

Université de Montréal

De episcopis Hispaniarum: agents of continuity in the long fifth century

accompagné

de la prosopographie des évêques ibériques de 400–500 apr. J.-C., tirée de Purificación Ubric Rabaneda, *“La Iglesia y los estados barbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409–507)”*, traduite

par

Fabian D. Zuk

Département d’Histoire

Faculté des Arts et Sciences

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présenté par

Fabian D. Zuk

A été évalué par un jury composé des personnes suivantes :

Philippe Genequand, président-rapporteur

Christian R. Raschle, directeur de recherche

Gordon Blennemann, membre du jury

In loving memory
в пам'ять про бабусю
of
Ruby Zuk

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Résumé / Summary	p. v
A Note on Terminology	p. vi
Acknowledgements	p. vii
List of Figures	p. ix
Frequent Abbreviations	p. x
CHAPTER I : Introduction	p. 1
CHAPTER II : Historical Context	p. 23
CHAPTER III : The Origins of the Bishops	p. 36
CHAPTER IV : Bishops as Spiritual Leaders	p. 51
CHAPTER V : Bishops in the Secular Realm	p. 64
CHAPTER VI : Regional Variation	p. 89
CHAPTER VII : Bishops in the Face of Invasion : Conflict and Contenders	p. 119
CHAPTER VIII : Retention of Romanitas	p. 147
Annexe I: Prosopography of the Iberian bishops 400–500 A.D.	p. 161
Annexe II: Hydatius : An Exceptional Bishop at the End of the Earth	p. 185
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Sources	p. 193
Works Cited	p. 205

Résumé :

En année 408 après J.-C., l'Espagne, malgré sa position péninsulaire à la fin de l'Europe, était intégrée à une culture pan-Méditerranéenne qui s'étendait du Portugal jusqu'à la Syrie. Trois décennies n'étaient pas encore passées depuis l'instauration du Christianisme comme religion de l'état romain et l'Eglise Catholique était en pleine croissance. L'année suivante, l'Espagne entra sur une voie de transformation irréversible alors que les païens, avec leurs langues barbares Germaniques franchirent les Pyrénées portant la guerre et la misère aux Hispano-Romains et fondant leurs royaumes là où auparavant gouvernait l'état romain.

Dans le désarroi du V^e siècle, les évêques Catholiques luttèrent pour imposer leur dominance dans les communautés et dans les cœurs des pieux. À la lumière des progrès dans l'archéologie et la qualité des éditions critiques de nos sources littéraires est venu le moment d'identifier les évêques ibériques avec une attention aux conditions régionales.

Ce mémoire caractérise les évêques de l'Espagne et du Portugal et démontre les épreuves auxquelles ils firent face comme intermédiaires entre indigènes et envahisseurs, comme évangélistes parmi les païens, persécuteurs des apostates et gardiens de la *romanitas* à la fin du monde Antique.

Mots-clefs : Évêques, V^e siècle, Espagne, Antiquité Tardive, Hispania, Accommodement religieux, Chrétienté

Summary:

In Anno Domini 408, Spain, despite its peninsular location at the ends of Europe, was part of a pan-Mediterranean culture which spread from Portugal to Syria. Christianity had been adopted a mere 28 years prior and the Catholic Church was growing across the Roman world. The following year, Spain entered on a course of irreversible transformation as pagan Germanic speaking 'barbarians' crossed the Pyrenees bringing war and strife to the Hispano-Romans and establishing new kingdoms where the Roman state had once governed.

In the turmoil of the fifth century, Catholic bishops laboured to assert their dominance over their communities and over the hearts of their flock. In light of advances in archaeology and quality critical editions of the literary sources, the time has come to identify the traits of the Iberian bishops with attention to regional variation.

This thesis characterises the bishops of Spain and Portugal and demonstrates the challenges they faced as intermediaries between natives and newcomers, as proselytizers of pagans, persecutors of heretics and retainers of *romanitas* at the end of the Antique world.

Keyword: Bishops, Fifth-century, Spain, Late-Antiquity, Hispania, Religious accommodation, Christianity

A note on terminology

Among the principal challenges in the writing of this thesis was the consistency in the names of places and people. For one modern place names do not always map up with the ancient ones, either having phonetically evolved in pronunciation such as VALENTIA > Valencía or being replaced by an entirely distinct name such as the case of ELVIRA > Granada. Other authors may prefer the modern name for clarity. This however comes at the expense of precision, especially in such cases where the ancient city does not necessarily align geographically with the modern: COMPLUTUM to Madrid and ELVIRA to Granada notably come to mind. On this account I've usually preferred the Late Latin name and provided the modern name in parentheses. One should refer to the maps on pages 22 (figure 1) and 88 (figure 5) for further clarification.

Though this investigation roughly covers the breadth of modern Spain and Portugal, I've preferred the term *Hispaniae* to refer to the Roman provinces of the Iberian Peninsula, which itself was named after the Iberian tribes which occupied the region before the arrival of the Romans in the third century B.C. For the purposes of this study *Iberia* is synonymous of Iberian Peninsula. Likewise to diversify the text, *Spanish* is occasionally used to mean the same as *Iberian*, but should be read so to include Portugal and the other non-castillian peoples of the peninsula. If we've favoured the plural *Hispaniae* it is in reference to the regional diversity of the provinces. The singular *Hispania* is occasionally used to lighten the text. Gallia should be understood as meaning Gaul, especially its southern parts, while Italia should be read as Italy. To avoid appearing pedantic, I refer to *Roma* simply as Rome throughout.

Concerning the names of individuals, national traditions have the annoying character of adopting Latin names to their own conventions, whereby a good Roman name such as that of Pope HILARIUS is realised by the English as Hilary, by the French as Hilaire, Hilario by the Spanish, Ilario in Italy, and occasionally as Hilarus by the Germans. The potential for confusion is obvious and I have striven throughout to remain consistent in the use of terminology, therefore privileging the Latin name even when this goes in the face of tradition. To avoid jarring the reader, Isidor of Sevilla, Martin of Tours, and Gregory of Tours have exceptionally been called by their more common English name.

Finally, unless otherwise specified all dates are A.D..

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The turmoiled fifth century, the setting of this memoir has been a serendipitous companion. As the fourth century closed on a note of harmony and integration into the larger plan of the Roman empire, the fifth century brought about rapid and devastating changes which the Hispano-Romans clawed through with grit, faith and perseverance: a total paradigm shift and my life was no different. How could I have known this investigation would be a beacon in rough seas and the wind to propel the creation of a distinct, more virile and rawer existence?

As much ink as I've spilled on these pages, so too has this research marked me: the lines on my forehead, the tired eyes, challenges that nearly overwhelmed me, and the inner confidence acquired by pulling success from apparent defeat. Focus overcame distraction, curiosity overcame fear, and I wouldn't dare list the richness of the adventures I've lived these last two years. From the sickly gutters of Merida's amphitheatre to the heights of Constantinople's walls, my mission took me away from my den to the precipice of understanding.

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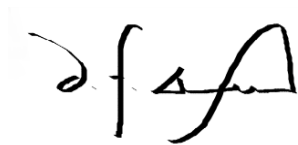
And to my very large family, for your patience with this professional student: thank you. Cody, Angélique, Danielsan, Seb, Brianna, *malgré toutes les aventures, rien ne remplace nos moments ensemble* and neither

time nor distance should fade that. Maman, *je ne connais personne plus forte que toi; tu m'inspires constamment*. Dad, and Viv, I'll never be able to express my gratitude for your guidance and your truly unwavering support through thick and thin. Thank you for stimulating my curiosity as a child, nourishing my strengths as they burgeoned and granting me your blessing on my departure.

The memoire written and the Ph.D underway, I look forward to the challenges and adventures of this next stage of my career. It is my hope that the content of this thesis should act as a solid compilation of societal and ecclesiastical conditions relating to the bishops of the *Hispaniae*, so that in the future we should achieve an even clearer understanding of the great figures who oversaw the transformation of the classical world to the Mediaeval, and that with regards to Hispania, that my own contribution should offer a deeper perspective on the otherwise insufficiently acknowledged circumstances of that region.

Montreal, 2015

D. Fabian Zuk

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. Fabian Zuk'. The signature is stylized and cursive, with a large initial 'D' and 'F'.

LIST OF FIGURES:

FIGURE 1: The Fall of the Western provinces	p. 22
FIGURE 2: Walls of Barcino and Peripheral Cathedral	p. 35
FIGURE 3: Tombs Surrounding the <i>Tumulus</i> of Eulalia	p. 56
FIGURE 4: Pons Romanus - Mérida	p. 73
FIGURE 5: Fifth Century Hispania with Places of Concern	p. 88
FIGURE 6: Reconstruction of Fortified Theodosian <i>Villa</i> as Found at Carranque	p. 103
FIGURE 7: Cruciform Basilica built within the abandoned amphitheatre at Tarraco	p. 149
FIGURE 8: Attested Episcopal Sees in Fifth-Century Hispania	p. 162
FIGURE 9: Principal Urban Centres and <i>Vias</i> in the Iberian North West during the Roman Empire	p. 187

FREQUENT ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Cambridge (1970–2001)
<i>CC</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> , Turnhout: Brepols (1953–)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin: Reimer/Walter de Gruyter (1863–)
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	C. Pharr (trans), <i>The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian constitutions</i> , Princeton, New York (1952).
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
<i>HAE</i>	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i>
<i>ICERV</i>	J. Vives, <i>Inscripciones cristianas de la España Romana y Visigoda</i> , Barcelona (1969)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (ed.) <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin: Weidmann (1892–1916)
Migne, PL	Patrologiae Cursus, series Latina, Paris (1844–)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>PG</i>	J. P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	J. P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	Jones, A. H. M.; J. R. Martindale; and J. Morris (eds.), <i>The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1971–92)
<i>PCBE</i>	“Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire 4- La Gaule chrétienne (314–614)

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This memoir seeks to advance our understanding of the transformation of the bishops' public, political and spiritual role during the fifth century, specifically in what is now modern Spain and Portugal. We also argue that the bishops were an element of continuity between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.¹ While early Christian communities were self-governed and operated independently of neighbouring churches, the adoption of Christianity by Roman emperor Constantine contributed to the enjoinder of these Christian communities into a larger Church hierarchy and legitimised certain cultural transformations which were underway.

There is no surprise that as a rule, Christianity expanded first through the urban *civitates*, i.e. cities, of the empire, and then through the surrounding *territorium*, i.e. territory, and *provincia*, i.e. province, which they had dominated since republican times. The municipalities were governed by an administrative group of *curiales* and by late fourth century most communities had a certain Christian community. At the head of each church was a *presbyter*, i.e. a priest responsible for the spiritual needs of his congregation

Though the New Testament makes no distinction between presbyters and bishops, the expansion of Christianity throughout the Mediterranean gave rise to a hierarchy within the Church. When Christianity was brought to a new region, an episcopal see, also known as a diocese, was founded and held under the authority of the *episcopus* (from Greek ἐπίσκοπος meaning overseer) who on account of his title held spiritual authority over other clergymen.² As the Church grew and especially following Constantine's intentional structuring of the Church at the Council of Nicaea, certain bishops were granted authority not only over their diocese but rather over entire ecclesiastical provinces.³ Ruling from the province's

¹ Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, chap. 2 "The Latin Middle Ages" captures the essence of continuity. Just as he upholds that Latin Language was a powerful aspect of continuity so too does this thesis uphold that Catholic religion and the bishops at its head were a living connection between the antique and mediaeval world.

² In order to unite the Church, the bishops of the fourth century saw the necessity to put aside theological differences. The bishops particularly concerned themselves with the process by which other bishops could be ordained (canons 4-7) of the first Council of Nicaea. Canon 4 states that ideally all the bishops of a province should assemble to ordain a new bishop, though should this be impossible, a minimum of three bishops was required. *Episcoporum convenit maxime quidem ab omnibus qui sunt in provincia episcopis ordinari. Si autem hoc difficile fuerit, aut propter instantem necessitatem aut propter itineris longitudinem: modis omnibus tamen tribus in id ipsum convenientibus et absentibus episcopis pariter decernentibus et per scripta consentientibus tunc ordinario celebretur. Firmitas autem eorum, quæ geruntur per unamquamque.*

³ Sáinz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja, siglos IV - XIII*, 66. The decision to follow the division of ecclesiastical provinces along the same line as the civil diocese was a simple administrative solution which by mirroring the

metropolis, these archbishops were referred to as *Metropolitani* (singular: *metropolitanus*) and they possessed authority over the other bishops of the province, usually on account of their seniority, or the historical or political importance of their *diocese*.⁴

Over the course of Late Antiquity, bishops attained new heights of status, wealth, and influence. In some cases they acted as leaders of walled urban centres, the *civitas*, the backbone upon which Roman provincial administration rested, and they took on increasingly political roles as envoys and diplomats. Other times the bishops were renowned for their moral and virtuous lives which led to their canonisation after death. In all cases the role of the Late Antique bishops underwent important transformations. This process has been well studied and evaluated in Gaul (Gallia) and Italy (Italia) where the bishops came primarily from the ancient senatorial elite, important landholders in the province.⁵

structures present in the secular administration reinforced the territorial jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In this regard the Catholic Church acted as an extension of the imperial administration.

⁴ The ecclesiastical usage of the term *diocese* approximates the meaning to the Roman *civitas* (made up of the *urbs* + *territorium*) rather than the large administrative regions known as diocese which were implemented by Emperor Diocletian in the late third century and roughly correspond to the concept of an ecclesiastical province in the modern Church. Indeed most major urban centres had a bishop in charge of the clergy of that municipality and its surrounding region. The *Metropolitanus* is the bishop of an ecclesiastical province's largest or most important urban centre; he was responsible for organising local synods, i.e. meetings of the bishops within the ecclesiastical province. *Metropolitanus* is in most cases synonymous of archbishop, though this later term is more complicated, as one could become an Archbishop for reasons other than sitting at the head of an episcopal province.

⁵ For this process of transformation in Gallia one should refer to Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul*; the classic Griffé, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine* is also valuable when supplemented by Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth-Century Gaul*; Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*; Harries, "Sidonius Appollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?" Also see Frank Gilliard, "Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century." Due to constraints, this research has touched very little on the episcopal situation in Italia though for comparative purposes one should see the leading expert Lizzi Testa, "The Late Antique Bishop: Image and Reality"; Lizzi Testa, *Le Trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Perugia, 15-16 marzo 2004*; Lizzi Testa, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella città tardoantica: L'Italia Annonaria nel IV-V secolo d.C.*; and Brown and Testa, *Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire: The Breaking of a Dialogue*. Also consult Campione, *La Basilicata Paleocristiana: Diocesi E Culti, Scavi E Ricerche*; Otranto, *Italia meridionale e puglia paleocristiana: saggi storici, Scavi e ricerche*; and Pietri, *Roma christiana: recherches sur L'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Militiade à Sixte III (311-440)* with regards to Rome. On episcopal lists see Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques sépultres, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle*.

Concerning this transformation, F. D. Gilliard suggests that throughout the fourth century, the aristocracy of the Western Empire remained cautious in its standing vis-à-vis the Church because the growing Christian tide could yet be stopped. Under this analysis, the aristocracy did not abandon civil positions to gain authority within the Church. Rather, throughout the fourth century, the bishopric was primarily filled by the class of *curiales*, i.e. the local elite of the provincial towns. Indeed fifth century historian Sozomenus writes that “an ambitious man from a non-aristocratic family would more likely be Christian than one from an old aristocratic family [because] a man without strong family or traditional ties to paganism, had fewer encumbrances should he follow the emperor’s religion.”⁶ Only in the fifth century, once paganism had been outlawed, was Christianity adopted *en masse* by the Roman aristocracy.⁷ Only then does one observe a true increase in the number of bishops with a senatorial background.⁸ With regard to Italy, Claire Sotinel comes to a similar conclusion: that because the parents of the bishops are so often unknown, it is unlikely that the Italian bishops came from among society’s most elite.⁹

Throughout Gallia, bishops asserted authority, especially in the face of barbarian invaders. Both bishops Lupus of Tricassium (Troyes) and Anianus of Aurelianum (Orléans) are noted for defending their cities from the Huns.¹¹ Bishops are also known to have acted as ambassadors of the barbarians as in the case of bishop Orientus of Auch (Aquitania) who in the 430s represented Visigothic king Theoderic I before Roman generals¹² and fifth-century bishop Vivianus of Santonum (Saintes) who successfully applied pressure on the Visigothic king to cancel a tax imposed on the city.¹³ The case of Germanus of Auxerre, another Gallic bishop, clearly demonstrates that the episcopacy rose to amazing heights of prestige in the

⁶ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 98.

⁷ “Christian clergy were recruited from these local elites, and wealthy curial Christians are attested in a variety of third-century sources. Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 96–97 also see Montgomery, “Decurions and Clergy: Some Suggestions,” 93–95.

⁸ See: Gilliard, “Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century”; cf. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul*; Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*. The problem of the bishop’s origins will be tackled in chapter III.

⁹ Sotinel, *Church and Society in Late Antique Italy and Beyond*, chapter 7 and especially pages 14–15; Sotinel, Claire. “Locus orationis ou domus dei? Le témoignage de Zénon de Vérone sur l’évolution des églises”, 141–147; Sotinel, “Les évêques italiens dans la société de l’Antiquité tardive”.

¹¹ Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 8.15

¹² Drinkwater and Elton, *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?*, 90. *Vit. Orient.* 3.5. For the communications between these aristocratic bishops see Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West*, 411–533.

¹³ *Vit. Orient.*, 3; *Vit. Viviani* 4–6. It is notable that before being bishop, Vivianus was previously *comes* of Santonum, thus occupying a political position.

fifth century and that on occasion the bishop replaced Roman civil administration in endeavours as broad as tax collection and military strategy.¹⁴ On account of his rhetorical training the Gallic bishop was an expert orator and his legal knowledge qualified him to act as an arbitrator. In spiritual matters the bishop was the authority *par excellence* and was appealed to for healing, curative medicine, and conflict mediation.¹⁶ Germanus of Auxerre is clearly distinctive. For one, he spent much of his career travelling and was hailed “as a man who had been expected for a long time”.¹⁷ Nancy Gauthier, with regard to the bishops of Gallia writes:

*“les rois et les cours barbares qui les entourent s’agitent, intriguent [et] font la guerre mais ceux qui régulent la vie quotidienne dans tous les domaines, ce sont les évêques. Bien au-delà de leurs pouvoirs en matière religieuses ils jouissent d’une capacité d’intervention pratiquement illimitée [qui] résulte d’un enchevêtrement de pouvoirs institutionnels, d’assise sociale et de charisme personnel...”*¹⁸

This depiction of the Gallic bishop has often been applied to the *episcopi* of other regions in the occidental empire, and this on account of the lack of investigation into the specific situation of the other provinces. Due to the quality of French scholarship and the greater quantity of source material for Gaul, the situation of the Late Antique Gallic bishop is better understood than that of other regions of the Western Empire. The transfer of the ideal type from one region to another has on occasion blinded historians to the historical realities of the specific regions. Fortunately this is changing, with an increased number of studies focusing of regional differentiation; in fact it is now recognised that the strength and renown typical of the Gallic bishop is a regional phenomenon characteristic of Gallia.¹⁹

Regarding the bishops of Hispania, Bowes remarks that they “assume a relatively low profile”, that the “episcopal network was unusually sparse” and that the “few historically attested bishops were often buffeted by local secular powers”.²⁰ As the following chapters will demonstrate, Bowes’ claims are

¹⁴ Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Confessors*, 143. One should also refer to the works of Heinselmann, for the lives of Gallic bishops, notably “Gallische Prosopographie 260-527”.

¹⁶ Const. Lug. *Vit. S. Germ.*, see introduction. Cf. Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours* which advances the valuable consideration that the Vita of Germanus de Auxerre, which was written a whole generation after his death, was hardly reflective of his life and that it was written to present the life of an ideal bishop in the fifth century.

¹⁷ Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Confessors*, 144.

¹⁸ Gauthier, “Le réseau de pouvoirs de l’évêque dans le Gaule du Haute Moyen-Age”, 173.

¹⁹ Ibid. As a related phenomenon, one should see Beaujard, *La culte des saints en Gaule* which captures the proliferation of sainthood among the Aristocracy of fifth century Gallia.

²⁰ Bowes, “Une coterie espagnole pieuse”, 192.

essentially correct: the Spanish episcopacy was relatively weak and disorganised throughout the fifth century, a situation by all evaluations distinct from that of Gallia.

FRAMEWORK AND PURPOSE OF THE MEMOIRE

Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is without doubt among the best known accounts of Roman history; he explains Rome's demise as the result of declining civic virtue and infectious passivity fostered by the burgeoning Christian faith. He writes:

“Christianity had some influence on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The clergy successfully preached the doctrines of patience and pusillanimity; the active virtues of society were discouraged; and the last remains of military spirit were buried in the cloister: a large portion of public and private wealth was consecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion; and the soldiers' pay was lavished on the useless multitudes of both sexes who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. Faith, zeal, curiosity, and more earthly passions of malice and ambition, kindled the flame of theological discord; the Church, and even the state, were distracted by religious factions, whose conflicts were sometimes bloody and always implacable; the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to synods [and] the bishops inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a lawful and orthodox sovereign... If the decline of the Roman Empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.”²¹

Though there were many critiques of Gibbon's work, his lasting contribution was to present the decline of Rome as the fall of civilization, a paradigm that would remain the norm until the American Peter Brown's ground-breaking 1971 monograph *The World of Late Antiquity*. Rather than interpreting the Fall of Roman power as a descent into barbarity, Brown emphasised the positive transformations which occurred during the third to eighth centuries and effectively gave birth to a new field of study: Late Antiquity. For Brown, the 'holy man' was the assimilation of Roman ideals of patronage and Christian ascetics, fueled by a deep religious change taking place in Late Antiquity.²² Since then Brown has narrowed and revised his

²¹ Gibbons, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. 39.

²² Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity."

views²³ and other authors have critiqued his conclusions. Nevertheless, Brown's transformational paradigm has established itself as the leading interpretative frame for the fourth to eighth century.²⁴

Though the acquisition of important and social and political roles by the bishops during Late Antiquity is well established, some historians such as Claudia Rapp suggest that a revision of this claim is necessary, critique Brown for ignoring the diversity of local circumstances.²⁵ Rapp, in her 2005 overview, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, rejects Brown's notion of the bishop as a political and social man and argues instead that on account of their ascetic practices and moral authority, bishops *occasionally* rose to levels of political authority. Rapp's arguments and source material come mostly from the Eastern Empire, but such analyses have drawn other researchers such as Adam Izdebski to reassess the situation in the Western Empire. In his 2012 paper, *Bishops in Late Antique Italy: Social Importance vs. Political Power*, Izdebski evaluates the significance of the social roles played by the bishops in fifth through sixth century Italia and concludes that Italia followed a distinct path from both Gallia and Hispania in that no phenomenon of significant gains in political power can be noted for the Italian bishops until the end of the sixth century.²⁶ Given his conclusions, the push for an analysis of the *episcopi* with greater attention to regional variation is obviously called for. This study effectively takes place within the transformative paradigm, with the objective of clarifying the evolution of the distinct public and spiritual roles of the Iberian bishop especially when confronted with incursions by Germanic tribes and the establishment of their kingdoms on formerly Roman territory in the long fifth century

Hispania was made up of six ecclesiastical provinces, for this reason we often refer to region by the plural *Hispaniae*, i.e. the Spains. Isidor of Sevilla in the 6th century divides *Hispaniae* according to the

²³ He does so for example in Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* where he retracts his view of the holy man as a symbol of Christianity's victory and present him rather as an aspect of continuity between the pagan empire and Christian Late Antiquity.

²⁴ With regards to the transformative view of the episcopacy see: Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien*; Brown *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 89-103; Maymó and Capdevila, *La [episcopalis audientia] durante la dinastía teodosiana*; Rapp, "The Elite Status of Bishops in Late Antiquity"; Liebeschuetz, "Administration and Politics in the Cities of the Fifth to Mid Seventh Century", 137-168; Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*. Also see Loring, Pérez, and Fuentes, *La Hispania Tardorromana y Visigoda : Siglos V-VII*.

²⁵ For critiques of Brown's methods, one should refer to Rapp 2005, 6-15; Izdebski 2012.

²⁶ See Izdebski, "Bishops in Late Antique Italy". Throughout the entirety of the Roman world however, the episcopacy served as a means to increased *honor* which was the primary aim of any office within the imperial administration. See Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in Roman World*. This point will be further discussed in chapter 3 concerning the entry of the aristocracy into the episcopacy.

reorganisation of provinces under Diocletian:²⁷ Baetica, Tarraconensis, Carthagenensis, Galaecia, and Lusitania made up the physical confines of the Iberian Peninsula, while Africa Tingitana was also administratively part of the Diocese of *Hispaniae*. On account of Gothic control in Narbonensis, the southern coast of Gallia was also heavily influenced by trends in Iberia, especially by Tarraconensis. Mauritania Tingitana in contrast, while administratively part of Spain has often been left out of Spanish accounts, notably because North Africa was never reintegrated into Christian Europe, leaving Tingitana to be viewed with an ‘otherness’ about it. It seems that there were significant ties between the Church of Baetica and that of North Africa, but despite this, Tingitania has largely been treated alongside its neighbouring province of Mauritania Caesariensis with its capital at Caesarea, which as of 430 fell under Vandalic domination.²⁸

It is only once this study was well advanced that the intimate relations between *Hispaniae* and neighbouring territories became evident. In having to limit the scope of our investigation, we’ve concentrated on the five provinces composing the Iberian Peninsula as well as the Balears to the exclusion of North Africa and the Narbonensis, which are treated only briefly for comparative purposes; this is in line with the historiographic tradition. Though the ecclesiastical provinces provide a reasonable basis for the study of regional variation in the power of the bishops, it has become apparent that political divisions do not always reflect divisions in cultural trends. As such, we have found it advantageous to present regional variations on the basis of shared cultural phenomena in *Hispaniae*, romanisation, imperial integration, and interaction with the Germanic tribes being primary criteria.²⁹ Regional differences will be elaborated upon in chapter VI.

METHODOLOGY OF THE IDEAL TYPE

To compare the origins, public roles and political influence of the bishops it was critical to assemble all written sources referring to Iberian bishops of the fifth century as well as archaeological data to compile a prosopography of the fifth century bishops. This memoir therefore, includes a prosopography of all Iberian bishops known to us from the fifth century and can be found in annexe 1. Most of the prosopographical material is based on the Ph.D. thesis of Purificación Ubric Rabaneda (Universidad de Granada) who

²⁷ Isid., *Etym* 14.4.29. Hispania “[h]abet provincias sex: Tarraconensem, Cartaginensem, Lusitaniam, Galliciam, Baeticam et transferta in regione Africae Tingitaniam”.

²⁸ See recent literature on the Vandal kingdom, notably Merillis and Miles, *The Vandals*.

²⁹ The distinct development in the regions of Spain is recognised by recent studies. Cf. Ubric Rabaneda, “La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507),” 139. The regional divisions as presented below correspond quite closely to those proposed by Céline Martin in *La géographie du pouvoir dans l’Espagne visigothique*.

compiled a much larger prosopography of all figures relevant to the ecclesiastical history of fifth-century Iberia in *La Iglesia y los estados bárbaros en las Hispanias del siglo V (409-507)*. In the context of this thesis, I have extracted the names and biographies of all *episcopi* from that original Spanish-language prosopography and have translated the text into English adding additional content and making appropriate modifications when necessary.³¹

Starting with the individual careers of the bishops, the prosopography, which compiles details on the individual bishops, has been supplemented with other sources such as law codes, Christian synod acts, inscriptional data, etc. In consequence it has been possible both to mount case studies on the lives of Iberian bishops and to explain the condition of the Church and its bishops in the various provinces of *Hispania*. We have also used all the data available to us to provide conclusions on the prestige of the bishops, on their administrative role in urban spaces, on their authority as arbitrators, and on their role in the preservation of *romanitas* in *Hispania*, especially with regards to Roman law, language, and religious orthodoxy. The prosopography indicates the years in which the bishop served and the year of birth and death when known. Important events in the bishops' lives are recorded when possible, as is the see to which they were appointed. For most of the Iberian bishops however, the prosopography is little more than a name, and thus throughout this research, only the names of those best documented bishops come up in examples and are contrasted against the *ideal* bishop of Late Antiquity.

The *Ideal type* is a mental construct, a compilation of those features expected of a phenomenon. German sociologist, Max Weber, the originator of this process explains the Ideal type as “formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct...”³² More simply, the *Ideal type* is what one expects of the Late Antique bishop. The flaw of the *Ideal type* construct is that it does not accurately represent a majority of its parts. This is of value however as once the *Ideal type* has been established, it becomes possible to compare discrete persons against the crafted *Ideal type*.³³

Claudia Rapp makes a strong case for Moses as the exemplar of an *Ideal* bishop. Among her reasons she claims the progress of his life in three phases appropriate to the *episcopus*: education, contemplation

³¹ Any errors in the translation are entirely of my own fault. I have on occasion included additional entries or information in the translation which I have judged pertinent to the current research.

³² Weber, Max. *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 90.

³³ We should recall that the Ideal type is what we expect; it is the *communis opinio* but is not necessary reality. Weber's method has had great application in the study of religion, especially in the development of protestant denominations. See Weber, “Kirchen Und Sekten.” For an overview of Sociological analyses of religion see Cipriani, *Sociology of Religion*.

and finally ministry. Rapp supports the claim that Late Antique bishops admired the figure of Moses and looked to him as a model of the *Ideal episcopus*. Paulinus of Nola is also an excellent example of this evolution. He was born to a senatorial family, educated at Burdigala (Bordeaux) and held an impressive political career culminating in his position as governor of Campania.³⁴ He withdrew from the political sphere however to dedicate himself to the priesthood and in 394 he was ordained to the priesthood in Barcino. A few years later, after the death of his wife, was made bishop of Nola.³⁵

Paulinus is quite rare, for his capacity to conform to the two distinct subtypes of the *ideal* bishop of Late Antiquity as characterised by recent scholarship³⁶:

1. The bishop as a spiritual authority at the head of the Christian community
2. The bishop as a civil leader of his *civitas*

There is significant overlap between these two ideals. Authors such as Ramón Teja see the bishop as a staunch individual, difficultly categorized because the bishop had adopted traits of many classical personages³⁷: the politician, the holy man, the preacher, the jurist, the philosopher, the guide and ruler.³⁸ Bishops “occupie[d] the middle ground between the two poles of secular and religious leadership”.³⁹ For the purposes of analyzing the distinct facets of the bishop’s role, we have endeavoured to keep these two Ideal Types distinct.

The first model of the *Ideal* bishop is one of a powerful Roman aristocrat who provided “practical leadership, moral guidance, and the dispensation of favours”.⁴⁰ Brown in *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, demonstrated that on account of the immense distance, both social and geographic, between the emperor and his subjects, the bishop was able to fill in as an intermediary authority. At the local level, the bishop was a “controller of crowds” and the atmosphere of peace or tension rested upon his shoulders.⁴¹ These men came to the Church and the episcopacy as a means of ensuring the survival and prosperity of

³⁴ See *PLRE* ‘Paulinus’ for more on his civil career.

³⁵ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 135–136.

³⁶ Van Waarden, *Writing to Survive: A Commentary on Sidonius Apollinaris, Letter Book 7, 1: The Episcopal Letters* 1–11:22.

³⁷ That is to say that the roles of ancient Ideal types were combined under the person of the bishop.

³⁸ Teja, *Emperadores, obispos, monjes y mujeres : Protagonistas del cristianismo antiguo*, 75.

³⁹ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

their lineage. The model is typical of Gallia where episcopal dynasties are attested, with the diocesan see passed between family members.⁴²

At this early time in the Catholic Church, bishops and other clergy members could still marry and maintain families.⁴³ Bishop Ruricus of Limovices (Limoges) had five sons with his wife Hiberia: Ommatius, Eparchius, Constantius, Leontius, and Aurelianus.⁴⁴ The name of each son can be connected with some prestigious figure on either side of the family. Mathisen points out Leontius' potential namesake as bishop Leontius of Arelate (c. 460–490) and that the Leontii family was of premier aristocratic origin in the region surrounding Burdigala (Bordeaux).⁴⁵ In typical aristocratic fashion, the sons were educated by a private *rhetor*⁴⁶ and indulged in *otium*.⁴⁷ Most of the sons went on to have their own children. As per the plan, Ommatius joined the clergy and was made bishop of Tours (524-528) and Ruricius' grandson Ruricius II served as bishop of Limoges from 535-549.⁴⁸ Ruricius' aristocratic position granted him many qualities of immeasurable use as bishop. He was well versed in literary circles and enjoyed a vast network of personal connections based on *amicitia*. Ruricius undertook his episcopal duties to perfection, intervening on behalf of his parishioners, especially the poor, and acting on occasion in a judicial role. He was consulted in the election of other bishops, founded churches, and, of course, performed the liturgical duties of a clergyman.⁴⁹ Though Ruricius was active in his community, “unlike Sidonius, Avitus, or Ennodius, [other Gallic bishops], he was not a statesman”⁵⁰. Still, Ruricius is as an excellent example of the civil leader, undertaking the worldly responsibilities of the *episcopus*. Martin Heinzelmann described the bishop as a father and *patronus* to the Christian community; his prestige the consequence of the *caritas* (charity) which he

⁴² Van Waarden, *Writing to Survive: A Commentary on Sidonius Apollinaris, Letter Book 7*, 1: The Episcopal Letters 1–11:23.

⁴³ See Zuk, “Carnal and Conjugal Love among the Bishops of Late Antiquity” for an overview of clerical sexuality in Late Antiquity.

⁴⁴ See Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends*, 23; *PLRE*, II.

⁴⁵ Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends*, 24. The family's importance in the physical geography is made evident by Apollinaris who describes the family's estate at Burgus as a veritable fortress. Sid. Apol., *Carm.* 22; *PLRE* II, 674–675, cf. LEONTIUS 30, *PLRE* II, 960.

⁴⁶ Rur. Lem. *Ep.* 1.3-4.

⁴⁷ Rur. Lem. *Ep.* 2.24-25. Cf. Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends*, 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 26; *CC*, 148A.110–11, 142–146, 157–161.

⁴⁹ See Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends*, 33–38.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

demonstrated to *paupers et humiliores*.⁵¹ This is the bishop as a leader of the civic community. “The bishop’s role in civic government was something quite new and unclassical.”⁵²

Turning to the second Ideal Type of the Late Antique bishop, that espoused by Rapp (2005), we see a man imbued with spiritual authority. Rapp argues that the key trait of the Late Antique bishop was not his political role, his control of the church’s wealth nor even the performing of liturgy, but rather the bishop’s inner holiness, which was the result of an ascetic life of self-denial and abundant charity towards others. Caring for one’s flock, providing holy love, and ethically administering the Church were means of filling oneself with holiness. Rapp divides the bishop’s authority into three categories: pragmatic, spiritual, and ascetic and argues that the bishop’s authority was foremost based on his personal piety and ascetic lifestyle. This ascetic authority was acquired by personal effort towards self-perfection through denial of the self in favour of the welfare of others.⁵⁴ Heinzelmann also recognises this personal asceticism as integral to the bishop’s authority.⁵⁵ Brown by contrast recognises the bishop’s charitable role at the head of a community “tilted downwards towards poverty”.⁵⁶ Rapp, by positing a tripartite division of authority, confronts Max Weber’s binary separation of charismatic versus institutional authority.⁵⁷ In a way, Rapp cheats by calling ascetic authority “the vital link to the other two”⁵⁸ and indeed the division between institutional and personal authority is not always clear in the acts of the bishops. For Rapp, spiritual authority was granted as grace from the Holy Ghost, ascetic authority on the other hand had to be earned

⁵¹ Heinzelmann, “Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien”, 157, 163. W. Liebeschuetz argues that “the running down of curial government, and its replacement by a much less tangible and less clearly defined form of oligarchy [including] notables ... operating together with counts who represented the king, [permitted] the bishop ... in times of crisis [to prove] himself the real leader of his city. The bishop’s role in civic government was something quite new and unclassical.” Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, 401.

⁵² Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, 401 argues that “the running down of curial government, and its replacement by a much less tangible and less clearly defined form of oligarchy [including] notables ... operating together with counts who represented the king, [permitted] the bishop ... in times of crisis [to prove] himself the real leader of his city. The bishop’s role in civic government was something quite new and unclassical.”

⁵⁴ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 15–17.

⁵⁵ Heinzelmann, “Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien.”, 170.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*, 49 f.

⁵⁷ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 17, 137. On the distinction between Institutional (bürokratisch) and Personal (charismatisch) authority see Breuer, *Bürokratie und Charisma : Zur politischen Soziologie Max Webers* especially chapter 6.

⁵⁸ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 17.

through actions which we will analyse in chapter IV. Let us turn now to our sources regarding the Iberian bishops.

SOURCES

Falling plainly in the so called Dark Ages, written records from the fifth century are poorly preserved and this is especially true of Hispania.⁵⁹ On the whole, the bishops remain discrete and in most cases are only known to us from their signature at the end of a council act. Even then, their episcopal see often remains unknown. This scarcity of sources is largely due to the history of the peninsula itself. When the Muslims conquered Visigothic Spain in 711, those documents which had survived into the early 8th century fell beyond the realm of Christendom and the Carolingian Renaissance and were therefore not recopied into early Mediaeval manuscripts; they were lost to us forever. Furthermore the abandonment of the Northern Meseta and the subsequent Reconquista by northern Christian kings are responsible for the destruction of many archaeological remains from the period. Despite this obstacle and with the hope of being thorough, all possible sources of data are used in our investigation, be they literary, epigraphic, notary, archaeological or otherwise.⁶⁰ We describe these sources below.

Chronicles and Histories

The written record for fifth-century Iberia is weak. Pablo C. Díaz, with regard to the scarcity of evidence in our period writes:

*“We rely heavily on Hydatius, whose knowledge only provides detailed information for the central years of the fifth century and with special reference to Gallaecia and the North of Lusitania...”*⁶¹

Díaz is correct in this evaluation. Hydatius' chronicle is the single most comprehensive source for dating the events of the fifth century in Hispania. In fact Thompson writes that “if there were no chronicle of Hydatius there would be no history of Spain in the fifth century”.⁶² While Thompson's statement may be a slight exaggeration, he is not far from the mark: our other sources provide glimpses into the lives of individual bishops and politicians, but nothing equals the comprehensiveness with which Hydatius treats the events in Spain. He was sound in his history-writing and methods and was attentive to previous

⁵⁹ For a recent and careful history of Western Europe in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages see Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: Illuminating the Dark Ages 400-1000*. Wickam also provides a comprehensive variety of sources from the period.

⁶⁰ See the bibliography for the comprehensive list of sources consulted.

⁶¹ Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity,” 12–13.

⁶² Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 137.

historiography prompting Burgess to describe him as “the best Latin Historian to survive between Ammianus Marcellinus and Gregory of Tours, and probably the best in his genre in all of Late Antiquity”.⁶³ Hydatius is in many regards a pioneer of the chronicle genre in the western Latin empire and he may have been exposed to the genre on his journey to the Orient as a child. The nature of the chronicle, also known as *annales*, is a chronological list of events, making Hydatius’ work invaluable to the modern historian.⁶⁴

Hydatius wrote his chronicle near the end of his life; its purpose was to situate Late Antique Hispania in the chronology of events that could be traced from the creation of the world as told in the *Book of Genesis* to the end times and the coming of Christ. In the preface, Hydatius acknowledges that his chronicle is intended to continue the work begun by bishop Eusebius of Caesarea to write a universal Church history in his *chronici canones*.⁶⁵ Overall, the Chronicle presents fifth century Hispania as a land fallen into darkness. His pessimism may have been provoked by the barbarian invasions.⁶⁶ Despite the biased tone, the Chronicle is our best source for the reconstruction of fifth century events in Iberia up until 468, its last year.

Hydatius’ is not the only chronicle to survive. The *Chronicorum Caesaraugustanum reliquae* or *Chronica Caesaraugustana*, another of our literary sources, was written at the beginning of the sixth century and as the current scholarly title suggests, only fragments of the chronicle remain. The chronicle relates the arrival and establishment of the Goths in the Iberian Peninsula. Officially the chronicle’s author is unknown,

⁶³ Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 6–10.

⁶⁴ For the most recent understanding of the Chronicle tradition see Kulikowski and Burgess, *Mosaics of Time*. For the origins of the term chronicle and concerns of nomenclature, especially see pages 271-273. The *chronicon* is complicated by the use of five distinct chronological systems and scribal errors in its transmission. Fortunately critical editions have done the hard work of collating the different manuscripts to produce what is believed to be the most accurate version of the *Chronicon*. The standard reference version which includes facing original Latin and English translation is that of Burgess, R. W. (ed. and trans.) *The Chronicles of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993 and it is to this version which we refer throughout the document both for the Latin and English translation. Burgess himself relies almost entirely on codex B for his reconstruction. For the *stemma codicum* see Ibid. 14. Until recently Theodor Mommsen’s *Chronica minora saec. IV.V.VI.VII.*, volume 2 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, volume 11. Weidemann: Berlin, 1894 was the standard edition. Its chapter numbering differs however from the newer Burgess edition thus we have provided Mommsen’s numbering in square brackets after the Burgess citation to allow readers to consult either edition.

⁶⁵ For the context in which Hydatius wrote the *Chronicon* see Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 1–10.

⁶⁶ Note the similarly pessimistic tone in early fifth-century Gallia where Orientius writes: “All things looked to the aging end ... all Gaul smoked as one funeral pyre”. Orient., *Comm.* 2.161-184.

though some attribute its writing to Maximus⁶⁷ bishop of Caesaraugusta (Saragossa), as it depicts Caesaraugusta as the most important city of Hispania Tarraconensis in the fifth century and describes the city's political and military capitulation to the Goths. Furthermore the document gives hints of the *romanitas* of Tarraconensis by reference to its circus and theatre in the fifth century.⁶⁸

Other minor texts, such as the anonymous Mediaeval *Chronicon Lusitanum* found in Florez, *España Sagrada*, volume 14, confirm events such as the arrival of the Goths, but in light of Hydatius' work provide little of value. The complete absence of material covering the fifth to seventh centuries is perhaps its greatest contribution, attesting to the lack of source material for our period.⁶⁹ Finally, Isidor of Sevilla's (Isidorus Hispalensis)⁷⁰ *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum* also concerns us. Isidor covers the early History of *Hispania* and bases his account of the fifth century off of Orosius, Hydatius, Prosperus Tiro Aquitanus and Victor Tunnunensis. His work is thus a good synthesis of other authors and though his account of the sixth century is more complete than that of the fifth, the document allows for comparative work.⁷¹

Epistolography

Another major source of information regarding the fifth century bishops comes in the form of written letters, a literary genre in itself. In a curious irony, save the works of Isidor of Sevilla, no *epistolae* survive from Roman Baetica for our period of study, and this despite being the most romanised of the Iberian provinces. Its conquest by the Moors destroyed much of its Roman heritage. A variety of letters exchanged between bishops and other clergymen provide a view into the intimate spiritual thinking of the involved individuals. In general, these letters are correspondences between the bishops often between a Hispanic bishop and one of either Carthage or Rome. They deal with spiritual orthodoxy, testifying to a

⁶⁷ Maximus was bishop of Cæsar Augusta from 592-619, a *vir illustris* and the author of many prose and verse compositions. The last chapter of Isidore of Sevilla's *De viris illustribus* is dedicated to Maximus.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Caes.*

⁶⁹ The text is available in original Latin in Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*, 14.

⁷⁰ On account of the multilingual sources consulted throughout this research as well as to tackle a lack of standardisation, I have chosen to employ almost exclusively the Latin names of the bishops and other *personae* encountered throughout this research. This also applies to the names of locations which I have endeavoured to provide either in Classical Latin or in the Latin of the fifth century.

⁷¹ The standard critical edition is still *Historia (de regibus) Gothorum, Vandalorum, Suevorum*. In: Theodor Mommsen (Hrsg.): *Auctores antiquissimi 11: Chronica minora sæc. IV. V. VI. VII. (II)*. Berlin 1894, S. 241–390. A quality Spanish translation and critical edition is Rodríguez Alonso, *Las historias de los Godos, Vándalos y Suevos de san Isidoro de Sevilla*.

desire among the Iberian bishops to partake in a spirituality conforming to that found elsewhere in the Empire. Augustinus (*epistolae* 190, 202A, 237⁷², etc.) and Pope Leo Magnus (*epistola* 15) are among the more significant of these letters while a so titled *epistola 11** sent to Augustinus by a theologian Consentius describes in intimate details the efforts of an Iberian monk, Fronto, to uncover and try a heretical plot in Tarraconensis.⁷⁴

Among the papal letters, one from Leo Magnus addressed to bishop Toribius of Asturica deals with the heresy of Priscillianism in the region and attests to the administrative difficulties imposed by the invasion of Hispania by Germanic tribes.⁷⁵ The letter exhorts Toribius to raise a council of Iberian bishops to deal with the problem of heresy. We also have a letter from Toribius to his colleagues Hydatius and Caepionius, indicating that establishing orthodoxy was a major concern for the region in the fifth century.⁷⁶ Also among our *epistulae* we count two from the bishops of Tarraconensis to Pope Hilarius and one from Innocentius to the synod of Toletum written in 404.⁷⁷ Another priceless letter is that of Severus, bishop of Minorca. The *Epistola Severi episcopi de conversione Iudeorum apud Minoricam insulam meritis sancti Stephani facta* treats the bishop's handling of the Jewish population in the Balearic isles. Under his supervision the Jews of Magona, Minorica's capital, were persecuted. The letter testifies to efforts, already in the fifth century, to establish a Catholic orthodox Hispania.⁷⁸ It is also one of our rare sources concerning

⁷² A response to bishop Ceretius in which he discusses the Priscillianist nature of two *codices*.

⁷⁴ In 1979 Johannes Divjak discovered a hitherto unknown series of letters to and from Augustinus Hipponensis which he labelled from 1*-28*, the asterisk serving to differentiate this new collection from the main body of Augustinian letters previously known. The letters were first published in Divjak, "Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera: Epistulae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae."

⁷⁵ See: Tur. Ast. *Ep.* The letters are also available in an English translation in "Leo the Great, Gregory the Great. A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Series 2, v. 12. Ed. T&T Clark. WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1894 and in original Latin in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 54.693–695.

⁷⁶ We refer to the forthcoming critical edition of Dr. José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, who kindly shared the manuscript for his fourthcoming publication Iranzo Abellán; Martín-Iglesias, "Toribio de Astorga, *Epistula ad Idatium et Ceponium* (CPL 564): Edición crítica" in *Sacris Erudiri* 54 (2015). Mi agradecimiento más sincero.

⁷⁷ These are the *Epistulae episcoporum Tarraconensium ad Hilarum papam* (CPL 16620, *Epistulae* 13-14). I would like to thank my supervisor at the Universidad de Salamanca, Professor Pablo C. Díaz, for bringing these letters to my attention.

⁷⁸ An English translation can be consulted in *Severus of Minorca: Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*. Edited by Scott Bradbury; Henry Chadwick. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996. This letter is a very important source because it testifies to the bishop's use of personal prestige and authority to incite the population into action against the island's Jewish population.

the Belearic isles. In general however, fewer *epistolae* are preserved from Hispania than in other parts of the empire.⁷⁹

Council Rulings and Law codes

Though distinct in their origins, both civil law codes and canon law from episcopal councils have in common an effort to legislate proper behaviour with consequences for those who would transgress the established custom. The laws found in these documents generally tackle issues which were relevant at the time of their passing. With regard to ecclesiastical councils, the objectives set out include resolving problems of religious orthodoxy, discipline within the Church and in the sixth and seventh century questions regarding the liturgy itself.⁸⁰ These documents are abundant from the sixth century onward when ecclesiastical councils were renewed after a halt throughout the entirety of the fifth century. They attest to the bishop's continued energy to expunge heterodoxy from Hispania. These ecclesiastical councils allow us to trace the theological evolution of the episcopate on the Iberian Peninsula and provide us with information regarding the organisation of the Church in Late Antiquity.

The other type of legislation that interests us is that found in the Law codes both of the Roman emperors and of the Germanic kings, namely the laws of the Visigoths. Though the *concilia* canons provide insight into the theological situation in Hispania, the law codes served to outline the limits of the bishops' civic and judicial authority in the fifth century. Like the ecclesiastic canons, the law codes treated actual situations which confronted the civic authorities. For example, one law by Honorius addresses the very real continuation of pagan worship in the ancient temples during the first decade of the fifth century and forbids the continuation of such practices stating that "if any [pagan] images still stand in the temples ... they shall be torn from their foundations".⁸¹

⁷⁹ Asturica is referred to by Pliny the Elder as *Urbs magnifica* and was among the first three bishoprics to be established in Hispania. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.28. Certain historians see Asturica as having been Christianised rather early by noting the presence of a bishopric as early as the third century. The *civitas* is connected to Emerita by the *Via Platea*. Sometime between 453 and 466 Asturica was sacked by the Goths of Theodoric II. Turibius, bishop of Asturica documented the conversion of the Suevish king Remismundus to Arianism. Turibius also travelled to Rome and returned with a fragment of the True Cross.

⁸⁰ For the texts of the Iberian ecclesiastical councils we continue to consult the Latin and Spanish texts in Vives, Marín, and Martínez Díaz, *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*. For the most recent and authoritative interpretation of the Iberian ecclesiastical councils see C. Díaz Martínez, "Concilios y obispos en la península Ibérica (Siglos VI-VIII)." For the *Concilium Iliberris* see Fernández Ubiña and Sotomayor, "El concilio de Elvira y su tiempo."

⁸¹ *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.19 *Imppp. Arcadius, Honorius et Theodosius aaa. Curtio praefecto praetorio.*

Post alia: templorum detrahantur annonae et rem annonariam iuvent expensis devotissimorum militum profuturae.

1. Simulacra, si qua etiamnunc in templis fanisque consistunt et quae alicubi ritum vel acceperunt vel accipiunt

The law codes of Late Antiquity can be divided into two distinct types:

1. Those of the central Roman administration based in Rome and later in Ravenna and Arles.
2. Those of the Germanic kings who established their kingdoms over the Western Empire.

Both types of law codes are valuable to aid in situating the legal standing of the bishops in the fifth century. Furthermore, these law codes allow one to identify the transformation in the bishops' legal standing between the Late Empire and the subsequent period of Germanic rule. Presumably, both types of codes coexisted and applied on a regional basis depending on the nature of the authorities in those regions. Here follow a number of the most valuable law codes with regards to research concerning the fifth century.

The most important of these Late Antique law codes was that of Emperor Theodosius II, the *Codex Theodosianus*. In March 429, Theodosius and his co-Augustus in the west, Valentinian III set out to compile imperial legislations since the reign of Constantine; it took a decade to finalise. The law code was intended to curb the decline of legal knowledge in his Eastern Empire, and we can presume that the same trouble afflicted the West. While the vast majority of laws within discuss administrative issues of the empire, no less than sixty-five decrees compiled in the codex are directed against heresy.⁸² Not only the bishops, but the emperors too, were concerned with the imposition of Christian orthodoxy over imperial territory. In the first half of the fifth century eastern emperor Theodosius II struggled to enforce Christian virtue. His *Codex Theodosianus* protected and promoted the Christian faith by outlawing paganism and other sects all while upholding canon law.⁸³ Because the code treats political, cultural, economic, and religious concerns of the fourth and fifth centuries, it is particularly valuable as a tool in understanding the legal limits of the bishop, allowing us to contrast the ideal type of the Iberian bishop with the model proposed for the entirety of the Empire.⁸⁴

paganorum, suis sedibus evellantur, cum hoc repetita sciamus saepius sanctione decretum. 2. Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus vel oppidis vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur. Arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usum adcommodos transferantur; domini destruere cogantur. 3. Non liceat omnino in honorem sacrilegi ritus funestioribus locis exercere convivia vel quicquam sollemnitatis agitare. Episcopis quoque locorum haec ipsa prohibendi ecclesiasticae manus tribuimus facultatem; iudices autem viginti librarum auri poena constringimus et pari forma officia eorum, si haec eorum fuerint dissimulatione neglecta. Dat. XVII kal. dec. Romae Basso et Philippo cons. (408 [407] nov. 15).

⁸² Mango, "New Religion, Old Culture", 105.

⁸³ We reference the *Codex Theodosianus* and its various *novellae* as found in Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*.

⁸⁴ Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*; Sirks, *The Theodosian Code*.

The *Codex Iustinianus*, is a part of Justinian's larger law code, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. The codex was completed in 529 and contained an assembly of laws dating back to the reign of Emperor Hadrian. The law code contains provisions to assure the status of Christianity, which by the sixth century was an indicator of Roman citizenship. With the publishing of this law code, Romania, in its largest sense referring to the entire romanised world, can henceforth be viewed as Christendom. The law code contains clauses concerning heresy, paganism and episcopal intervention allowing for a contrast of ecclesiastical law in the Byzantine east in contrast to Hispania under the domination of the Goths. Though posterior to our period of research, the *Codex Iustinianus* is valuable for informing us of changing imperial policy in the years following the 439 publication of the *codex Theodesianus*⁸⁵

The second type of legislation we must consider is that of the Germanic kings who came to occupy Hispania. Roman symbolism was still strong in the fifth century and the Germanic kings adopted it to demonstrate the legitimacy of their authority. The *Codex Euricianus* is a law code compiled before 480 presumably by the Visigothic king Euric (Gothic: *Aiwareiks*) the first Gothic king to declare complete independence from Rome. In 475 the citizens of Hispania pledged their allegiance to him when he invaded Gallia pushing bishop Sidonius Apollinarius to confront him and sue for peace. Euric's law code is the first formally codified law code of Germanic Europe. The Code was compiled by a Roman lawyer named Leo who was also a councilor to the king.⁸⁶

The *Breviarium Alaricianum* (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*). One section of the *Breviarium*, the *Novellae Maioriani*, is made up of twelve laws that were part of Maiorian's policy and provide a glimpse of the last moments of a truly Roman Hispania. The law code, drawn from Roman law statutes, was compiled by order of the Visigothic king Alaric II (484-507) with the advice of his bishops and nobles⁸⁷ and was intended to apply to his Roman subjects.⁸⁸ The *breviarium* was completed in 506 and submitted to a council of nobles and bishops at Aduris in modern Gascony. A certified copy was given to each *comes* along with a letter prohibiting the use of any other legal code.⁸⁹ One can imagine that the continuation of

⁸⁵ For a recent take of Justinian's reign see Maas, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*.

⁸⁶ The fragments of this law code are preserved at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* on a palimpsest whose content has been copied into Alvaro d'Ors' "El Código de Eurico". *Estudios visigóticos*, volume 2. Madrid, 1960.⁸⁶

⁸⁷ *Brev. Alar.*

⁸⁸ For the development of the *Breviarium Alaricianum* see: Nemo-Pekelman, Capucine. *How did the prudentes work on the Breviarium Alaricianum? The example of the laws on Jews*.

⁸⁹ "Commonitorium" in *Breviarium Alaricianum*: "ut in foro tuo nulla alia lex neque iuris formula proferri vel recipi præsatur"

Roman law established a sense of continuity with Roman tradition in the Visigothic kingdoms.⁹⁰ Scholars agree that the law code was produced at the 506 council of Agde as a simplification of the *codex Theodosianus* tailored to the conditions of the Kingdom of Tolosa. Its key quality is the declaration of peace between the Arian Gothic nobility and the Catholic Roman subjects.⁹¹

Finally, the *Lex Visigothorum* is a law code from the seventh century which was put in place by the Visigothic king of Hispania, Chindasuinth in 642. This law code is the first in the Visigothic kingdom to abolish the legal distinction between *romani* and *gothi* and rather refers to all the king's subjects as *hispani*. The laws draw heavily on Church canon law which attests to the strength of the Church in the seventh century. Book V on Ecclesiastical affairs concerns us particularly as does book XII regarding religious orthodoxy and legal matters.⁹² This text is critical in understanding the relationship between the clergy and the civil administration in sixth and seventh century Hispania. Naturally, those traits that distinguish the sixth century from the fourth may find their origins in the fifth. Therefore the sixth century laws act as an excellent starting point in drawing out the distinct traits of the fifth century clergy. The law codes interest us because they demonstrate the relationship between rulers and the ruled, between the powerful and the weak, and the nature of law and order.

As we've demonstrated, the written material touching upon fifth century Hispania though not voluminous is broad in the types of literature involved. In studying Late Antique Hispania we can lament the lack of ampleness in our sources; indeed scholars of the Gallic fifth-century or even of later centuries in Hispania are graced with a greater abundance of material. Despite the scarcity of written sources, we should be thankful that our period is not as dark as other parts of the empire such as Britannia or Romania. Indeed in these undocumented areas the only means of crafting a narrative is through the physical vestiges of the Late Antique world, to which we now turn.

⁹⁰ The bilingual Latin/German version of the Breviarium by Max Conrat Cohn, the Breviarium Alaricianum: Römisches Recht im Fränkischen Reich. J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig, 1903.

⁹¹ Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom*, 76.

⁹² The Latin text as found in Zeumer, Karl. *Leges Visigothorum*. Hannover, 1902, can be found on the website of the Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. An English translation as found in Scott, S.P. *The Visigothic Code*. Boston Book Company: Boston, 1910.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Our understanding of the physical remains of Roman Spain have grown in leaps and bounds in the past fifteen years⁹³, though Kulikowski bemoans that the great quantity of archaeological work being performed in Spain remains “scattered, and much of it does not circulate widely outside Spain and Portugal.”⁹⁴ Numerous volumes on the archaeology of Late Antique Hispania have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis. The bibliography is the greatest testament to this.⁹⁵ I have endeavoured over the last year, in the preparation of this thesis, to personally visit the major archaeological sites that concerned the episcopacy of fifth century Hispania to document the scenarios presented in museums and information pamphlets and to ultimately situate the archaeological material within a broader network of sites that make up Roman Hispania. I’ve often integrated the fruit of this reflection throughout the thesis, especially when other forms of evidence are absent. Among the major archaeological sites that were documented in the preparation of this thesis are: the *Basílica de Santa Eulalia* in Mérida, the Baptistery and Episcopal Palace in Barcelona, the *Parque Arqueológico de Carranque*, and the *Museo Nacional de Arqueología* as well as the proposed sites of various Late Antique *Basilicae* throughout Spain. It is our hope that where the written record fails the physical remains of the fifth century will provide sufficient clues in our interpretation. From the Spanish perspective, Díaz writes:

“... archaeology, essential for overcoming the depletion of interpretations based on the written documentation, still cannot provide us with sequences nor with regional studies to allow for comparisons between diverse areas... [and] the question arises as to whether archaeological prospecting will be able to provide us in the long term with anything more than topographical information ... which can be contrasted with the literary material.”⁹⁶

The archaeological is valuable in balancing the written sources, which on account of their Christian filter depict fifth and even fourth-century Hispania as thoroughly Christian. The archaeology by contrast demonstrates that in the fourth and early fifth centuries, the *civitates* of Hispania continued to operate along

⁹³ So underdeveloped was Iberian archaeological studies just twenty years ago that still in 1996 one could write that “little is known about the advent and broader impact of the church as a focus for a new form of urban spirit”. Keay, “Tarraco in Late Antiquity,” 19.

⁹⁴ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, xvii. This lack of circulation was, beside the general limitations on the sources, the single greatest obstacle to my research and prompted two visits to the libraries of Spain, in Granada and Salamanca respectively.

⁹⁵ For a recent overview of archaeological works in Roman Baetica, see Sánchez Ramos, “Perspectivas Para El Estudio Del Territorio Episcopal En La Península Ibérica En La Antigüedad Tardía.”

⁹⁶ Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity,” 12–13.

the late imperial model with the church remaining peripheral to the urban communities.⁹⁷ This realisation that the Christianisation occurred only in the later part of the fifth century⁹⁸ has affected our analysis throughout this investigation and is especially prominent in chapter VI, which discusses regional differences between the provinces. Let us now turn to the historical context of our study.

⁹⁷ This is essentially the thesis of Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*.

⁹⁸ For the most up to date survey of archaeology in the Late Antique occident see Cleary, *The Roman West, AD 200-500* especially chapter 3 “Reshaping the cities” which concurs with Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, chapter 3 “Change in the Spanish City” that the major transformation in the cities of Hispania occurred in the mid to late fifth century in most cases.

The Fall of the Western Provinces

- (1) 408 the Briton Constantine makes his capital at Arelate
- (2) 415 Gothic count Ataulf hold court at Barcino
- (3) 426 Aëtius lifts Gothic Siege of Arelate
- (4) 428 Vandals capture Hispaliis and massacre Christian population
- (5) 443 Magister Militum Merobaudes puts down Bagaudes in Hispania
- (6) 445 Emperor Majorian halts Frankish incursions
- (7) 450 Violence explodes between Sueves and Gallaecians
- (8) 451 Together, Aëtius and Gothic king Theodoric I defeat Attila the Hun
- (9) 486 Frankish King Clovis defeats Syagrius, King of the Romans, in Northern Gallia
- (10) 507 Franks assert their dominance by defeating Gothic King Alaric II on the campus Vuladensis

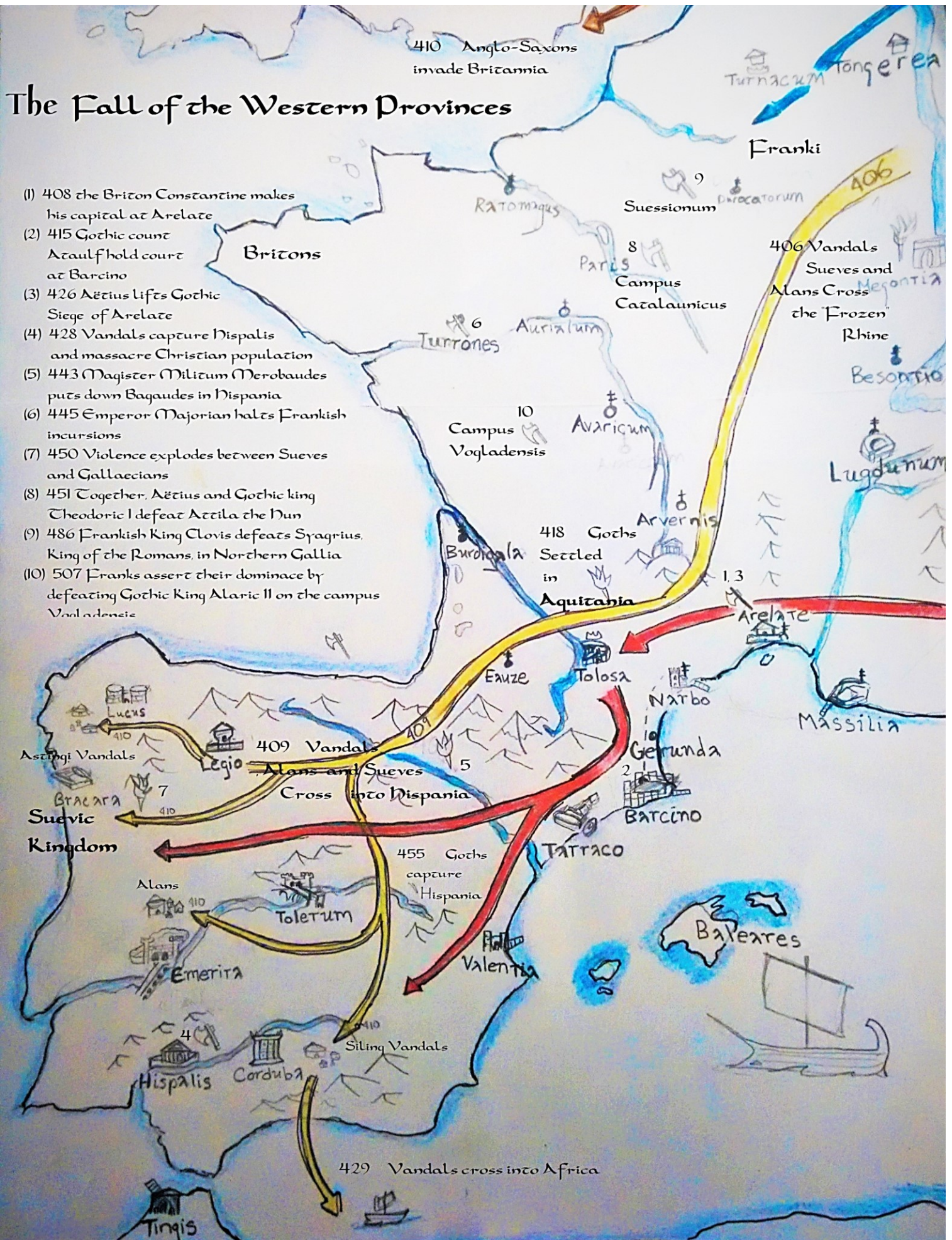


Figure 1: The Fall of the Western Provinces (Map by the author)

CHAPTER II : HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Spain of the sixth century could not be more different than that of the fourth.⁹⁹ Recent works based increasingly on new archaeological data attest to a vibrant and thriving Roman culture in Hispania, which at the end of the fourth century was an ideally operating Roman province, seemingly unaffected by barbarian threat or the menace of political instability.¹⁰⁰ In the fourth century, the church was still marginal to the proper functioning of the city as testified to by their peripheral location.¹⁰¹ Since the *Crisis of the Third Century*, civil wars had plagued Roman politics, and had weakened the Roman *limes*, allowing occasional barbarian incursions and pushing the Iberians, like citizens of other provinces, to erect strong defensive walls around the *civitates*. Diocletian's ascension to the throne in 284 debuted a new period of

⁹⁹ Non-Church specific histories of Late-Antique Hispania are more abundant. In the Spanish-language literature Arce, *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania: 400-507 A.D.* is the most significant. Until recently, little scholarship has existed on the peculiarities of Late Antique Hispania in English. See Thompson, "The Barbarian Kingdoms in Gaul and Spain"; Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* and Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409-711* are notable exceptions, but concentrate more on the Germanic kingdom of the Goths than on the final years of Roman Hispania. Kim Bowes' and Michael Kulikowski's "*Hispania in Late Antiquity*" and Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* are recent improvements bringing much of the excellent research being done in Spain to the international audience. The situation is somewhat better in the Francophone literature where Céline Martin has dealt with the Late Antique kingdom of the Visigoths for over a decade and a half. Her 2003 monograph *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne Visigothique* presents a valuable updated political history of the Hispanias in Late Antiquity. In part on account of these excellent publications, there is real interest in Hispania of the fifth century.

