CATALAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, **16**: 9-34 (2023)
Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona
DOI: 10.2436/20.1000.01.197 · ISSN (print): 2013-407X · e-ISSN: 2013-4088
http://revistes.iec.cat/index.php/CHR

The Christianisation of the Mediterranean Tarraconense during the Roman period (from the first century AD to 409)

Albert Viciano i Vives*
Antoni Gaudí Faculty of History, Archaeology and Christian Arts (AUSP)

Received 10 February 2022 · Accepted 15 July 2022

Abstract

By the second half of the third century, Christianity had taken root in the coastal cities of the eastern Tarraconense, especially among common folk, as shown by the *Passio Fructuosi* and the archaeological finds in *Tarraco, Barcino* and *Gerunda*. By the fourth century, Christianity had also reached the *potentiores*, and bishops like Himerius of Tarragona and Pacianus of Barcelona, who had strong culture and theological education, managed to christianise the social customs and transform the topography of cities. The Church's actions sought to restore order in the wake of the theological dissentions (Arianism and Priscillianism). Monasticism had reached Hispania by the second half of the fourth century.

Keywords: Tarraconense, Christian archaeology, martyrdom, bishops, monasticism

Introduction

During the Roman Empire, the territory now known as Catalonia corresponded to the eastern part of the *Hispania Citerior* or *Tarraconensis* province. In fact, it was only one of the seven *conventus iuridici* into which the Tarraconense province was divided, whose capital was the city of *Tarraco* (Tarragona). In this article, we shall study the Christian communities' evangelisation of this territory in the first four centuries of our era. We have set 409 as the end date because that is the year the Germanic peoples reached the Iberian Peninsula, prompting an extremely deep-seated political and social change in Hispanic Roman society in late antiquity, which thereafter was forced to coexist with the new inhabitants who had arrived from Central Europe.[1]

The Church expanded in the early centuries AD via missionaries who sought converts from Greco-Roman paganism to the new faith in Jesus Christ, while also institutionalising the internal organisation of those early Christian communities, which included formulating a dogmatic orthodoxy, establishing a canon of holy books (the Bible or Word of God), instating practical rules on Christian life and developing a liturgical practice (baptism, eucharist) and institutional organisation, at the head of which was the bishop, assisted by priests and deacons. Starting in the late second century, the bishops began to meet in synods or regional councils to take governing decisions within a context of ecclesial communion.

Two facts were extremely important in Church life during the first four centuries AD. The *first fact* is that Christian monotheism was difficult to make compatible with the traditional experience of the official religion of the Roman Empire, and therefore the Christian communities were regarded by the civil authorities as belonging an *illicit religion*. This legal insecurity resulted in the persecutions that the Christians suffered from until 313, when emperor Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, giving the Church full religious freedom. The persecutions of Christian communities had two consequences: first, the martyrs were Christians who remained coherent with their faith, but secondly there were many *lapsi* or *traditores* who committed apostasy, driven by political repression. The *second fact* that is relevant is the birth of monasticism in the deserts of Egypt and Syria in the late third century. Monasticism spread throughout the entire Empire and filled Church life with a spirituality which sought to live in fulfilment of the demands of the Gospel. When the persecutions ended in the fourth century and there were no more martyrs, the martyrial spirituality of the first three centuries was carried on through monastic spirituality.

The documentary and archaeological sources from the first to fourth centuries primarily refer to wealthy Christians (the bishops came from the social elites), so little information on the common folk has survived. The social

* **Contact address:** Albert Viciano i Vives. Antoni Gaudí Faculty of History, Archaeology and Christian Arts. Ateneu Universitari Sant Pacià. C/ Diputació, 231, 08007 Barcelona.
E-mail: aviciano.antonigaudi@edusantpacia.cat

changes that occurred in the transition from classical antiquity to late antiquity—which began with emperor Diocletian (284-305)—caused late ancient society to be divided into two socioeconomic echelons: the *potentiores* or wealthy people, and the *humiliores* or people who served the more powerful ones. Most of the literary documentation and archaeological remains available to us come from the *potentiores*.

From the first century to 313

Arrival of Christianity in Hispania: The first evangelists and the earliest Christian communities from the first and second centuries

Christianity must have reached the Iberian Peninsula in the first century, even though there is no archaeological evidence to prove this. The first mention of Hispania in the New Testament is found in the apostle Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, written in Corinth during the winter of 57-58. When Paul wrote the letter, he was about to leave to take the fruit of the harvest organised by the Christian communities in Macedonia and Achaea to Jerusalem to help the poor in the Jerusalemite community (Romans 15:25-26). Furthermore, Paul states that when he returned from Jerusalem, he intended to go through Rome on his way to Hispania (Romans 15:23-28), on the far western end of the known world at the time, where he wanted to spread the Gospel. There is disagreement as to whether or not Paul ultimately reached Hispania, because when the New Testament book *Acts of the Apostles* talks about Paul's evangelising, it says nothing about the last years of his life, which he spent in Rome, or about his death. In that city, he was tried after being accused by his adversaries of *crimen maiestatis*, a crime specified in the *lex Iulia de maiestate* enacted by Augustus in 27[2] which defined *maiestas* as promoting subversive activities that incite sedition. In reality, Paul's trial had begun in Jerusalem, where he was imprisoned (Acts 21:27-26:32), and he travelled to Rome as a man accused of a crime (Acts 27:1-28:31). There is also a clear allusion to this trial by the author of the *Second Letter of Timothy* (2 Timothy 4:16-18).

Since the study by Johannes Justus Speier (1742),[3] historiographic research in recent centuries has primarily upheld the thesis that it was impossible for Paul to have left Rome heading to Hispania because of the complications stemming from his trial. However, at two conferences held in the city of Tarragona in 2008 and 2013—organised by the Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, which has been part of the Ateneu Universitari Sant Pacià since 2014—this thesis was revisited and new avenues of study on the last years of Paul's life opened up. Therefore, now it can be asserted with scholarly credibility that he would in fact have been able to take this journey from Rome to Hispania (that is not to say that he did, but that he could have).[4] We do not know what the ruling in the trial was. If he was given absolution, he clearly could have travelled to Hispania without any problems, but he was most likely found guilty. However, even if Paul was sentenced, criminal law stipulated punishments that, with the exception of capital punishment (*poena mortis*), enabled the guilty party some degree of mobility around the Empire's territories: *deportatio* or *interdictio* (confinement on an island or remote place for life with the simultaneous loss of citizenship and properties) and *relegatio* (the obligation to live on an island or distant place without the loss of civil rights). There was also a milder form of *relegatio* which called for temporary or permanent expulsion from Rome and Italy, without the loss of either citizenship or properties. If Paul was sentenced for *crimen maiestatis*, he may have been given one of these punishments, which would have allowed him to go into exile outside Italy, that is, in Hispania, as he wished to.[5]

In fact, some literary documents from the first and second centuries mention that Paul did go to Hispania. In the late first century, Clement, the bishop of Rome, wrote a letter to the Christians in Corinth in which he described Paul as 'condemned to exile' but also stated that he reached the far western end of the Empire.[6] Another Roman document, the Muratorian Canon from around 200, explicitly mentions Paul's journey from Rome to Hispania,[7] and the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* from the late second century also mentions it.[8] Some deny the reliability of these testimonies because they seem to be grounded solely on Paul's intention expressed in his *Letter to the Romans*; however, others do not deny their veracity because the testimonies may have come from Roman sources with firsthand information. If Paul ultimately did go to Hispania, there are good arguments in favour of the fact that the place where he worked as a missionary was *Tarraco* (Tarragona), the capital of the Tarraconense province, which had kept up close collaboration with the city of Rome during the reign of Augustus.[9]

Some scholars have submitted the fact that Paul's hypothetical evangelising did not carry on in Hispanic churches as proof that Paul did not come to Hispania; however, this argument is weak because in Church history, missionary initiatives have often failed. In any case, this information gap explains why the three literary sources mentioned above are from outside the Iberian Peninsula and why no Hispanic church from late antiquity has ever claimed to originate from Paul. The conclusion is that if Paul did go to Hispania, the journey is very difficult to historically verify due to the utter lack of archaeological remains and because the interpretation of all three literary sources from the first and second centuries is questionable. But all these doubts do not nullify the conclusions of the conferences held in Tarragona in 2008 and 2013: it is impossible to fully disprove Paul's missionary journey from Rome to Hispania, because he could have taken it.

Having reached this point, it is important to note that even if Paul did travel to Hispania, he was not the only one to bring Christianity to these lands. In the first and

second centuries, other anonymous Christians from the East, Italy or Africa must unquestionably have contributed to the evangelisation of Hispania and other Western territories, motivated to forge ties with the West for commercial and professional reasons. The literary testimonies surviving from early Christianity reveal the extraordinary fluidity of relations and the existence of a considerable exchange of ideas, which the Christian communities in the West attained in different ways. Christianity's first steps in Hispania took place in an urban environment rich in cultural and spiritual influences which certain individuals furthered. This is why, as Manuel Sotomayor accurately writes,[10] Christianity was not necessarily preached on the Iberian Peninsula by one of the apostles (James, Paul) or by certain more or less celebrated missionaries. Indeed, this propagation system is the least frequent in the Church's known history. Among the many military officers, merchants, colonists, slaves and others who arrived in or went back to the Peninsula, some were unquestionably Christians, and as such they were a source of irradiation in the towns where they went. What was born and blossomed on the Peninsula, just as in other provinces in the Empire, was not a fully constituted, formed and centralised Church but local communities that all participated in the same faith but that sometimes lived somewhat cut off from each other, and that were self-sufficient and only gradually coalesced. On the other hand, the contacts and gradual interdependence among churches on the Iberian Peninsula in the early centuries AD was never centred around a single main hub for all the provinces, unlike other provinces in the Empire, which did have a centre: Lyon in Gaul, Carthage in North Africa, Rome in Italy, Alexandria in Egypt, Ephesus in Asia Minor, Antioch in Syria, Edessa in Mesopotamia, etc.

Experts have extensively debated the possible North-African origins of Hispanic Christianity, because some historians in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s asserted that Christianity had penetrated the Peninsula from North Africa.[11] But by now this thesis has been significantly tempered, and the trend is to claim a variety of provenances, both Italian and North African, and even Eastern.[12] On the other hand, Pere de Palol believes that the Pyrenees became a veritable barrier or frontier blocking the arrival of Christianity to the Peninsula in the first to fourth centuries.[13] According to the historical logic of the cities located on *mare nostrum*, we can assume that the penetration of the Christian faith in Hispania, which had gotten underway in the first century, must have intensified in the central years of the second century. This is when the impact of other religions from the East have been documented all over the Empire, like the mysterious cults, which coexisted with Christianity in the spiritual universe of that era. And it goes without saying that port cities must have been the first to witness the arrival of Christianity.

The earliest literary texts which mention the presence of Christian communities on the Iberian Peninsula are found in the works of Bishop Irenaeus of Lyon[14] and the theologian Tertullian of Carthage,[15] but they are limited to very generically stating that there were Christians in Hispania in the late second century, without specifying the names of cities or the number of people.

The earliest literary texts from the third century on Christianity in Hispania

Historians today have reached the conclusion that the decisive impetus in disseminating Christianity in the Western Roman Empire came in the second half of the third century.[16] In this period, the churches in the West were not yet organised into a dense, homogeneous, extensive group. Many Christians were only Christian in name, and the persecutions led their numbers to dwindle even further through the apostasy of some Christian *lapsi* or *traditores*. However, the general impression confirms that at that time the Church was an institution that was fully aware of its capacity to create evangelising changes in the social reality around it, and the texts attest to peaceful coexistence and the desire to adapt in a religious environment in which paganism was the majority, predominant religion.

Indeed, the first literary mention of the presence of Christianity in Hispania, a rather detailed one, comes from the third century; letter 67 from Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, dated from 254 or 255.[17] It is the response by Cyprian and other North-African bishops to a letter, lost today, from the communities of León-Astorga and Mérida. Thanks to this letter from Cyprian, we are able to determine several features of Hispanic Christianity, at least in the first half of the third century. The development and organisation of these communities show a great deal of vitality, along with a high level of institutional maturity focused around the figure of the bishop. This letter outlines the criteria to be used in the choice of bishops, with direct participation by the people in order to guarantee the dignity of the future bishop. It stresses that in Church ordination rites, the hands must be laid on the person being ordained, a gesture that is rooted in biblical tradition.[18]

Another literary document that also talks about Hispanic Christianity in the third century is from the eastern Tarraconense, that is, the current territory of Catalonia; it is the *Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Fructuosi episcopi, Auguri et Eulogii diaconorum* or 'Acts of the Holy Martyrs Bishop Fructuosus and the Deacons Augurius and Eulogius' of *Tarraco* (Tarragona),[19] who died in 259. Even though this martyrial and hagiographic story was written in the second half of the fourth century,[20] the first part of the *Passio* transcribes—with minor changes—the notes of the proconsul, a legal document that contains the judgement of the tribunal of 259, in which Fructuosus was tried between 16 and 20 January and ultimately condemned to death on 21 January along with the deacons Augurius and Eulogius, during the era of the emperors Valerian and Gallienus and the consuls Emilianus

and Basus. In 257, emperor Valerian issued an initial persecutory edict, and in 258 he issued a second one against the Christian communities, especially against all clergymen (bishops, priests and deacons) and secular senators, knights, imperial functionaries and Roman matrons. Martyrs died because of this religious policy, including Saint Cyprian of Carthage (258) and Saint Fructuosus of Tarragona (259). The execution of Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius took place in the amphitheatre of Tarragona, where they were burned alive on a pyre (*vivicomburium*). After the elimination of the Severus dynasty of emperors, the arrival of the military emperors to the imperial throne in the third century led to the instatement of a new aristocracy serving the empire, who lacked the tradition and the previous corporate sense of the Senate. This new aristocracy was more receptive to the religious policy of the successive emperors, as they were forced to constantly display their affiliation and loyalty in order to remain in power. The persecution measures against Christianity should be situated within this context, parallel to the increasing deification of the figure of the emperor during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. In the absence of documentation, we cannot be certain that the execution of the bishop of *Tarraco* and his two deacons in 259 solely reflected the *praeses* Emilianus' drive to show his loyalty to the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, although it was certainly a propitious time to undertake this kind of action.[21]

Based on the information provided by the *Passio Fructuosi*, we can conclude that in January 259, the church in *Tarraco* was not a newly-founded community but that though small, it was fully established, had a clear hierarchy and was vital enough to have thoroughly penetrated all social spheres of the city. There were even Christian soldiers. Two brothers, Babylon and Migdonius, 'were at the service of the governor Emilianus and showed his daughter, his lady in this world, how Fructuosus and his deacons rose to heaven crowned while the stakes to which they had been tied were still standing'.[22] There were Catholic brothers (*fratres*) mixed among the soldiers, including Felix. The beneficiaries who arrested Fructuosus used no violence. The community of faithful was able to sustain them in prison, and a catechumen, Rogatianus, was able to be baptised there. In the Christian community, the ministry of Lector is cited alongside the bishop and the deacons. It was a community established around the Holy Scriptures, which they knew in detail. They celebrated Sunday—known as the «day of the Lord»—and the eucharist. They participated in the requisite, familiar seasonal fasting (Wednesdays and Fridays) and had well-en-

Figure 1. Every two years the 'Associació Cultural Sant Fructuós' (Tarragona) holds a historical re-creation of the martyrdom of Saints Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius in the same amphitheatre where the *vivicomburium* took place on 21 February 259. Photograph by Carlos Uriarte.

trenched prayer customs, even with specific bodily gestures—kneeling with their arms crossed like an orans. The Catholic brothers (*fratres*) attended to the three prisoners as usual and even comforted them with the eucharist. The community (*fraternitas*) clearly distinguished the process of Christian initiation, with the aforementioned testimony of Rogatianus, who was baptised in prison due to his exceptional situation. They had clearly trinitarian formulas of faith that referred to that time in baptismal faith. The anonymous author of the *Passio* presented Fructuosus as a bishop who embodied the episcopal qualities formulated in the episcopal corpus by the apostle Paul, such that he had all the New Testament features of a good pastor.[23] Finally, the text makes it clear that the community enjoyed social prestige even among the pagans, which could only be true if it had engaged or was engaging in significant charity as a hallmark of Christian life. Therefore, it was an urban church, like all the Christian communities from the early centuries of the Empire.[24] From a sociological standpoint, the *Passio Fructuosi* describes a community in which the majority of its members belonged to the social class of the *humiliores*.

