

'THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA,
AND ITS URBAN CONTEXT IN EASTERN CATALONIA,
FROM THE THIRD TO THE TWELFTH CENTURIES'

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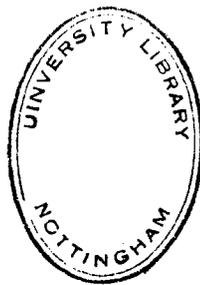


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ABSTRACT

Among the Roman foundations in modern Catalonia was the colonia of Barcino, which, unlike several of its neighbours, had no local native predecessor. The growth of these cities was slow, and an air of mediocrity shrouds them all, save Tarraco. With the decline of nearby communities in the third century, the significance of Barcino increased. New defences and economic activity, supplemented by the presence of civil and ecclesiastical powers in the Visigothic period, ensured the survival of urban life, although a tendency to contraction around the religious centre is apparent in the topography of the 6th. century, marking the beginning of the transition to the medieval plan.

In the following centuries the fortress function was foremost: only from the mid tenth century can changes be detected, with the appearance of suburbs and a 'Port'. Braked by Almansur's raid, the impetus of growth was soon recovered. The development of the city during the succeeding two centuries can be traced from nearly a thousand documents, mainly unpublished. In this period, Barcelona's population increased ten-fold, with corresponding alterations to the townscape, while details of topography which have survived until the present day were often determined

in this period. Three main zones are detectable: the adapted pattern of Antiquity within the defences, the spontaneous growth of the inner suburbs, while those of c.1080 onwards contain elements of planning. By 1200, open land, once commonplace, had disappeared and the medieval city of narrow streets and tightly packed houses had been formed.

The reasons behind this growth are diverse. Historical circumstances and the precedents of the Visigothic period played some part. Equally significant were the decline of Barcelona's neighbours and the maintained agricultural strength of its plain. Finally, Barcelona formed a focal point not only for this territorium, and a wider hinterland, but also for the emergent Catalonia.

INTRODUCTION

The period which lies between the late Roman Empire and the Central Middle Ages is one that has long attracted scholars, not only because of the formative influence it bore on the future shape of Europe, but also, perhaps, because of the very intractability of its sources. There are many aspects of the so-called 'Dark Ages' which will remain forever obscure, but light is cast into the gloom of this world at different points in time, and in different places, by different sources.

The study of urban life is one of these aspects. It has drawn the interest of researchers because of the contrast between the apparently highly urbanized Roman world and the far less so Medieval one, which emerged in most parts of Europe in a similar way in the 11th. and 12th. centuries. The period which falls between these two is thus doubly tantalizing, for it must be considered how the towns of one period changed and declined, and how those of the other emerged and evolved, and what was the relationship between the two.

This is not the place to devote more words to the towns of Europe as a whole, nor to make more generalizations¹. Even within the field of urban studies in this period, there are many aspects which

might be used to give a wider picture of town-life - institutional, ecclesiastical, economic, social, architectural and cultural. For long these remained separated into well-demarcated segments, and it is only within the last few decades that there has evolved the practice of specialists using sources outside their own fields, and of teams of researchers from various disciplines collaborating to provide a wider prospect.²

In the early medieval period more than any other phase of history is this wide use of sources necessary. Perhaps the results are not always as significant as in other periods: perhaps they often rest too insecurely in the realms of hypothesis, but in view of the normally limited range of source material in any one of the possible fields, it is surely essential that such a broad front is presented, that every possible scrap of evidence is considered, so that the widest possible meaning is achieved. The scope of this thesis is theoretically limited to but one aspect - the topographical³ - but one which in turn touches upon all the other approaches to urban studies, and cannot be completely divorced from them.

It would be incorrect to claim that Spanish history has not been studied by historians from the rest of Europe, but the periods that have attracted

them most are those in which Spain found itself to the fore in the mainstream of European history. Few have ventured into the world between the late Empire and the Reconquest, and even fewer, both Spaniards and foreigners, have approached the field of urban studies in this period, which consequently lacks the general studies which might pave the way for future research⁴.

The reasons for this are several. The classical sources rarely reveal more than odd facts about urban life in particular cities, and although many excavations have taken place in Roman cities in the Iberian Peninsula, the results are frequently unpublished or only scantily so. Unfortunately some of the most extensive excavations have been carried out on sites which did not re-emerge as medieval towns, and thus can tell us little about the stages of transition. The field of medieval urban archaeology can at best be described as incipient, at worst virtually non-existent. The sources for the Visigothic period are not particularly informative about urban life in specific cases, although they are of more value in a general sense, and while those from the Arab period are more useful, they present numerous difficulties for those from northern Europe, unless trained in their use. Similarly, the Christian sources multiply from the 10th. century onwards, although the vast bulk of material lies unpublished,

often not even consulted in the archives about which so many tales could be told⁵.

Nevertheless, the effort can be worthwhile, as Bunnell Lewis found out exactly a century ago:

"Spanish archaeology is a vast, I might almost say a boundless field..... On the other hand these investigations are as laborious as they are interesting. The traveller has to contend with many difficulties, physical, intellectual and moral: he suffers from sudden changes in climate and fatiguing journies. He exposes himself to risk from brigands, and is often baffled by the incivility of the natives, who have a strange aversion to foreigners..... However, the English Antiquary should be encouraged to persevere by the conviction that Spain contains rich treasures as yet unlocated, by the sympathy he will occasionally meet with even there from congenial spirits and by the hope of being able, on his return, to communicate some information to those who have remained at home."⁶

This thesis, however, is not concerned with the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, but with only one part. Modern Catalonia consists of the four most north-eastern provinces of Spain, and although the Catalan language is spoken beyond their bounds, their

limits still serve as suitable boundaries for the study of the past, since they partially coincide with geographical factors. As Pierre Vilar has pointed out, the historian is presented with a choice of three exact limits - those defined by geography, by dialect or language, or by the conditions of the period he is studying⁷. In fact, this work is primarily concerned with only a part of modern Catalonia, here called 'eastern', although occasional reference will be made to the area outside.

In modern administrative terms this refers to the area of the provinces of Girona and Barcelona in their entirety, and the northern part of that of Tarragona, including the city of the same name (fig.1). The geographical limits are the Pyrenees to the north⁸, the sea to the east and south-east, the Llobregat basin to the west, and then a poorly defined line running from the Igualada/Cervera area to the coast, which divides the rivers which drain directly into the sea from those which drain into the River Ebro first (figs. 2 and 3). In linguistic terms it is approximately the area of modern central or eastern Catalan as opposed to Lleida⁹ or western Catalan⁹.

In historical terms, a number of problems are presented, not least that caused by the various boundaries in existence over a period of a millennium.

In the pre-Roman period, the area was inhabited by a number of tribal groupings, recorded by classical writers, and which on occasions were made up of a number of sub-groups, recorded in monetary issues. The major groups occupying the area of eastern Catalonia were the Cessetani, Layetani and Indigetes on the coast, with the Ausetani, Cerretani and Lacetani inland (fig.4)¹⁰. In the Roman period, the area formed only part of the conventus Tarraconensis, itself part of Hispania Citerior, later Tarraconensis¹¹. In terms of early ecclesiastical organization it corresponded to the sees of Tarragona, Barcelona, Egara, Girona, Ampurias and Ausona, which, from the evidence of the de Fisco Barcinonensi of 592, may have represented some sort of administrative unit¹².

In the period after the Carolingian Reconquest, the area was divided into a number of counties, which in some ways reflect earlier dispositions. Those which lay within the bounds of the area under study were Barcelona, Girona, Ausona and Ampurias, and while those of Besalfi, Berga and Cerdanya should be included, the lesser intensity of urban life in them decreases their significance (fig.127)¹³. By the mid-11th. century, these had been redefined as the area of influence of the County of Barcelona, that of Urgell remaining independent and distinct to the west. Although these limits became blurred after unification with Aragon from 1137 onwards,

they still remain the best political definition of the area encompassed.

As the research behind this thesis progressed, it became increasingly obvious that the original aim of considering all the towns of this area in detail was impractical. The natural choice on which to focus attention was Barcelona, easily the largest city in modern Catalonia, and ^{also} in the medieval period. Its origins, however, were not so outstanding, and this is the reason behind the necessity to study it in the general urban context of Catalonia- how, why, and by what stages did a comparatively small colonia become one of the major cities of the medieval Mediterranean world, replacing the previous capital of the region ?

It is also necessary to comment on the limits of the period here studied. The beginning in the early 3rd. century is related to the zenith of Roman towns in the area. Nevertheless, in the case of Barcelona, a résumé will be made of its urban origins in the current state of knowledge, outlining a number of problems which influenced later developments. It must be remembered, however, that this coastal area had long known the rule of Rome by that date.

The end of the period studied is to be found at the beginning of the 13th. century. Ideally, the terminal date would have been fixed by the construction of the medieval defences of Barcelona. However, the exact date of their commencement is unknown, and, moreover, they were built over a long period which had begun by c.1260¹⁴. The amount of material available for the city of the 13th. century is far greater than that from previous centuries, and thus would become unwieldy in a study like this covering a long period¹⁵. In addition, there are worthy reasons for choosing the early years of the 13th. century as a final date. In the political sphere, the death of King Pere I at the Battle of Muret marked a change in orientation of royal interests from the pan-Pyrenean field to the Mediterranean, with the consequent effect on commerce and the urban economy¹⁶. By 1200 the city was well on the way to reaching the limits of settlement shortly to be enclosed by the 13th. century walls, and 1210 marks the establishment of the major piece of planned growth in the medieval city which has been noted to date¹⁷.

These two periods - the 3rd. century and the years around 1200 - mark two comparatively well-documented moments on either side of a darker period, with the amount of information steadily decreasing as one goes forwards or backwards to the

7th. and 8th. centuries. This is the other reason for choosing these limits, for only by seeing the city as a unit continually undergoing transition, and comparing it with earlier or later periods, is it possible to trace its development, particularly in poorly documented times.

The aim of this thesis is thus to consider the towns of this area, towns which are little known to the urban historians of western Europe¹⁸, in the hope that such a regional study will fill something of a lacuna¹⁹. The primary theme, however, is the development of one of these towns, the detailed topographical study of which is something of an innovation in the region, and which might be hoped to provide comparative material sufficient to establish Barcelona and its region within the European urban context.

Notes on style

The language used for modern place-names and street names is usually the current Catalan form: thus Lleida and Vic, rather than Lérida and Vich, with the exception of a few occasions where the Castilian form is well-known in English, and the Catalan might give rise to confusion, such as the case of Ampurias, which is employed in preference to ^{the} Catalan 'Empúries'. The same general rule has been applied to personal names, where an attempt has been made to standardize them in a modern Catalan form. Where no equivalent exists, they are generally left in the original form. In cases of doubt, I have preferred to preserve the original Latin. I am cheerfully aware that there are many inconsistencies within this policy

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in full, and although the more recent local bibliography is included, that in English is less complete, as a result of only brief periods of access to non-Spanish works.

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CHAPTER I
THE SOURCES FOR BARCELONA

Having defined the scope of research, it is now necessary to consider the available source material which might supply pertinent information for the study of the early topography of Barcelona. As Dr. James has commented:

"In the field of settlement studies no one discipline holds pride of place. The specialist in one field cannot judge the question until he has endeavoured to come to terms with the very different types of evidence studied by other specialists, and attempted to assess their relative value."¹

In the case of a city like Barcelona the range of potential sources is diverse.

1. Archaeological sources

From the time of the Renaissance, the remains of Antiquity attracted the attention of scholars in Barcelona, and they often recorded monuments or points of information which have now been lost². This tradition went into decline in the 17th. century,³ being revived towards the end of the following one⁴. From then on grows a steady tide of information throughout the course of the 19th. century in works of all classes⁵.

Not only did these works record standing remains

of both Roman and Medieval date, but they also gathered information about finds from casual excavation in the area of the city. This trend reached its peak in the late 19th. century with the great number of objects which came from the late Roman defences and formed the core of the first archaeological museum in Barcelona, located in the chapel of Sta. Agueda⁶.

Since c.1920, however, less information has come from such stray finds, and more from an increasing amount of controlled excavation. The years of the Republic and the stimulus of the Great Exhibition of 1929 led to the establishment of a new archaeological museum, and also the first large-scale excavations in the core of the city, partially on the site of the present City History Museum. The Civil War cut short this work, which was gradually recommenced in the course of the 1940's. Unfortunately, virtually all the sites excavated before 1960 have only been published as brief notes of a very general nature⁷.

Since 1960 the scope of archaeological work has again increased, and a glance at the list of sites excavated gives the impression that the results ought to be impressive. This view must be qualified in the light of several factors. Firstly, few of the excavations have been of any great size, and a large number have consisted of small trenches with minimal results.

Moreover, few have been carried out to bedrock, with the result that the earliest phases of the city are poorly known. In addition, they have been almost exclusively concerned with the classical period, and medieval layers have occasionally been destroyed without so much as a mention⁸.

Secondly, a large proportion of the excavations in the 1960's were devoted to the examination of the defences, originally largely with the aim of recovering re-used sculptural and epigraphical pieces, and only more recently dealing with the problems of construction and chronology. Nevertheless, in spite of the amount of resources dedicated to this programme, there is still no section which demonstrates their relationship to either intra- or extra-mural structures, which must be considered a serious deficit.

Thirdly, the comment on the lack of section drawings can equally be applied to virtually all excavations to date. We are somewhat better supplied with plans, though even these are absent for a large number of the smaller sites. The general standards of excavation were poor until the late 1960's, and few of the sites excavated in this period of growth have been adequately published. For the majority one has to rely on a series of brief notes, newspaper articles and interim-reports. Indeed, one must underline the work of popularisation of the history of Barcelona that has taken place, but the strictures of Professor

Balil, some fifteen years after they were written, on the absence of the corresponding detailed reports, are still applicable⁹.

Finally, the material from the various excavations has virtually never been published. Occasionally a note on the major pieces, the coins or one class of pottery has appeared, but rarely a full finds report. Until the 1960's, it would appear that stratigraphical excavation was a rarity rather than the norm¹⁰, and, consequently, although some of the material from earlier excavations is available for re-examination, it is rarely grouped in a manner conducive to the re-interpretation of the site. One may only hope that the excavations of the last decade or so will soon be more extensively and satisfactorily published.

2. Epigraphical sources

These have received much more consistent attention from scholars, Apart from those collected by early writers, volume II of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum and its supplement incorporated those known before the end of the last century¹¹. In subsequent years, there was a hiatus in their study locally, although after the Civil War new finds were reported in the volumes of Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica¹², and later in a series of articles by Professor Mariner, which culminated in the publication of his corpus, of which the volume of plates has still not appeared.

The few early Christian and Visigothic inscriptions received detailed study in the two editions of the late Dr. Vives' work¹⁴. He also published the few early medieval inscriptions in a rather inaccessible work¹⁵. Examples from the 11th. and 12th. centuries are scarce and are principally associated with the Cathedral¹⁶ and the monastic church of St. Pau del Camp¹⁷.

3. Topographical sources

Barcelona has undergone a number of changes in the past two centuries which have substantially altered parts of the historic core, and even more the surrounding districts¹⁸. However, there exists an invaluable collection of most of the map material and many of the early topographical drawings of the city¹⁹, which are principally housed in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat. It was not, however, until the second half of the 19th. century that the first accurately measured plans of the city were drawn, which is unfortunate considering that parts of the city had already experienced transformations. In addition to the material contained in the Atlas de Barcelona, and the modern plans of the city and its environs, one must also cite the recently discovered views of the city drawn in 1563, found in Vienna, which contain a wealth of detail not to be seen in similar contemporary depictions²⁰.

4. Place-names

This valuable source of information has not received the concerted attention that it deserves²¹. The pioneer work of Balari, originally published in 1899²², has not been followed up by detailed analyses of areas, except in a few special cases²³, and there is no parallel to the volumes of the English Place Name Survey. For Barcelona, although many of the names existing in the medieval period in the surrounding district have disappeared without trace, there are numerous studies of the street names of the historic centre, although these are of widely varying value. The earliest, by Pi y Arimón²⁴, is among the most useful, since it dates to a period when many of the earlier street names were still in use, or at least remembered. That of Balaguer is largely romantic in its interpretation²⁵. The fundamental work of Carreras Candi contains much useful information on the development of names²⁶. Subsequent studies are mainly based on a combination of these sources, with a few more recent details²⁷. However, a systematic study of the development of street names with documentary references is still needed.

5. Literary and Chronicle sources

The number of references to Barcino in classical writers is small - no more than half-a-dozen. A somewhat larger group is composed by the early Christian

writers who referred to the church and bishops of the city, a form of information which contains little of topographical interest. The majority of the major historical sources of the Visigothic period mention the city on one or more occasions, supplying details of the general scheme of events, but rarely much of topographical significance, although given the general lack of source material in these centuries, it is necessary to make as much use of them as possible.

Arab sources tell us little of the years when the city was under Moslem hegemony. However, a number contain information concerning the centuries after the Reconquest, occasionally providing new historical details, but more usually supplementing those given by the Frankish annals of the 9th. and 10th. centuries. The latter decrease in quantity as time progresses: a natural consequence of the growing separation of the area from the heart of the Carolingian Empire.

From the early 10th. century onwards such sources are exceedingly rare - an occasional mention of the city in an account of a journey, or a church council, or an echo of a major event such as the campaign of Almansur in 985. No local chronicles appeared to replace the Frankish ones, and the later medieval chronicles which contain information about this period are often very summary, and have to be used with a degree of caution²⁸. In the 12th. century,

the broadening of contacts led to the appearance of the city in external sources once more, such as the account of Benjamin of Tudela²⁹, or Genoese and Pisan sources³⁰, although local chronicles did not re-appear until the following century.

One final category that should be mentioned is the range of legal sources. Many aspects of the Visigothic law-codes remained in use in the Barcelona area until virtually the end of the period studied, and are often mentioned in charter sources.³¹ Although they contain no information on the city directly, they are important for the general context of urban life. The other law-code, which is more directly associated with Barcelona, is that known as the 'Usatges'. Although it was for many years considered to be of 11th. century date, this is now believed to have been deliberate deception on the part of the compilers, for it should really be seen as dating from the mid-12th. century, although including earlier clauses³².

6. Documentary sources

Although there are few mentions of Barcelona in the early medieval chronicle sources, this is more than compensated for by the abundance of charters relating to the city from the 10th. century onwards, to which might be added a handful of Carolingian royal documents. The roots of this type of documentation are to be found in Antiquity, and it was widely used

in the Visigothic period³³, although there are no surviving documents referring to the city until the early 10th. century, and comparatively few until after 985, because of the widespread destruction of the titles to property in the attack of Almansur in that year. Thereafter the number increases apace, nearly a thousand extant documents referring to the city and its suburbs in the period up to 1200, with a similar number for the territorium surrounding the city. The first two groups are summarized in volume IV of this thesis.

Large numbers of these exist as the original parchments, others in near contemporary or later parchment copies, and still more were transcribed into cartularies in the 12th. and 13th. centuries. These have remained little known outside Catalonia, for although several of the cartularies have been published either fully or in summaries, most of the original sources remain unpublished. They include various classes of documents. The principal ones are property conveyances - sales, donations, exchanges, pledges or mortgages. There are also a number of settlements of disputes, particularly from the late 10th. and early 11th. centuries, to which might be added the private agreements concerning constructions and drainage rights, mainly of the later 12th. century. Wills of various inhabitants of Barcelona and its

environs, together with the sacramental swearing of their conditions on a church altar, form another important category. Documents concerning comital authority and other aspects of government, apart from feudal oaths, are not particularly common, but can contain useful information. Finally, one must mention a small number of rent lists and similar financial documents, locally known as 'capbreus'. The analysis of these documents, with supplementary information from other sources, takes up most of the second part of this thesis.

The vast majority of documents follow very similar formulae, and therefore can be summarized fairly briefly, although this necessitates the omission of certain information which might be pertinent, especially the signatures of the witnesses. The very bulk of the documentation, although exceedingly repetitive and tedious to read, is the key to its importance, as Bonnassie has demonstrated for Catalonia as a whole in this period, for an attempt can be made to use it statistically³⁴. Moreover, there can be few cities in western Europe outside Italy with such a wealth of detail on topographical aspects, particularly prior to the 12th. century.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE 'PLA DE BARCELONA'

It would be impossible to do adequate justice to the subject without a consideration of the geographical background of the area under study. This, by necessity, will be brief and leave many questions unanswered, and points untouched, but should be sufficient to allow one to understand the setting of these towns, especially Barcelona, and the influence this has had on their relative development.

The four Catalan provinces (fig.1) can be divided into three principal regions - the Pyrenean zone, the coastal Mediterranean one and the central Catalan depression¹. This thesis is principally concerned with the second of these, for the effect of towns on the first was not great until modern times, while the last is more closely comparable with the rest of inland Spain. The coastal area can in turn be divided into four parts - the coastal plain, the litoral mountain range, the pre-litoral depression, and the pre-litoral mountains (fig.2)². This area also corresponds to one of the three natural drainage systems of Catalonia - that of the rivers which drain into the Mediterranean between the Ebro and the Pyrenees (fig.3). In contrast, the central Catalan depression has its own network characterized by the rivers emptying into the Segre and Ebro, whereas to

the north, the Pyrenean streams flow into Roselló (Roussillon) and Aquitaine³.

Within this coastal area lay the majority of the towns of Catalonia, both in Antiquity and in the Medieval period (figs. 47 and 120): indeed, virtually all of them of significance in the Roman period were on the coast itself. Further afield lay Tortosa near the mouth of the River Ebro, and the towns of the central depression, Lleida and its neighbours, which will only infrequently appear in these pages. The bulk of what follows, however, is devoted to one city - Barcelona.

Barcelona is located on the coast, between two rivers, at a point where the coastal plain broadens somewhat in comparison with the areas to the north and south (the Maresme and Garraf: figs. 2 and 5), but which in fact is only about six kilometres wide⁴. To the north-west lies the coastal mountain chain, known here as Collserola, which rises to a maximum height of 512 metres at Tibidabo, but which is broken by the valleys of the two rivers, the Besòs to the north and the Llobregat to the south, which lead into the pre-litoral area.

The resulting 'pla de Barcelona' is thus some six kilometres wide and sixteen kilometres in length. However, it belies its name for it is not entirely

flat nor even, being broken by a smaller chain at the foot of Collserola, particularly in the northern part of the 'pla' towards Horta, and also by the isolated mountain of Montjuïc on the coast itself (fig. 6). Elsewhere there is a general gradual slope down towards the shoreline, the ancient and medieval course of which can be approximately established in spite of the many changes wrought by the alluvial deltas and modern urbanization⁵. Near the coast, knolls originally rose a few metres above their marshy surroundings, and the Roman colonia was established on such a slight rise which today reaches a maximum height of some eighteen metres above sea-level⁶. Other similar rises which are implied by the early medieval documentation are only occasionally detectable under the pressure of the modern high intensity of occupation.

The Quaternary period, deposits of which form the greater part of this plain, has been little studied in Spain, but for the Barcelona area there exists the invaluable summary of Dr. Solé⁷. He divides these deposits into several sub-sections, although the greater part of the area which would have existed in Antiquity falls into his third category of the deposits of streams and mountain wash. This is often characterized by three strata, which are repeated in the same order - red clay: yellowish muds with isolated nodules of caliche, locally known as 'tòrtora': and a calcareous crust⁸. The resultant soils are fertile,

reddish and clayey, although more saline alluvial soils are found near the coast itself⁹.

This plain is thus cut across by a large number of streams, often dry for many months of the year, and now largely passing through subterranean conduits in the lower parts of their courses, although they sometimes emerge from these confines in periods of heavy rainfall¹⁰. Nevertheless, they can often be traced in the upper parts and have sometimes determined street orientations elsewhere (fig. 6). The most significant ones, both in terms of size and their role in determining the topography of the Roman and medieval city are those of Sant Gervasi and Vallcarca, running to the west and east of the core of the city respectively (fig. 38).

The former received its waters from the Tibidabo area, crossed the lesser hills between the Turó of Monterols and that of Putxet, and followed the alignment of the future C/ de la Riera de Sant Miquel, and the Passeig de Gracià. The course from then on is a matter of debate. The majority of writers have seen the origin of the Rambles, the wide street following the west side of the 13th. century defences, in this stream bed. The evidence for this has never been demonstrated beyond doubt, but such an interpretation has generally been based on the derivation of the name from an Arabic word indicating a stream, combined with references to an

'areny' in this part of the city in the early medieval documentation, and the course taken by flood waters in 1862.¹¹

This view was challenged by Pau Vila in 1965¹², and he saw, on the basis of contour evidence and an apparent lack of adequate documentation, a course continuing to the sea on more or less the same alignment, but within, rather than at the foot of, the defences (fig.7). He therefore interpreted the Rambles as a result of a conscious effort by 15th. century councillors to create an esplanade. Although this opinion has been challenged, and the traditional one reinforced with additional documentary evidence¹³, Vila has stood firm in his position, and has maintained his view in a number of subsequent publications¹⁴.

The most likely solution seems that the upper part of the Rambla was never the primary natural stream, which ran instead along the line of the modern C/de la Porta de l'Angel, C/del Pí and C/Cardenal Casañas, which was previously known by the indicative name of C/de la Riera del Pí. This is not only suggested by the form of these streets which trace a sinuous line across the western side of the medieval city, but also by documentary references of the 12th. century¹⁵.

Moreover, from the point now known as the Pla de la Boqueria or Pla de l'Os, where this stream joins the line of the Rambles, a large conduit existed running in the direction of the sea¹⁶. Thus at the date of

construction of this conduit, perhaps in the 14th. century, the lower part of the Rambles was apparently a stream-bed. Whether the upper part was naturally so remains uncertain, although it is quite feasible that a lesser stream originally ran there, and with the construction of the defences this gained in importance by the artificial diversion of other streams towards its course.

One of the great problems in the study of this stream is the multiplicity of names by which it has been known: the same difficulty arises with its neighbour to the east, on the other side of the Roman city, which is known by at least half-a-dozen variants¹⁷. As in the case of the Rambles stream, these in fact may not have all referred to the same one, but to branches of the same system which joined in the vicinity of the city, but had only one outlet into the sea. The course of this stream within the confines of the medieval city is easier to trace with certainty, for it was marked by a street swept away in the urban reforms of the early 20th. century with the construction of the Via Layetana¹⁸. This street - the C/de la Riera de Sant Joan to give it its final name - could be traced as far as the Plaça del Oli, where it turned through a right angle to the east (fig.100-1). From there onwards the stream was placed in conduits in the mid-13th. century¹⁹: however, such an orientation, and a second right-

angled turn further east in the direction of the sea, could not have been natural, and their date will be discussed below²⁰. Suffice it to say that the stream originally entered the sea in the vicinity of the church of Sta. Maria del Mar (figs. 38 and 97).

These were by no means the only streams in the 'pla de Barcelona': the number of references to torrentes and arenios in the early medieval documentation is considerable, and early maps also mark many of them²¹. Since the majority flowed outside the medieval urban area, their precise course need not detain us here. Many of them, like the Rambles stream, did not flow directly into the sea, but into a salt-lake or lagoon (stagnum or laguna), several of which are named in early medieval sources, and are occasionally recorded by present-day place-names²². This clearly influenced the ever-varying position of the shore line, the exact line of which in historic times will be considered below²³. It is, however, apparent that it has advanced substantially since the 12th. century, and that minor variations probably occurred between the late Roman and medieval periods. The point of departure for its study must be the edge of the Quaternary platform (fig. 6) and it is no coincidence that many of the settlements and communication routes of the 'pla' are closely related to this line (figs. 9 and 119)²⁴. Unfortunately, it is only in recent years that studies have been dedicated

to the effect of the alluvial deposits of the streams and, more significantly, of the two rivers²⁵. We are still a long way from knowing the date of deposition of much of the coastal area, although it is evident that in the first millenium A.D. it covered a fraction of its modern extent, particularly around the mouths of the Besòs and Llobregat.

The circumstances of relief, drainage and soils thus established a series of suitable topographical conditions for the location of a city - a relatively flat area, protected from inclement weather coming from the north, with abundant water and fertile soils. These alone, however, were not sufficient, and the establishment and later growth of the city was largely due to political circumstances and the stability of a united hinterland²⁶. Like the two other great cities of the north-west Mediterranean littoral - Marseilles and Genoa - the ease, or comparative ease, of communications with the wider natural region of the city, and to some extent with areas farther afield, played a significant rôle. Not only can communications be maintained along the coast to the north and south, and with the pre-littoral depression via the Besòs and Llobregat valleys, but also beyond, with the Pyrenean zone, via the upper Llobregat and the plain of Vic, and with the central Catalan depression via the Anoia-Igualada gap (fig.8)²⁷. Although the city had no natural port,

this was of no great detriment on a coast where such facilities are rare, and the area to the south of Montjuïc and around the mouth of the Llobregat could serve as sufficient protection. What it did possess, however, was a position central to the other regions of Catalonia, equidistant from most points, and once the area ceased to be divided amongst the various Iberian tribes, and a degree of unity was imposed by the pax romana, the way was open for the city to exploit this natural advantage. With the emergence of the regional identity of Catalonia in the early medieval period its pre-eminence was assured and has subsequently never been relinquished.

CHAPTER III

THE URBAN ORIGINS OF BARCELONA

To provide the necessary context for the foundation of the Roman colonia and its later development, it is necessary to examine its predecessors, which, in the case of Barcelona, and any of the other cities of this region, were the Iberian settlements within the vicinity and their early Roman successors.

The surrounding mountains of the coastal chain contained a number of small settlements of the Laietani: in addition to those within the later territorium of the city¹, one might add those of la Pena del Moro (St. Just Desvern)² and Puig Castellar (Sta. Coloma de Gramanet)³ a few kilometres beyond its limits (fig.9). During the first two centuries of Roman rule, these hill-top settlements were gradually abandoned in favour of those in the plain, for there is a link between sites producing late Iberian material and those with early Imperial pottery⁴. On the other hand, none of the 'poblados' has produced Arretine ware or Southern Gaulish Samian products. By the beginning of the Christian era, then, the transition from a native pattern of settlement to the Roman one was largely complete in the immediate area of Barcelona, even if further

inland native ways continued to predominate and changes were less dramatic⁵.

Although notions of urbanisation were not absent among the tribes of the Catalan coast⁶, it is debatable to what extent their settlements were truly urban. It would appear that the strongest case for a state of urbanism only exists in those settlements heavily influenced by intrusive factors, particularly the Greeks of Emporion (Ampurias)⁷. This influence was strengthened by the presence of Roman forces, and parallel to the transition from the native to the Romanized pattern of rural settlement came the advent of true towns.

1. Traditions concerning the origins of Barcelona

The first post-classical author to make a reference to the origins of Barcelona was Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo (1170-1247), and author of the Historia Gothica, in which he postulated a link between the city of Barca nona and the legend of Hercules and the nine boats⁸. Where the sole survivor of this original fleet touched solid ground, he built a city. Not for nearly another two centuries was the theme taken up again, in the work of Pere Tomic, written in 1438, but not published until nearly a century later⁹. He considered the remains of the still-standing Roman temple of Barcelona were a monument to Hercules.

Other 15th. century writers followed their ideas, and although the exact form of the legend could vary somewhat, all the accounts had the common factors of a maritime link and the appearance of the mountain of Montjuïc in the story¹⁰. None of them, however, suggested that Hercules' foundation was on a site other than that occupied by the core of the contemporary city. A century later, however, the tradition was to emerge of the original location of the city at the foot of Montjuïc, a tradition which has remained part of the history of Barcelona to the present day¹¹.

The first stone in this structure came from the knowledge that a port of the city had been located to the south of Montjuïc: although this is strictly speaking only documented in the 10th. century, it has usually been assumed that the port of the Roman period was also located there¹². A second step was provided by Joan Margarit, the learned and much travelled bishop of Girona (1422-1484), who, while accepting Hercules as the city's father and founder, rejected the 'ninth boat' legend in favour of an involved Greek derivation meaning 'fishermen's dwellings'¹³. It is not without significance that at the time he was writing the area to the south of Montjuïc was largely inhabited by small scale fishermen, working from the base of the silted port lagoon¹⁴. Moreover, he derived, as Tomic had before him, the

name of the mountain from Mons Jovis, and stated that there had been a temple to Jupiter on its summit. Although a Mons Jovis is mentioned by Pomponius Mela as located on the Catalan coast, its position in relation to Barcelona is by no means clear¹⁵, and the name of the mountain is perhaps more closely related to the medieval form of Mons Judaicus¹⁶. Nevertheless, one more step had been taken in drawing the origins of the city and Montjuïc together.

A near contemporary of Joan Margarit, Jeroni Pau, was the first to dedicate a complete work to the city. He too had thoroughly combed the classical sources, and had come across Ausonius' reference to Punica Barcino. Given the presence of the Punic leader, Hamilcar Barca, in this region in the Second Punic War, prior to the Roman conquest, the simple step of associating the two, and providing a Punic origin for the city was made¹⁷. This was accepted soon afterwards by Pere Miquel Carbonell, who soundly rebutted the connection with Hercules. He was also one of the first to stress the vicinity of the 'Port' place name and Mons Jovis, stating that traces of its installations were still visible, and that it had been recorded by Avienus¹⁸. These opinions rapidly became widely accepted, appearing in the second half of the 15th. century in the works of Jorba¹⁹ and Juan de Mariana²⁰, while the Hercules theory was roundly rejected.

The first attempt to blend the two major lines of argument, so as to reach some form of historical compromise, was attempted by Diago in the first years of the 17th. century. Basing his theory on a supposed strength of devotion to Jupiter in Barcelona, he leaned towards Herculean origins for the 'Mons Taber' site: but he also pointed out that Joan Margarit, following Ptolemy, had indicated the existence of another city between the mouth of the Llobregat and Barcelona. This was named Rubricata, supposedly derived, like the name of the river, from a tribe called Rubricatos, who had arrived with the Carthaginians²¹. Thus, although rejecting the association with the family of Hamilcar Barca, he endeavoured to maintain a semblance of the widespread north African legend.

A near contemporary, Pujades, writing what was to become a highly influential work, also supported the Hercules story, basing his argument on five points²²:

i) Hercules was known to have been ruler of all Spain: therefore it was easier for him to have founded the city, rather than an intruding invader such as Hamilcar Barca.

ii) the existence of an inscription BARCINO AB HERCULE CONDITA, which, although he recognized it as a relatively recent product, ^{he} maintained that it was of some historical value.

- iii) the link with the ninth boat legend.
- iv) the presence of the legend BARKA NONA on some medieval coins.
- v) the strength of popular tradition.

Similarly, he was reluctant to discard all links with the Carthaginians, so he stressed the possibility of a re-foundation by Hamilcar Barca, after a period of decline and decay. Moreover, he revived interest in the defences of the city, for which he, building on the statements of such writers as Florian de Ocampo, claimed a Carthaginian origin, maintaining that this was proven by the presence of a Punic symbol (the horned head of a bull) carved on one of the towers of the east (Castell Vell) gate. He thus clearly considered the original centre of the city to have been where it was in his day.

As may be pointed out, he was the first to state in print, although only in order to refute it, the theory that the earliest settlement of the city had been on the south side of Montjuïc, near the 'Port' area. However, as a result of the conflicting theories of the previous two centuries, sufficient confusion reigned so as not only to mislead readers of the period, but also to have an influence on all later writers.

No new arguments were presented for many years: Marca believed the Hamilcar Barca origin²³: Feliu

was content to state that the city had been founded by Hercules and fortified by Hamilcar²⁴. Capmany, later in the 18th. century, preferred Carthaginian origins, since the characters involved were historically attested²⁵. In the same period, Flórez returned to Pujades's comments on the possibility that the earliest phase of the city should be envisaged to the south of Montjuïc. Unlike Pujades, he was sincerely in favour of the idea, basing his view on the text of Pomponius Mela, which appeared to associate Baetulo (Badalona) with Mons Jovis, and Barcino with the River Llobregat²⁶.

This line of thought, however, did not immediately prove acceptable. In the late 18th. and early 19th. centuries, the Hercules legend fell completely out of favour, though not until after a street had been named after him²⁷, and by the time Piferrer wrote in 1839, there was no competition for the Punic theory²⁸. After a thorough analysis of the historical context, Pi y Arimón doubted the link with Hamilcar, although just as he felt unable to break the tradition of the Punic origin of the defences in favour of a Roman one, he also maintained a Carthaginian link for the origins of the city, claiming that Hannibal rather than Hamilcar Barca was its founder²⁹. His views, nevertheless, did not find acceptance, especially from Balaguer who upheld the traditional 'Punic' theory³⁰.

Within the next few decades, the picture changed substantially. Reconsideration of the classical texts and the first faltering archaeological steps were the basis of these alterations. Bofarull in 1876 pointed out that there existed a reference to Barcelona in Avienus' Ora Maritima, believed to be based on early sources, and which thus indicated the existence of a settlement prior to the passing of the Carthaginians³¹. Even before this, Hernandez Sanahuja had rejected both the Herculean and Punic theories, but suggested the existence of an Iberian settlement on the slopes of Montjuic. Moreover, he postulated, as a result of the comparison with Tarragona, a tripartite Roman city, consisting of an area of public buildings on 'Mons Taber', a fortified area with the temple of Jupiter on Montjuic, and a residential quarter on the lower slopes of the mountain³².

In the last quarter of the 19th. century hypotheses flowed freely. Apart from Hernandez's views, Fita³³ and Bofarull³⁴ proposed Greek origins for the city, while Sanpere y Miquel, working on very dubious philological bases, produced a theory of Semitic origins³⁵. It was only in the early years of the present century that a composite theory was produced by Carreras Candi, which has remained largely accepted to the present day³⁶. This was based on the belief that an Iberian

'poblado' had existed on Montjuïc, and that this later shifted to the lower slopes: not only was this the fruit of five hundred years of historical thought on the matter, but it was also apparently proved by the discovery of an inscription and other archaeological material in 1903, all of which was dated to the period prior to the establishment of the settlement on 'Mons Taber'³⁷ (figs.10-11).

2. The classical texts and Iberian coinage

At this point it is desirable to leave the historiographical approach and to analyse the material on which these earlier interpretations were based, taking particular note of how they have been interpreted in the past century.

Theoretically, the oldest source is part of the Ora Maritima, which might be described as a geographical account of part of the coastline of the western Mediterranean, written in its surviving form in verse by Rufus Festus Avienus in the 4th. century A.D., but using earlier sources. This work contains little order and much irrelevance, is full of ancient nomenclature and ignorance, but is normally held to include information derived from Greek sources of c.530 B.C., consequently producing confusion over which parts are later interpolations.

The text referring to Barcelona is as follows:

..... inde Tarraco oppidum
et Barcilonum amoena(s) sedes ditium

nam pandit illic tuta portus brachia

uvetque semper dulcibus tellus aquis

- a rather rhetorical reference to Barcelona, in the plural, with an allusion to its location, a reference to the port and abundance of freshwater. This raises problems, mainly the implication of the reference to the city in the plural, which has been accepted by the majority of authors to mean the existence of two cities, one on or near Montjuïc, the other on 'Mons Taber', as early as the 6th. century B.C., and it should be remembered that this hypothesis was in existence prior to the discovery of Roman remains in the Montjuïc area³⁸.

More recent research has placed the date of the passage in doubt: the form of the name of the city is more appropriate to the 4th. century A.D.³⁹ and there are certain parallels with the letters of Paulinus⁴⁰. Moreover, the reference to the duality of foundations has also been challenged, for it could be interpreted as referring to the inhabitants⁴¹.

If this criticism is accepted, the earliest appearance would thus be on two coins imitating Emporion drachma models, where the later city name appears in the form BARCENO or BARKENO⁴². These coins of the 3rd. century B.C. have been contrasted with the later issues of LAIESKEN and they have frequently been held to indicate a duality of settle-

ment in the Barcelona area. Whether these early coins are genuine or not has been debated, and although the general opinion now tends to accept them as valid, the meaning of BARCENO is still unresolved⁴³.

The other series is much more common, and was issued in the period between the early 2nd. and the mid-1st. centuries B.C.⁴⁴. The -sken suffix is normally held to relate to a tribal derivation, and there is certainly little doubt that the Laietani occupied the coastal area between the Tordera and the Llobregat, and probably the pre-litoral depression also, that is the modern 'comarcas' of Maresme, Barcelonés, Baix Llobregat, Vallès Oriental and Vallès Occidental (figs.4 and 5)⁴⁵.

From this information a number of deductions were made in the late 19th. and early 20th. centuries which have been so often repeated as to be accepted as fact:

- i) the existence of a tribe called the Laietani, and coin issues in the genitive plural, indicates, since other issues of the area were apparently based on towns (e.g. Ilduro, Baitulo and Ausa), the presence of a town called Laie.
- ii) because of its name, Laie must have been the capital of the Laietani.
- iii) since Barcelona became the most important town in this area, it was natural that the preceding

capital would have been located in its neighbourhood. The obvious site was the supposed Iberian settlement on Montjuïc⁴⁶.

Barkeno was explained by two alternative hypotheses: it could have been the original name of Laie, itself only adopted after the Roman conquest and which later reverted to the Barcino form at the time of establishment of Roman immunity: or there could have been two cities, as in the old theory.

Although these conclusions were reached at a time when there was still no recognized Iberian material from the Montjuïc area, the writers of the late 19th. century could also find some further support from the remaining classical texts. Avienus may have been their mainstay, but the writings of Pomponius Mela also contained pertinent information. His Chorographia written in the mid-1st. century A.D. includes a description of the Catalan coast, in which Barcelona is mentioned among a group of parva oppida, which also numbered Blanes, Mataró, Badalona and the unidentified Subur and Tolobi⁴⁷. It has normally been accepted as an accurate account of the contemporary situation, although there is little doubt that he was using texts of the previous century⁴⁸: according to Professor Tarradell, if he derived this information from one of these now lost works, it is not difficult to see why the city was

described alongside its neighbours, when in fact it had been promoted above them in judicial status to the rank of colonia by the time he was writing⁴⁹.

As has been noted above, Pomponius Mela also appears to locate the city between/the Llobregat and Mons Jovis, with Baetulo further to the north-east. However, whether Mons Jovis was Montjuïc or part of the litoral chain near Badalona remains unsolved, and the value of this information is thus doubtful. The final text widely used in discussing the state of the city before the mid-1st. century B.C. is another late statement, of Ausonius - me punica laedit Barcino⁵⁰. As has been pointed out above, authors before the late 19th. century related this to the supposed foundation by Hamilcar Barca. At a time when the majority were discarding the Punic theory, Sanpere y Miquel revived the Semitic link, basing his theories not on a chance connection with a historically known personality, but seeking a Phoenician meaning for Barcino, which he interpreted as 'the city of the well of the bay'⁵¹. Although his ideas had little repercussion in this field, his other topographical ideas, and particularly that of a bay, have remained current in discussions of the shore-line down to the present day⁵². The meaning of punica in this text has recently been re-examined by Dr. Mayer, who concludes that of the three possible meanings to the Roman, that of 'deceitful' may fit

the context better than that of origin.⁵³ However, the link with the idea of commercial activity typified by the Carthaginians may also have been a possible meaning, and the possibility of a derivation from the sense of 'red' referring to the neighbouring soils, need not be totally discarded. The meaning could thus have been eclectic, or any one of these.

That Sanpere's theory was never widely accepted is not surprising considering the scarcity of Phoenician influence in this part of the Iberian Peninsula⁵⁴. However, the others which have found general credibility in the past century were also lacking supporting archaeological proof at the time of their formulation, and it is only with hindsight that this appears to strengthen them. Could it be that we are in the presence of a case of archaeological evidence being used to support a pre-conceived historico-topographical model? Is there real evidence for the two settlements of Montjaic - the Iberian one and its early Roman successor?

3. The archaeological evidence

In the Barcelona area, the first Iberian settlement to be recognized was that of Puig Castellar (Sta. Coloma de Gramanet), partially excavated in the first decade of the century⁵⁵. When Carreras Candi wrote his 'geography' of the city, he could point to few Iberian archaeological remains, least of

all any to support his idea of the existence of a native settlement - the so-called Laie - on Montjuïc⁵⁶. Subsequently, Iberian remains have been found on the mountain, which have until recently been generally accepted as evidence for this settlement⁵⁷.

This is now seriously questioned, for the finds consist of no more than two widely-separated groups of pits, so that it is not beyond the bounds of credibility that they are a testimony of smaller individual settlements, rather than a nucleated one. Indeed, apart from a possible scatter of Iberian pottery in the grounds of the 17th. century fortifications,⁵⁸ the upper part of the mountain, the logical choice for the location of an oppidum, appears to be devoid of remains of this period. Structural remains are notably absent (figs. 9 and 10)⁵⁹.

The keystone of the case for the existence of a Roman settlement of supposedly late Republican date in the Montjuïc area is an inscription found with an exedra and various decorative fragments in the area of the south-west cemetery in 1903 (fig. 11). The principal inscription records the construction of walls, towers and gates, and is an indication of some form of municipal organization, and all this is commonly believed to point to a date some time before the foundation of the colonia under Augustus.⁶⁰ The evidence has subsequently been interpreted in three ways:

- i) some, particularly Schulten, believed that the inscription was not found in the place for which it was destined, but had been brought from elsewhere. This has been countered by the argument that, since it was carved in Montjuïc stone, there is no reason why it should have been taken there for re-use⁶¹.
- ii) the majority of writers have related it to the problem of the two Barcelonas - the Romanized Laie on Montjuïc and the Barcino of the Imperial period, with a variance of opinion as to whether the 3rd. century B.C. Barkeno should be related to the former or the latter⁶².
- iii) A more recent theory, that of Srta. Pallarés, has developed this: ~~she claims~~ that it provides proof that the Roman city was initially established at the foot of Montjuïc, and was later transferred to the 'Mons Taber' site. This removes the problem of the co-existence of two settlements, for only one of the two cities would have existed at a time⁶³.

Whatever the correct view, the evidence from archaeological finds for the city of the Republican period, whatever its juridicial status, is still remarkably slender. There is no evidence that the material mentioned above ~~was~~ found in situ, and subsequent reports of finds from the area have been minimal. Even in excavations in 1953 little was apparently found⁶⁴. The other evidence which has been invoked to support the existence of this city is

also of doubtful validity: the statue and milestone found towards Hostafrancs on the north-west side of the mountain⁶⁵: the late Roman burials at Vista Alegre on the steep slopes facing the coast⁶⁶: and a possible kiln from the summit⁶⁷. Rather than pointing to the existence of a nucleated settlement, these surely indicate that an opposite state of affairs existed with a considerable degree of dispersal (figs 9-10).

The only other factor which can be considered in connection with this problem is the medieval documentary evidence. In the 10th. century, the area to the south-west of the mountain was clearly known as the 'port', and a number of substantial residences were erected in its vicinity⁶⁸, together with a castle. Moreover, in 938, there is a unique reference to a villa nova in the Montjuïc area, which Srta. Pallarés would see in contrast to the surviving nucleus around the hypothetical port of antiquity⁶⁹. However, the available evidence points to dispersed settlement at that date also, and the comparison could have equally well been made with the city that inherited the site of the Augustan colonia, and stands at the heart of the modern city. Although there existed a port in the 10th. century, there is no proof that it had existed in the Roman period or before, unless one accepts that the words of Avienus reflect a precise topographical situation, and as Professor Tarradell has pointed out, the shore close to the later

colonia could equally well have been used as such, and the archaeological evidence points not to one restricted port area in antiquity, but to the employment of the whole shoreline around the mouth of the Llobregat⁷⁰. Moreover, as will be considered below, there are parallels for the usage of the 'Port' name elsewhere in early medieval Europe which might suggest that it was an innovation of that period rather than a survival from Antiquity.

The most detailed attack on the concept of an initial Roman city to the south-west of Montjuic has come from Dr. Bonneville, who has criticised the traditional dating of the inscription found in 1903, because of certain archaisms (turres not turris, coer(avit) and not cur(avit)) and a supposed lack of similarity to Augustan inscriptions, this has always been dated to the late Republican period⁷¹. Bonneville has considered the known parallels, and concludes that most date to the second half of the 1st. century B.C., but can rarely be assigned a more exact date. Paleographically, he sees parallels between both this inscription to C.Coelius and that of the exedra, on the one hand, and others to which he attributes an Augustan date, but which have been found in the area of the later colonia, and he concludes that the walls, gates and towers were those of the Augustan foundation, and that C.Coelius was one of the magistrates in charge of their construction⁷².

4. The Titles of the City

This conclusion, however, necessitates a re-consideration of the various interpretations of the name Colonia Iulia Augusta Faventia Paterna Barcino. As Sutherland pointed out many years ago this lengthy title would suggest far from straightforward origins and this is certainly upheld by the opinions put forward in the last few decades⁷³. Until 1970, these names were not all attested directly by epigraphic evidence, but the discovery of an inscription erected by the Augustal Sevirs finally settled any doubts⁷⁴. Indeed, for long it was accepted that the P of the abbreviated form stood for PIA, and it was not until the discovery of a dedication to Caracalla in the 1950's that a revision was made⁷⁵.

Faventia is attested by Pliny in the Flavian period⁷⁶, although he maintains silence over the other names which must have been borne by that date. However, these names do not consistently appear in the same order, even in broadly contemporary inscriptions. Thus those of Lucius Licinius Secundus have the order F.I.A.P.⁷⁷, that of the Augustal Sevirs Col.Iul.Aug.Fav.Pat.Barcino, and that of Caracalla, Col.Iul.Fav.Pat.Barc. As Dra. Rodà has succinctly pointed out, "Esta diversidad en la ordenación podría ser un reflejo de la discutida y tantas veces mencionada dualidad de Barcelona"⁷⁸.

Iulia should indicate a colonial foundation by Julius Caesar or Octavian before his acceptance of the name Augustus, or by Tiberius and Caligula. The epithet Augusta seems to indicate that it is a matter of a foundation by Octavian Augustus, but when the two are found together, it has been claimed that the city in question was at first a municipium Iulium of cives Romani founded before 27 B.C., and promoted to colonial status between 27 and 14 B.C.⁷⁹.

Pallarés has associated Faventia with the supposed Montjuïc settlement, noting the parallels with the form Polentia, Placentia, Florentia and Valentia, which appear principally in the 2nd. century B.C.⁸⁰. Professor Mariner derived the name from the help given to Caesar against Pompey and considered that it was awarded by the former's adopted son, which would also account for the Paterna⁸¹. Dra.Roda accepts the possibility of either of these two theories, although the case for the latter is perhaps stronger, for it would thus link up with the Julia⁸².

Although Srta. Pallarés suggests a colonia of late 2nd. or early 1st. century B.C. date⁸³, this is nowhere attested. Other authors have attributed municipal status to the presumed pre-Augustan city⁸⁴. The probability of an association with the Caesarian party has been strengthened by the reinterpretation of the names of the tribes that supported him: instead of tarraconensi et iacetani et ausetani, the second might be considered as a scribal error for laietani,

for this tribe was between the other two geographically speaking, whereas the iacetani lived away to the west in northern Aragon, in the region of the modern town of Jaca.⁸⁵

Dr. Bonneville does not tackle this problem of the titles of the city in any depth, although it is not impossible to establish an argument which is reconcilable with his view. It is feasible that the titles Iulia and Augusta were both given at the time of the colonial foundation, for the former does not necessarily prove the existence of an earlier municipium, and the Faventia and Paterna may have been attributed because of the help given by the tribe of the Laietani as a whole, rather than just one settlement, to the Caesarian party. If this opinion can be further supported the argument that the Augustan foundation had no local predecessor gains in strength.

This interpretation, however, leaves a number of points unanswered: firstly the irregular order of the four titles. Those authors who envisage a settlement prior to the Augustan period called Faventia Iulia Barcino, with the addition of the Augusta Paterna at that date⁸⁶, have some evidence in their favour in the order (F.I.A.P.) of the Lucius Licinius Secundus inscriptions. The alternative theory, expounded by Sr. Verrié and Professor Tarra-dell, is that the earlier settlement only bore the

Faventia cognomen, as described by Pliny, all the others being added by Augustus, and the order was fixed in the 2nd. century A.D.⁸⁷. If, as Dr. Bonneville believes, there were no urban precedents in the area, it is difficult to understand why the titles were so complex and various in their order of presentation. Secondly, if Pomponius Mela was using now lost earlier sources for this section of his work, there was clearly some predecessor: if not, it remains unclear why he placed Barcino among the neighbouring parva oppida when it was of different status: Bonneville's contention that both this and the failure of Pliny to cite more than Faventia were literary devices is not entirely convincing⁸⁸. Thirdly, the appearance of the name BARKENO on the two 3rd. century B.C. coins, if they are genuine, needs an explanation. Finally, Bonneville has no difficulty in associating the C.Coelius inscription with the first phase of the surviving defences⁸⁹. However, as is discussed in the following chapter, there are a number of incongruities in this argument, and their Augustan date, although possible, is far from apparent, and one towards the end of the 1st. century A.D. may be preferable.

