-century Tingitania seems to have been stable, so that the documentary evidence is correspondingly thin: even the names of the provincial *praesides* go unrecorded.[40] This peace was broken at the beginning of the fifth century, when Wallia and a contingent of Goths attempted to cross over into Africa, though perhaps intending to settle in Carthage rather than Tingitania. However, a storm "in the Strait of Gades" forced them to give up the undertaking and, shortly thereafter, the Gothic king signed a *foedus* with Constantius, Honorius' *magister militum*.[41]

Tingitania in the fifth century

In 411, Vandals, Alans and Sueves divided the Spanish provinces *ad inhabitandum*.[42] Tarraconensis remained in Roman hands, while the *gentes* divided the remaining provinces of Lusitania, Baetica, Carthaginiensis and Gallaecia between them. The Balearic islands and Mauretania Tingitana remained, like Tarraconensis, under Roman control and administration. The situation did not last long, however. In 425 the Vandals began a series of expansionary raids against both the Balearics and Tingitania.[43] Some scholars have claimed that, because Hydatius states that *Vandali . . . invadunt Mauretaniam*, he was describing an attempt to diminish local resistance and secure a bridgehead for the later African crossing.[44] But as Hydatius later shows, conflict with the Sueves prevented any such safe passage and when the Vandals decided to emigrate in 429 they do not seem to have controlled Tingitania.[45] The ease of their passage to Africa may have been facilitated by a treaty with the *comes Africae*, Boniface; alternatively, the imperial garrisons of the province may have become

[40] Tingitania was a *provincia praesidialis* by 369: Fest., *Brev.* 5.3: *Ex his Baetica et Lusitania consulares ceterae sunt praesidiales*; also *Not. Dig.*, Occ. 21.14.

[41] Oros., *Hist.* 7.11.

[42] Hyd. 41, with Arce (2003a).

[43] Hyd. 77.

[44] Gil Egea (1998), 185. It may be significant that Hydatius uses the verb *invadere* here, while in his descriptions of the incursions against the Balearics, Cartagena, Seville, and indeed the peninsula more generally, he uses *depredare*, e.g. Hyd. 77: *Vandali Baliaricas insulas depredantur quique Carthagine Spartaria et Spali eversa et Hispanias depredatis, Mauritaniam invadunt.* See the commentary of Tranoy (1974), 2: 61.

[45] Hyd. 80.

ineffectual by this point.[46] However, a passage in Procopius' *De Aedificiis* allows us to infer that the Vandals never occupied the stronghold of Ceuta (Septem), which, he tells us, "was built by the Romans in early times, but being bypassed by the Vandals, it had been destroyed by time."[47] Moreover, when in 442 Theodosius II, under pressure from the Huns, was obliged to make a treaty with the Vandals and confirm their possession of African territory, the province of Tingitania does not appear among those allocated to the Vandals. According to both Victor of Vita, who provides some detail on the division, and the *novellae* of Valentinian III, the emperor retained Tripolitania, Mauretania Sitifensis, Caesariensis and parts of Numidia, while to the Vandals was left the remainder of those provinces, plus Byzacena and Zeugitana.[48] Tingitania is not mentioned in the settlement, almost certainly because it remained part of the Spanish diocese rather than Africa, and was never occupied by the Vandals.[49]

Byzantine Tingitania

When Justinian declared the re-conquest of Africa complete in 534, he organized the new African administration along the lines of the pre-conquest model. According to arrangments recorded in the *Codex Justinianus*, the territory was again divided into seven provinces, but now Mauretania Tingitana was placed under the praetorian prefect of Africa.[50] Thus, in 534, Tingitania officially ceased to belong to Hispania and was again annexed by its African brethren. The annexation had a military and strategic character, but perhaps not an administrative one, and according to the Code, the reassignment mostly affected Ceuta and its surroundings. Furthermore, although we know that *consulares* were named to administer Proconsularis, Byzacena and Tripolitania, and *praesides* in Numidia, Sitifensis, Caesariensis and Sardinia, there is no mention of a governor of Tingitania. On the contrary, the *magister militum per Africa* had under

[46] Proc., *BV* 1.3.22–26; 30–31; Theoph., *Chron.* AM 5931 (de Boor, 93–95).
[47] Proc., *De aed.* 6.7.14 (trans. modified from Dewing).
[48] Vict. Vit. 1.4; *Nov. Val.* 34.3.
[49] As suggested by Bury (1923), 1: 255.
[50] *CJ* 1.27.1.12: *auxiliante Deo septem provinciae cum suis iudicibus disponantur.*

his direction the *duces* of Tripolitania, Byzacena, Numidia, Caesariensis and Sardinia, while the *dux* of Mauretania Tingitana controlled a contingent in Ceuta. Justinian thus proved himself "meticulously occupied" with the strategic and defensive aspects of Ceuta and its *tractus*.[51] He expressly tried to prevent possible attacks and hostilities by the Visigoths based in Hispania and even, potentially, the Franks.[52] According to the Code, the defenses were to be of the most rigorous kind and maintained at a high state of alert, while the tribune awarded command of the armies at Ceuta and its *tractus* was required to be a reliable man, wholly dedicated to the empire.[53] The *tractus* was to be watched at all times, using the maximum number of troops possible, and a fleet of boats (*dromones*) was to be available for troop transport.[54]

Justinian's preoccupation with Ceuta was based on legitimate fears. The Visigoths installed in Hispania had already given signs of collaboration with the Vandals, inasmuch as the Vandal Gelimer had expected to be able to flee to Hispania with his treasure in 533, even though in the end the Gothic king Theudis refused to help him.[55] Belisarius' troops occupied the fort at Ceuta in 533–534.[56] The Visigoths, recognizing the threat it posed, immediately attempted to capture it, and in 546–547 they succeeded. Although they took possession of the city, they did so for only a short time and were annihilated after being surprised by an imperial army.[57]

The Byzantines retained control of the city until 711 and, at the end of the sixth century, Ceuta was still part of the province of

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[51] Jones (1964), 274.

[52] *CJ* 1.27.2.2: *quaecumque in partibus Hispaniae vel Galliae seu Francorum aguntur.*

[53] *CJ* 1.27.2.2: *cum tribuno suo, homine prudente et devotionem servante rei publicae nostrae per omnia.*

[54] Ibid.

[55] Proc., *BV* 1.24.7–17.

[56] The notion that it was then occupied by the Visigoths, was put forward by Diehl (1896), 1: 36, following the explicit statement of Isid., *HG* 42. It seems that the Visigoths were in possession of Ceuta before the reign of Theudis, but we do not know at what precise date. The campaign of Theudis in 547 to recapture the city from the imperial army indicates that it was in Byzantine hands at that date: see Pringle (1981), 2: 225. It may be worth noting that the *Provinciale Visigothicum*, though it is of questionable historical reliability, includes the see of Tingi within the ecclesiastical province of Baetica.

[57] Isid., *HG* 42, which relates that the city was conquered because the defenders were observing Sunday Mass when they were attacked.

Mauritania II.[58] In 641 the empress Martina was exiled to this remote outpost by Philagrius, which shows that the site remained a firmly Byzantine enclave.[59] When the Visigoths definitively ejected the Byzantines from southern Hispania in 622, Ceuta continued to be an imperial fortress.[60] In 706, Musa ibn-Nusayr attacked Ceuta, but the *dux* Julian repelled the siege. This same Julian helped Wittiza, the Visigothic king, against the usurper Roderic in 710–711. With the aim of aiding the king, Julian borrowed troops from the Muslims commanded by Tariq (then based in Tangiers under Musa's orders), supplied ships for the latter to cross the straits and opened the gates of Ceuta, all in order to overthrow the usurper.[61] Again, Ceuta served as a base and bridgehead to cross into Hispania, and it was Berbers accompanied by Arabs and Byzantines who passed into the peninsula on an expedition which seems to have had as its initial objective simply the suppression of the Visigothic pretender, rather than a planned, total conquest. Subsequent events, however, took a different path.[62]

Economic relations between Hispania and Africa

When the texts mention economic ties between Africa and Hispania, they typically refer to Africa without specifying distinct provinces. Most of the time, we should assume that Africa as a geographical term means Proconsularis or Numidia, particularly during the Vandal period from the second half of the fifth century until the fall of Carthage to Belisarius.[63] Maritime communications favored these ties,

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[58] George of Cyprus places Ceuta in Mauritania II: Pringle (1981), 2: 225.

[59] John of Nikiu, *Chr.* 119.23 (ed. Zotenberg). See *PLRE* 3: 1018 (Philagrius 3, *sacellarius* in 641).

[60] A letter of Justinian II to Pope Conon, in February of 687, indicates that the imperial army was still in control of Ceuta: Justinian, *Exemplar* (*PL* 96: 425–429). See also Toynbee (1973), 227–28; Pringle (1981), 2: 382 n. 50.

[61] *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) 1: 401; Paul. Diac., *Rom.* 6.46.

[62] The subject of the Arabs' arrival in 711 has spawned much debate. I believe that the events of 711 can be seen as a continuation of previous raids, which, as we have seen, were frequent during the Roman period. At a certain point, Tariq's raid was transformed into a planned conquest. Because I elaborate on this theme in a forthcoming study, I cite only the most pertinent bibliography here: Guichard (2000); Kennedy (1996); Collins (1989); Chalmeta (1994); Christys (2003).

[63] Although on relationships with Tingitania see Gozalbes Cravioto (1997), ch. 4.

which seem to have been easy and frequent. Diocletian's price edict, for example, twice mentions transport voyages between Hispania and Africa (*ab Africa ad Spaniam*).[64] The *naulum* was required to pay 8 *denarii* for each *kastrensis modius*, a small sum compared with transport to other locales.[65] Although it may merely be coincidence, the Edict makes no mention of interchanges or tariffs from Hispania to Africa (*ab Hispania ad Africam*), possibly indicating that transport from Africa to Hispania was much more frequent than the reverse.

At least during the fifth century, the peninsula's Mediterranean coast seems to have boasted a considerable fleet of ships, capable of sailing to Africa during the months when the seas were open. Apart from the Gothic attempt to cross the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Vandal raids discussed above, there is also the evidence of the Vandal immigration: if, following the majority of historians, we are disposed to believe Victor of Vita, then in 429 more than 80,000 persons emigrated to Africa under the command of Gaiseric.[66] Many ships of all kinds were necessary for this voyage and the Vandals confiscated what they needed from the river ports of the southern coast.[67] In 460 the emperor Majorian prepared a fleet to cross from Carthaginiensis to attack the Vandals, though the latter burnt the ships at anchor.[68] Majorian and his army were deceived by people of the region of Carthago Nova, who reported news of his expedition to the Vandals.[69] The episode may be taken to indicate the anti-imperial sentiments of the local population, or it may suggest their desire to remain on good terms with the Vandals for commercial reasons. It also attests to the fluidity of communication between the peoples of Hispania and the North African coast. Many other sources attest to the frequency of maritime communications between Hispania and Africa, demonstrating the ease of contact across the Straits. Orosius, for example, left Hispania to go to Africa in 413/414, with the aim of meeting Augustine and discussing problems relating to the Origenist

[64] *Ed. de Pret.* (ed. Giacchero) 35.28 and possibly 37.35, though Giacchero restores the fragmentary reading to *Roma* rather than *Hispania*.
[65] Arce (1982a), 11–13.
[66] Vict. Vit. 1.2. The number of 80,000 has been much discussed. Some take it as a biblical type, without any real historical foundation, but here I follow the convincing arguments of Liebeschuetz (2003), 68 n. 61, based on Proc., *Bell.* 3.5.18.
[67] Chron. Gall. a. 511: *arreptis navibus* (ed. Burgess [2001b], 96).
[68] Hyd. 195.
[69] Hyd. 196.

and Priscillianist controversies. Sent east by Augustine, he returned to Africa in 416 carrying the relics of Saint Stephen, later translating these for deposition in Minorca. Orosius hoped to return to Hispania, but returned instead to Africa, perhaps troubled by the situation in the peninsula and the risks of travel there.[70]

These same ships that carried travelers between the two regions also moved commodities, but what commodities, and until what date did such trade continue? The principal archaeologically-verifiable cargo was ceramic tableware and various types of containers, particularly amphorae, unguentaria and lamps.[71] Their destination was the ports and towns of the Mediterranean coast, whence the goods were distributed primarily to the coastal hinterland, although they might on occasion travel further inland. If this ceramic evidence is any indicator, we must imagine some kind of a market persisting in Hispania between the fifth and seventh centuries.[72] For example, *terra sigillata africana* D, produced in Carthage and its environs, was marketed from the fourth century onwards and its forms abound along the Mediterranean shores of Hispania.[73] The arrival of African ceramics on the Mediterranean Spanish coast is particularly clear at Tarragona (Tarraco). During the first half of the fifth century, the garbage heaps of the city were filled with African wares, some 76.33% of the total tableware assemblage.[74] In the second half of the century these percentages persisted in other deposits, although the overall quantities declined.[75] This trend is true not only of fine wares, but is similarly true of common wares.[76] Common ware imports continued throughout the fifth century, uninterrupted by the Vandal conquests in Africa,[77] while sigillata is present in Tarragona until the beginning of the seventh century.

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[70] Sev. Min., *Ep.* 4.2, with Gauge (1998). As we shall see, this frequent personal and group travel between Hispania and Africa and vice versa, continued during the sixth century.

[71] Gutiérrez Lloret (1998).

[72] See Reynolds in this volume.

[73] Járrega (1991b).

[74] During the years 440–450: Aquilué (1992); TED'A (1989a), 123–55.

[75] Aquilué (1992).

[76] Ibid.

[77] Hayes (1972), 423; Aquilué (1992), 33, who suggests that political events did not affect the importation of ceramic into Tarragona. Against this notion, see Tortorella (1998). In fact, African ceramic is found in the city until well into the seventh century.

If we shift to other geographic areas, again always on the coast, the site of Punta de l'Arenal (Jávea, Alicante) demonstrates a similar pattern, in this case with respect to African amphorae rather than tableware.[78] At Cartagena (Cartago Nova), occupied by the Byzantines c. 550, large quantities of African ceramics have appeared in the houses and in the *tabernae* constructed over the seats of the Roman theater.[79] The appearance of such ceramics in the peninsular interior is much rarer, probably owing to the high cost of overland transport. Some products appear in areas as far afield as Galicia and the Asturias and may have been carried either overland or by an Atlantic sea route.[80] Given that the distribution of fine wares generally did not extend much beyond the coastal regions, inland areas seem typically to have resorted to local production.

From the well-understood picture of commercial exchange, in this case largely documented by the ceramics of the Mediterranean coasts, there springs a series of questions whose answers are more nebulous. First, we know little of the products or objects that passed from Hispania to Africa, in other words whether the ceramics found in Spain represent one side of a genuine trade with Carthage and its surroundings. It would seem that the region's oil market in the first half of the sixth century was directed towards Tarraconensis, where 79% of the amphorae discovered to date are of African origin.[81] Keay has proposed that the export of African oil to Hispania during the Vandal period was due to surpluses which the Vandals began to export when the *annona* system ceased to function.[82] While this is quite plausible, the difficulty lies in knowing who purchased these products, and whether the presence of imported amphorae in the peninsula means that these products were no longer produced in Hispania as they had been in previous centuries.

Furthermore, this picture of a thriving African trade stands in direct contradiction to certain archaeological realities, particularly the reduced size of Spanish cities, with their overflowing rubbish heaps and crumbling houses. Regular, active trade and "decaying" impoverished cities seem contradictory and we should probably conclude

[78] Gutiérrez Lloret (1998), 165.
[79] Ramallo (2000), 579–611; Ramallo and Vizcaíno Sánchez (2000).
[80] Járrega (1991b), 93. See also Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes in this volume.
[81] Keay (1987).
[82] Keay (1984a), 428.

that the period did not witness commercial activity at its most energetic. The presence of Byzantine troops in the peninsula from the mid-sixth century onwards might explain the flow of imports, but only in the southernmost areas of the peninsula where the army was based, and certainly not in Tarraconensis. In any case, the Byzantine troops are unlikely to have exceeded four or five thousand men,[83] and archaeologists have estimated that Cartagena probably held no more than 300 troops.[84] All of which is to say that the problem lies in determining the actual scope and significance of the trade represented by the North African ceramics found on the Mediterranean coast of Spain during the fifth and sixth centuries, and it is at this stage only possible to offer a series of more or less reasonable hypotheses. Two points should be emphasized: with the exception of certain isolated cases, luxury objects of clear African origin are relatively scarce and the zones touched by African trade shrank until these were reduced to coastal areas only.[85] Thus, our current picture is one of a vast interior, largely cut off from all commercial contact with Africa. Thereafter, the re-conquest of the Byzantine territories by the Visigoths in 623 meant "the definitive end of the importation of luxury goods into urban ports."[86]

Exchanges of people, ideas, and beliefs

The movements of people, and thus the ideas and beliefs that accompanied them, forms a relevant chapter in the relationship between Hispania and the African provinces during this period. Some scholars have claimed that this interchange was intense.[87] But this assertion is based on only very sparse documentation, which should be considered in its proper light. A notice here and there of a bishop's voyage to Hispania, and various inscriptions including names of

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[83] Treadgold (1995), 61–63.

[84] Ramallo (2000), 588 n. 22.

[85] The chief exception is Cartagena: Ramallo (2000), 601, though the finds are not yet published.

[86] Gutiérrez Lloret (1998), 183.

[87] E.g., Gil (1978–1979), 42: "La estrecha relación comercial y cultural—recuérdese a S. Agustín y Orosio—que une a Africa y a Hispania se ve reforzada a fines del s. V y en el VI *por verdaderas emigraciones de africanos a la Península Ibérica*" (my emphasis).

clearly African origin, do not permit generalizations or claims of mass migration from Africa to Spain. We know, for example, that some Spanish Catholics left Spain with the Vandals in 429.[88] Moreover, Gesalic, king of the Visigoths between 507 and 511, fled after his defeat by the Ostrogothic general Ibba to the court of the Vandal king Thrasamund, where he lived for a short time before being sent back to Gaul.[89] We also hear of sporadic travels between Hispania and Africa and a number of funerary epitaphs commemorate persons of North African origin who died on Spanish soil.[90] Nonetheless, for a period covering more than three centuries, the evidence must be regarded as relatively meager.

There can be no doubt that political and military events on both sides of the Straits prompted various individuals to flee the danger, or even the very presence, of Sueves, Vandals and Alans. The historian Orosius is usually cited as the prime example of this phenomenon, though without much support. Orosius was a young presbyter who had been living in the province of Gallaecia when in 414 he traveled to Africa to visit Augustine. The reasons for this visit, however, need not have been the presence of the Sueves or fear of hostilities, but rather simply a desire to meet and visit an admired spiritual master.[91] After all, many trips during this period were prompted by similar personal reasons.[92] It is true that the arrival of the barbarians in Hispania did prompt various bishops to abandon their sees—Augustine's biographer Possidius reproached them for their cowardice—but many more remained. Indeed, the difficulty with Possidius' testimony is that it does not indicate whether the bishops who fled went to Africa, to other places inside the peninsula itself, or to provinces like Gaul or Italy.[93] In the final analysis, Orosius' trip demonstrates only one certain fact—the undeniable

[88] Prosp. 1329 (MGH AA 9: 475).

[89] Full references at *PLRE* 2: 509–510 (Gesalicus).

[90] *IHC* 127; *ICERV* 139; CILA 2.4: 1023; *ICERV* 268. Conversely, inscriptions from Africa document Spaniards who died on the southern shores of the Mediterranean: *ICK* 2: 96; *AE* 1962: 347 and Terry (1998), no. 164. I am indebted to the anonymous referee for these references.

[91] It may be that he experienced some problems, alluded to in Oros., *Hist.* 5.2; cf. 3.20.6–7.

[92] For example, Jerome's visitors to Bethlehem, or Augustine's many visitors, on whom see Lacroix (1965), 34–35; Gauge (1998).

[93] Poss., *V. Aug.*, 30.19.

fame enjoyed by Augustine in Hispania, a fame derived both from the personal communications of those who had met the great man and from letters describing his writings and deeds.

If the presence of the barbarians in Hispania produced some refugees whose destination may or may not have been Africa, Victor of Vita provides evidence for the reverse of that phenomenon: in 484, as a result of the laws passed by the Arian Vandal king Huneric, many Catholics from Tipasa gathered all the ships they could find and fled to Hispania.[94] Victor is not always reliable and it is hard to know how many people fled, where in Spain they were headed and where they eventually settled. It is equally difficult to estimate what impact this emigration of Catholics might have had in Spain, as there is no clear evidence of their presence there subsequently. More concrete is a reference transmitted by Ildefonsus of Toledo about the arrival of Donatus and seventy of his monks in Hispania some time around the 570s.[95] The flight of this African abbot and his community may have been prompted by wars between the Berbers and the Byzantine army. Donatus, famous at the time for his many miracles, founded the monastery of Servitanum at a location that remains unidentified, although some scholars believe it to have been in the region of Valencia.[96]

Most interesting for the historian of ideas and culture is the fact that the monks arrived with their books, creating a library in their monastery that would become a center of intellectual life. What were the contents of these books? What influence did they have on the clergy of Hispania? We have no information on the matter, but it has been suggested that the African system of palaeographical abbreviations, later imitated by the Visigoths, was introduced by these monks, along with the works of Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine and Fulgentius.[97] Ildefonsus states that "Donatus . . . was the first to introduce to Hispania the custom of monastic observance and monastic law,"[98] which has led some to claim that "monastic law, particularly

[94] Vict. Vit. 3.29.30.

[95] Ild. Tol., *DVI* 3: *cum septuaginta monachis copiosisque librorum codicibus navali vehiculo in Hispania commeavit.*

[96] Díaz y Díaz (1982–1983), 91; Gil (1978–1979), 47.

[97] Gil (1978–1979), 56.

[98] Ild. Tol., *DVI* 3: *iste prior in Hispaniam monasticae observantiae usum regulamque dicitur advexisse.*

that of Saint Augustine, was introduced in the Visigothic period through the work of African monks."[99] The difficulty is that monasticism had appeared much earlier in Hispania, though that does not preclude the possibility that some monastic laws of African origin were adopted in the peninsula after the arrival of Donatus. The *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium* document the arrival in Mérida of another African abbot, Nanctus, who, in the reign of the king Leovigild (r. 569–586), settled in the environs of the basilica of the martyr Eulalia.[100] Nanctus' arrival in Mérida may also have been prompted by problems in Byzantine Africa, or may even have been the result of a personal pilgrimage to the now-famous martyr's sanctuary.[101]

A series of Spanish inscriptions that use formulas common to African Latin inscriptions seem to attest the presence of some individual Africans in Hispania, but such inscriptions are scarce and although they appear at Mértola (Myrtilis), Mérida and other sites in Lusitania, these may well be chance finds and should not be used as evidence for a route regularly taken by immigrants from the African provinces.[102] Even the city of Mérida, while generally regarded as the chief recipient of North African influence, is not particularly rich in evidence for the phenomenon. Its architectural remains are marked by some African influence, but also by currents from Italy and the East, while the most significant texts for the history of the city, such as the *Vitas*, speak of the presence of easterners, not Africans, during the sixth and seventh centuries.[103]

The notion that Christianity in Hispania stemmed from African roots has persisted for years in Spanish historiography.[104] Yet Sotomayor has argued convincingly against this thesis, citing the absence of any real evidence to support it.[105] One of the basic props in support of an African origin of Spanish Christianity is a letter from the bishops of León and Astorga to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, soliciting

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[99] Gil (1978–1979), 56.
[100] *VPE* 3.
[101] Augustine mentions such pilgrimages in his sermons on the martyr, e.g. *Serm.* 212. Gil (1978–1979), 43, believes that Nanctus introduced a rigorous asceticism derived from Egyptian coenobitism, although he offers no proof for this hypothesis.
[102] *Pace* Gil (1978–1979).
[103] Arce (2002c), 197–99, with bibliography.
[104] E.g., Blázquez (1967), following the opinions of M.C. Díaz y Díaz.
[105] Sotomayor (1982); (1989b).

his opinion and appealing to his authority on the problem of the apostates Basilides and Martial.[106] The local presbyters and faithful had decided to expel Basilides from his seat for having tried to escape persecution, but the bishop, reluctant to give up his position, had traveled to Rome where he convinced Pope Stephen to reinstate him. The clergy and the faithful of churches in Hispania then dispatched letters to the bishop of Carthage, asking for his opinion. This act does not imply that the church of Hispania fell under the authority of Carthage. Rather, recourse to great bishops for help and advice was a normal course of action for ante-Nicene churches, and the episode demonstrates no more than the close relationship between the Christian communities of Hispania and Carthage during the mid-third century.[107]

During the fifth century, a similar example attests to the continuity of such ties, but again does not indicate African origin, let alone sovereignty over, peninsular church affairs. In 430, the Spanish monks Vitalis and Constantius wrote to Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, consulting him on the orthodoxy of their beliefs, which had been cast into doubt by certain Nestorians *quia sunt hic quidam qui dicunt non debere dici Deum natum*.[108] The bishop answered them, refuting the heretical principles then circulating in Hispania, informing them of an eastern synod (Ephesus) that had condemned Nestorian doctrines, and exhorting them not to heed those who had fallen into this error.[109] Vallejo Girvés, who has studied this episode in detail, rightly emphasizes the humble tone of the monks, but this is a common rhetorical trope used by monks when addressing a bishop and is not indicative of any institutional dependence. Again, we are presented with a missive which was sent because of the great prestige associated with the see of Carthage, rather than with the subordination of the Spanish church to the African. On the contrary, what we see is the same easy relationship between Hispania and Africa manifest in other sources, here likewise present in matters of Christian doctrine.[110]

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[106] Cypr., *Ep.* 67.

[107] For further comment on the significance of Cyprian in Spain, see Castillo in the present volume.

[108] Capreolus, *Epist.* (*PL* 53: 844–58, especially 847–49). On this topic see Vallejo Girvés (1991), 351–58. I am grateful to Raúl González Salinero for having called this work to my attention, and for his thoughts on these problems.

[109] *PL* 53: 849–58.

[110] In addition to the textual sources, archaeologists have tried to find African

Conclusions

Based on what little evidence remains to us, relations between Hispania and the African provinces during late antiquity seem to have been limited for the most part to Mauretania Tingitana and the region of Carthage in the old Africa Proconsularis. This was the case for two reasons: Tingitania was administratively part of the Spanish diocese from the time of Diocletian until the Byzantine conquests of Belisarius in 533/544. This dependency, plus the simple fact of geographic proximity, was the determining factor in the relationship. Trade between Carthage and the peninsula's coastal zones was maintained during the fifth century through the export of surpluses by the Vandal kingdom to a nearby, non-hostile territory, and then continued under Visigothic rule. Political or military instability in one or the other geographic area favored the movement of people in both directions, although it is difficult to establish the size or significance of such migration.

Earlier historiography, basing its conclusions on isolated and ambiguous examples, has greatly exaggerated the importance of cultural ties between Hispania and Africa. Furthermore, this same historiography has underplayed connections between Hispania and other regions, such as Gaul and Italy. Further study of these other relationships would undoubtedly place the ties between Hispania and Africa in a new light.[111] The artistic and architectural influences observable in

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influence in the Christian material culture of Spain. The plans of the well-known double-apsed churches, many early Christian sarcophagi and some mosaic patterns have all been attributed to various forms of North African influence: Schlunk (1967), 230–58, documents the influence of Carthage on early Christian sarcophagi-workshops in Tarragona. According to P. de Palol, the so-called sigma tables for funerary cult found in Cartagena show African influence as well. See Sanmartín and Palol (1972), 447–458. Without denying the validity of certain particular examples, these models need not have been exclusively African nor have been derived directly from the African provinces: they may rather have stemmed from a variety of sources, including Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul and the East: N. Duval (1976) shows that the influence of African mosaics on those of Hispania is not as clear as it would seem. On the double-apsed churches and their parallels outside Africa, see N. Duval (1982); Ulbert (1978).

[111] This is not the place to undertake such work, but some examples should be mentioned. Contacts and influences between southern Gaul and Tarraconensis in the fourth century were examined by Fontaine (1974), which stressed the permeability of ideas, whether cultural or spiritual, across the Pyrenees. For Spanish relations with Gaul in the sixth century see Greg. Tur., *Hist.* 8.35; 9.22. On

church plans and in the decoration of luxury objects are likewise not necessarily beholden to Africa, but embrace other cultural currents as well. What is more, the relationship between Spain and Africa was largely limited to the Mediterranean coast of Spain and the Guadiana valley, and diminished rapidly as one progressed into the interior, a fact that reflects the ease of maritime communication in both directions throughout the whole of the period. The installation of the imperial army in the *tractus* of Ceuta had as its goal defense against possible Visigothic expansion towards the African coast, but in the end it was a raid of Byzantines, Berbers and Arabs against the Visigoths that definitively transformed control of peninsular territory after 711.

Merovingian-Visigothic relations, see Wood (1994), 169–175. Hydatius attests to some forty-two embassies between different places in Gallaecia and Tarraconensis and Gaul and Italy, on which now see Gillett (2003). Sabinus, the orthodox bishop of Hispalis, was exiled in Gaul for twenty years: Hyd. 116. The letters of popes Hilarus and Leo describe Spanish bishops soliciting advice from Rome: Hil., *Epp.* 13, 16 (ed. Thiel [1868]). Taio, later bishop of Zaragoza, traveled to Rome during the reign of the Visigothic king Chindasvind: King (1972), 196. Trade with Italy is attested by Cassiodorus' description of corn exports (*Var.* 5.35) and by Proc., *Bell.* 6.12.29. Schlunk (1945) demonstrated the Italian origins of Byzantine influence on Visigothic architecture. Finally, many references to the relations between Spain and Italy or Gaul are collected in Claude (1985), 144.

PART FOUR

TRADE AND THE ECONOMY

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Traditional descriptions of the Hispano-Roman economy have tended to follow the received outline of Roman economic history. A land of olives, whose economic engine was fueled by its most Romanized province, Baetica, first- and second-century Hispania is portrayed as a vibrant, if not major, contributor to the Roman *annona*. The mountain of Baetican oil amphorae at Monte Testaccio in Rome is emblematic of an economy defined by its export industry, paradigmatic of the empire-wide impact of "consumer cities." This halcyon image is thought to have come to an end in the third century when not only the Baetican export market, but also the whole of Spanish rural agriculture was seen to have succumbed to a third-century crisis, aided by Franco-Alamannic invasions in the peninsular northeast. During the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, archaeological investigations at rural sites were pre-determined by this narrative of decline, so that abandonment or destruction levels were frequently dated to the third century through historical determinism rather than archaeological evidence. The acceptance of this third-century crisis and a meta-narrative of economic collapse between the third and the mid-fifth century created certain problems, not the least of which was how to explain the many fourth-century Spanish villa estates, remarkable for their size and wealth.

Much of the discussion of Hispania's late antique economy has centered on these villas, a noteworthy thematic shift away from high imperial export studies. In contrast with the image of a high imperial export economy, late Roman Spanish estates were believed to have been autarchic islands, severed from nearby urban and broader Mediterranean contacts. Their splendor was an illusion that masked the declining civic pride of elites who fled urban responsibilities in favor of rural retreat, and the development of isolated, proto-feudal systems of exchange and land tenure. Declining coin supply and the increasing scarcity of imported pottery finds seemed to confirm this image of isolation and self-sufficiency. Urban economies were believed to have experienced similar phenomena: cut off from their productive hinterlands by uncooperative elites, war, and transportation

problems, Spanish cities began providing for themselves. Decayed urban blocks were converted to agricultural or industrial space, providing everything from handmade ceramics to food, while barter gradually replaced a vanishing monetary economy, at least for day-to-day transactions.

The study of the late Roman economy has undergone radical changes since this model was crafted and disseminated: from a widespread rejection of the third-century crisis, revised definitions of autarchy, a renewed interest in middle-distance trade and reconsiderations of levels of monetization and the imperial tax base, our image of the late Roman economy has become far more nuanced, with narratives of collapse replaced by those of transformation and continued, albeit radically changed, mechanisms of exchange.

Reynolds' detailed study of Spanish ceramics presents a survey of Hispania's place in the Mediterranean economy between the second and sixth centuries. He confirms the radical decline of the Baetican oil industry, blaming it largely on abortive attempts by Severan emperors to wrest oil production from private hands. However, he notes that the decline of Spanish oil imports to Rome had already begun in the later second century, probably because of North African competition. The fourth and fifth centuries saw the rise of a smaller-scale Baetican and Lusitanian fish-product industry, and Reynolds tracks its products around the Mediterranean and even through the Atlantic to Britain. In contrast to traditional images of fifth-century decline, Reynolds describes a fifth-century Mediterranean criss-crossed by trade, as Vandal and eastern exports reached new markets, including Hispania. Hispania's role in these fifth-century networks was critical, according to Reynolds. While the Balearic Islands emerged as an important trading point tying Gaul to points south and west, Braga and the Atlantic coast were enmeshed in newly-invigorated exchange with Britain. However, Reynolds is also at pains to point out the increasingly fragmented nature of these exchange contacts, and the ways in which increasingly specialized and directed trade tied distant places (i.e. Tarragona to the Levant), even as neighboring regions (such as Valencia and Tarragona) experienced markedly different market histories. Reynolds also describes the radically different exchange economies of coastal and inland Hispania. The rise of new fine ware industries in northern Spain during the fourth century was prompted by inland Hispania's inaccessibility to North African imports and the rise of new markets in the form of the great rural villas. In

place of autarchy and economic shrinkage, the fourth-century fine ware industry points to thriving regional markets.

López Sánchez focuses precisely on the problem of regional histories and extracts a somewhat different picture of late fourth-century peninsular economies. By mapping the distributions of Theodosian bronze AE2 and gold *solidi* issues throughout the peninsula, he finds that the seemingly active Ebro valley region was almost bereft of such issues, while the south and west, particularly the so-called Camino de la Plata, were comparatively coin-rich. From this incongruity he detects the beginning of a radical geopolitical shift, in which Mérida and the west would form the new center of gravity in the sixth-century Visigothic kingdom. Using the numismatic evidence, he traces this change back to late fourth-century origins, arguing that the Ebro valley and the northeast, while occupying the attentions of fourth-century emperors and usurpers alike, became increasingly isolated from exchange markets through the effects of civil strife, so that whatever coin entered the area was quickly absorbed by the war effort. The south, insulated from these troubles, maintained a more robust monetary economy, in which reserves were not burned up by wartime demands and sufficient coin remained in circulation to be lost or buried. For López, then, the development of strong, inland regionalization took place earlier than we might think, and the demise of the northeast as a center of power was caused by its very centrality to power struggles during the last years of the fourth century.

Finally, Chavarría's piece in this chapter challenges many of the earlier historiographic models as they apply to the rural villa. Rejecting the proposed evidence for a third-century crisis, she notes that it is the fourth and first half of the fifth centuries that witnessed the heyday of the Spanish villa. She notes the important regional variations in villa structure within the peninsula itself, whereby larger, luxury villas are generally found inland, while smaller, production-oriented estates are clustered on the coast. Discarding earlier theories of autarchy and fleeing urban elites, she describes the great inland villas as an architecturally-defined telegraph through which rural elites projected power and controlled a vital and productive landscape. The smaller coastal villas, however, seem to present a radically different picture, as during the fourth century many saw their residential quarters converted to purely agricultural or productive uses. Chavarría interprets this change not as decline, but rather as evidence for the increasing concentration of land in fewer hands, which

in turn brought about the conversion of now-surplus residential space to the more utilitarian needs of production. Her image of fourth- and early fifth-century rural economies in Hispania is one of continued health, exchange and elite presence.

HISPANIA IN THE LATE ROMAN MEDITERRANEAN: CERAMICS AND TRADE

Paul Reynolds

This chapter is offered as a synthesis and interpretation of recent research in ceramics within Spain, Portugal and the Balearic Islands, concentrating on the economic trends evident from the local production and importation of fine tablewares, amphorae and kitchen wares. One aim is to establish the degree to which local and imported ceramics reflect the broader, complex phenomena of long-distance trade within the Mediterranean. Another is to identify the markedly regional economic patterns and related micro- and macroeconomic "environments" which existed within the Iberian peninsula. Pottery production and distribution, when interpreted within the wider context of the geopolitical and social background, lends us a wealth of data with which we may reconstruct undoubtedly complex and changing economic patterns that are scarcely, if at all, perceptible in the historical record.[1]

Earlier studies of the pottery distribution in the peninsula provided a detailed analysis of ceramic trends on coastal sites and their

[1] An earlier version of this synthesis was presented at a Table Ronde held at Thessaloniki on the transition from late Roman to early medieval ceramics in the Mediterranean. See Reynolds (2003). Having been asked to prepare the present chapter, the inadequacies of my Thessaloniki contribution made it imperative for me to catch up, as much as time allowed, on the vast literature that has emerged since my work in the field in southeastern Spain in the early 1980s: Reynolds (1984); (1985); (1987); (1993); (1995). Given the constraints of space and the desire to make this synthesis accessible to the non-specialist, many details, including discussions of specific forms and fabrics, have been omitted. I am extremely grateful to the British Academy for awarding me a Research Grant to enable me to stay and study in the library of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Madrid. I would especially like to thank the director of the Institute, Prof. Ulbert, and his very kind staff for offering me every assistance during my short sojourn there in December 2002. I would also like to thank Kevin Butcher for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this chapter. Richard Reece has, as always, provided me with regular comments, information and provocative stimuli on many facts. I would finally like to thank Kim Bowes for her editing and guidance—corrective, stimulating and thought-provoking—during the writing of this chapter.

comparison to ports and regions elsewhere in the western Mediterranean.[2] This chapter will seek to redress this littoral bias somewhat by investigating the inland distribution of ceramics (sites discussed are shown on Map 1).[3] It will also use new data from both Hispania and the western Mediterranean to explore relationships between the peninsula and the eastern Mediterranean, particularly the Levant.[4] Within this broader perspective, the exports of Hispania to the eastern empire and vice versa take on a new meaning and context.

Before beginning, a word of caution is in order. The dating of ceramics, and hence their use in the reconstruction of economic trends, is fraught with difficulties. Historians should be aware that, though the archaeological evidence is extremely rich, putting a precise date on ceramic assemblages is difficult and must take into account the complex routes by which the deposits came to be formed prior to excavation, and the region-specific dating for the appearance of individual forms. The comparison and interpretation of percentages of assemblages also provides important information on economic trends, but is likewise less than straightforward. Most troubling are the potential pitfalls inherent in the very nature of comparative percentages. Changes in percent composition of ceramic

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[2] Reynolds (1993); (1995).

[3] Reynolds (1993) gives a detailed study of the pottery and settlement patterns of the Vinalopó valley and region of Alicante and includes a pottery typology, site index and study of the road system throughout the Roman and Arab periods. Reynolds (1995) provides a detailed analysis of production and distribution trends of regional fine wares, amphorae and coarse wares in the western Mediterranean (Chapters 1–4). Possible shipping routes linking specific ports and regions are suggested. Numerous appendices provide the data on the basis of which these observations were made. Keay (1984a), for his typology of amphorae, and Fulford and Peacock (1984); (1994) on ceramic trends at the British excavations at Carthage, provide fundamental data. Space does not permit me to make constant references to these works in this chapter, nor to Hayes (1972) for the African Red Slip (ARS) and other Mediterranean fine wares that pepper the text and notes. Only additional references will be given, especially for ground not covered in Reynolds (1995) and where new or overlooked data are available. The excavation report of Marseille is a major addition to our knowledge and is drawn on throughout: Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998), especially the summary of ceramics trends presented at pp. 353–75. Major analyses and typologies of amphorae and common wares in Tarragona are now available for the late Roman and Visigothic periods: Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a); Macias i Solé (1999). Several recent conferences, some still in press, have served as valuable sources for new data on ceramics in the peninsula and the Mediterranean in general and will be referred to throughout.

[4] Reynolds (forthcoming c).

collections have a see-saw affect, whereby increases in one segment of the collection cause a concomitant decrease in another segment, and do not necessarily reflect the actual numbers of either group. Similarly, how does one compare the percentages for certain amphorae in Carthage with equal percentages found at incommensurate sites like Beirut, Alicante or Marseille, or still more with those at a rural villa site? The nature of the site and size of the overall assemblage are variables not necessarily clear from simple numbers and must always be considered when constructing "potted" macroeconomic models.

1.1 *Hispania, Tunisia and other regional competitors, first to third centuries AD*

This section will examine trends in Spanish, Tunisian and other regional amphora-borne exports in the supply to Rome and other markets during the first to early third centuries. It is only by understanding these that we can place in context what were undoubtedly major changes in the oil, fish and wine industries of late antique Hispania. These changes were the result of the imperial promotion of Tunisia as provider for the *annona* from the early second century, and later, divergent imperial policies with respect to Baetica under the Severi. These policies first constrained and then, in the mid-third century, liberated the production and sale of Baetican oil for the *annona* (see 1.2 below). All this must be seen against complex trends in the output and direction of exports from North Africa. We shall see that in contrast to the shared supply of Tunisian cooking wares and African Red Slip Wares (ARS), to Spain, Ostia/Rome and Campania, Tunisian amphorae were directed almost exclusively at the Rome market during the first and second centuries. Tunisian amphorae did not reach Spain and Gaul in any quantity until the mid-third century or even later. Thus, in Spain one needs to take care in the dating of Tunisian amphorae where they occur without supporting dating evidence and even where accompanied by ARS and Tunisian cooking wares, as parallels made with dates furnished by deposits in Rome or Ostia may well be too early.

It is generally accepted that the steady growth of olive oil production in Roman Africa, roughly modern Tunisia, encouraged by the Roman state from Trajan onwards for the supply of *annona*,

competed with and eventually eclipsed exports of Baetican oil for the Rome market by the Antonine period (see Tables 1a and 2b, for trends at Ostia and Rome). At Ostia, though Baetican oil amphorae reached their highest numbers in the Antonine period, they dropped in the late Severan period and were always outnumbered by Tunisian amphorae (classified as oil bearing types) from the Flavian period onwards (Table 2b).[5] The rise in Tunisian oil imports appears to start in the Hadrianic period (12.7%). Even taking the minimum figure for Tunisian oil amphorae from the Severan and from late fourth-century contexts, Tunisian exports exceed by three times the quantities of oil exported from Baetica in the late Severan period.[6]

The dominance of Tunisian oil over Baetican at Ostia from the Flavian period may come as a surprise. The well-known amphora finds from Monte Testaccio in the city of Rome are largely of Baetican origin. This was a dump primarily reserved for Baetican oil amphorae until the latter decades of its history and may therefore not be a true guide to the relative roles of Spanish versus Tunisian oil imports in the capital. However, well-dated deposits excavated in Rome show that the role of Tunisian oil imports in the city of Rome itself is less appreciable from contexts of AD 64 to 110, in which Tunisian and Tripolitanian amphorae are most frequently used for the transport of wine rather than oil (Tables 1a–b). The level of Spanish oil imports in these contexts is notably greater than those registered at Ostia (generally around 12% of the total amphorae). This is surely because the intended and *de facto* primary market market for Baetican oil was the capital, while finds in Ostia represent secondary sales of *annona* or even non-*annona* oil surpluses. A similar explanation can be offered for the presence of unusually high percentages of Tunisian amphorae at Porto Torres, Sardinia.[7] Ostia, and to a lesser extent Porto Torres, unlike other ports, were well placed to benefit from the ongoing shipments of *annona* goods that passed through their ports.

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[5] Panella (1983), 238.

[6] Keay 3 (Fig. 2) certainly carried oil, while other Tunisian forms carried fish but possibly also oil. Finds of Tunisian amphorae in the harbor of Marseille also clearly indicate that oil was not always carried in many of the forms of this and later periods (Bonifay and Pieri [1995]). See Keay (1984a), for his comment on contents in each case, with Gibbins and Parker (1986) for comments on the cargo of the Plemmirio Wreck.

[7] Reynolds (1995), Appendix D.14.

The later regional expansion of Tunisian ARS was intimately linked to the contemporary regional expansion of olive cultivation for export in Africa Proconsularis.[8] ARS and oil production gained momentum and increased output first in northern Tunisia in the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods, then expanded to central Tunisia from c. 200 and to southern Tunisia from c. 225.[9] Similarly, as stated above, it was not until the late second century that production and exports of Tunisian oil and fish sauce to Ostia increased to take over a substantial share of the market (Table 2a). It has been assumed that this marks the period when Tunisian amphorae began to be exported more widely in the Mediterranean and to Spain.[10] However, the evidence for this early expansion is neither uniform nor clear-cut, for which reason the dating of Keay's Period I amphorae in particular, especially for those from the "late second century" onwards, needs to be assessed with care.

In Spain, Tunisian Period I amphorae are attested primarily in the ports of northeastern Tarraconensis and to a lesser extent in the southeast, as at Santa Pola (Portus Illicitanus), the port of the Roman colony of Ilici, and at Mazarrón.[11] However, the data must

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[8] Reynolds (1995), 12–14; 45–47; 106–11; Keay (1984a), 408–31.

[9] Hayes (1972), 453–54, Map 2: ARS 3B–C, 4A, 5A, 6A; Map 3, Forms 8A, 9A; Reynolds (1995), 12–14; Hayes (1980), 514–15, argued that, though he upheld a Flavian date for the first, early exports of the ware (cf. presence at Pompeii), his Trajanic dating for the first major exports of the common second-century ARS forms 8A, 9A, etc., proposed in Hayes (1972), 33–37 (ARS 8A, c. 80/90–160+; ARS 9A, c. 100–160+) was too early and should be allocated to the Hadrianic period (to c. 110–120, rather than c. 90–100). For a good assemblage of Hadrianic-Antonine date at Pozzuoli (Puteoli), see Garcea, Miraglia and Soricelli (1983–1984).

[10] See Keay (1984a), 408–31, Period I amphorae, Keay forms 3–7. Keay's emphasis on the use of Tunisian amphorae for the export of oil would seem to underestimate their major role in the transport of fish-sauce. Forms 4–7 carried fish products, as examples of some of these on the Plemmiro Wreck show (Parker and Gibbins [1986]); for the Tunisian fish-sauce industry see Ben Lazreg et al. (1995). Indeed, many of the Tunisian forms found in the harbor of Marseille were "lined" and hence did not carry oil (Bonifay and Pieri [1995]). For the excavation of a fish-sauce factory on the northeast Tunisian coast at Nabeul (Neapolis) see Slim et al. (1999).

[11] For Tarraconensis, see Keay (1984a), summarised in Reynolds (1995), Appendix D.8. For new data on Santa Pola: Márquez Villora (1999). For Mazarrón, see Pérez Bonet (1988). Tarraconensian urban and rural sites with African cooking wares are too numerous to mention. See, for example, Valencia: Reynolds (1984); Grau-Vell, Sagunto: Aranegui Gascó (1982) and Reynolds (1995), 278–79, Appendix D.5; the villa of Tolegassos, for a major early third-century deposit of ARS fine and cooking wares: Casas and Nolla (1993), 212, which includes a summary of other

be examined carefully. At Valencia, Tunisian amphorae appear demonstrably later, in the late third century, an example that cautions against necessarily ascribing early (that is, late second-century) dates to Tunisian period I amphorae elsewhere.[12] A closer examination reveals that exports of Period I amphorae outside the Rome market to sites in Spain can date much later than those encountered at Ostia-Rome, with the majority of forms dating as late as the late third and fourth centuries. At the cemetery of c/ Prat de la Riba/Ramón y Cajal in Tarragona it is probable that a large number (43 examples) of Period I amphora Keay 4 date to the fourth century and not earlier, as is suggested by their use alongside Period II amphorae such as Keay 24 (Tripolitanian[?]), 25, 27, and 35 (Fig. 2).[13] The same pattern is evident at smaller cemeteries excavated in Tarragona.[14] A fourth-century date can also be given to Period I amphorae that occur without Period II amphorae in a deposit of c. 300–350 in c/ Apodaca 7 (Tarragona).[15] The "late second-early third-century" dating of Tunisian pottery and amphorae at villa sites in the Ampurdàn should also be compared with second- to third-century deposits in ports such as Barcelona and Roses, as the villa finds may have been dated too early.[16]

We may also note that though there are early to mid-third-century examples of ARS C and A/D at La Alcudía de Elche (Ilici), the supply of third-century ARS is notably low in the Vinalopó Valley (Alicante) and at Santa Pola.[17] It is also important to recog-

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similar material in the northeast and in shipwrecks of the late second to early third centuries containing Tunisian cooking wares; the villa of Puig Rodon (Corçà, Baix Empordà): Nolla and Casas (1990); at Badalona (Baetulo): Aquilué (1987). See Sackett (1992), for important sequences of first- to third-century deposits, where Tunisian amphorae are absent despite the large quantities of Tunisian fine ware and cooking ware imports.

[12] Pascual et al. (1997).

[13] Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 105–107: site NEF/5.

[14] Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 102–109: sites NEF/2, NEF/4 and NES/1.

[15] Macias i Solé et al. (1997).

[16] The sequences excavated at Valencia that illustrate the development of Tunisian coarse ware forms and variants, meticulously observed by Marín Jordá (1995), together with observation of the same from the excavations at Carthage itself, may help to clarify the dating of Spanish levels (and those of other regions where Tunisian imports were supplied) through the mid-second to third centuries.

[17] Reynolds (1993), Plates 109.1052–1057, for early ARS C and A/D forms found at La Alcudia. Ramos Folques (1963) and Ramos Fernández (1975) for finds of ARS 48 and 50 found in well deposits (the ARS 49 is my Plate 109.1056). For

nize that the dating of ARS 50, introduced c. 230/240 and one of the most common exports of central Tunisian ARS, is no easy matter. There is the possibility that the form may have been more commonly exported in the West only from the second half of the third century or perhaps even later, associated with amphorae of Period I that continue into the mid-fourth century.[18] In Valencia, two deposits with ARS A and C but without Tunisian amphorae are probably to be dated to the mid-third century,[19] while others dated to the period 250–270, 270–280 and 280–320 comprise finds of ARS A and C accompanied by Tunisian amphorae.[20] Sequences of deposits published from the Roman port of Sagunto (Saguntum) also appear to illustrate the strength of fourth-century imports of ARS A and C, as do fourth-century deposits excavated at two villa sites in the Barcelona region.[21]

The same trends, namely the late appearance of Period I amphorae and its association with ARS imports, can be found throughout the Mediterranean. At Lyon, again in contrast to Ostia, the combined figures for Tunisian imports for c. 190–250 are relatively low and such imports only appear regularly c. 250–300 (Table 12).[22] The same pattern, albeit in a more extreme form, is echoed at Vienne and at the Roman villa of La Ramière (Gard) on the Rhône (Table 5).[23] The situation in the East is somewhat more complex, but at certain sites seems to echo the same pattern of late-appearing Tunisian imports. ARS imports were not a regular feature until the early third-century and may have increased only in the second quarter of

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more information on both these third-century wells and drains, see Reynolds (1993), Site 92, Site I.2–3.

[18] Notably Keay 5 and 7, for example, in fourth-century levels at Ostia and Porto Torres: Reynolds (1995), 47–50, Appendix D.14, for Porto Torres. We have already commented on similar fourth-century contexts in Tarragona, and similar late ARS C occurs in fourth-century contexts in Valencia: see below, and Pascual et al. (1997); for ARS at the Grau Vell of Sagunto see Aranegui (1982).

[19] Pascual and Ribera (2000), 568, Plaza Zaragoza Sector A, and Sector B–C.

[20] Pascual and Ribera (2000), 569. See also Pascual et al. (1997) for a similar table, with some additional details, notably on the coins.

[21] For a summary of third- to fourth-century deposits with ARS at Sagunto, see Aranegui (1982), summarised in Reynolds (1995), 278–79, Appendix D.5. For Barcelona-area villas, see López Mullor, Fierro Macia and Caixal Mata (1997).

[22] Lemaître (2000a), Fig. 1: 31 minimum number of vessels, 3% of total amphorae. See also Becker, Constantin and Villedieu (1989), 658–59.

[23] For Vienne, Godard (1995), 296. For La Ramière, Barberan (1998).

the century, associated with the first exports of ARS C, c. 230–240.[24]

Overall, in terms of the importation of amphora-born commodities and fine wares, Hispania stood in much the same relationship with North Africa as did its Mediterranean neighbors: the juggernaut of North African oil production only reached the provinces in the early third century, while its real effect would only be felt in the later third century. Though the fact may not be widely recognized, the appearance of amphora-born commodities, such as wine and oil, did not necessarily carry with it fine ware imports, and the appearance of one is not always matched by the appearance of the other in the archaeological record. This pattern could be due simply to the marketing of tablewares in their own right as primary cargoes. In any case, if Hispania did not import Tunisian oil during the first, second and much of the third century, one would have to assume that the population derived its oil supplies from local or Baetican sources. That this is indeed the case, though on a limited scale, will be argued below.

1.2 *Local production: The oil industry in Hispania from the Severi to the mid fifth century*

1.2.1 *The third century*

The advent of the Severan dynasty can be seen as a watershed in the evolution of the regional economies of the peninsula, most notably in the south. The Severan period brought a restructuring of the oil industry for the *annona*, while in the course of the third century fish sauce production and, to some extent, the wine industry were transformed. Severus and Caracalla took the oil supply of Baetica out of the hands of private merchants and instituted more direct state

[24] Found in contexts of the Herulian sack of 267 at Athens: Hayes (1972); the Sassanian sack of 253 at Zeugma: Philip Kenrick, personal communication. Several large deposits with ARS 50 that I have only recently studied in Beirut appear to date to the mid-third century, rather than fourth century. Tunisian amphorae are present, but rare. Quanties of ARS certainly increase in the mid third-century (+) contexts in Beirut. Mid-third-century ARS also occurs in Butrint and Durres in Albania (Reynolds [forthcoming b]), and is common in early third-century deposits at Knossos: Sackett (1992).

control through their own employees. As in the dynasty's home base of Tripolitania and in southern Gaul, many Baetican estates became the property of the Severi, administered by the *ratio privata*.[25] The *Historia Augusta* goes so far as to claim that Severus, who introduced free oil distributions in Rome, at his death had enough oil in the state warehouses to supply Rome for 5 years.[26] In the same time, dipinti mentioning *acti*, imperial slaves, and the well-known stamps bearing the imperial titles begin to appear on Baetican amphorae from Monte Testaccio. Families that had long been established in the oil trade of the Guadalquivir valley and Tripolitania, or as *negotiatores* of both state and private cargoes, were wiped out.[27] The result was that the number of sites along the Guadalquivir involved in the production of oil amphorae was drastically reduced from the hundreds attested for the early Empire (Map 3). The contemporary third-century decline in the fish-based industries of Baetica and Tingitania may also have been due, directly or indirectly, to the effects of Severan policy in the region (see 1.3 below).

Rome remained the focus of exports of Baetican oil under the Severan dynasty, although to a lesser degree than during the late Antonine period. Over the same period, as we have seen, Tunisian imports to Rome rose correspondingly. The decline in the relative quantities of Baetican oil exported to military sites on the Rhine frontier, as gauged by deposits at Augst (Switzerland), already underway in the Antonine period, continued unabated in the Severan period and into the mid-third century. The local production of imitations of Baetican oil amphorae in northern Gaul, Germania Superior and occasionally even in Britain, may reflect the need to supplement falling imports with local alternatives.[28] In Britain there also was a notable drop in imports during the third century by comparison to

[25] See Reynolds (1995), 42–45; Mattingly (1995); See Keay (1984a), Keay forms 9–11. Keay 11/Tripolitana III was the form stamped with the names of the local magnates, many of senatorial rank, promoted in Rome by their association with the ruling clan, many of whom were eventually executed. See Mattingly (1995), 154, Table 7.1, for a summary of this important documentary evidence.

[26] *V. Sev.* 18.3; 23.2.

[27] Reynolds (1995), 106–107; Berni Millet (1998), with references to the crucial new work at the Monte Testaccio; Keay (1988), 99–101.

[28] Martin-Kilcher (1983); (2000); Laubenheimer (2000), with the evidence for nut oil production in northern France. See also Ehmig (1999); (2000).

second-century levels.[29] A marked drop in the quantities of all amphorae after the early third century at certain sites in York is illustrative (see Table 3: Wellington row Trench 7). A drop in the supply of oil to Britain along the Atlantic route may also be reflected in the fall in Baetican exports (oil, wine and fish sauce) observed at Braga (see Table 13).[30] A similar pattern in reduced quantities of Baetican oil is evident on the Danube frontier in Noricum and Pannonia.[31] Though the army on the northern frontiers was clearly still a target for Baetican oil, exports were in decline.