In contrast to the relatively plentiful information we have on church buildings from the fifth century, the preceding centuries are shrouded in utter darkness. The presence of an organised community in *Tarraco* in the mid-third century is reflected in the martyrial acts of Saint Fructuosus. We have no information on where the liturgy was celebrated, but based on our knowledge of other cities, it must have been private homes or other kinds of constructions adapted to these needs. They were *domus ecclesiae*, whose paradigmatic example was excavated in the distant enclave of Dura Europos, which dates from around 230.[25] Suitably reformed to house the new functions, they tended to have one gathering room for the religious services, rooms where catechumens were instructed, a baptistry, etc. Therefore, there was no specific, monumental architecture, and consequently identifying them is a virtually unsolvable problem.

The major development of Christian communities on the Iberian Peninsula in the third century led a synod or church council to be held, which opened on 15 May (*die iduum maiarum*) in a year between 300 and 303: the Council of *Iliberri* or Elvira, the current city of Granada.[26] The 81 council canons and the list of participants in this council, 19 bishops and 24 priests from 37 communities in Hispania (most of the participants were from the provinces of Baetic and Cartaginense), are still conserved.[27] We should note that no bishop from the eastern part of the Tarraconense, which falls within Catalonia today, participated (although bishop Valerius of Zaragoza did). However, the council's decisions, which had overall disciplinary and moral content, were binding for all the Christian communities in Hispania: organisation of the internal life of the churches (joining the community, baptism, penance, eucharist, places of worship, virginity and marriage, sexual abstinence of married clergy), tolerant relations between Christians and pagans, the moral behaviour of Christians and the elimination of superstitions and idolatrous practices. Therefore, on the one hand the canons of Elvira demonstrated that Christianity had effectively begun to penetrate Hispanic-Roman society during the late third century, yet on the other, because of the scant surviving literary information on Church life in Hispania in the fourth century, we do not know for certain the scope of application of these canons' prescriptions in the specific life of the Church during that century.

The martyrs of the eastern Tarraconense during the persecution of the Christians promoted by emperor Diocletian in 303-305

After the end of the persecution by the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, the Church experienced a long period of calmness and institutional stability within the broader context of good relations with the pagans around them. Once the persecution was over, Gallienus himself (260-268) did not order legal recognition of the Christians, who were still part of a *religio illicita*, as they had been before, but he peacefully tolerated their existence and for the first time guaranteed them a degree of safety they had not enjoyed before. Christians on the Iberian Peninsula were able to benefit from this *indulgentia principis*, which ushered in a new era of peace lasting almost 40 years, within which the aforementioned Council of Elvira was held.

This overall peace did not change much when Diocletian rose to imperial power in 284. It is common knowledge that Diocletian undertook a profound reorganisation of the Empire through a political and administrative reform (implementation of the tetrarchy: two *caesares*. and two *augusti* at the helm of the Empire, each located in one of the four imperial residences: Nicomedia and Sirmium in the East, and Augusta Treverorum [Trier] and Mediolanum [Milan] in the West). He did this in a staunch bid to put an end to the great decline that had been underway throughout the third century for a variety of internal economic and sanitary reasons, as well as due to military rebellions and threats from the Germanic peoples, who were exerting increasing pressure on the frontiers. Diocletian also sought to revamp the official traditional Roman religion and in 297 issued an edict against the Manichaeans, who were considered a sect bringing in a new religion that ran counter to Rome's traditional religion.[28] This unquestionably served as a precedent for the persecution of the Christians. There were many Christians in the early fourth century, especially in the East; they were even a majority in Asia Minor, and some came to occupy prominent posts within the imperial administration. Diocletian ordered that everyone who did not worship the Roman gods be removed from the imperial palaces, but the situation became notably worse when, instigated by the *caesar* Galerius, three decrees against Christians were issued in 303 (burning churches and appropriating and burning the books; imprisoning the heads

of churches, that is, the clergy; and forcing Christians to worship the Roman gods and torturing those who refused). In 304, a cruel fourth decree led to further repression, unleashing the cruellest and most horrifying persecution suffered by the Christians in the Roman Empire.

In the current territory of Catalonia, we have irrefutable knowledge of two martyred victims of this persecution: Saint Felix in Girona and Saint Cucuphas in Barcelona. Both are mentioned briefly in hymn IV of Prudentius' poem *Peristephanon* ('Crowns [of Martyrdom]'), written between 400 and 405.[29]

The Hispanic poet Prudentius mentions the martyr Felix in the hymn *Peristephanon* IV 29-30: '*Parva Felicis decus exhibebit artubus sanctis locuples Gerunda*' [Little Girona, rich in saints' bodies, displayed the venerable remains of Felix].[30] This is the oldest mention of the martyr from Girona that still survives. The archaeological remains of the cult of Saint Felix in Girona are ancient, dating from the fourth century.[31] A second liturgical testimony of his cult which still survives today comes from a basilica devoted to his memory in Narbonne from the time of bishop Rusticus in 455. We know nothing about this martyr beyond his existence and his act of martyrdom, just as nothing was known about him during the time of Prudentius or the time when the *Passio sancti Felicis* was written, most likely in the early seventh century, so its value is primarily legendary.[32] Nor was anything known when the prayers in his honour, compiled in the *Oracional Visogòtic* of Tarragona from the late seventh century, were written.[33]

Were it not for Prudentius, we would know nothing about the martyr Cucuphas until the seventh century. In hymn IV, 33-34 in *Peristephanon*, we read: '*Barcinon claro Cucufate freta surget* [Barcelona will rise, trusting the illustrious Cucuphas]'.[34] All the other information on him is from the seventh-century *Passio sancti Cucufatis*,[35] which is thus later than the *Passio sancti Felicis*. This *Passio* presents two characters who are friends and classmates originally from the North African town of *Scilium*, and it recounts how when they reached the port of Barcelona by ship, Cucuphas remained in Barcelona while Felix continued on his travels to Girona. However, coming so late, these claims from the *Passio* have no historical value and cannot be held up as an argument in favour of the North African roots of Christianity in Hispania.

On the other hand, as Antoni Pladevall aptly states, the Catalan 'martyrology' mentions still other martyred saints like Eulalia, bishop Severus and the peasant Medir of Barcelona, saints Juliana and Semproniana, associated with the legends of Saint Cucuphas, and others that we shall not list here because they are based on later legends or versions of saints from elsewhere, such as Saint Eulalia of Barcelona and Saint Narcissus of Girona.[36]

Therefore, the scant information from prior to the Edict of Milan (313) tells us that the Church was already present along the entire Catalan coastline, and we can assume that it had also begun to penetrate the inland regions, which were not as Romanised. The Christian communities were urban. Just like in the rest of the imperial territory, the majority of converts to the Christian faith in third-century Hispania were middle- or lower-class people (*humiliores*), who were always more open to and interested in doctrinal innovations in the spiritual realm. Likewise, some patricians or individuals with high social standing also accepted the new faith, but in much lower numbers. Many of them were freedmen, educators or merchants, usually sea merchants (*transmarini negotiatores*). The persecution decrees issued by Valerian and Diocletian were directed against bishops and community leaders, as well as patricians and the upper class, which reveals that the Christian religion had made some inroads among them, driving the political authorities' desire to purge it.[37]

From 313 to 409

With the death of Diocletian in 305, the persecution of the Christian communities in the West halted, and the religious policy of his successors was more benevolent towards the Church. In 311, Galerius issued an edict of tolerance, and in 313 Constantine granted religious freedom to the Christians via the Edict of Milan, making the Church a *religio licita*. This helped Christianity spread widely thanks to many pagan conversions to the Good News of Christ, which enabled solid and geographically entrenched Church structures to be established, territorial 'dioceses' governed by a bishop, along with numerous assemblies of bishops, called 'synods' or 'councils', most of which were local or regional. However, the first two ecumenical councils in Church history were held in the fourth century: in 325 in Nicaea and in 381 in Constantinople, the new capital of the Empire since 330. The Christianisation of society was so profound that on 28 February 380, with the Edict of Thessalonica *Cunctos populos*, emperor Theodosius stated that the new official religion of the Empire was Christianity, specifically Orthodox Christianity, that is, the faith that had dogmatically been defined at the Council of Nicaea.[38]

Doctrinal conflicts in Hispania in the first half of the fourth century: Donatism and Arianism

There were two major doctrinal conflicts in the fourth century, Donatism and Arianism, which shook up the inner life of the Church and created divisions in the episcopacy. A schism arose in North Africa in 311 which lasted until well into the fifth century: the division between Catholics and Donatists. Donatus, bishop of Carthage, organised a Church that considered itself pure and immaculate, yet it took a rigorist spiritual attitude of opposition to the Catholic Church, which was considered worldly and sinful by Donatus' followers because many Catholic bishops had become morally corrupt and had been *traditores* during the persecution of Diocletian. Therefore,

they considered all the sacraments celebrated by Catholic clergy null because, according to Donatus, there can be no sanctifying effects in celebrations in which the Holy Spirit is not present due to the unworthiness of the celebrating priest. Therefore, the Donatists demanded that if a Catholic wanted to join a Donatist community, he or she had to be rebaptised, while Catholic theology was opposed to any rebaptism of heretics or schismatics who were penitent and wanted to rejoin the Catholic Church.[39] Constantine was seriously concerned with this episcopal division and decided to call a council in the city of Arles, to which he invited the Western Christian bishops, in order to find a solution to the conflict. The Council of Arles was held in 314, and its participants included 11 clergy from Hispania, including two representatives of the bishop of Tarragona, the priest Probatius and the deacon Castorius (we know nothing else about these two figures).[40] Finally, based on the decisions of the Council of Arles, Constantine condemned the Donatist movement in 316.[41]

Based on the scant information that still survives, Donatism must have had little influence on the Hispanic Church. A letter from Augustine of Hippo reveals that the Donatists sent a bishop 'to Hispania, to the house of a woman',[42] but we have absolutely no idea what this bishop did there. Some have identified the woman as someone named Lucila, but Sotomayor has demonstrated that Lucila was actually not Hispanic but North African.[43]

Arianism originated in the East, precisely in the city of Alexandria. Despite the fact that the Council of Nicaea (325)—which was presided over by Hosius, bishop of Cordoba and friend of Constantine—condemned the Arian doctrine as heretical, it managed to gain traction just a few years after that council and spread widely around the entire East until reaching the West. The 'Arian crisis' created a profound division between Nicaean and Arian bishops until 381, when the Council of Constantinople permanently condemned Arianism. Arius was a priest in Alexandria who had begun to preach a theological doctrine in around 318 that soon unleashed a fierce controversy about the relationship between the Father and Son within the Trinity. According to Arius, only the Father was God, and the Son was the Father's first child; that is, Arius denied the divinity of the Son of God. The theological debates on the mystery of the Trinity occupied countless pages in the literature of fourth-century theologians and bishops and led to many regional councils, in addition to the two aforementioned ecumenical councils of Nicaea and Constantinople. Finally, in 381 the Council of Constantinople managed to put an end to the division that the Christian bishops had been facing for many decades of the fourth century.[44]

One of the many councils held over the Arian crisis took place in the city of Serdika, currently Sofia (Bulgaria), in 343. At first both Eastern and Western bishops were summoned, but the debates became so violent that the Eastern bishops decided not to attend, so the Serdika assembly was reduced to the participation of just Western bishops. The octogenarian Hosius of Cordoba was at the helm of around 90 participants, including five Hispanic bishops, one of them Praetextatus, bishop of Barcelona, about whom we have no further information.[45]

Arianism must have had a much greater impact on the Christian communities of the Iberian Peninsula than Donatism, as the literature that survives from some bishops from the fourth century, namely Potamius of Lisbon and Gregory of Elvira (or Granada), are theological treatises and biblical commentaries that defend the faith of Nicaea, revealing that the bishops felt a pastoral urgency to clarify the content of the trinitarian dogma for believers within a context in which the Arians were sowing confusion. Gregory of Elvira, a staunch defender of the Nicaean orthodoxy, clashed with Hosius of Cordoba over the latter's surrender to a philo-Arian creed at the Council of Sirmium in 357.[46] Furthermore, we know that the bishop of Tarragona, Himerius, wrote a letter to Pope Damasus on behalf of all the Hispanic bishops; although that letter has been lost, we do have the response that Pope Siricius, Damasus' successor, addressed to Himerius and to all the Hispanic bishops in 385. Siricius wrote to Himerius: 'You say, at the beginning of your letter, that many of those baptised by the impious Arians are rushing to rejoin the Catholic faith'.[47] Because Arianism had been condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381, it is understandable that many Arians wanted to rejoin the Catholic communities. Siricius orders that they not be rebaptised but instead that the Catholic bishop lay his hands on them while invoking the Holy Spirit. Some bishops wanted to rebaptise those who had been baptised in Arianism, but Pope Siricius prescribed a simple imposition of episcopal hands, because rebaptism was prohibited by the apostle Paul (Ephesians 4:5), by council canons (Nicaea [325] canon 8) and by decrees ('*generalia decreta*') by his predecessor Liberius, which are currently lost. Siricius exhorts that Hispanic discipline on welcoming former heretics into the Church be in accordance with the entire East and West and warns Himerius that if he does not obey, he may be removed from the episcopal college through a conciliar sentence.[48]

Regarding the administration of baptism in the ancient Hispanic church, we should mention one specific ritual aspect. In the sixth century, when the Arian Visigothic and Hispano-Roman Catholics coexisted in the Visigothic kingdom before King Reccared converted to Catholicism at the third Council of Toledo (589), there was a great deal of diversity in the rituals: the Arians baptised their members with three immersions in the water of the baptistry, while the Catholics only did so one time. So, what is the origin of the single immersion in the Hispanic Church? Until 2007, scholars of Hispanic liturgy believed that the reason for this practice was not ritualism but the theological affirmation of a truth of faith by means of an anti-Arian ritual sign: with the single immersion, the Catholic bishops wanted to signal their opposition to the

fides gothica unity of the divine essence, and by invoking the three names of the Trinity, they wanted to signal the distinction of the three persons within a single God. In this way, they sought to distance themselves from Arian doctrine and practice by asserting the *fides catholica* in the Holy Trinity with a sacramental gesture. But in 2007, Matthieu Smyth published an article in the journal *Miscel·lània Liturgica Catalana* which claimed that the baptismal rite in Visigothic Spain, with just a single immersion, was not a liturgical innovation against Arianism, despite the apologetic reasons provided by the Hispanic theologians of the era. Instead, the internal and external evidence points to an ancient, marginal custom preserved on the Iberian Peninsula and in some Celtic churches. Thus, this rite must have survived unaltered from the first few centuries until the sixth century, despite the liturgical changes in this period, along with other well-known archaic liturgical elements. The single immersion was the testimony of the Church's ancient practice before the triple immersion became the norm in a very early period.[49]

Tarraco in the times of bishop Himerius and bishop Hilarius in the second half of the fourth century

The episcopal division based on the conflict over Priscillianism

The ascetic movement driven by the layman Priscillian led to a profound division within the Hispanic episcopacy: some bishops backed him, others totally rejected him and there was no dearth of bishops who vacillated or were bewildered by this controversy. This division was the outcome of the antagonistic pretensions of both groups, the Priscillianists and the anti-Priscillianists, who sought to recreate the ideal of episcopal functions, each in its own way. The opponents of Priscillian were the supporters of a Church that was proud of its secular conquests achieved while evangelising after the Edict of Milan (313) and theologically grounded upon the ecclesiological approaches of the Council of Nicaea (325), while the Priscillianist movement called for a return to the simplicity of the Church's evangelical origins. Therefore, the roots of this conflict lay in the process of defining the organisational ranks of the Church and came into focus within the context of the conversion of the aristocrats and powerful social classes in the Theodosian period (Theodosius was emperor from 379 to 395). Priscillianism, which was founded in Lusitania—and not Galicia, as has been claimed for many years—in the 370s, was a spiritual movement that became deeply rooted in many of the Hispano-Roman provinces. As gleaned from Priscillian's own writings,[50] he advocated the orthodoxy of the apocryphal and canonical books, along with the prophetic charisma of men and women which enabled them to teach as doctors without having been ordained in the Church. The Priscillianist movement was characterised by a charismatic personal and social projection around the urban area and the occupation of the episcopal sees, and by the convergence of Christian elements with those of classical culture joined together in a practice of severe asceticism. It also aimed for a complete ecclesiastic reform with the ideal that the episcopal sees should be occupied by fully devoted ascetics.