¹⁰⁰ For archaeological and topographical research, recent titles of the last four years include Fernández, "City and Countryside in Late Antique Iberia"; Diaz-Andreu and Keay, *The Archaeology of Iberia*; Martínez Ferreras et al., "From Hispania Tarraconensis (NE Spain) to Gallia Narbonensis (S France). Other titles include Verónica Martínez Ferreras et al. "New Data on Pascual I Amphora Trade in the Augustan Period"; Mas Florit and Cau, "Christians, Peasants and Shepherds"; Ariño, "el hábitat rural en la Península Ibérica entre finales del siglo IV y principios del VIII: un ensayo interpretivo"; Taelman et al., "Roman Marble from Lusitania"; Reynolds, "Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean AD 100-700. Ceramics and Trade"; Osland, "Documenting Change in Late Antique Emerita through the Ceramic Evidence"; Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania"; Excalona and Reynolds, "Tributa and Historia: Scale and Power at a Turning Point in Post-Roman Spain"; Gurt I Esparraguera and Ramos, "Episcopal Groups in Hispania"; Murillo-Barroso, "Minería y Metalurgia Romana en el Sur de la Península Ibérica. Sierra Morena Oriental."

¹⁰¹ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 215.

political stability throughout the Empire. In Hispania, stability was returned by the removal of Frankish pirates and campaigns against the Moorish tribes in Africa Tingitana, which was henceforth joined to the *diocesis Hispaniarum*. On the vast plains of Lusitania, Emerita Augusta became the new political centre of the Iberian Peninsula, which lay securely within the realm of *Romania*.¹⁰²

When Constantine became emperor in 306, no noticeable perturbation is detectable in Hispania and the appointment of Ossius of Córdoba to the imperial court testifies to Hispania's participation in an Empire whose centre was increasingly oriental. Inscriptional evidence shows that Hispania was now a diocesis supervised by an *agens vices praefectorum praetorio per Hispanias* and this same *agens*, a member of the *ordo equester* (knightly order), named Quintus Aeclanius Hermias was also *iudex sacrarum cognitionum*, an imperial judge in the court of appeal.¹⁰³ Hispania experienced a period of quiet until the winter of 360 when the Caesar Julian was declared Augustus by his soldiers in Lutetia (Paris). The legitimate Emperor, Constantius II hurriedly fortified Spain to control the expansion of the usurper and to assure the security of Rome's African provinces and the grain supply.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, in 361 Constantius II fell ill and died, leaving Julian as the sole Emperor. Julian's policies would have great consequence on Hispania. For one, he sought to reduce the imperial bureaucracy as a means of fighting corruption and of cutting costs. This in turn led to an increase in responsibilities attributed to the *civitates* and the local *decuriones*. Imperial land was returned to the cities and *curiales* were compelled to return to civic duty.¹⁰⁵

According to Peter Brown, Julian's intent was to remove powerful Christians from the governing class of the Empire.¹⁰⁶ For a time the bishops were stripped of civil powers they had gained under Constantine such as the right to act as arbiters. Furthermore, Julian restored pagan temples which had been appropriated by wealthy citizens or confiscated by Christian churches and in February 362 Julian released an edict declaring religious freedom throughout the Empire. Emperor Julian's opposition to Christianity is best captured in the polemic *Contra Iulianum* of Cyril the Patriarch of Alexandria, which the bishop wrote as a direct response to Julian's *Contra Galileos*, an essay outlining Julian's vision of the mistakes and dangers of Christianity.¹⁰⁷ Julian, however, was the last pagan emperor and after his death, future emperors

¹⁰² See the *Laterculus Veronensis* (Seeck 1876) for additional details on this reorganisation.

¹⁰³ Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 25; *CIL*, II, n. 2203.

¹⁰⁴ Amm. Marc. 21.7.1-6*obiecta litora tuebatur artissime*.

¹⁰⁵ On this aspect of his reign see Pack, *Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians* and more recent work in *Antiquité Tardive*, 17, *L'empereur Julien et Son Temps*.

¹⁰⁶ Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 93. Also see Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 25; *CIL* II, 2203.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *Julian's Gods*. For a reedition of the surviving text of Julian see Wright, *Against the Galileans*.

were all Christian and promoted Christian policy. Thus from the second half of the fourth century, paganism would never again supplant Christianity as the religion of prestige.

In 378, Theodosius I (reigned 378–395), a Spanish aristocrat from a family of long service in the imperial bureaucracy, ascended to the Purple and to the inhabitants of Hispania, a new age of stability must have been predicted.¹⁰⁸ In 395 the boy Honorius, son of Theodosius inherited the west from his father and the fourth century drew to a close with stable imperial government. Whereas the East was shaken by a Gothic victory over the Romans at the 378 Battle of Adrianopolis; Italy was involved in civil war; and Gallia was under attack by Franks and Saxons; Baetica meanwhile was firmly in Roman hands without a barbarian in sight. At the end of the fourth century, the Iberians likely felt that Rome had once again found stability and there must have been optimism in the air. The Iberian south was prospering. Four major cities, Emerita, Hispalis, Corduba and Astigi were solidly Roman and in the fourth century, the lowlands between these cities were densely farmed,¹⁰⁹ which testifies to the wealth of its ruling class and the health of the lower classes.

Prosperity is also attested in villas with ornate mosaics, and cemeteries and private tombs are also attested. Public infrastructure remained the responsibility of municipal imperial officials in this period; however, in contrast to classical times private investment in monumental infrastructure had lessened save in religious fields.¹¹⁰ Iberian aristocrats continued to govern in the cities and others held position at the imperial court.¹¹¹ With regard to Spain, Edward Gibbon wrote:

*“... in the fourth century of the Christian era, the cities of Emerita [], Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantage of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade.”*¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ See Arce, “La Hispania de Teodosio: 379-395 AD” for a discussion of the degree of Orthodoxy in Hispania. Though born in Hispania, Theodosius’ Hispanicity is also put into question.

¹⁰⁹ Carr, *Vandals to Visigoths*, 82.

¹¹⁰ Rodà, “Hispania”, 219.

¹¹¹ The Hispano-Roman Prudentius writes, “twice I governed noble cities, rendering good justice to men” and “his Grace the Emperor advanced me in his service and raised me up, attaching me closer to him and bidding me stand closer to him and bidding me stand in the nearest rank”. Prud., *Praef.*

¹¹² Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3: 31.6. makes an allusion to a famous poem by Ausonius that gives us a catalogue of the most famous towns in the Western Empire.

THE FOURTH CENTURY CHRISTIANISATION OF HISPANIA

In the prosperous *Hispaniae*, Christianity was taking root. Thus in the year 300, bishops from across the entire peninsula gathered at Elvira in Baetica at the *Concilium Iliberris* in 300 to resolve the problems which their regions faced. Elvira, was likely chosen for the strength and size of its Christian community in comparison to neighbouring *civitates* of Baetica.¹¹³ The canons produced at this council are of two basic types: those destined to better integrate Christians into the larger community¹¹⁴ and those meant to guide the proper behaviour of the clergy especially with regard to sexual mores, suggesting that eastern monasticism had already implanted itself among the Iberian high clergy. Rosa Dávila and Blasquez argue that many of the canons regarding women and sexuality at the *Concilium Iliberris* were directly inspired by the writings of Tertullianus of Carthage, suggesting a heavy North-African influence on the Christianity of Baetica.¹¹⁵ Archaeological evidence in the mosaics and artwork of Late Antique Hispania¹¹⁶ and regular epistolary contact between Carthage and the *civitates* of Hispania also do support this view.¹¹⁷ Other authors however, including Sotomayor do not accept an African origin for Iberian Christianity.¹¹⁸

Stephen McKenna argues that on account of the canons passed at this council, Hispania was among the most Christianised of the Roman provinces in the fourth century.¹¹⁹ The *Concilium Iliberris* encouraged Christians to live peacefully with their pagan neighbours and to participate in civic life. Zealous aggression against pagans was strongly discouraged and strong penalties such as excommunication were threatened for those Christians who lapsed into pagan worship or who allowed their daughters to marry pagan *flamines*.¹²⁰ Because the canons of *Iliberris* concern magistrates, pagan priests, and wealthy Christians, McKenna argues for a Christian aristocracy in the early-fourth century. Funerary inscription in late fourth

¹¹³ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 219. For the state of Christianisation in the Empire see Inglebert, Destephen, and Dumézil, *Le problème de la christianisation du monde antique*.

¹¹⁴ The prohibition on fasting during the harvest season is one example of such a canon.

¹¹⁵ For the parallels between those canons and the writings of Tertullian see Blasquez, “Los orígenes del ascetismo hispano: Prisciliano,” 371–372.

¹¹⁶ Blasquez, “Influjos africanos en los mosaicos hispanos”; Díaz i Díaz, *Entorno a los orígenes del cristianismo hispano, Las raíces de España*.

¹¹⁷ See Cyp. Carth., *Ep.* 67 in which he announces that according to an episcopal council at Carthago a certain number of apostate bishops were no longer worthy of leading the Church. Also see Blasquez, “Los orígenes del ascetismo hispano: Prisciliano.”

¹¹⁸ Sotomayor, *Reflexión histórico-arqueológica sobre el supuesto origen africano del cristianismo hispano, II Reunión d’Arqueología paleocristiana hispánica*, 11.

¹¹⁹ McKenna, *Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom*.

¹²⁰ *Conc. Illib.* 17.

century Baetica also attest to the Christianisation of Iberia. A tombstone found in Corduba reads *Abel... in peace under God*¹²¹ and the appearance of Old Testament biblical names demonstrates that Christian names were openly used in society in the late fourth century. Certainly the ability for bishops to enjoin in a Church council and in such great numbers despite the persecutions of Diocletian only years earlier, suggest an air of tolerance in the fourth century.¹²²

Other authors however such as Llobregat Conesa, delay the main impetus of Christianisation in Hispania until the fifth century.¹²³ Humphrey contrasts the canons of the fourth century *Concilium Illiberis* with those of the sixth century *Concilium Bracarense* and concludes that “the stern rules laid down at Elvira presuppose a society in which Christians formed a quite exclusive minority, and where the threat of pagan worldly temptation lay everywhere [while those] at Braga impl[y] a society in which Christianity was the dominant religion”.¹²⁴

In the North of Hispania, in Tarraconensis, the archaeology attests to the appearance of Christian infrastructure on the periphery of the classical city in the late fourth century, a pattern also found in Narbonensis, suggesting a shared cultural space both prior and during the Visigothic occupation.¹²⁵ In the late fourth century, Pacianus bishop of Barcino criticised the Christians in his community for their continued participation in pre-Christian rituals, specifically in the pagan ritual called the *cervalia*.¹²⁶ We see in the late fourth century an effort on the part of the bishop’s to stamp out paganism. Pacianus in his effort to eliminate the *cervalia* in fact enflamed it, encouraging the community at large to participate in ever greater numbers, perhaps as a defiance of authority. Unintentionally, his tract called the *cervulus*, had

¹²¹ ABEL [...] REESSIT IN PACE SUB D XV KL IA. See Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 21; Vives, *ICERV*, 164.

¹²² McKenna, *Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom*, 32.

¹²³ Llobregat Conesa, *La Cristianización. La época Visigoda*.

¹²⁴ Humphries, “The West: Italy, Gaul and Spain,” 290; Fernández Ubiña, “La iglesia y la formación de la jerarquía eclesiástica,” 164–165.

¹²⁵ A look at fifth century Narbo (Narbonne) demonstrated that the cathedral, as in Barcino, was erected at a very peripheral part of the city against the city wall. In Narbo, the cathedral is at a significant distance from the forum and the pagan temples suggesting that the Roman political structures continued to function even into the fifth century. See Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, fig. 4. After the Muslim conquest of Hispania, many Iberians fled to Gallia, none the least Theodulf a Goth born in the region of Caesaraugusta. Theodulf would go on to become bishop of Orléans, and was tasked by Charlemagne in 798 to assure that Christians had abandoned Visigothic (meaning Arian) rites in favour of proper Catholicism. Theodulf’s capacity to function in both Gallic and Iberian contexts demonstrates the shared cultural heritage of Tarraconensis and Gallia.

¹²⁶ Pac., *De Pæn.* 5.2.

explained to the population just how to perform this mostly forgotten ritual.¹²⁷ These same Christians were criticized for their participation in pagan practices such as sacrifice to the imperial cult, even after baptism. This situation testifies the transmuting quality of *romanitas*. Pacianus wrote mostly under the reign of Theodosius I, and as such potentially as late as the 390s, Christianity had yet to be fully implemented in its Orthodox form and this even in vibrant urban cultures such as that of Barcino.¹²⁸

Though a large portion of the aristocracy was Christianized at the onset of the fifth century, lapidary inscriptions to local gods such as Eudino and Arescus in Asturias and even around Hispalis testify that a wealth-possessing portion of society still respected ancient religious customs.¹²⁹ Even once the population had officially accepted Christianity as their sole religion, it was an incomplete Christianity spotted with local tradition tied to their pagan past, and still in the sixth century, Martinus, *episcopus* of Bracara criticized the town's Christians in his *de correctione rusticorum* for their continued practice of pagan rituals.¹³⁰ In Tarraco, a cemetery from the early fifth century shows signs of pagan ritual still being practiced including the laying to rest of the deceased with a coin to pay Charon the ferryman of the underworld.¹³¹

Christianity was well advanced by the close of the fourth century, but even then it was resisted by certain elements in society, especially in the North and Northwest where pagan cults continued to be practiced¹³² and pre-Christian gods worshiped¹³³ Emperor Julian, a pagan had great support from at least

¹²⁷ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 219.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 219–220.

¹²⁹ Menéndez Bueyes, “Asturias bajo la órbita de Roma: El bajo imperio,” 214; Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana, 284-409*, 143–144. For the inscription from the diocese of Hispalis consecrated to Arescus see *CIL* II 6328b.

¹³⁰ Mart. Brac. *De Corr.* 17. ... modo iterum ad culturas diaboli revertuntur? Nam ad petras et ad arbores et ad fontes et per trivium cereolos incendere, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? Divinationes et auguria et dies idolorum observare, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? Vulcanalia et Kalendas observare, mensas ornare, et lauros ponere, et pedem observare, et fundere in foco super truncum frugem et vinum, et panem in fontem mittere, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? Mulieres in tela sua Minervam nominare et Veneris diem in nuptias observare et quo die in via exeatur adtendere, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? Incantare herbas ad maleficia et invocare nomina daemorum incantando, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? Et alia multa quae longum est dicere. Ecce ista omnia post abrenuntiationem diaboli, post baptismum facitis et, ad culturam daemorum et ad mala idolorum opera redeuntes, fidem vestram transistis et pactum quod fecistis cum deo disruptistis. Dimisistis signum crucis, quod in baptismum accepistis, et alia diaboli signa per avicellos et sternutos et per alia multa adtenditis....

¹³¹ McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom*, 36.

¹³² “El culto a Santiago en Galicia es evidentemente una cristianización de un culto pagano, posiblemente el culto a Júpiter”. Arce, “Conflictos entre paganismo y cristianismo en Hispania durante el s. IV,” 250; Ubieto, *Introducción a la Historia de España*.

¹³³ J. G. Echegaray, *Los cántabros*, 115, 215.

certain elements of the military in Hispania¹³⁴ and the outlawing of pagan practices in the *Concilium Iliberris* also suggests that aspects of paganism such as the burning of candles endured.¹³⁵ Thus Hispania, at the onset of the fifth century, was still divided between paganism, Catholicism and alternative forms of Christianity such as Priscilianism. The rest of this study traces the struggles of the Catholic Church and its leaders, the bishops, to adapt and prosper in the chaos of the fifth century.

THE FIFTH CENTURY: A SOCIETY REDEFINED

The peace that had reigned in the fourth century was ended with the outbreak of civil war in 407. The year prior, in 406, a general in Britannia, the self-labeled Constantine III, had taken control of the Roman soldiers stationed in Britannia and had invaded Gallia, establishing his capital at Arelate.¹³⁶ With the Rhine frontier weakened by the civil war, a confederacy of Alans, Vandals and Sueves crossed the frozen river and ravaged the countryside during three years. Javier Arce argues that Constantine III wished to establish his own dynasty over the Roman west¹³⁷ sending his agents, *iudices*, i.e. judges, to act as governors, enforcing Constantine's will in the *civitates* of Hispania.¹³⁸ In 408 Constantine III sent his son Constans and his general Gerontius to secure Hispania provoking a civil war between those loyal to Honorius, likely relatives of the emperor who were able to gather private militias through their private wealth, and those who allied with the Forces of Constantine III, Constans, and Gerontius.¹³⁹

Having captured and secured Tarraconensis, Gerontius rebelled against Constantine III and elevated his *cliens* Maximus, a Spanish aristocrat, to the throne.¹⁴⁰ Constantine III then sent another of his generals, Iustus, to deal with Gerontius. Zosimus writes that Gerontius, aware of his fragile situation, formed an alliance with the Vandals, Alans, and Sueves who were pillaging through southern Gallia. Gerontius granted them access through the Pyrenees in exchange for aid in resisting Constantine's

¹³⁴ D'Ors, "Un miliario del emperador Juliano en España," 1337–1339.

¹³⁵ *De sacerdotibus gentilium qui post bap̄tismum immolaverunt; de eisdem si idolis munus tantum dederunt; de eisdem si cathecumini adhuc immolant quando bap̄tidientur.* "Concilium Iliberris," 2–4. Other recent works also confirm this vision of an incompletely Christianised Hispania governed by a wealthy and cultivated elite.

¹³⁶ Chastagnol, "Les espagnols dans l'aristocratie gouvernementale à l'époque de Théodose."

¹³⁷ Arce, *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania : (400- 507)*, 31-36.

¹³⁸ Oros. 4.40.5, 7.40.5-8; Zos., *Hist. Nov.* 6.4.1, 5.2.

¹³⁹ For the complete sequence of events see Arce, *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania: 400-507 A.D.*, chap. 1; Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 4–8.

¹⁴⁰ Zos., *Hist. Nov.* 6.51; Oros. 7.42.4.

general.¹⁴¹ In 411, Gerontius marched his soldiers to Arelate to make battle on Constantine III, but the soldiers defected choosing instead to side with the *magister militum* of Emperor Honorius, Constantius, who had marched with legions from Italy. Apparently, Roman soldiers had no interest in combating other legions. The usurper, Constantine III, was killed in the battle and the armyless Gerontius fled back to Hispania, where he was assassinated by his own troops. The civil wars had emptied Hispania of its Roman garrisons and the Germanic tribes, which had been granted access to the Hispanias, and which could no longer return to imperially secured Gallia instead settled in the lightly defended Iberian Peninsula. In 411 the tribes divided Hispania among themselves with the Sueves and Asding Vandals taking the north-east area of Galaecia, the Alans settling in Lusitania along the Atlantic coast, and the Siling Vandals, who numbered about 50 000, settling in Baetica.¹⁴²

Scholars such as Karen Carr and Michael Kulikowski presume that local government endured and adapted to the arrival of barbarian peoples. Kulikowski in *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* even argues that the physical and social world of Roman cities survived even into the sixth century¹⁴³ and local governments are still identified in the *conventus publicus vicinorum* of the Visigothic era.¹⁴⁴ The decline of epigraphy in Late Antiquity renders it difficult to evaluate the government structures in place during the period, but Kulikowski states that “[w]here imperial bureaucrats held office, the empire existed”.¹⁴⁵ Because imperial office holding is still attested in Hispania at the death of Maiorian in 461 and a certain amount of imperial administration was still in place, especially in Baetica, there does not seem to be evidence for massive urban collapse at the onset of the fifth century. Roman central authority may no longer have governed hierarchically from top down, but it seems that Roman officials continued to be appointed as per tradition, and that the Roman system of command remained in place despite the peninsula’s disconnect from Rome.

¹⁴¹ Concerning the opening of the Pyrenees by Gerontius, see Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana, 284-409*, 156. Hyd. 23 [42]; Greg. Tur., *hist. Franc.* 2.2; Oros. 7.40.9: “Barbari qui in Hispania ingressi fuerant caede deprædantur hostili.”

¹⁴² Hydatius, “Chronicon”, 41 [49]: “... domino miserante conversi sorte as inhabitandum sobo provinciarum dividunt regions. Gællæciam Vandali occupant et Suevi sita in extremitate ocean maris occidua: Alani Lusitaniam et Carthaginensem provincias Vandali cognomine Silingi Bæticam sortiuntur.”

¹⁴³ Concerning these local governments see Pérez Pujol, *Instituciones sociales de la España goda*, 2:311–313. These local councils appear to have legislated with regard to property demarcation (*Lex Visigothorum*, 10.3.2), runaway slaves (*Lex Visigothorum*, 9.1.8) and with regard to stray animals (*Lex Visigothorum*, 8.3.13;15;16; 4.14; 16; 23; 5,4; 6).

¹⁴⁴ Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity”, 15.

¹⁴⁵ Kulikowski *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 152.

As life continued in the cities, the barbarians plundered the countryside save perhaps in Gallaecia, where the Sueves failed to truly appropriate the territory.¹⁴⁶ In 428 the Vandals sacked Hispalis and in May 429, drawn by the rumour of rich grains and wealth in Northern Africa, the Vandals under their king Gaiseric abandoned their holdings in Spain and crossed the strait of Gibraltar into Africa. Baetica, in name, was again under Roman rule though in reality local *potentes* held power and it appears that Germanic powers and local aristocracies worked in conjunction to secure hegemony over the peninsula. In time tax revenues to the throne, *fidelitas* to the king, royal donations and the granting of political offices such as the *comes civitatis* and the *dux provinciae* were part of a compromise between local elites and the Germanic *regnum*.¹⁴⁷

Despite the relative stability in some areas, many intellectuals and clergymen did flee; Avitus, Orosius, and Palagius among these.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, the weakening of the Empire in the fifth century, especially under Honorius, appears to have accelerated the division of ethnic minorities. Hydatius writes of the *Auregenses* from the region around Lucus Augusti (Lugo) and the *Aunoneses* who maintained a confrontation over the course of three years against the Sueves and established direct diplomatic relations with the Visigothic king.¹⁴⁹ Once the empire had weakened, these indigenous communities operated independently. Indeed, we see in the early fifth century a withdrawal of the Celtic communities from the realm of *romanitas*. Zosimus writes that the Armoricans expelled the Roman magistrates and that they governed independently henceforth.¹⁵⁰ Britannia also fell beyond *romanitas* and in the northern reaches of Hispania the Celtic peoples of Asturias and the Basques of Vasconia were causing trouble. The term *bagaudae*¹⁵¹ has often been assigned to these troublesome factions. Hydatius in his *Chronicon* uses the term

¹⁴⁶ Oros. 7.41-42

¹⁴⁷ Castellanos and Martín Viso, “The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000),” 16–17.

¹⁴⁸ On the flight of the Iberian clergy see Courcelle, *Histoire Littéraire Des Grandes Invasions Germaniques*, 67, 97. Jews are also known to have fled presumably on account of warfare on the peninsula. Sev. Min., *Ep* 18.4

¹⁴⁹ Hyd. 229 [233], 243 [249].

¹⁵⁰ Zos. *Hist. nov.* 6.5.3; Thompson, “Britain, AD 406-410” argues that the revolts in Armorica were part of a Celtic secessionist movement from Roman rule. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, 40 refutes this interpretation however. It seems likely that in Armorica and inner Tarraconensis alike, the weakening of Roman authority and the threat posed by invading Germanic peoples was sufficient for the natives of these regions to support local rulers rather than a distant and incapable Imperial administration.

¹⁵¹ The name appears to be built of the celtic radical BAGA “struggle, war” and the suffix –AUDA with a combined result meaning “warrior”. Indeed in northern Galia the Gallo-Roman aristocracy used the term *bagauda* to refer to

with regard to rebels on multiple occasions, especially in inner *Tarraconensis* over the course of a period stretching from 441–454.¹⁵² The cause of these rebellions was surely over taxation by the administration, either imperial officials or local *potentiores* in already impoverished regions.

The withdrawal of the legions from *Tarraconensis* left these areas open to rebellion.¹⁵³ Díaz Martínez writes:

*“In these economically marginal areas, difficult of access, the Roman civitates had probably never managed to integrate their territoria... with the disappearance of coercive Roman power the civitates simply split into their constituent parts...”*¹⁵⁴

One cleric, Salvian, writing from Massilia (Marseille) attributes the Bagaudas’ frustration to the prevalent fiscal, judicial and administrative corruption.¹⁵⁵ He describes them as men “having lost the rights and liberties of a Roman citizen and the honour of the Roman name” and thus “exploited, oppressed, executed by perverse and cruel judges ... and on account of the confiscations and exploitation of those men who had turned the tax system to their own benefit... it became necessary (for these Bagaudas) to defend their lives once they had seen that they had lost their liberty...”.¹⁵⁶ Presumably it was the local *potentiores* at the heart

celtic farmers in revolt. Vic. Aur., *Caesar*. 39.17: “quos Bagaudas incolae vocant”; Eutr. 9.20: “factioni suae Bacaudarum nomen imponerent”.

¹⁵² Hydatius notes in 441 the presence of *Tarraconensium Bacaudarum*, in 443 *Aracellitonarum Bacaudarum* in Huarte-Arquil, and in 449 he notes Bagaudae *in ecclesia Tyriassone* and *Cæsaraugustanam regionem, Ilerdensi urbe*. His final reference to these rebels is in 452 in which he mentions the *Bacaudae Tarraconenses*. For a longer discussion of the Bagaudae as a social phenomenon one should see Carlos Sánchez León, *Les sources de l’histoire des Bagaudes*; Pottier, “Peut-on parler de révoltes populaires dans l’Antiquité tardive ?”.

¹⁵³ Carlos Sánchez León, *Las Bagaudas, rebeldes, demonios, mártires: revueltas campesinas en Galia e Hispania durante el Bajo Imperio*, 37–39.

¹⁵⁴ Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity,” 15–16.

¹⁵⁵ Carlos Sánchez León, *Las Bagaudas, rebeldes, demonios, mártires: revueltas campesinas en Galia e Hispania durante el Bajo Imperio*, 41.

¹⁵⁶ Salv., *De Gub. Dei* 5.24–26 ; *Ibid.*, 143–144. “*De Bacaudis ... qui per malos iudices et cruentos spoliati, afflicti, necati, postquam ius Romanæ libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt... Quibus enim aliis rebus ... nisi eorum proscriptionibus et rapinis qui exactionis publicae nomen in quaestus proprii emolumenta uerterunt et indictiones tributarias praedas suas esse fecerunt ... coactique sunt uitam saltem defendere quia se iam libertatem uidebant penitus perdisse.*”

of the exploitation. The rebellions may have ended when these same noble families instead became the protectors and patrons of the local Hispano-Romans rather than the exploiters.¹⁵⁷

The fall of the Western Empire can very much be placed on the shoulders of a disastrous boy-emperor, Honorius.¹⁵⁸ On account of his youth (he was only 11 years old when he inherited his father's position), individuals at the imperial court were able to manipulate his inexperienced mind to execute his closest associates including his ally Stilicho. The bishop of Rome also greatly influenced the child causing him to redouble his efforts against the pagans.¹⁵⁹ Honorius' ineffective reign *effectively* caused the dissolving of the Western Empire. In 408 he made the grave mistake of executing his greatest general the *magister militum* Stilicho and murdering the wives and children of the Germanic *foederati* in Italy. In consequence the Germanic warriors flocked to the Gothic king Alaric, who by 408 stood before the walls of Rome and by August 410, sacked the city and made off with much of its wealth.¹⁶⁰ Later in his reign, in 418, Honorius released an edict which removed imperial administrators from much of the Gallic south causing political tension in the region.¹⁶¹ In Tarraconensis, the locals appear favourable to Honorius perhaps because they opposed the usurpation of powers by northern Gallic aristocrats. Furthermore Honorius and his Father Theodosius were Iberians which may have contributed to the favourable outlook of the Hispanic aristocracy towards these emperors.

In addition to political contention, these fifth century invasions introduced a new spiritual crisis into Hispania. The Germanic invaders were either pagan or followers of 'heretical' Arian Christianity at a time when Hispano-Romans were increasingly Catholic. This religious divide, along with the vernacular languages and customs, divided the Hispano-Romans from the newcomers. Though the fifth century in Hispania resolved around religious conflicts¹⁶² the sixth century would culminate with the development of a hybrid Germano-Romano Iberian culture. Many authors, including Carr, assume that the Catholic clergy developed greater importance in the administration of the cities over the course of the century.¹⁶³ The evidence in Hispania however, does not support this overbearing power of the Iberian Church and its bishops. Kulikowsky convincingly demonstrates that across Hispania, intra-mural Christian churches did not appear *en masse* until the mid-fifth century. Indeed in the early fifth century *basilicae* were still being erected on cemeteries beyond the city wall, usually along a major roadway or a location associated with a

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 40–12.

¹⁵⁸ McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367- 455*, 187-188.

¹⁵⁹ *Historia de la iglesia*, vols. 4, 11.f

¹⁶⁰ Oros. 7.39.1-40.3.

¹⁶¹ Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 153.

¹⁶² Greg. Tur., *Hist Franc.* 2.2-3

¹⁶³ Carr, *Vandals to Visigoths*, 26-30.

martyr or other Christian tombs.¹⁶⁴ There were also population movements into Iberia in the fifth century of Gallo-Romans fleeing the chaos in Gallia and of Gothic families who accompanied the Gothic armies which made war on the other Germanic tribes which had settled in Hispania.¹⁶⁵

The Sueves, who had settled the North, regained their strength and invaded Baetica, capturing Emerita Augusta in 440 and Hispalis in 441.¹⁶⁶ Only in 453 did emperor Valentinian III succeed in establishing a treaty with the Sueves.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile the Visigothic kingdom in Tolosa was prosperous, even succeeded in electing their own candidate Avitus a Gallo-Roman aristocrat and senator as western Emperor from July 455 to October 456. He maintained a relationship with the Visigothic king Theodoric II until the latter entered into a treaty with Majorian and invaded Roman Hispania. In 456, the Visigoths routed the Sueves from their capital at Bracara.¹⁶⁸ The Visigothic king Theodoric wintered in Emerita and continued the war effort the following spring and it seems that the Visigoths retained control of the Baetican countryside from this moment onward. When in 459 the Heruli invaded by sea, a Visigothic garrison was present to defend Northern Hispania and when the Roman emperor Majorian attempted to reconquer Africa from the Vandals, he was able to send troops through Hispania, so we presume that Hispania was held by the Visigoths in their role as *foederati* of Rome.

After Majorian's failure in Africa no attempts were made to return Hispania to imperial control. The death of Avitus in October 456 left a power gap in the Western Empire that was left unfilled until the people of Italy proclaimed the then *magister militum* as emperor following a victory over Alemanni troops which had invaded Italy.¹⁶⁹ Majorian, a career soldier, made a concerted effort to restore the unity and security of the Western Empire defeating the Vandals in Italy and proceeded to combat the Goths in southern Gallia. At the battle of Arelate, Majorian defeated Theodoric II and forced the Goths to return to federate status after reclaiming Narbonensis.¹⁷⁰ In 460 the emperor himself led an expedition into Hispania

¹⁶⁴ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 220–222. The extramural basilica at Terragona supports this conclusion, as does the evidence concerning the Basilica of Santa Eulalia in Emerita. Also see TED'A, *Els enterraments del Parc de la Ciutat i la problemàtica finerària de Tàrraco*, 125.

¹⁶⁵ See the epitaph of a Tolosan named Samon who settled in Corduba, in Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 176.

¹⁶⁶ Hyd. 115 [123]: Rex Rechila Hispali obtenta bætica et Carthaginiensam provincias in suam redigit potestatem.

¹⁶⁷ Hyd. 147 [155]: Ad Suevos Mansuetus comes Hispaniarum et Fronto similiter comes legati pro pace mittuntur et optinent condiciones iniunctas.

¹⁶⁸ Hyd. 167 [174]; Isid. *Hisp. Hist.* 31

¹⁶⁹ Sid. Apol., *Carm.* 5.373-385: Conscenderat Alpes Raetorumque ... certatum est iure magistri Augusti fati.

¹⁷⁰ It would be more accurate to refer to the region as Septimania, but once it was taken by the Visigoths it was simply referred to as Narbonensis after its largest *civitas* Narbo.

to assure his hold over the area and he stayed for a certain time in Caesaraugusta.¹⁷¹ Majorian's successes against the Sueves in Gallaecia reduced them to *foederati* as well.

In Northern Gallia, the Franks had defeated the last Roman ruler, Syagrius, in 486 and the Frankish king Clovis expanded his territories all the way down to the Mediterranean; the Romans could not inhibit this spread. Under Alaric II, grandson of Theoderic II, the Visigoths considered moving the base of their power to Hispania and after defeat on the *campus vogladensis* (Vouillé) in 507, they actually did move their capital to Hispania, claiming Tarraconensis from the remaining Romans on their way through.¹⁷² Henceforth, Hispania remained in the hands of the Visigothic rulers¹⁷³ though Kulikowski argues that this control was less absolute than we could believe noting that the Goths mainly held but a few key cities.

As this short history has demonstrated, Hispania went from being a bastion of *romanitas* in the fourth century to a complex collage of Germanic realms sprinkled with fortified cities holding on to Roman identity and ideals. Hispania of the fifth century seems to have existed simultaneously in two worlds: *Romania* and the *Barbaricum*. The Breviary law code published by Gothic King Alaric II in 507 attests to this duality; for a time, separate law codes applied to Roman subjects and to the Germanic tribes. In this puzzling world, Germanic kings, Roman *curiales*, *comes*, and *iudices* coexisted along with Christian *episcopi* of Catholic, Priscillian and Arian faiths. It is our intent in the following chapters to lay out the evidence regarding these Catholic bishops, to determine the nature of their position in Hispania.

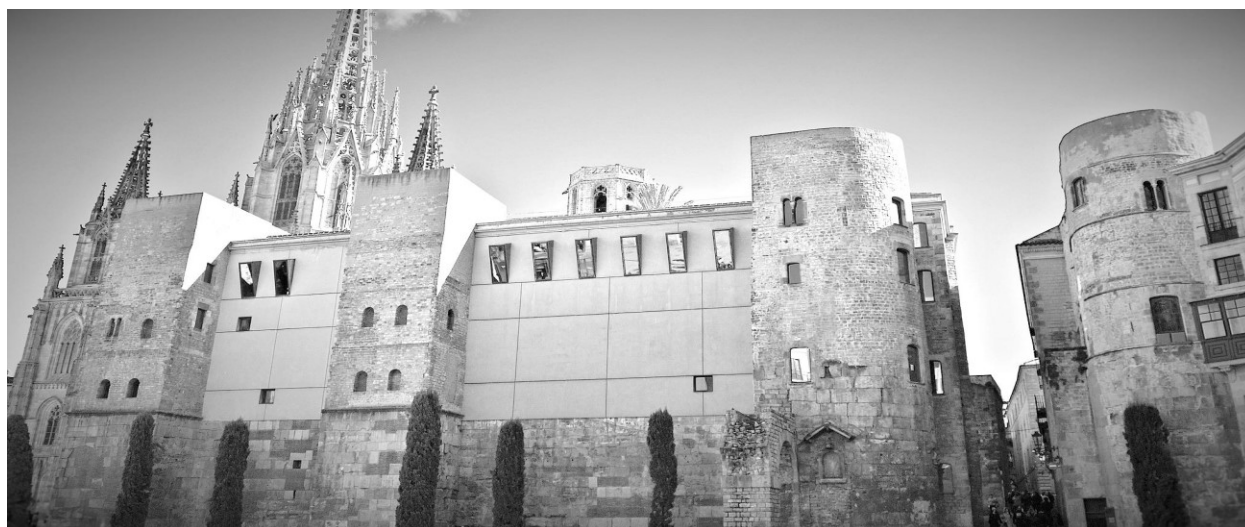


Figure 2: Walls of Barcino and Cathedral in Peripheral Position (Photo by Author)

¹⁷¹ “His diebus Maioranus imperator Cæsaraugustam uenit” in Fatás Cabeza, *Antología de textos para el estudio de la antigüedad en el territorio del Aragón actual*, 79.

¹⁷² Greg. Tur., *Hist Franc.* 2.7

¹⁷³ *Chron. Caes.* 494: His cons. Gothi in Hispanias ingressi sunt; 497: “His cons. Gotthi intra Hispanias sedes acceperunt.

CHAPTER III : The Origins of the Bishops

Zeno: the papal vicar of Hispania's southern regions, great civic leader, responsible for the renewal of Emerita Augusta¹⁷⁴; Turibius of Asturica, honoured for his struggle against the Priscillian heresy in Gaelecia, who on his death in 460 was revered as a saint; his relics preserved in the Cantabrian monastery of Santo Toribio de Liébana; Paulinus of Nola: ordained in Barcino and later sainted for his contributions to the Church; Hydatius of Aquae Flaviae: zealot of Orthodoxy in Hispania and Chronicler of the demise of his age; these are the subjects of our study, these *episcopi*, great leaders of the Christian Church, their names preserved in stone and in song. But who were these mitred champions of Christianity? The following chapter seeks to define the traits held in common by this episcopal elite. And if the origins of a few bishops are known to us, the vast majority appear to us from darkness, much like Jesus Christ whose life as a young man is only known in legend, the bishops too were for the most part discrete regarding their pasts, appearing in our sources only upon their ordination or even later.

Despite our best efforts to specify the origins of the Iberian bishops, much of which follows is based on hypothesis supported by circumstantial evidence. There is no doubt that the bishops were a competent group possessing knowledge, wealth and worldliness, typically associated with Late Antique society's elite, which either fell into the class of decurional professionals or senatorial aristocrats. Díaz writes that in those areas which inherited from Rome, the bishops acquired a genuinely political role as leaders of their communities and representatives of the local nobility.¹⁷⁵ Thus it appears that the fourth century episcopacy was occupied for the most part by the former of these social classes, but as the fifth century advanced, it was increasingly dominated by the later. To understand the changes which occurred in episcopal recruitment however, we must first characterise the societal elite: the aristocracy.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 149, 190, 201-202, 304.

¹⁷⁵ C. Díaz Martínez, "Concilios y obispos en la península Ibérica (Siglos VI-VIII)," 1097 : "... *los obispos han desempeñado en los territorios herederos del Imperio romano un papel genuinamente político como líderes de sus comunidades. Socialmente son parte de la vieja aristocracia territorial y, desde el siglo V, hemos asistido a su consolidación como representantes cualificados de los intereses locales y regionales de esas noblezas provinciales romanas.*"

¹⁷⁶ While Rodà and other authors sees an integration of the aristocracy into the ecclesiastic hierarchy during the fourth century, Paulinus of Nola and Pacianus of Barcino among such early integrations, this interpretation is based heavily on Gallic evidence. See Rodà, "Hispania," 220; Désmulliez, "Paulin de Nole : Études Chronologiques (393-397)"; Mayer, "Aproximació a la societat des les Illes Balears en oca romana." A fifth-century Christianisation of the Iberian aristocracy is defended in this thesis. Also see Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 141–156.

AN ARISTOCRATIC ELITE

Status, in Antiquity as now, hinged on acceptance by other members of the elite community, often by conforming to the community's social practices. These Roman aristocratic institutions, values, and practices were generalised throughout most of the Empire so that by the late third century a senatorial family living in Africa, Hispania, or Dalmatia shared a similar existence concerned primarily for the retention of their family's status and privilege, achieved by surrounding oneself by the right kind of clients, numerous slaves, and presenting oneself in public, well surrounded and fashionably dressed. The dinner parties one attended and the connections one held in the political sphere were critical to one's personal prestige as was the presentation of a proud, noble, and distinguished front.

This concern for acting within aristocratic *mores* applied equally to religion. An aristocrat who professed an unpopular faith was indeed at risk of losing prestige. In the early fourth century, the adoption of Christianity was therefore problematic for the aristocracy as it ran the risk of causing a loss of status. Indeed, from the period of 284–423 only 12% of Christian aristocrats looked to a clerical career as their primary means to prestige.¹⁷⁷ Only as the fifth century advanced did it become clear that the adoption of Christianity would not undermine their esteem in the eyes of other aristocrats.¹⁷⁸ In fact, following heavily pro-Christian legislation by the emperor Theodosius, conversion to Christianity granted access to a new avenue of prestige, the episcopacy grounded in “self-assurance, a sure sense of governmental authority [and] a story of the origins of episcopal power rooted in the rich soil of a privileged [] inheritance”.¹⁷⁹

The adoption of Christianity came at the tail end of a search for new spirituality after the failure of Roman state religion.¹⁸⁰ If the aristocracy in Gallia migrated towards Christianity, it is partly because Christianity had adopted cultural elements of the aristocratic elite. The emperors imbued Christianity with prestige by constructing elaborate sites of worship and conferring honours such as tax immunity on these institutions. According to Salzman's thesis, it was by instilling the Church and its leadership with honour that the Church was able to draw the aristocracy into its fold.¹⁸¹ One strategy it employed was to devalue secular honours. This Christian *honor* is captured in the funerary epitaph of perhaps the most well regarded noble of the late-fourth century, Sextus Petronius Probus which reads:

¹⁷⁷ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, fig. 4.1.

¹⁷⁸ For a rich discussion of the Aristocracy in Late Antiquity and its conversion to Christianity see Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 13–68.

¹⁷⁹ Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 100.

¹⁸⁰ Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*.

¹⁸¹ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 189-204.

*“Rich in wealth, of noble family, exalted in office and distinguished in your consulship ... these worldly trappings, these noble titles you rose above when, in time, you were presented with the gift of Christ...”*¹⁸²

Sextus Petronius Probus was of the *gens* Anicii, a family renown from the fourth century A.D., and part of the ancient senatorial aristocracy, grounded in clients, contacts, and wealth. Edward Gibbon describes the Anicii as possessing a name “that shone with a lustre which was not eclipsed in the public estimation by [even] the majesty of the imperial purple” and among the first families to embrace Christianity.¹⁸³

Indeed, the Christian emperors and Church leaders strived to assure the aristocracy that conversion would not negatively affect their own prestige or social position. Once the greatest of Senatorial families had converted, others could follow suit. The family appears to have followed the typical *cursus honorum* as Probus’s son, Anicius Petronius Probus, is noted as a *quaestor*, supervisor of financial affairs, and in 406 was co-consul with the eastern emperor Arcadius.¹⁸⁴ Another of Probus’s sons, Anicius Adelphius Hermogenianus would go on to become bishop of Limovices (Limoges).¹⁸⁵ Therefore, in Gallia we have a traceable evolution of patrician¹⁸⁶ families entering the episcopacy, seemingly without a prior clerical career, presumably in the pursuit of *honor*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² *CIL*, 6: 1756 = *ILCV* 5-2: dives opum clarusque genus praecelsus honore / Fascibus inlustris, consule dingus avo. Translation in Croke and Harries, *Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Rome*, 117. Also *PLRE* I, 681–883.

¹⁸³ Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. 31.

¹⁸⁴ *CIL*, 6: 1752-1754; For confirmation of Arcadius as co-consul in 409 see Zos. *Hist Nov.* 6.3.1.

¹⁸⁵ The family connections are messy, but it appears that members of the *Gens Anicius* had been using the names Adelfius and Hermogenianus since the fourth century. Bishop Hermogianus’ mothers, and the wife of Probus, was also descended from the Anicius line and her father bore the name Quintus Clodius Hermogianus, whose father had bore the name Clodius Celsinus *signo* Adelfius. It is therefore quite possible that the bishop of Limovices was named after his maternal ancestors. Furthermore, the *paterfamilias* Sextus Petronius Probus had been prefect of the Gauls in the 360s. His influence and connections, in addition to sheer military force had surely gone a long way to ensuring his family a place among the episcopacy. This episcopal branch of the the Anicius family flourished when in 485 Hermogenianus’ grandson, son of his younger son Adelfius, became Ruricius bishop of Limoges, whose son-in-law would become Saint Rusticus bishop of Lugdunum (Lyon). See Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends*, 21.

¹⁸⁶ I use this term for those ancient senatorial families of Rome be they of original Patrician or Plebeian status. By the fifth century, the term refers to the most influential and honourable of the great aristocratic families of the Empire.

¹⁸⁷ The example of Paulinus of Nola is an excellent demonstration of the Gallic Patrician families abandoning civic honours and *otium* in favour of an ecclesiastical position. Despite this, his family neither lost influence nor honour and they continued to hold their ancestral estates near Burdigala (Bordeaux) even into the fifth century. See Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, 309.

Van Dam also esteems that the conversion of the Gallic elite in the fifth century should be re-evaluated as the transformation of Christianity to conform to existing structures of aristocratic authority and ideologies.¹⁸⁸ In Gallia, bishops such as Germanus of Autissiodorum (Auxerre) are reputed for having increased their own influence by acquiring episcopal positions in the early fifth century. On account of his own prestige, local aristocrats to an extent modeled their own behaviour on that of Germanus. Aristocrats also came to the Church in non-clerical positions as a means of preserving their dignity. This was the case of Paulinus of Pella who by barbarian invasion and the withdrawal of Roman governance, had lost much of his own civil power but had come to equal it through the Church hierarchy.¹⁸⁹ By the mid-fifth century *natalibus nobilis, religione nobilior* had become a common saying and state of mind among the Gallic aristocracy.¹⁹⁰ Only then did “Church office [become] a status-laden option for aristocrats in their ongoing pursuit of honor”¹⁹¹ and henceforth the senatorial aristocracy of the Western Empire flocked to the episcopacy.¹⁹²

In Gallia many of the bishops listed in the literary sources were of cities, which had become peripheral to the Roman administration by the mid-fifth century.¹⁹³ Imperial administrators may have left; become ineffectual; come from a landed aristocracy that had been reduced through violence or which had fled to live elsewhere as was the case of Protadius, a Gaulish aristocrat, who by 417 had abandoned his ancestral holdings in Gallia for a small estate in northern Italy.¹⁹⁴ This is contrary to the prevailing situation

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 141.

¹⁸⁹ Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, 150. Paulinus recounts his own suffering in his poem *Eucharisticos*.

¹⁹⁰ The aristocrat ‘Senator’ Germanus is known for being “of a noble family, but nobler still by a pious life”.cf Const. Lug. 7. Also “noble in birth, nobler in Christian religion” Ibid., 4.22. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul*, 90. Hieronymus also wrote: “nobilis genere sed multo nobilio sanctitate”. Jer. *Ep.* 108.1.

¹⁹¹ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 135.

¹⁹² Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 131; Piétri, “Aristocracie et Société clericale dans l’Italie chrétienne au temps d’Odoacre et de Théodoric.”

¹⁹³ Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, 148. By peripheral, Van Dam refers to *civitates* such as Tricassae (Troyes) where bishop Lupus conferred with Attila the Hun. The same goes for Auriolum (Orléans) where bishop Anianus likewise intervened against the Huns. Likewise the bishop of Tongerea (Tongres), Aravatus travelled to Rome for support against the Huns. Vivianus of Santones (Saintes) and Orientius of Ausciorum (Auch) are also mentioned. None of these cities were central to Roman administration.

¹⁹⁴ With regard to Hispania, the bishops of the fourth century were also drawn from among the *decurionales* of the *civitates*. Indeed Christianity served as a sort of accelerator to imperial position in Hispania. In the late fourth century a Hispano-Roman of decurional rank from Tarraconensis was raised to imperial office as the Proconsul of Asia

in Hispania where Roman aristocrats and *decuriones* remained up until the moment of the conquest by the barbarians, after which they continued in various functions on a regional basis. This difference in the evolution of *civitates* may explain in part, the comparatively precocious entry of the Gallic aristocracy into the clergy compared with the situation in Hispania. In Hispania, the senatorial aristocracy outlived the empire, many preserving their power and titles long after the empire's disappearance.¹⁹⁵ Imperial titles are still attested at the closing of the fifth century, including a *vir clarissimus* Terentianus, likely from Baetica who traveled to Rome to personally meet with Pope Felix¹⁹⁶, or the *vir illustis* Gregorius who was honourably buried in the basilica of Saint Eulalia in Emerita.¹⁹⁷ These and numerous other aristocrats are known from fifth-century Hispania.¹⁹⁸

Salzman also demonstrates that aristocrats at the imperial court were more likely to be Christian than were their provincial and municipal counterparts. Indeed, the Christianisation of the aristocracy followed the degree of imperial influence in a region. In much of the Western Empire, in contrast to the East, the senatorial aristocrats controlled great wealth and manpower. This economic and political independence allowed them to largely disregard imperial religious policy and to continue the polytheism, which was engrained in roman aristocratic public life and the various mystery cults practiced in private.¹⁹⁹ In contrast to Gaul, the bishops of Iberia were not so quick to adopt Christianity as a means of survival. Some fled into the east, into deeper parts of Hispania, to Africa, Rome, or to the *Insulae Belearides*.²⁰⁰ The most ancient of the aristocracy often owned villas in numerous provinces, so flight would simply mean relocation to a safer territory. Some aristocrats, especially in the early years of the invasions, continued to believe in the empire's capacity to reclaim the occupied provinces.

from 379-387 and under emperor Honorius was made *praefectus praetorio Italiae* in 395. Furthermore Dexter's family was of Christian religion; his father Pacianus was bishop of Barcino. The case of the Aemiliani demonstrates the dominance of church hierarchy by *decurionales* in the late fifth century and the route to power which Christianity offered in the imperial administration. The consolidation of Christianity in the fifth century and the return of aristocratic powers to the urban landscape propelled the entry of aristocratic Hispano-Romans into the clergy, and more importantly into the episcopacy. See *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁹⁵ Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*, 115-117.

¹⁹⁶ *PLRE*, 1058.

¹⁹⁷ Ramírez Sábada and Mateos Cruz, *Catálogo de las inscripciones cristianas de Mérida*, fig. 37.

¹⁹⁸ For further evidence of the continued aristocratic presence in Hispania see Ubric Rabaneda, "La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507)," chap. 4.

¹⁹⁹ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 16, 135-137.

²⁰⁰ On the flight of the aristocracy see Courcelle, *Histoire Littéraire Des Grandes Invasions Germaniques*, 56-67; Ubric Rabaneda, "La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507)", 140-144.

For the aristocracy to survive the invasions, they required a place of strength from which to operate. In the Baetican south, this was likely from the fortified *civitates* and elsewhere in the peninsula it was surely from the various *castella* of which Hydatius writes in his Chronicle.²⁰¹ The Theodosian family, the Romans under bishop Hydatius, and the aristocracy of Hispalis are representatives of this group. Though much of the aristocracy still upheld Roman virtues, most looked to their own survival and benefited from the chaos to carve their own local power base. Across much of the interior and the north of Hispania, this regionalisation is especially visible.²⁰² Evasion of fiscal responsibilities towards the empire was one reason for the senatorial aristocracy to seek independence in the fifth century, even if this meant submitting to barbarian overlords.²⁰³ Indeed, some aristocrats preferred to ally with the barbarians, teaching them Roman minting and sailing techniques.²⁰⁴ At last when it was evident that Rome could no longer reclaim her provinces, regional governors openly cooperated with the barbarians. A Roman *civis*, Lusidius, even handed over Ollisipo (Lisbon) to the Sueves²⁰⁵ and the *dux* of Tarraconensis peacefully ceded the province to the Visigoths.²⁰⁶ In the end, the Hispano-Roman aristocracy sided with the long-term victors.

Throughout the historiography there is a general assumption that the bishops of Late Antiquity came from among the senatorial aristocracy. In Iberia, with civil and political power increasingly disputed between Germanic warlords this hypothesis seems reasonable. We can imagine that it had become

²⁰¹ Hyd. 41 [49].

²⁰² *Honorati* and *possessors* of *Turiasso* (Tarazona), *Cascantum* (Cascante) *Calagurris* (Calahorra), *Varegia* (Vareia), *Tritium* (Tricio), *Leuia* (Libia) and *Virouesca* (Briviesca) who wrote to Pope Hilarius in support of bishop Silvanus are mentioned in Hilarius, “Epistula 16.” In the north east we effectively see a power struggle between the pro-imperial powers of coastal Tarraconensis and the more regional powers of inner Tarraronensis. We also hear of local powers arising among the *potentiores* of the Duero river valley, among ethnic groups in Cantabria, Asturias, among the Auregenses and Aunonenses, and in the basque country. See Díaz Martínez, “La ocupación germánica del Valle del Duero: un ensayo interpretativo,” 460–463. Also see Hyd. 194 [199], 197 [202], 229 [233], 235 [239], 243 [249].

²⁰³ Fiscal demands were lighter under the barbarian kingdoms. This feudalisation process is exposed in Wickham, “La otra transición: del mundo antiguo al feudalismo.”

²⁰⁴ Hydatius refers to these *traditores* in his Chronicle, 195 [200]. For the teaching of minting techniques see Suchodolski, “La silique du Roi Rechiarius et les autres monnaies des suèves,” 355. In 419 Theodosius criminalised the teaching of naval techniques to the barbarians (see *Cod. Theod.*, 9.40.24) but despite this, Hispano-Romans taught the art of sailing to the Vandals, likely as a means to rid themselves of the Vandalic curse. See Musset, *Las invasiones. Las oleadas germánicas*, 168.

²⁰⁵ Hyd. 240 [246]

²⁰⁶ Hil., *Ep.* 13; *Chron. Gall.* 511: 79–80.”

discouragingly apparent to the Hispano-Roman aristocracy that the episcopacy remained one of the surest methods to retain influence and power in a changing society.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, the prestige of the Iberian emperor Theodosius and the rule of his sons did a great deal to draw the Iberian aristocracy towards Christianity and the episcopacy.²⁰⁸ Still, some bishops especially in the early fifth century did come to the episcopacy from municipal magistracies, some even continuing in their curial office while holding the episcopacy.²⁰⁹ In this regard, their role as leader of the Christian community was an extension of their predominance in the civil sphere.

Among the numerous transformations that occurred in the fifth-century, the reduction and near disappearance of the curial class is perhaps the most remarkable. Three major factors contributed to the weakening of the *decuriones*: 1. Impoverishment on account of overtaxation; 2. Elimination due to barbarian violence and; 3. disappearance of imperial offices. The *Novellae Theodosii II* clearly reflect the pitiable situation of the *decuriones* who adopted a number of means to escape the greedy hands of the tyrannical tax *exactores*.²¹⁰ These *decuriones* increasingly fled to the countryside where under arrangement with the wealthy landowning aristocrats they concluded a deal by which they rented land for their personal use. The sons of the *decuriones* then “pollut[ed] themselves by unions with *coloniae* and slave women [causing] both that the municipal senates [were] lost to the cities and that some *decuriones* [forfeit] the status

²⁰⁷ Castellanos, “Bárbaros y romanos en el imperio tardorromano. La adaptación de la intelectualidad cristiana occidental,” 256.

²⁰⁸ This reorientation occurred both on account of Theodosius’ distinctly pro-Christian position, but equally on account of his own prestige which served as a model for the aristocrats of Hispania. Hershkowitz correctly analyses this situation when she writes that “Spaniards [were] inspired and influenced by Theodosius’ Christian leadership, the Eastern ascetic movement and the Constantinopolitan Christian ethos. In other words ‘influence’ came in a westernly direction towards Hispania instead of vice-versa”, Hershkowitz, “Prudentius, Poetry and Hispania”, 33. Many authors have attributed Theodosius’s staunch orthodoxy to his native Hispania, claiming Christianity to be a defining feature of the Iberian aristocracy. Fortunately this view has undergone recent revisions however. See Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 146–147; Hershkowitz, “Prudentius, Poetry and Hispania”, 30; McLynn, “‘Genere Hispanus’: Theodosius, Spain and Nicene Orthodoxy”. I would advance that Theodosius’ radical religious policy was advanced in part to bring *honor* to his family after the disgraceful execution of his father.

²⁰⁹ Canon 13 of the council of Serdica, led by the Iberian Ossius, attempted to tackle the process of election to the episcopacy. In exceptional cases laymen such as the aristocrat Fabianus were elected bishop. Fabianus was Pope from 236-250. Euseb. *Hist Eccl.* 6.29. Ambrosius of Milan was but a catechumen upon his election as bishop. Paul. *Med.*, *V. S. Amb.* 5-7

²¹⁰ Hyd. 40 [48]. For imperial legislation regarding the *decuriones* see *Nov. 7* in *Cod. Theod.*

of their own freedom through the contagion of baser unions”.²¹¹ Thus in an attempt to remain self-sufficient many of the previously well-off *decuriones* lowered themselves to the level of rural serfs. Others meanwhile fled to the clergy, withdrawing from the “municipality under the name of cleric or any pretext of religion”.²¹² When the invaders were able to overcome the defensive walls of the *civitates*, members of the municipal *curia*, lacking the extraordinary wealth of the aristocracy, were unable to raise troops and were slaughtered in great numbers. Finally by the end of the century the imperial positions, which the *decuriones* had traditionally filled, no longer existed further pushing this class of educated citizens into poverty.

In rare cases the *decuriones* escaped this imminent fate, either by joining the clergy and attaining the rank of *episcopus*, or as early as the fourth century we see attestations of *decuriones* moving up in social prestige through marriage. Presumably only the most wealthy and reknown *curiales* could marry into a family of *nobilis*, but there was a slow fusion of the aristocratic senatorial *viri illustri* with the most prestigious of the *decuriones*. The fusion of these classes is demonstrated by Ausonius, a Gallic *rhetor*, a scholar, in fifth century Narbonensis who married the daughter of a prominent aristocrat.²¹³ By the sixth century however, this prosperous middling class had effectively disappeared, divided between the *coloni* who worked the fields or integrated into the new class of *potentiores* who held power in their rural estates and within the confines of the *civitates*.

Despite the great turmoil of the post-invasion period, the Hispano-Roman aristocracy was not wholly killed off nor did it disappear. Hydatius in his *Chronicon* makes mention of Suevic aggression against a “*familiam nobilem*” with the name *Cantabar* in Conimbriga²¹⁴ which was molested and robbed by the Sueves in 464 or 465.²¹⁵ Furthermore the *Parrochiale Suevum* attests to a church name

²¹¹ Nov. 7.1

²¹² Nov. 7.1.7. The situation became sufficiently severe that the Church itself forbade *duumviri*, i.e. town mayors, from joining the clergy. *Conc. Illib.* 56.

²¹³ Dec. Mag. Aus., *Comm.* 1. Also see Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity*, 42.

²¹⁴ One of the largest Roman settlements in Portugal, Conimbriga lies 16 km from modern Coimbra. The presence of a family named Cantabar as far west as modern Portugal and farther south than modern Madrid may attest to the military strength of the northern Iberian nobles. Then again it may be a name given to those Romans who participated in the Cantabrian wars to bring the region into the Roman sphere. Alternatively it could testify to a higher degree of romanisation in the Iberian north than is generally accepted.

²¹⁵ Hyd. 225 [229]

*Cantabriano*²¹⁶ in the diocese of Lamego.²¹⁷ Furthermore, the council of Emerita in 666 attests to a bishop named Cantaber from Conimbriga. The text reads “*Cantaber Dei gratia Conimbriensis episcopus similiter ss*”.²¹⁸ This strongly suggests that members of that same noble family of *Cantabar* had penetrated the episcopacy no later than the seventh century. Presumably, the family could have entered the clergy much sooner though. Furthermore three *sigillata* found at Conimbriga bear the potter’s mark *Cantabar*.²¹⁹ It could be that the successful artisanship or more probable mercantile dominance in the pottery industry contributed to the family’s wealth. The *Novellae Thodosianii* state that “no person of ignoble birth status, an *inquilinus*, slave, or *colonus* shall undertake the duties of clerics”²²⁰ thus the evidence in favour of curial and aristocratic bishops is strong and suggests a transition in the late fifth century towards aristocratic over decurional *episcopi*.

The political landscape of the latter fifth century suggests that the Iberian aristocracy eventually turned towards ecclesiastical positions as a means of consolidating their power and authority as attested to by the wealthy presbyters of aristocratic origins, Severus, in the region of Osca in inner Tarraconensis for example. Accusations of heresy leveled against him around 420, and his subsequent ability to call upon his powerful relative, the *comes Hispaniarum*, attests to the entry of certain powerful Iberian families into the Church in the early fifth century. The integration of the aristocracy into the episcopacy indeed appears to be an effort of the local elite to further dominate the share of local authority.²²¹ Curiously however, in Hispania, the episcopal palaces are not adorned with mosaicked imagery of the bishop as *kosmocrator*, lord of his villa, his church, diocese and *territorium* typical of aristocratic villas. In the fourth century such mosaics demonstrated wealth, position and office as an expression of the aristocracy’s *romanitas*.²²² Such imagery is absent from our fifth century ecclesiastic material. So though in the latter fifth century, the

²¹⁶ Cantabarianus is the adjectival form of Cantabar.

²¹⁷ David, *Etudes historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle*, 190; C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 185. Lamego is situated about 140 kilometres north east of Coimbra, suggesting that this family had influence throughout the region.

²¹⁸ “Concilium aput urbem Emeritam” in “Concilium Emeritensis (666)”; Vives, Marín, and Martínez Díaz, *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, 343.

²¹⁹ Alarçao and Etienne, *Fouilles de Conimbriga, 2. Epigraphie et sculpture*, 205, numbers 378–380.

²²⁰ *Nov.* 35.3

²²¹ See Cons., *Ep.* 11*.4.2-3 and Kulikowski, “Fronto, the Bishops, and the Crowd: Episcopal Justice and Communal Violence in Fifth-Century Tarraconensis,” 297.

²²² Purificación Marín Díaz, “Mosaics as Display Objects: Hispanic Aristocracy and the Representation of Its Identity during the 4th Century AD” in *Identity and Connectivity*, vol. II (Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, 1–3 March 2012, Florence, Italy: BAR International Series, 2013), 1036.

bishops were often of aristocratic origin, this character of *ruling* over their servants and over society doesn't appear to have been imported into their role as *episcopus*.

ETHNIC ORIGINS AND ASCENSION TO THE EPISCOPACY

Though the social class of individual bishops is hard to trace, ethnicity is even more difficult to confirm, especially as many appear to have taken Christian names upon their entry into the clergy. Having confirmed the aristocratic involvement in the episcopacy of fifth century Iberia, it seems natural that being of Hispania, the clergy in the fifth century was largely of Hispano-Roman origin and members of the communities they came to oversee. Though not necessarily from the same municipality, most often the bishops were of aristocratic families with strong roots in the region. In his letters to Hydatius and Ceponius, Turubius twice refers to the region surrounding Asturica as his *patria*, suggesting that he was born or raised in the region.²²³

As the fifth century progressed, there was *métissage* between Hispano-Romans and the Germanic newcomers. In fact in the early sixth century a Gothic general, Teudi, sent by the Ostrogothic king Theodric, took a Hispano-Roman woman as his wife and recruited 2000 men as soldiers from their lands.²²⁴ Masona, who was bishop of Emerita, was also apparently of Gothic stock, yet his concern for the population of Emerita suggests a close cultural tie with the Hispano-Romans.²²⁵ Sixth and seventh century bishops and brothers Leander and Isidor of Hispalis both have Greek names while their brother Fulgentius' name is often associated with Africa.²²⁶ Names we must conclude are fallible as a means of discerning ethnic origin. Furthermore, in Hispania it appears likely that many bishops of the fifth century adopted Christian names, often of renowned bishops and saints who had preceded them. It was perhaps a deliberate choice by the zealous orthodox chronicler-bishop Hydatius to adopt the namesake of Hydatius Emeritensis, the fourth century persecutor of Priscillian. Iberian bishops had Christian names including, *Pastor*, *Vincomalos*, *Peregrinus* and *Paternus*. A browse through the annexed prosopography reveals numerous duplicates of names as well as names of Popes. Names of Greek origin are numerous among the bishops, but we simply cannot rely on naming schemes in determining the ethnicity or background of the Iberian *episcopi* and it is therefore difficult to draw conclusions regarding the ethnic composition of the Church.

²²³ Tur. Ast., *Ep.* 2.3

²²⁴ Proc. *Bell. Goth.* 1.12, 50

²²⁵ See Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409-711*, 155. Collins also suggests a Berber, and thus African origin of the name Masona.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 154–156.