A third-century hiatus in Spanish products in general is also visible at Vienne, in the Rhône Valley, and should be viewed in the context of the supply to northern Gaul and the Rhine frontier. Whereas in the late second century, "Iberian" amphorae (all classes) comprised 10.35% of amphora sherds at Vienne, and indeed were the only imports, they were absent in the period AD 200–250 when the first Tunisian and Italian sherds appeared in small quantities, and did not reappear until "after 250" (9%), and especially in the fourth century (Table 4b). The substantial presence of Dressel 20 amphorae at Lyon (49%) in the early third century is thus somewhat surprising, given the evidence of Vienne (Table 4a).[32] Lyon, as a provincial capital, had a primary role in the redistribution of both imported Spanish oil and fish sauce, and also coordinated the supply of South Gaulish *terra sigillata* to the troops in the north, including Britain. However, the discrepancies in the figures for Lyon and Vienne could be due simply to divergences in the dating that has been ascribed to their respective deposits.

In the East, Baetican oil was rarely exported to Benghazi[33] or to sites in the Aegean, Asia Minor and the Levant,[34] even though

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[29] Carreras Monfort (2000); Williams and Peacock (1983); Williams (1997).

[30] Morais (2000a); (2000b). See also Arruda and de Almeida (2000) for similar Baetican imports at the Roman colony of Santarém (Scallabis) in southern Portugal. For Baetican imports in Lusitania, see also Mayet (2000), discussed further below at n. 45.

[31] Bezeczky (2000). See also Bjelajac (1996), 33–36, Types VIII–IX, for finds of Dressel 20 on the Danube at Belgrade (Singidunum), Kostalac (Viminacium), Noljetin and Tekija (Trandierna) and Dressel 23/Keay 13, the latter in small quantities, at Belgrade and Kostalac.

[32] Lemaître (2000b), Fig. 5, 49% of the total amphorae.

[33] Riley (1979), 157–64.

[34] For a survey of the distribution of (rare) published Baetican and Lusitianian amphora finds in Greece, Asia Minor and the Levant, see Bernal Casasola (2000b).

Alexandria was clearly a significant market for Spanish oil during the second and third centuries and a trade connection between Gades and Egypt is duly noted in the sources.[35] Baetican oil amphorae are also rare in Beirut. Baetican oil may have been a little more common at Caesarea and it also occurs at other sites in Palestine (Dressel 20 and 23). The city and military fort of Zeugma on the Euphrates is another site where Dressel 20 amphorae are a regular, if always relatively scarce, element in deposits from the Sassanian sack of AD 253.[36] Other western imports in these contexts comprise Campanian Dressel 2–4 wine amphorae and unusually late examples of Pompeian Red Slip cooking wares.[37] It would seem quite possible that these atypical and occasional imports of Dressel 20 and Campanian wine amphorae were connected with the *annona* system that supplied the military sites of inland, northern Syria.[38] There may, then, be a case for arguing that Baetican oil carried in Dressel 20 and, later, Dressel 23, were supplied in small quantities to certain primarily military or administrative sites in Palestine and in Syria.

The destination and purpose of Spanish oil within Hispania in the first to third centuries is a complex one. Finds of considerable numbers of first- to early third-century Dressel 20 amphorae at Santa Pola, the port of Ilici, may be contrasted with their rarity at La Alcudia de Elche, ancient Ilici itself, as well as in the Vinalopó valley where they are present but very scarce.[39] These amphora-borne products seemingly did not get much further than the port. The rarity of Dressel 20 elsewhere in southeastern Spain, most notably at Cartagena, may indicate that Portus Ilicitanus served as a regular port-of-call for shipping engaged in the service of the *annona* and that some surplus goods not ear-marked for the *annona* were offloaded for sale there.[40] However, Baetican oil was also supplied in

[35] Will (1983). In the early second century, Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 36.91, mentions commercial relations between Cádiz and Egypt. Note also that Lucian, *Navig.* 22, mentions exports of Spanish *garum* and oil to Athens. See Riley (1979), 157.

[36] Reynolds (forthcoming d).

[37] Philip Kenrick, personal communication.

[38] For the primarily military character of German and British sites which imported Campanian Dressel 2–4 in the second and third centuries, see Arthur and Williams (1992). But see also Carreras Monfort (2000) for a contrasting view.

[39] Márquez Villora (1999); Márquez Villora and Molina Vidal (2000); (2001).

[40] Although Márquez Villora and Molina Vidal (2000) suggest that the army veterans settled at the colony since its foundation under Augustus may offer another explanation for the draw on Baetican oil, this seems unlikely. The strategic port of

small quantities to other, non-*annona* markets. Small quantities have been found in Denia and Sagunto,[41] and abundant evidence for their supply is now found in urban and rural Catalonia, where Baetican oil amphorae from between the first century and 250 are echoed by the distribution patterns of Baetican thin-walled pottery.[42] The similar, linked distribution of Baetican thin-walled wares and Dressel 20 is very clear in Gaul, Germany and Britain.[43] The quantities of oil amphorae recovered so far are nevertheless not on a scale comparable with military sites in Gaul, Germany and Britain or sites in northern Italy like Pisa, Aquileia and Verona;[44] they could therefore be used to demonstrate differences in the scale of Baetican oil exports to military sites, which would have been supplied by the *annona*, and urban sites, which would not. Finds in Portugal, particularly in the south, also indicate that first- to early third-century Dressel 20 amphorae were marketed in the region, along with Baetican fish sauce and wine amphorae.[45]

Striking evidence for the highly regional targeting of non-*annona* Baetican oil is clear from the rarity of Dressel 20 and other third-century Baetican oil amphorae at Tarragona and Valencia. In Tarragona, Baetican oil amphorae are apparently missing in con-

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Cartagena would have been another obvious target for "official" supplies of the *annona civica* or *militaris*, but this does not seem to have been the case: Antolinos Marín and Soler Huertas (2000).

[41] Márquez Villora (1999).

[42] Beltrán Lloris (2000); Berni Millet (1998), Chapter 2.5, notably at towns such as Barcelona and Mataró (Iluro), and on many villa sites. Shipwrecks containing Dressel 20 amphorae are also noted: Beltrán Lloris (2000), see especially distribution Maps 22–25, for Oberaden 83 and their successors Dressel 20 and 23. See also his Map 28 for the distribution of Baetican thin-walled wares, which, we may note, are unusually common at Ilici.

[43] Greene (1986), 162–63, Fig. 72, a map that demonstrates this relationship very clearly.

[44] Pasquinucci, Del Rio and Menchelli (2000), for Pisa/Volterra. For imports of Spanish *garum* and oil in the early empire to Aquileia, Verona, Milan and other sites across northen Italy, see González et al. (2000).

[45] Mayet (2000), 648, with distribution map, Fig. 1. Though the distribution map, from Fabião (1993–1994), documents 39 sites with Baetican oil amphorae within Lusitania, Mayet considers the quantities found, a few fragments per site in most cases, to be relatively scarce, particularly in the north. Quantities recovered at Braga—so far only 14 vessels—do not differ markedly from the numbers found in southern Lusitania. However, the distribution map of Beltrán Lloris (2000), fig. 23, for Dressel 20 is not so barren, with Braga, León and Astorga clearly targeted preferentially by Baetican fish sauce.

texts of the second half of the third century and do not appear until the early fifth century, even though Baetican fish sauce amphorae are fairly common in fourth-century contexts (Table 6a). At Valencia, Baetican oil does not appear until the late fourth century. Baetican fish sauce is absent in first- and second-century contexts, although Spanish fish sauce is present, a pattern paralleled in Cartagena.[46] The latter trend illustrates the existence of two separate mechanisms of production and distribution in the early empire. On the one hand, there was state-driven production and export of oil from the estates of the Guadalquivir valley, from which only small quantities were sold to non-*annona* markets through private enterprise. On the other hand, fish products from Baetican ports were supplied through private enterprise.

The irregular non-*annona* supply systems, and later the third-century drop in Baetican oil imports, may have inspired local oil production in northeastern Tarraconensis beginning as early as the first century. This local production in northeastern Spain gained momentum after the third century, supplementing the dwindling supply of Baetican imports and the still-nascent Tunisian supply which, as we have seen, was not common perhaps until the late third or early fourth century.[47] Some local imitations of Dressel 20 found at Tarragona and Barcelona have been dated on typological grounds to the first and early second centuries.[48] A first-century date is also likely for imitations at Oliva,[49] and at L'Almadrava (Denia),[50] probably in both cases evidence for the need to produce local oil for the local market. Murcia is another region in which both oil and possibly wine-presses are widespread, thus suggesting a need to supplement scarce imports. Presses are also known from the second century in the lower Vinalopó Valley (Alicante) at the villa of Parque de las Naciones (La Albufereta). Later, continuing local production in Catalonia is indicated by the third-century establishment of an oil press at the coastal villa of Els Ametllers (Tossa del Mar). A shift

[46] For Valencia, Pascual and Ribera (2000); Pascual et al. (1997). For Cartagena, Antolinos Marín and Soler Huertas (2000).

[47] For non-Baetican oil production sites see Beltrán Lloris (2000), 484–85 and Fig. 26.

[48] Berni Millet (2000).

[49] Southern Valencia: Oliva 3 type, 40.1%. This is apparently Dressel 26, not Dressel 20.

[50] Gisbert (1987); Berni Millet (2000), 1160.

from wine to oil production is evident at the villa of Sentomà (Teià) in the late third or early fourth century, where Baetican oil was also imported. A similar combination of home-pressed and imported oil is a feature of the villa site of Poble Sec (Sant Quize de Vallès) in the fourth and fifth centuries.

As the drop in Baetican exports demonstrates, the new state-run systems initiated by the Severi apparently did not work effectively and Severus Alexander felt the need to give more freedom and incentives to *negotiatores* to re-engage in the supply of Baetican oil to Rome. Dipinti on later Spanish oil amphorae found at Monte Testaccio indicate that the officials of the *ratio patrimonii*, still active under Philip (r. 249–251), were no longer involved in Spanish oil exports in the succeeding reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (253–268).[51] This same renaissance of private trade is also illustrated by a series of shipwrecks carrying combined cargoes of Spanish, Portuguese and Tunisian products rather than the homogeneous single-origin cargoes of the *annona*.[52] The Cabrera III shipwreck, for instance, was sunk off Majorca sometime after AD 257; its principal cargo was oil from the Guadalquivir valley estates of Arva and El Tejarillo in large Dressel 20 amphorae, but it also carried smaller versions of the form, including Dressel 23, amphorae bearing Baetican fish products and wine, and central Tunisian amphorae.[53] It is possible that mixed cargoes of Tunisian and Baetican amphorae became a feature after AD 225–250,[54] and are a reflection of the greater freedom of *negotiatores* to shift both state and private surpluses, even when engaged on state business.[55]

The increasing number of cargoes that mix *annona* and non-*annona* goods, and perhaps the greater laxity in the control of oil sales under

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[51] Berni Millet (1998); Remesal (1983); Keay (1988), 99–101.

[52] Berni Millet (1998), Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.4; Bost et al. (1992).

[53] Bost et al. (1992). The Punta Ala wreck (Castiglione della Pecaia), in this case well dated to the reign of Severus Alexander, was carrying a cargo of Dressel 20s and Tunisian Period I amphorae: Liou (2000), no. 72; Parker (1992), no. 912. A more detailed study of the composition of the cargoes of shipwrecks catalogued by Parker (1992), is one obvious method of tracing the paths of shipping, their origins and destinations.

[54] Berni Millett (1998), Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.4.

[55] There were still cargoes of almost exclusively Spanish (Liou [2000]; Parker [1992], *passim*) or Tunisian amphorae (e.g. the sixth-century La Palud 2 (Port-Cros) wreck: Long and Volpe [1998], 317–42; Parker [1992], *passim*). For late Roman wrecks with mixed cargoes see Parker (1992), *passim*.

Severus and Caracalla, helps to explain many of the similarly mixed assemblages found on sites that should not technically have had access to them as *annona* beneficiaries. This trend may represent a return to the free-marketing of Baetican oil more current during the early empire (e.g. to Tarraconensian sites, not just to Rome and the army). It would seem, therefore, that in the early Severan period controls over the sale and shipment of Baetican oil increased, while later, under Severus Alexander, the situation reverted to more free commercial practice. The mid to later third-century appearance of Period I Tunisian amphora exports to sites other than Rome can thus be seen to run parallel with this freer marketing from Severus Alexander onwards.

1.2.2 *The late third to the fourth century*

Perhaps from the reign of Gallienus there occurred yet another shift in Baetican oil production. Firstly, the size of amphorae decreased as exports were now carried in the Dressel 23/Keay 13 (Fig. 4d), a new, smaller successor of the Dressel 20 (Fig. 3). In contrast to the Dressel 20, which had a capacity of c. 216 pounds, the Dressel 23 carried c. 80 pounds. This material represents the latest phase of activity on Monte Testaccio. The direction of *annona* exports of Baetican oil in the late third and early fourth centuries also shifted, although the nature of that shift is difficult to understand on the basis of documentary and archaeological evidence. Aurelian may have reestablished the supply of Baetican oil to the capital. By the fourth century, however, Hispania was tied to the *annona* supply directed by the praetorian prefect of the Gauls rather than his counterpart in Italy (see 3.1 below). This fact suggests that Spain was still involved in the supply of the *annona militaris* to the northern frontier provinces. On the other hand, both the quantities of Baetican oil exported to the Gallic and northern provinces continued to diminish.

It must be said that these trends in Britain, Germany and Gaul need to be seen in the context of falling troop numbers, particularly those of Mediterranean origin, in the armies stationed in the northern provinces.[56] The recruitment of locals into the army in Britain

[56] I am most grateful to Richard Reece and to Simon James for offering me this plausible explanation for the drop in Baetican oil imports to Britain (and hence

and throughout the Roman provinces from the third century onwards would have made the supply of olive oil necessary only where it comprised part of the "normal" local diet or cuisine with which the soldiers were familiar. In Britain, for instance, the importation of olive oil was always anomalous, and Spanish oil was imported in the first and second centuries to cater for a minor sector of the population that was no longer present as a consumer market in the third century.

The later third and fourth centuries may thus have brought about a certain increase, or at least transformation, in the supply to the northern provinces. At Vienne, Spanish imports seem to increase in this period (Table 4b). In southern Britain, imports began to appear in towns and were no longer directed primarily to military sites *per se*.[57] A few major continental sites like Cologne were still able to command the supply of Baetican oil amphorae in the mid-fourth century, as is indicated by their use in the vaulting of the Basilica of St. Jerome.[58] Trier, established as the capital of the Gauls and a major mint under the Tetrarchy, appears to have been a major market for Baetican oil as well.[59] But these would have been special urban markets. The all-important trends at German and British military sites indicate that the early third-century decline in Baetican oil imports to these sites was never reversed.

At Rome, the late third-/early fourth-century Palatine East deposit suggests the import primarily of Baetican-Portuguese fish sauce rather than Baetican oil in the early Dominate, inasmuch as no oil amphorae appear in that deposit (Table 2c). Though amphora figures for Ostia and Rome (Magna Mater) were relatively high at the end of the fourth century (7.6%; 9%), these were also clearly predominantly fish imports (Oil: 1.9% at Ostia; 0% in Magna Mater, 350–390).[60] Overall,

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also Germany). Oil lamps were also phased out from the late second century in Britain, which might be connected with the same rarity of olive oil: Richard Reece, personal communication with respect to the work of Eckardt (2002). In this case, nut oil could equally have been used for lighting, a hypothesis based not only on modern Gallic evidence, but also on the fact that Romano-British lamps have traces of walnut and hazel oil.

[57] Carreras Monfort (2000).

[58] Remesal (1991), 358.

[59] Greene (1986). Indeed it seems that Dressel 23 are "abundant" in Trier: Remesal (1991), n. 19, from an observation by Martin-Kilcher.

[60] These low percentages should be contrasted with the figures for Baetican oil amphorae registered at the Cripta San Bonaventura, to be dated c. 250+ (oil: 17%; fish: 3%).

Baetica's role in Rome's oil supply would seem to have been minimal from the late fourth century, a result of the region's failure to challenge state-sponsored Tunisian competition.

Nonetheless, one must also find a way to reconcile the lower figures for—or even absence of—Baetican oil in the fourth century with the presence of Baetican *annona* shipping at Ostia in the early fourth century, and certainly as late as 336.[61] This evidence would appear to indicate that Baetica regularly supplied oil to Rome, as it had done under the Severi. Furthermore, an estimated 6,000 Baetican Dressel 23 amphorae were used to build the vaults of the Circus of Maxentius in Rome in 309, and these factors suggest that the various excavations on the Palatine Hill may not be representative of oil imports to the capital. Alternatively, as was argued above (section 1.1), Baetican oil may have continued to be redistributed by the state, the amphorae either being emptied and dumped at a site other than Monte Testaccio or recycled as building material, as in the case of the Circus of Maxentius, which was, notably, an imperial project. The similar use of Dressel 23 amphorae at Cologne in the mid-fourth century is likewise evidence for an amphora supply that is not otherwise attested.

The same phenomenon of minimal later third- and fourth-century Baetican oil imports is also evident within Spain itself, although our understanding of the phenomenon is hampered by a lacuna in dated deposits. Though fourth-century deposits at Tarragona show that southern Spanish amphora imports appeared and gradually increased throughout the century, these did not include oil amphorae (Table 6a).[62] Third- and fourth-century deposits in Valencia, which had earlier included the occasional Baetican oil amphora, suggest that there was a break in the supply of Baetican products from the mid-third century until the late fourth century, when fish, but not Baetican oil, imports appear.[63] It would seem, then, that later third- and fourth-century Baetican oil was not as a rule targeted at Spanish markets, even when they received supplies of Baetican fish sauce.

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[61] *CTh.* 13.5.4, a. 324; *CTh.* 13.5.8, a. 336.

[62] For the deposits on which these figures are based, see Macias i Solé et al. (1997).

[63] Pascual et al. (1997).

1.2.3 *The late fourth and fifth centuries*

However, the early fifth century brought about a marked change in the supply of Baetican oil to sites in the western Mediterranean, with an increase with respect to levels imported previously. In this period, Baetican oil was exported to ports in southern Gaul (Arles, Narbonne), to Rome, and to Tarraconensis (Tarragona, Barcelona) (Tables 11a; 12; 2c; 6a). Though Spanish oil, and Spanish products in general, did not feature heavily at Marseille in the second quarter of the fifth century, this was not the case at Arles (oil: 3.8%) and Narbonne. The figures for Narbonne, at 44% for all Spanish amphorae, are quite exceptional, and it is clear that imports were common at this major port.[64] Arles and Narbonne were similarly well supplied with Baetican and Lusitanian fish sauce. Figures for Spanish/Lusitanian imports at Ostia and Rome (Temple of Magna Mater) in the late fourth to mid fifth centuries point to a continued minor importation of Spanish oil in this period (perhaps no more than 1% of the total amphorae). These figures, if they do represent Spanish oil imports, demonstrate the extent to which the Rome oil market continued to be dominated by Tunisian imports. On the other hand, more fourth-century deposits, and from other sectors of Rome, are needed to offer a balance to the Palatine assemblages.

Most significantly, the fifth century brought about a major increase in exports of Baetican oil to sites on the northeastern coast of Tarraconensis. Tarragona registers the highest relative figures for Baetican oil, not only for Spain, but in comparison to all Mediterranean sites, with relative quantities up to c. 13%.[65] These are matched by the figures for Baetican and Lusitanian fish sauce (Table 11a). Oil imports in Valencia, Alicante and perhaps Cartagena seem far lower than those supplied to the northeastern ports.[66] The marketing of Baetican oil in the first half of the fifth century thus tended to bypass

[64] Piton (1998), 112–13, "in numerous variants."

[65] In the Vila-roma 2 deposit, for example, 60 RBH, 13.04%; STE/1 = 25 RBH, 8.50%.

[66] For the Vinalopó valley, see Reynolds (1993), Appendix G.4; (1995), Appendix B.3, under 'ALI' and the summary of amphora finds on town and highland sites in the valley, in Appendix C.5. See now Marquéz Villora and Molina Vidal (2001), 25, for finds of Dressel 23 at Ilici (3 rims) and Santa Pola (Portus Ilicitanus). For finds at Santa Pola, see Marquéz Villora and Molina Vidal (2000), Table 1. For comments on the supply of Cartagena, see Comas i Solà and Padrós (1997), 323.

its most immediate market in southeastern Hispania, and instead focused on the ports of northeastern Tarraconesensis, and in particular on Tarragona, the provincial capital.

The moderate success of the later fourth to fifth-century Baetican oil market in the West did not extend to the eastern empire. Despite regular exports of Baetican and Lusitanian fish sauce to Beirut in the fourth to early fifth centuries (see below), these were not accompanied by Baetican oil, and only scarce fragments of Keay 13 have been noted in Caesarea and Haifa.[67] Spanish amphorae, including fish sauce products, are notably absent in fourth- to sixth-century sequences excavated in Butrint (southern Albania). There is little data available for Alexandria, but it is likely that Baetican imports of all classes were scarce or not imported in the first half of the fifth century.[68] It seems, then, that fifth-century Baetican oil exports were targeted primarily at northwestern Mediterranean sites.

1.2.4 *Conclusions*

The Spanish oil industry had a complex history and patterns of distribution. The production of oil in Baetica was wrested from private control and placed under state control in the early Severan period. That this venture was not a success may in part account for a general, albeit by no means universal, decline in the appearance of Baetican amphorae in sites throughout the western empire during the early third century. By the mid-third century state controls seem to have diminished and private traders distributed Baetican oil and fish sauce together with Tunisian products to both *annona* and non-*annona* consumers, as they had done before Severan intervention. Though Baetica was technically linked to the *annona* supply system for Gaul and the northern provinces, oil imports declined markedly in Britain and Germany in the mid-third century, as well as in Rome, in the latter case because of clear competition from Tunisia. With the exception of Alexandria in the early imperial period, Baetican

[67] Oren-Pascal and Bernal Casasola (2000a); Bernal Casasola (2000b).

[68] Baetican amphorae are absent in a possibly early fifth-century deposit at the Serapeum, in contrast to very common Tunisian imports: Bonifay and Leffy (in press). They may also be absent in a presumably later context of c. 450, when Tunisian amphorae comprise but 3% of the total: Majcherek (in press).

oil was only rarely exported to the East and perhaps only to certain military or major administrative centers. However, significant exports of Baetican oil during the first half of the fifth century do appear in the ports of northeastern Spain and southern Gaul. Thus, by the early fifth century, Hispania had assumed a modest, second-tier role in the Mediterranean oil market, and its products were principally found relatively close to home.

1.3 *Fish sauce and salted fish*

The transformation of the fish-based industries in Baetica and Lusitania during the third century, probably the direct result of Severan confiscations and interference that undermined the economic base of the region, was marked by three features, namely the evolution of new, smaller types of amphorae, a reduction in the number of sites producing for export, and the rise of new factories producing for local markets. The late Roman fish sauce amphorae were of smaller size than their predecessors (Fig. 4).[69] The reasons for the decreased size of late Roman Baetican and Lusitanian amphorae is probably linked to changes in the fish industry itself, and perhaps even to change in eating habits. Whereas the fish industry of the early empire included the packaging of salted cuts of fish and whole fish as well as a range of fish-sauce products, late Roman production concentrated on fish sauce and the salting of small fish like sardines.[70] The nature of the product is reflected in the evolution of small containers with narrow necks, in contrast to the wide-necked, massive vessels that were so characteristic of imperial fish-sauce amphorae of Baetica and Lusitania.[71]

The second important trend to affect fish-sauce production in Hispania was the concomitant decrease in the number of production sites in Baetica, Lusitania and Tingitania (Map 4).[72] Few fish

[69] Beltrán 72, and Lusitana 9. A narrower, longer shape was more typical of the kiln sites of southern Lusitania.

[70] Lagóstena Barrios (2001), 257–61; Bernal Casasola (2000a), 275, for types of fish.

[71] Compare Keay 19 and 23 to the imperial Peacock and Williams Classes 16–21.

[72] Lagóstena Barrios (2001), with full bibliography. Additional study in Reynolds (1993), Site Index; Bernal Casasola (2000a), with references. For similar evidence of abandonment of factories and decline in production in third-century Tingitania, see Villaverde Vega (2000b).

amphora production sites survived into the Severan period. The fortunes of some of the Moroccan factories would also have been directly tied to those operating on the Spanish side of the straits, as at least some of them bottled fish sauce in amphorae produced in Málaga, Algeciras and Cádiz, a feature that was to continue till the end of the fifth century (see below). In the early imperial period, dipinti on fish sauce amphorae are evidence for the same degree of imperial organization and product control that is found on Dressel 20 amphorae,[73] but in this case probably without state involvement in production and redistribution.[74] We do not know who owned the vast number of fish-based industrial complexes of the imperial period that were located along the coast of Baetica, Lusitania and Tingitania, but it is possible that some local magnates involved in the fish industry, particularly those at Cádiz, also fell victim to Severus. All these industries, on both sides of the straits, suffered a decline over the late second to early third centuries that ran parallel with the reduction of estates and output of the Baetican oil industry.

Factories that did survive included some on the Tagus and Sado estuaries.[75] In the Algarve, the fish factories of Quinta do Lago and Quinta do Marim continued, but others did not. Production in Cádiz ended, with the single exception of Puente Melchor where a notably wide variety of amphorae for both fish sauce, and occasionally possibly wine, continued to be produced.[76] At Huelva (Onuba) the factory of c/ Palos ended but others were remodeled. Little survived of the ancient industries at Belo (Baelo Claudia), Algeciras (Iulia Traducta) and Suel. In Tingitania, Lixus was abandoned in the late second or third centuries, as were the factories of Zhara and Alcázarseguer. There was recession in the Severan period at Tahadartz and the ruin of the ports of Thamusida and Banasa is attested under Caracalla.[77] Sites that were served by this early to mid-third-century

[73] Martínez Maganto (2000).

[74] A growing number of fish-sauce amphorae bearing dipinti that identify them as products sent to military commanders and occasionally governors of provinces, is evidence for some state-organized redistribution as *annona militaris*, but this may have been due to the high status of the beneficiaries: Martínez Maganto (2000).

[75] For example, on the Tagus: Porto dos Cacos and Quinta do Rouxinol; on the Sado: Abul Kiln A and Pinheiro; at Troia some ended in the late second or early third century, others survived.

[76] See Bernal Casasola (2000a).

[77] Villaverde Vega (2000b), 910–12.

phase of production (e.g., with exports of Keay 16 and Beltrán 72) included several on the east coast of Spain (Illici, Tarragona, Barcelona, Ampurias, but probably not Valencia), Vienne (Table 4b), Rome (Table 2c), and sites in the Levant like Beirut and Caesarea. The Cabrera III wreck of c. 257 is typical of the combination cargoes of mixed Spanish oil and fish-sauce that circulated in the mid third century. As noted, Spanish fish exports to the East, as with western exports to the East more generally, ceased between c. 260 and 320. Apart from what may be an indication of continuous supply to Rome indicated by the Palatine Hill finds of c. 300 (Table 2c), there is no firm evidence for export anywhere, even within Spain, for the period c. 270–300.

The fourth century, on the other hand, witnessed the increase or remodeling of production sites, some of them in regions not formerly involved in the production of fish products. This phase may be correlated with a general renewal of long-distance exports to sites on the east coast of Spain, now including Valencia, to Rome if this had ever ceased, and to Levantine sites served in the earlier but not the later third century (e.g. Beirut and Caesarea). Particularly interesting is the building of fish-sauce and salting factories at Málaga inside the Roman theatre. A similar revival in the fourth century is evident in Morocco, notably at Lixus, Kouass and Mogador.[78] Also significant, and an indication of a partial renaissance of the industry in the mid-fourth century, was the introduction of a major new amphora class, the Keay 19 (Fig. 4f) and another new type, Keay 78, the latter primarily in Lusitania, but also in Baetica.[79] Keay 19 was produced in southwestern Portugal and especially along the southern coast of Lusitania and Baetica, with a special concentration of the type in the workshops around Málaga (Map 4).[80] It is probably the latter center that was largely responsible for plentiful exports dating from the late fourth to fifth centuries in Alicante and

[78] Villaverde Vega (2000b), 912–13. At Lixus, production began again in the fourth century and continued into the early fifth, though with fewer installations by comparison to the early imperial period. At Mogador late production has been dated to the mid-third to late fourth century.

[79] The form Keay 78 occurred in the mid-fifth-century deposit of Vila-roma 2. It was produced in the third phase at Troia.

[80] For Huerto del Rincón, see Baldomero et al. (1997); for Torrox, Rodríguez Oliva (1997).

Tarragona (Table 6a).[81] Keay 19 amphorae from Málaga are found in the final phase of a fish-sauce installation at Ceuta (Septem), belonging to the early fifth century, which would seem to indicate that the same ties existed between Málaga and Ceuta.[82]

The revamped production and packaging of Spanish fish products seems to have been undertaken largely for export, and in many sites around the Mediterranean, fourth- and fifth-century Spanish fish amphorae appear in great numbers. In the Levant, amphorae from these sources become important yet again from the mid-fourth to the early fifth century.[83] Beirut had always had a preference for fish sauce and salted fish, whether from Baetica and Lusitania, Tunisia, or Sinope on the Black Sea, and imports from the same regions recommenced in the fourth century.[84] However, at other sites in the Adriatic and elsewhere in the East, Spanish fish amphorae are not found in such numbers. The absence of Baetican and Lusitanian amphorae in excavations at Butrint is significant, and the lacuna may indicate that the ships that carried fish sauce to Beirut did not pass through the southern Adriatic.[85] Late fourth- and fifth-century deposits in Caesarea and Alexandria also contain no Spanish amphorae.[86]

In the West, by contrast, the numerous deposits of early to mid-fifth-century date excavated at Rome, Narbonne, Arles, Marseille, Tarragona and Carthage, demonstrate a rise in Baetican fish-sauce imports, carried primarily in Keay 19 and 23 amphorae (Tables 2c,

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[81] For Alicante, see Reynolds (1993), Catalogue, Site 156, El Monastil, a site where Baetican Keay 19 are particularly common, together with wide bodied cylindrical amphorae in the same fabric = Keay 30Bis and fifth-century Vandal period ARS; Reynolds (1995), 64–66, for the distribution of Baetican amphorae, including fish-sauce amphorae.

[82] Villaverde Vega (2000b), 914–15. As noted in Reynolds (2000), 1044; 1055, the fabric of El Monastil (Elda) examples of Keay 19 compared well with photographs of fabrics of Keay 19 found at Ceuta and said to have been produced there: Bernal Casasola (1997); (2000c).

[83] Reynolds (2000).

[84] Reynolds (2000). For *garum* and salted fish production in the eastern Mediterranean, see Curtis (1991), especially Chapter 5.

[85] Reynolds (forthcoming a).

[86] On Caesarea, Oren-Pascal and Bernal Casasola (2000): with the exception of an example of Keay 19, none of the fish-amphorae need date later than the early-mid third century: Tomber (1999); Riley (1975). On Alexandria, Bonifay and Leffy (in press).

11a and 12). The figures for Baetican amphorae of all classes at Narbonne in the early fifth century are quite exceptional, and at c. 44% are actually more numerous than Tunisian imports. At Arles (the Esplanade site) in the same period, they comprise 15% of the total amphorae. A somewhat lower figure, notably comprising both Baetican oil and fish-sauce amphorae, is found in another early fifth-century deposit at Arles (Bouche du Rhône, where the figures are 3.8%, oil; 3.5%, fish). At Marseille, however, the quantities registered for Spanish amphorae for the period 425–450, including those for fish sauce, are also comparatively quite low (at 1%), and comprise only body sherds for the period 450–500, thus suggesting that exports to southern Gaul may have dropped generally in the second quarter of the fifth century.[87] One Carthage deposit of late fourth-/early fifth-century date contains a wide range and relatively high number of Baetican (and possibly Lusitanian) rims and bases, all of which carried fish products.[88] It is possible that this deposit marks an increase in Baetican imports of fish products to Carthage in this period, correlating with the same phenomenon in southern Gaul in the early decades of the fifth century.

Rome again became a major market for Baetican and Lusitanian fish products from the late third to the early fourth centuries, and this supply may have increased from 350 to 420 (Table 2c). Though there appears to be a slight drop in imports in the period 425–440, perhaps echoing the drop noted at Marseille, this is more a reflection of the marked rise in other classes and sources of amphorae, notably those from the eastern Mediterranean and Italy, neither carrying fish sauce. Until the fifth century, relative quantities of imports of Baetican and Lusitanian fish-sauce amphorae at Tarragona were quite low.[89] The third-century drop in Spanish fish production and the largely extra-provincial direction of exports (e.g. to Beirut; those on the Cabrera III wreck) that was a mark of the early to mid-third-century

[87] Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998).

[88] Tomber (1989), 502, all on Fig. 20. Includes Keay 16, 19 and 23.

[89] This lacuna would have been partially countered by imports of Tunisian fish-sauce (carried in Period I amphorae), and indeed it may have been fish sauce, rather than oil, that was the primary Tunisian export to Spain when Tunisian amphorae first appear on Spanish sites. By the fifth century, however, Baetican and Lusitanian imports to Tarragona had increased (STE/1: 10.8%; Vila-roma 2: 16.9%), probably due to the city's role as provincial capital.

market, and which had itself ended by c. 260, led to a new trend in the industry, whereby new installations were constructed to serve local needs. These were sites constructed in areas which had not previously possessed fish sauce industries, and were seemingly directed to supply local rather than export markets.

The first of these areas is Galicia. A fish-sauce factory was constructed *de novo* in Gijón (Cantabria) in the third century. This factory is thought to have continued in operation through the mid-fifth century, although this later activity is not associated with any amphorae. At La Coruña (Brigantium/Portus Artaborum) in Galicia, which had been a center for the production of fish sauce in the imperial period, late imperial production may also have begun at two villa-factory sites, one at Noville, occupied AD 250–550, the other at Centroña, built in the fourth century. In the Rias Bajas of Galicia, at another villa of third- to fourth-century date (Adro-Vello, Pontevedra), fish tanks were found still containing sardines and mackerel. Their products may have been marketed at the port of Vigo.[90] All this points to investment in fish-sauce production in northeastern Spain during a period when long-standing fish-sauce imports from Baetica had dropped by the mid-third century, as evidenced in Braga (Table 6b).[91] Baetican imports at Braga and in the northeast may have been connected with the Baetican oil route through the Atlantic to the army in Britain, a supply that was drastically reduced in the third century and became practically negligible from the fourth century onwards (1.2.2 above).

Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis also saw the construction of fourth-century fish-sauce centers in areas that previously lacked them. It was c. 325–350 that the baths of a Roman villa at Roses were restructured in order to process fish sauce, the factory receiving further improvements in the late fourth century.[92] However, there is no evidence of any associated local amphora type. The cluster of fish-sauce factories around Aguilas and the port of Mazarrón (Murcia), their associated kilns producing small, thin amphorae named *spatheia* in ancient sources after the Latin *spatha* for sword, was built in the

[90] For details on these fish-sauce production sites in northwestern Spain, see Lagóstena Barrios (2001).
[91] Morais (in press).
[92] Nieto Prieto (1993).

mid-fourth century (Fig. 4g).[93] These and others closer to Cartagena (Isla Plana; Mar Menor) probably had Cartagena, the capital of Diocletian's new province of Carthaginiensis, together with Alicante, as their main markets.[94]

A fish factory was also established at Santa Pola in the fourth century, but again there is no evidence for any associated amphorae which would indicate production for export. *Spatheia* similar to those of Mazarrón and Aguilas were probably produced at a fish-sauce site in Benalúa-Alicante, and should date even later, to the late fifth century or first half of the sixth (Table 17).[95] A number of fish factories along the coast of Alicante all have phases of fifth- and early sixth-century occupation.[96] It is probably correct to interpret these sites, including that of Benalúa, not as villas but rather as small *fattoria*-like settlements with baths and necropoleis.[97]

This production in southeastern Spain, the sixth-century phase at Roses, and the exports of Baetica (e.g., the Málaga region) and Morocco (e.g., Ceuta) to Alicante and Tarragona in the late fifth and first half of the sixth century, represent the final phase of fish-sauce production in the peninsula (see 3.3.3 below). Lusitanian production had ended far earlier, by c. 425/450. Apart from finds in Alicante and Tarragona, Baetican fish-sauce was not exported in any quantity after c. 450. The supply along the Atlantic route of what appear to be fish-sauce containers from Cádiz or the Algarve region to Britain in the early to-mid sixth century is a notable and interesting exception (3.3.3 below).

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[93] Ramallo Asensio (1984a); (1985).

[94] E.g., finds in La Alcudia: Reynolds (1993).

[95] Reynolds (1993), Site Index, 42.3–4; Ware 1.52.

[96] Reynolds (1993). Such as Campello (Site 2); Punta de l'Arenal (Jávea) (Site 205); Baños de la Reina, Calpe (Site 212 and its necropolis Site 213); Torre la Cruz, Villajoyosa (Site 216).

[97] See Lagóstena (2001), 261–69. Though it has been stated that there was no settlement at Benalúa (Lagóstena [2001], 179–82, referring to Gutiérrez Lloret [1988]), analyses of flotated seeds and other environmental material collected in excavations provides clear evidence to the contrary: Reynolds (1993), Site 42.3. The site was involved in the manufacture of glass vessels, that, *pace* Lagóstena, were not the closed forms that possibly contained fish-sauce, but standard late Roman open bowls and cups, some with white trail decoration: Reynolds (1993), Plate 102. For an alternative explanation, see Chavarría in this volume.

1.4 *Wine production and exports: second to fourth centuries*

1.4.1 *Spanish production*

The main centers of wine production in Hispania in the early empire lay along the eastern coast of the peninsula, particularly around Barcelona and in Denia, in the Balearics/Ibiza, and in the lower Guadalquivir valley.[98] In the later empire there may have been wine production in Barcelona, along the Ebro valley, in the Balearics/Ibiza and at a number of new locations along the Baetican coast. Fifth- and sixth-century wine production in the Balearics, and possibly in the Vinalopó valley (Alicante) will be discussed below (see 3.3.3).

Wine had been exported from the eastern coast of Spain, notably from the region of Barcelona (Barcino), where some 60 kiln sites are known, from the late Augustan period to the first half of the second century.[99] The first century was also marked by the production of wine in the middle and lower Ebro valley, the latter at the well-known kiln site of Tivissa.[100] Several villa sites at which wine may have been produced are known in the Ebro valley, but the general pattern there may have been one of local self-sufficiency in wine production as a response to limited imports.[101] Third-century wine production in the Ampurdàn is well-attested at the villa of Puig Rodon (Corça, Baix Empordà) and production in the fourth century is possible as well.[102] The port of Sagunto, to the north of Valencia, was also known for its wine in the early empire. At production sites in the territory of Denia (Dianium), further to the south, wine was packaged during the first and second centuries and notably continued into the later third century, when it forms a major part of the

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[98] For a more detailed summary of trends in wine production within Hispania in the late Republican and imperial periods, see Beltrán Lloris (2000) and for Catalonia in particular, see Miró (1988).

[99] Miró (1988).

[100] Beltrán Lloris (2000), 453–54, with reference to the stamped products of the *Figlina duorum Gallorum* found at Calahorra.

[101] Beltrán Lloris (2000), 454, with references to the villa sites of Musas de Arellano (first- to third-centuries), a press and *fumarium* at Falces (second- to fourth-centuries), a press at Funes (second- to third-centuries) and finds at Liédena (fourth-century).

[102] See Nolla and Casas (1990). Whether these Gauloise 4 can be dated as late as 375/400 is more doubtful, given that much of the "ARS A" in Phase IIIb may be residual material from Phase III.

imports at Portus Ilicitanus.[103] Finally, Balearic wine had an unusually long and successful history of production from the early imperial to Byzantine periods.[104]

Evidence for fourth- and fifth-century production can be found in some of these areas with earlier activity. A post-250/300 wine (or possibly oil) press and processing vats have been excavated just within the walls of Barcelona, once part of an urban villa and later the site of the bishop's palace, although no amphorae were reported from old excavations at the site.[105] It is, moreover, not known whether the fourth- to mid-fifth-century series of amphorae produced in the region of Barcelona were for the transport of wine (see examples in Fig. 6).[106] They appear to have been for the local market and are so far attested as close regional exports in Tarragona.[107] In the Ebro valley, fourth-century wine production is known at the villa site of Liédena, while evidence for Balearic production will be discussed below.

In the first century AD, certain regions of Baetica specialized in exports of a special grape syrup (*defrutum*), carried in Haltern 70 amphorae, in addition to what were perhaps rarer exports of wine. Haltern 70 is common on urban sites in southern Lusitania, at Santarém and Conimbriga for example, and in the northwest of Spain, where units of the army were concentrated at Braga, Astorga and other sites (Table 6b).[108] The Rhine frontier camps, Britain and Rome were also major targets (Table 1b). In the third century, however, there is evidence for a new, more concerted effort to introduce wine production for export to Baetica, with the product packed in small amphorae "a base plana," modeled on the Gallic amphora.

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[103] For Sagunto, Aranegui and Mantilla (1987); for Denia: Aranegui and Gisbert (1992); Gisbert (1987); Pascual and Ribera (2000); Márquez Villora (1999).

[104] Ramón (1986). For finds of mid imperial Balearic amphorae in Sagunto, Aranegui (1982); for finds in Santa Pola, Marquéz Villora (1999), Table 5. See Reynolds (1995), Fig. 75.1, for the third- to fourth-century Ibizan amphora.

[105] Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (1998).

[106] Carreras Monfort and Berni i Millet (1998).

[107] Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 196–200, Figs 68–70.

[108] Recent work based on the reading of dipinti and study of residues in Haltern 70 suggests that, although the amphora could carry wine and fish sauce, its principal contents comprised whole olives in sugar-rich *defrutum* (grape syrup), or *defrutum* alone. See Beltrán Lloris (2000), 445–46; Carreras Monfort (2000). For the distribution of Haltern 70 in Portugal/Lusitania see Mayet (2000), 649–50. See also Beltrán (2000), Map/Fig. 18.

These amphorae were produced at kiln sites along the Andalusian coast.[109] Some products, those of Matagallares, have been identified as imports at Lyon, where they comprise a fair share of the imported wine market in an early third-century context (Table 4a).[110] Though the latter form is not yet attested after the third century, the Beltrán 68 amphora, one of several forms produced at Puente Melchor (Cádiz) and present on the mid third-century Cabrera III wreck and occasionally exported to the East (Caesarea), may have continued into the fourth century.[111] It is not yet clear whether these limited finds indicate a relatively minor Baetican wine export market in the third and fourth centuries, or whether the limited finds are due to the difficulties in isolating and identifying these amphorae.

1.4.2 *Exports to Rome and regional production trends in the West*

Table 1b summarizes the sources of wine imported to Rome between AD 64 and 150 from both Italian and long-distance sources.[112] It is clear that during this period, Italy, North Africa and the Aegean were the dominant sources of wine at the capital. Gallic wine peaked in the period AD 90–110 (23.5%).[113] Baetican wine imports remain at roughly 4% across the period, and so held a minor share of the market through the first century and to c. 110, although they are absent in the Meta Sudans assemblage of 130–150, a period marked by a rise in Italian products. Tarraconensian wine was a more significant export in the first century (as high as 7.1% under Nero), but was in decline by the second century, probably due to the rise in Gallic imports. During the late second and third centuries, the regional production of wine in the western Mediterranean was transformed. New regions began to engage in wine production, while the

[109] See Bernal Casasola (2000a), 287–90; 298; 299; 302–305; 309, for Baetican wine amphorae. Sites include Matagallares (Granada) (early to late third-century) and Loma de Ceres.

[110] Lemaître (2000b).

[111] Bernal Casasola (2000a) and (2000b); Bost et al. (1992).

[112] See Panella (1992).

[113] It should be noted that the figures for Ostia (Table 2a) are markedly different to those of Rome (Table 1a) with respect to Gallic and Aegean imports (all wine amphorae), with much higher percentages for the Gallic wine in the Flavian period at Ostia (25.4%) and much higher percentages for eastern wines in the Rome assemblages.

small module "table-amphora" format based on the Gallic model was adopted quite generally (Fig. 5). By the second quarter of the third century, the Rome market shifted from Gallic to closer alternative sources of wine, a trend that would soon become even more marked. Wine in early to mid-third-century Rome was now derived from Mauretania Caesariensis, perhaps from imperial estates. Northern Italy and Calabria also increased or commenced production (see amphora forms in Fig. 5). The drive to produce Italian wine may well have been given a boost by Aurelian's introduction of cheap wine sales for the populace of Rome.[114] Rome also continued to import Aegean wine, though from a reduced number of sources in comparison to the early imperial period (Table 2c: particularly in Kapitän 2 amphorae).

It is not yet clear what impact, if any, the new third-century Baetican wine industry had in Rome. This is due to several factors, most significantly the difficulty of distinguishing Baetican wine amphorae from their Gallic cousins and from Baetican fish-sauce amphorae.[115] The drop in Baetican wine exports to Rome noted in the early second century may have continued through the third and fourth centuries. In this context, it is perhaps worth noting that Beirut did not import Tarraconensian wine, except in one documented case of early third-century date.[116] Otherwise, imports from Hispania were largely restricted to fish-sauce amphorae.

1.4.3 *Imports into the peninsula*

Campanian wine is one of the more common, regular imports documented in sequences excavated at Valencia, during not just the first and second centuries but also, and significantly, from the early to mid-third century.[117] This production of Campanian wine after the eruption of Vesuvius is also attested in Britain into the third century, and at Zeugma, where they occur in deposits associated with

[114] See especially Peña (1999).

[115] For this theme, see Aranegui and Gisbert (1992), discussion section. It may be that the first- to second-century wine amphorae of Denia have been misidentified as "Gallic" in publications of both site finds and shipwreck cargoes.

[116] Reynolds (2000), 1052; 1053, Fig. 2.17–18.

[117] Pascual et al. (1997); Pascual and Ribera (2000).

the Sassanian sack of 253.[118] Late first- and second-century Gallic wine amphorae are relatively rare finds in Spain, occurring primarily at northeastern sites, and occasionally in the southeast, as for example at Santa Pola.[119] The primary export markets for Gallic wine were Rome and the northern provinces. However, imports of wine to the peninsula from long-distance sources during the third and fourth centuries were remarkably low, particularly compared with those from the eastern Mediterranean encountered in Lyon and Rome in the early third century (Table 4a).[120] Cretan wine amphorae, for example, a major source in Butrint in the second to fourth centuries, may be absent from Spain in this period. The third- and fourth-century Kapitän 2 amphora was also rarely imported (Rome being the principal western market), and again finds are concentrated in northeastern Tarraconensis. Most of the eastern forms found at Lyon have yet to be identified in Spain. Mauretanian Keay 1 amphorae were not common, even on the east coast, and were concentrated at Tarragona and Valencia, with rarer finds in the southeast, for instance in the Vinalopó Valley.[121] For its part, the east(?) Sicilian amphora MRA 1 is found only very rarely on the east coast of Spain, its distribution generally concentrated in Italy, southern Gaul, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.

It should be noted that throughout the early imperial and Byzantine periods wine was always the eastern export *par excellence* as far as the West was concerned.[122] For that reason, the relative dearth of wine imports in the Iberian peninsula calls for some comment. It may be that the lacuna is due to the preferential targeting of Rome and southern Gaul by North African and eastern exporters. This in turn may also account for the local production of wine in coastal regions of Hispania. It is always possible, too, that some local or regional wine may have been carried in non-amphora containers, such as the

[118] Reynolds (forthcoming d); Arthur and Williams (1992) and Carreras Monfort (2000), for the supply to the northern provinces. Examples in a deposit at Carthage of c. 175–240 may therefore also be contemporary imports, though they were classified as residual finds: Tomber (1986), 35–36: 9.5% of the total amphorae.

[119] Marquéz Villora (1999).

[120] See Panella (1986), for the sources of eastern amphora imports at Ostia.

[121] Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a); Keay (1984a); Pascual et al. (1997); Reynolds (1995), 40–42.

[122] Panella (1986); Reynolds (forthcoming c).

painted forms shown in Fig. 11, or in the sort of barrels depicted on funerary monuments.[123]

In conclusion, although Tarraconensian wine exports demonstrate that the region was a significant player in the wine trade of the first century, targeting Rome, Carthage and southern Gaul, long-distance exports had become minimal by the first half of the second century, probably due largely to the strength of the Gallic wine industry and its better access to the military markets of the northern frontier. There appears to have been a corresponding and perhaps related rise in the supply of Tarraconensian wine to such closer Spanish markets as Valencia in the second century, one that continued well into the third century but had ended by c. 270.[124] Wine production in southeastern Spain in the first and second centuries, and possibly into the third century, may have served only the immediate south-eastern market (e.g. Santa Pola/Ilici and Cartagena). Baetica, on the other hand, after a notable lapse in wine and related exports, emerged as a wine producer and exporter, albeit on a small scale. The distribution suggests that these exports, like those of Baetican fish-sauce, took advantage of the established and continuing links between Baetica and regions served by the *annona*.

Wine production in Baetica must also have catered for a local market in a period when available imports were limited as a result of being directed elsewhere. Though the lack of imports in the peninsula should have encouraged the production and distribution of local alternatives for consumption, one is left with a general lack of evidence for amphora-borne local wine industries within Hispania during the mid to later Roman period. One exception may be the Ebro Valley, where a number of presses have been found on villa sites. What may be local wine carried in amphorae at Tarragona in the early to mid-fifth century and at Alicante in the fifth and sixth, again has a markedly local distribution (see below). The use of small, painted table amphorae for the distribution of local wine in parts of central Spain is also possible during the third and fourth centuries.

[123] Beltrán Lloris (2000), 448, and nn. 44, 45, with reference to the use of animal skins and to barrels for both wine and beer in Gaul and Germany. He also discusses evidence, from Oberaden, that Tarraconensis and perhaps Baetica exported wine in barrels.

[124] Pascual and Ribera (2000).

2. *Fine wares: third to early sixth centuries*

As its oil market grew, Tunisia, with its African Red Slip Ware, came to dominate the supply of tablewares for much of the coastal regions of southern and eastern Hispania, contributing to the end of production of fine wares in Baetica. Sites in northern Spain, however, not only tapped into ARS as well as Gallic imports, but also developed their own thriving pottery industry, producing forms tied to North African and Gallic models, or to their metalware prototypes.[125]

The following section will examine trends in the import and production of tablewares across the peninsula. The role of the Ebro valley, navigable as far as Vareia, is one key factor in the distribution of imported tablewares to northern Tarraconensis, particularly the distribution of *terra sigillata Hispánica Tardía* (TSHT) (see 2.2.1). The ready markets offered by the towns and rural villas of central and northeastern Spain and Portugal, cut off from the supply of imports, account for the diversity of tableware alternatives in these regions. These new Spanish wares clearly filled a gap in the market in regions where Mediterranean fine wares were usually unavailable. These Spanish alternatives included TSHT where it was available, but also comprised a complex range of still poorly understood stamped, slipped, burnished, color-coated and plain forms, the products of numerous regional industries serving specific regional markets.

2.1 *Coastal imports: South Gaulish fine wares*

Centers in southern Gaul like La Graufesenque had since the early first century AD been the major producers of a Gallic red gloss ware ("South Gaulish *terra sigillata*") that rivalled the Italian products on which they were based (now more correctly termed *terra sigillata Italica* rather than Aretine ware). The later output of the third century, and particularly of the fourth to sixth centuries which concern us here, comprised two regional products: *sigillata chiara B* and its successors, *sigillata pre-Lucente* and *Lucente* produced in Savoy and the Rhône

[125] For the relationship of ARS forms to metalware forms and decoration, see Hayes (1972), 281–87. For a very readable and well illustrated account of Roman Mediterranean fine wares, see Hayes (1997), 37–84.

Valley, and *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise* and *orangée*, produced over a wide area of the southwest from Bordeaux to Marseille and the lower Rhône Valley.[126]

As one would expect, the marketing of south Gaulish late Roman fine wares in the Iberian peninsula was concentrated in northeastern Spain (Fig. 8). A study of the distribution of the oxidized ware *t.s. Lucente* in northeastern Catalonia demonstrates an unusually wide range of forms, particularly those produced at the fifth-century workshop of Portout.[127] The wide distribution of finds in the Baix Empordá of coastal Catalonia, particularly in southern villa sites, is also evident, though quantities are relatively low in most cases.[128] Large numbers of Gallic fine wares dateable to the period 350–450 have recently been published from the necropolis at Ampurias (Table 7).[129] In the late fifth century the relative quantities of Gallic fine wares dropped with respect to a rise in ARS, but the numbers seem to rise again in the sixth century. Additional Gallic wares were excavated in 1994 in a deposit dated to the first half of the fifth century (Table 7).[130] At the villa site of Darró (Garraf, Barcelona), Gallic fine wares appear in about equal quantity to ARS in a small deposit of c. 425–450.[131] The villa of Vilauba (Gerona) represents the farthest inland point of distribution of Gallic fine wares in the Ampurdàn (c. 20 fragments). There was some penetration up the Ebro Valley (e.g. to Zaragoza), but finds are relatively rare (see Table 8). In the mid-fifth century, *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise* was not uncommon in Tarragona

[126] For a guide to the typologies of late Roman Gallic wares, see *Atlante* (1981), with bibliography. The pioneer work on *t.s. chiara B* and *t.s. Lucente* was done by Lamboglia (1958) and Darton (1972), later enriched by the work of Desbat (1988), with references; see also relevant sections in Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998). The study of the various regional branches of *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise* and *orangée* was led by Rigoir (1968) and Rigoir and Rigoir (1971). For early work on finds of the latter wares in Spain, see Rigoir and Meffre (1973). See also Rigoir (1998) for a more recent summary.

[127] Aicart i Hereu, Llinàs i Pol and Sagrera i Aradilla (1991), with reference to Desbat and Picon's work on the chemical differentiation of *t.s. Chiara B* and *Lucente*. Production at Portout has been dated to AD 400–450: Pernon and Pernon (1990).

[128] One exception is the villa of Pla de Palol (Patja d'Ara), where there are over 100 fragments (from excavations). The villa of Vilabareix (Gerona), ending in the fourth or early fifth century, is another site with a relatively plentiful supply of *t.s. Lucente* (66 fragments).

[129] Llinàs i Pol (1997).

[130] Aquilué (1997).

[131] López Mullor, Fierro Macia and Caixal Mata (1997), 64–65.

(Table 7), Sagunto (Grau-Vell, third- and fourth-century levels) and nearby at Valencia (a deposit of perhaps the mid-fourth century).[132] By contrast, finds of *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise* in southeastern Spain, Baetica and Conimbriga are relatively rare in comparison to those of ARS.[133] Gijón, however, lying on the north coast of Spain and on the probable route to Bordeaux and Britain, received imports of *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise atlantique* from Bordeaux, as well as occasional vessels of Phocean Late Roman C ware and ARS.[134]

The wide distribution of Gallic wares in the Balearics, together with local imitations of their forms, illustrates a special link between the islands and, presumably, Narbonne and Marseille.[135] As at Roses, some products in an early fifth-century cistern deposit excavated at the villa site of Sa Mesquida (Calvia, Mallorca) are of late *t.s. Lucente* from Portout. Vessels of *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise, orangée* and *Lucente* account for over a third of the fine wares in this deposit.[136]

2.2 *Tablewares in inland Hispania*

In central Spain and Cantabria the supply of fine wares from the third to fifth centuries was markedly different to that of the sites of the east and south coasts. The wide range of classes and sources of tablewares of a large rural villa such as that at Jarama (Table 9) illustrate this most clearly. Save for the Ebro valley (cf. Table 8), ARS had never penetrated inland Spain to any notable degree in the second century. Nor did it gain a foothold in the mid and late Roman periods. Rather, it was locally manufactured sigillata imitations that supplied the great villas of the interior. The circulation of these wares was already highly regionalized by the fourth century and became more so over time.

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[132] Sagunto: Aranegui (1982) and Reynolds (1995), 278–79, Appendix D.5; for Valencia: Burriel Alberich and Rosselló Mesquida (2000).