The Lusitanian bishops Hydatius of Mérida and Ithacius of Ossonoba were the first to accuse Priscillian and his followers of *sacrilegii nefas* in around 379, prompting the episcopal division when two Lusitanian bishops, Instantius and Salvanius, soon expressed their support of Priscillian. The conflict reached such an extreme that in 280 a council was called in *Caesaraugusta* (Zaragoza), with the participation of the bishops of Aquitaine, where Priscillianism had also arrived.[51] The council condemned the errors of Priscillianism (Manichaeanism and magical practices or *maleficium*), but the episcopal division continued until the time when Priscillian was ordained as bishop of Ávila by his friends, taking advantage of the vacant see in this community. Hydatius asked the imperial power to intervene, but the Church authorities continued to seek a solution by holding a council in Bordeaux (384).[52] Finally, the civil authorities put an end to the problem: an imperial tribunal in Trier, the site of the *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum* since 318, judged Priscillianism for *maleficium* and condemned Priscillian and four of his followers to death in 385, while Evodius was the prefect of Gaul.[53]

The letter from Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona

That same year, 385, bishop Himerius of Tarragona received a letter from Rome from Pope Siricius (384-399). We do not know with certainty what years Himerius served as bishop, but it was approximately between 360 and 390. The letter from Siricius, which dates from 11 February 385, was the response to a letter that Himerius had sent in 384 to Pope Damasus (366-384), who had died in the interim. Himerius wrote to the bishop of Rome on behalf of the entire Hispanic episcopacy. We know the name of the priest from the Tarraconense, Bassianus, who carried the letter or *relatio* to Rome. Even though Himerius' letter has been lost, we can fairly accurately reconstruct its content based on Siricius' response, the first 'decretal letter' from a pope in the history of the Church.[54]

The situation of the Hispanic Church at that time was extremely critical, and this explains the bishops' concern with fighting the weaknesses of sinful humanity, apostasy, corruption of the monks and the freedom of a clergy who invoked the patriarchal traditions of the Old Testament to reject the obligation of sexual continence. That is, complete disorder reigned in the discipline and liturgy of the Church, which suffered from the usual problems of a missionary phase. Obviously, Priscillian was not responsible for all this chaos; to the contrary, he wanted to reform the Church and restore the ascesis and discipline, but his rigidity heightened the confusion, leading the Church to a situation of unsustainable extremes. For this reason, Himerius, a moderate bishop, decided to turn to the pope's authority.[55]

The different instructions that Siricius decreed for the Hispanic episcopacy can be classified into three groups: 1) prescriptions on the administration of the sacraments (days when baptism could be celebrated, the relationship between betrothal and marriage, penitential practices), which demonstrates that many pagans were converting to Christianity and that order in the liturgical practice was needed; 2) the celibacy of monks and the continence of the clergy; and 3) disciplinary rules on the life of the clergy. This decree required married clergy to practise sexual continence.[56]

Siricius' letter to Himerius can be interpreted as the pope's peaceful mediation between the Church hierarchy and monasticism, which had sprung up in the deserts of Egypt and Syria in the late third century and developed in the West throughout the course of the fourth century.[57] Based on the Priscillianist controversy, many bishops were unhappy with the behaviour of the monks, whose practices were considered close to the Priscillianist movement by some members of the hierarchy; Priscillian's asceticism was extraordinarily demanding and could thus be comparable to monastic practices. When the bishops condemned all Priscillianist practices in the Council of Zaragoza in 380 instead of justifying their orthodox underpinnings, it is understandable that this negative attitude, which refused dialogue, extended to the monks' asceticism. The bishops who were against Priscillianism, some of whom—such as Hydatius of Mérida and Ithacius of Ossonoba—did not exactly live exemplary lives, accepted neither Priscillian's criticisms nor suggestions from the monks. Within this context, the bishop of Rome's intervention was timely. Siricius ordered that the sinful monks be punished,[58] but at the same time he wanted the good monks to be ordained as priests;[59] he thus distinguished between those who deserved punishment to serve as examples and those who lived wholesome lives and could help the others work towards perfection. The struggle against the Priscillianist heresy would not lead to the destruction of monasticism. On the other hand, the monks, convinced that distancing themselves from the world is more perfect than remaining in it, refused to be ordained as priests because they did not want to participate in worship with other Christians; if someone was ordained a priest or was one before becoming a monk, he only ministered within the monastic community. Pope Siricius, however, wanted the exemplary monks to exercise their priestly ministry publicly, regardless of the monks' own refusal and the low esteem some bishops felt towards them in the late fourth century.

The exchange of letters between Himerius and Siricius provides us with a kind of description of monastic life in Hispania in the fourth century. The Council of Zaragoza (380) spoke about monks for the first time;[60] Siricius now mentions nuns for the first time as well. The punishment that the pope imposed on sinful monks and nuns is exclusion from the monastic community and Church gatherings so they can do penance by living enclosed in their cells for their entire lives.[61] This prescription by Siricius is a new punishment which had never before been imposed on any group of people, and it can be explained by the fact that it was targeted at a communitarian organisation. It did not entail expelling them from the monastery but instead banning them from interacting with and engaging in communion with the others. The pope placed exclusion from the monastic community and separation from Church gatherings on par; this parallelism leads us to believe that the Hispanic monastic community was organised according to cenobitic life in the late fourth century. Clearly this monasticism had not yet reached perfection. The immoralities lead us to suspect that enclosure was not rigidly watched over, and that it was easy to enter and leave the monastery; this can explain the downfall of the monks and nuns through mutual visits. There may not have been a single building, as monasteries were later built; instead, they must have resembled the early arrangements of Saint Pachomius in Egypt, with monasteries that were not economically self-sufficient, so the monks had to leave to sell their products.

Regarding the issue of whether bishop Himerius of Tarragona was a metropolitan, it is worth noting that in the late fourth century there were not yet metropolitans *per se* in the territorial organisation of the Hispanic Church, even though Siricius speaks—quite generically—about metropolitan bishops.[62] The fact that Himerius of Tarragona—and not someone else—wrote to the Holy See may be because he was the bishop with the most seniority in the priesthood among the bishops from the civil province of the Tarraconense; in fact, his seniority is lauded by Siricius: '*pro antiquitate sacerdotii tui*'.[63] That is, Siricius' allusion to metropolitan bishops in Hispania in the fourth century most likely refers not to a territorially established metropolitan organisation but to the most experienced, senior bishops. Yet at the same time, Siricius' assignment to Himerius to spread his decree to all the bishops of Hispania can be interpreted as a precedent of the primacy that the bishop of Tarragona would later exert over the other bishops in the Tarraconense province.[64] In fact, around just 30 years later, the bishop of Tarragona Titianus was mentioned as a 'metropolitan bishop',[65] such that he was the first known bishop in Hispania to be given this distinction. By the fifth century, there were clear signs of the Church's metropolitan organisation in Hispania: *Tarraco, Hispalis, Bracara, Emerita Augusta* and *Carthago Nova*, which were simultaneously the civil capitals of the provinces.[66]

The first Council of Toledo and bishop Hilarius of Tarraco

After the death of Priscillian (385), his followers rebelled against Church authority and broke the ecclesial communion, given their leader's martyrdom. The bodies of Priscillianist 'martyrs' were transported to Hispania, and even though we do not know whether they were buried, we can somewhat reasonably assume that they must have

been buried and venerated in the region of Galicia, where Priscillianism lasted until the sixth century.

The bishops met again at the Council of Toledo in 400 to formally condemn Priscillianism and draw up professions of faith (*exemplaria professionum*) for those who abjured the Priscillianist errors.[67] The 19 bishops participating in the council included the bishop of Tarragona, Hilarius, and the bishop of Barcelona, Lampius. The disciplinary canons of this council stated that Siricius' decree to Himerius was taken into account by the conciliar priests. However, the application of the council's canons was disappointing: some Priscillianists reconciled with the Church, but others remained steadfast in their convictions, so the conflict was not resolved. What is more, the Hispanic episcopacy was divided into three tendencies: 1) those who remained Priscillianists; 2) those who had repented and wanted to continue exercising the episcopacy; and 3) the most intransigent ones, who in no way wanted these former repentant Priscillianists to continue exercising the episcopacy. For this reason, bishop Hilarius headed to Rome in 403, accompanied by his priest Elpidius, to inform Pope Innocent of the fraught situation of the Hispanic churches. Innocent intervened by sending a pontifical decretal letter (*Epistola III. De dissensione corruptaque disciplina Ecclesiarum Hispaniae*) in around 404 or 405, asking for full acceptance of the resolutions of the Council of Toledo, which meant that the former Priscillianist bishops could continue exercising the episcopacy.[68] But these instructions were unable to be properly carried out because of the political and social upheaval of the period: Constantine III's usurpation and the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by the Germanic peoples. Priscillianism remained alive in Galicia in the fifth century and was also present in the Tarraconense, as proven by Letter 11* from Consentius to Saint Augustine, written in 420.[69]

It is interesting to note that when solving the conflicts that were besieging the Church in Hispania in the second half of the fourth century, the bishops of *Tarraco*, Himerius and Hilarius, took a moderate attitude by promoting dialogue among the members of the episcopacy and sought backing from the bishops of Rome, who reinforced this moderate attitude when solving pastoral problems and seeking episcopal reconciliation.

The episcopal see (episcopium) of Tarraco

It is difficult to answer the question of where the *episcopium* was—that is, the *ecclesia* (or cathedral), the baptistry and the residence of the bishop of *Tarraco*—in the fourth century because archaeology has not yet been able to redress the lack of sufficient excavations. The location of an episcopal *ecclesia* in the third and fourth centuries did not always reflect fixed schemes. A bishop could build his first church wherever it was possible, wherever there was land available in the city (*intra muros*) at an affordable price given the community's wherewithal. For this reason, the majority of the first known episcopal churches were placed over preceding urban *domus*, private homes which were used for Christians' prayer and liturgy (*domus ecclesiae*), and this explains their varied locations in different cities. Bishops' building activity also extended to the construction of other places of worship, for liturgical reasons, near the churches in cemeteries or churches devoted to martyrs that proliferated in the city's suburbs (*suburbia*).

The archaeologists Josep Maria Macias, Joan Josep Menchón and Andreu Muñoz have put forth the hypothesis that the first episcopal complex in *Tarraco* (basilica and baptistry) was located in the suburban cemetery or *extra muros*, where the martyrs Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius were buried (259), in the place currently known as the palaeo-Christian necropolis of Tarragona.[70] However, this hypothesis has been roundly refuted by Jordi López and Alexandra Chavarria, because the duality between the episcopal church located *intra muros* and the suburban funerary churches (in the *suburbia*) is a constant feature throughout the entire West and originated in the first phase of construction of a Christian topography in the fourth and fifth centuries.[71] Therefore, the most plausible conclusion is that the first episcopal complex in *Tarraco* must have been located *intra muros* in an as-yet unknown location. The problem in the case of *Tarraco* lies in the complete impossibility that the first *episcopium* of Tarragona was located where the Romanesque-Gothic cathedral is today, because in the third and fourth centuries that part of the city corresponded to the buildings of the provincial *forum*, which were in use well into the fifth century.

The Christian community of *Barcino* in the fourth century

The archaeological remains of late-Roman Barcelona include five sarcophagi bearing Christian iconography which can be dated from around 320 and show the existence of a Christian community that was consolidated by the first quarter of the fourth century, 23 years before the first written evidence of the Barcelona bishops: the presence of bishop Praetextatus at the Council of Serdika in 343.[72] Therefore, it was a community of faith with members from the local elites, families that could allow themselves the luxury of acquiring sarcophagi brought directly from the workshops of Rome bearing scenes from the Old Testament. With regard to the city's Christianisation, we should also bear one significant fact in mind: the systematic demolition of all the high-imperial funerary monuments to use the stones to build the new wall in the late third century. Without question, this act signalled the total loss of the memory of the ancestors of Barcelona's noble families, which shows that Christianity was able to transform the level of respect towards this pagan architecture while also revealing that the Christian faith had laid down considerable roots by the last quarter of the third century.[73]

Bishop Pacianus of Barcino

Bishop Pacianus of *Barcino*, an illustrious man of his time who has long been venerated as a saint, was a contempo-

rary of Himerius and Pope Siricius. We know very little about his life (he was married and had one child, Dexter), nor can we precisely pinpoint the years in which he exercised his episcopal ministry in Barcelona. However, Lampius is documented as the bishop of Barcelona in 394, so Pacianus must have died before 394. Some of his works have been conserved, which reveal his fine rhetorical and cultural training and a sound grasp of theology. Based on his writings, we can glean that he had converted from paganism to Christianity. We can speculate further regarding his family line thanks to his son Dexter. Jerome devoted his book *De viris illustribus*[74] to Dexter. This and homonymy have led him to be equated with Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, a *vir clarissimus* and proconsul of Asia between 379 and 387, a *comes rei privatae* documented under Theodosius I in 387 and a *praefectus praetorio* in 395 under emperor Honorius. If this *cursus honorum* was entirely true for Dexter, it would be clear that Pacianus' family had belonged to one of the most notable Roman families at the time. Therefore, we can say that in the late fourth century, people from the highest social echelons were beginning to embrace clerical or even ascetic life, and thus the Church was beginning to make inroads in the aristocracy as they joined the community of faithful.[75]

The study of the Pacianus' literary works reveals peculiarities of Church life at that time, as well as some of his acts as bishop. It is a pity that his book *Cervus* or *Cervulus* has been lost, which disputed the pagan custom of celebrating the first day of the year dressed as wild animals or deer and wreaking havoc of all sorts; if it had been conserved, it would be an outstanding document on the life and customs of Barcelona society in the late Roman period. The works that have survived are the *Tractatus de baptismo*, the *Sermo de paenitentibus* (or Exhortation to Penance) and three letters or *Epistulae* addressed to the Novatian Sympronianus.[76] In them, Pacianus reveals himself to be a zealous pastor of his flock, who remained faithful to the orthodoxy established by the Church since the Council of Nicaea: when he calls himself '*christiano mihi nomen est, catholico vero cognomen*',[77] he means that 'Catholicism' refers to this doctrinal and disciplinary orthodoxy that was universally experienced by the Church, counter to the heresies or schisms, such as the Novatianism professed by his interlocutor Sympronianus.[78] Latent beneath this phrase is the text of Theodosius I's Edict of Thessalonica (380), which decreed that the members of the Church 'embrace the name of Catholic Christians'.[79]

Through Pacianus and other Hispanic bishops, we know first that the 'catechumenate' was already a fully established institution and secondly that the catechumens were divided into two degrees: the *auditores* or catechumens *per se* and the *competentes*, who were closer to receiving baptism. The *Tractatus de baptismo* is an interesting fourth-century example of the catechesis which the bishops used to prepare the *competentes*. In it, Pacianus sets out to explain the enormous happiness of being Christian. To do so, he explains that baptism is tantamount to birth and innovation, through it one is born to eternal life and to reach eternal life, one mostly needs the faith that the Spirit of God gives in baptism. The image of the Christian that Pacianus sketches in his treatise fits perfectly within the overall religious scene of the period: the emphasis is on the idea of release from the forces of evil here on Earth, as well as eternal life, the supreme hope of Christian life. In the celebration of baptism, the bishop's act of laying his hands and saying prayers is needed so that the baptismal water and the post-baptismal anointment have a sanctifying effect. From the standpoint of dogmatic theology, it is interesting that Pacianus mentions the transmission of the 'sin of Adam to all his descendants, because he engendered all of them',[80] a sin which is forgiven in baptism. Even though Pacianus speaks about the transmission of Adam's sin through generation, he does not use the term 'original sin', which would be coined by Augustine years later.