EPISCOPAL SELECTION

The election of a bishop was rarely pleasing to all. In Gallia, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Arvernum (Clermont) writes of his inability to please everyone with his selection of candidates for the episcopal see:

*Such was the crowd of competitors, that two benches could not contain the candidates for that single see. Each was pleasing to himself, and all [candidates] were displeasing to every other.*²²⁷

These competitors came from two distinct groups, each associated with one of the ideal types we have seen for the Late Antique bishop. Aristocrats sought to fill the episcopal position on account of their worldly value while spiritual men leveraged their piety and asceticism. Indeed many bishops in the later fifth century were drawn from monastic communities and some tension can be detected between the aristocratic bishops and those being raised from monasteries. Sidonius, himself well connected in the aristocratic world, claimed that monastic candidates, as unworldly men, were ill-equipped for the real world, that they were unprepared to deal with civic *iudices* and would have difficulty enforcing their episcopal *intercession*.²²⁸

The entry of the aristocracy into the episcopacy provoked change in the election process of the bishop. There are at least three distinct procedures in the election of bishops, though all involve to some extent an agreement between clergy, the people, and the town council of *curiales*.²²⁹ Leo Magnus writes:

*“That a list [of candidates] be drawn up by the clerics, let the honorati, submit recommendations, and let the ordo and the townspeople reach consensus”.*²³⁰

Aristocratic families were increasingly fervent on having members of their own family or that of an ally occupy the episcopal position.²³¹ At the onset of the fifth century, episcopal election still demanded certain participation by the *cives* who could judge the origins, piety and religious values of the episcopal

²²⁷ My own translation. Etenim tanta turba competitorum, ut cathedræ unius numerosissimos candidatos nec duo recipere scamna potuissent. Omnes placebant sibi, omnes omnibus displicebant. See Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 7.9. See also Van Waarden, *Writing to Survive. A Commentary on Sidonius Apollinaris, Letters Book 7. Volume 1: The Episcopal Letters 1-11.*

²²⁸ Brennan, “‘Episcopae’: Bishops’ Wives Viewed in Sixth-Century Gaul,” 318; Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 7.9.24

²²⁹ Cleri, plebis et ordinis consensus et desiderium requirantur. Celest., *Ep.* 4 “cuperemus quidem”

²³⁰ Leon Mag., *Ep.* 10 “divinae cultum religionis”, 7: ...teneatur subscription clericorum, honoratorum testimoniu,, ordinis consensus et plebis...

²³¹ For an account of the rivalries which could erupt between factions see the case of Pope Damascus who competed with the deacon Ursinus for the see of Rome. See Vives, “Dámaso y Ursino.” Damascus was of a notable Lusitanian family

candidat.²³² Thus Gallaecian bishop Dictinius (see Annexe) was ordained on account of pressure from the *cives* and this despite the opposition of the influential Ambrosius of Milan on account of Dictinius' less than orthodox spirituality. This example demonstrates that in the early fifth century, the local celebrity of a candidate held greater value than his position in the larger Catholic Church. Under pressure from the *potentiores* however, citizens could be ignored entirely as the power in electing bishops was increasingly transferred to the *metropolitanus* and other bishops as confirmed in the 528 *codex Iustinianus* which states that three candidates of irreproachable conduct should be put forth by the community, and the best candidate should be chosen by the *metropolitanus* advised by the other bishops.²³³

In Hispania, though far posterior to our period of study, the 599 council of Barcino suggests that certain bishops in the past had come to occupy the episcopal see without having ascended the ranks of the clergy and without having lived virtuous lives. This same council therefore laid out instructions for the selection of *episcopi* stating that the clergy and the people should select two or three candidates that should present themselves before the *metropolitanus* and the bishops should then select the 'divinely designated' candidate.²³⁴ Though candidates were supposed to move through the ranks of *lector*, *presbyter* and deacon before having the possibility to join the clergy, "rich lay candidates often simply had more prestige and power than clerics and monks, and hence were felt by the electorate to be a greater asset to their town and province."²³⁵ Indeed the conflict provoked by bishop Silvanus of Caliguris' irregular ordination attests to the bishops overwhelming support by the *plebs* and *honorati* at the expense of ecclesiastical norms and canon law.²³⁶

With significant power among the *plebs* and *honorati* it is not surprising that from the fourth to sixth centuries many bishops are reported to have refused their episcopal appointment, being chased down and forced into the episcopacy by the citizens of their diocese. Norton presents nearly twenty cases of such

²³² Justo, *La cura pastoral en la España romanovisigoda*, 56.

²³³ Cod. Iust. 1.2.41. Most research supports the hypothesis that episcopal selection was increasingly dominated by the *metropolitanus* and the bishops. See Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 200; Gryson, "Les élections épiscopales en occident au IVème siècle"; Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica*. This notion is however challenged by Norton who maintains that popular will remained important. See Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600*.

²³⁴ *Syn. Barch.* For a more detailed study of the seventh century election process of episcopal candidates see C. Díaz Martínez, "Concilios y obispos en la península Ibérica (Siglos VI-VIII)", 30–32.

²³⁵ Van Waarden, *Writing to Survive: Book 7, 1: The Episcopal Letters 1–11:249*.

²³⁶ Castellanos and Martín Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)"; Martín Viso, "Organización episcopal y poder entre la Antigüedad Tardía y el Medievo (siglos V-XI): Las Sedes de Calahorra, Oca y Osma," 160. Sáinz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja, siglos IV - XIII*, 69.

bishops from across the Roman world. The demonstration of modesty was likely a hagiographic convention however.²³⁷ While in the third century, individuals may have declined the episcopal position out of fear of persecution and death, by the fifth century, the danger to Church leaders was comparatively low though Hydatius does mention the slaughter and wounding of bishops during attacks on the *civitates* as people were torn from the churches and pushed into servitude.²³⁸ Out of modesty or fear for one's life, the refusal of episcopal office must have been real as Majorian's 460 edict declares that any person ordained bishop against his will, shall not be released from his episcopal office.²³⁹

This phenomenon of forced ordinations must have been real, and we can wonder why such refusals would occur. Among the negative traits of the episcopacy was the necessity of living an exemplar life, ideally a chaste and modest one all while accepting increased duty, both spiritual in the assurance of orthodoxy, and civil, in cases requiring arbitration between parties by the bishop. Letter writing, council meetings, parish visits, baptisms, the celebration of holy days and the overseeing of the diocese's day to day activities were additional burdens placed upon the *episcopus*, not to mention the great stress that such a public role placed on more ascetic episcopal candidates.²⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that this episcopal convention of refusing ordination is noted throughout the Empire, yet not a single example of a hesitant election reaches us from Hispania, which points to an Iberian clergy sufficiently secure to handle the responsibility of the positions. The lack of refusal suggests that in the fifth century, the Iberian clergy was composed, not of humble monastics, but for the most part of competent *curiales* and of noble aristocrats, used to hosting guests, appearing in public, writing letters, and accepting both duty and luxury.

If as we sustain that both the landed and urban-based aristocracy were still strong in Late Antique Hispania, the duties of the bishops were lessened by the presence of such secular authorities, and thus the position, though prestigious, was also more manageable. Furthermore the networks of clients attached to these bishops would have aided in the day-to-day drudgeries. The episcopal election process, however, highlights an acute problem on the Iberian Peninsula, and not merely among the episcopacy: simony, especially for our purposes, the efforts of would-be bishops to bribe their way into office. In effect the great prestige brought about by the episcopal position was sufficient for the aristocracy to seek and claim a diocese for their family and we see over the course of the fifth century reaching acuteness in the sixth, a veritable 'hijacking of the Church' by aristocratic dynasties.

²³⁷ The display of false modesty by the initial refusal of office dates back to at least Augustus and the *reception imperii*. For a greater treatment of this subject see Olms, *Recusatio Imperii*.

²³⁸ Hyd. 133 [141], 167 [174], 179 [186]

²³⁹ *Nov. Mai.* 11

²⁴⁰ These points are discussed in Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600*, 191-202.

In Hispania, the existence of episcopal families is confirmed in the case of Isidor of Sevilla who inherited the episcopal see from his elder brother Leandrus while another brother, Fulgencius, became bishop of Astigi (Écija) in Baetica.²⁴¹ The father of the family was quite possibly a *potentior* from the region of Carthago Nova. Episcopal families were not unique to Baetica, indeed, at the onset of the sixth century, Tarraconensis also witnessed domination by an episcopal family where three brothers, Elpidius, Nebridius, and Justinianus were respectively bishops of Osca, Egara, and Valentia. The 633 Fourth Council of Toledo denounced past abuses in the election of bishops, and decreed that “the candidate elected by the clergy and by the people of the episcopal city should be made bishop if the election is confirmed by the *metropolitanus* and the other bishops of the province”.²⁴²

It’s difficult to assert just how early nepotism installed itself in the Iberian Church, but these abuses of dynastic planning within the episcopacy must have grown worse in the sixth and seventh centuries prompting the fourth *Concilium Toletanum* in 633 to draw up a list of those people who should be entirely excluded as episcopal candidates. This list includes among others: the infamous, the mutilated and deformed, heretics, the remarried, fornicators, servants, those with curial duties, the illiterate, soldiers, those who bribed their way into the clergy or entered with hopes of personal reward, those hand-appointed by the previous bishop and those who were not from among the clergy or who had not gone up the ranks as per usual.²⁴³ This canon decision demonstrates two developments which had occurred in the Church by the seventh century. Firstly, there had been many abuses in the two previous centuries. Secondly, this decision indicates that by the seventh century, the Iberian Church had effectively become an entity of its own no longer under the thumb of the *honorati* and *possessores* as attested to by the clauses which specifically outlawed *curial* bishops and simony. Episcopal dynasties connected by blood relations became increasingly difficult to maintain as monastic factions gained strength and pushed for celibacy and continence among the upper clergy.²⁴⁴ Thus at the end of Late Antiquity, though blood related dynasties declined among the episcopacy, new factions of non-blood-related clergy arose composing an intellectual and spiritual family, formed in monasteries and convents. Though as the case of Leander and Isidor of Hispalis demonstrate, families of local *potentiores* still had the capacity to dominate the local Church in the early seventh century.

Throughout this chapter, we’ve endeavoured to present the origins of the Iberian episcopacy, especially originating from among the most fortunate of society, the *curiales* and the senatorial aristocracy,

²⁴¹ Also see Teja, “Las dinastías episcopales en la Hispania tardorromano”.

²⁴² *Conc. Tol. IV* (633), 19: ...sacerdos erit quem nec cleris nec populous propriæ civitatis elegit, vel auctoritas metropolitani vel provincialium sacerdotum assensio adquisivit...

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Zuk, *Carnal and Conjugal Love among the Bishops of Late Antiquity*, 389-390.

which as the century progressed, found in the episcopacy, pathways both to personal prestige and family survival. In the following chapter we will demonstrate how these *episcopi* moved through the world about them, and by what means they were able to fulfill both the ideals of a pious leader of the spiritual communities while respecting their born position as societal leaders in the civic sphere.

CHAPTER IV : BISHOPS AS SPIRITUAL LEADERS

*“Spiritual authority ... comes from the possession of the Holy Spirit. In its purest form, it is received as a divine gift... without any participation on the side of the recipient.”*²⁴⁵

Ecclesiastical Organisation and Authority

In chapter VII we will see that spiritual authority came in different forms. Whereas ascetic leaders derived their authority from divine inspiration, that of the bishops was granted through apostolic inheritance. Thus when the apostles of Christ travelled around the Mediterranean to preach the gospel and found churches they bestowed by ritual of their ordination the title of *episcopus*, literally *overseer*, on those pious and respected men who could oversee the development of the Christian community. This ritual involved a prayer which summoned the Holy Spirit and bound it to the body of the ordained, filling the bishop with spiritual power and the laying on of hands in which the Holy Spirit entered the bishop’s body. It was important that the ordination of hands be performed by other bishops, by as many as possible, but by no fewer than three.²⁴⁶ Because only bishops could ordain other bishops, a continuity of authority existed between each bishop and the original apostles of Christ. This feature of the episcopate was critical in legitimising the spiritual authority of the *episcopi*. When a bishop died his spiritual authority was handed down to a new *episcopus* and so forth so that a chain of descendance could always be drawn back from the current bishop to one of Christ’s early apostles thus forming a perfect connection of spiritual inheritance going all the way back to Christ himself.²⁴⁷

In the Eastern Empire, cities such as Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria had important Christian communities at an early date and the *episcopi* of these cities were endowed with exceptional prestige.²⁴⁸ Because these major metropolitan cities were foci of christianisation, a province’s *metropolis*, i.e. large city, acted as the mother church and its bishop the *metropolitanus* literally *he proceeding from the metropolis*, held spiritual authority throughout the province. The *metropolitanus* was therefore the bishop of a province’s capital city and he held authority over the other bishops of his province. In contrast to the

²⁴⁵ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 56. Such acquired gifts are treated as ascetic authority in her work, but she acknowledges that this division is atypical. In this regard, we approach the spiritual aspect in a more traditional manner which also includes ascetism.

²⁴⁶ This rule was imposed by the Seventh Ecumenical Councils and is laid out in the 13th canon of the 217 blessed fathers who assembled at Carthage. See *codex canonum ecclesiarum* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 67.

²⁴⁷ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 29, 63.

²⁴⁸ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 275-276: “In the fourth century legislation [] of Constantine, the clergy is treated as a corporate body without hierarchical stratification...[and] the distinction between priests and bishops begins to be made only in the fifth century”.

hierarchical system of the East, the *civitates* of Hispania paled in size and glory to their eastern counterparts. Since no city held *significant* influence over the others, no hierarchy of authority could be imposed. Furthermore, the lower density and lesser Christianisation of Iberia meant that the Iberian bishop's authority was not limited to a single city but was held rather over an entire region such as the valley of the Baetis.²⁴⁹ Fifth-century Hispania, “a land of scattered sees and difficult communications”²⁵⁰ was both regionalised and decentralised. Indeed, the identifiable trait of the Iberian episcopacy is the lack of coherence between regions and the absence of diocesan *metropolitani* before the mid-fifth century.²⁵¹ In the early Christian West, it was the bishop with the most seniority, i.e. time since ordination, who held de-facto authority in the region.²⁵²

During the fifth century there was an attempt to impose an eastern style hierarchy on the diocese of southern Gallia. This too will be discussed in chapter VI but in brief the ecclesiastical elite set out to establish agreement on seniority, rules of etiquette, and respect of council decisions. In short the Gallic Church sought to establish rules of self-governance.²⁵³ In the early fifth century bishop Patroclus of Arelate²⁵⁴ attempted to subjugate the other southern Gallic sees to his own authority with the intent of placing the bishop of Arelate at the head of the Gallic Church, where he would be responsible for ordaining all other bishops. He also wished that all bishops wishing to visit Rome should first seek a recommendation letter from the *metropolitanus* of Arelate, effectively creating a bottle-neck of authority in which the *episcopus* of Arelate would act as the connexion between the Pope and the Galliae.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁹ This is how Florez explains the presence at varying times of an episcopal see in Hispalis and another at Italica just 9 kilometres from Hispalis. See Flórez, *España Sagrada*, 1747, 12: 255–258.

²⁵⁰ Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, 130.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² This may explain why Illiberis was chosen as the site of the *concillium Illiberis* on account of its proximity to Accitum (Guadix) where bishop Felix on account of his seniority presided over the council. See ‘Hosius’ in Wace and Piercy, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*.

²⁵³ The 398 *Concilium Taurinorum* (Council of Turin) was above all meant to establish episcopal hierarchy in Southern Gallia. Also see Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 62–63.

²⁵⁴ Though strictly not an Iberian bishop, Patroclus is included in the annexed prosopography on account of his relevance in contrasting the Gallic situation with that of Hispania.

²⁵⁵ Zos. *Ep.* 1. These pretensions were killed with the death of Zosimus but not before Potroclus attempted to name a bishop in the neighbouring province of Narbonensis.²⁵⁵ See Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, 156–157.

No similar attempt is detectable in Hispania and no known *metropolitanus* is recorded in the first half of the fifth century. Pope Hilarius writing to bishop Ascanius of Tarraco in 465 scolded him for failing to enforce the authority ‘of his position’.²⁵⁶ Though the title *metropolitanus* is not used in the letter, the Pope’s reply suggests that in theory the bishop at Tarraco held seniority over the others of Tarraconensis.²⁵⁷ This lack of metropolitan authority in the provinces of Hispania and Gallia may mirror the Italian model in which the Pope held direct authority over all of the episcopal sees of Italy (numbered at about 200 in the fourth century).²⁵⁸ Rome, however, as the ancient heart of the Empire and as the hereditary see of Saint Peter, held a spiritual significance that other *civitates* such as Hispalis, Emerita, Toletum, Arelate, or Narbo could not hope to equal. It is therefore unsurprising that we see an organic and loose configuration of dioceses in the post-Roman West. Despite this disorganization there was a definite effort in the later fifth century to enforce hierarchical structure. One particular example from Tarraconensis demonstrates the frailty of the Iberian episcopal hierarchy.

In the final years of the 460s, bishop Silvanus of Caligurris (Calahorra, Rioja) appointed a bishop without the support of the metropolitan bishop in Tarraco. In fact, Silvanus may even have forgone the conventional support of the *plebs*, ordaining a candidate chosen by the *honorati* alone.²⁵⁹ Despite this incident, the bishop had been accepted by his Tarraconensian peers. More recently however, this same bishop Silvanus had ordained priests in neighbouring diocese, likely in that of Caesaraugusta, thus overstepping his territorial jurisdiction.²⁶⁰ In chapter VI we examine the political organisation of Tarraconensis and it will become clearer why the bishop in Tarraco was unable to exercise control over the other bishops of the province, but for now it is sufficient to say that Ascanius, bishop of Tarraco, was severely scolded by the Pope for failing to enforce his authority within the province.²⁶¹ Silvanus had not stood idly and indeed he defended himself in a missive to the Pope claiming that his consecrations had the

²⁵⁶ Hil., *Ep.* 1

²⁵⁷ The term *metropolitanus* was used no later than 516 however to refer to the bishop of Tarraco. See *Conc. Tarr.*. The term metropolitanus is also used in regards to the bishop of Tarraco at the 540 Concilium Barcinonensis. See *Conc. Barch* (540).

²⁵⁸ Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d’Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (an.604) [microform]*; Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, 146.

²⁵⁹ Espinosa Ruiz, *Calagurris Iulia*, 280–282, 285–286, 291–292; Olcoz Yanguas and Medrano Marqués, “El cisma del Obispo Calagurritano Silvano,” 293 f 3.

²⁶⁰ González Blanco, “Los orígenes cristianos de la ciudad de Calahorra,” 243.

²⁶¹ Hil. *Ep.* 17.1: “in any case, the responsibility for this situation which has so disgraced us is on account of your charity, because by virtue of your position and your dignity you should have instructed and not followed the other clerics.”

support of the *honorati* and *possessores* of Turiasso (Tarazona), Cascantum (Cascante) Calagurris (Calahorra), Varegia (Vareia), Tritium (Tricio), Levia (Libia) and Virovesca (Briviesca).²⁶² His appointments were thus supported by the local powers. To add insult to injury, bishop Ascanius' dominance was tested when the Pope refused to recognise the appointment of Irenaeus as new bishop of Barcino despite the support of the Tarraconensian bishops and the supreme military commander of the province the *dux Tarraconensis*.²⁶³

This evidence demonstrates a weak hierarchy in the Iberian Church of the mid-fifth century.²⁶⁴ Even on the basic level of organisation, Catholic authorities experienced difficulty in imposing their will upon rogue clerics, heretical factions, and independent acting *episcopi* who as their titles as overseers imply, were meant to watch over the religious community. Indeed in Hispania, the turbulence of the fifth century resulted in the bishops acting with greater isolation and independence than was known in other parts of the Empire.²⁶⁵ While the traditional *episcopi* literally were overseers or watchers of the Christian community, they were, especially in Gallaecia and as attested to by the number of heresies in the province, somewhat isolated from the Catholic community. If the Pope had an inkling of appreciation for classical satire, his resting mind surely pondered the poet Juvenal's timeless line *sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes*.²⁶⁶

How could the Catholic hierarchy ensure orthodoxy among the Iberian clergy? The answer came in the form of the *vicarii*, papal vicars, substitutes for ecclesiastical authority. Vicars had become important in civil administration since the reforms under Diocletian (284-305), and the early Church adapted the concept to its own use. The *vicarius* was a watchmen whom the Pope installed in each of the major centres of the Church's organisation; in *Hispaniae*: Terraconensis and Baetica. The vicar was to act as the eyes and mouth of Rome, to receive appeals from the clergy, and to supervise the election of *metropolitani*.²⁶⁷ The papal vicar corresponded directly with the papacy to oversee the smooth running of the *Hispaniae*. Bishop

²⁶² Olcoz Yanguas and Medrano Marqués, "The Schism of Silvano, Bishop of Calahorra, the Bagaudas and the Origin of the Bishopric of Pamplona," 295–296; Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, 103–104.

²⁶³ Olcoz Yanguas and Medrano Marqués, "The Schism of Silvano, Bishop of Calahorra, the Bagaudas and the Origin of the Bishopric of Pamplona," 294–295.

²⁶⁴ Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, 242 supports this position in his analysis of Hydatius' chronicle.

²⁶⁵ Muhlberger argues that the scarcity of information concerning the Roman orient in the later part of Hydatius' Chronicle is evidence that Gallaecia, even among the elite, had become isolated from the Roman world. See *Ibid.*, 208–212. Burgess by contrast sees the relative difficulty of communications as generalized to the entire Roman occident and not as a characteristic feature of the Iberian condition. See Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*.

²⁶⁶ Juvenalis, "Iuv. Sat. 6," 347–348: "Who will guard the guards themselves?"

²⁶⁷ Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, 154–155.

Zeno was appointed by Pope Simplicius (468–483) to this position, and in the early sixth century Hormisdas was vicar of Baetica and Lusitania while Ioannes of Tarraco was responsible for overseeing the remaining parts of Hispania.²⁶⁸ Later use of the term *vicarius* suggests that vicars were sent to care for regions without bishops, either newly Christianised regions or those with a vacant episcopal seat.²⁶⁹

Though the Iberian system was dysfunctional, the bishops' authority through apostolic inheritance was not undermined; indeed this very idea is what filled the bishop's see with legitimacy. In spite of papal overseeing in the later part of the fifth century, it appears that the Hispanic bishops operated with a great degree of independence since the vicars as messengers were ordered not to infringe on the bishops authority within his diocese. Spiritual and ecclesiastical authority, to which we now turn, was the distinct domain of the *episcopus*.

ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

As a king is to his kingdom, so was the bishop to his diocese, possessing in theory, complete control over ecclesiastical matters. Neither monks nor presbyters nor holy men were authorised to question his authority, a privilege reserved strictly to his episcopal colleagues. Church councils and papal intervention could infringe on the bishop's ability to act independently, but the rarity or non existence of these in most parts of fifth-century Hispania demonstrate the independence of the Iberian bishops. Effectively to be a bishop was to have been recognised as an equal by the other *episcopi*. For one, the laying-on-of-hands ceremony was to be performed by at least three bishops and thus involved integration into the episcopal community.²⁷⁰ Neighbouring bishops could interfere in the affairs of another bishop, but only in the case that they detected a challenge to Church unity.²⁷¹ Thus around 420 at the behest of the monk Fronto, Agapius the bishop of Tarraco (see annexe I) summoned the presbyter Severus to an *episcopalis audientia*,²⁷² also summoning bishops Syagrius and Sagitius to testify in what would become a shameful

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 130.

²⁶⁹ The role and origin of the ecclesiastic *vicarius* has yet to be sufficiently explored in the incipient Church. Our own conclusions are based on circumstantial evidence and the roles of the *vacarii* in the later Church.

²⁷⁰ Munier, *Concilia Galliae a.314-a.506.*, 1: 114: *episcopi sine metropolitano vel epistula metropolitani vel tribus comprovincialibus non liceat ordinare...*

²⁷¹ Chadwick, "The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society and Responses".

²⁷² For evidence of *episcopalis audientia* in Late Antiquity see Lenski, "Evidence for the Audientia Episcopalis in the New Letters of Augustine".

ecclesiastical affair which the Tarraconensen bishops ultimately preferred to sweep under the rug than to deal with.²⁷³

Because a significant source of the bishop's authority was the degree to which he lived a pious and ascetic life, this theme will be treated in chapter VIII where it is shown that the Bishops had to contend with monastics and other ascetics to retain their spiritual *auctoritas*. The example *par excellence* of an ascetic bishop is the Gallic *episcopus* Martin of Tours (Turonensis)²⁷⁴ a Roman aristocrat who abandoned his military career for an ascetic life of prayer. Martinus also went on to inspire monastic communities and after his death was sainted and venerated by Catholics. His funerary shrine grew to the size of an important basilica in a single century.²⁷⁵ Later bishops grew their own prestige by association with the martyrs. This was especially true in Hispania where the martyr cults took on a life of their own. Emerita Augusta prospered throughout the fourth and fifth centuries and this in large part due to the importance of their martyr, the

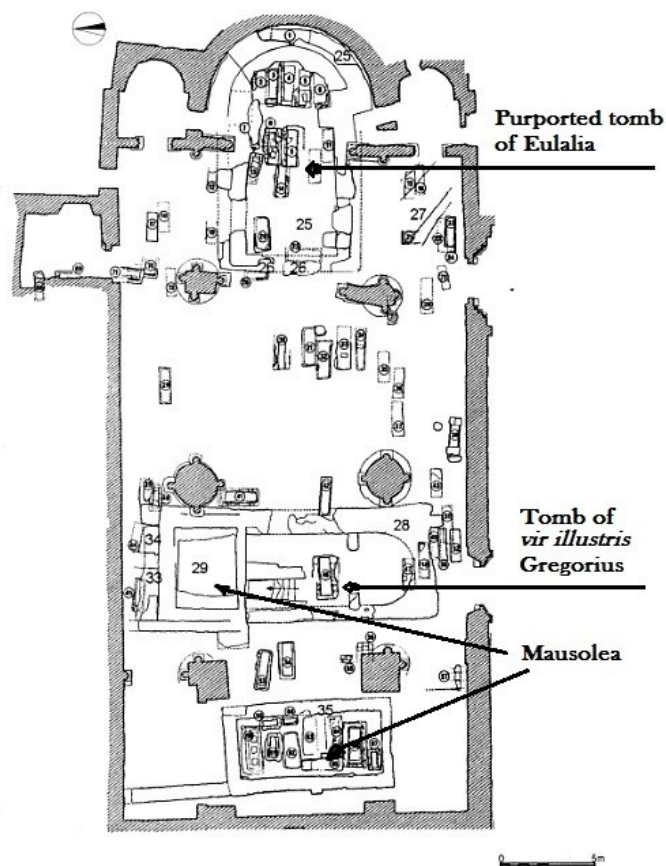


Figure 3: Tombs surrounding the *tumulus* of Eulalia (Adapted from *Anejos de AEspA* XIX, 51)

²⁷³ Kulikowski, "Fronto, the Bishops, and the Crowd: Episcopal Justice and Communal Violence in Fifth-Century Tarraconensis," 298.

²⁷⁴ In the fifth century, Tours, known in the first century as Caesarodunum, had reverted to its Gallic name Civitas Turonum on account of the Turones who lived there. See Figure 1.

²⁷⁵ In effect Martin, deceased in 397, was buried in a modest suburban Christian cemetery, bishop Brictius built an ornate wooden chapel to house his tomb and sacred cloak, and in 470 construction was complete on a basilica to house his relics. Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 2.14 : Hic aedificavit basilicam parvulam super corpus Martini, in qua et ipse sepultus est. The expansion of Turones under the patronage of Martin is explored in Pietri, *La ville de Tours du IVe au VIe siècle: naissance d'une cité chrétienne*.

virgin Eulalia.²⁷⁶ The placement of Christian tombs in the vicinity of Eulalia's burial *tumulus* (see figure 3) testifies to the importance of the martyrial cults and the prestige of burial near the protector saint. The bishop's tomb was directly adjacent to that of Eulalia in the apse. Likewise in Tarraco a fifth century basilica was built within the amphitheatre where certain Christians had been martyred.²⁷⁷ Indeed "the archaeology of early Christianity in Iberian cities is dominated by the remains of *martyria* and other cemetery churches".²⁷⁸

The bishop's authority was not unshakeable however and among the undermining factors was the prevalent construction of private chapels built to facilitate private religious practice on the estates of the landed aristocracy. Private practice, however, was menacing to central ecclesiastical authority as it segregated religious communities from the local *episcopus*, thereby strengthening the power of local *potentiores* who saw the Church as another means of increasing their own personal wealth and autonomy.²⁷⁹ Local chapels also allowed room for the development of divergent theology and practice, which was also problematic because the bishop as the supreme spiritual authority within his diocese, was to be consulted with any theological or doctrinal concerns. If a clergyman had an issue he was to take it up with the bishop directly, and was not permitted to seek refuge under the protection of a bishop other than his own.²⁸⁰ If the clergy was not on good terms with his local bishop, messy situations could arise such as that of Tarra, a Lusitanian monk who when accused by his bishop of sexual immorality went before the Visigothic king for aid. In a letter, Tarra pleaded his case in hopes that royal authorities would intervene, writing:

²⁷⁶ See chapter VI for further analysis of Emerita Augusta whose saint Eulalia became reputed throughout all of Spain and even in Gallia where the famous poem *Le cantique de Sainte Eulalie* was written in her honour.

²⁷⁷ Cleary, *The Roman West, AD 200-500*, 163–164.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 173; also see Bowes, "‘Une coterie espagnole pieuse’: Christian Archaeology and Christian Communities in Fourth and Fifth-Century Hispania," 194–195.

²⁷⁹ Castellanos and Martín Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)", 9.

²⁸⁰ This was determined by canon law passed at Arles (canons 26-27), Antioch (canon 3) and Nicaea (canon 16) and is also upheld by Roman civil law which states that "...offenses pertaining to religious observance [] shall be heard in their own places and by synods of their own diocese, with the exception of those matters which criminal action has established shall be heard by ordinary and extraordinary judges or by illustrious authorities". See *Cod. Theod.* 16.2.20

*“[since the passing of my wife] never again has a woman touched my lips with her embrace... [and neither] in the city of Emerita nor in all of Lusitania, have I ever known a prostitute. Rather the first and last woman of Lusitania to reside with me was my wife alone, who by fatal fortune was snatched from me by death.”*²⁸¹

The result of Tarra’s supplication is unknown, but canon law is clear that clergy could not leave their diocese or be taken under the wings of another bishop without the permission of his bishop.²⁸² Indeed if this Tarra was banished from the clergy, canon law forbade him from seeking a place in another diocese. The 380 *Concilium Caesaraugustae* reads that:

*“Those who on account of disciplinary measures or episcopal sentencing have been separated from the Church, shant be received by other bishops, and any bishop who knowingly receives such a cleric shall be stripped of his position...”*²⁸³

The Church was therefore strict on retaining the bishop’s ultimate authority within the confines of his diocese; the only exception to this clerical immobility was granted in the case that a bishop was himself guilty of heterodoxical practices. In this case, in order to better serve the Catholic Church, a cleric could seek the patronage of another Catholic bishop.²⁸⁴

In theory the bishop had supreme spiritual authority within his diocese. However a 404 letter from Pope Innocentius treats the abuses done by Iberian bishops Rufinus and Minucius who had carried out *improba insurpatio*, i.e. ordinations beyond the territorial jurisdiction of their diocese.²⁸⁵ The Iberian bishops, on account of the great spiritual disunity on the peninsula may have possessed an inferior spiritual authority to the bishops of great metropolitan sees in Gallia and Africa such as Arlete and Carthago. Within the *diocese Hispaniarum*, there is not a single *metropolitanus* whose authority appears to outrank that of his colleagues. The Iberian bishops looked to Rome when in doubt and in this sense, the Iberian Church remained quite Roman. Thus when a Priscillianist worry arose again in Galaecia towards the mid-fifth century, Dictinius bishop of Asturica wrote to the bishop of Rome, Leo the Great. The Pope responded in a letter dated to the 21st of July 447 with details presenting appropriate action in the face of this heresy. Furthermore he instructed that a general council of the *Hispaniae* be held, a council which never did

²⁸¹ Tar., *Ep.*: ... denuo mulier nec labia mea tetigit osculo ... In Emerita urbe et Lusitania omne ullum scortum numquam didii, sed Lusitaniae prima et nouissima mihique permansit coniunx una, fatali sorte morte transmissa.

²⁸² Con. Tol. 12–13. Similar canons were passed in Gallia. See the 396 *Concile de Nîmes*, canon 6, and the 441 *Concile d’Orange*, canon 7, in Munier, *Concilia Galliae a.314-a.506*. Also see Gauthier, “Le réseau de pouvoirs de l’évêque dans le Gaule du Haute Moyen-Age”, 175.

²⁸³ *Conc. Caes.* 5.

²⁸⁴ *Conc. Tol.* 12.

²⁸⁵ Innoc. I., *Ep.* 3.

occur.²⁸⁶ Though the bishop held supreme spiritual authority within his diocese, those who wished to remain Orthodox were forced to compel with papal decrees and council rulings and promote Christian morals in their community.²⁸⁷

Despite the bishop's ecclesiastical authority, certain clergymen such as the monk Fronto, who when shamed at an *audientia episcopalis*, chose to defy their ecclesiastical superiors rather than accept condemnation. Fronto and his ally Consentius concluded that the ruling of Tarraco's bishop Titianus had been *venale iudicium*, unjust, and that he had arbitrated with *venditam veritatem*, battered truth.²⁸⁸ To call the bishop unjust was to question his authority, an authority that sprung from his role model for the Christian community. If the bishop held authority in his diocese it was for two distinct reasons. First, having been ordained bishop in the laying-on-of-hands, the bishop was filled with the Holy Spirit and the *auctoritas* of the apostles. Secondly, the bishop's authority came from his own personal piety.²⁸⁹ On account of his personal virtue, the bishop was compelled to intervene in cases of morality. Thus at the 400 *Concilium Toletanum* a canon was passed which read:

*“Should any person of power exploit a cleric or pauper, and should not present himself before the bishop when called to, then the bishop will immediately write to inform the other bishops of the province that said person shall be held in excommunication until he appears before the bishop and returns what he has stolen”.*²⁹⁰

This canon, introduces the unique role of the bishop as ultimate moral authority and its application to the civil sphere. This early canon clearly demonstrates the Iberian Church's desire to subjugate the civil authorities and *potentiores* to the moral authority of the Church. Lacking true power, the canon condemns the abuser to the worst of punishments for a Christian: denial of communion. The civic powers of the bishops will be discussed in chapter V, but in brief, the presence of a strong aristocratic class in fifth century Hispania, suggests that the bishop, though possessing great moral authority, rarely had the power to compel compliance from the *potentiores*. In this regard, the bishop's greatest weapon was his capacity

²⁸⁶ The case of Dictinius is discussed in Selner, *The Retractions*, 60: 256–257. Also see ‘Dictinius’ in the annexed prosopography. Dictinius is further known to us from Pope Leon Magnus' response to Turibius. See Leon. Mag., *Ep.* 15.

²⁸⁷ Indeed, bishop Rufinus (see annexed prosopography) came before the synod of Toletum to seek pardon for his transgression and ignorance of the Nicene policy regarding ordination. Innoc. I., *Ep.* 3.

²⁸⁸ Cons., *Ep.* 11*.21.1

²⁸⁹ This point is stressed by Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 179, 212.

²⁹⁰ Conc. Tol. 11.

to bestow Christian *honor* on the pious and withhold it from the wicked. The examples of clerical disobedience in Hispania are representative of the state of the Iberian Church.

The bishop was also active in upholding the wellbeing of the innocent and those who sought asylum in the church.²⁹¹ Sidonius Apollinaris also discusses various episcopal interventions before the civil authorities.²⁹² Bishops are known to have defended accused criminals, causing the civil authorities to react.²⁹³ It is hard to know to what degree the bishop acted as a civil *iudex* in the *civitates*. His immediate jurisdiction of the *civitas* was also home to powerful aristocrats while those areas lacking access to civic administrators such as the deep countryside were also difficultly accessed by the bishop. Despite these interventions, we must recall that the bishop's power came from his moral authority and not a legal right to actuate. On account of his sanctity, the belief was that God would grant the bishop, the discernment to sort the guilty from the innocent and the wisdom to act as an impartial arbitrator.²⁹⁴ His role in arbitration will be further discussed in chapter V.

Certain moral authorities are conflated with civic duties, and on this account the fifth century bishop shares many qualities with the classical Roman *patronus*.²⁹⁵ Among these traits, we find the bishop's demonstration of Christian *caritas* and the care of the sick of which he was the ultimate overseer. In the fifth century however, this role continued to be filled by the aristocracy as attested to in a letter from Hieronymus to the Hispano-Roman Lucinius, in which he and his wife Theodora are praised for their generosity towards the poor.²⁹⁶ The entry *en masse* of the aristocracy into the clergy further developed this connection between the classical *patronus* and the *episcopus*. By the sixth century however the bishop unquestionably cared for the poor and the distribution of bread and oil from the episcopal palace closely parallels the distribution of bread in Republican Rome. In Emerita, the building known as the *xenodochium* has been analysed as a pilgrims' hostel for care of the sick and of travellers. While care of the poor was a

²⁹¹ See Ducloux, *Ad ecclesiam confugere. Naissance du droit d'asile dans les églises (IVe-milieu du Ve s.)*.

²⁹² Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 1.7, 2.1.5, 7.3.5.

²⁹³ Chadwick, "The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society and Responses," 7; Bajo Alvarez, "El patronato de los obispos sobre ciudades durante los siglos IV-V en Hispania"; In Gallia Martin of Tours succeeded in seeing pardoned many men otherwise condemned to death. See Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 2.4-5. Germanus Autessiodurensi was similarly able to have the sentences of the condemned reduced by presenting himself before the *Praefectus praetorio*. See Const. Lug., *Vit. Ger.* 3.18.

²⁹⁴ Ubric Rabaneda, "La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507)", 161.

²⁹⁵ For a contrast of the classical *patronus* with the Late Antique *episcopus* see Lepelley, "Le patronat épiscopal aux IVe et Ve siècles: continuités et ruptures avec le patronat classique."

²⁹⁶ Jer., *Ep.*, 5.5-10, 71.4.2-4

moral responsibility of the Christian leader, it was also a public relations mandate to bolster the bishop's *honor*, and prestige within the community.²⁹⁷

Bishops had other charges as well. In Gallia, for example, the bishop was the manager of his Church's fortunes: all lands, cattle, slaves, and produce of Church land became his to manage and distribute.²⁹⁹ The Gallic bishop was also responsible for personally celebrating the major Christian festivals in his Cathedral, festivals which were celebrated by the community at large.³⁰⁰ Without blatant proof, it's likely that the Iberian bishops likewise held similar duties. With concern to the clergy, the bishop alone could judge the orthodoxy of *presbyters*, monks, and deacons, etc. in his diocese.³⁰¹ Also as we have seen, there was an expansion of privately owned rural chapels and as a means of intervention it was decided that the consecration of a church be done by the diocesan bishop alone.³⁰² The incomplete Christianisation of Iberia almost certainly entailed that the *presbyters* of Hispania had among their chief tasks, the teaching of Orthodox Christianity. The bishops, as the overseers of Christian society had the task of supervising the clergy and the practitioners of their community and though the position of the *episcopos* was multi-faceted, it should not be lost from sight, that their primary duty was the supervision and guidance of the Christian community. Bishop Turibius writes:

“[b]ecause of the evils of the time in which we live, with the synodal assemblies and decrees fallen into disuse, this [evil] has prospered all the more freely”³⁰⁷.

The isolation in which Iberian bishops found themselves allowed for a great deal of heterodoxy and discrepancies in practice between sees. When Toribius bishop of Asturica wrote to Pope Leo, he did so to denounce the various home-grown heresies which existed in his province. On account of this isolation, and on account of the bishops's supremacy within his diocese, these heterodox teaching needed not be hidden. Toribius writes that the heresies were taught publicly, though the most sacred of their apocryphal works

²⁹⁷ In Gallia, the distribution of funds to the less fortunate is well attested in the cases of Silvanus of Massilia who distributed much of his private wealth to the poor. See Salv. *Ad. Ecc.* 1.1-2, 2.1-2; cf. Bajo Alvarez, “El patronato de los obispos sobre ciudades durante los siglos IV-V en Hispania,” 205. Unfortunately our documentation for *caritas* in Hispania, apart from the case of Mazona, is poor.

²⁹⁹ *Con. Aur.* 511, canons 14-15. Cf. Ziche, “Administrer La Propriété de l'Église: L'évêque comme clerc et comme entrepreneur.”

³⁰⁰ *Conc. Agath.* (506),” 21.

³⁰¹ *Conc. Nem.* (396),” 3-4; *Conc. Taur.* (398),” 5.

³⁰² *Conc. Aur.* (506),” 9; *Conc. Aur.* 36-37.

³⁰⁷ Tur. Ast., *Ep.* 2: Quod quidem per mala temporis nostri synodorum conventibus decretisque cessantibus liberius crevit...

were kept away in dark places.³⁰⁸ At times the bishops employed their own charismatic authority against that of local holy men such as when bishop Didymus forcibly conscripted the holy man Aemilianus into the Church at Vergregius (see Annexe 1 ‘Didymus’). Even more concerning than heterodoxy was the practice of sorcery in Hispania. A century prior, the *concillium Illiberris* had recognised the use of black magic, and sentenced those who caused death by witchcraft to excommunication.³⁰⁹ Physical evidence survives in metal plates inscribed with hexes against the writer’s enemies³¹⁰ while Priscillian bishop of the Hispania was himself executed on account of his *maleficium*.³¹¹ These accusations of sorcerous practice would continue into the Visigothic kingdom, requiring further condemnation by the Visigothic episcopate.³¹²

Furthermore the bishops of the early-fifth century were tasked with converting the pagan population of their *civitas*, including the senatorial aristocracy. To do so, the *episcopi* adopted aspects of elite society, and preached in a language appropriate to the highest stratum of society. The adoption of elitist values by the Church however provoked a significant counter movement on the behalf of ascetic communities.³¹³ Pagans were not the only opponents to orthodox Christianity. Bishop Severus writes that the town of Iamana on the island of Minorica ‘seethed’ with Jews, an Iberian Christian, Consentius, lamented that the Iberian mainland ‘swarmed’ with Priscilianists.³¹⁴ While the bishop Severus is responsible for the persecutions on Minorica,³¹⁵ it is a lowly monk Fronto who takes the front in Tarraconensis, suggesting that the bishops, though concerned with Orthodoxy, also had to consider their position in relationship to the non-Christians

³⁰⁸ Tur. Ast., *Ep.* 4. : ...cum a multis publice pene magisterio doceantur ... continuo inficias euntes t perfidiam perfidia occultunt. Quod ne ultra iam faciant ex apocrifis scripturis, quas canonicis libris ueluti secretas et arcanas preferunt et quas maxima ueneratione suscipiunt ... quod disputandum sit potius quam legendum, aut forsitan sint libri alii qui occultius secretiusque seruantur...

³⁰⁹ *Conc. Illib.* 6.

³¹⁰ *CIL* II 510a; Audollente, *defixionum tabellae*.

³¹¹ See chapter VIII for full survey of Priscillian’s role in development of Christianity in the Hispanias.

³¹² Kulikowski, “Fronto, the Bishops, and the Crowd: Episcopal Justice and Communal Violence in Fifth-Century Tarraconensis,” 311; King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, 147–150.

³¹³ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 201–202.

³¹⁴ Cons., *Ep.* 11*.1.6, 24.1. For further discussion of Epistula 11* see Ubric Rabaneda, “Bishops, Heresy and Power: Conflict and Compromise in Epistula 11* of Consentius to Augustine.”

³¹⁵ See Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* aswell as SEVERUS in annexe 1.

of their province. Imposing Orthodoxy is the defining struggle of the fifth-century Church, and is best understood as a reaction to the withdrawal of Roman institutions throughout the occidental Empire.³¹⁶

There is evidence that throughout much of the west, Hispania in no way an exception, there was confusion over what it meant to be a proper Orthodox Christian. Unsurprisingly, Iberian bishops sometimes look outside of the peninsula for a model of proper Orthodoxy such as when Ceretius (See Annexe 1) wrote to Augustine concerning two potentially heretical *codices*. Another Gallaecian bishop Optatus (see Annexe 1) likewise wrote to Augustine regarding the origin of the soul. There is also evidence for Christians adopting Jewish customs unknowingly. Bradbury paints a picture of “Jews and Christians living side by side in the cramped quarters of ancient towns, greeting one another in the street, entering one another’s shops and occasionally participating in one another’s religious customs and festivals”.³¹⁷ The Judaisation of Christians seems to have been a real concern for bishops of the fourth century on account of canons past to control this sort of behaviour.³¹⁸ As the case of Severus of Minorica presents, the Iberian bishops in the fifth century went to great measures to suppress minority religions and force Orthodoxy on the population. Curiously, as the forced conversion on Minorica demonstrates, it appears that the nominal Catholicism of a population was equally important as actual practice. There is little reason to believe that the Jews who had been forced to convert actually accepted Christ as their saviour and abandoned their ancestral beliefs, especially in light of the toleration accorded to the Jews by Theodosius II.³¹⁹

As this chapter has shown, the Iberian bishops were at their core, examples of Christian morality wrestling with heresy and paganism to enforce Catholic orthodoxy over the peninsula. Though they arbitrated, settled disputes, preached the gospels, and acted as moral beacons, the one trait that distinguishes the bishops of Hispania is the necessity which they felt to stabilise and consolidate the religious beliefs of the *Hispaniae*.

³¹⁶ By developing a tight-knit, regional network of mutual legal procedure, spiritual practice, ritual and procedure, the Catholic Church was able to maintain a sense of group identity in an era of chaos. Cf. Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 66–67.

³¹⁷ Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*, 42.

³¹⁸ *Conc. Illib.* 16 “De puellis fidelibus ne infidelibus coniungantur” forbids inter-faith marriages; canon 49 forbids the blessing of the fields by Jews; canon 50 forbids that Christians eat with Jews, and canon 78 punishes adultery with Jewish women. Similar laws in the east prohibit the practice of resting on the Sabbath or of accepting gifts from Jews during Jewish festivals. See Von Hefele and LeClerq, *Histoire des conciles*, 1:212–264; Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*, 41.

³¹⁹ *Cod. Theod.*, 16.8.1–8.

CHAPTER V : BISHOPS IN THE SECULAR REALM

The secular authority of the bishops strengthened over the course of the the fifth century to grow from the most important of the Empire's many religions to what Rapp describes as "the single most important Institution of the Empire".³²⁰ It is unsurprising that as the leaders of the Church, the secular importance of the bishops also increased. Here we examine this civic and secular position. The evidence we present runs contrary to the narrative that in the fourth and fifth century, the bishop's pragmatic authority outweighed his spiritual authority.³²¹ As demonstrated in chapter III the Iberian bishops were at first drawn from the *curiales* and increasingly from the senatorial aristocracy which had reemerged in the fourth century as an influential though diverse cast, with provenances in military positions, imperial appointment, and from long ties to ancient patrician families. This aristocracy was held together by a keen sense of belonging to an elite group. Thus in addition to the pursuit of *otium*, i.e. leisure, and the fulfillment of civic duties, the aristocracy from which the bishops emerged, spent much energy maintaining personal relations with friends and family members. Even across great distances, these personal relationships could be maintained by the writing of letters and the sending of gifts.

These personal loyalties were primordial to the aristocratic world and as demonstrated by the friendship of fourth century Christian scholar Ausonius of Burdigala (Bordeaux) and pagan aristocrat Symmachus in Rome, these ties transcending religious beliefs.³²² In the fourth century, aristocratic males would aspire to secure priestly positions; a single day at the head of a procession could secure an aristocrat's place in the memory of the people and of his peers. After all, pagan rituals and ceremony were performed to secure the prosperity of the Roman state and the welfare of the Roman world. Furthermore, to attain the priesthood one had to be coopted, i.e. selected by the aristocracy. Thus simply holding the position was a great honour and demonstrator of respectability.³²³ Only in the last decades of the fourth century did the aristocracy cease to boast of pagan priesthoods.³²⁴ At the onset of the fifth century, the aristocracy struggled to navigate the passage of prestige from pagan rituals once associated with aristocratic values to the new

³²⁰ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 275. This evolution can also be seen in contrasting the structures of the fifth century *Codex Theodosianus*, with that of the sixth century *Codex Iustinianus*. While in the *Codex Theodosianus*, legislation concerning Christianity is placed near the end of the book, in chapter 16, and in a section treating religion more generally, including Jews, Heretics, and Manichaens in the *Codex Iustinianus*, the Christian Church is singled out and discussed in the very first chapter.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 274. See all of chapter 9 more generally.

³²² For the nature of their relationship see Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 53. For a recent analysis of Symmachus' political relations see Sogno, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*. For Ausonius see Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux*.

³²³ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 54–64.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 64–65. Also see Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, 135, 588.

Christian religion and the prestige it could offer. Indeed, contemporaries such as Salvian lament the half-conversion of the aristocracy, which turned to Christianity all while retaining many aspects of their pagan faith. He writes. "...more deadly peril lies in the fact that many who have made their vows to Christ continue to give their real devotion to idols."³²⁵

Though the aristocratic bishops' wealth and prestige contributed to his importance within the community, the bishop's greatest strength was his appointment for life. While the world rotated and seasons changed bringing political turmoil and natural disaster, the bishop remained stable and unchanging, outliving kings, *potentes*, and invading warlords.³²⁶ The bishops on account of their privileged lives often lived quite old and remained at the head of their diocese for the duration of this time. Ministries of fifty years, though exceptional, are not unheard of. One Iberian bishop, Vincomalos of Illipla, was made bishop at 40 years old and despite his age he remained bishop for an additional 43 years, dying at the ripe age of 85; he was the sole bishop of his community for nearly the entire span of our study.³²⁷ In the sixth century, bishops Ioannus and Sergius of Tarraconensis lived until ages ninety and seventy respectively.³²⁸ Meanwhile emperor's and kings had an expiration date on occasion lasting no more than a few weeks.

At the onset of the fifth century, as previously legislated by Emperor Constantine, the bishops were accorded certain legal powers. The *Codex Theodosianus* states that a bishop's legal jurisdiction should not be overturned by a civil judge.³²⁹ The law's intent was to offer protection to the Christian communities in the face of pagan civic authorities rather than simply bolster the powers of the bishops. The law recognises the episcopacy as the authority within the Church. In consequence Hydatius writes of Emerita's bishop, Autoninus, who on account of his spiritual authority and prestige within the city was able to arrest a Roman Manichean, Pascentius, and expel him from Lusitania despite the fact that Pascentius was a citizen of Emerita.³³⁰

The bishops were granted legal authority over the Christian population to aid with the weakening of the curial class though the bishops' legal authority was still second to that of the civil *iudices*, i.e. judges. In addition emperor Valentinian III released a number of secularising edicts in April 452 which imposed limits on the power of the *episcopi*. His *novellae* specified that "the bishops do not have a court according

³²⁵ Salv., *De Gub. Dei*. 8.2

³²⁶ Many authors have drawn attention to the permanent aspect of the bishop's role including Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 114.

³²⁷ See 'Vincomalos' in the annexed prosopography.

³²⁸ Vives, *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, n. 277, 278.

³²⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 1.27.1: "Pursuant to his own authority, a judge must observe that if an action should be brought before an episcopal court, he shall remain silent..."

³³⁰ Hyd. 130 [138]

to the laws, and they cannot have cognizance of cases except in religious matters”.³³¹ Thus the bishops were invested with legal authority. Their authority rather comes from their own wisdom and moral authority as heads of the diocese. In the case that both plaintiff and defendant agreed to settle a dispute outside of court, by seeking arbitration through the bishop, only then, was the bishop granted powers of arbitration. The *Novellae* also stipulate that “if either one of the parties be unwilling [to bring their case before the bishop, that] they shall conduct their cases according to the public statutes and the common law”.³³² That is to say that the episcopacy as of the mid-fifth century had not replaced civil institutions, but rather complemented them and relieved a certain burden from a shaky imperial system.

The presence of civil *iudices*, either municipal or royal is attested throughout the fifth century, as the *Concilium Tarraconense* explicitly forbade bishops from judging criminal cases.³³³ Still, over the course of the fifth century, episcopal arbitration became one of their main duties, possibly surpassing all others in time dedicated to the activity. Indeed the *Concilium Tarraconsense* of 516, felt it necessary to rule that bishops and other clergy members were not to perform arbitrations on Sundays, which should otherwise be dedicated to mass alone.³³⁴ Augustin writes that his duties as an arbiter otherwise robbed him of precious time which he would have preferred to direct toward other activities.³³⁵ On account of their prestige and above else, their exceptional virtue,³³⁶ Iberian bishops were indeed treated distinctly in both civil and canon law of the fifth century. The 400 *Concilium Illiberis* leaves room for civil accusations against the bishops, though it states that those proven to have made false accusations against a cleric are to be excommunicated.³³⁷ A 412 edict by Theodosius II entirely eliminates episcopal responsibility towards secular courts, stating that clergy are only to be tried before a bishop in an *audientia episcopalis*.³³⁸ By 452 however, apparently on account of episcopal abuses, Majorian revoked this episcopal immunity, stating that “should it be necessary that an action should be brought against [bishops] for forcible entry and seizure

³³¹ *Nov. Val.* 35.1

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ *Conc Tarr.*, 4:… ceteris vero diebus coniventibus personis illa quae iusta sunt habeant licentiam iudicandi excepto criminalia negotia.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* Ut nullus episcoporum … die dominico propositum cuiusquumque causae negotium audeat iudicare…

³³⁵ *Aug. De Oper Monach*, 37. Furthermore his biographer Possidius tells that Augustinus would spend entire mornings arbitrating and that this labour was a source of discontentment for him. *Poss., V. Aug.* 19. cf. Raikai, *St. Augustin on Judicial Duties*.

³³⁶ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 278.

³³⁷ *Con Illib.*, 75: Si quis autem episcopum vel presbyterum vel diaconum falsis criminibus adpetierit et probare non poterit, nec in finem dandam ei esse communionem.

³³⁸ *Cod. Theod.* 16.2.41.

and for atrocious outrages, they may combat the case through a procurator duly ordained before a secular judge”.³³⁹ Thus by the mid-fifth century, the imperial administration had taken action to counter episcopal corruption and abuses of power. As a testament to the bishop’s prestige, he alone, on account of deference to his spiritual authority, had the unique privilege of sending a *procurator* in his stead to deal with his legal issues.³⁴⁰ The bishop in this regard was superior to the layman before the law, though he was not above the law itself.

Though prestigious, the bishops were not without reproach. The authority of the Catholic hierarchy was still questionable as attested to at the 415 synod of Jerusalem when Romano-British ascetic Pelagius openly questioned *et quis est mihi Augustinus?*, just who is this Augustine to me?³⁴¹ Though this anecdote took place in Africa, it was in the presence of bishops from across the Empire. We witness disregard for the authority of the bishops by an ascetic of provincial Roman Britain. We can imagine that in other remote parts of the empire, such as Gallaecia, the bishop’s reputation was equally built on his own involvement in the community rather than on his position within the Catholic hierarchy. Gallaecia’s own orientation towards the hierarchy is demonstrated in this same synod when the Iberian presbyter Orosius entered into conflict with the *Metropolitanus* of Jerusalem and as a result was accused of heresy.³⁴² The bishop’s prestige was the result of his social ties, wealth, and position within his community. Having demonstrated the legal status of the *episcopus*, we endeavor in the following sections to fill in the details of the bishop’s involvement in the secular realm.

BISHOPS IN THE CIVITAS

Bishops have often been characterised as civic leaders of the *civitates*, fortified urban centers.³⁴³ In imperial times Roman armies were regularly stationed within the *civitates*, which served as centres of romanisation in an otherwise hostile environment. Indeed, when the Romans arrived in Hispania, their principal objective was control of resources and the maintenance of peace; goals which were in line with those of the local aristocracy. “Rome’s chosen instrument, the *civitas*, was a tool constructed for the benefit of the regional aristocracy and which resulted in the strengthening of Roman political control”.³⁴⁴

³³⁹ *Nov. Val.* 35.1

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ See Gonçalves, “‘Et quis est mihi Augustinus’ o de la crítica de Orosio de Braga a las herejías.”

³⁴² Cavero, *El pensamiento histórico y antropológico de Orosio*, 42.

³⁴³ Ubric Rabaneda, “La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507),” 150.

³⁴⁴ Castellanos and Martín Viso, “The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000),” 3.

Though writing from a small town in far-flung Gallaecia, Hydatius continues to see strength and power in the organisation of post-Roman Hispania.³⁴⁵ The *civitates* and *castra* were foremost centers of dense population enclosed by defensive fortifications. These fortifications were an integral part of the urban centre in Late Antiquity, and it is largely on behalf of these stone bulwarks that *romanitas* held out as long as it did. From Hydatius' account, the barbarians could hardly capture a *civitas* by sheer force, on account of their defensive bulwarks. In Asturica, Palentia, Olissipo, Conimbriga, and Ilerda, the barbarians deceived the defenders, coming in peace or taking the city unprepared as in Lucus Augusti when the Sueves attacked during the Easter celebrations of 460³⁴⁶ killing many citizens and the city's prime magistrate, the *rector*.³⁴⁷

The attestation of the *rector* is important to our understanding of social organization in fifth century Hispania as it attests to some sort of municipal administration. In imperial times *civitates* were administered by a *curia* of some hundred members, though in smaller communities this number would be less. The council members were called *curiales* or *decuriones* and were not elected per se, but in the late empire, were inheritors of their position. It is likely that many communities had two mayors, as the position was known as *duovir*. Certain communities attest to a *summus magistratus* indicating a single mayor at the head of the *civitas*.³⁴⁸ In the third century, increased imperial taxation and a deduced tax base imposed new financial burdens on the class of *curiales*—since they were responsible to collect the taxes on their territory by advancing the estimated sums out of their own pockets to the imperial administration —and many sought to escape the duties of their inherited position.³⁴⁹ It is likely that in the fourth and early fifth century a number of *decuriones* indeed joined the clergy to evade civic tax obligations. Indeed in the oriental empire, a letter written in 402 by Synesius bishop of Cyrene to Pylaemenes speaks of the leisure the bishop would enjoy once freed of entanglement in political life and of his “accursed curial functions”.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁵ Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity”, 15.

³⁴⁶ Hyd. 134 [142], 179 [186], 181 [188], 225 [229], 194 [199].

³⁴⁷ For more on the conquest of these cities see Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity”, 17–18.

³⁴⁸ *CIL XIII*, 8771.

³⁴⁹ The flight to the curial class in the fourth century has been a topic of great discussion since the late 19th century. See notably Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, bk. 3, Chapter 2 and; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 740–752.

Also see Baumann, *Freiheitsbeschränkungen der Dekurionen in der Spätantike*; Müller, “Kurialen Und Bischof, Bürger und Gemeinde – Untersuchungen zur Kontinuität von Ämtern, Funktionen und Formen der ‘Kommunikation’ in der Gallischen Stadt des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts.”

³⁵⁰ Syn. *Ep.* 100. This statement testifies that in the Greek Orient, the bishops in the early fifth century were obliged to continue their curial functions. This situation was addressed by the emperors however in the fourth century by

The fifth-century *Codex Theodosianus* outlaws such *curiales* from joining the clergy. Neither *decuriones*, nor city mayors, nor tax collectors³⁵¹, nor leaders of the mercantile guilds could ascend to the clergy.³⁵² Hydatius refers to these tax collectors as *exactores*, reinforcing their exploitative quality.³⁵³ Legislation does not seem to have resolved the problem either, as even in the latter part of the fifth century, imperial authorities felt compelled to legislate a return to civic positions. Majorian's *Novellae* state that "any *decurion* or guildsman who should [] withdraw from his municipality under the name of cleric or any pretext of religion [] shall be recalled ..."³⁵⁴ Once again, the bishop was exempted from this legislation though by said legislation a decurional bishop, who by fate had a male son or other male kinsmen capable of fulfilling the civil duties, was required to leave half his inheritance to said son. Furthermore, in the case that a decurional bishop should die without family, his patrimony was to be transferred to the state and not to the Church.³⁵⁵ What we see is a conflict between the Church's desire to acquire wealth and lands and the Empire's need to retain strong curial and aristocratic families capable of upholding the imperial taxation system. Majorian in this regard took the side of the secular aristocracy. The Church in the meantime legislated that a magistrate or *duumvir* not enter the clergy in the year in which he performed said curial duties.³⁵⁶

Céline Martin argues that the prestige of the *civitates* in late antiquity stemmed from the prestige of the city's spiritual guardian which was above all else assured by the holding of said protector's relics within the city. It is not surprising bishops and presbyters alike sought to bring the relics of saints and

allowing a substitute to fill in in the cleric's stead though even this was rebuked (*Cod. Theod.* 12.1.121, 123). The ability to send a substitute in lieu was only restored again in 399 under Honorius (12.1.163). Synesius speaks of his own desire and that of his brother to escape his duties. On this subject see Liebeschuetz, "Administration and Politics in the Cities of the Fifth to Mid Seventh Century: 425-640," 156, 160.

³⁵¹ It appears that aggressive tax collectors were placed in charge of assuring taxes were paid in a region. In Gallia, the case of Sronatus indicates that the same man could at the same time be employed by imperial agents and by a local king. This Seronatus is describes as "draining a portion of the blood and fortunes of the unhappy wretches [at the civitas Aturensium]." Sid. Apol, *Ep.* 2.1.1. Also see Drinkwater and Elton, *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?*, 232.

³⁵² *Nov. Val.* 35.3

³⁵³ Hyd. 40 [48] : ...et conditam in urbibus substantiam tyrannicus exactor diripit et milites exauriunt.

³⁵⁴ *Nov. Mai.* 7

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 7.9

³⁵⁶ *Conc. Illib.* 56: *Magistratus vero uno anno quo agit duumviratum prohibendum placet ut se ab ecclesia cohibeat.* Said legislation confirms that the bishops of the early fifth-century were frequently of the curial class. We could also see in this legislation a practical separation of powers so as to avoid conflicts of interest.

martyrs into their *civitas*. Emerita on account of housing the relics of the most famous Iberian martyr, Eulalia of Emerita, retained its status even after government of the Hispaniae had been transferred to Toledo. In reality, the presence of the relics attracted flocks of pilgrims who in turn donated great sums of money to the Church and who stimulated the local economy. Eulalia's prestige was so well known that far off Barcino also laid claim to the saint, and her person was hence divided between Santa Eulalia of Merida and Santa Eulalia of Barcino.³⁵⁷ Competing with Eulalia for the greatest prestige in Hispania was Saint Vincentius who had been deacon of Caesaraugusta and who was martyred in Valentia (Valencia). Both cities competed for claim of his protection.³⁵⁸

In the early fifth century, Christianity was emerging from its previous state as an extramural cult. Urban Christians had migrated towards these extramural sites, which led to the decay of inner city infrastructures in an effect perhaps similar to the decay of modern cities during phases of emmigration to the suburbs. There is evidence in the fifth century of Christians tearing down pagan buildings to use the materials in their own constructions and of squatting on seemingly abandoned land.³⁵⁹ Majorian in his efforts to preserve the *civitates* and the Empire outlawed such behaviour. A large fine in gold was imposed on those *curiales* who assisted in this behavior and the bishop as a civic administrator would have been torn between his duties to the Empire, and his duty to provide worship space to his flock.³⁶⁰

By the mid fifth century, the tearing down of public monuments for use as construction material in new churches and for repairs of private buildings had become common practice. In Narbo, the fifth century basilica dedicated to Saint Felix by bishop Rusticus shows clear archaeological evidence that the high quality Italian marble of the nearby Capitoline temple was taken by 455 to construct said basilica.³⁶¹ Bishop Rusticus, is a fascinating case study because his career which began in ascetic and monastic practices culminated in his role as a great church builder within his diocese.³⁶² Likely motivated by the arrival of barbarian peoples, the Christians returned to the city's defended urban core, and in place of the now disused

³⁵⁷ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 52.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. One should also refer to the doctoral thesis of Sofia Meyer, *Der heilige Vinzenz von Zaragoza*.

³⁵⁹ Indeed in Tarraconensis a fifth-century basilica was built inside the then abandoned amphitheatre.

³⁶⁰ Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, 456.

³⁶¹ Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 89–92. This mid fifth century construction of an intermural is in line with Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 220–235.

³⁶² Riess advances that Rusticus “became an urban politician and leader”. This claim is too broad however as the local aristocracy was still very much present and responsible for the running of the city. Rusticus in his role as *metropolitanus* quite obviously had a duty to assure that the Christian population had space to worship. His construction of churches should not be overextended into other civic building projects.

civic forum, the *civitas*'s main church was erected. Thus when at last the *civitates* were monumentalised once again, it was with a Christian appearance and use.³⁶³

BISHOPS AS POLITICIANS AND ADMINISTRATORS OF URBAN SPACES.

The literature concerning both the clergy and local administration nearly unilaterally assumes “that when Roman power disappeared, in those places with established Christian communities, the bishops substituted in for the Roman authorities, and they did so with great efficiency”.³⁶⁴ The bishop's authority was significant. For instance, he was in contact with the highest echelons of society, and played a role along with other parties in the election of the *defensor civitatis*, an advocate for the socially disfranchised.³⁶⁵ By the sixth century, he shared responsibility with the *potentiores* over administration of the grain supply,³⁶⁶ and naturally, operating alongside the curia, his role gained more prominence with the growth of the Christian community.³⁶⁷ In fifth-century Rome, the traditional senatorial aristocracy remained the guardians of the city and only by the end of that century, was their dominance threatened both by the authority of the Pope, and by the great amounts of wealth which the city's churches had acquired.³⁶⁸ In Hispania too Rome endured even after the invasion, though on a more local scale.

Most often when we hear of the bishop as an authority in urban planning and management, it is with regards to their role in the establishment of new churches, a role which naturally fell to them both on account of managing the Church's wealth, and on account of the canon legislation which forbade all except a bishop from consecrating a newly erected church. Alexandra Chavarría Arnau interprets the placement of fifth century churches along major roads as evidence of a Christianisation strategy directed by the

³⁶³ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 216.