5. Conclusion

We are thus faced with two sets of evidence which appear to contradict each other: on the one hand, the lack of evidence for an Iberian oppidum on Montjuïc,

the scarcity of Iberian material in the 'pla de Barcelona (fig.12), the virtually total lack of archaeological evidence for the supposed Roman foundation on the slopes of the mountain, the likelihood that the port was not only at this point in Antiquity, and the evidence that the historiographical tradition led to the establishment and embellishment of a theory prior to the chance finding of inscriptions which appeared to prove it, all go against the accepted interpretation of the original existence of a Roman foundation on the south-western slopes of Montjuïc.

On the other hand, the evidence of the titles of the city, although not irreconcilable with the hypothesis of a foundation ex nihilo under Augustus, tends to lend credence to the opinion that the origins of the city were far more complex. The evidence for pre-Augustan settlement in the area of the later colonia is no more extensive than for the Montjuïc area, and even though such a locational change would be virtually unique in the Roman world⁹⁰, it is not totally out of the question.

The problem clearly hinges on the inscription referring to the construction of walls, gates and towers. If Dr. Bonneville's theory is right, and it is by no means watertight⁹¹, and if the existence of an Augustan phase in the defences of the 'Mons Taber' site can be demonstrated, the theory that

rejects the existence of an earlier foundation must be considered to have the upper hand. Similarly, if more information existed on the circumstances of discovery of this inscription and the material associated with it, and if it could be shown to have been in situ, or if further material were discovered⁹², the alternative would be preferable. Although the mainly negative archaeological evidence tends to support the view that the Montjuic city is the result of a complex historiographical tradition, combined with other evidence of uncertain value, until a definite association can be made between this inscription and the colonia on 'Mons Taber', some degree of doubt must remain.

CHAPTER IV

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THIRD CENTURY BARCELONA

It has been generally accepted that the establishment of the settlement on the small rise popularly known as 'Mons Taber' dates from the reign of Augustus, along with so many other cities of Roman Spain. A series of factors seems to support this long-held belief:

- i) the titles of the city indicate a close connection with his reign¹.
- ii) the plan of the city displays similar elements of planning to other Augustan coloniae².
- iii) pre-Augustan material from its area is scarce.
- iv) the citizens were of the tribe Galeria, which was associated with Augustus³.

The possibility of a pre-Augustan settlement

Recent excavations have demonstrated that the Roman city of the Imperial period had no clear native antecedents: finds of pre-late 1st. century B.C. material are scarce, and no layer containing exclusively earlier material has ever been distinguished. On the few occasions when an excavation has been carried through to the natural sub-soil, the earliest layers have been of Augustan date or later⁴, although it should be borne in mind that many excavations have stopped long before the earliest levels. Nevertheless, several scholars have believed in the existence

of an earlier nucleus on the same site⁵, and there are a number of finds which lend some substance to this opinion (fig.13):

- i) pottery of Iberian or Ibero-Roman date was found in the excavation of the Roman cemetery of the Plaça de la Vila de Madrid: the excavator supposed that this had been washed down by stream action from a site higher in the 'pla', although others have suggested that it may not have been far from its original point of deposition⁶.
- ii) finds of similar material from the Plaça del Rei and the Plaça de Sant Just are less well documented⁷. The vessels of supposedly Iberian date from under the Tinell Hall of the medieval Royal Palace are clearly early medieval⁸.
- iii) apparently, in the construction of the Banco de España, which now houses the Caixa d'Estalvis de Catalunya, at the junction of the Via Layetana and Avinguda de la Catedral, and thus close to the northern angle of the Roman defences, burials in pits were found, similar to those known from Montjuïc⁹.
- iv) the only other find of apparently Iberian associations from the area of the Colonia is a stela found in C/del Arc de Sant Ramon del Call in 1858. There seems to be little doubt that it is genuine, because of a very similar object from Llefia near Badalona, although it otherwise stands in isolation. Unfortunately, it was re-buried soon after discovery,

so that neither it nor its inscription can be today examined. The bronze coin-like objects reputedly found at the same time remain controversial.

Although the inscribed stela was found 'with other remains of an Iberian temple', according to the earliest account of its discovery, this must clearly remain doubtful¹⁰. It has also been suggested that it had originally been erected in a cemetery on Montjuïc and transferred to the city at the same time as many of the Hebrew inscriptions which have been found used in the foundations of 15th. and 16th. century structures¹¹. Given the location of the find in the part of the street towards C/dels Banys Nous, it would seem far more probable that the 'length of very ancient wall' in which it was found was part of the late Roman defences¹². Like so many other funerary monuments, it was thus away from its original location: its significance thus hinges on its date, which remains uncertain. If it were of pre-late 1st. century B.C. date, it would indicate a degree of settlement prior to the foundation of the colonia. If, on the other hand, it could be assigned a later date, which is by no means impossible in spite of the Iberian inscription, it has no more importance than the many other funerary monuments incorporated in the late Roman walls.

v) Finally, a number of negative points concerning this potential pre-Augustan settlement must be raised. Firstly, finds from Ibero-Roman mints

and other contemporary issues, are scarce in the area of the city, and when they have been made, they occur in Augustan contexts¹³. Secondly, the theories of Serra Ràfols on the possibility of a 'megalithic' fortification of Iberian technique, on the alignment of the later defences on the north side, can now be discarded¹⁴. These remains were probably the unmortared foundations of the 1st. century A.D. defences¹⁵. The scarcity of pre-Augustan fine wares indicates that if a settlement existed it was not large: only one sherd of Campanian ware is known from the Sant Miquel excavations¹⁶, although others are reported to have been found in earlier excavations in the Plaça del Rei zone and perhaps outside the defences at this point¹⁷. In conclusion, one might suspect that there was a degree of settlement in the area of the later city, but it was by no means extensive, and could hardly be considered a forerunner of later settlement.

The colonial foundation

Srta. Pallarés has suggested that the foundation came not at the time of Augustus' stay in Hispania in 26-25 B.C., but slightly later, basing her argument on the milestones known from the city and its environs, and the theory that the coastal road was laid out, partially supplanting that passing through the pre-litoral depression, in c.8 or 7 B.C.¹⁸. The hypothesis has its attractions, but one must add that neither was the inland route abandoned, nor

could the coastal cities of the 1st. century B.C. have existed without a road-link, so that the alterations of Augustus were not entirely innovations, but based on earlier routes¹⁹. Moreover, the Antonine Itinerary clearly indicates that the principal road passed through the pre-litoral area, before turning into the Besòs gap to head towards Barcelona, which might suggest that this coastal route did not have the importance that Srta. Pallarés has attributed to it²⁰.

Nevertheless, that there was an alteration in the status of Barcelona, or perhaps its first appearance, in the Augustan period is obvious, and this must be placed alongside the foundation of other coloniae, such as Elche, Zaragoza and Mérida²¹. The last two were for veterans of the Cantabrian Wars, although it would seem that Barcino received civil rather than military settlers, for not only is there a comparative absence of inscriptions recording ex-legionaries²², but also the citizens had Latin rather than Roman law rights²³.

What, then, was the appearance of this new foundation? Until recently, it was constantly maintained that the area of the city prior to the construction of the late Roman defences was somewhat, even considerably, larger than that enclosed by those walls. Professor Balil in 1964 listed the following supporting evidence:

- i) the mosaic found in the 19th. century in the Baixada de Santa Eulalia was cut by the defences (fig.13, no.8).
- ii) the façade found in one of the gate towers of the C/de Regomir, although not part of a theatre as often supposed, indicated the incorporation of an earlier structure (fig.13, no.9).
- iii) remains of structures with painted wall plaster were cut by the defences in C/del Subteniente Navarro (fig.13, no.10).
- iv) the remains of the Plaça d' Antoni Maura may not have been suburban (fig.13, no.11)²⁴.

The more recent work of Srta.Pallarés has produced the theory that the plans of the city before and after the construction of the late Roman walls were in fact very similar. Her hypothesis involves the prolongation of the parallel sides of the later defences so as to produce a rectangular area, similar to that of other Augustan foundations, such as Aosta, Como, Turin and León. This hypothesis is based on the double thickness of the walls at certain points of the circuit, and would mean that most of the structures mentioned above, with the exception of the final one, would have been included within this original phase of the walls²⁵ (fig.15).

Several criticisms of this, however, can be made. Firstly, there would seem to be little value

in reducing the defended area by such a small amount. Secondly, as Professor Balil has pointed out, there is a remarkable lack of evidence for these angles, in the light of the extent of excavation in these zones²⁶. Last, but not least, if the points where a double thickness of wall is visible are plotted (fig.16) rather than supporting such a theory, they largely demolish it. Oriol Granados has demonstrated that they are to be found on both the parallel lengths and the 'cut-off' angles²⁷. In the case of the latter such a double thickness is proven in the case of the north²⁸ and east sides²⁹, and seems probable on the south from the early plans which appear to show a constant width of the defences in the area of the Palau Reial Menor³⁰. Only on the west does it remain unproven for the excavations in the Baixada de Santa Eulalia failed to reveal the full width of the defences³¹. This would thus indicate that the later Roman defences consisted of a doubling of their predecessors, with the addition of towers, a process which is paralleled at both León and Zaragoza³².

The resultant plan of Barcelona, although unusual, is easily explained by the presence of streams to the east and west, which may have made the construction of a more regular plan impractical. Although their medieval courses have been fossilized by the street pattern, the possibility that they were

on slightly different ones a millenium earlier should not be forgotten.

The factors previously thought to prove the greater extent of the early Imperial city can now be seen in a different light. The mosaic with a crater design from the Baixada de Santa Eulalia was probably not cut by the defences as formerly believed³³. The structures in the Plaça d' Antóni Maura were clearly suburban, while the façade of C/de Regomir has been interpreted as part of the original gate(fig.20-1)³⁴. The amphorae found in the base of tower 16 must have been placed there at the time of construction³⁵. The structures in C/Subteniente Navarro, however, are problematical for, although no plan has ever been published, there seems to be little doubt from their position that they were cut by the two phases of the walls, and an early date may be implied by the similarity to the first phase of Sector B of the Plaça de Sant Miquel (fig.13,no.4) where white wall plaster was found related to walls of 1st. century A.D. date³⁶. The structures in C/Subteniente Navarro (fig.13,no.10) are thus vital for the date of construction of the walls, which in turn influences the validity of Dr.Bonneville's theories discussed in the previous chapter. Two possibilities arise: either they belong to a building which pre-dated the foundation of the colonia, and the defences were built over it in the Augustan period, or the defences were an addition of a later phase, perhaps the later 1st. century A.D., to an earlier undefended phase. In the current state

of knowledge, the latter interpretation makes more sense, for pottery^{of} not earlier than the Flavian period is reported to have been found there, although it has never been published: nevertheless, unless re-excavation takes place, no opinion can be believed without qualifications being expressed³⁷.

The first phase of the defences, whatever its date, is best described as being made up by two faces of small irregular blocks, which are laid in courses. The space in between was filled with a mixture of lime mortar and unworked stones of varying sizes, but unlike the late Roman phase not including re-used material. The whole thickness of approximately two metres rests on a layer of large irregular stones, which Serra Ràfols mis-interpreted as a pre-Augustan wall like that of Badalona³⁸. These foundations were unmortared, although occasionally mortar trickled down to them. On occasions, the small blocks of the faces were replaced by opus quadratum, which Granados has interpreted as a later reconstruction³⁹. Although Duran sometimes appears to have indicated that the greater part of the outer face was of this type of stonework, in fact it only appears, together with a distinctive type of roughly worked pillow-block, to reinforce angles and to construct gates⁴⁰. The current state of evidence does not point to any towers which formed part of it, although Balil was misled by Duran into believing in the existence of circular ones⁴¹.

Granados, in his analysis of the parallels for this type of construction, states that it is to found in Augustan works in Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, while within Spain the closest parallels are again at León and Zaragoza, for which, although an Augustan date seems possible, in neither case is direct archaeological evidence available⁴².

The gates of these walls are far better known now than a decade ago. The one in the modern Plaça Nova has been revealed to be of the type with a large central portal and two small side passages (figs. 18-19)⁴³. That diametrically opposed, in the C/de Regomir was apparently of two equal sized arches⁴⁴ (fig. 20-1). The form of the other two is less certain. Pallarés has suggested that the polygonal hollow towers with small stonework flanking the north-east gate, may have been the Augustan ones: the gate itself would then have been of twin-arched type (figs. 22-3)⁴⁵. However, such towers were not a common feature of contemporary circuits, although they are found in the later Empire. There is little possibility that they belong to that period, for they would stand in stark contrast to the solid semi-circular towers of the two gates just mentioned, even more so if the small stonework depicted in Pujades' drawing is credible⁴⁶. It is unfortunate that the excavation that revealed part of this gate remains virtually unpublished⁴⁷, and for the moment the form of the

gate in the Roman period must remain uncertain.⁴⁸

The same must be said of the gate to the south-west at the other end of the cardo maximus. In spite of what has been said, there is no evidence that the mass of masonry still visible in C/del Call belongs to this gate⁴⁹: it must be part of the wall core, for the gate must have lain some distance to the south-east. Pallarés suggests a circular plan for the towers in the text, although polygonal ones appear on her plan⁵⁰. The fact that one of the flanking towers collapsed in 1553⁵¹ might indicate that it too was of hollow structure, but once again no date can be offered, and, as will be discussed below, the form of the towers of both these gates could have been largely the result of medieval alterations⁵².

The street plan (figs.13,15,24,25).

Like many other coloniae of the early Imperial period Barcelona possessed a distinctive orthogonal plan. The orientation of the two main streets is still apparent, joining the four gates, although only in the case of the cardo maximus can continuous life from Antiquity be proposed⁵³. The only deviations in these two streets are minor ones in the C/de Regomir, perhaps already in existence in late Antiquity, and caused by the change in structure of the gate, and ^{one} in the C/del Call, which was perhaps a

a result of the collapse of part of the gate in the 16th. century, and the consequent need to divert transit round its fallen remains, although it is also possible that it has a connection with the limits of the medieval Jewish quarter, for a 15th. century house clearly fronts onto the revised alignment⁵⁴.

For the analysis of the individual street lines, it is most convenient to divide the city into the four quarters produced by the two main axes.

i) The west quarter

This is the area enclosed by the modern C/del Bisbe and C/del Call, in which, although little can be directly proved by archaeological sources, the medieval Call or Jewish quarter preserved the Roman street pattern fairly extensively. Parallel to C/del Bisbe are C/de Sant Honorat and C/de Sant Domingo del Call, and one might presume that, as has been demonstrated elsewhere, there was a further street adjoining the inner face of the defences. The cardines are not so clear, but one was probably on the line of C/Sant Sever, to judge by the evidence of the adjoining quarter, and the other is represented by C/de Marlet, which, however, has deviated somewhat from the original alignment⁵⁵.

ii) The north quarter

The first decumanus is formed by the eastern side of the Casa de l'Ardiaca, the division between the cathedral and the cloister, and the orientation,

though not the precise course of the first part of the C/del Paradís⁵⁶. The second should theoretically be on more or less the same alignment as C/dels Comtes de Barcelona and C/de la Freneria, although it should be noted that both the 2nd. century mosaic in Plaça de Sant Iu and the early Christian basilica block this alignment. The street thus either lay some distance to the south west, which is feasible since the Romanesque cathedral did not extend as far as the present alignment of the street, and may have respected the earlier street line, or there was an anomaly in this area, perhaps caused by a rise in the level⁵⁷, or the presence of pre-existing features which have not been recognised. As for the cardines the continuation of C/Sant Sever is represented by the north side of the Tinell hall of the Royal Palace, and one of the entrances in the medieval period⁵⁸. Another, attested archaeologically, is to be found in the easternmost part of C/de la Pietat and slightly to the north of the Baixada de Santa Clara⁵⁹.

iii) The east quarter

Here the plan has changed more radically. Srta. Pallarés states that this was the result of 19th. century building programmes⁶⁰, though it would seem that most of the existing pattern had been established by the 13th. century. The decumani are easily reconstructed as both she and García y Bellido have demonstrated⁶¹, that to the east being represented by C/de la Daguerfa and the first part of C/del

Lladó. That to the west, between the latter and C/de la Ciutat, although hardly traceable nowadays, is proven by the finds of substantial drains in C/de la Palma de Sant Just, near the junction with C/de Bellafila, and also running under the church of Sant Just itself (figs.26 and 27)⁶².

The cardines of this and the adjoining sector were perhaps not well identified by Pallarés, in an attempt to force the standard size insula into the necessary space, made problematical by the discovery of a street to the north of the baths in the Plaça de Sant Miquel. Convinced that this was a cardo minor and the southern side of the forum, she calculated all the other cardines of this part of the city from this base-line. In fact it is inherently more likely that the line represented by the wall found in the patio of the Palau Requesens (fig.60, no.11)⁶³, the C/del Bisbe Cassador, the south side of the church of Sant Just, part of the C/de la Font de Sant Miquel, the Roman street to the south of the baths⁶⁴, and the Baixada de Sant Miquel, should be used as a starting point. Further south would lie another on the line of C/de Bellafila, proved by a drain noted by Duran⁶⁵, and perhaps also by the south side of the new Ajuntament building, and the last cardo represented by C/de la Cometa and a long narrow property on the west side of C/de Ataulf, adjoining the Templar Church. This, however, would have the disadvantage of creating

two three-quarter size insulae, and would also imply the existence of an additional cardo to the north, on the line of the forerunner of the modern C/de Jaume I. Thus both reconstructions of the cardines of the southern part of the city are somewhat hypothetical, that of Pallarés having the advantage of four more or less normal size insulae, but the disadvantage that two of its streets have neither archaeological proof nor any connection with the modern street plan, while that proposed here overcomes the latter criticism, and thus bears a greater resemblance to the modern plan, but results in the creation of partial insulae⁶⁶.

iv) The south quarter

It remains to deal with the two decumani of this part of the city, the cardines having already been discussed in the previous section. That nearer the walls is clearly represented by C/del Pas de l' Ensenyança and C/dels Gegants, whereas the other can be traced in C/de Ataulf and the east side of the baths. Both of them match up with the decumani described in the eastern quarter.

The forum

One of the major criticisms of Pallarés' interpretation of the plan of the city must be of the size of the forum, which occupies some twenty-five per cent of the intra-mural area - no fewer than eight insulae⁶⁷. Even allowing for the fact that

Barcelona, covering only some 10⁴ hectares, ranks as a small city in the Roman world, and very small compared to the coloniae of other provinces, and therefore might be expected to have a proportionately larger area occupied by its forum to allow for all the customary structures and spaces, the size suggested - 120 by 170 metres - is disproportionately large. Unfortunately the number of parallels in Tarraconensis is small: Tarragona itself was clearly exceptional in having an upper 'provincial' forum and a lower 'market' forum⁶⁸. For Zaragoza, Professor Beltrán has proposed a size of approximately 80 by 100 metres, only 1.7% of the total area⁶⁹. An excavated example at Clunia was at least 100 by 140 metres, although the city was much larger⁷⁰. In a city of comparably small size, Conimbriga, it was about 50 metres square, about 2.8% of the total⁷¹. At Ampurias it measured approximately 100 by 150 metres, and took up about 7% of the 'colonia! but only about 5% of the whole urban area⁷². Examples outside Tarraconensis indicate that the forum rarely occupied more than 5% of the walled area.⁷³

The conclusion must be reached that the Barcelona forum was unlikely to have been so large. Although its size fits comfortably in the range of other examples, these are almost invariably in cities four or five times the size. Allowing a 4 or 5% figure, the forum would have occupied two, or at the most three insulae, measuring approximately

80 by 60 metres. The most logical step is to propose an almost completely central forum, mainly lying to the south of the cardo maximus, bounded to the east by C/Arlet, to the south by C/de Hercules, and the north side of the baths, and to the west by the side of Plaça de Sant Jaume, on the same alignment as the first decumanus. To the north, it may have been limited by the cardo maximus, or perhaps extended beyond to include the area adjoining the Temple.

Virtually nothing is known of this forum: columns found at the junction of C/de Sant Honorat and the Plaça de Sant Jaume in the 16th. century may have formed part of it⁷⁴, and other substantial columns were noted in the area of the Ajuntament (Town Hall) in 1909⁷⁵ (fig.13, nos. 12 and 13). The reasons for which an area in the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona was described as the forum have now been disproved⁷⁶, and the forum must have been on the Plaça de Sant Jaume site throughout the Roman period. However, the fact that the medieval and modern institutions of administration were located there is largely fortuitous. No continuity of function can be proposed⁷⁷.

Public buildings

As in any major Roman city, it may be expected that the principal public buildings were to be found in the area around the forum. The main one which has

survived to the present day is the temple, probably dedicated to the Imperial Cult, of which four columns and part of the podium are still in situ (fig.13,no.14: fig.28). These have been known since the later medieval period, and various interpretations were offered by Renaissance and early modern writers as to their function - the tomb of Hercules, that of Ataulf, part of an aqueduct or an ornamental garden - though the function as a temple was noted by the end of the 16th.century, and has been unchallenged from the 18th. century onwards⁷⁸.

Located at the highest point of the intra-mural area, it must have towered above neighbouring structures, to the extent that in the early medieval period it received the name of the 'Miracle'⁷⁹. It covered an area of 17.5 by 35 metres, and thus may be considered as substantial for a small colonia, for the well-known temples of Nîmes and Vienne are both smaller. Various decorative fragments were found during excavations in the 19th. century⁸⁰ and again in 1929⁸¹ (fig.13,no.15): the provincial style of these has caused a wide range of dates being offered for the establishment of the temple - from the Republican period⁸² to the 6th. century A.D.⁸³ - although the majority have centred on the 1st. and 2nd. centuries A.D. and the reign of Tiberius now seems to find general favour⁸⁴.

Although epigraphical and sculptural evidence

suggests the existence of other temples, and possibly also a Mithraeum, none of these has ever been located⁸⁵. It has, however, been proposed that a second temple might have existed on the site of the church of Sant Just in symmetry to that described above⁸⁶. No remains of this have ever been detected, and the discovery of drains and mosaics in the area of the church (fig.13,no.16) suggests a zone of houses rather than monumental buildings⁸⁷.

The main public baths were erected at the end of the 1st. century A.D. or in the earliest years of the 2nd. century. They probably occupied half an insula at the southern angle of the forum, and, though it is not proven, they may have been those erected by L.Minicius Natalis and his son⁸⁸. To the east was the frigidarium with a second century mosaic, and which survived to the early medieval period, when the building was taken over as the church of Sant Miquel (fig.13,no.17)⁸⁹. The area to the west contained the other ranges of the baths, which have been excavated in the last decade and await publication (figs.29 and 30)⁹⁰. Further west still, on the other side of the decumanus minor, was an area which has been tentatively interpreted as a palaestra (fig.13,no.18)⁹¹.

There is little indication of the usual structures pertaining to public entertainment. The remains in the C/de Regomir, once believed to be part of a

theatre, are now interpreted as part of the south gate⁹², and, though it is not impossible that the friezes found in the defences nearby formed part of an extra-mural theatre, because of their design of theatrical masks, they need not have done so and a funerary origin is equally probable⁹³. The identification of an amphitheatre in the modern C/Ferran VII, made in the 18th. century, rests on very dubious etymological grounds and should be discarded⁹⁴. Similarly the late Roman mosaic with circus scenes is no proof of the existence of a circus⁹⁵. Epigraphical references to boxing matches⁹⁶ and a tabularius ludi⁹⁷ suggest there might have been some of these structures, but their location remains unknown.

Although the inscription of the Minicii Natales refers not only to the construction of baths and porticos, but also to that of an aqueduct, it seems likely that this should be seen as a connection with the castellum aquarum, rather than the complete course of an aqueduct. The castellum was probably located just inside the north-west gate, where the very solid base of a structure has been found, and moreover this is at the point where the aqueducts supplying the city arrived (fig. 13, no. 19 and fig. 31)⁹⁸. The remains of two of these have been located within and adjoining the gate tower of the late Roman defences into which they were incorporated, although it is

difficult to envisage how the city of the late Roman period maintained its water supply if they were blocked, as is often maintained⁹⁹. Using the evidence of the bases of the initial arches of the two aqueducts, immediately outside the defences¹⁰⁰ (fig.13,no.20), combined with the references to 'old arches' (Arcs Antics) in early medieval documentation¹⁰¹, and the references to surviving arches in the 18th. and 19th. centuries¹⁰², it seems beyond doubt that one aqueduct crossed the territorium from north-west to south-east, probably having its source on the slopes of Tibidabo, entering the medieval city near the church of Santa Anna, and passing along the eastern side of the modern C/dels Arcs, which clearly records its presence. The other had its source on the River Besòs, perhaps in the Montcada area, then crossed the territorium from north to south, entering the medieval city near the monastery of Sant Pere de les Puelles, then gradually turning to the south-east, via C/del Arc de Jonqueres and C/dels Capellans. The survival of the two aqueducts running together marked by the streets on either side of the modern 'College of Architects' is a feature of urban topography not without interest (figs. 9 and 38). Whether they were in contemporary use or not is uncertain, though the greater efficiency of the latter may be demonstrated by the parallel nature of the Comital 'Rech' of the 11th. century which powered the city's mills, and which probably re-used much of the course of the Roman contour aqueduct (fig.119)¹⁰³.

Private residences in the intra-mural area

The previous section dealt with the monumental aspects of the city, upon which a number of changes were to be wrought in the late 3rd. century and later. Structures in the private sector are poorly known, only parts of various houses having been excavated at various points in the city over the last half century or so. The main body of information is to be found in the areas excavated in the northern corner of the city, now preserved and displayed in part of the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad (fig.32)¹⁰⁴. In spite of these rarely paralleled conditions of preservation and the ample scope for their study, the lack of full excavation reports and site records makes any attempt at interpretation problematical, to say the least.

The principal attempts to reconsider this area have been made by Professor Balil in two studies¹⁰⁵, which, although they may still be followed as regards structural questions, I differ from on certain points of chronology, believing that the majority of the visible remains are either of late Imperial date, or are earlier and survived, with only gradual and minor modifications, into the 4th. century. It is the chronology that will be pursued here, leaving the description and topographical interpretation to a later chapter¹⁰⁶.

i) The area under the 'Casa Padellás' (fig. 13, CP and fig. 33),

The structures in this area are parallel to the defences, fronting onto a street which was located between them and the city wall. As Balil pointed out, the date of construction of this street is vital for the understanding of the structures along it¹⁰⁷. Assuming that the wall was necessarily entirely of late Roman date, he doubted Duran's statement that the street was contemporary with the construction of the defences, since a large fragment of a Drag. 37 vessel of Southern Gaulish Samian, of Flavian date, was found in the make up of the street¹⁰⁸. Even allowing a century for survival, the date would still fall a further hundred years short of Balil's assumed date for the defences. In the light of the evidence for the existence of 1st. century defences, this piece of information must now be reconsidered.

If Duran's opinion is followed, this phase of the defences must belong to the late 1st. century A.D., and it must be assumed that for the first century of its life, the colonia must have been without walls, or with walls that have not been traced. The alternative is that the sherd was deposited in a later phase of re-surfacing, and that the defences were related to the foundation of the colonia. Since the off-set of the walls was reached at only a few points, one may indeed doubt Duran's statement¹⁰⁹.

The other factor which must be considered in connection with this zone is the disposition of the drains. It was believed by both Durán and Balil that the earliest drains - those perpendicular to the defences, which are visibly at a greater depth and are tile-lined - were in existence prior to the defences, for one of them crossed their line at the point where a tower was built, thus making it inherently unlikely that it was functioning at that time. Unless it belongs to a pre-defence phase, it is, however, possible that it traversed the line of the early Imperial defences, which were only half as thick, and it may be suggested that such drains were related to the earliest structures in the area, of which no traces are visible¹¹⁰ (fig.33).

The second group of drains are those which are lined with mortar and lead towards the north. The majority of the structures lining the street also belong to this phase, which is clearly later than the primary street level, for both drains and floors are at a considerably higher level than the off-set of the defence foundations¹¹¹. The final drain incorporates re-used material and flows to the south from a pool or tank built over the remains related to the second phase (Fig. 33, d.)¹¹².

What of their date ? This is the most problematical point in view of the lack of knowledge

concerning the provenance of the various finds. The initial find of an amphora of Flavian date would seem to be of little value, as the excavator expressly states that it was found a metre above the floor level¹¹³. The remains of painted wall-plaster belong to the most widespread schemes for which it is difficult to propose a date. The principal decorative element is an opus sectile mosaic, dated by Balil to the 2nd. century¹¹⁴, but which Dr. Barral has re-assessed and suggested a late 3rd. or 4th. century date for¹¹⁵. His own suggestion for the date of this floor, plus the relative abundance of 1st. and 2nd. century coins and lamps, led Balil to propose a date prior to the 3rd. century Germanic raids for the greater part of these structures, and a 4th. or 5th. century one for the final phase¹¹⁶.

A reconsideration seems necessary: not only does the opus sectile mosaic suggest that Balil's opinion is not entirely acceptable, but so does the re-use of material, including raised 'pillow' blocks, in several of the walls of these structures. Nevertheless, it is exceedingly difficult to have much confidence in any scheme proposed: one has but to look at the room adjoining that with the late floor, which had an initial phase apparently related to one of the early drains (fig. 33, a)¹¹⁷. Two chronologies appear possible, depending on the date of the defences:

- A. I. a pre-defence phase represented by the early drains: perhaps 1st. century A.D.
- II. the second phase of drains and the majority of the structures: 2nd. to 4th. centuries.
- III. the late 'pool' phase: 5th. century.
- B. I. an initial phase constructed at the same time as the defences (whenever that might have been) and lasting to the 3rd. century.
- II. rebuilding of these structures and the addition of drains flowing along rather than across the street, as a result of the extra thickness of the defences: late 3rd.-4th. centuries.
- III. the late 'pool' phase: 5th. century or later.

Whichever scheme is chosen, it is apparent that these structures continued in use until the late Roman period, rather than having been abandoned in the 3rd. century. Unless re-excavation takes place, however, the precise chronology is likely to remain obscure.

ii) Plaça del Rei (fig.13, PR and fig.34-36).

This adjoining area, to the north of the cardo minor which forms the northern limit of that just considered, does not extend as far as the inner face of the defences because of the problem of the foundations of the chapel of Santa Agata located on the walls. The problems of interpretation are even greater, for the remains are far more fragmentary.

A terminus ante quem is provided by the cemetery which I, along with the excavator, consider to be of 6th. or 7th. century date¹¹⁸. This was preceded by a porticoed phase, which has usually been dated to the 4th. century, but ^{which} was probably considerably later, if the evidence of a group of sherds of North African Red Slip ware is accepted¹¹⁹. Prior to this are a number of walls, floors, tanks and other miscellaneous fragmentary remains, limited to the east by the wall running parallel to the defences on the other side of the intervallum street. A late Roman date might be guessed at for these, but without any degree of certainty. A considerable depth of deposits exists under these remains, in which structures of an earlier date might be detectable¹²⁰.

iii) Carrer dels Comtes de Barcelona (fig.13, CC and fig.37)

The third major part of this complex is the remains of a peristyle house beneath a 6th. century structure in the Plaça de Sant Iu'. Although the excavator interpreted these remains as part of the forum, this is clearly unsatisfactory¹²¹.

The early Imperial remains consist of part of two porticos, neither of which has been completely revealed. Six columns of one, two of the other, have been found, all constructed of baked clay discs. In the centre was a nymphaeum of double-L plan, and to the north a continuous opus signinum floor with a

mosaic of 2nd. century date¹²². All this should be interpreted as part of a considerable town-house, of which the structures in the Plaça del Rei, or rather their predecessors, and the dolia store under the intermediate Tinell hall¹²³, might be considered as dependencies. To the south, under the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, traces of garden walls have also been found¹²⁴. There may also have been an earlier phase, for the excavator refers to a destroyed wall which indicated an earlier structure¹²⁵, although this is no longer visible, nor its whereabouts known. The house clearly belongs to the 2nd. century, and although it is not apparent exactly how long it was occupied, this could have been until the late or post Roman period.

iv) Other structures

During road works in 1928 in C/de la Palma de Sant Just, a portico bordering the line of the decumanus minor and part of a town-house with a 2nd. century mosaic were found (fig.13, no.21)¹²⁶. Other mosaics of similar or early 3rd. century date are known from the Baixada de Santa Eulalia (fig.13, no.8)¹²⁷, Plaça de Regomir (fig.13, no.22)¹²⁸, and the area of the church of Sant Just (fig.13, no.16)¹²⁹, although little is known of the structures to which they belonged.

More recently the remains of a house with a

mosaic and painted wall-plaster have been located in the courtyard of the Archbishop's Palace (fig.13,no.23)¹³⁰. Traces of private structures of the late 1st. century onwards have been excavated on various occasions in the area of the Plaça de Sant Miquel¹³¹(fig.13,no.24), and other stray finds of mosaics throughout the urban area indicate a substantial density of structures of a certain quality and standing, although by no means luxurious, by the 3rd. century A.D. (fig.13,nos.25,26,27)¹³².

The evidence of other sources would indicate that there was a definite improvement in the standard of structures and their decoration in the course of the 2nd. century. One should also take into account the appearance of locally made sculptures and the large number of honorific pedestals made from local Montjuïc stone¹³³. This seems to point to the flourishing of the local bourgeoisie, who decorated their tombs with similar extravagance, and whose richer members made donations to the city itself. As in so many other parts of the Empire, the city reached its peak, in terms of recognized structural remains, in the century between the deaths of Trajan and Caracalla.

The extra-mural area (fig.38).

Another aspect of the topography of the early 3rd. century which had changed by the end of that century was the presence of extra-mural settlement.

Until the recent definition of the similarity of the area of the city under the early and late Empire, it was considered that the city of the 2nd. century was open and covered a much larger area than its successor, as in the case of many cities of the Gauls which were walled in the later 3rd. century, and therefore the concept of suburban settlement did not arise.

However, from the earliest moments of the discovery of structures of 2nd. century date in the Plaça de Antoni Maura (fig. 38, no. 2), it has been realized that these might have belonged to a suburban villa, of which other traces were found in 1920¹³⁴. This now seems perfectly certain although the exact extent of this residence remains undetermined (fig. 39).

Apart from this villa near the northern angle of the defences, the number of indications of settlement in the suburban area are few. Professor Balil expressed an opinion that such residences were also to be found in the area of the Plaça Nova, or between the city and the Rambles¹³⁵, although no remains of these have ever been recorded. The only other indication could be the drains or irrigation channels found cut by late Roman burials in C/de Montcada (fig. 38, no. 4 and fig. 40)¹³⁶, and in the church of Sta. Maria del Mar (fig. 38, no. 8 and fig. 41-2)¹³⁷, although these may have been more closely associated with agricultural or horticultural activities. Similarly the 1st. or 2nd. century coin hoard which was apparently found

in the area of the present Post Office in 1920 (fig. 38 no. 1)¹³⁸, although important for determining the position of the coast, is no indication of suburban settlement, which in fact may not have been particularly extensive.

As in most other Roman cities, the cemeteries were to be found along the roads leading from the city. Only one of these has been excavated - that in the Plaça de la Vila de Madrid, to the north-west of the gate in the Plaça Nova, at a distance of some 250 metres, and arranged along a road which presumably led to this gate¹³⁹ (fig. 38, no. 7 and fig. 43). This was in use from the 1st. to the early 3rd. centuries, to judge from both the pottery¹⁴⁰ and coin finds¹⁴¹, and was probably saved from being ransacked for building material for the late Roman defences by the fact that it had been covered by a thick layer of silt in a flood. The type of tomb and the inscriptions are simple, frequently of the cupae type, of which other examples have been found within the solid mass of the defences¹⁴²; this was clearly not a high class burial area.

Such areas were probably situated nearer the main roads, principally that leading to the north. Tombs and fragments of them have frequently been found in the core of the walls, and it is no surprise that other areas of burials of the period before c. 260 have not been located. The most substantial

of these were of tower type, like that called the 'Tower of the Scipios' still standing to the north of Tarragona, and other similar monuments in coastal Tarraconensis¹⁴³. Another frequent class was the altar type, with Medusa heads decorating the terminals on the four upper corners. Although no complete ones have been found, examples have been reconstructed from the many fragments¹⁴⁴. It seems probable that many of the decorative elements found in the defences belong to such tombs. Others included niches with busts of the deceased¹⁴⁵, and the notable busts from the east side of the walls which have been mistakenly interpreted as Imperial portraits probably belong to this class.

Moving down the social scale of monuments, one finds simpler altars, with little more than an inscription,¹⁴⁶ and the cupae, almost invariably of local Montjuïc stone, and with depictions of temple façades around the space for the inscription. Other even simpler tombs imitated the latter in a stone and mortar mix, with an inscription usually set in one of the longer sides. Since such tombs were the antecedents of the ubiquitous burials set under arrangements of tiles and amphorae of the later Imperial period, one might suspect that they were originally far more common than the more monumental types. Below these were the **simplest** burials, in wooden coffins, or with no protection at all for the corpse.

Two decorated sarcophagi, one of the late 2nd. century¹⁴⁷, the other slightly later¹⁴⁸, should also be mentioned, for they seem to have escaped the fate of being re-used in the defences, although the circumstances of their finding remain unknown. Clearly, since fragments were sometimes transported over some distance for the construction of the walls¹⁴⁹, no definite pattern can be proposed. However, it does seem possible that tombs to the north and east were richer and more monumental than those to the west: nevertheless, a detailed corpus of all these finds is needed before a definitive judgment can be made¹⁵⁰.

The territorium (figs 9 and 44).

The precise limits of the territorium of Barcinò are not established: it is argued below that it was probably similar to the area thus described in the 11th. century, although the evidence of continuity is not strong¹⁵¹. To the north and east a boundary formed by the litoral mountain chain and the River Besòs, with the territorium of Baetulo beyond the latter, seems logical: to the south^{lay} the sea. Only to the west do serious problems arise, for even if the River Llobregat is accepted as a limit, it must be debated whether the boundary ran from its mouth to the Monte Ursa (the modern St. Pere Màrtir of the coastal chain) of the medieval sources, through the point known as Finestrelles, or, alternatively, did the territorium stretch along the valley as far as

the first major crossing point at Ad Fines, again an apparently significant place name for the discussion of such limits? The first line is supported by the medieval sources, the second seems somewhat more logical in a Roman context, and one might also include the other bank of the Llobregat as far as the Costa de Garraf, for otherwise ~~the~~ small municipium of Egara would have possessed a disproportionately large area.

Sites in the Llobregat valley are not particularly numerous¹⁵²: apart from finds in the area of Martorell (Ad Fines?)¹⁵³ and the remains of the Roman bridge over the Llobregat¹⁵⁴, one can point to those at Pallejà¹⁵⁵, Rubí¹⁵⁶, St. Just Desvern (fig. 9, no. 20)¹⁵⁷, Esplugues (fig. 9, no. 21)¹⁵⁸, St. Boi de Llobregat¹⁵⁹, and Cornellà (fig. 9, no. 22)¹⁶⁰, all in the modern 'comarca' of Baix Llobregat. Within the 'Pla de Barcelona' itself, a number of small villa sites are known, none of which have been extensively studied. A dozen or more sites are known, which will be considered below in more detail (fig. 9)¹⁶¹. Several points are already visible in the early Roman period. Firstly, there is an element of continuity from sites of the Ibero-Roman period into the 1st. and 2nd. centuries A.D.¹⁶². Another thread of continuity exists between the 2nd. century and the later Roman period, and often into the Early Middle Ages. No site, however, has yet demonstrated continuity over

the entire millenium. Secondly, none of the sites were particularly wealthy, a pattern also noticed in the Badalona area, where, in contrast, the sites that continued to be occupied in the 4th. century tended to gain in significance¹⁶³. For the moment, no wholesale abandonment of sites in the 'Pla' can be proposed, although without doubt some did fall out of use in the course of the 3rd. century. Finally, the distribution of sites was fairly even, although the lack of finds for approximately three kilometres around the city is noticeable¹⁶⁴: it is most unlikely that if sites had existed in this area, they were all destroyed without trace in the 19th. century expansion of the city¹⁶⁵. Moreover, this pattern is supported by the evidence of early medieval documentation, which indicates a similar lack of settlement¹⁶⁶.

The roads of the territorium have recently been studied by Professor Tarradell¹⁶⁷. He proposes four main routes, which all survived into the medieval period. The abundance of references to roads and tracks in early medieval documentation makes it difficult to check these alignments, for it is only when one is described as being antigua ~~that~~ one is reasonably confident that it represents a Roman route: on other occasions they must pass largely unrecognized¹⁶⁸.

The most important of these was the Via Augusta which entered the 'pla' via the Montcada gap of the Besòs valley. The precise route across the territorium is not certain, although it presumably was similar to the medieval route, and also passed through the area known as Auro Invento where a Karraria antiqua is recorded in 1020 (fig. 119 no. 41)¹⁶⁹, before entering the city near the monastery of St. Pere de les Puelles. Its route is preserved in the topography by C/Carders and C/Boria, and on the other side of the Roman city by C/de la Boqueria and C/del Hospital. The milestone from Hostafrancs also marks its course, as did the place name of Quart in the medieval period (fig. 9, no. 17 and fig. 119, no. 45)¹⁷⁰. From the point known as Inforcats in the medieval period, near the present-day Plaça de Espanya, there were probably two routes rather than one towards the Llobregat and Ad Fines: one continued the original alignment, passing via Finestrelles and near the villa of St. Just Desvern, while the other first went towards Cornellà, and then followed the river more closely.

The Travessera crossed the 'pla de Barcelona' without touching the city, and the memory of the route is preserved not only by the modern cross routes of the city of this name, but also by references to 'ancient' roads in the Monterols and Les Corts districts in the 10th. to 12th. centuries¹⁷¹. Although Durán suggested a prehistoric origin for this route¹⁷², Tarradell has pointed out that its

straight course bears all the marks of Roman road builders¹⁷³.

The third and final cross route suggested by Tarradell is a more natural one at the foot of the litoral mountains, linking the important early medieval communities in the upper part of the 'pla': direct evidence for its existence in the Roman period is as yet lacking¹⁷⁴.

Cutting across these was the road leading from the north-west gate over the mountains to Octavianum (Sant Cugat del Vallès), the eight miles suggested by the name and medieval documentation probably being measured from the Travessera route rather than the city¹⁷⁵. This too was reflected in the early medieval documents, a via antiqua Sancti Cucuphati being recorded in 1095¹⁷⁶.

To these four routes should be added that which linked the city with the port area and the mouth of the Llobregat, presumably passing via St.Pau del Camp, where a villa existed in the Roman period (fig. 9, no. 5.), and around the southern side of Montjuic, and which is frequently mentioned in the early medieval sources¹⁷⁷. However, another road with the same destination may have departed from the Inforcats, crossed the river by a ford, and linked the coastal settlements between Barcelona and the

Vendrell-Calafell area, where the Via Augusta touched the coast again, after having passed through the pre-litoral Penedès. In addition, as Srta. Pallarés has proposed, there must have been a route close to the shore joining Barcino with Baetulo and the Maresme¹⁷⁸: this may well be indicated by the itineris antiquis found near the River Besòs in 1088¹⁷⁹.

The Port and the coast line

The economy of this territorium, as in the early medieval period, was based on viticulture. The wines of Laietania were recorded by Pliny and Martial¹⁸⁰, and although some of these products were exported via the Maresme coast, those of the Vallès and the Llobregat valley, as well as those of the 'pla de Barcelona', probably passed through the city's port. The finds of amphorae in gravel workings either side of the mouth of the Llobregat are ample proof of this¹⁸¹. Until more detailed studies are made of these amphorae and others known from kiln sites in the region, little more can be said about the distribution of this product, although preliminary surveys indicate a far from restricted trade¹⁸².

If the place-name of 'Port' is accepted as indicating a maritime harbour in the Roman period¹⁸³, it might be assumed that most of these exports went through the mouth of the Llobregat. However, the shore line close to the city has occasionally been considered

as a potential port as well, as it was in the medieval period¹⁸⁴. Two points must be raised in connection with this: firstly, the projecting castellum on the south-eastern side of the defences, adjoining the Regomir gate, has been interpreted as a possible port protection¹⁸⁵. Although its structure might be well suited to such a function, and various parallels might be drawn upon¹⁸⁶, in view of the evidence for dry land in the area of the Post Office (fig.38,no.1)¹⁸⁷, Sta.Maria del Mar (fig.38,no.8)¹⁸⁸, and the Gobierno Militar (fig.38,no.16)¹⁸⁹, in the Roman period, this seems most unlikely and the shore line cannot have been all that much further inland than the edge of the present day harbour.

The function of this projecting work, some 50 metres square, is thus debatable. Although relatively few parts of it have been found in recent years, early plans and Hernandez Sanahuja's drawings leave little doubt that it is of Roman origin, even though parts were rebuilt c.1032,(figs.45-6)¹⁹⁰, and that it was in existence in the early Imperial period as well, for although some of the towers incorporated funerary inscriptions, there is some evidence to suggest that the double thickness of the defences was present there also¹⁹¹. As has been noted, parallels point to a military function. The form of the projection reminds one of the Cripplegate fort incorporated into the city walls of London, or the Praetorian Camp

in Aurelian's wall in Rome, and other parallels could be drawn upon for independent small fortifications in the north-western provinces of the Empire¹⁹².

The second point which must be raised is the nature of the force which this housed if it is accepted as, in origin at least, a military construction. If there was a military presence in Barcelona, this was most probably the force under the Praefectus Orae Maritimae, who, although himself apparently based in Tarragona, may have had operational headquarters in Barcelona¹⁹³; otherwise, the link with Laietania recorded in the epigraphy becomes rather enigmatic¹⁹⁴. The Maritima name itself survived to the medieval period to be applied to the coast between the Besòs and the Tordera, and has been transformed into the modern 'comarca' name of the Maresme¹⁹⁵. Thus, even if the projecting castellum was probably not a port defence strictly speaking, it can only be satisfactorily interpreted as having been military in origin, and thus presumably related to this marine body. Why such a policing force was necessary in 2nd. century Tarraconensis is obscure, for there is no record of local piracy in this period.

The inhabitants of Barcino

If such a military contingent were present in the city, it is hardly reflected in the epigraphical record¹⁹⁶. Few of the inscriptions record military

men or notables from outside the city, although freedmen, especially of the Pedania gens¹⁹⁷, and slaves, often of eastern origin¹⁹⁸, must have formed a large percentage of the population. Powerful protectors and benefactors of the city included men like L.Licinius Secundus¹⁹⁹, and L.Minicius Natalis and his son²⁰⁰.

It is difficult to establish the number of inhabitants: estimates have varied widely from 3,500 to 15,000²⁰¹, although the former seems far more acceptable than the latter, and is comparable with the figures here suggested for the later 11th. century, which, although by no means secure, have more supporting evidence²⁰². This comparison between the peak of the Roman period and the late 11th. century is valid in more ways than one: not only were human numbers similar, but the economy of the city, in both periods based on viticulture, was in an ascendant phase. However, the intermediate period brought with it many changes in virtually all aspects of the urban life of Barcino.

CHAPTER V

THE URBAN CENTRES OF ROMAN CATALONIA: THEIR ORIGINS,
LOCATION AND EARLY IMPERIAL TOPOGRAPHY.

In addition to Barcino one can point to another seventeen places which had achieved either municipal or colonial status by the third century A.D. (fig. 47)¹. Of these eight were coastal, and another four lay within the area of the pre-litoral depression, leaving only six centres further inland. Among the seventeen there were two more that ranked as coloniae like Barcino: Tarraco (Tarragona) and Dertosa (Tortosa)². There were nine definite municipia - Emporiae (Ampurias), Gerunda (Girona), Iluro (Mataró), Bactulo (Badalona), Egara (Terrassa), Sigarra (near Prats del Rei), Iesso (Guissona), Aeso (Isona) and Ilerda (Lleida), and although the last three were outside the area of eastern Catalonia as here defined, they are included for the sake of completeness³. To these should be added another half-a-dozen sites which are presumed to have achieved municipal status, normally because of epigraphical evidence, but about which little is effectively known - Iulia Libica (Llívia), Rhode (Roses), Ausa (Vic), Aquis Voconis (Caldes de Malavella), Blanda (Blanes) and Aquae Calidae (Caldes de Montbui).

Finally, there must have been a number of other sites which probably fell into the category of undefended small towns, about which little can be said,

except that they were neither clearly urban nor simply small rural establishments. Among these must have been some of the points recorded by textual sources, and which cannot be definitely associated with sites on the ground: in the hinterland of Barcino and the neighbouring municipia lay (fig.14) Subur (Sitges, Subirats ?)⁴, Semproniana (Granollers ?)⁵, Praetorium (Llinars ?)⁶, Antistiana (unidentified near Vilafranca del Penedès)⁷. Others can be more readily recognized - Arrahona (Sabadell)⁸, Ad Fines (Martorell)⁹, and yet others are suspected as a result of a body of archeological evidence, but cannot be given a definite name (Manresa¹⁰, Solsona¹¹, Ager and numerous other sites in the modern province of Lleida¹²).

The origins of these towns were varied: about half have been seen as having pre-Roman antecedents (Emporiae, Rhode, Iesso, Ilerda, Aeso, Gerunda, Egara, Sigarra and Dertosa)¹³, whereas another four or five were new foundations of the Roman period (Barcino, Iluro, Baetulo, Tarraco(?) and Ausa(?))¹⁴, the remaining four being so poorly known as to escape any comment.

TARRACO (fig.48).

By far the largest of these cities was the Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco, the capital of both the conventus and province of Tarraconensis¹⁵. This, however, was a role that came with Romanisation, and

the question of the origins of the city has been fervently disputed in the past century or so, most of the various theories revolving around the defences, of which a large part survives in the upper part of the city, while the approximate course of the lower part is known from 16th. century sources¹⁶. The remarkable structure of these walls, with stonework of obviously Roman date resting on large irregular blocks, with associated posterns in the same rough masonry, which has been described as 'cyclopean' or 'megalithic', led to them being accepted as being of pre-Roman origin - of Iberian, Greek, Hittite, Etruscan or Phoenician construction, according to the whims of fancy - until 1949¹⁷. The observation of Serra Vilaró that the core of this wall was the same in both its lower 'megalithic' part and its upper 'Roman' part, and that the material it contained was of the later 3rd. century B.C. or slightly later proved decisive, and it is now usually accepted that the two phases of facing belong to one structural phase, however strange this may seem, datable to soon after the Roman conquest¹⁸.

More recent studies of material from the core of the wall have confirmed this dating¹⁹, whereas other studies of the towers and the one surviving Roman gate also illustrate the long history of these defences and the changes that they went through over the centuries²⁰. Both the use of native labour, proven by the letters in Iberian script on certain blocks, and

a number of earlier sherds²¹, tend to suggest the existence of a native settlement in the area prior to the conquest, but it is evident that this would not have extended^{to} the full 60 hectares enclosed by the defences, and its exact position and size remain unknown (fig. 48).

Leaving aside purely historical matters, little can be said of the topography of the city until the Augustan period. The problems of the coinage of KESE in relation to the local Cessetani tribe and the city remain unresolved²², but it is apparent that the original function of the city, in Roman eyes at least, was as a military base²³. **The city stood at** the end of the sea route from Italy, and the beginning of the land route to central and northern Spain, and **was also** a stepping stone in coastal maritime activity and on the road from Rome to Cadiz. It has been suggested that the changes made in the Augustan period in the upper part of the city were possible because it had previously been exclusively used for the housing of troops and other military functions, for which there was no need after the conquest of the north-west²⁴.

Although it was made a colonia under Julius Caesar²⁵, it is not until after its erection into provincial capital that the major topographical changes can be dated: these were a result of the necessities of the Imperial Cult and provincial administration which the representatives of the seven conventus - Tarracon-

ensis, Cartago Nova, Caesaraugusta, Clunia, Asturica Augusta, Lucus Augusta and Bracara Augusta - would attend²⁶. The general outline of the new structures can be traced today on the uppermost of the terraces on which the city is built, which is still surrounded by the defences²⁷. There were two enclosures aligned on the same axis, with the circus crossing the full width of the city and dividing the upper part from the residential and commercial quarters (fig. 48)²⁸. The first of these two enclosures was the forum connected with the provincial administration, for it is in this area that the greater part of honorific inscriptions referring to its officials have been found²⁹, and in addition two tower-like structures survive at either end of the circus and are known today as the 'Torre de Pilatos' and the 'Torre de la Audiencia'³⁰.