At the beginning of the *Sermo de paenitentibus* (Exhortation to Penance), in addition to distinguishing the three degrees of Christians in the Barcelona community— the catechumens, the faithful and the penitents—Pacianus stresses that he views penance and the forgiveness of sins as the link between the Church's theology and practice.[81] The history of theology has presented Pacianus as a clearly penitential author and the exponent of a period known as 'canonical penance', a practice which spanned from the start of the Church until the seventh century. Pacianus upheld it despite two threats: on one extreme, he defended it from attacks from the rigorism inherent to the Novatian heresy, while on the other, he defended it from the latent danger within his own community, where penance could lose value due to the sinners' embarrassment over a public act of penance. Canonical penance stressed such important things as non-reiterability; that is, it could be received just once after baptism. It also limited the number of serious or mortal sins to just three—idolatry, homicide and adultery—which were harshly punished by penitential practice, while the other, milder sins were forgiven through good deeds and the exercise of the virtues. The bishop was the person who ministered penance, and he also established an *ordo paenitentium*, a penitent order, as an institution or category of Christians within the community. The penitential process required to be reconciled with the Church essentially consisted in repentance, confession, the act of penance and reconciliation, without this preordaining the judgement of God.

The three letters (*Epistulae*) by Pacianus were addressed to a certain Sympronianus, who had previously written a letter—no longer surviving—to the bishop of Barcelona. However, we do not know who this man was. Based on the way Pacianus addresses him, we can deduce that he was a cultivated man, most likely from the nobility, who was familiar with the Scriptures; he may have lived near Barcelona instead of in the city itself. In his first letter, Pacianus does not clearly identify what sect Sympronianus belonged to, but in the second one he placed

him within the schismatic movement of Novatianism. Novatian had been a Roman priest in the third century who opposed the choice of Pope Callixtus (251) and became an anti-pope. He held a rigorist position and claimed that the Church could in no way grant forgiveness to the *lapsi*, that is, those who had fallen by denying their faith during the persecution of emperor Decius (250-251), such that they were left outside the ecclesial communion. According to Novatian, the Church did not have the authority to forgive serious sins—idolatry, homicide and adultery—committed after baptism; if the Church forgave them, it would destroy itself because it is by essence—and has the duty to live in coherence with—the people or the assembly of saints (*coetus sanctorum*), the pure ones, and sinners therefore had to be excluded from it. The Novatians founded a schismatic church which lasted in different places around the Empire until well into the fifth century.[82] In Pacianus' response to Sympronianus, he presents the Church as a welcoming mother who forgives everything in baptism and can once again forgive mortal sins in a 'second baptism' called penance.[83]

The presence of Paulinus of Nola in Barcino

Pacianus' successor in the episcopal see of *Barcino* was probably Lampius, who took part in the Council of Toledo (400).[84] During his tenure as bishop, Lampius, ceding to pressure from a group of friends, ordained Paulinus, the future bishop of Nola (Campania) as a priest at Christmastime in 393 or 394.

Paulinus had been born in around 352 in *Burdigala* (Bordeaux), where he had been a disciple of the poet Ausonius and followed the *cursus honorum* until becoming consul. He was the governor of Campania in 381, and then returned to Bordeaux, where bishop Delphinus baptised him in around 389. From there he moved to Hispania, where he married Therasia. The couple lived on the Iberian Peninsula between 379 and 394 to administer Therasia's assets, and they had a son, Celsus, who died several days after he was born.[85] His parents buried him in the suburb of *Complutum* (Alcalá de Henares) near the tomb of the child martyrs Justus and Pastor, according to the custom of being buried *ad sanctos*. Having moved from *Complutum* to *Barcino*, in 393 Paulinus sold his assets so he and his wife could embark upon a path of retreat and ascesis. This moved many of Barcelona's residents, and his friends asked bishop Lampius to ordain him as a priest, which he did on Christmas day in 393 or 394. According to his own story, Paulinus was chosen by the priests against his will, because he wanted to go to Nola to live an ascetic life near the tomb of the martyr Felix, a third-century priest. However, he acceded to the wishes of the community of faith, although solely on the condition that he would not be bound to the Barcelona Church.[86] After Easter the following year, he left Barcelona and went to Nola, where later (409) he was chosen and ordained bishop.[87]

Therefore, Paulinus' ordination as a priest was a consequence of popular pressure on bishop Lampius, and it resulted in the fact that Paulinus was not installed in the Barcelona diocese. It was thus an irregular case of presbyteral ordination. Indeed, this was not the first case in which the people were able to force the promotion of certain men to the episcopacy, even against their own will. Many of the chosen ones were aristocrats with a high purchasing power, and the electors thought that they would bring benefits. This happened with Paulinus in Barcelona in Hispania and with Dictinius in a diocese in Galicia. This popular violence, coupled with the bishops' interest in controlling the choices, meant that over time the people would have less say and the Church would have greater sway in the procedure of electing new bishops.[88]

Because of his connections with Hispania and his many points in common with the Hispanic Prudentius (both writers were great poets), Paulinus attests to the spirituality of some of the landowners from Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The large landowners of that period included several prominent Christians, whose way of viewing Christianity was conditioned by their agricultural socioeconomic milieu and by the philosophical-poetic ideas of classical Latin culture, which was their culture. They were cultivated spirits, true poets (Ausonius, Saint Paulinus, Prudentius) who were attracted by a life of retreat on a *villa rustica* (or *rusticatio*) after having held public service posts. This type of life devoted to farming, hunting or fishing and quiet reading had been praised and idealised by classical Roman authors like Cicero, Virgil and Horace. This conception was still quite powerful in Ausonius, Saint Paulinus and Prudentius, even though it was gradually muted in them by a Christianity that they assimilated according to the categories of each of their spirits. Therefore, we find this case to be a good example of the acculturation of the Christian faith among the cultivated men at the waning of the Roman Empire.[89] However, as demonstrated by professor Raúl Villegas, this form of 'imperial-Catholic' acculturation, which was somewhat successful in the late fourth century, utterly failed in the course of the fifth century after the invasion of the Germanic peoples in the West (409), because the socioeconomic chaos stemming from their arrival made it clear that the distinction between 'Roman' and 'barbarian' was unfair and that through the invasion of the barbarians divine providence showed that the supremacism of Roman-ness had to be abandoned in order to live in a new universal model which unified all people, the model of monastic asceticism.[90]

The episcopal see and other churches in Barcino

The episcopal see (*episcopium*) of the bishops of *Barcino* was in the same place where Barcelona's Gothic cathedral is currently located.[91] Archaeology has unearthed a fourth-century baptistry (reformed in the fifth century) underneath the cathedral. The first episcopal basilica can

be pinpointed in the northern corner of the Roman city, under the current Gothic cathedral, although we currently have no archaeological information on it because no excavations have been conducted. The hypothesis on the length of the basilica was formulated bearing in mind the position of the *perystilum* of a *domus* with which the basilica coexisted, along with the proportions that tended to be used in this type of building. Therefore, we hypothesise that it was around 36 metres long, although there may have been spaces between the basilica and baptistry connecting them of which we are unaware.[92] The episcopal complex of Barcelona must have been built at a time between the Constantinian and Theodosian periods, in around 344, when the city's first known bishop, Praetextatus, is documented.

Therefore, the *episcopium* must have originated in private domestic structures, known as the Saint Ivo *domus*, of which a large peristyle with ponds and a passageway around it still survives. The early Christianisation of the city would justify the location of the episcopal complex at one of the corners of the city, not in the centre, because in the fourth century much of the *forum* was still in use. The first Christian buildings in *Barcino*, the basilica and the baptistry, coexisted with the structures of the *domus*, and the homes over which the basilica was constructed must likely have been previously used for Christian worship (*domus ecclesiae*). Many of the early cathedrals from the fourth and fifth centuries were built on top of or next to a residence which belonged to a local elite family or a figure who served as a leader in the city government. Likewise, most of the bishops came from prominent families.[93]

There were other churches in the city of *Barcino* in the fourth and fifth centuries in addition to the episcopal complex. Sant Miquel church was located inside the public bath building, precisely in the *frigidarium*, one of the more spacious covered rooms in that building. The second-century mosaic floor was still conserved in the religious building in the fifth century.[94] Another church was devoted to the Holy Martyrs Justus and Pastor. This dedication has been associated with Paulinus of Nola, who, as reported above, moved to Barcelona with his wife Therasia after they buried their son in the suburb of *Complutum* next to the relics of the martyrs Justus and Pastor.[95] Bearing in mind that Paulinus' *Carmen* 31 reports that after the death of his son, he constructed buildings next to a *martyrium* in *Complutum*,[96] and that he also exercised this patronage in Nola years later, it has always been assumed that Paulinus must have undertaken some euergetic initiative in Barcelona, such as promoting the worship of the martyrs of *Complutum*, Saints Justus and Pastor.[97] The excavations under the current Gothic church overseen by Julia Beltrán de Heredia between 2011 and 2014 have brought to light a Christian worship complex from the fourth century and a Roman temple from the first century,[98] which was most likely later Christianised; this may well be the origin of the fourth-century Christian basilica of Saints Justus and Pastor.[99]

The suburbia of Barcino

The Barcelona suburb extended over an area of 120 hectares, twelve times larger than the area occupied by the Roman city, which measured only ten hectares. Just like in *Tarraco* and all the cities in the Empire, the Christian funerary world created a new landscape in the suburbs of *Barcino*. Even though we have no archaeological information on the suburban basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries, we cannot doubt their existence. Indeed, there is a great deal of direct and indirect archaeological information, as well as document references, along with the continuity of some buildings of worship in the Middle Ages, which help us to imagine what the suburbs of *Barcino* may have looked like in late antiquity, as proposed by the archaeologist Julia Beltrán de Heredia.[100] Generally speaking, Christian burials seem to have been held in areas with no pagan burials; that is, there was no mingling between the two (perhaps the cemeteries were owned by the Church). Indeed, the bishops had imposed this since the third century because care of the deceased was extremely important due to Christian beliefs in eternal life and the resurrection of the flesh at the end of times.[101] For this reason, major changes in the funeral rite were introduced to gradually Christianise it, even though there was also some ritual continuity from the pagan world, such as the custom of taking lamps and food to the deceased. The funerary epigraphy was also Christianised.[102]

With regard to the organisation of the suburban funerary world of *Barcino*, remains of its existence can currently be found in the basilica of Santa Maria del Mar and its environs (Fossar de les Moreres, Carrer Argenteria, Passeig del Born, Carrer and Plaça Montcada), the basilica of Sant Cugat del Rec[103] and the basilica of Santa Maria del Pi, as well as the monasteries located in the suburbs, such as Sant Pau del Camp. The funerary zone under the current Santa Caterina market stands out for its unique features: two quite distinct sepulchral *areae* and the Plaça d'Antoni Maura zone, where a funerary building housed several significant tombs with a necropolis around them. These two zones were set aside as the funerary spaces of the urban elites.[104]

Thus, in the late ancient world, the funerary basilicas, some of which contained the relics of saints (martyrial basilicas) and the monasteries located in the suburbs of the cities seemed to form a kind of 'spiritual defensive crown' around the city, as if they were a second wall.[105]

Christianity in other cities of the eastern Tarraconense

After Tarragona and Barcelona, the other community that we sense was well organised by the late fourth century—and undoubtedly far earlier—is *Gerunda* (Girona).[106] There is currently ample evidence of the cult of the martyr Saint Felix in Girona in the fourth century through the magnificent sarcophagi from the cemetery area that have survived (more on them below).[107] The literature does not mention this community in the fourth century, but the decretal letter that Pope Innocent I addressed to the His-

panic bishops in around 404 or 405 criticises the decision that bishop Minicius had taken several years earlier to ordain a bishop of Girona, whose name is unknown, without bearing in mind the canons of the Council of Nicaea (325) on episcopal ordinations, which prioritised metropolitan bishops. Minicius may have ordained this bishop because of their shared desire not to forgive the former Priscillianist bishops.[108] In any case, it is well documented that there were disciplinary irregularities in the choice and ordination of bishops in Hispania (and priests, as in the case of Paulinus in Barcelona) during that period.[109]

There has been a great deal of debate on the location of the early episcopal see in Girona: either under the current Santa Maria cathedral inside the city or Sant Feliu church located outside the walls. Given the lack of archaeological excavations, we can only uphold Chavarría's[110] and Sales'[111] hypothesis that the episcopal see was located inside the city.