[133] See Reynolds (1995), Appendix B.2 for a guide to the distribution and bibliography. On Belo, see Bourgeois and Mayet (1991).

[134] On the route between Gijón and Bordeaux, see Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes in this volume. For Gijón, Uscatescu Barrón et al. (1993); (1994); Fernández-Ochoa, García and Uscatescu (1992).

[135] De Nicolás i Mascaró (1994); Buxeda i Garrigós, Cau Ontiveros and Tuset i Bertrán (1997): at least 45 Gallic imports and 262 imitations v. 167 vessels of ARS.

[136] Orfila Pons and Cau Ontiveros (1994): 43 sherds, 34.95% of the total FW = 123.

2.2.1 Terra sigillata Hispánica tardía *(TSHT)*

Production of *t.s. Hispánica* in Baetica ended in the late second century and was never revived. In the Rioja valley, after a major break in production during the late second to mid-third centuries, production gradually resurfaced during the later third century. This is the product termed *terra sigillata Hispánica tardía* (TSHT: see Map 2 for early imperial production centers; Map 5, for third- to fifth-century centers).[137] New, regionally-orientated workshops partially took the place of the defunct imperial industries. At the most important production center of the early empire, Tricio (Tritium Magallum), where all production had ceased by the end of the second century, one workshop (Salceda) is known to have begun *de novo* at the end of the third century. Other new regional workshops of TSHT are known outside the Rioja valley, in the middle and upper valley of the River Arlanza (Burgos), at centers such as Mambrillas de Lara, serving a cluster of villa sites, and at Villarejo de Salvanés (Madrid) located at a highland *castrum* site. Clunia, Complutum, the center of a major painted pottery industry in the third and fourth centuries (see 2.2.3), and perhaps Tiermes, were also production sites, though for their own local markets. Output, however, was much reduced and later shifted to new centers.

The typological repertoire of TSHT has been enlarged and modified over the last decades. The dating of forms and variants has also undergone changes,[138] and there is still uncertainty where chronologies are based on associated coin finds or where no independently dated imports such as ARS exist.[139] To some extent the forms of

[137] A few workshops continued without a break through the third century, such as that of Villarroya de la Sierra (Zaragoza), which ended in the fourth century, Fuentecillas in Arenzana de Abajo (Rioja), which persisted until the end of the third century, and the workshops of Belorado (Burgos), Pla d'Abella (Navés, Lerida), and the urban center of Pamplona (ancient Pompaelo). The following outline and interpretation of the production and development of TSHT is based on the important article by Juan Tovar (1997). All references to sites mentioned in this section are to be found in his comprehensive bibliography and are therefore not given here.

[138] For example Paz Peralta (1991), with comments on the re-dating of "late third-century" levels at Pamplona.

[139] For example, the various dating of late TSHT by Paz Peralta (1991) and Juan Tovar (1997). The continued use of fourth-century coinage into the fifth century, and even into the sixth, is particularly problematic for this issue, despite which one still sees a strict adherence to coin dates as firm evidence for the dating of deposits when associated with pottery.

TSHT continued the imperial repertoire (e.g. Ritterling 8) but new, often stamped, forms were also introduced, following the late Roman silverware repertoire, mainly of dish shapes, which was also the basis of fourth-century ARS and south Gaulish *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise* and *orangée* (See Fig. 9, for some examples). Formerly given a wide chronological range between the fourth and fifth century, the dating of TSHT has now been improved through excavations at sites such as La Serna, Relea (Saldaña) and Toledo, and through the dating of typological parallels in ARS.[140]

TSHT was distributed on a large scale during the fourth century, but within a limited geographical range focused on the northern Meseta, and with only some marketing further afield (Map 6).[141] Though Tunisian fine wares and cooking wares regularly reached Zaragoza in the mid-fourth through the late fifth century, the predominant fine ware by far was TSHT (See Table 8). TSHT rarely reached sites on the east coast like Valencia and Alicante, and there are only scattered finds in the south, Mérida being an exception. The northeast coast down to Valencia was well supplied with Gallic fine wares and ARS, as we have seen. The data from mid-fifth-century Tarragona clearly demonstrates the small contribution made by TSHT to these Gallic and Tunisian-dominated, coastal markets (see Table 7). TSHT could likewise make few inroads into ARS-dominated Baetica and southeastern Spain.

One scholar has argued that, in contrast to the major TSH fine ware business of the first and second centuries, the marketing of TSHT was no longer in the hands of *negotiatores* with the means to distribute wares over long distances.[142] Production centers no longer appear to have been exclusively connected to towns. Many workshops were in rural locations, closer, one suspects, to their principal market and source of capital—the late Roman elite living in the large villas so common in central and northern Spain. Nor was the scale of late imperial production as large or the standards so rigorously set as they had been in the earlier period: there was a great

[140] Juan Tovar (1997). For example, ARS 58, introduced c. 290/300; ARS 59, from c. 320; ARS 61B, from c. 400/420.

[141] Many of the late forms were first recognised in the necropoleis of the Duero, such as San Miguel de Arroyo and Fuentespreadas, and in Palencia, at the villa of La Olmeda (Pedrosa la Vega). See Palol and Cortés (1974).

[142] Juan Tovar (1997).

deal of typological variation, though this may equally be a function of a large number of different workshops. Because of this, the classification of these wares has been confused through an over-simplification of what were in reality regionally diverse typologies, all based on more widely-circulated late Roman prototypes.[143] Though the production of TSHT is likely to have continued well into the fifth century, the evidence for it in the second half of the century is sketchy. Some scholars, however, have claimed that the ware had already ceased to circulate in the early fifth century, although this notion has not always been accepted and the mid-fifth-century Tarragona finds are an indication to the contrary (see Tables 7 and 8).[144]

2.2.2 *Alternative regional tablewares*

Following an early introductory phase from c. 375–400, and particularly from the early fifth century, a trend towards the manufacture of a variety of local alternative tablewares becomes visible. Such wares are characteristic of the eastern part of the northern Meseta, but are rarer in Palencia, Burgos, Soria and the north Duero, and thus far unknown in Cantabria, the Basque region and the Ebro valley (Map 7).[145] This class of "coarse ware imitation of sigillata," though often stamped, was not slipped. Firing was irregular and vessels were often burnt by the flames, due either to the use of draught kilns or, with later products, to firing in pits. Vessels were reduce-fired to black, as were some products of TSHT from c. 360/370. In general, the fabrics of these imitations could be rather coarse. The manufacturing and firing process, perhaps in the hands of itinerant potters, was closer to that of coarse wares than to fine wares that required a distinct type of kiln and more careful preparation of specially chosen iron-rich clays.

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[143] For example, the wares found at Gijón: Uscatescu et al. (1993); (1994). Spanish grey ware imitations at the mid fourth- to late fifth-century opulent villa of La Olmeda (Palencia) have recently been published: Nozal Calvo and Puertas Gutiérrez (1995); vessels at the necropolis of Fuentespreadas (Zamora): Caballero Zoreda (1974); and at the villa of Baños de Valdearados (Burgos): Caballero Zoreda and Argente Oliver (1975).

[144] Juan Tovar and Blanco Garcia (1997). For an opposing view, see Paz Peralta (1991) for proposed dating from sites in the Ebro valley, notably Zaragoza.

[145] The following account and interpretation of this complex range of "imitations" is taken from Juan Tovar and Blanco Garcia (1997), which also provides the reader with a comprehensive list of sites and a corresponding bibliography.

One major class of imitative ware, the so-called *ceramica común bruñida* ("burnished common ware"), was typical of the fifth century, and particularly its first half. It was burnished-polished (perhaps with wool) and in some cases then stamped, occasionally on the floor of dishes as with ARS, or more typically on the outer walls as with TSHT and Gallic wares (Fig. 10). Later versions of the ware were more carelessly finished, being burnished after stamping, which led to the partial obliteration of the stamps. This *ceramica común bruñida* was not only common, but also had the widest distribution of these late imitative wares: centered on the provinces of Segovia and Ávila, the furthest limits of its distribution lay at Conimbriga in the west, Iruña in the north where TSHT still held a market, and Pico de la Muela in the southeast (Map 7). Villa sites were rarely served by this ware, perhaps because it was introduced after the abandonment of such sites in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Instead these wares served a market of settlements that had survived because they offered more security: towns, highland *castros*, and *vici*, which had formerly beem connected with the supply of TSHT.[146]

Other imitative products share more in the appearance of coarse wares but were also stamped or bore incised decoration. Like the *ceramica común bruñida*, they were not slipped, but their formal repertoire included typical tableware dishes. Finally, another less defined class comprises vessels with a wash or coat (*engobe*). The closed and semi-closed forms of this coarse, pseudo-tableware continued to be produced from the late fifth century into the Visigothic period.

In east-central Spain, in the provinces of Madrid and Toledo (e.g. at excavations of the Roman circus of Toledo) yet another ware, so-called *t.s. Hispánica brillante*, provided an alternative to imported fine wares (Map 8).[147] The term *brillante* used here is in imitation of the *lucente* of the Gallic *terra sigillata chiara B* and *terra sigillata lucente* wares of the Rhône Valley-Savoy region, with their well-fired, often metallic-looking surfaces (Fig. 8b). The Spanish product may date from the end of the second century or, more probably, from the early third, and it continued to be produced into the fifth century. The

[146] See Díaz (1992–1993).

[147] See Caballero Zoreda and Juan Tovar (1987), with references. The inclusion of a cluster of sites on the Duero and its tributaries suggests that there may be some confusion with Tovar's burnished-polished tableware category.

ware is found in notable numbers at the site of Valdetorres de Jarama, a large octagonal structure, possibly part of a villa, decorated with late second- and third-century pagan sculpture (Map 9 for the location of the site; Table 9 for the fine wares).[148]

Conimbriga in northern Lusitania exemplifies an inland town site with yet another range of stamped local or regional tablewares that should date from the fourth to mid fifth century, when the city was sacked by the Suevi in 468. Four classes of local-regional tablewares are found at Conimbriga.[149] One wonders to what extent the end of ARS exports to Atlantic sites following the Vandal conquest of Africa stimulated the production of local and regional tablewares that are found in the latest deposits at such sites.[150] Certainly, a similar trend in the imitation of ARS is also a feature of fifth-century Italy.[151]

2.2.3 *Painted wares*

Painted wares existed in the imperial period in the northern and southern Meseta. Late Roman production continued, with major urban production centers at Complutum, Clunia, and Segobriga (Cuenca) producing in the third to fifth centuries, though most examples are dated to the second half of the fourth century (Map 9; Fig. 11).[152] These wares comprised an important element of the repertoire found in towns, villa sites (see, e.g., Table 9) and necropoleis, notably those on the Duero, such as Fuentespreadas.[153] Forms in

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[148] Arce, Caballero and Elvira (1997).

[149] Juan Tovar (1997), 201–202. These include so-called *cerámicas anaranjadas finas*, a mixed group of burnished, plain and slipped forms (Alarçao [1975], 93–95); *cerámica de Avelar*, closer to Segovia products (Alarçao [1975], 99–100); one group included under ARS D, similar to the "fine orange" ware but coarse and micaceous (Delgado [1975a], 271; 282–284, Plate 79.158–174); and "Late Roman grey wares," plates and bowls paralleled in ARS, TSHT, and Gallic fine wares.

[150] However, Juan Tovar and Blanco García (1997), 201, would date their initial production to the fourth century. See Delgado (1975c).

[151] Reynolds (1995), 28. This phenomenon occurred in Campania during the fifth and sixth centuries (Arthur [1998], 494–95), in the Val Pescara (Abruzzo) in the fifth or sixth centuries (ARS 91 imitations are difficult to classify: Siena, Troiano and Verrocchio [1998], 680–83), at the villa site of S. Giovanni di Ruoti by late fifth to early sixth (Freed [1983]), at Ventimiglia and Rome by the early sixth century and, notably later, c. 550 in Ravenna (according to Tortorella [1998], 53). For Italy in general, see also Paroli (2003), 590–91.

[152] Abascal Palazón (1986).

[153] Caballero Zoreda (1974).

both regions were similar, primarily those designed for carrying liquids. One common shape could well be a painted transport amphora (Fig. 11, Form 24). There were also a variety of jars, and one- and two-handled cups or bowls. Some decorative schemes paralleled those of TSHT of the late fourth century. Other local-regional painted wares are found at Conimbriga, Mérida (for example Fig. 11, Form 41) and in Galicia.

The first- to second-century early Roman painted wares of La Alcudia de Elche (Ilici), with roots in a centuries-old tradition of Iberian painted wares, did not survive into the late Roman period. Though there are a few examples of late Roman painted jugs, the bowls and closed-form repertory of painted wares were provided by an undecorated local plain, buff ware, the only local late Roman pottery industry in the Vinalopó Valley.[154] Of the similar Iberian-style early imperial painted wares that were produced on the east coast of Spain, a late series is found only in Tarragona.[155] Here, where there were alternative fine wares (ARS and Gallic), painted wares are nevertheless quite rare (see Table 7).

We should note that from the fifth century onwards, painted wares were to become a notable component of pottery assemblages at Carthage, Ostia, Campania, and on southern Italian sites in general, a trend in Italy that was to continue into the early medieval period.[156] In Hispania, however, painted wares never dominated the tableware market as they did in Italy, and Spanish painted wares and the local sigillata do not seem to have outlived the mid-fifth century.

2.3 *Local fine wares in southeastern Spain*: t.s. meridional

Although, as we have seen, the terra sigillata industry of Baetica did not survive beyond the late second century, one local class of tableware did emerge in southern Spain in the late Roman period, the so-called *terra sigillata meridional* (Fig. 12).[157] It is typical of the highlands of southeastern Spain (Map 5) and was produced during the fourth and fifth centuries.[158] One major center of production was

[154] Reynolds (1993), Ware 1. There are over 90 forms in its repertoire.
[155] This is Abascal Palazón (1986) forms 38–40.
[156] See n. 151.
[157] Orfila Pons (1993); (1995), with references.
[158] Orfila's dating is based on parallels with ARS and TSHT. The best evidence

almost certainly at the Roman mining town of Castulo (Cazlona, Jaén). It is commonly found with notably rarer ARS, as at Córdoba in the early fifth-century abandonment level of the cryptoportico of Cercadilla.[159]

3. *Hispania and the Mediterranean: fourth to seventh centuries*

While Hispania was always enmeshed in a complex web of pan-Mediterranean ties, this network and its far-flung effects were particularly critical during the fourth through seventh centuries. The cities of the Byzantine East grew to meet new demands and, in so doing, generated their own interregional markets. By the early fifth century, when the western state lost its control over its Tunisian resources, the East was in a position to step in and capture the western market, including that of Spanish coastal towns. The expansion of the church and of Christian cult was also to have a major impact on the distribution of surpluses throughout the period between the fourth and seventh century. Similarly critical for the economy of Hispania was the loss of its Rome market, followed shortly thereafter by the disappearance of its military markets in the northern provinces. Baetica was forced to concentrate its now-diminished exports on closer regional targets on the east coast of the peninsula. The barbarian kingdoms provided a catalyst for a burst of trade in surpluses from both Vandal Tunisia and the Byzantine East that was only curtailed with the Byzantine reconquest of North Africa.

3.1 *The fourth century: Hispania between North Africa and the Levant*

With the foundation of Constantinople in 330, and later the introduction there of an *annona civica* with free distributions of oil and bread similar to that of Rome, the state sought to secure the food

for its popularity in the first half of the fifth century is its presence in the deposit excavated in the cryptoportico of Cercadilla: Moreno Almenara and Alarcón Castellano (1996). The ware also occurs further east, in Murcia, at Begastri, for example, where it is quite common and again should be an indication of a late fourth-/fifth-century date: Ramallo Asensio (1984a); (1984b). It is occasionally found in the Vinalopó valley.

[159] Moreno Almenara and Alarcón Castellano (1996).

supply of the New Rome through the *annona* system by redirecting Alexandria's contribution from Rome to Constantinople.[160] In turn, the provinces of Roman Africa—Proconsularis, Byzacena, Numidia and Tripolitania—became the primary source of grain and oil for the *annona* of Rome. Fourth- and early fifth-century edicts of the Theodosian code giving special privileges to African *navicularii* serving Rome, the *privilegia africana*, are additional evidence for the state's encouragement of North African suppliers to engage in *annona* shipments to Rome.[161] These administrative reforms would have major consequences for the distribution of goods across the Mediterranean during the fourth century, not least in Hispania. As we have seen, Baetica was from the mid-third century no longer the principal provider of oil for the *annona civica* of Rome. Roman Africa, administered by the praetorian prefect of Italy, Africa and Illyricum, assumed the role of principal supplier of oil to the capital, with Baetica in second place. The supply of Numidian and Tunisian grain to Rome also continued under his aegis and a general boom in Tunisian exports during the fourth century ensued.[162]

The distribution of Tunisian exports was not simply limited to *annona* targets. High numbers of Tunisian products also reached Hispania. An overall rise in Tunisian amphora exports to both northeastern and southeastern Spain is likely. However, their distribution patterns are somewhat uneven and a comparison of Tarragona and Ilici is illuminating in this respect. One may contrast the wide range and large number of imports of Keay's Period II Tunisian amphorae in Tarragona and ports of northeastern Tarraconensis as far as Valencia during the mid-fourth to mid-fifth centuries with the reduced range and lower number of such imports in Alicante, including Ilici.[163]

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[160] For the *annona civica* of Constantinople, see Sirks (1991) and Teall (1959). Also Kingsley and Decker (2000). McCormick (2001), 104, reminds us of the occasion in 608 when Heraclius prevented the African grain fleet from reaching Constantinople. Under Justinian, Alexandria supplied Constantinople with a yearly quota of 160,000 tons of grain: McCormick (2001), 97.

[161] For instance in 364 (*CTh.* 13.5.10), 395 (*CTh.* 13.5.24), 400 (*CTh.* 13.5.30) and 412 (*CTh.* 13.5.36).

[162] See Fulford (1987) and Reynolds (1995), 107–108, for quantitative evidence for the bias in the Tunisian supply of amphorae and pottery to Ostia/Rome due to the *annona*.

[163] For a summary of the range of Tunisan amphorae in Keay's sample from sites on the northeast coast, see Reynolds (1995), Appendix D.8. See Reynolds (1995), 51–53, and Appendices B.3 and C.5, for the distribution of Tunisian amphorae;

Interestingly, this divergence in North African supply echoes that of Baetican oil, which reached Tarragona in quantity, but bypassed its neighbors in southeastern Hispania, including the capital of Diocletian's new province of Carthaginiensis at Cartagena.

While North African imports did reach certain coastal cities of Hispania in the fourth century, they often failed to find their way inland. Keay's claim that villa sites in northeastern Tarraconensis were marginalized by the urban-focused supply of Tunisian products is not borne out by finds at some coastal villa sites, where both fourth- and fifth-century ARS was plentiful and Tunisian amphorae were relatively common.[164] Further inland, however, for example in the Ebro valley upstream from Zaragoza, neither towns nor villas were well supplied with Tunisian imports (Table 8). In the Vinalopó and Alcoy valleys (Alicante) it is clear that the quantities of such imports dropped at villa sites only after the start of the fifth century. This trend corresponds to the movement of population to defensible highland sites which, at least in the Vinalopó valley, attracted the majority of the imported fine wares and amphorae, largely from Tunisia, Baetican fish-sauce, and eastern Mediterranean amphorae, between the late fourth and the mid-sixth century. A similar pattern of supply is evident in region of Vera (Almería).[165]

The administrative reforms that brought about the rise in North African trade in the fourth century had other effects on trade between the eastern and western empires. With the reforms of first Diocletian and then of Constantine, the eastern cities assumed a key role in the new, increasingly eastern-focused economic plan. The result of these administrative changes was an expansion of wine and oil production in the *territoria* of Levantine cities during the early and mid-fourth century. This is evident in the introduction of new, city or

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14–16, Appendices B.1 and C.4, for that of ARS. Now see in addition Márques Villora (1999) and Marquéz Villora and Molina Vidal (2001), who have quantified the hitherto unknown quantities of amphorae at Santa Pola (Portus Ilicitanus), documenting greater numbers of Period I amphorae than I had anticipated.

[164] Keay (1984b). For example, the villa of Caputxins (Mataró): fourth- to sixth-century ARS and Tunisian amphorae (Járrega Domínguez and Clariana i Roig [1995]); villa of Puig Rodon, 15 km from the sea (Nolla and Casas [1990], with fourth and early to mid fifth-century ARS and amphorae, and eastern Mediterranean LRA 1); the coastal settlement and likely port at Garganes (Altea) (Moltó Poveda [1996]; [2000], with fourth- to sixth-century ARS, fifth-century LRC, Tunisian amphorae; 55 vessels, 72.3%, in a range similar to that of Alicante sites).

[165] Reynolds (1993), chapter 3.1–2; Site Index; Menasanch de Tobaruela (2000).

provincial amphora forms.[166] An increase in the production areas of the Gazan-Askalon LRA 4 type is also likely (cf. Fig. 13d). Amphora trends in Beirut indicate that almost a century before their general appearance as exports to the West, the city and regional/provincial amphora types of the Byzantine Levant were being traded between the coastal cities that produced them.[167] The degree to which these cities and regions geared their production to supply the metropoleis of Antioch and Constantinople from the fourth century onwards is a key question that can only be answered through the excavation and quantification of ceramic sequences in these cities.

As noted, there were during the second and third centuries significant wine exports from eastern sources to Lyon and Rome. Large numbers of Aegean cooking wares had also been a feature of second- and early third-century contexts in southern Gaul, Naples and Durres (Dyrrachium).[168] However, wine imports into Hispania during the third and fourth centuries were generally low, and eastern imports were no exception to that general rule (see 1.4 above). Significantly, eastern imports did not appear in Hispania even in the early third century when they did reach Rome, Lyon and Marseille. This can only be an indication of the specialized marketing and restricted shipping routes of ships carrying predominantly Aegean cargoes. These routes focused on Campania and Rome, passing through the Straits of Messina where shipwrecks are known and docking at Pozzuoli or Ostia,[169] and on southern Gallic ports. Yet they bypassed the ports of eastern Spain entirely.

Throughout the fourth century, the very time when Levantine wine and oil production was expanding and when western Mediterranean imports, particularly from Tunisia, reappear in the East, the West received a reduced range and number of eastern exports. The percentages of Aegean/Asia Minor types recovered in a well-dated deposit of c. 290–312/315 excavated on the Palatine Hill in Rome are particularly illustrative (Table 2c).[170] Kapitän 1 and 2 imports

[166] Reynolds (forthcoming c).

[167] Majcherek (1995); (in press); Blakely (1996); Reynolds (forthcoming c), conclusions and Graphs 1–4.

[168] Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998). For Durres, Reynolds (2003b).

[169] For shipwrecks and eastern Mediterranean merchants in eastern Sicily, see Parker (1992) and Malfitana (in press).

[170] See also Carignani and Pacetti (1989).

registered in the Palatine Hill sequence at Rome dropped further in quantity in the period 325–350.[171] The scarcity of eastern amphorae in a late fourth-century context in Lyon, and in contexts of the mid-third to the fourth century at Vienne, supports this evidence for a general decline in eastern imports to the West in the fourth century (Table 12 and Table 4b).

Why, following the recommencement of the supply of ARS and western amphorae-borne exports to the Levant from c. 320, there was still no reciprocal exchange in Levantine wine amphorae until the late fourth century, remains unexplained. One could argue that Levantine exports in this period comprised textiles rather than amphora-borne commodities, and thus leave no impression on the extant material record.[172] But Levantine wines, notably those of Gaza, were prized imports in the fifth century, and could presumably have been regarded as such in the previous century as well.[173]

3.2 *Fifth-century deposits in the West and a new dynamic: exports from the East*

3.2.1 *The late fourth century to 425/450*

Many urban coastal sites, such as Carthage and Marseille, and Tarragona in Hispania, are subject to a hiatus of ceramic deposits during the early to mid-fourth century. In contrast, the late fourth century and first half of the fifth centuries are particularly well represented at these sites.[174] These finds point to the continuing presence of North African goods, but now sharing these markets with Levantine imports. The situation in Hispania is much the same. Unlike previous centuries, in which eastern imports rarely appeared in Spanish contexts, during the first half of the fifth century Levantine amphorae appeared in large numbers at some northeastern coastal

[171] Peña (1999), 154.

[172] On the textile industry, see the *CTh.* 7.6.1–5. Also Rougé (1966), 31; Hall (1996), 38–46; 262–303; 270–71; McCormick (2001), 97; 427.

[173] For the written late Roman-Byzantine sources that mention the wines of Gaza and Askalon, see Riley (1979), 220–21; Pieri (1998); Kingsley (2000).

[174] E.g., those of Carminiello ai Mannesi (Naples) (Arthur [1985]) and from the Italian excavations at Carthage. For the comparative range of imports in the fifth century, see Reynolds (1995), appendices B.4–6, for amphora trends; D.6; 11–13; 19; 21; 25; 27; 30–34, for important sites.

cities, with Tarragona as a main focus. The early fifth century, particularly its second and third decade before the Vandal invasion of Africa, marked a period of major exchange throughout the Mediterranean. Eastern goods appear in the West, notably at Tarragona, in quantity and from new sources, and early fifth-century deposits in Beirut attest to the wealth and range of western sources in this period, particularly those from Baetica and Lusitania.

As we have seen, Levantine cities had been trading wine in their amphora types and importing wine from the Aegean and Asia Minor throughout the fourth century. However, it was only from the late fourth and early fifth century that certain Byzantine forms from the Levant and Asia Minor were exported to the West, to Arles, Rome and Carthage (Tables 11a–b; cf. Fig. 13a;d;c).[175] There was a general increase in eastern amphora exports to many western ports c. 425–450 (Tables 11a–b). A rise in eastern imports may be correlated with a drop in Tunisian amphorae at Rome (Tables 2c and 11b) and Carthage (Tables 11a–b and the graph Fig. 15).[176] It could also be said that eastern imports in southern Gaul were generally equivalent to, or in some cases, greater than those from Tunisia, in the early to mid-fifth century.[177] If these assemblages of c. 425–450 could in fact be proved to date from 430, then one could suggest that the marked increase in eastern amphorae at western sites corresponds to, and is actually directly related to, the loss of Roman control over Carthage and Africa to the Vandals.[178]

Mid-fifth-century deposits at Tarragona demonstrate the mixture of Tunisian and eastern Mediterranean products that is characteristic of major western ports. Tunisian and eastern Mediterranean

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[175] The forms include, from the Levant, Cilician LRA 1 and Gazan LRA 4, and from Asia Minor, the small wine amphorae of the Ephesus region, LRA 3. At Arles, Gazan amphorae were the most common: Piton (1998).

[176] Although the increase in the relative number of "unclassified" amphorae may also be a factor.

[177] This was true at Arles and Marseille, but notably not at Lyon. This discrepancy may be explained if what excavators have been labelled "late fourth- to early fifth-century" amphorae are actually late fourth-century specimens, from before the first wave of Byzantine eastern exports.

[178] The pre-, or early Vandal dating of Tunisian material in major Tarragona deposits (notably Vila-roma 2 and STE/1, both dated "425–450") and in Rome (Schola Praeconum I, dated c. 430–440, according to the coin evidence) is critical for this problem. For the Vila-roma 2 deposit, TED'A (1989a); Remola i Vallverdu (2000a) and Macias i Solé (1999). For Schola Praeconum, Whitehouse et al. (1982).

amphorae comprise roughly 25% each of the market (Tables 11a and b). At Ampurias (Table 10) figures are even higher (45.4% for Tunisian; 30.9% for eastern Mediterranean). Both percentages are notably higher even than those at Gallic sites, and the percentage of Tunisian imports in Ampurias is closer to that of Rome or Naples than to that of Tarragona. Tarragona was also well supplied with imported cooking wares, some from the Aegean though Tunisian wares are more common (section 4 below). ARS was clearly the dominant tableware (Table 7). Italian amphorae from various sources also appear in Tarragona (Fig. 5f and h, here from Empoli and Calabria), but are so far unattested elsewhere in Spain.[179] These and other "unclassified" amphora forms, perhaps south Italian and Cretan, link the Tarragona supply with Marseille and Rome, but not with Alicante. Perhaps the most important trend at Tarragona is the percentage of local Spanish and Portuguese imports, which are present at levels equal to those of eastern Mediterranean or Tunisian imports. Baetican oil amphorae are dominant, and amphora types Keay 68 and 91 are evidence for the consumption of local wine or fish sauce on a more limited scale (Fig. 6). From these data, Tarragona proves to have been a far greater target for Baetican-Lusitanian products than were Marseille or Rome, highlighting the generally greater importance of regional as opposed to international markets for Spanish products at this time. However, the contrasting figure for Ampurias (only 3.1%) is more in line with the supply of Hispanic products to Gaul and Italy and one wonders how far Tarragona's status as provincial capital gave it a special call on regional Spanish sources.

The presence in Tarragona of a distinctively marketed Calabrian wine amphora (Keay 52) emphasizes just how specific the supply of cities had become in the fifth century. Exports of this amphora are common only from the late fourth century onwards, and the form, some examples of which bear *menorah* stamps, has such a distinctive distribution that it has been suggested that it was produced by and for Jewish communities (Fig. 5g).[180] It is practically absent in Alicante

[179] For the amphorae of Empoli and Forlimpopuli, see Pasquinucci, Del Rio and Menchelli (1998); Manacorda (1987). For Tarragona examples from Empoli, see Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 238; 241.

[180] Arthur (1989), who has suggested that it was produced by and for Jewish communities; Reynolds (1995), 67–70; Pacetti (1998).

and the southeast of the peninsula in general, and is rare even in Valencia. Its primary markets were clearly Marseille, where it was the third most common form from between 425 and 450 (see Table 12; cf. Italian amphorae at 12%), and major centers on the western coast of Italy (Luni, Rome and Naples). Though uncommon at Tarragona, it is found there with other Calabrian or Sicilian types, some of which are notably paralleled in Marseille. Another case of specialized marketing is the amphora Keay 24, for which a Tripolitanian origin has been suggested (see 1.1 above). Keay 24 is found in northeastern Tarraconensis (Tarragona, Barcelona, Mataró), but was quite clearly not exported to southeastern Spain. It has yet to be recognized in Italy or at Marseille, and does not occur at Lepcis Magna. If the form is in fact Tripolitanian, then the targeting of Tarragona and northeastern Spain for its export is puzzling.

Overall, and with the exception of Keay 24, a general pattern is emerging that links Tarragona and the cities of northeastern Spain with Marseille, Rome, Naples (where Keay 52 is common) and Carthage, but which excludes Alicante and southeastern Spain. If one adds to this pattern the distribution of Balearic amphorae and cooking wares that originated in the southwestern sector of the Mediterranean (see section 4 below), the Balearics seem to have played a supportive role in the distribution of Tunisian goods to Tarragona up to c. 440/450. After that date, and certainly from the late fifth century, Tarragona's supply of Tunisian goods was restricted to amphorae and ARS, while cooking wares and plain wares were replaced by its own locally-produced repertoire.

There is little information on the comparative distribution of eastern Mediterranean amphorae at rural sites, and what little has been published is often imprecisely dated or belongs to a later phase in the Vandal period or the sixth century. Although imported amphorae are common in this period at the villa of La Ramière (Gard), inland in the Rhône valley, eastern amphorae were clearly very rare (Table 5). In northeastern Spain, few amphorae and none of eastern Mediterranean origin were found in a small fifth-century context at the villa of Darró. Two examples of LRA 1 excavated at La Solana (Cubelles, Garraf) are probably mid-fifth-century variants.[181]

[181] Barrasetas i Dunjó and Járrega i Domínguez (1997).

At the villa of Puig Rodon (Corçà, Lower Ampurdàn) a major construction "make-up" deposit is fairly rich in finds of LRA 1 (c. 10% of the amphorae) that date to the mid-fifth century.[182]

Though eastern amphorae could reach coastal sites in the northeast, it seems that this was not the case at villa sites in the Vinalopó valley, even though these forms penetrated inland and were quite common at some large highland settlements along the valley. Their absence from the region of Elda is particularly significant, given the good sample of villas surveyed there and the number of LRA 1 and LRA 4 found at El Monastil, a late imperial *mansio* and later the Visigothic bishopric of Ello.[183] It is probably safe to say that eastern amphorae of the fifth and sixth centuries were not a feature of villa sites in Hispania, with the exception of some coastal sites in northeastern Tarraconensis, and certainly not by comparison to the supply available at urban ports.

3.2.2 *The barbarian kingdoms: early and mid-Vandal period exports, AD 439–475*

The historical vicissitudes experienced in Hispania during the first decades of the fifth century—the arrival of the barbarians, in-fighting between various imperial factions and local Bagaudic unrest—would seem to impy a world whose economy and relationships with the greater Mediterranean must have changed completely from that of the later fourth century. Yet in contrast to that *a priori* hypothesis, the archaeological evidence points to continuity in the supply of imports in coastal areas in the years up to 425/450 (or perhaps 440), and then a resumption in the early to mid-sixth century. Some regions under the control of the Vandals (the Balearics, Sardinia and Sicily, and perhaps Malta), and regions outside the Vandal *regnum*, notably in southern Spain (Alicante, Murcia, Belo) and southern Gaul (Marseille) were well supplied with fifth-century Tunisian imports of the Vandal period, in contrast to the cities of northeastern Spain. From c. 450, the supply of eastern Mediterranean amphorae increases as far north as southern Britain, and Phocaean Late Roman C table-

[182] Nolla and Casas (1990), 207–209, UE 2021.

[183] All of the eastern amphorae at El Monastil are illustrated in Reynolds (1993): Plates 137.1761; 138.1765; 138.1762–1767; 1767Bis; 139.1768. The distribution on villa sites in the Vinalopó valley is given in Reynolds (1993), 11–14, Appendix G.5.

wares appear for the first time at some sites. From the late fifth century, there was a further increase in the supply of these goods, which were now accompanied in some cases by eastern Mediterranean cooking wares. The particulars of this long-distance trade were dictated by changes in the political landscape of the producing regions, notably Vandal Tunisia and the Byzantine Levant, and by a desire to exploit the western markets now made available by the new barbarian kingdoms in Gaul and Hispania.

3.2.2.1 Tunisian imports

The Vandal conquest of Africa and their gradual dominance of the western seaways brought a significant change in the production and distribution of Tunisian amphorae and ARS within the Mediterranean. The established link between Tunisia and the *annona* supply of Rome was broken. The Vandals could now sell any surplus they produced to their barbarian allies and to the Byzantine East alike. Rather than allow the existing agricultural system to fall into ruin, the Vandals set about transforming the oil, fish-sauce and pottery industries. In contrast to previous periods, oil was more clearly marketed outside the areas formerly supplied by the *annona*. Excavations at Carthage also demonstrate that, although there must have been a break in the production of ARS, this was short: early Vandal levels of c. 450 are marked by a new range of north Tunisian forms that characterize the second half of the fifth century (Fig. 14).[184]

Although it was once thought that Vandal forms and products of this period were not exported, there is now evidence for their export to sites in southeastern Spain and to the Vandal island empire in the Balearics,[185] Sardinia and Sicily.[186] Marseille, first under Visigothic and then Frankish control, was also a primary target for exports. The city's deposit sequences of the second half of the fifth century, with their tablewares, amphorae and coarse wares, demonstrate the

[184] Fulford, in Fulford and Peacock (1984), Chapter 4, especially 108–14; see Reynolds (1995), 154–57, Appendices A.2–3, for analysis of trends in typological innovation in the Carthage region in the Vandal period.

[185] See Ramón and Cau (1997); Reynolds (1995), Appendix D.9. The Ibizan deposit should date to the end of the fifth century.

[186] For the distribution of Vandal ARS, see Reynolds (1995), 17–31 and (forthcoming a), with reference to Tortorella (1998), 51, Appendix 1, which includes finds of ARS 82–85 in Corsica and Sardinia.

strong links of the port with both northern and central Tunisia (Table 2c).[187] The settlement of Saint-Blaise was also well supplied with Vandal ARS in both the fifth and early sixth centuries.[188] Shipwrecks off the coast of Gaul likewise bear witness to the sort of Vandal export cargoes that are found in Alicante as well.[189] Evidence for the continued supply of Tunisian surpluses to Italy, and to Rome in particular, is more difficult to interpret. While Naples and Ventimiglia received important supplies of Vandal ARS, overall quantities elsewhere dropped, with central Italy remaining fairly barren.[190] Finally, even rural coastal sites in southeastern Spain seem to have received Vandal imports. In the Vinalopó valley north Tunisian ARS, including new forms introduced at Carthage in the Vandal period (Fig. 14), were found as survey material on highland sites located on the Via Augusta as it passes through the valley *en route* to Cartagena.[191]

A detailed comparison of the range and quantities of Vandal fine wares in the western Mediterranean has suggested some major regional differences in their supply.[192] These factors suggest that different regional centers in northern Tunisia, as well as those of central and southern Tunisia, were distributed by different mechanisms, some quite independent of Carthage. Ports such as Lepcis Minor and

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[187] The publication of material of AD 450–500 from the La Bourse site and much else now provides a continuous record for the early fifth to seventh centuries in the city: Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998). The excavation of a well in Rue du Bon-Jésus, Context 12, is also dateable to 450–500 (Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir [1998], 197–251, especially 200–205; 401–407, Tables LVIII–LXXI) and contains a similar range of ARS forms.

[188] Notably, the rare form Hayes 98 is unusually common: Démians d'Archimbaud and Vallauri (1994), Figs. 47.29–32; 48.41–46; 54.72–85; 57.103–105; 59.117, 118, 121, 125–126.

[189] The Drammont E wreck is one case, on which see above; the wreck of Port-Miou is another, with a cargo Tunisian ARS and lamps, but perhaps few amphorae: Deneauve (1972); Bonifay (1998); Parker (1992), no. 873.5, though dated here to c. 400–425.

[190] For Italy, Sardinia and Sicily, see Tortorella (1998), 51–54, Fig. 7. See also Reynolds (1995), Appendices D.15 (Ventimiglia); D.18 (Luni); D.19–20 (Schola Praeconum I and II); D.21 (Rome-Temple of Magna Mater); D.22 (Sperlonga); D.23 (Capua); D.24 (villa of S. Giovanni di Ruoti). For Naples, Carminiello ai Mannesi, see Soricelli (1994). For LRC in Italy see Martin (1998). See also Reynolds (forthcoming a) with a discussion of this theme.

[191] Reynolds (1995), 19–20, for fifth-century ARS in Alicante and Appendix C.4 for all fine wares in the Vinalopó valley. See also Reynolds (1993), Figs 5; 12 and 14; 108–113 and ch. 2.

[192] Reynolds (1995), 25–31.

Sullecthum aimed their amphorae at Rome and the East (Beirut, for example), and their fine wares to Marseille and also eastern sites (Butrint and Athens, for example), but neither product was exported to Alicante. There was perhaps greater variety in regional distributions in the Vandal period than there had been in the fourth century, when most sites received the same products and differed only in the quantities supplied.

Though there may have been a break in the supply of Tunisian goods to Tarragona for a short period in the fifth century, there are a few deposits of the late fifth century that attest to contacts with both Vandal Tunisia and the eastern Mediterranean (see below).[193] Similar deposits are also found at rural sites in the region.[194] So far, however, many of the published assemblages for northeastern Spain can be ascribed either to the first half of the fifth century, or to the first half of the sixth century, when late Vandal exports were traded more generally. Data indicates that amphorae as a class drop in relative proportion to other ceramics at Tarragona (all sources) after 450.[195] The quantities of fifth- and sixth-century Tunisian ARS and amphora imports at the fish-sauce factory of Roses, well to the north, could indicate that the site was well connected with Tunisian supplies throughout this period.[196]

The Balearics in the period 450–500 had strong links both with Tunisia (ARS) and with Alicante and/or Murcia. A reciprocal exchange with Alicante is evident from imports of Balearic wine amphorae and plain wares (Figs 7a and 16a).[197] These links with Alicante might well be evidence for the central role of the Balearics in the redistribution of Vandal-era Tunisian products.[198] Marseille may have had

[193] Remolà i Valverdú (2000), 54–58; 69–71; 80–81; 298–300.

[194] For instance, the villa/sanctuary at Can Modolell, near Mataró: Járrega i Domínguez and Clariana (1996); the villa of Caputxins and the necropolis of La Solana (Cubelles, Garrag): Barrasetas and Járrega (1997).

[195] Remolà i Vallverdú (2000b), 289–307. Remolà i Valverdú (2000a), 54–58; 69–71; 80–81; 298–300.

[196] Nieto Prieto (1993). The baths of a villa were transformed into a fish sauce factory c. 325–350, and then remodelled in the late fourth or early fifth century. The pottery found in the last fills of the tanks comprises large quantities of Tunisian amphorae and mid sixth-century ARS.

[197] See Ramón and Cau (1997) for deposits excavated at the castle of Ibiza.

[198] In the early empire, the Balearics served as a similar crossing point for Tarraconensian wine going to Italy and to Carthage (Strabo 3.4.7): see Berni Millet (1998), 74.

a similar role, as indicated by the unusual quantities of Gallic fine wares and their imitation in the Balearics (see 2.1 above). Given this, the absence of ARS and Balearic products of 450–500 in Cartagena to the south is surprising.[199]

3.2.2.2 Eastern imports

There is now substantial evidence that, just as Vandal products were reaching various ports in the western Mediterranean, the new kingdom, as well as its trading partners, also enjoyed increased trade with the East. A rise in the number of eastern Mediterranean amphorae c. 450 has been documented at Carthage (Fig. 15). This is one of the rare sites where pre-Vandal and Vandal deposits can be identified, and it is likely that there was an increase in eastern imports in the years following the Vandal conquest.[200] Marseille also offers the same opportunity to gauge the rise in eastern imports during the second half of the fifth century (Tables 11a and 12).

Though the substantial imports of eastern Mediterranean amphorae to the ports of Gaul, eastern Spain and Carthage are testimony to the strength of contacts in the first half of the fifth century, exports of fine wares from Asia Minor (Late Roman C ware, from Phocaea) are not encountered generally in the western Mediterranean until after 450.[201] The range of LRC forms indicates that the majority date from the late fifth century onwards, and so may be correlated with the general rise in eastern Mediterranean amphorae and the appearance of eastern cooking wares in the same period (see below). The distribution of LRC and eastern amphorae on sites on the Atlantic route to southwestern Britain can be compared with the clear drop in imports of ARS over the same period (Map 10).[202]

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[199] Outlined in Reynolds (1995).

[200] Fulford and Peacock (1984), 258–59.

[201] For LRC in the peninsula see Reynolds (1995), 162–64, Appendix B.2. For Málaga and other sites, see Serrano Ramos (1997–1998). For the LRC in the Guadalquivir valley and Gibraltar, see Alonso de la Sierra Fernández (1994). For Italy see now Martin (1998), with comments on his conclusions in Reynolds (forthcoming a).

[202] The trend is very clear at Conimbriga: Delgado (1975b). Sites other than Conimbriga where LRC is present include Belo, Troia, Setúbal, Braga, Vigo and Gijón. The amphorae from Conimbriga are still unpublished, but eastern Mediterranean amphorae occur in notable quantities at Braga (Morais [in press]) and Vigo (Morais, personal commuication). In the British Isles, in contrast to fifth- and sixth-century LRC finds, ARS appears only in the later fifth and sixth centuries.

These trends in exports to western sites from c. 450 onwards have generally been taken as evidence for the gradual extension of influence by eastern Mediterranean entrepreneurs in the West and beyond, following the break and shift in supplies that marked the first decades of the Vandal occupation of Africa. Thus, eastern exports seem to have filled a gap in the market. Though eastern merchants had a major hold on urban markets in the West by the second quarter of the fifth century, it is significant that fine wares were not exported westwards and into the Atlantic until ARS had ceased to be available as competition. LRC, however, though evenly scattered along the coasts of the western Mediterranean, can nevertheless be seen to be more concentrated in some regions than others, notably in southeastern rather than northeastern Spain, though that is perhaps clearer in the sixth century than before (see 3.3 below). The rarity of LRC at Marseille and Naples throughout fifth- and sixth-century levels is strong evidence for separate distribution patterns for these tablewares, and presumably also for the primary cargoes that were carried with them.

3.3 *Late fifth to mid sixth centuries: late Vandal and eastern Mediterranean trade*

3.3.1 *Tunisian imports*

The late fifth and the first half of the sixth century witnessed a general boom in trade, from both Tunisian and eastern Mediterranean sources. The late Vandal occupation of Tunisia, from the late fifth to the early sixth century, was marked by an increase in production and exports of ARS and amphorae to a scale not encountered since the early fifth century. It was probably from c. 475/500 that the Vandals started to export a new range of north Tunisian ARS, as well as oil carried in a new amphora of Vandal type, Keay 62 (Fig. 2).[203] The range of ARS was further extended in the period 500–530 and it is probably in this period that ARS exports regained

[203] For deposits with material of early to mid sixth-century date, see also Barcelona: Járrega (in press); Carreras Monfort and Berni Millet (in press); Rosas fish-sauce factory: Nieto Prieto (1993); Carretera de San Martín de Ampurias (Gerona), Phase V: Llinàs i Pol (1997). For Tarragona, Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 58–60; 300–303.

to some degree their former market throughout the Mediterranean.[204] In many cities, Vandal Tunisian amphora exports also reached their peak in the early sixth century (Tables 2c;10;12).

As remarked above, the quantities of Keay 62 amphorae exported and their distribution demonstrate quite clearly the extent to which the Vandals marketed their oil surpluses both to regions that had once been linked to the *annona* and to those that had not. In the late fifth-century phase at the Marseille-Bourse site, Tunisian amphorae reach as high a number as 50.5%. This represents an actual rise in relative quantities with respect to the mid-fifth century (32–36%), a trend that continued into the mid-sixth century (Table 12: generally around 50–60% of the total amphorae). These amphorae were accompanied by Tunisian ARS, but Tunisian cooking wares were relatively rare.[205] The situation in Ostrogothic Italy may have differed, in that the supply was more specifically based on foodstuffs rather than tablewares (Table 2c) because Rome and other western Italian cities still commanded a major slice of Tunisian agricultural exports.[206] While ARS may have dropped slightly in Rome, around the year 500 Tunisian oil and fish comprise c. 40% of the market there, and are thus similar to the levels imported in the mid-fifth century (see also Table 2c).

The towns of Spain's northeast coast, traditionally regarded as being under Visigothic rule from 476, seem to have been one of the major markets for late Vandal foodstuffs (oil and fish-sauce) and tablewares. At Ampurias, for example, the figures for Tunisian amphorae stand at 59.53% (Plaza Petita) and as much as 90.99% at the necropolis of San Martí (Table 10).[207] ARS comprised as much

[204] A certain amount of caution is necessary, however. As in the case of pre-Vandal and early Vandal Tunisian production, it is not easy to distinguish between exports of the late Vandal and early Byzantine periods, the latter following Justinian's reconquest of North Africa and the capture of Carthage in 533, as the same forms are found in both periods.

[205] Note also the now published mid sixth-century "Épave 1 de la Palud" (Port-Cros, Var) shipwreck with a cargo of Tunisian, mainly Keay 55 and 62 amphorae: Long and Volpe (1998), 317–42.

[206] It should also be remembered that the population of Rome dropped considerably between the fourth and the mid sixth century. For various estimates, see McCormick (2001), 101 n. 71.

[207] See Keay (1984a) for Tunisian amphorae in northeast Spanish towns, summarised in Reynolds (1995), 286–90, Appendix D.8. For Tarragona, see now Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a). For Mataró, Cela Espín and Revilla Calvo (in press).

as 81% and 73% of the fine wares, respectively (Table 7). The huge quantities of Tunisian amphorae and fine wares that mark the end of use of the fish-sauce factory at Roses point to strong contacts with Tunisia in the early to mid-sixth century.[208] Tarragona underwent a certain regeneration in this period, though it was not a Visigothic capital. During the late fifth century, the quantities at Tarragona are similar those for Naples, Capua and the *domus* of Gaudentius (Table 2c). By the mid to late sixth century these quantities had more than doubled (75.6%). The absence of good early- and mid-sixth-century contexts in Tarragona is quite surprising and of course hampers a direct comparison with other sites in this period. That there was a substantial rise in imports in the course of the sixth century is almost certain, however.

In southeastern Spain, the settlements of the Vinalopó valley and other highland sites in the region continued to receive imports of ARS and Tunisian amphorae between the late fifth and mid-sixth centuries, though it is clear that the coastal settlement at Benalúa-Alicante had a far greater share of all imports (Table 17).[209] Here the quantities of Tunisian fine wares, amphorae, cooking wares and plain wares, central Mediterranean cooking wares, eastern Mediterranean fine wares (notably LRC), Aegean cooking wares, and Aegean and Levantine amphorae seem quite extraordinary for the region and for Hispania in general. The mid sixth-century deposit of Benalúa-Alicante, probably formed prior to the Byzantine reconquest of Spain in 552 and contemporary with the Tarragona AUD/2 deposit, was far richer in quantities of ARS. In striking contrast to Tarragona, it is comprised of an extremely wide range and large number of coarse ware imports, including predominantly Tunisian cooking wares and plain wares. However, Tunisian amphorae occupy a far lower percentage (29.7%), while Spanish, Balearic and local Lower Vinalopó amphorae (34%), were far more dominant on the site (Table 14).

Sites on the Atlantic coast not served by Tunisian exports in the second half of the fifth century now received them in the early sixth, as did sites in southwestern Britain. Finds at Braga (Table 13), the

[208] Nieto Prieto (1993).

[209] Reynolds (1993); (1995), Appendices C.4–5. El Castellar (Alcoy) is a highland site in the valley of Alcoy with fifth- and sixth-century ARS (Reynolds [1993], Site 221).

capital of the Suevic kingdom until Leovigild brought it under Visigothic control in the 570s, are testimony to the strength of the ARS supply (and perhaps associated cargoes) on this Atlantic route from c. 500 to 550. In contrast to the ARS supply, very few Tunisian amphora fragments have been found in the Braga deposits.[210] In the same period, sites in Britain also attest to the arrival of ARS in quantity, and these likewise appear without Tunisian amphorae. In this respect, Tunisian supplies to both Braga and Britain are remarkably similar. This shared pattern of supply may indicate that they benefited from the same organized shipments. The absence of amphorae in contrast to fine wares may be evidence for cargoes of non-amphorae borne goods, perhaps Tunisian grain. The ships could then have returned with cargoes of metals, hides, or wool, all products common to both northwestern Hispania and southeastern Britain.

3.3.2 *Eastern Mediterranean imports*

Eastern amphora imports to such western ports as Carthage, Marseille, Rome, Naples, and Benalúa-Alicante also increased from the late fifth century (Tables 2c;12;15;17 and Fig. 15). At Marseille-Bourse, for example, a rise can be observed for the late fifth century (42%) and the figures are as high as 45.7% at Marseille-Puits du Bon Jésus. These imports were accompanied by fine wares, particularly Late Roman C ware, and in some cases, cooking wares. In fact, it is likely that the early sixth century marked another phase of development in the production of regional amphora types in the Levant (Fig. 13b).[211]

Just as it had been in the fifth century, so LRC continued to be exported to northeastern and eastern coastal sites in Hispania (Map 10) during the first half of the sixth century, accompanied by a plentiful supply of eastern Mediterranean amphorae. At Ampurias, eastern amphorae dropped with respect to rising Tunisian imports, but their frequency was still high (Table 10: 21.4%). Cilician-Cypriot, Ephesian, Gazan, and now north Palestinian examples of LRA 5 (perhaps also some Egyptian examples from Abu Mena), also reached

[210] For Gijón, see Fernández-Ochoa, García and Uscatescu (1992).

[211] Reynolds (forthcoming c), where it is argued that LRA 1 was now produced in Cyprus for the first time. This also marks the period when LRA 1 was transformed into a more cylindrical, larger capacity vessel (compare Fig. 13a and b).

western ports, including Tarragona (Table 14). LRA 1 was always the most common eastern amphora import on sites in the West, including Hispania, with the notable exception of British sites. The supply of eastern Mediterranean amphorae to northeastern Spain was not totally restricted to major ports in this period. Single examples of LRA 1 and LRA 4 found at the rural necropolis excavated at La Solana (Cubelles, Garraf) seem to date to the late fifth and first half of the sixth centuries.[212] However no LRA 1 amphorae, or indeed eastern amphorae more generally, were recovered in the Ager Tarraconensis survey, which would indicate that the vast majority of eastern amphorae were supplied to ports, where they then remained.[213] No eastern Mediterranean amphorae were found on lowland villa sites in the Vinalopó valley, their supply instead being directed to highland sites located along the Via Augusta, as was the supply of amphorae in general in the sixth century. The possible monastic site of L'Illa de Cullera on the southern Valencian coast is perhaps a special case, remarkable both for its the supply of primarily Tunisian amphorae, and for a full range of eastern Mediterranean amphora types, though in clearly smaller quantities.[214]

An important trend associated with this trade between Spain and the eastern Mediterranean which has already been mentioned is the appearance of eastern products in southwestern Britain, Wales, Ireland and even Scotland in this period, at sites such as Tintagel, Bantham, Cadbury and Dinas Powys.[215] As discussed, Britain was linked to sites on the northwest coast via the Atlantic trade route and shows the same chronology of ARS and LRC supply, as well as an absence

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[212] See n. 181 above.

[213] Carreté, Keay and Millett (1995).

[214] García Villanueva and Roselló Mesquida (1993).

[215] For the supply of imports to post-Roman Britain see Thomas (1981a) and my summary of these in Reynolds (1995), 135; 273–74, Appendix D.3. See also Fulford (1989). I am very grateful to Richard Jones and Carl Thorpe and to Paul Bidwell for allowing me to examine the imported fine wares and amphorae from the sites of Tintagel and Bantham, respectively, and to Vivien Swan. At Bantham, on the south coast, a deposit has been excavated comprising largely LRA 1 amphorae which seems to date to the mid-sixth century. The range at Tintagel was dominated by Aegean LRA 2 and to a lesser extent LRA 1. At Tintagel, and in contrast to Bantham, an important component were thick-walled, buff-colored amphora sherds in a fine fabric with scattered iron oxide inclusions, which would seem to be south Spanish in origin. The fabric, similar to that of Keay 16, suggests a source in the Bay of Cádiz, or perhaps more likely, further along the Algarve coast. As at Bantham, LRA 4 is rare at Tintagel.

or small quantities of Tunisian amphorae. It remains to be seen whether Braga, Vigo and, in the fifth century, Conimbriga and Troia, were able simply to take advantage of the shipping going further north, or whether they were able to attract a market in their own right. I have argued that in the early imperial period the latter option was possible (see 1.3 above). But in the mid-fifth and sixth centuries, the targeting of Atlantic sites, not just to the relatively safe waters of the Tagus but also as far north as both Vigo and Britain, would have signified a new venture for eastern merchants who had not attempted these waters since the third or fourth century, and then perhaps only rarely. Tunisian sailors were more used to this route, supplying Tunisian amphorae and ARS to Exeter and other sites in western Britain during the second to fourth centuries.[216] It would therefore seem likely that in the mid-fifth and the sixth century, and still more so in the seventh, it was the British market and the exchange goods it had to offer that drew these ships as far as the shores of Britain, now no longer a Roman province. Bordeaux *t.s. Paléochrétienne grise atlantique* was also supplied to Britain, together with quite large numbers of "E Ware" thought to derive from the same region. These products clearly suggest the role of Bordeaux as an entrepôt on the northern Atlantic route to Britain. Alternatively or additionally, these goods may have been picked up from ports such as Gijón that were linked both to Bordeaux, as shown by the presence of *Paléochrétienne grise atlantique*, and to Tunisian and eastern shipping (ARS, LRA 1 and LRC).[217]

Certain aspects of Britain's supply of eastern Mediterranean goods vary significantly from general western Mediterranean distribution patterns (Table 16; also Tables 15–16 for amphora details; Map 10 for LRC). Whereas the Aegean globular wine amphora LRA 2 is rare on western Mediterranean sites from the late fifth to mid sixth centuries, it is the most common amphora on most British sites; in particular, the supply at Tintagel of two major geographic types of LRA 2 is intriguing. The absence of LRA 2 at Braga is a further indication that there was not always a correlation between the eastern supply of northwest Spain and that of Britain. In other words,

[216] Carreras Monfort (2000). I would also like to thank Paul Bidwell for this information on Exeter.