The second enclosure lay beyond this one to the north-east, on a slightly higher terrace, and was surrounded by a portico with windows in the outer walls³¹. Various decorative friezes and imperial inscriptions allow one to suppose that this enclosed the Temple of Augustus, which must have stood at its centre, more or less on the site of the cathedral³². This octastyle temple is recorded on certain coins³³, but it is also possible that other temples were to be found in this uppermost part of the city, as various attempts at reconstructing its topography have endeavoured to justify³⁴.

Continuing down the slope of the hillside from the circus towards the port, the topography of the early Imperial period is far from clear. The area was abandoned in the later Roman period and not re-inhabited until the last century. However, the combination of house construction, railway cuttings, and the levelling of the incline led to the wholesale destruction of much of the area in the period between 1840 and 1890. Some valiant attempts at recording were made, especially by Buenaventura Hernandez Sanahuja, who deserves a place in the history of Spanish if not European archaeology for his fine early section drawing, although not for some of his structural interpretations³⁵. Nevertheless, the present-day researcher can make^{out} little of the layout of this part of the city from these results, in spite of the vast quantities of material housed in the various museums of modern Tarragona.

The most extensive controlled excavation took place in 1927 and discovered the forum of the city, as opposed to that of the provincial administration³⁶. This was a remarkably cramped space surrounded by columns forming a portico in front of small enclosed shops. Its date of construction remains uncertain, but its small size and the presence of a re-used inscription with a dedication to Pompey³⁷ may suggest that its origins lay in the Republican period. There were, however, changes in the early Imperial period to which certain of the decorative fragments belong³⁸. Substantial foundations to one side may indicate the site of the

basilica³⁹, while to the east lay a number of private houses or adjoining tabernae⁴⁰. The remaining excavations in this part of the city have normally been on a small scale and contribute little to our knowledge of its topography⁴¹: although the area around this forum appears to have been largely commercial, more luxurious structures are implied elsewhere by the various mosaics found⁴².

The suburban area is slightly better known. Between the upper part of the city and the sea stood the amphitheatre, partially cut into the natural slope, and similar in size to those of Mérida and Nîmes. Although its exact date of construction is unknown, it presumably lay within the 1st. century A.D.⁴³. Between the city and the port was the theatre, partially excavated in 1919, and where rescue work has recently taken place⁴⁴. Again there are sculptural pieces of the first half of the 1st. century A.D., although modifications and additional decorations were made in the mid-2nd. century⁴⁵.

By that date the area of the lower city seems to have been insufficient to house the entire population for a number of areas have produced suburban residences which on occasions overlay earlier burials⁴⁶. These have been found particularly in the area of the early Christian cemetery towards the River Francolí⁴⁷, and to the west of the city in the area of the Pere Martorell cemetery⁴⁸. In both cases the structures

correspond to rural rather than urban models, yet had few decorative features, and were of the same simple construction technique as ^{that} found in the area around the forum, consisting of stone footings bonded with mortar or clay, with mud-brick or rammed soil construction above⁴⁹. Their life was comparatively short for after the middle of the 3rd. century, these areas were abandoned to burials once again. The zones of burial in the early Imperial ^{period} are comparatively poorly known, in contrast to those of the 4th. century and later⁵⁰, and although a number of sarcophagi have been found, these have rarely been in situ⁵¹.

The overall impression is of a thriving provincial capital of the 1st. and 2nd. centuries A.D., its wealth being based on local wine, oil and cloth production⁵², and enhanced by the ease with which **these products** could be transported from the port⁵³. A number of late 2nd. and early 3rd. century mosaics from the city and the surrounding area indicate that it did not seem to be entering a period of decline on the eve of the years of instability⁵⁴. The total area of the city was some 60 hectares plus the inhabited suburban areas, although allowance must be made for the substantial 'public' zones in any calculation of population⁵⁵. There is, however, no doubt that it was the most populous city of this region⁵⁶, and the only one comparable with the major cities of the western provinces of the Empire⁵⁷.

DERTOSA (fig.49).

The other colonia within the limits of modern Catalonia lay outside the area discussed here and can only be dealt with briefly. In fact, remarkably little can be said with any degree of certainty, although it seems to have been promoted from municipal to colonial status under Tiberius⁵⁸: Pliny gave the previous name - Municipium Hibera Iulia Ilercavonia Dertosa⁵⁹ - which still appears on coins minted in the city at the end of the reign of Augustus and during that of Tiberius⁶⁰.

Although no native issues can definitely be demonstrated to have preceded these, it is generally accepted that there was originally a native settlement on the hilltop later occupied by the Arab citadel - La Zuda - which overlooks the Ebro at what must have been the last crossing point before the sea⁶¹. This important rôle in communications contributed to its growth, although, on the other hand, this was also limited by the lack of overland routes towards the interior, the adjoining mountainous districts making any such journey difficult⁶².

A number of inscriptions provide details of municipal posts and offices, dedications to emperors and divinities⁶³, but as regards archaeology little has been accomplished, for no controlled excavation has ever taken place and knowledge of the urban area rests on the evidence of stray finds⁶⁴. It is nor-

mally considered that the native hill-top settlement extended to the plain under Roman rule, but if this city had a regular plan, little of it has survived the ravages of time, and the present-day plan bears a strong Arab imprint. It is uncertain whether it was walled or not, although the stray finds recorded in the first three decades of this century seem to indicate an area of some fifteen hectares which probably also corresponded to the walled area at the time of the Reconquest⁶⁵.

The municipia must now be considered, for which a general north to south, east to west order will be followed.

EMPORIAE (figs 50-51).

The general development of this city is well known, thanks to the combination of literary sources and the extensive excavations carried out throughout the twentieth century on this now deserted site⁶⁶. The earliest settlement was the Greek colony on the island later known as the Palaiopolis, made around the middle of the 6th. century B.C.⁶⁷. This was later walled, probably in the 2nd. century B.C.⁶⁸, but by then had proved too small or inconvenient for the commercial activities of its inhabitants, who thus extended their settlement to the mainland on the other side of the natural harbour, an area which 20th. century archaeologists have labelled the Neapolis:

this area was virtually totally excavated prior to the Civil War, although the dating of many of the structures is now open to doubt, and the remains that can be seen clearly belong to phases other than the initial one⁶⁹. The significance of this settlement surpassed that suggested by its small size⁷⁰, for it became the main passage of contact between the native peoples of coastal Catalonia and the rest of the Mediterranean world.

Until recently it was generally accepted that to the west, beyond a zone of burials, lay a native city - Indika - where the Roman city later stood. Dr. Ripoll has now placed this in doubt, pointing out the lack of material from before the early 2nd. century B.C. in this area, and the extent of 21 or 22 hectares, which would have been inappropriate for a native settlement⁷¹. He suggests that although such remains may one day be traced, for the moment it is preferable to consider the site as a military base in origin, either related to the landing of 218B.C. or Cato's campaign in 195B.C.⁷².

Although the abundance of material of the second and first centuries B.C. is indicative of the vitality of the town in this period⁷³, little is known of its internal plan, details of which are only forthcoming after the establishment of veterans there by Julius Caesar: whether it attained colonial

status or not remains an uncertain factor, for it is never mentioned as such, although a large proportion of writers accept the hypothesis⁷⁴. The area of some 700 by 300 metres to the west of the 'Neapolis' was enclosed by defences, the lower part of which presumably dates from the foundational period, but which erudite tradition also associates with Caesar⁷⁵. Within this strictly rectangular space were five or six north-south streets and probably nine east-west ones, although it must be admitted that the northern part of the city remains very much terra incognita⁷⁶.

The forum was displaced slightly to the south and east of the centre of the city, and occupied almost four of the approximately 72 by 37 metre insulae⁷⁷, and ^{stood} at the end of a porticoed street leading from the south gate⁷⁸. Associated with the forum were a number of shrines and tabernae, and to the south-east a macellum⁷⁹, as well as a block of houses which stands in strange contrast to the generally uncluttered appearance of this central part of the city in the first centuries of the Imperial period⁸⁰.

This open appearance of the city is also conveyed by the two substantial houses to the north of the forum, the first of which occupied an insula against the east side of the defences⁸¹, while the second, or at least its garden and some of its

annexes, was built across a destroyed length of these defences⁸². If the houses were first erected in the mid-1st. century B.C., as is usually stated, these alterations should be placed at a somewhat later date, perhaps towards the end of the 1st. century A.D.⁸³. However, the subsequent life of this part of the city was short, for 3rd. century material was scarce, implying a decline in the extent of the inhabited area.

Of the rest of the intra-mural area little can be categorically stated, although traces of various structures have been recorded over the last two centuries⁸⁴. Unlike other cities there was no suburban settlement, although outside the south gate a simple amphitheatre, presumably of wooden superstructure erected on the surviving stone footings, and a palaestra have been found, both probably dating to around the middle of the 1st. century A.D.⁸⁵. On the other hand, the cemeteries of the city are well known, those of the early Imperial period being especially located to the south and west of the Roman city⁸⁶. Parallel to the decline in intra-mural residences, one might also see a decrease in the number of burials from the generally 1st and early 2nd. century cremations to the later inhumations.

The total area of the city was thus some 30 hectares⁸⁷, but one may legitimately doubt to what extent it was ever densely populated, particularly after

the 1st. century A.D. The numismatic evidence certainly points to a declining amount of coinage in circulation after Commodus' reign, and another decline in the mid-3rd. century⁸⁸. Ampurias was clearly the initial urban centre in the region of coastal Tarraconensis, and it was able to maintain this position during the first two centuries of Roman rule. Thereafter it lost ground to Tarragona, which, perhaps^{as} a result of official encouragement, was flourishing in the first two centuries A.D., as were smaller cities like Barcelona⁸⁹. But from Ampurias there are few of the vast numbers of inscriptions of these centuries, few of the polychrome mosaics of the later 2nd, and 3rd. centuries⁹⁰. One reason for this decline may have been the change in balance just mentioned: another more mundane one the gradual silting of the port area, for the Palaiopolis of the first colonists ceased to be an island, and the Hellenistic breakwater is now on dry land⁹¹. Yet another reason was its distance from the principal communication routes, and the problem of overland access. The turmoil of the 3rd. century put an end to urban life that had long been in decay.

GERUNDA (fig.52).

By far the best known part of Gerunda is the defensive circuit which enclosed the settlement, stretching from the River Onyar up to the highest point, known as Gironella (fig. 52)⁹². This hill-top, almost promontory, position, plus the use of 'megalithic' masonry in the lower courses of parts of the walls, has earned the city the tradition of being the heir to a pre-Roman settlement, dating back to the 6th. or 5th. centuries B.C.⁹³. Although Iberian material is recorded from the city⁹⁴, the most recent excavations have produced nothing earlier than the 2nd. century B.C.⁹⁵, and the situation may be similar to that of Tarragona, and the defences really of early Roman date⁹⁶. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that we know of no tribe for which the settlement would have formed a natural centre, for the area around the Roman city would originally have been inhabited by the Indigetæ and the Ausetani, plus, perhaps, other lesser groups to the north⁹⁷.

The defences underwent a number of changes during their long history of use, and a number of styles of stonework can be recognized. Undoubtedly much of what can be seen today is of late Roman and more especially Medieval date, but the general orientation and the distribution of the gates dates from the early Roman period. Two gates can be identified in the lower part of the city, at either end of the main cross street,

and a third higher up the slope⁹⁸. The fourth gate that exists today is probably of medieval origin⁹⁹, whereas at the other end of the slope, a possible postern faced the river¹⁰⁰. Apart from the main cross street, it is difficult to identify any more features of the plan of the Roman city¹⁰¹, although another street probably ran parallel to it, some twenty metres higher up the incline, and the basic distribution of street and property lines parallel or at right angles to these lines may suggest that the Roman imprint is stronger than usually supposed¹⁰²: in fact, taking the difficulties of the terrain into account, diagonal streets or flights of steps are few in number, except where the topography has been influenced by structures at the back of the defences.

Like most cities with an unbroken history the possibilities of intra-mural excavation are small, and the results not always impressive¹⁰³. The epigraphic record from Girona is not particularly strong either, although it includes three 3rd. century Imperial dedications, a proportion which might suggest an increasingly strategic rôle in changing circumstances¹⁰⁴. Neither can much be said of the suburban area, although the presence of both pagan and early Christian sarcophagi, immediately outside the north gate, probably indicates an unbroken tradition of burial there from the 2nd. century A.D., if not before, onwards¹⁰⁵.

The immediately surrounding area is also in need of further study: the most outstanding feature is the villa at the 'Torre de Bell.lloc' a few kilometres from the city. The dating of the three mosaics known - from the mid-3rd. century onwards - also denotes a certain significance of the territorium in a period when other cities and their surrounding districts were in decline¹⁰⁶.

ILURO (fig.53).

In contrast to Girona, a long tradition of local research in Mataró enlightens its past¹⁰⁷. The origins of the city are usually associated with the nearby oppidum of Burriac, which has produced material up to the end of the Republican period, and ^{which} was almost certainly the mint site of Ilduro¹⁰⁸. Its Roman successor was established in the plain on the coast, at an uncertain date, for although Iberian and Campanian wares have been found within the urban area¹⁰⁹, these are by no means abundant, and it has been suggested that the foundation did not take place until the reign of Augustus¹¹⁰. Nevertheless, both its juridicial status¹¹¹, and the vision of a well-established city by the mid-1st. century A.D., tend to reinforce the more widely held view of earlier origins, although no precise date can be defended without debate.

Although the course of a defensive circuit is apparent in the street plan of modern Mataró, this is of the later medieval walls, not Roman ones, and the precise extent of the city remains unknown, although

the evidence of stray finds and the limit of Roman burials give a comparatively good impression (fig. 53)¹¹². To the south-west the limit was the stream or Riera, to the north-west it lay in the region of C/Melchor de Palau: to the north-east it was probably formed or effectively limited by the line of another stream - the Rierot - while towards the sea, the later main road or Camí Reial was the limit of settlement. On the last two sides, then, there may have been an association between the Roman and medieval defences¹¹³. Within this area a basic axial pattern can be detected, with the principal streets crossing in the area of the present-day Plaça Gran¹¹⁴.

The forum was probably located in the region of this square: this hypothesis is perhaps confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions, statues and columns in its vicinity¹¹⁵. Nearby, on the site of the parish church of Sta. Maria, it has been suggested that there stood a temple, presumably dedicated to the Imperial cult to judge from the inscriptions¹¹⁶. Of other public buildings little can be said apart from the traces of a few streets¹¹⁷. The total urban area was probably in the region of between seven and eight hectares.

Although various excavations have taken place within this area, the majority have been small in scale and difficult to interpret (e.g. Plaça de Pio XII¹¹⁸: Plaça de Sant Salvador and Plaça de Sant

Cristòbol¹¹⁹) or refer to areas of burials in the late and post Roman periods¹²⁰. The most significant work has taken place in the area of the house called Can Xammar¹²¹. The final phase revealed a substantial urban house with a series of mosaics datable to the last few years of the 2nd. century or the first of the following one¹²². This structure, originally built in the early 2nd. century¹²³, had been preceded by another on the same site, more functional in nature, but which itself had gone through several phases within its short life, for it had been constructed around the middle of the 1st. century A.D.¹²⁴.

In addition to the finds within the recognized limits of the city, there was also a degree of suburban settlement¹²⁵, while burials have been found principally to the south of the city, along the Riera¹²⁶. In addition one must also mention the extraordinary density of rural structures in the territorium of the city: it has been claimed that as many as seventy villas have been traced, although the class and extent of remains may suggest that some were really dependent structures of larger estates¹²⁷. Only one of these has been at all extensively excavated - that of the 'Torre Llauder' some six hundred metres to the south of the city, towards the Riera d'Argentona¹²⁸. Although its life began in the Republican period¹²⁹, the peak was reached in the first years of the 3rd. century A.D.¹³⁰, and it continued

to be occupied long afterwards.

Although it has been claimed that the city was entering a period of decline by the time of the 3rd. century invasions¹³¹, this is by no means apparent, for as has been seen at points both within the city and in its hinterland, extensive rebuilding was being carried out in the early years of that century. Whether this was a general phenomenon, or restricted to the two examples of Can Xammar and Torre Llauder must be answered by future excavators, or those who are able to re-assess the material from earlier discoveries.

BAETULO (fig. 54).

Thanks to the research of Dr. Guitart¹³², and to a lesser extent the gathering of information by Sr. Cuyas¹³³, this is now one of the best known cities of Roman Catalonia. The technique of analysis of the pottery groups from previous excavations is one that could be more widely applied to the other cities here discussed and might well produce interesting comparative results for the Roman period¹³⁴.

Dr. Guitart has demonstrated that, although not strictly proven by archaeological evidence, the defences found by Serra Rafols in the extensive excavations of the pre-Civil War period can almost certain-

ly be dated to the last years of the 2nd. century or the very beginning of the 1st. century B.C. and may have been a response to the Cimbric invasion, which certainly seems to have affected the region¹³⁵.

Whether there was a direct native antecedent of this oppidum civium Romanorum remains uncertain¹³⁶, but the settlement soon acquired a certain vitality, and by the 1st. century A.D. the defences had been built over, and the original area of settlement of some 7½ to 10 hectares expanded to perhaps as many as seventeen¹³⁷.

The peak of urban life would seem to have come in the Augustan period, to which belong the first artistic pieces found in the city, including some of the mosaics¹³⁸. Like many other parts of coastal Catalonia, this was perhaps partially a result of a flourishing export trade in local wine¹³⁹. Although the original orthogonal plan of the city was maintained throughout its life¹⁴⁰, a number of changes can be noted in the Flavian period, particularly the demolition of a house near the forum, which may imply a redesigning of the latter¹⁴¹. In addition, the extra-mural mansion excavated in the 1920's and in which a tabula hospitalis was found, may also belong to this period¹⁴².

As well as the forum, a number of other public buildings are recorded, including at least two sets of baths¹⁴³. The epigraphic record implies the

existence of a temple dedicated to the Imperial cult¹⁴⁴, although there is no direct indication of its location. The acquisition of municipal status may have occurred under Vespasian, and thus provided the motive for such changes and an increasing level of monumentality¹⁴⁵.

This prosperity of the 1st. century A.D. was comparatively short-lived, for areas within the demolished defences were being abandoned by the middle of the 3rd. century¹⁴⁶. Almost all the mosaics found in the city belong to the 1st. century¹⁴⁷, and there are no parallels to those from nearby Barcelona and Mataró of later date. Although municipal life clearly continued into the troubled years of the 3rd. century¹⁴⁸, it probably did not outlive them, and it must be assumed that many of the urban functions of the city henceforth passed to Barcelona.

EGARA (figs. 55-56).

Turning inland, this city was located in the pre-litoral depression on a promontory site at the confluence of two torrents, at a height of some three hundred metres¹⁴⁹. Although it is not cited by any classical author, its location is certain from the evidence of two inscriptions and its own subsequent history¹⁵⁰, for, as will be seen below, the name survived until the early medieval period. Promoted to municipal status by Vespasian¹⁵¹, it is uncertain what the nature of previous settlement was,

although its position has been compared with that of Iberian 'poblados' and pre-Roman material is stated to have been found¹⁵².

The excavations, which have concentrated on the early Christian and Medieval ecclesiastical complex, have produced but little evidence for the Roman city¹⁵³. Under the 5th. century mosaic which lies in front of the church of Sta. Maria, traces of an earlier house were found in 1922, together with a storage zone of dolia¹⁵⁴. The remaining material known is mainly comprised of that re-used in the churches: the capitals in the church of Sant Miquel may have been from an earlier religious structure¹⁵⁵: the frieze at the entrance to Sta. Maria bears some resemblance to those from a probable portico found in the Convent de la Ensenyança in Barcelona¹⁵⁶. There is no indication of the extent of the settlement, although it presumably stretched towards the north along the promontory, but it is unlikely that it covered more than five hectares. There was, however, a substantial element of dispersed settlement in the area around the city, if the evidence of the numerous burials of uncertain date, but within the Roman period, is reliable¹⁵⁷.

SIGARRA

Were it not for the discovery of an inscription dedicated to a Quatrumvir of the Municipi Sigarrensi, even the location of this city would be in doubt¹⁵⁸. This, together with several others¹⁵⁹, including one on the reverse of an earlier inscription, and dedicated to Maximian¹⁶⁰, comes from the small town of Prats del Rei. Other finds are few in number¹⁶¹, or at least few have been recorded, and consequently little can be said about the site and size of the settlement and its development, although medieval documentary sources suggest that it was not exactly on the site of medieval Prats, but perhaps in the area of the town known as la Mésresana¹⁶².

AUSA (fig.57)

Although the site of this town is clear¹⁶³, like all the others of inland Catalonia, with the exception of Ilerda, it was small in size. The acquisition of municipal status is indicated by a dedication of the decurions of Ausa found in Barcelona¹⁶⁴, and religious organization by a dedication to Diana by a sevir¹⁶⁵. This may well have been focused on the temple discovered in 1882 within the remains of the medieval castle¹⁶⁶. This is of 2nd. century date to judge by the few decorative pieces¹⁶⁷.

Stray finds in the area around the temple suggest that this settlement was not established until the end of the 1st. century B.C.¹⁶⁸, and consequently that the urbe ausetanorum mentioned by Titus Livy¹⁶⁹, and the mint site of Ausescen or Ausesen¹⁷⁰ should be located in one of the Iberian settlements of the region¹⁷¹. The town, if it can be called such, can only have occupied a remarkably small area around the temple, for Roman burials have been found within the medieval urban area¹⁷². It seems improbable that it exceeded five hectares, and ^{it} may have been considerably smaller (fig. 57).

Apart from a religious function, which it maintained with the advent of Christianity, one must also envisage a rôle as a market centre, which also continued in the medieval period, the market there being one of the first recorded in medieval Catalonia¹⁷³. Although the area was far less Romanized than the coastal zone, it is difficult to imagine that the fertile plain which surrounds it was not intensively cultivated¹⁷⁴. Finally a rôle in communications between the coastal area and the Pyrenees is implied by the discovery of milestones of various periods within its district.¹⁷⁵

RHODE

Documentary and archaeological **sources combine** to affirm the tradition of a Rhodian foundation, although the earliest archaeological material of the 5th. century B.C. is not as ancient as the date that the literary sources suggest for this foundation¹⁷⁶. Although Hellenistic material is abundant¹⁷⁷, comparatively little is known about the Roman period before the 3rd. century A.D., possibly suggesting a decline in favour of Emporiae until that date. Professor Tarradell includes it among his possible municipiae on the basis of an inscription from Carthage¹⁷⁸, and excavations have revealed various structures orientated on a regular street pattern¹⁷⁹, although the overall extent of the city and public structures are poorly known for these centuries, for many of the structures recorded to date belong to the late Roman period¹⁸⁰.

BLANDA

Pomponius Mela cites Blanda alongside Barcino, Baetulo and Iluro, thus implying a similar position of status in the 1st. century A.D.¹⁸¹, but the amount of material known from this site is slight and barely constitutes evidence for an urban centre. Stray finds of Roman material have been recorded to the south of the modern town, on a slight promontory, although the position where more settlement might be

expected is the slight rise where the medieval core is located, and where excavations have revealed structures of early Imperial date¹⁸².

AQUAE CALIDAE

Although traditionally associated with Caldes de Montbui¹⁸³, the recent discovery of an inscription referring to Aqui Caldenses in the other Roman spa town - Caldes de Malavella, usually known as Aquis Voconis from the information of the Roman itineraries - now places this in doubt¹⁸⁴. Thus the information of Pliny, who placed the Aquicaldenses among the stipendary groups¹⁸⁵, must be placed to one side for the time being. Nevertheless, among the inscriptions from Caldes de Montbui is one which appears to indicate the existence of a municipium¹⁸⁶, and the archaeological evidence presents a picture of a flourishing spa town.

The most important surviving remains are thus those of the baths, parts of which, especially the central pool, survive today¹⁸⁷. The sacred nature of the hot water is implied by certain of the inscriptions¹⁸⁸, and the origins of the settlement may date to the pre-Roman period. It was certainly located on the Roman road network at a comparatively early date, for a milestone of c.120B.C. has been found nearby¹⁸⁹. Within the modern urban area, a number of substantial houses of early Roman date are indicated by the presence of mosaics¹⁹⁰, although it is difficult to cal-

culate either the extent or plan of this settlement. It must also have served as a market centre, for the surrounding rural area appears to have been densely populated¹⁹¹, and there is evidence for amphora production locally, presumably for the export of wine¹⁹².

AQUIS VOCONIS

Two inscriptions from Caldes de Malavella refer to the municipal ordo¹⁹³, but apart from the surviving remains of two sets of spa baths, some one hundred metres apart¹⁹⁴, little is known of the layout of the settlement, nor of its development. Its appearance on the Vicarello Vases and the Antonine Itinerary suggests that part of its growth might be attributable to passing traffic, although it should also be noted that some consider that the town lay some distance from the Via Augusta¹⁹⁵.

IULIA LIBICA (fig.58)

This final presumed municipium in the area of eastern Catalonia was the only one in the Pyrenean area. Its geographical location suggests that it was a centre of the Ceretani, the Iulia that it achieved municipal status, although there is no epigraphical evidence to confirm this¹⁹⁶. Its identification with modern Llívia, a settlement which, because of its status as a town in the 17th. century, has remained a Spanish enclave in French territory,

is beyond doubt, although the finds from its area do little to establish its precise location, size or development¹⁹⁷. However, in spite of frequent statements that it was located on the hilltop where the medieval castle stands¹⁹⁸, all the available evidence suggests that the greater part of settlement, in the Roman period at least, was at its foot, in the area of the modern town. It would thus be another example of **a native settlement expanding** in the Roman period, but again it must be stressed that the total extent could only have been small.

Beyond the area of Eastern Catalonia which is studied here there were three more cities within the limits of present-day Catalonia.

ILERDA (fig.59).

The topography of this city was very similar to that of Tortosa¹⁹⁹: the original native settlement must have been located on the hilltop where the Zuda and the Romanesque Cathedral now stand²⁰⁰. Archaeological evidence indicates that in the Roman period this settlement spread down the slopes towards the River Segre, and covered an area of some 15 hectares²⁰¹. Although textual and numismatic evidence prove that it had achieved municipal status in the 1st. century A.D.²⁰², no inscription has yet revealed its titles²⁰³. Stray finds have been numerous, and a number of excavations have been carried out, but the precise details of topography are still in need of clarification. It is generally considered that it was walled in the 1st.

century²⁰⁴, although these walls must have been rebuilt in the late Roman period²⁰⁵. The position of the gates can be estimated, but the structure of only one is known²⁰⁶. Like Tortosa, any trace of a regular street pattern was erased by four and a half centuries of Arab rule. The modern main square may be the heir of the forum²⁰⁷, and to one side of it traces of a temple were revealed under the church of St. Joan in the last century²⁰⁸. The principal cemetery discovered, in the area of the railway station, appears to have been used throughout the Roman period²⁰⁹, and this may be indicative of no great change in circumstances under the later Empire, a situation which also occurred in other cities of the conventus Caesaraugustensis.

IESSO

Although the native predecessor of this municipium has long been known within the urban area of modern Guissona,²¹⁰ it is only within the last few years that traces of the Roman town have been revealed²¹¹. The epigraphical record indicates the existence of an ordo and sevirs²¹², and the inscription the former dedicated to Numerianus (283-4) is an indication of its survival into the late Empire²¹³. Although the surviving defences have been attributed^{to} a similar date²¹⁴, it is more likely that they were constructed in the medieval period, but re-using considerable quantities

of Roman material²¹⁵, for they do not appear to have enclosed the area of late Roman settlement which extended to the east and north of the modern town²¹⁶.

AESO

The final city was somewhat of a special case - a municipium founded in the Pyrenean zone which not only remained largely unromanized, but where the native language seems to have survived into the medieval period²¹⁷. Although there was a native forerunner in the form of the mint site ESO²¹⁸, its real emergence only occurred in the later 1st. century A.D. and subsequent decades, when, to judge by the origins of several of the local aristocracy, there was a strong movement of immigration into the area, particularly from central Spain²¹⁹. The city may thus be seen as a deliberate attempt to romanize a rather isolated area which might be expected to cause problems²²⁰. In contrast to the large number of inscriptions known, very little is recorded about the settlement itself or its history after the 2nd. century²²¹.

CONCLUSION

Roman Catalonia reflected its geography in its urban life: three basic groups of towns can be envisaged:

- i) those on the coast, either of Greek background (Emporiae and Rhode), or largely newly established by Rome with only an indirect native background (Tarraco,

Barcino, Baetulo, Iluro, Blanda (?)).

ii) those of inland Catalonia, small in size, widely distant, late in growth and with a decreasing degree of romanization the further away from the coast was reached. Thus a first stage of Gerunda, Egara, Aquis Voconis and Aquae Calidae exhibit many of the features of the coastal towns, whereas Ausa, and Iulia Libica had fewer. On the other hand, there may have been a closer connection between these towns and their native forerunners than in the case of the coastal ones.

iii) Finally the towns of the Segre-Cinca-Ebro basin, as were Ilerda, Aeso, Iesso and Sigarra, and to which should be added Dertosa: these neither were particularly large, but appear more Romanized than their neighbours to the east. However, once again, the relationship between these towns and the corresponding native settlements seems to have been a direct one.

The process of Roman urbanization began in the period around 100 B.C.: before that date settlements were either of pre-Roman native origin, Greek background or Roman military origin. During the first century B.C. one can see the gradual romanization of native centres and the establishment of the first settlements without direct antecedents, such as Baetulo. The peak of this movement was reached under Augustus, when the last of the new settlements were founded (e.g. Barcino) and by which time those native settlements which were going to be abandoned in favour

of new sites in their vicinity had been effectively deserted. It was also in this period that the first signs of monumentality and the first major works of art appear in the urban context: inscriptions, mosaics, sculptures and public buildings of the pre-Augustan period are notable only by their absence. This movement continued apace throughout the 1st. century A.D. and reached a new peak under Vespasian when several settlements, alongside many others in the Spanish provinces, achieved municipal status.

Although some of these towns continued to prosper during the second century, others had entered a period of decline and decay by the early third century. This is most apparent in Emporiae and Baetulo, but may also have occurred in other cities where the scarcity of late Roman activity is usually attributed to the barbarian raid of c.260, for the chronology of such trends is rarely adequately defined. That urban life continued to be a necessity is demonstrated by the evidence presented in chapter VIII, and in the case of Emporiae and Baetulo, the rise of Rhode and Barcino at their expense.

Such an exchange of rôle was less likely in inland areas where the towns were further apart. Professor Tarradell has pointed to a balanced distribution of urban life in Roman Catalonia, maintaining that cities could attract interest for some forty kilometres around²²²: this, however, was less true of the coastal zone where

they were considerably more closely set, and thus more susceptible to changes in economic or political circumstances.

One striking feature that was held in common by many of these towns was their small size²²³, Ampurias covered a total of some 30 hectares, but the intensity of occupation, especially after the 1st. century A.D., was low. The remaining cities were rarely over 15 hectares: Professor Tarradell has recognized a group between 10 and 20 hectares (Barcino, Dertosa, Ilerda) and another of fewer than 10 hectares, to which the majority of cities here discussed belonged (Baetulo, Iluro, Géruna, Ausa to name only the better recorded cases). Indeed, several, such as Egara and Ausa, can have hardly passed the five hectare mark. Only Tarraco can be considered as a large city, with its sixty hectares within the walls and extensive suburban settlement. As might be expected this was the only city with major public buildings and places of entertainment that could rank alongside the major cities of the Western Provinces.

What, then, was the rôle of the remaining towns? Some clearly had a connection with the tribal units and thus may have functioned as a sort of 'civitas capital' e.g. Tarraco for the Cessetani, Emporiae for the Indigetæ, Ausa for the Ausetani, Iulia Libica for the Ceretani, Ilerda for the Ilergetæ. Others do not fit into this pattern, especially those deliberately

created by Rome, such as Barcino, Baetulo and Aeso. Another connection may have been with the geographical units known as 'comarques' (fig. 5) and the regions which they collectively form²²⁴. Thus rarely or never did one of these divisions contain more than one Roman town, and in the cases where no town of Roman date exists within a 'comarca', the gap may have been filled by one of the poorly known small towns mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, or the fact that a neighbouring 'comarca' contained a substantial Roman city meant that its influence extended beyond the modern 'comarca' limits. The overall pattern may not have been dissimilar to that of the medieval and modern periods where small towns proliferate throughout Catalonia.

Thus apart from the political inferences of the tribal connection, or the hand of Rome, these towns, and many of the lesser known small towns such as Granollers and Solsona, would have acted as basic economic centres for their immediate region. In inland areas this would have been limited to a market function, whereas on the coast this could be combined with the presence of a port, which could serve as an import-export channel. Linked to this function would have been that of the communications rôle, for few of these towns were situated away from a major Roman road, and many of the smaller ones could have flourished because of a particularly advantageous position at a road junction.

Finally, a factor which is rarely invoked in connection with urban life of this region - the rôle of religion. These towns not only served as economic and political centres for the local aristocracy, but also as places where they could demonstrate their religious feelings, for a large proportion of these comparatively minor settlements have produced evidence for local cults to the gods of Rome in the form of inscriptions or temples, whereas another aspect is attested in the presence of dedications by the inhabitants of one town in another of the region. This is not at all surprising considering that the religious rôle was the most important aspect of many of the towns of Catalonia in the Visigothic and early medieval periods, although this had, of course, been by then assumed by Christianity.

Such, then, was the urban distribution in the conventus Tarraconensis in the early 3rd. century A.D., at the beginning of a century when numerous changes were to be wrought upon this pattern.

CHAPTER VI

THE THIRD CENTURY CRISIS AND COASTAL TARRACONENSIS

The third century is generally recognized as having been one of great change and upheaval in the Roman world. Not only did there exist the triple problem of internal political, social and economic instability, but also the barbarian tribes beyond the frontiers constituted a growing external threat. The conclusions of a classic paper by Koethe on the effects of the third century barbarian invasions on the Gallic provinces¹ were extended to apply to northern and eastern Spain in a series of articles by Balil² and Tarradell³, and to a lesser extent Blázquez⁴, beginning in the 1950's, and these have largely moulded present thinking about this period in Spain.

Nevertheless, for many years beforehand, indeed ever since it was realized that the defences of Barcelona were late Roman in date, a cause-result relationship had been invoked between the documented Germanic attacks and any major structural alteration of that date. More recent works tend towards recognizing that invasion and destruction are far from being the whole story, and a whole range of reasons might be proposed to explain changes, and these causes, far from being mutually exclusive, were probably inter-dependent⁵.

1. The Germanic invasions in Spain: documentary sources

This is not the place to discuss the dynastic troubles of the 3rd. century, nor the general context of the Germanic invasions. In fact, the reconstruction of the course of these invasions in Spain is a task which must be achieved principally through the evaluation of sources other than the literary ones, given their scarcity and the paucity of information that they contain.

These sources may be summarized as follows:-

- a) Eutropius, IX 8:Germani usque ad Hispanias penetraverunt et civitatem nobilem Tarraconam expugnaverunt.
- b) De Caesaribus, XXXIII 3:cum...Francorum gentes direpta Galias Hispaniam possiderunt, vastato ac paene direpto Tarraconensium oppido nactisque in tempore navigiis, pars usque in Africa permearet.
- c) Orosius, Historia, VII 22 7-8: Germani ulteriöres abrassa potiuntur Hispania..... exstant adhuc per diversas provincias in magnarum urbium ruinis parvae et pauperes sedes, signa miseriarum et nominum indicia servantes, ex quibus nos quoque in Hispania Tarraconem nostrum ad consolationem miseriae recentis ostendimus.
- d) Chronicon Hieronymi, 221, 2: Germanis Hispanias obtinentibus Tarraco expugnata est.
- e) Nazarius, Panegyricus Constantino Augusto 17,1: Franci ipsi praeter ceteros truces, quorum vis cum

ad bellum efferverceret ultra ipsum oceanus aestu
furoris evecta, Hispaniarum etiam oras armis infestis
habebant.

f) Prosperi Tironis, Epitoma/Chronicon, MGH AA IX, p.441,879:
Germanis Hispanias optinentibus Tarracona expugnata
est.⁶

The sum total of information could thus be summarized in a few phrases: the Germanic tribes entered Hispania: they captured Tarragona and embarked for Africa. The exact extent of their activity and the scope of destruction remain uncertain.

The problem which has chiefly occupied writers on this theme is the chronology of the incursions: unfortunately, this is not clear in areas north of the Pyrenees. The majority of authors indicate the year 253 for the beginning of the movement, although some place it a few years later⁷. As can be seen from the above texts, there are no definite documented dates for their arrival in Spain, though one imagines that the capture of Tarragona took place after the martyrdom of St. Fructuosus and his companions, which the contemporary description assures us took place in 259⁸. After a period of disorder, Postumus (258-267) succeeded in re-establishing peace, but a renewed attack took place, reaching its peak in 276⁹. Other evidence, however, indicates that this did not affect the Mediterranean coast, and was limited to the Atlantic sea-

board of the Spanish provinces and the central Meseta¹⁰.

2. The evidence of coin-hoards.

This model appears to be substantially supported by the study of the coin-hoards buried in the Iberian peninsula during those decades¹¹. Unlike the central and western parts of Spain and Portugal, there are none of the 270's or later in Catalonia, and those that are recorded are few in number and strictly limited to the area of Tarragona. The most definite of these is that found in 1888 in the villa at Els Munts, Altafulla, on the coast to the north of the city, and dated to c.262¹². Of similar date are two hoards from Tarragona, one found in the 19th. century and partially preserved in the museum¹³, the other in private hands in a collection in Barcelona, the precise provenance of which is uncertain¹⁴. It would not be adventurous to associate these three hoards with the events mentioned in the documentary sources concerning the city. The absence of hoards from the rest of the area, although purely negative evidence, is a fact that must be underlined.

3) The archaeological evidence.

As a result of the research of Balil and Tarra-
dell in the late 1950's it has generally been accepted
that the passing of the Germanic raid was reflected
by the abandonment, either partial or total, of many
towns and villas in Spain, including coastal Tarraco-
nensis. Consequently any ashy layer found has been
described as the work of these tribes. Admittedly,
the third century marks a period of substantial
change, even more so the years between 250 and 280,
but sites have rarely been excavated with the care
that enables one to be satisfied that any change can
be attributed to those decades, let alone the four or
five years which were influenced by the barbarian
presence. Many other factors may be drawn upon to
explain the two main phenomena in the field of settle-
ment that occurred - the decline of many towns and the
disappearance of a large number of rural sites and the
expansion of a few¹⁵. Apart from general economic
problems, the lack of garrisons could have led to an
increase in brigandage, and deeper social problems
are indicated by the presence of Bacaudae¹⁶. Thus
a change in conditions, rather than marking a step
in the invaders' path, may in fact be better inter-
preted as an indication of the conditions of that
calamitous period.

The reasons which have been employed to claim

that a site was destroyed by the barbarians are generally vague: the lack of late Roman occupation: abandonment of structures in the course of the 3rd. century: but rarely has the material been studied closely enough for a precise chronology to be proposed. In my opinion, only one site presents clear evidence of destruction, and even that was re-occupied. In the case of the other towns and villas which have been listed as producing indications of barbarian attack, I would prefer to see the changes as part of a wider pattern of events, perhaps spread over the whole of the second half of the century, rather than limited to one or two years. It is these sites, principally the towns, that must now be considered.

1) Ampurias

The lack of late Roman pottery, particularly Lamboglia's "Terra Sigillata Chiara D" (=Hayes' 'Red-slip ware'), the scarcity of coins of the late 3rd. century, and the re-use of parts of the 'Neapolis' as a cemetery have been cited as the evidence for the destruction and the abandonment of the city in the wake of the Germanic attack¹⁷. Although destruction layers have been found, these are by no means continuous, and there is no published evidence pointing to a precise date for such layers, for they are generally only distinguished by being late Roman in date: it must, however, be noted that there exists the additional problem that the relevant layers are

the closest to the surface, and on many occasions they have been disturbed by later activities.

On the other hand, even in 1957 Balil could state that Lamboglia considered that the pottery sequence continued until c.300, thus some forty years after the supposed destruction and abandonment: he also pointed out that Constantinian coins had been found in the area of the houses near the centre of the Roman city¹⁸. In addition, at least one cemetery used in previous decades was still in use in the reign of Gallienus or later, which indicates a further element of continuity¹⁹. Neither was the area of the 'Neapolis' immediately converted into a funerary zone, for other extra-mural cemeteries continued to be used, whereas the first burials in the area of the old Greek city cannot be earlier than the later 4th. century^{19 bis}.

These burials demonstrate that there was a community in the area of the city in the 4th. century, although the area, or areas, occupied have not been determined. In spite of reduced circumstances, the city was large or determined enough to warrant a bishop²⁰. In contrast, it seems that the city reached its peak before the others of coastal Tarraconensis, for as Professor Tarradell has stated, it was the representative of an initial phase in the history of urbanization of the area²¹. Evidence presented in the previous chapter shows that decline had set in by the end of the 2nd. century, if not before. Although

the publication of the most recent excavations will shed more light on the chronology of this trend, the conditions of the 3rd. century only further emphasized a pattern that had been long in the making. Even so, destruction by the barbarian attack has yet to be convincingly demonstrated.

2) Girona

The evidence for a destruction of Gerunda in this period is non-existent, for although a late Roman phase of the defences has been proposed and seems probable, this is no proof of destruction, even though the walls appear to contain re-used elements²². The original location of this material, whether intra- or extra-mural is unknown, and there is no need for it to have come from a structure destroyed during the raid. The only pertinent excavation, in the Casa Pastors, has produced a pottery group that supports a late 3rd. century date for part of the walls, but again no evidence for destruction²³. Indeed, the existence of this phase may be interpreted as an indication of urban vitality: at a time when neighbouring cities were in decline, Gerunda could assume part of their rôle as regional centres. This might well be attributed to its key position on the overland route from Gaul, and although it seems natural that the barbarian raiders should have made use of this route, there is no evidence that they damaged the city directly.

3. Mataró

In the case of this city, repeated claims have been made that it was totally destroyed and left ruinous in the 3rd. century²⁴. Although destruction layers may have been observed in the area of the city on occasions, none of these have ever been dated satisfactorily. Burials certainly took place within the city at a later date, but even in the 4th. and early 5th. centuries, the principal cemetery continued to be located outside the supposed line of the walls, along the Riera, and the intra-mural burials did not commence to later in the 5th. century at the earliest²⁵. That urban decay took place is apparent, but for the moment, it is impossible to date this decline, although, as in the case of Baetulo, it may well have been a gradual rather than a sudden process²⁶.

As for the villas in its neighbourhood, some probably went out of use in the course of this century, without it being possible to provide a more precise chronology. The most extensively studied site, Torre Llauder, continued in use in the late Roman period, and coins of the 250's and 260's have been found: there is no evidence for a destruction at this date²⁷. If the villas of the Maresme could survive, it seems most unlikely that the towns suffered extensively.

4) Badalona

Dr. Guitart has pointed out that the supposed destruction of the city was put forward as a hypothesis in 1939, but has succeeded in becoming an article of faith²⁸. Municipal life was still in existence in the 240's to judge by three inscriptions of that decade²⁹, yet parts of the town had already fallen into decay by that date, long before the Germanic invasion³⁰.

Occupation in the late Roman period was at a very low level of intensity, but although burials appear in the centre of the previously inhabited area in the late Roman period, there is still no concrete evidence for destruction³¹.

As in the case of Iluro, a substantial number of the small villas which existed in the district also went into decay, although a number, notably those at Sentromà and Llefià, continued to be occupied³². Again, there is no direct evidence, ^{to attribute} this to the passing of the barbarians, and it would seem far more logical to relate it to a change in economic circumstances, plus social conditions, with a subsequent alteration in the methods of land holding³³.

5) The Vallès

Destruction layers were envisaged at both Sabadell (Arrahona) and Sant Cugat (Octavianum). At the former the references are vague, and no material has been published that might help establish a chronology³⁴. At the latter, the excavators mention a destruction layer post-dating the early Imperial phase, but pre-dating the early Christian structures, and they associate this with the passing of the Germanic tribes, although again no precise dating evidence has been offered³⁵. Finally, in the case of Terrassa (Egara), the small scale of the excavations carried out to date has meant that little evidence can be provided for changes in the state of the city in this period, although one might expect a phase of decline parallel to that in the other small cities of the region³⁶.

6) The Penedès and Garraf

Balil refers to the destruction of settlements at Sitges, Aderró and Calafell. In the first case the scope of the material discovered is hardly sufficient to propose any alteration in the course of the 3rd. century, let alone destruction. Indeed, the evidence from the Sitges area indicates that 4th. and 5th. century life was as flourishing as before³⁷. More recent excavations at Aderró and a reconsideration of the pottery found in the 1950's also suggest occupation into the 5th. century, and

although changes may have occurred in the 3rd. century the evidence is insufficient to supply a precise date³⁸. Similarly at the villa site of Calafell, although more recent excavations have supplemented the state of knowledge of the 1950's, and third century changes are probable, these need not have been provoked by the barbarian attacks^{38 bis}.

Similarly, many of the rural sites in the region around Vilafranca del Penedès continued to be inhabited in the 4th. and 5th. centuries, whereas few, unlike the Badalona region, were abandoned in the course of the 3rd. century³⁹.

7) Els Munts, Altafulla.

Several seasons of excavation have taken place at this site where a coin hoard was found in 1888,⁴⁰ and it is now one of the best known villa sites in Catalonia⁴¹. Whether other sites would produce comparable results were they excavated on the same scale remains unknown, but it is at least apparent that a destruction took place there, the most dramatic manifestation being the discovery of chained human skeletal remains in a subterranean chamber, interpreted as an imprisoned slave⁴².

Even so, 4th. century remains are abundant from this site and it clearly recovered from any catastrophe and lasted into the 5th. century and perhaps beyond.

The finding of a hoard of Constantinian bronzes in one of the bath suites⁴³, which might be paralleled by a similar hoard from the lower forum of Tarragona⁴⁴, indicates that this was not the only period of troubles that might have affected the area, and lends credibility to the belief that minor evidence of destruction should not be attributed to Germanic hordes without firm datable support. It should, not be forgotten, however, that the villa at Centcelles, five kilometres to the west of Tarragona, and one of the most carefully excavated in the region, has not produced any evidence for a destruction in the 3rd. century, although it too underwent changes in the 4th. century, but for very different reasons⁴⁵.

8) Tarragona

It is debatable to what extent the destruction indicated by the literary sources is demonstrated by archaeology. Balil pointed to the abandonment of suburban structures over which the early Christian cemetery spread, and the re-use of material from the city in its tombs^{45bis}. This, he considered, was datable to the 260's on the basis of the coin evidence, any later coins found in the context of these structures being evidence for the return of people to hunt for lost possessions or to rob stonework⁴⁶. This argument is hardly convincing, and it is far sounder to argue, as does Dra. del Amo, using a wider range of material, that life in some of these suburban struc-

tures continued beyond that date⁴⁶ bis. That material from intra-mural sites was used in the early Christian cemetery is no proof that the events of the early 260's seriously influenced the intra-mural area, for the cemetery had a long life, and such material could have been gathered at any time up to the 6th. century.

Leaving aside early excavations in the city, none of those taking place in the past half century have produced anything remotely like a destruction layer datable to this period. That there was a substantial change in the pattern of settlement is indicated by 4th. century domestic occupation in the area of former monumental buildings in the upper part of the city, which points to reduced circumstances and a migration to a stronger position⁴⁷. Yet the forum in the lower part of the city continued in use into the 4th. century⁴⁸, and until more is known about the transition to the upper part, it would be rash to attribute this to a flight from the raid of the 260's.

This lack of correlation between the historical and archaeological sources in Tarragona might lead one to philosophize on the folly of endeavouring to relate the two forms of evidence, or even to claim that destruction could have occurred without necessarily being present or recognizable in the archaeological record. However, if the available evidence is examined with an exceedingly critical eye, as

has been here attempted, it transpires that the best attested destruction archaeologically speaking has been found in the villa of Els Munts. Coupling this with the hoards from the villa and Tarragona, and the historical sources, a minimal view of localized damage in this area might be proposed⁴⁹. The documentary sources thus, rather than only recording the attack on Tarragona because it seemed the most disturbing, would be reflecting the real situation. In view of the imprecise dating and nature of most of the other supposed destructions and abandonments in the Catalan littoral zone, it must be sustained that such changes are more satisfactorily explained, especially in the case of the cities, as part of gradual changes occurring during this century. Indeed, the fact that the one site with apparent destruction was not subsequently abandoned must lead one to question the validity of abandonment as evidence for the barbarian raid, for whenever possible people would surely have returned to their homes, whatever their condition. Further detailed studies of individual sites are clearly needed, however, before sweeping generalizations as to the exact reasons for these major alterations in settlement patterns can be established.

4) Barcelona and the third century crisis

Barcelona has been deliberately omitted from the general study of the previous pages. There are no primary sources to link it with the incursion, but virtually all writers from the Renaissance onwards have stressed its importance in connection with Barcelona. For Pau and Pujades this was the moment when the city began to increase in size and population as a result of the ruin of Tarragona,⁵⁰ and for writers from Bofarull onwards, the walls were erected in response to the raid, as an insurance policy against any further recurrence⁵¹. This has been expanded to include the belief that Barcelona too was destroyed in the wake of the Germanic hordes, and was only rebuilt on a much reduced scale⁵².

The invasion and the defences have thus become inseparable: the re-use of early Roman material in the walls has been presented as ample proof of the calamities suffered. Yet the evidence from sites within the walls, although not totally contradicting the model, is rarely in complete concord, which must lead one to question the circumstances these decisive topographical changes took place in.

a) The Defences (fig.60).

The method of construction now seems clearly established: it is possible to discard all earlier theories concerning the reduction of the size of the

city, in view of the evidence that the late Roman phase consisted of a doubling of the thickness of the earlier walls, with the addition of very closely set towers of rectangular plan, and alterations to the gates and angles⁵³. The state of knowledge of the location of the various surviving lengths of the defences hardly surpasses that described by Professor Balil in 1961⁵⁴: the only points where the course remains in doubt are the south side and the projecting castellum next to the Regomir gate (fig.46).

The structure can be summarized as follows: the curtain wall is 9.2 metres high, and about 4 metres thick, including the earlier phase. Re-used material is frequent in the mortar and stone filling, and even among the large, well-cut blocks of opus quadratum which form the outer face. A foundation offset exists, although the foundations themselves are not very deep. The towers are generally between 6 and 8 metres apart, and there were probably a total of 75 including the gate towers (fig.60). The lower part of the towers is of identical construction to the curtain wall, from which they project between 2 and 2.5 metres. The upper part is 9 metres high, which gives a total height of some 18 metres, and is made of small stone blocks. Each tower had two floors, the lower at the level of the wall walk, from which access could be gained. In the front face at this level were two windows, and one in each of the side

walls. The upper floor was similar except that windows replaced the doors from the wall walk, so that there were two windows in each of the three outward facing sides. The method of roofing of these towers remains unknown. At the angles there existed circular towers rather than rectangular ones, although their basic structure was similar⁵⁵.

The late Roman parallels for these defences are evident in many parts of western Europe, as well as at Rome itself and in the rest of Tarraconensis⁵⁶, and it is to this general context of late Roman town walls that they should be attributed, rather than being considered in isolation as a direct response to the events of the early 260's. The fact that earlier decorative and epigraphical pieces were employed has often been considered as an indication of great haste, in fear of renewed attack⁵⁷. This would seem most improbable, for not only does this material form a comparatively small proportion of the total, and a great deal of quarrying must have gone into their building, but also the solidity and care with which they were erected must surely indicate a task undertaken with a degree of planning and forethought.

If they were thus not an immediate response to the barbarian raid, what information exists for the chronology of their construction? On comparative grounds, Balil proposed a date range of between 270 and 310,

inclining to the middle of that period, that is under the Tetrarchy⁵⁸. Richmond, too, although not venturing concrete dates, hinted at a probably slightly later date for the Barcelona defences than the others he studied⁵⁹. Unfortunately, half a century later, there is still no section of the relationship of these defences to either intra- or extra-mural stratigraphy. This inevitably hinders any attempt at direct dating.