In late antiquity, specifically the fourth century, the city of Empúries (*Emporion, Emporiae*, which encompassed two population sectors founded by the Greeks: *Paleapolis* and *Neapolis*) underwent profound changes in its territory which substantially altered it from its previous situation. The space of the *civitas* was redefined, which entailed a significant retreat of the urban structures and space because the new centre, the *urbs*, was located in the former nucleus of Sant Martí d'Empúries. The perimeter of this small nucleus was fortified with a wall and contained an interior urban area with just a few streets on the lower part, which left space to locate Sant Martí church on the eastern side, thus perpetuating the location of the earlier sites of worship. Furthermore, a short-term episcopacy of *Emporion* emerged, probably from the late fourth to the early seventh centuries. The population was dispersed in several nuclei *extra muros*, where small churches or chapels were built with associated funerary spaces which must correspond to different communities. Of these small churches (Santa Reparada, Santa Margarida, Santa Magdalena and Sant Vicenç, also called 'de les Corts'), Santa Margarida is worth noting because the excavations performed between 2003 and 2005 confirm the existence of an important architectural complex almost two hectares in area which must have begun to emerge after the fourth century and quite probably arose near the buildings of the *episcopium* of Empúries, such as the baptistry, the church and the bishop's palace. The topographical boundedness of the nucleus of Sant Martí must have forced sites associated with the exercise of the bishopric to other nearby locations, like this one in Santa Margarida.[112] Finally, we should mention the cemetery from late antiquity formed inside the *Neapolis* of *Emporion*, in which the building for worship was constructed over a thermal complex.[113]

We have no literary references to the Christian community of *Ilerda* (Lleida) in the fourth century, either. However, Letter 11* from Consentius to Saint Augustine, dated from 420, mentions the name of Bishop Sagicius, which leads us to assume that the Christian community had been established for some time. Consentius documents the existence of an *archivium ecclesiae*, where Sagicius stored suspicious codices from Priscillianism,[114] and this archive must have been part of the episcopal complex of Lleida. Rodrigo Pita proposes two possible locations of the *episcopium* of Lleida: the current Sant Joan church or next to the Seu Vella (old cathedral) cloister, where Santa Maria la Vella church used to be located.[115]

With regard to *Dertosa* (Tortosa), remains from the Roman era and part of the line of Roman walls have been found underneath the land where Santa Maria cathedral currently stands. This may be another classical example of a cathedral from late antiquity located just inside the walls (the subsequent construction of the cathedral must have extended beyond the ancient defensive perimeter), because the *episcopia* created in the fourth century between the reigns of emperors Constantine and Theodosius tended to be located in this way, as we have seen in the case of *Barcino*.[116] On the other hand, during the excavation of a necropolis from the fourth to fifth centuries conducted in Plaça Alfons XII in 1988, an architectural structure appeared which was interpreted as the foundation of an apse belonging to a funerary religious construction from the same period as the tombs: it was a Christian building *extra muros* associated with a cemetery.[117]

There is also no mention in the literature of the Christian community of *Egara* (Terrassa), but archaeological remains of the presence of Christianity in this town in the fourth century have been found. During the fifth century, Santa Maria church was built in *Egara*, which over time became the episcopal see or cathedral of the new diocese of *Egara*, created when it split from the diocese of Barcelona in 464 when Nundinarius was the bishop of Barcelona (the first bishop of *Egara* was Irenaeus). The archaeological excavations conducted there between 1995 and 2006 studied the development of the buildings of *Egara* from the fourth to ninth centuries (or the Carolingian period) and yielded extraordinarily important discoveries for Christian archaeology on the Iberian Peninsula. For example, in 1979 Manuel Sotomayor wrote that 'no archaeological remains of any baptistry are conserved' from fourth-century Hispania,[118] but thanks to these excavations, two baptistries from the fourth century were indeed found, along with many tombs from the same century. After 464, this site became an episcopal see, so archaeologists consider everything that remains there from prior to 464 'pre-episcopal phases'; more precisely, they distinguish five 'pre-episcopal phases'. What interests us given the period we are examining here (second half of the fourth century) are the first three 'pre-episcopal phases'.[119]

The burials found there lead us to posit a cemetery area most likely related to the worship of some relic, around which there must have been burials *ad sanctos*. The excavators stated that the first site of worship did not exactly reflect the profile of a church and may have instead been a *domus ecclesiae* or a private house that the Christians

Figure 2. Baptismal piscina located inside Santa Maria church (*Egara*). Date: 380-420/30. Photograph: Museu de Terrassa / Teresa Llordés

used as an oratory or place of prayer. It is possible to hypothesise that the relic venerated there came from a journey that a Christian family from *Egara* made to the Holy Land in the mid-fourth century, because the custom of pilgrimages to the Holy Sites was quite frequent among the Christian elites from that period (recall the *Itinerarium* of Egeria, an aristocratic virgin from Galicia).[120] Professor Cristina Godoy wonders whether this early construction was a private oratory that served as a mausoleum, just like the one found in the first phase of the basilica of *Villa Fortunatus* in the town of Fraga,[121] or whether it was a *domus ecclesiae* with liturgical spaces commonly found in buildings devoted to *cura animarum* and open to the public.[122]

Other doubts posed by archaeologists revolve around how burials inside a population nucleus can be explained when Roman law had explicitly banned this since the Laws of the Twelve Tables. The answer is that *Egara* was not a *civitas* but instead a *civitas sine urbe*, so the legal ban on burials within a *civitas* was not applicable there. We find a major change in the building in 'pre-episcopal phase III' (from 380 to 420/430): the floor was paved with mosaic and the deceased could be buried there; thus, we can conclude that the building had been turned into a parish church which served the function of *cura animarum*.

Another question stems from the presence of two baptistries in a location that was not an episcopal see at the time, and the answer can be found in canon 77 of the Council of Elvira (ca. 303), which stated that deacons were authorised to administer baptism on the condition that the bishop would lay his hands on the new Christian at some point after baptism.[123] It should be borne in mind that the practice of baptism was quite widespread in the ancient world. In the early days of evangelisation, the role of deacons was to celebrate the Liturgy of the Word without the eucharist, which—translated into archaeological language—means that in some early oratories we can find a baptistry before an altar.

The cult of martyrs in the eastern Tarraconense

One of the core elements of Christian worship is the eucharist. However, we only have minimal literary and archaeological information on eucharistic worship in Hispania in the fourth century. According to Saint Jerome,[124] the custom in Hispania was to receive eucharistic communion every day. Siricius' letter to Himerius takes for granted that the priests celebrated the eucharist every day, and Siricius used this fact as the basis for asking the priests for total continence.[125] Canon 5 of the Council of Toledo (400) asks the clergy to assist in the 'everyday sacrifice',[126] and canon 13 encourages laypeople to take communion frequently.[127]

We have much more information from both literature and archaeology on the worship of martyrs. Devotion to

martyrs had begun in second-century Christian communities, but in the fourth century, as social life was undergoing the process of the Christianisation, it reached a peak in order to make the martyrs the patron saints of the *civitas christiana*. Thanks to the triumphal testimony of a martyred bishop, the city which had enjoyed his ministry was destined to enjoy the benefits of a civic *patrocinium* of the saints. On the other hand, the spaces set aside for the deceased were primarily located in the *suburbia*, which became very important in the lives of cities because they were the location of the tombs and the cult of martyrs. In fact, the cult of martyrs led to very important religious centres in these peripheral spaces, where funerary churches that housed tombs both inside and outside were built.[128]

Cult of the holy martyrs Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius in Tarraco

Not only has the fourth-century *Passio Fructuosi* on the martyrs of Tarragona executed on 21 January 259 been conserved,[129] but so have two martyrial writings based on it: hymn VI of the *Peristephanon* by the poet Prudentius[130] and sermon 273 of Augustine, preached in Hippo on the martyrs' *dies natalis*, 21 January, probably in 396.[131] They demonstrate that the devotion to and cult of these martyrs had spread around different places in the Roman Empire.[132] The liturgical texts, such as the *Oracional Visigòtic* from Tarragona,[133] reveal popular devotion to the martyrs. The *Passio Fructuosi* served as the point of departure and source of inspiration for the subsequent development of Saint Fructuosus' patronage of the *civitas christiana* in the late Roman and Visigothic period; the consolidation of this patronage was simultaneous with the process of institutional entrenchment of the episcopacy of the Tarraconense. Indeed, as Andreu Muñoz Melgar has studied extensively, Himerius' tenure as bishop particularly heightened the worship of Saint Fructuosus for this reason.[134]

After the death of the three martyrs (259), their remains must have been buried (*depositio*) in a funerary area in the southwestern *suburbium* of *Tarraco*, where different suburban *domus* coexisted with a zone that had been turned into a necropolis precisely so the faithful could be buried next to the saints (*tumulatio ad sanctos* or *ad martyres*) and believers could visit the site of worship, as the poet Prudentius did, where he was able to admire the 'marble tomb' ('*cavo marmore*').[135] This is the sole explanation that can make the funerary and cultural dynamic of this space since the last third of the fourth century intelligible. The palaeo-Christian necropolis on the Francolí River was excavated by Joan Serra Vilaró between 1926 and 1933 and later critically studied by María Dolores del Amo.[136] This funerary complex is one of the largest in the Roman West, with a wide variety of tomb types. We have no archaeological information that enables us to identify the tombs of the Christian community from the third century. The activity detected in this cemetery only became astonishing after the last third of the fourth century, when it began to be enhanced with a wide array of Christian symbols and epigraphy and artistic expressions bearing clear biblical iconography, even though pagans continued to be buried there as well.[137] The city's upper classes had no qualms about being buried in luxurious tombs imported from Rome, as demonstrated by different tombs dating from that period, including the Bethesda sarcophagi from the late Theodosian era, currently embedded on the façade of the cathedral of Tarragona. In the late fourth century, there was also a local tomb workshop in *Tarraco*. Latin names predominate on the tombs, even though there are also several in Greek. At the same time, the funerary area was growing with an extraordinarily rich array of burial types. Thus, depending on their social status, the deceased used different types of tombs: from amphora-like containers to spectacular mausoleums like the lobular-shaped one or the *Cripta dels Arcs*, not to mention brick or stone sarcophagi.

Figure 3. Tomb of the martyrs Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius (re)excavated in 2014 in the necropolis on the Francolí River. Photograph by Josep Maria Macias.

The veneration of the martyr Fructuosus is epigraphically verified through the studies by Géza Alföldy[138] and Diana Gorostidi[139] on Roman epigraphy in *Tarraco*. The inscriptions in the palaeo-Christian necropolis make it clear that there was a major sociological change in the

makeup of the city's Christian community from the mid-third to the late fourth centuries: a Church primarily built by *humiliores* gave way to a Church which included both *humiliores* and *potentiores*. Alföldy studied the epitaph of *Nepotianus*, which he dates from between the second half of the fourth century and the early fifth century and considers to be one of the latest, if not the latest, documents of paganism in *Tarraco*.[140] In his opinion, the enormous value of this simple epitaph consists in the fact that it assumes the presence and coexistence of pagans and Christians as late as the end of the fourth century. But given the scant, primitive nature of the inscription, Alföldy also states that these pagans must have been from the more marginal strata of society, because the upper classes, who left much better sarcophagi and tombstones from this same period, deliberately underscored their Christian faith.[141]

What is more, a basilica with eucharistic worship was built over the tomb of the martyrs as a site of commemoration, with a baptistry at its base. It has been given an initial date spanning the fourth to fifth centuries, and it may have lasted until well into the Visigothic period, in the late sixth or early seventh centuries. María Dolores del Amo situates the first phase of construction in the mid-fifth century,[142] but Meritxell Pérez believes that construction on this martyrial *memoria* began in the late fourth century, in the Theodosian period when Himerius was bishop.[143] Andreu Muñoz situates it between the late fourth and early fifth centuries.[144]

Another basilica located very close to the aforementioned complex dates from the early fifth century; it was exhumed in 1994, and no testimonies of it are conserved until then. The remains appeared in the plot of land where the current Parc Central is located, a plot measuring approximately four hectares in area that was excavated between 1994 and 1997 by the Archaeology Service of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili under the oversight of Jordi López. The basilica and other adjacent areas were found next to a Roman road four metres wide, which Serra Vilaró had previously documented in the neighbouring necropolis area and which linked the two basilicas along an axis that connected the city and the port along Via Augusta through a Roman bridge built over the Francolí River. The interpretation of the remains led Jordi López to posit two hypotheses. The first is that the basilica may have been built thanks to the donation of a *dominus*, which also gave it a *fundus* to maintain the ecclesial community. The second interpretation identifies the remains of the entire complex as a monastery. In reality, both hypotheses are totally compatible. Interpreting this complex as a monastery is plausible because, as explained above,[145] monasticism was already entrenched in Hispania by the late fourth century.[146] In any case, the conclusion is clear: in the late fourth century the area around the Francolí River became a prime hub attracting the Christian community of *Tarraco*, although, as noted above,[147] the *episcopium* was not located there.

A third basilica related to the cult of the martyrdom of Saint Fructuosus was built inside the same amphitheatre where the martyrs of Tarragona were executed. It is reasonable to believe that the site where these saints suffered their martyrdom became sacralised in order to attest to the ultimate triumph of Christianity over paganism in the *civitas christiana*. The basilica was constructed during the Visigothic period, in the late sixth or early seventh centuries, and it was amortised by the construction of a new temple in the twelfth century, but we also know that by the first half of the fifth century the pits of the amphitheatre had been filled with dirt and its roof system had disappeared. This arena for public spectacles had gradually been abandoned because of the ban on gladiator games, which must have made it easier for the Church to turn the amphitheatre into a site of martyrial *memoria*; this would also explain why the building was not plundered. All of this leads to the conclusion that the Christian community, which had kept the precise site of the martyrdom alive in its memory through oral tradition, must have built a martyrial trophy in the amphitheatre arena in the fourth century.[148]

Cult of the martyr Saint Felix (Feliu) in Gerunda

On the site where the mortal remains of the martyr were deposited—north of the city, outside its walls, next to the gate of the *decumanus*—a funerary basilica was created where the elites of Girona must have been buried, including bishops, as shown by a series of luxurious sarcophagi which are currently embedded in the walls of the presbytery of Sant Feliu church.[149] They are eight sarcophagi from Rome, six of them Christian from the early fourth century bearing biblical scenes. One of the sarcophagi has a somewhat uncommon scene in early Christian iconography: the judgement in which Daniel saves the chaste Susanna from death.[150] At a later date, another cemetery was

Figure 4. Sarcophagus of the chaste Susanna located in Sant Feliu basilica in Girona. Date: ca. 310. Photograph by Julio Román.

located south of the city in the place called Mercadal near Via Augusta; this one is related to the sacralisation of the site of Felix's martyrdom. This was the location of around 30 tombs, some with large monolithic stone sarcophagi, which leads us to believe that they were located within an enclosed site or a building.[151] Therefore, the city must have had two burial sites associated with the martyr's memory: one in the area of the current Sant Feliu church, where the relics must have been deposited, and the other in Mercadal, at the site where he was executed.

Cult of the martyr Saint Cucuphas: In Castrum Octavianum or in Barcino?

The seventh-century *Passio sancti Cucufatis* says that once the death sentence had been announced, Cucuphas was moved to the city (*Barcino*) '*ad locum hunc Obtiano*',[152] located in the eight milestone of Barcelona. Indeed, the ancient *castrum Octavianum* was situated 20 kilometres from Barcelona in the site where the medieval monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès is located today. Archaeological excavations were conducted in this monastery between 1931 and 1936, which found a rectangular room with an apse that some have dated from the late Roman period because it has been associated with information from the *Passio*.[153] However, according to Cristina Godoy, no objective archaeological criterion has been established for the dating of this room, and identifying this monument as a *memoria* or *martyrium* where the relics of the martyr Cucuphas were deposited 'remains a romantic interpretation due to the lack of archaeological proof. What is urgently needed is a re-excavation and the development of a new planimetry, a conclusion with which the majority of researchers agree'.[154]

In turn, Jordina Sales believes that based on the Prudentius verse '*Barcinon claro Cucufate freta surget [Barcelona will rise, trusting the illustrious Cucuphas]*',[155] we can conclude that it is quite likely that the martyr Cucuphas 'had a basilica under his sponsorship in *Barcino* prior to the year 400… The analysis of Prudentius' verses has enabled us to conclude that all the cities that the Hispanic poet mentions in his *Peristephanon*, always related to the martyrs to whom he devoted the hymns, were sites of devotion and pilgrimage… Therefore, given the information currently available, it is more logical to think about the location Cucuphas' basilica in Barcelona in the immediate outskirts of the ancient city, and more specifically in the site where later the high mediaeval church of Sant Cugat del Camí (or Sant Cugat del Rec) would be located.'[156]

Conservation of martyrs' relics and devotion to contact relics

The *Passio Sancti Fructuosi* recounts the lovely legend which says that before moving the corpse of bishop Fructuosus to bury it, 'when night fell [the Christians] ran towards the amphitheatre bearing wine to put out the half-burnt bodies. Having done this, they gathered the ashes and all took as many as they could. But… the martyr Fructuosus… after the martyrdom, appeared to the brethren and exhorted them to immediately put back the ashes which they had harboured, driven by love'.[157] Indeed, during that period the custom of collecting small relics for personal devotion was quite common among believers. Some twentieth-century historians reached the conclusion that the corpses of martyrs were broken up in the fourth century so their fragments could be distributed among the faithful. However, Arnold Angenendt asserts the opposite thesis based on a reading of the literary sources—like the *Passio sancti Fructuosi*—which vehemently stress that the body of a martyr should never be dismembered. People did not begin to dismember the bodies of martyrs to distribute them as relics until the Middle Ages.[158]

In late antiquity, therefore, the small relics that were collected by Christians may have been either particles of the body that came loose in the tombs due to natural causes (teeth, fingernails or toenails, hair) or 'contact relics'. The belief that the objects that a martyr used in their everyday life, like their clothing, or the objects that came into direct contact with their mortal remains or their tomb gained a sanctifying power spread widely. To justify this biblically, they cited the Gospel pericope of the healing of the woman suffering from haemorrhages, because when this woman touched the edge of Jesus' tunic, he says: 'Someone touched me; for I noticed that power had gone out from me' (Luke 8:46). We cannot precisely pinpoint when contact relics began to be used in Christian piety, but they were already quite widespread by the mid-fourth century. We should not forget that the main relic in Christianity, the Holy Cross, is precisely a contact relic.