[217] Fernández-Ochoa, García, and Uscatescu (1992); Uscatescu et al. (1994).

the supply of LRA 2 to Britain can only be evidence for the development of special ties between Britain and eastern, Aegean sources. The rarity of LRA 2 in Beirut and Alexandria likewise suggests that the shipping routes it took out of the Aegean ran directly westwards and did not serve Levantine markets. Interestingly, the church was one producer of Samos LRA 2 amphorae,[218] and given the testimony for a church-owned grain shipment that traveled directly from Alexandria to Brittany to alleviate famine, it may be that the church was one of the sources of highly directed trade between the Aegean and Britain.[219]

The fact that eastern goods were imported to these Atlantic sites almost exclusively through the period 450–500, followed by an influx of Tunisian exports after c. 500, is strong evidence that Tunisian and eastern goods were carried to Braga and Britain in ships originating directly from the East and North Africa respectively, and were not redistributed, say, from Carthage.[220] The special sources of LRA 2 and the rarity of the type elsewhere in the western Mediterranean also argue against redistribution from a common, western port in this period. Likewise, the quantities of Gazan and even LRA 5 amphorae encountered in Gaul in the late sixth century seem too large for them to have been redistributed by Tunisian ships, and a scenario that envisages their distribution directly from eastern ships is more likely for this later period.[221] On the other hand, southeast Spain, particularly Alicante, may have received some eastern amphora goods redistributed from Carthage, as well as those marketed more directly. The seeming rarity of sixth-century LRC in the Balearics may indicate that some eastern shipments, not carried on the Carthage route, also did not pass through the islands *en route* to southeastern Spain.

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[218] Steckner (1989).

[219] Reynolds (1995), 135. A cargo of 20,000 *modii* of grain, sent by the patriarch of Alexandria to alleviate famine in the region: Rougé (1966), 103; Whittaker (1983), 168. McCormick (2001) has amassed a wealth of documentary evidence demonstrating that long-distance trips from, say, Constantinople to Marseille, were far more common in late antiquity than we might suppose.

[220] See below for a similar conclusion regarding the sixth-century sources of imports to Alicante.

[221] However, a clear example of the redistribution of a minor number of eastern amphorae on a ship laden with Byzantine Tunisian amphorae, probably dateable to the second quarter of the sixth century, in this case to the coast of Gaul, is the La Palud 1 Wreck, off Port-Cros: Long and Volpe (1998).

While eastern goods may have made their way as far afield as Tintagel, western exports to the eastern Mediterranean did not fare so well. At Beirut in the early sixth century, Tunisian ARS, while still rare, reappears for the first time since the early fifth century. In numerous contexts of the second half of the fifth century in Beirut, neither Tunisian nor Baetican/Lusitanian amphorae are found in quantities that suggest their export in the period 425/450–500. In the case of Spanish amphorae, the flow of exports was broken permanently from c. 425/450 (see below). Tunisian amphora exports did not resume either, despite the imports of ARS which continue in regular, moderate quantities into the late sixth or the seventh century.[222] Similarly, it would seem that at Alexandria imports of Tunisian amphorae dropped by c. 450 with respect to the early fifth-century quantities, and imports from Hispania were absent.[223]

3.3.3 *The end of Spanish amphora exports*

There is little evidence that Baetican and Lusitanian amphorae (oil, fish sauce and wine) were exported, even to their former major markets on the east coast, after c. 500. Tarraconensian wine (or fish-sauce) amphorae, though present in small quantities in mid-fifth-century deposits at Tarragona are not so far attested in late contexts in the city.[224] Like Tunisian amphorae, Spanish and Portuguese amphorae were not exported to Beirut after c. 425/450, despite a renewal in Tunisian ARS exports from c. 500. Nonetheless, small quantities of such amphorae in western deposits of 450–500—for instance some sherds of this period found at Marseille—may provide evidence for continued production, with exports on a much-reduced scale. At

[222] A major deposit of late sixth- or early seventh-century date indicates that imports of ARS, but not of Tunisian amphorae, were a regular feature of this period. A deposit dating perhaps to c. 740–750 from another Beirut site includes several ARS and Egyptian vessels: Hayes and 'Ala' Eddine (1998–1999). The latest series of ARS is also present in the excavations of the French mission: Jullien (1997–1998), 9 and Fig. 4, for ARS 105, 107 and 109. ARS 99C and 104C were present in post-earthquake deposits excavated by Hans Curvers (Faraldo Victorica [2000], 52). I am most grateful to both authors for their kindness in supplying me with copies of their unpublished work.

[223] For Alexandria, see Majcherek (in press). For the Serapeum, see Bonifay and Leffy (in press). Keay 25/26 was the dominant import.

[224] Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 196–98 and Figs 68–69; Carreras Monfort and Berni i Millet (1998).

Tarragona, the quantities of Baetican amphorae are significant (Table 15). It is also possible that the Baetican amphorae found in the predominantly mid-sixth-century Benalúa deposit are contemporary. Fish-sauce amphorae, and perhaps oil amphorae, both from the same likely Malagueñan source, occur at both Benalúa and at El Monastil (Elda), suggesting possible continuity of production into the late fifth century.[225] The final phase of the *garum* factory at Ceuta contained examples of Keay 19, very probably produced in Málaga. Ponsich's excavation of the *garum* factory at Lixus argued for a late phase dating to the sixth century, though this is as yet still unconfirmed.[226] As we have seen, it is also possible that in the first half of the sixth century some Cádiz or Algarve amphorae, perhaps a variant of Keay 16, were regularly shipped to southwestern Britain on the Atlantic trade route. The demise of some Portuguese fish-sauce production sites, however, is perhaps more clearly dateable to the early fifth century, in view of the evidence of final use in the factories themselves. I would also draw attention to some of the unclassified but surely Spanish imports in the Benalúa deposit.[227]

In the Vandal period, production of Ibizan wine continued (see 1.4 above) and amphorae of this period are found in a Vandal context of 450–500 in Ibiza (Fig. 7a).[228] This form occurs in Alicante,[229] and is found at several sites along the Vinalopó valley, including the villa site of Vizcarra (Elche) and at sites in Calpe. By the mid-sixth century, and during the Byzantine occupation of the Balearics, a new small amphora is an easily recognizable type (Keay 79/Reynolds Ware 4.3.1/Vegas 42.1) (Fig. 7b), while continuity of the larger "flagon" shape into the late sixth or the seventh century has also been suggested.[230] Keay 79 is common in Benalúa-Alicante and in La Alcudia (Ilici). An example was also found in the middle Vinalopó valley and the form occurs along the Alicante coast, and at Punta de l'Illa (Cullera), Valencia, Tarragona, Mataró, Barcelona and further

[225] These are Keay 19 and Keay 30Bis.
[226] Villaverde Vega (2000b), 913, with reference to Ponsich (1988), 104–29.
[227] Reynolds (1993), Plate 94.229, 230, 231; 95.232–233 and 235.
[228] Ramón and Cau (1997).
[229] The Municipium Lucentum (Reynolds [1993], Site 25). This amphora is illustrated in Reynolds (1993), Plate 52.592Bis, Ware 4.1. For the form, see Reynolds (1993), 129–30.
[230] Ramon Torres (1986), Fig. 8. This form was exported to Mataró in the sixth century: Cela Espín and Revilla Calvo (in press).

afield at Luni, Carthage and Sétif (Algeria).[231] However, these types are surprisingly rare in Cartagena, where Balearic amphorae are from different sources. The supply of Balearic imports illustrates, as with other ceramics, the very different supply networks of Cartagena and Benalúa-Alicante even prior to the Byzantine conquest.

The Benalúa deposit provides a rare instance of local amphora production in the first half of the sixth century in Spain (Table 17). This is based on a reinterpretation of the "flagon" forms Reynolds Ware 1.53–60 and others that comprise 18% of the amphorae in the deposit (51 examples) (Fig. 16). Some of these local forms were found in fifth-century contexts (Fig. 16, Ware 1.55–56). Like the fifth-century Balearic form Ware 4.1 (Fig. 7a), they are small transport amphorae designed to carry wine. Some amphorae produced in the Balearics, found in sixth-century deposit at Mataró are similar in shape, also having a domed base.[232]

4. *Late Roman coarse wares: general observations*

The following brief study looks at one frequently overlooked commodity, cooking wares. These provide important evidence for the highly fractured nature of sixth-century long-distance trade, and the increasing regionalization of import patterns. Until the groundbreaking work on the humble cooking pots of Carthage, few would have believed these goods were traded over long distances, or that handmade wares were commonplace in the classical world and late antiquity.[233]

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[231] Keay (1984a), 369–74, Form 79. For sites in Alicante, see Reynolds (1993), 130–31, Ware 4.3. For Tarragona, Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 201 and Keay (1984a), 369–70; Mataró: Cela Espín and Revilla Calvo (in press); Barcelona: Keay (1984a), 370; Luni: Lusuardi Siena and Murialdo (1991), 124 and Fig. 2.2–6; Carthage: Hayes (1978), 80, Plate III, D70; Riley (1981), Cistern Deposit XXXIX, lower levels, Fig. 7.64; Fulford and Peacock (1984), Fig. 86.32; Sétif: Février, Gaspary and Guéry (1970), 130, Fig. 31.75; 82.

[232] Cela Espín and Revilla Calvo (in press).

[233] Hayes (1976) provided the initial handmade series, Late Roman Cooking Ware (LRCW), I to VI, as well as local cooking wares, plain wares and flanged-bowl mortaria, further illustrated by Riley (1981). Fulford and Peacock (1984) added to the known typology and provided an important data set of quantified deposits and trends from the late fourth to the seventh century. Tomber (1989), like Peacock an expert in thin-sectioning techniques, gave us more quantified cooking wares for the

The distribution of imported cooking and kitchen wares—as well as that of other categories of ceramics like lamps, unguentaria, braziers, dolia, and ceramic coffins—each the product of specific regions or even cities, helps to add color and detail to distribution patterns of regional amphora and fine ware forms. If all this information is considered together, the cooking wares can help to underline links already noted between sites, and may in fact suggest new ones. Some ties between regions are only evident through a trade in coarse wares. In fact, what appear to be homogeneous distribution patterns can become much more distinctive once the coarse wares and other finds are taken into account. Such coarse wares can even help to refine the dating of deposits where the date ranges of the fine wares are wide or ambiguous.

This section will review some of the regional distributions we have been examining with a greater focus on coarse ware forms and other minor ceramics. This exercise will also provide an opportunity to outline the contacts between different regions of Spain, notably those of the east coast, which are best illustrated by the interregional trade in coarse wares. This examination will also illustrate another significant trend throughout Hispania, that of increased regionality and self-sufficiency. This pattern affected the interior first, but in due course spread to coastal regions, as connections between different parts of the Mediterranean world disintegrated and were reconfigured into more sporadic points of contact.

While regionally-produced kitchen wares were a feature of both southeastern and northeastern Hispania in the fifth century and imported coarse wares were few in the southeast, a completely different situation existed in the northeast. In Tarragona and other northeastern cities, in addition to locally manufactured cooking wares, imported wares were very common, particularly those from Tunisia. In Alicante, for instance, Tunisian kitchen wares of fifth-century date are rare (e.g. Fulford Casserole 19: Fig. 1e). Yet in Tarragona, the Vila-roma 2 deposit and others demonstrate the major role of wheel-made Tunisian kitchen wares in local households during the first half

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late fourth and fifth centuries. For my own contribution to coarse ware study in the western Mediterranean, see Reynolds (1984); (1985); (1993), Typology; (1995), ch. 4 and 5. Cau Ontiveros (2003) has taken the fabric analysis of cooking wares in the Balearics and eastern Spain a stage further and to great effect through the combined techniques of chemical and thin-section analysis.

of the fifth century (Fig. 1d–f). These wares are certainly more common here than in southeastern Spain and this bias is similarly reflected in the relatively greater numbers of Tunisian amphorae and fine wares in Tarragona. Greater frequency of contact with Tunisia may have led to a wider range and greater number of imports, including even cooking wares.[234]

The sixth century, however, saw changes in the exposure of each region to long-distance trade networks, and this affected regional cooking ware production. The early to mid-sixth-century kitchen wares in the Benalúa assemblage are evidence for an extraordinarily wide variety of long-distance sources of both cooking wares and plain wares (Fig. 1g, Fig. 18a–h). These assemblages include materials from close regional sources,[235] as well as from Tunisia, the south-central Mediterranean,[236] and Aegean, together with Lycian imports and Limyran ware. Sardinian and Pantellerian handmade cooking pots are also found in the Benalúa assemblage (cf. Fig. 17a; Fig. 17f). Thus, the sources that supplied kitchen wares to Alicante in the early and mid-sixth century were far more numerous and came from a wider and more distant range of regions than did those of the fifth century. The addition of long-distance eastern Mediterranean sources, notably those of southern Anatolia and the Aegean is the most striking feature, and can be compared with the notable quantities of LRC and LRA 1. Palestinian imports, however, are absent and do not accompany the relatively common Gazan amphorae or the more minimal quantities of Caesarean amphorae, as they occasionally did at Marseille and other Gallic coastal sites.[237]

The range of kitchen ware imports at Alicante is, with the exception of Limyra ware, closely paralleled at Carthage in the late fifth to mid-sixth centuries, though because Carthage was closer to the south-

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[234] Alicante received a wider range of imports than other sites that are closer to the same sources: Reynolds (1995), chapter 5.2 and 5.3, an argument taken from Fulford (1983); (1987).

[235] See Reynolds (1993) for Murcian wheelmade Ware 2, and handmade wares HW 8, 9a–b and 10.

[236] Cooking wares, including wheelmade Reynolds Ware 6, from eastern Sicily(?); handmade LRCW II from the Aeolian islands; and handmade LRCW III, possibly from Calabria.

[237] For Palestinian and other cooking ware imports to sites in southern France, see CATHMA (1991); Tréglia (in press), for a more up-to-date summary of the finds; and Waksman et al. (in press), for the north Palestinian "Atelier X" ware finds in Gaul and in Beirut.

central Mediterranean sources of these wares it imported a wider range of forms. The Balearics in the fifth and sixth centuries had an almost identical range of Murcian and south-central Mediterranean kitchen ware imports as did Alicante.[238] Alicante, as we have seen, imported Balearic amphorae and occasionally wheel-made carinated bowls, perhaps evidence for reciprocal exchange in the Vandal and early Byzantine periods. The role of traders operating from the Balearics (rather than from Carthage) in the redistribution of some of the south-central Mediterranean wares, and even those from Tunisia, is possible, as it may also be with cargoes of Tunisian amphorae. The fact that Sicilian(?) Ware 6 is common in a wide range of forms at both Alicante and Carthage, but is not so far attested in the Balearics, Marseille, or southern Gaul and is very rare at Naples, is strong evidence that this particular ware and the cargoes that accompanied it were redistributed directly from Carthage. Alternatively, it may have been transported on eastern ships, travelling via Syracuse in Sicily and dropping off cargoes in Carthage before proceeding westwards to southeastern Spain. More than any other product, the identification of the true source of Ware 6 is absolutely crucial for the identification of shipping routes and ports that were (in the case of Carthage or Alicante), or were not (Marseille), associated with the distribution of the ware and associated cargoes.

The distribution of the Aeolian Islands cooking ware LRCW II from Lipari could also be a key pointer to links and shipping routes passing through the Balearics. The ware occurs in Tarragona but only in the first half of the fifth century, and was rare in Marseille. Its absence in Naples is also striking. These patterns thus seem to contrast with the absence of Balearic wares in sixth-century Tarragona and Marseille. The distribution of LRCW III (possibly from Calabria) from the late fifth and the sixth century supplied the Balearics and Alicante, but not Marseille, and may likewise be absent at Tarragona. Thus, it would seem that south-central Mediterranean cooking wares circulated in the far south, but not in the northern sectors of the western Mediterranean. That fact, in turn, points to a sharp regionalization of trading routes along north-south lines. It adds to the general evidence for a very separate set of shipping routes running

[238] Murcian HW 8; LRCW II; LRCW III; Pantellerian Ware; Byzantine Tunisian LRCW IV and V: Buxeda i Garrigós et al. (in press).

east to west, passing through Sicily and, in some cases, via Carthage and the Balearics before reaching Alicante and southeastern Spain.

Tarragona experienced still another different trend in its supply of imported coarse wares. From the late fifth to the mid-sixth century, there appears to have been a major drop in the quantities of kitchen wares imported from long-distance sources. The city was a major importer of Tunisian kitchen wares in the first half of the fifth century, a fact related to the influx of Tunisian commodities borne in amphorae and Tunisian ARS. Thereafter, however, Tarragona ceased to be supplied with Tunisian kitchen wares. Though Tunisian imports to the city had returned to a high level, they were restricted to amphorae and ARS. Tarragona from the late fifth century relied increasingly on local and close regional (Barcelona) cooking and plain forms to replace them (e.g. Fig. 20b). Plain wares such as carinated bowls, jars, mortars, which had been derived from Tunisia and the Balearics in the first half of the fifth century, were now locally made.[239]

5. *Final conclusions*

Beginning as early as the second century, Baetican oil exports to Rome were challenged by North African competition. While still significant, Spain's contribution to the *annona* gradually declined. At first, beginning in the late second century, Tunisian amphora-borne exports abroad were focused on Ostia-Rome. Only later, in the third century and thereafter, did they reach other locations. Thus Tunisian products did not appear in large numbers in northeastern Tarraconensis until the late third century, while African Red Slip ware and cooking ware exports did not go hand in hand with Tunisian amphora-borne exports during the later first and second centuries, and perhaps not even in the first half of the third century.[240]

From the middle of the third century, the relaxation of state controls on the private trading of Tunisian and Baetican-Portuguese oil and fish products marked a major change, after the anomalous state controls imposed by Septimius Severus and his immediate succes-

[239] See Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a).

[240] It is possible that exports of ARS 50 have been dated too early, and that their main exports are contemporaneous with the late third- and fourth-century supply of Tunisian amphorae.

sors. Despite regeneration, Baetican oil exports never recovered anything like the levels attained earlier, as the continued state-sponsorship of Tunisian oil exports to Rome offered too much competition. Baetica's other major market had been the army in the northern provinces, but in the course of the third century this was scaled down and increasingly recruited locally, so that by the fourth century it comprised a fraction of what it had once been. This, and perhaps a breakdown in the supply system during the period of the Gallic Empire (259–274), would have led to a considerable drop in the demand for olive oil in the northern provinces. In the fourth century, only large and important northern towns—primarily those located on river routes like Vienne, Lyon, and the imperial capital at Trier—would have attracted Spanish imports to inland Gaul in any substantial quantity. The final efflorescence of the Baetican oil industry came between the late fourth and the early fifth century, when exports were targeted primarily at Valencia, Tarragona and southern Gaul.

If one turns to the wine industry, it appears that the peninsula was not a target for eastern, Mauretanian or Italian and Sicilian exports during the third and fourth centuries. Having lost their Italian market to Gallic competition during the second century, sites in northeastern Tarraconensis, Ibiza, Denia, and, starting in the third century, Baetica, produced wine for local and regional consumption. This remained true until the massive flow of wine exports from the Aegean/Asia Minor and particularly the Levant commenced around the year 400.

A similar pattern can be observed for the fish industry. The imports of Baetican fish products to northwestern Spain and Portugal, which ceased by the third century, should be correlated with the end of the regular *annona* traffic in oil to Britain, because it was precisely that traffic that carried and subsidized additional cargoes of Baetican fish sauce. During the early to mid-third century, Lusitanian and Baetican fish products were being shipped to Rome and even to Beirut and Caesarea, but not to Valencia, Tarragona or Galicia. In response to this absence, sites in Galicia and Cantabria (e.g., Gijón) began to produce fish-sauce locally for the first time, as did regions such as Murcia, Alicante, and Roses. Exports to Rome and Ostia increased considerably again during the course of the fourth and early fifth centuries, while some reached Beirut, and probably also Caesarea, regularly and in fair quantities.

Two interesting but diverse trends are also evident in the third century. During the early and mid-third century there existed what we can term pan-Mediterranean exchange, on a par with trade in the first half of the second century when eastern and western goods criss-crossed the whole Mediterranean basin. From c. 270 until c. 320, however, it would appear that the two halves of the Mediterranean became markedly separate units of self-contained regional exchange; there were, for instance, only rare imports from the Aegean and Asia Minor to Rome and no contribution from the Levant, while no evidence at all has yet been found for exports of western goods like ARS in the opposite direction.

From the mid-fourth to the early fifth century, the regeneration of Tunisian and Iberian industries meant that some of their surpluses of oil, fish-sauce, and ARS were directed to Levantine and other eastern sites, such as Athens, Corinth and, presumably, Constantinople. These surpluses supplied the cities that provided the economic infrastructure of the post-Diocletianic East. On the other hand, there was no reciprocal exchange until the second quarter of the fifth century—or at least no reciprocal exchange of pottery and amphora-borne commodities which survive in the material record. That fact is significant, inasmuch as it had already been decades since Levantine cities had undergone a widespread economic regeneration and begun close interregional exchanges amongst themselves.

The second and third decades of the fifth century brought unexpected changes to the Roman world after the western government lost control of Carthage and much of Spain. The renewed exports of eastern goods to western ports, which had its roots in the early fifth century, took an increasingly large share of the western Mediterranean and Atlantic markets from the mid-fifth century onwards. This almost certainly represents Aegean and Levantine merchants exploiting major urban markets in the West that had temporarily lost their North African supply. In the later fifth and sixth centuries, both Tunisian and eastern exports to Hispania and elsewhere expanded. In this late Vandal phase of exports, ARS attained a geographical distribution unseen since the early fifth century; it now reached even the shores of northeastern Spain and Portugal, as well as Britain. Similarly, the late fifth and early sixth centuries saw an increase in the routine importation of eastern products at western and Atlantic sites, as well as an increase in the Levantine sources involved in this trade.

Hispanic exports to Levantine sites, however, became negligible or ceased altogether after c. 425/450 and did not recommence c. 500. Despite their success in the fourth and early fifth centuries, Lusitanian fish factories ceased production around 425. The fish industries of Baetica and possibly also Tingitania survived, but their exports in the period 450–550 were directed towards markets on the east coast of Spain and perhaps Britain. After c. 550, their exports stopped definitively.

The distribution of imported cooking wares is important evidence for a marked split in the supply systems operating in the western Mediterranean by the early or mid-fifth century and becoming ever more marked thereafter. If one examines the distribution patterns of cooking ware, one finds a rough division of the western Mediterranean into two separate sectors or patterns of supply. One lay in the extreme southwest of the Mediterranean and was at least partly connected to cargoes of eastern foodstuffs. The other comprised an arc running from Tarragona to Marseille and down to Rome and Naples, and was served by another link to eastern sources different in composition or quantity from those encountered along the southern route. By the late sixth century, the two sectors of the western Mediterranean were even more polarized, with Marseille, Naples, Carthage, Tarragona to some extent, and, one must assume, Rome, also benefiting from special ties with particular eastern sources (Tables 14–16). Marseille's trade links were primarily Palestinian, whereas those of Naples were chiefly Aegean and south Palestinian. Both cities, and even Tarragona, received goods traveling from Constantinople, whether directly or indirectly.[241]

The barbarian invasions of the early fifth century left an indelible mark on the majority of the Iberian peninsula that lay beyond the reach of coastal trade. The fine ware production of the interior, which had begun a slow recovery in the later third century, was particularly affected by the changed circumstances and, from the late fourth century, by the abandonment of prosperous but vulnerable

[241] For late sixth- and seventh-century coarse wares in general, see Reynolds (1995), chapter 4. See in addition Remolà i Vallverdú (2000); Macias i Solé (1999); Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998); Tréglia (in press); Bien (in press); Waksman et al. (in press); Arthur (1985); Carsana (1994); Hayes (1976); (1978); Riley (1981); Fulford and Peacock (1984). For Rome between 650 and 700, see Ricci (1998); Saguì (1998a); Saguì, Ricci and Romei (1997).

villa estates for the security of walled towns or highland sites.[242] A decline in the production of *terra sigillata hispánica tardía* led to the widespread regional production of coarse tableware alternatives. This was yet another facet of the fragmentation, regionalization, and growing self-sufficiency of the pottery industry, a long series of processes already under way by the mid-third century. These processes, and the creation of small, local industries to compensate for failing trading networks, point the way towards the seventh century, when Hispania would gradually cease to engage in long-distance trade, becoming instead a self-sufficient world without imports.

Rome, M Sudans AD 64–68	**Wine**	**Oil**	**Garum**	**Fruit**	**Other**	**Unclassified**	**Total (472 RBH)**
Italian	26.5	0.6	–	0.2	–	–	27.3
Gallic	3.2	–	–	–	–	–	3.2
Hispania	8.1 (Tarr & Baetica)	12.1	11.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	32.0
Proconsularis	11.0	0.4	0.6	–	–	2.3	14.4
Aegean	20.12	–	–	–	–	–	23.1
Levantine	2.96	–	–	–	–	–	

Rome, Via Nova AD 64–68	**Wine**	**Oil**	**Garum**	**Fruit**	**Other**	**Unclassified**	**Total (343 RBH)**
Italian	32.4	–	–	0.3	–	–	32.7
Gallic	0.3	–	–	–	–	–	0.3
Hispania	5.5	12.0	10.8	–	0.3	–	28.6
Proconsularis	9.6	0.3	0.3	–	–	–	10.2
Aegean only	12.5	–	–	–	–	–	12.5
Unprovenanced	–	–	–	–	–	15.7	15.7

[242] Though see Chavarría in this volume for the difficulties in dating the abandonment of villas.

Rome, C Balbi AD 80–90	Wine	Oil	Garum	Fruit	Other	Unclassified	Total (222 RBH)
Italian	34.98	–	–	0.9	–	–	35.87
Gallic	2.69	–	–	–	–	–	2.69
Tarraconensis	3.59	–	–	–	–	–	3.59
Baetica	1.35	7.17	4.93	–	–	–	13.45
Lusitania	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Proconsularis	5.83	1.35	1.79	–	–	–	17.49
East Med	17.94	–	–	–	–	–	17.94
Unprovenanced	–	–	–	–	–	17.49	17.49

Rome, Curia, F Transitorium and Basilica Aemilia AD 80–98	Wine	Oil	Garum	Fruit	Other	Unclassified	Total (320 RBH)
Italian	7.50	0.31	0.31	–	–	–	8.12
Gallic	2.18	–	–	–	–	–	2.18
Tarraconensis	1.25	–	–	–	–	–	1.25
Baetica	0.31	7.50	11.56	–	–	–	19.37
Lusitania	–	–	0.31	–	–	–	0.31
Proconsularis	7.50	0.31	0.31	–	–	–	8.12
Aegean	28.43	–	–	–	–	–	28.43
Levantine	20.62	–	–	–	–	–	20.62
Unprovenanced	–	–	–	–	–	5.93	5.93

Rome, V Sacra AD 90–110	Wine	Oil	Garum	Fruit	Other	Unclassified	Total (347 RBH)
Italian	23.5	–	–	1.4	–	–	24.9
Gallic	14.4	–	–	–	–	–	14.4
Tarraconensis	1.4	–	–	–	–	–	1.4
Baetica	2.8	12.0	20.6	–	–	–	35.4
Lusitania	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Proconsularis	6.9	1.4	0.3	–	0.8	–	9.4
East Med	12.9	–	–	–	–	–	12.9
Unprovenanced	–	–	–	–	–	1.6	1.6

Table 1a. Rome. Sources of amphorae and their contents, AD 64 to 110 (Meta Sudans, Via Nova, Crypta Balbi, Curia-Forum Transitorium-Basilica Aemilana and Via Sacra sites. RBH = Rims, Bases, Handles. After Panella (1992); Ciotola et al. (1989).

Sources of wine	M Sudans AD 64–68	Via Nova AD 64–68	C Balbi AD 80–90	V Sacra AD 90–110	M Sudans AD 130–150
Italian	36.9	42.5	52.7	36.9	41.9
Gallic	4.4	0.5	4.1	23.5	11.6
Tarraconensis	7.1	4.8	5.4	1.3	3.6
Baetica	4.1	4.3	2.0	4.6	–
Proconsularis	15.3	15.9	8.8	11.3	15.2
East Med			27.0	21.0	27.5
Aegean	28.0	20.8			
Levantine	4.1				
Total wine RBH	**339**	**207**	**148**	**216**	**138**

Table 1b. Relative percentages of wine amphorae at Rome, AD 64–150. Panella (1992).

	Ostia Flavian	Ostia Hadrianic	Ostia Late Antonine	Ostia Late Severan
Italian	24.6	12.4	14.3	1.8
Gallic	25.4	27.6	15.4	7.6
Spanish	26.7	23.7	25.8	8.2
Mauretanian	–	–	–	10.2
Tunisian	4.3	12.7	18.5	29.9
Tripolitanian	4.9	3.9	5.6	4.6
Aegean	0.6	5.0	3.5	18.3
Residual	1.9	1.4	6.7	2.0
Unprovenanced	2.5	1.3	1.1	9.1
Unclassified	9.9	12.5	9.1	8.3
Total amphora Fragments	**161**	**171**	**658**	**2091**

Table 2a. Relative quantities of amphorae (% of total amphorae) according to origin at Ostia (Terme del Nuotatore) from the Flavian to late Severan periods. Anselmino et al. (1986), Table 2.

	Ostia Flavian	Ostia Hadrianic	Ostia Late Antonine	Ostia Late Severan	Ostia Late 4th
Baetican	1.9	7.7	8.05	5.1	1.9
Tunisian	4.3	12.7	16.5	29.4 (all forms) (Africana I: 14.9)	42.7 (all forms) (Africana 1: 10.4)
Tripolitanian	–	2.4	4.4	1.9	

Table 2b. Relative percentages of oil amphorae according to source in Flavian to late Severan and late 4th contexts at Ostia (% of total amphorae). Panella (1983), Fig. 49.

	CSB 250–300 (250+?)	Pal East 290– 312/315	Ostia Late 4th	Rome MM 350– 390	Rome MM 390– 420	Rome Livia 400– 420	Rome MM 420– 440	Rome SP I 430– 440
Gallic	3.3	2.6	4.6					
Maur	9.1	1.3	5.1	2.84				
Tunisia	25.0	26.3	45.1	52.7	48.5	58.2	35.5	42.5 (with Trip)
Trip	3.3	1.3	6.5	4.5 (MRA 1)	4.7		5.0	Present
East Med	25.0 Aegean (Kap I–II; early LRA 3)	11.8 Aegean 0.6: Gaza	8.1 Aegean	2.8 Aegean	9.0	11.6	21.0	27.7 min (without LRA 1)
Baetica/ Lusit	15.0: Dr 20 2: Dr 23 3: Fish	5.2 (fish) (Dr 20/23 absent)	7.6 (1.9: oil 5.7: fish)	7.9 (fish only)	10.3 (1: oil 9.3: fish)	7.3 (no details)	4.8 (1: oil 3.8: fish)	2.1 (oil present)
Italian	1.0	25	3.6	7.8: Keay 52 0.5: Empoli	10.0	10.4	17.5	? Very common
Unprov	7.0	5.2	16.2	15.2	15.2	12.2	16.0	?

	Naples Mann 430– 450	S. Giov Ruoti 1A–B 400– 460	S. Giov Ruoti 3–7 460– 535	Rome MM 440– 480	Rome C Balbi 410– 480	Rome SP II c. 500	Naples Mann c. 500	Capua c. 500	Rome Gaud Late 5th– 550
Gallic									
Maur									
Tunisia	57.1	45.9 (spath)	11.9	30.5	52.2	40.4	21.0 22.8	30.2	31.25
Trip	–?			1.4	–	–	–		
East Med	7.1– 10.8	47.2	53.7	30.5	14.5	Max 32.9?	c. 16.5 c. 17.5	8.0	33.45
Baetica/ Lusit	–?			2.2 (1.5: oil 1.4: fish)	9.2 (no details) –	–?	0.75		
Italian	High			16.3	13.5	Min 5.1?	2.7(+?) 1.0(+?)	0.9 (Keay 52)	20.58
Unprov	35.8	6.7	34.3	19.4	13.0	3.8?	46.6	60.5	13.97

Table 2c. Relative quantities of amphorae according to origin at Rome and south Italian sites, AD 250/300–550. 'Aegean' refers to Aegean/Asia Minor forms (such as Agora F65–66 and Kapitän 2). Cripta San Bonaventura: Peña (1999), 153; Palatine East: Peña (1999: residual not included; one 'Tripolitanian' placed under unclassified); Temple of Magna Mater; Schola Praeconum I and II and Domus de Gaudentius: Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 281, Appendix III.7.6; Ostia (Terme del Nuotatore) and Naples (Carminiello ai Mannesi), Capua and the villa of S. Giovanni di Ruoti (Basilicata): Reynolds (1995), Appendices. The EMed figure for Schola Praeconum II may be incorrect if LRA 1 sherds were confused with Keay 52.

	Period 1: 120+	**Period 2: c. 90; c. 140+ to 150+**	**Period 3: Most 150+; c. 200**	**Period 4: Sequence from c. 140+ c. 255+**	**Period 5: 388+ to c. 400**	**Post (c. 400 10th/ 11thC)**	**Total**
Dressel 20	8	65	97	398	13	242	823
Gauloise 4	–	18	32	122	3	77	252
Dressel 2–4	–	1	–	19	–	1	21
North African	–	–	–	13	10	3	26
East Med	–	1	1	2	1	5	10
South Spanish	–	–	–	5	1	8	14
Gallic	–	3	–	1	–	–	4
Black sand/ Campanian	–	–	–	2	–	1	3
Rhodian	–	–	–	4	–	–	4
Cam 186C	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Unassigned	–	2	4	15	7	15	43
Total	8	90	134	582	35	352	1201
Total other ceramics	130	1584	1357	6297	4251		
% of amphorae in deposits	6.1	5.7	9.9	9.2	0.8		

Table 3. Amphora sherd count, Wellington Row Trench 7 (York), from Williams (1997), 975, Table 177. For a more detailed account of the site and its phasing, see Monaghan (1997), 1108–1123.

Regional sources of wine	Forms	MNV	Total by region	% by region
Gaul	Gauloise 4	274		
	Gauloise 1	65		
	Gauloise tardive	4	343	93%
Italy	Dressel 2–4	7	7	2%
Baetica	Matagalleres I	7	7	2%
N Africa	Dressel 30	1		
	Tripolitanian 'Dr 2–4' (i.e. Mau XXXV produced in Tripoli)	2	3	1%
E Med	Camulodunum 184	1		
	Crétoise 4	1		
	Kapitän 1	2		
	Kapitän 2	1		
	Agora F 65/66 (early LRA 3: Ephesus)	1	6	2%
			366	

Regional sources of wine	MNV	% by region
Italy	7	30%
Spain	7	30%
N Africa	3	13%
E Med	6	26%
Total	23	

Content	Form	MNV	%MNV
Oil	Dressel 20	44	49%
	Dressel 23	1	1%
Fish	Beltrán IIA	11	12%
	Beltrán IIB	14	16%
Wine	Matagallares I	7	8%
'Unknown'	Dressel 28	13	14%
Total		90	

Table 4a. Relative quantities of local and imported wine and other imports in an early 3rd century context at Lyon (Place de Celestins, US 7491). MNV: minimum number of vessels. Lemaître (2000b).

Source	Vienne L. Florentin Late 2nd	Vienne Quai Riondet 200–250	Vienn Nympheas 77 250+	Vienne Nympheas 78 '4th'
Gaul	100: 39.8%	1165: 98.5%	113: 56.7%	301: 24.5%
Italy	–	1: 0.08%	–	12: 0.9%
Spain	26: 10.3%	?1: 0.08%?	18: 9.0%	166: 13.5%
Africa	–	2: 0.1%	1: 0.5%	147: 11.9%
E Med	–	–	1: 0.5%	1: 0.08%
Uncl	125: 49.8%	14: 1.1%	66: 33.1%	438: 35.7%
Total amphorae	**251**	**1182**	**199**	**1226**

Table 4b. Relative quantities of amphora sherds at Vienne. Godard (1995), 296.

Source	Ram 75–125	Ram 125–200	Ram 200–275	Ram 275–350	Ram 350–400	Ram 400–450	Ram 450–550
Gaul	2916: 96.5%	1474: 95.2%	1129: 91.7%	98: 58.3%	60: 28.0%	141: 32.6%	315: 54.4%
Italy	9: 0.2%	5: 0.3%	3: 0.2%	–	1: 0.4%	–	4: 0.6%
Spain	83: 2.74%	57: 3.68%	26: 2.1%	3: 1.7%	12: 5.6%	135: 31.2%	61: 10.5%
Africa	3: 0.09%	4: 0.2%	18: 1.4%	47: 27.9%	46: 21.4%	93: 21.5%	113: 19.5%
E Med	–	–	–	–	34: 15.8%	7: 1.6%	24: 4.1%
Uncl	9: 0.2%	7: 0.4%	55: 4.4%	20: 11.9%	61: 28.5%	56: 12.9%	62: 10.7%
Total	**3020**	**1547**	**1231**	**168**	**214**	**432**	**579**

Table 5. Relative quantities of amphora sherds at the villa of La Ramière (Gard). Barberan (1998), 71.

	250–300/ 350	300–350	350–400	Late 4th–425	Mid 5th	450–500
North Africa	60.6%	c. 75%			c. 25%	
South Spanish		c. 15% (fish with rare wine)	20%+ (fish only)	40–50% (oil and fish)	c. 25% (oil and fish)	Rare
'Spanish'	5.15% (fish only)					

Table 6a. Relative quantities of Baetican-Lusitanian vs. Tunisian amphorae at Tarragona, c. AD 250–500. Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a–b). Figures for 250–400 are based on the deposits catalogued in Macias i Solé et al. (1997).

	Dr 7/11	Beltrán IIA	Beltrán IIB	Dressel 14A	Dressel 2–4	Dressel 28	Haltern 70	Dressel 20	Beltrán 72	Keay 16/ Almagro 50	Total
Oil								14			14
Wine and defructum					11	1	235				247
Garum	43	2	3	1					1	24	74
											334

Table 6b. The relative numbers (sherd count) of Baetican amphora imports in Bracara Augusta/Braga (from Morais 2000a, Fig. 5).

	Lucente	Paléochrétienne	ARS	TSHT	Painted	LRC
Phase IVa: **350–450(+)**	69: 37.7%	41: 22.4%	73: 39.89%	*	*	
Plaza Mayor: **400–450**	10: 18.2%	9: 16.3%	24: 61.8%			
Phase 1Vb: **late 5th+**	12: 6.38%	23: 12.23%	(c. 81%)			
Phase V: **Mid 6th**	14.77%	71: 8.32%	(73%)			
Tarragona VRoma: **Mid 5th**	14: 4.1%	44: 12.9%	261: 76.7%	16: 4.7%	4: 1.1%	
Tarragona STE/1: **Mid 5th**	7: 1.6%	68: 16.5%	295: 71.6% (+ c. 28: 6.7% residual 3rd/4th)	5: 1.2%	7: 1.6%	1: 0.2%

Table 7. Relative quantities of fine wares (% of the total FW) in the late Roman cemetery of the Carretera de S. Martí de Ampurias (Gerona), Phases IV and V; a deposit of AD 400–450 in the Plaza Mayor de San Martí de Ampurias; in the Tarragona Vila-roma 2 deposit (total FW: 340) and Tarragona STE/1 deposit (total FW: 412). Llinàs i Pol (1997); Aquilué i Abadias (1997); Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 48, Tables 15 and 5; respectively.

		Total pot ( ) = FW only	TSHT	% FW	ARS	% FW	ARS/ CW Count	Pal Grise % FW	ARS forms (Count)
Zaragoza:									
Torrenueva	Mid 4th century	**624**	227	36.38	6		20		31(2), 50A, 58B?/59?, 67(2)
Palacio del Pardo	360–380	**558**	79	14.16	20		5	1	45A, 50A(2), 58, 61A
C. Mayor/ Dormer	360–400	**245**	54	22.04	4		4		61A, 67, dish base (2)
C. Mayor/ Jaime I		**172**	Not cat						7, 50 (11: 2 are 50B), 61A
Teatro romano d	350–400	(**152**)	146	96.05	6	3.94	6		50A(2: C2), 61A, dish
Teatro romano e	350–400	(**152**)	133	87.50	19	12.50	6		50A(2: C2), 58B, 61A
Teatro romano f (pot joins e)	350–400	(**88**)	81	92.04	7	7.95	5		59B.17, 60, stamped dish
Jaime I, 26	350-400	**1099**	157	14.28	11?	1.00			50A(10), 61A
Gavin/ Sepulchro (Major levelling)	'460–480' = Late 5th century, with late 4th–early 5th centuries most common	**6383**	1050	16.44	97 = 50?	1.51	?	10: .15%	50A(18), 50B(2), 58B(2), 59A, 59B, 61A(3), 67(2), 76, 87, 91 base?, 99A(2), 93, stamped(5), ARS lamps Hayes II(5), uncl (10); ?LRC: 2
Gavin/ Sepulchro Occupation	Late 5th century	**1628**	405	24.88	29	1.78	?	6: 0.36%	50A(4), 50B, 61A(2), 67, 73, 99A?, dishes (19), ARS lamp II?
S. Juan/ S. Pedro	5th century		Abundant						49, 50A(4), 61A, 61B, 67
Teatro romano Orchestra	450–500	(**515**)	455	88.34	58	11.26	38	2: 0.38%	50A, 50A(C2: 13), 56, 59A, 59B(2), 61A, 84, 91
***Turiaso*/ Tarazona**									
Colegio Allue Salvador Destruction level	'AD 284/ Late 3rd century'	**588**	62	10.54	2	0.34	3		27,50A
Colegio Allue Salvador Accumulation	'350–375'	**3082**	944	30.63	26	0.84		1: 0.03%	45A, 45(C2: 2), 50A(C1: 2; C2: 14), 50B(2), 59, 58/59 wall(2), 61A(2)
***Bursao*/ Borja** Romeria, Nivel a	'250–300'	**292**	117 (3rd C)	40.07	1	0.34	3		27
Valejo de S. Pez (Maria de Huerva) (burials and dump)	'350–375'	**621**	129	20.77	10	1.61	35		27(3), 50A(5), 50B, 61A
La Estanca (Layana) = villa	'Mid 5th century': ARS is 4th century	**1334**	303	22.71	6	0.44	4	8: 0.59%	50A(5), 58B
Jaca	'Late 3rd century'	**10000**	No details						27(4), 31, 32/58(2), 50A(C1:6; C2:11)

Table 8. Relative quantities of TSHT, Gallic table wares, ARS and Tunisian cooking wares in the Zaragoza and the Ebro Valley. From Paz Peralta (1991).

Ware	Number of Fragments	% of Total Fine Wares (without Painted)	% of Total Fine Wares (including Painted)
ARS	10	1.89	1.06
TSHT plain	300	56.81	32.01
TSHT moulded	83	15.71	8.85
TSHT burilada	35	6.62	3.73
TSHT stamped	14	2.65	1.49
TSH painted	1	0.18	0.10
TSHT Meriodional	4	0.75	0.42
TSHT Brillante	39	7.38	4.16
TSHT paleocristiana	29	5.49	3.09
'Barnizada' (slipped?)	13	2.46	1.38
Total slipped Fine Wares	**528**		
Painted	191		20.38
Painted (no decoration present)	218		23.26
Total Fine wares including painted	**937**		
Common wares: jars and cooking forms	389		
Total pottery	**1316**		

Table 9. Summary of pottery finds at the late Roman villa of Valdetorres de Jarama. From Arce, Caballero and Elvira (1997).

	Plaza Mayor, Ampurias AD 400–450: 'total 100'	Plaza Petita, Ampurias 6th century	Carretera S. Martí 500–550
N African	45.540%	59.53%	90.99%
East Med	30.90%	21.43%	
S Spanish	3.18%	–	
Italian (Keay 52)	0.46%	–	
Unclassified	20%	19.04%	

Table 10. Relative sources of amphorae in Ampurias, 400–450 and 500–550. Aquilué i Abadias (1997).

	Tarr VR 2 Mid 5th	Tarr STE/1 Mid 5th	Mars B Per 1 425–450	Rome Livia 400–420	Rome SP 1 430–440	Rome MM 390–420	Rome MM 420–440	Naples Crm Mann 430–450
	25.2	32.31	26.2	58.2	42.5 (with Trip)	48.5	35.5	57.1
Trip	–	–	0.5		Present	4.5	5.0	?
Baetica/ Lusitania	30 (oil: 13) fish: 16.9)	21.7 (oil: 8.5) (fish: 10.8)	2.8	7.3	2.1 (oil: present)	(10.3) (oil: 1 fish: 9.3)	4.8 (oil: 1 fish: 3.8)	–?
Emed	Total: 25 (Aeg: 9.7) (Levant: 15, where Pal = 9.3)	Total: 19.7 (Aeg: 5.4) 14.28: (Levant: 14.28, where Pal = 2.7)	47.5	11.6	27.7 min = N.B. without LRA	9.0	21.1	c. 10.1
Italy	0.8	2.0	17.0 (Keay 52: 9.3)	10.4	Very common	10.0	17.5 (Keay (52: 16.5)	*peak
Tarraco	5.6	3.0	–	?				
Unprov	54	21.0	10.6	12.2	?	15.2	16.0	45.4 (will include Italian)
Total				163 RBH	9960 RBHS	186	401 RBH	

	Rome MM 440–480	Rome C Balbi 410–480	Carth Circus Late 4th/ e 5th	Carth GB 375/400–450	Carth GB c. 450
Tunisia	29.0	52.4	78.4	71.1	52.6
Trip	4.2	–	–	?	?
Baetica/ Lusitania	2.9 (oil: 1.5 other: 1.4)	9.2 (no details	13 RBH (fish)*	?	?
Emed	28.6	14.5	5.4	6.8	15.2
Italy	17.5	13.5	–		
Tarraco			–		
Unprov	15.5	13.0	Uncl imports: 15.48	21.7	31.9
Total	507	944			

Table 11a. Percentage of Mediterranean amphorae by regional source (of the total amphorae) in early-mid 5th century western contexts. (Reynolds [1995], Appendix B.5; Rome Schola Praeconum I: recalculated from Appendix D.19, LRA 1/Keay 52 fabric confusion, with Keay 52 clearly very common, more than LRA 1: together = 24.1%; Tarragona Vila-roma 2 and Sta Tecla/STE/1 (Remolá i Vallverdú 2000, 39, 40 and 50: I have classified his Tipo Tardío C and D as Calabrian/Italian; and his Tipo Tardío A as Aegean (Cretan), not Tripolitanian); Tomber (1989), Carthage circus. * = present, quantities unknown. – = absent.

	Tarr VR 2	Tarr STE/1	Mars B Period	Rome Livia	Rome Schola Praec I	Rome MM	Rome MM	Naples Carm	Carth Circus	Carth GB	Carth GB
LRA 1	5.6	11.5	26.7	2.4	??	4.3	6.0	0.3	0.6	2.1	6.6
LRA 2	0.6	0.3?	–	–	–	–	0.5	–	0.03	0.1	0.2
LRA 3	8.2	2.7	11.7	3.6	20.5	1.5	6.5	5.2	4.65	0.8	2.1
LRA 4	9.3	2.7	6.7	3.0	3.9	3.2	6.5	3.6	0.21	–	1.7
LRA 5	0.2	–	–	0.6	2.8	–	0.4	1.0	–	0.1	4.6
LRA 6	–	–	0.05	–	0.1	–	1.0	–	–	4.3	–

Table 11b. Percentage of Eastern Mediterranean amphorae LRA 1–6 (of the total amphorae) in early-mid 5th century western contexts (sources of data, as on Table 11a). Note that other Emed forms are not included, e.g. Samos amphorae; (?)Cretan amphora VR 8.198. Confusion between LRA 1 and Keay 52 in Schola Praeconum I, so no figure possible (together = 24.1%). * = present, quantities unknown; – = absent.

		% MNI	% MNI	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% MNV	% MNV
	Lyon	**Arles Bouche du Rhône**	**Arles Espl**	**Narb Clos Lomb**	**Mars B Son 6/7 Per 1A**	**Mars B Son 6/7 Per 1B**	**Mars B Aire 2 Per 1**	**Mars B Son 10 Per 3**	**Mars B Son 10 Per 4**
	Late 4th/ Early 5th	**Early 5th**	**Early 5th**	**Early 5th**	**Mid 5th**	**Mid 5th**	**Mid 5th**	**Late 5th**	**Late 5th +**
North African	31	56.2	33	34	25.5	36	20	50.5	55.5
Trip					0.1?				
East Med	0.06	3.8	40	9	32.5	25	44	42	35.5
Iberian	c. 4	3.8: Dr 23 3.5: Lus/Baet fish	15	c. 44	1 Dr 23: 0.1 K 19: 0.8	1		2	–
Gallic	25	8.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Italian		5.6: Keay 52 5.1: MRA	2 (Keay 52)	?	10.1	4		1.5	2
Uncl	40	12.9	15	c. 1.5	20.2	28	(36)	4	7
Residual				c. 13	11	6			
Total	**657**	**247**	**?**		**592**	**123**		**104**	**65**

	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBHS	% RBH	% RBH
	Mars Bon Jésus	**Bauc Chât Per 6**	**Mars C Titol Cont 13**	**Mars B Son 10 Per 5**	**Mars B Son 6 Per 2**	**Mars B Son 6/7 Per 3**	**Mars B Son 6/7 Per 4A**	**Mars B Son 6/7 Per 4B**	**Aud 1 A–B**	**Aud 2**
	450–500	**450–500**	**500+**	**Early 6th**	**500–525**	**Mid 6th**	**Late 6th/ e. 7th**	**Late 6th/ e. 7th**	**Late 5th**	**Mid late 6th**
North African	24.5	42	49.5	62.2	45	56.5	56	54.5	28.3	75.6
East Med	47.2	47	34	26.6	12	8	25.5	34.5	32.0	11.6
Iberian	1.8		–	–	2	–	–	–	24.5	9.5: all all res?
Gallic			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Italian	3		0.5	–	1.5	0.5	–	–	1.8	(0.5 res)
Uncl	23.5	(11)	16	11.1	33.5	29	17	10.5	13.2	2.6
Residual					6	6	1.5	1	(res FW = 11%)	
Total	**107**		**1829**	**45**	**1227**	**2264**	**2338**	**4736**	**53**	**189**

Table 12. Relative sources (%) of amphorae at Lyons, Arles, Narbonne and Marseille (Minimum Number of Vessels or sherd count/RBHS), late 4th century to late 6th/early 7th centuries. The Torre de Audiència 1A–B (late 5th) and 2 (mid-late 6th) deposits (Tarragona) is also included (Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), 55–60. Lyon: Becker, Constantin and Villedieu (1989); Arles, Bouche du Rhône: Piton (1998); Arles, Esplanade: Piton (1998), Fig. 8; Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998), Table LXXI; Bonifay, Congés and Leguilloux (1989); Narbonne-Clos de la Lombardie: Piton (1998), Fig. 8: Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998), 407, Table LXXI; Baucaire-Châteaeau: Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998), 407, Table LXXI; Marseille (Mars): Marseille-La Bourse, Sondage 6/7 and 10 and Aire 2, Marselle-Puits de la Rue du Bon Jésus, Marseille-C. Titol, Context 13: Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998).

	Keay 1: 1: 3rd–4th	Keay 35, 36 and 62: Mid 5th–6th	LRA 1 Mid 5th–6th	LRA 3 5th–6th	LRA 4 5th–6th	ARS 3rd e. 4th	ARS 4th e. 5th	ARS 430–500	ARS Late 5th–6th	LRC Mid 5th–e. 6th	LRD Late 5th–e. 6th
Mauret Tunisia	1	3 (+ 2 uncl)				22	D: 295 C: 52	1	70		
E Med			11	13	4					25	2

Table 13. Imports of Tunisian and eastern Mediterranean fine wares and amphorae at Braga (number of fragments). From Morais (in press).

	% RBHS Carth GB c. 500	% RBHS Carth GB 525/ 535	% RBHS Carth Mich VII Mid 6th	% RBHS Carth GB 550– 575	% RBHS Carth Mich XXIX c. 575?	% RBHS Carth GB c. 600	% RBHS Carth Mich XXVIII c. 600/ e. 7th	% RBHS Carth GB c. 600+	% RBHS Carth Mich XXI Late 7th
LRA 1	15.0 7.0	19.1 22.6 5.8	47.5	18.5 11.9	10.4	23.5 22.0 7.7	6.0	18.2 22.6 36.5 20.4	2.0
LRA 2	1.1	0.8 1.3 3.7	0.3	1.0 1.7	6.8	2.1 1.6 1.9	2.1	0.8 1.6 2.7 1.1	0.5
LRA 3	3.7 5.5	1.5 3.6 5.4	9.5	2.9 0.4	9.1	3.0 3.3 2.1	3.7	6.2 2.5 1.4 2.5	–
LRA 4	0.9 0.5	0.04 0.8 0.1	6.5	0.5 1.1	10.1	0.9 0.1 0.4	13.6	0.5 0.2 11.6 –	0.5
LRA 5	2.7 0.7	1.6 1.2 0.4	6.4	1.1 0.9	11.3	0.5 1.5 1.2	2.5	0.5 – 4.9 –	–
LRA 6							0.09		
LRA 7					12.4	*?	8.3	*	1.7
Samos family: Fig. 13g	*	*		*					

	% RBH Benalúa 42.4 Mid 6th	% RBH Tarr Aud 1A–B Late 5th	% RBH Tarr Aud 2 Mid-late 6th	% RBH Soledad Cartagena c. 621/625	% RBH Cartagena Theatre c. 621/625
LRA 1	12.7	7.5	6.3	13.9	15.1
LRA 2	1.0	1.8	2.1	1.2	2.1
LRA 3	2.8 (+ 0.3 = uncl form)	1.8	1.0	–	–
LRA 4	4.6	18.8	0.5	–	4.3
LRA 5	0.7	1.8	1.0	5.0	–
LRA 6	–	–		–	–
LRA 7	–	–		1.2	–
Samos family	0.3	1.8	0.5	–	–
Total	**282**	**53**	**189**	**79**	**139**

	RBHS count S. Giov Ruoti 3–7 460–535	% RBHS? Capua	% RBHS Naples Carmin c. 500	% MNV SP II c. 500	% MNV Mars Son 10 Period 4 Late 5th+	% RBHS Mars C Titol Cont 13 500+	% RBHS Mars B Son 6 Per 2 500–525	% RBHS Mars B Son 6/7 Per 3 Mid 6th	% RBHS Mars B Son 6/7 Per 4A Late 6th/ e. 7th	% RBHS Mars B Son 6/7 Per 4B Late 6th/ e. 7th
LRA 1	21	0.9	2.7 3.5	?	15.3	17.8	8.9	5.5	6.5	7.3
LRA 2	1	–	1.7 1.5	0.3	1.5	–	–	0.5	3.2 (74 sherds)	1.4 (65 sherds)
LRA 3	–	4.0	2.3 2.8	29.1	1.5	3.6	2.4	1.1	0.6	0.2
LRA 4	22	2.0	6.9 6.8	9.5	1.5	0.9	1.0	1.4	6.9	13.4 (584 sherds)
LRA 5	–?	–	1.3 2.0	1.5	1.5	11.5	0.08	0.04	7.8	12.2 (531 sherds)
LRA 6	–	–			1.5	–	0.2	–	0.2	–
LRA 7		–	1.6 0.9		–	–	–	–	0.4	–0
Samos family: Fig. 13g	?	0.9?	–?	–	4.6		0.08	–	0.4 (–1.08: base fig. 89.86)	
Uncl Emed	?			4.8 (crete?)	1.5 (Akko)					
Total			**1095 1345**	**104**	**65**	**1829 (no residual)**	**1150 (no residual)**	**2128 (no residual)**	**2304 (no residual)**	**4347 (no residual)**

	% RBH Cripta Balbi 650–700	% RBH S. Ant Perti T2-4 Late 6th/ e. 7th–650	% RBH S. Ant Perti T1 650–700	% RBHS Naples Carmin Mannesi c. 600	% RBHS Tintagel	RBHS Count 'British Isles' 450–600
LRA 1	3	–	–	7.7	common	62++
LRA 2		LRA 2: 6.8 of late 6th/7th (= 3% total T2-4) (absent post 610)	LRA 2: 6.6	5.1	v. common/ abundant	40++
S Italian or Aegean LRA 13	2: both sources or S Italian?	15.1, only 610–650	23.3	S Italian common		
LRA 3	1.5	1.7 of only late 6th/7; (0.7 of total sequence); absent post 610	–	–	Rare	8
LRA 4	5	1.7 of late 6th/7th; absent post 610	–	14.9	Rare	3
LRA 5	13	3% (present T2 and 4)	13.3	1.5	Absent	
LRA 6	–	–	–		Absent	
LRA 7	1.5	–	–	0.5	Absent	
Samos family: Fig. 13g Uncl Emed	8	Present? But rare		4.9	rare	26
	RBHS c. 16363?	**132**	**30**	**389**	**785**	

Table 14. The comparative supply of certain eastern Mediterranean amphora forms (LRA 1–7, LRA 13 and Samos amphorae: **Fig. 13** and **20b**) to sites in the western Mediterranean and in the British Isles, c. 450–7th century. MNV = minimum number of vessels. See Reynolds (1995), Appendices, with references, for data on Carthage, S. Giovanni di Ruoti, Capua, Naples, the British Isles; figures for the Benalúa deposit have been recalculated from the catalogue presented in Reynolds (1995), Appendix C.1: see here Table 16, for a full resumé; figures for Cartagena C. Soledad recalculated; Cartagena-Theatre, calculated from Ramallo Asensio, Ruiz Valderas and Berrocal Caparrós (1997); the Torre de Audiència figures are from Remolà I Vallverdú (2000a), 60. The data for Tintagel and Bantham is courtesy of Richard Jones and Paul Bidwell, respectively, and from my personal observation of the material.