³⁶⁴ C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 181.

³⁶⁵ *Cod. Ius.* 1.55.8

³⁶⁶ *Cod. Ius.* 10.78.3.. In the eastern Empire, the bishops were integrated into all sorts of endeavours by Emperor Justinian. See Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 288–289.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ Following this changing hierarchy, Theodoric the king of the Ostrogoths (reigned as king of the Goths and the Romans 497-526) on arriving at the conquered city went first to the tomb of Saint Peter where he professed his faith before Saint Peter and Pope Symmachus, only then addressing the senate and promising to uphold the laws of the previous emperors. See Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 27–258. With regards to Hispania, Theodoric wisely betrothed his daughter Thiudigoth to Alaric II, the king of the Visigoths in 494, and in doing so firmly drew Hispania and the Kingdom of Tolosa under his influence. For Theodoric's policy in Italy see Arnold, *Theodoric and the Roman Imperial Restoration*.

ecclesiastical authorities.³⁶⁹ Some author's argue that local *possessores* and *potentes* undertook the construction of churches, and this was surely true on their rural estates, but in the *civitates* it is most likely that the construction on monumental building such as a basilica was undertaken under the supervision of the *episcopus* with urban planning from the *curial* administration, and financial backing of the senatorial aristocracy.³⁷⁰

Some authors have argued for an advanced role of the bishop in the management of urban spaces³⁷¹ stating among their arguments the lack of a local curia, the involvement of the bishop Zeno in the reconstruction of Emerita's bridge,³⁷² and the participation of bishops in the reconstruction of churches in Tarraconensis and Narbonensis.³⁷³ However, these arguments have been exaggerated, as the case study of Emerita's bridge over the river *Baetis* demonstrates.

³⁶⁹ Chavarría Arna, "Churches and Villas in the 5th Century", 662.

³⁷⁰ Sotinel, "The Bishop's Men: Episcopal Power in the City," 10–13 demonstrates that the degree of episcopal intervention in the construction process varied greatly. In Arles, bishop Hilarius is said to have directly supervised the construction site (see *Vit. Hil* 20, 25). However as the lintel from Narbo demonstrates (see footnotes, page 86) private financing significantly contributed to the funding of Church development.

³⁷¹ Liebeschuetz, "Synesius and Municipal Politics in Cyrenaica in the 5th Century AD," 136–167, especially 158; Bowersock, "From Emperor to Bishop: The Self-Conscious Transformation of Political Power in the Fourth Century AD."

³⁷² Liebeschuetz, "Synesius and Municipal Politics in Cyrenaica in the 5th Century AD," 157–158; Liebeschuetz, "The Identity of Typhos in Synesius' 'De Providentia,'" 446–447; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 307. Also Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, 41.

³⁷³ For bishop Rusticus' financial involvement in the reconstruction of Narbo's Cathedral see chapter VI; One Orosius contributed significant funds towards this same renovation project. See *PLRE*, 810. On account of his connections with the episcopacy of Narbo and his possible relation with Sidonius Apollinaris; Marrou, "Le dossier épigraphique de l'évêque Rusticus de Narbonne." identifies this Orosius as the future bishop of Tarraco. If this is so, we are witnessing an exceptional case of a *potentior* buying his way to the episcopacy.

THE BRIDGE INSCRIPTION FROM EMERITA AUGUSTA (MÉRIDA)

The bridge inscription at Emerita (reproduced on next page) is one of the most employed sources in the reconstruction of fifth century Iberian history. Surviving in a single visigothic manuscript, the ninth century *Códice de Azagra* (ms. 10029 Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid),³⁷⁴ the inscription attests to repairs brought to the bridge and the defensive bulwarks of the city and some authors have seen in the bridge inscription from Mérida, evidence that the bishops were key figures in the civic administration of the cities.³⁷⁵



Figure 4: Pons Romanus - Mérida (Photo by the Author)

The inscription attests to the efforts of the civic administration to return the *civitas* to a noble state. Emerita had been sacked by the Sueves 44 years prior,³⁷⁶ aggravating the damage to the civil infrastructure. Furthermore the erection of impenetrable walls was an important step in demarcating the border between the Gothic and Suevic kingdoms and assuring that the Lusitanian capital remain under Gothic control despite Suevic raids into Lusitania and Baetica.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ On the transmission of this text see Vendrell Pañaranda, “Estudio Del Códice de Azagra, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 10029”; Díaz i Díaz, *Códices Visigóticos en la monarquía Leonesa*.

³⁷⁵ Kulikowski (2004), 255 sees the bishop as a patron of the bridge reconstruction, though he is ambiguous as to the degree.

³⁷⁶ Hyd. 111 [119]: *Rechila rex Sueuorum Emeritam ingreditur*.

³⁷⁷ Osland, “Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania,” 278–279.

- SOLBERAT ANTIQVAS MOLES RUIINOSA VETVSTAS,
 LAPSVM ET SENIO RVPTVM PENDEBAT OPVS.
 PERDIDERAT VSVM SVSPENSA VIA P(ER) AMNEM
 ET LIBERVM PONTIS CASVS NEGABAT ITER.
- 5 NVNC TEMPORE POTENTIS GETARVM ERVIGII REGIS,
 QVO DEDITAS SIBI PR(A)ECEPIT EXCOLI TERRAS,
 STVDVIT MAGNANIMVS FACTIS EXTENDERE N(O)M(E)N,
 VETERVM ET TITVLIS ADDIT SALLA SVVM.
 NAM POSTQVAM EXIMIIS NOBABIT MOENIB(V)S VRBEM,
- 10 HOC MAGIS MIRACVLVM PATRARE NON DESTITIT.
 CONSTRVXIT ARCOS PENITVS FVNDABIT IN VNDIS
 ET MIRVM AVCTORIS IMITANS VICIT OPVS.
 NEC NON ET PATRIE TANTVM CR<E>ARE MVNIMEN
 SVMI SACERDOTIS ZENONIS SVASIT AMOR.
- 15 VRBS AUGVSTA FELIX MANSVRA P(ER) S(AE)C(V)LA LONGA
 NOBATE STUDIO DVCIS ET PONTIFICIS (A)ERA DXXI³⁷⁸

³⁷⁸ *CLE 900 = ILCV 77 (em)*. The transcription can also be found on the excellent database of Manfred Claus, under the identification number EDCS-35200429. Sol<v=B>erat antiquas moles ruinosas vetustas / lapsum et senio ruptum pendebat opus / perdiderat usum suspensa via p(er) amnem / et liberum pontis casus negabat iter / nunc tempore potentis Getarum E<ur=RV>i<c=G>ii regis / quo deditas sibi pr(a)ecepit excoli terras / studuit magnanimus factis extendere n(o)m(e)n / veterum et titulis addit Salla suum / nam postquam eximiis no<v=B>a<v=B>it moenib(u)s urbem / hoc magis miraculum patrare non destitit / construxit arcus penitus funda<v=B>it in undis / et mirum auctoris imitans vicit opus / nec non et patri(a)e tantum cr[e]are munimen / sumi sacerdotis Zenonis suasit amor / urbs Augusta felix mansura p(er) s(ae)c(u)la longa / no<v=B>a(n)te studio ducis et pontificis (a)era DXXI.

Ruinous antiquity had undermined the ancient piers,
 and the structure was sagging, collapsed and broken on account of its great age
 The road that ran across the river had lost its use,
 and the collapse of the bridge was making free passage impossible.

5 But now in the time of the mighty Euric, king of the Goths,
 in which he ordered that the realms subjected to him be improved upon,
 Salla in his ambition strove to make his name wider known through his deeds
 and added his own name to the inscriptions of the ancients.

For after he renewed the city with excellent walls,
 10 he did not refrain from accomplishing this even more wondrous feat:
 he constructed arches, laid foundations deep under the river,
 and outdid the wondrous structure of the (original) builder.

Indeed, the great sacerdoté Zeno's love for his hometown
 persuaded (him) to not only create fortifications.

15 The august city (Emerita) will remain prosperous for a long time
 renewed by the zeal of the dux and of the bishop. In era 521 (A.D. 483).³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ My own translation. Inspired in part from Ripoll, and Valásquez, *La Hispania Visigoda. Del Rey Ataúlfo a Don Rodrigo*; Arce, "La inscripción del puente de Mérida de época del rey Eurico (483 d.C.)".

The three officials named in the inscription are known from other literary sources. Salla (PLRE II p. 971 s.v.) was a *comes* of King Theoderic II and is known to us through Hydatius who refers to him as *legatus* a term used for any ambassador.³⁸⁰ Most authors agree that *Getarum Ervigii regis* refers to the Gothic king Euric who had assassinated his brother Theodoric and claimed the throne for himself.³⁸¹ It seems probable that King Euric retained Salla as a high placed agent of his administration. Evident from the inscription is *dux* Salla's essential role in the erection of sturdy walls and the complete renovation of the crumbling bridge. Salla may have undertaken this task to increase his own personal prestige in the eyes of his new lord Euric.³⁸² This seems the most likely case, as the inscription does not state that the King commanded the building project. Alternatively, Salla was the lord of the city, or *comes* responsible for the entire region, the building projects having been ordered by the king directly. Salla as the local lord of Emerita is supported by the *The Lives of the Holy Fathers of Emerita* which mentions a *dux civitatis Emeritensis* in the late sixth century.³⁸³ Either case paints the *dux* as a powerful figure in the governance of civic policy.

The third name in the inscription concerns us most however, *Zeno a metropolitanus*, who is known to us through his direct communications with Popes Simplicius and Felix III in the 480s.³⁸⁴ There is dispute as to whether *Zeno* was bishop of Hispalis or of Emerita, with Vives arguing for the latter city which had at least until that point been the diocesan capital.³⁸⁵ The letters of Pope Simplicius state that he had made *Zeno* vicar of the apostolic seat (*sedis apostolicae vicarium constituit*) sometime before 483 A.D..³⁸⁶ This same letter however, puts *Zenon* at the head of the Church in Hispalis; *Hispalensem episcopum virum*

³⁸⁰ Hyd. 233[237]

³⁸¹ Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 274–275; Ubric Rabaneda, "La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507)", 241.

³⁸² Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 278. Just who is referred to in the lines *quo deditas sibi pr(a)ecepit excoli terras, studuit magnanimus factis extendere n(o)m(e)n*, is the subject of much debate. See Valásquez, "El Puente de Mérida: Algo Más Que Un Problema de Traducción".

³⁸³ *VSPE* 5.10.7

³⁸⁴ Vives, "La inscripción del puente de Mérida de la época visigótica", 5–7; *PLRE* II, 1058.

³⁸⁵ Vives, "La inscripción del puente de Mérida de la época visigótica", 6–7.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 6. Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania." leans towards an Emeritensen see for *Zeno*, he does however recognise that even if acting from Hispalis, *Zeno* may have had a special relationship with the Visigothic leader which would have allowed him to push for work on the bridge over the Guadiana River. Also see Howel, *Synopsis canonum ecclesiae latinæ*, chap. 40: A.D. 467. *Hilaro mortuo Simplicius Papalem obtinuit Sedem in cujus primam Epistolam ad Zenonem Hispalensem Espiscopum Biii notae egregie ementitae sunt. Cum enim ... Zenonem Vicarium Sedis Apostolicae constituisset.*

optimum. In the face of conflicting evidence it is hard to determine exactly to which see Zeno did belong. What is clear is that Zeno was premier among the bishops of Baetica during his episcopacy and perhaps first among all the Iberian bishops.³⁸⁷ The case of an early sixth century bishop, Salustius of Hispalis may help us resolve the case of Zeno. A letter from Pope Hormisdas to the bishops of Baetica identifies Salustius as *episcopus* one of the *vices nostras per Beticam Lusitaniamque provinciam*. It seems that Salustius was responsible for assuring the orthodoxy of the clergy and practitioners throughout Baetica and Lusitania and acted as the eyes and voice of the papacy in Hispania. It is remarkable that there is no named bishop of Emerita after 448 and none are named until the 483 bridge inscription of Zeno. Emerita as we have noted, follows the Baetican pattern far more than that of the northern reaches of Lusitania, and it is not unimaginable that both Hispalis and Emerita were governed by a single *Metropolitanus* who also served as vicar.³⁸⁸

Though the bishop's role in the reconstruction of the bridge is unclear, it would be a massive exaggeration to claim that the project was undertaken by Zeno acting as civic leader of the *civitas*. It seems most likely that Zeno in his role as vicar, *metropolitanus* or as bishop and resident of Emerita persuaded Salla to not only look to the city's walls, but also to reconstruct the decaying bridge. The inscription in this regard reads: *nec non et patrie tantum cr<e>are munimen sumi sacerdotis Zenonis suasit amor*, "Furthermore, Bishop Zeno's love for his hometown persuaded (him) to create not just a protection for his hometown". Thus at the bishops insistence, building projects were not limited to the walls, but also to the restoration of the bridge. As *metropolitanus* the bridge would be of concern to assure proper communication within the diocese, and as local bishop, Zeno would surely have heard from his parishioners of the hardships caused by the intraversable river and its dangerous bridge, which made daily business both risky and burdensome. From his position as a voice of the community, he would have urged the *dux* to resolve this civic problem. The inscriptional data however provides no evidence that Zeno was responsible for the financing of the project or for the organisation of labour or materials.

Zeno's name would suggest that he was a Greek brought in to govern the Christian community; his name included in the inscription to boost his popularity among the local population. *Amor Zenonis patrie* can be taken in this case to show the adoption of his new homeland and his allegiance to the Visigothic

³⁸⁷ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982, 201-202.

³⁸⁸ See Horm, *Ep.94*. Also see "Hormisdas" in Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 174–176. The close tie between Emerita and Baetica is also demonstrated when Hydigius of Corduba wrote to the Emerintensian bishop with his concerns regarding Priscillianism. See chapter VI.

kingdom, still relatively new in Hispania.³⁸⁹ As argued in chapter III however, names are insufficient to resolve the ethnicity of the Iberian bishops. Alternatively, Zeno was an Hispano-Roman or even a Goth. As will be argued in chapter VI and VIII, Greek names had grown in popularity among the Latin-speaking Romans of Hispania, especially among the clergy. The inscription furthermore attests to the bishop's role as an interface, an ambassador between the Hispano-Roman population and the Visigothic rulers. Though the restoration of the bridge over the Guadiana was critical to Visigothic control of the region, especially for the movement of soldiers, the bridge was also critical to the economic wellbeing of the city. By restoring the bridge under Gothic patronage, the new regime extended peace to the Hispano-Romans and demonstrated its dedication to the economic wellbeing of the region. Though the Iberian bishops were not managers of municipal infrastructure, like bishop Zeno, they were central to the peace process between natives and newcomers in Hispania. We now turn to the bishop's diplomatic and political role.

DIPLOMACY

The bishops are also known to have acted in a diplomatic role representing Hispano-Romans and Germanic kings alike. Thus in 431 an embassy was sent from the Gallaecians to the Magister Militum Aëtius stationed in Gallia. They sought military assistance against the repression under the Sueves.³⁹⁰ This meeting is said to have taken place “sub interventu epsicopali”,³⁹¹ suggesting that Hydatius was at its head. His importance however is blown out of proportion because our source for this meeting, *the chronicon Hydatii* is written through his own filter. The embassy returned from Gallia accompanied by the *comes* Censorius and it is clear in the passage from Hydatius' chronicle that this imperial agent outranked the bishop in authority. So though the bishop was present, he was not the ultimate authority in these negotiations. It is interesting too that one Gothic diplomat, Vetto, was also present as a testament of the Goth's intentions for further political action in the *Hispaniae*.³⁹² A peace accord was attained through this meeting.³⁹³

³⁸⁹ Osland, “Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania”, 274–275.

³⁹⁰ Hyd. 86 [96]. For an in depth study of Aëtius see Stickler, *Aëtius*.

³⁹¹ Hyd. 91 [100]

³⁹² C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 74–75.

³⁹³ Hyd. 91 [100]

Shortly after negotiations with Censorius, in 433 bishop Symphosius³⁹⁴ of an unknown Gallaecian see was sent to the imperial court on behalf of Suevic King Hermeric.³⁹⁵ Díaz sees this meeting as evidence for cooperation between the Suevic monarchy and the Gallaecian episcopate.³⁹⁶ Indeed, the bishops were particularly well equipped for this type of diplomatic mission: they spoke Latin better than any barbarian, were tied into the local population, and were nominally non-political in their motivations allowing them to negotiate fairly on behalf of the region and its people. The role of ambassador was not reserved to the *episcopi* however. Indeed in 466 the *plebs Aunonense* sent a delegation to the Visigothic court at Tolosa to ask for aid in negotiating a new peace with the Sueves.³⁹⁷ This delegation was not presided over by the bishop, however but instead by one Opilio whose position and origin are unknown. This may testify to improved relations between Gaelicians and the regime in the later fifth century. So though bishops were not the ultimate authority of their communities, at least not in the Gallæcian northwest, they were intermediaries *par excellence* in the peace efforts between Hispano-Romans and the Germanic kingdoms.

CIVIL POSITION

Roman civic law was still practiced, but as the fifth century progressed, the strengthening of Christianity throughout all of *Romania* had the consequence of integrating aspects of canon law into civic law, such as the eighteenth title of the *Novellae* in which Manichaeism was severely condemned. The law dating from 445 and instated by emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III states that Manicheans are to be persecuted not by the Church, but by the civil authorities because their heresy is injurious to the Empire. All Manicheans within the imperial administration were to be expelled.³⁹⁸ The law goes on to state that “the primates of every branch of imperial service and of every office staff shall be punished with a fine of ten pounds of gold ... if they should permit any [Manichean] to perform imperial service”.³⁹⁹ The bishops also sought to remodel, societal *mores*, such that in the fifth century the bishops tried to impose moral constraints on marriage, especially by virgins and widows, and though such persons were heavily criticised

³⁹⁴ See annexed prosopography. This Symphosius is believed to be the author of the *Aenigmata*, a collection of Latin riddles.

³⁹⁵ Suevic king from 406-438. He was a Pagan.

³⁹⁶ C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*.

³⁹⁷ Hyd. 235 [239]

³⁹⁸ *Nov. Val.* 18: Manicheans shall be deprived of the right of imperial service and of the right to reside in the cities, in order that no innocent person may be ensnared by the intercourse.

³⁹⁹ *Nov. Val.* 18.4

and threatened with excommunication, it appears that marriage remained within the civil sphere and that the bishops could not inflict a religious punishment on those who broke their vows of chastity.⁴⁰⁰

The close family and class connections between the *episcopacy* and the regional elites facilitated the spread of corruption in the Iberian *civitates*, especially in the form of simony and nepotism. Its appearance in Hispania are attested in the 48th canon of the *Concillium Illiberis*, which forbade the practice of offering donations at the baptismal ceremony.⁴⁰¹ It seems likely that certain among the Iberian clergy had been taking advantage of their ritual powers, charging a fee to the would-be baptised. In the Orient, some priests charged such exorbitant sums that some Christians were actually deterred from undergoing baptism.⁴⁰² The surge in simony is likely tied to the rush of laymen into the Church⁴⁰³ on account of the privileged tax-exemptions it offered to the *decurionales* and the eventual *honor* it granted the senatorial aristocracy. A canon from the the *Concilium Serdicae* suggests that the wealthy occasionally paid off supporters to shout in favour of their candidate in the church, thus granting the illusion of legitimacy.⁴⁰⁴

There must have been a significant amount of movement between a bishops's personal holdings and those belonging to the Church. The ban on clerical matrimony may in fact have been organised to counter the alienation of Church property into the hands of the local élites. But ecclesiastical canon law was insufficient to impede this behaviour, and in 473 western emperor Glycerius issued an edict against such bishops, stating:

*“Qua rerum ratione permoti hac mansura in aevum legesancimus, ut quisque ad episcopatum personarum auxilio suffragante pervenerit, saeculariter possideat quod saeculariter fuerit conspectus: id est, ut finitis unius anni metis, noverit se episcopate privandum. Eiusdem sane anni quo sacerdos vocatur, comes nostrae patrimonii ecclesiasticas substantiae moderetur expensas”*⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁰ Gaudemet, *Le mariage en Occident*, 54–55.

⁴⁰¹ *Conc. Illib.* 48.

⁴⁰² Greg. Naz., *Or.* 40.25

⁴⁰³ Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600*, 181.

⁴⁰⁴ *Conc. Sard.* canon 2 : Etiam si talis aliquis extiterit furiosus temerarius, et fortasse talem excusationem adtulerit, adseuerans quod populi litteras acciperit: manifestum est autem illum potuisse praemia, paucos et mercedem corrumpere, et clamare in ecclesiam qui sinceram fidem non habent tamquam ipsum petere uideantur episcopum. Omnino has frauds remouendas esse, et damnum ut nec fidelem laicam communionem accipiat.

⁴⁰⁵ “For which reason we ordain by this law, which will remain in force for ever, that whoever becomes a bishop with the assistance of other people should know that ... at the end of the one year after his consecration, he will be deprived of his rank. During the year in which he holds the title of bishop, our domestic treasurer will control all major ecclesiastical spending”. Glycerius' edict can be found in the appendix of Leon Magnus in *Patrologia Latina*,

Simony is attested throughout the whole of the empire. Indeed in fourth century Africa, the wholesale of episcopal sees is well attested at a cost of roughly 20 *folles* for ordination as a presbyter and 100 *folles* for an episcopal see.⁴⁰⁶ This was relatively affordable price; in the sixth century 20 *folles* could provide a days worth of oil, bread, vegetables and water to 20 labourers. Prices had greatly inflated in the fifth century and we can reconstruct that a single *folles* in the fourth century may well have been sufficient to handsomely feed a cavalry officer for a day or provide sustenance for 4-5 common labourers.⁴⁰⁷ So while the cost of purchasing a clerical position was not granted for free, it was within the reach of the *decurionales* and the aristocracy, even the 100 *folles* required for the purchase of an episcopal see.

Thus it is no wonder that simony is well attested in fifth century, Gallia, Italia and in Hispania causing the Pope Hormisdas to write to the Iberian bishops urging that the metropolitans exercise their authority to put an end to corruption.⁴⁰⁸ It is perhaps the widespread simony that best attests to the control of the episcopacy by aristocrats in post-Roman Hispania. In 502, Pope Symmachus wrote to Caesarius of Arelate attesting to episcopal candidates handing over money to secure the support of *potentes personae*⁴⁰⁹, and in the mid fifth century canon law called for the elimination of ambition and *venalitas* from episcopal elections.⁴¹⁰ As early as 516 the *Concilium Tarraconensis* called for a halt to financial abuses of the episcopal office.⁴¹¹ The close connection between the provinces of Narbonensis and Tarraconensis, suggest that similar corruption existed in these areas. Though posterior to our period, the 572 *Concilium Bracarense* found it necessary to ban entirely the demanding of consecration fees.⁴¹²

Simony seems to have been resolved in distinct manners for the East and West, but ultimately with the same consequence: the dominance of the episcopacy by wealthy aristocratic factions. In the east, Julian legislated that “bishops who have been consecrated ... shall pay one hundred solidi for the right to the see [and] three hundred to the notaries ... and other officials”.⁴¹³ We do not have definitive proof as to who

61: 896. English Translation is from Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, 182.

⁴⁰⁶ For these sales see “Gesta apud Zenophilum” in *CSEL*, 26.185. For a larger discussion of corruption see Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, 182-185.

⁴⁰⁷ Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*, 270–289.

⁴⁰⁸ Horm., *Ep.* 21.1

⁴⁰⁹ Symm., *Ep.* 6

⁴¹⁰ *Concilium Arelatense* = *Concilium Galiarum*, 1, 125: Si quis sacerdotium per pecuniae nundinum exercrabili ambitione quaeserit, abiciatur ut reprobis.

⁴¹¹ *Con. Tarr.* (516), canons 2, 3, and 8.

⁴¹² “Con. Brac 572” 3.

⁴¹³ *Cod. Iust.* 1.3.41; *Nov.* 6.1.5

was responsible for paying this fee, but it is likely that the elected bishop himself was responsible for this payment, which in effect limited the episcopate to only the very wealthiest of the oriental empire.

A similar outcome occurred in the Occident, where in the Kingdom of the Franks, a royal, *praeceptio*, an appointment which was up for sale, was required of episcopal appointments.⁴¹⁴ In Suevic Gallæcia and Visigothic Iberia, there is no reason to believe that similar royal control of the episcopacy was not in place. In fact the close ties between the Visigothic monarchy and the Baetican episcopacy such as Zeno and Isidor of Sevilla reinforce this vision. Simony remained an issue in the sixth century as attested to in the letters of Gregorius Magnus to the western monarchies.⁴¹⁵ Despite Rome's best effort to 'clean up' episcopal elections, local churches were subjugated to political authorities, which is why the political situation of the *Hispaniae* is critical to understanding the role of the bishop which varied on a regional basis and which will be discussed in depth in chapter VI.

By the sixth century, the Iberian episcopate had become a prestigious institution of societal control, closely tied to the local monarchy. This monarchy was supported by the local aristocracy which itself was deeply tied into the Church which it saw as a means of gaining honour and wealth. Evidently in the late-fifth and early-sixth centuries, the Iberian bishops continued to exploit their situation for economic gain. Two canons of the 516 *Concilium Tarraconense* condemn bishops who engaged in market manipulation for profit and who lent money seeking interest on the loan.⁴¹⁶ The seventh canon of the 561 *Synodus Bracarenensis* states that the Church's wealth and its income, should be divided in three equal parts, one for the bishop, one for the rest of the clergy, and the final part for the upkeep of the Church infrastructure.⁴¹⁷ Curiously none of the wealth is distinctly reserved for feeding the poor. The aristocratic bishop however, found in the Church another means of increasing his personal wealth, and we can wonder if more often the bishop came to his see in pursuit of *honor* and wealth rather than through deep spiritual belief. The case of bishop Irineus (see Annexe 1) is particularly telling of the bishop's desire to be at the head of a prestigious and wealthy community. When the bishops of coastal Tarraconensis attempted to make Irineus bishop of Barcino in 465, they were severely scolded by Pope Hilarius, because Irineus was already bishop of a small diocese. Canon law prohibited bishops from changing sees, in part to assure that bishopric would not become the equivalent of an imperial office, a stepping stone to better more prestigious offices. The role of

⁴¹⁴ Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250-600*, 189.

⁴¹⁵ Greg. Mag., *Ep.* 6.26. On this topic see Wycliffe, *On Simony*; Halverson, *Contesting Christendom*, 40.

⁴¹⁶ *Conc. Tarr.*, 2–3. In fact this behavior is attested already in the early fourth century and was condemned at the *Conc Illib.* 19.

⁴¹⁷ *Conc Brac.* (561), 7.

the *episcopus* was to prioritise the religious life of the Christians in his diocese. Irineus' attempt to change sees demonstrates his use of the episcopacy to personal ends.⁴¹⁸

The bishop as head of the Church was required to be free, i.e. to not be dependent on another. In the early Middle Ages, especially from the sixth century onward, there was a collapse of the so-called middle class in Roman society. Many previously free citizens were reduced to the status of *coloni* who were bound to the land and to the *possessores* who controlled it. Canon 10 of the *Concilium Toletanum* reads, "that none should admit to the clergy any person dependent of another without receiving the consent of said person's patron or master".⁴¹⁹ It is unlikely that this permission was granted at a loss of revenue to the *potentiores*, and if ever it was this was surely exceptional, effectively excluding those of low birth from ascending to sacerdotal status or the episcopacy. Furthermore, none of our prosopographic entries suggest impoverished origins (see Annexe 1), nor do any of our written sources praise or make mention of the bishops' modest origins in Hispania.

On account of the bishop's responsibility to his diocese as well as his attachment to his family's lands, the bishop was rooted in his see. The bishop was bound to the *civitas* where his residence, his cathedral, and his clergy were found and from his episcopal see his authority radiated throughout his whole diocese. A canon law from 516 required that bishop pay a visit to each of the churches within his diocese both to perform clerical duties and to collect the parish's contribution.⁴²⁰ At the heart of the late fifth-century *civitas* lay the episcopal palace from whence the bishop applied his spiritual jurisdiction. Most often the bishop's influence covered the same territory as the civil administration.⁴²¹ The flock of the bishop's diocese would travel on occasion to the bishop's cathedral to seek an audience with the spiritual leader in the atrium of his episcopal home when in need of spiritual guidance or civil arbitration. In the sixth century, at least as of the tenure of Masona of Emerita, all paupers who visited the bishop in his atrium were granted a small gift of wine, oil, and honey.⁴²² Martin calculates that the vast majority of those who presented themselves before the bishop would have come from areas within a 24 kilometer radius of the episcopal see, allowing for the rural resident to make a day's journey to the bishop.⁴²³ With much of the diocese

⁴¹⁸ Hil., *Ep.* 16.2.3.

⁴¹⁹ *Conc. Tol.*, 10 : "Ut nullus obligatum cuiqua, absque consensus domini vel patroni clericum faciat".

⁴²⁰ *Conc Tarr.* "Ut annis singulis episcopi diocesem visitent et ut non plus quam tertiam de parrociis accipiant". Also see Gaudemet, *L'Église Dans l'Empire Romain (IV-V Siècles)*, 347–349.

⁴²¹ Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity," 23.

⁴²² Velázquez, *VSPM*, 5, 3, 7.

⁴²³ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 113. In Hispania, the daylight hours vary between roughly 10 in December to 15 in July. From experience, a 50 km round trip on foot through arduous terrain could be accomplished within a day. Walking at 4 km per hour along packed dirt or paved Roman roads would require 6

beyond the possibilities of a day trip, the episcopal tour becomes a necessity for the proper care of the diocese's Christian community.

The episcopal tour served several functions, but very importantly, it made the bishop a physical presence in the rural parts of his diocese. The tour in effect transformed the bishop from a distant and impersonal name into a recognised celebrity for the inhabitants of his diocese. This in turn developed the bishop's personal prestige, which in turn increased the authority of the bishop in his *civitas* and *territorium*. In the cases that we do see important travelling by a bishop beyond his diocese, the ability of bishops such as Hydatius and Symphosius to leave their diocese for extended durations directly attests to their rather minor role in the administration of the *civitas*.⁴²⁴ The bishop, thus travelling within his *territorium*, could not have been responsible for the day-to-day management of the *civitas*. At best it seems, they were the representatives of the Christian flock, plebeian and aristocrats alike, but not administrators.

THE GREAT COMPETITOR FOR SECULAR AUTHORITY

As we've argued, the *episcopi* of Hispania were not administrators, nor were they the ruling authorities within the *civitas*.⁴²⁵ The true power in the *civitas* was found in the wealthy senatorial aristocracy, which dominated Late-Antique politics. From the fourth century onward the *potentes* appear in legislative sources.⁴²⁶ In the seventh century the terms *potentes*, and *honestiores* continued to be used in reference to the class of local aristocrats who held secular authority. In large part the authority of these *potentes* arose from their great wealth.⁴²⁷ Few references survive of the curial class by Visigothic times, and in the 529 fiscal document *de fisco Barcinonensi*, not a single curial is mentioned, it even appears that the bishops were by that point responsible for the collection of taxes in Tarraconensis.⁴²⁸ In the fourth

hours in each direction leaving on a good summer day at best 3 hours of daylight to wait for an episcopal audience. It seems unlikely that so little notice was sufficient to have an audience with the bishop, and it appears more reasonable that the one would remain at least one night in the *urbs*. Most residents of the *territoria* would have been farmers and unable to leave their lands for longer periods of time, thus the necessity for episcopal tour of the diocese. A noble on horseback, between walking and gaiting could travel roughly 8 km an hour allowing the trip to be completed in half the time. In this case a daytrip may have been possible.

⁴²⁴ Tur. Ast., *Ep.* writes of his travels "to diverse provinces", but these must predate his episcopal career.

⁴²⁵ Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity", 17 supports this, writing in reference to Emerita's bishop Antoninus, that "in no case does civil authority seem to be deduced".

⁴²⁶ Schlumberger, "Potentes et Potentia in the Social Thought of Late Antiquity," 89–104. "...qui diversus provincias adeundo".

⁴²⁷ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 106.

⁴²⁸ *De. Fisc. Barc.* 229

century the senatorial class largely absorbed the equestrians⁴²⁹ and as of the sixth century there is a renewal of such titles as *clarissimi/clarissimae* in the funerary inscriptions of the Iberian Peninsula.⁴³⁰ However on account of the archaeological evidence, we must conclude that the societal elite, though greatly reduced by the barbarian invasions, endured and retained control of the region.⁴³¹

Though sources from the seventh and eighth centuries indicate the continued senatorial status of certain local nobles,⁴³² the 506 *Lex Romana Visigothorum* omits those laws in the *Codex Theodosianus* which had concerned senators, suggesting that by the early sixth century, the senatorial class had become superfluous to the Gothic administration.⁴³³ While senatorial families outlived the Roman Empire, their authority was no longer institutional. In the collapsing society of fifth and sixth century Iberia, some *decurionales*⁴³⁵ gained wealth or married into aristocratic families. Most however were condemned to increasing hardship and loss of liberty, potentially finding themselves as *coloni* or other indentured labourers over the course of a few generations. If the search for a class of *curiales* in the fifth century seems fruitless, it is because by the sixth century the ancient senatorial families of Rome, having lost an Empire, came to occupy a more modest position as the premiere holders of prestige and authority within the *civitates*, occupying political roles previously held by the less prestigious *decuriones*.⁴³⁶ Isidor of Sevilla refers to this class of wealthy locals as *seniores civitatis* in his *Etymologiae*⁴³⁷ and the class seems to have retained power throughout the fifth century. In Gallia Gregory of Tours mentions the *seniores civium, seniores urbis*,

⁴²⁹ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 108.

⁴³⁰ In Nabrissae (modern Lebrija) near Hispalis the following inscription was found: ALEXANDRA CLARISSIMA FEMENA VIXIT ANNOS PLUS MINUS XXV RECESSIT IN PACE DECIMO KAL IANVIARIAS ERA DLXXXIII. PROBVS FILIVS VIXIT ANNOS DVOS MENSES DECE RECESS[IT IN PACE]... see Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianae*, n. 84. An inscription dating to 562 near Corduba also attests to the aristocracy through the term *inlustris*: WWILIVLVS VIR INL... [FA]MVLVS DEI, VIXIT AN[NOS] PLVS MINVS SEPTVAGINTA, RECESSIT IN PACE SVB [D.] PRID. ID. IVN[IAS] ERA DC[...]. See Vives, *ICERV*, n. 167.

⁴³¹ This is the premise of Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*.

⁴³² Sánchez-Albornaz, "El senatus visigodo. Don Rodrigo, rey legítimo de España"; Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 110.

⁴³³ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 109 ; Isid. *Etym.*, 9, 4, 5.

⁴³⁵ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 280. See all of chapter 9 for the curia in Late Antiquity.

⁴³⁶ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 110.

⁴³⁷ Isid., *Etym.* 9.4.5: Populus est humanae multitudinis, iuris consensu et concordii communionem sociatus. Populus autem eo distat a plebibus, quod populus universi cives sunt, connumeratis senioribus civitatis. [Plebs autem reliquum vulgus sine senioribus civitatis]. Also see Velázquez, *Vidas de los santos Padres de Mérida*, 3–7.

and the *seniores loci* throughout the 580s.⁴³⁸ Though Hydatius does not use the term *seniores ciuitatis* in reference to Hispania, his *Chronicon* does describe the fate of several aristocratic families during the turmoil of the fifth century as well as positions apparently at the head of the *civitates*. In 460, the Sueves assassinated a Hispano-Roman *rector* of honourable birth in Lucus Augusti⁴³⁹ and in Conimbriga the noble family of the Cantabri were selectively robbed in 465 when the city was pillaged.⁴⁴⁰ Also in 468 Ulixippona/Olispo (Lisbon) was handed over to the Sueves by a certain Lusidius, first citizen of the city.⁴⁴¹

While certain *civitates* fell to barbarian powers, others endured as bastions of *romanitas*. In the heavily romanised city of Emerita, capital of Lusitania, the local nobility retained a preeminent position into the sixth century in various forms. Bishop Paulus of Emerita even came to the rescue of one such noblewoman by performing a caesarian section on her to save her baby.⁴⁴² The noblewoman and her senatorial husband were so thankful that they left all their wealth to Paulus upon their death, making the bishop one of the wealthiest men in Lusitania.⁴⁴³ In Gallic Narbo, the stone lintel of the early cathedral attests to the combined contribution on the behalf of noblemen and bishops alike in the funding of the cathedral.⁴⁴⁴ On the same lintel found at the Cathedral of Narbo, a Marcellus *præfectus prætoris Galliarum* is listed as the greatest financial contributor to the church. He is praised as a pious leader and a generous donator to the building of the church. This would suggest that in the Hispanic Northwest and Gallic South, powerful aristocrats were Christianised and supported the Church in part to increase their own prestige. The

⁴³⁸ Greg., *Hist. Franc.* 5.48 ; 6.11 ; 6.31 ; 8.21 : *Iam si in iudicio cum senioribus vel laicis vel clericis resedisset et vidisset hominem iustitiam prosequentem; seniores civium ad se dux una cum episcopo collegit; ut civitatem ingrederetu ut quicquid sacerdotes vel seniores populi iudicarent; Discedentibus autem multis e civitate cum episcopo et praesertim senioris urbis cum duci.*

⁴³⁹ Hyd. 194 [199]

⁴⁴⁰ Hyd. 225 [229]

⁴⁴¹ Hyd. 240 [246]

⁴⁴² Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 111. *VSPE* 4.1.

⁴⁴³ *VSPE* 4.2.18 : *Quibus defunctis, omne eorum patriumoniium sanctissimus Paulus episcopus accipere promeruit at qui peregrinus nihilque habens advenerat factus est cunctis potentibus potentior intantum ut omnis facultas ecclesiae ad comparationem bonorum illius pro nihilo putarentur.*

⁴⁴⁴ This portion of the lintel reads: MARCELLUS GALL(IARUM) PR(A)EF(ECTUS) DEI CULTOR PRECE EXEGIT EP(ISCOPU)M HOC ON(U)S SUSCIP(ERE) INPEDIA NECESSAR(IA) REPRIMITTENS QUÆ PER BIENN(IUM) ADMINIST(RATIONIS)/SUÆ PR(A)EBU(IT) ARTIFI(CI)B(US) MERCED(EM) SOL(IDOS) DC/ AD OPER(A) ET CETER(A) SOL(IDOS) I(MILLE?)D/ HINC OBLAR(IONIS)S(AN)C(T)IEPI(SCOPI) DYNAMIIL... ORESI CC... AGROECII ET DE CONIA[NI... "SALUTAI[ANI]... in Cabrol and LeClerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 12, 847; *CIL*, 12, 5336.

bishop naturally on account of his wealth and role as community leader, provided good services to the *civitas*

An additional stone from Narbo dug up in 1927 also demonstrated the contribution of the aristocracy, churchmen, and the people in the construction of an important fifth century basilica dedicated to Saint Felix the Martyr of Gerunda (Girona) which was completed in 455 under the supervision of bishop Rusticus. The stone states that the holy church of Narbo provided 56 solidi, presumably the contribution of the flock. Lympidius a *vir clarissimus* is listed among the donors, as is one Salutius a *vir inluster* who is listed as a donor both on the cathedral lintel and the dedication from the basilica of Saint Felix. The broken condition of the stone has caused the loss of an entire section listing donors to the building project, but a surviving section shows that the wife of Agrippinus the *comes Galliae* made a large contribution of 1000 *solidi*.⁴⁴⁵ There is no reason to suppose a rupture of continuity between the coastal cities of Narbonensis and Tarraconensis. Indeed both provinces composed a single maritime region with rich *romanitas* and similar Visigothic influence. Without counter evidence, and considering the spiritual connection between these two provinces, I postulate that as in Narbo, the Hispano-Roman aristocracy in Tarraconensis also contributed to the maintenance of public buildings and the construction of churches in the fifth century.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the *episcopi Hispaniarum*, though influential, were in no case more authoritative than the secular class of aristocrats who on account of their immense wealth and networks of *clientage* and *amicitia*, actually ran the remnants of state in fifth-century Hispania. The bishops were spiritual leaders and moral guides, but in political questions their actual power was limited when it came to defying civil and military authorities. This is best attested to in the case of the scandal caused by the monk Fronto in Tarraconensis (see “Titianus” in appendix),⁴⁴⁶ which was ultimately settled by military involvement. When the *comes Hispaniarum* Asterius burst into the church of Tarraco’s bishop Titianus, there was no question as to who held greater *auctoritas*.⁴⁴⁷ “The count and his followers effectively siezed direction of the episcopal court for as long as they were present in the church”.⁴⁴⁸ On account of this power dynamic, the bishop retained an important though secondary position of power in the secular governance of the *civitates*.

⁴⁴⁵ +GLISMO(N)DA COMITISSA/NUS/M... For the inscription and interpretation see Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 85–86. For Glismonda see Sigal, *L'autel chrétien de Minerve*.

⁴⁴⁶ Aug. Hip., *Ep* 11*.

⁴⁴⁷ Aug. Hip., *Ep* 11*.7.3.

⁴⁴⁸ Kulikowski, “Fronto, the Bishops, and He Crowd: Episcopal Justice and Communal Violence in Fifth-Century Tarraconensis”, 306.

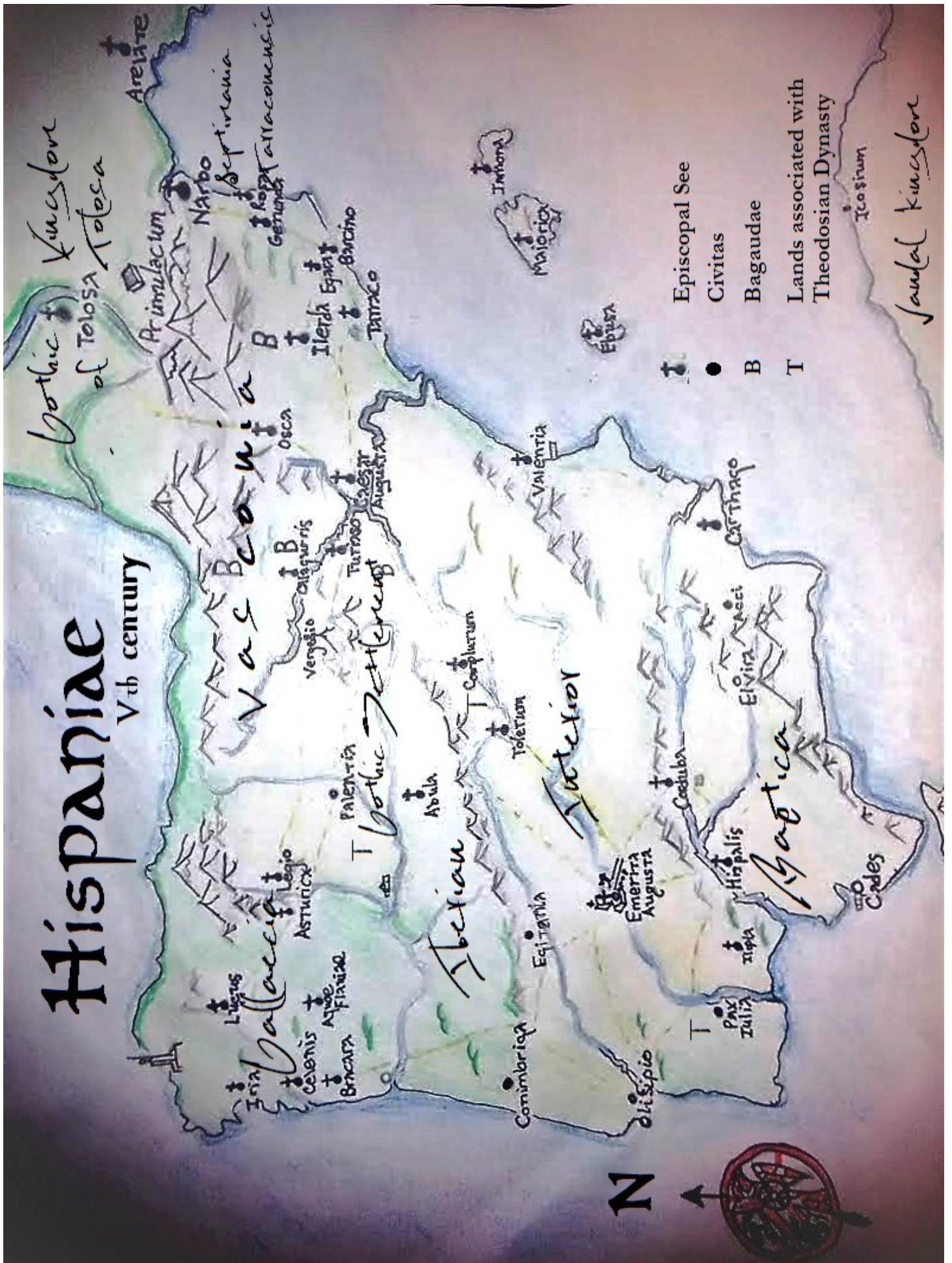


Figure 5: Fifth Century Hispania with Places of Concern (Map by the author)

CHAPTER VI : REGIONAL VARIATION.

The previous chapters have provided an accurate image of the *ideal episcopus Hispaniarum*, yet fail to account for reality *sur le terrain*. Indeed Humphries writes that “the evidence for the creation of Christian societies in western Europe ... is characterized above all by local variation”,⁴⁴⁹ variation which therefore affected the position of the *episcopi*. In the Ebro valley of the Northeast, and reaching down the Mediterranean coast, the Goths consolidated their power. In the South, in Baetica especially but also in Southern Lusitania including Emerita and in the southeast, including Carthago Nova, the cities remained in the hands of the Hispano-Roman aristocracy, which over the course of the fifth century became tightly linked with the Nicene Church. In the far north the Basque peoples still held a long stretch of mountainous land along the northern coast of Hispania, and just as they had resisted romanisation, they now resisted the invasion of Germanic peoples. In many cases these peoples remained faithful to their traditional religion even into the Middle Ages.⁴⁵⁰ In the North West, in the far reaches of Gallaecia, the Suevic kings had established their reign and their influence stretched down the Atlantic coast of Lusitania and the Gallaecian interior.

The *Hispaniae* were made up of several ecclesiastical provinces based on the Diocletian division of the empire into dioceses. Baetica, Tarraconensis, Carthagenensis, Gaelicia, and Lusitania made up the physical confines of the Iberian Peninsula, Africa Tingitana was administratively part of the *Hispaniae* and the Balearic Isles shared cultural and political ties with the mainland. On account of Gothic control of Narbonensis, the southern coast of Gallia influenced and was influenced by trends in Iberia, especially in Tarraconensis. Its unfortunate that tradition has often excluded these peripheral areas from the analysis of Late Antique Hispania; it's only once this investigation was well advanced that apparent cultural ties between Baetica and North Africa, and between Tarraconensis and the Gallic south became evident. Future research which seeks to cover Hispania as a whole should take these regions into account. The current study

⁴⁴⁹ Humphries, “The West: Italy, Gaul and Spain,” 293.

⁴⁵⁰ A region corresponding to the modern Basque Country, most researchers agree that their conversion to Christianity occurred at some point in the eighth century though others push it as late as the eleventh century. Christianity had however implemented itself in then Basque-speaking regions such as the Rioja where Christianity and traditional mythology long coexisted. See Zallo, *Les basques aujourd'hui*, 37–38; Colin, “Christianisation et peuplement des campagnes entre Garonne et Pyrénées, IVe-Xe siècles”; Llobregat Conesa, *La Cristianización. La época Visigoda*, 316. Indeed Moorish accounts from the ninth century identify the Basques as *machus* from Latin *magos* rather than as Christians, ie. people of the book. Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona y de sus lenguas*, 47.

however in line with historiographic tradition concentrates on the five provinces that made up the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁵¹

For the period of 400–500 we've identified 91 distinct bishops for our prosopographical study. Unsurprisingly the northern areas of Spain remain better documented, where 18 episcopal attestations are found for Tarraconensis and 23 for Gallaecia. In the heavily romanised Baetica, 13 attestations survive despite the troubled history of this region. Of great interest are the extremely low attestation from Carthagenensis (3) and Lusitania (3). In Carthagenensis these attestations come from Valentia and Toletum⁴⁵², while in Lusitania our only episcopal attestations come from Emerita Augusta. Despite their small size, the Balearic islands with 5 attested bishops are better documented.⁴⁵³ This evidence is enough to justify an analysis not according to political borders, but rather one based on shared cultural traits. Valentia for example belongs to the same coastal influence of Tarraconensis, while Emerita as the capital of the *Hispaniae* unsurprisingly follows the highly romanised and urban Baetican pattern. Similarly to the variation in the prosopographical information of each region, the archaeology also supports a greater degree of Christianisation in more romanised regions. Namely all of the fifth-century *basilicae* are from areas with a high degree of urban city life: Corduba, Barcino, Tarraco, and Valentia. And while the ecclesiastical provinces provide a good basis for the study of regional variation in the power of the bishops, it has become apparent that political divisions do not always reflect divisions in social trends. As such we have found it advantageous to present regional variations on the basis of shared cultural phenomena in Hispania.⁴⁵⁴

MATURE ROMANITAS

Baetica, corresponding to the southern coast of Hispania and the river valley of the river *Baetis*⁴⁵⁶ and claimed by Rome after the defeat of Carthage in the Second Punic War, was the most romanised of the Iberian provinces. It is also in the second century B.C. that Rome entered the North-Eastern coastal region

⁴⁵¹ North-Western Africa, Narbonensis and the Balearic islands will be dealt with in passing but do not make up the heart of our analysis.

⁴⁵² Throughout this study, we've given little attention to Toletum, primarily because it only became of importance as of the sixth century. For the impact of Christianisation in Toletum, refer to Cabrera et al., *Ciudad y territorio toledano entre la Antigüedad tardía y el reino visigodo*.

⁴⁵³ The other documented bishops are from unknown sees.

⁴⁵⁴ The cultural divisions which I propose are based on my own observation into the geography, traditions, language use and historical policies of the divisions I propose, which also happen to respond correspond quite closely to those proposed by Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*.

⁴⁵⁶ That is the modern Guadalquivir river system.

and the valley of the river *Iber*,⁴⁵⁷ a region which would come to be known as Tarraconensis after its capital city Tarraco. Together these regions made up the most romanised part of the Iberian Peninsula and arguably, the most romanised regions outside of Italia in the Western Empire. In these regions we find a high degree of urbanisation and Roman civil life. Certain cities such as Acci in Carthagenensis and Emerita in Lusitania fall clearly into the pattern of mature Roman civic life. The degree of Latinisation which occurred on the peninsula is still apparent in the modern Spanish languages spoken on the peninsula today. What follows is a description of the unique traits of each region.

The Mediterranean Litoral and valley of the Ebro

Colonised by the Romans in the first century BCE, five hundred years of Roman domination ensured that *romanitas* was a defining trait of coastal Tarraconensis and in Late Antiquity the Roman imperial government expended great energies to defend the province. The region's importance in the network of maritime trade as well as its easy accessibility both by land and by sea and its proximity to Italia explain the importance given to it by Emperors of the fifth century. There is no doubt however that the province's main *civitates* were thoroughly romanised. By contrast inland Tarraconensis remained a difficultly penetrated terrain.⁴⁵⁸ In the seventh century Hilarius referring to the diocese of Calagurris (Calahorra, Rioja), wrote that it lay *in ultima parte nostre provincie constitutes*, i.e. at the end of our province's boundaries,⁴⁵⁹ beyond which lay the semi-romanised Vascon country. Despite possessing Christian communities,⁴⁶² the anti-imperial sentiment of the region and the movement of the *bagaudae* kept these churches separate from the larger Roman community.⁴⁶³ One bishop, Leo (see Annexe 1) was even killed on account of conflict with these rebels.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁷ The Ebro river valley.

⁴⁵⁸ In the fourth century episcopal councils of Tarraconensis, Calagurris, Turiasso, and Auco are noticeably absent. Furthermore, Pope Hilarius in his *epistulae* 13 and 14 attests to the difficulties in administering and retaining order in these sees.

⁴⁵⁹ Hil., *Ep. Ad Pal.* It is not coincidental that Hilarius should write this; indeed Calagurris corresponds with the frontier between romanised Tarraconensis and the Vascon peoples of the North. The episcopal see of Calagurris also belongs to this region of inner-Tarraconensis where all the *bagaudae* trouble is noted by Hydatius 117 [125], 120 [128], 133[141], 150 [158], suggesting significant political and cultural tensions in the region.

⁴⁶² Recent scholarship suggests that Christian communities were implemented in the region already by the fourth century. Prudentius a renowned Christian poet of the late fourth and early fifth centuries was likely a native of Calagurris. Cf. Hershkowitz, "Prudentius, Poetry and Hispania," 14, 19.

⁴⁶³ Sáinz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja, siglos IV - XIII*, 68.

⁴⁶⁴ Hyd. *Chron.* 133 [144]

Internal politics were also difficult in Tarraconensis, in fact scandal and religious dissidence are the elements which best characterise the Church of Tarraconensis. Furthermore the mountainous inland remained unruly. A situation arose in 465, when Pope Hilarius was obligated to reprimand the Church of Tarraconensis for allowing the transfer of one bishop Irenaeus to the see of Barcino.⁴⁶⁵ Also as the case of Sagittius⁴⁶⁶ (see annexe 1) demonstrates, heresy and apocryphal texts were still popular in inner Tarraconensis and religious purists such as the monk Fronto and the amateur theologian Consentius demonstrate a willingness to persecute such heretics at the expense of unity. Many historians maintain that the aristocracies of Gallia and Hispania were intimately tied, encouraging parallel developments in both regions.⁴⁶⁷ This is certainly true of the Hispanic North-East coast and the southern Gallic coast. In the early fifth century, one bishop of Osca, Syagrius (see Annexe 1) was probably even descended from the same Syagrius family of which both Ausonius and Sidonius Appollinaris were members. Syagrius appears as evidence of an Iberian branch and testifies to the shared cultural space of this region.⁴⁶⁸

All evidence suggests that Narbonensis, and by extension Tarraconensis, retained a powerful Roman aristocracy into the later fifth century, and this despite the arrival of the Visigoths. When in the mid-fifth-century, Sylvanus, bishop of Calagurris (see Annexe 1) tried to outstep his jurisdiction, he was denounced in unity by neighbouring bishops.⁴⁶⁹ Sylvanus however had the support of *honorati* and *possessors* from surrounding regions and the Pope, Hilarius, ultimately allowed him to remain in his position as well as those bishops who were irregularly ordained. Sylvanus also seems to have had the support of Visigothic king Theodoric, and already from the mid-fifth-century we see *the* episcopus as an intermediary. At Narbo in the early fifth century, the marriage of Visigothic count Athaulf (see Figure 1) to Galla Placidia was welcomed by the population⁴⁷¹ and still in the late fifth century Roman aristocrats are found among the great donators to civil construction projects.⁴⁷² Though Narbonensis and Tarraconensis were heavily romanised, authors such as Mathisen and Riess advance that the aristocracy in these areas

⁴⁶⁵ Hil., *Ep.* 3.2-3

⁴⁶⁶ See Sagittius in the annexed prosopography.

⁴⁶⁷ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 146; Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, 88–117; De Palol, “La conversion de l’aristocratie de la péninsule ibérique”; Díaz i Díaz, “L’expansion du christianisme et les tensions épiscopales dans la péninsule ibérique”.

⁴⁶⁸ Moreno and Agustín, *Historia de España Visigoda*, 169.

⁴⁶⁹ Hil. *Eps.* 13-14

⁴⁷¹ Jer., *Ep.* 7.43. Also see Riess, *Narbonne and its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 76–77, 91.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 82–87.

were separatists seeking greater local control at the expense of the central imperial government.⁴⁷³ We also cannot exclude the existence of intermarriage between Hispano-Romans and Goths throughout the fifth century, which would surely have contributed to the development of a local identity.⁴⁷⁴ The above helps to explain count Agrippinus's decision to hand over the city of Narbo to the Goths in 462 in exchange for aid against Aegidius who had been *magister militum* under Aëtius and who preserved a Roman state in the north of Gallia where he was referred to as "king of the Romans."⁴⁷⁵ When Narbo was handed over to the Goths, their king Theoderic was hailed as *Romanae columen salusque gentis*, the pillar and salvation of the Roman race.⁴⁷⁶

In the northeast, the churches of Tarraconensis were strongly affected by Gallic monastic ideas.⁴⁷⁷ By the late fourth century Tarraco possessed a monastic community and the town offers a valuable glimpse at the growth of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, especially in the expansion of Christian burial sites and the construction of *basilicae* in the suburbs.⁴⁷⁸ Kulikowsky argues that there is no evidence for a Christian cult site within the city walls for the greater part of the fifth century despite a powerful Church and Tarraco's position as the Metropolitan see of Tarraconensis. Tarraco hosted Church councils in 380 and 419, demonstrating the strength of the Christian community even in the early fifth century. It appears however that the Christian cult and the residence of its leader the *episcopus* were both extramural.⁴⁷⁹ This reorientation of the city to the suburbs surely contributed to the decay of the inner city. It is only in the last

⁴⁷³ Reiss writes: "Marcellus, the *praefectus praetoris Galliarum* may have had family connections in Narbonensis favouring a more independent stance for Gaul and cities such as Narbo: this could link Rusticus to the same independence position." He also suggests a connection between Narbo and a 456 attempt to seize the imperial throne following the death of emperor Avitus. Ibid chap. 4. Mathisen envisions Gallic factionalism as fueled by an anti-Italian sentiment and a wedge dating from the fourth century execution of Priscillian between the Felician party headed by bishop Felix who criticised imperial intervention in ecclesiastical matters, and the anti-Felician party led by Martin of Tours. See Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy on Fifth-Century Gaul*. "Gallic anti-Pelagianism was at least in part another manifestation of Gallic anti-Italian sentiment". Ibid., 40.

⁴⁷⁴ Among the evidence for early fusions of Gothic and Gallo-Roman aristocracies is the marriage of king Athaulf to Galla Placidia, daughter of Roman emperor Theodosius I. Gothic names such Othia a presbyter, and Glismonda, wife of the *comes galliæ* also become common among the aristocracy. See Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 91.

⁴⁷⁵ Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 8: Post haec igitur mortuus est Egidius Romanorum rex.

⁴⁷⁶ Sid. Apol., *carm.* 23.71

⁴⁷⁷ Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409-711*, 152.

⁴⁷⁸ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 223–224.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 223.

quarter of the fifth century that we see a transformation of the old civic core. The upper city, the *Part Alta*, experienced the construction of a large building with three parallel halls built in the northeastern corner of the imperial complex and which reused ashlar blocks from that structure. A sixth century liturgical jar and chancel screen were found near the site which is also adjacent to the Mediaeval cathedral leading investigators to interpret the aulic building as a late fifth century *episcopium*. It's location at the highest point in the city clearly symbolises the bishop's authority and prestige. Still, it is only once the imperial government itself had entirely disappeared that the Church and the *episcopi* could come to dominate the public core of Tarraco.⁴⁸⁰

The evidence is similar at Caesaraugusta, where Christian burials are first attested beyond the city walls and the Christian sarcophagi were produced at a great cost suggesting that wealthy *curiales* had entered the Christian faith; a phenomenon common to the Ebro valley. When in the mid-sixth century, the Franks layed siege to the city, the population paraded through the streets with the sacred tunic of the *civitas'* patron saint, the martyr Vicentius.⁴⁸¹ By the sixth century Christian monuments rather than administrative buildings sat at the heart of Caesaraugusta.⁴⁸² The curial building in the forum had been transformed into a church; Christians had finally come to dominate the old civic centre.⁴⁸³

At Barcino, an intramural Christian episcopal complex composed of the basilica, baptistery and episcopal palace is attested in the late fifth century (see figure 2). The complex however is built into the town's wall and was peripheral to the layout of the antique city.⁴⁸⁵ Its intramural location may suggest an earlier Christianisation of the city than in other parts of the peninsula, but a more practical answer avails itself: Barcino's precarious location at the passage between Hispania and Gallia and its susceptibility to attack would have encouraged the population to establish their cult facility within the protective walls of the *civitas*. Meanwhile on the Levantine coast, in Valentia (Valencia) as in Barcino, the earliest intermural church was built against the *civitas'* defensive wall.⁴⁸⁶

Narbo throughout this period was wealthy on account of commerce with Baetica, Africa, the Orient and Italy. Bishop Sidonius in the fifth century lauded the city's wealth.⁴⁸⁷ Commerce appears to have

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 224.

⁴⁸¹ Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 3.29

⁴⁸² Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 228.

⁴⁸³ Mostalac Carillo and Pérez Casas, "La excavación del foro de Caesaraugusta."

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 223.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 233. This peripheral location within the *civitas* is quite common, also appearing in Bourges, Roman Avaricum, where the fifth century cathedral was built into the Gallo-Roman wall. This also appears to be the case in Avila, Spain.

⁴⁸⁷ See Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 23.

remained very strong between Baetica and Narbonensis. Indeed 44 percent of all amphorae in the fifth century were of Baetican origin, with Baetican oil and Lusitanian garum being popular imports. Evidence suggests that this trade continued through the sixth century as well.⁴⁸⁸ Along with a great amount of economic activity between the North-East and the Baetican South we should also expect a great deal of religious exchange. Hispania shared a common spiritual heritage. Indeed a basilica was erected at Narbo to Felix the martyr of the Tarraconensian *civitas* Gerunda and an alter inscription found in the countryside at Minerva (Minerve), 32 km, a day's walk from Narbo attests to bishop Rusticus's dedication of an altar in the year 456.⁴⁸⁹ Just as Tarraconensis indicates cases of unorderly clergy, so too does Narbonensis where an inscription from 450 at Betarra (Béziers) attests to a presbyter Othia dedicating a basilica, a privilege reserved for the *episcopi*.⁴⁹⁰ This evidence suggests a weakness in the Church hierarchy and cultural continuity between Narbonensis and Tarraconensis.

As if the situation in the Hispanic North-East was not yet complicated enough, we should make several brief notes on the islands of Minorica and Maiorica which until the late fourth century were administratively attached to Carthaginensis, and which belong to the upper Mediterranean sphere of influence.⁴⁹¹ In the fifth century they fell under Vandalic influence, but cultural ties remained with the Iberian *litus*. The Baleares were Roman. In the case of Minorica, the island had, as of the third century, a thriving Jewish community in which the Jewish aristocracy held dominance over much of the island. Furthermore it seems that the community at Jamana held dominance over the whole island from an inscription in which one Maecius Maecianus is considered the *duumvir* or mayor of the whole island.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁸ Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 30–31; Ordóñez Agulla and González Acuña, “Colonia Romula Hispalis: nueva perspectivas a partir de los recientes hallazgos arqueológicos,” 84.

⁴⁸⁹ + RVSTICVS ANN XXX EPTS SVI FF or *Rusticus anno XXX episcopatus sui fieri fecit*. The stone in fact raises more questions than it answers with regards to rural Christianity in the fifth century. Competing hypotheses contest that a fifth century church was raised at Minerve, while the other holds that the stone was transported to the site in the 16th century.

⁴⁹⁰ Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy on Fifth-Century Gaul*, 203. Mathisen proposes that Othia's defiance of the bishop was a response to the bishop's separationist policy.

⁴⁹¹ Chastagnol, “Les espagnols dans l'aristocratie gouvernementale à l'époque de Théodose,” 278.

⁴⁹² *CIS* 2.3711: “ter duumviratu in insula functus etiam flaminatu provinciae Hispaniae citerioris”.

Minorica had some Christian aristocrats too; one Julius *vir honoratus* is attested implying that he served in the imperial service.⁴⁹³ Monks are also attested to on the island.⁴⁹⁴

In February of 418 a conflict erupted between the Christian community led by its bishop Severus and the island's Jews guided by the prominent *patronus* Theodorus. Indeed Theodorus was at the head of the community as a whole and was referred to by Severus himself as a *doctor legis*.⁴⁹⁵ The evidence from bishop Severus' letter suggests that there were a number of notable Jewish scholars in Magona, and that Theodorus was not only considered as their teacher but also as a reputable and learned community leader.⁴⁹⁶ In the past, Theodorus had occupied the role of *defensor civitatis*, a position created by Valentinian (364–375) to efficiently resolve legal matters, though in 418 at the time of the letter writing another prominent Jew, the senior civic magistrate Caecilianus, held that position; in both cases this was against the 409 decree of emperors Honorius and Theodosius that *defensores* should be *sacris orthodoxae religionis imbuti mysterii*, imbued with Orthodox Christian religion.⁴⁹⁷ Evidently the imposition of Christian exclusivity was slower in some regions.

Theodorus' family was well connected: his younger brother Meletius was married to Artemesia, the daughter of a possibly Jewish *comes* who is renowned for his campaigning in Gallia where he served under Aetius as *magister utriusque militiae*.⁴⁹⁸ The exceptional careers of Minorica's Jews demonstrate that even in the Late Antique world of the fifth century, there was still a place for non-Christians. The events which followed in the winter of 418 appear to be a struggle for dominance of the islands population between a well-grounded, educated and Jewish elite and the populist Catholic Bishop Severus, possibly spurred on by his envy of Theodorus' position. In Jamona, the church lay on the outskirts of town, while the synagogue was near the old city centre.⁴⁹⁹ The anti-Jewish sentiment which arose on Minorica is far from exclusive,

⁴⁹³ Sev. Min., *Ep.* 20.5. His imperial status also suggests that he may have been among the new aristocracy which had gained influence by serving the emperor directly.