Christianisation of the rural world

In addition to the Christianisation of the *civitas* and its *suburbia* in the course of the fourth century, there was a simultaneous expansion of Christianity in the *ager* or *territorium* or rural areas, where there were many *villae*, that is, villas administered by wealthy landowners whose agricultural yields fed city-dwellers.[159] The rural world and the countryside (*rusticatio*) still kept the pagan cults alive and resisted Christianisation.[160] In fact, the aristocracy and wealthy landowners of the *villae* were major holdouts in defending the old religion, yet some of this aristocracy also fostered the Christianisation of rural environments.[161]

The first literary reference to the presence of Christianity in rural areas is canon 21 of the Council of Elvira (ca. 303),[162] and the second one is canon 2 of the Council of Zaragoza (380). Specifically, canon 2 condemned the act of concealing oneself '*in latibula montium*' or gathering '*ad alienas villas*'.[163] Canon 4 encouraged the faithful to attend the liturgical celebration on the feast day of the Epiphany instead of retreating to the mountains or villas, which were presented as sites beyond the control of the Church authorities, and this is why the bishops asked their flocks to travel to the city to attend the eucharistic celebration.[164] Alexandra Chavarría sees this as anti-Pris-

cillianist connotations by the council fathers, because the gatherings of this movement took place in the domestic spaces of aristocrats like the *villae*.[165] In turn, Manuel Sotomayor states that canon 21 of the Council of Elvira (ca. 303), and canon 5 of the Council of Toledo (400)[166] reveal a change in the status of rural churches between the start and end of the fourth century. At the beginning of the century, Elvira pointed to the presence of Christians in the rural world but not of sites of worship, while at the end of the century rural churches did exist in some zones.[167]

One of these churches is the site called El Bovalar, which is near Serós (Segrià) on the left bank of the Segre River around five kilometres north of its confluence with the Ebro River. It is a large church surrounded by a small peasant settlement which was built in the course of the fifth century and abandoned in the eighth. The complex has a baptistry and was particularly used as a cemetery, so the deceased members of the community could be buried inside this temple.[168] Worth noting is its proximity to the *Villa Fortunatus* site in Fraga, located just 12 kilometres west of El Bovalar in the Cinca River valley, evidence of the Christianisation of the landowning nobility in the fourth century. A mosaic with a Christogram survives from the villa, which bears the name *Fortunatus*, the owner or *dominus*, but what draws our attention is that there were mosaics with pagan figurations like Love and Psyche in other rooms in the home, which proves the continuation of classical culture in the lives of the aristocrats who had converted to Christianity. This building was transformed by its owner into a *martyrium* or a building for the worship of martyrs, with the presence of two sarcophagi which were *tumulationes ad martyres*.[169] Based on a mosaic, we also know the name of the owner (*Vitalis*) of Els Ametllers Roman villa in *Turissa*, currently Tossa de Mar, another Christian aristocrat from that period.[170] If we ask what these *domini* named *Fortunatus* and *Vitalis* were like and how the denizens of those luxurious mansions lived, we cannot answer due to a complete lack of information on their lives. However, we are familiar with the biographies of other landowners from the fourth and fifth centuries, such as the poets Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola, mentioned above,[171] which can provide some insight.

As Alexandra Chavarría and other experts note, the transformation of these villas into oratories and the consequent consecration of those oratories by Church authorities turned them into churches suitable for public pastoral care. This indicates synergy or positive collaboration between the aristocrats and bishops, as opposed to competition or rivalry, as occasionally claimed.[172]

One very particular case is the late Roman rural monument in Centcelles, located in the town of Constantí around five kilometres northeast of Tarragona. It is the only Christian monument conserved in its entirety still standing on the Iberian Peninsula from prior to the seventh century, and it also conserves the oldest Christian dome mosaic in the world. The building was constructed almost in the centre of the residential part of a village and includes three large rooms, the central one rectangular in shape, finished by an apse 17 metres long and covered by a large dome decorated with mosaics. Extraordinarily high quality tesserae were used to make the mosaics, which has led some historians to think that they were crafted by artists from a Palatine workshop, although other historians believe that the mosaics must have been made by a local workshop. The mosaic has four zones running from bottom to top called A, B, C and D. In zone A, or the lowest one, which is obviously the longest one, there is a large hunting scene in which the main character in the monument is participating. Zone B is occupied by biblical scenes, like Jonas, Daniel among the lions, the three Jews in the blazing furnace of Babylonia, the resurrection of Lazarus, the good shepherd, etc. Zone C is divided in a somewhat balanced fashion around a cross with trapezoidal arms within which the four seasons are depicted, while the arms of the cross separate four spaces with enthroned figures surrounded by groups of people in a seemingly solemn mood. Zone D or the central medallion of the dome is not as well conserved. It is a pity that zone C is damaged because the experts concur that

Figure 5. Interior view of the late Roman monument of Centcelles (Tarragona): Dome room decorated with mosaic. Photograph by Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona (MNAT).

were it well conserved, it would provide the key to understanding what this monument was.

Thus far, four interpretations of Centcelles have been put forth: the first three date it from the fourth century, while the fourth dates it from the early fifth century. *First interpretation*: according to the German archaeologists who excavated the site in the 1960s, Centcelles must have been an imperial mausoleum where Constans was to be buried; Constans was the son of the emperor Constantine who was murdered in 337 in *Castrum Helenae*, currently Elne.[173] The imperial room would have been dedicated to the current emperor at the time, Maxentius, and each of the four scenes in zone C would include the portrait of four emperors (Maxentius, Constans II, Vetranius and Decentius), such that the work as a whole would represent a *concordia imperatorum* from around 350.[174] The *second interpretation* denies any prominent role by the emperors or its funerary purpose: the mosaic on the dome may have expressed the prestige and self-affirmation of an aristocratic family from *Tarraco*, and this is why the *dominus* and the *domina* of the villa, seated in chairs, preside over ceremonies in zone C, in which offerings and presents are being given.[175] The *third interpretation* moves the date of the building up to the late fourth century and also denies its funerary purpose: it must have been the villa of a bishop from *Tarraco* with an official representation room, and zone C must show ecclesiasts in liturgical acts.[176] The *fourth interpretation*, which dates the building even later, to the early fifth century, seeks to identify Centcelles as the central area in a military encampment (or *praetorium*) of the *comes Hispaniarum* Asterius in *Tarraco*, a city that was the Roman army's base of operations throughout the fifth century, when after the arrival of the Germanic peoples the goal was to bring all of Hispania back under the legitimate power of the Western Roman Empire. The room with the dome must have been the Christianised *sacellum* of the encampment, and the main figure in the mosaic would have been Asterius.[177]

As Manuel Sotomayor accurately states, Centcelles is an 'unresolved enigma'.[178] Nor was this enigma solved at the last conference specialising in Centcelles held in Tarragona (28-30 June 2022), organised by the Ateneu Universitari Sant Pacià (Barcelona) and the Museu Arqueològic Nacional de Tarragona. The conference proceedings will be published in the upcoming months.

Notes and references

[1] J. Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana: 284-409*, Madrid 1982.

[2] Digest. 48.4.1.1: 'Maiestatis autem crimen illud est, quod adversus populum Romanum vel adversus securitatem eius committitur'.

[3] J. J. Speier, *Historia Critica de Hispanico Pauli Apostoli Itinere ad Rom XV, 24-28*, Wittemberg 1742.

[4] J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010; A. Puig i Tàrrech, J. M. G. Barclay, J. Frey (eds.), *The Last Years of Paul. Essays from the Tarraona Conference, June 2013*, Tübingen 2015.

[5] B. Santalucia, 'Paul's Roman Trial. Legal Procedures regarding Roman Citizens Convicted of Serious Charges in the First Century'. In: A. Puig i Tàrrech, J. M. G. Barclay, J. Frey (eds.), *The Last Years of Paul. Essays from the Tarragona Conference, June 2013*, Tübingen 2015, pp. 213-230.

[6] Clement of Rome, *1 Clement* 5,5-7 (SUC 1.30,32). The Catalan translation of this *First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* can be found in volume 81 of the 'Clàssics del Cristianisme' collection (Barcelona 2000), pp. 39-84.

[7] The Latin text and Catalan translation of the Muratorian Canon can be found in A. Puig i Tàrrech (ed.), *Apòcrifs cristians. Vol I: Evangelis apòcrifs*, Barcelona 2021, pp. 42-47.

[8] *Actus Vercellenses* 1-3. Cf. R. Riesner, 'Paul's Trial and End according to Second Timothy, *1 Clement*, the Canon Muratori, and the Apocryphal Acts'. In: A. Puig i Tàrrech, J. M. G. Barclay, J. Frey (eds.), *The Last Years of Paul. Essays from the Tarragona Conference, June 2013*, Tübingen 2015, pp. 391-409.

[9] A. Puig i Tàrrech, 'Paul's Missionary Activity during His Roman Trial: The Case of Paul's Journey to Hispania'. In: A. Puig i Tàrrech, J. M. G. Barclay, J. Frey (eds.), *The Last Years of Paul. Essays from the Tarragona Conference, June 2013*, Tübingen 2015, pp. 469-506.

[10] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 11-15.

[11] M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'En torno a los orígenes del cristianismo hispánico'. In: *Las raíces de España*, Madrid 1967, pp. 423-443; J. M. Blázquez, 'Posible origen africano del cristianismo español'. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* no. 40 (1967), pp. 30-50.

[12] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 120-149.

[13] P. de Palol Salellas, 'Algunos aspectos históricos y arqueológicos del cristianismo en la Tarraconense y en las Galias'. *Caesaraugusta* no. 6 (1955) pp. 141-167.

[14] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1,10,2 (SC 264, 158).

[15] Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 7,4-5 (CCL 2, 1354-1355).

[16] R. Teja, 'El cristianismo y el Imperio romano'. In: M. Sotomayor, J. Fernández Ubiña (coord.), *Historia del cristianismo. I: el mundo antiguo*, Madrid-Granada 2003, pp. 293-327 (here, p. 301).

[17] Cyprian, *Ep.* 67 (CCL 3C, 446-462). Cf. J. Fernández Ubiña, 'Los orígenes del cristianismo hispano. Algunas claves sociológicas'. *Hispania Sacra* no. 59 (2007), pp. 427-458.

[18] J. Amengual i Batle, 'L'església paleocristiana de Tarraco'. In: J. M. Macias Solé, A. Muñoz Melgar (eds.), *Tarraco christiana civitas*, Tarragona 2013, pp. 69-81 (here pp. 70-73).

[19] A. Fábrega Grau (ed.), *Pasionario hispánico. Vol. II*, Madrid-Barcelona 1955, pp. 183-186; P. Batlle Huguet, *Santos Fructuoso, obispo de Tarragona, y Augurio y Eulogio, diáconos. Las actas de su martirio*, Tarragona 1959. The Catalan translation of the *Passio* can be found in volume 25 of 'Clàssics del Cristianisme' (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 121-124.

[20] P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, 'Gli Atti di S. Fruttuoso di Tarragona'. In: *Note Agiografiche*, no. 8 (1935) pp. 129-199; G. Luongo, 'La *Passio Fructuosi*. Un approccio storico-letterario'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 255-280.

[21] M. Pérez Martínez, '*Tarraco* a l'època tardoromana. Història política i eclesiàstica'. In: J. M. Macias Solé, A. Muñoz Melgar (eds.), *Tarraco christiana civitas*, Tarragona 2013, pp. 83-96 (here, p. 87); J. Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana: 284-409*, Madrid 1982, p. 55.

[22] *Passio Fruct.* 6 (Pasionario hispánico, vol. 2, p. 185).

[23] J. M. Gavaldà, 'La Carta de Pau als Filipencs i el relat de la *Passio Fructuosi*'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 577-598.

[24] J. Martí i Aixalà, *L'Església de Tarragona al segle tercer a través de la* Passio *de sant Fructuós*, Tarragona 2007; J. Torra i Bitlloch, 'Passió dels sants màrtirs Fructuós, bisbe, Auguri i Eulogi, diaques. Aproximació teològica'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 281-292.

[25] C. H. Kraeling, *The Excavations of Dura Europos. The Christian Building*, New York 1967.

[26] M. Sotomayor Muro, J. Fernández Ubiña (eds.), *El concilio de Elvira y su tiempo*, Granada 2005. Josep Vilella and Pere Enric Barreda claim that the collection of 82 canons is actually a compilation from different fourth-century council gatherings which can be dated from the later period: J. Vilella, P.-E. Barreda, '¿Cánones del concilio de Elvira o cánones pseudoiliberritanos?'. *Augustinianum* no. 46 (2006), pp. 285-373. Manuel Sotomayor has rebutted these arguments: M. Sotomayor, 'Los cánones 1 y 59 del Concilio de Elvira. A propósito de un artículo de J. Vilella Masana'. *Polis* no. 19 (2007), pp. 135-161. Professor Vilella nonetheless stands by his thesis: J. Vilella, 'The Pseudo-Iliberritan Canon Text'. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 18 (2014), pp. 210-259.

[27] The Latin edition and Spanish translation can be found in J. Vives (ed.), *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona-Madrid 1963, pp. 1-15. Another critical edition can be found in G. Martínez Díez, F. Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana. Vol. IV: Concilios galos. Concilios hispanos*, Madrid 1984, pp. 233-267.

[28] Born in the Persian empire in 216, Mani belonged to a Judeo-Christian sect, the Elcesaites, but after conversion he founded a new religion called 'Manichaeism', which is very similar to gnosis but is not a Christian heresy. Mani felt called to complete the divine revelation which had been communicated with humans by Zoroaster, Buddha and Jesus Christ before him, and this is why Manichaeans spread around the great empires of the ancient and mediaeval world, including Persia, Rome, China and Mongolia. Manichaeism is characterised by a radical dualism: the material cosmos and human beings spring from the struggle of the two original opposing spiritual principles: good (or light) and evil (or darkness). Cf. F. Bermejo Rubio, *El maniqueísmo. Estudio introductorio*, Madrid 2008; F. Bermejo Rubio, J. Montserrat Torrents, *El maniqueísmo. Textos y fuentes*, Madrid 2008.

[29] A. Ortega, I. Rodríguez, *Aurelio Prudencio. Obras completas*, Madrid 1981, pp. 28*-31*. The Latin text of Prudentius' poems are found in CCL 126 and the Catalan translation of the *Peristephanon* in volumes 229 and 230 of the 'Bernat Metge' collection (Barcelona, 1984).