	% MNV Mars B Son 10 Period 3 Late 5th	% MNV Mars B Son 10 Period 4 Late 5th+	% RBHS Mars B Son 10 Per 5 Early 6th	% RBHS Mars C Titol Cont 13 500+	% RBHS Mars B Son 6 Per 2 500–525	% RBHS Mars B Son 6/7 Per 3 Mid 6th	% RBHS Mars B Son 6/7 Per 4A Late 6th/ e. 7th	% RBHS Mars B Son 6/7 Per 4B Late 6th/ early 7th
Tunisian	50.5	55.5	62.2	49.5	45	56.5	56	54.5
East Med	42	35.5	26.6	34	12	8	25.5	34.5
Unclass	4	7	11.1	(11)	33.5	29	17	10.5
Total	**104**	**65**	**45**		**1227**	**2264**	**2338**	**4736**

	RBHS count S. Giov Ruoti 3–7 460–535	% RBHS? Capua c. 500	% RBHS Naples Carmin c. 500	% MNV SP II c. 500	% RBHS Naples Carmin Mannesi c. 600	% RBH S. Ant Perti T2–T4 600–650	% RBH S. Ant Perti T1 650–700
Tunisian	11.9	30.2	21 22.8	40.4	18.8	76.5	58
East Med	53.7	8	c. 16.5 c. 17.5	32.9?	38.2	31	41.9
Unclass	34.3	60.5	45 59.7	?	38.3		
Total	**134**			**104**		**132**	**30**

%	% RBH Torre Aud 1A–B Late 5th	% RBH Tarr Aud 2 Mid-late 6th	% RBH Benalúa 42.4 Mid 6th	% RBH C. Sol Cartag c. 621/ 625	% RBH Cartagena Theatre c. 621/ 625	RBHS Tintagel 500–550
Tunisian	28.3	75.6	29.7	27.8: Tun 6.3: buff spath	60.5% (Spath: 27.7; Keay 61–62: 32.8)	absent
East Med	32.0	11.6	22.6	21.5	21.8	abundant
Hispania	24.5	9.5 (but all res?): 0.5 = local	44.6: 34% = local	Bal: 1.3 Local?: 17.7	1.4: Globular? (Balearic?)	common
Unclass	13.2	2.6	2.8	Uncl buff: 17.7% Reynolds Uncl 1–3: 7.5 %	Uncl: 5.1% 'Keay 32'/ Reynolds Uncl 1–3: 12.4%	–
Total	**53**	**189**	**282**	**79**	**137**	**785**

	% RBHS Carth GB c. 500	% RBHS Carth GB VII 525–535	% RBHS Carth Mich Mid 6th	% RBHS Carth GB 550–575	% RBHS Carth Italian 500–550	% RBHS Carth Italian 550–600	% RBHS Carth GB c. 600	% RBHS Carth Mich XXVIII c. 600/ e. 7th	% RBHS Carth GB c. 600+	% RBHS Carth Mich XXI Late 7th
Tunisian	50.1 34.1	62.6		68.5	33.1	34.0	55.8		53.8	
East Med	23.4 13.6	22.6	64.5–70.2	19.5	34.8	31.7	23.9	33.2–36.2	33.5	5.4
Unclass	**26.2 52.1**	**14.4**		**11.6**	**29.4**	**31.9**	**19.9**		**12.2**	

Table 15. The comparative supply of Tunisian v. eastern Mediterranean amphorae in western Mediterranean sites and Tintagel, 6th to 7th centuries; the figures for S. Antonino di Perti (Liguria) and Tarragona derive from Remolá i Vallverdú (2000a); see Reynolds (1995), Appendices, for Carthage, S. Giovanni, Capua, Naples, Rome; the figures for Benalúa 42.4 have been recalculated from Appendix C.1; figures for Cartagena C. Soledad recalculated; Cartagena-Theatre, calculated from Ramallo Asensio, Ruiz Valderas and Berrocal Caparrós (1997); for Marseille, see Bonifay, Carre and Rigoir (1998); Tintagel information is from the Glasgow excavations.

	Butrint	S. Gio Ruoti	Carth	Carth	Capua	Nap	Nap	Rome SP II	Rome Crip Balb	S.Ant Perti	S. Ant Perti
Regional sources and date	**450–550**	**450–535**	**500–550**	**600**	**500**	**500**	**600**	**500**	**650–700**	**600–650**	**650–700**
Aegean/Western Asia Minor:											
Phocean LRC 450–550	****	***	*	–	–	*	*	*	–	–	–
LRC 550–7th	**			–			–	–	–	–	–
LRA 2	****	*	*	**	–	*	**		**	**	**
										Some S Italian?	Some S Italian?
Ephesus region LRA 3	*	–	**	**	**		–	****	*	*	–
Samos region	****	–?	*		*?		**		***	*?	–?
Aegean cooking pots	***	?	**	**	–	**	*	?	**	–	–
									Check		
Northern Levant: Cilicia/Cyprus: LRA 1	****	***	****	****	*	**	**	**	**	–	–
Cypriot LRD	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Southern Levant Palestine-Egypt:											
Keisan cooking pots	*	–?	–	*	–	–		–	–	–	–
LRA 4	**	***	**	*	*	**	****	***	**	*	–
LRA 5	*	–	**	*	–	*	**	*	***	**	***
LRA 6	–	–	–	–	–	–?	–?		–	–	–
LRA 7	–	–	*	*?	–	*	*	*	*	*	–?
?E Sicilian cooking pots (Ware 6)	***		***	–?	–	*	–	–	–	–	
Tunisia:											
ARS	***	**	****	****		**	*		****	****	
Amphorae	***	**	****	****		****	****		****	****	

	Mars	Mars	Tarr Aud 2	Ali Ben	Cart Nova	Belo FW only	Braga	Tint	Bant	Other B Isles
Regional sources and date	**500–550**	**600**	**550–575**	**Mid 6th**	**600**		**450–550**	**450–550**	**525–550**	**450–600**
Aegean/Western Asia Minor:										
Phocean LRC 450–550	*		–	****	*	***	***	***		
LRC 550–7th		*			–	**	–	**		
LRA 2			**	*	*		–	****	–	***
Ephesus region LRA 3	**	*		**	–		***	*		
Samos region	*	*	*	*	–?			*		
Aegean cooking pots	*	**	(*)	***		*	–	–	–	–
Northern Levant:										
Cilicia/Cyprus: LRA 1	****	**	***	***	***		**	***	***	****
Cypriot LRD	*	–	–	**	*	**	*	–	–	–
Southern Levant Palestine-Egypt:										
Keisan cooking pots	**	**	(*check)	–	–		–	–	–	–
LRA 4	*	***	*	**	**		*	*	*	
LRA 5	***	***	*	*	*		–	–	–	
LRA 6	*	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	
LRA 7	*		–	–	–		–	–	–	
?E Sicilian cooking pots (Ware 6)	**–**	–	–	****	–		–	–	–	–
Tunisia:										
ARS	****	**	****	****	****	****	****	**		
Amphorae	****	****		****	****			*		
Baetica				**	–		–	**		
Bordeaux FW and Cooking pots								***		

Table 16. A rough guide to the relative quantities and distribution of eastern fine wares, cooking wares and amphorae, ?Sicilian cooking wares and Tunisian fine wares and amphorae in the western Mediterranean and Atlantic (western Portugal and the British Isles). See also Map 10 for LRC. The pottery is presented in geographical groups according to origin. A rough indication of rough quantities and relative importance is indicated as follows: * = rare or occasional find; ** = more than 2%/moderate; *** = common; **** = very common, of the most common of its class in an assemblage.

Fine wares:	**Fragments**	**% of Total FW**
TSH	1	0.13
ARS	649	88.29
LRC	73	9.93
LRD	8	1.08
Pal Grise	4	0.54
Total Fine Wares	**735**	
Amphorae:	**RBH**	**% of Total amphorae**
Tunisian	84	29.7
Eastern Mediterranean	64	22.6 = LRA 1: 12.7 LRA 2: 1.0 LRA 3: 2.8 Uncl Ephesus rim: 0.3 Cf. Samos base: 0.3 LRA 4: 4.6 LRA 5: 0.3 (complete) LRA 5/Caesarea: 0.3
Baetican	12 (2 bases = Dressel 23?) 5 = Keay 23 2 = Keay 30Bis and foot in same Malaga fabric (Keay 19?) 1 = Keay 19A 2 = Keay 19C	4.2
(Mauretanian Keay 1)	(1 handle, residual: not included in figures)	
Balearic Keay 79 and 70 (includes decorated shoulders, so 'weighted' higher than other classes in table)	18	6.3
Local/Regional: Ware 1.48–49, 52 (spatheion), 53–60, 62, 63, 70: **Fig. 17**	45 amphorae (W1.48–52) and 51 'flagon-amphorae' (W1.55–70)	34 (amphorae, including spatheia (5) = 15.9%; Flagon-amph: 18%)
Unclassified	8 (may include Spanish)	2.8
Total Amphorae	**282**	
Wheelmade coarse wares:	**No of fragments**	**% of Total Plain**
Plain (including mortars)		
Local (Ware 1) = Plain (**Fig. 16b–c**)	437	71.17
Regional (Ware 1a–e) = Plain	32	5.21
Tunisian (W11a–d, f)	105	17.10
Limyra ('Ware 11g')	13	2.11
Unclassified imports	27	4.39
Total Plain	**614**	

Cooking wares		**% Total WM Cooking**	**% of Total Cooking**
Murcian (Ware 2)	30	13.63	4.50
Regional or Baetican? (Ware 3)	15	6.81	2.25
Tarragona (Ware 5): **Fig. 21e**	12	5.45	1.80
Eastern Sicily? (Ware 6): **Fig. 24e–g**	69	31.36	10.36
Tunisia (Ware 11h) Fulford Cass 12	14	6.36	2.10
Aegean (Wares 7–8) (Fulford Cass 35): **Fig. 22a**	37	16.81	5.55
Aegean (Ware 9) Fulford D 9: **Fig. 24b**	13	5.90	1.95
Limyra ('Ware 11g'): **Fig. 24c–d**	18	8.18	2.70
Unclassified imports	12	5.45	1.80
Total Wheelmade Cooking Wares	**220**		
Handmade cooking wares		**% of Total HM Cooking**	**% of Total Cooking**
Pantellerian (HW1):	2	0.44	0.30
Aeolian islands (LRCW II): **Fig. 22b**	329	73.76	49.39
Calabrian? (LRCW III): **Fig. 22c**	29	6.50	4.35
NE Tunisian (HW 4): **Fig. 22d**	1	0.22	0.15
NE Tunisian (HW 5): **Fig. 22e**	2	0.44	0.30
Sardinia (HW 6): **Fig. 22f**	2	0.44	0.30
(NE) Murcia (HW 8): **Fig. 21c–d**	8	1.79	1.20
(SW) Murcia (HW 9)	3	0.67	0.45
Lower Segura Valley? (HW10)	65	14.57	9.75
Unclassified HM import	5	0.67	0.75
Total HM Cooking wares	**446**		
Total Cooking wares (WM and HM)	**666**		
Lycian unguentaria: Fig. 24h	**3+**		
Lamps			
Imperial	1		
Tunisian ARS	23–24		
(Tunisian) green imitations	5		
Anamur? Lycia? Bailey Q3339	8		
Other imports	4		
Local Ware 1	4		
Total Lamps	**46**		
Total Pottery RBH	**2346**		

Table 17. Summary of pottery finds in the Benalúa assemblage. Reynolds (1995), 194–246, Appendix C.1 = Reynolds (1993), site 42.4.

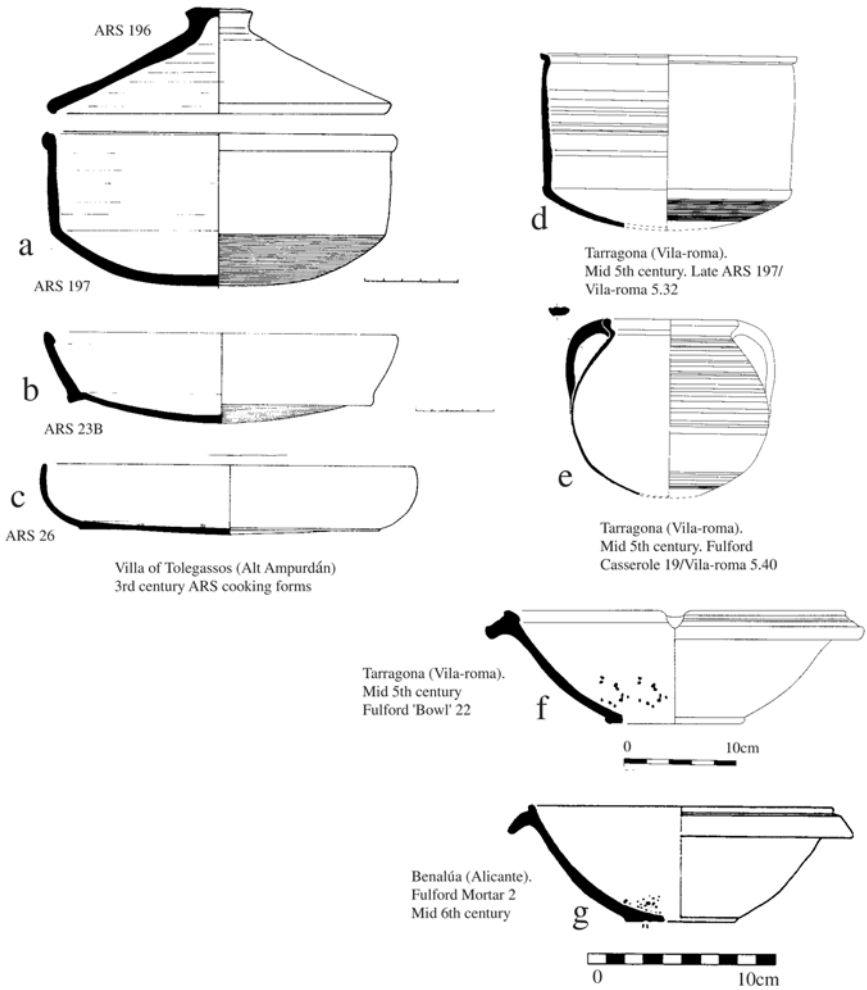


Figure 1a–g. Tunisian cooking ware imports in Spain, 3rd century, mid 5th century and mid 6th century examples. Casas and Nolla (1993); Macias i Sole (1999); Reynolds (1993).

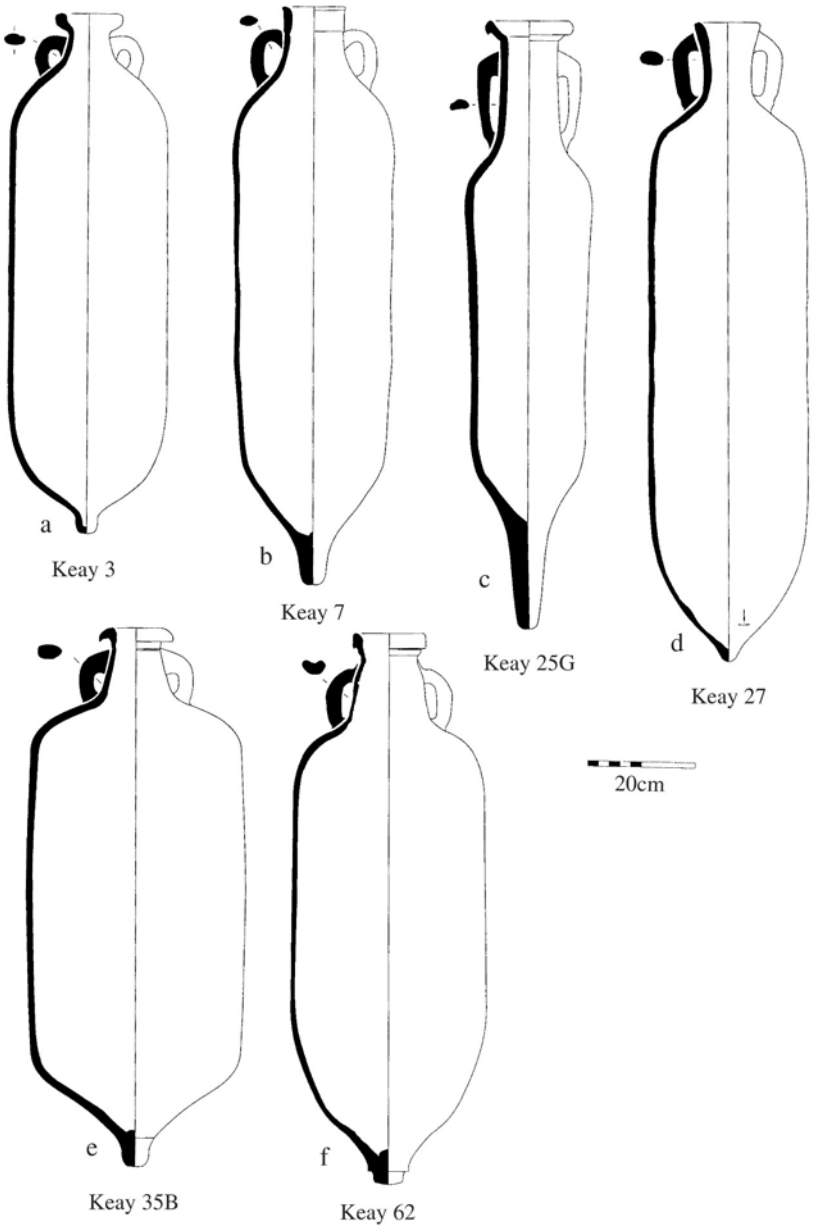


Figure 2a–f. Tarragona. Tunisian amphorae. Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), figs. 15–16.

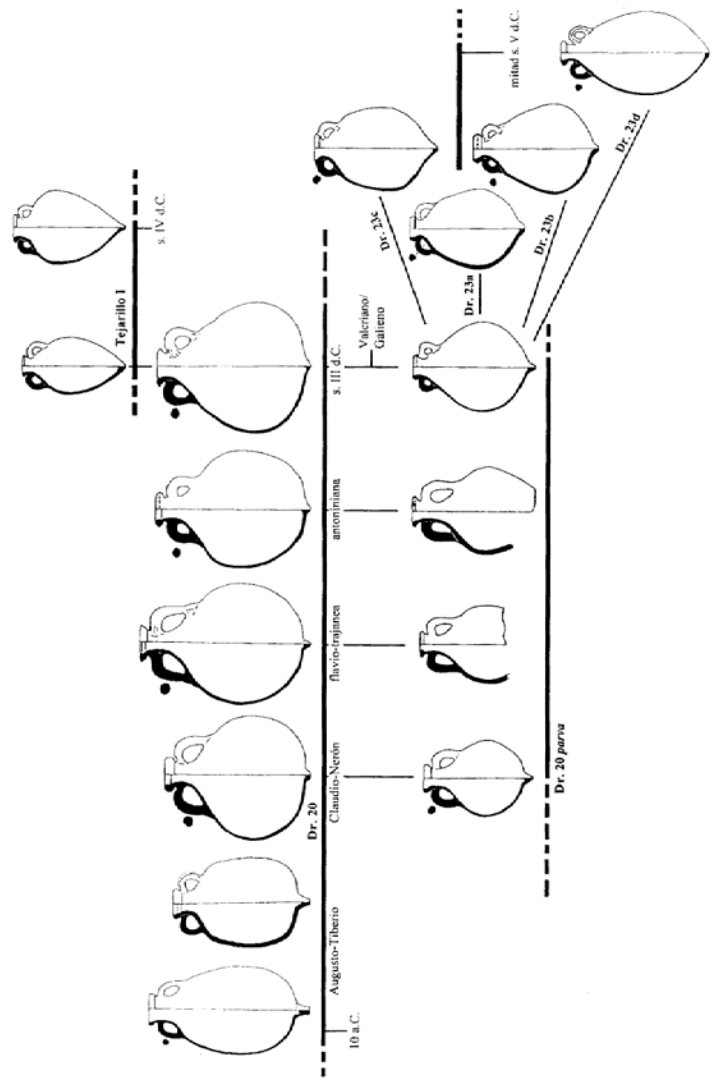


Figure 3. Typological development of Baetican oil amphorae Dressel 20 to Dressel 23/Keay 13. Berni Millet (1998), Fig. 3.

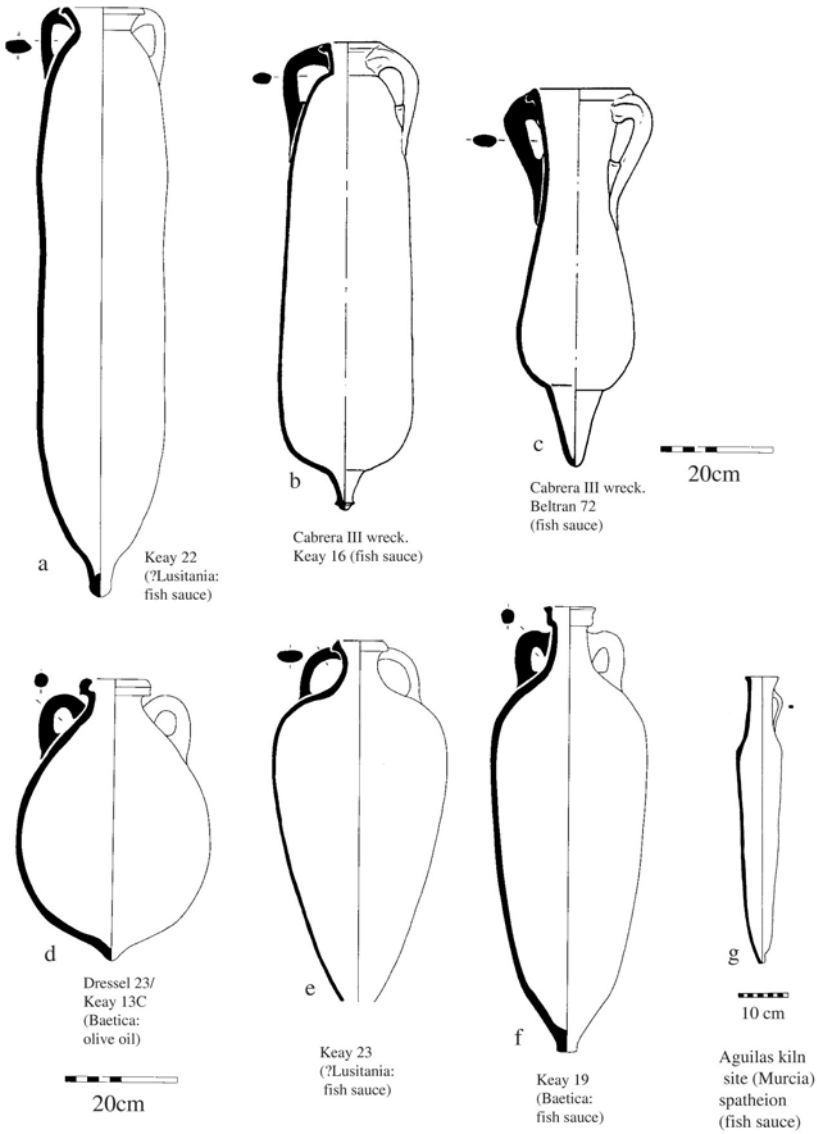


Figure 4a–g. Mid-late Roman amphorae from Lusitania and Baetica: Remolà Vallverdú (200a;) Bost et al. (1992) Amphpra from Murcia: Ramallo Asensio (1985), Fig. 2.

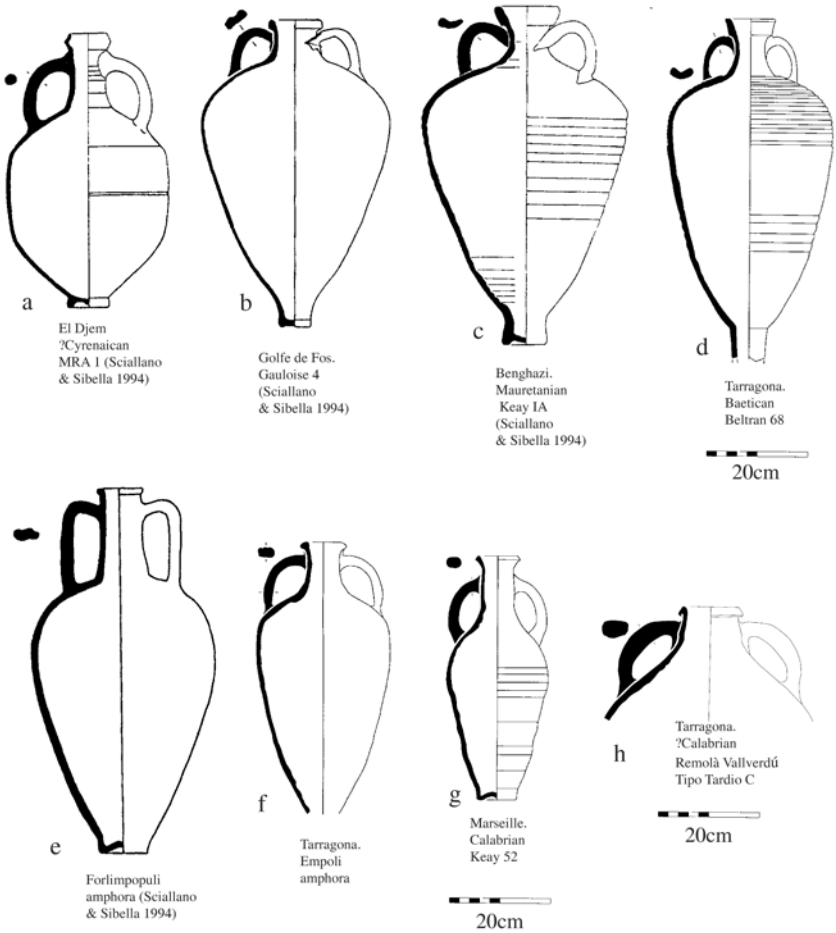


Figure 5a–h. Western Mediterranean wine amphorae. From Remolà i Valleverdú (2000a), except where indicated.

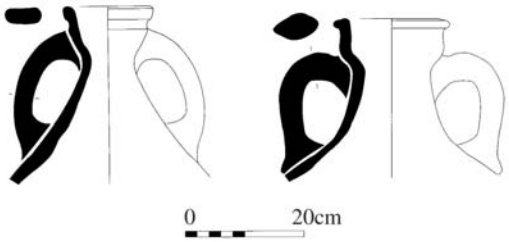


Figure 6. Tarragona. ?Barcelona Tarraconensian amphorae Keay 68/91. Mid 5th century. Remolà i Vallverdú (2000a), Figs. 67.9 & 68.4.

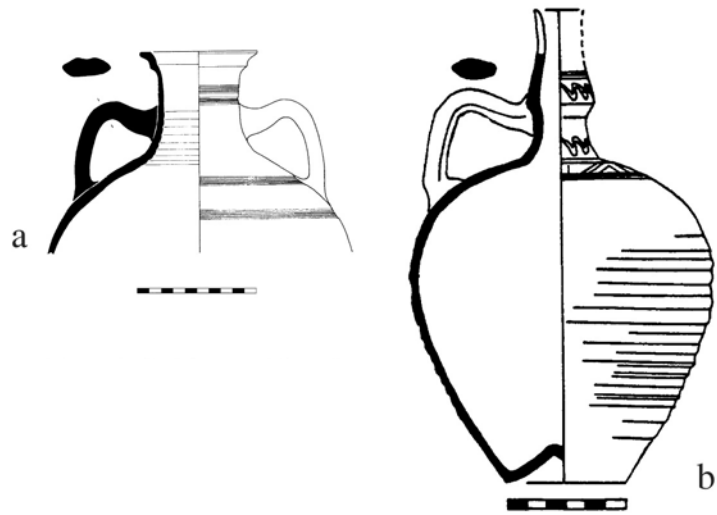


Figure 7a–b. Balearic (Ibizan) wine amphorae, a: L'Illa de Cullera, Reynolds Ware 4.1: García Villanueva and Roselló Mesquida (1935); b. Ibiza. Keay 79: Ramón (1996), Fig. 10. (both with 10 cm scales)

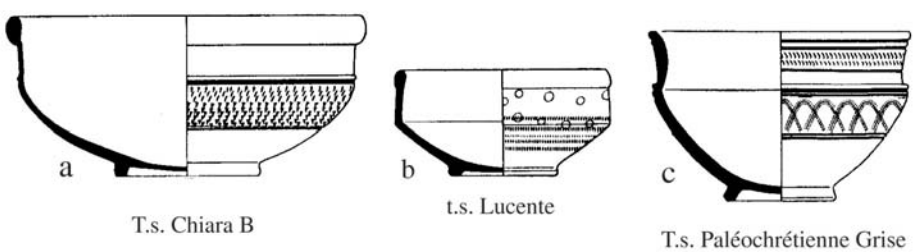


Figure 8a–c. South Gaulish Late Roman table wares. Rigoir (1968), 178.

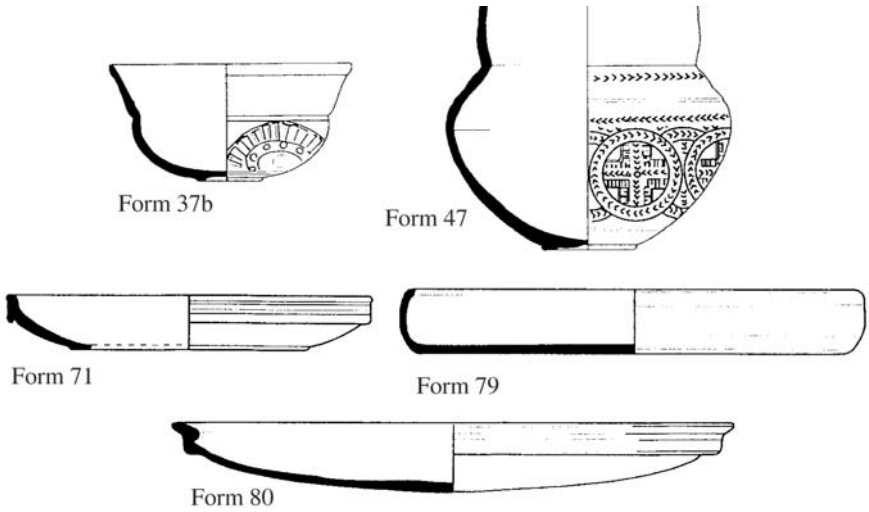


Figure 9. Terra Sigillata Hispánica Tardía (TSHT) decorated and plain forms. Roca Roumens and Fernández Garcia (1999).

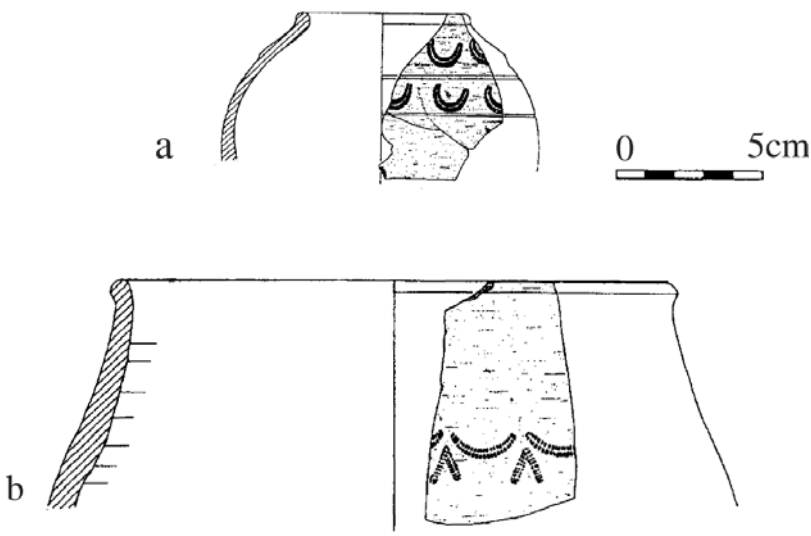


Figure 10a–b. Coarse burnished imitation of sigillata. Small and large jar forms. Carlos and Juan Tovar (1997), Figs. 5.36 and 41.

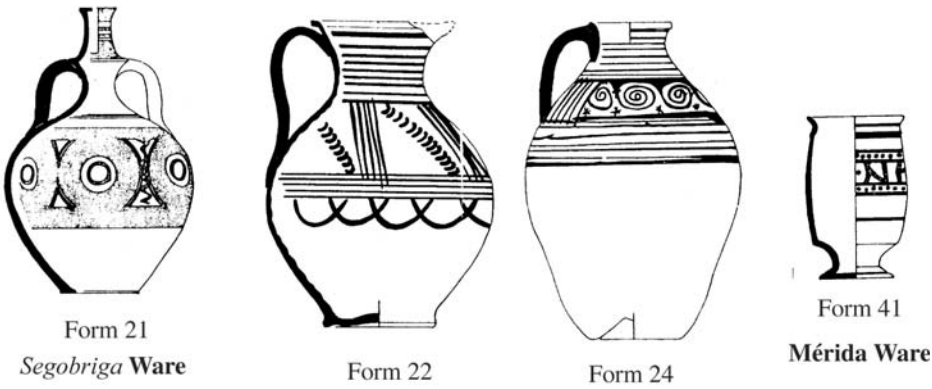


Figure 11. Painted Wares. Abascal Palazón (1986). *Segobriga* Ware, Forms 21, 22 and 24; Mérida Ware, Form 41

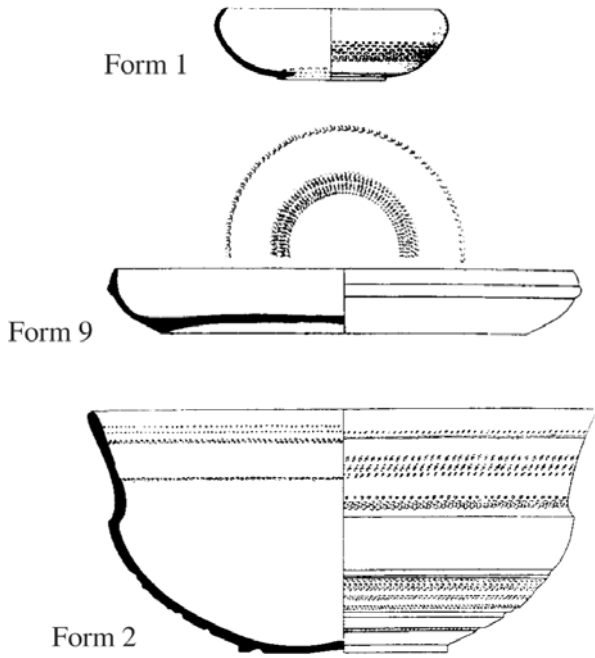


Figure 12. Terra Sigillata Meridional. Orfila Pons (1996).

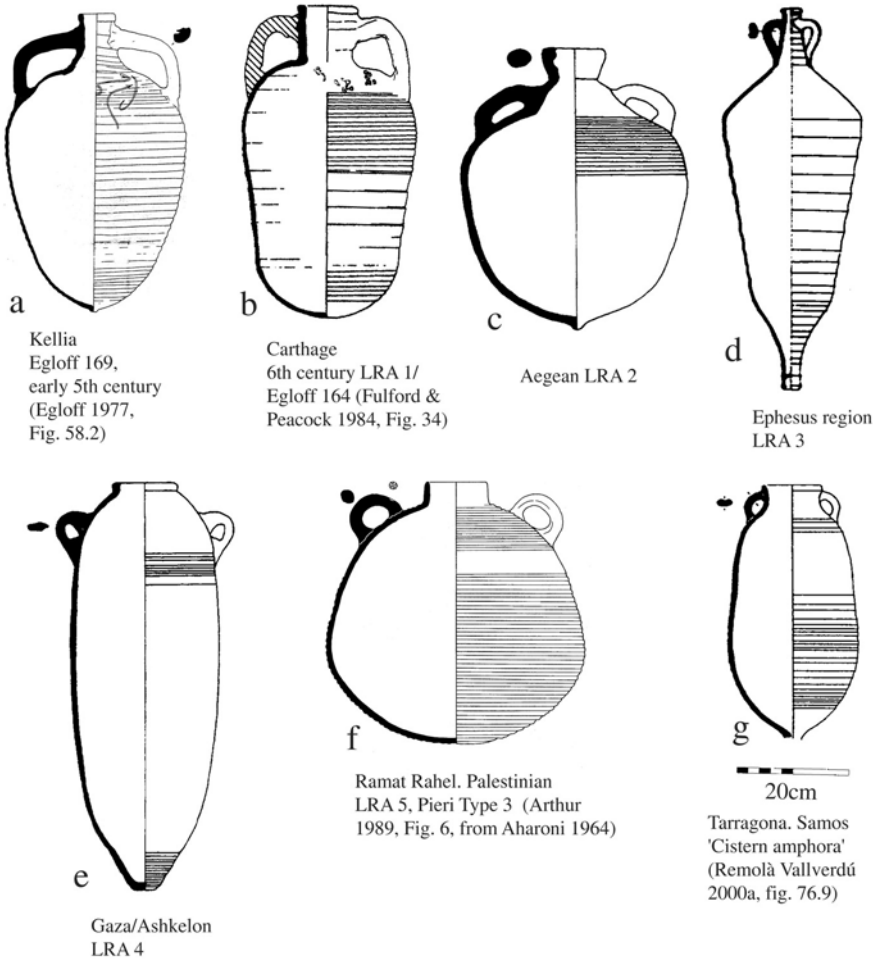


Figure 13a–g. Eastern Mediterranean amphora types (b, d and e to the same scale: from Fulford and Peacock [1984]).

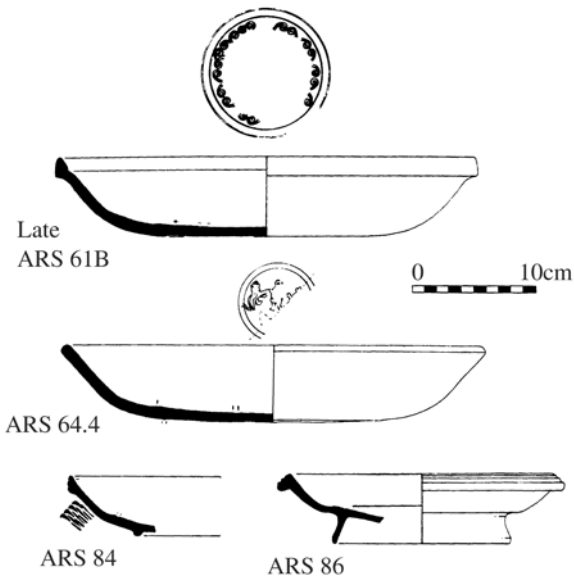


Figure 14. Vinalopó Valley (Alicante). Examples of Vandal period ARS forms. Reynolds (1993).

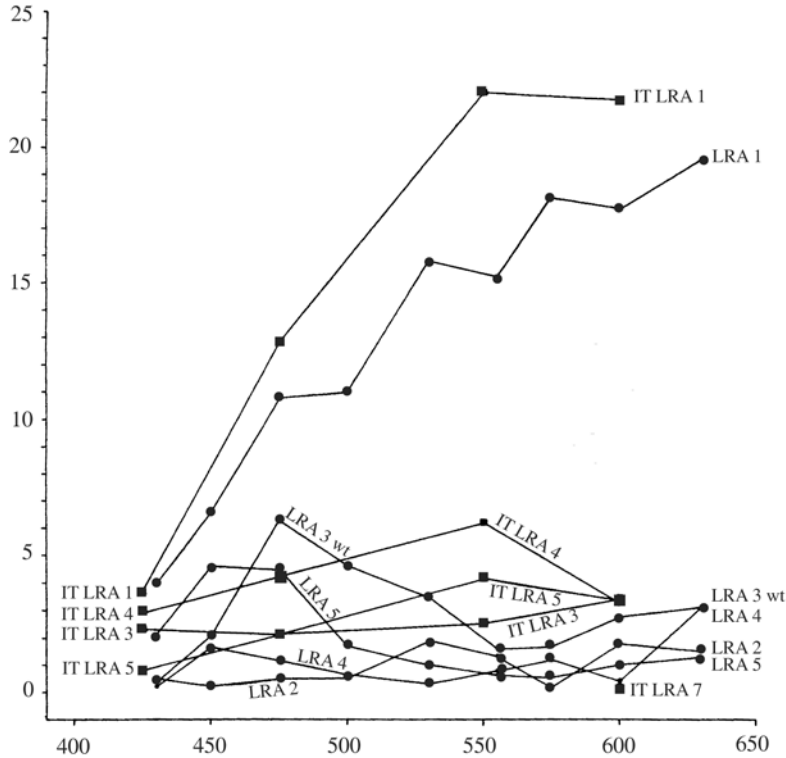


Figure 15. Relative percentages of principal eastern Mediterranean amphora forms in the British (Habib Bourghiba site) and Italian excavations at Carthage. Reynolds (1995), Fig. 158.

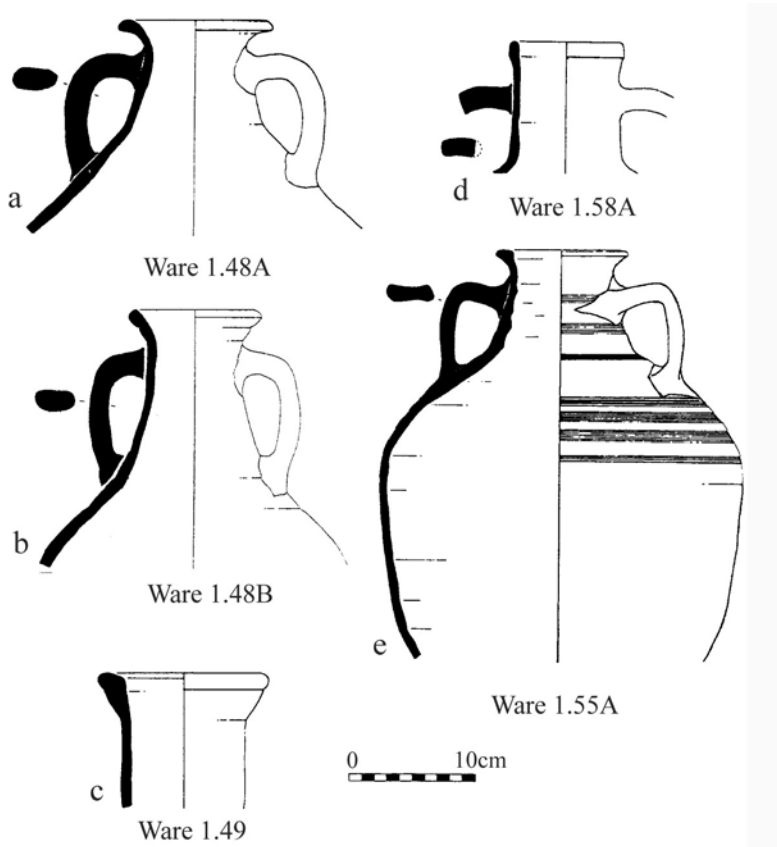


Figure 16a–e. Local 5th–6th century amphorae in the Vinalopó Valley (Alicante). Reynolds (1993).

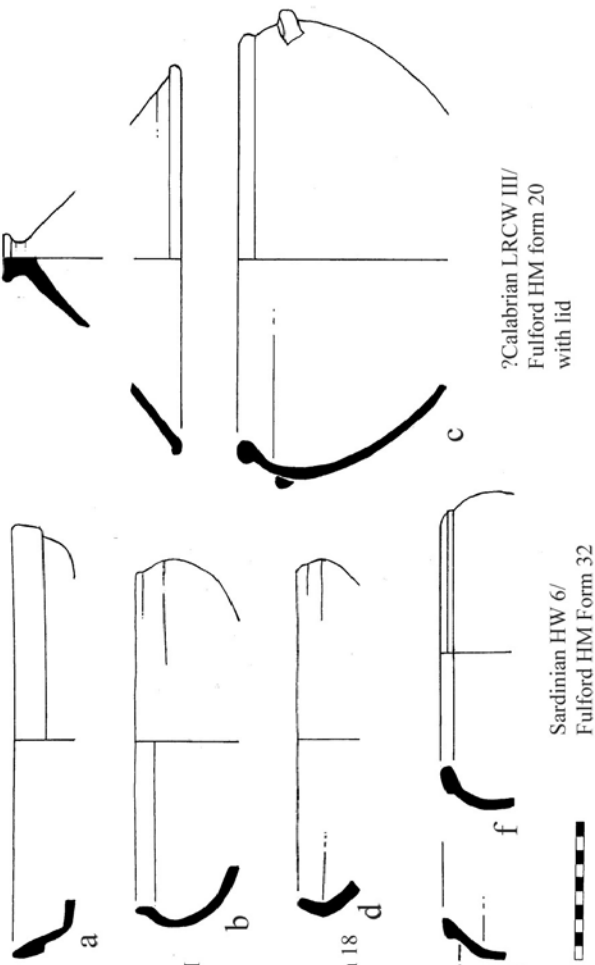


Figure 17a–f. Santa Pola (Pantellerian Ware: 5th century) and Benalúa (Alicante) (others: mid 6th century). Imported handmade/slow wheelmade wares from the south-central Mediterranean. Reynolds (1993).

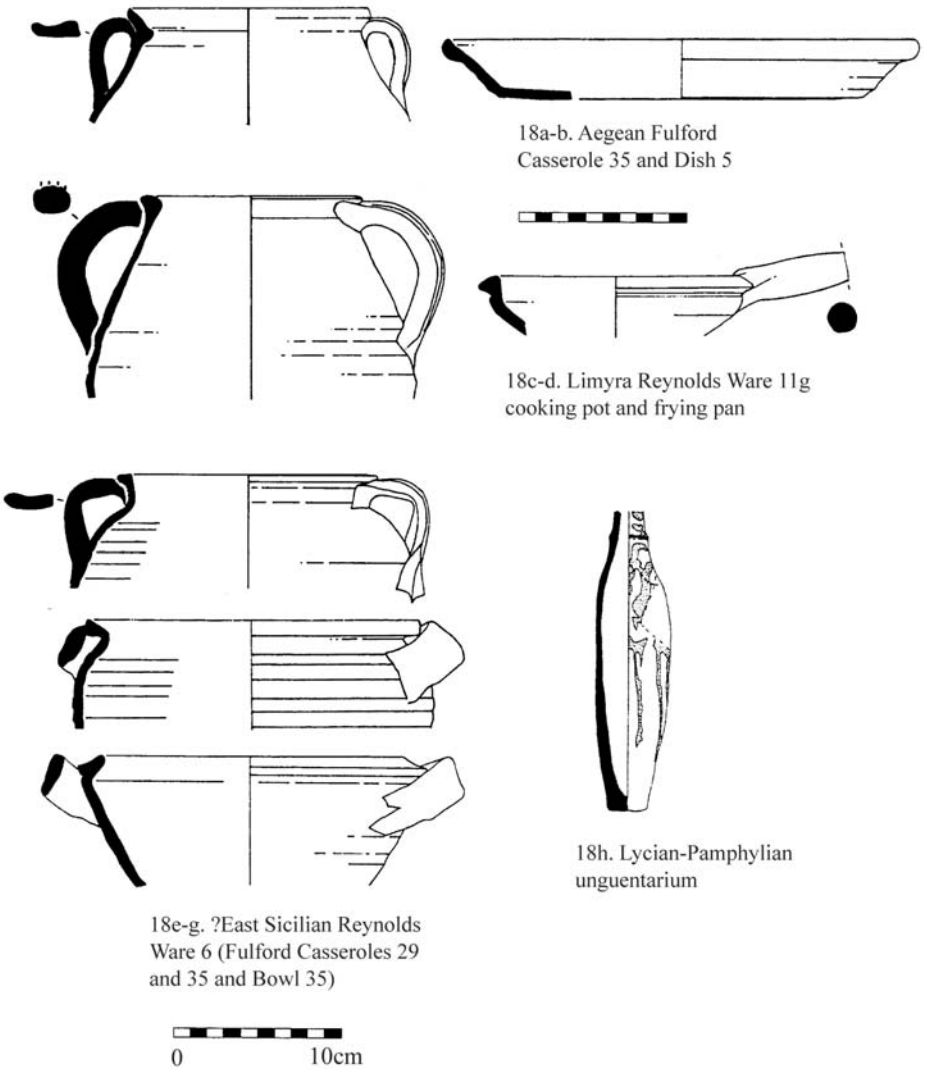
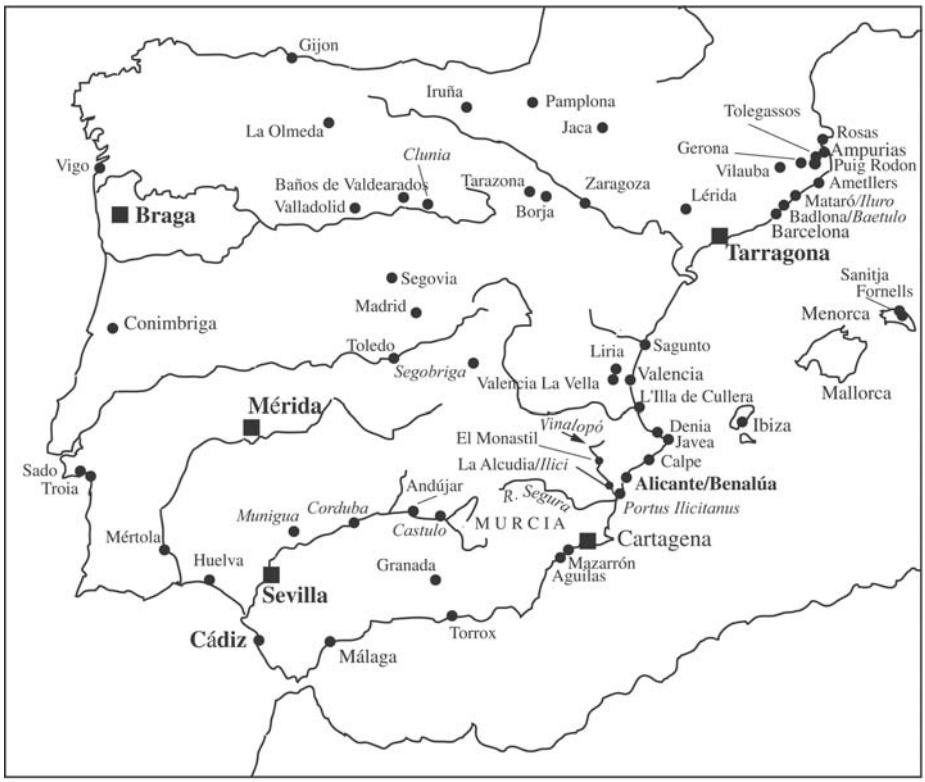
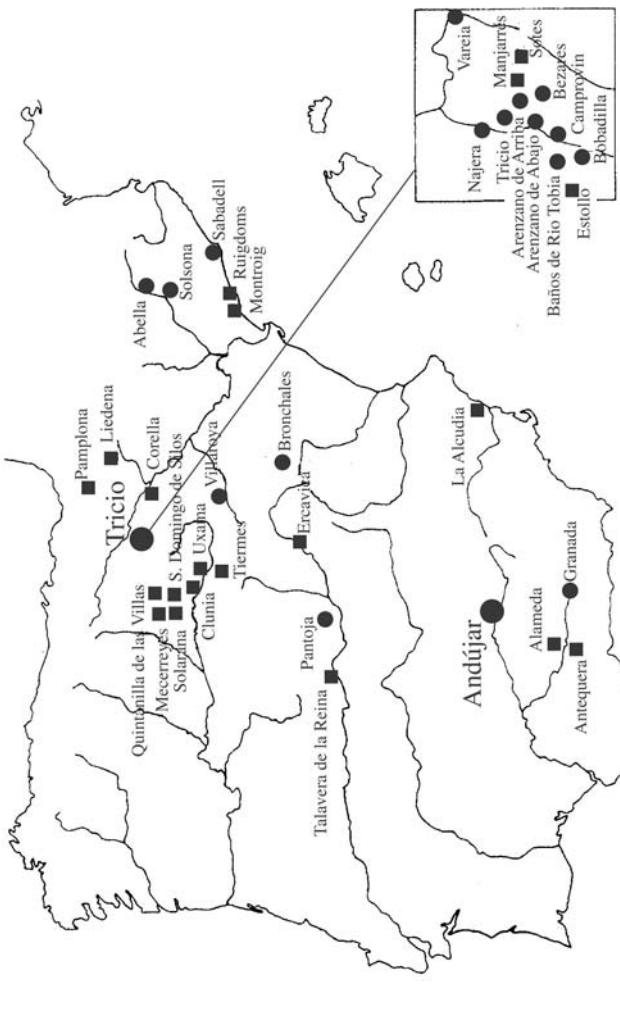


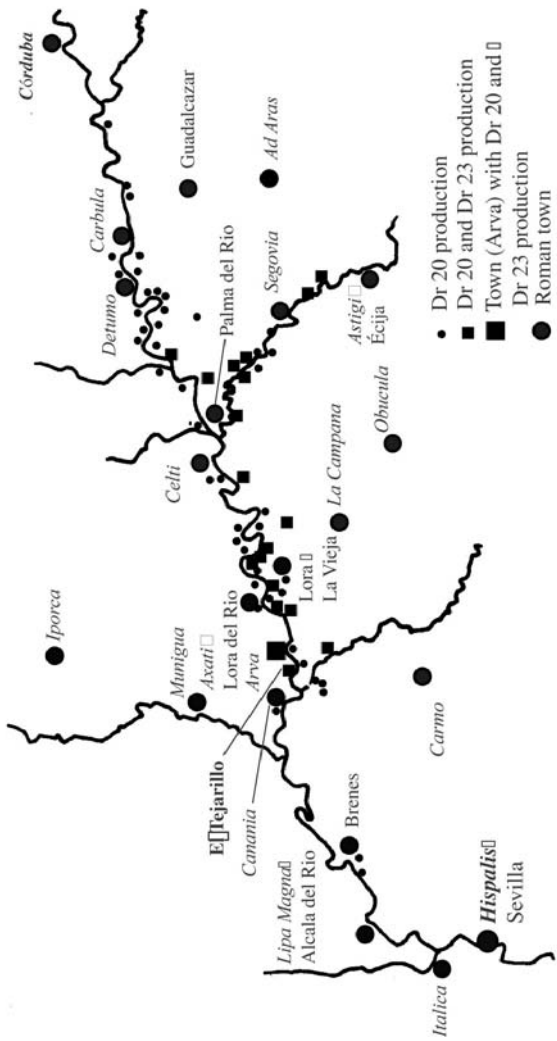
Figure 18a–h. Benalúa (Alicante). Imported wheelmade cooking wares and unguentarium.