We must therefore rely on material incorporated in the walls for dating evidence. A coin of Claudius II from tower 33 is the latest securely dated artefact⁶⁰: Serra Ràfols apparently believed in a Constantinian date, perhaps on the basis of coin evidence, for the registers of the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad list such a coin as being found in his excavations of the walls, although the precise context is not recorded⁶¹. The analysis of neither the pottery⁶², nor the stonework from the walls contributes any further information, and although the most recent excavations in the gate towers of the north-west gate have demonstrated that the gate towers belong to a slightly later phase than the curtain wall, there is little evidence for their precise chronology^{62 bis}. The lack of certain typically Constantinian features would appear to re-inforce the date proposed by Balil, but in the current state of knowledge it would be unwise to offer more than a narrow range of 280 to 300, or a wider one of 270 to 310.

b) The intra-mural area

Other changes are to be noted in the city in the second half of the 3rd. century, which have been usually attributed to the destructive tendencies of passing barbarians, but once again the evidence offered is frequently of a very dubious validity.

Firstly, in 1876, Padre Fita recorded the traces of a terrible conflagration among remains found in the Convent de l' Ensenyança (fig.13 no.18) "debido quizá a los germanos del siglo III"⁶³. Although no dating evidence was offered, this has generally been accepted as a valid interpretation⁶⁴. It is evident that such a layer, even if caused by an attack on the city, could have been deposited in virtually any period between the third century and the tenth.

Secondly, although no destruction layer was noted in the area, Professor Balil has interpreted the coin-list of the Plaça del Rei and Casa Padelhás excavations, with a continuity between Philip the Arab and Claudius II, as evidence of unusual circumstances. In fact, coins of the mid and late 3rd. century are generally abundant, both on this site and in the city as a whole, and this is far more reasonably interpreted as indicating a certain vitality during this period⁶⁵.

More significant, however, has been the claim that the first season of work in the Plaça de Sant Miquel produced a layer formed as the result of

Germanic destruction in the 3rd. century⁶⁶. Although it is difficult to dispute the presence of a thick layer of ashy content, there are a number of contradictions in the publications to date on this site, and it is unfortunate that a more definitive report has not yet appeared. A study of the pottery of the late Roman period from the first season points out the curious lack of destroyed structures in this layer, and a number of discrepancies concerning the pottery⁶⁷. The interim report comments on the complete lack of 'Terra Sigillata Clara D' forms in the appropriate layer E⁶⁸, whereas the pottery report points out that a number of fragments of 4th. century wares were in fact found in it, but considers that they had probably been misallocated and should have really belonged to the previous layer found, thus leaving the way open to date this layer E to the period between 260 and 280⁶⁹.

A number of criticisms can thus be levelled at the excavation, for either the material was inefficiently recorded, or the report is trying to force the material into a pre-conceived historical pattern. Moreover, if this layer did mark the passing of the Germanic raid, it must be dated no later than c.260, for there is no evidence for later incursions in this part of the Mediterranean coast.

If the material from the polemical layer E is

re-assessed, it is seen that of the ten sherds of 'Terra Sigillata Clara', five are of Lamboglia's class A and the other five of his class D⁷⁰. The class A sherds have a range of between the early 2nd. century and about a century later. The class D fragments should all be dated to the 4th. century⁷¹. If the class D sherds are to be accepted as intrusive this represents 50% of the published datable material: alternatively, if they really were intrusive, the evidence for claiming a destruction between 260 and 280 is based on five sherds of pottery, none of which is definitely later than the early 3rd. century.

Unfortunately, the material from the layers immediately above and below does not aid one very much in the definition of the date of layer E. Layer F contained little material⁷², and D, the supposed re-organization after the Germanic destruction contained about 60% 'Terra Sigillata Clara D' of 4th. century date, the rest of this class of pottery being residual 2nd. and 3rd. century material, a proportion thus similar to that from layer E⁷³. It is unfortunate that we do not know the relationship of this layer to that in which a mid-4th. century hoard was found in a subsequent season, for the evidence certainly leans towards such a date, rather than c.260, for this supposed destruction⁷⁴.

In a negative way, one can point to certain

indications of continuity over these troubled years. Depending on the date of the visible remains, it is feasible that the changes that occurred in the area excavated under the Casa Padellás were only piecemeal and gradual between the 2nd. and 4th. centuries⁷⁵. If the area excavated in the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona (fig.37) was altered, the house there with a second century mosaic must have gone out of use, for there was no phase distinguishable between it and the 6th. century 'palatium'. Alternatively, one must accept that the house continued to be occupied from the 2nd. to the 4th. centuries or later⁷⁶.

This house was originally interpreted as part of an initial forum, which was supposedly transferred after the Germanic raids to the later site in the Sant Jaume area. For reasons discussed above, there is no doubt that the forum had always existed at that point, but it has been claimed that it was ruined in the late 3rd. century, and its monuments re-used elsewhere⁷⁷. As will be demonstrated below, it seems virtually impossible that material from the forum area was re-used in the construction of the defences, and, on the other hand, when honorific inscriptions and statue bases appear, they are nearly always in 6th century or later contexts⁷⁸. Moreover, a small group of Imperial inscriptions is vivid proof that life was continuing more or less as before in the decades between 260 and 280. These are to Claudius

II (269), Aurelian (272), perhaps Probus (276) and Carus (282)⁷⁹. Whatever other troubles were worrying the citizens of Barcelona, they still had the organization and resources to erect these monuments. They stand in stark contrast to the series from Girona⁸⁰ and Badalona⁸¹. Nor is the lack of later inscriptions an indication of a ruinous forum, but simply of a change in the times and in past habits.

The evidence from the intra-mural area is thus hard to adapt to the idea of a wholesale destruction of the city in the early 260's. This is surely not surprising, for the city had been walled beforehand, and unlike those of Baetulo, these walls had not fallen into decay. The inability of barbarian hordes to take walled towns is well known⁸², and if they passed through the area at all, it is in the suburbs that one would expect to note their presence.

c) The suburban area

No site in the territorium has yet presented evidence for a change in conditions during the third century. The suburban villa of the Plaça de Antoni Maura had clearly gone out of use by the 5th. century when the area was occupied by a cemetery, and it is normally accepted that this abandonment was a result of the barbarian raid⁸³. In the absence of a full report it is impossible to be certain whether this assumption is true: certainly the coin series from the site lasted into the fourth century and a coin of

Valerian or Gallienus was found near the floor level⁸⁴. It is unclear whether these indicate continued occupation into the fourth century, or are the result of later activity on the site, connected with the cemetery. The fact that part of the structure was apparently used as a cella memoriae in the 5th. century, however, must indicate that it was still standing at that date, and it is more difficult to reconcile this with abandonment in the third rather than the fourth century. However, material from other suburban villas was used in the defences, alongside the bulk of funerary monuments, and it does seem possible that, as in Tarragona, there was a partial, but not necessarily total, abandonment of dwellings in the area around the walls^{84 bis}.

It was most definitely the cemeteries that suffered the most from the change in circumstances, for only the most distant, the hidden and the poorest tombs escaped from the hands of those collecting building material for the late Roman walls⁸⁵. It has often been stated that this re-used material indicates general urban decay and destruction. A detailed analysis of this material shows that only the cemeteries were plundered, and it is impossible to demonstrate that any single piece came from an intra-mural context, whereas it is demonstrable that most of the material was funerary, and would therefore have been originally located outside the walls.

Of the 107 inscriptions listed by Professor Mariner as having been found in the defences⁸⁶, some 68 are evidently funerary in origin⁸⁷, 27 are too fragmentary to be analysed⁸⁸, one is a milestone which could have been located extra-murally⁸⁹, and only 11 might be thought to be honorific inscriptions and thus originally erected in the forum or the streets around it. A consideration of these eleven shows that in virtually all cases an extra-mural location is acceptable, or that it seems doubtful whether the inscriptions were really re-used in the walls.

IRB 18: a religious dedication from the Palau Reial Menor, which is not certainly from the defences.

IRB 19: although clearly an Imperial dedication (to Hadrian) and certainly found in the walls, it is not impossible that this came from some extra-mural monument or structure.

IRB 26: although this long known 3rd. century inscription has been attributed a provenance from the defences, this cannot be accepted without some reservations. Balil certainly considered that another origin was more probable⁹⁰.

IRB 53: definitely from the defences in C/ de Ferran, 34, but of an unusual type which may have been sepulchral⁹¹.

IRB 55: an honorific inscription with the LDDD hallmark, but since it was found at the junction of the Baixada de Santa Eulalia and C/ de Sant Honorat, it was probably not found in the walls.

IRB 77: although stated by the index of IRB to have

been found in the walls, the find-spot of C/Llibreteria makes this unlikely.

IRB 95: the same comments as for IRB 77 apply.

IRB 100: This inscription was found in the Plaça de la Catedral, which although crossed by the defences, does not exclude the possibility of re-use in another structure. In addition, there is some doubt if it was really found there or nearby in the C/dels Comtes⁹².

IRB 112: Since this honorific inscription has been known since the 16th. century, it seems improbable that it was found in the wall core, which remained relatively untouched at that date.

IRB 118: again not certainly from the defences.⁹³

IRB add.1: another LDDD honorific inscription, but not certainly from the walls⁹⁴.

Thus only IRB 19 and 53 are clearly from the walls: the former could have stood outside the walls, while the latter could be funerary in origin. The available information thus suggests that there was no wide-scale re-use of inscriptions from intra-mural sites for the construction of the defences, although it is not impossible that a few from structures which were ruinous or disused were incorporated.

In contrast to this pattern, the epigraphical material from intra-mural locations is largely honorific. Of 38 inscriptions known to be without doubt from intra-mural locations, whether found in the

course of excavations during this century, or as casual finds of the past one⁹⁵, some 29 may be considered as honorific or monumental in character⁹⁶, five are of uncertain type⁹⁷, two are votive dedications⁹⁸, and two at the most are funerary⁹⁹. A similar state of affairs arises when the early epigraphical finds of Barcelona are considered, that is those inscriptions found before the late 19th. century. The find spots are not always known, but working on the assumption that the first recorded location may well have been close to, if not the same as, the original provenance, a similar distribution is visible. Some 25 fall into this category with intra-mural locations, plus another half-a-dozen from extra-mural points, some of which had been re-used in the early medieval period¹⁰⁰. The resultant percentages are very similar, with 23 in the honorific, monumental and votive category¹⁰¹, six uncertain¹⁰², and only three funerary ones¹⁰³, two of which may have been early finds from the defences.

Thus, funerary monuments and inscriptions were frequently incorporated into the late Roman walls, and have been found in such a position since the later 19th. century. Earlier finds of this class of inscription are rare, which is not surprising because the walls remained largely intact until that date. The lack of such finds also points to the thoroughness with which the early Imperial cemeteries were ran-

sacked for usable material. On the other hand, those inscriptions which would have been erected within the walls were virtually never re-used in this way. When they appear in re-used contexts these date to the 6th. century or later, with a few notable exceptions, such as that from the Sant Miquel baths, which was re-used in the same structure as originally erected. The structural value of Roman pedestals was obvious to builders for many years to come, while the number of funerary inscriptions available at a post-3rd. century date was limited, or they may have been considered too distant when a more conveniently placed source of stone was available in the core of the city¹⁰⁴.

Although a corpus of the decorated stonework from Barcelona is still unpublished, it is apparent that a large proportion of identifiable pieces from the defences are also funerary. Naturally it is more difficult to be certain without any degree of hesitation, but a cursory glance at the material found during the last hundred years confirms this suspicion. The material found up to about 1960 was considered by Professor Balil¹⁰⁵, and those pieces found since then, summarized here, have produced nothing to contradict this conclusion.

Tower 1: The base is partially composed of the lower part of a circular tower, the mouldings having been reset at an incorrect angle. This was perhaps a major funerary monument like the tower of 'Les Gunyoles' in the Penedès. The interior of the tower pro-

duces a large cubic capital, as well as the remains of the aqueduct¹⁰⁶.

Tower 3: Below the cornice are two blocks with carved fascies: Balil originally considered them to have been carved after the construction of the defences whereas Serra Ràfols believed them to be re-used blocks¹⁰⁷.

Tower 6: The base of this tower produced a considerable number of re-used pieces, exclusively from funerary monuments, particularly the 'Medusa-head' type¹⁰⁸.

Length 7/8: This produced a frieze with garlands and theatrical masks which must have belonged to a structure of some size, possibly not funerary. It is of a style and workmanship unparalleled in the city¹⁰⁹.

Tower 8: A small statue of Diana in marble was found, which Serra considered not to be funerary, and Balil believed to have originally been placed in a niche for public or private cult¹¹⁰. In addition, this tower produced a large number of pieces of two tombs decorated with Medusa heads¹¹¹.

Tower 9: produced various architectural fragments¹¹².

Tower 10: produced various fragments of cornices¹¹³.

Tower 11: The two most significant finds were two busts interpreted as being of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Younger, an attribution which has not received general acceptance. A more satisfactory opinion is that they form a pair which decorated one of the better funerary monuments of the city¹¹⁴. In addition there were a number of architectural frag-

ments, parts of several statues and five cupae¹¹⁵ ✓

Length 11/12: produced a fragment of a stone crater, probably, like other similar pieces, from a mausoleum¹¹⁶.

Tower 16: Apart from an inscription, the most significant feature was the group of twelve amphorae filled with sand in the base of this tower, presumably placed there to aid drainage¹¹⁷.

Tower 23: Of particular interest for it is one of the few to be examined in recent years with all its height standing. The majority of the re-used pieces, as elsewhere, came from the foundations, rather than the body of the tower. Apart from the Augustan milestone, the remaining pieces were semi-cylindrical parts of the upper borders of mausolea, which had been neatly laid in the base¹¹⁸.

Length 23/24: Two blocks on the outer face with human figures in profile were recorded: they probably formed part of a funerary tower¹¹⁹.

Tower 24: This produced the second part of the supposed 'Faustina' bust, various column shafts and several Corinthian capitals which might suggest the incorporation of the remains of a destroyed building. In addition, eight sculptures or fragments were recovered, including one with a lion and another with marine figures, both of funerary type, and parts of two more busts¹²⁰.

Length 24/25: has on the outer face part of the same frieze as found between the two previous towers¹²¹.

Tower 25: This has produced an Atlas figure, two heads, part of a bust, and a toga-clad statue, as well as various capitals and other architectural fragments¹²².

Tower 26: Like several other wall towers, this was constructed re-using a substantial part of a funerary tower. The decorative fragments include part of a low-relief with Bacchanalian scenes, and a frieze with dancing figures. The attribution of one of the male heads to Nerva is not acceptable. More recent work has found various architectural fragments and pieces of a polychrome mosaic¹²³.

Tower 33: Apart from the coin of Claudius Gothicus, various architectural fragments and parts of tombs were revealed in the interior of this tower¹²⁴.

For the rest of the defences, the majority of the finds were made in the 19th. century and have been described by Balil. Unlike the sector just accounted for, it is often impossible to be certain whether pieces were used in the walls or not, and it seems probable, for example, that the columns from the Convent de la Ensenyança were in situ rather than incorporated in the walls¹²⁵. The only new information one might add are the drawings of Hernandez Sanahuja, who illustrated two Medusa heads from the Palau Reial Menor¹²⁶, and the more recent work in the final tower, which has produced the marble head of a young man¹²⁷. In addition, busts originally found in the 19th. century have been relocated¹²⁸.

The material found thus falls into a series of categories. The most clearly defined is the group of sepulchral origin - the funerary towers, Medusa decorated finials and related pieces, cupae, altars, craters, and most of the friezes. It seems probable that most of the busts and heads had a similar function. Balil expressed the opinion that the headless toga-clad statues were from honorific monuments¹²⁹, but a strange contrast thus arises, for none of the related inscriptions have been found in the same context. On the other hand, it is difficult to ascribe the column shafts, capitals, cornices and other architectural fragments to any one class of building. Some may have come from monumental tombs, others from public buildings or private residences.

Conclusion

The destruction of Barcelona in the 3rd. century by the incursion of Germanic tribes has until now been taken for granted and, along with this city, it has been supposed that virtually every site in the litoral region fell into the hands of the invaders. Although changes undoubtedly occurred, the evidence is rarely precise enough to allow us to attribute them to this raid, especially when a number of other factors could have been influential. The clearest evidence for the effects of the incursion comes from Tarragona and its environs, which is the only point mentioned by the historical sources.

In the case of Barcelona, only one site has produced a destruction layer attributed to these years. This dating, however, rests on very dubious grounds, at least until evidence is presented from the subsequent seasons to complement it. Other intra-mural sites indicate a general continuity. The defences were probably erected at least two decades after the passing of the raid, and can therefore hardly be seen as an immediate response. If the raid did effect Barcelona, it was probably the suburbs that suffered, for the extra-mural area was extensively ransacked for building material for the foundations of the new city walls. Although it is possible that some of this material came from the intramural area, the recognizable pieces are almost exclusively of funerary nature. The pillaging of cemeteries was most vividly revealed in the Plaça de la Vila de Madrid, where the upper parts of tombs were robbed, the lower parts and their more humble neighbours being protected by a layer of silt. The fact that no other early Roman burials have been found in situ stands in stark contrast to the larger number of late Roman burials known and testifies to the marked change in mentality that must have occurred. Nevertheless, although the community was undoubtedly affected by third century conditions, there is no evidence to suggest that it was either destroyed or drastically reduced in numbers by them.

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIANITY AND KINGS:

BARCELONA c.A.D. 500 TO THE FALL OF THE VISIGOTHIC
KINGDOM.

Although for many historians the roots of the medieval world of western Europe can be traced back to the reforms of the Tetrarchy, the Pirenne thesis suits Spain far better than any other part of Europe. There the civilization of Rome can be seen lingering through the centuries, occasionally with a Visigothic veneer, to be rudely interrupted by the Moslem invasion¹. The Visigothic period cannot be separated from the late Roman, nor the latter from the phenomena called early Christian, which on occasions are neither early nor Christian. Consequently Spanish historians do not hesitate to accept 711 as the beginning of the medieval period in the Iberian peninsula².

However valid this may be for political developments, in the case of urban history, and particularly that of Barcelona, it is but a partial truth. Within this period one can see the origins of Barcelona as a medieval city - both in its internal topography and its regional context³: it is the former of these aspects that is discussed here, leaving the latter for the following chapter.

1. The intra-mural topography of the fourth century.

It was one of the major tenets of Barcelona historiography until the publication of Srta.Pallarés' research in 1969⁴, that the city before the late 3rd. century covered a larger area than in the following century⁵. It was also generally accepted that this original Roman city had been destroyed and virtually totally rebuilt within the new defences. In this way the supposed 'forum' of the Plaça de Sant Iu could be interpreted as that of the early Imperial city, leaving no trace in the later topography, whereas the late Roman forum was that identified by the crossing of the main streets in the area of the modern Plaça de Sant Jaume⁶.

The opinions of early writers on the extent of the Roman city may be discarded, for their views were usually based on the erroneous interpretation of the date of medieval drains⁷. The extent of the damage produced during the 3rd. century has been placed in doubt: and the course of the early Roman defences has been demonstrated to have been similar to, if not the same as, those of the late Roman period⁸. Given these circumstances it would indeed be remarkable if it were possible to detect a major re-modelling of the city in the late third century: one might expect minor changes, adaptations to new economic conditions, but little else.

Unfortunately the excavations of late Roman structures which have taken place are either generally poorly published, and need to be re-interpreted, or are in the course of publication, so that information to work with must be derived from interim notes of varying quality.

a) Casa Padellás (fig. 60, CP),

The chronology of the structures located under the main part of the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad has been discussed above⁹, with the conclusion that most of the visible structures belong either to the 4th. century, or are earlier, but continued in use with minor modifications until that date. It is apparent that the street along the back of the defences had had an earlier phase, but continued in use in this period, as did the cardo which delimits the area to the north-west. The structures enclosed within these limits are of a striking structural poverty: the basic technique was the use of small stones and rammed earth, with larger blocks only found at angles and wall junctions.

Although they were aligned on the decumanus adjoining the defences, they do not appear to have had access from it (fig. 33.)¹⁰. Towards the north are two rooms, h and j, with access from what Balil described as a procoethon, i¹¹. Subsequent excavations to link this gallery of the museum with that under the Plaça del Rei revealed a series of smaller rooms

to the north-west, one with access from i, and another which may have formed an entrance passage from the street on that side (fig. 32). The floor levels of these are entirely unknown, though they may well have been of rammed soil with a thin mortar spread. Room j had three levels of plaster decoration, the final one having been red towards the base and green higher up¹².

An apparently continuous wall divided this range from room f, although it is possible that there was an access that was destroyed or obscured in a late phase¹³. Adjoining f is a small room with a tank which Durán interpreted as a private bath, with a drain, although the alternative explanation as a tank related to some industrial or agricultural process should also be considered¹⁴. To the south was an elongated room, e, which produced a large amount of worked bone. Durán thought that water had been frequently poured into it because of a drain leading to a soakaway pit cut through the floor levels of room a¹⁵. Balil, on the other hand, in 1959 thought it unlikely to be an entrance to the group of rooms just described, although in 1972 he was disposed to accept a function as an entrance to the range made up by rooms a, b, and c¹⁶.

Room b is narrow and has a mortar floor with the opus sectile mosaic dated by Dr. Barral to the early 4th. century in the centre¹⁷. To the west

lies a passage: c was probably a kitchen: it contains a large tank with a drain and the remains of a dolium¹⁸. The account of the excavator describes the floor of a as being cut by the soakaway pit just mentioned: in a second phase the original floor of small bricks laid herring-bone fashion had been concealed by a mortar one¹⁹.

An overall interpretation is difficult: the structures probably had a long history, as indicated by the numerous minor modifications and the wide range of techniques used in their walls, there hardly being two that can be said to be identical. Three individual groups appear to be visible: a-b-c, e-f, and h-i-j together with the unnumbered rooms to the north-west. Each of these groups is between ten and twelve metres wide, although if they stretched to the decumanus to the south-west, for as has been said there were no entrances from that to the north-east, they would have to have been properties over forty metres in length. Another possibility is that they were dependencies approached from a central yard, which might also explain the lack of structures in the trenches cut in the C/del Veguer immediately adjoining this area²⁰. This may be supported by the topography from the next insula to the north-west, where 'industrial' dependencies were to be found in the area nearer the defences, whereas the structure bordering the decumanus which was the forerunner

of C/de la Freneria and C/dels Comtes, boasted mosaics, an ornamental garden, and other features of a residential zone. In this block, however, there is no such proof, and these remains may have been minor dwellings or the dependencies of a larger complex, with the first hypothesis being the more probable.

b) Plaça del Rei (fig.60 PR).

Although the general nature of occupation in this adjacent area can be identified, no entire structures, nor even partial ones, can be readily recognized (fig.34-36). From south to north there can be seen, beyond the cardo minor and in an area which appears to have been a partially covered yard, a small store with dolia; to the north of this ^{was} a corridor paved with stone flags, which was in use at the same time as room b to the west²¹. All these structures are earlier than the portico which preceded the cemetery, for one of the columns rests on the floor of b. In addition there are various lengths of walls running north-south in this area, also later than these floor levels.

To the east of the flag-paved corridor are two small tanks, presumably for industrial usage²². They too pre-date the portico, and, unlike it, respect the continuous wall which must have fronted onto the street following the inner face of the defences. Not only is this wall on the same alignment as that under the Casa Padellás, but it also had no visible entrance from that intervallum street. Since, like the main visible

phases in the insula to the south, these fragmentary structures are at a somewhat higher level than the offset of the first phase of the defences, it does not seem at all improbable that they should be collectively dated to the later Roman period²³.

c) Plaça de Sant Iu (fig.60, PSI: fig.37).

The third major part of this complex consists of a group of neatly ordered dolia under one of the vaults supporting the later Royal Palace: the date of this feature is unknown, and the later phases between this store and the 11th. century construction of the Palace are poorly recorded, although the group of dolia implies a similar function for this area as that in the Plaça del Rei²⁴. To the west, however, under the plaça de Sant Iu, are the remains of a peristyle house, already mentioned²⁵. Although the mosaic associated with this is of 2nd. century date, there was no other structural phase between this and the supposed 'palatium' of 6th. century date. One can but presume that the peristyle house and the surrounding area went out of use well before that date, or that it continued in use from the 2nd. century until the end of the Roman period. The only evidence that one can point to is the considerable number of late Roman coins found both under the Palace vaults and under the supposed 'palatium' and although they hint at late Roman occupation there, they are hardly conclusive proof.²⁶

d) Plaça de Sant Miquel (fig. 60, SM: figs.29-30).

Although it has been excavated more recently, full plans are still not available for this site. Nevertheless, a better idea of the stratigraphy than ^{on} those previously described can be established. The baths continued to function in the fourth century, and perhaps beyond, although at a reduced level of intensity, for the earlier caldarium was divided into four parts, the two to the west continuing as smaller hypocausts, with separate furnace mouths, the two to the east being converted into tepidaria²⁷. A drain running into the cardo to the south has been dated as late as the 5th. or 6th. centuries, implying the continued use of the baths into the Visigothic period²⁸. Parts, however, fell out of use in the second half of the fourth century, as is implied by the finding of a hoard of c.360 within the baths²⁹.

In the structures to the south of the cardo on the alignment of the Baixada de Sant Miquel (fig. 60, no.1) floors of fourth century date were found over earlier ones of the late 1st. or early 2nd. century, but using the same walls and within the same limits³⁰. Similarly in the adjacent area to the east, hastily recorded prior to the construction of the Town Hall extension, other fourth century floor levels were found³¹. In both these cases they were covered by thick layers of humus-rich soil, suggesting agricultural activity, containing material up to the 13th. and 14th. centuries. The date of abandonment of these structures, and the conversion of the area

to one of more rural appearance, must thus be based on guess-work, although dates of up to the 8th. century have been proposed³².

e) The southern part of the city

Although no other excavations are sufficiently well recorded from the rest of this part of the city to provide details of the nature and extent of settlement, a number of finds allow some hypotheses to be put forward. That substantial houses were still to be found is implied by the discovery in 1860 of a mosaic with a circus theme and associated walls with painted plaster, in the construction of the street which was to become C/de la Condesa Sobradriel. This has been variously dated, although the maximum limits proposed are 300 to 340, and it is thus one of the few fourth century mosaics from the city (fig.60, no.2)³³.

To the west of the baths complex was found another mosaic with a central emblem of the Three Graces (fig.60, no.3). Balil would date this towards the end of the 2nd. century³⁴, although Barral has proposed a date about a century later³⁵. The context of this mosaic is, however, far from clear, and it may have formed part of a public building, perhaps a palaestra, since it was found near a series of columns which may have been in situ, in the area of the Convent de l' Ensenyança³⁶. If this point and the revised dating are true, the so-called destruction

layer of the third century related with these columns should be rejected as inadmissible. In contrast, the early Imperial structure, with late Roman modifications, would appear to have survived, englobed in later structures, until the 19th. century³⁷.

In the case of the mosaics of the Plaça de Regomir and the C/de la Palma de Sant Just details are even more scant³⁸: in the former we can but indicate the existence of a house fronting onto the decumanus major. In the case of the latter, the absence of any other visible levels in the extant sketches, above that of the 2nd. century mosaic, and the lack of any alterations to the associated walls, may point to an early decline of this part of the city, and a lower density of population in the late Roman period³⁹.

f) The northern parts of the city

The most recent discovery of the Roman period within the walls has been of a substantial town-house in the insula next to the north-west gate, where the Archbishop's Palace has stood since the 12th. century (fig. 60, no.4). Although the rescue excavation was carried out in the most deplorable conditions, fragments of a floor with a late 2nd. or early 3rd. century mosaic were found, together with the substantial part of a wall dividing this room from a neighbouring one, and which still bore its painted plaster, probably of similar date. The date of abandonment of this str-

ucture is uncertain, possibly coming in the late 3rd. century, possibly not until a century later. Nevertheless, this floor was replaced at a later date, perhaps in the 5th. century, by one of opus signinum, various other modifications occurring at the same time. It is apparent that the area was inhabited until a later date within the Roman period⁴⁰.

The other remains from this part of the city are less informative: the mosaic of the Baixada de Santa Eulalia (fig.13, no. 8) clearly formed part of a very large hall, for the fragment revealed constituted only one corner. Although it now seems doubtful whether it was cut by the late Roman walls, it is unclear whether the structure of which it formed part continued in use beyond the third century⁴¹. The remains found in the square in front of the cathedral in 1952 have also been described as late Roman in date (fig.60, no. 5 : fig. 61). Although some may be of this period and appropriate pottery and coins were found, the fact that the majority of the walls encroach upon the intervallum road makes one suspect that they are considerably later⁴².

Urban life continued into the fourth century, even though the standards of construction were not always what they had been, and fewer works of artistic quality were made than in the palmy days of the century between c.120 and 220. Nevertheless, a

substantial number of buildings, particularly private residences and their outbuildings, were renewed during the course of the century: old age would seem to be sufficient explication for this necessity, and at no point can a drastic alteration of earlier distribution be distinguished. Similarly, the forum continued in the same location as before: although the last datable inscription is of 282-3⁴³, others belong to the later third century. All the evidence points to the maintenance of the public buildings around the forum: the Temple was still standing and so were the baths, although their grandeur may have been reduced, and earlier monumental parts were re-used in utilitarian circumstances⁴⁴. In the same way, no alteration of the street system can be detected, for most of the encroachment on the intervallum road was probably of post-Roman date. There is little evidence for the wholesale abandonment of parts of the city, although certain areas in the southern half may have been partially deserted, thus beginning a trend that was to become more marked in subsequent centuries. The general impression is instead one of slightly reduced conditions, a degree of impoverishment and a return to functional living rather than the grand style.

In the economic sphere one may suspect continued wine production and export, even if the centres of amphorae production were fewer in number. More definitely, various aspects of a fishing industry flour-

ished: Ausonius mentions both Barcelona's oysters and fish-sauce⁴⁵, thus suggesting that contacts with various parts of the Gallic provinces were frequent. Imported pottery, on the other hand, points to continued contact via its port with the rest of the Mediterranean world⁴⁶. The associations of early Christianity imply that connections were particularly strong between the Catalan littoral area and North Africa, and perhaps passed via the Balaerics⁴⁷.

Nevertheless, there is little which points to Barcelona as being a major urban centre: as will be seen in the following chapter, political primacy still lay with Tarragona. Barcino was still a small city, but the additional strength of its defences, the decline of its nearest urban competitors, and the administrative unity that the Pax romana had given its hinterland were positive facts in favour of its future significance.

2. The early 5th. century.

Not until the beginning of the 5th. century can any alteration of the patterns of Antiquity be noticed. Two principal features may be invoked - the advent of Christianity in a public and demonstrable form and the first appearance of Barcelona in the rôle of a 'capital'.

a) Maximus and Athaulf

The chaos that reigned in the western Empire in the first decade of the fifth century did not leave Barcelona untouched. Although the brunt of the entry of the barbarians who had crossed the Rhine was felt by the other provinces of the Iberian peninsula rather than coastal Tarraconensis, a side-effect was the promotion of Maximus as emperor, by Gerontius, in 409 probably. Gerontius, who had been defending the province, then set out to add Narbonensis to his protégé's empire, but met his defeat at the hands of Constantine III in 411. Maximus fled and took refuge among one of the groups of barbarians who were by then temporarily settled in Spain, probably the Vandals⁴⁸.

Although Sozomen suggests that he had been based in Tarragona⁴⁹, this was probably no more than guesswork on his behalf. The finding of a coin of Maximus in the 1950's with the mint mark of SMBA has produced

the hypothesis that this stood for Sacra Moneta Barcinona, the abbreviation of BA being unknown except on his issues, which are scarce and mainly limited to this corner of the Mediterranean⁵⁰. A more recent find of a similar coin near Terrassa adds weight to this suggestion, and it thus seems quite possible that the city was used as the centre of this usurpation⁵¹.

After the death of Constantine III in September 411, the region returned to the Imperial fold. However, when Honorius was unable to honour his promises to Athaulf and the Visigoths, after they had restored legitimate rule in the Gauls (late in 413), they attempted to seize Marseilles. They failed there, but succeeded in taking Narbonne and Toulouse. Nevertheless, a fleet blockaded them, and they were unable to set sail for Africa, which provoked a move across the Pyrenees into Tarraconensis⁵².

Athaulf seems to have made Barcelona his centre, but presumably they were again blockaded, for they remained in the area from 414 to 416. The sources recount that his son named Theodosius, born of Gallia Placidia, died in Barcelona, and was buried there in a silver casket⁵³. However, Athaulf's pro-Roman tendencies failed to meet with the approval of the rank and file of the Goths, and he met his death in the city⁵⁴. His successor scarcely fared any better,

and it was not until their transferral to Aquitania in 418, that a degree of stability returned⁵⁵.

The vacuum was filled once again by the return of Maximus from exile among the Vandals: it seems possible that he returned to his previous area of operations, and it has been suggested that his monetary issues could equally well have belonged to this new phase, which lasted until his capture and death in 422⁵⁶.

There is no evidence to show that all these upheavals had very much effect on the topography of the city itself. Although medieval and renaissance writers might have described the remains of the Roman Temple as the tomb of Athaulf⁵⁷, and more recently structures found near the later Royal Palace have been tentatively related with him⁵⁸, these ideas seem to be the fruit of similarly lively imaginations. The available sources indicate neither that he was buried in the city, nor the existence of a palace. If anything one would expect an extra-mural burial-place and the occupation of the forum-basilica as a 'palace'⁵⁹. Nevertheless, in a regional context this choice of Barcelona and not Tarragona as the Gothic centre was perhaps influential on later events.

Other changes have also been attributed to these decades: most recently Srta.Pallarés, describing the

first season of excavation on the baths site, has commented on a layer (C₆)

"...que nos ha dado elementos importantes para fechar la destrucción de esta zona en un momento cercano a 400-420, con abundancia de sigillata D estampillada y sigillata gris de la época, que nos hace pensar en una destrucción de esta area central de la ciudad a raiz de la muerte de Ataulfo..."⁶⁰, and there consequently occurred

"...una reconstrucción de la ciudad de principios del siglo V y por ello contemporanea a las sucesiones de Ataulfo, a la que corresponden una serie de muros construidos con piedras y arcilla típicos de la época romana tardía en otros yacimientos"⁶¹.

However, the total extent of these simple walls of stone bonded with clay is very limited, for they do not appear to have been found in subsequent seasons from which the results would tend to suggest a survival of the existing structures beyond this date. Moreover, it seems very doubtful that the late Roman pottery found could be dated with such a degree of precision, leaving aside any controversy about the origin and date-range of Sigillata D or North African red-slip wares⁶². As elsewhere, both in Spain and in the rest of Europe, considerable problems of chronology arise when one reaches the final products of the potteries of the western Empire, for the coarse wares that succeeded them are poorly studied, particularly in Barcelona, and a layer producing early 5th. cen-

tury pottery frequently only provides a terminus post quem.

In the area under the Casa Padellás another series of structures can be identified as being later than the main range of rooms, but within the Roman tradition: Balil placed them in the 4th. or 5th. centuries, since they were later than the remaining structures which he interpreted as being earlier than the mid-3rd. century⁶³: if the latter are now accepted as more probably being occupied into the 4th. century, a 5th. century date for these stratigraphically higher remains seems possible, although by no means proven.

The most obvious feature is a tank (fig.33,d) which Duran interpreted as a piscina contemporary with rooms e and f⁶⁴. This is inherently unlikely for a drain which re-uses earlier elements cuts these rooms, but flows from this tank. Moreover, although following the alignment of the intervallum street, it flowed in the opposite direction to the earlier drains. The tank itself has an area of some 15 square metres, and was approached from the west by four steps. An attempt to trace it outside the ambit of the museum revealed that it had been heavily disturbed by later activities⁶⁵: however, it is noticeable that it respected the wall to the east, which had divided the a-b-c range from the e-f one. Its function remains obscure: Balil originally doubted the original

suggestion that it had been the pool of a small suite of baths, although by 1973 had come to agree that this was not impossible⁶⁶. Viticulture and oil-producing processes are excluded by the large drain: nevertheless, no other indication of these baths exists, nor of the structure in which one would expect to find them, and so a semi-industrial process involving large quantities of water does not seem impossible, and would certainly be more in accordance with both previous and later activities in this part of the city.

In the same area a wall to the south of rooms a and b was found on an east-west alignment, although since it was in isolation no function can be offered⁶⁷. Similarly, to the north of the tank a room, g, was found overlying h. The implication of these remains is that, although the street pattern was being respected, much of the area was falling into disuse, and was far less densely occupied than before. The chronology of this process is vague, although one confined to the 5th. century is in keeping with the general impression and the connection with the adjoining Plaça del Rei site. The late walls from the Sant Miquel site might fit into the same pattern, their simple structure being best paralleled during the post-Roman period⁶⁸.

b) The advent of Christianity

The exact date of the beginnings of the Christian faith has obviously been a subject long studied in Spain: in the particular case of Barcelona, it is not until the first half of the fourth century that there is any incontrovertible proof, although it seems likely that a community had existed for some time, for in Tarragona the evidence stretches back into the third century.

i) Early bishops

The first bishop of Barcelona recorded is a certain Pretextatus, who attended the Council of Sardica (Sofia) in 344⁶⁹. Not until fifty years later is there proof of the next, Lampius, who made Paulinus of Nola a deacon because of the clamours of his congregation⁷⁰. Between these two, however, must be placed Pacianus, recorded by St. Jerome. Born a pagan, he had a long life and several of his works are extant, and the names of others recorded. Among the most significant of these was that called Cervus, denouncing the activities of some of his flock who maintained the pagan tradition of 'making the stag' on January 1st, which seems to have been a pan-Celtic custom⁷¹.

The incident of Vigilantius in the last decade of the 4th. century, who denigrated the religious life and the cult of saints, throws an interesting

side light on contemporary ecclesiastical organization, for it would appear that Barcelona was divided into parishes by that date, although this may have applied to the civitas in the wider sense of the future diocese rather than the city proper⁷². All the evidence thus points to a flourishing Christian community at the beginning of the fifth century.

ii) Martyrs

Three martyrs are traditionally associated with the city. St. Sever is of very dubious status, for he is found in no early texts: the extant life is a copy of that of St. Sever of Ravenna, and since, on the one hand, there was a bishop of this name in the early 7th. century, and, on the other, relics of the Ravenna saint were preserved at St. Cugat del Vallès, it seems probable that the cult was spontaneously born from this chance conjunction of facts⁷³.

The second - Sta. Eulalia - is the most controversial: the earliest evidence is the possible identification of a certain Quiricus, who wrote a hymn in praise of a Sta. Eulalia, with the bishop of Barcelona of the same name of the 7th. century. Although many churches in the Barcelona area are dedicated to a Sta. Eulalia, this is usually the saint of that name from Mérida. The parallelisms between the two lives are substantial, which induces doubts. Although Bede and others deriving information from him talk of a cult to Sta. Eulalia in Barce-

lona, this does not necessarily refer to the Barcelona saint, for whom the first evidence of a cult comes in the mid-9th. century. If she did exist, we know nothing of her burial place and its possible effect on early Christian topography⁷⁴.

Finally, the case of St.Cucufate or St.Cugat is somewhat more certain: although the date of his martyrdom is uncertain, there was clearly Christian worship taking place by the 5th. century on the site of Octavianum (St.Cugat del Vallès), eight miles from Barcelona, a point which later sources, of the 7th. century, link with the martyrdom. Moreover, as early as the later 4th. century Prudentius associates his cult with Barcelona, which would suggest that the tradition is valid⁷⁵.

iii) Archaeological evidence

Although there is no evidence for structures of Christian usage until the 5th. century, a number of sarcophagi are known from the city, which pre-date this period. Two, both of Constantinian date, were first recorded at extra-mural sites, one before 1786 in the eastern fringes of the medieval city towards the Rech⁷⁶, the other in 1928 in the C/Manresa⁷⁷, close to the east side of the Roman walls, and it is probable that neither had been moved any great distance from the original find-spot (fig.38, nos.15 and 17 respectively).

Another five fragments of sarcophagi are known, all from intra-mural sites, and this, plus the fact that two had been used for medieval inscriptions, indicates that they were far from their original burial places. Two were found in the course of the excavations in the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona (fig. 13, CC), although the precise context is unknown, and unless further information is forthcoming it would be fruitless to speculate on a connection with the early Christian basilica⁷⁸. The other three fall into the category of season sarcophagi: one with an inscription of 1371 was probably found in the area of the Gothic cathedral⁷⁹: the second from the foundations of the chapel of Sta. Agata, at the side of the Plaça del Rei: the third also came from the Gothic cathedral, and has an inscription of 1346 on the reverse⁸⁰. Although the two pieces from the C/dels Comtes may be considered as Constantinian workmanship, the other three have a wider date range, from the Tetrarchy until the mid-4th. century: moreover they cannot definitely be considered as Christian pieces, although they illustrate the same process of transferral from an original burial place outside the walls as the other two pieces.

The main evidence, however, comes in the form of the basilica located in the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona and partially under the existing Gothic cathedral (fig. 60, no. 6, and fig. 62)⁸¹. The structure

was fitted into the surrounding topography, for its walls are not parallel, nor are the rows of columns separating the naves, which are of unequal width: nor is its orientation in line with the street pattern, nor with an east-west axis. It surprisingly cuts across the alignment of the decumanus minor normally thought to be represented by the modern C/dels Comtes de Barcelona, which might suggest an origin in a period when the street system was less and less respected, although since the 2nd. century town house to the south also failed to respect this supposed street, of which no trace has yet been located, it is apparent that the plan was somewhat anomalous in this part of the city, and the position of the basilica need not indicate the absolute abandonment of the Roman layout.

The date of the establishment of this cathedral is uncertain: unfortunately the altar area was destroyed in the 18th. century, and although there are some records of early excavations in that area, they are virtually unintelligible⁸². Architecturally there is thus little to go on, for the apse construction is often the diagnostic part of such ecclesiastical buildings. The fact that it was sited in one corner of the city, away from the forum and other public buildings suggests a comparatively early date, certainly before the end of the 5th. century⁸³, and possibly as much as a century beforehand. The

archaeological evidence is slender, most of the datable elements belonging to a second phase, and the structure had a long life. Little work has been carried out on the underlying layers, though a recent study of material used in the make up of the floor demonstrated that it included Sigillate Grise, and therefore, if that floor were the original one, the structure should be dated after c.425⁸⁴. If that were the case, an earlier cathedral must have been located on an earlier extra-mural site, which remains unknown.

3. Historical developments in the Fifth century.

The dual rôle as a political and ecclesiastical centre was maintained, sporadically in the case of the former, continuously in the case of the latter. After the fall of Maximus, Castinus went on to try and defeat the Vandals: humiliatingly crushed in battle, he fled to Tarragona, implying that this area was his stronghold, as it had been Maximus' ⁸⁵.

The next usurper whom we find in connection with the city is Sebastian, formerly comes et magister utriusque militiae, but who had been displaced by Aetius, and who had fled to Constantinople in 434⁸⁶. Ten years later he is found in the west, first at the court of Theoderic at Toulouse, and later in

Barcelona⁸⁷. Perhaps he was aiming for revenge against Aetius: with no support forthcoming from the Visigoths, Tarraconensis was a suitably adjacent area, still nominally part of the Empire, but where grievances were no doubt sufficiently great for him to attract some support. Nevertheless, his independent position in Barcelona did not last long, and he soon retreated to Africa.

The end of Roman Tarraconensis was nigh: the conquest by Euric's forces under Heldefredus and Vincentius probably took place in 472-3, when they were dispatched to deal with Tarragona and the coastal cities⁸⁸. They appear to have met some resistance from the local nobility, who, having weathered the troubles of the previous sixty years or so, were presumably not prepared to submit without a struggle: apart from the initial resistance, other risings in the 490's and in 506 are recorded in this area. However, it is unknown to what extent either these or the earlier problems of the Bacaudae affected the city⁸⁹.

Renewed confusion came after the end of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toulouse. After the defeat at Vouillé, Gesalic, an illegitimate son of Alaric II, was elected monarch: he was not an usurper, although another party seems to have favoured the dead king's legitimate son, Amalric⁹⁰. Frankish and

Burgundian pressure forced Gesalic back beyond the Pyrenees, and once again Barcelona was chosen as the base for resistance⁹¹. Although the Ostrogoths at first seemed prepared to tolerate him, he then sided with their enemies, who remain unknown to us. After the murders of Goiaric⁹², who made the arrangements for the Breviary of Alaric II in 506⁹⁴, and of Count Veila in the palace at Barcelona⁹⁵, he fled to the Vandals, rather than face the Ostrogothic general Ibbas⁹⁶. Failing to obtain support from them, he tried the Franks, and managing to raise an army, he returned to Barcelona, but was defeated twelve miles from the city, perhaps in the Llobregat valley at the point later known as Duodecimo⁹⁷.

Not only ~~was~~ this the first time that a Visigothic palace ~~was~~ mentioned in the city, but the traditional association between the ruling power and Barcelona was renewed. On the other hand, Tarragona rarely appeared as a place of significance in these years, even though other evidence suggests that it still had a substantial population. The reasons for this can only be guessed at: undoubtedly the military strength of Barcelona behind its late Roman walls was an important factor, but Tarragona was also defensible. The emergence of Barcelona as the Visigothic centre also owed something to a traditional association with usurpers: this might not have been unrelated to the attitudes of the inhabitants of Tarragona to the

Visigoths: if resistance had been centred there in 472-3, the Visigoths had good reason for preferring to use Barcelona as their administrative base.

After Lampio, we know little about the see of Barcelona until the 6th. century. One incident, however, stands out in the midst of the darkness, and concerns the years around 464, when contacts with Rome were still regular. It would appear that some time beforehand Bishop Nundinarius of Barcelona had appointed a bishop, Irenaeus, at Egara, which hitherto had not had a bishop⁹⁸. This is a reflection of the urban context of the region at the date when the bishoprics had initially emerged, for clearly neither Egara, nor Baetulo nor Iluro nor Aquae Calidae were sufficiently important places in the 4th. century to warrant a bishop, and they depended on Barcelona. The exact extent of the Diocese of Barcelona is uncertain: the only source for the period before the Reconquest, the Hitation of Wamba, even if it contains genuine information, is unintelligible in the case of Barcelona⁹⁹, although the diocese was clearly bordered by those of Gerunda, Ausona and Tarraco, and perhaps also that of Ilerda away to the west. It thus must have comprised the modern 'comarques' of the Maresme, Vallès, Baix Llobregat and perhaps parts of the Penedès. This area can be compared not only with the later diocese, but also ^{with} the county of the post-Reconquest period: nevertheless, this was

not the first appearance of this region as a historical unit, for it bears a strong resemblance to the area occupied by the Laietani.

The reason why another bishop was necessary in this diocese is obscure: it can hardly be explained by an increase in population, although it may have been related to the conversion of country folk. Nor is the division between the two parts detectable, although perhaps Barcelona covered the coastal areas, whereas Egara was responsible for the pre-litoral zone. Nevertheless, after Nundinarius' death, there was an attempt to transfer Irenaeus back to Barcelona, an act that was uncanonical, although it met with the approval of the Christian community and the other bishops of the province. Pope Hilary, however, failed to approve it, and Irenaeus stayed at Egara, which consequently remained a separate see until the end of the Visigothic period, and was still remembered as such well into the medieval period.

As Professor Thompson has commented¹⁰⁰, what is really remarkable about this incident is that life was continuing in coastal Tarraconensis as if nothing had happened, as if the Empire had not been disturbed, as if the barbarians were still beyond the frontiers. In many ways, the towns were important features of this continuing Roman life: some had declined, but urban life was still a significant factor in this region.

4. Catholics and Arians,

After Gesalic's death, Theoderic retained the regency for Amalric until the former's death in 526¹⁰¹. To the point that the Visigothic realms had a capital, this function appears to have been carried out by Narbonne: not only was it closer to the areas lost to the Franks after Vouillé, but also to Ostrogothic Italy¹⁰². Amalric married a daughter of Clovis, but maltreated her because of her Catholic faith, according to the account of Gregory of Tours, and this action provoked the intervention of her kinsman, Childebert, and the downfall of Amalric¹⁰³.

The account of Amalric's death varies from source to source: the one common factor seems to be that he fled from Narbonne to Barcelona, where he was killed. The Chronicle of Zaragoza adds that he was first defeated in battle near Narbonne, and killed by the javelin of a Frank, Besso¹⁰⁴. Isidore repeats the information about the battle, but says that he was killed by his own army in the forum¹⁰⁵. Gregory of Tours does not mention the battle, but tells a rather complex story of Amalric's intended escape by sea. He suddenly realized that he had forgotten his treasure, returned to the city, where he was forced to take refuge in a Catholic church, but was killed before he could cross the threshold¹⁰⁶. Fredegar adds little information, merely commenting

that he was killed by Franks in Barcelona¹⁰⁷.

Although these facts are contradictory, it is not impossible to formulate a coherent account. After fleeing by sea from Narbonne to the principal Visigothic centre beyond the Pyrenees, Amalric was killed either by his own men or a Frank who happened to be in Barcelona. This may not be as unlikely as it sounds, if the close connections with the Franks in the immediately preceding years are taken into account¹⁰⁸. On the other hand it seems improbable that the Frankish army reached Barcelona, and the second attempted flight described by Gregory of Tours may be a duplication of the first. This makes some sense, for the port of Narbonne lay at some distance from the city. However, there is a remote chance that they did reach the city, for Gislemar, writing in the 9th. century, refers to an expedition of Childbert against Toledo, which carried off a fragment of the True Cross as part of its booty. However, since Barcelona was the capital in these decades, and it seems most improbable that an invading army would have reached Toledo, and Barcelona cathedral was dedicated to the Holy Cross by the end of the 6th. century, it is possible that the capital of the later Visigothic period was confused with Barcelona in this account. Nevertheless, the source is late and rather imprecise, and so should not be given too much credit¹⁰⁹.

The information about the place where he met his death might also be amplified. The cathedral basilica was presumably used by the Arians during this period, and the Catholic church must have been elsewhere. The most acceptable candidate is the church of St. Just, more correctly known as Sts. Just i Pastor. The cult of these saints is attested from the later 4th. century onwards and was widespread in Spain¹¹⁰. In addition there was a connection with Paulinus of Nola, who resided in Barcelona for some time and who entrusted the remains of his infant son to the tomb of these martyrs¹¹¹.

All three of the intra-mural churches in existence in the 10th. century are within the forum of its immediate surroundings, and might thus be cited as making the texts of Isidore and Gregory compatible. However, not only did the other two (Sant Miquel and Sant Jaume) bear dedications which were rare at this date¹¹², but St. Just is also the only one of the three which has produced material of the Visigothic period, for the Byzantine capital which used to be in Sant Miquel has been demonstrated to be a medieval import¹¹³. The exact site and extent of the church of this period are unknown, although one might presume that it stood within the area occupied by the existing Gothic church of Sts. Just i Pastor. A Roman mosaic of unknown design was found under this structure and probably extended into the area of the

square outside¹¹⁴. Topographically speaking, it is feasible that a public building had stood in this area, particularly the part of the present church to the west, and Srta. Pallarés has suggested the presence of a pagan temple¹¹⁵. Although this is not proven, the conversion of a public building that was falling into disuse during the later 4th. or 5th. centuries into an ecclesiastical structure is an attractive hypothesis (fig.60, no.7).

The sole surviving indications of the church of the Visigothic period are two capitals. The first is of Byzantine origin, for the marble of which it is made is not found in Spain. It has a circular base with a truncated pyramid shape, formed by four faces with inverted trapezoidal surfaces. It was carved so that all four sides could be seen, which would imply a location in a basilica or a portico. On the four faces are monograms of Greek letters, one of which appears to be related to the final issues of coinage from the Visigothic mint of Barcelona. If this connection is valid, a date in the later 7th. century must be proposed¹¹⁶.

If this capital presents serious problems as to how and why it came to be in Barcelona, the second piece is even stranger. As Sr. Verrié has commented, it can only be placed within the Visigothic period because it fails to be comparable with material from

either earlier or later styles. Nevertheless, it is unlike anything else in Visigothic art, and totally alien to the decorated stonework being produced for the basilica in the later 6th. century. The form is of circular section, with a slightly convex profile, and some form of collar in the lower part. To this were added two asymmetrical side pieces, one of which seems to bear a handle in low-relief, the other a figure wearing a toga. On the central part, three crosses can be distinguished, accompanied by letters and an interlaced border¹¹⁷.

Although neither of these capitals can be used to demonstrate the existence of an early 6th. century church, the necessity for a church other than the cathedral at that date must be accepted, and the other evidence points to St. Just as being the most acceptable candidate: it was thus with some justification that in the Middle Ages the parishioners of this church could claim a degree of primacy, for it was here that the Catholic inhabitants of Barcelona in the later 5th. and 6th. centuries must have gathered.