[30] Prudentius, *Peris.* IV, 29-30 (CCL 126, 287).

[31] Vid. *infra* notes 149-151.

[32] A. Fábrega Grau (ed.), *Pasionario hispánico. Vol. II*, Madrid-Barcelona 1955, pp. 320-186.

[33] J. Vives (ed.), *Oracional Visigótico*, Barcelona 1946, pp. 148-157. This orational is commonly known as the 'Verona Orational' because a manuscript from the early eighth century is conserved in the Chapterhouse Library of the Cathedral of Verona, even though it was actually made in the Cathedral of Tarragona in the last years of the Visigothic reign.

[34] Prudentius, *Peris.* IV, 33-34 (CCL 126, 287).

[35] A. Fábrega Grau (ed.), *Pasionario hispánico. Vol. II*, Madrid-Barcelona 1955, pp. 309-314.

[36] A. Pladevall i Font, *La introducció i la difusió del cristianisme a Catalunya a l'època romana. Discurs llegit el dia 5 de maig de 1994 en l'acte de recepció pública a la Reial Academia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1994, pp. 28-30.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[38] *Codex Theodosianus* 16,1,2. The Latin text was edited by T. Mommsen, P. Krüger and P. Meyer in 1904/1905. The English translation was published by C. Pharr in 1969, and the Spanish translation by M. V. Escribano can be found in M. Sotomayor, J. Fernández Ubiña (coord.), *Historia del cristianismo. I: el mundo antiguo*, Madrid-Granada 2003, pp. 472-473.

[39] Vid. *infra* note 48.

[40] Martínez Díez, Rodríguez (1984), vol. IV, pp. 15-23; SCh 241, pp. 35-67.

[41] There is extensive literature on Donatism: R. A. Markus, 'Donato, donatismo'. In: D. Fitzgerald (dir.), *Diccion-*

ario de San Agustín, Burgos 2001, pp. 440-445; M. V. Escribano Paño, 'El donatismo'. In: M. Sotomayor, J. Fernández Ubiña (coord.), *Historia del cristianismo. I: el mundo antiguo*, Madrid-Granada 2003, pp. 400-417.

[42] Agustine, *Ep.* 43,9,6 (CSEL 34/2, 108).

[43] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 191-192.

[44] There is extensive literature on Arianism: H. Drobner, *Manual de Patrología*, Barcelona 2001, pp. 223-346; J. de C. Laplana, *L'Església dels primers segles*, Barcelona 2006, pp. 449-535.

[45] J. J. Ayán, M. Crespo, J. Polo, P. González, *Osio de Córdoba. Un siglo de la historia del cristianismo*, Madrid 2013, pp. 167-351; P. de Navascués, 'Osio en Sárdica (343): método, doctrina y gobierno'. In: A. J. Reyes Guerrero (ed.), *El siglo de Osio de Córdoba*, Madrid 2015, pp. 381-407; J. Vilella Masana, 'La impronta de Osio de Córdoba en los Cánones sardicenses'. *Anu.Filol. Antiq.Mediaeualia* no. 8 (2018), pp. 922-926.

[46] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 212-232; J. Vilella Masana, *Biografía de Osio de Córdoba*, Barcelona 2020.

[47] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,2 (PL 13, 1133A-1134A). We will discuss this letter below: vid. *infra* notes 54-64.

[48] A. Viciano Vives, 'Teologia baptismal en les controvèrsies amb el donatisme i l'arrianisme'. In: J. Beltrán de Heredia, C. Godoy Fernández (eds.), *La dualitat de baptisteris en les ciutats episcopals del cristianisme tardoantic (Actes del I Simposi d'Arqueologia Cristiana, Barcelona, 26-27 de maig de 2016)*, Barcelona 2017, pp. 199-211.

[49] M. Smyth, 'Note sur le baptême par immersion unique en Hispanie'. *MLCat* no. 15 (2007), pp. 37-46.

[50] The Latin edition of Priscillian's treatises can be found in CSEL 18, pp. 3-106 and the Spanish translation in M. J. Crespo, *Prisciliano de Ávila. Tratados*, Madrid 2017.

[51] Vives (1963), pp. 16-18; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, pp. 291-296. The Catalan translation of the canons from this council can be found in volume 50b of the 'Clàssics del Cristianisme' collection (Barcelona 1994), pp. 53-55.

[52] SCh 241, pp. 113-116.

[53] There is extensive literature on Priscillianism. Cf. M. V. Escribano, *Iglesia y Estado en el certamen priscilianista*. Causa ecclesiae *y* iudicium publicum, Zaragoza 1988; D. Piay Augusto, *Prisciliano. Vida y muerte de un disidente en el amanecer del Imperio cristiano*, Gijón 2019.

[54] Siricius, *Epistula I* (PL 13, 1131-1147). The Catalan translation of the letter can be found in volume 27 of the 'Clàssics del Cristianisme' collection (Barcelona 1992), pp. 49-60. Cf. A. Viciano i Vives, 'La Decretal del Papa Sirici a Himeri de Tarragona'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 659-674; C. Hornung, Directa ad decessorem: *Ein kirchenhistorisch-philologischer Kommentar zur ersten Dekretale des Siricius von Rom*, Münster 2011; K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Die erste Dekretale. Der Brief Papst Siricius' an Bischof Himerius von Tarragona von Jahr 385*, Hannover 2013; A. Ferreiro, 'Pope Siricius and Himerius of Tarragona (385): Provincial Papal Intervention in the Fourth Century'. In: G. D. Dunn (ed.), *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, London – New York 2016, pp. 73-87; A. Ferreiro, Epistolae plenae. *The Correspondence of the Bishops of Hispania with the Bishops of Rome (Third through Seventh Centuries)*, Boston – Leiden 2020.

[55] 'Himerius' consultation of Rome takes place before Priscillian's imminent conviction—and that of his other peers—or shortly thereafter. The climate of confrontation and the lack of unity in Hispanic churches at the time largely explain the Tarraconense's solution: Himerius—who had not participated in the Council of Zaragoza—belonged to the sector that was against both excessively permissive attitudes and overly rigorist positions—the latter essentially held by the Luciferians, Novatians and Priscillianists.' J. Vilella, 'La epístola 1 de Siricio: estudio prosopográfico de Himerio de Tarragona'. *Augustinianum* no. 44 (2004), pp. 337-369 (here, p. 367). See, too, J. Vilella, 'Las iglesias y las cristiandades hispanas: panorama prosopográfico'. In: R. Teja (ed.), *La Hispania del siglo IV. Administración, economía, sociedad, cristianización*, Bari 2002, pp. 117-159 (here, p. 146).

[56] 'Dieses berühmte Dekretale, nach seinem ersten Wort *Directa* bennant, ist ein Milenstein in der Zölibatsgeschichte'. S. Heid, *Zölibat in der frühen Kirche*, Paderborn 1997, pp. 196-204 (here, p. 198).

[57] T. González García, 'La carta del papa Siricio a Himerio de Tarragona'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 625-627.

[58] Siricius, *Ep.* 17, (PL 13, 1137B-C).

[59] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,17 (PL 13, 1144A – 1145A).

[60] Vives (1963), p. 18; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 295.

[61] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,7 (PL 13, 1137B-C).

[62] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,12 (PL 13, 1141A).

[63] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,20 (PL 13, 1146B).

[64] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,20 (PL 13, 1146A).

[65] Consentius, *Ep.* 11*,2,7. The Latin edition of letter 11 is found in CSEL 88, pp. 51-70 and the Catalan translation is in volume 244 of the 'Bernat Metge' collection (Barcelona 1987), pp. 96-118.

[66] O. Mansilla Reoyo, 'Orígenes de la organización metropolitana en la Iglesia española'. *Hispania Sacra* no. 12 (1959), pp. 255-290; J. Vilella Masana, 'Las primacías eclesiásticas en *Hispània* durante el siglo IV'. *Polis* no. 10 (1998), pp. 269-285; P. Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, Granada 2004, pp. 111-132; J. Amengual i Batle, 'L'església paleocristiana de Tàrra-

co'. In: J. M. Macias Solé, A. Muñoz Melgar (eds.), *Tarraco christiana civitas*, Tarragona 2013, pp. 69-81.

[67] Vives (1963), pp. 19-33; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, pp. 323-344.

[68] Innocent I, *Epistula III* (PL 20, 485-494). The Spanish translation is found in J. Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de cánones de la Iglesia española*, Madrid 1850, pp. 784-791. Cf. G. D. Dunn, 'Innocent I and the First Synod of Toledo'. In: G. D. Dunn (ed.), *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, London – New York 2016, pp. 89-108.

[69] Vid. *supra* note 65. Cf. J. Amengual, 'Informacions sobre el priscil·lianisme a la Tarraconense segons l'epístola 11 de Consenci'. *Pyrenae* no. 15-16 (1979-1980), pp. 319-338.

[70] J. M. Macias, J. J. Menchón, A. Muñoz, 'Ciutat de Tarraco'. In: P. de Palol, A. Pladevall (eds.), *Del Romà al Romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*, Barcelona 1999, pp. 77-79; A. Muñoz, *El cristianisme a l'antiga Tarragona. Dels orígens a la incursió islàmica*, Tarragona 2011, pp. 50 and 57.

[71] J. López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de* Tarraco. *Vol. 1*, Tarragona 2006, pp. 256-259; A. Chavarría, 'Suburbio, iglesias y obispos. Sobre la errónea ubicación de algunos complejos episcopales en la Hispania tardoantigua'. In: D. Vaquerizo, *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica. Topografía, usos, función*, Córdoba 2010, pp. 435-454.

[72] Vid. *supra* note 45.

[73] J. Beltrán de Heredia, 'Barcelona de colònia romana a seu règia visigoda, medina islàmica i ciutat comtal: una urbs en transformació'. *Quaris* no. 9 (2013), pp. 16-118; J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, *La Barcelona visigótica: un puente entre dos mundos. La basílica dels Sants Màrtirs Just i Pastor: de la ciudad romana a la ciudad altomedieval*, Barcelona 2019, p. 33.

[74] Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, *Praefatio* (B.A.C. 624, 644).

[75] D. Bertrand, J. Busquets, M. Mayer (dirs.), *Pacien de Barcelone et l'Hispanie au IVe siècle (Actes des Colloques de Barcelone et Lyon, mars et octobre 1996)*, Paris 2004; G. Estrada San Juan, 'Origen y condición senatorial de Paciano, obispo de Barcelona'. *Studia Philologica Valentina* no. 20 (2018), pp. 73-88; J. Torra, '*Barcino* i la figura del bisbe Pacià'. In. J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (ed.), *Bisbes, màrtirs, menestrals i comerciants a la basílica dels Sants Màrtirs Just i Pastor. V Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (7 i 8 de novembre de 2019)*, Barcelona 2021, pp. 37-52.

[76] The edition of the Latin text is found in SChr. 410 and in CCL 69B, and the Catalan translation is in volume 27 of the 'Clàssics del Cristianisme' collection Barcelona 1992), pp. 62-132. In 1958, Lisardo Rubio made a Spanish translation of it that has recently been reissued in a bilingual text (Latin – Spanish) in volume 260 of the 'Cuadernos Phase' collection: Paciano, Obras, Barcelona 2021. Cf. A. Anglada Anfruns, *In Paciani episcopi Barcinonensis* opera silva studiorum, Tournhout 2012.

[77] Pacianus, *Ep.* 1,4,1 (SChr. 410, 174).

[78] Below we shall discuss Novatianism, a rigorist movement founded in Rome shortly after the persecution of Decius in 250-251: vid. *infra* note 82. The ecclesiology of the Novatians is very similar to that of the Donatists: vid. *supra* notes 39-41.

[79] Vid. *supra* note 38.

[80] Pacianus, *Bapt.* 6,1 (SChr. 410, 156).

[81] Pacianus, *Paen.* 2, 2 (SChr. 410, 120). Cf. D. Borobio, *La penitencia en la Iglesia hispánica del siglo IV al VII*, Bilbao 1978.

[82] There is extensive literature on Novatianism: J. de C. Laplana, *L'Església dels primers segles*, Barcelona 2006, pp. 369-374.

[83] C. Granado, '*Ecclesia Mater*'. In: D. Bertrand, J. Busquets, M. Mayer (dirs.), *Pacien de Barcelone et l'Hispanie au IVe siècle (Actes des Colloques de Barcelone et Lyon, mars et octobre 1996)*, Paris 2004, pp. 221-232.

[84] Vives (1963), p. 25; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 326.

[85] Some claim that Paulinus was in *Complutum* between 389 and 394. Cf. S. Rascón Marqués, A. L. Sánchez Montes, 'Realidades cambiantes: *Complutum* tardoantiguo'. In: *Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica. Les ciutats tardoantigues d'Hispània: cristianització i topografia (València 2003)*, Barcelona 2005, pp. 499-517.

[86] Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 1,10 (CSEL 29, 8-9); *Ep.* 3,4 (CSEL 29, 17). The Catalan translation of these texts can be found in C. M. Pifarré i Clapés, *Literatura cristiana antiga*, Montserrat 2009, p. 544.

[87] G. Santaniello, *Vita di Paulino da Bordeaux vescovo di Nola*, Naples 2015; J. Torra, 'Sant Just i Pastor i la figura de Paulí de Nola'. In: J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (ed.), *Patrimoni, arqueología i art a la Basílica dels Sants Just i Pastor. II Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (15 i 16 de març de 2018)*, Barcelona 2019, pp. 61-75.

[88] P. Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, Granada 2004, p. 99.

[89] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 287-290.

[90] R. Villegas Marín, *Pseudo-Próspero de Aquitania. Sobre la providencia de Dios*, Barcelona 2010.

[91] C. Bonnet, J. Beltrán, 'Conjunt episcopal de Barcelona'. In: P. de Palol, A. Pladevall (eds.), *Del Romà al Romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*, Barcelona 1999, pp. 179-183; J. M. Gurt, C. Godoy, '*Barcino*, de sede imperial a *urbs regia* en época visigótica'. In: G. Ripoll, J. M. Gurt (eds.,), *Sedes regiae (ann. 400-800)*, Barcelona 2000, pp. 425-466.

[92] J. M. Gurt, J. Buxeda, 'Metrologia, composició modular i proporcions de les basíliques cristianes del llevant peninsular i de les Balears'. In: *Spania. Estudis d'Antiguitat tardana oferts en homenatge al professor Pere de Palol i Salellas*, Barcelona 1996, pp. 137-156.

[93] J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (ed.), *La Basílica de la Santa Creu i Santa Eulàlia: la Catedral abans de la Catedral. IV Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (2 i 3 de maig de 2019)*, Barcelona 2020, pp. 11-71.

[94] J. Beltrán De Heredia, *L'església desapareguda de Sant Miquel de Barcelona: un patrimoni itinerant. VII Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (12 i 13 de maig de 2022)*, Barcelona 2023, pp. 13-37

[95] Vid. *supra* note 86.

[96] Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 31,606-610 (CSEL 30, 328-329).

[97] S. Rascón Marqués, A. L. Sánchez Montes, 'Justo, Pastor, Paulino y Asturio. La construcción del culto en *Complutum*, ¿y en *Barcino*?'. In: A. J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (ed.), *Bisbes, màrtirs, menestrals i comerciants a la basílica dels Sants Màrtirs Just i Pastor. V Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (7 i 8 de novembre de 2019)*, Barcelona 2021, pp. 17-35.

[98] J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, *La Barcelona visigótica: un puente entre dos mundos. La basílica dels Sants Màrtirs Just i Pastor: de la ciudad romana a la ciudad altomedieval*, Barcelona 2019.