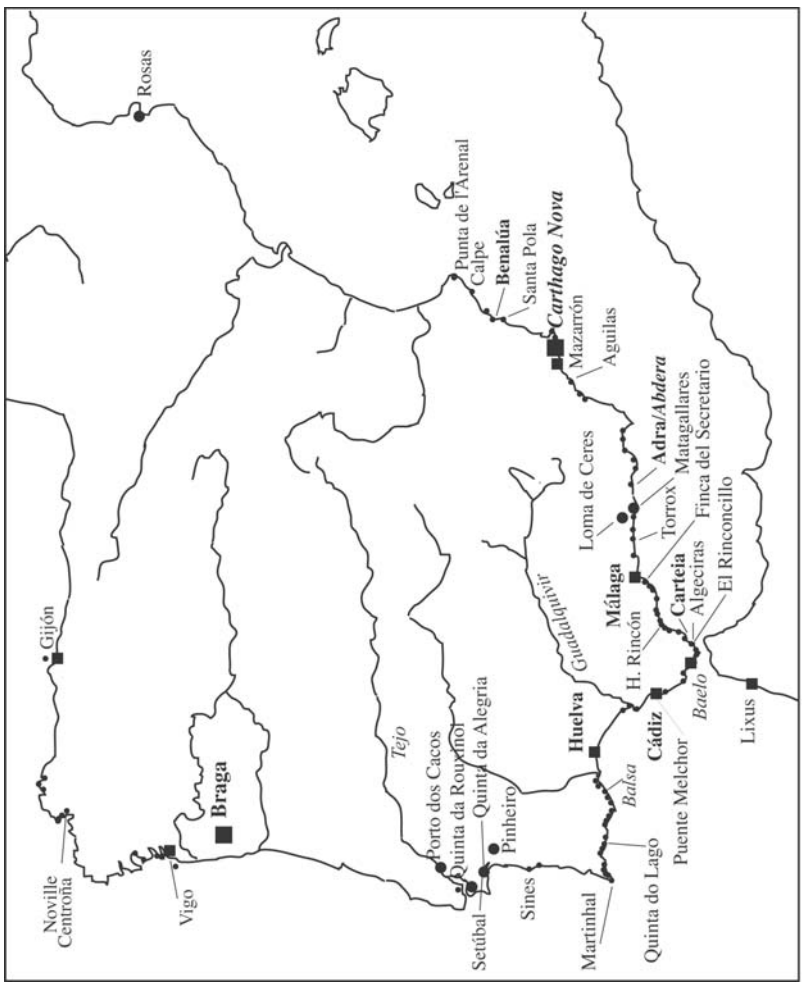
Map 1. Principal sites in the Iberian Peninsula and Balearics mentioned in the text.



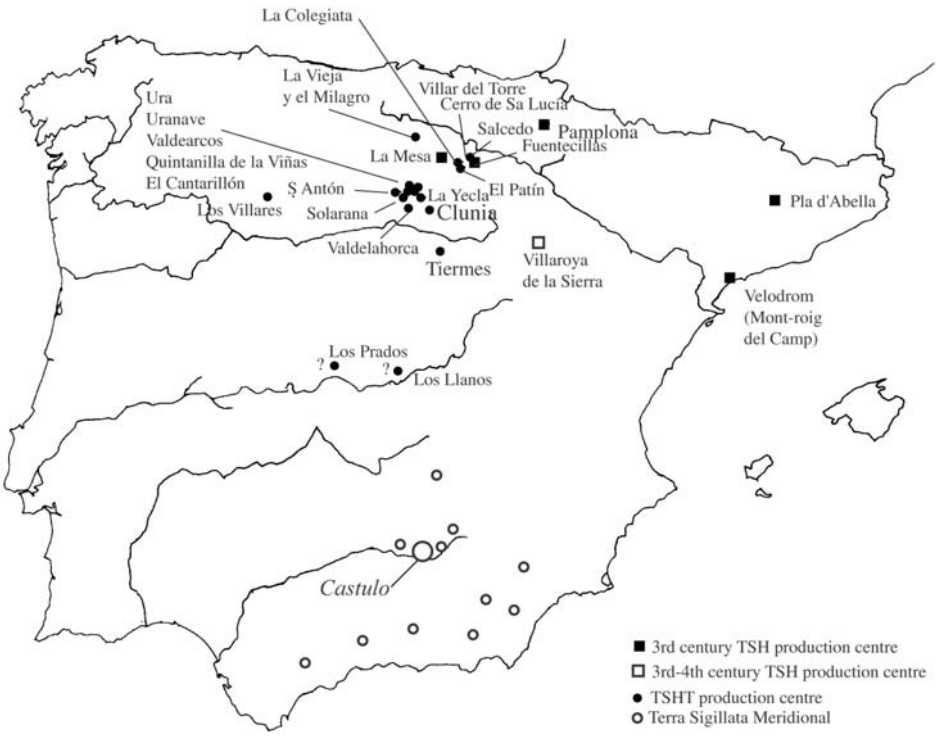
Map 2. Distribution of Terra Sigillata Hispanica production sites (from Saenz Preciado & Saenz Preciado 1999, Fig. 2).



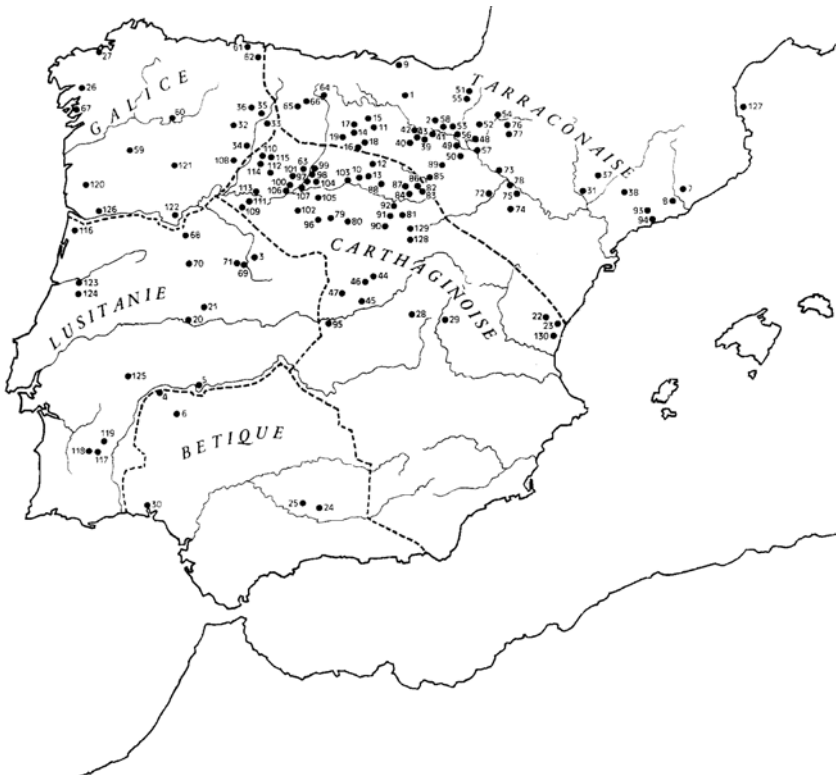
Map 3. Distribution of Dressel 20 and Dressel 23 kiln sites on the Guadalquivir and tributaries (from Remesal 1983, Fig. 1).



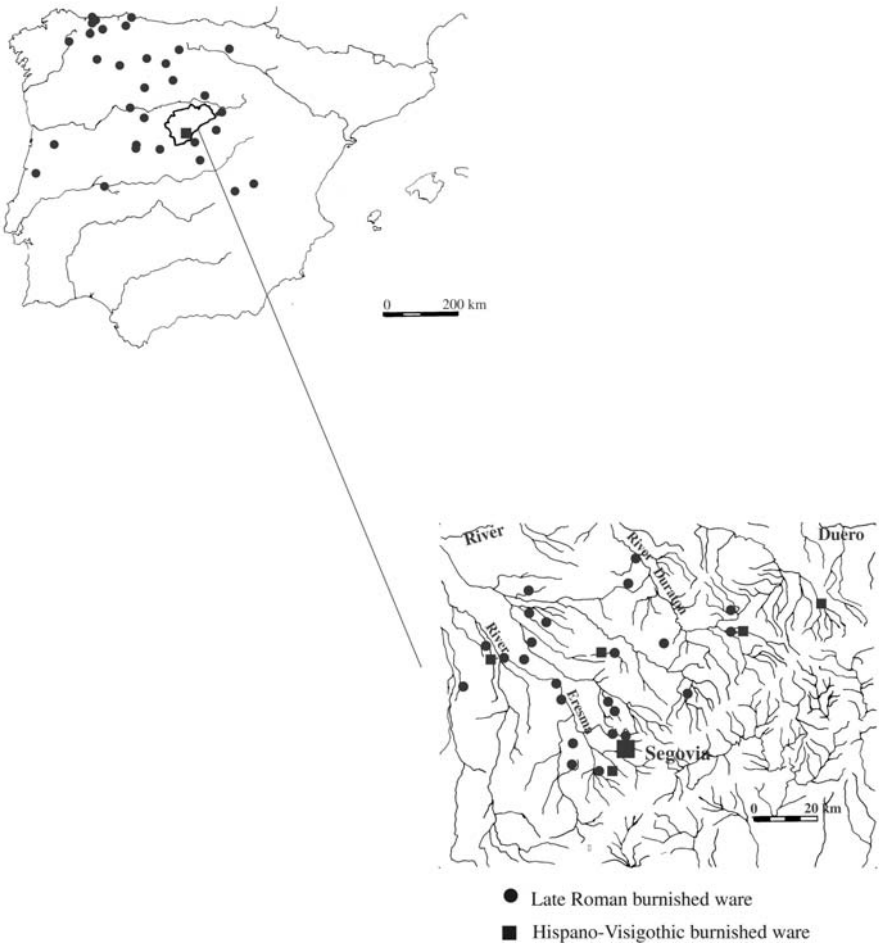
Map 4. Fish sauce and coastal amphora production sites.



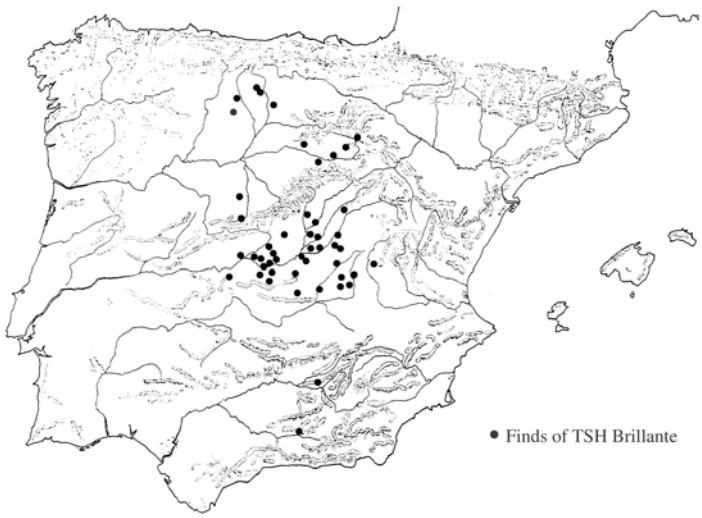
Map 5. The distribution of TSH and TSHT production centres, 3rd century to 5th centuries (from Juan Tovar 1997, Fig. 1) and the distribution of Terra Sigillata Meridional (from Orfila Pons 1995, Fig. 4).



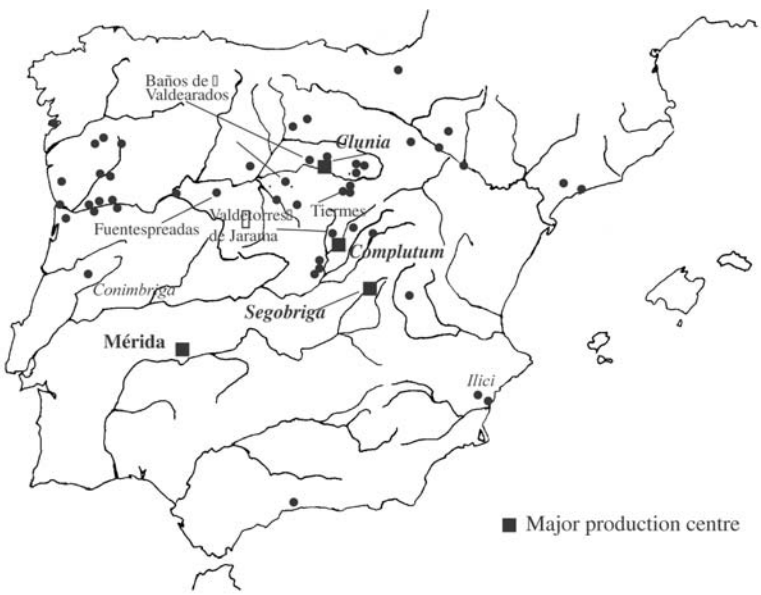
Map 6. Distribution of Terra sigillata Hispánica Tardía (Mayet 1984, Fig. 16).



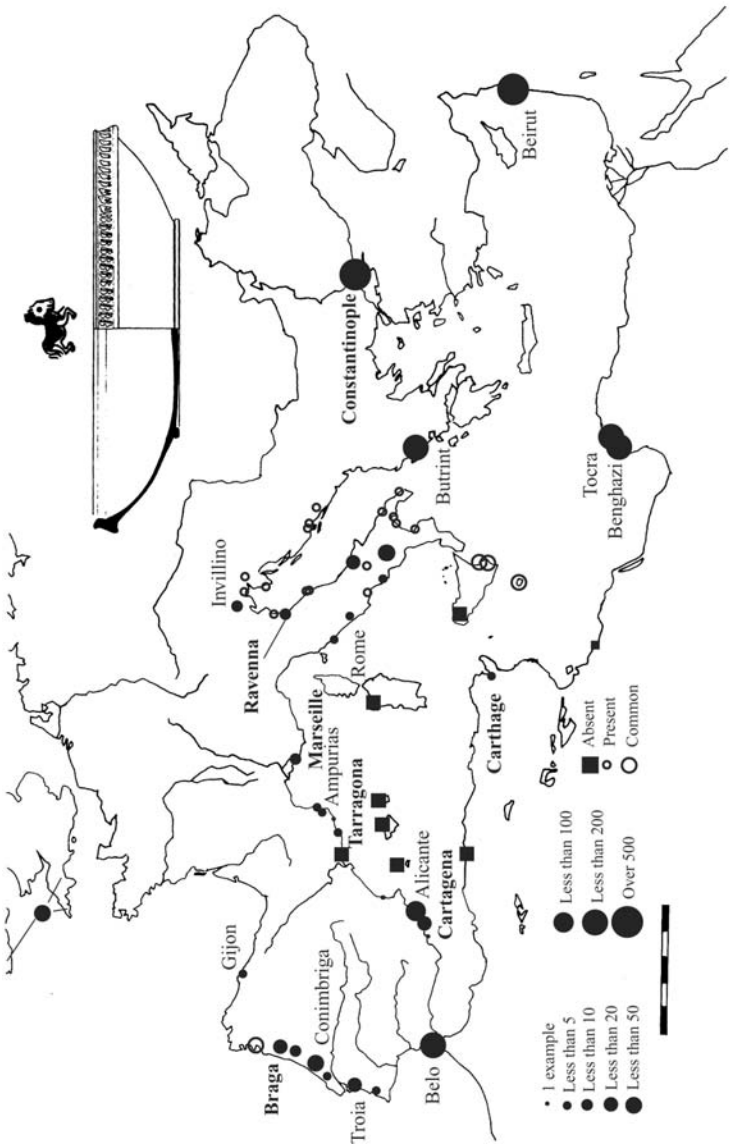
Map 7. Distribution of burnished imitations of Terra Sigillata (from Juan Tovar & Blanco Garcia 1997, Figs. 1 and 11).



Map 8. Distribution of Terra Sigillata Hispánica Brillante (from Juan Caballero Zoreda & Juan Tovar 1987).



Map 9. Distribution of painted wares (from Abascal Palazón 1986).



Map 10. Distribution of Late Roman C in the western Mediterranean (Top, LRC 3 from Valencia: Pascual et al. 1997, Fig. 7)

COINAGE, ICONOGRAPHY AND THE CHANGING POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF FIFTH-CENTURY HISPANIA*

Fernando López Sánchez

Ancient governments minted coins chiefly to cover their expenses. At no time did they possess a clear economic theory or feel any need to stimulate the economy by regular issues of coin. For this reason, the concentration or the relative absence of coined money in a given region will usually be an indicator not only of its economic dynamism, but also of its political importance. The diffusion of coinage in Spain after 394, in the early stages of imperial crisis in the West, constitutes valuable evidence for the most important logistical routes of the period, while the iconography of certain coin series sheds light on the politics of fifth-century Hispania. In what follows, it will become clear that political, strategic and monetary change worked simultaneously upon fifth-century Spain, and that the distribution of coin can act as a snapshot of the whole era.

Routes and logistics: the abundance of Theodosian AE2

Bronze coinage minted on medium-sized flans during the Theodosian era—*maiorinae* or AE2—is well represented in Hispania at the end of the fourth century (Figs. 4 and 5), particularly in the south and southwest of the peninsula.[1] Gold *solidi* of a slightly later date are also numerous, particularly those coined by Honorius in his own name and, to a much lesser extent, in the name of his brother Arcadius. The abundance of this coinage has generated a large

* I should like to thank Professor Fergus Millar for his support and M. Fernanda Mendoza for her selfless assistance.

[1] *Maiorina, maior nummus* or *maior pecunia*, so-called by contrast to other coins minted: *CTh.* 9.23.1, a. 354; 9.23.2, a. 395. AE2 is a bronze coin minted at 1/160th of a pound (5.38gr.); AE3 is theoretically at 1/120th or 1/132nd of a pound; and AE4 at 1/240th a pound.

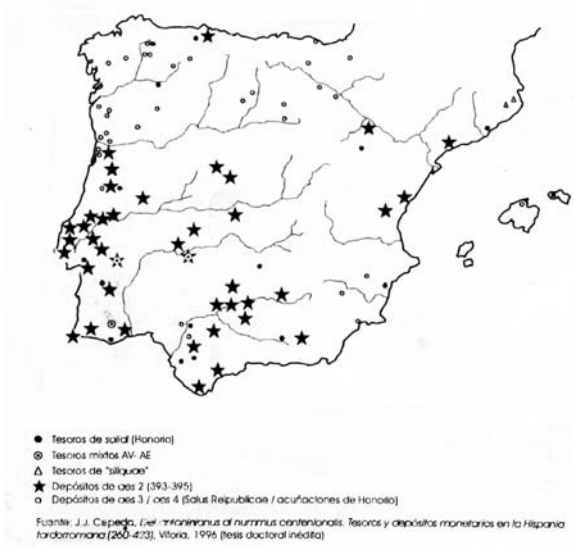


Figure 1. Distribution of hoards and deposits of Theodosian AE and *solidi*. Cepeda (2000), fig. 4.

bibliography that attempts to explain this so-called "Spanish peculiarity."[2] Peculiar or not, it is the *maiorinae* of the reform of 379–381, with their many thousand exemplars, that have made it possible to study the circulation of coin in Hispania.[3] Deposits of *maiorinae* are for the most part homogeneous and concentrated along the so-called Camino de la Plata, along its parallel route in Lusitania, and in Baetica (Figs. 1–3).[4] In the north of the peninsula, by contrast, such deposits are notably absent, except for some on the Mediterranean coast.[5]

[2] The bibliography is extensive. For the bronze AE2: Pereira, Bost and Hiernand (1974); Balil (1958b); Martín Valls (1966); Nony (1968); *Ier Symp. num. Barc.; II Simp. num. Barc.*; Cepeda (2000); García Figuerola (1999). For the gold coins, *RIC* 10: lxxxii: "Some hoards are composed exclusively of pieces naming Honorius; these are particularly common in Spain." For the "Spanish peculiarity," see Pereira and Bost Hiernand (1974), 319; García Figuerola (1999), 45.

[3] García Figuerola (1999), 6–9, with bibliography.

[4] In four complete and three representative deposits studied by Cepeda (2000), 162, more than 90% of the contents are composed of coins minted between 379 and 395. For the geographical concentration see García Figuerola (1999), 19–48; Cepeda (2000), 170; Nony (1968), 833; Pereira, Bost and Hiernand (1974), 300–10.

[5] Although one must note the significant exception of a roll of seventeen AE2

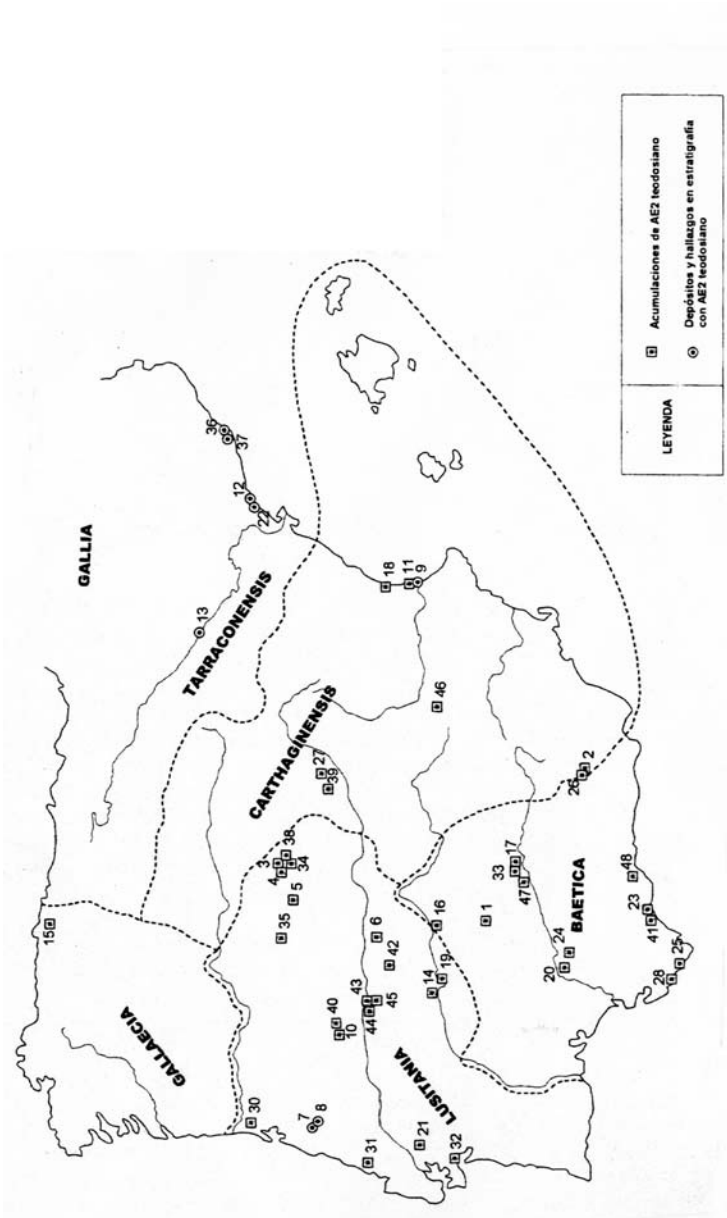


Figure 2. Distribution of Theodosian AE2. García Figuerola (1999), 18.

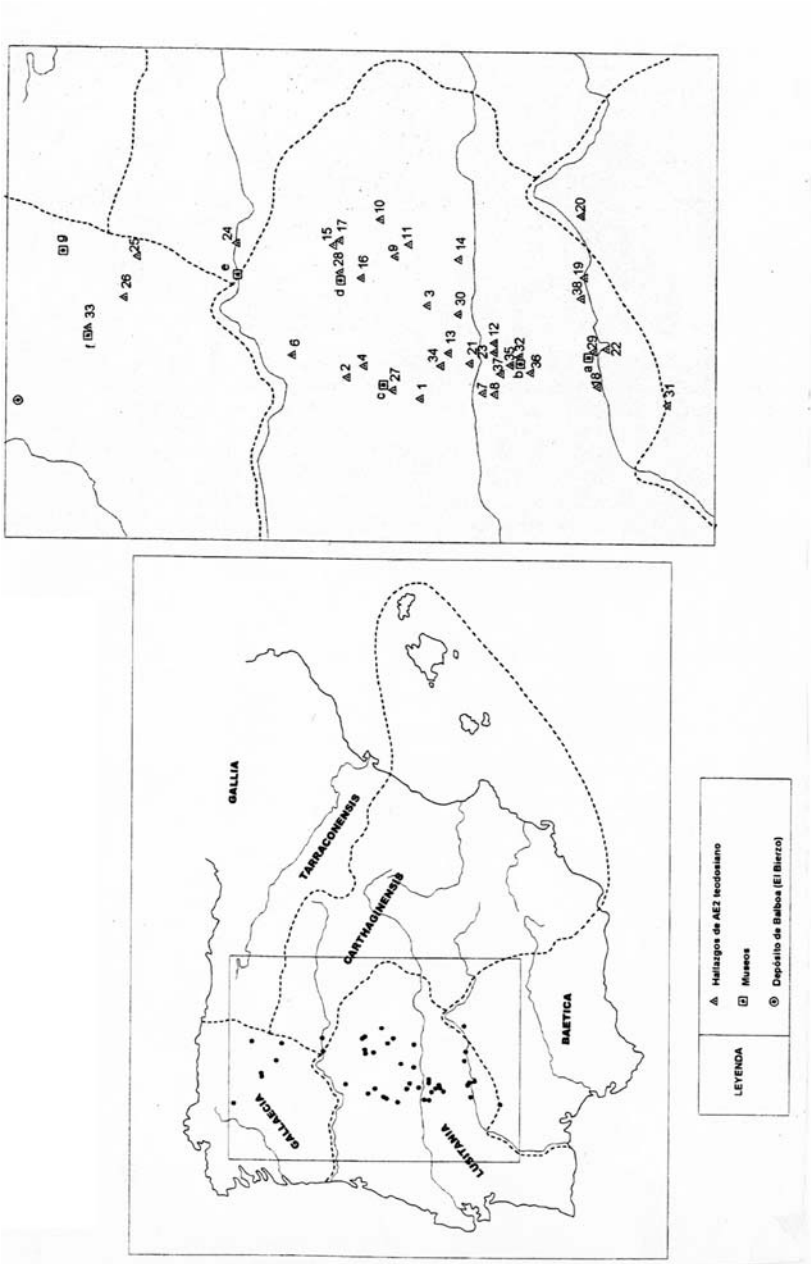


Figure 3. Distribution of Theodosian AE2 in the vicinity of the Vía de la Plata. García Figuerola (1999), 47.

The abundance of these deposits and their selective distribution is paralleled by the long circulation of these coins. The Spanish AE2 were perhaps mostly deposited after the year 395, but many may have circulated as late as the sixth century: although some deposits of AE2 occur together with *solidi* of Honorius, which does suggest deposition close to the year 395, these joint deposits are not the norm (Fig. 1).[6] It may therefore be preferable to think in terms of staggered depositions continuing well beyond the very first years of the fifth century.[7] Callu was the first to attempt a definitive explanation of the distribution of AE2 in Hispania, concluding that it was the Roman state that organized the distribution and provision of coined money to the peninsula.[8] Indeed, most of the Theodosian AE2 in Spain may at one point have been stockpiled in one place, with the result that most hoards and stray finds come from a single stock.[9] As had been the case throughout the fourth century, it was the mints of Arles and Rome that furnished Spain with the largest part of its bronze coinage. In fact, until the death of Magnus Maximus the peninsula seems to have functioned as an extension of the Gallic distribution zone. Only Theodosius' triumph over Maximus gave eastern mints a greater importance in the Spanish coin supply.[10] By contrast with the bronze coinage, the vast majority of *solidi* to reach Spain were minted at Milan, with Ravenna taking the second place.[11]

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from the calle Gavín in Zaragoza in the Ebro valley, discovered together with sixth-century African ceramics: Paz (1991), 27–28.

[6] García Figuerola (1999), 61.

[7] Early date of deposition: *RIC* 10: 18; García Figuerola (1999), 45; Cepeda (2000), 164–65. Longer circulation: Callu (1978), 106 n. 26; Marot (1991); Marot (1996–1997), 991; García Figuerola (1999), 11.

[8] Callu (1978), supporting his argument with the introduction of Gratianic AE2 into Spain. His conclusions are followed by Cepeda and García Figuerola.

[9] García Figuerola (1999), 45.

[10] Cepeda (2000), 165–66, argues for two successive phases of circulation, the first of mixed provenances based on the long circulation of coins, the second a homogeneous block of eastern coins, introduced in a shorter time. For the functioning of the Gallic prefecture as a unit in terms of monetary supply see Cepeda (2000), 168; Hendy (1985), 378–80.

[11] Bost, Campo and Gurt (1983), 143. Of the sixteen Spanish hoards that contain *solidi*, only a minority contained eastern *solidi* (3 of 5 at Seadur, 3 of 10 at Conimbriga, 4 of 13 at Chapipi): Cepeda (2000), 171–72. Of 28 solidi of Honorius and Arcadius found in the treasure of Arcos de la Frontera in Cádiz province, the majority of specimens derive from Milan (43%) and Ravenna (39%): Alfaro Asins (1989).

The place of Hispania within the logistical systems of the western empire meant that it had been linked from the earliest times to Arles, and to a lesser degree with Rome, but this did not necessarily imply government interest in the peninsular coin supply. Official coins and imitations of identical date sit side-by-side in the hoards, suggesting that the state had no deliberate plan to stimulate the Spanish economy through coinage.[12] Bronze coinage (AE2, AE3, AE4) was mainly put into circulation through the annual payment of the army, whether to the soldiers themselves or to those who provided their logistical support, or through the state's purchase of gold for its own needs using bronze coinage.[13] During the fourth century, the importance of payment in kind through the issue of rations, weapons, uniforms, etc. gradually increased.[14] In consequence, the value of the token coinage declined under inflationary pressures, as the state continually put bronze into circulation as payment, but collected none in taxation. Annual pay for the soldiers, then an insignificant part of their total remuneration, ended in the late fourth century, and by the start of the fifth century there was correspondingly little bronze minted in the West. During the fifth century, the gradual commutation of taxation from goods to gold meant that the state no longer needed bronze issues to buy gold solidi for its own purposes and so lost much of its interest in them.[15]

The overall outlines of the distribution of Spanish AE2 can be understood within the context of this logistical system. What remains to be explained is the selective distribution of AE2 in the south and west of the peninsula (Figs. 1–3), as well as the late chronology of its deposition. It is equally important to explain why Italian *solidi*, so different in function from AE2, tend to be concentrated, if less

[12] García Figuerola (1999), 22–45, for coins of official mints by sites and periods. For the imitations, Sienes Hernando (2000), 169.

[13] Billon AE1 was nothing other than the tetrarchic *nummus* of roughly 8.25–8.33 grams (although with devaluations in some cases) and with a fine wash of silver, always less than 5%. After Constantine, they were coined by Constantius II and Magnentius and Poemenius in 352/353; by Julian in 361–363; and by Jovian, Valentinian, Valens and Procopius in the years immediately after Julian's death. AE1 was rare across the whole of the fourth century and very much concentrated geographically and chronologically in association with specific wars. In this respect, it differs markedly from the distribution and chronology of AE2, AE3, and AE4.

[14] Garnsey and Whittaker (1998).

[15] Williams and Friell (1999), 118–40, esp. 125.

markedly, in the same southern and western regions of the peninsula as the bronze. Although AE2 and gold *solidi* do not generally appear in mixed finds, and tend not to be contemporaneous in their dates of deposition, it is nonetheless clear that both tend to be concentrated in more or less the same areas.[16] The explanation must lie in the political geography of the Spanish provinces.

The structure of Hispania

Those familiar with the Iberian peninsula will understand Sir Charles Oman's assertion that Spain "is a land where the rivers count for little, and the hills for almost everything in settling military conditions."[17] Given the difficulty of communications between center and periphery, Roman interest in the peninsula and the concomitant spread of cities was concentrated from start to finish on the coasts and along two chief lines of penetration into the interior: the Camino de la Plata—the old "silver road" from the Guadiana valley up into the northwest and in heavy use since at least the Bronze Age—and the Ebro valley from the Catalonian coast into the mountains of Asturias and Cantabria. Baetica, and even more so eastern Andalusia, always constituted a sub-region relatively separated from the interior.[18] The AE2 of Spain are heavily concentrated along the Camino de la Plata and its parallel route in Lusitania (Figs. 3, 13, 14). Given the road's ancient importance, it is no surprise that so much Roman-period money should have found its way along this busy highway. On the other hand, it is quite strange that the equally important communications artery of the Ebro valley presents a very different monetary pattern, with a striking absence of AE2.

That coin finds are concentrated along one of the two main routes through the Spanish interior, but not along the other, requires explanation. One possible reason might be the absence of circulating money in one region and its presence in the other. Yet this seems

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[16] In his inventory of hoards from the fourth and early fifth centuries, Abad Varela (1989), 4: 1517–21, observes a preponderance of deposits of *solidi* in the chronological periods of 393–395 and 395–408 with a greater concentration in the southern and western half of the peninsula.

[17] Oman (1902), 1: 75.

[18] Sillières (1991).


Fig. 4


Fig. 5


Fig. 6


Fig. 7


Fig. 8


Fig. 9


Fig. 10


Fig. 11

Figures 4–11. (4) *Maiorina*, 22mm (AE2) of Gratian (379–381), Lugdunum. Cayón (1985), vol. 4, 2763, 64a; (5) *Maiorina*, 22mm (AE2) of Valentinian II (379–381), Antioch. Cayón, ibid., 2781. 50a; (6) *Solidus* (Au) of Theodosius I (393–4), Sirmium. Cayón, ibid., 2796, 44; (7) *Solidus* (Au) of Honorius (393–4), Sirmium. Cayón, ibid., 2861, 19b; (8) *Solidus* (Au) of Theodosius (395), Milan. Cayón, ibid., 2796, 21a; (9) *Solidus* (Au) of Honorius (395–402), Milan. Cayón, ibid., 2859, 14c; (10) *Solidus* (Au) of Arcadius (395–402), Milan. Cayón, ibid., 2836, 19b; (11) *Solidus* (Au) of Avitus (455–6), Arles. Kent (1994), vol. 10, no. 2401, pl. 55.

unlikely, given that the Ebro valley not only connected the Mediterranean coast with the interior, but also served as a highway between the different parts of the Spanish northeast, and between those regions and Gaul. In other words, the Ebro valley route was so important that we can hardly posit a long-standing absence of coin there. Alternatively it is possible that the coin which had once circulated along the Ebro routes disappeared, either through attrition or withdrawal. That hypothesis, however, raises additional questions: was the "Camino de la Plata" a secondary route that allowed for the better preservation of deposited material, or was it in fact a zone that experienced greater activity at particular moments than did the Ebro valley, thus resulting in the greater number of extant deposits? The possibilities are not mutually exclusive, as we shall see, but finding a response to them allows for a better understanding of late imperial logistics in Hispania.[19]

If we are looking for an economic explanation of coin distribution in the peninsula, the distribution of villas is perhaps the clearest method of evaluating the relative prosperity of different Spanish regions and the relative extent of their extra-peninsular contacts. This is particularly the case given that outside the cities, the majority of AE2 have been discovered in the vicinity of villas. The spread of villas, which can be found in every part of Spain, followed earlier patterns of urban settlement, and thus accompanied the progress of the Roman organization of territory.[20] The expansion of villas was therefore tied closely not to the rise of autarchic local economies, but rather to the active circulation of goods.[21] In the first century,

[19] Roldán Hervas (1971); (1975) for the routes.

[20] Of the 489 villas known from fourth-century Spain, 24.94% are situated in the region of Seville and another 5.93% in the rest of Andalucía. Some 17.79% are known in Catalonia, 17.17% in the northern Meseta, and only 4.49% in the north, 1.22% in northern Lusitania and 2.04% in southern Lusitania, with evidence of much greater wealth and concentration of territories. Only 1.8% are known from Badajoz, 2.64% from Valencia, 2.86% from Murcia, 1.63% from Albacete, while Aragon and Navarre together reckon with only 6.74%. The center of the peninsula appears to be a desert, with only 5.72% of the villas. One must take into account the fact that the west of the peninsula has much poorer soils than elsewhere, and that villas had therefore to occupy larger territories. See García de Castro (1995), along with Chavarría in this volume. The villas were nuclei of habitation imposed by the dozen on the countryside and, more than the cities, they configured the shape of the countryside and constituted the economic base of the Roman world: see, e.g., Arce (1982a), 124.

[21] In Hispania, villas seem to have been an aristocratic phenomenon closely linked

the great majority of villas were concentrated in the *agri* of Seville and Tarraconensis (Fig. 12) because of the privileged connection of these zones with commercial circuits and the supply of goods to the army. As time passed, that pattern continued, so that it was always those regions with the best communications that were most completely filled with villas just as they were with cities. For that reason, the geographical center of the peninsula, with its relative lack of communications routes, remained almost empty.

In the fifth century, however, the rich *agri* of Tarraconensis underwent a profound transformation that is demonstrated in the archaeological evidence.[22] Before the middle of the century, the great villas

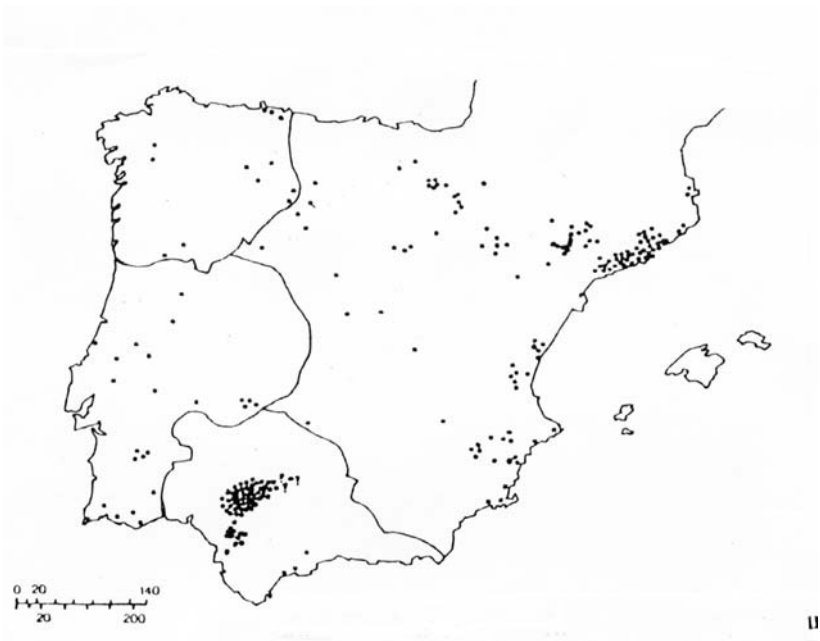


Figure 12. Distribution of villas in the Iberian peninsula at the end of the first century AD. Fulford (1993), 161.

to the production of goods and to the display of power, not to mention the import and export of goods: Arce (1997a).

[22] Járrega (1997), with Reynolds in this volume.

of the coast begin to lose their evident connections with the apparatus of imperial government, and hence their great luxury, exchanging this for a greater reliance on local self-sufficiency or production for close regional trade.[23] It is, moreover, at this same period that the relationship between the coast of the Spanish Levant and the Ebro valley, on the one hand, and Italy and the south of Gaul, on the other, begins to weaken.[24] In step with these changes, Tarragona experienced a notable reduction of its public civic spaces.[25] Although Barcelona continued to grow, we cannot see in this expansion of a relatively small city an effective substitute for the shrinkage and stagnation of what had once been the most important urban center in Spain. The political disruption that the Ebro valley suffered in this period—whether from usurpations, Bacaudic activity, or warfare between Goths and Sueves—seems to have created a situation in which cities like Tarragona, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Tarazona, Calahorra and Pamplona were at times in competition with one another and at others in very limited contact amongst themselves. In this context of an Ebro valley gradually closing in upon itself, and the simultaneous development of semi-autonomous regions in southern Spain with cities as large and rich as Mérida, we can understand why one region so surpasses the other in deposits of AE2.[26]

On the one hand, the concentration of AE2 in the south and the west of Hispania may suggest a smaller scale of change in the region as the imperial Roman superstructure fell apart. The integration of southern Spain into the prosperous commercial routes of North Africa gave the region enviable international contacts. By contrast, the Ebro valley remained politically unstable right up until Majorian's attempted reunification of the western empire between 457 and 461, which itself marked the final disruption of imperial government in the Ebro

[23] See Chavarría in this volume. For comparative evidence from the Danube region of a similar connection between a prosperous villa economy and imperial activity in the fourth and fifth centuries, see Mulvin (2002), 71–72, who argues that fourth-century villas were part of new administrative developments.

[24] Marot (2000–2001), 138, arguing for a relative shift from Italy to Africa in the external contacts of the peninsula.

[25] As shown by Gurt and Godoy (2000), Tarragona experienced a significant decline in its importance during the turbulent early years of the fifth century.

[26] The importance of Mérida as a center of administration and regional power is demonstrated throughout the chronicle of Hydatius, e.g. Hyd. 80; 111; 129; 175, on which see also Arce (2003b).

valley. Although the process that culminated in the reign of Majorian took many decades, the wearing down of imperial government in the Ebro valley, and thus the reasons for the breakdown of the Spanish monetary supply, goes back as far as 394, when the last Italian *solidi* entered Spain. In the aftermath of the campaign against Eugenius and the battle of the Frigidus, the highly organized system that supplied Spain with its coinage broke down, a situation only exacerbated by the invasions of the early fifth century. It was, however, late fourth-century changes that had the greatest impact on Hispania, and the circumstances in which they took place require some attention here.

The battle of the Frigidus (394) and the breakdown of imperial organization in the West, 395–402

The quantities of *solidi* minted in the empire grew dramatically in the context of Theodosius' campaign against the usurper Eugenius, who had been raised to the purple by the general Arbogast in 392. These issues began in 393 at Sirmium (Fig. 6, 7) and immediately thereafter at Milan, where they continued for several years (Fig. 8, 9, 10).[27] In the years 395–402, when Honorius and the imperial court were in residence at Milan, the production of gold with the mint mark MD expanded notably.[28] At the same time, the supply of bronze diminished throughout the empire until it disappeared almost altogether at the start of the fifth century.[29] Between 402, when the court retreated to Ravenna, and 405/406, the years of major barbarian invasion in Italy and Gaul, the interconnection of the western provinces by means of the *annona militaris* and its logistical apparatus was ruptured, and the West as a whole grew weaker.

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[27] Minting in gold had an essentially military function: Depeyrot (1987), 37. The large-scale circulation of gold in the Roman world began with Theodosius: Piganiol (1945); Banaji (2001), 77. Its use as a form of payment in place of supply by the *annona* began with the campaign against Eugenius: Treadgold (1995); A. Jones (1953).

[28] If it is certain that the functionaries of Valentinian immediately converted into ingots all the pieces that they received (*CTh.* 12.6.12, a. 366; 12.6.13, a. 367), this would explain the scarcity of *solidi* now extant from before the Theodosian epoch. Valentinian prohibited proprietors from exacting rent payments in coined money, except in those regions where this was customary: Lot (1951), 65.

[29] Bost, Campo and Gurt (1979), 179.

Although some might argue that this dislocation was due mainly to barbarian invasion, the greater fragility of imperial organization in the West may reflect more general changes to government in the years after the Frigidus. After all, the retreat of the court to Ravenna in 402 predated the largest invasions, if not the wars against Alaric. More strikingly, if we accept that Arles became the capital of the Gauls in 395 rather than 407, that would signal a change in the strategic priorities of the imperial court between 395 and 407, in the immediate aftermath of Theodosius' victory and death.[30]

The object of this changed strategy is not difficult to discover. From the year 395 until his death in 408, Stilicho's main preoccupation was control of Illyricum. This is the key to his lack of interest in Gallic affairs and the true reason for the constant tensions between eastern and western courts.[31] Stilicho lacked the courage to march against Constantinople, as Julian had done many years before, even though he regarded himself as theoretically regent for both halves of the empire.[32] This hesitation was a strategic error, for his attempt to control both East and West from the intermediate position of Milan proved impossible. Yet Stilicho's decision had logic to it and his transfer of the imperial court from Milan to Ravenna was not merely a retreat to a more secure position. Rather, it is above all else proof of his predilection for eastern affairs and the relative neglect of western ones. In explanation, we must take account of the largely Illyrian army that Stilicho commanded.

This army and its high command were primarily concerned to look after their own interests, and only secondarily those of the West, while the tension between the requirements of western and Illyrian frontiers was of long standing.[33] It had always been necessary to concentrate as much force as possible in one or the other zone, and during the whole of the fourth century this had created strong

[30] The 395 date was proposed by Palanque (1934); (1973) against the 407 date favored by Chastagnol (1973). See also Demougeot (1953); (1980).

[31] For Gaul, Kulikowski (2000a); for the effective separation of East and West, Cameron (1968); (1970), 51.

[32] Alan Cameron (1970), 280; (1968) for Stilicho's claims to rule both halves of the empire; the claim is noted in Claud., *III Cons. Hon.* 152–53: *tu curis succede meis, tu pignora solus / nostra fove: geminos dextra tu protege fratres.*

[33] Piganiol (1972) on Ambr., *Ep.* 59 and the *de obitu Valentiniani*: when in 392 a barbarian threat appeared in Panonnia, Italy and Illyricum took precedence over Gaul.

rivalries between the Gallic and Danubian regions.[34] The transfer of forces from one region to the other could cause grave unrest, in Gaul as much as on the Danube.[35] Above all, neither region wished to see its own defense compromised. The security of Illyricum and its interests over every other region of the empire had likewise been a recurrent part of the politics of the third and the fourth centuries.[36] Arbogast's decision to assassinate Valentinian II when the latter determined to leave Gaul can be read in light of this same pattern. Invasions in Panonnia had spread terror in Italy, but Arbogast would in no way countenance the weakening of western defenses. Indeed, the proclamation of Eugenius may have been a localist initiative aimed at reversing Valentinian's excessive willingness to subordinate western needs to those of Theodosius in the East.[37]

The opposite tendency is equally visible historically. It had invariably been the case that, in moments of crisis, a junta of high officials in Illyricum would act to maintain or protect their independence with respect to the West. Six days after the death of Valentinian I in November 375 at Brigetio, for instance, the putsch of Merobaudes and the *magister militum* Equitius in Illyricum led to the proclamation of a four-year old as the emperor Valentinian II.[38] Their goal was to arrest the privileged attention enjoyed by the West in the last years of Valentinian I. The high officials of the West may have contemplated some response, and the murder of the elder Theodosius may well have been an attempt to prevent the accession of a more capable western general to the purple.

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[34] For an approach that understands the soldiery as individual actors capable of influencing affairs in their own interest, see Haldon (1986), 140–41.

[35] The hostility of the Gallic troops to the idea of abandoning their homes for wars in the East fuelled the usurpation of Julian. In Sirmium, the greater part of the Gallic troops went home. It would seem that the general staff in Illyricum frowned upon the distraction of their forces to a front that was not their own: Kaegi (1967); Szidat (1975).

[36] The Illyrian command, a creation of Philip the Arab (r. 244–49), was the most significant of all the military commands. It was here that, from the time of its creation, putsches by the high officials could make and unmake emperors, as in the significant case of Trajan Decius: Zos., *HN* 1.21.2–3; Jord., *Get.* 90, with the commentary of Brizzi (1978).

[37] Eugenius was proclaimed emperor on 22 August 392, probably at Lyon: *Fasti Vind. Pr.* 517 (*MGH* AA 9: 298); Zos. 4.54; Philostorg. 11.2. See the commentary of Croke (1976).

[38] Errington (1996a).

The summons of the younger Theodosius to Illyricum by a similar Illyrian junta a few years later is simply another demonstration of the influence possessed by this circle of high officials, who in a moment of emergency turned to the son of the best western general. Theodosius I, little accustomed to the military life, depended on the competence of these high officials during the reorganization of the Danube region between 379 and 382, as he did in later years.[39] The potency of the Danubian high command had been demonstrated at other delicate moments, for instance at the death of Julian, perhaps assassinated by a discontented Illyrian in the *schola palatina*.[40] The elevations first of Jovian, then of Valentinian, were the result of putsches by the Illyrian forces in the Persian expeditionary army.[41] In 350, the *magister peditum per Illyricum* Vetranio supported, more than he followed, Constantius II: his goal was to arrest the western invasion of Illyricum by Magnentius. Valentinian I himself likewise possessed a Vetranio in the shape of Dagalaifus, who counseled against the election of Valens as co-emperor on the grounds of his incompetence.[42]

Throughout the fourth century, then, the military commands of Gallic and Danubian regions tended to act in the interest of regional self-defense. To this end, the occupation of Italy by force could be a sensible choice in a delicate situation, especially from the Illyrian perspective. The occupation of Italy by Constantinus in 340 immediately provoked a war with Constans that ended with the death of the western emperor at Aquileia.[43] Similarly, the entrance into Rome of Magnentius' soldiers in 350 provoked in less than 48 hours the

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[39] Errington (1996a) for the younger Theodosius' relative lack of military experience, though contrast the arguments of McLynn in the present volume. When Theodosius arrived in the Balkans, a circle of high officials awaited him, hoping both to support and control him. This may also have been the case in 387, when Petronius Probus journeyed with the family of Theodosius to Thessalonica: Socr., *HE* 5.11.11–12; Richomer, who was sent by Gratian against the Goths in Thrace in 377 (Amm. Marc. 31.7.4) was in reality the one who pacified them in the name of Theodosius after the disaster at Adrianople. Only his death in 394 stopped him taking charge of the campaign against Eugenius.

[40] Woods (1997) for the possibility.

[41] Lenski (2000), 496–97.

[42] Amm. 26.4.1: *Si tuos amas, inquit* [*Dagalaifus*], *imperator optime, habes fratrem; si rem publicam, quaere quem vestias*.

[43] Constantinus had argued that in order to bring aid against Persia to Constantius II it was necessary for him to cross the Balkans: *Itinerarium Alexandri* 1.4, wherein Constans pronounces an impassioned discourse over the dead Constantinus.

coup of Vetranio, the spokesman of the Illyrian army.[44] The ensuing war between the Gallic and Illyrian armies ended to the latter's advantage at Mursa in 351. In yet another instance of the same phenomenon, it was Magnus Maximus' invasion of Italy in 387 that ended his *entente* with Theodosius.[45] The latter marched west and killed Maximus. In later years, Theodosius was no more able to accept Eugenius' pretensions to govern Italy and the part of Illyricum which he had occupied in the spring of 393.[46] The battle of the Frigidus in 394 was as important and decisive for Theodosius as the battle of Mursa had been for Constantius in 351.[47] There are many noteworthy parallels between the two battles, and both ended with the triumph of the Illyrian army over the western one.[48] Thereafter, Theodosius moved to Milan, the city best placed to control both East and West, in the same way that Constantius II had overseen the occupation of the West from the city, watching carefully over the East as well.[49]

Given that Theodosius died so soon, it is impossible to know with any certainty what he would have gone on to do about the man-

[44] Magnentius' followers entered Rome on 27 February; Vetranio proclaimed himself emperor on 1 March; the chronicle of 354, s.a. (MGH AA 9: 69), shows that Fabius Titianus was installed as Magnentius' urban prefect: see Chastagnol (1962), 109–30. For the Vetranio episode generally see Bleckmann (1994), 44–54.

[45] Rodgers (1981). Earlier, the emperor Theodosius had accepted that Maximus was emperor and judged it a good idea to share with him the title of emperor and the right to appear in portraits, although in secret he was preparing for war while maintaining the appearance of respect. The occupation of Italy was the *casus belli*: Zos., *HN* 4.37.2–3. In general, see Vera (1975).

[46] Eugenius was taken by surprise by the advance of Theodosius, who crossed the Alps when Eugenius and Arbogast were still in Milan: Claud., *IV Cons. Hon.* 76.

[47] Seeck and Veith (1913).

[48] Perrelli (1995).

[49] Constantius was in Milan from 3 Nov. 352 (*CTh.* 15.14.5) and remained there more or less permanently until March 357: Barnes (1993), 221–22. He summoned Gallus to Milan for his execution and Julian was proclaimed Caesar there, after having been made to understand at Arles that his future lay in Gaul. Gallus was judged and executed near Pola: Amm. Marc. 14.11.20–23 (see Henck [1999–2000]). Julian was proclaimed Caesar on 6 Nov. 355: Amm. Marc. 15.8.17; *Cons. Const.* s.a. (Burgess [1993], 238); CIL 1, p. 277; Socr., *HE* 2.34.5. In summer 353/354, Constantius resided at Arles, beginning his *vicennalia* on 10 October (Amm. Marc. 14.5.1) and marching against the Alamanni in spring 354 before retiring to Milan. This was perhaps the period of seven months of continuous movement of which Julian spoke. The to-ing and fro-ing can have been nothing other than the training necessary to familiarize Julian with the military situation of the West and to provide him with some basic experience.

agement of the empire. Nevertheless, the actions he had taken in the period after the defeat of Maximus suggest that in 395 he too intended to secure the West as Constantius had done before him. In this way, Honorius would, in the medium term, occupy the place that Julian had occupied under Constantius, although knowing the importance which personal strength had to the *Soldatenkaisertum*, Theodosius set up Stilicho as Honorius' provisional guardian.[50] It was the unfinished work of Theodosius that obliged the *magister militum* to remain in Milan, overseeing potentially explosive situations in both East and West, and Stilicho's strategic concerns in the aftermath of Theodosius' death can be read in precisely that light.

In many ways, however, they were a continuation of Theodosius' actions before the Frigidus campaign. Recognizing the key importance of the Italian campaign for Illyricum, Theodosius named Honorius as Augustus in 393.[51] In doing this, Theodosius undoubtedly acted in his own best interests. Yet the decision also signaled to the Illyrian army his understanding of the threat that Eugenius posed to them (Fig. 6, 7).[52] The campaign that followed was directed as much by the Illyrian general staff as by the emperor on his own account.[53] It was at Sirmium, the chief city of Illyricum, that Theodosius and Honorius prepared for the campaign.[54] From there, they organized the muster of a large army from all over the East and minted gold on a grand scale in order to underwrite the imminent operation.[55]

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[50] Stilicho's regency included both emperors: Claud., *III Cons. Hon.* 152–53; Zos., *HN* 4.59.1. See Cameron (1968).

[51] On 23 January 393: *Fasti Vind. Pr.* 521 (MGH AA 1: 298). The emperor departed from Constantinople in May 394, marching with Honorius and leaving Arcadius behind in the East. The battle of the Frigidus took place on 5–6 September 394 and the death of Eugenius is recounted in Socr., *HE* 5.25.15; *Fasti Vind. Pr.* 522a (MGH AA 1: 298).

[52] Mazzarino (1942), 55, argued that the Theodosian offensive was decided by his elimination of Eugenius' foothold in Illyricum. Heim (1990); Kaegi (1981), 20–21. As shown by Claud., *III Cons. Hon.* 73–87, Theodosius had urged his son Honorius not to approach the battlefield because his life was too valuable. John Lydus, *De magistr.* 2.11 and 3.41, claims that Theodosius had expressly forbidden his children to go on campaign with the army.

[53] For the Illyrian generals see *PLRE* 1: 750–51 (Promotus); 778–81 (Rufinus 18); 853–59 (Stilicho); 914 (Timasius). For the campaign, Williams and Friell (1999), 99.

[54] Alföldi (1924), 1: 15.

[55] Theodosius is rarely found outside Sirmium in this period. In April, May and June, the emperor is also found in Constantinople, Perinthus and Adrianople, perhaps collecting more units of the army.

It was this that confirmed large-scale payments in gold, not merely as *donativa*, but rather as the main new way of supplying an army. Using gold to pay for a campaign in place of supply in kind by the *annona* permitted the state to get military actions under way rapidly and did not require control of the whole logistical apparatus of the *annona*.