In the years following the fall of Amalric, until the Byzantine invasion of 552, Barcelona was the principal residence of the Visigothic king and his court, and it is probably to this period, and the decades immediately beforehand and afterwards, that a number of substantial topographical changes can be dated¹¹⁸.

a) Plaça del Rei (figs 34-36).

Between the structures described above and the later cemetery in this square, which is unlikely to have entered use before the late 6th. century, was another structural phase, consisting of a porticoed area, which more or less followed the form of the medieval square. This thus marks an important stage of transition, for the earlier structures had respected the Roman street plan, whereas this marked something of a departure from it.

The original excavator described the discovery of these remains after the removal of the layer of burials in these words:-

"La existencia de nuevos vestigios en el subsuelo de la plaza se acreditaba por algunos pies derechos, pilares prismáticos o columnas cilíndricas que asomaban entre las tierras..."¹¹⁹.

The portico had thus been destroyed prior to the use of the area for funerary purposes; however, he continued:-

"Hay que notar que dichas bases no arrancan del nivel de la primitiva calle de la muralla, sino de mas arriba, como si perteneciesen a una época posterior en la que aquella vía había ya sufrido una crecida de nivel..."¹²⁰.

Although it was not possible to trace the whole plan of this portico in the pre-Civil War excavations,

the re-excavation and extension of the area in 1960 revealed further pillars and columns to the west, plus a few intermediate ones. This is most clearly seen in the overall site photograph (fig.35-6) for some are no longer visible¹²¹. On the eastern side seven columns or column bases are detectable, spaced at 1 metre or 1.20 metre intervals. The south side is more problematical, although two pillars and an intermediate column can be found. To the west, there were originally three pillars, followed by a space, then four columns in a square pattern, two of which were on the same alignment as the pillars, the other two adjoining the wall of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. These clearly lie on earlier floors and incorporate re-used material. The north side is more complex, a number of isolated pillars and columns being visible, plus lengths of wall which may or may not be contemporary. The structure, however, seems to have stopped short of the site of the later Comital and Royal Palace.

No material has been published in connection with either of the two periods of excavation, apart from some sherds of African Red-slip ware. One sherd came from a stratified layer~~x~~ related to the cement bases of the four columns noted on the western side, although two other fragments were found slightly higher in a disturbed layer. Two other sherds of the same type of pottery came from the

same layer as the first sherd. The excavator considered them all to be of fourth century date, and consequently dated the porticoed area to that period¹²².

Dr. Hayes's research on this class of pottery enables us to revise this opinion. The first and largest sherd bears a stamp of a Bacchus figure, which falls into his class Eii of stamps^{122bis}. The second has the stamp of a cross, of the same class¹²³, while the third may be Late Roman C ware for there are no parallels for its decoration on Red-slip ware and Serra Ràfols also noted that the fabric was finer and of a deeper shade of red¹²⁴. The first two fragments, according to Hayes, should be dated to the period between 530 and 600, whereas the third is slightly earlier, belonging to the 5th. or early 6th. centuries.

If this material was as securely stratified as the excavator believed, and although the re-excavation has never been published, he was certainly aware of the necessity of observing the stratigraphy¹²⁵, a date towards the middle of the 6th century might be proposed for this structure. It is unfortunate that the find-spot of a Byzantine coin from the square remains unknown, for this could do much to confirm or refute this hypothesis¹²⁶. Nevertheless, since a terminus antequam exists in the form of the cemetery, for which a date at the end of this cen-

ture is suggested, and since this portico contained a substantial number of reused elements, which except in the case of the defences are characteristic of the Visigothic period, such a date is probably not too far from the truth¹²⁶ bis.

b) Plaça de Sant Iu (fig.60, PSI: figs.37 and 63).

Excavations in the decade 1944 to 1954 revealed a structure under this square, which almost reached modern street level, and ^{which} had been demolished at the time when the square was laid out, probably at the same date as the construction of the door of the Gothic cathedral in the last years of the 13th. century. It overlies a town house of 2nd. century date, but the rusticity of its stonework and the reuse of a large number of Roman inscriptions led the excavator to suggest a date in the 5th. or 6th, centuries, and it was identified as the episcopal palace, in use until its demolition, although possibly in origin the palatium of the Visigothic kings¹²⁷.

The structure consisted of three main wings, with two intermediate smaller chambers, all linked by a corridor within the building, to the east, and immediately outside ^{this} stood an arched portico, which was cut by the foundations of the 11th. century palace¹²⁸. The exact date of this structure remains a mystery - the only material published consists of a few coins which clearly came from later filling¹²⁹. The extensive reuse of honorific inscriptions both in its foundations, and within the angles of its structure,

indicates a date when the forum and the area around it had fallen into decay and was being used as a quarry¹³⁰. On the other hand, the structure respects the street alignment to the north which survived as an entrance to the medieval Royal Palace¹³¹.

Since the datable contexts where honorific inscriptions were reused seem to be of the 6th. century or later¹³², I find it difficult to accept a 5th. century date. On the other hand, Balil's initial suggestion of the 7th.-9th. centuries is probably too late,¹³³ for the number of inscriptions employed indicates a period when they were still to be found in substantial numbers. However, even if a 6th. century date seems to be the most probable, it is impossible to be any more precise

The original function of this so-called palatium must remain in doubt: even though its structure is unsophisticated, it indicates considerable resources in a period when many dwellings must have been very basic structures erected with the help of earlier walls. On topographical grounds a link with both the bishop and the secular power could be proposed. Its position to the south of the basilica is a suitable one for the episcopal residence, and it bears some resemblance to a building so identified in Portugal^{133 bis}. On the other hand, it stands next to the later Comital and Royal Palace, and may have been related to remains found under this Palace, dis-

cussed in the following section, which one might expect to be its forerunner. Although the existence of a Visigothic royal palace is indicated by various contemporary sources, there is no evidence in them for its location. When Gregory of Tours records that Amalric's queen had to pass some distance on her way to the Catholic church, he might be intimating that the Arian cathedral was nearer the Royal Palace: certainly, such a location is acceptable on comparative grounds, even if we may legitimately doubt whether Gregory knew very much about the topography of Barcelona itself. Nevertheless, by the mid-11th. century it was in ecclesiastical hands, for I would equate it with the domus vetula given to Company Tudiscle in 1067 and later to Bernat Udalard: our conclusions must be open¹³⁴.

c) The Tinell (fig. 60,8).

To the east of this last area, between it and the northern end of the remains of the Plaça del Rei, stands the main part of the medieval Comital and Royal Palace. Excavations in the vaults which support this mainly 11th. century structure, carried out in 1952-3, revealed two phases of earlier structures, one the store of dolia already mentioned, the other of post-Roman date. Unfortunately, there are virtually no published details of this work, and although a model was made of the remains of this phase, it has been lost¹³⁵.

Dra. Adroer refers to the visible remains of walls and a possible door on which these later vaults stand¹³⁶, and Sr. Ainaud made some comments on the excavations, which apparently revealed structures which were closely related to those of the Plaça de Sant Iu¹³⁷. This article is surprisingly the best source of information concerning the zone, particularly that under the more northerly of the two parallel barrel vaults, where the remains of a structure with a large capital in local stone, in the Corinthian tradition, stated to be of 5th. century date, which was placed on a wooden column-shaft, the burnt remains of which were traced, were found. Moreover, the bases of the north, south and west walls employed reused Roman material, and the latter wall contained two slit windows like those of the Pl. de St. Iu structure (fig. 63), and in the north-west angle, the conjunction with an earlier wall of poorer quality stonework was detected¹³⁸.

Little material is known from this area, apart from the reused Roman stonework: large quantities of late Imperial coins were found¹³⁹, plus a number of pottery vessels. which can only be classified as early medieval, for they present features such as spouts and pouring lips¹⁴⁰: unfortunately, knowledge of the development of such wares is at a very rudimentary level, and no date can be proposed¹⁴¹. Other finds, such as a tenth century capital of Caliph workmanship, might suggest the continued use of

this building after the Reconquest, and the subsequent employment of these remains in a process of levelling prior to the construction of the 11th. century palace¹⁴². However, unless further notes or photographs of the work in this area can be found, it is unlikely that much more could be deduced about it.

d) The basilica annexes (fig.60 no.9 and fig.37).

To the south of the basilica, and butting on to its external wall, was found a range of rooms with even poorer quality stonework than the supposed palatium and its annexes. One room, with a bench running round its walls, has been interpreted as a possible schola, while another contains what appears to have been an oven set into one of its walls¹⁴³. A date soon after the construction of the basilica and prior to that of the palatium seems probable, for not only are these structures at a somewhat lower level than the latter, but they also respect the Roman orientation far more clearly.

e) Later developments in the Cathedral basilica.

Whatever the original state of this structure, it underwent a series of changes which can be dated from the mid-6th. century onwards. Firstly the walls, particularly the west and south ones, were decorated with wall-paintings imitating marble. Although these are difficult to date exactly, those involved in the excavation have indicated a moment between the initial

phase and the whitewashing of these paintings at a late date in the period of use of the church¹⁴⁴. Parallels in Spain, at least, are unknown, although that such mural decoration in churches was still a common feature in the later 6th. century is suggested by the work of Gregory of Tours, who had his cathedral decorated in this manner^{144 bis}.

Secondly, an earlier window in the west wall was converted into a door, access from the interior of the basilica being established by the reuse of two Roman honorific inscriptions as steps¹⁴⁵. This door led to the baptistery, which has also been dated to the 6th. century on the basis of certain fragments of decorative stonework, although an earlier phase must have existed (fig.60 no.10: fig.64)¹⁴⁶.

Thirdly, a number of fragments belonging to marble chancel screens were discovered in the original phase of excavation: they seem to indicate the existence of a local school of craftsmen, for they are not strictly comparable with other material of this period from Tarraconensis, nor the rest of the peninsula. Again a late 6th. or early 7th. century date has been put forward¹⁴⁷. In this context, one should also mention the two capitals which support the altar of the present cathedral: they too must be dated within this period, although their substantial size makes it difficult to see how they could have

been used in the basilica¹⁴⁸.

Although little is known of ecclesiastical developments in Barcelona in these years, apart from names of the various bishops who attended church councils, such a council was held in Barcelona in 540, at a time when the city was the principal centre of the Visigothic monarchy, and another after the conversion from Arianism in 599¹⁴⁹. Toledo III demonstrated that Barcelona was one of the cities with both Catholic and Arian bishops, like Tortosa and Valencia, and it seems probable that the Arians would have used the basilica up to the conversion. It is difficult to pronounce on the strength of the Arian community, although the fact that John of Biclar was sent into exile at Barcelona, and there suffered persecution during his ten year sojourn, might well suggest that the Visigothic presence in the city was fairly strong, perhaps as the result of the traditional association between the city and the Visigothic crown¹⁵⁰. The Second Council of 599 took place in the cathedral of the Holy Cross, which remains to this day the primary dedication of the cathedral, and it is interesting to associate this change in religious circumstances with the structural and decorative alterations noted above. However, until more exact dating evidence is found, this must remain in the realms of hypothesis.

These were not the final alterations to the cathedral basilica: as has been mentioned, the wall-paintings were later whitewashed over, and in addition a wall of poor quality added between the last two columns at the side of the steps leading from the baptistery. Another entrance was cut on the south side, perhaps in association with the raised marble platform immediately to its right on entering. This has been interpreted as the altar erected for the remains of Sta. Eulalia in c. 877¹⁵¹. The main entrance probably lay to the north, where there appears to have been some kind of portico adjoining the body of the basilica, although excavations have not yielded much information about this zone. Given the long life of the basilica, these late alterations could belong to any date between the 8th. and 10th. centuries.

f) Palau Requesens (fig. 60, no. 11).

An excavation in the patio of this medieval palace revealed a wall perpendicular to the defences, and bonded into the inner face, at a point where the walls turned an angle, and ^{which} in intra-mural terms, probably represented a Roman street line, in much the same way as did the north wall of the medieval Comital and Royal Palace¹⁵². No dating evidence was produced and the material from the excavation remains unstudied, but a late or post Roman date seems probable. On the other hand, the presence of later structures prior to the construction of the Palau

Requesens, the earliest parts of which belong to the thirteenth century, points to a pre-medieval date. Topographically, the fact that this wall cut across the intervallum street is of some significance, for it marks a major change in attitude to the disposition of structures, and the beginning of the process whereby the wall towers were incorporated into private houses. It is tempting to place it in this same period, when the plan of the Roman city was gradually being transmogrified, although the structure of this wall, comparable to that of several of the buildings under the Casa Padellás, with large upright blocks at intervals and ^{an} intermediate filling of small stones, may argue for an earlier date¹⁵³. If this were the case, it is apparent that the southern part of the city was evolving a medieval pattern sooner than the northern one.

g) Sant Miquel.

As has been noted already, the majority of the final Roman floor levels in all parts of this site, which, if the rescue trenches of 1961-2 are included, covers a considerable area, were covered by a thick layer of humus-rich soil, with pottery of wildly disparate dates mixed¹⁵⁴. In one area, nearest the medieval church, this was sealed by burials which are best dated to the later 10th. century. In an earlier period, then, beginning at an uncertain date, for the abandonment of the structures is difficult

to ascertain, much if not all of this area was dedicated to agricultural activities, a piece of information which is largely corroborated by the early medieval documentary evidence¹⁵⁵.

A number of finds from this layer, usually referred to as C in the interim notes, lead one to suspect that this process had begun by the end of the sixth century. Prime among these is a tremissis, studied by Dr. Barral, which was found in layer C₆, the lowest of the sub-divisions of the 1969 season. This he dates to the period 574-579, and it seems probable that it was not in circulation for long¹⁵⁶. Although other buildings in this area may have continued in use beyond this date, and parts of the baths building were still in good enough conditions in the 10th. century to warrant their conversion into a church, it does seem that many parts of this central area of the city were falling into disuse by the end of the sixth century.

By c.A.D. 600, then, a number of changes had occurred in the appearance of the city of the Late Empire. One can point to the abandonment of the forum area, which was used as a quarry, and the areas to the south were becoming increasingly rural in appearance, although this process may have begun long before, perhaps as early as the later 3rd. century. Most of the evidence for the Visigothic period comes from one corner of the city, and thus

may bias our vision and blind us to what was happening elsewhere, but in view of the later evidence, it was certainly becoming the focus of urban life. On the one hand, the cathedral was restored and decorated whereas before it had been not only simple, but very plain. In addition the adjacent baptistery was also rebuilt. The dating evidence, based on art-historical grounds, suggests the period of the Visigothic conversion for this process.

At a somewhat earlier date, perhaps, the insula to the south of that occupied by this ecclesiastical complex underwent major alterations. The domus on the site, if still standing, was demolished, and a series of structures were erected, making extensive use of Roman material, largely derived from the forum. The fact that this was the site partially occupied by the Comital Palace by the early 10th. century, and presumably from the Reconquest onwards, might suggest that this was the Visigothic Royal Palace, although this remains unsubstantiated.

This topographical evolution towards the medieval pattern was accompanied by a decline in population, and perhaps a shift of the inhabitants towards these twin foci of urban life throughout the medieval period. The place of the public buildings of Antiquity had been taken by the residence of the secular power, and even more so by the religious centre of the city,

in the eyes of contemporary man. No specific reason for this decline in population can be proposed: it was part of a general phenomenon affecting all the cities of this part of the Mediterranean¹⁵⁷. Urban life was entering a dark period from which it would take several centuries to emerge.

5. The extra-mural situation.

Although in the period up to the middle of the third century there had been suburban villas, these largely disappeared after the construction of the defences, material from them being incorporated in the filling of the core alongside the early Imperial funerary monuments¹⁵⁸. Thereafter the suburban area was principally given over to the dead, although it is possible that some villas continued in use into the 4th. century. Whereas comparatively little is known about the topography of the early Imperial cemeteries, with the exception of that of the Plaça de la Vila de Madrid¹⁵⁹, a considerable number of late and post Roman burials have been found in situ, both in controlled excavations and as casual finds. A list of these was established by Dr. Balil in 1956¹⁶⁰, although this can now be substantially revised and amplified.

a) Sta. Marfa del Mar (fig. 38 no. 5 & fig. 41-2).

By far the largest area of burials known is that excavated under the high altar of this church in the early 1960's¹⁶¹. A total of over a hundred burials were found in an area of 155 square metres, in various classes of tombs - amphorae burials (21), triangular sectioned boxes of flat tiles (15), wooden coffins (42) and stone lined and covered graves (29). Whereas the earliest burials had been orientated east-west, with the head to the west, many of the stratigraphically later graves had the head to the north-west or north. In addition a large proportion of these later burials appear to be of the last category, that is covered and protected at the sides by roughly worked blocks of stone¹⁶². Among the earlier burials, those of tiles and amphorae appear to be more frequent, although those in simple wooden coffins appear throughout the period of use.

The initial date of this cemetery is provided by a layer of soil into which some of the burials were cut, and which had apparently been brought from elsewhere to even off parts of the site, over the natural sand¹⁶³. This included virtually the whole range of Roman fine wares from the 1st. century A.D onwards, the latest recognizable fragments being of North African Red-slip Ware, of 5th. century types, and Sigillata gris of similar date. Although the excavator suggested a late 4th. or early 5th. century

date, perhaps one slightly later seems more acceptable¹⁶⁴.

The only piece of information which is not in accordance with such a proposal is the sarcophagus now in the Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona, but which had long been used as a font in Sta. Maria del Mar¹⁶⁵. Although it is traditionally associated with the invenio of the relics of Sta. Eulalia in 877, which took place in this church, there is no proof that this was so, and a chance find at some other date is equally possible. However, comparison with other sarcophagi would suggest an earlier date, probably in the Tetrarchic period¹⁶⁶. Nevertheless, it is by no means impossible that it was reused at a later date, as certainly happened in the much larger cemetery in Tarragona¹⁶⁷. This sarcophagus, however, stands out against the background of general poverty that this cemetery exhibits, solidly built tombs being rare, and no inscriptions known apart from a casual find made in 1973, which remains unpublished¹⁶⁸.

What of the final date of the cemetery? Beneath a wall of perhaps 12th. century date were found the remains of earlier walls of poorer standards, clearly post-dating the cemetery, which the excavator dated, by means of the pottery found in an associated layer, to the 6th. to 9th. centuries¹⁶⁹, or more recently to the period of the Reconquest¹⁷⁰.

None of this material was published, although its early medieval date is apparent from the descriptions given - hand- and wheel-made cooking pots and some bowls of grey ware, with plain and out-turned rims, handles, flat bases, and triangular spouts: also what is locally called 'cerámica espatulada' of pinkish fabric with a highly burnished surface: in addition a few glazed sherds of pinkish fabric, with green and yellow glazes of high quality¹⁷¹. The last type sounds very much like a description of 10th. century Caliphal wares, or their immediate successors and the general similarity with the pottery assemblages from the baptistery site and the pits of C/de Sant Sever suggests a 10th. century or later date, rather than an earlier one¹⁷².

This would also be in agreement with the form of the tombs: although the excavator proposed an abandonment by the mid 6th. century, using the amphorae as dating evidence¹⁷³, the last tombs are of a type best paralleled in the 9th. century and later, both in Barcelona and elsewhere, although they are known in earlier contexts¹⁷⁴. Whether the cemetery remained in use throughout this period - from the 5th. to the 9th. centuries - must remain unknown. It is of no small interest, for if there was a tradition of burial at this point, until a date when most burials were located intramurally, it thus implies some form of attraction to this location. Whether this attractive force was the remains

of the saint associated with the church in the later 9th. century or not must remain conjectural, although not inconceivable¹⁷⁵.

b) Adjuncts of this cemetery.

This cemetery was clearly not restricted to the area of the Gothic church, for further burials have been found at various intervals at several points in the vicinity.

In addition to further burials within the church found in 1973¹⁷⁶, others have been located at the junction of c/Espasaria and C/de Sta.Maria (fig. 38 no.8)¹⁷⁷, although surprisingly none were found in the area of the medieval cemetery of Fossar de les Moreres¹⁷⁸. To the east others are known from the Plaça de Montcada, Passeig del Born, and Plaça de les Olles (fig.38,nos. 9,10,11)¹⁷⁹, although since the majority of these finds were made in the course of routine trenches, few details are known. To the north one can point to the three tombs excavated in C/de Montcada in 1971 (fig.38, no. 4, and fig. 40)¹⁸⁰, and apparently a substantial number were located in trenches cut by the telephone company at the junction of this street with C/de la Princesa (fig.38, no.12)¹⁸¹. To the north-east, the sarcophagus of Constantinian date from the Amatller collection was found reused in C/Manresa (fig.38 no.17)¹⁸².

c) Via Layetana.

According to various accounts, burials were frequently found during the construction of this thoroughfare at the end of the first decade of this century, particularly at the junction with C/Manresa (fig.38 no.17)¹⁸³, and during the construction of the underground station in the plaça del Angel, on the site of the medieval market (fig.38, no.18)¹⁸⁴. The information about these burials, apart from the presence of tiles and amphorae, is virtually nil.

Some ten years later, in one of the first excavations in the city, further burials were discovered on the site of the much later church of Sta.Marta, near the same street^{184 bis}. These were either of the triangular-sectioned tile-covered variety, or stone-lined, covered by flat tiles. Further tombs were discovered close by in 1954, in the plaça d' Antoni Maura, which, like the previous ones, overlay the floors of a suburban villa, which had been abandoned, perhaps in the 3rd. century, perhaps not until the 4th.¹⁸⁵. However, part of this was reused for an exedra-like structure, which may indicate the existence of a cella memoriae (fig.38, no2-3 fig.39). Within and around this were a number of burials of similar type, although one also had a mosaic with a central chi-rho emblem covering the stone and mortar built tomb. The parallels for such mosaics are mainly to be found, like other

aspects of early Christianity in Tarraconensis, in North Africa, and a date of between 425 and 500 seems the most acceptable¹⁸⁶.

Further east another tile-covered burial was found at the junction of C/Freixures and Avinguda de la Catedral (fig. 38, no. 13)¹⁸⁷. It is perhaps best to see all these burials as part of one substantial cemetery with various foci, covering an area of some twelve hectares, between the sea to the south, the defences to the west, the plaça de Antoni Maura to the north, and approximately the line of C/Montcada to the east. The density of burials would have varied considerably within this zone, of course, but such an extent would have been necessary to accommodate the dead of half a millenium.

d) Other burials.

It is possible that this burial zone stretched even further eastwards, for a sarcophagus already mentioned was found near the Rech in the 18th. century (fig. 38 no. 15) although there are no other records of late Roman burials in this area¹⁸⁸. However, it is also possible that this demonstrates the continued use of earlier burial areas, along the principal roads leading from the city, in the fourth century, a move to burials within the area described above not occurring until slightly later, for the earliest dating evidence for the use of these cem-

eteries points to the fifth century. It should also be noted that the church of Sta.Eulalia del Camp, alongside the main road leading to the north (fig.38, no.15), also contained a number of monuments which were described by early scholars as Roman tombs¹⁸⁹.

Surprisingly, the areas to the north and east of the city, which certainly contained earlier cemeteries, have produced none of this period. The only site that can be added in the suburban area is that under the present Gobierno Militar (fig.38, no.16)¹⁹⁰. This has a somewhat surprising location, for it might have been expected to have been under the sea in the Roman period. The burials were in amphorae, or under triangular settings of tiles, or in roughly worked stone sarcophagi¹⁹¹. Although it may have extended further to the north and east, recent trenches in the lower part of the Rambles and near the medieval arsenal or Drassanes demonstrate that it did not extend in that direction¹⁹².

e) Sant Pau del Camp (fig.38, no.6),

Although further away from the city, the gap between this and the finds of the territorium leads one to include this cemetery here. Located in 1931, it has recently been published by means of a photograph of the most important finds. The presence of pottery from the 1st. century A.D. onwards seems to indicate the presence of an occupation site, which in the late or post-Roman period was used for burials¹⁹³. Pujades, in the early 17th. century, refer-

red to numerous finds of what must have been amphorae burials¹⁹⁴, and the discovery of the funerary inscription of Count Guifred Borrell (d.911) may indicate a continuity throughout the early medieval period. More recent observations indicate the discovery of further tile-covered burials¹⁹⁵.

The most important object is a belt-buckle of 7th. century type, unparalleled in Catalonia, but which is of a type found in the Visigothic cemeteries of the Meseta. Zeiss, however, considered these pieces not to be strictly speaking Visigothic, but rather Frankish or Lombardic¹⁹⁶. Given the rarity of such finds outside the Meseta, it is an important piece of dating evidence for this cemetery.

In addition, two capitals of white or light grey marble, perhaps of Pyrenean origin, which have been classified as 'Merevingian' or 'Visigothic' were re-used in the Romanesque church entrance, and the imposts, or one of them, which they support, have also been considered to be of 6th. or 7th. century date¹⁹⁷. Whether these belonged to a chapel on the site remains unknown in view of the absence of positive remains in situ, for they could have easily been brought from an earlier structure elsewhere in the early 12th. century. Nevertheless, it is tempting to see this site as a villa in origin, with a chapel added in the Visigothic period, which later attracted burials throughout the early medieval period.

6. The cemeteries of the Territorium.

In the late and post Roman period. the most extensive evidence for human activity in the territorium comes from the similar cemeteries which have been discovered at various dates. Balil in 1956 listed four definite cases, plus two more doubtful examples, a number which can now be more than doubled¹⁹⁸. Unfortunately, few of these cemeteries have been more than sampled: very little is known about their size, and in most cases about their date range, and in some cases even their location is difficult to establish with any degree of accuracy. Nevertheless, their importance cannot be underestimated for they are the vital link in the chain of settlement in the 'Pla de Barcelona' between the earlier Roman period and the 10th. century.

a) Les Corts (fig.65,no.1).

This was found in a trench dug by the water company along the Travessera in the area of C/de Galileo, and extended over at least a hundred metres. A large number of inhumation burials were found, some in wooden coffins, or with no protection at all, others under arrangements of tiles¹⁹⁹. Half-a-dozen were excavated, producing second century material, including two lamps and an interesting vessel with scenes of warriors, imported from Greece²⁰⁰. Although no later material was recorded, it seems probable

that the cemetery continued in use, not least because it consisted of inhumations rather than the characteristic cremations of earlier centuries. It may have been related to the site to the north, between C/Numancia, C/Nau Sta.Maria, C/Carabela de la Niña, where pits of Ibero-Roman date, remains of a villa, and further burials were located in 1963-70 (fig. 9 no.10)²⁰¹.

b) C/Bagur, Sants (fig. 65 no.2).

In May 1970, nine graves were found in another trench dug for drainage work, in C/Bagur, between the junctions with C/de Pavia and C/Canalejas, over a length of eleven metres. These were of the amphorae and triangular-sectioned tile-built types, and with a general east-west orientation. Little diagnostic material was found, and no further work was carried out, although it may be presumed that it covered a somewhat larger area²⁰². Balil, collecting his information from earlier sources, referred to similar burials in the region of the parish church of Sta. Maria de Sants, some 500 metres to the east, although it is unlikely that the two areas were both part of the same cemetery²⁰³. The site was fairly close to the main Roman road leading southwards via the Llobregat valley. No settlement site is known in the area, for the columns found in the C/de Sants had been moved from nearer the city, and are of uncertain provenance²⁰⁴.

c) Montjuïc (fig.10).

Several zones of burial have been found on the slopes of the mountain: apart from the Jewish cemetery, mainly of medieval date, but which may have had its origins in the 6th. century or before²⁰⁵, the most important was on the side towards the sea in the area known as Vista Alegre, where burials were recorded in the second half of the 19th. century. On several occasions during works which led to the movement of large quantities of stone for the construction of the new part of the port at the foot of the mountain, tombs covered by tiles were noted and a single example recovered: the exact extent of the cemetery is unknown, although the number of burials was described as 'considerable'²⁰⁶ (fig. 65no. 4).

In 1971, an isolated burial of the same class was found on the site of the new Ethnological Museum, on the northern side of the mountain. The excavator tentatively associated this with the chapel of St.Fruitós, which existed by the 11th. century, and, in view of the dedication to the martyr-bishop of Tarragona, perhaps long before: this was replaced in the 16th. century by the dedication to Sta.Madrona²⁰⁷ (fig.65 nos 5-6). One piece of information that the excavator failed to cite was the capital of 'Visigothic' date described by Puig i Cadafalch²⁰⁸, and later illustrated by Rovira Virgili, who stated that it came from the area of Sta.Madrona²⁰⁹.

This may be the same as the capital of 'late Roman date' found on Montjuïc, and sold to an unknown foreign purchaser in c.1907²¹⁰. If this did in fact come from this church, the link between the early medieval chapel and the late Roman period is certainly strengthened, if not proven.

In addition, it should be noted that the pits in the area of the stadium produced pottery which included late Roman and possibly early medieval wares^{210 bis}, although those from Magoria to the south of the mountain were strictly of Iberian date²¹¹. The supposed milestone of late Roman date, reputedly found in the Montjuïc area, is of doubtful authenticity²¹².

d) Cornellà,

Although outside the territorium as defined here, and in the modern 'comarca' of Baix Llobregat, this site is included for its positive interest in terms of structure. As far as can be determined, a single-naved church with a polygonal apse was erected over a villa which produced fragments of a 4th. century mosaic²¹³. The church had been incorporated into later buildings and various columns were found in situ. The date of this structure has been assessed at various points between the 6th. and 9th. centuries. It was surrounded by burials on the same orientation (north-east to south-west), constructed with tiles and stone-slabs, and presumably remained the centre of settlement from its date of construction, which

is best envisaged in the Visigothic period rather than later, to the Middle Ages (fig.65,no.7). In addition, Dr.Balil mentions another cemetery in the neighbourhood with poor burials of supposedly 4th. century date ²¹⁴.

Moving from the area to the south of the city, a series of burials have been found at the foot of the coastal mountain chain, which might suggest a slight shift of settlement away from areas nearer the coast: certainly, the earliest documentary evidence suggests that the extent of settlement in the 10th. and early 11th. centuries in this region was higher than at a later date ²¹⁵.

e) Pedralbes.

In the district on the boundary of the territorium known as Finestrelles, on the road from Pedralbes to Esplugues, a cemetery with amphorae burials and others placed in unlined graves was excavated at an uncertain date prior to 1944 (fig.65 no.8) ²¹⁶. Balil suggested a date in the 6th. or 7th. centuries, on the grounds of the comparison of the amphorae with those from Puig Rom, near Roses, although if such a comparison is valid, a date towards the end of this period would be preferable ²¹⁷. The villa site at the nearby convent was apparently occupied until the end of the Roman period, and possibly beyond (fig. 9, no. 8) ²¹⁸.

f) Can Gomis (fig.65, no.9).

The information about this site is rather confused. The first published information comes from Duran, writing in 1952, who mentions 'atypical graves of vague date in the carretera dels Penitents' and an altar with graffiti which could belong to the 5th. century²¹⁹. This may be a confusion on his behalf of material in the Club Excursionista de Gracià, which was apparently responsible for the excavation, for the inscription is presumably that found in C/Quevedo, 27, which has been variously interpreted as coming from an early Christian baptistery²²⁰, and as a Renaissance imitation of 1st. century A.D. stone-cutting²²¹. Further excavations took place in the early 1960's: these were described as being at the junction of Avinguda de la Republica de Argentina and the carretera a Horta (now Passeig del Vall de Hebron) and remains of a villa and at least one tile-covered burial, as well as other inhumations, was found²²². This is presumably the same site described as being as the foot of Tibidabo or in Vallcarca in other sources of information²²³.

g) Sant Genis dels Agudells (fig.65, no.10).

Balil in 1956 referred to possible late Roman burials in the vicinity of this church, which was in existence by the 10th. century. No further information about these has been forthcoming²²⁴.

h) Horta (fig. 65 no. 11).

Near the last mentioned site, burials covered by small blocks of stone, roughly worked, were found in 1950. No datable material was recorded, and it seems probable that they belonged to the very end of the Visigothic period at the earliest, and more probably to the 8th. to 10th. centuries²²⁵.

Other Roman sites are known in the district of Horta: in the C/de Dante (fig. 9, no. 11)²²⁶, at the 'Sanatorio Sant Llatzer' (fig. 9, no. 12)²²⁷, and especially in the area of the medieval farmhouse of Can Cortada (fig. 9, no. 13), one of the two such establishments in the 'Pla de Barcelona'^{said} to be on the site of a villa²²⁸. However, little or nothing is known about the period of occupation between the Roman and medieval periods, and it is uncertain whether direct continuity can be proposed.

i) Vilapiscina (fig. 65 no. 12).

Balil mentions possible late Roman burials at this point, but although there is a strong possibility that a villa existed there, I can find no published mention of burials²²⁹.

A final group of burials can be seen in the area to the north of the city, between it and the River Besòs.

j) Can Casanoves (fig.65 no.13 and fig.66),

Although not fully published, more information is available about this cemetery than most ^{of} its counterparts²³⁰. Excavated in 1931, prior to the construction of an extension to the 'Hospital de la Santa Creu y Sant Pau', it overlay a late Neolithic occupation site. The number of burials located was well over a hundred, and the total number of burials could have been three or four times this number, if the same density was maintained all over the area indicated on the plan. The majority were burials cut into the natural surface, perhaps in wooden coffins, and others were lined and covered by stone slabs: amphorae burials and those covered by tiles were also found, but not so frequently. This, together with the large number of inhumations, would suggest a long period of use, comparable to that of the Sta. Maria del Mar cemetery, although it should also be noted that the stone-lined and covered burials could also be of Visigothic-period date, for at St. Llorenç del Munt, near Terrassa, such a burial contained a Visigothic belt buckle²³¹. What is noticeable about the Can Casanoves cemetery is that it was on the line of the Travessera route, like the Les Corts burials, rather than in association with a chapel with suspected early Christian origins.

k) El Putxet (fig.65 no.14).

At the beginning of this century, a funerary inscription of 5th. or 6th. century date was found at the foot of the hill called El Putxet, where a small Iberian settlement once existed²³². Apparently other material was found with it, although it seems unlikely that it was in situ²³³: another earlier Roman inscription had previously been discovered nearby²³⁴, but it seems improbable that either was from a cemetery associated with the church of Sant Gervasi as suggested by Fita²³⁵, because of the distance involved. More probable is an association with a villa near the road from the city to Octavianum, along which the Can Gomis burials were also found.

l) La Verneda (fig.65, no.15).

In 1960 an excavation between C/del Concilio de Trento, C/de Provençals and C/de Selva de Mar revealed some ten burials covered by triangular-sectioned settings of tiles. A 4th. century date was proposed, and although this is feasible, no justification was offered²³⁶. It might be noted that the church of Sant Martí de Provençals is within a few hundred metres.

m) Sant Andreu de Palomar (fig.65, no.16).

During railway construction in the mid 19th. century remains of a villa were discovered and nearby burials, some in 'rough stone sarcophagi'²³⁷. The

site is near not only the main road northwards, but also the church of Sant Andreu, in existence by the 11th. century. This site may be that referred to as 'Meridiana' by Balil, for it is close to the road of that name²³⁸.

Discussion

Two factors affected the distribution of these burials: on the one hand, Roman villas, on the other, the early medieval churches, and on occasions, such as at Cornellà, the two can be demonstrated to be closely linked. Most of the sites are close to one of the four major routes crossing the territorium - that passing through the city itself, the Travessera, that at the foot of the mountains, and that cutting across these three, leading to Sant Cugat del Vallès. A fairly even distribution can be noted, with sites at approximately two kilometre intervals, although closer in the higher zones of Montjuïc and at the foot of the coastal mountain chain (fig. 65). This may suggest a larger population than expected in those zones, a retreat to higher districts in unsettled times, a reversion to pre-Roman patterns of settlement, although since several of these sites are so poorly known, they may just have been smaller than those elsewhere in the flatter parts of the territorium, the upland districts supporting smaller communities than the estates of the plain. Gaps in the general distribution of late and post Roman burials suggest the existence of similar sites in Sarrià (between

El Putxet and Pedralbes) which seems very probable from the name of the area²³⁹ and the presence of extensive early medieval settlement, and at the northern entrance to the territorium, where indeed Roman material has been found, though in a very insecure context (fig.65, no.18)²⁴⁰. The other noteworthy point about the distribution is the lack of such sites for two and a half or three kilometres around the walled city, a phenomenon observable with earlier Roman sites (fig. 9) and medieval settlement (fig.119). The only exceptions are the sites on Montjuïc and at Sant Pau del Camp, which, because of the distinct natural topography, gave rise to a somewhat different pattern.

Several qualifications of this view must be made: firstly, little is known of the settlements which these cemeteries served. How long did classical villa-based cultivation continue? How were these villas transformed into the very different institutions which bore the same name in the 10th. and 11th. centuries? Were the settlements of the post Roman period near the cemeteries which they used, or were the cemeteries located on the fringes of their property? We may only hazard guesses at the answers to these problems. Villa life continued into the 5th. and probably the 6th. centuries: gradually, however, it gave way to communities of peasant farmers, who re-appear as the inhabitants of medieval villae.

Some of these flourished and gave rise to villages, whereas others remained small and were transformed into farms of 'masos' centred on the 'masia' or farmhouse.

The second great problem is that of chronology. We do not know whether all the cemeteries described above were in use at the same time, or whether there were transitions: even less precisely dated are the settlement trends. Dating such burials is difficult, and attempts to do so via amphorae are not convincing, for the chronology of these vessels can be established only relatively through their typology. Tile covered burials were in use by the end of the 2nd. century, and stone-lined and covered ones in the Visigothic period, and need not be 9th. century or later as usually claimed. However, cemeteries which do not contain such burials are likely to be earlier than those that do so, but even cemeteries like Can Casanoves had probably fallen out of use by the Reconquest, only those near the early medieval churches continuing. The lack of recognizable burials of the 8th. century onwards is perhaps a result both of their concentration around these churches and of a general decline in human numbers.

Although those closely associated with such churches, and burials such as that from Putxet, are at least nominally Christian, the pagan or Christian

nature of the remaining cemeteries is open to discussion. Similarly the burials around the city proper, even those from Sta. Maria del Mar, are not proven to be Christian, except in the case of the parco-phagi and the Pl. d 'Antoni Maura mosaic. Paganism survived much later in rural districts, and although one might expect the territorium to have been converted from the city by an early date, this is not necessarily so, and pagan communities could have survived well into the 5th. and 6th. centuries. Only with the construction of rural churches was the triumph of the Cross secured, and this was a movement which was more characteristic of the 6th. century than earlier ones^{240 bis}, and represented here by the case of Cornellà. After that date burials would have taken place in the vicinity of the church: before then their location would have been influenced by settlement, land use and perhaps the road network.

In the midst of all these doubts, two points are clear: both the city and the territorium maintained a substantial population well into the Visigothic period: although there is little evidence for settlement outside the walls, the number of cemeteries in rural districts suggests that they were still being cultivated. Secondly, as will be seen below, there were no substantial changes between this period and that after the Reconquest in terms of the general pattern of settlement.

7. Intra-mural burials.

The number of stone-lined and covered tombs found in the suburban area is small: they are unknown outside the Sta^aMaría del Mar cemetery. Clearly, the burials of the end of the Visigothic and subsequent periods were located elsewhere. The exact date of the first intra-mural burials is thus of some significance for it marks a step in the decline of the patterns of Antiquity, and the beginning of those of the Middle Ages.

Two distinct areas of intra-mural burial of pre-medieval date are known, to which should now be added an isolated burial at a third point²⁴¹.

a) Plaça del Rei (fig.67).

In the excavation of 1934-5, sixteen burials were found sealed under a mortar pavement of uncertain date. Eleven were of the tile-covered variety, four in amphorae, and the last a mixture of the two techniques. Others had been disturbed by later activity on the site. They were enclosed within a wall which followed the south and east sides of the earlier portico, and although some cut other burials, the excavator felt that the life of the cemetery was probably short²⁴².

None of the burials contained any clearly datable

material: the excavator suggested a 6th. or 7th. century date²⁴³, and the material found in the soil surrounding some of the tombs would tend to confirm this, as would the dating of the preceding porticoed phase to the mid-6th. century. The most distinctive artefacts were a lamp of Christian type, probably of late 6th. century date²⁴⁴; a disc brooch with cloisonné decoration, which had been virtually totally lost; and a seal ring in the form of an equal-armed cross, with the inscription ELPIDI VIVAS, which has been tentatively associated with a bishop of Huesca of this name of the mid-6th. century²⁴⁵. The disc-brooch, on the other hand, is of a class of decorative metalwork rarely found even in the cemeteries of the Meseta, and is unique in Catalonia²⁴⁶. Parallels beyond the Pyrenees might indicate a date in the late 6th, or early 7th. centuries, rather than before, especially when its advanced state of wear is taken into account²⁴⁷.

More recently, an attempt has been made to re-date the cemetery on the basis of the amphorae fragments, which, by comparison with those from Terrassa, and ultimately Albenga, and as a result of typology, have been placed in the 5th. century, and the cemetery consequently from the middle of that century until the commencement of the following one²⁴⁸. However, the foundations of such an argument are debatable: not only is very little known about such amphorae,

and any date assigned largely guesswork, especially since the examples from Egara (Terrassa) were within a structure of considerably later date, but it also largely ignores the archaeological context, and the historical one.

Both the Theodosian code and that of Justinian prohibit intra-mural burials. In the Iberian peninsula, the first such prohibition comes in the acts of the First Council of Braga in 563²⁴⁹. This, of course, indicates that such burials were by then taking place. However, it would be difficult to date the Plaça del Rei burials much before that date, because of the construction date of the portico. Moreover, although the evidence of the finds described above is not as significant as one might wish, for none of the objects were associated with burials, it would be rash to discard them as without value for the dating of the cemetery. Since both the Santa Maria del Mar cemetery and that in the Plaça d' Antoni Maura apparently belong to the 5th. century and in the case of the former continued in use after that date, it is unlikely that the transition to intra-mural burial had begun by the mid-5th. century. Consequently it seems improbable that the dating suggested by Duran should be revised²⁵⁰.

b) The basilica area.

At least one infant burial was discovered in one of the annexes to the south of the basilica: this,

like the majority of such burials was contained in an amphora²⁵¹. It is possible that others appeared in the same area, although the accounts are vague²⁵². Further north, in the square in front of the existing cathedral, several other burials of similar type were planned during the lowering of the surface of the square in 1952 (fig.61)²⁵³. It is likely that others had originally existed, but had been destroyed by later constructions and subsequent burials, for this was one of the cemeteries of the medieval cathedral.

c) Tower 78,

In 1979, during excavations in part of the Archbishop's Palace adjoining the defences and at the side of the lateral gate passage of the early Imperial gate, a single burial of a child appeared in an amphora sealed at one end by a flat tile. Its central position in relation to the surrounding walls might imply some religious significance, and it seems possible that the forerunner of the later Archdeacon's Chapel, situated in the tower itself, existed there. No date could be established for the burial, although a 6th. or 7th. century one seems the most probable^{253 bis.}

8. The end of Visigothic Barcelona

The information available for the study of the topography of the city in the last century of Visigothic rule is slender. To a large extent one can but use earlier and later evidence to fill the void and the later evidence must come from the tenth century and after, for the city, in common with those of the rest of the Province, and similar areas such as Provence, was entering a 'dark age',²⁵⁴.

The problem remains whether this was a true reflection of a decline in urban life, or is it a result of a lack of sources. In all probability, both opinions are correct. Although the city was perhaps free of the worst effects of the plagues of locusts which ravaged central Spain, other plagues are known to have been particularly severe in nearby Septimania, and it would be surprising if there were not some repercussion of this phenomenon in Tarraconensis²⁵⁵. The already depleted population was thus further decreased, although we cannot even venture to estimate figures. In the general context of the Visigothic realms, whereas the sixth century had seen new foundations of both towns and institutions, there is an apparent lack of these after the early 7th. century, and in some areas towns had virtually totally disappeared as being alien to the increasingly rural based economy and society²⁵⁶. In those that survived the curial classes were a thing of the past, in spite

of repeated attempts by the crown to maintain some semblance of the former order²⁵⁷. The responsibility for the running of the cities fell increasingly to the comes and the bishop.

Barcelona maintained its position as an urban centre in the post conversion period: the most direct evidence comes from that strange document known as the De Fisco Barcinonensi of 592. From this it would appear that Barcelona was the centre of a financial district including the dioceses of Tarragona, Egara, Girona and Ampurias: here were based the two numerarii appointed by the comes patrimonii, and perhaps also the royal treasury. These officials had fixed the rates at which payments of grain were to be made - 14 siliquae per bushel - and the bishops in this document express their agreement²⁵⁸. Dr. Garcia Moreno would see this as a survival of the officials of the same name of the late Roman period, the comes patrimonii having replaced the Praetorian Prefect, although the procedures of tax-collecting had changed drastically, for there is no mention whatsoever of the curiales. He also points out the exceedingly high rate of adaeratio: even if it were a year of shortages, the evaluation would still be four times the highest known rate from Ostrogothic Italy, plus the added four siliquae for possible damage and transport. He concludes that the system had so evolved as to be of enormous benefit to the bureaucracy, while penalizing to an extreme the contributor²⁵⁹.

Sres. Vigil and Barbero also point to this discrepancy, and indicate the added difficulties in its comprehension, for siliquae were, of course, not minted in the Visigothic Kingdom, and the tax must have been paid in tremisses²⁶⁰.

In connection with this point, it is of some interest that the largest issues from the mint of Barcelona in the Visigothic period are in the reign of Reccared, to which can be attributed no less than two-thirds of the known issues. The same is true of Tarragona²⁶¹. Given that issues were often determined by political necessities, the reason for such a massive emission in Tarraconensis is far from apparent, and a link with these economic events might be suspected. Nevertheless, such meetings had taken place with financial officials previously, and may have continued into the 7th. century. From the point of view of Barcelona, the document has a double significance^{if indicates} firstly the existence of the coastal area between the Pyrenees and Tarragona as an administrative unit, and secondly, the primacy of Barcelona within it. If a regional view of the Visigothic kingdom is accepted, as has recently been proposed, this might suggest that while the centralized state may have been weak, the regions themselves were often flourishing^{261 bis}.

Reccared's father had also minted in Barcelona:

other issues are known in the first decade of the 7th. century, but these are followed by a break in production until the end of the century, when further emissions took place under Egica and Witiza²⁶². Tarragona, on the other hand, seems to have minted throughout the century, apart from a brief interruption²⁶³. This may indicate that the metropolitan city regained some of its lost importance with the conversion of the Visigoths. Certainly some of the features of the urban civilization of Antiquity seemed to have survived there to a remarkably late date, for King Sisebut could write to the Archbishop, criticizing his affection for theatrical productions, although in virtually the same breath, himself breaking canonical law, by naming a new bishop for Barcelona.²⁶⁴

Little is recorded of 7th. century ecclesiastical life in Barcelona, beyond the names of the bishops. The evidence of the De Fisco shows that the bishop played far more than an ecclesiastical rôle and would frequently act on behalf of the inhabitants. However, when the bishop might be appointed by the King, the juxtaposition of the residences of the civil and religious authorities, already existing perhaps by the mid-6th. century, made even more sense. The existence of a possible schola adjoining the cathedral has been noted, and the educational function of the Visigothic city was an important one. Whether the Bishop Quiricus of Barcelona was the

author of the 'Hymn to Sta Eulalia' remains controversial, and even more so the supposed establishment of a monastery dedicated to her, although the words of Bede point to the cult of a Sta. Eulalia in the city²⁶⁵. The importance of extra-mural churches, both martyrs' shrines and monasteries in other cities such as Zaragoza makes one suspect that they would have been found in Barcelona, even though it is impossible to point to any definite example nowadays²⁶⁶. Bishop Quiricus certainly corresponded with the bishop of Zaragoza, and a later bishop, Idalius, wrote to Julian of Toledo, taken aback by his use of the services of a Jew to bring him the work entitled Prognosticon²⁶⁷.

Whether this is an indication of a Jewish community in Barcelona at this date is a matter for debate: it is possible that one of the inscriptions from the Hebrew cemetery of Montjuic dates from this period, and possibly some of the excavated burials also²⁶⁸. Hebrew communities certainly existed in Narbonne²⁶⁹, Tarragona²⁷⁰, and Tortosa²⁷¹, and it would be surprising if Barcelona were an exception. The traditional view of concerted persecution of the Jews in the late Visigothic period has been challenged²⁷², and it would seem that those of Septimania, and perhaps by extension of Tarraconensis, enjoyed a degree of special treatment²⁷³.

This use of a Jewish messenger and a similar occurrence in the 9th. century make one suspect that the Hebrew community was already fulfilling a commercial-function, for which it was later to become famous, or infamous, It is difficult to judge to what extent commercial life was a significant part of 7th. century urban life. Contacts with the rest of the Mediterranean world, an important feature of life in Tarraconensis since the 6th. century B.C., continued: the law codes indicate the arrival of merchants from the eastern Mediterranean²⁷⁴, and imports were still made, both of objects, such as bronze liturgical vessels and stonework²⁷⁵, and ideas, such as the Byzantine influences on 7th. century art in the Peninsula²⁷⁶. In the case of Barcelona, apart from the marble capital in the church of St. Just, there is no direct evidence for these currents.

Indeed, as the 7th. century progressed, it is possible to detect an increasingly isolated atmosphere. Although the trade in fine objects might continue, there is no evidence for trade in bulk: the amphorae, once such a characteristic feature of the cemeteries of the region, disappear. Whether they were local products or imports, this disappearance denotes the breakdown of what had been a flourishing trade. Cities began to assume the fortress rôle that was to be theirs in future centuries, in the case of Barcelona until the 11th. century. This is first

revealed during the revolt of Paul against Wamba in 673, when for the first time for a century and a half the walls were defended against attack²⁷⁷. In future decades this activity was to be repeated all too frequently for the city's inhabitants.

CHAPTER VIII

URBAN LIFE IN THE CONVENTUS TARRACONENSIS IN THE
LATE ROMAN AND VISIGOTHIC PERIODS

As in most other parts of the Western Empire, sources which provide a coherent account of urban life in the Conventus Tarraconensis in ^{the} centuries between Diocletian and the fall of the Kingdom of Toledo are, if not scanty, at least uneven in both number and details. We are constantly left wondering to what extent general sources, such as the Visigothic law-codes, were strictly applicable to the examples in question, or how seriously archaeological and documentary evidence from one place can be used to generalize over a wider area without the necessary corroborative information. In synthesizing a wide range of shreds of material, then, a degree of imagination is needed in order to reconstruct the pattern of urban life.

In the case of the Conventus Tarraconensis, as elsewhere in the Spanish provinces,¹ urban life was unevenly distributed after the third century. The distinctions visible largely correspond to the three geographical regions established for modern Catalonia; these distinctions were also related to the varying intensities of absorption of Roman life and culture in the first four centuries of Roman rule. Unlike the case of Reccopolis and other similar towns,²

there is no example of a newly established town in this period: nevertheless, there is evidence for a change in emphasis among the communities which had existed in the heyday of the Empire. The evidence for Barcelona in this period has been discussed: it remains to see how the remaining towns fared in the course of these centuries.

I. Coastal Tarraconensis

1. Tarragona (Fig.48).

All the evidence points to a marked change in the appearance of this city in the century between 260 and 360. It has often been claimed, following a phrase of Orosius, that, after the barbarian raid of the mid-third century, Tarragona henceforth remained a city of ruins, inhabited by citizens living in the shadow of past greatness³. The archaeological sources in fact suggest a considerable refinement of this view.

Even if the suburbs were damaged during this raid, and it now appears that some parts continued to be occupied, life within the defences seems to have returned to its former pattern for a further century. In the upper part of the city several Imperial dedications of the later 3rd. century and up to the time of Constantine were erected⁴, implying that the Provincial Forum continued in use as such, and that the concilium still gathered there

as before - at least until the Diocletianic changes in the divisions of the Spanish provinces⁵. Similarly, in the lower walled area, the population continued to frequent the commercial forum, even though the nearby extra-mural zones were abandoned to burials, probably from the later 3rd. century onwards⁶. The deficiencies of our evidence for this part of the city make it difficult to suggest either any wave of construction, or equally any widespread abandonment⁷: such indications as we possess tend to indicate the general continuity of occupation.

However, this state of affairs did not last indefinitely, for changes can be detected by the middle of the 4th. century. First of all, the 'commercial' forum went out of use: a hoard of c.360 was found under one of the fallen columns of the portico⁸, and, in addition, the general coin sequence from the site ended with Crispus (d.325)⁹, perhaps suggesting that it had gone out of use by the middle of the century. This seems to be confirmed by a notable absence of any of the common late 4th. and 5th. century fine wares from this site¹⁰. About the same time, it is apparent that the nature of occupation in the upper part of the city changed radically. In an excavation in the Cathedral Cloister, thus within the temple enclosure suggested by Dr.Hauschild, Sr.Sánchez Real found a substantial occupation layer of the second half of the 4th. century, followed by others of the 5th.¹¹.