⁴⁹⁴ Sev. Min., *Ep.* 10.1, 20.4

⁴⁹⁵ Sev. Min., *Ep.* 6.1

⁴⁹⁶ Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*, 30–32.

⁴⁹⁷ For the nature of the office of *defensor civitatis* see *Cod. Theod.* 1.29 and Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*, 33.

⁴⁹⁸ For the connection between the military leader Litorius, and the father of Artemesia see Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*, 34–35.

⁴⁹⁹ Sev. Min., *Ep.* 12.7-13, 20.4. Not that the crowd had to march through streets where they were pelted by rocks to reach the cathedral. This suggests that the synagogue was in the city centre.

indeed synagogues were burned down and converted throughout much of the empire⁵⁰⁰ and religious authorities confronting pro-Jewish civic authorities have precedence, e.g. when in 414 bishop Cyril of Alexandria expelled the city's Jews despite the Jews having support from the prefect Orestes.⁵⁰¹

It is uncertain from where Severus' zeal for the conversion of the Jews came. He was very newly Bishop of Minorica, and likely driven by a desire to prove himself and assert his own authority he prepared his march against the Jews. Though the Jews and Christians previously coexisted in peace, the arrival of Saint Stephan's relics two years prior had heated the religious zeal of the island's Christians, and on account of the violence on the Iberian mainland, many Christians likely believed in the approaching of the end times. On February 2nd 418, the island's Christians marched the approximately 45 km journey between Jamona and Magona. Arriving on the Sabbath they urged the Jews to enjoin them in public debate, which the Jews refused out of respect of the holy day. At last the bishop convinced the Jews to allow for an inspection of the synagogues, under the pretext that the Jews had been hoarding away weapons. According to Severus' account, the Jews pummeled the Christian hoard with rocks as they advanced towards the synagogue, but protected by the Holy Spirit, they suffered no injuries. Having occupied the synagogue, the Christians put flame to it, confiscating the holy books and urged the Jews to convert. For three days the Jewish community remained unwilling to convert until an unfortunate incident, when the cries of the Christians shouting "Theodorus, believe in Christ" were misheard by the Jews as "Theodorus believes in Christ".⁵⁰² Many Jews, terrified by the confusion fled for the hills, but on account of starvation and cold weather returned to town and were forcibly converted over the coming days.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰⁰ These violent temple burnings also occurred at Callinicus, Stobi, Apamea, Edessa, Alexandria, Antioch, Tipasa (Algeria), Rome and Aquileia. See Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, 1:464.

⁵⁰¹ Socr., *Hist. Eccl* 7.13.

⁵⁰² Bradbury refutes the likelihood of this perceptual confusion stating that 'Theodor that you should believe in Christ' *Theodore, credas in Christum* is too distinct from 'Theodorus has believed in Christ' *Theodorus in Christum credidit* to support the argument that the Jews misheard the chant of the Christian crowd. It is doubtful however that the account faithfully preserves the words chanted by the crowd. The written account was surely based off of Severus' memory and more faithfully preserved the events than the actual dialogues which occurred. Secondly, the linguistic confusion which occurs *is* possible especially if the short *i* of *credis* in *Theodorus in Christum credis* had merged by the fifth century with *e* as *credes*, the third person singular future indicative, also confusable with singular imperative *crede* or even with plural and in romance, the polite form *credete*. The exact details of this linguistics mess merit further study.

⁵⁰³ The whole situation of the events which took place on Minorica are treated in excellent detail in Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca, Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*. Here one will also find the most up-to-date critical edition of the *Epistula Severi* in Latin with facing English translation.

Among the last to actually convert was the *patronus* Theodorus himself, and we can wonder why he was unable to use his great influence more effectively in his struggle against the bishop. Presumably it was a simple question of numbers, with the Christians easily tripling the Jews in numeric weight. Theodorus likely converted to assure the protection of his estates, his *honor* and of his authority within the community. It appears that after the conversion, the Jewish gentry retained its position of authority though nominally as Christians and despite being required to oversee the construction of a Christian church where the synagogue once stood.⁵⁰⁴

Approximately five years later, in 423, and perhaps in reaction to the events on Minorica, the Emperors Theodosius II and Honorius legislated that Jewish synagogues be left unviolated and that none should harass the Jews with insults.⁵⁰⁵ Despite intervention by civil authorities, it seems that the religious communities with the bishops at their head intensified their persecution of minority religions, a practice which had become so commonplace that a mere 15 years later emperor Theodosius II banned Jews from public office, legislating “it is wrong that persons hostile to the Supernal Majesty and to Roman laws’ should be considered avengers of those laws” and blatantly stating that “no Jew...shall enter upon any honors or dignities [and] to none of them shall the administration of a civil duty be available, nor shall they even perform the duties of a *defensor civitatis*”.⁵⁰⁶

In 425, the Vandals arrived on the shores of Minorica⁵⁰⁷ having converted to Arianism between 409 and 417 and it is possible that religious tolerance was restored on Minorica. We do not know, however, how the Catholic bishop fared through the occupation of the Belears. Heretics, Jews, and pagans surely fared better under Arian kingship than they had under the Catholic bishops⁵⁰⁸ and we should wonder if the convertees openly returned to practicing Judaism after this point. As we have demonstrated the Iberian eastern littoral though heavily romanised in its coastal areas, was diverse and brimming with ecclesiastical conflict from rogue clergy to politically sided *episcopi*. The position of Tarraconensis edged between Roman influences, Gothic strongholds and menaced by a budding Frankish kingdom in the north assured that the ecclesiastical situation of the region remained vulnerable. Despite this vulnerability, the Church in Tarraconensis remains the best documented in the *Hispaniae*, and in certain sees such as Tarraco, it is

⁵⁰⁴ Sev. Min., *Ep.* 34

⁵⁰⁵ *Cod. Theod.* 16.8.25-26. The wording of the law “no synagogue at all of the Jews shall be indiscriminately taken away from them *or consumed by fire* ...[and] *any offertories* [which] *have been removed, shall be returned to the Jews...*” addresses the exact situation which occurred on Minorica. In this regard, the bishops were not beyond reproach by the imperial administration.

⁵⁰⁶ *Nov.* 3.2

⁵⁰⁷ Hyd. 86: *Vandali baliaricas insulas depraedeantur.*

⁵⁰⁸ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 232.

almost possible to reconstruct an episcopal list spanning our period of study, 400–530. The situation in Tarraconensis is also of interest because of its evident political and cultural ties with the Gallo-Romans of Narbonensis and Aquitania, and it is from this region that the cultures and churches of the modern Catalans and Castilians ultimately spring, and though it is not our intent to do so, there is no lack of scholarship to connect the Visigothic kingdom which implemented itself in the peninsula's North East with the northern kingdoms of the Reconquista period.⁵⁰⁹

The Baetican Model

Similarly to Tarraconensis, early Christianisation is visible in the Baetica, both in the written sources such as the *Concilium Illiberis* and archaeologically such as in the Christian tiles found in a fifth century villa near Arunda (Ronda), likely produced in a nearby workshop.⁵¹⁰ As in Gallia, advancement among the aristocracy was still tied to imperial service and titles, which increasingly Christians would have compelled members of the senatorial aristocracy to convert to Christianity, especially in the most romanised areas such as Hispania Baetica. In her prosopographic study of the western aristocracy, Salzman argues that the Iberian aristocracy was overwhelmingly Christian in the third to fifth century, with an adherence to Christianity of over 80%,⁵¹¹ a statistic which appears improbable as inversely, 70% of imperial office holders in Hispania claimed paganism as their official faith. Two methodological problems impede us from seriously considering the statistics from her study. First, the low number of individuals in the sample (only 9 in Hispania from 284–423 versus the more informative 71 individuals from Italia) inhibits its use in statistics. Simply put 9 individuals over the course of a century and a half is methodologically insufficient to declare that the Iberian aristocracy was essentially Christian.⁵¹² This is a problem with the preservation of Iberian sources more than an error on behalf of the author. Secondly, because we do not know the regional provenance of the sampled individuals it is impossible to discuss further specification per region.

⁵⁰⁹ This vision of continuity between Visigothic and contemporary Spain is best presented in Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*.

⁵¹⁰ This piece is visible at the British Museum in London: *Tile; Grey Earthenware; with the Chi-Rho Monogram in Relief under a Rounded Arch between Two Columns, Enclosing Scallop Design at Top; to the Left, Three Imperfect Letters of an Inscription Which Continues to Right; Also Alpha and Omega*.

⁵¹¹ See Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, fig. 3.1, 3.2.

⁵¹² The low sample size in prosopographic studies is a major methodological issue, not from a prosopographical perspective but rather for the use of such data in statistical analyses. For more on the prosopographical method see annexe 1 or Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, 21.

Though the numbers are unreliable, Salzman's prosopography is telling of the willingness of the Iberian aristocracy to adopt Orthodox Christianity as a tool for aristocratic dominance.⁵¹³

Baetica, on account of its early romanisation, possessed a strong local aristocracy. Many families had deep roots and political importance such as that of fourth century senator Acilius Severus, high office holder under Constantine. In his *De viris illustribus*,⁵¹⁴ Hieronymus writes of Acilius Severus' Baetican family ties reaching back to the first century when Acilius Lucanus was a notable lawyer of Corduba. The aristocracy of Baetica remained very powerful in the fifth century as confirmed by recent archaeological excavation near modern Granada, where a large villa site was found to show continuity into the seventh century. Most notably the villa was renovated to house a greater number of workers, while other spaces were adapted into work spaces.⁵¹⁵ Another large landowner, Andevotus, even raised a private army to repel the Suevic king Requila's incursion into Baetica.⁵¹⁶ Recent scholarship concludes that still in the mid and possibly late fifth century, there was a strong allegiance to the Roman administration in the South of Hispania, even after the conquest of the region by the Visigoths,⁵¹⁷ which can be seen by the province's resistance to the unification of the *Hispaniae* under Leovigild in the sixth century.⁵¹⁸

Already in the late fourth century it is apparent that the bishops in Baetica were of aristocratic descent. Numerous inscriptions bearing Christian names attest to the fifth century Baetica as an essentially Christian region.⁵¹⁹ Following the general model for the *Hispaniae*, Baetican *civitates* gained intermural churches generally in the mid-fifth century.⁵²⁰ This means that for the larger part of the fifth century, and

⁵¹³ Assuming the collected data is largely from the *Baetican* region, the high frequency of Christian religion in those areas of deep romanisation supports our thesis that Christianity was strongly associated with the new Christian *romanitas* propagated by the aristocratic bishops.

⁵¹⁴ Jer. *de viris ill.* 111 "Ancilius Severus Senator"

⁵¹⁵ Marín Díaz et al., "La villa bajoimperial y tardo antigua de los Mondagones (Granada)", 482-483.

⁵¹⁶ Hyd. 114: Hermericus rex morbo opressus Rechilam filium suum substituit in regnum: qui Andeuotum cum sua, quam habebat, manu ad Singillionem Bæticam fluuium aperto Marte prostravit magnis eius auri et argenti opibus occupatis.

⁵¹⁷ See Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 280.

⁵¹⁸ The whole story of prince Hermenegild revolting from his father Leovigild, renouncing his Arian faith for Catholicism and leading the Baetican against his father, is extremely compelling and displays the use of religion in power politics of the sixth century.

⁵¹⁹ Numerous inscriptions bear Christian names such as Felix, Felecissimus, Martyria, etc.. See Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*.

⁵²⁰ Colonia Augusta Firma (Éjica) had a fifth century basilica and cemetery built in the north part of its forum. See García-Dils de la Vega, "El urbanismo de la Colonia Augusta firma," 100. Indeed the church of San Francisco in

significantly during the invasions of 409, the bishops' churches remained vulnerable to attack by the newly arrived Siling Vandals who had crossed the Alps in 409 and marched into Baetica under the leadership of their king Fredbal, the Asding Vandals in 422, and in 438 to incursion by the Sueves⁵²¹, further placing the fifth-century Church in a precarious position. The peripheral nature of the churches allowed for the old urban core to develop in its own way, or to fall into decay.⁵²²

Though the aristocracy had infiltrated the Church, civic aristocrats remained distinct from the episcopal role, and the *civitates* remained under the dominance of a local Hispano-Roman aristocracy. Indeed at sometime in the sixth century Corduba had regained its independence, prompting the newly crowned Visigothic king Agila to confront the Baetican aristocracy of Corduba in an attack on the city in 551.⁵²³ Wishing to reclaim the city, Agila desecrated the tomb of the saint Asciscus outside the city wall. The Catholic inhabitants of Corduba rose up in arms against the king, killing the prince, capturing treasure and defeating a large part of the Gothic army.⁵²⁴ Local aristocrats headed their defense, defending the city with a large number of *rustici*,⁵²⁵ workers from the field, recruited as a militia from the large tracks of land controlled by the aristocracy. The Hispano-Romans were victorious; the city was only captured in 572 when Visigothic king Leovigild led a surprise attack by night. Sixth century chronicler Iohannes Biclanensis writes:

*“Leovigild rex Cordubam civitatem diu Gothis revellem nocte occupant et caesis hostibus propriam facit multasque urbis et castella rusticorum multitudine in Gothorum dominum revocat.”*⁵²⁶

Corduba holds a special place as a stronghold of *romanitas* in Hispania on account of its significant Hispano-Roman population and the Orthodoxy of its population. On the 21st of July 447, Pope Leo Magnus, issued a letter to the bishops of Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, Lusitania and Gallaecia declaring that a national synod should be held to deal with the issue of heresy in the provinces. Baetica is strangely left out

Écija sits directly overtop of the presumed location of the Augustan temple, suggesting a continuity of usage as a site of worship, from antiquity, through the Muslim period into the modern era.

⁵²¹ Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 71.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 71–72.

⁵²³ Newbery, *The Annals of Europe, or Regal Register; Showing the Succession of the Sovereigns, ... together with the Bishops and Popes of Rome, etc.* 121.

⁵²⁴ Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 72.

⁵²⁵ Ioh. Bic., *Chron.* Also see Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity”, 21.

⁵²⁶ Ioh. Bic., *Chron.* Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*, 60–61.

from this list. Several hypotheses present themselves, but most likely, Baetica as a bastion of *romanitas*, was essentially Orthodox and unaffected by these heretical problems.⁵²⁷

Already in the fourth century as demonstrated by correspondences between Hydatius of Emerita and Osius of Corduba, the Iberian south was heavily Christianised and orthodox in its practice. The number of Baetican presbyters and bishops at the *concillium Iliberris* also attests to this situation. It's a shame that the violent history of Andalucía has so damaged both our written and archaeological sources of evidence for the region. Despite the establishment of the *Khilāfat Qurtuba* over the Iberian Peninsula *Ladino* culture and language survived and Hispano-Roman cities survived and even prospered. Though many Christians converted to Islam, others kept their Christian faith.⁵²⁸ If one thing should be retained for Baetica, it is that the province was already in the fifth century, a stronghold of Catholicism and *romanitas* in the post-Roman occident, and its bishops were exemplars of that Roman quality.

THE IBERIAN INTERIOR

The Iberian interior does not correspond to a single administrative province, though roughly it is composed of Carthagenensis and the non-coastal areas of Tarraconensis. We also include in the interior those regions of Lusitania that neither follow the Northwestern/Gallaecian model nor that of the Baetica such as Emerita. This zone is large and amorphous, constrained more by the extent of the other regions than by its own distinct identity. In the confusion between competing powers, Hispania was a land both of defensive communities in hilltop *castella*, while in resource rich valleys villas were over the course of the fifth century converted from private residences into communal buildings around which Mediaeval hamlets sprung. Of note in this region was the presence of the powerful Theodosian family whose lands stretched at least from Cauca (Coca near modern Segovia) to Tultium (near modern Carranque) where a fortified villa associated with Maternus Cinigius, uncle of Theodosius I, was found.⁵²⁹ The villa was built in the late fourth century with marble from the emperor's quarries in Chios, Greece, indicating that it was built after the rise of Theodosian

⁵²⁷ Leon Mag., *Ep.* 15.17: Dedimus itaque litteras ad fratres et coepiscopos nostros Tarraconenses, Carthaginenses, Lusitanos atque Gallecos eis que Concilium synodi generalis indiximus. It could also be the case that the acting bishop of Emerita in Lusitania was also responsible for Baetica, around 483 when Zeno appears to have been responsible for both sees as papal Vicar. In light of the cultural context, the omission of Baetica is unlikely to be a simple scribal error.

⁵²⁸ For a summary of Muslim Spain and the state of Christian's under their dominion see O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, chap. 4–5.

⁵²⁹ The connection between the villa and the Theodosian family is critiqued in Arce, "La Hispania de Teodosio: 379-395 AD" on account of the poor evidence. Regardless, the state of the villa attests to the condition of the aristocratic *potentes* in the fifth century. See figure 6.

to the purple. Furthermore its emplacement atop an old agricultural villa suggests that the imperial position brought great new wealth to the family.

The bedchamber contains portraits of Athena, Hercules and Diana and depictions of Neptune Nymphs and other pagan symbols. The décor of the villa suggests that if the Theodosian family was no longer pagan, it still valued traditional Roman culture and motifs.⁵³¹ These mosaics were presumably installed after the Emperor's election and despite the emperor's tough crackdown on paganism, it seems most appropriate to date the Theodosian family's conversion to Christianity to the early fifth century at which point a governor's palace on this same villa estate was remodeled as a Christian worship and burial site.⁵³²

Theodosius' own family had come to prominence through the military career of Flavius Theodosius the elder a.k.a *comes* Theodosius. The appointment of the military Theodosian family underscores an important development in the reorientation of the senatorial aristocracy towards the



Virtual reconstruction of the villa of Materno.

Figure 6: Reconstruction of fortified Theodosian villa as found at Carranque. (Parques arqueológicos de Castilla la Mancha, *Carranque Archaeological Park*)

episcopacy. Because the imperial position was dominated by military officers in the fourth and fifth centuries, and because securing the empire was vital, these military emperors advanced those from among their own circles to positions of power and favoured marriage with new men and barbarian warlords often over political connections to the landed aristocracies.⁵³³ In consequence the Christianising aristocracy

⁵³¹ *Comes* Theodosius's end-of-life baptism further suggests that the Theodosian family was ambivalent to Christianity, but not convinced Orthodox practitioners.

⁵³² Figure 6 is taken from Parques arqueológicos de Castilla La Mancha, *Carranque Archaeological Park, Roman Mosaics and Natural Beauty*, 5, 7. Parques arqueológicos de Castilla-La-Mancha, *Carranque archaeological park: roman mosaics and natural beauty*.

⁵³³ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 128–129.

looked to other avenues of power, either the senatorial career, which involved travel to the decaying senate at Rome, or as was more often the case, a position in local magistracies and local politics. In the Lusitanian north, the land owning aristocracy of the Theodosian family defended its interests and lands by the recruiting of local troops.⁵³⁴ This manner of defense had surely become the norm by the sixth century when the Goth, Teudi, sent to Hispania by the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, was able to recruit 2000 men from among the workers on his properties.⁵³⁵

The archaeology of the Northern Meseta is complex to interpret. Two stones found at the site of a rural fortress contain what appears to be accounting information, pushing some to hypothesise that easier writing materials such as papyrus were no longer available in the fifth century.⁵³⁶ Martín Viso notably interprets these stones, many of which appear across the Northern Meseta, as symbols of local dominance over the population, very possibly as physical indicators of tribute demanded by the local *potentes*.⁵³⁷ while in the northern interior we find the Duero valley culture, and the sixth century graves of Visigothic settlers. At León a great defensive wall was also erected by the onset of the fifth century.⁵³⁸ On the Central Meseta of Hispania a cult site was established near the graves of two martyrs, Iustus and Pastor, 2km from the Late-Antique core of Complutum. On account of the sites spiritual importance, the diocese found its core here with the establishment of an episcopal complex. Over the following decades the population migrated towards this new centre of gravity with the *episcopium* at the centre of the new Mediaeval city.⁵³⁹ This migration towards the bishop's residence does not necessarily demonstrate his administrative importance, but it without a doubt demonstrates the importance of religion in the daily life of the fifth century Hispano-Romans. We should recall that the interior zones never were rich in urban settlement and that the concentration of power in these regions likely resided in the vast estates of the landed aristocracy.⁵⁴⁰

Other sites such as Valentia indicate a very late, most likely sixth century establishment of the Christian cult within the old civic centre.⁵⁴¹ It also appears that Valentia was without an *episcopus* until

⁵³⁴ Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity," 19.

⁵³⁵ Proc., *Bell Goth.* 1.12,50; Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity", 20.

⁵³⁶ Urbina Álvarez, "Hallazgo de dos pizarra con inscripción en el hábitat tardoantiguo del Cerro de la Virgen del Castillo (Bernardos, Segovia)", 10.

⁵³⁷ Martín Viso, "Hueles del poder", 308-310.

⁵³⁸ Menéndez Bueyes, "Asturias bajo la órbita de Roma: El bajo imperio", 185.

⁵³⁹ Sanchez Montes, "La antigüedad tardía en Complutum : la época hispanovisigoda"; Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 229.

⁵⁴⁰ García Moreno, "La ciudad romana en la Meseta Norte durante la Antigüedad tardía"; Castellanos and Martín Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)", 11.

⁵⁴¹ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 230.

527, and this despite the *civitas*' prominence as the site of Saint Vincent's martyrdom. Pallantia (Palencia) situated at the frontier between Gallaecia and the Iberian interior was throughout the fifth century disputed between Hispano-Romans, Sueves, and Visigoths. The presence of an Arian bishop here in 469 suggests that it was at that point under the influence of the Suevic or Visigothic king.⁵⁴²

As the case of the *bagaudae* demonstrated, much of the inner Ebro, Vasconia, etc. was romanised to a lesser degree than the coastal areas. The Basques for one were not Christianised until well into the Middle Ages.⁵⁴³ Under the high empire these regions were surely run by a local aristocracy with important economic ties to the Roman world. They owned large tracts of land, which they governed from their villas and were left in relative autonomy as long as the tax revenues continued to make their way to the emperor's coffers. The defensive infrastructures thus found running east to west in Northern Spain were likely constructed to protect and facilitate the movement of these tax revenues.

While most of inland Hispania can be characterised as incompletely romanised and inward acting, the capital of Lusitania, Emerita Augusta, is distinct from other parts of the province. Where most of Lusitania falls into our so-named, interior model, the Capital of Emerita follows a pattern akin to that found in areas of mature *romanitas*. Indeed Prudentius lauded it as "*urbe potens, populis locuples*", i.e. powerful by its city, wealthy by its people.⁵⁴⁴

Emerita Augustus

Emerita's Christianisation is demonstrated by the construction of a mausoleum atop the supposed grave of Santa Eulalia in the fourth century, and where the eventual Basilica of Santa Eulalia would later be erected. Mausolea were generally built with private funds by the families of the deceased and the unusually large size of this mausoleum may reflect the wealth of Eulalia's family. At some point in the early fifth century the mausoleum of the martyr was damaged, perhaps by Suevic raids⁵⁴⁵, and was replaced by a basilica, probably in the mid-fifth century, thus retaining the sites connection with the martyr.⁵⁴⁶ The

⁵⁴² Menéndez Bueyes, "Asturias bajo la órbita de Roma: El bajo imperio", 225.

⁵⁴³ M. Lacarra, "La cristianización del País Vasco", 1; Sayas Abengoechea, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la cristianización de los vascones," 1–2. Others argue however that the early apparition of the see at Calagurris as well as strong evidence for Christianity at Osca and Pamplona are indicators of a Christianisation which occurred at the same rhythm as that found in all other parts of Europe. See Eliseo Mañaricúa, "Cristianización del país vasco: orígenes y vías de penetración."

⁵⁴⁴ Prud., *Peris*. 3.8

⁵⁴⁵ Hyd. 80 [90]. Emerita, quam cum sanctæ martyris Eulaliæ iniuria spreverat, cf. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, 2004, 283–286.

⁵⁴⁶ Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania" 285.

sarcophagi found in the extramural burial sites at Emerita are made of marble⁵⁴⁷ which on account of its cost suggests that the Christians buried at these sights were of the wealthy decurional or senatorial class, of which Emerita had many.

In Late Antiquity local authorities struggled to properly police or run public infrastructures and until the mid-fourth century the municipal curia had been effective in ensuring that rubbish was removed from the city. Late antique imperial legislation required that property owners assure that public spaces adjacent to their property remain free of rubbish.⁵⁴⁸ These residents thereby contributed to the problem by hauling their trash to the forum and other open spaces. In Emerita, the rising of ground level may have prompted some residents to install staircases to overcome the trash heaps.⁵⁴⁹ This mounting trash surely contributed to the destruction of the old Roman city in a remarkable rising of street level, especially in areas that had once been made up of small valleys. There was thus a leveling of the city. Despite decaying infrastructure, the city was still populated by a wealthy class. An epitaph to a certain Gregorius found within the basilica on the site of Santa Eulalia's martyrion inscribed *vir inlustis* and dated to 492 confirms this. Some see in this Gregorius the last known Iberian to have served in the imperial government. (See figure 3).

A fire in the fifth century seems to have destroyed all of the Roman houses in the Moreria district of the city and it seems that the whole of the city was abandoned for a certain time.⁵⁵⁰ Numerous of the wealthiest Hispano-Romans may have emigrated east as imperial power shifted east and this especially during the reign of Theodosius I and II who were themselves of Iberian lineage.⁵⁵¹ Before the end of the fifth century however, the Lusitanian aristocracy returned from their rural villas to establish homes within the city, possibly for the protection the city offered from bandits and barbarians. The city was repopulated and a new Visigothic style city arose⁵⁵² and even thrived. The new city however had a different form that no longer required traditional roman *urbanitas*. From the mid-fourth century, there is no evidence for restoration neither of pagan religious sites nor of imperial civic buildings in Emerita. Paganism was likely losing popularity while governance was increasingly taking place from the private residences of local officials. The public monuments were quarried for building materials and the previously open *fora* were

⁵⁴⁷ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 236–238.

⁵⁴⁸ Liebeschuetz, Wolfgang, "Administration and Politics in the Cities of the Fifth to Mid Seventh Century: 425-640," 53–55; for reference to the *lex municipalis* see 32-49.

⁵⁴⁹ Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 293–294.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 289–290.

⁵⁵¹ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 109–115. One should also consult Kelly, *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity*; Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire* for recent reevaluations of his reign.

⁵⁵² Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 308–309.

built over with homes and possibly with Christian buildings during the fifth century.⁵⁵³ For the wealthy who remained in Emerita, prestige was acquired through curial duties and increasingly from association with the Christian Church.⁵⁵⁴

Quite remarkably, many of Emerita's elite and clergy possessed Greek names suggesting that educated Greeks were brought in to govern the Church and that wealthy Greek merchants came to occupy a prominent role in Iberian society. Perhaps on account of their wealth and education they more easily joined the upper ranks of the clergy. It's impossible to rule out this conclusion, though there is no textual evidence for such a migration and it seems unlikely that Romans would abandon the thriving Oriental empire, crossing the Mediterranean for a precarious life in far flung Iberia dominated by barbaric and heretical kings. Of the 75 names found on gravestones from the fourth to seventh century around Emerita, 7 are those of Church officials, half of whom possessed Greek names (Hippolitus, Barusus, Heleuterius, Sambatios) and the literary examples provide more evidence for Greek clergy (Eugenia, Horontius, Zeno).⁵⁵⁵

Rather than proposing a massive immigration of Greek speakers into Baetica, the large number of Greek names can be accounted for by simple trend: Hispano-Romans simply enjoyed Greek sounding names. Greek sounding names were *à la mode*. As the Roman Empire's centre moved east to Constantinople, many wealthy Hispano Romans unsurprisingly chose names which captured the essence of contemporary *romanitas*. This is not surprising: *graecitas* or more specifically the culture of the Oriental Roman, orthodox, 'Byzantine' empire was the new Roman ideal! The previously mentioned Baetican *vir illustris* Acilius Severus even wrote a travel journal which he titled in Greek, *Καταστροφήν σive Πείραν*⁵⁵⁶ demonstrating that Greek language remained prestigious in the fifth century. Epigraphic evidence also demonstrates that even in the turbulent fifth century, Baetica and Tarraconensis shared a strong connection with the Hellenistic east. The epitaph of one Greek, Aurelius *Aeliodoros natione / greca civis Tarsus commorans Ispali*, was found in Tarraco though he lived in Hispalis.⁵⁵⁷ The inscription is clear that

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 287–288.

⁵⁵⁴ The wealth of the Emeritan Hispano-Romans is demonstrated in the presence of imported African Red Slip ware pottery, a costly fineware, in fifth century Emerita at least until the 460s. On this subject see Carr, *Vandals to Visigoths*, 103–106. For the prestige offered by religious office see Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 133–135. This is comparable to the the situation in Gallia, see Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 24–26.

⁵⁵⁵ See Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania," n. 706.

⁵⁵⁶ Jer. *de viris ill.*, 111

⁵⁵⁷ See Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 42. The object's location reinforces a mercantile connection between these two regions.

Aeliodorus was a Greek from the city of Tarsus, a city recognised as the birthplace of Paul the Apostle. The epitaph may well be signaling the Christian pride of the deceased as well as his *romanitas* by association with the Oriental Empire. Latinity had very much fallen into barbarity, a subject to which we will return in chapter VIII. In the fifth century *romanitas* was best presented by displaying Greekness in culture, tastes and in Catholicism.⁵⁵⁸

The Visigoths left little trace of their presence in Emerita. Two lonely inscriptions mention the Visigothic kings and the extreme scarcity of Gothic names in the epigraphic record has led some such as Ramírez Sábada to conclude that Emerita remained firmly Roman even into the seventh century⁵⁵⁹ as did the leaders of Emerita's Church.⁵⁶⁰ It is quite possible that Emerita was a *parva Roma*, a little Roman community beyond Italy. When the Muslims crossed into Iberia in 711, they quickly conquered the divided Visigoths. Emerita however with its fortifications repaired under the Visigothic count Sulla (see chapter V) and a strong aristocracy was able to hold out until 713. Even then, the staunch Roman character of the city's inhabitants caused the Muslim leaders to transfer governance of the region away from the Hispano-Roman city to a small cluster of villas where they founded *Batalyaws*, بطليوس, modern Badajoz in Extremadura. Even the preservation of the amphitheatre and theatre into the fifth century suggest that Roman tastes for sport remained in Emeritan culture. Emerita, it seems, remained a large cultural attraction throughout late antiquity and was home to noble Goths, aristocratic landowners, and rich senators.

We know that Emerita's late fourth century bishop Hydatius was of aristocratic Hispano-Roman origin; Priscillian had accused him of pursuing torpid leisure.⁵⁶¹ By the fifth century however, the Emeritan Church seems to have been subordinated to the authority of the Visigothic king as seen by Zeno's association with the Gothic *comes* Salla.⁵⁶² While in the fourth century, religious conflicts were directed towards the Pope in Rome or the *metropolitanus* at Carthage,⁵⁶³ in the later-fifth century these disputes were directed towards the king as demonstrated the example of the previously mentioned monk Tarra who wrote directly to his king Reccared for royal intervention against his bishop. The monk's ability to evade the

⁵⁵⁸ It is impossible however to entirely refute the possibility of Greek immigration into Hispania. Indeed sixth century bishop Paulus of Emerita was a Greek, though it is perhaps best to understand the sixth century migration of Greeks as individuals seeking opportunity in the west.

⁵⁵⁹ Ramírez Sábada and Mateos Cruz, *Catálogo de las inscripciones cristianas de Mérida*, 157–166.

⁵⁶⁰ Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 294–295.

⁵⁶¹ Prisc. 3.66: *Damna quod ego nescio, damna quod ego non lego, damna quod studio pifriscentis otii non require*

⁵⁶² See chapter V for Zeno's role in the renovation of Emerita's bridge.

⁵⁶³ The deference to an African bishop demonstrates the close ties between African and Baetican Christianity.

bishop's authority further attests to the weakness of the Iberian bishops in the fifth century.⁵⁶⁴ The confusion over Zeno's role as bishop of Emerita or of Hispalis may also be related to Emerita's situation as a bastion of *romanitas*. The Visigothic king allowed the Hispano-Romans to live quite independently under the condition that they accept a bishop supported by the Visigothic king.

Emerita's most renowned *episcopus* was late sixth century bishop Masona, likely a Goth, who had acquired immense prestige and authority within the *civitas*. In addition to establishing the *xenodochium* as a hospital for the sick, and a system of bonds to allow for temporary loans, the bishop's charitable donation reached *civibus urbis aut rusticis de ruralibus*.⁵⁶⁵ Emerita was a hub of charitable donations, and its church was likely the richest in Hispania on account of pilgrimage to the Martyrium of Eulalia. In the words of Peter Brown the relationship between the bishop's episcopal see and the city's martyrial protector converted the urban nucleus into a holy referent.⁵⁶⁶ Bishop Masona effectively demonstrates the gains in the strength of the episcopate during the sixth century. Emerita though intensely Catholic and Roman was like the rest of Hispania, plagued by a disorganised episcopate, a disorganisation that is best demonstrated in the North-Western province of Gallaecia to which we now turn.

GALLAECIA

Gallaecia in the fifth century referred to a large area approximately equivalent to present-day Galicia, northern Portugal, León, and Asturias and was at best a complicated province. Far-flung and at the end of the Roman world⁵⁶⁷, Gallaecia, less integrated into the Roman world than other areas of the peninsula, demonstrates a slow and incomplete conversion to Christianity and peculiar administrative divisions. Romanisation tends to have followed the coastline, thus a fortress such as that at *Portus Cale* (Porto) knew a higher degree of romanisation than inland Asturias. Furthermore Asturias bordered on the Basque country and may well have been Basque speaking still in the fifth century. Debate still rages about the degree of romanisation in the north, some authors stating that latinisation had occurred but not full-scale

⁵⁶⁴ The disobedience attested to in Tarra's letter demonstrated the bishop's difficulty in imposing his authority over the clergy.

⁵⁶⁵ *VSPE* 5.3.4-9

⁵⁶⁶ Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity," 26. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, 42–45.

⁵⁶⁷ Hyd. Preface, i:... ut extremus plage...

romanisation.⁵⁶⁸ These authors argue that many traditional customs were preserved, and this even as far south as Legio VI Victrix (León).⁵⁶⁹

In the case that the North was not properly Roman, a hybrid culture surely existed. Among the evidence for the retention of traditional customs into the fifth century we find the Lápida de Pico Dobra (Torrelavega), a stone dated to 399 consecrated to a local deity, perhaps indicating the low degree of romanisation and incomplete Christianisation even at the onset of the fifth century.⁵⁷⁰ This stone goes directly in opposition to laws propagated by Theodosius, which forbade pagan practice. It seems that Christianity was not as widespread as in the south and that imperial officials could not enforce imperial law in the region.⁵⁷¹ Despite its position at the end of the Christian world, Christianity made its entry into Gallaecia no later than the first half of the second century when a bishop is attested at Asturica. Belisarius/Basildes is known to us from the condemnation he received from the Orthodox bishops of Africa.⁵⁷² Basilde seems to have been practical in his spirituality, specifically with his participation in pagan sacrifice when such rituals were enforced by imperial decree.

⁵⁶⁸ “La Evolución Historiográfica de La Romanización En Asturias” retraces this debate both from a ideological and methodological perspective. Pastor Muñoz is probably the best authority on this notably see Pastor Muñoz, “Aspectos de la romanización de la Asturia transmontada: prosopografía y sociedad”; Pastor Muñoz, “Los Asturos transmontanos: notas sobre su romanización.”

⁵⁶⁹ Menéndez Bueyes, “Asturias bajo la órbita de Roma: El bajo imperio”, 210–213.

⁵⁷⁰ Iglesias Gil, *Onomástica prerromana en la epigrafía cántabra*. See stele 84: CORNE VICANUS | AUNIGAINU | CESTI F ARA | IDIOUIT DEO | ERUDINO X K | AUGU. MA EU CO S.

⁵⁷¹ This view of a slower Christianisation of the Iberian North-West is not universally supported some arguing that on account of the gold mines in the region the coming and going of soldiers and magistrates would have facilitated the early diffusion of Christianity in Gallaecia, resulting in the founding of a bishopric in the region before even that of Emerita. See Teja, “La carta a 67 de s. Cipriano a las comunidades cristianas de León-Astorga y Mérida: algunos problemas y soluciones,” 121. This analysis however has the problem of assuming that the gold mines were still operational in Late Antiquity, a position argued against by Sánchez-Palencia, *Las explotaciones auríferas y la ocupación romana en el Noroeste de la península Ibérica*; Sánchez-Palencia and Suarez, “La minería antigua del oro en Asturias”; Domergue, *Les Mines de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l’antiquité romaine*. Perhaps the best accepted interpretation is that Christianity entered the north east in the fourth century with the expansion of the *castros*. See Lovelle and Quiroga, “El poblamiento rural en torno a lugo en la transición del antigüedad al feudalismo (ss. V-X)”, 75–76.

⁵⁷² Basildes is known to us only from Cyp. *Ep.* 68. He was banished from his see for being a *libellaticus*, a Christian who during the great persecution had forsworn his faith by purchasing a small document (*libella*) attesting that he had performed pagan sacrifices.

Economically, the North remained grounded in its typical industries such as the extraction of Gold, though industry was modified by Roman improvements in technology and by imperial pressures.⁵⁷³ In most of Gallaecia, the native Romano-Celtic nobility had reasserted its dominance over the region and still in 460 the Sueves remained in a power struggle against the Romano-Gallaecian nobility. Roman politicians and political families are known from Gallaecia. Maurocellus is the last noted *vicarius* in Hispania. Although he was a civil administrator he commanded the Roman troops at Bracara causing heavy losses and retreat to the Vandals in 420.⁵⁷⁴ Another noble, Cantaber in Conimbriga⁵⁷⁵ based his power in his control of manufacturing.⁵⁷⁶ Throughout the fifth century villas continued to operate and they were inhabited by the wealthy *possessores* who while retaining important rural domains also had their hands in urban politics.⁵⁷⁷ Among these *potentiores*, Menéndez Bueyes argues can be found the origin of the Asturian monarchy of the Reconquista period. He refutes the Visigothic origin of Asturias and claims that the monarchs initially must have been elected as a first among equals from the class of *potentiores*.⁵⁷⁸

There is an association between late Roman villas and Early-Mediaeval churches which suggests a continuity of and the Christianisation of upper society.⁵⁷⁹ Indeed, we know that fifth century aristocrats had churches built and consecrated on their private estates just as occurred in interior Hispania; Gallaecia was similarly insular. The Catholic clergy, so concerned with orthodoxy and the concentration of power among the Church hierarchy took great concern for the construction of these churches. The bishops therefore in Gallaecia were both busy consecrating legitimate churches and in a struggle against the construction and consecration of unauthorized churches. Without the manpower to physically stop their construction, the bishops could only outlaw such constructions in canon law and condemn those who went against Church rulings. In this regard the bishops had no real power before the civic authorities.

A. Morillo sees the construction of forts throughout the north as evidence of the continued importance of the *annona militaris*, a tax collected to assure the provisioning of soldiers, which suggests the continued existence of the curial class and of imperial tax collectors in Northern Hispania.⁵⁸⁰ Also

⁵⁷³ Vigil, “Romanización y permanencia de estructuras sociales indígenas en la España Septentrional”, 129–137.

⁵⁷⁴ Hyd. 74 [83]; *PLRE*, 738.

⁵⁷⁵ Hyd. 229 [233]

⁵⁷⁶ Díaz Martínez, “Estructuras de gobierno local en la Antigüedad Tardía. Un estudio regional: el NP. de la Península Ibérica en el siglo V”, 242.

⁵⁷⁷ Menéndez Bueyes, “Asturias bajo la órbita de Roma: El bajo imperio”, 229; Díaz Martínez, “Estructuras de gobierno local en la Antigüedad Tardía. Un estudio regional: el NP. de la Península Ibérica en el siglo V”, 248.

⁵⁷⁸ “Concilium Caesaraugustanum I,” 7; Bueyes, *Reflexiones críticas sobre el origen del reino de Asturias*, 263–265.

⁵⁷⁹ Menéndez Bueyes, “La transición del mundo antiguo a la edad media”, 252, 254.

⁵⁸⁰ Morillo Cerdán, “Fortificaciones urbanas de época romana en España”, 181.

notable to the area is the reoccupation of hill forts either by the local population or by powerful local aristocrats. There is no textual evidence however of violence in the fourth or fifth century between the peoples of the north.⁵⁸¹ The occupying of highland fortresses may simply be a reaction to the natural topography of the north.

The cities of Gallaecia saw economic decline in the fourth and even in the fifth century on account of the closing of the nearby mines and a refocusing of the economy on agriculture. Despite this, the local *potentiores* must have retained sufficient authority and wealth as a fifth-century defensive wall was erected within the old high imperial *pomoerium*, testifying to a certain urban vitality.⁵⁸² In Gijón, thermal baths were renovated in the fifth century demonstrating that traditional *romanitas* was still in place as was a class sufficiently wealthy to desire such luxuries. It seems however that by the Visigothic era the *civitas* was practically abandoned. The *Notitia Dignitatum* makes no mention to Romans stationed here.⁵⁸³ Indeed in the High Middle Ages, bishop Ximénez de Rada of Toledo affirms the city's abandon, writing "*Licent autem civitas sit deserta: Gi[j]ion terra vulgariter apellantur in qua est Monasterium Sancti Salvatoris*".⁵⁸⁴ If the local Asturian aristocracy was weak after the withdrawal of Roman imperial forces from Gijón, pirates in the Bay of Biscay seem largely responsible for the region's misfortunes.⁵⁸⁵ Despite this, a small religious community seems to have endured as a 905 donation from Alfonso II at the Cathedral of Oviedo mentions the: "*civitatem Gegionem cum ecclesiis que intus sunt.*"⁵⁸⁶

Gallaecia however despite its distinct origins in the process of romanisation is particularly unique in the fifth century because in contrast to most of the peninsula, it was not under the direct domination of the Visigoths. After arriving in the Hispanias, the Sueves settled in the North West, and though for a time they had to contest with the Hasdingi Vandals, they established an effective reign over a great part of the peninsula. Gallaecia in the three decades proceeding the ultimate fall of the Suevic reign was therefore

⁵⁸¹ Menéndez Bueyes, "Asturias bajo la órbita de Roma: el bajo imperio", 197–198.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵⁸³ Fernández Ochoa and Martínez Díaz, "Gijón, fortaleza romana en el cantabro", 201. Brigantium (La Coruña) and Lapurdum (Bayona) by contrast are listed in the *Notitia* as defensive locations on the Atlantic coast.

⁵⁸⁴ Xim. 4.4 Also see Fernández Ochoa and Martínez Díaz, "Gijón, fortaleza romana en el cantabro" 187 for interpretation of this affirmation.

⁵⁸⁵ Fernández Ochoa and Martínez Díaz, "Gijón, fortaleza romana en el cantabro", 202.

⁵⁸⁶ Concerning the *donación de Alfonso III a la Catedral de Oviedo del 905* see Encinas, "Cerámica medievales de la región central de Asturias. Memoria de Licenciatura."

distinct from elsewhere in Hispania.⁵⁸⁷ The Sueves and not the romanised Goths ruled over their Catholic Hispano-Roman subjects.⁵⁸⁸

The lack of noted peace agreements with the imperial administration suggests that during the first three decades of the fifth century, the Sueves established treaties directly with the wealthy aristocracy of Gallaecia, though the power struggle between the Suevic monarchy and the Gallaecian aristocracy would endure into the early sixth century.⁵⁸⁹ Hydatius our primary source for Gallaecian history in the fifth century describes the aggression of the Sueves against the Gallaecians and indeed the Sueves did attack and penetrated *Aquae Flaviae* led by their leader, Frumarius, who entered the *civitas*' church and took hostage the bishop Hydatius.⁵⁹⁰ The Sueves had two major reasons to attack and destroy much of *Aquae Flaviae*. First it lay on the road between *Bracara* and *Asturica* and thus posed a resistance to Suevic dominance of the region. Secondly, Hydatius, the bishop of the *civitas*, was an outspoken opponent of Suevic rule and indeed troublesome to the Suevic rulers.⁵⁹¹

During Suevic aggressions, an embassy with the bishop Hydatius at its head travelled to Gallia to seek the aid of the *Magister Militum* Aëtius. Hydatius returned to Gallaecia with an imperial agent the *comes* Censorius, sent to negotiate with the Suevic king.⁵⁹² Despite this peace agreement no official status seems to have been accorded to the Sueves by the imperial court.⁵⁹³ Gallaecia must have been well under Suevic control by the 440s because on his ascension to the throne in 438, Rechila⁵⁹⁴ the new king of the Sueves, was able to launch an aggressive military campaign against the southern regions of *Lusitania* and *Baetica* at a time when *Carthagenensis* and especially *Tarraconensis* were heavily fortified and under a certain degree of imperial control. Rechila's campaign was very successful. Isidor notes that Rechila's forces defeated those of the "*Romanae militiae ducem*" Andevotus at the river Genil⁵⁹⁵ and that in 439 they

⁵⁸⁷ Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania", 285. The family is also know to have had a rural estate, a sign of their wealth. See Prud., *Peris*. 3.36-40.

⁵⁸⁸ Vilella Masana and Maymó i Capdevila, "Religion and Policy in the Coexistence of Romans and Barbarians in Hispania (409-589)"; C. Díaz Martínez, "Concilios y obispos en la península Ibérica (Siglos VI-VIII)", 6.

⁵⁸⁹ C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 73.

⁵⁹⁰ Hyd. 196 [201]

⁵⁹¹ Candelas Colodrón argues to the contrary however that Hydatius was the community leader, see Colodrón, "Hidacio, ¿Obispo de Chaves?," 287–294. C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)* also adopts this position.

⁵⁹² Hyd. 86 [96] – 88 [98]

⁵⁹³ C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 75.

⁵⁹⁴ Son of King Hermeric who abdicated his throne.

⁵⁹⁵ Isid. *Hisp. Hist.* 85. There is also the distinct possibility that Andevotus was a Goth or a Vandal under the employ of the Empire.

captured Emerita.⁵⁹⁶ The empire again sent the *comes* Censorius to negotiate with the Sueves, but to no avail. Rechila went on to capture *Myrtilis Iulia* (Mértola, Portugal)⁵⁹⁷ and in 441 he attacked and conquered Hispalis.⁵⁹⁸ The Guadiana River and its Atlantic ports were effectively under Suevic control and even Carthaginensis fell to Rechila in 442.⁵⁹⁹ The Suevic conquest of the larger part of Hispania caused the emperor to respond by sending the *dux utriusque militiae* Asterius in 441 and the *magister militum per Gallias* Merobaudes in 443.⁶⁰⁰ Nevertheless the south of Hispania would effectively remain in the hands of the Sueves until 458 though their control of the region was surely shaky. Thus the first half of the fifth century can be characterised as the military occupation, especially of the Hispanic countryside by pagan barbarian peoples⁶⁰¹ and their kings who meddled in Church affairs, two challenges faced by the Gallaecian bishops.⁶⁰²

The absence of an *episcopus* at the capital in Bracara is curious. Had there been one, Hydatius would have mentioned it.⁶⁰³ Furthermore when in 445, Toribius bishop of Asturica and Hydatius of Aquae Flaviae uncovered a group of heretics in Asturica, rather than writing to the senior bishop at Bracara they sent their reports and later the heretics themselves to bishop Antoninus in Emerita indicating that in both civil and ecclesiastical matters, the capital at Emerita remained vital. Bracara by contrast was either aggressive to Hydatius' orthodox fever or more likely, as capital of the Suevic kingdom had seen its

⁵⁹⁶ Hyd. 111 [119]

⁵⁹⁷ Mértola, an important port in times of low tide. See Hyd. 113 [121]

⁵⁹⁸ C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 76–77.

⁵⁹⁹ Hyd. 115 [123]

⁶⁰⁰ Hyd. 117 [125] and 120 [128]. Merobaudes was himself a successful warrior and aristocrat from Baetica, at the time serving under Aetius in Gallia. He was also an excellent and lauded poet, praised with a statue in Rome itself. These two conditions combined indicate that still in the fifth century, Baetica remained an exemplar or *romanitas*. For the argument that Merobaudes was sent to Hispania for his military merits rather than his connections with the Iberian aristocracy see Sanz Huesma, “Merobaudes en Hispania (443 d. C.).”

⁶⁰¹ The Sueves having come directly from Germania still practiced Germanic paganism. In 464 or 466, Visigothic king Theodoric as part of renewed diplomacy with the Sueves, sent his senior *sacerdos*, Ajax, to the Suevic kingdom on a mission of conversion. His mission was largely successful as he succeeded in converting the Suevic nobility to Arian Christianity and to establish an Arian church which dominated the people until their conversion to Catholicism in the 560s. See Arias, “Identity and Interaction: The Suevi and the Hispano-Romans”, 21. The threat posed to the Catholic clergy is expressed in Hydatius to describe Ajax as *hostis catholicae fidei et divinae trinitatis*. *Chron. Gall.* 228 [232].

⁶⁰² Díaz Martínez, “City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity,” 363; Arias, “Identity and Interaction: The Suevi and the Hispano-Romans”, 53.

⁶⁰³ Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, 238; Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 195–196.

episcopal see suppressed posterior to 410/415, the final time that an *episcopus* is attested at Bracara in the fifth century.⁶⁰⁴ It is attractive to suppose that the Sueves abolished the episcopal see in Bracara and attempted to do the same in Aquae Flaviae⁶⁰⁵ in 460, but the supposed presence of Balchonius at an episcopal council in 447⁶⁰⁶ as well as reference to the clergy and basilica in Bracara in 456⁶⁰⁷ suggests the Church in Bracara endured discretely.

The situation changed in 448 when the pagan king Rechila died at court in Emerita and was succeeded by his bellicose⁶⁰⁸ son Rechiarius⁶⁰⁹ who was surprisingly raised to the throne a Catholic. There is every reason to believe that Rechiarius' Catholicism was pragmatic tool to aid in the pacifying of his Roman territories, especially Baetica. As a Catholic monarch the Hispano-Romans would have more easily accepted Rechiarius's rule, and though the Germanic king did not employ Roman laws, he did present himself as a Roman monarch by minting coins that read "IVSSV RICHIARI REGIS".⁶¹⁰ Rechiarius' mother, the daughter of the Visigothic king Wallia, was an Arian Christian, so Rechiarius was surely knowledgeable of Christian varieties. There was no effort however to convert his Suevic people, which suggests that his own Catholicism was disinterested. Rechiarius' adoption of Catholicism may have come as a suggestion from a Hispano-Roman bishop who looking to retain peace in his community, insisted that the monarch accept the religion of the people. There is no direct evidence for such an *entente* but except for the capture of Hydatius by the Sueves, there is little evidence for conflict between the Suevic nobility and the Catholic Church,

⁶⁰⁴ See 'Balchonius' in prosopography. Also consult Av. Brac., *Ep.* For Balchonius' attitude towards Priscilianism see Torres Rodriguez, *El reino de los Suevos*, 92–97; Chadwick, *Priscilian of Avila*, 208–211.

⁶⁰⁵ Hyd. 196 [201]

⁶⁰⁶ The council acts of the 561 *Concilium Bracarense* refer to an otherwise unattested council which supposedly took place in 447 at which Balchonius was supposedly present. García-Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, 1:254–255; Torres Rodriguez, *El reino de los Suevos*, 102; Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* agree that this council took place. However Tranoy, "Les Chrétiens et le rôle de l'évêque en Galice au Vème siècle," 2: 85; Chadwick, *Prisciliano de Ávila : ocultismo y poderes carismáticos en la Iglesia primitiva*, 216–217 doubt that this Gallaecian council ever occurred. The dating of the council to 447 however is itself positive support of its occurrence as from AD 438–456, the Sueves and Gallaecians lived in relative peace following the signing of a 438 peace agreement. See Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, 249–250; Torres Rodriguez, *El reino de los Suevos*, 80–87. The holding of a Church council seems reasonable and possible.

⁶⁰⁷ Hyd. 167 [174]

⁶⁰⁸ A more extensive account of his reign and his battles can be found in *Romans and Barbarians*; C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 79–84.

⁶⁰⁹ Hyd. 129 [137]

⁶¹⁰ "Minted by order of Rechiar, king".

which suggests that some type of coexistence was the norm, perhaps facilitated by Gallaecia's particularly loose ecclesiastical organization.

Early fifth-century Gallaecia displays a curious volume of bishops. Manuel Díaz y Díaz counts twelve bishops from Gallaecia at the first council of Toledo in 400.⁶¹¹ Blazquez accounts for the great number of Gallaecian bishops on the lack of regulation among Priscillianist Christians which took hold of Gallaecia in the late fourth and early fifth century, claiming that the region was characterised by the indiscriminate ordination of bishops and presbyters destined to serve the small rural communities, in flagrant contrast to the mainstream catholic hierarchical model.⁶¹² According to Martin however, Gallaecia at the onset of the fifth century would only have contained six or seven episcopal cities at best. She explains this oddity by the presence of *episcopi* in smaller population centres beyond the diocese of the *civitates*.⁶¹³ Gallaecia is indeed distinct by the sheer number of settlements found within its border. 2000-2500 *castra* have been identified within the borders of modern Galicia and show evidence of continued occupation into the time of the Suevic kingdom.⁶¹⁴

The Priscillian movement in Gallaecia is surely responsible in part for the frequency of non-diocesan bishops. Martin argues that the non-administrative pastoral role of bishops within Priscillian Christianity would have allowed for bishops in centres without a cathedral or an episcopal see. She argues that the preponderance of bishops in the early fifth century was a holdover from the fourth century Christianisation of Gallaecia by Priscillianists.⁶¹⁵ If this is the case, the lack of a diocese in Aquae Flaviae by the time of the Muslim conquest could well be accounted for by the entire lack of a Cathedral in the city at any point in its history. Rather in Gallaecia, bishops operated less as regional powers and more so as overseers of their flock. The reign of the Arrian Sueves in the region, further emphasized this pastoral model in the Gallaecian Church.⁶¹⁶ If it is the case that Aquae Flaviae was not a proper episcopal see, it is difficult to understand how Hydatius could have operated within the Catholic hierarchy without being bishop of a see associated with a particular *civitas* (see Annexe 2, *Hydatius...* for a look at this issue). Also distinct to

⁶¹¹ Díaz y Díaz, "Early Christianity in Lugo." See Vives, Marín, and Martínez Díaz, *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, 28–33 for documents annexed to the the Concilium Toletanum.

⁶¹² Velázquez, *Vidas de los santos Padres de Mérida*, 438.

⁶¹³ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 45.

⁶¹⁴ Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity" 13; Bouhier, *La Galice. Essai géographique d'analyse et d'interprétation d'un vieux complexe agraire*, 2:1269; Tanoy, "Aglomérations indigènes et villes augustéennes dans le Nord-Ouest Ibérique" 125–137.

⁶¹⁵ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 45.

⁶¹⁶ This non territorial model would have been supported by the strong presence of Arian Christians as argued for in chapter VII. *Ibid.*, 32–46.

Gallaecia is the abundance of secondary cities known variously as *castra*, *castella*, *vici* and *pagi*.⁶¹⁷ The presence of mints, bishops, and efforts of territorial defense attest to the great importance of these secondary urban centres in Late Antique Gallaecia.⁶¹⁸ The large number of bishops in Gallaecia attests to the religious chaos of the early fifth-century. In fact, it could be that most episcopal sees of Gallaecia were occupied by bishops of Priscillianist tendency. The presence of separate orthodox bishops in smaller communities such as Aquae Flaviae may attest to the difficulty of converting the region to Catholicism. Thus it could be that the presence of twelve bishops over six episcopal administrative regions attests to the presence of both a Priscillian and an Orthodox bishop in each region.

Still in the sixth century, Gallaecia was distinct from other parts of the Peninsula. The Catholic bishops of Iberia faced a tough challenge in instilling Catholicism in the region partly on account of non-Christian and heterodox Christian practices. Indeed bishop Martinus Bracarenis was canonised for his work in converting the Gallaecians to Roman Catholicism. Importantly Martinus was not himself Iberian, rather he hailed from Pannonia and after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land made his way to Hispania and Gallaecia to aid in converting the Sueves. If Hydatius had not stated it himself that he was from Lemica (Xinzo de Limia) in Gallaecia, we could wonder if his orthodoxy could not be more easily explained by a Baetican origin (see Annexe 2).⁶¹⁹ Orthodoxy was hardly the norm in Gallaecia, indeed it was a refuge for those persecuted for their beliefs as attested to by the Roman Manichean Pascentius who took refuge in Asturica.⁶²⁰ The bishops of Gallaecia were of all parts of Hispania, those most willing to tolerate religious diversity and this to secure their own wellbeing.⁶²¹ Hydatius in this regard, by his adherence to the Empire and to Orthodoxy, deviates from the expected episcopal model of his region but conforms more closely to the *ideal type* of the larger Empire.

Disconnected from central imperial government, the region became isolated.⁶²² This isolation is demonstrable by Hydatius' omission of important dates such as the death of emperor Arcadius and the coronation of Theodosius II.⁶²³ Living under the pagan Sueves also allowed the Gallaecian Church to take

⁶¹⁷ See Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 32–46 for a larger discussion of the distinctions between these terms and their use in Gallæcia.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁶¹⁹ Hyd. *preface*, i.

⁶²⁰ See 'Antoninus' in annexed Prosopography; Hyd. 130 [138]

⁶²¹ Also supported by Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, 244.

⁶²² C. Díaz Martínez, "El obispo y las invasiones de los pueblos germánicos," 3.

⁶²³ Hyd. 82 [92]: Romanorum XLI THEODOSIUS Arcadii filius ante aliquot annos regnans in partibus Orientis defuncto patre post obitum Honorii patrum monarchiam tenet imperii, cum esset

its own direction; it's thus enjoyed a greater degree of independence than those of other regions. Indeed the loose structure of the Gallaecian Church provided more possibility for amateur theologians to develop their own version of proper Christian practice. Evidently Catholic bishops operated in Gallaecia, but they remained discrete. Despite the quietness of the bishops, Gallaecia was the homeland of Orosius and a region of religious inspiration. The religious diversity in Gallaecia may well have inspired theological thinkers. Though few Gallician bishops are attested, those that are present themselves as paladins of Catholic orthodoxy in a darkening and heretical world.

As this chapter has demonstrated, Hispania was unequal in its parts; its regions each experienced the fifth century in distinct manners, and the bishops of those regions varied in their priorities and the resistance they met. The complete absence of Ecclesiastical councils held in Lusitania or Gallæcia during the fourth and fifth centuries could well suggest that these areas, while not less Roman, did to an extent operate more distinctly from other regions more closely integrated into the Late Empire such as Terraconensis and Bætica. Also the choice of Emerita Augustus as the Provincial Capital may well have been a strategic one to deliver an important imperial presence in an otherwise far removed backwater of the Empire. Furthermore, the presence of strong Arian peoples throughout the empire further strengthened the bond between imperial authority and orthodox Christianity which had both to deal with variation in the practices of Christian communities and with vestiges of paganism and eastern religions which endured among self-labelled Christians. On account of these differences, it only seems correct to treat the *Hispaniae* as distinct units in our interpretation. As has been discussed, *romanisation* and the degree and nature of Germanic dominance over the local population were the two biggest factors in determining the nature of the local episcopacy. The barbarians were a reality that the fifth-century bishops could not ignore, and a theme to which we now turn.

annorum XXI. The news which did reach Gallaecia likely travelled overseas, from Gallia, rather than through Tarraconensis or Bætica. *Romans and Barbarians*, 143–144. The study of an Atlantic cultural exchange in Late Antiquity merits further study.

CHAPTER VII : BISHOPS IN THE FACE OF INVASION : CONFLICT AND CONTENDERS

The so-called Germanic invasions are the force, which above all, directed the orientation of the Iberian Church in the fifth century. In many parts of the West, the empire's fall was sudden as many of its cities and towns were undefended on the arrival of the barbarians. Imperial policy and the emperor became increasingly irrelevant to the episcopacy as the Church attuned itself to local networks and relations with the barbarian realms,⁶²⁴ namely that of the pagan Sueves in North-Western Hispania, and that of the Arian Visigoths dominating the remainder of the peninsula. Our exalted bishop-historian Hydatius⁶²⁵ vividly captures these disturbances in his *chronicon*. The following chapter will therefore focus on the policies that *episcopi* and *potentiores* alike took towards these new arrivals.⁶²⁶

The invasions which occurred in two waves first saw the arrival of Vandals, Sueves and Alans invited into Hispania by the usurper Gerontius from 409–411.⁶²⁷ Hydatius writes that the barbarians pillaged the Hispania with vicious slaughter, that famine plagued the land, and that even the beasts turned against mankind. Only then once the provinces had been laid waste to did the lord in his compassion turn the barbarians to the establishment of peace, the Vandals and Sueves dividing up Gallaecia, the Alans the inner lands and the Siling Vandals Baetica.⁶²⁸ The Hispano-Romans and their bishops found themselves submitted to the new-arrivals.

Whereas Hispania had existed as a more or less cohesive territorial denomination in the Late Empire, over the course of the fifth century it was fractured into various barbarian kingdoms and Hispano-Roman strongholds. The diocese, so closely tied to the Roman administrative model became isolated in the absence of an imperial administration and regionalisation was expedited leading to the variation accounted for in the previous chapter. The political disunity, which installed itself on the peninsula, also seeped down into the unity of the Church. Whereas the *Concilium Illiberis* held in the first decade of the fourth century had brought together bishops from across the peninsula: from far-flung Gallaecia the bishop of Legio

⁶²⁴ A similar reorganisation of ecclesiastical efforts can be seen in Gallia which is highlighted at the 429 Council of Riez, cf. Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom*, 63–65.

⁶²⁵ See annexe 2 for an in depth analysis of Hydatius as an exceptional bishop of fifth century Spain.

⁶²⁶ For an overview of the problem see Johnson, *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, especially chapters 1–2 and pages 26–27.

⁶²⁷ Arce, *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania: 400-507 A.D.*, 52–53.

⁶²⁸ Hyd. 38 [46] – 41 [49].

(León),⁶²⁹ from Tarraconensis Valerius of Caesaraugusta, and from Lusitania, the bishop of Emerita⁶³⁰, as well as seven bishops from Carthaginensis and four of their presbyters only eclipsed in number by the twenty Baetican presbyters led by their seven bishops, the lack of councils in the fifth century is striking. Similarly, the late fourth century *Concilium Toletanum* brought together bishops from all parts of Hispania. Evidently Hispania of the fourth century was well connected and the Church, to an extent, unified in purpose. If episcopal councils were held during the fifth century in Hispania, there is no record of it in the council acts, and at last when evidence reappears in the early sixth-century *Concilium Tarraconensis*, it is nothing more than a reunion of local bishops, far from the interprovincial councils of the fourth century.

Whereas the first round of invasions had put an end to political unity on the peninsula, the second, a Gothic military campaign sanctioned by Roman emperor Honorius, was meant to reclaim those territories lost in the initial 409-411 ravages and restore unity to the peninsula. In this regard they were successful, crushing the Alans and forcing the Vandals to flee across the Strait of Gibraltar into Africa. When the Visigoths entered Hispania, they were already heavily familiar with Roman culture⁶³¹ and Gothic epitaphs found at Astigi and near Hispalis suggesting that some of these Goths settled in Baetica.⁶³² The Goth's were of the Arian Christian tradition and upon their arrival we witness a total halt in the formation of new episcopal sees; each of diocese known to us in the sixth and seventh century already had its origin in the pre-invasion period.⁶³³ Though we do not see the creation of new sees, there does not appear to be a significant suppression of pre-existing ones. Whether the bishops remained from obligation⁶³⁴, or rather from an inner courage and sense of duty towards their flock, they were faced with the withdrawal of Roman imperial officials leading many authors to conclude that at times bishops remained as the best and sometimes the only source of consensual authority.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁹ The presence of an important Christian community at Legio suggests that the military was an important agent of Christianisation in the Iberian North. The army's withdrawal in the fifth century may have slowed the rate of conversion to the Christian faith.

⁶³⁰ He would go on to participate in the 314 *Concilium Arelatense*.

⁶³¹ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 12.

⁶³² The epitaphs are to SOMNIA *famula dei* and to UBITILDUS *famina dei* See Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 187, 203.

⁶³³ Sáinz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja, siglos IV - XIII*, 65; Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*.

⁶³⁴ Though posterior to the invasions, the *Concilium Valentianum* reinforced the immobility of the clergy. See *Conc. Val.*, 6.

⁶³⁵ Matmó, "El obispo como Autoridad ciudadana y las irrupciones Germánicas en el Occident latino el siglo V," 551–558.

Enough powerful and authoritative *potentiores* remained however to undermine this prince-bishop view of power. As however, the bishops were responsible for the spiritual wellbeing of their communities and at times the physical wellbeing of their flock became their concern as well. As the leader of the Christian community, the bishops were responsible for the survival of their flock. Multiple cases of defense of the *civitas* by the bishops are attested throughout the Western Empire. Bishop Exuperius of Tolosa, Rufius of Aquileia, and Maximus of Taurinum come to mind.⁶³⁶ The latter of these bishops wrote of the flight of his parishioners and in the strongest words urged them to remain in defense of their homes.