Theodosius did not employ the apparatus of the *annona* in 394 and it seems not to have been reactivated after the Theodosian victory.[56] That, at least, is the conclusion suggested by the almost total absence of new bronze money from western regions along the *annona* routes after 394.[57] Given that bronze represented no more than 5% of the total monetary stock at the end of the fourth century, it was not profitable for the state to mint this type of money, still less so at times of political instability.[58] The production of AE2 was suspended in 395.[59] This was the precedent Stilicho continued to follow. All production of bronze coinage ceased in the western empire in 402, with the sole exception of the mint at Rome. By contrast with the bronze coinage, the minting of *solidi* persisted. The *solidus* minted at Milan after 394 was the Victory type adopted in 393 in order to finance the war and the occupation of the West.[60] The series struck in the name of Arcadius (Fig. 10) is as abundant as that minted in the name of Honorius (Fig. 9) and surpasses by quite a bit that of Theodosius (Fig. 8).[61] The large numbers in which these *solidi* are extant, and the great variety of dies used, shows that the activity of the Milanese mint was not limited to the months immediately after Theodosius' victory, but rather extended over several years between 395 and 402. In other words, it would seem that the Milan series was destined to pay for the military organization of the

[56] By the later fifth century, as is shown by Eugippius' *Vita sancti Severini*, the system of supplying coinage to the army had broken down completely and soldiers had now to go to Italy to collect their pay: Arce (2001). The system, which had demonstrably broken down by the end of the 400s, had begun to fail in 395 when Milan was the center from which western soldiers were paid.

[57] Cepeda (2000), 167 n. 19, admits that the Illyrian victory over Eugenius might have had consequences for the volume of production in western mints, which seems self-evident. For the repercussions on the small bronzes, see also Delmaire (1983).

[58] Depeyrot (1983).

[59] *CTh.* 9.23.2, of 12 April 395, demonetizes the *decargyrus nummus* (AE2), at the same time as it suspends its production in all mints: Depeyrot (1992), 85.

[60] Cepeda (2000), 164, on the circulation of the *Gloria Romanorum* type.

[61] See Kent (1991).

Italian north in the years after the Frigidus, though the structures thus created would prove fragile. The places in which the Milanese *solidi* of this period are found is revealing. A number are found in Gaul, though many fewer are extant from Spain.[62] But in both regions, the numbers are comparatively small, and these are the last issues of *solidi* to have found their way to either region in any quantity. They therefore represent the end of the logistical organization of the West on a large scale.

Within individual provinces, differences in the distribution patterns of these *solidi* illustrate the same sort of regional dislocation that characterizes the inter-provincial system as a whole. Thus, in Spain, Italian *solidi* of the post-Frigidus period are much less prevalent in the northeast of the peninsula than in the south and the west.[63] While it will certainly not have become wholly demonetized, there are good reasons to think that the money supply of the northeast shrank rapidly. The overvaluation of gold coins created an expensive currency with a tendency to disappear from circulation. Irregular and imitative coinages were numerous in Tarragona and Barcelona, a clear symptom of acute money shortage.[64] The usurper Maximus was not able to coin gold in 410–411.[65] Given that this region was precisely the part of the peninsula in which imperial attentions were most heavily concentrated, the disappearance of gold coin is evidence of a war economy that rapidly absorbed all the monetary reserves of the region. The progressive alteration of the traditional exchange circuits will also have contributed to the flight of good coin.

By contrast with this, conditions in the south and the west will have been more propitious for the concentration of *solidi*, perhaps because a healthier political environment slowed the flight of gold

[62] Gaul has a distribution index of three coins per year in the period Honorius-John, much lower than that of Spain: Depeyrot (1983), 88–89.

[63] Abad Varela (1989) agrees with Bost, Campo and Gurt (1983), 176, on the concentration of *solidi* in the west and south.

[64] Tarragona, though it was no longer the first city of Spain, was still an active urban center for the redistribution of goods: Rodá (1991), 391, with Marot (2000–2001), 135–38 for coin shortages in the region. An example of a similar shortage of money is found in the Spain of Philip III, within which roughly 90% of the coinage in circulation consisted of billon money of scant value. Gold *reales* (the famous "pieces of eight") were employed in international commerce.

[65] Marot (1994); Marot (1997), 576–77.

reserves or because of a generally greater commercial prosperity. As in Britain and the north of Gaul, parts of Spain—those which lay beyond the southeast and the Ebro valley—were largely abandoned by the imperial power. Yet these regions remained connected to the empire in a variety of ways. In the Gallic north, the Frankish king Childeric (d. 481/482) overcame Roman competitors like Syagrius and Paul to be confirmed by the imperial power as its representative in the region. A similar path to power may have been envisaged at an earlier date in Spain by the Suevic king Rechiar (r. 448–456), who strove to subvert Visigothic hegemony in the Ebro valley and secure Suevic control over the whole of Spain in the Roman name. In the end, it was not Rechiar's Sueves but rather the Visigoths who came, however slowly, to master Spain. Interestingly, the patterns of monetary circulation established in the years after the Frigidus were repeated in the period during which the Goths were extending their control over the peninsula. If Suevic and Visigothic coins of the mid-fifth century were produced in order to control the Ebro, as we shall see, coinage continued to be concentrated in the Spanish south, which had for so long been of secondary importance to the dynamics of power in the peninsula.

The new importance of the Spanish interior

In the confusion generated by the disintegration of the western administration, Spain outside the Ebro valley seems to have been abandoned to its own defenses.[66] It is not mere chance that in 408 the defense of the Spanish interior fell to Didymus and Verinianus, two members of the Theodosian dynasty from Lusitania.[67] Because eastern Tarraconensis was quite visibly better organized and more closely tied to Arles than was the rest of Spain, the unprotected rural interior of the peninsula appeared to be an easier target for invasion

[66] On Britain see Stevens (1957); Thompson (1956). In Spain, the problem of usurpation was considerably more important to the imperial government than was that of barbarian invasion: Elton (1996a), 44, and Kulikowski (2000b), which argues that the campaigns of the *comes* Asterius in 421 were directed principally against the usurper Maximus, rather than against the Vandals.

[67] Fontaine (1976); Arce (1982a), 151; García Moreno (1985), 77; Sanz (1986); Pérez Sánchez (1998); Escribano Paño (2000).

and sack—the *campi Pallentini* sacked by the barbarian *honoriaci* of Gerontius illustrate precisely this point.[68] It is logical that the Spanish response to the barbarian invasions of 409 should have come from the interior of the peninsula, while the Ebro valley was caught up in the imperial rivalries of the period.[69] Numismatic proof that the lower Ebro valley remained the focus of imperial Spain after 395 lies precisely with the coins of one of these usurpers, Maximus.[70] Maximus' coinage sprang up in the shadow his rival Constantine III. The latter controlled the vital artery of the Rhône and was therefore able to mint at Trier, Lyons and Arles. Maximus, who was proclaimed at Tarragona, nevertheless coined only at Barcelona, which may be evidence for tensions within the *provincia Tarraconensis* itself.[71] Regardless, the real peculiarity of Maximus' monetary program lies in his prolific coining of *siliquae* (though of a smaller size than Constantine's) and a concomitant failure to issue gold—it is likely that Tarraconensis lacked sufficient gold reserves to allow him to do so. The Spanish usurper also coined AE2 in all ways similar to pre-395 issues, but these issues were not abundant and seem to have circulated only very narrowly.[72]

After Maximus, the Ebro valley continued to be the stage on which peninsular power games were played out, but its coin record is still much poorer than that of the south and west. The Ebro remained important both as a support for Arles and as one of the principal points of imperial control outside Italy. Constantius was an

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[68] Arce (1982a), 153–56. Even *curiales* could call up local inhabitants to fight if necessary (*CTh.* 12.1.15–18; 32; 40; 44; 78) and the campaigns Didymus and Verinianus do not imply the support of a pro-Ravenna and pro-Honorian Spain for the government in Italy, but rather the defense of an otherwise unprotected region. Constantine III could readily be viewed as an ally of invading barbarians, inasmuch as they had penetrated deep into Gaul without his having stopped them. Nevertheless, after the defeat of Didymus and Verinianus, the only Spain that mattered was that controlled by Gerontius, who left the rest to the Vandals, Alans and Sueves: García Moreno (1985), 80–81.

[69] Sanz (1986). The local elites were particularly threatened by the barbarian invasions, as it was their lands that would fall to the recent arrivals: Soz., *HE* 9.12; Hyd. 49. This may have been especially the case in Extremadura, where the organization of territory was much more rural and the *fundi* of the great *possessores* were substantially larger than elsewhere in the peninsula (see Cerrillo [1984]) and which consequently made the recruitment of private armies easier.

[70] Marot (1997), with useful bibliography on the coins themselves.

[71] For the proclamation of Maximus at Tarragona, Zos., *HN* 6.5 and Soz., *HE* 9.12–13, with Mayer (1993), 65.

[72] Marot (1997), 577.

effective leader, first as *magister militum*, then as the third emperor of that name, and at least for a short time he succeeded in revitalizing the logistical strengths of the Rhône valley routes and reconstructing parts of the logistical structure of the West.[73] The Visigoths were confined to Aquitania and kept at a distance from Provence and its capital at Arles, which lay under direct Roman control.[74] The treaty of 416 with the Visigoths meant that they were considered to be Roman allies but also remained clearly differentiated from the Roman army. The national character of the Visigothic army was thereby recognized, although their origins in the politics of Roman Illyricum were not.[75] One way or another, however, the military activity of emperors, usurpers and Goths kept imperial interest in Spain focused on Tarraconensis in the strictest sense.[76] Though the province was only a part of Hispania, it was the part regarded as most important by Arles. The *magistri militum* Asterius and Castinus marched from the coast to pacify the interior.[77] After their consecutive failures, the rest of the peninsula seems not to have been taken into account, perhaps because its excessive size and distance from Arles made it ungovernable.

The difficulty of controlling both the Ebro valley and Catalonian coast of Spain on the one hand, and the vast Spanish interior on the other, a difficulty already visible in the very first years of the century, remained. This is, again, demonstrated by the numismatic history of the fifth-century peninsula. No bronze reached the peninsula after 394, and the supply of Italian *solidi* dried up soon thereafter. Maximus was therefore forced to mint coin in Spain in order to exert his imperial control in the peninsula and cover his acute military needs. In the same fashion, all new aspirants to power in Spain needed to mint coinage in the middle years of the century—and their attentions were not confined to the interior where their power base lay.

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[73] Liebeschuetz (1993).

[74] Scharf (1992) and García Moreno (1988), 159, for problems of date. On the significance of the move, Kulikowski (2000b); Rousseau (1992); and V. Burns (1992).

[75] Theodosius had favored the Roman and citizen element in the army: Gluschanin (1989), with *CTh.* 7.8.3–4, a. 380; 7.22.9–11 (May–Sept. 381); Them., *Or.* 15.181b–c (Jan. 381).

[76] Teja (1976); Thompson (1980); García Moreno (1985).

[77] It was the withdrawal of the Goths from Spain that made possible the second usurpation of Maximus, defeated by Asterius: García Moreno (1989), 51; Marot (1994); Kulikowski (2000b).

Suevic attempts to control the Ebro valley and the Gothic reaction

At the start of the fifth century, the Visigoths were essentially subordinates of imperial power in the peninsula. Wallia acted in Spain, following the role of his predecessor Athaulf, *Romani nominis causa*.[78] In the middle of the century, however, the Visigoths began to play the regional role that the imperial government had managed on its own account at the start of the century. The Goths, in other words, came to dominate the basic articulations of Roman power in the western provinces, with their political center in the south of Gaul and its prolongation into the middle of the Ebro valley. What this meant, of course, was the continuation of imperial patterns of control in the peninsula, and a continued disengagement from the interior of the peninsula in favor of the Ebro valley. The Goths seem to have had a very limited presence in the northern and southern parts of Hispania throughout the fifth and much of the sixth centuries, and they exercised little control even in fundamental western regions like that of Mérida despite the occasional attestation of a Gothic leader in that city itself.[79] In the earlier fifth century, the chief beneficiaries of this indifference, first imperial, then Gothic, were the Sueves.

The Sueves had been installed from the very beginning in the region of modern Galicia. On the other hand, rather than willingly confine themselves to the extreme northwest of the peninsula, the Sueves regularly preferred to expand into the north and west of

[78] Hyd. 63. The Goths reaffirmed their position in Spain in 446, when they repressed the Bacaudae, and again in 456, when they acted in the name of Avitus. The Gothic presence in the following years was accompanied by the re-enforcement of imperial authority in the West by Majorian, and to a lesser extent by Anthemius. Euric made use of this situation to improve his own position, but when Nepos handed over the Auvergne to the Gothic king in 475 it is often assumed that there began a substantial migration of Visigoths into the Castilian Meseta: Domínguez Monedero (1986). Thereafter, there was a strong tendency towards self-government: Jiménez Garnica (1990). There do not seem to have been any substantial social changes or transfers of property and there was probably not a massive emigration of the population: d'Abadal (1958).

[79] Hillgarth (1966); Ebel-Zepezauer (2000), which argues for very limited Gothic colonization of central Castille. We might perhaps explain this fact in strategic terms. In the center of the peninsula, the Meseta is oriented more towards the west than towards the east. At Mérida, one must of course take account of the famous bridge inscription, *CICM* 10 = *ICERV* 363, for one interpretation of which see Kulikowski's article in the present volume.

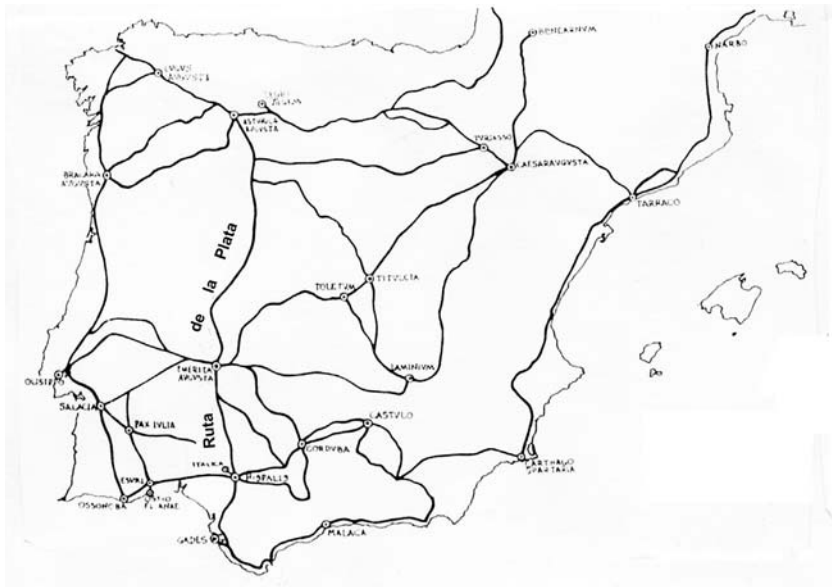


Figure 13. Road network of Hispania according to the Antonine Itinerary. Roldán Hervás (1975), pl. 1.

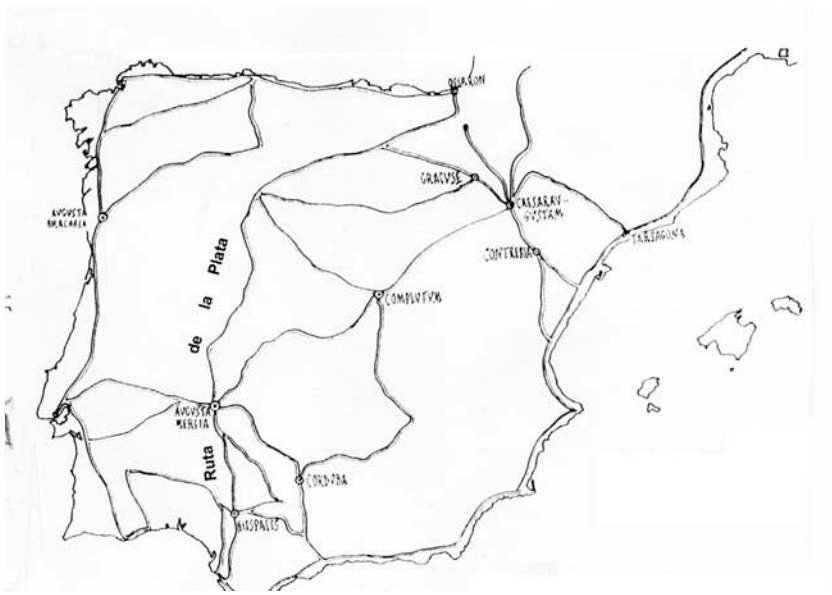


Figure 14. Road network of Hispania according to the Ravenna Itinerary. Roldán Hervás (1975), pl. 12.

Lusitania, ending up as far south as Mérida.[80] Installed on the route which the Antonine Itinerary calls the road from Olisipo to Bracara Augusta (Figs. 13, 14), the Sueves occupied a territory that ran parallel to the Camino de la Plata, which the Alans and Vandals had used to penetrate the Spanish interior.[81] After Wallia's campaigns of the 410s, the Vandals and Alans came to be united under a single monarchy which, although opposed to the imperial government like the Sueves, never managed to come to terms with it.[82] That is to say, the Vandals and Alans never formed a connection to the dominant power in the West, unlike the Sueves who entered into marriage relations with the Visigothic royal house without ever concluding a formal treaty with the imperial government.[83] Under the Suevic king Rechiar, at least, the dominant force in a large part of the Spanish interior was Suevic not Visigothic, a sign that the position of this marginal Suevic kingdom was not quite as weak as is normally supposed.[84] It may well be that its strength derived from support in the Spanish interior, a region whose human resources had been obvious ever since Galba marched on Rome in the year of four emperors.[85] In the same way, both Bacaudae and the Sueves seem to have based their power on the cooperation of the interior's rural population, organized to a greater or lesser degree, a population that could prove a badly destabilizing factor when they penetrated into the urbanized Ebro valley.[86]

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[80] Díaz Martínez (1986–1987); Peixoto and Metcalf (1997), 54; Arce (1982b).

[81] *It. Ant.* 420.8–421.1 (ed. Cuntz, 64–65), the same route that Brutus followed into Gallaecia in 136 BC: App., *Iber.* For the Alans and Vandals, Schmidt (1942); García Moreno (1989); Orlandis (1987).

[82] Wynn (1997).

[83] For the marriage relationships, see Díaz Martínez (1986–1987), who thinks that there must have been two royal marriages, in 418 and 449, not just the single one recorded for 449 in Hyd. 140. An earlier marriage is also postulated by Gillett (1995). The two groups were allied to one another after 431 or 433: Hyd. 91–100; this treaty was renewed in 438: Hyd. 105–13. For this topic generally see Castritius (1972). The treaty of 450 between the Goths, Sueves and the imperial government re-enforced the obligations of each group to the other and recognized the importance of the Sueves to the stability of the Spanish provinces. Nonetheless, the coinage of money by the Sueves, on which see below, must be seen as a flagrant violation of this treaty. In 456, Theoderic II, the ally of Avitus, urged his brother-in-law Rechiar to comply with the terms of his treaty with the empire, though to no effect. See Valverde (1999).

[84] R. Reynolds (1957); Schmidt (1933), 128–220; Velozo (1951); Torres (1957).

[85] Above and beyond the *Legio VI Victrix*, in 68 Galba recruited *e plebe provincae*: Suet., *Galba* 10.2; García y Bellido (1970a); Brunt (1975); Syme (1982), 469.

[86] Sueves and Bacaudae in Hyd. 32, 124, 141, 201. See Whittaker (1993) and

Rechiar's strength is unquestionable, as is the extent of his aspirations: he was, after all, the first king in the whole of the barbarian West to coin money in his own name.[87] This initiative should undoubtedly be ascribed to a more general move towards Suevic supremacy within the peninsula in the middle of the fifth century. Even though it now had connections to the Visigothic royal family, the Suevic royal house could also pursue its own interests in Spain, just as several decades earlier the pursuit of just those interests had led it to the marriage connection with the Visigoths. Perhaps aspiring to legitimize its claim to hegemony in the peninsula, the Suevic kings adopted on their coinage *regalia* which articulated their pretensions to legitimacy.[88] The spearhead that breaks up the legend on the obverse of Suevic coins in honor of Valentinian III was so important that it is adapted to fit with the imperial titulature (Fig. 15).[89]

A spearhead analogous to than on the Suevic coinage is depicted on the seal ring of Childeric, now preserved in the Cabinet de Medailles in Paris, even though the latter is more conventional in its composition (Fig. 16). The spear is in fact the most important of the regalia and, together with the orb, it signifies military power.[90] It is above all the sign of a commander-in-chief. When it first appears in the numismatic iconography, the spear in its spear-rest was associated with the *princeps iuventutis*, a subordinate position but one that implied military promise for the future (Figs. 17, 18). In the fifth century, the iconography came to be linked to the Byzantine soldier-emperors, aggressive and defiant in extending their influence throughout the world (Fig. 19). The iconographic similarities between the

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Tranoy (1974), 1: 44–49, who suggests that the cause of the alliances between Sueves and Bacaudae has its origin in the functional bifurcation of country and city; in general see Thompson (1952).

[87] Suchodolski (1980).

[88] For the importance of representing *regalia* on coinage as a symbol of the right to rule see López Sánchez (2003).

[89] See Peixoto and Metcalf (1997), 69–78, on the Valentinianic *tremisses*. The uncertainty over the Suevic filiation of these coins, on the grounds of their insufficiently "Portuguese" style, should not be too much of an obstacle: they were coined precisely in the context of Suevic expansion in the peninsula. That many of them may also be much later than mid-fifth-century is also not too great a problem, inasmuch as it was precisely those types which demonstrated the greatest independence from their models that were destined for the greatest success.

[90] López Sánchez (2002a); Alföldi (1959).



Figure 15. Suevic *tremissis* (Au) (x2) with the name of Valentinian III (425–455). Peixoto and Metcalf (1997), 261, pl. 7.1.



Figure 16. Personal seal of Childeric. © Bibliothéque National de France. Cabinet des Médailles.



Figure 17. *Solidus* (Au) of Constantius II (326–7). Cayón (1985), vol. 3, 2346, 44c.



Figure 18. Cameo of Licinius. © Bibliothéque National de France. Cabinet des Médailles.



Figure 19. *Solidus* (Au) of Leo (457–474). Cayón (1985), vol. 4, 2949, 9f.

coinage of Childeric and that of the Suevic kings appears to reflect expansionary aspirations dressed up as ostensible imperial legitimism. When Childeric was recognized with imperial favors he, with his long Germanic hairstyle and his Roman spear, figured as a legitimate Caesar in the territory he governed.[91] Thirty years before Childeric, Rechiar attempted to display the same figure on his Spanish coinage. Both wanted to define themselves as the legitimate Roman governors of imprecisely defined territories. Clearly, for Rechiar, the representation of regalia was a fundamental element in Suevic royal aspirations to act as the legitimate representative of imperial power in Hispania.

Some confirmation of this may come from the anger with which Theoderic reacted against Rechiar, and the energy with which he pursued his Suevic campaigns after sponsoring Avitus' imperial proclamation.[92] At a time when Hispania was still neither Suevic nor Visigothic, Theoderic needed to contest the claims implicit in Rechiar's coinage. The Visigothic monarchy responded to Suevic pretensions both as a recognized federate group, and as the principal power in Tarraconensis and the Ebro valley. Theoderic II supported Avitus' bid for the purple, winning in the process *carte blanche* for Gothic action in Hispania.[93] Not only did he act against a dissident branch

[91] On the long hair, see Hoyoux (1948) and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (1962), 154; López Sánchez (2002c). For the legitimacy signified by Childeric's regalia see Brulet et al. (1986); (1997). The excavations directed by Raymond Brulet have demonstrated the clear contrast between the collective sacrifice of a team of horses on the one hand and the cruciform fibula and *paludamentum* characteristic of higher Roman officials on the other. Parallels for this extraordinary ritual in the western part of the barbarian world are few, and in Westphalia and Thuringia such inhumations do not surpass more than two or three horses.

[92] Sid. Ap., *Carm.* 7.398–580.

[93] The sources tell us that Theoderic invaded Spain in order to protect the Hispano-Romans: Hyd. 168–173; Sid. Ap., *Carm.* 7.519–21; John of Antioch, frag. 202 (*FHG* 4: 616). See Sivan (1989).

of his own family, he did so with total legitimacy as the arm of the emperor in the Ebro valley and beyond. The Visigothic counteroffensive destroyed Rechiar's plans and at the battle of the River Urbicus, Suevic expansion came to ruin.[94]

Suevic expansion eastwards had rested not only upon control of the west of the peninsula, but also on the pseudo-imperial justifications of Rechiar.[95] It should therefore be unsurprising that the Gallic coinage reflects a commensurate response. Both the obverses and the reverses of the coins of Avitus minted at Arles—and also of the Visigothic imitations minted at Toulouse—demonstrate that this emperor, perhaps on personal initiative, adopted an iconography that stressed his connection to traditional western Roman themes.[96] That, at least, would explain in all respects the coin reverses which show a defeated captive turned to the right beside a standing emperor in military dress (Fig. 11). This iconographic choice stands in contrast to the frontal type, with an androcepahlous serpent to the left, which is characteristic of the reverse types of Valentinian III, and which undoubtedly reflects the primacy of the eastern emperors during Valentinian's reign.[97]

Avitus' re-adoption of the iconography of the humbled barbarian, in the manner of the traditional and prestigious Roman military imagery characteristic of emperors linked to the Anicii in the West, is paralleled by the reintroduction of the *labarum* on the coin issues of Rome in this period. Neither element leaves any room to doubt that the traditionalist approach advertised by Avitus was quite deliberate.[98] In place of the androcephalous serpent, an iconographic type

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[94] The Urbicus campaign forms the climax to the chronicle of Hydatius (see Hyd. 161–80) and he concentrates more space, more detail and more emotion on the short period of time between 5 October 456 and April 457 than on any other part of his history. Nevertheless, the Gothic sack of Braga did not mean the total ruin of the city, nor of the Suevic kingdom as a whole: Arce (1995). Hydatius' chronicle ends in 468 and, until 550 when Martin of Braga arrived in Gallaecia, we possess virtually no information about the Sueves. But that is not to say that they disappeared from history, for a second Suevic kingdom seems to have survived in strength until its absorption by Leovigild in 585: Violante (1998), 74, and Ferreiro (1997) for the otherwise unattested *rex Veremundus* active in 535.

[95] Peixoto and Metcalf (1997), 194.

[96] For the iconography, Depeyrot (1986a); (1986b); López Sánchez (2001). The imitative coins of the Visigoths were minted near Arles in large quantities and with a smaller gold content than official Roman issues: Depeyrot (1986a); (1986b).

[97] López Sánchez (2002b); Courcelle (1966).

[98] For Rome, *RIC* 10: 180. That Avitus hoped to pursue a political approach

symbolizing the triumph of good over evil, Avitus preferred images that stressed the opposition between Rome and barbarism, itself a defining element of an aggressive *Romanitas*.[99] It is therefore somewhat ironic that Visigoths should have prosecuted Avitus' imperial initiatives on Spanish territory.

Monetary concentrations and the primacy of the south in fifth-century Spain

In all of the foregoing, we are most struck by the overriding interest of the emperors and their proxies in controlling Tarraconensis in preference to other parts of the peninsula. To control the peninsular northeast, imperial power had been deployed extensively during the first half of the fifth century, whether on its own account or through Gothic intermediaries. This makes it all the more striking that the largest part of the abundant Spanish AE2, and also the Italian *solidi* of the beginning of the century, are concentrated at the opposite end of the peninsula, in the south and the southwest.[100] We cannot know precisely when the very abundant *solidi* of Honorius and Arcadius were buried, though it was probably not very late in the fifth century. As a possible explanation of the predominance of hoards and treasures in the south and west—as opposed to the Ebro valley and the northeast—we can hardly adduce the poverty of the region. The south and the southwest were then the most rich and, relatively speaking, the least exposed regions of the peninsula. The greater scope of exchange with North Africa and with the Byzantine East will have been the chief factor in keeping a good number of solidi and the best of the AE2 bronze coinage circulating in this part of the peninsula. Indeed, the region's proximity to the dynamic power of the Vandal kingdom in the fifth and part of the sixth century no doubt contributed to its prosperity.[101] By contrast, the Ebro Valley and the Catalonian coast, battered by events, witnessed the rapid drain of almost all good coinage.

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firmly based on traditional Roman models of prestige is shown by Sid. Ap., *Carm.* 7: 543–52.

[99] Heim (1991).

[100] Roman, Visigothic or Suevic issues of later in the century were very much reduced in number overall, and not numerous anywhere in the peninsula.

[101] In fact, the concentration of AE2 in Africa in late contexts is suspiciously

At the start of the sixth century, the change in the geostrategic focus of Spain from the Ebro valley to the south was still not complete, but it was very nearly so: not only did older and more recent Roman bronze coins circulate preferentially in the south and west, but the coin issues of barbarian kings were likewise concentrated in that region.[102] The location of these Suevic, and later Visigothic, mints can be explained by the wealth and Mediterranean contacts of Baetica, and by their prolongation into the interior along the Camino de la Plata. The international face of Hispania, which until the reign of Theodosius had always been linked to the Ebro valley, was from then on the patrimony of the south, and thus the whole late antique history of Hispania can be understood in terms of this geopolitical transformation. In its narrative simplicity, the shifting patterns of the coinage perfectly illustrates this change in orientation. From the middle of the fifth century onwards, commercial, military and productive importance were concentrated in the south. The southern part of the peninsula and its tributaries along the Camino de la Plata, grew in power, while the Ebro valley, once so vital, was now relegated to a secondary position. This geopolitical change, of great importance to the later history of the peninsula, was not a product of the sixth century, however. On the contrary, it began as early as 394, when Eugenius lost the battle of the river Frigidus.

similar to the case of Spain: Mostecky (1989). The proximity of the two regions explains why numerous small Vandal and Byzantine *nummi* entered the monetary exchanges of the region in the sixth and seventh centuries: Marot (2000–2001), 145, *contra* Crusafont (1994).

[102] Marot (2000–2001), 152. See also the fundamental works of Miles (1952); Tomasini (1964); and Barral (1976) for the concentration of barbarian mints in the region. It is increasingly accepted that the Goths coined bronze in the region beginning in the sixth century, though in many cases it remains unclear whether these putatively Visigothic emissions are not actually Vandal or Byzantine.

VILLAS IN HISPANIA DURING THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES*

Alexandra Chavarría Arnau

The fourth century witnessed the apogee of the Roman villa in Hispania. The majority of rural establishments dating to the high empire underwent modifications at this time. In many cases, these saw the most important spaces of the villa torn down and replaced with buildings of greater dimensions and monumentality. This heyday of construction was not exclusive to the Iberian peninsula, but occurred in the other parts of the Roman West as well, as evidenced by the great villas of Piazza Armerina in Sicily, Desenzano in Lombardy, Montmaurin and Séviac in southern Gaul, and Konz, Pfalzel or Welschbillig in northeastern Gaul, all examples of this same late antique monumental villa architecture.[1] However, one might be surprised by the enormous concentration of these residences in some areas of Spain—the Ebro and Duero valleys or the present-day Extremadura, where a plethora of monumental villas with late Roman phases have been documented—by comparison with other provinces (Fig. 1).[2]

Paradoxically, generations of scholars have interpreted this Spanish villa boom in terms of crisis and decay. Traditionally, the rise of the

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[1] On the architectural and decorative characteristics of the late Roman villa, including these examples, see among many others Scagliarini Corlaita (1990); Sodini (1995); Smith (1997); Arce (1997a); Balmelle (2001); and Sfameni (2003).

[2] Ebro valley and its tributaries: Villa Fortunatus, Camino de Albalate, Calatorao, La Malena, El Ramalete; Duero Valley and its tributaries: Cueva de Soria, Los Quintanares, Santervas del Burgo, Baños de Valdearados, San Pedro de Valdanzo, La Olmeda, Astudillo, Pago de Tejada, Dueñas, Navatejera, Santa Colomba de Somoza, Aldealhama, Las Calaveras, Prado, Almenara de Adaja, Aguilafuente; Extremadura: La Sevillana, Torre Águila, Pesquero, La Cocosa, El Hinojal, Santa Marta de Barros, Monroy, among others.

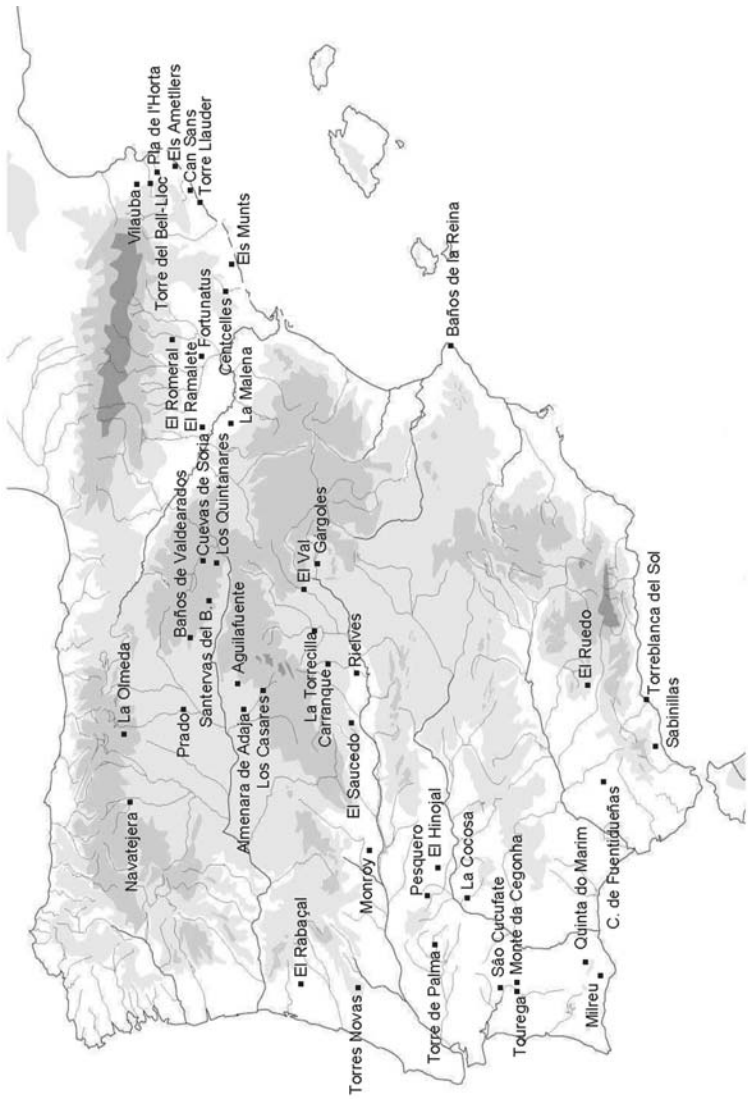


Figure 1: Distribution of main late antique villas of the Iberian peninsula quoted in the text.

late antique villa was interpreted as either cause or effect of the alleged abandonment of cities by the urban aristocracy, a "ruralization" born of a concomitant "de-urbanization."[3] In the past two decades, however, scholarly inquiry has demonstrated that the fourth century was far from being an era of urban decay, and that the cities of the empire continued to flourish throughout the fourth century although they often experienced changes to their structure and function.[4] Nevertheless, this intense research on late antique cities has had little impact on the traditional interpretation of the late antique countryside. Even if it has become increasingly difficult to view this apogee of villa culture as the result of a "ruralization" of late antique elites, the villa boom and its significance still lack a convincing interpretation. This paper attempts to explain the flourishing of Spanish villas during the fourth century through an analysis of their architecture and their evolution, and strives to place the evidence in its correct chronological, and thus historical, context. An overview of these salient features will permit an examination of their possible owners, and the motives or causes of their monumentalization.

Earlier research

The two fundamental works on Roman villas in Spain are those of J.-G. Gorges and M.C. Fernández Castro, which analysed data from villa excavations carried out in the Iberian peninsula before the 1980s.[5] Unfortunately, Spanish research was dominated virtually till the 1990s by a Gibbonian vision of decline and fall, and thus all changes which took place in villas from the third century onwards were interpreted in terms of the dramatic consequences of barbarian invasions.[6] On the other hand, and as in other areas of western Europe, archaeological work in Spain focused until the 1980s almost exclusively on the discovery and conservation of the decorative

[3] See Kulikowski in this volume.

[4] Recent research on this subject has been immense. A useful bibliographical overview is available in Lavan (2001). On Spain see generally Arce (1993a); Ripoll and Gurt (2000); Díaz Martínez (2000a); and now Gurt (2000–2001).

[5] Gorges (1979); Fernández Castro (1982).

[6] Gorges (1979), 42–48; for a critique of this vision, see Lewit (2001).

elements of the residences, especially the mosaics. This often meant ignoring functional buildings attached to richer villas, not to mention the houses of medium or small-scale farmers which had a role in the cultivation of large properties. For this reason, our knowledge of the characteristics and evolution of the rural world is often limited to elite residential buildings, with no basis for comparison to the contemporary evolution of the *partes rusticae*, farms and more simple habitations which were related to these properties.

In the last fifteen years the situation has improved: excavation and analysis of some of the most significant settlements in the peninsula (La Olmeda or Milreu) continues, and important new villas have been discovered and studied (Carranque, São Cucufate and El Ruedo among many others).[7] In many cases (El Saucedo, Monroy, La Sevillana) attention has been paid not only to the residential remains but also to the structures and materials linked to production. In addition, ceramic studies and a better knowledge of the circulation of coins now permit a more accurate chronology of these buildings and their different phases.

Regional differences

The archaeological material that describes the rural life and rural populations of late antique Hispania exhibits significant regional variety, both in terms of formal architectural features and the dynamics of functional evolution (Fig. 1). This heterogeneity can be explained in large part by morphological variation in terrain, relative fertility of soils, and varying degrees of urbanization, all of which might have an impact on the size of rural estates, the means of exploiting the land and, consequently, the physical form that such estates assumed.[8] In coastal areas, the topography seems to have been most conducive to *fundi* of medium and small dimensions. This littoral hinterland, however, was far more urbanized than the interior of the peninsula. The local aristocracy may therefore have been more attached to

[7] See Appendix 1 for the location of all the villas cited in the main text. A bibliographical survey of recent research on late Roman villas in Spain (through the year 2000) may be found in Chavarría (1999b).

[8] Similar differentiation based on urban evolution and ceramic distribution patterns in Olmo (1992).

urban life, which probably affected the way in which they conceived of their rural estates and the residences attached to them. The southern and eastern coasts, as well as the extreme west of *Gallaecia*, were characterized by rural establishments of a primarily productive nature. The residential sectors of these small villas were of modest dimensions, although they frequently boasted significant bath complexes such as those at the villas of Vilauba, Els Ametllers or Torre Llauder (Figs. 2A, 2B and 3B).[9]

The *partes rusticae* of these villas were typically situated a short distance from the living quarters, or at times formed part of the same contiguous complex. Judging from seed analyses, studies of agricultural implements and agro-industrial installations, polyculture seems to have predominated in these villas, at times coexisting with oliculture (Vilauba), viticulture (Torre Llauder) or *garum* production (Baños de la Reina). During the fourth century, some of these estates were refurbished, usually through the addition of semicircular or polygonal apses to the villa's most important reception rooms, or through new decorative programs. These additions are particularly evident in buildings situated near urban agglomerations, as shown by the villas of Torre del Bell-lloc near Gerona (Gerunda), Centcelles near Tarragona (Tarraco) (Fig. 3C) or Milreu near Faro (Ossonoba) (Fig. 12B), all three of which can be probably identified as the suburban residences of members of urban elites. However, many sites from these littoral areas experienced a quite different evolution from the fourth century onwards. In these cases, living quarters were converted to productive uses, and reception and bath complexes were outfitted with presses, storage facilities, hydraulic floors and *dolia*. These changes started at some settlements at the end of the third century (Torreblanca del Sol), although they are more common from the fourth century onwards (Vilauba, Torre Llauder or El Ruedo). As we shall see, this transformation of spaces for living and display into spaces for production signaled an important change in the function of these sites.[10]

By contrast to the littoral, the peninsula's interior, with its vast plains, favored the establishment of large estates. The great villa

[9] Other examples in Chavarría (1996) and Chavarría (1999a).

[10] The subject has been comprehensively treated in Chavarría (1996) and now Chavarría (2004); (forthcoming a).

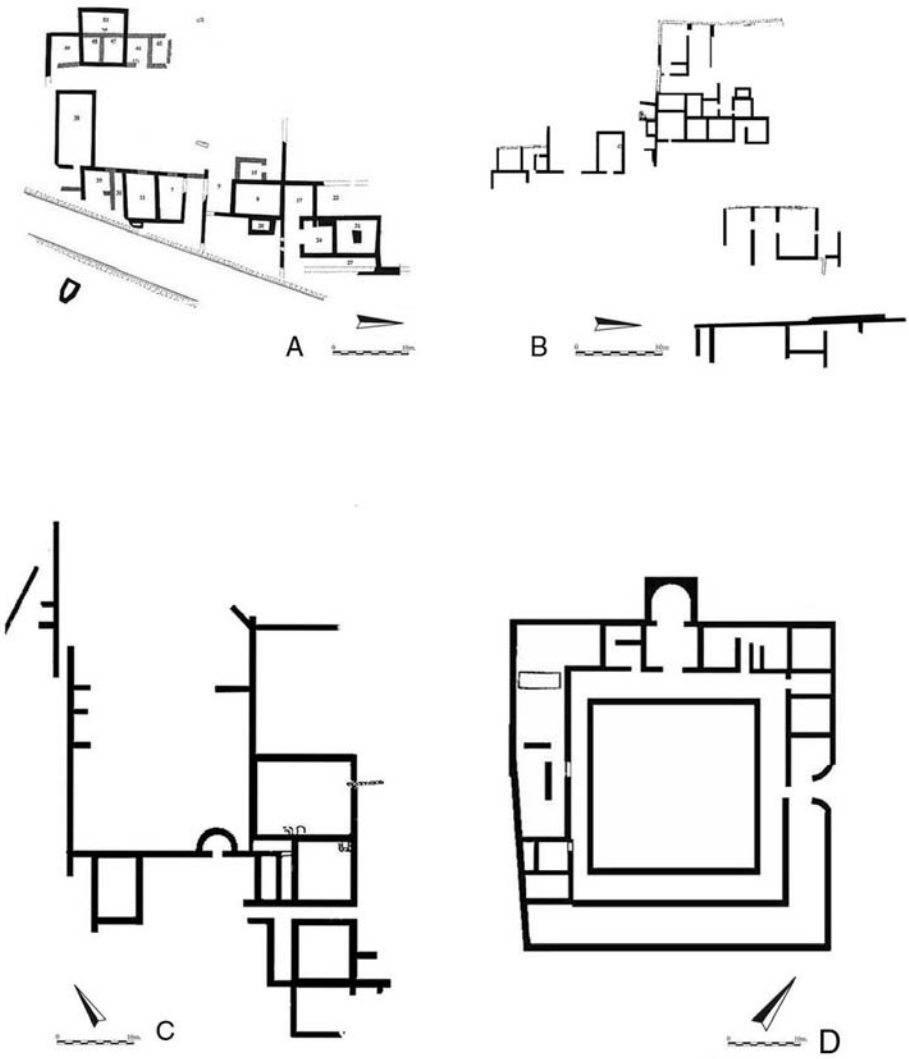


Figure 2: A. Vilauba (late Roman phase); B. Els Ametllers; C. Pla de l'Horta; D. El Romeral.

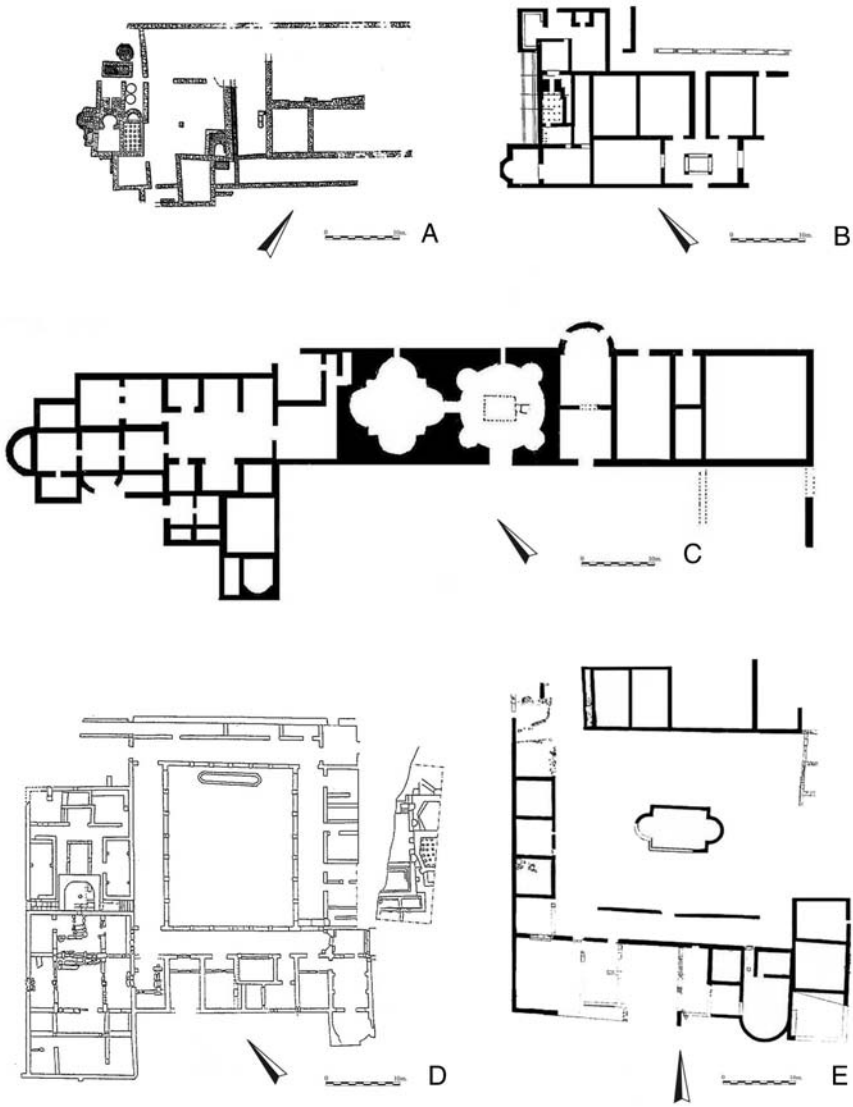


Figure 3: A. Can Sans; B. Torre Llauder; C. Centcelles; D. Fortunatus; E. La Malena.

complexes found in these areas reflected the power of the landed estate over the rural interior, and the concomitant wealth of the estate proprietors. The villas of the interior were situated primarily in the valleys of the few large rivers that transected the peninsula, the upper and lower Ebro, the Duero, the Tagus and the Guadiana. These villas tended to have large residential complexes, marked by equally large reception rooms and fine decorative programs. The *partes rusticae* were located either near these residential quarters, or were topographically displaced and dispersed throughout the estate. Although the productive quarters of these villas have not been well studied, the few analyses of agricultural implements (El Saucedo, São Cucufate), and of seed and faunal remains (particularly interesting at La Torrecilla), suggest a predominance of cereal cultivation and stock-rearing. However, as in the case of littoral villas, these pursuits did not exclude industries dedicated to wine or oil, especially in Lusitania. Faunal and small-find evidence, particularly spear and knife finds (Prado, El Val, Carranque), as well as mosaic images (El Ramalete, La Olmeda), document the importance of hunting in the life of these land-locked villas. The hunt would not only have played an important economic role, but was also fundamentally linked to the aristocratic ideal of rural *otium*.

The discovery of habitational structures, sometimes of agglomerative nature, near villas such as El Ramalete, Los Quintanares, and La Olmeda,[11] which served as the home of the dependent estate population, may provide evidence of the *tuguriae, casae, pagi* or *vici* described in textual sources.[12] Further testimony to these dependent farmers and the importance of these Meseta villas comes from a series of large cemeteries on the Castilian plateau known as the Duero necropoleis.[13] After long debate throughout the latter part of

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[11] See Taracena and Vázquez de Parga (1949), 10; Ortego (1977), 287; Nozal Calvo, (1995), respectively, on evidence for agglomerations related to these villas.

[12] For instance, the definitions of Isidore, *Etymologiae* 15.12: *De Aedificiis rusticis: Casa est agreste habitaculum palis atque virgultis arundinibusque contextum, quibus possint homines tueri a [ui] frigoris uel caloris iniuria. Tugurium casula est quam faciunt sibi custodes vinearum ad tegimen sui, quasi tegurium*; 15.2.7: *Civitates autem aut coloniae, aut municipia, aut vici aut castella, aut pagi appellantur*; 15.2.11: *Vici et castella et pagi hi sunt qui nulla dignitate civitatis ornantur, sed vulgari hominum conventu incoluntur, et propter parvitatem sui maioribus civitatibus adtribuuntur*.

[13] Some of the Duero necropoleis—e.g., San Miguel del Arroyo (Valladolid), Fuentespreadas (Valladolid), Hornillos del Camino (Burgos), La Nuez de Abajo (Burgos), Roda de Eresma (Soria) or Las Ánimas (Saldaña, Palencia)—which are

the twentieth century on the interpretation of these necropoleis, they are usually now identified as the burial places of rural communities, probably linked to large villas, as suggested by the cemeteries of the villas of La Olmeda and Cabriana.[14] The funerary deposits (including agricultural tools, knives, spearheads, ceramics, glass, and belt-buckles) link these people to agricultural and hunting activities.[15] Their chronology, which has been established by the accurate analysis of funerary deposits and which stretches from the mid-fourth to the mid-fifth/early sixth century and, coincides with the phase of major development at the villas to which the cemeteries were probably connected.

Although these inland rural estates generally traced their origins to the high imperial period, in nearly every case their monumentalization dates to the fourth century. In most cases, these villas continued to serve residential functions through the middle of the fifth century without the same functional transformations visible at many littoral sites.

Architectural features of late Roman villas in Spain[16]

The great majority of Spanish villas were organized around a peristyle or porticoed patio onto whose galleries the rooms of the house opened. Generally, these peristyles were square (Torre Llauder, El Romeral and Los Quintanares) (Figs. 3B, 2D and 5B) or rectangular (Cuevas de Soria, Los Quintanares) (Figs. 4A, 5B), although a few villas have been found with polygonal or circular courtyards

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often identified as belonging to nucleated settlements may in some cases actually be related to the region's huge villas.

[14] See Fuentes Domínguez (1989), 103–17, for a complete analysis of historiography and new proposals related to these cemeteries. For reflections on these cemeteries in relation to the villas with which they are connected see Chavarría (2001a). See also Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes in this volume.

[15] Without excluding the possibility that at particular times (and as related in the texts) they were organized into private armies in the service of the *dominus* on whose property they worked. Insights on the peasant soldiers in MacMullen (1963), 1–22. On the development of private armies during late antiquity MacMullen (1963), 138–51.

[16] The exhaustive study of late Roman villas in southwest Gaul in Balmelle (2001) offers a useful point of comparison with the architectural features and decoration of Spanish villas.

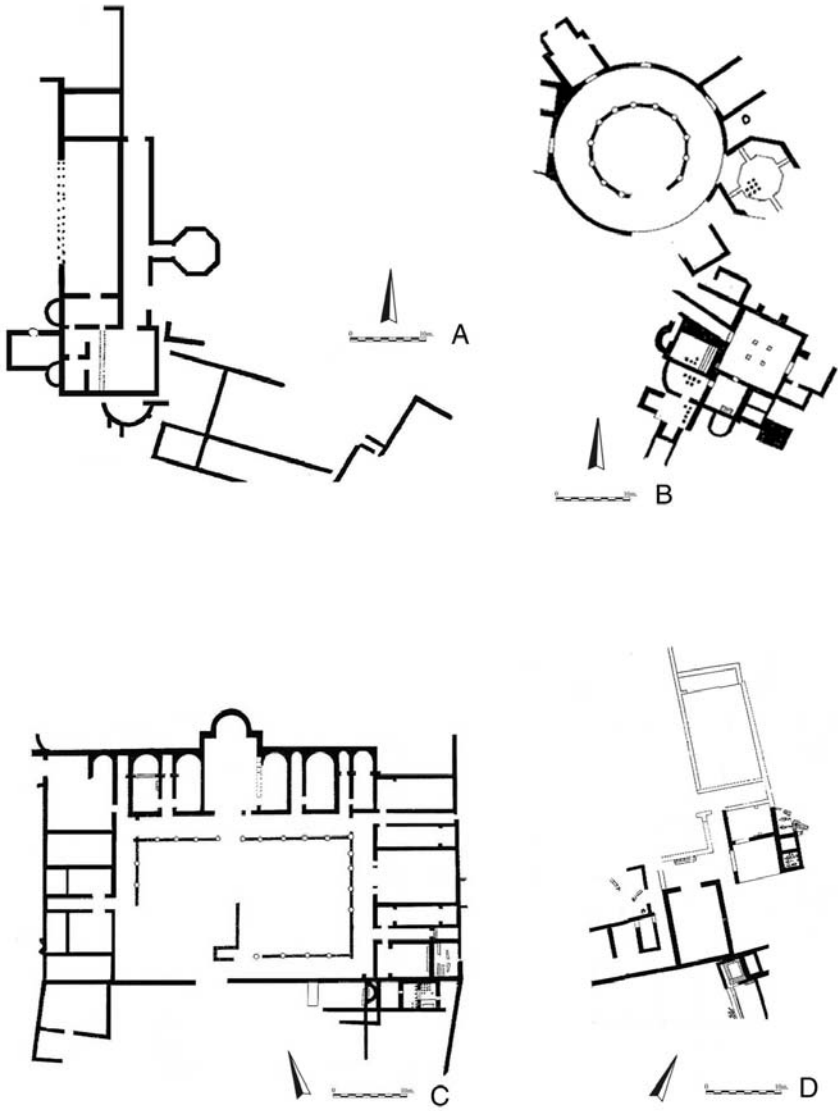


Figure 4: A. El Ramalete; B. Baños de la Reina; C. Cuevas de Soria; D. Baños de Valdearados.

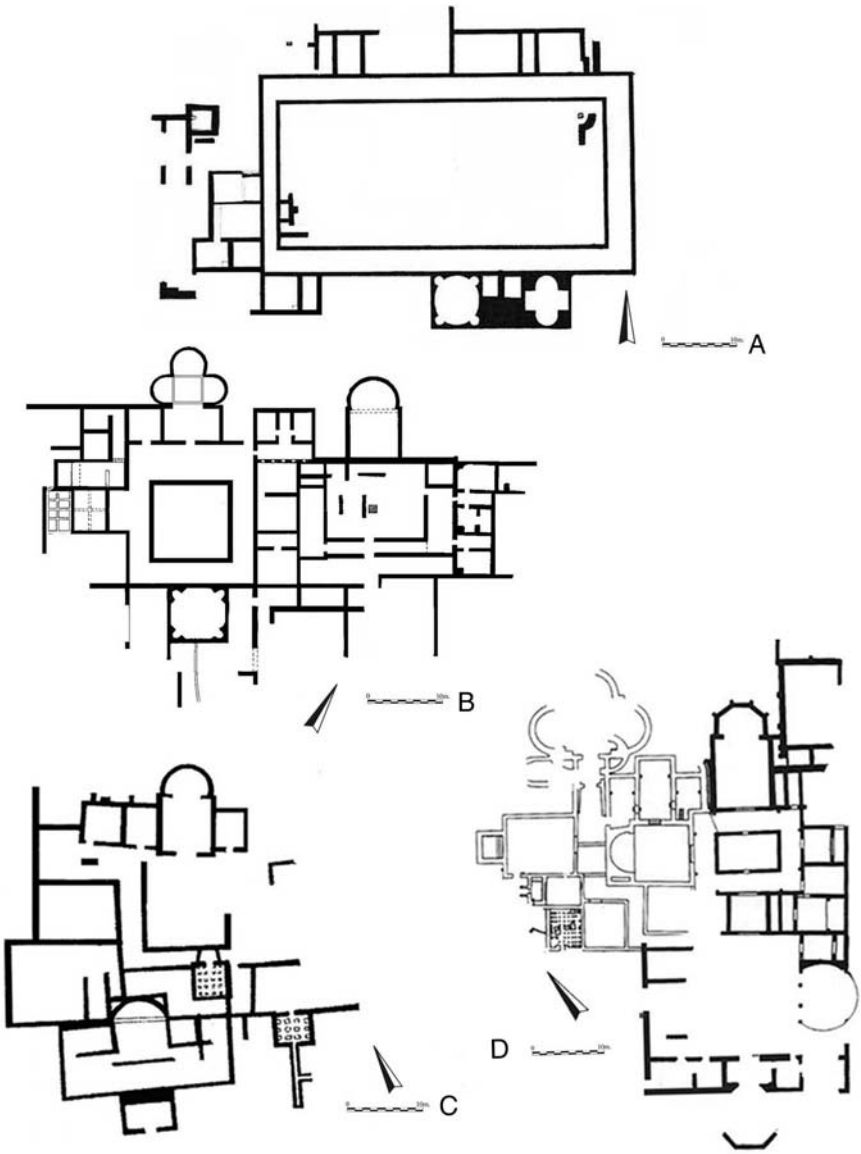


Figure 5: A. Santervas del Burgo; B. Los Quintanares; C. Prade; D. Almenara de Adaja.