This is all the more remarkable in that the previous layers of the stratigraphical sequence had been of Neronian or early Vespasianic date¹², suggesting that no modifications in either the general pattern or the nature of occupation had occurred for three centuries.

This is not the only site in this part of the city where the phenomenon of human occupation after a long period of maintenance as a public space has been observed. Dr. Berges, excavating in the Plaça del Rovellat, an area lying between the forum and the defences (fig. 48, PR), found a series of walls and floor levels which dated to the period after c. A.D. 270, and more probably to the fourth century, as well as another wall reusing earlier elements, which supported a row of columns, which might be tentatively related to a church of the Visigothic period¹³. Not only were there no traces of earlier structures, but also very few pieces which could be dated before this period, and so, although the case is not as convincing as that of the Cathedral cloister, for earlier occupation must have existed, it is again a demonstration of changed circumstances in the 4th. century. Similarly, in the patio of the 'Torre de Pilatos' the greater part of the layers revealed which belonged to the period after the initial structural phase were of the later 3rd. century and succeeding centuries¹⁴.

Although generalizations on the pattern of settlement within a town based on such small areas of excavation are notoriously unreliable,¹⁵ it might be tentatively proposed that towards the middle of the 4th. century there was a partial abandonment of previously inhabited areas in favour of the upper part of the city. However, the abandonment of one area does not necessarily imply total desertion of the lower parts of the city, and that this did not occur is evident from the material recorded by Hernandez Sanahuja in the 19th. century; the coin lists of his excavations seem to indicate a degree of occupation and even construction into the 5th. century at no great distance from the abandoned forum¹⁶. The chronology of this postulated shift in settlement is thus difficult to establish, and may best be envisaged as a gradual movement: the evidence from the cathedral suggests a date well into the 4th. century¹⁷, whereas the other excavations point to a slightly earlier one¹⁸, although it should be noted that in most cases it is a question of dating rubbish or levelling layers rather than defined structures. It is difficult to invoke any set of political or military circumstances to explain this alteration, and, as has been noted in the case of the raid of c.262, such conditions might often pass virtually unmarked in the archaeological record¹⁹. Nevertheless, the connection with increased security that the upper part of the city had to offer is immediately apparent, for this area with its still-

surviving defences and access from the lower part of the city conveniently controlled by the circus, was far safer than the previous residential areas. However, the move also involves a startling number of implications - the abandonment of the original function of the area around the Temple, perhaps under the influence of Christianity; the decreasing intensity of use of other public buildings and the construction of private residences within them or adjoining them; the complicity of public officials in these alterations, and finally a presumable decline in population.

If these generalizations can be justified by further excavation, Orosius' comments may thus be partially justified, for at the time when he was writing (c. A.D. 400) the city may have presented a semi-ruinous aspect, although he mistook the origins of this. This vision, however, should not be exaggerated, for Ausonius included it among the cities which were flourishing in the later 4th. century, in contrast to ruinous Lleida¹⁹ bis, and one can also point to many elements of continuity in relation to the provincial capital of the 1st. and 2nd. centuries. Tarragona remained firmly within the Roman orbit throughout this period: although there is a lapse in the series of Imperial inscriptions after Constantine, this is a feature of the epigraphical record for the whole of Spain²⁰, and even if that which was once claimed to refer to Nepos has

been demonstrated to be of far earlier date, there is another of similar date referring to Anthemius (467-472)²¹, and not only were the classical traditions of stonemasonry continued after that date, but dating according to the consuls was maintained into the 6th. century, whereas the rest of the Peninsula had long gone over to dating by the Spanish Era²². The inscription of Anthemius was first recorded in the centre of the upper part of the city, suggesting that some semblance of past practice was maintained until a comparatively late date, and that this forum area was not totally given over to shacks and shanties in the shadows of early Imperial monuments. Strictly speaking, the province remained part of the Empire until the arrival of Euric's forces: in spite of the catastrophic interpretations of innumerable local historians, it must have remained comparatively unaffected by the invasions of the early 5th. century²³, for, apart from the Visigothic intervention under Athaulf and his immediate successor, there was no attempt by them to occupy the Mediterranean coast of Tarraconensis²⁴. Contacts with Rome in the 5th. century existed to a far greater extent than between any other point of the peninsula and the Imperial City. As Professor Thompson has pointed out, the archbishop of Tarragona could write to Rome in the mid-5th. century as if no change had occurred in the structure of the Empire²⁵: senators, civil and military officials are recorded in Tarragona in the

same period²⁶, and indeed at least one emperor is believed to have passed through the city - Majorian in 460²⁷.

Within the city itself, one can even point to the possible continued use of places of entertainment. The amphitheatre may still have been in use in the later 4th. century²⁸, although had obviously ceased to be frequented by the time a church was erected in it towards the end of the 6th. century²⁹. But as late as the second decade of the seventh century, an archbishop of Tarragona was criticised by Sisebut because of his love of theatrical productions³⁰. Given the presence of the theatre near the principal early Christian cemetery, might this imply some survival of its function into the seventh century ?

Although political and ecclesiastical contacts were principally with Rome, only four days away by the direct sea route³¹, there were probably equally close ties with North Africa, at least until the Vandal occupation. They are mainly manifested in various aspects of early Christianity in Tarraconensis which was probably derived from North African origins³². The martyrs Felix and Cucufate were from that area³³, and the passion of St. Fructuosus and his companions contains various formulae recognized as being typically related with North Africa rather than Rome³⁴. These contacts are even more apparent in the early Christian art and architecture of the region, especially in the

case of Tarragona, with the workshop of sarcophagi production active in the city in the first half of the fifth century, and this was closely connected with that of Carthage³⁵. Similarly the plans of early Christian churches and baptisteries, with a few exceptions, owe more to North African and ultimately Syrian models, than ^{to} those of Rome and Italy³⁶. The custom of placing mosaics over the tombs of the wealthy, attested in several cities of coastal Tarraconensis, was similarly derived³⁷.

Such connections were long established in the life of the Province: in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries one may point to the cupae tombs which had a similar origin³⁸, and Professor Mariner has indicated the resemblance between the Latin verse forms of certain Tarragona inscriptions and those of North Africa³⁹. Such a phenomenon undoubtedly corresponds to commercial contacts between the two areas, contacts which were maintained into the 5th. century and beyond, as demonstrated by the finds of North African fine wares all along the Catalan coast⁴⁰. In addition, several Greek, Hebrew and bi-lingual inscriptions from the cemeteries of Tarragona indicate that a community of foreigners remained at this date, presumably as a result of the maintenance of this trade⁴¹. One unanswered question is the provenance of the large amphorae widely used for burial purposes in the late and post-Roman periods⁴²: no local

production centre is known, and a similar provenance seems feasible, and if proven would demonstrate the maintenance of these contacts into the 7th. century⁴³. Whatever the case, it is apparent that a degree of commercial activity, both on a local and a long distance basis⁴⁴, existed well into the Visigothic period, and ensured the continuity of a degree of urban life⁴⁵.

There is, however, little evidence for this in the topography of Tarragona, where most of the information bearing on these centuries is related to the various manifestations of Christianity. The origins of the Tarragona community are lost in the mists of time, but it emerges from the darkness in the mid-third century, like those at several other points in the Peninsula,⁴⁶ on the occasion of the martyrdom of its bishop, Fructuosus, and two of his deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, in 259. This event is recorded by what ~~are~~ the only contemporary Acta from Spain⁴⁷. These describe their trial and martyrdom in the amphitheatre, but not the precise site of their burial⁴⁸. In the course of the late 1920's and 1930's an extensive late Roman cemetery was excavated near the River Francolí, to the south of the city. This contained a basilica and an inscription which left little doubt that this was their resting place, at least from the later 4th. century, and the area was thus particularly favoured by the Christian inhabitants of Tarra-

gona for burial. The cemetery covered an area of approximately two hundred metres square, and the area excavated produced somewhat over two thousand burials, implying a total about four times greater for the entire area⁴⁹.

Certain aspects of the cemetery, notably the basilica itself⁵⁰, the sarcophagi⁵¹, the inscriptions⁵², and the mosaics⁵³ have been repeatedly studied, but a number of fundamental problems remain, principally concerning the period of use. It was soon noted that there was a lack of Christian funerary material earlier than the very late 4th. century from this site⁵⁴, particularly among the inscriptions and sarcophagi. Its life only clearly began more than a century after the martyrdom of the three saints. Two alternatives have thus been proposed: firstly that they were originally buried in a zone of pagan burials which only later and gradually became Christianized⁵⁵; secondly, that their remains were transferred to this site from an earlier one in the later 4th. century⁵⁶. This question cannot be answered, although the recent research of Dra. del Amo demonstrates that the area had been used for burials even prior to the third century Germanic raid, and one might therefore suspect the former hypothesis to be the more acceptable⁵⁷. Even so, there is a remarkable lack of the imported sarcophagi of the Tetrarchic and Constantinian periods which are recorded in Barcelona and even more

so in Girona, for the earliest surviving examples are of Theodosian date⁵⁸. This lacuna may be explained by the simple failure to locate the earlier cemetery, although given the extensive re-use of such pieces and their frequent appearance in medieval contexts, this seems rather unusual. The more recently excavated cemetery of Pere Martell, also over an area of suburban dwellings, was probably of earlier date⁵⁹, but no implicitly Christian burials were found, which makes it difficult to suggest that it was the forerunner of the 'Tabacalera' cemetery. One might legitimately wonder whether the success of Christianity was as rapid and far-reaching as frequently considered, even in an urban context, and ~~if~~ it was only after the mid-fourth century that any change in popular belief was achieved⁶⁰.

The basilica which was the focal point of this cemetery also provides a number of problems. It clearly went through more than one phase, and its exact plan has been much discussed, there now being little opportunity of being certain of its development⁶¹. The original excavator believed in the total abandonment of the area with the entry of Euric's troops⁶²: his opinion has not been shared by later researchers, who are of the opinion that the cemetery and church continued in use well into the 6th. century, if not to the end of the Visigothic period⁶³. The problem partially revolves around a now lost

epitaph of Archbishop Sergius (520-555) which refers to the reconstruction, specifically the re-roofing, of a church in Tarragona during his occupation of the see⁶⁴. Serra Vilaró interpreted this as the supposed cathedral near the present day one⁶⁵, whereas others, particularly Vives, considered that it was more likely to have been that in the cemetery⁶⁶. Serra Vilaró also believed in the transferral of the remains of the three saints to an intra-mural cathedral⁶⁷, although since this is entirely hypothetical, in view of the lack of evidence either for their transferral or their new location⁶⁸, it seems best to accept, as does Sánchez Real, that they remained in the cemetery until the end of its life⁶⁹, which probably corresponded to a period of gradual abandonment in the early seventh century⁷⁰.

It is apparent that the cemetery basilica was not the only church in the city in the Visigothic period. The best indication of the churches existing at the close of the Visigothic period is the so-called 'Verona Prayer Book', a Visigothic liturgical text now preserved in Verona, and probably taken to Italy by emigrants from Tarragona after the Arab invasion⁷¹. It mentions four churches: - the cathedral, and those of St. Fructuosus, Santa Jerusalem and St. Pere. Serra Vilaró believed that the cathedral could be identified with certain modifications made within the temple enclosure in the upper part of the city,

and particularly against its north wall⁷². Although this makes sense from a topographical point of view, the remains he found, a floor level of late Roman date rather than anything else, are not necessarily indicative of an ecclesiastical structure⁷³. Nor are his arguments based on later medieval sources convincing, not only because of the space of time involved, but also because^{of}_λ the degree of abandonment experienced by the city in the early medieval period⁷⁴. Nevertheless, it must be accepted that the Verona text appears to imply the existence of an intra-mural cathedral at the time of its composition, but in the absence of more affirmative evidence, its location can only be conjectured upon.

The church of St. Fructuosus has been identified with that found under the remains of the Romanesque church of Sta. Maria del Miracolo in the amphitheatre arena⁷⁵. This small church, with^a_λ horseshoe apse, was built towards the end of the 6th. or in the 7th. century and may have housed the relics of St. Fructuosus and his companions (if any were left) after the decline of the 'Tabacalera' cemetery⁷⁶. Of the other two less can be said: the church of St. Pere is presumably the same as illam voltam que dicitur antiquitus ecclesia Beati Petri recorded in a document of 1174⁷⁷. This was located on the south side of the city near the defences and a tower, which, given the small number of wall-towers, must place

it in the region of the structures excavated by Dr. Berges in the square adjoining the new market⁷⁸, where in addition to the four columns and fragments of Visigothic crosses, other decorative pieces of the period have been found⁷⁹. It thus seems possible that these remains should be identified as the St. Pere of the Visigothic liturgy. Of Santa Jerusalem, there is no indication of the site, apart from the arguments of Serra Vilaró, of dubious validity.⁸⁰

Whether the absence of the cemetery church from the text is an indication of its abandonment by the later 7th. century, or simply means that it was not featured in the processions that it records, is uncertain. However, a continuous process of contraction towards the upper part of the city is probably indicated by the appearance of burials within the walled area. Although none were found in the excavations of the Plaça del Rovellat, others are perhaps indicated in the upper part of the city by the presence of funerary inscriptions⁸¹. In the same way, the final pre-medieval layer in the patio of the 'Torre de Pilatos' also produced a small group of burials, one of which (no.3) was lined and covered by a combination of tiles and flat stones which suggests a comparatively late date within the sequence of such burials⁸².

Thus, unlike other cities where the original early Christian nucleus was able to provoke a shift

in the focus of settlement, in the case of Tarragona, we must envisage a gradual abandonment of all sub-urban zones and contraction towards the securer upper part of the city. In the civil sphere, it has been seen that its traditional rôle was maintained well into the 5th. century, and although it has been suggested in the previous chapter that part of this position was lost in the first century of Visigothic rule to Barcelona, perhaps a result of initial resistance on behalf of the inhabitants and Church of Tarragona, or perhaps calculated encouragement by the Visigothic Crown at Tarragona's expense, this was by no means a total abandonment of its position. The fact that Hermenegild was transferred there from imprisonment in Valencia, and was there murdered, perhaps at the instigation of his father, might suggest that Tarragona was some sort of Royal centre, although the reasons behind such a move are hidden to us ⁸³.

In later years, Tarragona was clearly the most productive mint of the province, minting under all except a few monarchs, and even under Akhila in the last years of the kingdom ⁸⁴. The commercial function of this coinage is much debated, but there was probably also some association with military campaigns. The three principal issues of Tarragona, under Reccared, Sisebut and Swintila, have thus been seen as corresponding to needs in campaigns against the Byzantines of the south-east, the Burgundians and

later the Franks, as well as the perennial campaigns against the Vascones⁸⁵. After a hiatus under Chintila and Chindaswinth, the issues of Wamba may have been connected with the campaign against Paul, for the city appears not to have risen against the Crown unlike other cities of the Province⁸⁶. On the other hand, it may have taken part in that of Froia some years beforehand⁸⁷, for the hoard of La Grassa, from near the village of Constantí and the mausoleum of Centcelles, was buried at that date, even though its contents indicated that it had been assembled in the Mérida region⁸⁸.

Even if the commercial rôle of the Visigothic coinage was not great, the vessel which contained the La Grassa hoard was one of the seventh century imported pieces of liturgical metalwork,⁸⁹ and although their function gives rise to doubts as to whether this was strictly a commercial exchange⁹⁰, they nevertheless indicate the continuity of contact with other points of the Mediterranean world in the 7th. century. All the same, within the economic climate of the Visigothic kingdom, one might suspect increasing contraction and introspection as that century progressed^{90 bis}. Although the city retained its ecclesiastical primacy and a degree of administrative significance, it is difficult to envisage it stretching beyond the limits of the walls of the upper part of the city at the time of the Arab conquest.

2. Tortosa

Although it is possible to sketch some aspects of life in Tarragona, this is more difficult for the other cities of the coastal area. In the case of Tortosa, the surviving information is minimal, and no more than a few points can be made which imply the survival of a degree of urban life until the Arab conquest⁹¹.

In the absence of controlled excavations the fourth and fifth centuries remain a complete blank, and not until the entry of 506 in the Chronicle of Zaragoza - Dertosa a Gothis ingressa est. Petrus tyrannus interfectus est et caput eius Caesaraugustam deportatum est - is there any direct reference to the city in the literary sources⁹². This event is best interpreted as evidence of renewed local resistance to the Visigothic crown, some thirty years after the original capture of the city. Moreover, as in the case of tyranni in other parts of the fragmented Empire, Peter would seem to be a native Hispano-Roman reacting against the loss of independence that Tarraconensis must have enjoyed, at least de facto, in the third quarter of the previous century: whatever the case, Roman ways and structures flourished into the sixth century⁹³.

Not until ten years later, in 516, is the bishopric recorded, although it presumably had had a long life by that date. There is no evidence for Visigothic

settlement in the area, although since it is one of the few places for which both Catholic and Arian bishops are recorded, it would be surprising if there were no, or very few, Visigoths in the sixth century⁹⁴. Evidence for the topography of Christian structures and cemeteries is again non-existent, apart from two fragments of stonework, of seventh century date, similar in style to other finds within the area between the Pyrenees and the Ebro⁹⁵.

In spite of the low output of the mint⁹⁶, one suspects that it maintained much of the commercial rôle it had possessed in previous centuries: the most interesting manifestation of its overseas contacts is a remarkable tri-lingual inscription (in Latin, Greek and Hebrew), usually considered to be of 6th. century date⁹⁷. A number of Jews were thus present in the city at that date, and given that the Jewish community was of considerable importance under the Arab rulers⁹⁸, and, moreover, ^{that} there was a tradition of local shipbuilding⁹⁹, one might conjecture the continuity of urban life based around trade in the Visigothic period. Tortosa, by being the furthest south of the towns of this region, might thus have been demonstrating similarities with the towns of Baetica, which were to maintain their eastern associations throughout these centuries: in subsequent centuries these connections were to differentiate it even more sharply from the other towns of modern Catalonia.

3. Ampurias

It is customary to paint a picture of Ampurias in the late Roman period as a virtually dead city, with little evidence for human occupation and formerly inhabited areas given over to burials¹⁰⁰. This may well be true, and the scarcity of fourth century material from the areas of the Roman city excavated in the post-Civil War period is a positive indication that this was so in that part of the city¹⁰¹. On the other hand, such an interpretation ignores a considerable body of evidence for human, if not urban, life within the area throughout these centuries.

The greater part of this evidence is funerary, and the number of burials found over the decades indicates the presence of a population, although only a fraction of what it would have been at the beginning of the Christian Era, of no mean size. These cemeteries are difficult to date with any degree of precision, because of the lack of associated material, but a general transition can be detected. The earliest cemeteries of these centuries were probably those to the west of the city in the same area as the cremation cemeteries of the Early Imperial period: this is particularly true of the Ballesta-Rubert cemetery (fig.68, no.1) which had 1st. century B.C. origins, but which did not go out of use until the end of the third century or the beginning of the following one¹⁰², and also of the

Bonjoan cemetery (fig. 68, no. 2) beginning in the 1st. century B.C. but continuing until the 4th. or 5th. centuries¹⁰³. Other cemeteries in this area had a shorter life, such as that called 'Castellet' (fig. 68, no. 3) mainly dated by its excavator to the 3rd. century, but which may have continued in use into the following one¹⁰⁴, as did the nearby Estruch cemetery (fig. 68, no. 4)¹⁰⁵. The increasing use of the east-west orientation, with the head to the west, might be considered an indication of growing Christian influence, but the lack of any positive indication of Christianity and their close relationship with the cemeteries of earlier centuries are probably better interpreted as demonstrating that they were simply the continued use of traditional burial zones in the late Roman period.

In stark contrast to these burials stand those found within the earlier walled area: few are known from the Roman foundation¹⁰⁶, but the 'Neapolis' was extensively used for funerary purposes. Unfortunately, most of these tombs were excavated in the first phase of excavations, and the information available is not always as detailed as that for those excavated in more recent decades¹⁰⁷, but it is apparent that the majority of burials were clustered around a basilica constructed reusing the remains of earlier buildings (fig. 68, no. 5; fig. 69)¹⁰⁸, 19th. and early 20th. century finds in the sand dunes which covered the site included two

pagan sarcophagi which should be dated between the late 3rd. and mid-4th. centuries¹⁰⁹, and although that found in 1908 had clearly been reused, and the earlier discovery may have been similar¹¹⁰, it is likely that the cemetery was in use by the end of the fourth century. Other occasional finds, including a late 4th. century buckle, paralleled in one of the cemeteries of the Spanish 'Limes' of the Duero Valley¹¹¹, various glass vessels¹¹², including a fourth century import from Pozzuoli near Naples¹¹³, a single Visigothic buckle and belt plate from a tomb near the basilica¹¹⁴, an early Christian inscription¹¹⁵, and a fragment of a sarcophagus imported from southern Gaul in the second half of the 6th. century¹¹⁶, point to its continued use into and throughout the Visigothic period, and quite probably beyond, for some of the latest tombs were similar to those found around the Carolingian chapel of St. Vicenç located to the south of the city (fig. 68, no. 6)¹¹⁷.

A second fragment of a 6th. century Aquitanian sarcophagus was found in the area of the same chapel¹¹⁸, although most of the burials found appear to have been of later date¹¹⁹. A second of the series of chapels of early Medieval date, Sta. Margarida II (fig. 68 no. 7), had a tomb with a cross in relief on the cover of lime and crushed ceramic material, similar to those from Son Peretó (Mallorca) and Mataró, for both of which a sixth century date has been proposed¹²⁰.

The basilica was thus not the only focus of burial in the Visigothic period, and these extra-mural cemeteries can perhaps be seen as the heirs to the late Roman inhumation ones which had gone out of use in the fourth and fifth centuries, for the second of these chapels, at least, was close to the Estruch cemetery. Although the basilica cemetery included simpler burials in addition to the sarcophagi and those constructed of stone slabs, there was another concentration of amphorae and tile-covered burials to the west, around the site of the present museum (fig. 68 no.8)¹²¹, and between the 'Neapolis' and the two substantial houses of the Roman city, which has been named the Marti cemetery (fig.68 no.9)¹²². Other burials in sarcophagi are reported from the area to the south of the city known as Portitxol (fig. 68 no.10)¹²³. Finally one must mention the burials within the area of the Palaeopolis of 6th. and 7th. century date (fig.,68 no.11: fig.70)¹²⁴.

The combined weight of this evidence suggests a sizable population throughout these centuries: one which was able to import sarcophagi from Rome in the Constantinian period or from the other side of the Pyrenees in the 6th. century, as well as substantial quantities of 'Terra Sigillata gris' in the previous century from Languedoc and to a lesser extent Provence¹²⁵. Clearly, it could not have been as poverty stricken as is usually envisaged. Nevertheless, although we

possess abundant information about the burial of the dead, we can say but little about the living. Certainly, the areas excavated so far in the Roman city appear to have been virtually deserted after the 3rd. century. Finds of late Roman wares in the 'Neapolis' in the early years of this century imply a degree of human settlement there¹²⁶, and although nothing can be said about precise structures, it is evident from the reuse of earlier buildings for the basilica that some structures were still in a habitable state. More certainly, the area of the Palaiapolis never ceased to be occupied in this period¹²⁷, but it appears improbably small for the entire population. The answer may lie in a gradual dispersion of the inhabitants, at first within the limits of the city, later perhaps further afield¹²⁸. The city would thus have presented an image of a small nucleated settlement in the original Greek foundation, with various other inhabited structures dotted around the 'Neapolis' and later the surrounding countryside. That some transition occurred in the status of the settlement is implied by the presence of a bishopric, presumably established by the end of the 4th. century,¹²⁹ although not recorded until 516¹³⁰, but the absence of a Visigothic mint. The ecclesiastical organization thus remained faithful to the earlier framework of settlement, whereas the civil authority adapted to the status quo.

4. Roses

It would be a mistake not to include the discussion of Roses alongside that of Ampurias, for in this period there seems to have been a close connection between the two, and the decline of the latter is matched by the apparent vitality of the former. The origins of this shift of emphasis are uncertain, but it may have already begun by the earlier third century, for an increase in the number of coins found in Roses is noticeable in both that century and the succeeding one¹³¹. Secondly, the most recent excavations have revealed a structure of some importance belonging to a similar date, although its function is undefined¹³². This was certainly occupied until the later 5th. century, if not later, but was not the only focus of activity on the site, for another could be found around an early Christian church, probably a cella memoriae, situated under the remains of the Romanesque monastery¹³³. An altar-table, reused for a tenth century inscription, should presumably be related to this structure, and its date of the late 4th. or 5th. centuries provide us with a date by which this church was in existence¹³⁴. This church was surrounded by a cemetery of similar type to that of the 'Neapolis' of Ampurias, with various classes of burial - in amphorae, under triangular settings of tiles, and in simple sarcophagi of a type paralleled at Ampurias, but more widely in southern Gaul¹³⁵. In addition, the abundant late

Roman stamped wares, indicating use into the 6th. century¹³⁶, and a tongue of a Visigothic belt buckle¹³⁷, point to continued use of the cemetery.

Under Leovigild and Reccared at least, Roses was a mint site¹³⁸, thus standing in contrast to Ampurias. These issues may have been the result of military campaigns in the area: it has been suggested that the coin of Leovigild with the legend CUM D I RODA, interpreted as cum Deo intravit Rodam, refers to its re-occupation either after capture by the Basques in 581¹³⁹, or by the Franks at a slightly later date¹⁴⁰, although the former is rather difficult to accept on geographical grounds¹⁴¹, and the latter if the texts are examined closely¹⁴². A military rôle is, however, apparent in the closing years of the Visigothic kingdom, not for the site in the region of the Ciudadela on the coast, but for another close by on a hill top known as Puig Rom. This fortified site produced a series of rooms either side of a gateway on the back of the defences, which were some two metres thick, although the rest of the site appears to have been eroded because of its exposed position¹⁴³. The material was particularly rich, including late amphorae, North African lamps, coarse black wares with trilobate mouths, which can be paralleled in the cemeteries of the Meseta¹⁴⁴, a Byzantine weight¹⁴⁵, some six Visigothic belt buckles and attachments¹⁴⁶, and a coin of Akhila of the Girona mint¹⁴⁷, which

indicate occupation from some point in the 7th. century into the first decades of the following one.

Whether this site replaced that in the plain remains unknown, although ^{this} is feasible, and there was certainly a non-military element among the population, implied by the wide range of tools and utensils¹⁴⁸. A revival of the Roses mint after Egica¹⁴⁹ may have been a response to uncertainty in the area after Paul's rebellion against Wamba, and it is noticeable that the pattern of issues from Barcelona was broadly similar, although larger in quantity. The Puig Rom site may thus have been established to defend the coastal land and sea routes from Septimania into Tarraconensis at a time of growing militarization and uncertainty.

One can thus see a division of function between the two towns - although one hesitates to call them so for in neither case is there much evidence of truly urban life. Ampurias was the heir of Antiquity, the ecclesiastical centre, while Roses had a more significant political and military rôle: this may have been connected with the silting of the port of Ampurias, and the need to seek anchorage elsewhere on this treacherous coast. Whether either of them had much in the way of commercial life must remain open to doubt, although it is noteworthy that their cultural links were frequently trans-Pyrenean, thus standing in contrast to the rest of eastern Catalonia.

The dichotomy of the late Roman and Visigothic periods suffered further fragmentation after the Reconquest, with the splitting of influence among the Roses area¹⁵⁰, Ampurias, Castelló, Perolada and at a later date Figueras¹⁵¹: it was as if the region was hunting for a natural centre, although one suspects that if one can talk of victors in such a situation, the only settlement that benefitted from the confusion was Girona. Nevertheless, both the maintenance of associations with the areas across the Pyrenees, and features of topography, such as the Ampurias chapels, point to a degree of stability and permanence from the Visigothic into the Early Medieval periods.

5. Girona (figs.52 and 71).

Once again, apart from the defences, for parts of which a late 3rd. century date now seems certain¹⁵², little can be said of the topography of this city. One might assume that the cathedral was located inside these walls by the Visigothic period¹⁵³, but the only church which is unequivocally recorded in the period is that dedicated to St.Fèlix, immediately outside the north gate. Reccared presented it with a votive crown, probably like the famous examples from Guarrazar and Torredonjimeno¹⁵⁴, but of which nothing has survived: this was used to crown the usurper Paul in 673¹⁵⁵. However, it is likely that the church had had a long existence by the time of Reccared's pious gift, for no fewer than six early Christian sarcophagi exist in the apse of the standing Gothic church, all of which date to the first third of the fourth century¹⁵⁶, plus two pagan examples, one of similar date¹⁵⁷, and the other perhaps a century older¹⁵⁸. Even though the Life of St. Felix is probably a seventh century fabrication¹⁵⁹, the cult is attested by Prudentius¹⁶⁰, and it seems certain that these sarcophagi would have been related to burials around an early cella memoriae in a previously pagan burial area along the main route leading towards the Pyrenees¹⁶¹ (fig.71, no.2).

The existence of a second church to the south of the city on the site of the existing St.Martí Sacosta (fig.71, no.7) is implied by the discovery of reused

Roman inscriptions in the church¹⁶² and a fragment of seventh century decorative stonework¹⁶³. Another area of burial is known to the west of the city, on the other side of the River Onyar, in the area known as the Mercadal, where ten burials of various classes, but of similar types to those from Roses and the Ampurias 'Neapolis', were found in 1890 (fig.71, M)¹⁶⁴. This might suggest a date somewhere between the 5th. and 7th. centuries, although it remains uncertain whether the church of Sta.Susanna around which they were found was also in existence at that date. Only one supposed early Christian inscription is recorded from Girona, and even this may have been of post-Reconquest date¹⁶⁵.

In the non-ecclesiastical sphere the evidence is similar in range to that from other cities: there are events which are recorded, but little material which aids one to determine the scope of urban life. In 531, when contacts between Septimania and Spain were of importance, it was the scene of a meeting at which the Prefect of the Spanish Provinces who had been appointed by Amalric was dismissed¹⁶⁶. A provincial council had been held there in 517, a year after that of Tarragona¹⁶⁷. As a mint its output was insignificant until the later 7th. century, and it minted particularly under the last three kings - Egica, Wittiza and Akhila¹⁶⁸. Like Barcelona, it had supported the rebellion of Paul, although the bishop had remained faithful to Wamba, and on its recapture it was the point from which

the king launched his three-headed attack on Paul and his followers¹⁶⁹. Such evidence as we have thus might be taken to imply an increasingly important strategic rôle in the later 7th. century, a function with which it was to emerge a century later on its reconquest¹⁷⁰. What happened to its inhabitants in these centuries, however, remains obscure, although numbers could hardly have been great given the small area enclosed by the defences. Whether it had any commercial life is equally unknown, although the fact that the Jewish inhabitants decided, or were forced, to leave the city at some date before the later ninth century, and perhaps as much as two centuries beforehand, suggests that this must have been largely disrupted in the closing years of the Visigothic kingdom or in succeeding decades¹⁷¹.

6. Egara (figs.55-56).

Egara emerged from obscurity in the mid-5th. century in a well-known episode concerning the appointment of a second bishop within the diocese of Barcelona. In 450 Nundinarius, bishop of Barcelona appointed a suffragan, Irenaeus, at Egara, and in his will designated him to be his successor at Barcelona. On the death of Nundinarius, the metropolitan wrote to Pope Hilary asking for approval of this move, which was apparently well received by everybody else concerned, but the Pope instructed Irenaeus to return to his see, which consequently remained a separate bishopric until the Arab conquest¹⁷².

The surviving group of three churches near the tip of the promontory on which the Flavian municipium was located is the principal evidence for the life of Egara in this period. Much controversy has raged about them, and in particular to what extent parts of the standing structures are of Visigothic date, although the general tendency of scholars is to admit the wide reuse of material of that period, but to assign a Carolingian date to the earliest constructions still in use¹⁷³. Nevertheless, a number of unanswered points still remain, which will only be clarified if further excavation is carried out, particularly in and around the apse of Sta.Maria (fig. 56).

It is this church that is the most significant for tracing the development of the group, for it is principally in its vicinity that excavations have taken place¹⁷⁴. Over the Roman house mentioned above¹⁷⁵, indications of three or four phases before the 8th. century have been distinguished, plus at least two later ones¹⁷⁶:-

- i) a three nave structure, presumed to be a church, indicated by columns and their bases over the remains of the earlier house and dolia.
- ii) a single naved church with tombs inside and around, one of these perhaps covered by a mosaic¹⁷⁷, although this may have belonged to the subsequent phase.
- iii) a single naved basilica, with a central mosaic pavement of inter-cutting circles, dated to the second half of the fifth century¹⁷⁸. This is by far the clearest moment of the sequence. To the east was a rectangular apse, with a crypt, discovered by Serra Rafols¹⁷⁹, which might indicate a martyrium, although there is no martyrial tradition associated with the site. Further east, and on a slightly different alignment, thus indicating that it may not have been part of the same structural programme, was an octagonal baptistery¹⁸⁰, which like that of Barcelona, and unlike the remaining examples from Tarraconensis, has its parallels in northern Italy and Provence, rather than north Africa¹⁸¹. These parallels also suggest a fifth century date, which may thus relate the baptistery with the permanent elevation of the town to episcopal status in 465.

iv) the final phase of the Visigothic period was an amplification to the former state of three naves, with the mosaic referred to above remaining in use. Puig i Cadafalch wanted to associate this with the externally rectangular apse with an internal horse-shoe arch plan and elevation, and wall paintings, which still survive, but there is no archaeological proof of this association, and neither are the apse and naves on exactly the same alignment. The majority of scholars now consider this apse, together with the greater part of the adjacent church of St. Miquel, and the apse of the third church, St. Pere, to be of Carolingian date, thus constituting the fifth phase¹⁸². The preceding three-nave structure, however, was probably of seventh century date, although the frequent association with the Council of 614 is a result of pinning too much on the few historical dates¹⁸³. Its construction indicates that the former baptistery went out of use, and it was perhaps at this moment that the precursor of St. Miquel was built, for an earlier floor level is noticeable, and it contained re-used Visigothic period material¹⁸⁴. The rest of Sta. Maria clearly belongs to the early 12th. century Romanesque, whereas St. Pere is largely 14th. century in date, although the remarkable tenth century mosaic and altar table should be noted¹⁸⁵.

Of human life round this episcopal centre, nothing can be said, and one suspects that the town of Egara

housed few inhabitants who were not directly concerned with the ecclēsiastical establishment. Nevertheless its original establishment presumably indicates a substantial population in surrounding rural areas, and this is implied by the archaeological evidence¹⁸⁶. Professor Thompson has pointed out the lack of bishops with Visigothic names¹⁸⁷, which might also imply a strong continuity in local Hispano-Roman life. Although a few pieces of 'Visigothic' metalwork are known from the area, these need not indicate much in the way of intrusion¹⁸⁸.

On the Arab invasion, the see was probably abandoned, for no further bishops are recorded: there is some slight evidence that the church of Sta. Maria was for a time used for human habitation¹⁸⁹. At the time of the Reconquest in 801, the area was still considered significant, for the local community was awarded the same privileges as the inhabitants of Barcelona¹⁹⁰, but the settlement was no longer around the churches and had moved across the ravine to the core of the future town, around the castellum of Terrassa (fig. 55). Whether these privileges reflected reality, and denote a sizable population in the early ninth century, or were just recalling the Visigothic period, is an unresolved problem, but the bishopric was not revived, although a degree of local independence was manifested later in the century, and the Carolingian rebuilding may have been related to this attitude, for the arrangement of the three churches is decidedly episcopal¹⁹¹.

Together with Egara one must also mention the nearby centre of St.Cugat del Vallès. Originally a fortification, by the early medieval period it had become the major monastic centre of the Barcelona region. Traces of the early Christian buildings were revealed in excavations in the 1930's in the late Romanesque cloister, and have been re-interpreted by Dr.Barral¹⁹². He sees an early rectangular structure with associated burials under the north-eastern corner of the later basilica: this was followed by the 5th. century basilica, to which additions and alterations were made in the late 6th. or early 7th. century: this third phase included the still visible apse of horseshoe plan. Burials were found all around these structures, including a 5th. century funerary mosaic¹⁹³, and a mid-3rd. century sarcophagus has long been known from the site, although the circumstances of its discovery are unknown¹⁹⁴. In addition, a number of pieces of Visigothic metalwork are recorded from the site¹⁹⁵.

Although the Passion of St.Cugat or Cucufate is of 7th. century date, the association of the saint with Barcelona by Prudentius indicates that the tradition of his martyrdom at this point has some validity¹⁹⁶. The strength of the monastery in the 9th. century indicates that among those in existence at that date it was the most likely to have had a Visigothic period forerunner: it seems possible that

the numerous other structural remains found around the early church may have formed part of such a monastery¹⁹⁷.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to consider either Egara or St.Cugat as urban settlements in the late Roman and Visigothic periods. Neither in the case of the other small towns of the Vallès can any degree of flourishing urban life be detected, although places such as Arrahona and Granollers continued to be occupied. Life was basically rural, with little need of towns: if the northern part of the Vallès was taken up by Imperial estates, which later passed to the Visigothic Crown, as is implied by the medieval place-name evidence, such a need would have declined even further^{197 bis}. As in the litoral area of the Maresme, any urban necessities were henceforth covered by Barcelona, part of whose new strength was based on the decline of the other towns of the Regio Laietana.

7. Iluro (fig.53).

Evidence for occupation within the urban area of Iluro after the third century seems rather scarce, and one may postulate that, as in the case of Baetulo, there was a considerable decline in the area inhabited. However, the dead continued to be buried outside the urban area until the late 4th. or 5th. centuries, particularly along the Riera¹⁹⁸. At an uncertain date, probably in the 5th. century, but not earlier, burials began to be made around the site of the present parish church. The date is implied by the 'Terra Sigillata gris' and North African lamps with Christian symbols found in associated layers: in fact, the earliest burials may be of the following century, as was the tomb with a cross in relief on its cover. Others were of later date, being constructed of slabs of stone to form trapezoidal cists, like those of Sta. María del Mar in Barcelona¹⁹⁹.

The existence of the church on its present site is implied not only by these burials, but also by several pieces of decorative stonework, for which a date in the Visigothic period, probably towards its end, must be accepted²⁰⁰. The size of the community which it served can hardly be estimated, but no other structural remains from the excavated sites within the old urban area can be assigned to this period. Certain of the villas, however, clearly flourished into the fifth century, the best recorded example being Torre Llauder once again: considerable quantities

of late Roman imported fine wares are known from this site, and it seems most unlikely that it was destroyed during the early 5th. century invasions as the excavator proposed²⁰¹. Whether the structure he interpreted as a chapel was so or not remains unclear, although the finds from that part of the site seemed to indicate continued use of that room after the rest of the villa had gone out of use, a phenomenon not unparalleled elsewhere in the case of villa chapels²⁰².

However, one change in the general pattern of settlement in the area in this period can be noted, This was a gradual shift towards the litoral mountains, where a number of sites which have produced similar assemblages to that from Torre Llauder, together with later material and structures, are known. A fifth century cemetery has been excavated at Mata²⁰³, and the parish church of the locality has produced an inscription interpreted as a Visigothic dedication²⁰⁴, and a series of similar pre-Romanesque churches on Roman sites in this coastal zone suggests that this was not the only example of a phenomenon which was even more evident in the early medieval period²⁰⁵, for the documentary sources demonstrate that settlement on the coast had by then diminished greatly in favour of the upland areas.

8. Baetulo. (fig.54).

The urban life of post 3rd. century Baetulo was equally slight. The only area that can be pointed to as certainly having been the centre of any activity was that of the baths located under the modern museum, where a mill was apparently constructed in the later Roman period, although the published details of this phase are few²⁰⁶. Elsewhere in the old urban area the only activity that has been noted is the burial of the dead, graves being recorded over the house in the area of the excavated gate²⁰⁷, and more especially around the parish church²⁰⁸, which one might thus suspect came into existence at this date, although there is no proof of this. Thus even more than in the case of Iluro is the evidence negative, pointing to an increasingly abandoned site which could have housed little more than a village.

Human life is attested in its vicinity, particularly at the villa of Sentromà in Tiana, which is the clearest example of unbroken life between a late Roman villa and a medieval 'masia'²⁰⁹. A presumed villa site at Llefià (fig. 65 no.19) between Badalona and Barcelona has also produced fragments of an early Christian sarcophagus, which may point to the increased wealth of a few rural sites at this date²¹⁰. However, the nature of occupation at both these sites after the early 5th. century, when the sequence of Roman fine wares ceases, is difficult to ascertain.

Of the remaining towns of the coastal and pre-litoral zones little or nothing can be said. There was no late Roman occupation on the one site excavated at Blanda: the town at Caldes de Montbui has not produced any definite evidence of late Roman occupation either. One suspects that there must have been a small settlement, like that indicated at the other spa town of Caldes de Malavella by some late Roman burials and even a Byzantine coin²¹¹. However, the general impression is that the undefended small towns of this region declined rapidly in the late Roman period.

II Inland Catalonia

If this area had been but little romanized and with few urban centres in the first two centuries of the Empire, there was little probability of towns flourishing in subsequent centuries, even if certain aspects of Roman life gradually penetrated its rural society. The most remarkable feature of the evidence is its virtual absence. For Llívia, apart from a dubious sarcophagus, there is no information²¹², although one must presume the survival of a community, which like the other settlements near the Pyrenean passes had an increasingly military function, for the Castrum Libiae is recorded in Julian's account of Wamba's campaign²¹³. Similarly, at the southern

end of the region, at Sigarra, although the dedication to Maximian indicates the survival of municipal life to the end of the third century, we are in a position to say no more²¹⁴.

In contrast to the coastal area where there were six bishoprics and five places which minted in the sixth and seventh centuries, in all this area there were no mints and only one see, that of Ausa. Apart from the names of the bishops who attended various church councils, both national and provincial, little is known: the survival of some form of settlement in the area of the former city is implied by various finds of later Roman graves²¹⁵ and a single early Christian inscription²¹⁶, although the site of the original cathedral is unknown. Junyent suggested a site in the upper part of the city later known as Paradís²¹⁷, but structural proof of this has never been found, and it may have been on the same site as the medieval cathedral, for late Roman burials are also recorded from this part of the city²¹⁸. Apart from its ecclesiastical rôle of controlling a large diocese which was probably slow on the road to conversion, the settlement remained a staging post on the route towards the Pyrenees from the coast and particularly Barcelona, as suggested by the group of late Roman milestones found in the southern part of the surrounding plain²¹⁹.

As for the rest of this area, it remains an almost total blank. One might suspect that a number of places which were to play a significant part in later centuries, such as the monastery of Ripoll, had their origins in communities which either were in, or came into, existence at this time²²⁰: it seems improbable that the comparatively dense population of these upland areas after the Reconquest could have been totally derived from refugees fleeing from the Arab invasion, yet any comment on settlement in the region must remain in the realms of hypothesis.

III The valleys of the Segre and Cinca

Once again, this region, the central depression, stands in contrast to the mountainous areas of central Catalonia to its east. The numerous late Roman villas and early Christian sites cannot be discussed here, but are evidence of a thriving rural society well into the sixth century if not later. Whether their inhabitants lived largely in isolation with scarce need of towns is uncertain, for the evidence is to some extent contradictory²²¹.

Ausonius describes Ilerda as lying in ruins in his day²²², although later 4th. and early 5th. century material from the city, particularly the cemeteries, indicates that it was far from abandoned, and one

must concede him a degree of poetic licence²²³. Another disaster is supposed to have overcome the city in 449 as a result of a combined Suevic and Bagaudic attack, according to the accounts of Hydatius and Isidore²²⁴. The bishopric survived, however, and a council was held in the church of Sta. Eulalia, the site of which is unknown, in 546²²⁵. Yet the sources allow us to do no more than assume a general continuity of urban life, probably at a reduced level: whether there was any change in the topography, or return to the original hill-top nucleus, remains unknown.

The other two municipia of this region did not become bishoprics, and of Aeso little can be said: one might imagine that such a centre of Roman creation played a comparatively minor part in the late Roman period. Of Guissona, more information is forthcoming: the recent excavations have demonstrated life into the fifth century²²⁶, and a substantial cemetery of similar or later date has been recorded, although few details are published²²⁷. As at Sigarra, municipal life continued to the late third century, proved by the dedication to Numerianus²²⁸. However, these scraps of information are insufficient to write a coherent account; one can only suggest a degree of settlement into the 5th. century and perhaps later.

Other urban centres of uncertain status in this region can be described likewise, with a degree of activity lasting to the fifth century. 'Terra Sigillata gris' is recorded from Solsona²²⁹: the defended site at Ager has produced a mid-third century sarcophagus, a remarkable find from such an inland area for such products are usually found with a coastal or riverine distribution²³⁰. Most significant, however, was the emergence of the bishopric of Seu d'Urgell in the northern part of this region: this was first recorded under Justus in 527, slightly later than the others of Catalonia²³¹. Little is known of the life of this centre, and even its precise location is insecure, although the most acceptable interpretation is that in the Visigothic period it was in the village now called Castellciutat, presumed to be the heir to an undocumented civitas Urgelli, and only transferred to the present site in the valley below in the late 8th. or early 9th. century²³². Nevertheless, it is improbable that the community around the early episcopal centre was either large or anything other than ecclesiastical in function, although it also conveniently protected the Pyrenean passes from the Andorran valley.

DISCUSSION

That towns other than Barcelona had unbroken urban life until the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom is beyond doubt: as for which towns this can be demonstrated remains very much a question of terminology. Several factors contributed to the urban function, and it needed a combination of them to ensure the maintenance of the urban tradition.

The clearest example is Tarragona, which, although much declined from its former glory, was still the largest town in the conventus in the late Roman and Visigothic periods. Girona and probably Tortosa can almost certainly be considered as urban throughout the period, although, as in the case of Barcelona, the seventh century appears darker than previous ones. The evidence from Ampurias and Roses indicates a sizeable population in their vicinity, but gives an impression of dispersion rather than nucleated urban life: nevertheless they must have performed some urban functions. All these towns were mints at one time or another in the late 6th. and 7th. centuries, and although elsewhere in the Peninsula one can point to non-urban mints, they were generally used for very brief periods²³³, and those places with larger issues can usually be considered as towns. That the five mints of Catalonia were situated at these points can thus have been no coincidence (fig.72).

These five centres, with the exception of Girona, were also coastal in location, and similarly all, except Ampurias-Roses, were places on the principal Roman road through the region. The only other place which I would consider as probably still possessing urban characteristics in the Visigothic period - Lleida - had a similar combination of road and riverine communications. Other points on the coast which had previously been towns had declined beyond recognition - Blanda, Iluro and Baetulo - although this decline can be traced back to the third century, if not before, and in no way can it be attributed to the early 5th. century invasions or the entry of Euric's forces. Other centres which may have possessed some urban features - Egara and Ausa - had a rôle in communications, but not a combined road and river one.

This locational factor obviously contributed to their civil and military rôle within the Visigothic kingdom: they were the centres of campaigns, strongholds in times of rebellion, and the home of such administrative and governmental machinery as existed. In the sixth century at least, such Visigoths as lived in the region would no doubt have been most closely connected with these towns, and although doubts must exist over the 'Visigothic' nature of certain pieces of decorative metalwork, a considerable proportion of the finds of this material from Catalonia, admittedly not very numerous, has come

from these towns or sites within their neighbourhood²³⁴. The presence of Arian bishops at Barcelona and Tortosa would point to similar conclusions.

Equally, if not more, influential in the maintenance of urban life were the Catholic bishops and the ecclesiastical organization that they implied. That the bishoprics were established in towns is a commonplace, but raises one problem in connection with this area: - why was Ampurias chosen as an episcopal centre, when it had apparently long been in decline, whereas other towns in a similar state of decay did not receive this force which determined the existence of a degree of settlement around the episcopal centre. The explanation that church organization was linked to tradition seems to be insufficient, for it fails to take the other towns, particularly those with a degree of municipal life into the fourth century, into account. In fact, the association may not have been with towns per se, but with towns in their rôle as civitas capitals, centres for the local tribal groupings. In spite of the strong level of romanization in the coastal area, it is noticeable that only one bishopric emerges within each of the pre-Roman tribal areas: thus Ampurias for the Indigetæ: Girona for the eastern Ausetani, and perhaps other lesser groups such as the Olossitani and Castellani: Barcelona for the Laietani: Tarragona for the Cessetani and Tortosa for the Ilercavones. The only exception was Egara, which was also in the

area of the Laietani, but which was founded in rather exceptional circumstances, as has been seen.

Inland, this phenomenon is not so applicable, but broadly holds true: Ausa was the episcopal centre for the rest of the Ausetani, and possibly, as in the post Reconquest period, for much of the area of the Lacetani to the south, although it also feasible that these were related to the see of Egara. Urgellum presumably covered the Ceretani, but the shift from the focus at Llívia may be explained by the fact that the diocese extended to the west and south as it did in the early medieval period²³⁵, incorporating the Bergistani and the inhabitants of the Pyrenean valleys. The final diocese, Lleida, can be more definitely associated with the Ilergetes. The lower number of bishoprics inland, and the unique nature of Urgellum in the Pyrenean zone could well be an indication of the slower penetration of Christianity until the 6th. century, or indeed much later, in these remote rural parts.

The only way in which a settlement could distinguish itself from its rural surroundings was by commercial life: apart from the continuing function as a market centre, which can only be presumed, it is difficult to attribute long-distance commercial contacts to any but the coastal towns. Imported material is largely distributed along the coast, both

in the late Roman period and afterwards, although one should note the importance of the Ebro valley in the conveyance of luxury items, such as liturgical objects, to inland regions²³⁶. Whether the coastal activity was passive reception, as in the 10th. and 11th. centuries, or part of a locally organized trade, is debatable, although in the case of the settlements with Jewish and/or Oriental communities, the latter seems more probable. These are known at Tarragona and Tortosa, and are implied at Barcelona and Girona, and perhaps also in the Ampurias-Roses combine. The apparent dispersion of the Jewish population in the last two cases, and perhaps also in that of Tarragona²³⁷, must have had serious results on local commercial activity: it is unfortunate that this movement cannot be dated more accurately. Thus, once again, a distinction between the five coastal mint sites and the areas further inland is apparent, although whether the issues of these mints were in response to such trade, or to political and military circumstances, is unresolved.

Defences often played an important part in survival, although there were defended sites such as Iluro and Ampurias which lost much of their importance, whereas another unwallled community, Ausa, survived, if not as a town, at least as an episcopal centre. In most cases, however, there must have been a gradual contraction in the size of the inhabited area, which in the case of the majority of the

towns, which were by no means large to start with, must have meant that their population in the 6th. and 7th. centuries was very small beyond that

necessary to maintain the functions which gave them life. Such a contraction is most dramatic in Tarragona, but can also be demonstrated in Barcelona. Another related change could be the denucleation of the town and the survival of clusters of structures at various points in and around the walled area, although in the current state of archaeological knowledge this is more difficult to demonstrate.

The reasons for such a decline in urban life were manifold: the rôle of invasion and destruction has probably been overemphasized, both in the case of the third century and in the early fifth century. Neither can any link with the entry of Euric's forces be substantiated. The only area which suffered from fifth century attacks, either from barbarians or Bacaudae, appears to have been that round Lleida, and even there the rural areas, at least, recovered. In the more densely urbanized coastal region, at least in those places which survived the third century, earlier structures lasted well into the fifth century. The decline seems to have been gradual, presumably corresponding to such forces as the breakdown of the economic system and the social order, which were being felt throughout the West.

On the other hand, there may have been some connection between the decline of urban life and the strength of late Roman villa-life. In the area of Barcelona there were a number of rural sites occupied, but none of any degree of wealth. The same appears to have been true of Girona, and to a lesser extent Tarragona: in the case of the Maresme, however, villa life flourished into the fifth century and perhaps beyond, and the same is partially true of the Vallès and Penedès, where urban life was also very limited. The evidence from the Ampurias region is less extensive, although one might point to the late (6th. century ?) villa at Tossa²³⁸, and other coastal sites of similar date, but of uncertain significance, at Llafranc²³⁹ and St.Feliu de Guíxols²⁴⁰. Leaving aside the central parts of Catalonia where villa-life hardly made an impression, in the Segre and Cinca valleys the numerous late villas and associated sites stand in contrast to the lack of evidence for most of the towns after the early 5th. century: it is here rather than in any other part of the conventus that we find latifundia (and with them the Bacaudae) so frequently described as typical of late and post Roman conditions.