*“If there are ten righteous men who can save their native land, those who abandon it are indeed unrighteous ... tell me, O good citizen, why are you getting ready to flee? Why are you leaving your native land?”*⁶³⁷

The bishop argued that abandoning the city would be an act of impiety.⁶³⁸ Though these few examples of the bishops as defenders of the *civitas* can be found, they are the exception, not the rule. Even when Maximus Taurinensis roused the spirits of his flock, it was likely on account of his great oratory skills and his responsibility to provide morale to his besieged flock. The bishop, though an aristocrat was not a warrior.⁶³⁹ In fact the *Concilium Toletanum* of 400 specifically legislated that a soldier could not rise to the rank of deacon.⁶⁴⁰ The soldier’s role as a killer of men and his duty towards senior officers were both counter to a Christian lifestyle which valued life and placed duty to Christ and his Church above all other loyalties. With the *episcopus* ranked above the deacon, these same Christian values must have prohibited the *episcopus* from a military career. The *episcopus* on account of his great learning may have assisted in the planning of a *civitas*’ defense, but as the century progressed, these holy men were increasingly of a monastic background and schooled in theology. There is no reason to see them as military authorities in the *civitates*. At best they could herd their flock into the Church and pray that the invaders respect the holy places and the lives of those within. But as the Suevic attack on Aquae Flavia demonstrates, even this was not sufficient protection.⁶⁴¹ Captured clergy could be exiled, pardoned or simply massacred.

⁶³⁶ C. Díaz Martínez, “El obispo y las invasiones de los pueblos germánicos,” 4.

⁶³⁷ Max. Taur., *Serm.* 82.2

⁶³⁸ C. Díaz Martínez, “El obispo y las invasiones de los pueblos germánicos,” 4.

⁶³⁹ Of course there are exceptions such as Rusticus of Narbo who began his career in the Roman military, but as the fifth century progressed this type of ordination would become increasingly rare.

⁶⁴⁰ *Conc. Tol.*, 8.: “De eo qui post baptismum molitaverit ad diaconium non promoveatur”.

⁶⁴¹ Hyd. 196 [201] and Thompson, “The End of Roman Spain,” 14.

Most communities could count on someone with military background, and in the case of an attack and in the absence of the aristocratic elite; courageous local *milites* would lead the defense of the *civitas*. Hydatius writes of these defenses in his entry for 430 when the Suevic king Hermericus was pillaging the inlands of Gallaecia and he encountered the opposition of *plebem quae castella tutuora retinebat*.⁶⁴² If these *castella* were able to organise a local defense without a bishop, the large *civitates* were also presumably capable. Though Hydatius often writes of the aggression of the Germanic peoples towards the *civitates*, once the initial conquest had occurred it seems that a sort of peaceful coexistence endured in which “the bishops emerged as the most effective leaders of Roman resistance to the barbarian invaders ... they became the mediators of the new status quo.”⁶⁴³ When a *civitas* was taken by the invaders, the fates of the Catholic leaders were variable. In Africa, Carthage’s bishop held the Vandals from his city for eight whole years (431–439) but was forced into exile when at last the city was taken in 439.⁶⁴⁴ Possidius of Calama in his *Vita Sancti Augustini* describes the conditions in far harsher terms, with the cities in ruin, the churches destroyed, and the clergy massacred.⁶⁴⁵

Faced with invasion, the senatorial aristocracy was among those with the most to lose. In southeastern Gallia, both the local aristocracy and the Church, preferred to place their own wellbeing before that of the imperial government. These elite groups often negotiated directly with the invaders to assure the preservation of their own socio-economic position and ideological control.⁶⁴⁶ This regionalisation is not surprising. When in 402, the government of Stilicho ordered all Roman garrisons to withdraw from Britannia the local aristocracy of Britannia was left defenseless. This event would surely have marked the aristocracy of the Western Empire.⁶⁴⁷ With concern for their own safety the provincial aristocracies would

⁶⁴² Hyd. 81 [91]

⁶⁴³ C. Díaz Martínez, “El obispo y las invasiones de los pueblos germánicos.”

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁴⁵ Poss., *V. Aug.* 28: Los últimos días de la senectud llevó una existencia amarguísima y más triste que nadie. Pues veía aquel hombre las ciudades destruidas y saqueadas; los moradores de las granjas, pasados a cuchillo o dispersos; las iglesias, sin ministros y sacerdotes; las virgenes sagradas y los que profesaban vida de continencia, cada cual por su parte, y de ellos, unos habían perecido en los tormentos, otros sucumbieron al filo de la espada; muchos cautivos, después de perder la integridad de su cuerpo y alma y de su fe, gemían bajo la dura servidumbre enemiga. Veía mudas las iglesias que antes habían resonado con los cánticos divinos y alabanzas, y en muchos lugares reducidos a pavesas sus edificios [...] De las innumerables iglesias, apenas tres quedaban en pie; a saber la de Cartago, la de Hipona y la de Cirta, que, gracias a Dios, no fueron destruidas y se conservan incolumes sus ciudades, por hallarse guarnecidas de apoyo divino y humano.

⁶⁴⁶ Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*, 24.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 40.

have seen advantage in electing Emperors from their own regions. In Hispania the local aristocracy regularly preferred negotiation to all-out war with the new arrivals.

But what consequences did the invasion have on the Church and its leaders? In the years following the barbarian invasions the remaining pagans converted to Christianity as it became clear that old Roman traditions were dying and that survival in the new reality meant a dependence on the Church.⁶⁴⁸ The invasions thereby acted as a force of Christianisation with the bishops receiving increased prestige and authority through growth of their parishes and of political changes which diminished the significance of the pagan past.⁶⁴⁹

Not a single provincial ecclesiastical council is noted during the fifth century perhaps on account of the Arian control of the peninsula. The holding of such councils may have been all together outlawed. It is only in 516 when the Ostrogothic king Theodoric⁶⁵⁰ was acting as regent for his young nephew Amalric that an ecclesiastical council was again held, in Tarragona and the following year in Gerona (517).⁶⁵¹ During the early year of his rule, Theodoric had promoted a policy of religious harmony.⁶⁵² Throughout the period, the bishops acted as intermediaries between the Hispano-Romans and the Germanic overlords. Sinfonius was an Iberian bishop and ambassador to the imperial court at Ravenna for the Suevic king Hermeric.⁶⁵³ Bishop Orientius meanwhile negotiated on behalf of the Visigothic king Theodoric.⁶⁵⁴ We've noted on several occasions, the ecclesiastical conflict which arose in the peninsula's North-East, when Silvanus bishop of Calagurris in inner Tarraconensis overstepped his boundaries, irregularly ordaining bishops and presbyters beyond his own diocese, causing tension with the bishops of oriental Tarraconensis. Surprising in this situation is the response of Pope Hilarius, who allowed Silvanus to retain his see.⁶⁵⁵ Hilarius was aware that the Church had to adapt to survive under the Germanic kingdoms, which by 465 were unlikely to be reclaimed by the western Emperor. Looking to the Church's long-term survival, Hilarius chose not to

⁶⁴⁸ On the continued presence of pagans in Visigothic Iberia see Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain", 11–18.

⁶⁴⁹ Teja, "La carta a 67 de s. Cipriano a las comunidades Cristianas de León-Astorga y Mérida: algunos problemas y soluciones"; Chadwick, "The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society and Responses"; Lizzi Testa, "The Late Antique Bishop: Image and Reality."

⁶⁵⁰ In Gothic, *Piudareiks*.

⁶⁵¹ Orlandis, *Historia del reino visigodo español*, 288.

⁶⁵² Arnold, *Theodoric and the Roman Imperial Restoration*, see especially part 3 for his policy of coexistence.

⁶⁵³ Hyd. 92 [101]

⁶⁵⁴ Salv. *De gub. Dei* 7.9. For a further treatment of the bishops as mediators see Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, 63–72; Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West*, 411–533.

⁶⁵⁵ Hil., *Ep.* 16.1

meddle in fragile regional politics⁶⁵⁶ and rather urged for stronger administration within the Church hierarchy. Some authors have noted Hilarius' willingness to cooperate with the Visigothic king. More likely still, Hilarius and the bishops were under pressure from the local, possibly Hispano-Roman *potentiores* and *possessores*. Still, Visigothic hegemony over the peninsula would push the Church to cooperate with the Visigothic king, a phenomenon which gained strength in the final decades of the fifth century.⁶⁵⁷ King Euric (466–484) is said to have prosecuted the Catholic population of his kingdom, but in the grand scheme there reigned a general sense of tolerance, a policy in stark contrast to that of the Vandals across the strait of Gibraltar.⁶⁵⁸ Thus on account of civil pressures, Arians and Catholics seem to have lived in relative peace.

By cooperating with the realm the Church was able to survive, especially through the capacity of the bishops to act as tools of civic control by the Visigothic authorities. We've noted that much of Baetica remained essentially Roman despite the occupation of the countryside by Germanic 'barbarians'. The *civitates* which acted as centres of civic powers, remained, it appears, in the hand of Hispano-Roman magistrates. The bishops, as spiritual authorities also had a great influence on the inhabitants of the *civitates*. Thus the barbarian realms sought the cooperation of the *episcopi* who as allies of the throne could watch over and dominate to an extent the Hispano-Roman population which may have opposed direct royal intervention in the *civitates*.⁶⁵⁹

The political balance shifted again in the later fifth century, when Emperor Majorian's campaign against the Sueves reduced them to federate status, their control over the peninsula reduced to the region surrounding Bracara. Even more importantly, the treacherous death of Majorian in 461 at the hands of his *magister militum* Ricimir marks the end of concerted efforts by Rome to recapture *Hispaniae*. Never again would a western emperor have sufficient autonomy to recapture the peninsula and the political isolation of *Hispaniae* meant that Iberians could no longer hold political office within and beyond the peninsula. The Visigothic era began in earnest but a few years later with the 466 coronation of Visigothic king Euric,⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁶ Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, 239–240.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 240.

⁶⁵⁸ Both Thompson and Heather argue for a policy of unity. See Thompson, "The Barbarian Kingdoms in Gaul and Spain"; Heather, *The Goths*, 280–281.

⁶⁵⁹ Ubric Rabaneda, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, 240. Bishop Zeno's name on the bridge inscription of Emerita Augusta is therefore a measure of indirect royal governance of Emerita's urban development by means of the bishop. See chapter V.

⁶⁶⁰ Aiwareiks in the Gothic language. During his reign, Euric defeated contending Visigothic kings and became the ruler of a unified Visigothic nation and by the 476 'fall' of the Roman occident he controlled most of the Iberian Peninsula. In 475 and 476 Euric had besieged Arvernus (Clermont-Ferrand) named after the small castle on *clarus mons* where the cathedral now sits. In 475 Euric forced Emperor Julius Nepos to recognise the full independence of

which brought about further changes in the relationship between barbarians and Hispano-Romans.⁶⁶¹ Though culturally and intellectually, *Hispaniae* would remain part of the Roman world for another two centuries, Spain henceforth fell beyond the Roman political sphere.⁶⁶² It was politically the end of Roman Hispania.

Though the bishops and the aristocracy had resisted Gothic pressures, it was now apparent that Gothia was more than a temporary political set-up, the bishops would henceforth be at the mercy of their Germanic kings and it seems that the bishops gracefully accepted the new situation.⁶⁶³ To go against the new regime was to jeopardise all they possessed and had attained. To resist was to risk losing everything. It has been argued however, that even after the conquest of Baetica by the Goths, certain cities such as Corduba and Emerita, remained virtually autonomous, preserving their defensive and organizational capacities.⁶⁶⁴ In these areas, the bishops surely operated with great independence, but this was on account of aristocratic military strength in these cities.

While the hierarchical organization of the Iberian Church had been weak in the first half of the fifth century, it was significantly strengthened by the imposition of Gothic rule over the peninsula, primarily because the kingdom made use of the episcopate as an interface between their royal will and the Hispano-Roman population.⁶⁶⁵ If secular elites continued to control the economic and political destinies of the *civitates* and the *territoria*, spiritual and moral matters as well as social causes such as the wellbeing of the population fell under ecclesiastical governance. There is little evidence for Gothic administration in

his gothic kingdom in exchange for the Narbonensis region in Gallia. Following this, the Hispano-Roman citizens pledged their allegiance to Euric, recognising him as their king. The political transition was complete and Hispania fell unquestionably beyond the Empire, but in effect, the empire no longer existed; its final emperor, Romulus Augustus was deposed the following year in 476 by patrician and new king of Italia, Odoacer.

⁶⁶¹ Euric had murdered his brother Theodoric II and would rule Aquitania and Hispania until his death in 484.

⁶⁶² Sidonius Apollinaris' belief that Roman Gallia ended in 475, the year that the emperor ceded Provence to the Goths as this put an end to imperial offices in the region. See Harries, "Sidonius Apollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?"; Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 152.

⁶⁶³ In Galia, Sidonius Apollinaris accepted Gothic rule and wrote a Panegyric to demonstrate his loyalty. Bishops Felix and Ecdicius by contrast refused to recognise Euric's rule.

⁶⁶⁴ Cruz, Zoreda, and Mérida, *Repertorio de arquitectura cristiana en Extremadura*, 198–199.

⁶⁶⁵ Only in the sixth century did the episcopate grow strong enough to counter the regime as witnessed by Masona, born a Goth and Arian but who converted to Catholicism and opposed royal intentions to impose Arianism on the population resulting in his exile along with his contemporary Leander Hispalensis

Hispania, even after the Gothic loss at the Campus Vogladensis (Vouillé). Despite their territorial losses and the capture of their royal treasures, the Goths remained focused on Gallia.⁶⁶⁶

If neither the bishops nor the Visigothic elite directly governed *Hispaniae*, who then administered the cities and *territoria* in this troubled time? In the Baetican south this was almost certainly the aristocracy that had taken up curial administrative duties. Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, having established himself in Italy may even have sent agents to both Gallia and Hispania to collect tribute or tax revenue, an extension of the old imperial model now appropriated by the Gothic administration.⁶⁶⁷ It therefore seems likely that in the years following the death of emperor Majorian, the imperial model of tax collection had remained in place throughout *Hispaniae*, with the profit going to the local *potentiores* and perhaps to the Goths. The Church continued to be supported by private funds. In the later fifth century the Visigoths and Hispano-Romans learned to coexist and prosper from maintained contact with the other group, especially among the elite who learned to operate in dual worlds. In 477 one Vincentius was both *comes Hispaniarum* and a civil administrator under Gothic king Euric.⁶⁶⁸ Wood describes Southern Gallia as “governed by ... Visigothic arms and Gallo-Roman social, cultural and political power”⁶⁶⁹ and there is every reason to believe that the *Hispaniae* were governed in a similar manner. Visigothic king Alaric II even published the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* in 506 to facilitate the coexistence of Hispano-Romans and Goths.

While the Hispano-Romans came to accept rule by Germanic kings, the Goths were respectful of their subjects’ desire to practice their Nicene faith. Thus when the Byzantines arrived in the sixth century, the Baetican aristocracy and the bishops did not take kindly to the so-called ‘liberators’.⁶⁷⁰ Roman identity among the social elite had regionalised and was closer tied to Catholic faith than to political *appartenance* with a Roman Empire that no longer existed. The Byzantines could hardly gain a foothold in Iberia, with the Hispano-Romans favouring the Visigoths during the conflict. If in the fifth century, secular powers were slowly coming together to rule the *Hispaniae*, in the religious sphere tensions endured. The bishops despite their apostolic authority, were not unopposed and it is to this theme that we now turn.

Though in theory the bishop was the ultimate figure of ecclesiastical authority, in practice his hegemony was stemmed by numerous opponents, but most prominently by the senatorial aristocracy which

⁶⁶⁶ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 261–263.

⁶⁶⁷ For more on this subject in the early sixth century see *Ibid.*, 261–266.

⁶⁶⁸ Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville*, 31. Also see Mathisen and Sivan, “Forging a New Identity: The Kingdom of Toulouse and the Frontier of Visigothic Aquitania,” 31–37.

⁶⁶⁹ Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville*, 31.

⁶⁷⁰ Salvador Ventura, “The Bishops and the Byzantine Intervention in Hispania”, 246–247.

as we have seen, remained powerful in their tightly knitt communities built off *amicitia*.⁶⁷¹ In effect, the aristocracy continued to rule in the cities while pursuing *otium* in their rural villas. It is here on their country domains that aristocratic Christianity was expressed through the construction of private chapels where the aristocrats gathered with their *amici* in prayer and ritual inspired by the ascetic *chic*, which trended in the early-fifth century. As a consequence of this villa-spirituality, the bishops in their suburban cathedrals had little control over the Christianity practiced on private estates. Indeed council decisions attest to the problem, which these private villa-chapels caused the Church hierarchy.⁶⁷² Though asceticism appears to conflict with the aristocratic pursuit of *otium*, there is precedence for the following of alternative religions. Indeed the aristocracy of the second and third centuries had been caught up in mystery cults, which had sprung up throughout the Mediterranean world⁶⁷³. Willoughby writes:

*“The average individual in the Roman Empire ... desired ... personal attachment to a particular god; ... depressed by the injustices and defeats of life, he craved the assurance of recompense in the future.” Furthermore, “the intimate rites of the esoteric services were designed to stimulate a varied and richly emotional type of religious experience [and they] gave a comprehensive and intelligible explanation of the universe.”*⁶⁷⁴

At a basic level, the occurrence of mystery religions demonstrates that pagan tradition was no longer fulfilling to a certain portion of the population.⁶⁷⁵ In Stark’s sociological terms the religious fair was still

⁶⁷¹ Bowes, “Une coterie espagnole pieuse” is the first to advance this hypothesis, notably using evidence of the episcopacy’s perceived weakness in Hispania and the abundance of rural vs. urban churches.

⁶⁷² The *Concilium Toletanum* attests to presbyters unlawfully performing the sacrament of confirmation, an act which was to be performed by the *episcopus*. See *Conc. Tol.* 20. Furthermore the irregularity of rural Christian practices is demonstrated by the 517 canon law: Ut unaquaque provincial in officio ecclesiae unum ordinem teneat. *Conc. Gerund.* (517), 1. The *Concilium Toletanum II* is even more telling as the endnotes demonstrate the worry of the *metropolitanus* over the consecration of rural basilicas in his absence, though presided over by bishops of foreign nations. This situation demonstrates both the close ties between the aristocracy of southern Gallia and that of Tarraconensis, and proves that the episcopal hierarchy as late as 527 could not impose its authority over the local *potentiores*. See *Conc. Tol.* II, endnotes; in Vives, Marín, and Martínez Díaz, *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, 49.

⁶⁷³ The development of the mystery cults is often seen as a response to the spiritual needs of the population. The argument however is elusive, not supported by ancient documentation, and rather is *an argumentum ex eventu*.

⁶⁷⁴ Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration: A Study of Mystery Initiations in the Graeco-Roman World*, 28.

⁶⁷⁵ The mystery cults though part of the polytheistic spectrum, can be seen as the development of a more personal connection with the deity.

open to all contenders. Christianity like these other mysteries played to the individual's feelings and desire for rebirth after death. To the contrary of the other mysteries however, Christianity was transparent, baptism representing the only obstacle to initiation into the faith. Furthermore, Christianity was not linked to a single ethnicity, allowing ethnic minorities to assimilate into the dominant culture.⁶⁷⁶ Thus Christianity gained great popularity even among society's elite on account of the spiritual welfare that it offered.⁶⁷⁷ "The demand for emotional stimulation and for the assurance of a happy immortality were among the most important religious needs that the mysteries aimed to satisfy."⁶⁷⁸

The ascetic Christianity adopted in the rural villas therefore had much in common with the adherence to mystery cults such as that of Mithra in previous centuries. Christianity was among these mystery cults and rose to dominance because of its adoption by the Roman Emperors. In effect, the acceptance and adherence to certain mystic aspects of the Christianity expulsed by the desert fathers and other Christian ascetics in part reinforced the group identity of the Christianising aristocracy. While at first glance, it appears that the struggle for the Church was between secular aristocrats and ascetic monks, Bowes defends that these western ascetic establishments such as that at Primuliacum in southern Aquitania, were in fact closed communities of aristocratic allies joined in prayer and common belief, a sort of exclusive social club, elevated to a spiritual level. The bishops were concerned at the loss of authority to individual holy men, who as the bishops must have seen it, were usurping their spiritual authority and promoting an ascetic brand of Christianity in many ways too *avant-gardist* for the main body of the Catholic Church, a movement which is highlighted by Priscillian and the controversy which surrounded him.⁶⁷⁹ This chapter examines the theological divides within the Iberian Church and presents the main competitors for spiritual authority in the fifth century.

HOLY MEN, PRISCILLIAN, AND HERESY

Principal among the bishop's competitors for spiritual authority were the holy man⁶⁸⁰, living as hermits in the mountains of northern Iberia and whose presence was taken by the rural populations as a

⁶⁷⁶ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 63-66

⁶⁷⁷ There are numerous studies on the mystery religions of Late Antiquity and on their relation to Christianity. I refer you to Bowden, *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World*; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*; Meyer, *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook: Sacred Texts of the Mystery Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean World*.

⁶⁷⁸ Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration: A Study of Mystery Initiations in the Graeco-Roman World*, 28.

⁶⁷⁹ See Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, 13-14.

⁶⁸⁰ Brown considers the propagation of Holy Men as a distinct transition between the classical and mediaeval worlds.

For the rise of Holy Men see Brown, *The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity*.

protective force against evil.⁶⁸¹ Certain ascetics such as the sixth century holy man Aemilianus were reputed for their capacity to cure the sick and produce miracles.⁶⁸² In one anecdote, Aemilianus caused a wooden beam to grow in length for the construction of a granary. That granary became a site for pilgrimage in the sixth century for its reputed power of curing sickness.⁶⁸³ Premonitions were also among the powers of the holy men.⁶⁸⁴ These holy men were dangerous to the authority of the bishop, indeed Aemilianus was sponsored by a local *potentior*, a senator, Honorius, who assured that the holy men and his followers never lacked food or sustenance.⁶⁸⁵ The holy man's authority was of obvious concern to the Catholic hierarchy. These holy men were treated with deference by the local communities, which caused anguish to the diocesan bishop. In the case of Aemilianus, the diocesan bishop accused him of fornication with virgins and rumours spread that these virgins ritually washed his naked body.⁶⁸⁶ It would be inaccurate however to paint the holy man as a competitor for power with the bishops; he was however an alternative source of spiritual authority, especially in wilderness regions beyond the *civitas*. The holy man's authority began exactly there where the bishop's ended, highlighting an important reality of the episcopal positions: his *ius*, i.e. his jurisdiction "was only as large as he could make it by engaging in authoritative acts."⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸¹ Aemilianus was reputed for his capacity to cure the sick and produce miracles. Braul. Caes., *V. S. Amil.* 126-129: "As soon as [Aemilianus] put his hand on the tumor and made the sign of the cross, straightaway the illness left him and he blessed the Lord for the recovery of his health",

⁶⁸² Born in the region of modern Rioja, probably near Berceo, a monastery was erected there in his memory. Until his conversion to Christianity around the age of twenty he was a shepherd. He sought out the guidance of the hermit Felix in Bilibio and studied under him before making his own hermitage in the mountains of Tarraconensis. Once ordained presbyter by his local bishop Didymus, he distributed all his church's wealth to the poor and generally was a poor administrator, prompting his fellow presbyters to dismiss him of his duties and allow him to return to his life in the wilderness where he attracted a large community of followers. He died at a venerable age in his cell and is still widely revered throughout Spain as San Milán de la Cogolla, i.e. the cowled Saint Emilian. His protective powers are still preserved in his representation as a monk on horseback fighting the Moors sometimes carrying a banner and a sword.

⁶⁸³ Braul. Caes., *V. S. Amil.* 130-131.

⁶⁸⁴ In c. 573 Aemilianus had a vision of the fall of Cantabria to the Visigothic King Liuvigild, a.k.a. Leovigild or Gothic Liubagilds. He presented himself before the senate, which indicates that the region still had a functioning senate in the late sixth century. One senator, Abundantius, accused him of being senile. Braul. Caes., *V. S. Amil.* 135-136

⁶⁸⁵ Braul. Caes., *V. S. Amil.* 132. In 574 Cantabria was indeed seized by Liuvigild. For Gallia one should also refer to Gregory of Tours writings on the Holy Men, notably in James, *Gregory of Tours: The Life of the Fathers*.

⁶⁸⁶ Braul. Caes. *V. S. Amil.*, 133-134.

⁶⁸⁷ Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 66. Unsurprisingly, we see these struggles for authority at Arles in Narbonensis, in Tarraconensis, and in the Lusitania capital of Emerita Augusta. Episcopal authority though growing was disputed.

The abundance of holy men in the north was a direct consequence of the difficulty of accessibility. Where in the fertile and well-connected Baetican south, *patroni* could easily move along the roads and the coast between domains under their control, in remote regions such as the Cantabrian north, the lack of infrastructure made access difficult for both civil and ecclesiastical authorities and some regions though nominally under the authority of a diocese were in practice devoid of a bishop.⁶⁸⁸ Here in the area which lay beyond Church hierarchy and political life, the holy man offered an alternative source of spiritual authority. Our controversial Aemilianus again appears in the sources, as an example of such spiritual authority. Braulius of Caesaraugusta writes that a senator of Tarraconensis, Honorius, called on Aemilianus to use the powers of exorcism which he possessed. Rather than consulting his local bishop for aid, this senator placed his trust in the powers of a reputable ascetic.⁶⁸⁹ It is such situations that the strong Baetican and coastal Terraconensen hierarchies sought to eliminate. The late fourth century Church had tried to deal with this situation through canon law. Thus the 380 *Concilium Caesaraugustanum* states that no one should be called a *doctor* of the Christian faith who has not been officially bestowed that title by the Catholic Church.⁶⁹⁰ The bishops of Hispania clearly intended to cut the dispersion of their authority by the passing of this legislation.

The dangers of local holy men to the church hierarchy are best demonstrated by a case study of the well-known bishop Priscillian of Abula.⁶⁹¹ The controversy surrounding him demonstrates the aggressive actions which the Orthodox hierarchy adopted to suppress this political opponent. If politically, the fourth century closed with Spain as the model of an ideally operating western province, with regards to religion it was far from an exemplar of orthodoxy. Priscillian was a well-educated ascetic and a teacher who in the early 380s became bishop of Abula (Ávila) in Hispania. Around 385 he was executed on the order of the usurper and easily manipulated, Emperor Magnus Maximus, under charges of sorcery, in what was a personal attack against the bishop of Abula. Priscillian concerns us because his controversy is the greatest example of religious disunity in fifth-century Hispania. The orthodox bishops spent much of their energy dealing with these issues of religious uniformity.

The events leading up to Priscillian's execution began in in 378 when Hyginus the bishop of Corduba wrote to Hydatius, bishop of Emerita⁶⁹² informing him of potential Manichean doctrines and

⁶⁸⁸ Martin, "Las cartas de Montano y la autonomía episcopal de la Hispania septentrional en el siglo VI."

⁶⁸⁹ Braul. Caes., *V. S. Amil.* 22-24

⁶⁹⁰ *Conc. Caes.*, 7: Ut doctoris sibi nomen non inponat cui concessum non est.

⁶⁹¹ One should refer to the recent critical edition of Conti, *Priscillian of Avila: Complete Works*.

⁶⁹² Hydatius has often been considered the *metropolitanus* and his see at Emerita the *metropolis*. As our analysis demonstrated however, these terms are inappropriate for fourth century *Hispaniae* in which hierarchical authorities had not yet imposed a solid church structure. Furthermore, Emerita was part of the province of Hispania Lusitania

ascetic practices such as strict vegetarianism occurring in Gallaecia.⁶⁹³ Among the orthodox clergy's criticism of Priscillian was the value he attributed to ascetic or exegete teachers rather than to the authority of the presbyters and the bishops.⁶⁹⁴ With multiple potential poles of theological authority, we must ask ourselves just what was the Church? Was it a hierarchical political community, a familiar social body? Should it accommodate the surrounding culture? Should it protest corrupting influences of the secular realm? Just what was the Church to do and be?⁶⁹⁵ These are the questions of religion that characterised fourth century Christianity, and they were largely resolved with the execution of Priscillian at Augusta Treverorum (Trier) in 385. The Priscilianist controversy was not merely an attack by the Orthodox hierarchy on the holy men of the rustic regions of Hispania, but rather was a battle over the form that Christianity would take in Hispania, a battle in which Priscillian's supporters actively participated. On multiple occasions Priscillian's supporters travelled to the Lusitanian capital to condemn Hydatius of Emerita for living under the same roof as his wife and they accused the couple of secretly bearing a child. Four bishops, Instantius, Salvianus, Hyginus of Corduba, and Symphosius of Asturica travelled to Emerita in an attempt to replace Hydatius as bishop of Emerita. The bishop of Emerita sought help from Emperor Gratian who intervened by placing Volventius as proconsul in Lusitania to oversee the evolution of episcopal affairs.⁶⁹⁶ This event shows the religious divide and the political troubles caused by sectarianism in late fourth century Spain and this at a time, when the governors and administrators of the province were still largely pagan.⁶⁹⁷

while Corduba was part of Baetica, thus Hydatius could not in the best of cases, be the *metropolitanus* to whom Higinus should have addressed himself. Rather we should see Hydatius as the most senior *episcopus* in the region. It is also important to note that Hydatius of Emerita is not the Hydatius of Aquae Flaviae.

⁶⁹³ The refusal to consume meat was a practice shared both by Manicheans and Priscilianists alike. See C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 213. The Orthodox Church fought against such ascetic practices through canon legislation, thus the "Concilium Bracarense (561)," 14 declared it heretical to refuse the consumption of meat. "Si quis inmundos putant cibos carniū quam deus in usu hominū dedit, et non propter afflictionem corporis sui sed quasi inmunditiam putaverit, ita absteat ab eis ut nec olera cocta cum carnibus pregustet, et sicut Manicheus et Priscillianus dixerunt. Anathema sit." Indeed serving meat to a presbyter was a means of testing his orthodoxy as a sincere Priscilianist would refuse such a meal.

⁶⁹⁴ Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 5.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁶ *PLRE I*, Volventius, 975; Cruz, Zoreda, and Mérida, *Repertorio de arquitectura cristiana en Extremadura*, 128–129.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., 129.

But who were these persecutors of Priscillian? One persecutor, bishop Ithacius of Ossonuba (Faro, Portugal), is described as *audax* ‘audacious’, *loquax* ‘loquacious’, *impudens* ‘impudent’, and *sumptuosus ventri et gulae plurimum impertiens*, ‘bestowing many extravagances in taste and of greed’. Ithacius was very much the portrait of a Roman aristocrat, and it is entirely reasonable that he felt anger toward Priscillian who by his behaviour and his ascetic appearance mocked the symbols of established authority.⁶⁹⁹ There seems to have been division within the aristocracy itself with certain factions, especially on the Northern Meseta and in the far north eschewing the traditional markings of their elite status as part of an upcoming *chic* asceticism. Burrus further sees in the state of Late Antique Hispania, a conflict of interests between the landed aristocracy which throughout the fourth century seem to have further retired to their private villas beyond the world of public duty and those of the curial classes bound by legislation to care for the civic responsibilities of the *civitas* and the proper functioning of the provinces.⁷⁰⁰ Though under Valentinian (364–375), the aristocracy was largely excluded from government in favour of the curial class⁷⁰¹ under Gratian (375–383) and during the early fifth century, western aristocracies reclaimed their traditional authority, not necessarily through public office, but rather through land possession, wealth, and patronage.⁷⁰² Matthews notes that “the government of the Western Empire seems progressively in [the late years of the fourth and the early fifth century] to have fallen from public into private hands.”⁷⁰³

In the more romanised regions of Baetica and Terraconensis, imperial administration whose power came from public authority was overall more favourable to the clergy as another publicly organised office of power. In contrast, backwater regions such as Gallaecia and Lusitania were under the hold of powerful aristocratic families. Priscillian was likely born to such a family as he notes that before attaining the episcopacy, his position in the world was not obscure. Priscillian’s own personal power would not then have been foreign to the inhabitants of Gallaecia, though it may have distressed the church hierarchy in more imperialised cities such as Corduba. Indeed Peter Brown draws attention to the large number of charges of sorcery brought by members of the clergy against individuals with a large amount of personal power.⁷⁰⁴ The aristocracy had sacrificed influence in the imperial diaspora for an increase of influence in

⁶⁹⁹ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 248.

⁷⁰⁰ Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 9. For the increased importance of private life to the Late Antique aristocracy, see Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 9–11.

⁷⁰¹ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 12–17; Cruz, Zoreda, and Mérida, *Repertorio de arquitectura cristiana en Extremadura*, 129.

⁷⁰² Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 10.

⁷⁰³ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*, 11.

⁷⁰⁴ Brown, *Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages*, 22. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 41–47. Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 11.

local affairs.⁷⁰⁵ The distinction is akin to that between Max Weber’s “charismatic” versus “institutional” authority. Priscillian’s asceticism gave him personal charismatic power that must have menaced the institutional authority of other bishops by forcing them to live up to a very high standard. Furthermore, as argued for by Claudia Rapp, the true authority of the bishops during Late Antiquity stemmed from their spiritual virtue,⁷⁰⁶ Priscillian thus represented a true competitor for this authority.

Priscillian travelled to Gallia along with his ally Instantius to deal with the controversy surrounding their names, and upon their return to Hispania, “without any strife they took back the churches over which they had presided” save from bishop Ithacius.⁷⁰⁸ On account of this conflict, the *governor consularis* of Lusitania, Volventius, based in Emerita, attempted to arrest Ithacius for being a disturber of the churches.⁷⁰⁹ The persecution of Ithacius strongly suggests that Priscillian or at the least his influential patrons held influence and prestige not only in Gallaecia but also in Lusitania. Priscillian’s popularity therefore was very real in the more rural areas of Hispania, but also quite possibly within the provincial capital of Emerita itself. The Orthodox bishop Instantius fled to the Gauls where he presented his case before the praetorian prefect Gregorius and the bishop of Trier, Brittanus. Hispania’s place within an Orthodox Western Empire was up for grabs. In the end, the orthodox usurper Magnus Maximus, quite obviously seeking to establish a Western Empire, seized the chance to persecute the sectorial Priscillianists. Ultimately the bishop was executed at the imperial court at *Augusta Treverorum* (Trier) on charges of Manichaeism, sorcery, and sexual immorality.⁷¹⁰ Indeed Priscillian’s death before the civil authorities testifies to the integration of the Catholic hierarchy into the administration of the Empire.

Hydatius claims that the Hispanic north-west remained corrupted by Priscillianist ideas⁷¹¹ and questions concerning the nature of the Church remained relevant despite the execution of Abula’s well-loved bishop Priscillian. For many Iberians, Priscillian was a martyr and a cult dedicated to him grew in

⁷⁰⁵ Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 13.

⁷⁰⁶ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 14.

⁷⁰⁸ Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.49 also see Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 93.

⁷⁰⁹ De Ferreras and D’Hermilly, *Histoire générale d’Espagne*, 387. Rouselle, “Quelques aspects politiques de l’affaire priscillianiste,” 90. Also see Holmes, *The Origin and Development of the Christian Church in Gaul*, 244–247.

⁷¹⁰ See summary of Ithacius’ *Apology* in Isid. Hisp, *De Vir. Ill.* 14. “Ithacius, bishop of the Spains, famous in name and eloquence, wrote a certain book in apologetic form in which he demonstrates the cursed dogmas of Priscillian and his arts of sorcery and his disgraceful acts of lechery, showing that a certain Mark of Memphis, expert in the magic art, was the student of Mani and teacher of Priscillian.”

⁷¹¹ Hyd., 16: Priscillianus, propter supra dictam hæresem, ab episcopatu depulsus, et cum ipso Latronianus laicus aliquantique sectatores sui apud Treuerim sub tyranno Maximo caeduntur. Exim, in Gallæciam Priscillianistarum [ingreditur heresis].

Gallaecia and spread through Hispania.⁷¹² The development of the martyr cult around Priscillian may be the outcome of a need to develop spiritual richness in the north-west of the peninsula.⁷¹³ Regardless of why the cult spread, the Priscillianist controversy highlights the greatest threat the Iberian Church of the fifth century faced: disunity.⁷¹⁴ The hierarchical model of the Church, which had been developed at Nicaea and supported by the imperial government, was at stake if charismatic holy leaders could gain greater spiritual authority than the appointed bishops.⁷¹⁵ Priscillian may have been the ultimate victor of the controversy as many of the ascetic practice he supported were eventually integrated into both the clergy and the lives of the layman.⁷¹⁶

When the *Concilium Toletanum* met in 400, it was largely to resolve and put an end to the Priscillianist movement. However the invasions just a decade later in 411, hampered the completion of this process, and thus in the fifth century we see a renewal of Priscillianist thought in the North-West which is attested to in the worry-filled letters of Orosius and Toribius.⁷¹⁷ The Pope himself recognised the challenge in fighting these heterodoxies. For one, Priscillianists and Manichaeans alike attended Catholic mass, and appeared Orthodox in public.⁷¹⁸ Only in private were heterodox practices truly visible thus fuelling the Church's opposition to private villa worship.

Two letters from circa 530, written by Montanus of Toledo, state that at the church of Pallantia (Palencia),⁷¹⁹ Christians still commemorated Priscillian along with the other martyred saints. Montanus, the bishop of Toletum criticised those Christians who gave remembrance to the heretic asking: what is this folly of vainly falling in love with this nonsense of the lips which in practice you would not wish to

⁷¹² Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.51.7: ...ceterum Priscilliano occiso, non solum non repressa est hæresis, quæ illo auctore proruperat, sed confirmata latius propagata est. Namque sectores eius, qui eum prius ut sanctum honorauerant, postea ut martyrem colere coeperunt. Peremptorum corpora ad Hispanias relata magnisque obsequiis celebrata eorum funera: quin et iurare per Priscillianum summa religio putabatur.

⁷¹³ See Chadwick, *Priscilian of Avila*, 206.

⁷¹⁴ Gallaecia's position at the edge of the Roman world is demonstrated in the presence of not one, but two orthodox bishops from that diocese at the *Concilium Toletanum*. See Blasquez, "Los orígenes del ascetismo hispano: Prisciliano," 424–426.

⁷¹⁵ For opposition by the community to the organization of the Church hierarchy see Escribano Paño, "Cristianización y liderazgo en la Lusitania tardía."

⁷¹⁶ Blasquez, "Los orígenes del ascetismo hispano: Prisciliano", 386.

⁷¹⁷ Orosius, *Comm.*; Tur. Ast., *Ep.*

⁷¹⁸ Leon Mag., *Ep.* 15

⁷¹⁹ Situated in the north of the *Meseta Central* between modern Valladolid and Burgos.

imitate?⁷²⁰ With the strengthening of the Catholic hierarchy under the Visigoths, Priscillianism and other sects subsided. The final reference to Priscillianism was at the 561 council of Braga where the council took concern with remnants of the sect that continued to plague the northern province.⁷²¹

In summary, the bishops opposed to Priscillian were responding to a challenge to their authority, which came from the rural regions of Hispania. Ever since the romanisation of Iberia the *territorium* had been controlled by the political entities of the *civitates*. Themselves coming from the elites, the bishops felt that this was the proper order of things. Priscillian's supporters were themselves bishops and it seems that the aristocracy and the episcopate were divided in their support of his asceticism. The persecution, which Priscillian underwent by the Baetican bishops, is surely an indicator that the aristocratic bishops, supporters of traditional powers, were largely opposed to the accumulation of power by ascetic non-hierarchical authorities. The practice of such authority beyond the confines of the hierarchy was menacing to the authorities and the granting of an episcopal see to Priscillian may well have been intended to reel him into the system and institutionalise his otherwise personal authority.⁷²² There is agreement today that the controversy which surrounded Priscillian had at its heart, ecclesiastical authority and control of the Christian Church.⁷²³ Bishops such as Priscillian tried very much to occupy both the role of bishop and holy man, but as his trial suggests, the two roles were bound to be forced apart. The bishops would need to eliminate heresy and assure orthodox practice if they were to retain authority over the greater population.

ORGANISED MONASTICISM AND POWER STRUGGLES

As mentioned in brief, the secular authorities, independent holy men and private villa chapel practices were not the only opposition to the bishops' authority as in the fifth century there was also a growth in the strength of internally sufficient monastic communities which found their origins in the Christian communities of Egypt where men opposed to the societal organisation of the time went into the desert to live quiet lives of contemplation. The early monastics were subject of a large amount of

⁷²⁰ The passage refers to Priscilian. Translation is my own. See Latin text in *Conc. Tol II*: Praeterea perditissimam Priscillianistarum sectam non tam actis quam nomine a vobis praecipue novimus honorari. Rogo quae est ista dementia in eius amore superflue labi, quem in opera non velis imitari?

⁷²¹ *Conc. Brac.* (561), prologue: Prius ergo de statute fidei sicut superius dictum est proferamus / nam licet iam olim Priscillianae haeresis contagion Spaniarum provinciis detecta sit et damnata, ne quis tamen aut per ignorantiam aut aliquibus, ut adsolet, scripturis deceptus apocryfis aliqua adhuc ipsius erroris pestilential sit infectus...

⁷²² Likewise this could have been a way for the bishops of the Northern Meseta to legitimise Priscillian's already large personal authority.

⁷²³ Jorge, "The Lusitanian Episcopate in the 4th Century: Priscillian of Ávila and the Tensions between Bishops."

literature.⁷²⁴ These hermits also became the subject of full length biographies such as Athanasius' *Life of Anthony* and the three *Vitae* written by Hieronymus as well as the collective wisdom found in works such as *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. An important evolution occurred however in the fifth century when not only hermits, but bishops as well, became the subject of these hagiographical biographies.⁷²⁵ In Gallia, the ascetic community at Lerina (Lérins) had become by 427, according to the fifth century an immense monastery which alone was responsible for producing three distinguished bishops of Arles: Honoratus, Hilarius, and Caesarius.⁷²⁶

The Visigothic monastic tradition was established throughout the Iberian Peninsula before 711 save in Gallaecia where a distinct tradition arose.⁷²⁷ Gallaecian monasticism was distinct from other forms of pre-benedictine monasticism in that the communities were not subject to episcopal supervision and that they were not governed by a single rule, but rather by *codices regularum*.⁷²⁸ This further demonstrates that the Gallaecian bishops did not hold the same authority as in other parts of the Empire. This is in contrast to the communities of the South and Eastern regions where episcopal control was stronger. In Valentia for example, bishop Iustinianus (see annexe 1) held direct control over the monastic community dedicated to Saint Vincent. Seventh century Fructuosus Bracarenensis in his common rule, *regula monastica communis*, chastised those presbyters who founded private monasteries without the supervision of bishops.⁷²⁹ There appears to be an effort in the seventh century to subordinate those monastic communities that thus far had escaped subordination to episcopal control. This incomplete subordination in the seventh century indicates that in the fifth century, not all Christian communities were subjugated to their diocesan bishop. Though

⁷²⁴ Any reader of German should not forego the monumental monograph of Diem, *Das monastische Experiment* in which he retraces the monastic ideal of Purity from Late Antiquity into the Carolingian period. In English, one may also wish to consult Zuk, *Carnal and Conjugal Love among the Bishops of Late Antiquity*.

⁷²⁵ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 103.

⁷²⁶ See King, *Roman Gaul and Germany*, 199–200.

⁷²⁷ “It is now generally agreed that, while the Benedictine Rule was often included in Spanish monastic codes from the late Visigothic period on, no true Benedictine monasticism, with abbeys following the Monte Cassino code to the exclusion of all others, can be found in the peninsula much before the beginning of the tenth century”. Bishko, “Salvus of Alvela and Frontier Monasticism in Tenth-Century Navarre”, 582; de Siles, “Investigaciones históricas sobre el origen y progresos del monacato español, hasta la irrupción sarracena á principios del siglo VIII” 527–547.

⁷²⁸ See Bishko, “Salvus of Alvela and Frontier Monasticism in Tenth-Century Navarre”, 579–580.

⁷²⁹ See *Regula monástica communis*, 2, in Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, Volume 2*, 180–181. The attribution of this *Regula* to Fructuosus Bracarenensis has recently been revisited by Dias, “O Lugar da Regula Monastica Communis no monaquismo hispânico”.

Fructuosus was critical in the growth of Iberian monasticism⁷³⁰ the founding of rural churches and monasteries does not limit itself to the seventh century; this phenomenon was ongoing at least since the fifth century.

Whereas spiritual teaching in the ascetic communities occurred in a private setting, usually with one master and one or few apprentices, and with individualised spiritual teachings, the bishop taught from his cathedral offering instruction in the Christian faith to the community at large, including curious nonbelievers.⁷³¹ The nature of the bishop's audience had as a consequence, that his spiritual teachings were more general, broad strokes of Christian morality with which to guide the community. The ascetic on the other hand, though teaching to few, offered deep and personalised wisdom. The consequence was that the disciples of the ascetic Holy Men were more solid in their faith and more extreme in their degree of dedication to Christianity. The charismatic ability of the holy men was therefore a real threat to the bishops whose own institutional authority could be undermined by charismatic individuals. The bishop however had the advantage of a large audience. It is clear that the classical learning and training in rhetoric possessed by the traditional aristocracy was of great benefit in this role as preacher, and that his wisdom placed him at the centre of the community.

This conflict between urban powers and the asceticism of the countryside is also well distinguished by fifth century bishop Theodoretus of Cyrrhus (393–457) with the concepts *erēmitikos bios* and *bios politikos*. Each presented distinct qualities of life. Indeed throughout the Empire, ascetic monastics had become a concern both in the civic and religious spheres. At the 401 *Concilium Carthaginensis* bishops were forbidden from ordaining monks from a diocese other than their own, while the 410 synod of Seleucia Ctesiphon emphasized that monks were to be subordinated to episcopal powers.⁷³² In 451, emperor Marcian called for an Ecumenical council to bring religious unity to his Empire. This reunion at Chalcedon devoted considerable attention to the subordination of monastic communities to the local bishop. Canon 4 in particular declared that monastic communities could only be founded with the approval of the bishop, and that monks must remain obedient to the bishop, at no time meddling in ecclesiastical or worldly affairs.⁷³³

⁷³⁰ Andrés Sanz and Codoñer Merino, *La Hispania Visigótica y Mozárabe: Dos épocas en su Literatura*, 28:121.

⁷³¹ Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 103–105.

⁷³² Canon 25 of this council.

⁷³³ For a discussion on the growth of monastic communities and their conflict with the bishops see Sterk, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity*, 170. A similar struggle between Monastics and the episcopate can be found in Alexandria where Postumianus finds a struggle between bishops and monks. See Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 1.7: “*ubi foeda inter episcopos adque monachos certamine gerbantur*”. Also see Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 69.

What we see at the end of the fourth century is a class of *decurionales* and minor aristocrats for the most part, entering monastic communities with great enthusiasm. Here they were inculcated with monastic beliefs.⁷³⁴ But even the Roman government was aggressively opposed to asceticism on account of the dissent it created in society. In 370 emperors Valens and Valentinian called for the arrest of *decurionales* who fled to join the monks in Egypt. The law states that "... those people who have abandoned the compulsory service of the municipalities [having] joined with bands of hermit monks... shall be routed out from their hiding places and shall be recalled to the performance of compulsory public service..."⁷³⁵ Other well off Iberians such as the Iberian poet Prudentius, were not themselves opposed to the monastic communities, but being insufficiently self-denying chose not to live by ascetic principles. Instead, these men praised God by other means: Prudentius through his poetry.⁷³⁶

The monastic community in Hispania though discrete, was present. Though irreproachable archaeological evidence of monastic communities in Tarraco has yet to be found, Augustine in his *epistula* 11* makes mention of the monastery of the monk Fronto in Tarraco, suggesting that a monastic community was in place.⁷³⁷ In the mid-sixth century, bishop Sergius dedicated a second monastery in the extramural area of Tarraco. Thus before the mid sixth century, Tarraco already possessed a monastic community.⁷³⁸ In Mérida, an inscription found in the city's northern part reads: *hanc domum*, and has variously been interpreted as referring to a private home, the Xenodochium which was a sort of pilgrim's hostel and hospital, a church or most commonly to a monastery.⁷³⁹

Regarding occidental monasticism, the movement in Late Antiquity was led by two Aquitanians, Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Nola.⁷⁴⁰ Paulinus was of a wealthy and distinguished family from the region of Burdigala (Bordeaux) and an exemplar of aristocratic conversion to asceticism. He was appointed governor of Campania in 381 and moved to Hispania c.389 where he was ordained presbyter in 394 by and Lampius bishop of Barcino, before at last settling in Nola (South Italy) where he died in 431. He effectively

⁷³⁴ Much in the way that youth of privileged families or of privileged societies can dedicate a number of years to study as a form of personal and intellectual growth, so too could the wealthy and privileged of Late Antiquity permit this same luxury.

⁷³⁵ *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.63

⁷³⁶ Hershkowitz, "Prudentius, Poetry and Hispania", 15.

⁷³⁷ *Aug., Ep.* 11*

⁷³⁸ Vives, *ICERV* 278 = *RIT* 939

⁷³⁹ Osland, "Urban Change in Late Antique Hispania," 284–285.

⁷⁴⁰ Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 57–61; Trout, "Secular Renunciation and Social Action: Paulinus of Nola and Late Roman Society", 130–132.

renounced Roman wealth and authority.⁷⁴¹ Sulpicius Severus, also an educated Aquitanian, founded a monastery between Tolosa and Narbo at Primuliacum, which was devoted to the cult of Martin of Tours. Primuliacum may be modern Montferrand. It is at the base of an oppidum and here the ruins of two basilicas and a baptistery are to be found as well as a bath complex.⁷⁴² Bowes sees in the monastic communities at Primuliacum, in the rural villas, and especially captured in the Priscillian crisis a tight-knit and closed network of elite aristocrats conserving their communities all while practicing a *vogue* Christianity. Meanwhile the episcopacy remained scattered and struggling for control of rural Christianity.

This struggle for organization of the occidental church was particularly pronounced in the south of Gallia where the Church attempted to confront this disunity by shoring up the strength of the hierarchical organization of the Church. Thus in the fifth century, Pope Boniface attempted to subjugate episcopal sees to a single *metropolitanus* at Arles, who in the moment of the controversy was bishop Patroclus. In part this project sought to concentrate greater power in the bishops of Arles and of Rome possibly in the face of the growing power of the Monastery which came to be known as Lociacum (Ligugé). The Gallic monastic communities had grown significantly in strength with the support of powerful aristocratic factions and their devotion to Martin bishop of Tours (Turonnes)⁷⁴³ who had abandoned his prestigious position in the Roman military to study under Hilarius of Poitiers (Pictavis). Martinus went on to become bishop of Turones and aided Hilarius in the founding of the monastic community at Ligugé. Throughout his life, Martin maintained an ascetic lifestyle, a disheveled appearance, and a simple wooden abode. Furthermore Martin was an effective orator whose discourse was able to convert the pagan country folk. When the Priscillian controversy arose at Trier, at which Hydatius of Emerita was present, Martin supplicated for mercy towards Priscillian and his followers. Henceforth he refused to attend episcopal assemblies. He is also said to have performed miracles and after his death, pilgrims flocked to his tomb. His reputed cloak was even kept as a relic and carried into battle by later Frankish kings.⁷⁴⁴

The attempt to consolidate episcopal power in Arelate at the expense of other Gallic sees did not go unopposed however. Bishop Proculus Massiliensis (Marseille) was at the centre of a group of bishops opposed to this increased hierarchisation of power in the region. The election of Rusticus as bishop of Narbo in October of 427 was facilitated by his own personal and monastic connection to Proculus and others in

⁷⁴¹ Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 62.

⁷⁴² Paul. Med., *Ep.* 17.

⁷⁴³ The veneer of romanisation in Northern Gallia is unveiled as in the fourth century, the city which had under the high empire been referred to as Cæsaradonum, 'hill of Cæsar', regained its Gallic name Turones.

⁷⁴⁴ Sulp. *Vit. Mar.* Chapter 3. The cloak was a relic of the bishop of Tours, a scrap of the cloak he had torn in two so as to offer the half to a poor traveller who turned out to be Christ. Cf. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, 61–62.

the Gallic faction and Rusticus was himself the son of a bishop, Bonose, though his see is unknown.⁷⁴⁵ This Gallic faction also included Hilarius from Narbo and Simplicimus from Vienna who would have seen their sees denied of metropolitan privileges. Bishop Patroclus of Arelate accused the problematic bishops of holding Priscillianist affinities, an accusation that became common in the “rhetoric of Gallic ecclesiastical politics”.⁷⁴⁶ Spiritual leaders had become problematic in the political sphere and we witness a number of local spiritual leaders gaining great regional influence, Saint Martin of Tours among them. Even Frankish king Clovis’ conversion to Christianity in 496 was a political move to inherit the Church’s strength. By adopting the local saint Martin as the patron of his kingdom, he drew the Church into the political sphere of his kingdom, and in doing so appropriating the prestige of that saint.

In short, Rome and the aristocracy were threatened by the power of local holy men, especially the appointment of ascetic monks as bishops. And as the monastic communities grew they increasingly assured that further members of their communities, with whom they shared personal and intellectual ties, were appointed bishop and held onto positions of authority.⁷⁴⁷ In this way the episcopacy became increasingly monastic. How we may wonder did the monastic communities gain the upper hand in the struggle for the episcopacy? For one, they were exceptionally endowed with educated men and resources. Hilarius used his knowledge of Carthaginian canon law and from earlier councils to gain the upper hand over opponents. Much as in a legal case, awareness of earlier council decisions was a weapon of power. There are several canon collections of the late fourth and early fifth century, which circulated including the *Codex canonum ecclesiae africanae* also known as the *Registri ecclesiae Carthaginensis excerpta* which a monastery would potentially hold in its possession. In this regard, a monastic education was an obvious advantage in establishing the primacy of an *episcopus*.⁷⁴⁸ Though canon law was originally regional in scope, the acceptance by the south-Gallic bishops of canons passed in other parts of the Empire, aided in installing a more uniform doctrine across the Occident.⁷⁴⁹ As we have demonstrated, the Christian community of fifth-

⁷⁴⁵ Frank Reiss proposes a connection between the Marcellus responsible for the funding of the cathedral in Narbo with the *coniutario Marcellana* in 456, an unsuccessful attempt for an aristocratic family of Narbo to seize the imperial throne at the death of Emperor Avitus who had risen to power with Visigothic support. See Reiss, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 83–86. This family of Marcelli is surely the same which produced the *De Medicamentis*, as is surely the same which was a supporter of Theodosius and which shared the story of Athaulf with Orosius in 415. Concerning the plot to usurp the throne also see Matthews, “Gallic Supporters of Theodosius”, 1073–1099.

⁷⁴⁶ Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy on Fifth-Century Gaul*, 66.

⁷⁴⁷ Reiss, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 80–82.

⁷⁴⁸ For the African councils see Gaudemet, *Les sources du droit de l’Église en Occident du IIe au VIIe siècle*, 50–51.

⁷⁴⁹ Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 67.

century Hispania was torn between factions and these conflicts affected the episcopacy. Though we've treating the divisive effect of asceticism and monastic communities, we must turn to the single heterodoxy which more than any other occupied the discourse of the fifth century: Arianism.

WHAT ABOUT THOSE ARIANS?

If our research focuses primarily on the Catholic bishops of Hispania, it is for two intimately connected reasons: 1. Catholicism won out over Arianism as the primary form of Christianity in the post-Roman West, and 2. because of this, little information on the Arian 'heresy' has been transmitted to us. The Arian bishops are harder to locate and label than those of the Catholic hierarchy, especially in the western kingdoms. Though Arian bishops held churches in Constantinople and other Eastern cities, the origin of the Arian bishops who made their way west is to be found among the clergymen who accompanied the roaming Goths in the fourth century.

The Palestinian historian Sozomen writes that in 409-410, puppet emperor Priscus Attalus was "baptised by the Gothic bishop Sigesarius to the great satisfaction of Alaric and the Arian party".⁷⁵⁰ Though Sigesarius's name labels him as a Goth, earlier Arian bishops such as Julianus Valens were of Roman and other descents. Presumably ethnicity was not essential in the formation of an Arian bishop; it was the Arian bishop's beliefs and his role within the community that counted.⁷⁵¹ In the early fifth century, Arian bishops are still found accompanying field armies such of that of the Germanic *comes* Sigisvult who in 427 was sent to make war on his opponent the *comes* Bonifacius. During the campaign which lasted until 429 or 430, Sigisvult sent the elderly Arian bishop Maximinus⁷⁵² to negotiate reconciliation between Boniface and the imperial government. Though nominally a Nicene Christian, Bonifacius had married a previously Arian woman, Palagia, and their daughter had been baptised an Arian.⁷⁵³ On account of his personal connections and experience with the wider world. Maximinus must have been considered an appropriate negotiator in this context.

The Ideal bishop an ambassador on account of his position as leader of the Christian community, and this was equally true for Arians. In North Africa, this same Maximinus met with Augustinus in Hippo where they discussed theological matters⁷⁵⁵ and in the late sixth century, Trasaricus bishop of the Arian

⁷⁵⁰ Soz. 9.9.1; Mathisen, "Barbarian Bishops and the Churches 'in Barbaricis Gentibus' During Late Antiquity", 679.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² Regarding Maximinus' ethnic origins see Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain*, 441; McLynn, "From Palladius to Maximinus: Passing the Arian Torch", 484-488.

⁷⁵³ Aug., *Ep.* 220.4

⁷⁵⁵ Aug. *Brev. Coll.* 2: Cum Augustinus et Maximinus Hippone regio unum in locum convenissent ... Maximinus dixit: 'Ego non ob isam causam in hanc civitatem adveni, ut altercationem proponem cum religione tua, sed missus

‘sect’ delivered the treasure of the Gepids to their conquerors, the Lombards.⁷⁶¹ In the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse, no Arian bishops are unequivocally known by name and there is little evidence for a strong Arian church hierarchy.⁷⁶² Both Sidonius Apollinaris and Ennodius refer to the spiritual leaders of the Gothic Kings in Tolosa as *sacerdotes suorum*.⁷⁶³ These *sacerdotes* at the court in Tolosa are always referred to as a group, suggesting that the Gothic king kept a council of religious advisors. Numerous Arian clergymen are noted throughout the Roman West in Late Antiquity, but none are referred to as *episcopi*; the term *sacerdotes* is used instead. The case of a Visigoth and likely Arian *sacerdos*, Othia, however suggests that these Arian *sacerdotes* were imbued with powers which in the Catholic tradition were reserved for *episcopi*. Othia both dedicated a church to the saints Felix, Agnes, and Eulalia near an *oppidum*, Ensérune, between Narbo and Betarra.⁷⁶⁴ Such consecrations were expressly forbidden in the Nicene Church. Either Othia disregarded canon law, or this consecration providing further evidence for Othia’s Arian faith. This same Othia is remarkable for using the years of his presbyterate as a means of dating years in the same manner that powerful Catholic bishop Rusticus of Narbonne had done. The evidence shows that Arian *presbyteres* and *sacerdotes* held much of the same authority as Catholic *episcopi*. The Germanic system of freemen further encouraged this system of less stratification as did the lack of need for a territorial administrator of religious affairs leading us to conclude that it was not the region which required a religious administrator, but the *gens*.

The evidence quite strongly suggests that in the early fifth century, Arian bishops in the Western Empire did not have fixed territorial responsibilities.⁷⁶⁵ Rather, the Arian bishops were responsible for the Arian flock, and for the various *gentes*.⁷⁶⁶ This was still the case in the late fifth century when for example, Arian bishop Patriarcha presiding over a council in Carthage is not associated with a particular diocese but rather is known as the bishop of king Huneric.⁷⁶⁷ Arian bishops accompanied barbarian armies in the role

a comite Sigisvulto contemplatione pacis adveni.

⁷⁶¹ Ioh. Bic., *Chron.*: Per Trasaricum Arrianæ sectæ episcopum.

⁷⁶² Mathisen, “Barbarian Bishops and the Churches ‘in Barbaricis Gentibus’ During Late Antiquity”, 681.

⁷⁶³ Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 1.2.4: antelucanos sacerdotum suorum coetus minimo comitatu expetit; iugiter per sacerdotes suos polluta habere convivia.

⁷⁶⁴ *CIL* 12:4311

⁷⁶⁵ Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l’Empire romain*.

⁷⁶⁶ Stocking however argues that by the late sixth century, Arian bishops were in place, existing side by side with Orthodox clergy. Many cities therefore had two bishops. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633*.

⁷⁶⁷ Vic. Vit., *Hist.* 2.22: Hunericum regem et Cyrilam episcopum eius.

of senior military chaplains,⁷⁶⁸ which is unsurprising: the Arians, who were a Christian minority, could not expect to encounter Arian clergymen capable of tending to their spiritual needs while in the field. The Niceans in contrast, largely composed of sedentary *coloni* and landed aristocrats, and on account of the Catholic Church's structure, did not require this same service of mobile *presbyters*. Mathisen also joins the concept of mobile *presbyters* with the practice of other barbarian groups who went to war accompanied by their shamans and soothsayers.⁷⁶⁹ In this regard, the Goths preserved traditional Germanic *mores* updated with a new Christian quality.

And who were these Arian bishops? In Vandal North Africa a notary was appointed Arian bishop of Tipasa and there are examples of bishops being appointed with special missions rather than rising through ecclesiastical ranks.⁷⁷⁰ Few instances of theological debate between Arian and Catholic bishops can be detected. The aforementioned meeting between Maximinus and Augustinus is one exception as is the debate between an Arian *presbyter* and a Nicene deacon as reported by Gregory of Tours.⁷⁷¹ Mathisen points out the lack of intellectual activity among the Arian clergy, but fails to provide an explanation. Considering the origins we have seen for the Catholic clergy, it is not surprising that the Arian clergy failed to compete with their Catholic parallels. Whereas the Catholic clergy was largely descended from wealthy and educated aristocratic families, who sent their sons into classical or monastic education, the Arian clergy was drawn from among the *gens*. This may aid in explaining Sidonius Apollinaris' description of a theological debate in 470 between the Catholic bishop Basilius of Aquae Sextiae and the Arian *cives Gothus* Modaharius.⁷⁷² The Arian clergy appears to have been more fluid than that of the Catholic, surely on account of its smaller size, but more importantly on account of its distinct origin. Whereas the Catholic Church was intentionally structured to mirror the administrative *dioceses* of the Late Empire, assuring Catholic authorities for all regions, the Arian clergy grew out of a need to provide religious services to the barbarian peoples who had converted to that faith. When the Goths crossed over into the Empire they were followed by the clergy who tended to them. Larger concentrations of Arian population, as surely would have been found in Visigothic Toledo, justify the presence of numerous *sacerdotes*.

Gregory of Tours writes that a group of *hereticorum sacerdot[es]* arrived at the *civitas* of Ricomagum (Riom) along with a Visigothic army, and there they occupied the church, celebrated Easter,

⁷⁶⁸ Meslin, "Les Ariens d'Occident, 335-430", 94 concludes that Maximinus had been required to act as chaplain.

⁷⁶⁹ See Mathisen, "Barbarian Bishops and the Churches 'in Barbaricis Gentibus' During Late Antiquity," footnote 107; Jord. *Get.*, 195-197.

⁷⁷⁰ Mathisen, "Barbarian Bishops and the Churches 'in Barbaricis Gentibus' During Late Antiquity", 186-187.

⁷⁷¹ Greg. Tur., *Glor. Mart.*, 80

⁷⁷² Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 7.6.6: Modaharium, civem Gothum haereseos Arianae iacula vibrantem.

and proceeded to baptise the town's infants into the Arian faith.⁷⁷³ Hydatius of Aquae Flaviae also provides evidence of the Arian hierarchy in his *Chronicon*. For the year 466 he writes that "Ajax, from the Gaulish nation, after becoming an apostate and the *senior Arrianus*, emerged among the Sueves as an enemy of the Catholic faith and the divine Trinity".⁷⁷⁴ This same Ajax came "from the abode of the Goths, with the support of his king", Theodoric II (453–466). The passage clearly attests to the importance of this Ajax among the Arian clergy. Mathisen posits that Ajax was a member of Theodoric's sacerdotal college.⁷⁷⁵ It seems likely however that the *senior Arrianus* refers to the highest religious authority among the Arian Goths. Ajax was at the least a very effective orator; his 466 mission to the Sueves in Galicia was efficient as the whole of the Suevic nation was converted to Arianism and remained that way for over a century.⁷⁷⁶ There is no reason to doubt that Ajax was anything less than an Arian bishop.

With regard to the Arian clergy, Victor of Vita in his *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* writes that the Vandal king Geiseric (429–477) used Arian *episcopi* in his war against Catholics while Vandal writings simply refer to Arian clergy as *sacerdotes*⁷⁷⁷. *Episcopus* vs. *sacerdos* appears to be a problem of terminology. In the third century, *sacerdos* "could be used to refer to either a bishop or a presbyter".⁷⁷⁸ Indeed, Gilliard argues that originally the term was used more frequently with regard to bishops. The semantic shift which led to a restriction of the term's definition to 'presbyter', is likely due to the expansion of the Church in the third and fourth century, with an increasing number of sacerdotal presbyters. Within the Arian community however, the smaller population did not motivate the same degree of differentiation between the roles of bishops and priests. It seems likely that the average Arian *sacerdos* was invested with greater powers than a Catholic *presbyter* and that unlike the Catholic *episcopi*, the Arian *sacerdotes* were not immediately responsible for a number of lesser order clergymen. Just as among the Catholics, *episcopi* were on equal footing amongst each other, subordinated only to the *metropolitanus*, the Arian *sacerdotes* too were equals deferring only to the king, and to the *senior Arrianus*, a *sacerdos* who

⁷⁷³ Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 5.17: ad suam sectæ inmunditiam eam transtulerunt ... cumque adveniret vigilia pascha, hi cum hereticorum sacerdotibus parvulos in ecclesia nostra tinguebant, ut ... facilius ad hanc sectam populus implicaretur....