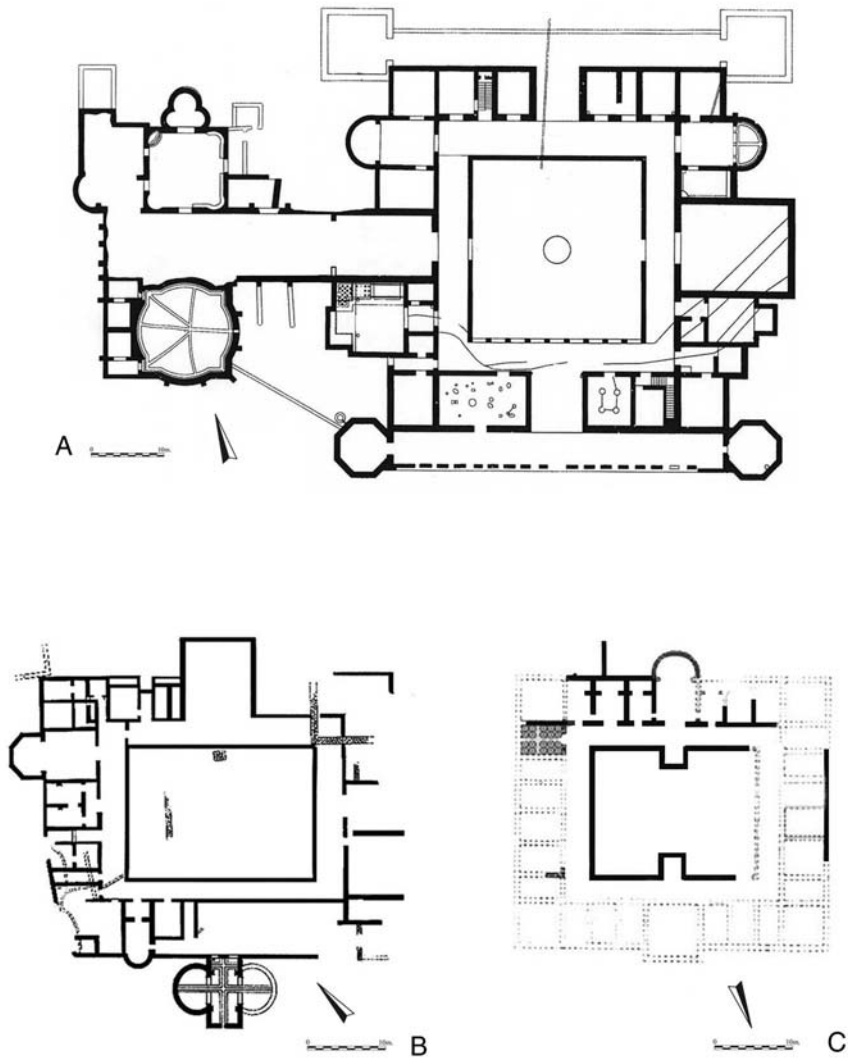


Figure 6: A. La Olmeda; B. Aguilafuente; C. La Torrecilla.

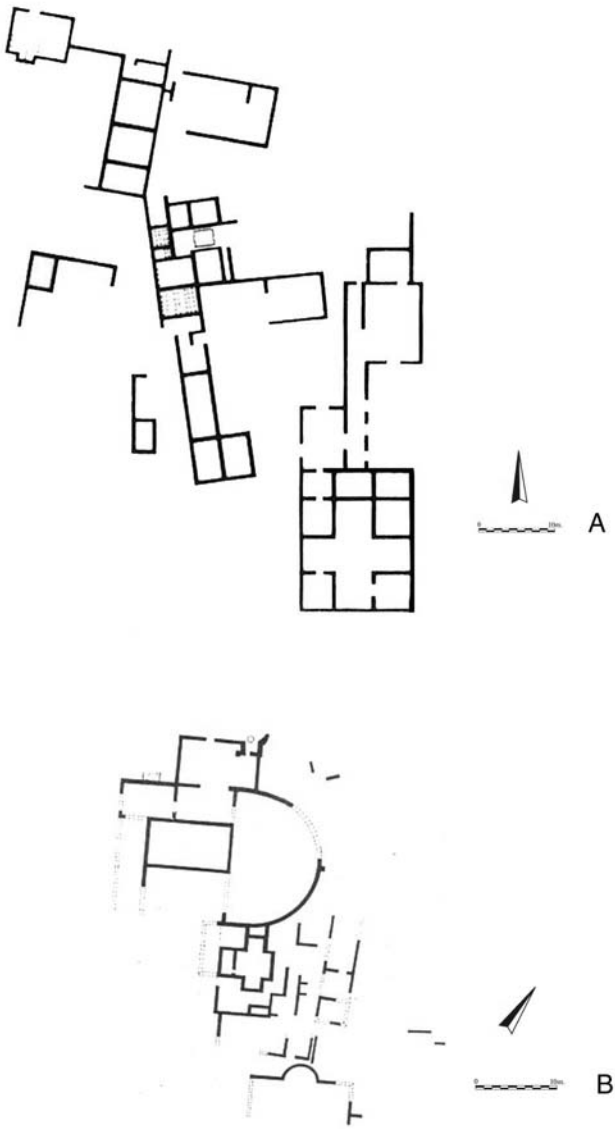


Figure 7: A. Navatejera; B. El Val.

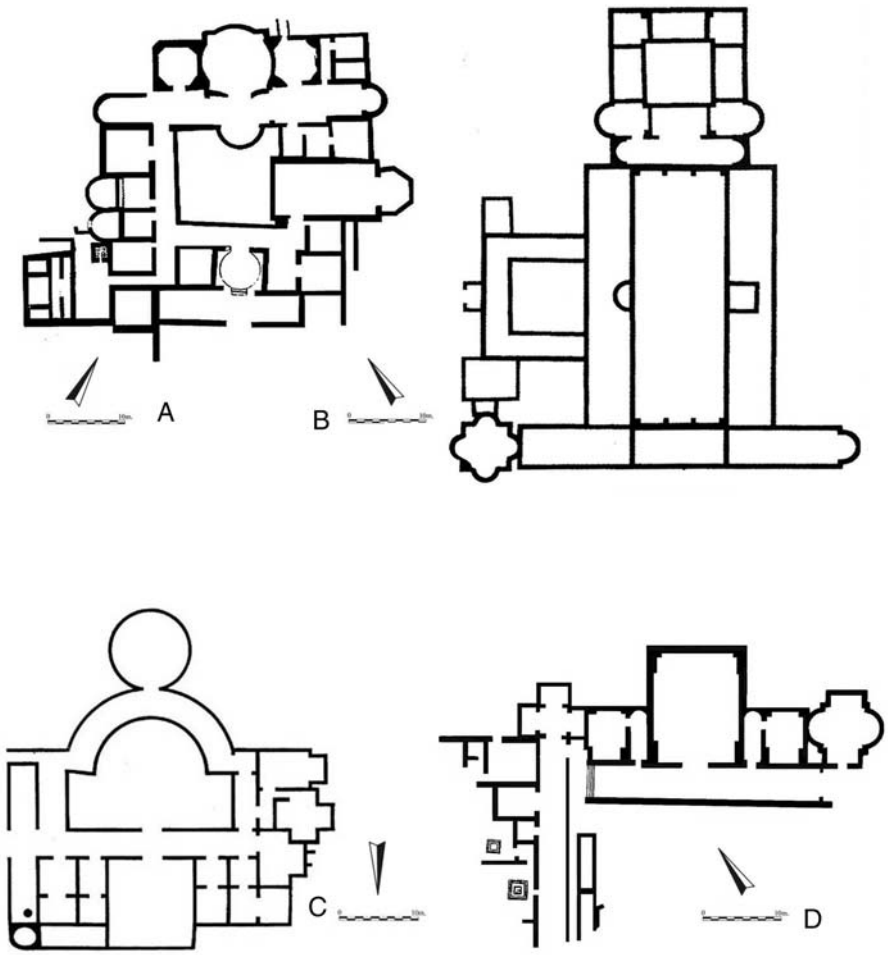


Figure 8: A. Carranque (*pars urbana*); B. Carranque (so-called "basílica"); C. Rielves; D. Gárgoles.

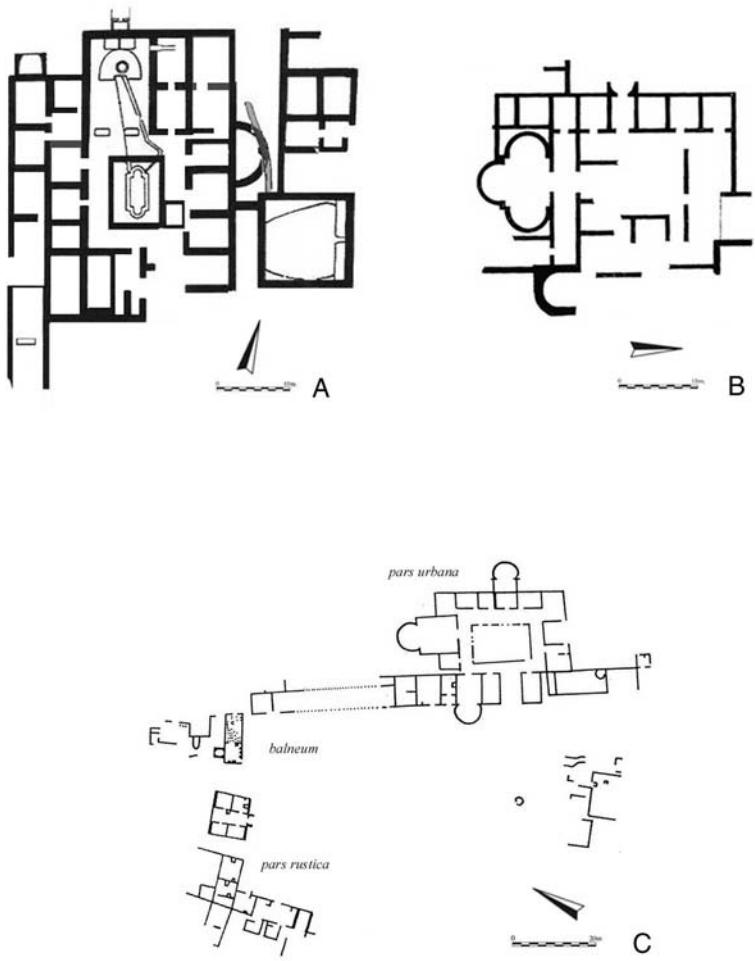


Figure 9: A. El Ruedo; B. Cortijo de Fuentidueñas; C. Monroy.



Figure 10: A. La Cocosa; B. Pesquero; C. Torres Novas.

(Rabaçal and Baños de la Reina) (Figs. 11A, 4B). Occasionally, as at Los Quintanares or Almenara de Adaja (Fig. 5D), the complex may boast more than one peristyle. At Rielves and El Val (Figs. 8C and 7B), the peristyle takes a sigma form, recalling the "atrium of half-moon shape" described by Sidonius Apollinaris in the residence of the bishop Pontius Leontius.[17] In addition to admitting light and ventilation into the house, the peristyle played an important role in the residence's symbolic function as a space for self-representation and the demonstration of seigniorial power. The villa's representational spaces, the dining and reception rooms, were visually bonded to the peristyle via wide doors and windows, and this view was frequently elaborated, as at La Malena, Carranque, El Ruedo and Milreu, by *nymphaea*—pools or tanks set in the peristyle's center (Figs. 3E, 8A, 9A and 12B).

Among the rooms which opened off the peristyle, some, by their dimensions, location, architectural features and decoration, can be identified as spaces dedicated to the reception of guests and the public representation of the *dominus*.[18] Reception rooms were designed to display the social standing of the owners through their size, architectural complexity and decoration. The documentation from Spanish villas shows that the location of these spaces was not absolutely fixed. In general, however, they were situated on the axis of the northern peristyle, normally opposite the main entrance to the residence, as at Cuevas de Soria and Aguilafuente (Figs. 4C and 6B), or on one of the sides to the right of this axis, as at Monroy or Torre de Palma (Figs. 9C and 11C). This axial disposition and the progression of entrance-vestibule-peristyle-reception hall, is common in Spanish villas.[19] Multiple reception spaces might be placed on one side of the peristyle, or might be placed to preside over two peristyles. One

[17] Sid. Ap., *Carm.* 22.4.157: *totum solem lunata per atria seruat.* This type of sigma structure is very common in Aquitaine and can be seen in the peristyles or monumental vestibules at Montmaurin, Chiragan, Lescar or Valentine, as well as in the Sicilian villa of Piazza Armerina: see Balmelle (2001), 147–52.

[18] Although these rooms are generally called *oeci* or *triclinia*, these terms are primarily useful for denoting architectural form, but are useless, if not misleading, if taken to imply function. On the multiplicity of functions such spaces might serve, see A. Wallace-Hadrill (1988), 90; Rossiter (1991), 202; Witts (2000), 292–93.

[19] While earlier scholarship tended to associate this type of axiality with palace architecture, more recent work has insisted on its proper place as one element of a general late antique architectural vocabulary: N. Duval (1987) with earlier bibliography.

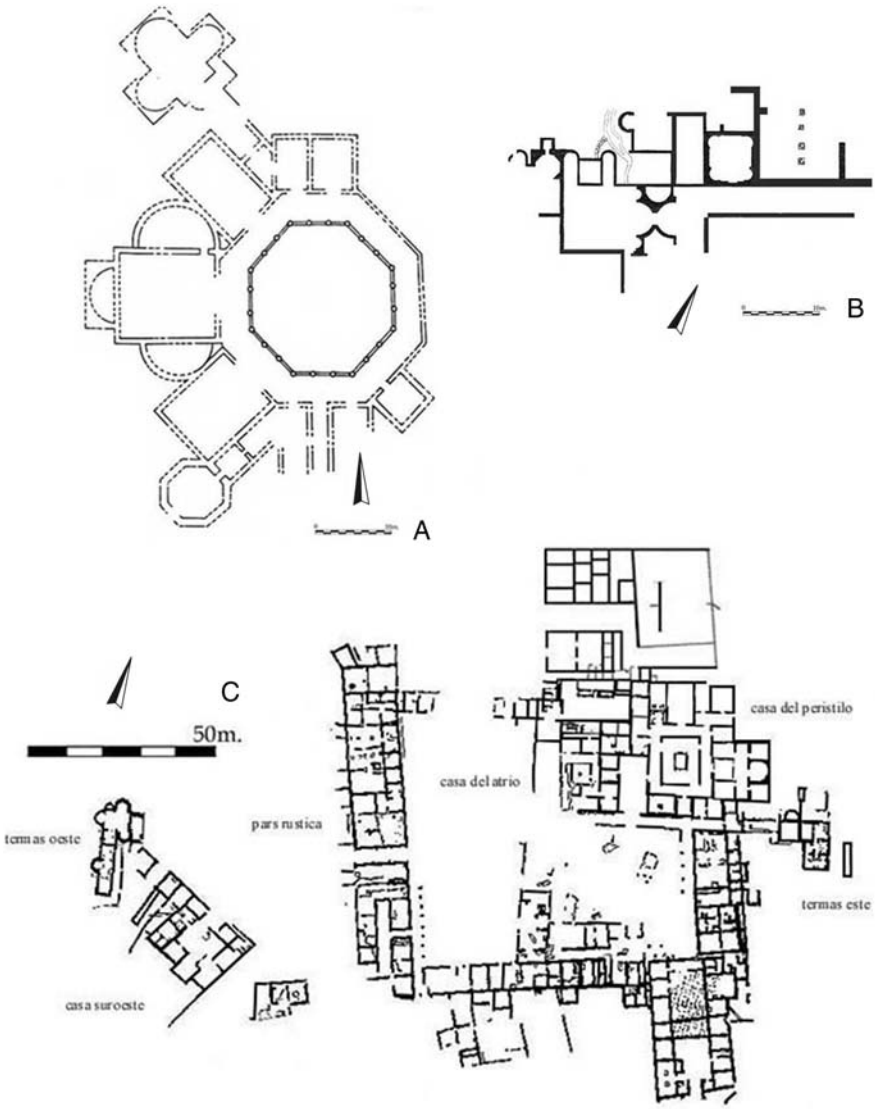


Figure 11: A. El Rabaçal; B. El Saucedo; C. Torre de Palma.

further peculiarity of the peninsula's villas is the placement of reception spaces at the corners of the peristyle, as at Villa Fortunatus, La Malena, Monroy, and La Cocosa (Figs. 3D, 3E, 9C and 10A). Moreover, the villa owners of Hispania seem to have adopted the apsed form with great frequency, and dozens of villas include apsed reception rooms (Centcelles, Cuevas de Soria, La Torrecilla, or Monroy) (Figs. 3C, 4C, 6C and 9C),[20] some even using two or three apses to form polylobed or triconch structures (Los Quintanares, Almenara de Adaja and Rabaçal) (Figs. 5B, 5D and 11A).[21] Truly centralized structures appear with relative frequency (Centcelles, El Ramalete, Gárgoles, Carranque) (Figs. 3C, 4A, 8D and 8A), sometimes in relation to baths (Los Quintanares, La Olmeda, Aguilafuente or El Saucedo) (Figs. 5B, 6A, 6B and 11B).

Frequently, these reception spaces are preceded by antechambers, as at La Olmeda or Villa Fortunatus. Various functions have been proposed for these spaces, for instance as small offices for the *dominus* or banquet preparation rooms in which food was kept immediately before being served.[22] At other times, the reception halls are flanked by rooms remarkable for their small size and limited access, frequently cut off from the peristyle itself. Such rooms would have received little light, and it has been suggested that they served as *cubicula*, where the proprietor and his most intimate friends would assemble after the banquet for more informal gatherings.[23] This interpretation conforms well to the rooms flanking the reception hall at Cuevas de Soria (Fig. 4C), similarly disposed rooms at Gárgoles (which were additionally preceded by their own antechamber) (Fig. 8D), and a group of rooms about a small *atrium* immediately off the *triclinium* at Villa Fortunatus.

Decoration

The architectural monumentalization of peninsular villas in the fourth century was accompanied by a redecoration of the residential build-

[20] Others include Torre Llauder, Fortunatus, La Malena, Los Quintanares, La Olmeda, Prado, Milreu. Polygonal structures in Almenara de Adaja, Aguilafuente and Carranque.

[21] Also in Cortijo de Fuentidueñas and Torre Águila.

[22] Offices: Smith (1997), 182; preparation rooms: Ellis (2000), 45.

[23] A. Wallace-Hadrill (1988), 93; Ellis (2000), 42.

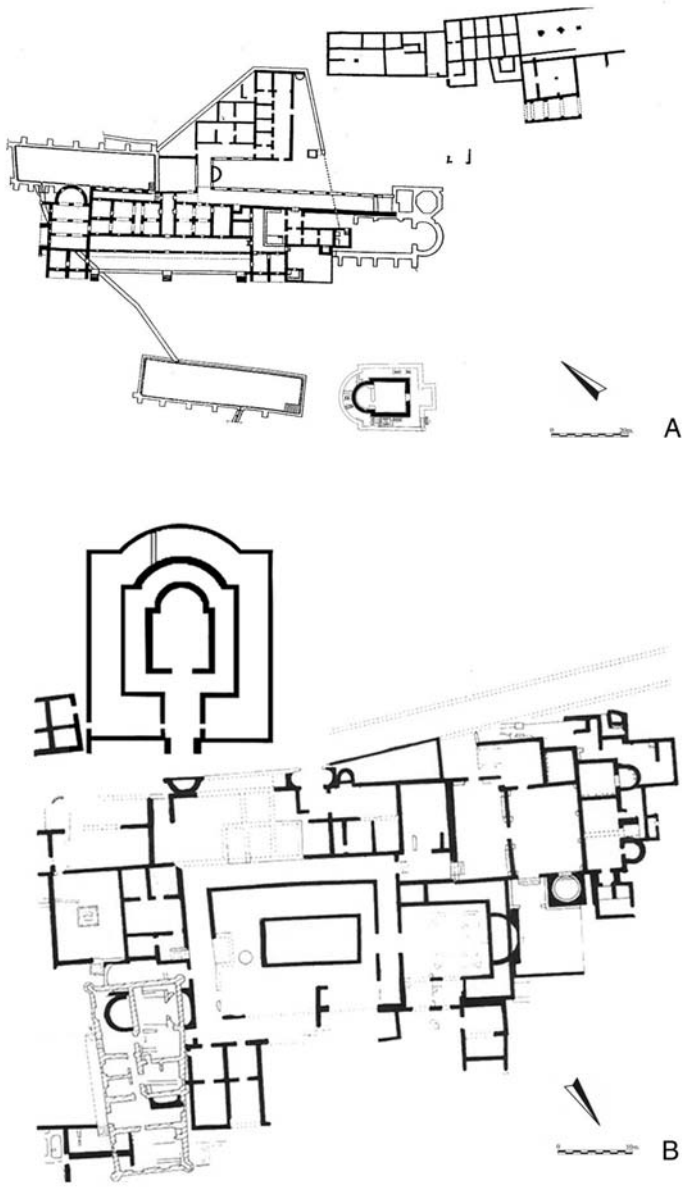


Figure 12: A. São Cucufate; B. Milreu.

ings. Although the remains of pictorial decoration are very fragmentary, it seems that the predominant motifs were geometric, floral and imitation marble panels. There is also evidence of some figurative motifs (Baños de Valdearados, Aguilafuente and Centcelles), although the fragmentary nature of the remains does not allow a precise reconstruction of the type of scenes which were represented. In some villas we have evidence of sculptures of gods or emperors (Milreu, El Ruedo), forming in some cases whole collections of statues (Els Munts, El Ruedo or Milreu). The mosaic pavements are without doubt the best-known elements of decoration. Geometric motifs were predominant, while figurative scenes were reserved for paving the most impressive rooms of residences and the spaces leading to them. Among the themes preferred by Hispanic proprietors were representations of Dionysus (Baños de Valdearados) and Achilles (La Olmeda, Carranque), hunting scenes (La Olmeda, Carranque) and representations linked to the world of the circus (El Val, Torre del Bell-Lloc, Aguilafuente and Torre de Palma).[24] As a series of in-depth studies has made plain, the spaciousness, elegance and rich decoration characteristic of these reception spaces was an explicit material representation of dominial power and visual articulation of social status. The use of specific architectural forms, such as basilican plans, colonnades, or the curved forms of the apse and cupola, would have served to evoke the *dominus*' public personality and to create prestige through space.[25]

The identity of the domini

The epigraphic evidence suggests that local and provincial administrators, as well as members of the senatorial aristocracy, were the principal proprietors of Spanish villas. Textual sources indicate that persons connected to the court and to the imperial family likewise possessed estates in Hispania. For the high imperial period, it is possible to tie specific individuals to specific villas. For instance, an inscription may identify Caius Marinus Aemilianus, member of the

[24] See Guardia (1992) and Morand (1994).

[25] A. Wallace-Hadrill (1988), 54; 60–68; Ellis (2000), esp. 170–87. Other contributions on the same theme in the volume edited by Gazda (1991).

city administration of nearby Barcino, as the proprietor of Torre Llauder.[26] At Els Munts, the discovery of a seal and a pictorial inscription commemorating the construction of a cistern names one Caius Valerius Avitus, a member of the provincial administration of Tarraconensis during the mid-second century.[27] Two persons, M. Coelius Celsus and Publius Anonius Silo, are named in inscriptions discovered at Torre de Palma: Coelius may be equated with Q. Coelius Cassianus, a duovir of Lisbon, while Antoninus may be Q. Antonius Gallus, another Lisbonite duovir from the Trajanic period. Another inscription indicates that the villa of Tourega may have belonged to Quintus Iulius Maximus, one of seven senators documented in the region of Evora.[28]

Mosaic inscriptions provide tantalizing, but usually less clear traces of seigniorial identity. Vitalis, Cecilianus, Dulcitius, Maternus and Cardilius are named in the mosaic pavements of Els Ametllers, Torre del Bell-lloc, El Ramalete, Carranque and Torres Novas respectively, but without sufficient accompanying information to connect them to men known from the late antique prosopographical corpus (Fig. 13). This has not prevented some investigators from identifying these shadowy figures with various late antique luminaries: the patron or deceased allegedly buried at Centcelles has been identified with the emperor Constans, the villa of Los Casares has been linked with the family of Theodosius, Carranque has been tied to Maternus Cynegius, and Cercadilla with the emperor Maximian.[29] Even if one rejects such specific identifications, the monumental architectural qualities and wealth of decoration in villas like Los Quintanares or Carranque, the discovery of suggestive finds—the so-called *missorium* of Theodosius at Almendralejo in the territory of Mérida, hypothetically identified as the site of a villa, the *contorniati* from La Olmeda, or the cruciform *fibulae* from Pla de L'Horta and Pesquero—do point more generally to senatorial or imperial bureaucratic circles.

Prosopographical studies of fourth- and fifth-century Spanish notables have centered on the so-called circle of Theodosius, that is, the aristocracy linked to the Theodosian dynasty. The emperor's family

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[26] *IRC* 1: 103.
[27] Tarrats Bou et al. (1998), 211–13.
[28] CIL 2: 112.
[29] These attempts have been rejected repeatedly by Arce (1992); (1993c); (1994); (1997b).

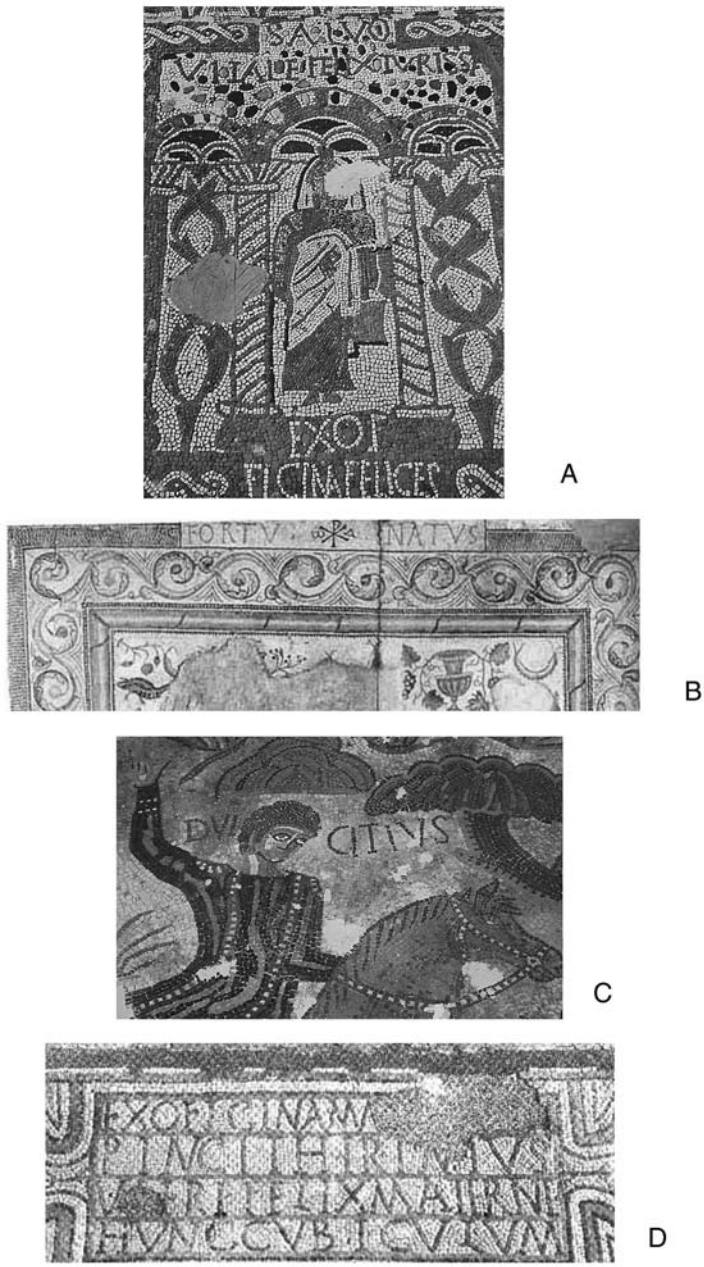


Figure 13: A. Mosaics with inscriptions of Vitalis (villa of Els Ametllers), Fortunatus (Villa Fortunatus), Dulcitius (villa of El Ramalete) and Maternus (villa of Carranque).

was originally from Cauca, in the Meseta. It was to these landed estates that Theodosius retired after the execution of his father Flavius Theodosius the Elder in 375/376. The "exile" of the younger Theodosius lasted only a few years, and after the catastrophic defeat at Adrianople, he was named *magister militum* and later, in 379, Augustus.[30] Some of the most noteworthy personalities attached to the emperor, who themselves possessed lands in Hispania, were Maternus Cynegius, Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, son of the bishop of Barcelona, and Magnus Maximus.[31] Other rural proprietors of the second half of the fourth century are known from the correspondence of the consul Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who wrote to his friends and associates to solicit their aid in buying or transporting Spanish horses for use in the praetorian games of his son Memmius.[32] Symmachus refers specifically to certain rural proprietors, such as Flavianus, who had estates and livestock, and to Pompeia, a stable owner.[33] Also probably Spanish is Euphrasius, with whom Symmachus collaborated on various occasions in the organization of his *ludi*.[34] Others of Symmachus' correspondents, such as Helpidius Marinianus, Acilius Severus or Petronius, may have been of Spanish origin or possessed properties in the peninsula, but, given Symmachus' objectives, they may merely have held posts in the diocesan administration.

The Gallic aristocrat Meropius Pontius Paulinus (Paulinus of Nola) obtained properties in Tarraconensis thanks to his marriage with Therasia, a rich Spanish proprietress.[35] Paulinus administered these estates for a time before he embraced asceticism. Another well-known land-owning couple, Lucinius and Theodora, were Baetican aristocrats who distributed their properties to the churches of southern Spain, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and who also financed the travel

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[30] An exhaustive analysis of the period and the figure of the emperor in the first volume of Teja and Pérez (1997). See also McLynn in this volume.

[31] Maternus Cynegius was *comes sacrarum largitionum* in the year 383, *praefectus praetorio Orientis* in 384, and *consul ordinarius* in 388 (*PLRE* 1: 235–36); Nummius Aemilianus Dexter held a number of important offices (*proconsul Asiae* in 387, then *comes rerum privatarum*, finally *praefectus praetorio Italiae* in 395) and later become a devout Christian and writer of historical works (*PLRE* 1: 251). Magnus Maximus, perhaps of Spanish origin, was proclaimed Augustus in 383 and was killed in 388 (*PLRE* 1: 588).

[32] For differing analyses of these letters see Arce (1982d) and Vilella (1996).

[33] Flavianus: Symm., *Ep.* 9.19; Pompeia: Symm., *Ep.* 9.18.

[34] Symm., *Ep.* 4.58–63; *Ep.* 5.83.

[35] For Paulinus, see *PLRE* 1: 681–83.

of six clerics to the Holy Land to copy the works of St. Jerome.[36] The couples Paulinus and Therasia, and Lucinius and Theodora echo the better-known case of Melania the Younger and Pinianus (who also possessed lands in Hispania), and illustrate two of the fundamental transformations that affected rural estates during late antiquity: the donation of large tracts of private, aristocratic land to the church, and the cessation of private landholding with the conversion to ascetic Christianity or entry into the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[37]

Archaeological evidence also reveals the important role these aristocrats themselves played in the Christianization of the countryside during the fourth and fifth centuries. In addition to the enigmatic Christian mosaics of the villa of Centcelles, whose function and patron have been an object of scholarly debate, some villas contain actual cult spaces, built during a period of villa expansion (as may be the case at Monte da Cegonha, Montinho das Laranjeiras or Villa Fortunatus).[38] However it would be an error to imagine a completely Christianized rural landscape in fourth- and fifth-century Hispania. Well-dated examples of such early Christian buildings are very rare and the presence of Christian symbols (such as the chi-rho in the mosaics of Villa Fortunatus and Prado) or Christian scenes (mosaics in Centcelles or the sarcophagus from the mausoleum of Las Vegas de Pueblanueva linked to a villa), are not common phenomena in Spanish villas.[39] At least from an archaeological point of view, intensive Christianization of the villas was a later process which should probably be situated in the sixth and seventh centuries (El Saucedo, Milreu, Torre de Palma, etc.) when the villas were apparently already abandoned or reused in a completely different way.[40]

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[36] Jerome, *Ep.* 71 (to Lucinius) and *Ep.* 75 (to Theodora).

[37] For Melania and Pinianus' Spanish properties see Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 61.5. For Christian changes in aristocractic piety generally, see Pietri (1978); (1986); Ripoll and Arce (2000), 107–11.

[38] Arce (2002b) for Centcelles.The situation in Hispania contrasts greatly with that of Gaul, in which it remains difficult to establish a sequence of continuity between villa and church: *Naissance des Arts Chrétiens*, 190; Fixot (1994), 40; Percival (1997b), which draw attention to the uncertainty surrounding villa-churches in Gaul and point to a rupture between villas and churches whose superimposition is explained as merely the coincidence of topography favorable to rural settlement of all kinds. On the theme of private churches in Hispania, see Bowes (2001).

[39] Las Vegas: Schlunk and Hauschild (1978), 129–31, pl. 21.

[40] In general, see Bowes in the present volume. Extended analysis of these two phases of villa-churches will appear in Brogiolo and Chavarría (2003) where the

Another characteristic of fourth-century Spanish villas, particularly those of Lusitania, is the construction of pagan temples as part of the villa's late antique monumentalization. Examples of such villa-temples can be found at Milreu, São Cucufate, Quinta do Marim and perhaps at Torre de Palma (Figs. 12B, 12A). These structures similarly played a role in the articulation of seigniorial power, and constituted, as the estate churches did later, a means by which the *dominus* might control the dependent peasantry. Eventually, many of these temples, such as those at Milreu and Torre de Palma, would be replaced by or converted into Christian churches, a practice perhaps condoned by the episcopal authorities attempting to take advantage of rural gathering points for evangelical purposes.[41]

The fifth century

Influenced by the history of Orosius and the chronicle of Hydatius, many investigators have painted a picture of destruction in cities and villas alike during the first half of the fifth century. Indeed, some archaeologists have tried to correlate destruction levels and periodic rebuilding with different barbarian incursions. In the villa of El Romeral, a possible relationship has been proposed between the abandonment of the villa and the disruptions caused by the Sueves and the Vandals.[42] In the villa of Prado, it has been suggested that some of the villa's mosaics were restored after the invasion of the Sueves, Vandals and Alans, and that the abandonment of the villa was caused by the Visigothic invasion.[43] At Santervas del Burgo, the excavators have stated that "at the beginning of the fifth century, the Germanic invasions caused the violent sack and complete ruin of this villa."[44] The same fate is suggested for the villa of Los Quintanares, although in this case "it is possible that the villa was rehabilitated under Visigothic rule" after the invasions.[45] Certain

relationship between churches and rural population in the fifth and sixth centuries is also analyzed.

[41] See, e.g., Gregory the Great, *Reg.* 961–962. For this issue in northern Gaul, see Le Maho (1994), 14–16.

[42] Diez Coronel and Mercé (1968), 773.

[43] Neira and Mañanes (1998), 48, with all previous references.

[44] Ortego (1965), 97.

[45] Ortego (1977), 292.

functional and architectural modifications in villas like El Val in central Carthaginiensis have also been linked to occasional occupation by barbarians, suggesting the penetration and settlement of Sueves, Vandals, Alans and Visigoths (these last as *foederati*) at the beginning of the fifth century.[46] In Baetica, the abandonment of the villa of Fuente Álamo has been attributed to "German invasions," and that of Sabinillas has likewise been linked to the same tragic end.[47]

However, the archaeological evidence rarely allows chronologies precise enough for us to assign abandonment or transformations to the aftermath of invasion. The sites in which these relationships have been alleged were excavated without the use of modern archaeological method, and with little knowledge of material culture beyond the fifth century. More recent excavations carried out in both urban and rural contexts have tended to deemphasize the real impact of fifth-century invasions.[48] It remains the fact that the presence of Sueves, Vandals and Alans in the peninsula has left very little trace in the archaeological record. Some materials traditionally identified as markers of "barbarian identity" now seem not to have been restricted to barbarian peoples and appear in widely diffused areas of the empire.[49] In the rural areas most affected by the Suevic invasion, that is, the west of Gallaecia, there is a general continuity of settlement between the fifth and sixth centuries, with some oscillations in moments of danger when the population may have fled to elevated settlements, perhaps the *castella* mentioned by Hydatius.[50] An analysis of the funerary culture from this area shows that the topographic and architectural characteristics of tombs, as well as their

[46] Rascón, Méndez and Díaz del Rio (1991). Detailed analysis of the evidence with a critique in Chavarría (forthcoming a); (forthcoming b).

[47] Fuente Álamo: San Nicolás Pedraz (1994), 1289; Sabinillas: Posac Mon and Rodríguez Oliva (1979).

[48] One notable exception in the urban sphere may be Mérida, where recent excavations have revealed important destruction levels in various areas of the city dating to the fifth century. See Mateos (2000), 504–506. Nonetheless, the evidence for barbarian impact on urban and rural settlements overall is very slim. The same can be said for Gaul, where archaeology has produced very little evidence of Visigothic settlement or any impact of this population on local culture. However, comparative analysis of fifth-century villa mosaic pavements with objects of similar style from urban contexts (mostly sarcophagi) may indicate some symbiosis or assimilation between Roman aristocrats and Goths: Bierbrauer (1994).

[49] Brulet (1990), 316.

[50] Hyd. 81. In general, see Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes in this volume.

grave-goods, show a clear continuity with Roman tradition and no traces of Suevic influence.[51]

The scarcity of archaeological evidence for barbarian populations raises the possibility that these peoples were already largely Romanized by the time they reached the peninsula, and that they simply reused earlier structures, whether villas or larger population centers, for their settlements, instead of destroying them as was once believed. Indeed, Orosius may not be far from the truth, when he states that "the barbarians came to detest their swords, took themselves to the plough, and affectionately treat the rest of the Romans as comrades and friends."[52]

Furthermore, these and other sources continue to mention the presence of local aristocrats. The last mention of the imperial family in a Spanish context appears in descriptions of the conflict between Constantine III and Honorius (408). The brothers Didymus and Verinianus, cousins of Honorius, recruited an army from among their estate workers to fight in the name of the legitimate emperor.[53] A letter of Pope Hilarus, dating to 465,[54] makes reference to *honorati et possessores* from various areas of the Ebro Valley, who had written in defense of Silvanus, bishop of Calahorra, accused by the bishops of Tarraconensis of making improper ordinations. Isidore of Seville also remembered that when the Visigoths began their take-over of Tarraconensis, the only province of Hispania which remained under Roman control in 470, they had to wrest control of the province from its hostile estate owners.[55]

The archaeological documentation seems to support this textual evidence. Stylistic studies of mosaic pavements as well as stratigraphic evidence indicate that many of the villas of Hispania continued in use, maintaining their residential character well into the fifth century. In some villas, significant reconstructions are dated to this period, including the laying of new mosaic pavements and new construction designed to monumentalize certain areas of the villa or at least maintain them at their same level of comfort. Such is the

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[51] Quiroga and Lovelle (1993); (1999).

[52] Oros., *Hist.* 7.41.7: *Quamquam et post hoc quoque continuo barbari exsecrati gladios suos ad aratra conuersi sunt residuosque Romanos ut socios modo et amicos fouent.*

[53] Oros., *Hist.* 7. 40; Sozomen, *HE* 9.11.4; Zos., *HN* 6.4.

[54] *Ep.* 16.1 (Thiel 165–66).

[55] Isidore, *HG* 34.

implication of an analysis of mosaics from villas in the Ebro valley and those of its tributaries. Examples include El Romeral and El Ramalete, as well as certain villas in the east, such as Els Ametllers. The same has also been suggested for some villas in the Duero region, such as Baños de Valdearados, where recent studies have dated the installation of mosaics to the middle of the fifth century. It is quite possible that many other rural residences remained occupied during the fifth century, such as Cuevas de Soria, La Olmeda or Carranque. In recently excavated Lusitanian villas, the excavators have documented occupation during the first half of the fifth century at least. La Sevillana is known to have been occupied until the mid-fifth century, if not longer, and São Cucufate was abandoned at some point in the mid-fifth century. Torre de Palma may have experienced an important period of construction at this time and may have remained occupied for the duration of the century. Information relating to the villas of Gallaecia is much less precise, although recent excavations in Navatejera date the expansion of the villa to the middle of the fifth century.[56]

Evidence for this continuity in villa occupation has only been revealed in the last few years and is owed largely to methodological advances in newer excavations and a better knowledge of late ceramics. In areas like eastern Gaul, North Africa, and southern Italy, a similar picture of prolonged occupation is beginning to emerge, and mosaics dating to the fifth century have been discovered at Montcaret (Dordogne), Sorde-l'Abbaye (Landes), Migennes (Yonne), Mienne Marboué (Eure et Loire) and San Giovanni di Ruoti (Potenza).[57] Archaeological documentation thus seems to confirm Sidonius Apollinaris' description of the opulent villas of his contemporaries, undermining criticisms which discount his descriptions as antiquarian and anachronistic, and instead suggesting that "la classe sénatoriale continue, malgré les temps, à vivre selon les rythmes du passé."[58]

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[56] Hernández and Benéitez González (1996), 112.

[57] See Balmelle (2001), 74; 118–19; Bassier, Darmon and Tainturier (1981), 123–28; Blanchard Lemée (1982); Small and Buck (1994), respectively. For Africa, see the state of the question in Ben Abed and Duval (2000).

[58] Février (1978), 231. Sidonius' letters include *Ep.* 2.2 (to Avitus); *Ep.* 8.4 (to Consentius); *Carm.* 12 (to Pontius Leontius). The similarity of some passages to the descriptions of villas in Pliny and Symmachus has led some scholars, e.g. Percival (1997a), to characterize these texts as mere rhetorical exercises by an aristocrat

Functional transformations

While the villas of the Ebro, the Duero, and Lusitania may have spent the fifth century much as they had enjoyed the fourth, a very different type of evolution was experienced by the villas on the eastern and southern coasts. Already in the third century, important changes were beginning in these villas, changes that would continue throughout the following centuries. Large areas of these villas seem to have been converted from residential space to new, productive uses.[59] Mosaic floors were removed or built over, dwelling spaces and baths ceased to serve their original functions and in their place presses, sunken storage vessels, ovens or *opus signinum* pavements were installed. Such changes in function are particularly evident when they occur in reception rooms, where the new installations were placed directly over the mosaic pavements. Examples of this radical refitting can be found at Torre Llauder (Fig. 3B), Sabinillas and Monte do Meio. Similarly obvious changes can be witnessed in bath complexes, where the heating systems were made obsolete by removing the hypocaust piers and the upper floors, and by using the lower floor as the new habitation level (for example, at Villa Fortunatus). Alternatively, the space between the floors might be filled in and the room repaved, frequently with *opus signinum* (for example at Can Sans, Baños de la Reina) (Figs. 3A and 4B). On occasion, the piscinas of the baths were reused and given new hydraulic floorings, or were subdivided into smaller pools (as at Baños de la Reina, Torreblanca del Sol) (Fig. 4B). In some complexes this conversion of the villa baths to productive space is accompanied by a more general expansion of production quarters. In the case of both reception spaces and baths, the reconstructions imply the disappearance of habitation and living spaces, and particularly spaces tied to the idea of a "Roman" way of life, and their substitution by new productive areas.

anchored in the past, wistfully remembering a classical way of life while living in a barbarian-Christian world.

[59] Chavarría (1996); (1999a); (2001b) on eastern Tarraconensis.

Interpreting the transformation of the rural landscape in fourth- and fifth-century Hispania

Traditional lines of investigation have interpreted these functional transformations as part of the crisis of the third century, the very same crisis that was used to explain the apogee of other villas in the fourth century. As we have seen, this theory postulated an urban abandonment ascribed to insecurity and economic crisis, and the wholesale transfer of the urban aristocracy to their rural residences. However, the use of the third-century crisis as an explanation for all the changes and transformations in classical settlement patterns is falling out of favor, just as the paradigm of the ruined and abandoned city is similarly being questioned. One of the lynchpins in the traditional crisis theory was an imagined decline of the curial class as they sought to evade increasingly burdensome public office by fleeing to the countryside.[60] While it is indisputable that the aristocracy ceased to assume certain urban bureaucratic offices, the disappearance of the *curiales* does not necessarily imply a mass exodus or the abandonment of cities.[61] Rather, the phenomenon may point to a variety of significant changes in the ruling elite and in the relationship of these individuals with their rural estates.[62] For instance, many provincial bureaucrats (the *honorati*) consolidated their social position, their power and their personal wealth thanks to a renewed affirmation of their status by the imperial government, which was accompanied by enhanced fiscal privileges.[63] On the other hand, during the reign of Constantine the senatorial aristocracy witnessed a numerical increase in its membership due to the multiplication of honorific titles and the numbers of people receiving them. This titular "inflation" meant that extraordinary disparities in wealth may have existed between members of the senatorial order.

Such disparities likewise meant that a wide gulf separated the political influence and economic power of the old senatorial *clarissimi* from less affluent aristocrats who did not actively participate in the exercise of power.[64] At the same time, the political power of the

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[60] For example, Jones (1964), 737–63.
[61] See Kulikowski in this volume.
[62] See Chastagnol (1992), 224–44; Roda (1985); (1993). A useful synthesis in Salzman (2002), esp. 19–68.
[63] Heather (1998), 206–208.
[64] Roda (1993), 654–55.

ancient senatorial families diminished, although they conserved a large measure of their social prestige and above all their economic reserves, consisting largely of huge landed possessions. The varying fates of urban elites would have in turn provoked a variety of responses, not just wholesale urban flight. However, in some cases, individuals on the fringes of power may have spent more time on their rural estates.[65] The same might hold true for some members of the senatorial order of more moderate economic means, who tried to evade their public obligations by at times abandoning the city for the country and spending more time on private interests.[66] Thus, the abandonment of the cities by certain members of the aristocracy should not be considered a general phenomenon but rather a personal, individual choice, one which did not result in the ruin or decay of cities. Most important cities continued to maintain their political, social and economic prestige, and the texts indicate that the city continued to be the preferred residence of the local elite.[67]

All these factors also added up to significant benefits for that circle of Spanish aristocrats tied to the imperial court, and contributed to a certain political tranquility and economic prosperity which was in turn invested in rural estates, resulting in the quality and quantity of villas constructed during the fourth century.[68] Such changes will have prompted, at least in part, the extraordinary amplification in the public areas of rural aristocratic residences. The functional transformations visible in the villas of the eastern coast and the south of the Iberian peninsula may in fact form part of this same phenomenon. The characteristics and chronology of their transformation, combined with an analysis of the textual documentation on rural land tenure, indicate that the change in function at so many of these villas may have been due to the concentration of rural

[65] Roda (1993), 651–52 and 670 and particularly Roda (1985), who analyzes the problem from the point of view of Symmachus' correspondence. For Gaul, Colombi (1996), 424–25, has studied the example of Paulinus of Pella and some of Sidonius Apollinaris' correspondents (*Ep.* 1.6 and 8.8) who left public service to dedicate themselves to their rural estates.

[66] Roda (1985), 95–108; Roda (1993), 659.

[67] Brown (1992), 21.

[68] A new explanation for this revival of rural expansion in the fourth century is proposed by Banaji (2001), who links concentration of rural properties in the hands of a new bureaucratic class to a period of monetary expansion characterized by the introduction of a gold-only monetary standard.

properties in the hands of large property owners.[69] This phenomenon is well documented over the whole of late antiquity and may have meant the progressive abandonment of residential functions in certain buildings, and their reuse by parts of the dependent rural population. Indeed, the textual documentation of an earlier period might also point in this direction.[70] Hyginus refers to *possessores* who had acquired various properties, but maintained only some villas, abandoning the others.[71] Pliny, discussing the purchase of a new property, makes it clear that the concentration of properties favored the expansion of some residences, and the simple conservation of the remainder: *uillam colere et ornare, alteram tantum tueri.*[72]

Conclusions

The renaissance of residential architecture in late antiquity is thus probably linked to a variety of factors which affected the different parts of the western Roman empire. A favorable economic and political juncture for the emergence of local elites and the increasing concentration of wealth (much of it in the form of rural properties) in the hands of some people is a plausible explanation of the villa boom in some parts of Hispania. The monumentalization of rural residences, which led to bigger and more complex architectural forms and richer decorative programs, must be seen as a reflection of the late Roman elites who built them.[73] We cannot positively identify the proprietor of any of the late villas known from the Iberian peninsula, but the texts seem to indicate that the senatorial and bureaucratic classes predominated. The boom of Spanish villas seems to have reached its peak during the second half of the fourth century, probably in relation to the rise of Spanish elites that culminated with

[69] See particularly Vera (1986); (1992–1993); (1995).

[70] Analyzed by Vera (1992–1993), 299.

[71] Hyg. 93: *Praetera solent quidam complurium fundorum continuorum domini, ut fere fit, I duos aut tres agros uni uillae contribuere et terminos qui finebant singulos agros relinquere: desertisque uillis ceteris praeter ea(m)cui contributi sunt, uicini non contenti suis finibus tollunt terminos quibus inter fundos unius domini fines obserua(n)tur sibi defendunt.*

[72] Plin. min., *Ep.* 3.19.2: *Sollicitat primum ipsa pulchritudo iungendi, deinde, quod non minus utile quam uoluptuosum, posse utraque eadem opera, eodem uiatico inuisere, sub eodem procuratore ac paene isdem actoribus habere, unam uillam colere et ornare, alteram tantum tueri.*

[73] Pallad., *De Agr.* 8.1: *Aedificium pro agri merito et pro fortuna domini oportet institui.*

the reign of Theodosius and his successors. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that many of these villas continued to be occupied without significant changes at least through the first half of the fifth century. This would seem to suggest that the Sueves, Vandals and Alans had a minimal impact on the rural landscape in the early years after their arrival. We still cannot establish with certainty when the final abandonment of villas in Hispania took place. Archaeologists can detect transformations in the characteristics of their occupation from the middle of the fifth century onwards, sometimes after a period of apparent abandonment. The next task facing archaeologists and historians is therefore to decipher the political, economic, cultural and ideological elements inherent in these transformations.[74]

[74] In Chavarría (2003a); (2003b).

APPENDIX: LATE ROMAN VILLAS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, WITH SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aguilafuente (**Segovia**) (**Fig. 6B**)
Lucas and Viñas (1977).

Almenara de Adaja (**Valladolid**) (**Fig. 5D**)
Mañanes (1992).

Ametllers, Els (**Girona**) (**Fig. 2B**)
López Mullor (2001).

Baños de la Reina (**Alicante**) (**Fig. 4B**)
Abascal, Cebrián and Sala (2000).

Baños de Valdearados (**Burgos**) (**Fig. 4D**)
Argente Oliver (1979).
López Monteagudo, Navarro Sáez and Palol Salellas (1998).

Carranque (**Toledo**) (**Figs. 8A, 8B**)
Arce (1986).
Fernández-Galiano (2001).

Can Sans (**Barcelona**) (**Fig. 3A**)
Barral i Altet (1978), 116–117.
Noé (1983).
Prevosti (1981), 504–512.
Ribas (1949).

Casares, Los
Regueras and del Olmo (1997b).

Centcelles (**Tarragona**) (**Fig. 3C**)
Arce (2001).
Hauschild (1965).
Niemeyer and Rüger (1961).
Rüger (1969).
Schlunk and Hauschild (1962).
Schlunk (1988).
Zedelius (1980).

Cocosa, La (**Badajoz**) (**Fig. 10A**)
Serra Ràfols (1952).

Cucufate, São (**Beja, Portugal**) (**Fig. 12A**)
Alarção, Etienne and Mayet (1990).

Cuevas de Soria (**Soria**) (**Fig. 4C**)
Blázquez and Ortego (1983), 59–79.

Fortunatus, Villa (**Huesca**) (**Fig. 3D**)
Palol (1989), 2000–2004.
Puertas (1972).
Serra Ràfols (1943).
Tuset (1982).

Fuente Álamo (**Córdoba**)
San Nicolás Pedraz (1994).

Gárgoles (**Guadalajara**) (**Fig. 8D**)
Fernández-Galiano (1987), 17–22.
Fernández-Galiano (1995).

Malena, La (**Fig. 3E**)
Arce (1992).
Fernández-Galiano (1992).
Royo (1992).

Milreu (**Estói, Portugal**) (**Fig. 12B**)
Schlunk and Hauschild (1978).
Teichner (1994).
Teichner (1997).

Monroy (Fig. 9C)
Cerrillo (1988).

Monte da Cegonha (Beja, Portugal)
Alfenim and Lopes (1995).
Lopes and Alfenim (1994).

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Alarçao (1988), vol. 2, fasc. 3, 194.
Viana (1959).

Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim, Portugal)
Maciel (1994).
Maciel (1996), 91–100.
Maciel (1999).

Munts, Els (Tarragona)
Tarrats Bou *et alii* (1998).

Navatejera (León) (Fig. 7A)
Hernández and Benéitez González (1996).
Jarreño (1988).

Olmeda, La (Palencia) (Fig. 6A)
Abásolo, Cortés and Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón (1997).
Campo (1990).
Nozal Calvo (1995).
Nozal, Cortes and Abásolo (2000).
Palol and Cortes (1974).
Palol (1986b).

Pesquero (Badajoz) (Fig. 10B)
Rubio Muñoz (1988)
Rubio Muñoz (1992).

Pla de l'Horta (Girona) (Fig. 2C)
Nolla (1984).
Nolla and Sagrera (1993).

Prado (Valladolid) (Fig. 5C)
Herrero Gil and Sánchez Simón (1992).
Sánchez Simón (1997).

Quinta do Marim (Olhão, Portugal)
Alarçao (1988), vol. 2, fasc. 3, 208.
Gorges (1979).
Veiga (1971).

Quintanares, Los (Soria) (Fig. 5B)
Ortego (1977).

Rabaçal, El (Coimbra, Portugal) (Fig. 11A)
Pessoa, *et alii* (1995).
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Ramalete, El (Tudela) (Fig. 4A)
Taracena Aguirre and Vázquez De Parga (1949).
García y Bellido (1953), 214–217.
Tudanca Casero (1997), 190–196.

Rielves (Toledo) (Fig. 8C)
Fernández Castro (1977–78).

Romeral, El (Albesa, Lleida) (Fig. 2D)
Marí Sala and Revilla Calvo (1999).
Navarro (1999).

Ruedo, El (Córdoba) (Fig. 9A)
Vaquerizo Gil and Carrillo Díaz-Pines (1995).
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Sabinillas (Málaga)
Posac Mon and Rodríguez Oliva (1979).

Santervas del Burgo (Soria) (Fig. 5A)
Ortego (1954–55).
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Ortego (1965).

Saucedo, El (Toledo) (Fig. 11B)
Aguado Molina *et alii* (1999).
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Torre del Bell-Lloc (Girona)
Guardia (1992), 49–58.
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Torre de Palma (Monforte, Portugal) (Fig. 11C)
Fugate (2000).
Huffstot (1998).
Maloney (1995).
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Torre Llauder (Barcelona) (Fig. 3B)
Clariana and Prevosti (1994).
Prevosti and Clariana (1988).
Ribas (1963).

Torreblanca del Sol (Málaga)
Puertas Tricas (1986–87).
Puertas Tricas (1991–92).

Torrecilla, La (Madrid) (Fig. 6C)
Blasco and Lucas (2000).

Torres Novas (Portugal)
Do Paço (1964).

Tourega (Evora, Portugal)
Vaz Pinto and Viegas (1994).

Val, El (Madrid) (Fig. 7B)
Méndez Madariaga and Rascón Marqués (1988).
Rascón Marqués, Méndez Madariaga and Díaz del Río Español (1991).
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