Urban life was thus much more scantily distributed in the period after the third century: however, within this bareness one can note a certain equilibrium. The nine sees were fairly evenly distributed at a dis-

tance of between seventy and ninety kilometres one from the other (fig. 72), the exceptions being the intrusive Egara, a degree of overlapping between Girona and Ampurias-Roses (perhaps explicable by the division of road and sea communications between them) and the blank in the central southern part of Catalonia, where one might have expected a sea to have emerged at Guissona.

The six towns (Girona, Ampurias-Roses, Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa and Lleida) and the three episcopal centres (Egara, Ausa and Urgellum) might in turn be envisaged in a series of five mutually exclusive regions. To the north was that of Girona and Ampurias-Roses linked by the distinctive trans-Pyrenean cultural contacts. In the central part of the coastal zone stood Barcelona, with its important contacts with the pre-litoral and inland zones. Furthest south was the Tarragona-Tortosa area perhaps already with ties to the south of Spain and ultimately with the east Mediterranean. The fourth region, the central, mountainous area, had little need for urban life, but was most readily in contact with the Barcelona area. Beyond it, to the west, was the culturally very distinct Lleida region, much more similar to the conditions of the Meseta than any other part of the area.

Particularly striking is the urban decline in the region of Barcelona: Baetulo, Iluro, Blanda

and to a lesser extent Egara, and on the fringes of the region Sigarra, all lost much or all of their importance. Barcelona thus became the only town in the regio Laietana: however, in relation to its own region it was away from the centre, and the point that should be stressed is the comparative ease of communications between it and the centres of the other four regions. Although I would not agree with those who have gone so far as to see the roots of Catalonia in this period, when political circumstances distinguished this area from surrounding ones, it was natural that Barcelona should become the centre of these five regions. The importance of these communications, especially with central Catalonia, can perhaps be detected as early as the late third century with the development of the road link via the Congost valley to the Pla de Vic. In the following century, with surrounding towns in decline, it could exhibit a vitality not easily detected elsewhere. Such events were later to influence its position in relation to Tarragona, and heralded its administrative rôle in the Visigothic period and position as the centre of the early medieval county. The reason why it was so chosen was also largely a result of the strength of the defences, although, without the exceptional circumstances of the period between the 8th. and 11th. centuries, it is doubtful whether their importance would ever have been so great. Nevertheless, as Richmond said rather quaintly, and not strictly ac-

curately, fifty years ago: "Colonia Faventia now subtly became medieval Barcelona. Her new and up-to-date walls were the measure of her new found strength. Her port drew to itself the trade of effete Tarraco. And in virtue of these factors she became Diocletian's administrative-centre of Laetania, Athaulf's Gothic capital and the Spanish King's most energetic metropolis"²⁴¹.

CHAPTER IX

FROM AKHILA TO ALMANSUR: BARCELONA 711 - 985

On the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom, Barcelona initially formed part of the domains of Akhila, son of Wittiza, who seems to have reigned in Septimania and the eastern parts of Tarraconensis: coins bearing his name were minted in Tarragona, Girona and especially Narbonne, and those with known find-spots come exclusively from this region. He may have been followed by a dimly recorded successor called Ardo, but by the end of the second decade of the eighth century the area was under direct Arab rule¹. The exact date of the capture of both Barcelona, and the rest of the Catalan coast, has been the subject of some controversy, based on the differing statements of later Arab historians. One line of thought tends to place the conquest in 713/4, while the other prefers a date in 717/8². The details of these movements are virtually unknown, apart from the notice of the resistance of a city with four gates situated by the sea. This has been identified as both Tarragona and Barcelona: although the description may fit Barcelona better, later sources which imply that Tarragona suffered more extensively in this period make such an identification very insecure³.

Nevertheless both this question, and that of the precise chronology of the Arab conquest, are of little importance from the topographical point of

view: for the next two centuries, unfortunately, the sources are largely concerned with conquests and sieges, rebellions and treaties, and the information that can be culled about the nature of everyday human life in the city is minimal.

In the years of Arab rule, it appears in Frankish sources as a centre of some significance, a place where hostages might be sent⁴, or a city whose governor might at times recognize the Carolingian monarch, especially when internecine strife among the Arab rulers caused instability⁵. By comparison with the general treatment of conquered regions and cities by the Arabs, some general comments on life in the city can be made, although nothing that concerns Barcelona in particular. Professor Vernet has recently summarized life in the Moslem interlude in the following words:

" It can be deduced that the inhabitants of Barcelona preserved administrative autonomy, enjoyed liberty of worship, and could even construct new churches on the site of old ones; they paid special taxes, typical of the dimmis⁶, which, in spite of everything, were less than those paid in the Visigothic period. The most serious loss - sentimentally speaking - must have been that of the cathedral, which must have been converted into a mosque"⁷.

Tradition states that the cathedral was ritually cleansed on Easter Sunday, 801, after the Reconquest of the city and that the church of St. Just was the

principal one in the years of Arab rule, just as it may have been in the years of Arian domination⁸.

No archaeological evidence has been produced to demonstrate these assertions, for if the basilica excavated in C/dels Comtes de Barcelona was the cathedral, no evidence of its conversion into a mosque has been brought to light, although it is difficult to foretell what structural alterations this would entail.

Moreover, the evidence from more recent work suggests that the adjoining baptistery continued in use. Thus, although the church of St. Just was almost certainly in existence at this date, whereas the other two intramural ones were probably not, and there may have been a tradition of its replacing the cathedral, the use of the known basilica as a mosque is undemonstrated, and since the Visigothic ecclesiastical complex could have stretched under the site of the existing cathedral, it would be unwise to accept that this basilica was the only religious building in the zone.⁹

Indeed, the archaeological evidence for the eighth century is non-existent, or at least cannot be distinguished, and the finds that may be defined as Arabic are few in number and almost invariably belong to later centuries, when the city was under Christian rule once again. The one exception is a coin of the year 106 of the Hegira (724-25), found in one of the rooms of the supposed palatium in the Plaça de Sant Iu, although its attribution to "el nivel de destrucción de Barcelona por Almanzor"¹⁰

seems unlikely on two grounds. On the one hand such a coin was likely to have been in circulation for a comparatively short time, and almost certainly not the two-and-a-half centuries suggested by this explanation. Secondly, the definitive destruction of this building could have occurred at two points in time- both of which were somewhat later: firstly as part of alterations to an 'old house' mentioned there in 1078¹¹, or, and more probably, at the time of the modifications to the cathedral prior to the commencement of the Gothic one, in the later 13th. century. This might also be confirmed by the presence of decorative stonework of 10th. and 11th. century date in the filling of these chambers and in adjacent drains, material which was presumably derived from the cathedral then undergoing alteration. Providing the context was as the original excavator stated associated with a group of (unburied ?) human skeletons, this must be associated with some 8th. or early 9th. century disaster which presumably predated the second of the visible floor levels, for there seems to be no doubt that the building continued in use until a far later date.¹²

That the region was within the monetary sphere of the Islamic world in the 8th. century and beyond is clearly demonstrated by a little-known hoard from Garraf to the south of the River Llobregat¹³, and another 8th. century coin, of Abd-al-Rahman I

(755-788), from the destruction layer of the Baptistery. This has been used to claim an abandonment of the structure in the early 10th. century, but although such a date is feasible, such a long period of circulation need not be attributed to this coin¹⁴. The remaining coins are all of later date: Hernandez Sanahuja drew attention to 11th. century coins from the area of the Castell Nou gate¹⁵ and a hoard from a house in C/Sant Sever was probably of mid-12th. century date¹⁶.

A similar situation exists in connection with the Islamic pottery from Barcelona. Although no such material has ever been published, there would seem to have been some commerce of fine wares from al-Andalus to the Barcelona area in the second half of the 10th. century and later. A sherd of decorated ware paralleled at Medina Azzahra was found in the pits of C/Sant Sever, along with a fragment of stamped jar of 11th. century type¹⁷. A sherd of 11th. century green-glaze ware came from the springing of the vault between towers 77 and 78 of the defences¹⁸, and other pottery found in the basilica area, the Palau Requesens and in the excavations in Sta. Maria del Mar might be similarly described¹⁹. However, no material dating to the period of Arab occupation is known.

Finally, three pieces of stonework must be

mentioned: the first a 13th. century funerary inscription presumably brought back from the south, perhaps as ballast in a ship,²⁰ and the other two capitals found under the main hall of the Comital Palace in the filling of the 11th. century vaults²¹. The style of one clearly corresponds to a piece imported from Al-Andalus in the 10th. century, and although the other is not so clearly of Islamic origin, other parallels are difficult to trace: this would correspond well with our knowledge of the nature of contacts between the two areas at that date. Other works popularly attributed to the Arabs, who played a rôle in the popular imagination similar to that of the Danes in England, are usually of later date, and the 'Banys Arabs', although built according to prototypes in the south, were of 12th. century origin²².

The period of Arab rule in Barcelona is thus very much of a blank: there must have been a basic continuity of population even if the higher ranks of society might have fled beyond the Pyrenees. Ecclesiastical life also presumably continued, as it did in other cities which remained under Arab rule for a far longer period, although the names of none of the bishops are known with any degree of certainty. The intensity of urban life can only be guessed at, but it is unlikely to have been much higher than that of the preceding or succeeding centuries.

The conquest of Barcelona by forces under Louis the Pious has recently been re-examined by Dr. Salrach²³. Unlike Girona, whose inhabitants seem to have taken matters into their own hands and ceded the city to the Franks, Barcelona was subjected to a siege which lasted the greater part of a year. The governor or wali of the city, Zadum (Sad al-Ruaini), may have previously agreed to hand over the city (797), but failed to do so: in the end, the starving inhabitants did so, to judge by the accounts of the siege. This was possibly on Easter Saturday, April 3rd. 801.

What, of course, enabled the defenders of the city to hold out for so long was the strength of the defences, a fact repeated time and time again by the principal source, Ermold the Black²⁴. In the course of the next two centuries their presence was primordial for the continued life of Barcelona, although not always did they prove impregnable. This period, probably their most active in the rôle for which they were designed, undoubtedly meant repairs and minor alterations to their fabric: the most significant of these was the strengthening of the north-east gate, later known as the Castell Vell. At a later date this formed the central part of the urban estates of the Viscounts of Barcelona, whose principal function would seem to have been the defence and joint administration of the city together with the Bishop: as early as the mid-9th. century

they are recorded as having acted together by a group of Frankish monks passing through the city on their way to hunt relics in Córdoba²⁵. Whether this gate was so fortified at that date, however, must remain unknown, for it only appears with any security after 985, although its name would imply that it had been in existence for some time by then, and its location, at the end of the main route from the north, implies a period when Frankish influence was still noteworthy.

After the failure of the Carolingian Reconquest to advance permanently to the projected Ebro frontier, Barcelona became very much a frontier bastion of the Empire: although it fell to Moorish raids in c.852²⁶, perhaps in 897-8²⁷, and most definitely in 985²⁸, these occupations were only brief, and the defences resisted other such attacks. Nevertheless, this historical context had a profound effect on the city's development over the century and a half following the Reconquest, the very instability of the period and the region arresting any growth which might have been stimulated by its position either as a comital centre or as a staging point on the long journey from France and the Rhineland towards Al-Andalus. It must have been very similar to other frontier towns right across northern Spain, maintaining a tenuous urban life, but which was very dim compared to the glory of the towns of Moslem Spain ²⁸ bis.

Although the year 985 marks a watershed in the history of the city, not only because of the ravaging by Almansur, but also because this led to the final rupture between the Counts and the Frankish throne, in many aspects concerning the plan and topography of the city, one can see a general flow of continuity from the earliest medieval sources into the 11th. century. Changes had, however, occurred since the beginning of the Visigothic period, and this stress on elements of continuity may be at the expense of factors of change, which, through our ignorance and lack of sources, cannot be adequately distinguished. Although one may presume that aspects of the city which were identical in the late Roman period and the 11th. century had gone through no alterations, for ~~these aspects which were different~~ one can only surmise from the shreds of evidence of the centuries in between what was the precise course of these changes, **Nevertheless,** the last documented occurrence of a typical Roman feature, or the first documented appearance of a Medieval one, in fact may have been far from the time of their true demise or birth.

The Counts of Barcelona and the city

With its Reconquest the first of the Counts of Barcelona was named - a certain Bera of 'Gothic' origin²⁹. The vicissitudes of the counts in the

period up to 878 and the subsequent hereditary counts after Guifred the Hairy were the subject of many years' study and research by Abadal, whose opinions remain largely unchallenged, and worthily so, in most aspects of comital history and government³⁰. Although they had other residences within the county, the principal palace was that of Barcelona, first mentioned in 924 (C.2), when it was already on the same site as in the following century, and where it may have existed for some centuries before that date. The vaults supporting the 11th. century palace can be seen to rest on earlier structures of post-Roman date, and although there is no proof that these formed part of the Visigothic period palace, various topographical factors might indicate that this part of the city had a long connection with the office, and perhaps its equivalent during the Arab interlude³¹.

The site of the 11th. century palace is bounded to the north and south by features which are probably datable to the period before the 7th. century. To the north it follows closely a Roman street line, and to the south it stops short of the porticoed area under the present Plaça del Rei³². Since the latter went out of use in the later 6th. century when it was replaced by the cemetery, one must presume that by that date a structure using the same property boundary as that of the south side of the existing palace had been constructed: moreover this did not

correspond to a Roman street frontage. Thus substantial changes had occurred within the topography of the Roman city, which were to be preserved until the 11th, century and later. Given the archaeological context of this zone and the nature of neighbouring structures, it seems quite possible that a palace stood on this site in the 6th. century, and this continued to be one of the factors which attracted the nucleation of settlement to this corner of the city over the following centuries, leaving the centre of the Roman city partly abandoned.

In addition^{to}_λ the palace, the Counts still controlled directly substantial parts of the defences in the mid-10th. century, whereas fifty years later this control had been largely awarded to private individuals, and the wall-towers converted into adjuncts of their residences: a document of 951 (C.3) refers to the towers held by Count Mir as well as mentioning other property held by his late brother, Count Sunyer, within the defences, and two later documents refer to the alienation of lengths of the defences (C.43 and 46). During the same period extra-mural properties were ceded by the Counts, particularly to monastic houses, for it is otherwise difficult to imagine how the various monasteries came to hold such extensive tracts of suburban property. In addition their rights over the Parish of St. Just passed to the cathedral in 965 (C.4), although they

maintained others over Sta. Maria del Mar and St. Pere de les Puelles ³³, and perhaps also St. Miquel and St. Pau del Camp ³⁴, into the 11th. century. This general decline of the comital rôle in the city was paralleled by similar reductions in the extent of their rights throughout the County, mainly to the benefit of the Vicars of the frontier districts ³⁴ bis.

The Church

At the time of the Reconquest, the Cathedral was either the structure excavated in the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona, or a nearby structure which remains unlocated, and ^{was} dedicated, as in the Visigothic period, to the Holy Cross. Immediately to the west of the C/dels Comtes basilica stood the baptistery, which, as has already been noted, is supposed to have remained in use until the early 10th. century. Beyond the names of some mid-9th. century bishops, little can be said of ecclesiastical life until the 860's, when the Frank Frodoinus was beginning a long and eventful occupation of the see of Barcelona.

It seems likely that Frodoinus was a royal nominee destined to oversee the re-establishment of imperial power and to achieve a closer union with the Empire especially via the diffusion of the Roman liturgy and the eradication of the particularist Visigothic one ³⁵. As early as c.858 part of the Bishop's patrimony,

possibly located around the church of Sta.Eulalia del Camp, had been usurped by a certain Recosind, singled out as being a 'Goth'³⁵ bis. In the 870's there were renewed challenges against both his property and his authority, not only in Terrassa, which might be interpreted as an attempt to revive the Visigothic see, but also in the city itself, where a priest from Córdoba, named Tyrsus, had celebrated masses and baptisms in ecclesia intra muros ipsius civitate without episcopal permission³⁶.

In addition, Frodoinus had to seek confirmation of the domus of an earlier bishop, Adaulphus, either the same as, or which had perhaps replaced, the original episcopal residence³⁷. Other steps in the strengthening of his position included the establishment of a community of canons in the cathedral, the acquisition of a third of market and port tolls, and minting rights³⁸, but, more than anything else, the finding of the body of Sta.Eulalia³⁹.

The account of this event is long and involved, but can be summarized as follows: Frodoinus with Archbishop Sigebert of Narbonne, the Metropolitan in the absence of an archbishop in Tarragona, went to a church outside the walls of Barcelona, identified as the future Sta.Maria del Mar, where, after several days unsuccessful digging, they found a burial which they identified as that of Sta.Eulalia and which was

in the late Roman sarcophagus later used as a font in the church and now in the Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona. The remains they found were transferred to the Cathedral⁴⁰. This last act is confirmed both by documentary sources, which within a few years refer to the body of Sta. Eulalia 'which rests within the Cathedral of the Holy Cross'⁴¹, and by an inscription, which, if not contemporary, belongs to the products of stonecutters active in Barcelona in the later 9th. and 10th. centuries⁴².

Leaving aside the problem of the *genuine nature of* the Barcelona Sta. Eulalia, and the possibility of her being a double of the Mérida saint of the same name, and also that of the identification of the author of the 'Hymn to Sta. Eulalia' as the seventh century bishop of Barcelona, Quiricus⁴³, it is apparent in the mid-9th. century there was a cult of a Sta. Eulalia in Barcelona. This is mentioned in c. 858⁴⁴ and can be traced back to the time of Bede, and consequently the late Visigothic period⁴⁵: however, it seems surprising that firstly they had to look for some time before finding her remains, and secondly these were not in a church dedicated to Sta. Eulalia, but to Sta. Maria. Nevertheless, the exercise was a successful propaganda operation on behalf of the Frankish church: the value of these relics was sufficient to overcome future difficulties; they may have defended the incumbent just as those of the Mérida saint had done in that city in the

Visigothic period, and henceforth Frodoinus' problems would appear to have come to an end⁴⁶.

The exact date of all these events is unrecorded, although 877 seems the most likely. To the same year belongs a letter, supposedly written by Charles the Bald, to the inhabitants of Barcelona, thanking them for the fidelity with which they had served him according to the Jew, Judas, who some would see as an emissary of the nascent urban community to the Emperor⁴⁷. Doubts have been raised over the validity of this letter, but more particularly over the postscript: Et sciatis vos quia per fidelem meum Judacot dirigo ad Frodoynum episcopum libras X de argento ad suam ecclesie reparare, which could easily have been a later addition. Intriguing as it may be to point to other evidence for the reconstruction of the cathedral in this period, the doubts about its authenticity must recommend extreme caution⁴⁸.

After this brief period of illumination, darkness falls on the cathedral complex until the middle of the tenth century, apart from the text of the Council that was held there in 906⁴⁹. Towards 950 more changes can be detected in the arrangements of the cathedral. The Baptistery had definitely gone out of use by this date: not only does the evidence of the 8th. century coin point to this, but a burial cut into its remains probably belongs to this period

to judge by comparative evidence⁵⁰. On the other hand, the church of St.Miquel was the recipient of a large number of donations in the period 951 to 985, to the extent that it overshadowed the cathedral in *income*⁵¹. On other occasions it is named in association with Sta.Creu and Sta Eulalia⁵², reminiscent of triple dedications in the tenth century elsewhere, especially at Vic and Egara⁵³. The evidence that the church of St.Miquel was the baptistery at Egara, and that in Barcelona the Early Christian one had gone out of use, may suggest that the new church was used in a similar manner, and certainly its location in part of the Roman baths complex was eminently suitable for such a function⁵⁴. However, other evidence also points to it having been the centre of the canons⁵⁵, whose community had fallen into decay again, but had been revived by the date of a comital donation propter canonicam construendam in 944⁵⁶.

Meanwhile, it is possible that the early Christian basilica had fallen out of use - perhaps at the same time as the Baptistery - and was being rebuilt or a new one constructed during the second half of the 10th. century on the same site as the later Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals⁵⁷: St.Miquel, a dedication very characteristic of this period, may thus have served as a replacement cathedral during this period⁵⁸. Nevertheless, other functions of the cathedral community continued to be clustered in the northern

corner of the city: the episcopal residence was probably between the Comital palace and the early Christian basilica in 924⁵⁹, and nearby one would expect to find the charitable and cultural institutions which were a vital part of the church's rôle in maintaining urban life. Although no hospital is recorded until the end of the 10th. century⁶⁰, there had presumably been similar foundations for some time, and it is clear that some form of school must have been attached to the cathedral, and a part of the range of miscellaneous structures located to the south of the basilica has been interpreted as such⁶¹. Proof of its existence comes in the presence of judges well versed in Visigothic law, and men such as Archdeacon Llobet, who ranked among the correspondents of Gerbert of Aurillac⁶².

The fact that the letter of Charles the Bald, whether genuine or not, was kept in the Cathedral Archives is an indication of the importance of the Cathedral in the 9th. and 10th. centuries for the inhabitants of the city: as in so many other cities the cathedral complex thus became a magnet for urban life. These inhabitants enjoyed rarely paralleled privileges dating back to the Reconquest, and known from the confirmation of 844⁶³. These included the retention of the Visigothic Law-codes, which suggests that, although some newcomers may have arrived with the Carolingians, the majority were of families that had fled in the early 8th. century,

or more probably in most cases, of families that had resided in the city since time immemorial⁶⁴. This is also indicated by a document from soon after the 985 destruction which refers to the properties of some urban families which had been in their hands for two hundred years or more⁶⁵.

The rest of the intra-mural area (fig.73).

Apart from these two poles of attraction - the cathedral and comital complexes - there were other features within the city worthy of note. Two other churches existed, and although one - St. Jaume - is not recorded until after 985 and may not have come into existence until that century,⁶⁶ the other - St. Just - is mentioned in 965, but probably had a continuous life from the 6th. century onwards⁶⁷. By the ninth and tenth centuries, the urban churchyard, which had been an exception in the 6th. and perhaps even the 7th. centuries, was very much the norm, and with the possible exception of some of the burials from Sta. Maria del Mar, few suburban burials are recorded. A burial of this date near the cathedral has already been noted. In addition one can point to a fragment of a reused inscription of 10th. century date in the Gothic cloisters⁶⁸, and as will be seen in following chapters, there were several areas of burials around the Romanesque cathedral. Another cemetery existed around the chapel of Sant Celoni next to St. Just, attested by an in-

description of 899/900⁶⁹. Similarly, part of another cemetery has been excavated around the church of St.Miquel: this contained graves similar to that from the Baptistery, and is also recorded by a letter of 993 which refers to the events of 985. It is possible that this cemetery went out of use after the late 10th. century or at least that its focus shifted from the excavated zone towards the north and the church of St.Jaume located in the centre of the forum area.⁷⁰

As for the rest of the area within the walls, that not occupied by churches and other structures of note, the sources are remarkably slender in comparison with the period after 985, the survival of the eight known property conveyance documents being somewhat fortuitous. In general they have the lack of precision in their phraseology also seen in the documents of the first few decades after 985, for, although they all refer to properties within the walls, they have no other qualifying phrases which enable one to locate them any more precisely, except for those features which emerge as bordering upon them.

The one that can be located most precisely is of 924 and has already been mentioned (C.2). In this Salla gives the Cathedral a house and yard. A note on the reverse in a later hand describes the

property as being next to the Episcopal Palace opposite the Comital Palace, and the latter building is clearly cited as lying to the east and with an access road from the south, whereas an episcopal curtis lay to the west, and another property which had been given to the bishop by a certain Ervig to the north. Depending on the interpretation of north in this document⁷⁰ *bis*, this would indicate a location either in the region of the modern Plaça de Sant Iu, or, perhaps more probably, one slightly to the north, in the area later occupied by the Episcopal Palace, and from the 13th. century onwards the garden of the Royal Palace.

Furthermore, this document is unusual in indicating the lengths of the four sides of the property: these are given in cubits, a unit for which later sources suggest a value of 46.6 cms.⁷¹. Leaving aside the fractions which cannot be interpreted, this property was almost square with sides of approximately eight metres, and thus of no great extent for the construction of a house and a yard. One can only presume that during the later 9th. and early 10th. centuries the bishop was consolidating in his hands a number of smaller properties, which may have originally been ecclesiastical property, and at a slightly later date established a more substantial residence in this part of the city.

Most of the remaining documents refer to properties which cannot be located with any degree of certainty, although it is probable that the majority, because they are in one way or another related to the Cathedral, were in the same quarter of the city. The earliest, of 919, is a donation to the Cathedral by Galindo Gallicense, possibly an immigrant from Frankish lands, of some houses (C.1). A Galindo also appears in a document of 951 which concerns the sale by a Vicar to his son of property at the junction of two streets, one of which passed through the city - via qui pergid per ipsa civitate - and the other led to Count Mir's towers (C.3). The same towers are mentioned in the distribution of the late Mir's property in 965, for half the casales in front of them passed to the cathedral (C.4). Another similar property was given to the cathedral in 968 (C.5), although other ecclesiastical institutions also had possessions at this date, particularly the major monasteries of St.Cugat del Vallès (C.8) and Sta. Maria de Ripoll⁷².

The one exception to this imprecision is an exchange of property between Archdeacon Llobet and the Bishop of casales either side of the Regomir or south gate of the city, and property outside this gate, in the year 975, for other similar property near the cathedral (C.7, S.4). The connection between the Archdeacon and the city gates at this date is interesting, for, as will be demonstrated below, the office

was later connected with the diametrically opposed gate of the city, that in the modern Plaça Nova⁷³. Apart from an unlocatable document of 954 which involved the sale of part of a house and yard for 70 sols.⁷⁴, the one remaining original parchment is also of some interest for it is the first to mention Jewish owned property within the defences (C.6), although other earlier sources imply this community, unlike those of the other Catalan towns, had not suffered dispersal to rural settlements, and there had been a Hebrew community in the city since late Antiquity, and at this date it was probably of some size, for it suffered heavily in 985⁷⁵.

What of the methods of land utilisation within the defences in the tenth century? Three main classes of property can be detected: firstly the houses (domus or casa) which were often the properties undergoing sale or exchange: secondly the yards (curtis or curtilium) which were usually to be found alongside the houses: thirdly undeveloped plots of land (casalis and perhaps also in the 10th. century solarium)⁷⁶, which seem to have been as numerous as the constructed plots. Compared with the decades after 985 some differences are noticeable, particularly the rise then of the number of casales, and the abundance of other types of open land within the walls, in the form of fields, vineyards and especially orchards and vegetable gardens. It is surprising that none of these appear in the documentation up

to 985. Although the city clearly suffered in 985, it seems to have recovered swiftly, and there was general continuity in the location of both public buildings and private property. As will be seen below, much of the southern part of the city and even some parts close to the cathedral were taken up by horticultural estates in the first half of the 11th. century. If there had been no orchards and gardens in the tenth century city, the density of population must have been far higher than hitherto supposed, and similar to the situation reached in the later 11th. century, and the losses of 985 far greater than imagined. Nevertheless, I believe that this judgment cannot be made on the basis of a handful of documents of uncertain location. If the majority belonged to the core of the city clustered around the cathedral, and logically that is where ecclesiastical properties were most frequent, it is still feasible that much of the southern part of the city was taken up by horticultural plots with isolated houses: however, for the moment we lack the necessary sources.

Of the inhabitants of these houses, comparatively little can be said. As in many other periods of the past our sources tell us of the upper echelons of society and leave us to wonder about the bulk of the population. A larger amount of Comital property than at a later date has already been noticed. Similarly his chief officers, the Viscounts of Barcelona

and elsewhere, and the Vicars who defended frontier districts, seem to have been significant figures, as were bishops and archdeacons, who frequently belonged to families of the same rank⁷⁷. The judges who played such an important part in the re-establishment of Barcelona after 985 can also be considered as part of this old aristocracy. One imagines that there must have been a number of artisans, although they escape our attention until the early 11th. century. There were, however, a number of people who had made the journey south to Al-Andalus and particularly Córdoba, men such as Ramio who died in 985⁷⁸, or those survivors who bore the name Mauro⁷⁹. From further afield came a few other elements of the urban population: immigrants from Frankish lands such as Galindo mentioned above, or a group who bore the name Greco in the final years of the century, but who had certainly been present prior to 985, and may have been refugees from Byzantine Italy or natives who had some connection with the East⁸⁰.

Both Abadal and Bonnassie have considered this opening of Catalonia to the outside world in the decades after 950, which flowed in two directions, on the one hand to Córdoba, on the other to Rome⁸¹. The nature of these exchanges may not always have been strictly commercial, but the sources make it clear that the area was losing its isolation. It seems possible that the 'port' to the south of Montjuïc came

into use at this time as the heir to the beaching of ships along the shore between the mountain and the mouth of the Llobregat: a villanova is recorded in this part of the territorium in 938, and many of the same people who had urban estates also had substantial holdings along the shoreline there⁸². John of Gorz arrived at the port of Barcelona in 954 on his way to Córdoba⁸³, although a century beforehand the monks on their way to the same city had made the journey overland⁸⁴. That coastal trading, and vessels plying from the first Moslem port at Tortosa were fairly frequent is probably indicated by the award of raficias of that city to the Cathedral in 944⁸⁵. At this date it seems that Barcelona was little more than a staging post on the journey from Marseilles and Narbonne and points further north to Arab lands, although as the century progressed evidence for local involvement increases. Apart from the inhabitants who may have made the journey, one must also mention the viscounts and other emissaries sent by the Count of Barcelona to the Caliphs⁸⁶.

In the other direction came pottery, fine cloths, particularly silk, scientific works and gold coinage. What went back in exchange remains a mystery, although it is always assumed to have been slaves, but this is not entirely justifiable⁸⁷. However, this system of exchange in the later tenth century

was still at a relatively low level of intensity: although it contributed valuables for the coffers of the nobility, it provided comparatively little stimulus for the growth of the city, and much of the subsequent development was provoked by an agricultural rather than a commercial revolution⁸⁸.

The Suburban area

Another aspect of this economic awakening around the middle of the tenth century was the re-appearance of suburban settlement. After the abandonment of most of the extra-mural burial areas, perhaps in the later 6th. and 7th. centuries, there is little evidence for activity outside the walls. A number of churches clearly existed by 985 - Sta. Maria del Mar, Sta. Eulalia del Camp, Sta. Maria del Pi and St. Sadurní, as well as one definite and one possible monastery - St. Pere de les Puelles and St. Pau del Camp. Their origins are virtually unknown, although epigraphical evidence from St. Pere-St. Sadurní and St. Pau may suggest that they still had some funerary rôle⁸⁹, although only in the case of Sta. Maria del Mar is there a clear association with a late Roman cemetery (fig. 97).

The consecration of the monastery of St. Pere in 945 probably led to the emergence of a small settlement around it, and it is possible that a similar

hamlet had always existed at the most distant of these churches - St.Pau del Camp⁹⁰. On the other hand, the remaining churches do not appear to have influenced extra-mural settlement in this initial phase, although they were to do so at a later date. Nevertheless, the word burgo is found in use in 966 and really marks the beginning of the medieval suburbs. All the early references to this suburb are related to the area around the east gate and the market at its foot, and it is apparent that this was a prime factor in suburban growth. Although its origins were long before 985 and are lost in the mists of time⁹¹, from these humble origins the suburbs were to expand to twelve times the size of the original walled core during the course of the following three centuries.

Late Tenth Century Barcelona: a Topographical Sketch

The sources for these centuries from the early eighth century onwards are thus rather slender, but at least sufficient, when used in combination with later evidence, for some vision of the overall pattern of urban settlement to be suggested. The general view of this late tenth century community, then, is of a fairly small number of inhabitants, probably fewer than 1500⁹², including a number of nobles, and twenty or thirty Jewish families⁹³. The inhabitants enjoyed privileges unknown to those of the county beyond the city's territorium, and

preserved something of the Visigothic background by their use of the law-codes and legal system.

The vast majority of these inhabitants lived within the defences, and later information would suggest that the greater part of the population was resident in the northern half of the city. In all likelihood, the Jews already occupied the site of their later quarter or Call, and the Cathedral and its dependencies were the attraction for the Christians. Within the same quarter, the Comital Palace and the vicecomital Castell Vell provided other foci that had sustained the decay of the Roman city-centre and the emergence of the medieval one.

The area of the Roman forum and the public buildings around it had been taken over by the three intra-mural churches and their cemeteries, intermingled with a few houses, although one must suspect that the remains of Antiquity were all around to be seen, and even occasionally inhabited or otherwise reused. This change, which had probably begun in the sixth century, must have been largely accomplished by the beginning of the tenth. The street pattern had been largely preserved in the case of the cardo maximus linking the north-east and south-west gates, and of most other streets in the northern part of the city, although other alterations were to be wrought with the construction of the Romanesque cathedral in the mid-11th. century, which largely

fossilized the pattern. Surprisingly, the decumanus maximus had been cut across by a large monastic orchard to the north of the forum area, and its course was not to be restored until the later 13th. century. Elsewhere, the ruins of Antiquity must have motivated other minor changes. The blocking of the decumanus was probably the result of the absence of a need to cross the city from north-west to south-east, and attention was thus diverted in the direction of the Cathedral.⁹⁴ In the southern half of the city later evidence would suggest that settlement was sparse, with a few scattered houses among the vines and the fruit-trees. The Roman street pattern had weathered the passage of time less well, and was gradually replaced by an organic one of streets leading towards the south gate, around which it seems possible that a small nucleus independent of the rest of the city existed in 985⁹⁵. The number of cardines in the southern part of the city decreased substantially, except near this gate, again implying the existence of larger blocks of property more suitable for cultivation.

Outside the defences there had probably always been a few houses, or at least some agricultural buildings, particularly near the churches, along the main roads and on slightly higher spots in the rather damp suburbium. Most of this area was taken up by fields and orchards, although even in the 10th.

century there still existed sufficiently extensive tracts, probably the remnants of the late Roman fisc and Visigothic Royal property, for the Count to make substantial donations to local monasteries. About the middle of the 10th. century the burgo had emerged near the north-east gate and the market, although the density of settlement in this burgo was probably not much higher than that ~~in~~ the southern part of the walled area, and pressure on space within the walls is unlikely to have been the fundamental reason for its appearance⁹⁶. The area towards the sea was probably still very marshy and liable to flooding and therefore totally uncondusive to both settlement and intensive cropping⁹⁷. The port to the south of Montjuïc may have come into operation during the same period and it was probably to there that most vessels that plied a coastal route from the mouth of the Rhône to the mouth of the Ebro came. However, the phenomenon which caused the silting and abandonment of this port was perhaps the same as that which made the area around the southern part of the city drier and more suitable for the expansion of the suburbs.⁹⁸

In the rest of the territorium there existed a number of settlements, some perhaps the heirs of late Roman villa estates, others perhaps created in a movement towards upland zones that had occurred in previous centuries. Nevertheless, new agricultural

techniques, irrigation and more intensive use of the land laid the foundations for many a fortune, which in turn would stimulate the economic life of the city proper, and start the process of the great expansion of the following centuries.

The events of 985

The activities of Almansur between 981 and his death in 1002 are well-known. After many years of comparative peace on the frontier and close if not fraternal contacts between Moslem and Christian rulers, the Holy War had become virtually forgotten under the later Ummayyads, but Almansur drastically changed this policy and made it his main activity. As Professor Lomax has commented, "Year after year he directed successful campaigns against the Christian states, bringing back enormous booty and innumerable captives to enrich Córdoba and to demonstrate to its citizens the grandeur of Islam and the genius of their ruler"⁹⁹.

In 985 it was the turn of Barcelona to suffer this humiliation. Having set out from Córdoba in May, his forces arrived at Barcelona on July 1st. Accompanying his infantry was a naval force which proceeded to blockade the city, and which had perhaps also brought some of the siege machines necessary for the rapid capture of the walled city. News

of his advance had spread before him. Count Borrelli may have attempted to hinder it, and, having failed, left the defence of the city in the hands of the Viscount and set off to seek reinforcements¹⁰⁰. An expedition was organized from Girona and perhaps also Vic¹⁰¹: the inhabitants of the villages of the Barcelona plain, the Llobregat valley and nearby parts of the Vallès took refuge in the city¹⁰². All to no avail, for the city fell to its besiegers on July 6th.

The phrases employed in documents belonging to the ten or fifteen years after this attack are the primary source for what happened next. One of 987 is perhaps the most descriptive:

Annus Domini DCCCCLXXXVI. imperante Leuthario
XXXI anno, die Kalenda iulii infram (?) a Sar-
racenis obsessa est Barchinona et permittente
Deo impediante peccata nostra, capta est ab eis
in eadem mense II nonas, et ibidem mortum vel
capti sunt omnis habitantibus de eadem civitate
vel de eidem comitatu que ibidem introierant per
iussione de dompno Borrello comite ad custodiendum
vel ad defendendum eam, et ibidem periit omne
substanciam eorum quicquid ibidem congregaverant
tam libris quam preceptis regalis vel cunctis
illorum scripturis omnibusque modis confectis
per quos retinebant cunctis eorum alodibus vel
possessionibus inter eos et precedentes eorum
parientibus CC anni et amplius¹⁰³.

The two principal points in the prologue of this charter - the death or capture of the inhabitants and the loss of the documents - are repeated in numerous other such documents. Not only do several people refer to having inherited property from relatives killed during the attack¹⁰⁴, but whole families perished¹⁰⁵, or people were taken into captivity and no other survivor of the family was alive to pay a ransom¹⁰⁶. Among the families that disappeared without trace or heirs were some Jewish ones, whose property subsequently passed to the Count¹⁰⁷.

Others were taken off into captivity in Córdoba including prominent inhabitants such as the Viscount, Udalard, the Archdeacon, Arnulf, Querus custos palatii, the judge Auruz the Greek, three sons of the Viscount of Girona, as well as many lesser folk¹⁰⁸. The work of redemption probably began shortly afterwards with individual bequests for the ransom of particular people. On some occasions an eminent inhabitant seems to have been allowed to return under the condition that substitute hostages were found: the judge Auruz is found collecting cash to ransom those that had replaced him¹⁰⁹, and this may have developed into a more extensive operation. Certainly a tradition of pious bequests was established and they can be found intermittently in the next two and-a-half centuries, prior to the foundation of the Mercedarian Order¹¹⁰. However, the redemption of the 985 captives

was at best a gradual process, and some were still returning to their homes a decade after the attack¹¹¹. Those who had escaped were in a position to profit from the situation, either legally by buying the property of others at bargain prices and forcing a hard sale in difficult times¹¹², or illegally by occupying the property of those who had disappeared and might be presumed dead or lost for ever¹¹³.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the destruction caused by this attack: some, but by no means all, of the sources speak of a magno incendio¹¹⁴, although the wholesale loss of documents which so concerned the survivors presumably also indicates some conflagration. Structures outside the walls obviously suffered: if there had been a monastic community at St.Pau del Camp, it disappeared: other documents speak of the restoration of St.Pere, in 989¹¹⁵, the re-roofing of the adjoining chapel of St.Sadurni in 992¹¹⁶, the necessity for a declaration of the extent of the convent's possessions in 991¹¹⁷, and rebuilding was still going on there in 1009¹¹⁸. An abundance of casales, or properties fit to be built on, and in some cases which had previously included houses, is noticeable in succeeding years, both in the suburbs and within the walls¹¹⁹. The part of the defended area which seems to have suffered most was that nearest the sea, around the Regomir gate: not only were casales abundant, but a document of 1032 which refers to a length of defences in need

of reconstruction may also hark back to these years (C.51).

Somewhat surprisingly there are few other references to buildings in a state of destruction, and most of the churches were serviceable within a few years¹²⁰. Considering the weak state of the population in these years, racked by the loss of supplies and food, and burdened with the need to find money to rescue their kin, it is difficult to see how they found the resources to restore the churches in a comparatively short time, especially when foundations such as St.Pere de les Puelles took a quarter of a century to return to normal. One may legitimately wonder if the destruction and burning was rather more selective and partial than the sources would suggest. Certainly it is not possible to point to any church or major structure which changed site or even its structure as a result of these events. Although many of the advances of the previous three or four decades may have been lost, the city did not take as long to recover from this set-back.

In spite of the concern of the Count, who was seeking help from the unstable Frankish throne,¹²¹ the attack was not repeated, and Almansur turned his attention in other directions. The next recorded incursions of 1001-3, although passing through the

Penedès, left Barcelona untouched, and were mainly directed against the Manresa area¹²². In the meantime, the losses were being made good, and perhaps even benefits were being reaped from the events of 985, through the intensification of the innovations that had appeared in the tenth century, and ^{the} increased contacts with Córdoba as a result of captivity and redemption. Twenty-five years after Almansur's attack, the city must have largely regained the position of 985 in terms of the area inhabited, and was on the eve of a brief phase of rapid growth, as well as being about to launch an attack on Córdoba itself¹²³.

CHAPTER X

THE INTRA-MURAL PUBLIC STRUCTURES, 985 - 1200

The two centuries from 985 to the closing years of the 12th. century saw an immense change in the appearance of Barcelona, from a cluster of houses around the Cathedral and the Comital residence, hemmed in from the outside world by its enclosing defences, and with other small nuclei of settlement within these walls, and the open spaces between them occupied by agricultural land, it changed to one of the most important cities of the western Mediterranean, on the threshold of its apogee of the 13th. and early 14th. centuries. The following chapters, the core of this thesis, aim to examine exactly how and when, where and why, these alterations occurred.

Before embarking on the analysis of the various zones of the intra-mural area, it is necessary to consider the major public buildings which stood within the defences. These are important not only because they reflect the urban history of the city in their structure and development, but also ^{because} they provide an invaluable series of fixed points in the topography of the city, which enable us to locate private properties with a far greater degree of accuracy than would be otherwise possible (figs. 73-74).

The Defences

Not only did the city walls survive from the late Roman period until the early Middle Ages without undergoing any major alteration, ^{but} their course can also be clearly established today, and thus properties situated inside the defences can be clearly separated from those in the suburbs. They were also invaluable to the inhabitants of the early medieval city, and although the case arguing that they were the reason for the survival of the city has probably been overstated, and this must be attributed to a variety of reasons, they obviously contributed to the maintenance of urban traditions in those troubled and unstable times¹.

Apart from the lyrical praises of Ermold the Black concerning the solidity of Barcelona's walls, it is not until the mid-tenth century that there are any details on the state of the defences. The comital association with the walls, inherited from the Visigothic crown and the late Roman state, was far closer in the second half of the tenth century than later. Three documents (C.3, C.4, and S.18) mention the Comital ownership of lengths of the walls and towers, and although the last of these may have only been an oblique reference to what was more generally described as the Comital Palace, the other two were probably not. The contrast they provide

with the state of the defences in later decades is interesting, for there are no references to houses located on the defences, and as a whole it would seem they were still substantially free of obscuring structures, and perhaps the late Roman topography with a street following the line of the defences on the inside was still partially in existence².

By the end of the 10th. century, however, the first seeds of change had been sown, for in 975, in an exchange concerning properties on either side of the Regomir gate (C.7, S.4), it is clear that, even if these properties were not built-up, this inter-vallum street no longer existed in this part of the city. By the time the early 11th. century is reached, the pattern of Antiquity had been swept away and houses were constructed against and on top of the walls, thus inevitably impeding their defensive function. The precise chronology of this change is little known. A fifteenth/century history of Barcelona tells how Wifred the Hairy divided the defences among his followers making each of them responsible for a particular stretch. The details are purely legendary, and some of the individuals involved date from the 12th. century rather than the late 9th. century, but there may be an element of truth in that the defences were public domain, and thus controlled by the Counts, who, as has been noted above held some portions, and who are found alienating others to private individuals

by the first few decades of the 11th. century (C.43 and 46)³. It would seem likely that this process had begun some time before, probably before the destruction of 985, and it may be that in its aftermath it became even more common³ bis.

Certainly, from the very beginning of the 11th. century no great concern was manifested about the presence of private dwellings on the defences, and such houses, because of the solid support of the walls, and the visual superiority over their neighbours, both inside and outside the defences, given by the possession of wall-towers, were increasingly sought. These properties generally included at least one tower and an adjoining length of curtain wall, although those containing double the number are not rare, and there are at least two cases of three towers being incorporated into a single property (C.195 and 218). From the descriptions of the houses and the prices paid in their purchase, it is apparent that these were the most important private residences in the city, and rarely was a space on the inside of the curtain wall left undeveloped. In some areas, particularly along the south side, it was customary for the property at the foot of the defences to belong to the adjacent intra-mural owner, and for most of the period under consideration, these plots remained undeveloped, normally consisting of gardens and orchards (C.46,84,107). To the east and south-east

the conditions of the terrain made it more convenient to place a street following the walls on the outside, the forerunner of the medieval C/Basea and the modern C/del Subteniente Navarro (C.44) , whereas to the north the properties at the foot of the walls were generally in other hands.(C.57,61-65).

Not only were these properties of some width, but frequently of some considerable depth, as is immediately visible from a glance at the present-day plan of the city, especially in areas such as C/Lladó. This is particularly the result of the changes in the street lines determined by the presence of these houses. In areas where the defences were parallel to the Roman street-plan, the major change was a movement of the street some 15 or 20 metres back from its original position, giving rise to the modern C/de Santa Lucia, C/del Veguer, C/de San Simplici, C/del Pou Dols and C/del Arc de St.Ramon del Call. It is not clear whether this intervallum street had ever existed at the oblique angles of the walls, and in any case, the early medieval pattern was broken here, and the street 15 or 20 metres back from the wall was abandoned for the next street of the Roman pattern, from which often extended entrance alleys and small squares in order to give access to the properties built against the walls (compare figs 60 and 73).

Who were the owners of such properties ? Apart from the Comital interests, which were in decline by the 11th. century, the Viscounts had property near the Bishop's Gate (C.130) and the Castell Vell, as did the first Vicar of Barcelona (C.181). Other noble lineages held similar estates, the Castellvells (C.218), the Bellocs (C.188,244) and the Queralt (C.30,218). The Church was not without representation: the Archdeacon of Barcelona originally held property adjoining both the north (C.61-65) and south (C.7) gates, although only the former survived the passage of time. Various of the constituent parts of the Cathedral complex were also on the line of the defences - the Canonical dormitory (C.175), the Hospital, (S.190) and the Episcopal Palace (C.2). Other ecclesiastical bodies also had houses on the walls, notably the canons of Vic Cathedral (C.104, 124) and the Templars (C.219). The other owners were generally men of wealth, although it is rarely possible to determine how they came by their riches: in the earlier years of the 11th. century men such as Bernat Gelmir appear (C.84), and later in the same century the 'proto-entrepreneur' Ricart Guillem (C.195). Wealthy artisans, such as Martin Petit in the 12th. century, could also be included in this category (C.227). The main limit seems to have been one of cash-in-hand rather than any particular social status. Certainly in the 12th. century when the demand for such prestige residences could not be satisfied, refinements and imitations in houses located elsewhere were the response.

What of alterations to the defences ? On only one occasion do we hear of repairs and rebuilding of a damaged part of the defences, in 1032, in a document referring to the projecting castellum next to the Regomir Gate (C.51), Although later in the same century there is a mention of a damaged tower near the Castell Nou - ipsa turre que est fracta(G.126) - which may indicate that this length of the walls was already showing the structural weaknesses which were finally to lead to its collapse. Generally, however, the walls had survived the passage of the centuries remarkably well. The other alterations that can be detected in the walls as opposed to the gates were purely embellishments and improvements to the houses that they supported. The results of such work can still be seen today: the new windows in towers 3, 6 and 75 replacing the late Roman ones can be dated to this period and there are others of the 12th. and 13th. centuries (fig.76a). They demonstrate the importance of the tower, not as a military defence, but more as a part of the dwelling, especially to provide small private chambers adjoining the main room or solarium of the house (fig.111). In addition the curtain wall was occasionally increased in height between two towers, and windows cut into it, demonstrating the existence of structures at this level within the walls. The best example is the length between towers 6 and 7, which was occupied by the Cathedral Hospital with the Canonical Dormitory

above (fig.76b), for the double arched windows can hardly be any later than c.1100. Another example is that in the Palau Requesens, between towers 23 and 24, although this probably belongs to the 13th. century rather than earlier⁴.

Although it seems clear that no streets were cut across the line of these defences, apart from the four original gates, until the middle of the 13th. century,⁵ another device to expand the intramural houses came into use in the late 11th. century, which must have also weakened their military efficacy. This was the construction of vaults between two towers, a characteristic feature of Barcelona where the towers are very close set. The prime example was that built by an ambitious canon in c.1078 between towers 77 and 78, for which he obtained permission from the Bishop and his fellow canons (C.137). Such a vault provided a solid base about six metres wide and fifteen metres long upon which an expansion could be made⁶. This example was probably not the first to be built for in 1077 there are references to houses beneath the vaults of the Comital Palace (S.172), which probably indicates similar structures between towers 12, 13 and 14: this reference is repeated in the following century (S.312 and 422). A similar document to that of 1078 dates from 1113 and refers to the length between towers 17 and 18 (S.267). That the practice continued into the 13th.

century is clear from the more pointed vaults from the C/Basea and those under the early 14th. century Royal Chapel of Sta. Agata, although it is noticeable that in the latter case there exists at least one earlier phase of vaulting (fig.75)⁷.

The space under these vaults could be put to various uses: generally structures of a less substantial nature were to be found, like that used by Guillem the Cooper under the Episcopal Palace in the late 12th. century (S.614), and they could also be used for storage or other industrial activities not requiring a great amount of space. On other occasions dung-hills are found at the foot of the defences, and one might wonder if they were the accumulation of material from intra-mural privies (S.312,327,354,477).

In conclusion, the military value of the defences must be discussed. The repairs carried out in the 1030's must indicate that they were still considered to be of use, and the fact that the properties at the foot of the walls remained without buildings until the 12th. century, whereas others close by were intensely developed, would suggest that a conscious policy of maintaining a strip of land free of structures was being enforced⁸. The first changes can be seen with the construction of the vaults, and then gradually, from the early 12th. century onwards, houses were to be found in the plots against the walls, at first

only in the northern part of the city, but later in the southern half too. Thus by the second half of the 12th. century it is likely that their military value was in decline, it being somewhat difficult to defend walls, the access to which was complicated by internal residences and which had adjacent external structures, which could provide shelter for the attacker. However, they were not forgotten, even though they were becoming increasingly hidden from sight. The turning point was probably in the years following the final Almoravid incursions of 1114-5, when it became increasingly obvious that attack from an external power was improbable. By the end of the 12th. century the topographical distinction between city and suburb was becoming blurred, and by the mid-13th. century totally insignificant, as is indicated by the cutting of the 'baixades' across the line of the walls⁹.

THE CITY GATES AND THEIR ATTACHED CASTLES

The survival in location of the gates of Roman cities through the early Middle Ages to the 12th. century and beyond is a truism in most parts of Europe, and even in areas such as England, where urban continuity, as opposed to continuous occupation on urban sites, is difficult to prove, the Roman gates often determined the street pattern of the medieval city, which need not be related to the

Roman one, as in the case of Winchester and Canterbury¹⁰.

Barcelona provides a classic example of a four-gate city, where all the gates survived in location and function from the foundational first century A.D. until the 13th. century and the construction of a circuit enclosing an area approximately ten times the original. Indeed, parts of all these gates survived until the last century, although much adapted by the hand of man and God. The four gates can be divided into two pairs, not only on structural bases, but also on the grounds of mediæval lordship, and thus the north-western and south-eastern ones will be considered first.

Both of these had semi-circular towers associated with the late Roman phase of the defences. Such illustrations as we have concerning the Regomir Gate suggest a large portal with no side passages. In the case of the other gate, that in the modern Plaça Nova, it is unclear whether the side passages had been blocked by the 11th. century, although the build-up of occupation layers at adjacent points was such as to make their use difficult, and there is no record of mediæval material in the filling of the right-hand passage¹¹. It would thus seem likely that this gate also consisted of a single central arch, as depicted in the earliest engravings. (fig.18).

The north-western gate was under ecclesiastical control from an early date, possibly as a result of the manoeuvres of the later Carolingians to ensure the loyalty of their counts by sending an intimate of the monarch as Bishop of Barcelona, and the consequent partition of comital domains between the two forces after the infidelity of Humfrid¹². The name of the 'Sant Llorenç gate' has been demonstrated to be a result of the mis-reading of a document of 1040, and on all the other occasions when it is named it is invariably called 'the Bishop's Gate' (S.255, C. 192,198 and S.614). This name was not derived from the adjacent Bishop's Palace, which did not come into use until after the middle of the 12th. century, but rather from episcopal control of the gate, in fact exercised through the Archdeacon.