⁷⁷⁴ Hyd. 228 [232]: Aiax, natione Galata, effectus apostata et senior arrianus inter Suevos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicæ fidei et divinæ trinitatis emergit. De Gallicana Gothorum habitatione hoc pestiferum inimici hominis virus advectum.

⁷⁷⁵ Mathisen, "Barbarian Bishops and the Churches 'in Barbaricis Gentibus' During Late Antiquity", 684.

⁷⁷⁶ The local romano-galician population likely remained Priscillianist for quite some time.

⁷⁷⁷ Vic. Vit., *Hist.* 2.22: præsentibus sacerdotibus nostris; 1.43, suadentibus episcopis suis (Jocundus); 1.48 (Marivadus); 2.1, presbyteros et diaconos Arrianæ hereseos.

⁷⁷⁸ Gilliard, "Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century", 167.

perhaps on account of his connection with the king or on account of his own prestige or seniority, was regarded with greater dignity than other *sacerdotes*.⁷⁸⁰

Though the term *episcopus* is not used with regard to Arian clergy in fifth-century Hispania, it is incorrect to assume that their *sacerdotes* were not imbued with episcopal powers and authority. In Vandal North Africa for example, an Arian *sacerdos*, Patriarcha, presided over a meeting of Arian and Nicene bishops.⁷⁸¹ Even after the Visigothic conquest of Hispania, the collapse of the Kingdom of Tolosa and the migration of the Visigothic government to Toledo, the Arian clergy seems to have resisted the development of a strict hierarchy. Only in the sixth century under the reign of Leovigild (572–578) are Arian bishops clearly attested in Hispania. The close contact between Catholics and Arians surely caused the latter to adopt certain manners of the former such as the holding of an Arian synod in 580.⁷⁸² Indeed, king Leovigild attempted to unify Hispania under the Arian faith and bishops were surely a part of this strategy. It is unclear however if these Arian *episcopi* were associated with diocesan sees.

Leovigild in attempting to consolidate his control, urged Catholic bishops to convert to Arianism. As the case of Vincentius of Caesaraugusta demonstrates, such conversions from Catholicism to Arianism were occasionally successful.⁷⁸³ By contrast, Leovigild failed to convert Mazona the bishop of Emerita and instead appointed the Arian Goth Sunna as *metropolitanus* of Lusitania.⁷⁸⁴ By the time of the *Concilium Toletanum III* the Arian bishops were assigned to cities, and in fact disputed control of the cities with Catholic bishops.⁷⁸⁵ Mathisen argues convincingly however, that the association of Arian bishops with episcopal sees was a late development under King Leovigild and he attributes the lack of urban Arian administration to an effort by the Arian kings to keep the peace within their realm.⁷⁸⁶ In the fifth century, the Arian bishops remained a mobile force of priests capable of serving the Arian community and since the *civitates* were under the control of the aristocratic, Catholic, Hispano-Roman families, it is unsurprising that we do not find Arian clergy within the urban communities of the fifth century.

⁷⁸⁰ We are not alone in refuting the existence of Arian *episcopi* proper, Mathisen, “Barbarian Bishops and the Churches ‘in Barbaricis Gentibus’ During Late Antiquity”; Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 100 adopt the same stance.

⁷⁸¹ Vic. Vit., *Hist.* 2.22

⁷⁸² Ioh. Bic., *Chron.* : in urbem Toletanum synodem episcoporum sextae Arrianae congregat...

⁷⁸³ Isid. Hisp, *De Vir.* III. 30: “Vincentium Caesaraugustanae urbis episcopum, qui ex catholico in arrianum pravitatem fuerat devolutus”.

⁷⁸⁴ *VSPE*, 116

⁷⁸⁵ Mathisen, “Barbarian Bishops and the Churches ‘in Barbaricis Gentibus’ During Late Antiquity”, 685.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 684–687.

Once again, the original function of Arian bishops was to meet the spiritual needs of Germanic armies and *gentes* on the move. Once settled in the west, these *sacerdotes* took up roles as spiritual advisors and agents of the king. As the Arian population in the west grew there was increasing differentiation between *sacerdotes* with each major *gentes* having a Primarch or a *senior Arrianus* and minor *sacerdotes* attending to the spiritual needs of Arians throughout the kingdom. There is little evidence for real competition between Arian *sacerdotes* and Nicean bishops in fifth-century Hispania, each faction seems to have tended to the needs of its own faith. The lack of doctrinal conflict in Hispania again suggests that the Catholic hierarchy was generally weak or unable to apply direct pressure on the Germanic Arians. This weakness was amplified by the bishops' need to subjugate rural Christian practices and other heterodoxies, namely Priscillianism. Rather than being a segregating factor, religion may in fact have been a unifier of barbarians and Hispano-Romans in the fifth century, with a great deal of mingling between the flock and clergy of both faiths.⁷⁸⁷ If this were the case, it may aid in explaining the relatively smooth integration of Arian's into the Catholic faith under king Reccered in 589 when he ordered that the *sacerdotes sectae arrianae* convert to Catholicism.⁷⁸⁸

As this chapter has demonstrated, the Arian clergy existed in a world apart from that of the Catholics. Supported by the Arian kings, the *sacerdotes* felt neither need to impose their Christianity on the masses of Hispano-Romans, nor did they feel threatened by the Catholic hierarchy. Both Churches developed in their own direction, though lacking the rich hierarchical and monastic traditions that characterised the Catholic Church, little residue remains of the previous importance of the Arian faith in Hispania.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 692–695.

⁷⁸⁸ The Concilium Toletanum III provides us with the names of these bishops: Ugnus of Barcelona, Ubiligisclus and Murila of Valencia, Sunila of Viseo, Gardingus of Tuy, Bechila of Lugo, Argiovitus of Oporto, and Fruisclus of Tortosa.

CHAPTER VIII : RETENTION OF ROMANITAS
AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE EPISCOPACY IN THE VITH CENTURY

The preceding chapters have set forth to identify and characterise the bishops of fifth-century Hispania. But beyond capturing the bishops in a synchronic moment of their development, it seems valuable to position the bishop between the classical institutions of Antiquity and those of the Middle Ages, a nod to Peter Brown and A. H. M. Jones who pioneered the transformative framework under which this research has been conducted.⁷⁸⁹ By presenting the bishops as agents of cultural transformation we are faithful to Brown who writes that “[t]he cultural and theological storms that bulk so large in the ecclesiastical history of the late fifth and early sixth centuries were part of the attempt of the cosmopolitan society of the eastern empire to find its balance”.⁷⁹⁰ Even more so in the West where the Empire no longer held military dominance, the bishops acted as an enduring element of Late Antique culture and as representatives of *romanitas*. For the Romans “the frontiers of *romanitas* or *Romania* in cultural terms [were] independent of military vicissitudes and ... could be used to safeguard the self-esteem and identity of the former Roman elite”.⁷⁹¹ *romanitas* should therefore be treated in cultural rather than political terms.

A further catalyst of changing identity was the appearance of a large ethnic minority, the Goths and other Germanic peoples, which held power over the Hispano Romans. Isidor of Sevilla notes that the Visigoths reinforced their own Gothic identity through song and folktales as found in the *carmina maiorum* mentioned in Isidor’s *Institutionem disciplinae*.⁷⁹² For the Hispano-Romans too, culture was tied to song, style, and literacy in Latin. For centuries, the literary elite of the Empire had been sheltered from the barbarians, but in the fifth century, these same elites found themselves operating from a place of weakness between barbarian kings. This was the case in Gallia as in Hispania. At the heart of this identity was the language of the empire, Latin which has always been at the center of *romanitas*.⁷⁹³ Authors such as Adeline Rucquoi⁷⁹⁴ and Denis Menjot⁷⁹⁵ argue that during the Early Middle Ages Hispania remained firmly rooted in the Roman world and the Iberian-romance languages attest to the continued importance of *latinitas* throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Indeed “Europe was Latin-speaking into the sixth

⁷⁸⁹ Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602*, especially see chapters 22-24 on the Church, religion and morals, and education and culture.

⁷⁹⁰ Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 143.

⁷⁹¹ Harries, “Sidonius Appollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?”, 34.

⁷⁹² Pascal, “The Institutionum Disciplinae of Isidore of Seville,” 425–431.

⁷⁹³ The preservation of Latin language under the Germanic kingdoms is notably the subject of my incipient PhD thesis.

⁷⁹⁴ Rucquoi, *Histoire médiévale de la Péninsule ibérique*.

⁷⁹⁵ Menjot, *Les espagnes médiévales, 409-1474*.

century”⁷⁹⁶ “and Hispania was no doubt a bastion of Latinity”.⁷⁹⁷ In that heavily romanised province of Baetica, spoken Latin survived even the eight-century long occupation of the region by Arab speaking nobility in the form of *Latinus* more commonly known by the name given to it by nineteenth century scholars, as Mozarabic, the language of the مُسْتَعْرَب, *musta’rab* and indeed the romance language of the Sephardic Jews still demonstrates its *romanitas* in its name *Ladín*.

Gallic poet, and later bishop, Sidonius Apollinaris “never wavered from his insistence that the purity of the Latin Language be safeguarded from contamination by barbarism” and it was alarming to him when elites such as the Roman Syagrius resorted to bilingualism to further their careers at the barbarian courts.⁷⁹⁸ Another Gallic bishop, Ennodius, is recognised for his effort to preserve classical literary style even under the ‘barbarian’ reign.⁷⁹⁹ So while the fifth and sixth centuries presented a ripe context for bilingualism among the population, for some bishops, especially those from the aristocracy, heavily tied to Roman ideals, Latin remained not only a means of communication, but a symbol of imperial heritage. So great was the prestige associated with the language, that it was ultimately adopted by the barbarians and so well that Sidonius Apollinaris praised the ‘barbarian’ Arbogast for having spoken “the Latin of the Tiber by the banks of the Moselle”.⁸⁰⁰ Mathisen demonstrated the centrality of the Latin languages to *romanitas* when he wrote:

*“The spread and persistence of Christianity ... was inextricably bound with the survival of at least some of the socio-political organization of the Roman Empire. The new religion (Christianity) required at least a modicum of Latin literacy from among the clergy, and Latin education was dependant on a tradition derived from the urban schools of rhetoric of the late empire. Christianity demanded a supply of literate men, but such men were also needed to serve as royal officials, and to handle the written legal code that was a legacy of Roman civilization. Christianity, urbanism, and a literate bureaucracy were mutually reinforcing institutions.”*⁸⁰¹

Coming primarily from among the *curiales* and the educated aristocracy in the early fifth century, the bishops were inheritors of Rome’s scholastic and literary richness. As *curiales* abandoned their positions

⁷⁹⁶ Banniard, *Genèse culturelle de l’Europe, Ve-VIIIe siècle*, 17.

⁷⁹⁷ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l’Espagne visigothique*, 16.

⁷⁹⁸ Harries, “Sidonius Appollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?”, 34. This is evidence for early bilingualism in Gallia, even before the conquest proper of Gallia under Clovis.

⁷⁹⁹ Dubois, “La latinité d’Ennodius”, 530.

⁸⁰⁰ Sid. Apol., *Ep.* 4.17.2

⁸⁰¹ Mathisen and Shanzer, *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World*, 293.

to take up ecclesiastic positions, the Church became the haven of classical culture. Indeed, most of our classical literature was preserved by the monks of the early Mediaeval Church.

At some moment in the early Mediaeval period, the Hispano-Romans, like the Gallo-Romans, Romano-Britons, Italians, etc. must have realised that they were no longer Romans. Hydatius for one as of the year 431 ceases to use the term *plebs* to refer the inhabitants of Gallaecia and rather chooses *Callicis*.⁸⁰² When the word *Romani* is employed it is in reference to the aristocracy in the province or to high ranked members of the administration. It is quite possible that in the Gallaecian north, new cultural references of belonging were emerging.⁸⁰³ The locals may no longer have considered themselves Romans, and the elite aristocracy may only have held onto the image of Rome for the prestige and financial benefits that this identity still possessed. As the empire broke apart into myriad kingdoms and protectorates, new regional identities developed. Language, sartorial style, and physical appearance were all criteria in the development of this new identity.



Figure 7: Cruciform Basilica built within the abandoned amphitheatre at Tarraco.

(Photo by Bernard Gagnon, 2009, under creative commons license CC BY-SA 3.0)

⁸⁰² Hyd. 86 [96]

⁸⁰³ C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 165–167.

The bishops of the *Roman Catholic Church* remained the primary connection of the post-Roman west to the institutions of Late Antiquity. Though the unity of law had eroded, unity of Roman faith endured the decline of the Empire by adherence to the *ecclesia Catholica Romana*, or the universal church regulated by a single episcopal hierarchy. *Romanitas* was by the sixth century tied to being a *katholikos*. As leaders of the Christian community, the bishops were tacks holding onto the cloth of *romanitas* as the known world around them was dragged in every which direction under the pressures of competing faiths and barbarian invasions.⁸⁰⁴

Though the bishops were among the key preservers of *romanitas*, they are also responsible, in part, for the disappearance of classical culture. Christianity under the charge of the *episcopi* was relentlessly destructive to the art and culture of the classical world. At Tarraco, a Christian basilica was built in the centre of the amphitheatre to commemorate the third century bishop Fructuosus who had been burned at the stake on the very sands of that amphitheatre (see figure 7). The construction of a basilica put a very definite end to its prior use as a place of entertainment. And yet, by converting the area to other uses, the roman architecture was preserved and remains visible to us today. In fact, the destruction of the classical world was not an immediate process, reaching climax in the fifth century. Rather it was an ongoing process of transformation. Magister Gregorius writing his *narracio de mirabilibus Urbis Romae* in the early thirteenth century attributes various destructive acts to Pope Gregorius Magnus including the removal of the Capitoline Equestrian statue, the destruction of Nero's colossus before the Flavian Amphitheatre, the crushing of statues, and the tearing down of columns for other uses.⁸⁰⁵

As outrageous as it may seem, even Gregory the Great in his destruction of classical monuments must have felt himself a preserver of *romanitas* in its new form increasingly associated with the Catholic faith.⁸⁰⁶ As onomastic evidence suggests, the transfer of the empire's heart into the orient and the strength of the Christian community there assured that Greek culture and language were infused into the new *romanitas* and as demonstrated in chapter III, many bishops of the fifth and sixth century possessed Greek names. More telling of Greek influence is the adherence of occidental bishops to Nicene Christianity developed in Asia Minor, and this in the face of an Arian ruling class and various local Christianities. Were Nicene orthodoxy not so engrained in the characteristics of Late-Antique *romanitas* we would expect the

⁸⁰⁴ Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 103, 134 develops the hypothesis of cultural continuity.

⁸⁰⁵ Mag. Greg., *De Mirab. Urb.* 4.6.12. Also see Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne, An Archaeology of Italy AD 300-800*, 93. For urban archaeology of Italy see chapter 2 'Church and Society', 74-182, and chapter 3 'urban evolutions', 183-280.

⁸⁰⁶ Díaz i Díaz argues that in the sixth century, the Church in Hispania had become the cultural inheritor of *romanitas*. See Díaz i Díaz, "Puntos de vista sobre la vida cultural peninsular en los siglos V y VI." This vision is shared by Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 124.

slow conversion of the population to the dominant religion, and yet this did not occur. By contrast, among other means of legitimising royal power, the Sueves and Goths converted to the religion of the dominated Hispano-Romans.

As we have stressed throughout this work, the greatest challenge faced by the Iberian bishops of the fifth century was disunity both in the political and theological workings of the Church. Theological disunity was largely a product of the political disunity.

*“As a result of invasions and civil wars of the early fifth century ... bishops became isolated from the eastern Mediterranean world that had harboured the Late Antique Church, and regular contact among themselves became the decisive factor in preserving their ability to act as an institution.”*⁸⁰⁷

The bishops as beacons of Orthodoxy are without question responsible for the religious developments of the peninsula, from the conversion of their overlords to the assurance of orthodox practice. As treated in chapter VII, the bishops were not unopposed in their efforts to install Nicene Christianity. In Vandal Africa, the Arians aggressively tried to force conversion on their subjects. They exiled Nicene clergy and destroyed monasteries. Perhaps the greatest demonstration of Vandal aggression towards Nicene Christianity is the case of the physician, Saint Aemilianus, who in 484 was flayed alive under order of King Huneric for refusing to convert to Arianism.⁸⁰⁸ The repression of Catholics was far lighter in Hispania, where indeed Catholic faith was never the reason for Gothic aggression. The death of Catholics and their clergy was on political rather than theological grounds though Hydatius may have begged to differ. He was after all the model of an ideal Orthodox bishop of the Hispaniae.

Distinctions were retained between Arian and Catholic bishops. These appellations may well have served throughout fifth-century Hispania to retain the contrast between the socially dominant governing Germanic peoples and the lowly Catholic commoners watched over by a politically reduced aristocracy. This division of the orders may explain why the Arians were not more ambitious in converting the Hispano-Romans to the Arian faith. Indeed Arianism survived alongside Catholicism in the Occident, only truly routed out in the seventh century when Grimwald, king of the Lombards was killed and his successor Garibald deposed some months later. Barbarian Arianism was not the only challenge to the Catholic bishops either. “In the face of such challenges, in a country where “synods, councils and edicts had failed” and the episcopate was disrupted by all manner of attacks, there was no way to preserve an ecclesiastic discipline” especially not that of “a rigorist like Hydatius.”⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁷ Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 70.

⁸⁰⁸ Englebert, *The Lives of the Saints*, 465.

⁸⁰⁹ Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, 243.

The bishop's place at the centre of the urban *civitas* is another aspect of his *romanitas*. Grounded in ancient tradition of Hispania's colonial past, the *civitas* always was the heart of Roman life.⁸¹⁰ While barbarians tore down walls after a conquest, Roman generals such as Belisarius hastened to rebuild them.⁸¹¹ Urban fortifications were a sign of Late Antique *romanitas*. Tied to the *civitas* was the whole of the Roman system, norms, institutions, and laws. In many ways the Empire ceased to exist when taxes could no longer be levied from the provinces. Local exactors continued to collect tribute from the *rustici* but their profits ceased to arrive at the imperial capitals of Rome, Arelete, or Ravenna, rather being rerouted into the coffers of the local *potentiores* or into local churches. Tax collection as known under imperial rule transformed into a system based on rents and wealth was once again dependent on land ownership.⁸¹² In this sense, the urban Roman aristocrats were forced to compete in the *rus* with Visigothic landed nobility or to settle in the impoverished *civitates*.

Among the Visigoths as among the Franks and other Germanic peoples, law and traditional customs remained an essential marker of cultural identity.⁸¹³ This was equally true for the post-imperial Romans. In Mediaeval Iberia, great importance was given to written law. Martin sees this as a holdover of the Roman legal tradition even through the Visigoth era.⁸¹⁴ Harries argues that "Lands where Roman law no longer ran could no longer be regarded as part of the Roman empire..."⁸¹⁵ In this regard, the retention of Roman law, and episcopal arbitration was a preservation of *romanitas*. In the Visigothic kingdom which imposed itself over fifth-century Iberia, Roman law survived in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, based heavily on the *Codex Theodosianus*, though excluding sections related to imperial offices and other irrelevancies. In part, the law code was drawn up to accommodate Hispano-Roman subjects, especially the aristocrats and the *episcopi* who claimed "*legem Romanum, quam ecclesia vivit*", that Roman law lived via the Church!⁸¹⁶ Gaudemet retains that it was the bishops who largely retained Roman law on account of their *eruditio*.⁸¹⁷ If episcopal arbitration grew in importance it is unsurprising that the bishops, already largely cultured from their decurional and aristocratic backgrounds, continued to educate themselves in the legal codes. The legal

⁸¹⁰ See chapter V for a longer discussion of Roman urban life.

⁸¹¹ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 50.

⁸¹² Vallet and Kazanski, *La noblesse romaine et les chefs barbares du IIIe au VIe siècles*, 15–22.

⁸¹³ Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 132.

⁸¹⁴ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 26. Cf. Munier, "L'Ordo de Celebrando Concilio" Wisigothique. Ses Remaniements Jusqu'au Xe Siècle."

⁸¹⁵ Harries, "Sidonius Apollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?", 35.

⁸¹⁶ "Levaria", ed. F. Beyerle, R. Büchner; Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of the Frankish Kingship 300-850*, 131.

⁸¹⁷ Gaudemet, *La formation du droit canonique médiéval*, 149–206, 158–159.

position of an individual was critical to his or her identity. In the Visigothic kingdom, each *gens* possessed its own law and a person could insist on being judged by the law of his own people.⁸¹⁸ For Christians, prior the conversion of the Goths, it was doubtlessly the bishop who upheld Roman justice.

There is reason to suspect that in the late sixth centuries, the political importance of the bishops had grown to such heights that piety came to count for less than the connections of one's family and *amici*. In other words, social position became key for access to the episcopal see. In some regards, the distribution of food by the bishops resembles a holdover from the ancient tradition of *patrones* caring for the *clientes* of classical Rome. The new political bishop may have come to the episcopacy with a memory of civil justice and an aristocratic worldview, perhaps abusing the *auctoritas* of their pious position. Indeed the 666 *Concilium Emeritensis* though recognising the bishop's authority to deal justice to members of the *familia ecclesiae* recommended that bishops abstain from severe violence such as the amputation of limbs.⁸¹⁹ Such legislation suggests that horrific punishment had been applied in the years leading up to the council. Similar laws were passed at the *Concilium Toletanum* 11 in 675. Both times it was prohibited that the *episcopus* deliver a death sentence.

As we've demonstrated, the bishops remained a link between the romanised world and Rome long after her empire had fallen. In Hispania, Hydatius has sometimes been considered as the last of the Romans. Indeed for fifth century Christians, it had been clear for over a half century that Christianity was the future of *romanitas*.⁸²⁰ Through the adoption of Christianity, pagans, barbarians and slaves could put behind them their vulgarity and achieve *romanitas*.⁸²¹ Others claim that Isidor of Sevilla was the last classical man of the whole Occident. In truth, during Isidor's life the classical world was already nothing more than a memory. *Romanitas* had so changed in the seven centuries since the Roman conquest of Hispania that a new definition of *romanitas* was required, one intrinsically linked with Nicene Christianity. If Isidor was the last classical man, the world around him was already Mediaeval.

Hydatius the transformation of the classical world to the Mediaeval through his own eyes, travelling the peaceful empire as a child, only to return to a ravaged and lawless land (See Annexe 2). The writing of his later years is nostalgic and idealising of Roman military force. And though his last chronicle entry in 468 suggests the coming of the endtimes, he would surely have been surprised at the survival of *romanitas*

⁸¹⁸ Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Mediaeval Europe*, 15–18.

⁸¹⁹ *Conc. Emer.* 5.

⁸²⁰ Castellanos, "Bárbaros y romanos en el imperio tardorromano. La adaptación de la intelectualidad cristiana occidental", 249.

⁸²¹ Cruz, Zoreda, and Mérida, *Repertorio de arquitectura cristiana en Extremadura*, 250.

into the next century and beyond. For the sake of completing our narrative of transformation, it seems valuable to present the consequences of the fifth century as they played out in the sixth.

As discussed in chapter IV, Hispania suffered from an ecclesiastical structure that was ineffective and the bishops struggled to retain order and impose their will on the presbyters within their diocese. The hierarchical frailty also extended to the bishops' deference to metropolitan authorities. Indeed, there is no evidence before the sixth century of a well-functioning ecclesiastical hierarchy. Rather we see irregular ordinations, disregard of episcopal authority and competition between episcopal sees for control of adjacent territories. The lack of metropolitan structure was regulated by the sixth century. By 516 in Tarraconensis, the term *Metropolitanus* was used at the *Concilium Tarraconense* and the authority of Tarraco's bishop Iohannes was accepted by the other nine bishops present at the synod. Indeed canon 5 from the states that a bishop not directly in the metropolitan see itself should travel to his *metropolitanus* no later than two months after his ordination,⁸²² surely to receive official recognition. In Gallaecia no later than 561 a *Metropolitanus* is attested at Bracara.⁸²³ Gallaecia is curious however as in 572 it had not one, but two *Metropolitani*, Martinus in Bracara and Nitigis in Luco⁸²⁴ perhaps based on an ancient division between occidental and oriental Gallaecia or inherited from a time of division between pro-Suevic and pro-Roman factions. At last Masona was also the *metropolitanus* of Lusitania from 570 until his death sometime between 600–610 A.D., indicating that the Catholic hierarchy had gained strength in Hispania. There is no longer evidence of a papal vicar tasked with overseeing the *Hispaniae* in the sixth century. The Iberian provinces were at last functional. Masona was likely of a classical education and is remarkable for founding what is perhaps the first hospital in Hispania, the *Xenodochium*, around 580.⁸²⁵ His biographers state that he opened these services not only to Christians, but to Pagans and Jews as well. Masona implemented massive policy changes to the great benefit of his citizens.⁸²⁶

The *Hispaniae*, even at the end of the fifth century, remained divided both on the political and religious plan. The conquest of the almost entirety of the peninsula by the Visigoths assured that Gothic energies remained focused on Narbonensis and Tarraconensis until the establishment of the royal capital at Toletum in 567 which increased the prestige of that diocesan see at the expense of neighbouring sees such

⁸²² *Conc. Tarr.* 5; also see signatures at end of document.

⁸²³ *Conc. Brac.* (561): Quum Galleciae provinciae episcopi ... ex praecepto praefati gloriosissimi Ariamiri regis in metropolitan eiusdem provinciae Bracarensis ecclesia convenissent...

⁸²⁴ *Conc. Brac.* (572): ex Bracarensi quam ex Lucensi synodo cum suis metropolitanis

⁸²⁵ Other authors advance that he also served as de facto leader of Emerita. Though he undertook many great projects in Emerita, this does not seem reason enough to suppose that he had replaced all civil administrators in Emerita, which as we have seen continued to prosper in the sixth century.

⁸²⁶ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 116–117.

as Segovia and Coca.⁸²⁷ At the same time there was a *rapprochement* between ecclesiastical authorities and local *domini* who held power through the control of lands. The letters of Montanus bishop of Toletum attest to the beginning of a new period in which the Visigothic monarchs concentrated civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Toletum. The letters clearly testify to the Visigothic monarchy's support of Montanus' episcopate despite upheavals among the local population.⁸²⁸ 530 A.D., the year of Montanus' letters is important as it marks the effective end of our study on the long fifth century in which the Iberian Church sought to impose uniformity over its territory. From 530 onward, we witness a new society emerge from the wreckage of Roman Hispania. New episcopal sees, unconnected to the *civitates* of Late Antiquity were founded in places such as at Auca (near Villafranca de Montes de Oca, Burgos). Here the Visigothic monarchs employed the local *episcopus* as a direct conduit between local concerns and central ambitions.⁸²⁹

In this political situation, the bishop's powers remained pastoral and limited to ecclesiastical matters. As we've argued in chapter V, it is hasty to advance episcopal control of the *civitates* into the fifth century. In Visigothic Hispania, administration was relieved by royally appointed *comites* responsible for set territories and *duces* who were military leaders responsible for the defense of larger regions. Thus the decline of the curia as we saw in chapter III was not disastrous to the *civitates*, but rather was a transformation towards a more feudal system of territorial administration. Even in the late sixth century, a Hispano Roman aristocracy remained in place to care for civil and provincial administration. With time this aristocracy fused with that of the Gothic nobles, and so too do we witness the convergence of the Catholic Church and central political powers in the sixth century. The new Aristocracy was increasingly of blended Romano-Visigothic stock, and it was deeply Christianised by the sixth century.⁸³⁰ Noble titles in this period

⁸²⁷ The change in diocesan fortunes can be seen in the letters of Toletum's bishop Montanus. See Tejada, *Colección de cánones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia de España y de América*, 2:208–212. Cf. Castellanos and Martín Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)", 12. Russell, "Population in Europe" estimates a population of 4 000 000 for the Iberian peninsula at the end of the fifth century. Also without proper census data this approximation is very tentative, not do we have information on the number of Visigoths that finally settled in Hispania. We can only hypothesise that the Goths remained a small ethnic minority in a vastly Hispano-Roman region.

⁸²⁸ See Martín, "Las cartas de Montano y la autonomía episcopal de la Hispania septentrional en el siglo VI."

⁸²⁹ Castellanos and Martín Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)," 13.

⁸³⁰ A presumably noble woman, "*Ancantia honesta femina ...*" is attested in late sixth century Corboba. The title *honesta* rather than the usual *clausima* or *inlustra* testifies the new virtues of a feminine aristocrat. See Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 22; Vives, *ICERV*, 165.

increasingly reflected Christian piety,⁸³¹ perhaps a presage of the divine monarchical systems that would appear especially as of the ninth century with the *Imperium Christianum* of Charlemagne.⁸³² Indeed the monarchies found benefit in the ideological framework of the Church.

In Hispania this *rapprochement* between the Church and the *Regnum* is first seen in Gallaecia. The conversion of the Sueves to Catholicism in the latter sixth century allowed the Church and the Suevic Monarchy to ally and reinforce a Gallaecian identity in contrast to that of the Arian Visigothic kingdom.⁸³³ The bishops were surely consulted in the preparation of the conversion process. At the 561 *Concilium Bracarense* only one out of eight bishops, *Ilderic*, had a Germanic name. A decade later however at the 572 *Concilium Bracarense* five out of twelve bishops did—nearly half. The evidence demonstrates the integration of the Sueves into the Catholic Church which was otherwise dominated by Hispano-Romans. Very likely, the Arian clergy was incorporated into the Catholic.⁸³⁴ As we have discussed above, religion therefore was a unifying factor rather than a divisive one. Thus we witness in the mid-sixth century the fusion of Hispano-Roman, Celto-Gallaecian, and Germanic identities into a new Suevo-Gallaecian one.⁸³⁵

⁸³¹ Castellanos and Martín Viso, “The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)”, 14. In Hispalis, one Aurelia Proba *clarissima femina* is also attested. See Gallego Franco, “La gens Aurelia en Hispania ulterior a través de las fuentes epigráficas.” Cf. Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, 42.

⁸³² For the mediaeval view of Kingship see Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450* especially pages 16-43.

⁸³³ The conversion of the Sueves to Catholicism occurred gradually between the reigns of Chararic (550-558/559), whose leprous sons was cured by the relics of Saint Martin (Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 6.37-38) and the reign of king Theodemar (561/6-570) whom Isidor claims brought about the conversion of the Sueves to Catholicism (Isid. *Hisp. Hist.* 90): regni potestatem Theodimirus suscepit qui confestim Arrianae impietatis errore destructo Suevos catholicae fidei reddidit. For interpretations see C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 145; Ferreiro, “Braga and Tours: Some Observations on Gregory’s de Virtutibus Sancti Martini”, 198.

⁸³⁴ For developments in sixth century Suevic kingdom see C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 188–206.

⁸³⁵ In 569 the *Concilium Lugdunense* was held producing the valuable *parochiale Suevorum* document, a list of episcopal sees in the Suevic kingdom (Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l’Espagne visigothique*, 38.). The council went about restructuring the Suevic Church, likely establishing sees in areas disputed with the Visigoths and filling them with Suevic bishops hence the four additional diocese noted at the second *Concilium Bracarense* all of them filled with bishops bearing Germanic names. See the second *Concilium* a.k.a. *synodus Braccarense*: simul in metropolitana Bracarense ecclesiae convenissent, id est: Martinus, Nitigis, Remisol, Andreas, Lucetius, Adoricus, Vectimer, Sardinarius, Viator, Anila, Polemus, Mayloc. Consedentibus (Conc. Brac. (572)). Nitius of Lucus, Wittimir of Aurensis, Anila of Tude, Remisol of Viso, and Adoric of Egítania were all Sueves while Mayloc was a Briton.

Gallaecia's isolation within the kingdom of the Sueves assured over a century and a half of developments which were distinct from the rest of the peninsula until the 585 victory of Visigothic king Leovigild over the Sueves at which point Gallaecia joined in the trends occurring in the Visigothic kingdom composed of three provinces: Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania, and the newly claimed Gallaecia.⁸³⁶

There were no less than seven revolts across the *Hispaniae* during the sixth century and nearly twice as many in the seventh century, the most significant being the late-sixth century revolt of the king's own son Hermenegild who under the influence of his Frankish and Catholic wife, and urged on by bishop Leander Hispalensis converted to Catholicism and led the Hispano-Roman Baeticans in revolt against Leovigild. After defeating the rebels, Leovigild hoping to unite his realm produced his law code the *codex revisus*. He also unsuccessfully urged Hispano-Romans to join him in Arian faith. In the end it is Leovigild's second son Reccared who would convert to Catholicism along with many of the Gothic nobility.

This conversion brings out an important aspect of the Church in the sixth century, a point which is already detectable in the fifth: little significant difference remained between the practices and beliefs of the Arians and those of the Catholics. The jump between faiths was minor, hinging almost solely on the hierarchical or level relation of God the Son to God the Father. As a rule the Arian clergy and bishops easily converted to their new faith. During Reccared's reign, certain factions sought to re-establish Arianism within the Visigothic Kingdom but a full-on revolution never occurred.⁸³⁷ The Catholic Church had overcome great odds in barbarian Hispania and indeed across the Mediterranean, and with increased strength and purpose, no later than the sixth century; the Catholic Church established itself as the only viable religious option in the post-Roman west. The fourth and fifth centuries however were not easy on the population. Plague, warfare, famine, and insecurity assured that life was rough for the vast majority of the population, which by the sixth century was Christian. Given the economic climate, it is unsurprising to see sixth century bishops as *Patroni* on account of the care they could offer their flock. The charitable character of the sixth century bishop is particularly well presented in Mazona of Emerita's dishing out of oil and honey to those who made the journey to his episcopal palace and unsurprisingly there is a direct inheritance between this form of *caritas* and Mediaeval assistance or charity.⁸³⁸ In Valentia for example the

⁸³⁶ Cameron, Ward-Perkins, and Whitby, *CAH*, 14 'Late Antiquity, Empire and Successors, AD 425–600, 114.

⁸³⁷ Ioh. Bic. *Chron.* 91. These Arian rebellions were led by the Visigothic bishop of Narbo, Athaloc and the counts Granista and Wildigern. The Rebellion was crushed by a Hispano-Roman *dux* Emeritensis, Claudius. See Collins, "King Leovigild and the Conversion of the Visigoths." This testifies to the success of Reccared's conversion and the subjugation of the Hispano *potentiores* to his reign.

⁸³⁸ Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe*, chap. 2 "Christian bishops transferred the burden of generosity from society's elite to the "middling sort" that comprised the fifth-century Church", 12. In this regard the bishops are the link between classical patronage and Church welfare.

tribunal hall (*audentia episcopalis*) was also used for the distribution of bread and other food stuffs⁸³⁹ and the archaeology attests to the development of episcopal groups, clusters of buildings around the cathedral in lign with expansion of the bishop's duties. In addition to the Cathedral, the old city was now covered by a baptistery, an episcopal palace a tribunal hall as well as spaces to host foreign dignitaries and to hold meetings.⁸⁴⁰

Religious dynasties both within and beyond the episcopacy continued to grow in the sixth and seventh centuries. Renowned holy man and bishop Braulius of Caesaraugusta (born c. 585, died 651) succeeded his brother to the episcopal position. Their father Gregorius had also been bishop of nearby Oxoma (Osma).⁸⁴¹ Meanwhile Braulius' other brother Fronimian was the abbot at the monastery of Saint Emilian in the Rioja. It is therefore unsurprising that Braulius wrote a book *vita sancti Aemiliani* in which he praised that saint honoured in the Rioja, offering publicity to his brother's religious community. Furthermore Braulius' sister Pomponia was an abbess while their other sister Basilla married an aristocrat. We can thus suppose that Braulius descended from a family of *potentiores* who had ceased the local Church structure to their own benefit. Alternatively or in conjunction with the previous hypothesis, their father's episcopate had greatly raised the family's fortunes and prestige.⁸⁴² In any case, in the sixth century, their family came to dominate the ecclesiastical politics of inner Tarraconensis.

As discussed in chapter VII, monastic communities founded in the fifth century went on to become integral to the development of the Iberian episcopacy, forming dynasties of a distinct intellectual sort.⁸⁴³ In Toletum, four of the five *metropolitani* between 615 and 667 were raised to the episcopacy from among the monks of Agali, a monastery situated two kilometers north of the city.⁸⁴⁴ Whether they were of monastic or aristocratic background, the episcopal position continued to grow in prestige as seen in epitaphs such as that commemorating bishop Ioannus of Tarraco for being a great preacher and a defender of the poor. Twenty years later in the 540s, bishop Justinian of Valentia was commemorated for being a *pius praeclarus doctor*, a great builder of churches, a patron of festivals, and a tireless instructor of virgins and monks.⁸⁴⁵ This same Justinian was also praised for having fortified the port of Valentia.⁸⁴⁶

⁸³⁹ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 117.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ Lynch and Galindo, *San Braulio, obispo de Zaragoza (631-651)*, 3–6.

⁸⁴² See Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, 2, 3.

⁸⁴³ Many of the bishops were literate men and prolific writers. See Annexe 1, Pastor, Hydatius, Optatus, Hilarius, etc. Especially see Sagittius who Augustine hails as a teacher of law and liberal arts.

⁸⁴⁴ Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, 114.

⁸⁴⁵ Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, 290.

⁸⁴⁶ Corell and Grau, "L'epitafi de Justinià, bisbe de València (ca. 493-548)."

There is a clear and progressing condensation of ecclesiastical power from the fourth through seventh century. The Church grew immensely in wealth, acquiring properties and workers alike; in fact the 666 *Concilium Emeritensis* deals above all else with the administration of the Church's land and provides instructions on how to retain its profitability. Eleven of the twenty-three canons at that council deal with the productive and financial aspect of the Emeritenian Church. "The bishops, like the large landowners of Late Antiquity in general, were more concerned about the rent than the exploitation, and about the final result of the production than the productive process."⁸⁴⁷ With increased wealth came increased social projection and a greater participation in "public life through alms, social assistance and buildings." The Church like the large land owning *possessores* were protected from fluctuating markets on account of their rent revenue, again increasing its own power. Similar concerns for the Church's patrimony are seen in the *Concilium Hispalensis*, and the *Concilia Toletanum* nine and ten⁸⁴⁸ leading us to conclude that in Hispania as in Gallia, the aristocratic families of Antiquity were largely drawn into the Church where the twine assimilated in a new Mediaeval culture, born of Rhea Silvia, fathered by Wōdanaz and matured through baptism under Christ. When in the seventh century, the eastern Romans, the Byzantines, sought to reclaim Hispania, they were met with little welcome from the cities of the peninsula. In fact Isidor, bishop of Hispalis praised Gothic king Suinthila for his conquest of the final enclaves of Byzantine Romans on the southern shores of Baetica,⁸⁴⁹ suggesting that by the time Isidor wrote his chronicle, Roman Hispania no longer existed, superseded rather by Gothic Spania, Gothia or Gothlandia.

Julia M. H. Smith captures the changes in the religious sphere of Late Antiquity perfectly when she writes: "By the end of the fifth century, Christian observance was so widespread throughout and even beyond the Roman world that its presence led to a narrowing of options. In place of the religious pluralism of Antiquity, there had emerged a compulsory—even coercive Christianity."⁸⁵⁰ And this Christianity was not coercive solely to the lowly flock, as Mathisen demonstrated for Gallia, even the *potentiores* were compelled to enter the clergy to avoid their own demise.⁸⁵¹ Nor was Christianity truly the oppressor; it was the times, it was the system. Christianity did away with ancient slavery for a time, it did away with imperial

⁸⁴⁷ Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity", 26–27.

⁸⁴⁸ For more on the economic development of the Church in Late Antique Hispania see Vera, "Strutture agrarie e strutture patrimoniali nella trada Antichità: l'aristocrazia romana fra agricoltura e commercio", 493–495, 509, 516–518; Díaz Martínez, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity", 26–28.

⁸⁴⁹ Isid. *Hisp.*, *Chron.* 416b: Post quem religiosissimus Suinthila princeps bellum cum reliquis Romanis urbibus iniit celerique victoria totius Spaniæ monarchiam regni primus obtinuit.

⁸⁵⁰ H. Smith, *Europe after Rome : A New Cultural History 500-1000*, 220.

⁸⁵¹ Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul*.

excesses, but it did so by introducing new forms of servitude, hierarchical subordination, compulsory religious practice, and a rigid moral code.

In Hispania as the archaeology suggest, just as their churches on the periphery, the bishops remained peripheral to the administration of the *civitas*, but as in Barcino where the Mediaeval centre reorganised itself around the *episcopium*, so too did early Mediaeval Iberians reorganise their social structure around the church and its leaders the *episcopi*. As stressed throughout this work *romanitas* had been redefined as participation in Orthodox Christianity. Orosius himself regarded ‘Roman’ and ‘Christian’ to be synonymous⁸⁵² and as demonstrated throughout this study, those areas of greatest romanisation were the most likely to adopt Christianity as a status religion, and likewise it is in these areas that we first see the entry of the aristocracy into the episcopacy.⁸⁵³

At the time that I conclude this investigation the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, volume 4, *La Gaule chrétienne (316–614)* has been in print for little over a year. Meanwhile, volume 5 which will treat Hispania is currently being prepared under the direction of Dr. Josep Vilella, professor at the *Universitat de Barcelona*. When it is published, the rich co-indexing between entries and between volumes will allow us to better understand the intricate relations between the *potentiores* and *episcopi* of Gallia and Hispania which have been noted throughout this study.⁸⁵⁴

Di te incolumem custodiant

Fabian d. Zuk,

Berlin – summer, 2015

⁸⁵² Oros. 5.2; Markus, *Christianity in the Roman World*, 9–10.

⁸⁵³ This thesis is supported by Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 91–92; de Palol, “La conversion de l’aristocratie de la péninsule Ibérique.”

⁸⁵⁴ “Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire 4- La Gaule chrétienne (314-614) / Site officiel de l’UMR Orient & Méditerranée (Paris).”

ANNEXE 1: PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE FIFTH CENTURY BISHOPS OF HISPANIA

A prosopography is “an attempt to bring together all relevant biographical data of groups of persons in ... such a way that they acquire additional significance by revealing connections and patterns influencing historical processes; by ‘prosopography’ we mean the database and the listing of all persons from specific milieu defined chronologically and geographically established preparatory to a processing of the prosopographical material from various historical angles”⁸⁵⁵

The following annexe contains an entry for each of the bishops documented in fifth-century Hispania and follows the standards laid out in the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*. Each individual is given an entry, organised alphabetically by the *praenomen* or more often still by the *cognomen* which by Late Antiquity had supplanted the use of *praenomina*.⁸⁵⁶

The dates are presented as follows with ‘...’ used to fill in uncertainty:

401–422	Birth and death
...410–422	Intermediary events and death
...422	Death alone
...401–422...	Intermediary events in which neither the year of birth of death are known.

Ranges are expressed as such:

477/483	At some date between 477 and 483 inclusive
477–483	From 477 to 483 inclusive

A description such as (fifth century) is used when it is impossible to determine the exact chronology. Following the dating, the title or office of the entry is listed as is the episcopal see to which the bishop belonged. Information that is probable based off of inference but which is not directly attested is indicated by means of a ‘?’ following that part of the entry. The remainder of the entry includes all the information known to us about the concerned individual and sources are cited in round () parentheses.

The following Prosopography is attributed to Ubric Rabaneda, *La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409–507)* which I have translated from its original Spanish language version and which I have enhanced with notes from my own research. For the entire prosopography including non-

⁸⁵⁵ Verboven, Carlier, and Dumolyn, “A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography,” 36, 39.

⁸⁵⁶ Salway, “What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c.700 B.c. to 700 A.d.,” 131.

ecclesiastic figures see the *opus* stated above. For *episcopi* and other Christians of the fourth-sixth centuries which do not fall into this prosopography I refer you to Wace and Piercy, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresie* or its predecessor Wace and Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, both of which are available online.

A few final notes: one Gallic bishop PATROCLUS ARELATENSIS has been included despite his non-Iberian origins to facilitate comparative work between Tarraconensis and Gallic Narbonensis.

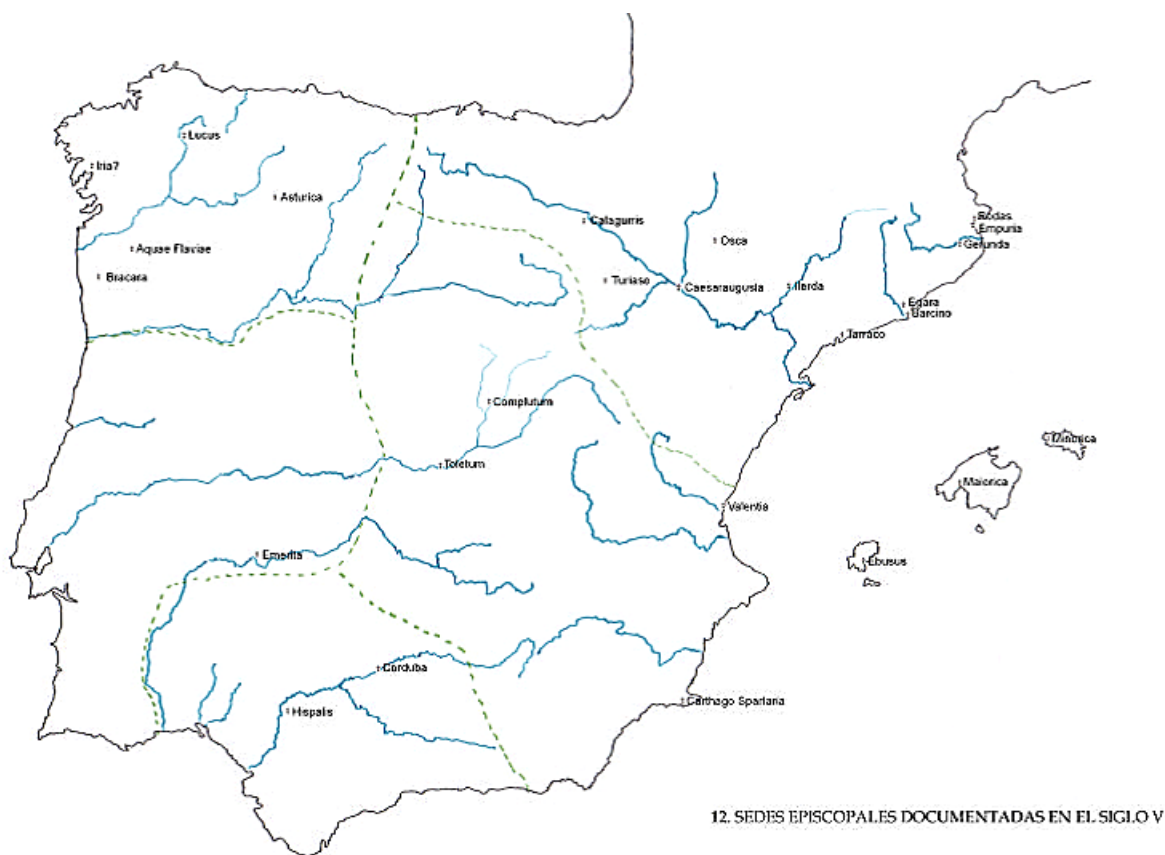


Figure 8. Attested Episcopal Sees in Fifth-Century Hispania⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁷ Ubric Rabaneda, “La iglesias y los estados bárbaros en la Hispania del siglo V (409-507),” 979.

Incipit Prosopographia

AC[UR]IUS (...400...)

EPISCOPUS (Unknown see, Gallaecia?)

Convicted and removed from office because of his Priscillianist sympathies (Exemp. Profes. 116–122). Regarding his name day, Chadwick (1978, 244, n. 29) notes that epigraphic evidence would suggest Acutius or Acilius though Acurius is probable.

AFRODISIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participant in the First *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. R 45–46 and 182; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 338).

AGAPIUS (...419/421)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Tarraconensis)

By way of the envoy Consentius, Agapius sent books and instructions to Fronto concerning what action to take against the hidden Priscillianists, namely instruction on how to disguise oneself as a heretic to better integrate their movement (Augustine, *Ep.* 11 *, 2, 1, 10). Shortly after these events Fronto accused Severus of heresy. In the process initiated to resolve this conflict, Agapius behaved in a very violent manner and demanded that Fronto give him the documents he had received from Consentius. Fronto responded that if Consentius sent the sealed documents, it was because of his confidence in the message carrier. Agapius grew enraged and attempted to kill Fronto with his own hands but he was impeded by other attendees of the trial, who stopped him from committing the murder. (*Augustinus, Ep.*, 10; 11, 1–2). After the council was resolved in favour of the Priscillianists, Agapius remained hostile and cursed Fronto. Seven days later Agapius died of intense pain in his throat, but not before asking forgiveness from Fronto concerning his claims (*Augustine, Ep.* 21, 2–3, 22). Amengual (1984, 9, 1991, 259; 1993, 8) following J. Perarnau, thinks Agapius may be the coadjutor bishop of the metropolitan Titianus, as both seem to take responsibility for the trial (*Augustine, Ep.* 11 *, 9.2), although this situation could be a result of the conciliatory measures proposed by Pope Innocent I.

AGRAPIUS (...420...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Present at the First *Concilium Toletanum*.

AGRESTIUS BISHOP OF LUGO (...433–441...)

Episcopus (Lucus, Gallaecia)

Was opposed to the ordination of Pastor and Syagrius as bishops. (Hydatius, *Chronicon*, 93 [102], ca. 433. In 441 he aided his deacon Deudatus at the council of Orange. (Ex provincia Gallecia civit. Lecentium Agrestius episcopus, Deudatus diaconus; Munier, 87, n° 9). He is credited with the authorship of *Versus Agresti episcopus de fide ad Auitum* (PLS V 400–401; Custodia Vega, 1966, 167–209 and Smolak, 1973), a work that reached us through a manuscript in Paris dating to the seventh to ninth centuries. Additional bibliography: Mathisen 1994, 71–102.

AIA X (...465/466...)

Apostate and senior Arrianus

He was sent by Gothic king Theodoric II on a mission to convert the pagan Sueves in Gallaccia to the Arrian faith and he received the help of the Suevic king Remismundus in this task. He was *de natione Galata* (Hid., *Chron.* 228 [232] and Isid. *Hisp.*, *Hist. Suev.* 89), likely a Gaul from the Visigothic kingdom of Tolosa and very likely the archbishop, i.e. senior *sacerdos* of the Visigoths.

ANTONINUS (...445–448...)

Episcopus (Emerita Augusta, Lusitania)

In 445 he sent the bishops Toribius and Hydatius the results of the trial involving the Manicheans in Asturica (Hydatius, *Chronicon*, 122 [130]). In 448 he discovered in Emerita Augusta, the Manichean Pascentius, originally who had fled persecution in Rome, taking refuge in Asturica. After questioning, Antoninus expelled Pascentius from Lusitania (Hid., *Chron.*, 130 [138]). He supervised the inquiry/survey conducted by Thoribius and seems to have regrouped under his command both Lusitania and Galicia (*Chron.* 130).

ARGYRIUS (...395/430...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Author of codices which were considered heretical by Augustine. Among them is a Priscillianist hymn, part of which is mentioned by the bishop of Hippo. Augustine discovered these codices when the Iberian bishop Ceretius asked that he consult them (*Augustine, Ep.* 237).

ASCANIUS (...463–465...)

Episcopus metropolitani (Tarraconensis)

Metropolitan bishop at least during the years 463–465. Along with the bishops of the province, he sent two letters to Pope Hilary in Rome in which he consulted the Pope on the best way to proceed with the unlawful ordinations performed by Silvanus bishop of Calagurris (Calahorra, Rioja) and he requested confirmation for the ordination of Irenaeus bishop of Barcino (Hilarius, *Ep.* 13 and 14). Contrary to their expectations, the Pope demanded that Irenaeus return to his church and that he not act as bishop. (Hilarius, *Epistula* 16, III). He also allowed the irregularly ordained priests to retain their position. However henceforth no ordination was to be made without the consent of the metropolitan bishop (*Ibid.* I and IV). Pope Hilary then demands that Ascanius elect the bishop of Barcino from among the clergy of that diocese. In a letter addressed personally to Ascanius, Pope Hilarius rebuked him harshly for failing to impose his authority with regards to the ordinations which normally should have been cause for severe punishment (Hilarius, *Epistula* 17).

ASFALUS? (...492?...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

Named in the *Episcopologue* of the *Codex Emilianensis* (*escorial D. I, 1*), a manuscript recopied between 962 and 992. Its historicity is not confirmed by other historical data (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 471). Gams (1956, 416) gives a chronology c. 486–496 and considers Asfalus to be the successor of Zeno.

ASTURIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (First of Complutum and after of Toletum, Carthaginensis),

While (the 9th) bishop of Toletum, he discovered the bodies of *los Niños Mártires* in Complutum. Therefore he decided to stay in Complutum to worship the martyrs, thus becoming the first bishop of Complutum. During the rest of his life his seat in Toletum remained empty (*Il defenso de Toledo, De virs. illis.* 2; PL, 96, 199). In 400 he participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc. Tol.* I 48 and 190; Martínez Diez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339). In 930, Ambrosius de Morales came across the codex de San Millán de Cogolla, which contained a list of Toletum's bishops, likely compiled in the early fifth century. Asturius is listed as the ninth bishop of the city and the successor of Audentius (cf. Chadwick, 1978, 229, 5). According to Gams (1956, 446) their successors in Toletum were Isicius (c. 412–427), Martin (427–440) Costino (440–454) Campeyo (454–467) Santicio (467–482) Praumato (482–494) and Petrus I (494–508). There may be some relationship between this Asturius and an inscription found in the Cave of la Camareta (Agramón-Hellin, Albacete) which reads *Asturius in deo vivas et permeneas in Xto*, which if true would testify to a funeral cult in his honour (cf. González Blanco, 1996, 217–218). Some researchers attribute to Asturius the composition of the *oficio mozárab* as well as the hymns of Justo and Pastor (PL 85, 805; cf. A Lambert, DHGE, tome IV, Col. 1270).

AURELIANUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc. Tol.* I 49 and 1195; Martínez Diez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339 and Lambert, DHGE, tome V, cols. 746–747).

AUXENTIUS (VTH CENTURY)

Episcopus (Rosas, Tarraconensis)

His funeral epitaph was found in a catacomb in Syracuse. Therein he is listed as the bishop of Rotdon, a seat which specialists identify as Rosas (cf. Nolla, 1993, 210, 9).

BACHIARIUS (...400–420...)

Monachus, episcopus? (Unknown see)

Possibly of Galician origin, though neither Genadius nor Bachiarus name his homeland. The charges of heresy against him in the *de fide* points to Gallaecia and his activities there between 400–420. All we know of him comes from the information that he gives about himself as well as allusions of Genadius in his work *liber de viris illustribus*, chapter 24. From these we can deduce that he travelled to Rome probably to present before an assembly of Roman bishops and Pope Innocent a defense of those bishops who had been accused of heterodoxy simply for having their origins in Gallaecia. The result of this would be his work the *de fide*. After this pilgrimage he returned to Hispania, where he was called away eight years later, perhaps because of the threat of the barbarians. After his departure he was welcomed in Rome (Bach., *De fide* and *De span*; Gennadius of Marseilles, *liber de viris illustribus*, Chapter XXIV). Some researchers including Frizcshe, Künstle and Bover, following the hypothesis of S. Breger, identify Bachiarus with the *Peregrinus episcopus* who revised Priscillian's *canones epistularum Pauli apostoli* with great care to their orthodoxy. He may also have been the first to regroup in a single edition all the books of Saint Jerome's *Vulgata*. For Lambert (o.c., cols. 67–68) the identification of Bachiarus with Peregrinus is not an implausible one. Peregrinus would be a pseudonym used by Bachiarus who was concerned with demonstrating his Orthodoxy. His knowledge of scripture was excellent. This identification however of Bachiarus with Peregrinus has been questioned by Babut and Stangl and rejected outright by De Bruyne. A consensus however exists that Bacharius cannot be identified with Bracarius of Sevilla (cf. Lambert, o.c., cols 66–67). Much discussion has been had regarding the Priscillianism of Bacharius. Babut affirms that he was the only true Priscillianist author of the fifth century since there are no traces of heresy in his writings. This would prove that duality of apparent orthodoxy/heterodoxy is perceived both by

contemporaries and modern historians in Priscillianism. Today it is impossible to say with certainty whether or not Bachiarius was orthodox (in his *de fide* he claims that many do not believe his reasons and he suggest that they say one thing and affirm another). The Priscillianism which he rejects in his writing corresponds with that which appears later in Pastor and Siagrio and with that which the *Concilium Bracarense* refuted (cf. Lambert, o.c., cols 64–65). Priscillian influences are present in the *de fide* as is an abundance of biblical citations. The term doctor is frequently used as is the value accorded to the prophetic institution and the allegorical interpretation of scriptures (cf. Cabrera, 1983, 206), although this does not prove that they were followers of this belief. It could be the case that Bachiarius was a Priscillianist early on and that he repented his conduct after the peace of Toletum. See references concerning Bachiarius in Lambert, DHGE, 7, 1932, cols. 58–68; Di Barardino, 1981, 674–677 and Sotomayor, 1979, 282–285.

BALCHONIUS (...c.410/415...)

Episcopus (Bracara Augusta, Gallaecia),

The presbyter Avitus communicated with him from Jerusalem, indicating the discovery of the relics of the martyr Saint Stephan and his desire to send parts of them with Orosius (Avitus, *Ep.* Balchonium Ad: PL 41, 805–808; Vanderlinden, 1946, 178–217). In Bracara the laws were established concerning Iberian canonical faith towards the middle of the fifth century in the acts of the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 200–275; Martínez Díez Rodríguez, 1984, 339–344). In addition, the first speech of Lucretius at the first *Concilium Bracarense* (561) alludes to Balchonium as bishop of Bracara and recipient of the rules of faith against Priscillianism. For Lambert (DHGE, VI, 63) Bachiarius may allude to Balchonium when in his work the *de lapsio* when he designates the bishop of the region in which a sinning deacon was found with the initial B (Bach., *Epistola ad Januarium de reparatione lapsi*, cap. IX). F. de Almeida, DHGE, VI, 322–323.

BRACHARIUS (...POST. 458–483...?)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

He appears in the episcopal list of Hispalis of the *codex Aemilianensis* (c.962) cited at the end of the seventh century. Due to the disorder of the list some researchers have proposed to place it in the fifth century. Joannes of Sevilla in a letter to Albar of Cordoba in the early ninth century speaks of bishop Bracharius's *de dogmatibus* which he attributes to Genadius. This has led to different interpretations of the relationship between Bracharius and this work: Bracharius being the author of the first recession in the original text, the editor in Hispania or responsible for adapting Genadio's text for use in his own diocese. In this regard, Lambert (DHGE, VI, 66) surmises that if his episcopate fell between those of Sabinus and Zeno we could attribute to him the introduction of the *Liber dogmatum Hispania*, a work in which Künstle observes a number of anti-priscillian concerns. We know a number of bricks or plaques with relief moulded with the legend BRACARI VI (Chrismon) VAS CVM TVIS (CILA 161), which Palol (1967, 270–271) believed to correspond to a chronological time not far from the fifth century, encouraging some investigators to associate the reliefs with this Bracharius.

CARTERIUS (LATE -IV– EARLY VI?)

Episcopus (Unknown see, probably in Gallaecia)

Left the penultimate signature on the minutes of the *Concilium Caesaraugustae* (Martínez Díez y Rodríguez, 1984, 20, 292). Some scholars identify him with the Carterius alluding to by Saint Jerome (*Ep.* 69) and Braulius of Caesaraugusta (*Ep.* 44). According to the latter, Carterius was Galician and had written a treatise, which has not reached us. Gams (1956, 471), who does not establish this identity, believes the Carterius appointed by Braulius would be a Galician bishop of the late fifth or early sixth century since it is quoted by Braulius after Toribio.

C[A]EPONIUS (... 440–445...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, probably in Gallaecia)

Along with Hydatius, he was the recipient of a letter from Toribius of Asturica in which he sought to enlist their support in the eradication of Priscillianism (Toribius, *Epistula ad Idacium et Ceponium*). In 447 Pope Leo instructed Toribius and Hydatius to supervise the holding of general council of the Hispanias or at least a meeting in Gallaecia to deal with issues raised by Priscillianism (Leo the Great, *Epistle XV,17*). The council never was held.

CERETIUS (...395/430...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Consulted Augustine concerning the two codices written by Argyrius which were considered heretical, so that he could examine and signal the errors within. Augustine responded in a letter, *epistula 237*, in which he affirms that the letters are Priscillianist and he refutes the content of a hymn which was found in one of the codices (Augustine, *Ep.* 237). We know little more about this Ceretius though many researchers have no doubt that he was Iberian, others identify him with the bishop of Gratianopolis (Grenoble) who assisted at the council of Orange in 441 and who was a correspondent of Pope Leo the Great (*Epistola 68 of 450*) (cf. Chadwick, 1978, 208, 150).

CLAUCUS? (...416?...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

According to the *Codex Emilianensis* (Escorial D. I, 1) he performed his duties in 416. We have no other sources to corroborate the historicity (cf. Sotomayor, 2002,470–471).

DICTINIUS (... 397–400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Asturica?, Gallaecia)

Author of writings which held Priscillianist views. Having fallen into heresy he returned to the Orthodox fold following the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Exemp. Prof. 1–68; Chadwick, 1978, 306–308; Hid. Chron., 25 [32, 31]). Dictinius was the son of Symphosius who was also a bishop. He was ordained bishop by Sinfosius, due to pressure from the crowd and against the advice of Ambrosius of Milan, who had decided that he should not rise above the rank of presbyter (Exemp. Prof. 70–96; Chadwick, 1978, 308–309). This act demonstrates the charismatic leadership and prestige that Dictinius managed to acquire even among those close to Priscillian. He and his father appointed bishops to vacant sees of Gallaecia (Exemp. Prof. 96–99; Chadwick, 1978, 309). His writings have not come down to us but we know that he wrote treatises and letters and that his most important work was entitled *Libra*. (Augustine, *Contra Mendacium*, 3, 5). The book enjoyed great popularity even after it was condemned by Pope Leo in 445 (Leo the Great, *Epistola 15, 16*) and by the first *Concilium Bracarense* in 561. Even after his abjuration of Priscilliansim, Dictinius' prestige remained enormous. As previously noted, his works were greatly popular and after his death an important church and monastery was dedicated in his name in Asturica. He is even included among the saints and his feast day is given great solemnity. Ambrosius of Morales in *La Crónica general de España, book 11, chapter 5 (ed. 1577, f.10)* retakes the epitaph of the eighth century bishop Nono of Asturica who threatened anathema before the tribunal of Christ and against Saint Dictinius to anyone who should move the remains. The feast of St. Dictinius, June 2, is twice greater in Asturica (Chadwick, 1978, 282 and 282, n. 129). Although for many researchers Dictinius occupied the episcopal see of Asturica, first with his father and later on his own, the seat in which Dictinius exercises his episcopate is not indicated by the sources of the fifth century. These testimonies concerning Dictinius' life appear in *la Vida de Santo Toribio*, a late hagiographical text of dubious authenticity (cf. Vilella, 1997, 179, n.31).

DIDYMUS (FIFTH CENTURY)

Episcopus (*Turiaso*, Tarraconensis)

According to Braulius of Caesaraugusta Didymus was a fifth century bishop of *Turiaso* who compelled the ascetic Aemilianus to take up the position of presbyter at the church in Vergegius. Sometime after, clerics presented themselves before Didymus to contest the poor management skills of Aemilianus who favoured spiritual matters over those of the physical church. Enflamed with anger, Didymus chastised Aemilianus and relieved him of his ministry. (Braul. Caes. *V. S. Aem.*),

DONATUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Gallaecia)

Was convicted and removed from office during the first *Concilium Toletanum* (*Exempl. Prof.* 116-121; Chadwick, 1978, 309).

EMILIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Gallaecia)

Was convicted and removed from office at the first *Concilium Toletanum* because of his Priscillianist sympathies (*Exemple. Prof.* 116–121; Chadwick, 1978, 309).

EPIPHANIUS (...414...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participant in the First *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc.Tol.* I 49 and 195; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

EPIFANIUS (...441–458...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

Found in Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional*, “Epifanius”. He took the Episcopal see of Hispalis in 441 after the invasion of the city by the Sueves and the expulsion of the bishop Sabinus. According to Hydatius, Epifanius was ordained “*cum fraude, non iure*”, by fraud and not by right. In 458 the previous bishop, Sabinus, returned to his see in Hispalis after having taken refuge in Gallia for many years (*Hid., Chron.* 187 [192a]). It is unknown why Epifanius was ordained bishop and if the return of Sabinus marked his deposition. In the *Glosas Emilianenses* (Escorial D. I, 1) Epiphanius appears as bishop of Hispalis between 441–461 (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 471). His name is Greek in origin and he became bishop of Hispalis on account of his close ties with an aristocratic family of the city and with the aid of the Sueves.

EUSTOCIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participant in the First *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc.Tol.* I 49 and 195; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

EXUPERANTIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Celenis, Lucensis conuentus, Gallaecia)

Participant in the First *Concilium Toletanum*. He is the only bishop whose seat is mentioned in the minutes of the council (Tol Conc. I, 49–50 and 198; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326–327 and 339).

FLORUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participant in the First *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc. Tol.* I 49 and 195; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

GEMINUS? (...404?...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

Known through the *Codex Emilianenses* (Escorial D. I, 1), which presents him as bishop of Hispalis in 404. We have however no other documents supporting its historicity (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 470–471).

GREGORIUS (...c.408/409...)