[99] J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, 'Origen y antigüedad de la Basílica de Sants Just i Pastor de Barcelona: el complejo cristiano del siglo VI y su precedente pagano'. In: J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero (ed.), *Patrimoni, arqueologia i art a la Basílica dels Sants Just i Pastor. II Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (15 i 16 de març de 2018)*, Barcelona 2019, pp. 15-28.

[100] J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, *La Barcelona visigótica: un puente entre dos mundos. La basílica dels Sants Màrtirs Just i Pastor: de la ciudad romana a la ciudad altomedieval*, Barcelona 2019, pp. 68-90.

[101] A. Chavarría, 'Tumbas e iglesias en la Hispania Tardoantigua'. *Arqueología Medieval* no. 7 (Lleida 2015), pp. 13-45.

[102] M. Sotomayor, *Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España. Estudio iconográfico*, Granada 1975.

[103] Vid. *infra* note 156.

[104] J. Sales Carbonell, *Arqueología de les seus episcopals tardoantigues al territori català*, Barcelona 2011, pp. 34-43; J. Beltrán de Heredia, 'Santa María del Mar: un enclave cultual de la antigüedad tardia en el *suburbium* de *Barcino*'. *Quaris* no. 5 (2011), pp. 102-143.

[105] J. Biarne, 'L'influence des monastères sur le paisaje urbain en Occident (IV^{e}-VII^{e} siècles)'. In: B. Baujard, *La naissance de la ville chrétienne*, Tours 2002, pp. 123-134.

[106] J. M. Nolla et al., *Baix Imperi i Antiguitat Tardana al sector nord-oriental de la província Tarraconensis. De l'adveniment de Dioclecià a la mort de Carlemany (284-814)*, Girona 2016.

[107] Vid. *infra* notes 149-151.

[108] Vid. *supra* note 68.

[109] P. Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, Granada 2004, pp. 93-110.

[110] Vid. *supra* note 71.

[111] J. Sales Carbonell, *Arqueologia de les seus episcopals tardoantigues al territori català*, Barcelona 2011, pp. 74-75.

[112] J. M. Nolla, J. Tremoleda (coords.), *Empúries a l'Antiguitat Tardana. 2 vols.*, Barcelona 2015; P. Castanyer i d'altres, 'El nucli de poblament tardoantic de Santa Margarida en el context del primer cristianisme emporità'. In: J. López Vilar (ed.), *4t Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic. VII Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica (Tarragona, 21-24 de novembre de 2018)*, Tarragona 2019, pp. 147-154.

[113] J. Tremoleda, P. Castanyer, M. Santos, J. M. Nolla, 'Un nou pol de centralitat en el cementiri tardoantic de la Neàpolis emporitana'. In: J. López Vilar (ed.), *4t Congrés Inernacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic. VII Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica (Tarragona, 21-24 de novembre de 2018)*, Tarragona 2019, pp. 155-163.

[114] Consentius, *Ep.* 11*,2,8. Vid. *supra* note 65.

[115] R. Pita, *Lérida paleocristiana*, Lleida 1973.

[116] V. Almuni, 'Santa Maria de Tortosa'. In: *Catalunya romànica. Vol XXVI: Tortosa i les terres de l'Ebre*, Barcelona 1997, pp. 117-120.

[117] J. V. M. Arbeloa, 'Ciutat de Dertosa'. In: P. de Palol, A. Pladevall (eds.), *Del Romà al Romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*, Barcelona 1999, pp. 83-84; J. V. M. Arbeloa, 'Basílica de Tortosa', *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[118] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, p. 278.

[119] M. G. Garcia i Llinares, A. Moro García, F. Tuset Bertran, *La seu episcopal d'Ègara. Arqueologia d'un conjunt cristià del segle IV al IX*, Tarragona 2009, pp. 45-92.

[120] S. Janeras, *Egèria. Pelegrinatge a Terra Santa*, (Clàssics del Cristianisme 35), Barcelona 1993.

[121] Vid. *infra* note 169.

[122] C. Godoy, 'La sede de *Egara* en el contexto de la arquitectura cristiana hispánica durante la antigüedad tardía'. In: J. Beltrán de Heredia, M. G. Garcia Llinares (eds.), *Les basíliques de la seu episcopal d'Ègara: centre i periferia. VI Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona (Barcelona 13-14 de maig de 2021)*, Barcelona 2022, pp. 171-197.

[123] Vives (1963), p. 15; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 265.

[124] Jerome, *Ep.* 71,6 (B.A.C. 710, 792).

[125] Siricius, *Ep.* 1,8-11 (PL 13, 1139A-1140D).

[126] Vives (1963), p. 21; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 330.

[127] Vives (1963), p. 23; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 334.

[128] P. Brown, *El culto a los santos*, Salamanca 2018 (original: *The Cult of the Saints*, Chicago 1981). P. Castillo, *Los mártires hispanorromanos y su culto en la Hispania de la Antigüedad Tardía*, Granada 1999. A. Narro, *El culto a las santas y los santos en la antigüedad tardía y la época bizantina*, Madrid 2019.

[129] Vid. *supra* note 19.

[130] The Latin text is found in CCL 126, 314-320 and the Catalan translation in volume 229 of the 'Bernat Metge' collection (Barcelona, 1984), pp. 104-110.

[131] Agustine, *Sermon* 273 (PL 38, 1247-1252).

[132] G. Caruso, 'Il martirio di Fruttuoso in Agostino e Prudenzio'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 293-308.

[133] M. S. Gros i Pujol, 'San Fructuós en l'Oracional festiu hispànic de Verona'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 519-527.

[134] A. Muñoz Melgar, *Sant Fructuós de Tarragona. Aspectes històrics i arqueològics del seu culte, des de l'Antiguitat fins a l'actualitat*, Barcelona 2022.

[135] Prudentius, *Peri.* VI, 140-141 (CCL 126, 319).

[136] J. Serra Vilaró, *Excavaciones en la necrópolis romanocristiana de Tarragona. Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavacioines y Antigüedades*, 93 (1927), 104 (1929) and 111 (19030); M. D. del Amo, *Estudio crítico de la Necrópolis Paleocristiana de Tarragona*, Tarragona 1979, 1981 and 1989.

[137] J. Curana Prast, 'Confessions religioses i rituals funeraris a la *Tarraco* tardoromana'. In: J. M. Macias Solé, A. Muñoz Melgar (eds.), *Tarraco christiana civitas*, Tarragona 2013, pp. 181-189.

[138] G. Alföldy, *Dir römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin 1975, no. 942.

[139] D. Gorostidi Pi, 'L'epigrafia paleocristiana de *Tarraco*. Característiques generals i estat de la qüestió'. In: J. M. Macias Solé, A. Muñoz Melgar (eds.), *Tarraco christiana civitas*, Tarragona 2013, pp. 43-67.

[140] G. Alföldy, 'Una inscripción funeraria del Bajo Imperio'. In: X. Dupré (coord.), *Miscel·lània arqueològica a Josep M. Recasens*, Tarragona 1992, pp. 13-17.

[141] J. Martí i Aixalà, 'Tarragona i el pas cap a una ciutat cristiana: fonts artístiques i epigràfiques'. In: J. M. Gavaldà Ribot, A. Muñoz Melgar, A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII). Actes del congrés de Tarragona (19-21 de juny de 2008)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 397-405.

[142] M. D. del Amo, 'Basílica de la Necròpoli del riu Francolí'. In: P. de Palol, A. Pladevall (eds.), *Del Romà al Romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*, Barcelona 1999, pp. 173-175. Cf. C. Godoy, *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)*, Barcelona 1995, pp. 187-191.

[143] M. Pérez Martínez, '*Loca Sanctorum Tarraconis*. Els escenaris del culte als sants en la *Tarraco* de l'Antiguitat Tardana (ss. IV al VII)'. In: J. López Vilar (ed.), *4t Congrés Inernacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic. VII Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica (Tarragona, 21-24 de novembre de 2018)*, Tarragona 2019, pp. 49-56.

[144] A. Muñoz Melgar, *Sant Fructuós de Tarragona. Aspectes històrics i arqueològics del seu culte, des de l'Antiguitat fins a l'actualitat*, Barcelona 2022, pp. 142-150.

[145] Vid. *supra* notes 57-59.

[146] J. López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de* Tarraco, 2 vols., Tarragona 2006.

[147] Vid. *supra* notes 70-71.

[148] A. Muñoz, 'La basílica visigótica del anfiteatro de Tarragona: definición, técnicas constructivas y simbología de un templo martirial'. *Quaris* no. 12 (2016), pp. 106-127.

[149] N. M. Amich, *Les terres del nord-est de Catalunya a les fonts escrites d'època tardoantiga (segles IV-VII). Les seus episcopals de Girona i Empúries i el culte de Sant Feliu a Girona a l'antiguitat tardana*, Girona 2006; J. M. Nolla, L. Palahí, *Els orígens de la basílica de Sant Feliu de Girona. Dades documentals i arqueològiques. Estat de la qüestió*, Girona 2011.

[150] N. M. Amich, *Els sarcòfags romans i paleocristians de Sant Feliu de Girona*, Girona 2000.

[151] J. M. Nolla, L. Palahí, 'El cementiri tardoantic del Mercadal de Girona i el culte al màrtir Feliu. Una nova interpretació'. *Pyrenae* no. 45 (2014), pp. 95-116.

[152] *Passio Cucufatis* (Pasionario hispánico, vol. 2, p. 314).

[153] M. Sotomayor, 'La Iglesia en la España romana'. In: R. García Villoslada (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol I: La Iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)*, Madrid 1979, pp. 72-74.

[154] C. Godoy, *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)*, Barcelona 1995, pp. 207-212.

[155] Vid. supra note 34.

[156] J. Sales Carbonell, *Arqueología de les seus episcopals tardoantigues al territori català*, Barcelona 2011, pp. 36-38.

[157] *Passio Fruct.* 7 (Pasionario hispánico, vol. 2, p. 185-186).

[158] A. Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich 1994, pp. 152-154.

[159] A. Chavarría, *El final de las* villae *en Hispania (siglos VI-VII)*, Turnholt 2007; E. Ariño, 'El hábitat rural en la Península Ibérica entre finales del siglo IV y principios del VIII. Un ensayo interpretativo'. *Antiquité Tardive* no. 21 (2013), pp. 93-123.

[160] F. J. Gómez Fernández, 'Paganismo y cristianismo en la Hispania del siglo V'. *Hispania Antiqua* no. 24 (2000), pp. 261-276.

[161] Recall what was said above regarding the Christianisation of aristocrats: see *supra* notes 89-90. Cf. P. de Palol Salellas, 'La cristianización de la aristocracia romana hispánica'. *Pyrenae* no. 13-14 (1977), pp. 281-300.

[162] Vives (1963), p. 5; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 249.

[163] Vives (1963), p. 16; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, pp. 293-294.

[164] Vives (1963), p. 17; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, pp. 294-295.

[165] A. Chavarría Arnau, 'Aristocracias tardoantiguas y cristianización del territorio'. *Revista di Archeologia Cristiana* no. 83 (2007) pp. 201-230 (here, pp. 204-205); R. Villegas Marín, 'Ciudad y territorio, ortodoxia y

disidencia religiosa en el Imperio romano cristiano (siglos IV-V)'. *Gerión* no. 30 (2012), pp. 263-291.

[166] Vives (1963), p. 21; Martínez, Rodríguez (1984) vol. IV, p. 330.

[167] M. Sotomayor, 'Penetración de la Iglesia en los medios rurales de la España tardorromana y visigoda'. *XXVIII Settimana di Studio del centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo. Cristianizzacione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne dell'alto medioevo: Espansione e resistenze*, Spoleto 1982, pp. 639-670; Idem, 'Las relaciones iglesia urbana – iglesia rural en los concilios hispano-romanos y visigodos'. *Sacralidad y Arquelogía* no. 21 (2004), pp. 525-539 (here: pp. 527-528).

[168] P. de Palol, 'Poblat del Bovalar'. In: P. de Palol, A. Pladevall (eds.), *Del Romà al Romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*, Barcelona 1999, pp. 145-146.

[169] C. Godoy, *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias Hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)*, Barcelona 1995, pp. 227-237.

[170] L. Palahí Grimal, J. M. Nolla, Felix Turissa: *La vil·la romana dels Ametllers i el seu fundus (Tossa de Mar, la Selva)*, Tarragona 2010.

[171] Vid. *supra* notes 89-90 and 161.

[172] There is extensive literature on this topic: A. Chavarría, *El final de las villae en Hispania (siglos IV al VIII)*, Turnhout 2007; L. Pietri, 'Les *oratoria in agro proprio* dans la Gaule de l'Antiquité Tardive: un aspect des rapports entre potentes et évêques'. In: C. Delaplace (éd.), *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale (iv^{e}-ix^{e} siècles). Actes du colloque international, (Toulouse, 21-23 mars 2003)*, Paris 2005, pp. 235-242.

[173] H. Schlunk, *Die Mosaikkuppel von Centcelles*, Madrid 1988; T. Hausschild, A. Arbeiter, *La vil·la romana de Centcelles*, Barcelona 1993.

[174] A. Arbeiter, D. Korol (ed.), 'El mosaico de la cúpula de Centcelles y el derrocamiento de Constante por Magnencio'. *Butlletí Arqueològic* no. 10-11 (1990), pp. 193-244.

[175] R. Warland, 'Die Kuppelmosaiken von Centcelles als Bildprogramm spätantiker Privatrepräsentation'. In: J. Arce (ed.), *Centcelles. El monumento tardorromano. Iconografía y arquitectura*, Rome 2002, pp. 31-35; A. Arbeiter, D. Korol (ed.), *Der Kuppelbau von Centcelles. Neue Forschungen zu einem enigmatischen Denkmal von Weltrang*, Madrid-Berlin 2015.

[176] J. Arce, 'Los mosaicos de la cúpula de la villa romana de Centcelles: iconografía de la liturgia episcopal'. *Anas* 11-12 (1999), pp. 155-161; A. Isla Frez, 'La epifanía episcopal en los mosaicos de la *villa* de Centcelles'. In: J. Arce (ed.), *Centcelles. El monument tardorromano. Iconografía y arquitectura*, Rome 2002, pp. 37-50; J. Gómez Pallarés, '*Centumcellae*, la cúpula y su iconografía musiva: indicios para su interpretación desde la filología *wilamowitziano more*'. In: M. Caldelli, G. L. Gregori, S. Orlando (cur.), *Epigrafia 2006. Tai Della XIV Reencontré sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera*, Rome 2008, pp. 1449-1466.

[177] J. A. Remolà, M. Pérez, 'Centcelles y el *praetorium* del *comes Hispaniarum* Asterio en Tarraco'. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* no. 86 (2013), pp. 161-186; M. Pérez Martínez, J. A. Remolà Vallverdú, 'Centcelles. Una relectura de la sala de la cúpula'. In: J. López Vilar (ed.), *4t Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic. VII Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica (Tarragona, 21-24 de novembre de 2018)*, Tarragona 2019, pp. 117-127.

[178] M. Sotomayor, 'La iconografía de Centcelles. Enigmas sin resolver'. *Pyrenae* no. 37 (2006), pp. 143-147.

Biographical note

Albert Viciano i Vives holds a PhD in Theology from the Universidad de Navarra (1984) and a PhD in Classical Philology (1993) from the same university. He has worked in the Faculties of Theology of Bonn (from 1988 to 1989) and Paderborn (from 1997 to 1999), where he received the qualification to teach patrology and ancient Christianity. Since 2014, he has been a professor in the Antoni Gaudí Faculty of History, Archaeology and Christian Arts, and since 2022 he has served as its dean. He specialises in the theology of the Church Fathers and the Christianisation of the Roman Empire.