Episcopus (Emerita Augusta, Lusitania)

Successor of Patruinus. His promotion to the episcopacy aroused injuries and slander because they had not complied with the rules. We also know that after Gregorius received baptism he practiced law. Pope Innocent, in the letter he wrote to the bishops assembled in Toledo, asked to investigate this issue and asked that inducers of slander be punished if they be true (Innocent I, *Ep.* III 4–5: PL 20, 490–491). Bajo (1981, 209) interprets the practice of law by Gregorius and Rufinus as a defense of those accused of obvious crimes.

HELIAS (...484...)

Episcopus (Maiorica, Insulae Baleares)

Was convened by Huneric to Carthage for an assembly held in the year 484 (Victor Vitensis, *Notitia provinciarum et civitum Africae*: MonGermHist., AA III I, 71). We do not know the extent of Huneric's prosecution against him, whether he was deposed from his see, whether he could return to his territory or whether he welcomed the arrival of the Vandal Guntemaro who countered the prosecution policy of his ancestor. Amengual (1991, 30–32) thinks he could be a descendant of Jews or a Jew converted to Christianity. This claim is based on the shortage of Old Testament names among Christians in these centuries, since only few are documented in the Orient and it would be very difficult for Helias (Elijah?) to come from the East, given the clear animosity between Byzantium and the Vandal kingdom.

HERENAS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Gallaecia)

Was condemned along with his clergy at the first *Concilium Toletanum* for following Priscillianist doctrines. He did not deny his Priscillianist beliefs before the council but rather defended Priscillian as having been Orthodox and the victim of previous bishops' persecutions. Herenas was removed from office by the council (Exempl. Prof. 111–122; Chadwick, 1978, 309). His name is probably Herennius which is well documented in epigraphic inscriptions (cf. Chadwick, 1978, 244, n. 29).

HYDATIUS (390/95–469)

Episcopus (Aquae Flaviae, Chaves, Gallaecia).

Composer of the *Hydatii Limici Crónica subdita*, he also continued the chronicles of Eusebius and Saint Jerome covering the years 379–468. He was born in *Lemica ciuitate* near modern *Ginzo de Limia, Lamego*; (Hid., Chron., praef.1). He went on a pilgrimage to the Orient when he was a child and there he encountered John of Jerusalem, Theophilus and Saint Jerome (Ibid. Praef. 4; 33 [40]). Hydatius likely embraced the priesthood in 416 (ibid. [62b] and a few years later in 427 he was appointed bishop (Ibid., Praef.6). In 431 he headed an embassy addressed to the Roman general Aëtius, whose purpose was to gain their support in the fight against abuse by the Sueves in Gallaecia (Ibid.86 [96]). He returned months later with the comes Censorius, sent to the Sueves on behalf of Aëtius (Ibid. 88 [98]). He likely played an active role in the negotiations between the conflicting parties of Sueves, Visigoths, Galaccians, and Vandals which he discusses in detail in the Chronicle (cf. Molè, 1978, 25–26). In 445 he collaborated with Toribius of Asturica in arresting Manichaeans in Asturica and both sent reports on the process to the emeritus bishop Antoninus (Hid., Chron. 122 [130]). In July 460, Hydatius was sequestered in the church of Aquae Flaviae at the instigation of Dictinius, Spinion, and Ascanius by the Suevish faction led by Frumarius (Hid., Chron. 196 [201]). He was released three months later against the wishes of those who denounced him (ibid. 202 [207]).

Hydatius is also the recipient of a letter from Toribius, in which he asks the bishop of Aquae Flaviae and his colleague Ceponius to work with him in the removal of Priscillianism in Gallaecia (Tor., *Ep. ad. Idat. et Cep.*, PL, 54, 693 – 695). In 445 Leo the Great instructed that a council of the Hispanias be held on the Priscillianists issue and that if this be not possible that a meeting of Gallaecian bishops be held (Leo the Great, Epistle XV, 17). According to Mommsen (MGHaa, t. XI, 4) the father of the chronicler Hydatius was also bishop Hydatius of Merida, a tenacious fighter against Priscillianism. However, this hypothesis seems unlikely due to the remoteness of Lémica from Merida, Hydatius of Merida's date of death and due to the celibacy of Iberian clerics. We cannot however, rule out the possibility that both Hydatii were relatives. For Torres (1956, 765–767) Hydatius was the son of a prominent imperial official related to the Theodosian dynasty, whether civil or religious. Hydatius' trip to the east, his education and the important contacts he held within the Church supports this assumption as does his deep trust and loyalty in the Theodosian dynasty. For more detailed information cf. Vilella (1999, 39–54); Bodelón (1998, 59–61), Burgess (1993, 1–10), Sotomayor (1979, 347–355); Tranoy (1974, I, 9–17), Thompson (1976, 4–18) and Torres (1956, 755–794); PLRE II 574–575. Also see Annexe 2 for interpretation by Zuk.

HILARIUS (...400– 408/409...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the First *Concilium Toletanum* (Tol Conc. I, 47 and 187; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339). Subsequently, perhaps on behalf of the council (cf. Vilella, 1994, 462, note 19), he traveled to Rome, accompanied by the priest Elpidius. There he denounced to Pope Innocent I and to the Roman episcopal council the problems afflicting the Hispanic Church. The content of the report can be reconstructed by the response of Innocent I, his Epistle III, which led the bishops gathered at the Council of Toledo. According to Gams (1956, 395 ff., And 443), Hilarius would be the Metropolitan of Carthage, charged by the Pope to resolve the religious conflict in the Iberian peninsula as he had the greatest capacity for understanding and taking action to resolve the issues. Other researchers however believe him to be the bishop of Cástulo. However, as warns Sotomayor (1979, 246, n. 48), there are no solid grounds to consider Hilarius as bishop of either of these sees.

IOANNES 1 (...c.408/409...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Though he initially accepted the provisions of the first council of Toledo, including the admission of Dictinius and Sinfonius through their legates, Ioannes later regretted his decision. At this point Hilarius and Elpidius consulted Pope

Innocent and the Roman council who decreed that Ionnas' behaviour be examined and decreed that he should abide by the decisions of the council or renounce his see (Innocent I, *Ep.* 3, 3: PL 20, 490).

IOANNES 2 (...469/70–519/520)

Episcopus (Tarraco, Tarraconensis).

He presided over the *Concilium Toletanum* in 516 (*Conc. Tarrac.* 140; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1884, 280) and the Council of Gerunda in 517 (*Conc. Gerund.* 92; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 290). In 517 he was designated *apostolicus vicarius* by Pope Hormisdas (*Ep.* 24; PL 63, 421–423). We know his funeral epitaph (De Rossi, 294; *ICERV* 277; IRITI 938). It is possible that the bishop's home in Tarraco which was uncovered and documented during the excavation of the Tarragona College of architects' headquarters was built during his episcopacy (cf. Aquilué, 1993).

IRENAEUS (...463–465...)

Episcopus (Terrasa (Egara) and Barcino, Tarraconensis)

He was ordained by Nundinarius as bishop of a church which had previously been under the authority of Barcino. This church may have been in Egara (Tarassa). At the death of Nundinarius around 465 he came to occupy the see of Barcino with the support of the clergy, the nobility, the people and some provincials, just as Nundinarius had desired in his will. Ascanius and the bishops of Tarragona asked that Pope Hilarius confirm this arrangement, which had been accepted by the synod of Tarragona (Ascanio y los obispos de la Tarraconensis a Hilario, *Ep.* 14). Presented with the case in 465, the Pope indignantly decreed that Irineus be deposed as Bishop of Barcino and return to his church (Hilario, *Ep.* 16, III). He was threatened with excommunication if he did not resign his title of Bishop of Barcino as the episcopacy according to Hilarius, should not be an inherited legacy but rather a gift from God (*Ibid.*, V). Mundo (1992, 41–49) and Teja (1999, 140–143) argue that Irineus was the son of Nundinarius. It is likely that the diocese to which Irenaeus was ordained is Egara (Tarrassa), which is safely documented in 516 at the Council of Tarragona (cf. Vilella, 1994, 475).

ISONIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Gallaecia)

Baptised by Sinfonius, he renounced along with Sinfonius his Priscillian beliefs prior to the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Exemp. Prof. 104–106; Chadwick, 1978, 309).

IUCUNDUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc. Tol. I 46 y 184; Martínez Díez y Rodríguez, 1984, 326 y 338).

IUSTINIANUS (c. 493–548)

Episcopus (Valentia, Carthaginensis)

He signed second the minutes from the council held in Valentia in 546. We know his funeral epitaph which is written in verse. The epitaph lists his personal virtues (*preclarus doctor alacerque facundus, caelebs pontifex sacer*), as well as his pastoral activities (construction and repair of temples, preacher, writer and founder of communities of virgins and monks). It is also indicated that he lived eleven five year periods (45 years) and that he exercised the role of bishop during four five year periods and eight months (20 years and 8 months). These dates as well as his participation in the

Council of Valentia are taken from Corell and Grau, 1995, 11, who fix his birth in 493 and his ordination as bishop about 527, at 35 years old. According to the restitution proposed by Corell and Grau, bishop Iustinianus managed or governed a monastery dedicated to San Vicente (which was located in the area of *Roqueta de Valencia*), which was equipped with a “Wonderful enclosure” (ICERV 279; Corell and Grau, 1995, 5–19; J. Corell, X. Gómez and C. Ferragut, 1997, n° 118; CIL II/14 n° 89). Currently the identification of a stone (CIL II/14, 90) by Fita as pertaining to this bishop cannot be accepted as the facts do not allow us to draw this conclusion. The proposition of J. Corell is equally unsatisfactory. He proposes the reading [Ane]sius in the place on the stone where the inscription references a bishop (cf. J. Corell, Inscription of bishop Anesius, is wrongly attributed to Justinianus, by *Saitabi* 39 (1989) 63–72.

LAMPADIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see) Possibly from Leon

Participate in the *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 49 y 197; Martínez Díez y Rodríguez, 1984, 326 y 339).

LAMPIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Barcino, Tarraconensis)

He was forced by the people to consecrate Paulinus as bishop of Nola (Paulinus, *Ep.* 3, 4; Augustine, *Ep.* 24*, 4) on Christmas day (Bardenhewer, 2006), 447.. In 400 he participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 48 and 191; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

LEO (...449...)

Episcopus (Turiaso, Tarraconensis),

He was injured by the brigands (bagaudae) of Basilius in the church of Turiaso and he died shortly thereafter of injuries sustained in the altercation. (Hid., Chron. 133 [141]).

LEONAS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 47 and 186; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

LEPORIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 47 and 186; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

LICIANUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 47 and 186; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

MACARIUS (...484...)

Episcopus (Menorica, Insulae Baleares)

Was called by Huneric in 484 to the assembly that occurred in Carthage that year (Victor Vitensis, *Notitia provinciarum et civitum Africae*: MGH, AA III I, 71). We are unaware of the consequence which he suffered through Huneric's persecutions nor do we know if he was deposed from his see. We also do not know if he returned to his territory nor if he was in agreement with the methods used by Guntamundus in 494 that ended the political persecution of his predecessor. Amengual (1991, 33) suggests that Μαχαριοξ (the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew name Aser) may descend from the Jews who were forced to convert to Christianity, many of whom had Greek names (Theodorus, Meletius, Artemisia, etc.).

MARCELLUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see possibly from Minorica, Insulae Baleares)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 46 and 181; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 338). Sotomayor (1979, 246, 48) does not share the theory of P. B. Gams (1956, 389 and 414) which following Flórez, treats Marcellus as the bishop of Hispalis though the Marcellus listed among the bishops of Hispalis in the *codex Emilianensis* did not hold office at this time.

MARCIANUS? (...428?...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

According to the *codex Emilianensis* (excorial D.I, 1) he appears as the bishop of Hispalis in 428, though no other documentation confirms this (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 470–471).

MAXIMIANUS? (...496/510?...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

Attested to in the list of bishops in the *codex Emilianensis* (Escorial D. I, 1), a manuscript recopied between 962 and 992. We do not have uniform agreement between scholars concerning his existence (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 470–471). Gams (1956, 416) places his episcopacy between 496 and 510 with Asfalius as his predecessor and Sallustius as his successor to the see of Hispalis.

MINICIUS (...c.408/409)

Episcopus (Gerunda, Tarraconensis)

He irregularly ordained a bishop in the church of Gerunda, provoking protest from the bishops of Tarraconensis who wrote to Pope Innocent via Hilarius and Elpidius (Innocent I, *Ep.* 3, 2; PL 20, 48–490). Innocent decided that the situation be examined and steps taken to ensure compliance (Innocent I, *Ep.* 3, 5; PL 20, 491).

MURESIS (...418–419...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

A relative with Optatus with whom he shared a major concern for the origin of the soul. He consulted Augustine with his opinion and asked that he write to Optatus to express his own view of the origin of the soul (Augustine, *Ep.* 190, 1.1). Amengual (1999, 90–91) believes that Muresis was a bishop whose see was near to that of Optatus, in a place with deeply rooted Priscillianism.

NUNDINARIUS (...463/465)

Episcopus (Barcino, Tarraconensis)

He promoted Irineus to the episcopacy of a community within the *territorium* of his diocese, probably Egara (Terrassa), which was accepted by the synod of Tarraconensis. At his death Irineus succeeded him as bishop of Barcino according to his wishes as attested in his will (Hilarius, *Ep.* 14). This unlawful succession was contested by Pope Hilarius and the council at Rome in 465, who dictated that Irineus return to his see and that a member of Barcino's clergy be appointed Bishop of the city (Hilario, *Epp.* 15–17). For Teja (1999, 140–143), Nundinarius was the father of Irenaeus. If this is the case we witness an attempt to impede a hereditary succession.

OLIMPIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 47 and 188; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339). Although some historians have linked this Olimpius with the Spanish preacher whose sermons cited by Augustine to counter the Pelagian Julian of Eclano (Augustine against Iulianum I, 8; Clavis 558), and whose work is described by Gennadius (De Vir. Inl. 23) as an antimanichean treaty in which he argues that evil comes from disobedience and is not inherent in creation (cf. Chadwick 1978, 229) this Olimpius is not the same person as the Olimpius mentioned by Augustine who must be placed during the early or mid-fourth century (cf. Vilella, 1997, 180, n.72).

OPILIUS (...484...)

Episcopus (Ebusus, Insulae Baleares).

Was called by Huneric before the assembly which took place in Carthage in the year 484 (Victor Vitensis, *Notitia provinciarum et civitum Africae*: MGH, AA III I, 71).

OPTATUS (...418–419...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Gallaecia?)

Concerned with the origin of the soul. He wrote various letters to his colleagues concerning this question. We know that one of these letters reached the religious community in Mauritania Caesariensis and was made known to Augustine by the monk Renato who was there to resolve an ecclesiastic problem. He also consulted his relative Muresis, also a bishop (Augustine, *Ep.* 190, 1.1). He wrote to Augustine another letter in which he asked if he had received his question on this subject from the orient (Augustine, *Ep.* 202A, 1.1). Augustine's responses were written in 418 and 419. They are letters 190 and 202A. Though the letters of Optatus have not reached us, their content can be inferred from Augustine's answers. From these answers we can detect that Optatus was a recently consecrated bishop whose ideas on the origin of the soul placed him in conflict with more senior members of the clergy (Augustine, *Ep.* 202A, 3.7). He was also the author of a treatise, the *libellum fidei*, which discussed the soul, though its authorship was usurped by a presbyter. To resolve this conflict the case was taken before a secular court which ruled in favour of Optatus (Augustine, *Ep.* 190, 6.20; *Ep.* 202A, 4, 9). Some researchers have identified this Optatus with Optato de Milevi, or with a bishop whose see would be found in a remote part of Africa. However, Augustine's own words (*Ep.* 23A* 3,2): "I responded to Optatus, the Spanish bishop, concerning the problem of the origin of the soul" clearly reveal Optatus' own Hispanic origin. Amengual (1999, 86–101) believes that Optatus' see was deep in Priscillianist territory, thus provoking his questions concerning the soul.

ORONTIUS? (...464?...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

His name figures in the list of bishops of the *codex Emilianensis* (Escorial D. I, 1), a manuscript recopied between 962 and 992, though which has not been confirmed by other historical dates (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 470–471). Gam (1956, 415) on the other hands dates Orontius to 462–472.

ORTICIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I 47; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326).

ORTIGIUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Celenis?, Gallaecia)

Was expelled from his see by a Priscillianist faction on account of his orthodoxy (Hid., *Chron.* 25 [31, 32]). The council however returned to him the churches which had been confiscated (*Exemp.profes.* 156–157; Chadwick, 1978, 310). Historians have interpreted his personality in various ways. Some see him as a tenacious fighter of the Priscillianist heresy while others see him as an ex-Priscillianist striving to gain the favour of the orthodox bishops who opposed the Priscillianists (cf. Díaz y Díaz, 1995, 233, n. 16, Cardelle, 1998, 276). Regarding his see, some investigators regard it as Celenis while others see his ordination occurring in Celenis but by a church which is unknown to us (cf. Tranoy, 1974, & 32, 27–30; Sotomayor, 1979, 245).

PASTOR (...433...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, conventus lucensis, Gallaecia)

Ordained bishop in the district of Lugo along with Siagrius against the advice of Agrestius (Hid., *Chron.* 93 [102]). Genadius Massiliensis refers to Pastor, as a bishop in the fifth century who wrote a small treatise with the physical shape of a symbol of the catholic faith in which he anathemised various heresies, though without naming the specific authors of these heresies save Priscillian. Morin (1893, 385–394) and F. Kattenbusch (1894) identify this little book with the *regla larga de fe* of the first *Concilium Toletanum*.

PATERNUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Bracara Augusta, Gallaecia)

Ordained by Galician bishops Sinfonius and Dictinius, he was a follower of Priscillian until he desisted after reading the works of Ambrosius of Milan. The first Council of Toledo allowed him to remain in his see. They also established that Vegetinus should remain in solemn communion with Paternus (*Exemp. Prof.* 99–103 y 125–140; Chadwick, 1978, 309–310).

PATROCLUS ARELATENSIS (...412–419/421...)

Episcopus (Arelate, Gallia)

Secularised, intriguing and ambitious. Friends and family of the *magister utriusque militiae* Constancio (Prosper, *Epit.Chron.*, a.412, MGH aa IX, *Chronica minora* I, 466). He had held the episcopate making use a political indictment of his predecessor Heros (for having collaborated with the rebel Constantinus III). He received support from bishop Zosimus who recognised his primacy over the churches of Gallia, concretely his metropolitan privilege in Narbonensis I and II and in Vienensis, and this despite the opposition of Hydatius of Narbo and Proculus of Massilia. Bonifacius, the successor to Zosimus, suppressed these super-metropolitan powers as did his successor Celestinus. Years later,

Patroclus of Arelate died a victim of political power. In the doctrinal field Patroclus favoured extreme measures in defense of orthodoxy, even resorting to lies and deception to discover heretics. Patroclus of Arelate had an excellent relationship with Fronto and Consentius; Fronto even visited him for support following his failed trial against the heretics of Tarraconensis (*Augustinus, Ep. 11**, 23, 1). He exchanges correspondences with Consentius which motivated him to write treatises against the Priscillianists (*Ibid.*, 1, 5). Even *epistola 11** is interpreted as an attempt by Consentius to garner the support of Augustus Hyponnensis for Patroclus' cause to which Pope Bonifacius had little propensity (cf. García Moreno, 1988, 171–174). When Fronto visited Patroclus and told him of his failure in Tarraconensis, Patroclus convoked the *Concilium Bettaranensis*⁸⁶⁰ to which both those accused of Priscillianism and the accusers should both attend (*Augustinus, Ep. 11**, 23, 1–2). Although Consentius saw the *concilia Bettaranensis* as proof of Patroclus' doctrinal zeal, the truth is that Patroclus attempted to exceed and thus expand his jurisdiction (*Ibid.*, 26,1; Mathisen, 1989, 48–74; García Moreno, 1988, 172–173; Amengual, 1979–1980, 332–333 y 1991, 269–271).

PATRUINUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Emerita Augusta, Lusitania)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (Conc.Tol. I, 45–46 and 180; Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 338) over which he may have presided as he pronounced the preliminary speech (Con. Tol. I 54–63; Martínez Díez y Rodríguez, 1984, 327–328). His see of Emerita was inherited by Gregorius (Inocent I, Epist. 3, 5: PL 20, 491).

PAULUS (...414...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Along with bishop Eutropius, Paulus presented a now lost Commonitorium concerning various heresies, though Orosius considered it incomplete (Oros., Comm., 1.1). According to Baronius (Annales Ecclesiastici tombo V) these bishops incited Orosius to visit Augustine (cit. Ozaeta, 1990, 609).

PEREGRINUS (FIFTH CENTURY)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

He was editor of the *canones epistularum Pauli apostoli* composed by Priscillian. He was also the first to bind in a single edition all books of Saint Jerome's Vulgata. His name appears at the end of the preface in the book of proverbs of several Hispanic bibles. Frizsche, Künstle and Bover, following S. Breger, identify Peregrinus with Bachiarus, a hypothesis questioned by Babut and Stangl (cf. Lambert, DHGE, 1932, cols.67–68).

[PRU]DENTIUS/ [GAU]DENTIUS (...MID-FIFTH CENTURY...)

Episcopus (Iria?, Gallaecia)

He is attested in an inscription from Portosín (La Coruña) which commemorates the consecration of a church (Rodríguez Colmenero, 1997, 687–692).

RUFFINUS (...C.408/409...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

He practiced law before being baptised. He performed episcopal ordinations that went against the Nicene Canones. Though he was pardoned by the first *Concilium Toletanum*, he returned to his old ways by naming as bishop a priest

⁸⁶⁰ Béziers, France, surely chosen for its position on the *via* from Narbonensis to Hispania.

from beyond his diocese. Pope innocent, when he discovered these irregularities via Hilarius and Elpidius, decreed that Ruffinus and the bishops whom he ordained be examined (Innocent I, Ep. 3, 2 and 4; PL 20, 489–491). Bajo (1981, 209) interprets the practice of Law by Ruffinus and Gregorius as the defense of those accused of having committed manifest crimes.

SABINUS (...441–458...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Sevilla, Baetica)

Was expelled from his see in 441 after the Suevic occupation of the city (Hid. Chron. 116 [124]). He returned to Hispalis in 458 from Gallia here he had been hiding out (Hid., Chron., 187 [192a]). In the *codex Emilianensis* he appears as the bishop of Hispalis from 440–461 (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 471). This Sabinus appears to be one of the bishops who in 451–452 supported the letter that Ravennius of Arles wrote to Pope Leon (cf. Mathisen, 1989, 292). According to Teja (1990, 139) it is possible that the family of Sabinus represented an episcopal dynasty because beyond this Sabinus cited by Hydatius, we also know a bishop Sabinus who appeared in the Actes of Saints Justus and Rufinus and a of a Sabinus who signed the acts of Elvira, who could all be the same person potentially. A priest Sabinus, hailing from Baetica figures among the assistants at the Council of Arles in 314.

SAGITTIUS (...419/421...)

Episcopus (Ilerda, Lérida), Tarraconensis)

He was instructed in law and the liberal arts (*Augustinus, Ep.* 11*, 16,3) and he enjoyed magic. Circa 420, barbarians arrived in Ilerda with the intent of pawning off a series of three *codices* which they had robbed from a local priest, Severus, while he was travelling to his rural estate near Osca. When the barbarians realised that the *codices* contained heretical material they handed them over the Ilerda's bishop Sagittius instead (*Ibid.* 2.5) Sagittius reviewed them and extracted the most interesting parts of the third codex for himself, sending the remaining pieces of the third codex to the respected bishop Titianus of Tarraco. (*Ibid.* 2, 5–8). Titianus forwarded the codex to Syagrius the bishop of Osca so as to question the presbyter Severus as to his religious beliefs. During the interrogation, Severus who was quite wealthy, claimed that the books had belonged to his deceased mother and that he held no notion as to their heretical content. The bishop Syagrius was satisfied and took no further action after returning Severus his book (*Ibid.* 3.1–2). Soon after, Sagittius he sold the other two *codices* back to Severus (*Ibid.* 3,3; 14,3). When the trial against Severus had begun, prompted by the monk Fronto's accusations against him, Sagittius he was asked to present the two *codices* (*Ibid.*, 7,1; 14,1). Insulted for not having been informed of Severus' participation, Sagittius wrote a secret letter to bishop Syagrius of Osca, considering that he had proceeded in a similar way to his own, profiting from the sale of the *codices*. In this letter, Sagittius informs Siagrius that he would send the *codices* by means of his deacon Paulinus so that he could examine them. This letter informs us that he sent through his deacon Paulinus the manuscripts for review. Paulinus found nothing of note however and returned them to Severus.

With this letter, Sagittius confirmed that Siagrius had opened the archives in Severus' church and that he had removed the two *codices* to present them during the trial. Shortly after however, Ursicius, a monk and servant of Severus, secretly handed over the *codices* and they were taken to Tarraco (*Ibid.* 14,1–4). Accused by Fronto who knew what had happened, Sagittius swore that the *codices* had always remained in the possession of his church. The next day, following the arrival of Siagrius of Osca in Tarraco, Sagittius discovered the plot against him and against the request of Fronto and a part of the people, Sagittius was not tried because as Titianus reminded those assembled, a bishop can only be tried by other bishops (*Ibid.*, 16, 1–4; 19, 3; 20, 2). Despite this, Sagittius, pursued by Fronto and a part of the village people, was forced to turn and read the *codices* whose content appalled many (*Ibid.* 20, 3–4). The council convened to judge Sagittius who ultimately was acquitted and both *codices* were burned in order to prevent future investigation into the events surrounding the trial (*Ibid.*, 21,1).

SERENUS (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc. Tol.* I 48 and 192; Martínez Diez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

SEVERUS 1 (...400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Participated in the first *Concilium Toletanum* (*Conc. Tol.* I 48 and 192; Martínez Diez and Rodríguez, 1984, 326 and 339).

SEVERUS 2 (...418...)

Episcopus (Minorica (isle of Minorica), Insulae Baleares)

Became bishop around 416, the same time that Orosius visited Minorica. His simple and unsophisticated style suggests that he did not have a classical education and was presumably of *decurional* class. He was author of the *Epistola Seueri episcopi de conuersione iudeorum apud Minoricam insulam meritis sancti Stephani facta*, which he redacted in 418. It appears that at the time of writing the letter, Severus was a relatively new bishop. He drove a multitude of Christians from *Iamona* to *Magona* (Severus, *Epistula*, 12), and had a dream in which the synagogue, characterised as a widow, begged him to take charge of their uncultivated lands (*ibid.*, 10.3–5) and he guided the disputes between the Christians and Jews of *Magona*. Converted Jews looked to him for admittance into the Church. Severus had contacts with Consentius, whom he asked to help in the struggle against the Jews (Augustine, *Ep.* 12 *, 13.6–7). Today Severus is no longer considered the author of the *altercatio ecclesiae contra synagogam* contrary to Hillgarth Vidal (cf. Wankenne and Hambenne, 1987 *Amengual* 20–21, 1991, 164–165).

SIGESARUS (...415...)

Sacerdos Arriani (court of the Gothic king)

His name suggests that he was a Goth (Arce, 2007, 84) who through the strength of his own arms, converted the previously pagan visigothic candidate to the imperial throne, Priscus Atalus, to Arrianism (Soz. HE. 9.9.1). It is likely that Sigesarus performed the wedding ceremony for Ataulfus and Placidia in Narbo in 414. In 415, Gothic king Ataulfus was assassinated by one of his enemies among the Goths. In the meanwhile, Sigeric, the brother of the prior king Sarus sought out and murdered Ataulfus first wife and his son from her likely in the court at Barcino. Both victims were nominally under the protection of the *sacerdos* Sigesarus, that is to say that he had offered them asylum. (Olymp., frag. 26; Arce, 2007, 84). It is unclear if Sigesarus is among the first bishops to hold the see of Barcino. It is more probable that he was the spiritual overseer of the Visigothic court rather than overseer of the *civitas* and *territorium* in the Catholic manner.

STEPHANUS (...504...)

Episcopus (Corduba, Baetica)

In 504 he participated in a council in Rome which was presided over by Pope Simacus (cf. Sotomayor, 2002, 468).

SYAGRIUS 1 (...419/421...)

Episcopus (Osca (Huesca), Tarraconensis)

Was both wealthy and venerable (*Augustinus, Ep.* 11*, 17,5). The presbyter was ordained in Syagrius' church from which the barbarians robbed three *codices* with heretical content. Shortly after this event, Sagitius of Llerda had come into possession of the *codices* which he submitted to the 'metropolitan' Titianus to judge as orthodox or not. Syagrius received from Titianus, a tome made up of pages of the stolen *codices*. Syagrius, believed Severus's arguments including that the presbyter had inherited the *codices* from his mother, unaware of the heretical content. Naively finding no fault in the content he returned de *codices* (Ibid., 3,1–2; 14,4).

Several months later was puzzled to receive a letter from Titianus instructing him to hand over the codex to aid in judging the accusations of Fronto against Severus, as well as to hand over a letter from his colleague Sagitius of Llerda, in which he asks to search his church's archives to demonstrate that he still possessed the other two *codices*. Faced with this embarrassing situation Syagrius decides not to act so as not to incriminate himself, or Severus or Sagitius. That night, however Syagrius has a terrible vision, in which is condemned by Christ for his actions. Frightened by this dream, he ran to Ursicius to confess in the ecclesiastical acts that he had in fact given the *codices* to Sagitius, after which he went on to Tarraco on foot, despite the difficulties and the dangers of the journey (Ibid., 14,3; 15, 1–3). When Fronto, surprised by the poor conditions in which Syagrius had made the trip, visited Syagrius and accused him of faking his misery, he confessed all and showed him the letter from Sagitius and the statement from Ursitius (Ibid., 18). Then Fronto asked him to wait until the next day, where the trial uncovered Severus and Sagitius' perjury, proving it with the above documents (Ibid. 19 and 20.1).

It is probable that Syagrius was related to the powerful Syagrii in Gallia to which both Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris belonged, and which apparently had an Iberian branch (cf. García Moreno, 1988, 169; 1990, 236).

SYAGRIUS 2 (...433...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, conventus lucensis, Gallaecia)

Ordained in the district of Lugo along with Pastor against the advice of Agrestius (Hid. *Chron.* 93 [102]). Genadius of Massillia (*De viris illustribus*, cap. LXVI, *PL*, 58, 1103) speaks of a Syagrius who is an ecclesiastical author of the fifth century, who wrote a treatise on heresies which questioned Trinitarian doctrine along with seven other works on faith, proper doctrine, and which most investigators have associated with this Syagrius. We must recognise however, that the arguments connecting these documents with Syagrius are not very solid (cf. Chadwick, 1978, 285–288). Syagrius, like Aegidius may both have been members of the *Syagrii* family and descendants of the consul in 382, Flavius Syagrius (cf. Tranoy, 1974, II, & 102, 68–69; García Moreno, 1988, 169, n. 59; 1990, 236).

SYLVANUS (...454/5–465...)

Episcopus (Calagurris (Calahorra), Tarraconensis)

Was bishop of Calagurris at least from 454/5 to 465 Ascanius and other bishops of Tarraconensis accused him before Pope Hilarius of having illicitly ordained a bishop, as well as having ordained a presbyter within the geographic jurisdiction of another bishop. It was the bishop of Caesaraugusta who denounced Sylvanus at the Tarraconensian synod (Hilarius, *epistulae* 13–14). This presentation of the Silvanus to the Pope, appears to be the view of some of the bishops of Tarraconensis, perhaps the majority, as seems to show the Pope's letter in which *honorati y possessores* of *Turiasso* (*Turiasso*, Zaragoza), *Cascantum* (Cascante, Logroño), *Calagurris* (Calahorra, Logroño), *Varegia* (Vareia, Varea, Logroño), *Tritium* (Tricio, Logroño), *Leuia* (probably Libia) and *Virouesca* (Briviesca, Burgos) are favourable to Silvanus. With regards to Sylvanus, Hilarius made no drastic decisions, permitting the irregularly ordained bishops to remain in their sees, provided they are neither widows or bigamous, and Hilarius decreed that henceforth however, all ordinations should be confirmed by the *metropolitanus* Ascanius. (Hilarius, *Epistula*. 16, introduction, I, IV). For

Espinosa (1984, 271–303), Silvanus' action is related with the support which he received from the Visigothic king Theodoric. From this outcome, Sylvanus attempted to increase the prestige of his diocese Calagurris, which in the struggle for primacy in the upper Ebro Valley, collided with the interests of Caesaraugusta. Other researchers such as Escribano (1984, 265–272) and Castellanos (1999, 28 ss.), view Silvanus' actions as evidence of independent churches under the control of the local aristocracy.

SYMPHOSIUS 1 (...379–400...)

Episcopus (Asturica, Gallaecia)

Favourable to Priscillianism, though as he stated before the *concilia Toletanum*, his faith was not very complex in the Apocrypha or in his other doctrines. (*Exempl. Prof.* 85–88; Chadwick, 1978, 308). He was present for a day at the first *Concilium Caesaraugustae* to receive his sentence from the council. According to the *liber ad Damasum*, on receiving news of the accusations against him by Hydatius of Emerita Augusta, Symphosius took no specific stance, merely counselling the secular authorities of Emerita to profess their faith and hold a council (Priscillianus, *Tract.* 2).

Prior to 397, Symphosius had travelled to Mediolanum and met with Ambrosius at which point he promised to adopt a number of measures to end the instability caused by Priscillianism. He did not follow through with these promises however. The *plebs* pressured him to ordain his own son Dictinius as bishop against the wishes of Ambrosius, who had counselled that his son remain a presbyter. Symphosius is also responsible for single handedly ordaining bishops to vacant Gallaecian sees. He condemned Priscillianism at the first *Concilium Toletanum*. (*Exempl. Prof.* 1–103; Chadwick, 1978, 306–309 and Hid., *Chron.*, 25 [32, 31]). The council granted him conditional admission to the Catholic communion with the approval of the bishops of Rome and Mediolanum, though monitored by a commission appointed by the council to assure that would not practice heterodox doctrine. (*Exempl. Prof.* 140–143; Chadwick, 1978, 310).

When the first *Concilium Toletanum* was held, Symphonius was already very elderly (*senex*; *Exempl. Prof.* 52 y 140; Chadwick, 1978, 307 y 310), for which we must refuse the hypothesis of Tranoy (1974, 40, I) which saw Symphonius as the predecessor of bishop Turibius of Asturica. Likewise, theories that identify Symphonius as arbitrator between Priscillian and his accuser Hyginus or which relate him with the bishop who represented the Sueves at the court at Ravenna in 433, cannot be taken seriously on account of his age. (Hid., *Chron.*, 92 [101]).

SYMPHOSIUS 2 (...433...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Gallaecia)

Represented the Sueves at the court in Ravenna in 433 (Hid., *Chron.*, 92 [101]). Tranoy (1974, I 44 y II, &101, 68 y 1979, 259) considers the possibility that this Symphosius is the same who was present at the 400 A.D. *Concilium Toletanum*, though if this were so and he was 40 years old in 400, by the 433 date at Ravenna, Symphosius would have been in his seventies. Tranoy does not take into account that Symphosius was already labeled a *senex* at the 400 *Concilium* (*Exempl. Prof.* 52 y 140; Chadwick, 1978, 307 y 310). For this reason Ubri Rabaneda considers it probable that we are dealing with distinct *Symphosii*.

TITIANUS (...419/421...)

Episcopus (Tarraconensis)

Known to us through a letter from Consentius to Augustinus in which he narrates the escapades of on monk, Fronto, with the heretics of Tarraconensis. According to this letter, Titianus received from his colleague Sagitius of Illerda a codex composed of various journals which barbarians had stolen from one Severus (*epistula 11**, 2.7, 7.1). Having examined the codes, Titianus passed the codex on to Siagrius bishops of Osca, so that he should evaluate the faith of the presbyter Severus (Ibid. 3.1).

Shortly after, Titianus presided over the *episcopalia audientia* convoked to judge the charges brought against Severus by the monk Fronto. During the process, Titianus requested that bishops Sagituis and Syagrius present the heretical *codices* before the court (Ibid. 7.1; 14.1; 15.2).

During the process, Titianus refused to give into the will of the masses who wished to see Fronto lapidated. When Sagituis perjury became evident and punishment was demanded, he reminded them that a bishop could only be tried by other bishops. While a council may have come together to judge this incident, the accused were ultimately acquitted, notably after the interference of the military *comes Hispaniarum* Asturius. The acts of this council and all related documents were burned in order to bury the whole incident (Ibid. 20-21).

THORIBIUS/TURIBIUS (...440–445...)

Episcopus (Asturica, Gallaecia).

Wrote a letter to Hydatius and Ceponius lamenting the spread of Priscillianism. He was away from Asturica during many long years spending many years away from his homeland on pilgrimage. On returning he contemplated the growth of Priscillianism in the land. In the hopes of combating it, he wrote to his colleagues, bishops Hydatius and Ceponius in which he laid out the results of his investigation on Priscillianist beliefs, and he requested their assistance in putting an end to the heresy. (Turibius, *Epistula ad Idacium et Ceponium*; PL 54, 693–695).

Between 440 and 445 he was ordained bishop of Asturica (Leo Magnus in the preface to his *epistula* 11, qualifies Turibius as bishop of Asturica). In 445, along with Hydatius, Turibius finished an investigation which resulted in the uncovering of Manichaeans in Asturica, the results of which were sent to bishop Antoninus of Emerita Augusta (Hid. *Chron.*, 122 [130]).

In 447, Turibius sent an *epistola familiaris*, along with to Pope Leo by means of his deacon Pervincus. He also sent a *commonitorium* in which he the diocese which were susceptible to Priscillianism and a *libellus* (León Magno, *Epistula* XV, praefatio). These documents which are alluded to in later texts such as the letters of Montanus, have not survived the ages, though we can reconstruct some of the content based on Leo's responses (*epístula* XV). In addition to this letter, Pope Leo via the deacon Pervincus, submitted other documents such as the steps taken in Rome against the Manichaeans and letters to the Hispanic bishops of the provinces of *Tarraconensis*, *Carthaginensis*, *Lusitania* y *Gallaecia* (Ibid. 16; Hid., *Chron.* 127 [135]).

There are many legends surrounding Turibius of Asturica, such as those concerning his stay in Jerusalem (cf. Torres, 1955, 331ss.), which are devoid of reliability (cf. Vilella, 1997, 183, n. 117). Tradition has it that Turibius brought the *lignum Crucis* to Hispania which is now in the monastery of Toribio de Liébana as are his remains. Today Toribius is patron of the Asturican church (cf. Mateos, 1999, 81–82). About this bishop and his acts, cf. Nunez, 2002, 253–268. Toribius is likely one of the bishops captured during Visigothic pillaging of Asturica in 457.⁸⁶¹

TOMAS? (LATE-FIFTH CENTURY AND EARLY SIXTH)

Episcopus (Valentia, Carthaginensis)

Known through an inscription found during repairs of the sewer system in 1770; only a drawing of which remains today. The stone stated that he died at 60 years of age. For Corel, Tomas is the name which best fits the configuration of the stone, on which the bishop's actual name was not preserved. (Corel, 1994–95, 383–390 y 1997, n° 118; corresponding to *ICERV* 260 y *CIL* II2 14,91). HOC REQUIESC[IT IN] TUMUL[O] / BEATISSIMUS III EP[ISCO]PUS / S(A)NC(TA)E EC(C)LESIAE VALENTIN[AE] VIX(IT) ANN(OS?) / EP[IS]COPATU AUTEM ANNIS [QUATTU]OR M[ENSIBUS(?)].

⁸⁶¹ Hydatius, "Chronicon," 179 [186].

VALERIANUS (...405...)

Episcopus (Calagurris (Calahorra), Tarraconensis)

Bishop of Calagurris at the onset of the fifth century. He is emphasised in the literature. According to Madoz (1950, 131–137) this Valerianus is the same that appears in an additional chapter of Hieronymus' *de viris inlustribus* preserved in several Mediaeval *codices* (Cap. CXXXVI. *Valerianus, Calagoritan* ¹⁸² *rbisbis episcopus, vir admodum disertissimus, non multa scripsit, quodque praecipuum religionis insigne est, fidem catholicam singulariter ei indicavit*), written by an author connected with Calagurris, who also wrote an chapter on Prudentius, whose facts are certain. Valerianus, is presumably the bishop whom Prudentius speaks of in (*Himno XI, Peristephanon* v. 2, v. 127, v. 179), whose arms longed for his return to Rome and who is referred to as pastor. Though Morin does not attribute a brief *fides* found in a Parisian manuscript (manuscript latin 20176 de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris, s. X, folio 54, col I, *Incipit fides sancti Valeri episcopit*) to this bishop, Madoz in contrast believes that the *fides* was indeed written by Valerianus.

VEGETINUS (...380–400...)

Episcopus (Unknown see)

Ordained at the first *Concilium caesaraugustae*, he renounced Priscillianism at the first *Concilium Toletanum*, in which he decreed to be in contact with Paternus alone *Prof.* 107–110 y 139–140; Chadwick, 1978, 309–310).

VINCOMALOS (424–509)

Episcopus, Christi Servus (Ilipla? (Niebla), Baetica).

Born in 424, he was promoted to the episcopacy in 466 and exercised his office for 43 years. His funeral epitaph was found in Bonares, near the ancient *municipia* of Ilipla (Niebla), which suggests that he was bishop of that diocese. His name is curious: *Vinco-malos*, i.e. “I vanquish sinners” (See González, 2001, 544–546, lám. III).

ZENO(N) 1 (...468–492...)

Episcopus (Hispalis, Baetica)

Both bishops Simplicius and Felix II adressed letters to him praising his ecclesiastical labours and virtues. Simplicius gave him the mission of maintaining decrees and apostolic institutions within Hispania and of upholding the decisions of the Church Patriarchs. (Simplicio, *Ep.* 21). He was papal *vicar* over Hispania. Felix II, writes to him in praise after learning of his virtues through the *vir clarrissimus* Terentianus. (Félix II, *Ep.* 5). Though some authors such as Vives (1939, 1–7; 1969, 126–127) and Thompson (1978, 17–18) believe this Zeno to be the same who appears in the 483 A.D. bridge inscription at Emerita Augusta (*ICERV* 363 y Ramírez Sádaba y Mateos Cruz, 2000, n° 10, 41–44), other authors (cf. Sotomayor, 1979, 382; Ubric Rabenada, 2003, 743) find this unfeasible on account of the long manuscript tradition, the *Hispania*, which treats Zeno as *episcopus Spalensem* (cf. García Moreno, 1982, 234). Flórez places this Zeno between 472 and 486 (cf. Gams, 1956, 415).

ZENO(N) 2 (...483...)

Pontifex et sumus sacerdos (Emerita Augusta, Lusitania)

He figures in an inscription from 483 on the renewed bridge over the Guardiania river in Emerita Augusta, where he is praised for his role in the renovation of the bridge at the same time as the city walls were rebuilt by the Visigothic

dux Salla. (*ICERV* 363 y Ramírez Sádaba y Mateos Cruz, 2000, nº 10, 41–44). This Zeno is probably the same as the above who received letters from Simplicius and Felix II, though Sotomayor, 1979, 382 and Ubric Rabanada, do not agree. The proximity between Emerita and Hispalis as well as the authority if this royally and papally supported bishop contribute to the likelihood that if not bishop of both sees, Zenon was responsible for the supervision of both. The coinciding dates of their episcopacy further support that Zeno 1 and Zeno 2 are a single individual, the Catholic vicar of the Hispanias.

ANONYMUS 1 (...c.455/56...)

Episcopus (Unknown see, Tarraconensis)

Ordained by Silvanus of Calagurris before 455/456 without considering the opinion of the metropolitan Ascanius and without consulting the people. Despite this he was recognised as a bishop at the Synod of Tarraconensis (Hilarius, Ep. 13).

ANONYMUS 2 (...457...)

Episcopus (of Unknown sees, Gallaecia)

One of two bishops who took refuge in the church of Asturica during the sacking of the city by Visigothic troops to whom they became captives. (Hydatius, Chronicon, 179 [186]). One of the two may be Turibius.

ANONYMUS 3 (...457...)

Episcops (of Unknown sees, Gallaecia)

One of two bishops who took refuge in the church of Asturica during the sacking of the city by Visigothic troops to whom they became captives. (Hydatius, Chronicon, 179 [186]). One of the two may be Turibius.

ANONYMUS 4 (...c.463...)

Presbyter and episcopus (Unknown see, Tarraconensis),

Promoted to the Episcopate by Silvanus of Calagurris around 463 and against his will and despite already being attached to another bishop. This raised protests from the Metropolitan Ascanius and the bishops assembled at the synod of Tarragona who presented the matter to the Pope (Hilarius, *Ep.* 16), who decreed that the bishop should remain in his place (Hilarius, *Ep.* 16). Thiel (1868, 156, 7) and Thompson (1978, 13) believe that this presbyter could have been dependent on the bishop of Caesaraugusta as the bishop of that city denounced the matter before the synod. The presbyter was probably ordained as bishop of the seat which Silvanus had previously filled illicitly with his own man upon the death of the seat's previous holder (cf. Espinosa, 1984, 273).

ANONYMUS 5 (...463/65...)

Episcopus (Caesaraugusta, Tarraconensis),

At the synod of Tarraconensis, he denounced the irregular ordinations performed by bishop Silvanus of Calagurris. He unsuccessfully urged neighbouring bishops not to join the schismatic faction (Hilarius, Ep. 13). It is possible that the bishop of Caesaraugusta's opposition was motivated by the battle between both seats to achieve primacy in the Upper Ebro region (cf. Espinosa, 1984, 271–303). Furthermore, the second bishop irregularly ordained by Silvanus could have belonged to the diocese of Caesaraugusta (cf. Thompson, 1978, 13 y Thiel, 1868, 156, n.7).

ANNEXE 2: HYDATIUS, AN EXCEPTIONAL BISHOP AT END OF THE WORLD

Though Hydatius is our greatest source of fifth-century History in Hispania, we know surprisingly little of the man himself save what he says of himself in the preface to his *chronicon*.

*I, Hydatius, of the Province of Gallaecia, born in the city of the Lemici and chosen to be the head of the highest office [of the Church] more by divine gift than by my own merits, as much at the end of the earth as at the end of my life, although having minimal instruction in worldly affairs and a much weaker knowledge of that redeeming volume of holy text written by the holy and most learned fathers, have followed, as far as my own understanding and literary skills allowed, the example shown by them in their preceding work.*⁸⁶²

Hydatius confirms that he was of Gallaecian birth; the *civitas Lemica* his birthplace has been located in the vicinity of Xinzo de Limia in the far south of modern Galicia.⁸⁶³ With regards to his origins, Hydatius is typical of the Iberian bishop. Hydatius was from a well-off family, though it is uncertain if he was of curial or aristocratic background.⁸⁶⁴ Most authors assume that as child, Hydatius travelled to the orient with his family, an expensive endeavor testifying to his family's personal wealth.⁸⁶⁵ Hydatius was born sometime in the 90s of the fourth century. The faith of his family is uncertain though a Christian origin seems likely given his families trip to the orient, which hypothetically was a pilgrimage. Pagan origins are not implausible however as one version of the *Chronicon* reads "Idatii ad Deum conversion peccatoris".⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶² Hyd. *preface*, i: Verum Ydatius provinciae Gallaeciae natus in Lemica civitate, mage divino munere quam proprio merito summi praesul creates officii, ut extremus plage, ita estremus et uitae, perexiguum informatus studio seculari, multo minus docilis sanctae lectionis volimine salutary sanctorum et eruditissimrum partum, in praecedenti opera suo pro capacitateproprii sensus aut verbi ostensum ab his secutus exemplar.

⁸⁶³ See figure 8 for the location of Lemica vis-a-vis the major civitas of Roman Hispania.

⁸⁶⁴ Burgess argues for a curial background stating "we know nothing of his parents except that they were probably Christian and of the middle classes of Spanish society: well off, but not of the great aristocratic or land-owning classes." See Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 3. Burgess fails to support this claim, which is understandable considering the lack of evidence pointing in either direction. Kulikowski in *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*, always careful with his source, does not take stance on Hydatius class origin nor does Arce in *Bárbaros y romano en Hispania: 400-507 A.D.*

⁸⁶⁵ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 139.

⁸⁶⁶ Campos-Ruiz, *Idacio, obispo de Chaves: su Cronicón*, 64.

Though this copy is not considered the most reliable⁸⁶⁷ it's possible addition by a later scribe seems meaningless if indeed Hydatius had been born Christian.⁸⁶⁸ A large number of the aristocracy converted to Christianity in the early fifth century, thus Hydatius' potential conversion would be unremarkable.

He would have been a young man in 416 when he entered the clergy.⁸⁶⁹ Hydatius was consecrated bishop eleven years after his ordination into the clergy in 427 and was given the see of Aquae Flaviae.⁸⁷⁰ Hydatius also describes himself as *pupillus* during his travels to the orient, which arguably could mean either 'young boy' or 'orphan child' and it is not impossible that after the death of Hydatius' parents the Church took the orphaned Hydatius into their care and raised him and groomed him for clerical duties, including a *peregrinatio* to the east. This situation could explain the bishop's religious fervor, his young entry into the Church and his rapid ascension to the episcopacy in 438.

Hydatius held closely to Roman tradition and to legitimate imperial succession of the Emperors. Even very late in his Chronicle, Hydatius retains the conviction that the Emperor would send aid to the province to restore religious orthodoxy and political organisation.⁸⁷¹ To Hydatius, the Emperor and the bishop of Rome were the representatives of Orthodox Christian thought.⁸⁷² In the face of the great pressures in Gallaecia and the inability of the Emperor to resolve them in the immediate future, Hydatius acted pragmatically, assuming a more political role in *Aquae Flavia* (Chaves), a small municipality of inland *Gallaecia*. Though Chaves is no longer an important city, a stone dated to 79 A.D. called the "Padrão dos Povos" now integrated into the Roman bridge of Chaves names ten small municipalities however which fell under the administrative authority of Aquae Flaviae.⁸⁷³ One of the *municipia* is of particular interest,

⁸⁶⁷ Colodón argues that Hydatius would have been about 25 years old. See Colodrón, "Hidacio, ¿Obispo de Chaves?", 288. Burgess in contrast basing his argument off Hydatius' self description as an *infantulus* in the preface, iv, argues that on ascending to the clergy, Hydatius could hardly have been more than 17 years old.

⁸⁶⁸ Colodrón dismisses the possibility that "conversio" in this context refers to Hydatius' ordination to the episcopacy. I agree with this assessment.

⁸⁶⁹ Colodrón, "Hidacio, ¿Obispo de Chaves?", 288; Rodríguez Colmenero, *Galicia meridional romana*, 3–4.

⁸⁷⁰ Colodrón, "Hidacio, ¿Obispo de Chaves?", 290.

⁸⁷¹ Tranoy 1977; Ubric Rabaneda 2002

⁸⁷² C. Díaz Martínez, "El obispo y las invasiones de los pueblos germánicos", 7.

⁸⁷³ The inscription reads as such: IMP CAES VESP AVG PONT / MAX TRIB POT X IMP XX PROCOS IX / IMP VESP CAES AVG F PONT TRIB / POT VIII IMP XIII COS VI / ... / C CALPETANO RANTIO QUIRINALI VAL FESTO LEG AVG PR PR / D CORNELIO MECIANO LEG AVG / L ARRVTIO MAXIMO PROC AVG / LEG VII GEM FEL / CIVITATES X / AQUEFLAVIENSES AOBRIGENS / BSALI COELERNI EQUAESI / INTERAMICE LIMICI AEBISOC / QUARQUERNI TAMAGANI. See *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II*, 2477. The stone has remarkably survived and the location of the ten municipia are studied in Fonte, "O "Padrão dos Povos" de Aquae Flaviae".

Lemica as Hydatius claims this as his birth place. As we would expect, the bishop was from the region over which he would become bishop.

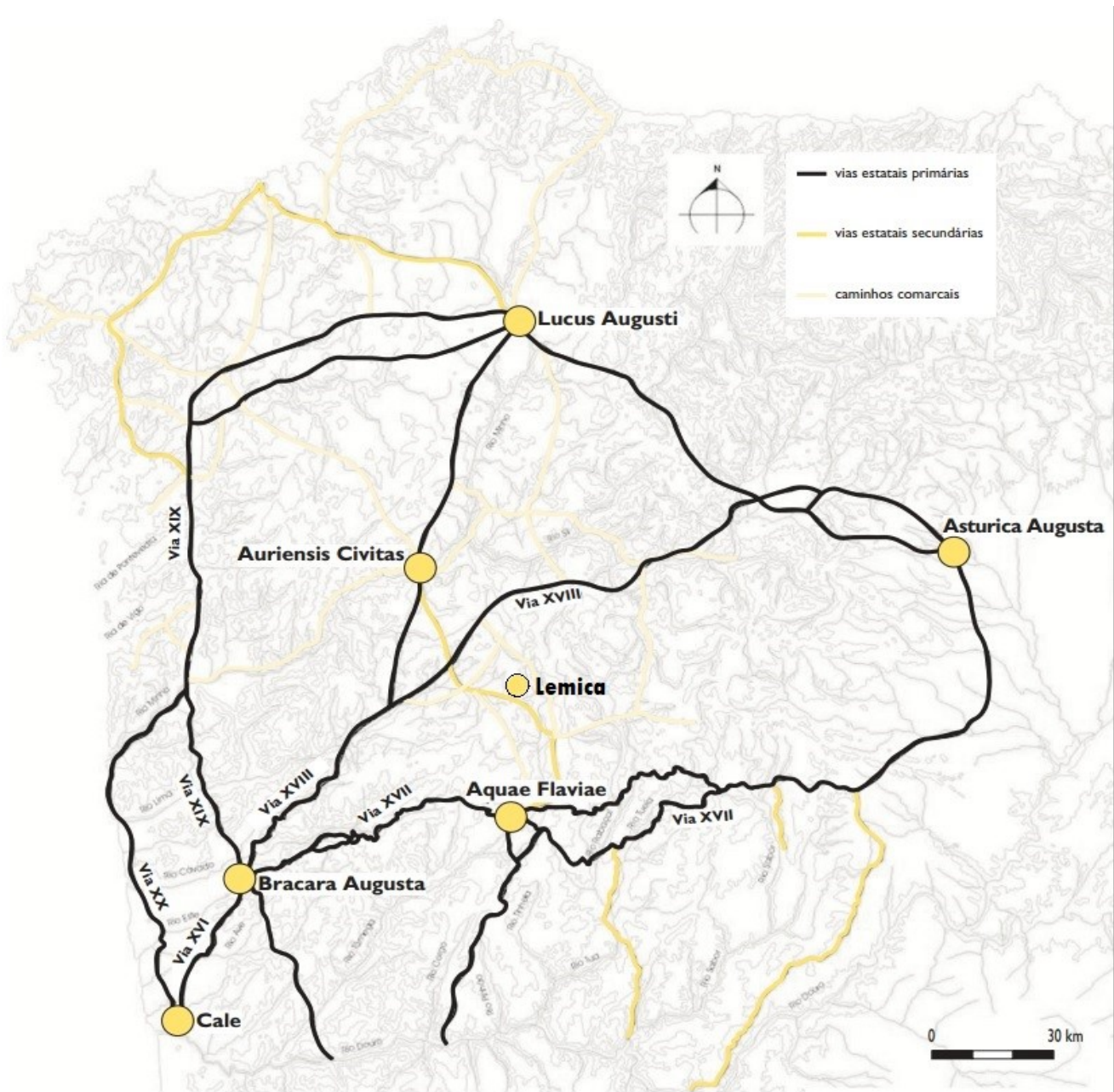


Figure 9: Principal Urban Centres and *Vias* in the Iberian North West during the Roman Empire.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷⁴ Map is taken from Fonte, “O “Padrão dos Povos” de Aquae Flaviae”, 67. I’ve taken the liberty of adding Lemica to the map to demonstrate the proximity of Hydatius’ birthplace to his episcopal *civitas* Aquae Flaviae at approximately a day’s walk.

Aquae Flaviae appears to be an entirely reasonable location for an episcopal see, and similarly *civitates* of average regional importance are attested as episcopal sees in Hispania. Calagurris in Tarraconensis is a notable example, and like Aquae Flaviae would gain surprising notoriety in the fifth century. The curious absence to the attestation of an episcopal see in Aquae Flaviae both prior and subsequent to Hydatius' life however suggests that the see was founded by Hydatius himself. Indeed, certain authors such as Rodríguez Colmenero doubt that Hydatius was bishop of Aquae Flaviae while others doubt that he was a bishop at all,⁸⁷⁵ arguing that Aquae Flaviae could have been led by a simple presbyter.⁸⁷⁶ These arguments seem unlikely however as Hydatius refers to himself on numerous occasions as *episcopus* throughout the *chronicon* and he is addressed directly as a colleague by bishop Turibius in *epistula ad Idacium et Ceponium*.⁸⁷⁷ Most likely, in the face of Suevic occupation at Bracara, episcopal authority in the region was relocated to Aquae Flaviae, with Hydatius at its head.

In interpreting the evidence surrounding Hydatius, I take an approach which to my knowledge diverges from that of other investigators and it hinges around the reading of part 33 [40]⁸⁷⁸: The numbers indicate the line of the text; the bracket numbers to the right indicate the year of the entry.

- | | | |
|----|---|-------|
| 13 | <i>Who had been the successors of the aforementioned Arians and the predecessors of John as bishops of Jerusalem, Hydatius, who is writing this had no way of knowing. However he did see this holy bishop along with the</i> | (407) |
| 14 | <i>holy Eulogius, Theophilus, and Jerome when he was a very young orphan</i> (33 [40]) | [408] |

⁸⁷⁵ It is true that the literary sources do not state that Aquae Flaviae was an episcopal see. Furthermore the city is left out of the *Parrochiale suevo* a late sixth-century document which describes the administrative organisation of the ecclesiastical provinces of Suevic Gællicia. See Pierre David, *Etudes historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Lisboa: [s.n.], 1947), 19–44. The later non-existence of this episcopal see can be explained by its destruction under the Sueves. Alternatively the see may have never existed, though it is clear in Hydatius' Chronicle that a Christian church was present in the city and that he was an *episcopus*.

⁸⁷⁶ Rodríguez Colmenero, *Galicie meridional romana*, 231.

⁸⁷⁷ Turibius Asturicae. "Epistula ad Idacium et Ceponium = CPL 564"

⁸⁷⁸ Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 33 [40]. Post suprascriptos sane Arrianos qui Hierosolimis ante Iohannem episcopi fuerint, Ydatius qui haec scribit scire non potuit. Hunc vero sanctum cum sanctis Eulogio, Theofilo, et Hieronimo vidit et infantulus et pupillus.

Traditionally these lines have been interpreted to mean that Hydatius was in the east from 407–408 and that he returned before the invasion of 409.⁸⁷⁹ Though the years 407–408 are assigned to this part of the text, the truth is that the author was simply inserting interesting information into the text to fill in years which were otherwise devoid of important events.⁸⁸⁰ The assumption is fair, but I would argue that investigators have been reading the structure of the text incorrectly for centuries. Nowhere does Hydatius state that he met the bishops in year 407 or of 408. Rather he writes *cum sanctis ... videt et infantulus et pupillus*, i.e. that he saw these saints when he was a child and an orphan. That the existence of such holy men is stated in 407 does not mean that Hydatius met them in that year. Frequently throughout the *chronicon* he makes general claims such as in year 420 when he writes “Ambrose, bishop of Milan in Italy, and Martin, bishop of Tours in Gaul, were famous...”⁸⁸¹ These bishops were evidently not well-known in year 420 *alone*, having sprung from obscurity at the drop of a hat. Rather, Hydatius is making a general claim about the state of the Church in the years surrounding 420, and this same understanding should be applied to the rest of the text.

With regards to Hydatius’ description of himself as *infantulus et pupillus*, we know neither Hydatius’ date of birth nor when he returned from the Orient. We do however know that his homeland of Gallaecia was attacked and ravages by Vandals and Sueves who “pillaged it with a vicious slaughter” between 409 and 411.⁸⁸² Assuming that the child Hydatius was present at the time of the invasions and that his parents were slaughtered as the barbarians passed through the region, his *pupillus* status is easily explained. Throughout his *chronicle*, Hydatius portrays the barbarians as murderous and cruel. The death of his parents at such a young age very surely marked him for life. Though the sources do nothing to inform us whether Hydatius’ family owned lands around Lemica or whether they were urban bureaucrats, subsequent to the Suevic occupation of Gallaecia, his family likely lost authority and wealth to Germanic aristocrats. If lands and privilege were confiscated from the local elite, Hydatius’ strong aversion to the Sueves can be understood as a reaction to the suffering which he and his remaining family endured. Hydatius lamented the irreversible damages that the Sueves had brought to *Gallaecia*. He blamed their sufferings on the lack of orthodoxy in Gallaecia. Heresy in his view, especially in the form of Priscillianism,

⁸⁷⁹ Thompson like author supports that Hydatius indeed travelled to the Orient in 407, though he considers Hydatius to have been 12-13 years old. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 139.

⁸⁸⁰ Burgess states it himself that Hydatius “had nothing to report for 408 ... “. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 43. Between 403 and 408 the only real event which Hydatius writes of is the death of Martin of Tours in 405. The other years by contrast are filled with descriptive praise of contemporary holy men.

⁸⁸¹ Hyd. 8

⁸⁸² Hyd. 38 [46]: Barbari qui in Hispanias ingress fuerant caede depredantur hostili.

was to be blamed for the punishment God had dealt to his country especially in the form of perversion of religious life and the civil disorder brought about by the Sueves and later by the Visigoths.⁸⁸³

There are advantages to placing Hydatius pilgrimage in the post-invasion period. For one Hydatius entry into the Church is more easily understood if as an orphan he was taken in by charitable clergy members, possibly under the jurisdiction of the *episcopus* at Bracara. This interpretation allows for either a pagan or Christian origin of the Hydatian family; Hydatius' upbringing around the Church would assure his Christian education. Hydatius may well have accompanied a presbyter or deacon from the *Hispania* as they made their way to the Holy Land and the eastern provinces. Indeed, if Hydatius went on *peregrinatio* with other members of the clergy, his familiarity with Iohannes in Jerusalem, Eulogius in Caesaria, and Epiphanius in Cyprus are best understood as intentional rather than chance encounters. The meeting of such prestigious figures at a young age would surely also mark the young Hydatius and influence his choice to join the clergy. This early *peregrinatio* also explains Hydatius' own intense orthodoxy in the heart of a region which otherwise is characterized by religious disunity. It is even possible that Hydatius remained in the east for several years. Hydatius' entry into the clergy may also have served as a means of reacting to the destruction which the pagan barbarians had brought to his homeland. As already mentioned, there is no evidence of an episcopal see at Aquae Flaviae prior to Hydatius and it seems reasonable that Hydatius upon being elevated to the episcopacy was granted permission to found a see in his ancestral home. Furthermore by establishing an episcopal see at Aquae Flaviae Hydatius was asserting *romanitas* by means of Catholicism in the Iberian North West.

There is no surprise that throughout his career, Hydatius had a poor relationship with the ruling Sueves. As a Hispano-Roman, potentially from the class of *honorati* and *potentiores* and as the public voice of *romanitas* and Catholicism in his community, Hydatius was a nuisance to the Suevic overlords. At a two day's walk from the Suevic capital of Bracara, the dissident voice of Hydatius was an unbearable source of resistance to Suevic reign.⁸⁸⁴ In this context, the Suevic attacks on Aquae Flaviae can be better understood as tied to the geographic position of the *civitas*, and the political stance of the *episcopus* who quite clearly desired the return of Roman elements. Thus the Sueves took Aquae Flaviae and threw the difficult bishop into their dungeons.⁸⁸⁵ Suevic aggression in this context was motivated by politics, not by religion. Several months after the capture of Hydatius, the Sueves and Gallaecians were able to come to an agreement, "a

⁸⁸³ C. Díaz Martínez, "El obispo y las invasiones de los pueblos germánicos", 7.

⁸⁸⁴ C. Díaz agrees on this point. See C. Díaz Martínez, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, 183.

⁸⁸⁵ Hyd. 196 [201]: ... Frumarius cum manu Suevorum quam habebat impulsus capto Ydatio episcopo VII kal. Aug. in Aquae-flaviensi ecclesia eundem conuentum grandi evertit excidio.

shadow of a peace, as it were, was established” and the bishop was liberated.⁸⁸⁶ This interpretation sits well with the image of spiritual harmony between Arians and Catholics that we witness in the fifth century.

Writing in his old age, Hydatius paints a bleak picture of the future and indeed this is because he believed the end times to be near.⁸⁸⁷ Though Hydatius was too careful and wise to blatantly announce the endtimes and the second coming of Christ,⁸⁸⁸ his entire narrative has an eschatological tone announcing the end of the world.⁸⁸⁹ Hydatius may well have witnessed the end of his world; he was likely the final bishop of this diocese. With certainty, there was no longer a bishopric in Aquae Flaviae by the time of the Moorish invasion.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁶ Hyd. 199 [204]: Galleciorum et Suevorum pacis quedam umbra conseritur.

⁸⁸⁷ “Hydatius was convinced that the chaos which he saw all around him was all part of the prelude to the second coming of Christ...” see Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 31.

⁸⁸⁸ Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, 262–263.

⁸⁸⁹ Riess, *Narbonne and Its Territory in Late Antiquity : From the Visigoths to the Arabs*, 56–57.

⁸⁹⁰ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, 140.

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