The principal urban property of the Archdeacon was located to the east of the gate by 1039 (C.61), and it is possible that a small property to the west of the gate was also associated with this office (C.130 and 134). In addition a chapel, known as the Archdeacon's Chapel, still exists in tower 78, as does the Archdeacon's House on the site of the property recorded in 1039. Twelfth century references to the turres archidiaconales should be related to the two gate towers, which were connected by the passageway across the gate, still in existence in the early 19th. century¹³.

The diametrically opposed Regomir gate was also under ecclesiastical control. As early as 975, Archdeacon Llobet is found exchanging several pieces of property adjoining the gate with the Bishop, so it would seem that a similar pattern to that later found at the Bishop's Gate was already in existence (C.4,S.7). Subsequent references are generally to the Regomir Castle rather than the gate. As a result of the insecure situation of the later 10th. century actions may have been taken to strengthen the fortifications of the city, which included the establishment of this castle. However, the structural changes needed to effect this conversion are far from clear, and may have consisted only of the addition of some neighbouring properties to the gate towers¹⁴. The first reference to the control of this castle is in a document of 1076, which, however, only exists in a transcription of three hundred years later, and may at best be a garbled version of the original, at worst a not very convincing forgery: in this three men purport to give totum castellum de Regomir to the church of St,Miquel (C.128).

It is not until the mid-12th. century that there are clearer details of lordship. In his will of 1148, Guillem Pere of Sarrià left his son, Berenguer of Sarrià, this castle as held from his lord Berenguer of Barcelona¹⁵. Carreras Candi stated that the latter was son of a Vicar, Berenguer Ramon¹⁶. There may have

been more than one 'castlà', for in 1152 Deodat of Tamarit left the castle to the Cathedral of Barcelona, with the condition that his son should hold it during his lifetime¹⁷. Nevertheless, the lordship of Berenguer of Barcelona is re-affirmed in another document of the same year (C.257) and in 1173 he recognized that he in turn held it from the Dean of Barcelona, Ramon of Caldes, and that it was sub-infeudated to Berenguer of Sarrià¹⁸. This fundamentally ecclesiastical lordship is confirmed in Papal Bulls of 1169 and 1176¹⁹, and the church was apparently using the standard techniques of sub-infeudation and 'castlans' to ensure the smooth functioning of its military possessions.

We now turn to the gates at either end of the shorter principal axis of the city. The plan of these has given rise to a degree of confusion, but it seems likely that the north-east gate at least was flanked by two hollow polygonal towers, on the basis of early 19th. century plans (fig. 22) and late 16th, century drawings (fig. 23). Srta. Pallarés has suggested that these were of early Imperial date and corresponded to the first phase of the defences, although admits that they could have undergone transformation at a later date. She illustrates three sets of polygonal gate-towers as parallels - Spoleto, Como and Philippopolis. Of these Spoleto is certainly of 3rd. century date, and is normally understood to be among the

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the earliest of this type. Those of Como are of 1st. century A.D. date, but are of a very different form, while those of Philáppopolis (modern Shehba) were built by the Emperor Philip (241-5) in the city of his birth²⁰. The latter example gives the closest parallel in form, but they appear to have been solid in the lower half, whereas the Barcelona ones appear to have been hollow. In western Europe one can point to towers at Orléans similar to those of Spoleto, and perhaps closer parallels in the fort at Cardiff, but few in the Iberian peninsula, either in the early or late Imperial period²¹.

Considering the weight of negative evidence, for early parallels are almost totally absent, and there is no reason to suggest a late Imperial date, for, as has been seen, the late Roman gate-towers of Barcelona were semi-circular in plan and solid, it would be reasonable to doubt whether the the form of these gate-towers that has come down to us was Roman at all. Moreover, excavations in the area have failed to reveal the foundations that might be expected of Roman towers²². It is thus proposed that the form recorded at the end of the medieval period was not of Roman origin, and the structure of the Roman gate remains virtually unknown. The extant drawing by Pujades (fig. 23) suggests a uniform facing of small blocks, which also stands in contrast to the rest of the defences. This form had probably been

established by the 13th. century when the seal of the Vicar of Barcelona bore an illustration supposedly of this gate (although one should bear in mind the stylised nature of such depictions), but this leaves a period of almost a millenium during which the alterations from the unknown Roman gate could have been carried out. The most likely period must surely be the 10th. and 11th. centuries, during which parallels for hollow polygonal towers can be found in local castles²³.

This gate is known by no fewer than six names in this period - the porta maior (C.37), the gate looking northwards (C.71), the market gate²⁴, the Castell Vell gate (S.416), the east gate (S.263) and the Vicecomital gate²⁵. The two gate-towers, plus some adjoining structures, and a further tower on the other side of the market, which apparently survived in the C/de Boria until the early 20th. century, formed this Castell Vell²⁶, which must have been in existence by the time the Castell Nou is referred to in the early 11th. century (C.37) and it seems most probable that the alterations discussed above were made at the time of the establishment of this 'old castle'.

It is also known as the 'Vicecomital Castle' on occasions, illustrating its link with this post, and this association must date from the late tenth

century at the latest, by which time the post had become hereditary²⁷. During a period of unrest in the 1040's we find the Viscount's men throwing stones from the Castell Vell into the Comital Palace²⁸, and in 1063 Viscount Udalard II swore fidelity for both this castle and the Castell Nou.²⁹

However, by this date, changes had already begun and other nobles are found associated with the Castell Vell, presumably as 'castlans'³⁰. Half a century later further changes had taken place: in 1110 Viscount Guilabert Udalard paid homage to Count Ramon Berenguer III and agreed to place 'castlans' in accordance with the wishes of the count³¹. Guilabert's daughter, Arsendis, was married to Guillem Ramon de Castellvell, who swore fidelity for the Castell Vell and Castellbel (=Castellvi de la Marca) (C.206), as his father had done in 1111³². He also held the office of Vicar of Barcelona³³, which from the closing years of the 11th. century came to replace that of the Viscounts. Thus previous vicars had also sworn fidelity for the Castell Vell - Berenguer Ramon de Castellet (1113)³⁴ and perhaps Jordà of St. Martí³⁵. Thus from c.1100, the castle gradually passed from the hands of the Viscounts into those of the Vicars, and the Viscounts, although maintaining their interests in Barcelona, passed most of their lives in Morocco in the service of other lords, until the end

of their lineage in the first decade of the 13th. century, after which the castle and the surrounding area came to be known as the 'Cort del Veguer'³⁶.

The final city gate was known as the Castell Nou gate, or simply as the 'New Gate'. Its structure is hardly known at all, but a desire for symmetry and a few minor indications may suggest that it was similar to the Castell Vell gate. Even its location is a debatable point, for Pallarés has claimed that there was a displacement to the north of the original Roman gate. The only evidence for this seems to be a statement by Pi y Arimón to the effect that the masonry still visible in the C/del Call formed part of the gate. However, it would seem more acceptable that the change in orientation of this street is a result of alterations made in the 15th. and 16th. centuries because of the collapse of the northern tower of the gate, which may have left the original course impassable. It is noticeable that the original course of the Roman street is still discernible as a property boundary between the C/del Call and the 19th. century C/de Ferran VII³⁷. The southern tower, or at least part of it seems to have survived into the 19th. century as part of the palace of the Archbishops of Tarragona, later transformed into the Convent de l'Ensenyança, and during the latter's demolition several finds of early medieval material, particularly coins, were made³⁸.

The fact that one of the towers collapsed suggests that they were hollow like those of the north-eastern side, or had at least been severely weakened by medieval alterations. Pi y Arimón stated that they were of circular rather than polygonal plan, although this again could refer to medieval changes, as in the Sobreportes Gate in Girona, where substantial semi-circular additions were made in the medieval period³⁹. The name stands in contrast to that of the Castell Vell: it is first mentioned in 1021 (C.37), but two other references of the 1020's to the porta nova (C.42) and the castrum Barchinone (rather than the individual castles)⁴⁰ indicate that it was then an innovation, and like the Regomir gate was a structure of the late 10th. or early 11th. centuries.

The lordship of this castle has also been usually associated with the Viscounts of Barcelona, but although this may have originally been true, the only confirmation comes in the oath of Udalard II in 1063⁴¹. By this date any such connection had been weakened, for in 1039/40 a certain Oliba Mir swore fidelity for it⁴², and it subsequently became associated with the first of the Senescals (stewards), Amat Elderic and for a short time his son.⁴³ However, it did not become permanently related with the office. Control still remained in comital hands in the later 11th. century.⁴⁴

In 1119 a certain Berenguer Bernat, perhaps a member of the vicecomital family, was lord of the Castell Nou (C.202) and two years later a certain Berenguer, son of the lady Teresa, swore fidelity for it. In 1128 Count Ramon Berenguer III commended it to Ramon Renard of La Roca, and his son Ramon, and in 1145 Guerau Alemany promised to have and hold and defend it⁴⁵. It is noteworthy that the 15th. century history of Barcelona refers to this family as having property on the defences at this point, and the Belloc family the castle. Indeed the latter family held it in 1232⁴⁶, although fourteen years previously it had been in the hands of another lineage, the Queralt⁴⁷. The great variety of lordship found in this castle in these centuries can only suggest that it was under comital control, and the counts themselves appointed the principal 'castlans'.

It is difficult to interpret the function of these fortified city gates. In origin they must have served to control the entrance and exit of both people and goods, but the rapid growth of the suburbs in the 11th. century meant that this would have become unrealistic, and such a function went into decline. Unlike other castles in the countryside, they held no authority over the inhabitants of the city, although the association with figures of authority provided a semblance of power. Consequently it is not surprising that in subsequent years they should be found acting as centres of judicial authority and prisons^{47 bis}.

THE STREETS OF THE INTRA-MURAL AREA

A large proportion of the conveyance documents mention streets among the borders of the property changing hands: often only one, sometimes two, and occasionally on three or all four sides. There were very few properties which did not have direct access to a street, and even these were normally connected to one by an alley (exio or androna). The number of references to streets is remarkably stable, which indicates that there was neither any substantial process of sub-division of properties, nor any great change in the number of streets to be found in the intra-mural area.

The data for drawing a street plan of early medieval Barcelona is small, though a number of inferences can be made from earlier and later periods which aid its reconstruction. On the one hand, a fairly accurate plan of the first half of the 19th. century shows the same features as the earliest available plans of the late 17th. century⁴⁸. When these are compared with the descriptions of blocks in 14th. and 15th. century hearth-tax lists or 'fogatges', once again no great differences are visible⁴⁹. On the other hand, there are some streets which occur in these sources which certainly did not exist in the 11th. and 12th. centuries, especially the 'baixades' cutting across the line of the Roman walls⁵⁰, and certain lesser streets undoubtedly disappeared in the con-

struction of the Palau de la Generalitat, and the Casa de la Ciutat, just as they had done during the construction of the Romanesque and, to a lesser extent, Gothic cathedrals⁵¹. Nevertheless, major changes, such as the opening of the Plaça Nova in front of the Bishop's Gate⁵², or the square in front of the Cathedral in 1420⁵³, were generally well recorded because of the effort which was needed to achieve them.

As will be seen in the following chapter, it can be demonstrated that there has been no major change in the best-documented zones, because of the ease with which the available material can be fitted within not only present-day street boundaries, but also often property boundaries. It therefore seems likely that the same holds true for the rest of the intra-mural area, unless it can be shown to the contrary. There may have been changes in the street pattern particularly in the earlier part of this period in the southern half of the city, but the intensity of occupation even there in the 12th. century probably meant that such alterations would be very difficult to achieve, except for the opening of minor access paths.

The exact process by which the Roman street plan was adapted must thus remain unknown, but it is noticeable that it remains more complete in the areas

of denser early medieval habitation, and has disappeared in those parts of the city which were more rural than urban in the early 11th. century. Thus, although invasions and destructions may have played a part in producing the changes, they were to a far greater extent the result of the spade and the hoe. Although the position of the gates helped to maintain the basic orientation, the lack of any other openings meant that other streets changed their orientation slightly in order to take short cuts to the gates, giving rise to the curving streets of the southern part of the city. Similarly the structures at the back of the defences obliterated a number of street lines, and enhanced the importance of the next street of the Roman pattern. One suspects that these changes must have been largely complete by c.1000, and subsequent changes must have been piecemeal and small scale. The amount of relevant material is small: we can only refer to the sale of a square adjoining St.Miquel in 1067 (C.112), which may have been later built over, and, in 1278, the permit issued to close off a street in the same area because of the accumulated rubbish in it and the resultant bad smells⁵⁴.

Only the occasional description of a street gives us some idea of its orientation. The two main axes were largely as they were in the Roman period and are today, except for the fact that part of the modern C/del Bisbe, between the Canonical Buildings

and the church of St.Jaume, was blocked and not re-opened until the later 13th. century. It seems likely that the other axis was the via qui pergit per ipsa civitate in 951 (C.3) and ipsa carrera qui pergit de ipsa porta majore directa usque alia porta in 1021 (C.37). Part of the same street was described in 1058 as charraria vel calle que vadit de Chastronovo ad Sanctum Iacobum (C.92), while in 1106 the eastern half was called itinere qui vadit ad Calle/Judaico (C.186). The southern part of the other main axis was named calle que pergit ad Kastrum Regumir in 1020 (C.36) and the northern half as calle tendenti ad Episcopalem portam in 1114 and 1116 (C.192 and 198). The names themselves imply that the survival of these streets was not so much ^{a result} of their own importance, but because they provided a direct route to and from the gates.

The above names illustrate the lack of established street names: these are non-existent until the end of the 12th. century, and streets were more often than not totally unidentified. As in the above examples, however, they sometimes received a descriptive label from their proximity to, or direction towards, some recognizable structure such as the Cathedral (C.172, 199), canonical buildings (C.178), the hospital (C.206), other churches (C.68,92,196), the Comital Palace (C.172,199), the Jewish Call (C.186), a well (C.42) or even significant private houses (C.186,206,237).

There is no great consistency in the word used for 'street': five different terms are found. Calle, the root of modern Catalan 'carrer', is by far the most common, and supplants the more classical via, which was more frequent until c.1050. However, carrera, strada and itinere are all used and are on one occasion or another equated with calle⁵⁵, so, it would appear that there was often no difference, although when two different words are used to describe separate streets in the same document, the scribe was presumably making a distinction rarely detectable today. However, this should not be over emphasized for it is possible to show that a single street - the modern C/Llibreteria, or the eastern half of the cardo maximus - was described at different dates within these centuries as via, itinere, carraria, strada and even platea⁵⁶.

A proportion of the streets are described as being publicae: presumably this stands in contrast to other streets which were not public and formed private access routes, whereas the public streets were thoroughfares. However, in the majority of the sources this distinction is not made, and main streets which were clearly public property often are not so described.

There are also references to squares, some of which were little more than broader streets, whereas others were true squares, usually located at the entrance to a major structure - the cathedral, the

Comital Palace and the churches of St. Just and St. Miquel⁵⁷.

Overall the impression is one of conservation and stability from the later 11th. century until the present day. There is no evidence of the concerted planning which could only be attempted in entirely unbuilt suburban districts.

THE COMITAL PALACE (figs. 77-79).

The importance of the structures located on the defences has been discussed above: foremost among these was the residence of the Counts of Barcelona, later Kings of Aragón. The 10th. century origins of this palace and the possibility of an even earlier phase, related to the Visigothic Royal Palace of the early 6th. century, have already been discussed⁵⁸. The recent publication of Dra. Adroer's thesis aids the elucidation of the later development of the palace, although more details can be added for the 11th. and 12th. centuries, and some criticism made of her plans for this period⁵⁹.

In the first place, the earliest documentary reference is not the one to the official Querus custos palatii who was captured in 985⁶⁰, but a far more concrete one, indicating that the palace

was on the present site, in 924 (C.2). Much of the information for the 11th. century is of chronicle-like simplicity: the details of judicial decisions made there⁶¹, the death of a count within its confines⁶², the subjection to a bombardment from members of the Vicecomital-Episcopal faction in the 1040's⁶³, and its rôle in the division of domains by Counts Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II in 1079⁶⁴. Details culled from documents referring to adjacent properties show that it had two entrances, the main one in the middle of the side facing the modern Plaça del Rei, and another to the north with access from C/dels Comtes de Barcelona⁶⁵. For most of the period under consideration its extent was limited to the area occupied by the hall now known as the 'Tinell', which is supported by two parallel barrel vaults, and in the superstructure of which, both to the north and south, can be seen small arched windows, normally in pairs or groups of three, the simplicity of which, together with their lack of height, would suggest an 11th. rather than 12th. century date, as would the simple coursed, but roughly finished, masonry⁶⁶. Although the reference of Jaume I to 'nostre Palau antich, lo qual lo comte de Barcelona féu bastir' has been interpreted as referring to Ramon Berenguer IV (1131-62)⁶⁷, there is no proof of this and no reflection of its construction in the available sources.

Details concerning the 12th. century are hardly more explicit: Ramon Berenguer III was perhaps transferred on his death-bed to the adjoining hospital⁶⁸. Dra.Adroer has suggested that the structures to the north of the 'Tinell', on the site of the original Episcopal Palace, were incorporated into the Comital Palace during the later 12th. century in order to establish a garden and additional structures along the defences (towers 8-10) and next to C/dels Comtes, now occupied by the Museo Marés⁶⁹. As the detailed topographical analysis of this area will show, this part of the site was still in ecclesiastical hands at the close of the century, and so the transferral must date to after 1200 (figs.90-91)⁷⁰.

The Royal Chapel of Sta.Maria, the forerunner of the existing Sta.Agata, is first mentioned in 1173 when it was given to the community of Sta. Eulalia del Camp⁷¹. It was probably located on the same site as its successor, perhaps using vaults between wall towers to provide a wide enough base for its construction. Traces of these vaults have been revealed by restoration work⁷², and are referred to from the 1070's onwards. The area at the foot of the walls, however, was not under Comital control at this date, although on occasions attempts were made to include it in their domains (S.312). A second palace was built in the suburbs in the late 11th.

century, causing the original one to be described as the palatium maior, a distinction preserved to the present day⁷³. The palatium minor will be dealt with in the chapters concerning the suburbs below .

The Palace thus went through a number of stages: perhaps in origin established by the Visigothic monarchs, it may have become the base of a royal representative in Barcelona - the Count - before 711. After the Reconquest, it presumably remained on the same site, influencing considerably, together with the neighbouring Cathedral complex, the topography of the 9th. and 10th. century city. Nevertheless, it was, like the city itself, very much a fortress and it was not for nothing that it was sometimes described as the kastellum comitale (S.18). In the following century, however, such a function declined sharply, and it became primarily a comital residence, although by no means the only one. This in turned entailed rebuilding as in other palaces of similar date throughout Europe⁷⁴, and gradual expansion and embellishment to match the increasing authority of the Counts of Barcelona in the 12th. and 13th. centuries.

THE CATHEDRAL COMPLEX

It has been a mainstay of Barcelona historiography since before even the discovery of the Early Christian basilica in the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona that there have been three cathedrals in the history of the city - the first or Early Christian, the second or Romanesque, consecrated in 1058, and the third or Gothic, begun in 1298⁷⁵.

Campillo in the mid-18th. century suggested an orientation for the Romanesque Cathedral in an inverted position in relation to that of the existing Gothic one, and therefore with its apse to the north, near the late Roman defences⁷⁶. This has been followed by the majority of authors until recently, and has been adopted in attempts to reconstruct the topography of the Cathedral quarter⁷⁷. Although the date of the consecration of this Romanesque Cathedral was known to have been 1058⁷⁸, until recently little more could be confidently said about it. Many of the following ideas are based on the research of Vergés and Vinyoles, as yet unpublished, and which became known when the research for this thesis was already in an advanced state: it is pleasing to note that using a fundamentally different approach, and considering the Romanesque Cathedral from the final years of its existence, contemporary with the construction of its successor, they have come to similar

conclusions about the size and orientation of the cathedral and its attached buildings, as I had reached. Although some may not be convinced by their arguments concerning the exact size and plan of the Cathedral, the majority of their points are positively constructive, and based on far wider documental foundations than have been used until now, where repetition had become dogma⁷⁹.

The basic tenet of both approaches is that the Romanesque Cathedral was on exactly the same site as the Gothic one, with the same orientation, thus with the apses to the south-east, but ^{was} of a somewhat smaller size, Vergés and Vinyoles go further and make a direct comparison between the Romanesque Cathedral and the collegiate church of St. Vicenç of Cardona, of comparable date⁸⁰. This fits neatly into the area occupied by the high altar, choir and the surrounding naves, but omits the entrance area and the lateral chapels of both the naves and the apse (fig. 81). They believe that this structure was gradually demolished as the Gothic one, begun in 1298, was built, and the various chapels and altars remained as far as possible in their original locations (fig. 80)⁸¹. There are, of course, parallels for such a survival of an earlier structure as the new one was being built, and this seems inherently more probable than the former suggestion of a temporary cathedral during the demolition of the old one^{81 bis}. Although their

arguments are based principally on 14th. century sources , those of the 11th. and 12th. centuries are used to complement them and to demonstrate that the two cathedrals were on the same site. The fact that the material presented below, in the discussion of the detailed topography of the zone around the cathedral, can be fitted into the area without resorting to the space occupied by the existing cathedral, except in the case of a number of documents relating to the period prior to 1058, is adequate proof of this hypothesis⁸². That the orientation was the same is demonstrated by repeated references to the entrance to the cathedral to the north⁸³. Structural evidence - the foundations discovered during the construction of the existing Cathedral façade in the late 19th. century⁸⁴, the current baptistery excavations⁸⁵, and the position of the two late Romanesque additions to the cathedral in order to make a transept and two additional entrances⁸⁶ - may be used to reinforce these arguments. Although the interpretation of the exact design of the cathedral may remain debatable, it is felt that the idea of orientation and approximate extent cannot be contradicted if the available evidence is correctly assessed, and any such contradiction can only be based on undying faith in the statements of early historians who were unable to take into account such a range of sources.

Leaving aside for a while the more detailed description of the Romanesque Cathedral, attention must

first be paid to its predecessor. The historiographical tradition has maintained that the 5th. century basilica survived, repaired and patched up until the mid-11th. century, a life of some six hundred years. Although this is not impossible, we lack information from the upper levels of the basilica excavation, which could prove conclusive⁸⁷, and in the current state of knowledge, it is difficult to decide whether the arguments in favour of continuity are strong enough, or whether the presence of a pre-Romanesque cathedral, as proposed by Mergés and Vinyoles, should be accepted⁸⁸. The case for each hypothesis should be examined in some detail.

a) Pro-continuity

Firstly, one may note the lack of any positive remains of another cathedral between the early Christian basilica and the Romanesque building, either on one site or the other. Secondly, a controversial letter from Charles the Bald to the inhabitants of Barcelona states that he was sending a sum of money to finance repairs to the cathedral⁸⁹. If the building was being restored in the late 9th. century, it is less probable that a new one was commenced in the middle of the following century. Other evidence might also imply the continued use of the early Christian structure at this date: a new entrance may have been cut in the south wall to provide access for the faithful who wished to visit the tomb of Sta. Eulalia, whose remains were found and transferred to the

cathedral c.877, and were perhaps placed on a marble platform next to this entrance.⁹⁰ Furthermore, a document of 1023 refers to the position of the cathedral hospital, the site of which was certainly in the angle of the defences between towers 6 and 7, as being next to the portico of the cathedral (C.42), a location which is more acceptable if the cathedral was on this site. Finally the consecration of 1058 refers to the poor state of the preceding church, which is more in accordance with a building six hundred years old, than one little more than a century old⁹¹.

b) Contra-continuity

In the first place, it has been argued that the not particularly sturdy structure of the basilica was unlikely to have sheltered the principal church of the diocese for such a long time. There are few signs of wear, except in the floor, or of repairs. The letter of Charles the Bald is of doubtful authenticity, and it would seem impossible that this building could have resisted the passage of time and the various upheavals which afflicted the city in the early medieval centuries^{91 bis}. In addition, there is no structural evidence for the additional altars that were added in the 10th. century and are frequently referred to in the early 11th. century⁹². The description of the location of the hospital as 'in front of' the cathedral in 995, may reduce faith in the description of 1023, as might that of 1133 which places

the hospital iuxta the cathedral, by which time, of course, some distance separated the two buildings⁹³

As for positive evidence, there are a number of sculptured fragments which would seem to belong to a period earlier than the mid-11th. century⁹⁴. Funerary inscriptions from the area of the later cloister may suggest that this already contained burials in the tenth century, and was thus on its later site, at least in part⁹⁵. The fact that the baptistery had gone out of use by the mid-10th. century and the rise of the church of St.Miquel imply changes around that date⁹⁶, and it is possible that the latter church assumed some of the functions of the cathedral.⁹⁷

Finally, detailed attention must be paid to the documentation of the first half of the 11th. century which refers to the cathedral. To begin with, there are a series of properties located on the northern side of the defences mentioned between 1035 and 1040, and which are described as being near or on one occasion 'in front of' the cathedral⁹⁸ (fig.89). Other properties situated opposite these in the northern part of the Gothic cloisters and on the site of the late Romanesque chapel of Sta.Lucia were also 'near' (C.60) or to the west of the cathedral entrance (C.50)⁹⁹. Another group refers to the south wing of the Gothic cloisters, and mentions properties 'next to' (iuxta), 'near' (prope) the cathedral (C.22,29) and adjoining

the Canons' Cloister (C.35). All these descriptions, especially the last three, which were some distance from the early Christian basilica, tend to confirm the existence of a church on the site, prior to the commencement of the Romanesque Cathedral, and the fact that the donation of the cloister to the canons in 1009 makes much more sense when located next to this church, rather than between the basilica and the Comital Palace, adds strength to this conclusion¹⁰⁰.

During the period of construction of the Romanesque Cathedral, the Bishop and canons engaged in a certain amount of property acquisition in this part of the city, especially in front of and to the west of the presumed pre-Romanesque church (C.78,83,87,90). This in turn would suggest that the site occupied by the new cathedral was already in ecclesiastical hands, for there was no recorded purchase in that area. That no distinction was made between the old and new cathedrals during the period of construction of c.1035-1060 would also hint that they were on the same site and that one replaced the other. Thus the evidence in favour of a pre-Romanesque cathedral on the site of the subsequent ones, constructed in the mid-10th. century, and with a cloister to the west, seems slightly more favourable than that for the continuity of the early Christian basilica as the principal church: however, of its structure we can say nothing until new discoveries are made¹⁰¹.

Our attention should now return to the Romanesque Cathedral. The commencement of construction has usually been dated to 1046¹⁰², but like most aspects in the study of this building, it is based on hearsay rather than any firm evidence. In fact a close examination of the donations for the works (ad opera) of the Cathedral shows that construction had begun at least a decade before¹⁰³, and it is extremely doubtful that the impetus can be associated with Count Ramon Berenguer I, who was no more than eleven or twelve years old at that date^{103 bis}. The fact that these donations continued after the date of consecration (1058) indicates that the structure was by no means complete then. However, the majority of these post-1058 donations are related to embellishments and decorations rather than the structure. Thus in 1062 Bishop Guislibert left forty ounces of gold for the calyx and another ten for the altar table (tabula), which was presumably like the gold altar-table of Girona cathedral, for which there are similar testamentary donations¹⁰⁴. The fact that Count Ramon Berenguer II gave another two thousand mancuses in 1082 shows that a considerable length of time was needed to gather the necessary resources to finish this work. Another gift in the same year ad ipsa archa Sancta Eulalia suggests the building of a vault around the tomb of the patron saint, which, according to Vergés and Vinyoles, was in a crypt, similar to the present location¹⁰⁵.

The extent of this cathedral has been considered above: in style it must have been of three-apse type, the central apse larger than the other two, a plan comparable to many major churches in Catalonia, where the number of surviving Romanesque structures in non-urban contexts is high¹⁰⁶. The documentation of the demolition of the bell-tower in 1379-80 demonstrates that it was to the right of the naves between the future transept arm and the apses¹⁰⁷. It is interesting to note that Professor Conant twenty years ago commented that the position of the Gothic tower at the transept end was unusual, and could be a relic of the arrangement of the preceding cathedral, thereby providing a clue for the orientation of the Romanesque Cathedral¹⁰⁸. As a result of the smaller size of this cathedral in relation to its successor, there was a space around it which was apparently largely unbuilt, though not totally unused, as part was occupied by cemeteries. It is possible that the maintenance of this space was derived from the terms of the Peace and Truce decrees of the 11th. century, which led to the existence of sacrariae for thirty paces around the church¹⁰⁹. This is certainly the case with many of the churches of the territorium of Barcelona, although the word only appears rarely in association with urban churches, and but once in the cathedral in the sacramental will of Fruitol sworn in 1040 apud Barchinonam civitatem in ipso sacrario Sancte Crucis Sedis¹¹⁰, although a similar case of a will sworn ante foris ecclesie prefate Sedis in 1089

can also be cited (figs.90-92)¹¹¹.

The main entrance to the cathedral was situated to the north, with a square in front of it. Part of this was colonized in the 12th century for the galilea or forework. There are two ad opera donations for this in the 1170's, although the work may have been begun long before, for in 1064 there is a legacy of four ounces of gold ad opera de ipsa Galilea¹¹². This was a two-storey structure, the foundations of which were located in the later 19th century during the construction of the façade of the Gothic cathedral¹¹³. In addition, the recent baptistery excavations have revealed solid masses which are probably the foundations of the staircases leading to the upper level of this structure. It was used to house some of the growing number of additional chapels and altars in the later 12th century, so much a feature of popular religion of the time: this aspect has been fully analysed by Vergés and Vinyoles and need not be repeated here¹¹⁴. It is also possible that the baptismal font was placed adjoining the entrance here, in a similar location to both the present-day and early Christian baptisteries. The font itself, carved from a Roman capital, has been studied by Dr. Ainaud (fig.80)¹¹⁵.

In the mid-13th century changes were made to the original design by the addition of transepts, parts

of which were later incorporated into the Gothic structure, and which can still be distinguished today by the difference in stonework and architectural decoration¹¹⁶. This would indicate that the open space around the cathedral was maintained until the end of the 13th. century, and that the streets in the area merited the name of platea they were sometimes given. Both in front of the cathedral and around the apses there were to be found cemeteries, the latter known as the 'Paradís',¹¹⁷. Other burials took place in the cloister, situated to the west of the cathedral, like its successor¹¹⁸. This practice was apparently customary by the time of the death of Count Ramon Borrell in 1017¹¹⁹, even before the construction of the Romanesque cathedral, and the discovery of earlier funerary inscriptions may indicate that it goes back even further. Carreras Candi made a distinction between a cathedral cloister and that of the canons, but the evidence is, I feel, difficult to interpret and until definite proof of two cloisters can be found, it would be best to assume that there was only one¹²⁰.

The cloister formed but part of the canonical buildings clustered around the cathedral. The ecclesiastical history of the Barcelona community is a subject that remains to be studied, but which cannot be attempted here. However, the first reference to canonical buildings is of 944, when Count

Sunyer gave the raficias of Tortosa, perhaps a tax on merchandise arriving from the south, propter canonicam construendam¹²¹. However, for much of the tenth century the number of canons seems to have been small, and they were closely linked to the bishop, although their community may have been established in the church of St.Miquel for a time. It is not until 1009 that a division of properties was made in a first step to make those of the mitre distinct to those of the chapter¹²². In addition, about the same date the number of canons seems to have been established at twenty, which was later doubled¹²³. In the same year the bishop gave the canons a cloister next to the church of Sta.Creu, surrounded by a stone wall, and enclosing a house suitable for use as a refectory, vines, trees and a well, and bordering to the west with the cathedral and extending as far as the episcopal palace known as solarium longum (C.21).

The interpretation of this document offered above¹²⁴ is not intrinsically strong, but can be accepted when the later references to the cloister are considered. A reference of 1020^{is} to a cloister which is almost certainly on such a site, through the analysis and juxtaposition of neighbouring properties (C.35). The practice of burial in the cloister seems to have been uninterrupted by the construction of the Romanesque Cathedral, and that the cloister was on this site in the later 11th.century is demonstrated

by the location of properties on the other side of the C/del Bisbe non longe a claustro canonice (C.134). Not until the 12th.century¹²⁵ is there any evidence of building work through an ad opera donation for the cloister. Thus it is proposed that the canonical buildings existing or constructed in the early 11th. century continued in use without any changes throughout the century, and comparatively unaffected by the construction of the Romanesque Cathedral¹²⁵. However, some expansion took place, for in the course of the century most of the area now covered by the cloister and attached buildings came under the control of the canons, for it is noticeable that although there is a body of evidence referring to this area up to the middle of the century, there is virtually none afterwards. Among these acquisitions was the donation of 1020 next to the cloister (C.35) destined for use as a dormitory, refectory or cellar. In 1084 the refectory was to the east of a property on the site of the chapel of Sta.Lucia (C.149) and in 1115 there is an ad opera donation suggesting that some alterations were taking place. In the same block were the infirmary and chapter house mentioned in 1078 (C.138), some small private houses, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was a separate structure near the Cathedral entrance, and perhaps, like a similarly positioned church in Vic, one of a group of round Romanesque churches in Catalonia¹²⁶ (fig. 90). There were two entrances to this canonical complex, apart

from that directly from the Cathedral: one of these opened on to C/del Bisbe (C.147) and the other, perhaps a later addition because it is not mentioned until the later 12th. century, in C/de la Pietat, was opposite the property of the monastery of St. Cugat del Vallès (C.321). The pattern of ad opera legacies for these canonical buildings is so protracted that a series of minor changes rather than wholesale building programmes must have taken place¹²⁷.

One part of the canonical buildings which was not part of this complex was the dormitory. It first appears in a document referring to the Cathedral hospital in 1083, which makes it plain that the hospital was under the dormitory¹²⁸. Other documents concerning the properties on either side of the dormitory (C.175,190,218) show that it was in the angle of the defences adjoining towers 6 and 7. Archbishop Oleguer in 1133 conceded the beds of deceased canons to the hospital downstairs, perhaps an indication of an accumulation of unwanted furniture after a generation or so of use, for it seems unlikely that it came into use until the earliest effects of Gregorian reform were being felt¹²⁹. Nevertheless, the increasing number of references to houses elsewhere in the city held by canons shows that the practice of life in common was again in decline by the mid-12th. century. In 1167 there was a major reorganisation, including the establishment of six new altars,

and a reminder of the expected way of life, that canons should be present at services, eat in the refectory and sleep in the dormitory and not leave the city without permission¹³⁰. At a slightly later date the canonical property was divided among the various offices and altars, and twelve 'pabordias' were established each being responsible for the provision of supplies for the canonical table for one month of the year^{130 bis}. Contemporary with these alterations were a series of donations for the opera of the dormitory, which was thus coming back into use, although it is uncertain whether this was on the same site as the previous one or was a new one adjoining the cloister proper.

Within the same area in front of the cathedral were to be found the residence of the Archdeacon next to the city gate (C.61-65), that of the Dean slightly further to the east¹³¹, and probably that of the Sacristan or Treasurer, to the south of the Hospital¹³². In the late 12th. century the Sacristan may have also acquired part of the original Episcopal Palace, located in this area to the north of the Comital Palace, when the Bishop changed his residence to a new building next to the Bishop's Gate.

The traditional view states that the early Episcopal Palace is to be identified with the structures excavated in the area of the Plaça de Sant Iu,

opposite the east transept of the late Romanesque cathedral. This identification rests principally on two points: firstly, the proximity of the structure to the early Christian basilica and secondly, its identification with a building ceded to the King in 1316 and demolished in the 16th. century to make way for the Palau del Lloctinent, the present Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. As Vergés and Vinyoles have demonstrated, there is no proof that the document of 1316 refers to an Episcopal Palace, and the property was rather one of the Mitre which had been acquired in the mid-11th. century and leased to various individuals over the next two centuries¹³³. After the construction of the transepts a bridge was built across the street to join these buildings to the cathedral, probably because at that moment they formed part of the Sacristan's estates, and his treasury was located on the first floor of the transept, and although this was ordered to be demolished in 1316, the entrance at first floor level can still be seen. However, at no moment is there any indication that this structure formed part of an episcopal palace, at least after the mid-11th. century¹³⁴.

References to the Episcopal Palace before the mid-12th. century are rare. The first document which may refer to a palace is a grant of Louis the Stammerer to Bishop Frodoins, confirming several properties and rights which had been misappropriated.

Among these appears a domus which had belonged to a previous bishop, Adaulf. Font y Sagué identified this as the property next to the north-western gate, later developed into the existing palace. There would seem to be no evidence for this, except if this was the same as the Archidiaconal property there in the 11th. century¹³⁵.

As has been noted in the previous chapter, evidence of 924 suggests that the Episcopal Palace was close to the Comital one, although not necessarily on the Plaça de Sant Iu site. The next reference to the episcopal palace quem dicunt solarium longum in 1009, as has been noted in the discussion of the Canonical buildings, is difficult to interpret and depends on a series of imponderables. However, other information indicates that the palace remained on the same site, although with modifications. In 1017 and 1018 there are references to construction work in the palace and an adjoining bell-tower¹³⁶. This was presumably the tower from which the Bishop's men stoned the Comital Palace in the 1040's¹³⁷, which presumes an immediate location. A dispute between two brothers was settled in the palace in 1062 by the Bishop's tribunal, and it is interesting to note that this concerned the houses in the Plaça de Sant Iu and to the south¹³⁸. Papal bulls of 1169 and 1176 refer to the Episcopal Palace with towers next to the Comital Palace¹³⁹. Since it seems unlikely that this

palace included any part of the defences, unless this is a premature reference to the property of the Castellvell family here, which was soon afterwards incorporated into these domains (C.309), it must be assumed that this is a reference to the tower of 1017-18¹⁴⁰. During the later 12th. century, these properties probably passed to the Sacristan, and were later acquired by the King, and should thus be placed in the area of the garden of the Royal Palace, and the surrounding structures, probably of 13th. century date, now occupied by the Museo Marés.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the 12th. century, in spite of the absence of any mention in the two Papal bulls, it is clear that a structure on the site of the present Palace was regarded as such. In 1197 Bishop Ramon of Castellvell gave a plot to Guillem the Cooper in order to construct houses under the vault between towers 77 and 78: (subtus archum palatii nostri episcopalis (S.614)). In addition it is stated that the porta episcopalis was to the south of this property, which was the cause of a lengthy dispute between the Bishop of Barcelona and the monastery of Ripoll in the late 12th. and early 13th. centuries. Three documents transcribed in the Libri Antiquitatum, two of which are undated and the third is of June 1210, refer to this¹⁴¹. Font y Sagué interpreted these as being

connected with the Palace next to the Royal Palace, but in view of the document of 1197 and various pieces of internal evidence, there can be no doubt that they refer to the one next to the Plaça Nova¹⁴².

In the first document, various monks of Ripoll swear that it had been in the hands of the camerarius of the monastery at dates of up to forty years previously¹⁴³. In the second, the abbot of St. Benet de Bages described a visit of Cardinal Gregory, which Mas placed in the period 1185 to 1194. The bishop led him to the first floor of the palace, opened the windows facing northwards, and stated that he could not spit without the camerarius of Ripoll laying claim to the property¹⁴⁴. Later it is declared that the property had been leased to Bishop Guillem of Torroja (1144-71) and the dispute would seem to have begun during that period¹⁴⁵. Moreover, it was renewed after the legate's visit, for the Vicar of the city had ordered Guillem the Cooper, mentioned in 1197, not to operate there. The final document is the judgment given by the Bishop and Sacristan of Vic.

Several documents of the 1160's show that the palace was already in existence then (C.283,294,298). Whereas these mention an episcopal palace, another document of two decades beforehand (C.237) fails to do so, as does another of 1154 (C.262). On the other

hand, it is clear from the will of Guillem of Torroja's predecessor, Arnau Ermengol, that he had held and bought several pieces of property in this part of the city, which were bequeathed to his brothers and the collegiate church of Sta. Maria de Solsona, and which his successor was forced to recover (C.230,235). The intense interest of two bishops must point to the establishment of the palace around the middle of the century, with construction perhaps begun under Arnau, but not completed for several decades. The core of this structure had been left to the church by a canon, Ramon Dalmau, in 1115, and had been acquired and improved in the years around 1078¹⁴⁶. This amalgamation of properties led to the establishment of a palace which stood until the mid-13th. century, when it was demolished or reformed during the construction of the elegant north wing of the surviving palace constructed by Arnau of Gurb (fig.88)¹⁴⁷.

Finally in this section dealing with the institutions associated with the cathedral in the 11th. and 12th. centuries, the Hospital must be considered. Such an organization was designed not only for the sick and disabled of the city, but also to house the poor and pilgrims. The origins of the Cathedral Hospital probably date to before 985, but it is not until the last decade of the century that there survives any concrete evidence. In 995 Archdeacon Sunifred Llobet, setting off on a pilgrimage to Rome, left

Property near the River Besòs to the hospital in front of the church of Sta. Creu¹⁴⁸. About the same time, and probably for the same reason, Bishop Vivas made a gift for paupers and pilgrims¹⁴⁹. The institution was still flourishing in 1009 when it benefitted from the death-bed bequest of a passing merchant called Robert, confirmed by his brother Truballe, both perhaps of Flemish origin, of twenty pallios or lengths of fine cloth¹⁵⁰. These sources state that the institution received a hundred poor every day plus pilgrims and blind people, although this may have been an exaggeration. Two years later it is recorded as the Pilgrims' Hospital, and donations of the 1020's suggest that it continued to function for some years to come¹⁵¹. Foremost among these was that of Bishop Deodat in 1024, so phrased as to imply a reconstruction of the building¹⁵².

Interest in this institution soon waned, and the number of donations for its upkeep declined, and thus other charitable bodies came into existence. Early in 1038 a priest named Amalric gave Mir Guillem houses near the cathedral to serve as a hospital for pilgrims and paupers (C.59). This may have functioned for a decade or so, but seems never to have attracted much interest¹⁵³, and in 1084 Mir gave the property which he had obtained in exchange for the original one to the cathedral hospital, at the time when the fortunes of the latter were reviving (C.149).

As a result of Mn.Baucells' research, it is clear that the original institution should be referred to as the Cathedral Hospital or the Hospital of Santa Eulalia¹⁵⁴. The Hospital d'en Guitart, with which it has often been confused, was a separate institution at a different location. This too was probably founded as a result of the insufficiency or the non-functioning of the Cathedral one. The first indication of its existence comes in 1045, when Count Ramon Berenguer I and his wife Elisabeth tried to give impetus to the house which the late Guitart had founded (C.71). He has traditionally been identified as the Viscount of Barcelona of that name who died shortly before 985¹⁵⁵, but there is no real basis for this, and he must remain unknown, for the name was comparatively common. The count provided it with a home in the city in the block bordered by the modern C/Llibreteria, C/Freneria, Baixada de Sta. Clara and the Cort del Veguer. Documents referring to this part of the city in 1106 (C.186) and 1125 (C.206) mention its presence, but we know little more about it. Certainly it had ceased to function by the 1140's, for parts of its structure were being let by the Count to various artisans as workshops (C.239-240).

Half a century before this, however, the original foundation - the Cathedral Hospital - had been revived.

In 1083 Bishop Umbert renewed interest, and re-established the Hospital's buildings, and provided it with lands from which to gather cash to function (S.190). Other donations followed, including that of Mir Guillem mentioned above, and another of 1090 destined quod modo fit noviter¹⁵⁶. Its location in the angle of the defences, underneath the Canons' dormitory, and the receipt of the beds of deceased canons have already been mentioned. In 1161 it obtained a further adjoining house (C.282). Its life would thus seem to have continued throughout the 12th. century, but little is known of its importance in a social context. It is not until the 13th. century that substantial changes occurred with the establishment of other charitable institutions and the absorption of the Canons' dormitory by this hospital¹⁵⁷.

THE INTRA-MURAL CHURCHES

One of the outstanding points about early medieval Barcelona in contrast to many other contemporary cities in western Europe is the small number of churches. In the intra-mural area, apart from the Cathedral and its various altars and subsidiary churches, the Comital chapel and perhaps another in the Episcopal Palace, there were only three other churches, dedicated to St. Miquel, St. Jaume and Sts. Just i Pastor, the latter with an associated chapel of St. Celoni, probably in its cemetery.

One of these dedications survives today, while the other two disappeared in the last century: it seems probable that there were no changes in the sites of these churches after the 11th. century, although alterations in size and possibly orientation may have occurred. Collectively their location is significant, for all were to be found in the area of the Roman forum and the public buildings arranged about it. At first sight, this might indicate origins in late Antiquity or the Visigothic period, though in fact the foundations of these three churches are by no means clear. Sts. Just and Pastor is a dedication found from the early Christian period in Spain, there are two capitals of Visigothic date within the church, it could have been used as the Catholic church during the period of Arian dominance, and as a cathedral under Moslem rule. From the post-Reconquest period there is a late 9th. century inscription and tenth century documentary references, which would suggest continuous use until the beginning of the period¹⁵⁸. St. Miquel, in spite of being established within the Roman baths, is probably a tenth century foundation, and the existence of a Byzantine capital within the church was largely fortuitous, a result of 14th. century booty, rather than 6th. century Christianity. Its peak seems to have been in the decades between 950 and 985, when it came to overshadow the cathedral¹⁵⁹. The origins of St. Jaume are lost in the darkness of time, although it undoubtedly existed by 985: it

may have been related to the popularity of the St. James cult in tenth century Spain, although its location at the junction of the two principal streets of the Roman city may point to an earlier date, one when the forum area had gone out of use as such, but before it was colonised by private structures. This, however, is largely ~~in~~ the realm of conjecture¹⁶⁰.

Turning to the period after 985, the one unifying factor is that they all became parochial in status, St. Jaume is first recorded as a parish church in 1060, St. Miquel in 1046 and St. Just as early as 965¹⁶¹. Unfortunately few of the available sources are concerned with the administration of the churches and little can be said about their parishes. It is even difficult to define their extent, for substantial alterations to parish boundaries were made in 1823, and earlier records are imprecise, though it seems probable that the parish of St. Just was defined by C/Llibreteria, C/de la Ciutat and the defences, whereas St. Miquel covered the corresponding area to the west, and St. Jaume the area stretching northwards towards the cathedral¹⁶².

St. Jaume was the least important of the three: testamentary donations are generally fewer and smaller than to the other two, and it was probably overshadowed by the presence of the cathedral. Donations ad opera are also scanty¹⁶³; one of 1011 in sua edifitione

may imply recent construction or total reconstruction, and there are only three more at widely scattered dates in the following two centuries. We have no idea of the architecture of the church for it was replaced by a more imposing Gothic structure in the 15th. century. This in turn was demolished in 1823, and only the name of the Plaça de Sant Jaume records its former existence nowadays¹⁶⁴.

A document of 1057 referring to the suburbs notes that the church had been obtained by the rebel noble Mir Geribert, who was related to the Vicecomital family, and there may have originally been a link between this family and the church. By 1057 it had passed to Bishop Guislibert, uncle of the then Viscount, and three years later he gave it and the parochial rights to Guilia and her children, that is the widow and children of Mir Geribert. In an undated list of c.1083 it was in the hands of a certain Ramon Mir, perhaps a member of the same family. The rights over the church at subsequent dates are uncertain¹⁶⁵.

Within the church there was an altar to Sta. Maria and another to St. Tomàs, which for a short period in the 11th. century was a popular place for the swearing of the sacramental conditions of wills¹⁶⁶, although the practice fell into disuse after the 1080's being almost totally supplanted by the altar of St. Fèlix in St. Just. In spite of the swearing of

these wills, there is no evidence for a cemetery until 1147 (C.249): a document of 1163 referring to a property to the west of the church states that the cemetery was to its north (C.292) thus in the same position as in 1823¹⁶⁷. It seems likely that the entrance was on the street to the east, and the apse thus to the west, or possibly the north. Throughout this period it was surrounded by houses: as early as 1062 houses secus Sancti Jacobi are recorded (C.97).

The parochial rights of Sts. Just i Pastor were given to the cathedral by the executors of Count Mir in 965, and these rights probably remained under its control even though they are not always mentioned in lists of such rights, such as the Papal Bull of 1105¹⁶⁸. Like St. Jaume, few details of its structure are known, for the church was replaced by the existing structure in the 14th. century. An ad opera donation of 1007 may refer to its re-roofing and another similar gift was made in 1168. In front of the entrance was a portico mentioned in 1040, which may point to a pre-Romanesque or even earlier structure, for such features are rare within Catalan Romanesque architecture¹⁶⁹.

Although it was a parish church, it also had an important funerary rôle: the funerary inscription of Wittiza dated 890 is the earliest evidence for the presence of a cemetery, and in 997 occurs the first reference to the chapel of St. Celoni¹⁷⁰, which

was located in the cemetery to judge from references to the cemetery of St. Just and St. Celoni in the 1060's (C.99,105). Indeed it seems possible that this cemetery expanded at this date for a property which had had private houses to the south and east in 1058, bordered on the cemetery five years later (C.91,99). This was to the west of the church, thus implying that its orientation was the same as its Gothic successor.

The growth of the cemetery may not have been unrelated to the function of the altar of St. Félix. Until the present day this altar has maintained the right for verbal wills to be sworn by witnesses on it, thus making the deceased testate. This seems to be an adaptation of early medieval practice, itself derived from Visigothic law, whereby wills were automatically sworn to be authentic within six months of the death, only then could the executors carry out their duties. It is not certain whether the oral will existed at this date, but it is clear that from the later 11th. century onwards, the vast majority of wills were sworn on this altar¹⁷¹.

The association between St. Miquel and the Cathedral ¹⁷², continued until the second decade of the 11th. century, for there are gifts to St. Miquel in the Cathedral Archives until that date¹⁷³. In 1011 the amount of money left to the church by a certain ~~Wilafanus~~ was five mancuso, suggesting five

priests, whereas there was just one mancus for the solitary priest of St. Just¹⁷⁴. In the same year a document from Seu d'Urgell suggests that the finances of the church were under the control of the Bishop of Barcelona¹⁷⁵. Between this date and the 1040's there was a substantial change: the donations cease and in 1046 it is described as a parish church and given by the Count to the cathedral¹⁷⁶. This donation was repeated ten years later, perhaps as a result of the upheavals caused in the city by the revolt of Mir Geribert and his confederates¹⁷⁷. Thereafter, it remained under the control of the cathedral, being mentioned in the Bull of 1105¹⁷⁸.

It may have fallen into ruins in the first half of the 11th. century, for in 1059 and 1062 there are donations for the construction of a new roof, and in 1077 for a bell-tower. It is probable that the latter feature was never completed for another legacy for the same motive was made nearly a century later, and other gifts ad opera were made in the intervening period¹⁷⁹. The bell-tower known from the drawings made prior to the demolition of the church in 1868 reveals a style more appropriate of the 14th. or even 15th. centuries than the 11th.¹⁸⁰. A tradition of later medieval date relates the miraculous rebuilding of the church in the mid-12th. century¹⁸¹: that it was prone to sudden collapse is quite probable considering the great antiquity of those parts adapted

from the Roman baths, which included the mosaic floor. A doorway of late Romanesque style was added, perhaps in the later 12th. century¹⁸², but in general the structure continued to follow the layout of the baths building it had taken over.

Unlike the other two parish churches there was no tradition of swearing wills in the church: however, there was a cemetery. Excavations have revealed burials~~of~~ of early medieval type to the west of the church with tombs constructed of slabs of stone placed around the corpse¹⁸³. A document of 993 records this cemetery¹⁸⁴, but it then seems to have gone out of use, for the next burials are of post-medieval date, and there are no further documentary references of the 11th. and 12th. centuries. It is possible that the burials of that period took place in an area described as the 'Fossar vell de Sant Miquel' in a plan of the early 19th. century, towards the north-western corner of the modern Plaça de Sant Jaume, and this was reached from the church by the C/del Fossar de Sant Miquel¹⁸⁵. This in turn went out of use in the post-medieval period to be replaced by the original one.

In conclusion the parish churches were apparently of no great importance in urban life, the vicinity of the cathedral obliterating to a large extent their personality. Many wealthy inhabitants chose burial in one of the cathedral cemeteries, and when

donations occur in their wills to the parish churches, these take second place to the cathedral, or even third place behind the great monastic foundations too. This deprivation of income is reflected by the scarcity of properties of these three churches either within the city or in the territorium¹⁸⁶. There was usually only one priest per church, and these priests are only occasionally found engaging in property transactions: their support must have come largely from the more popular levels of society which remain unrecorded or undetected in the surviving sources.

Similarly, these churches were of little importance when it came to determining the development of the city. The features which attracted attention were those of strength and authority: primarily the walls, followed by the Palaces and the Cathedral. It was around these structures that the first burst of expansion was to occur in the 11th. century and that the highest quality residences were to be found in subsequent decades.

CHAPTER XI

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF BARCELONA, 985 - 1200:

THE INTRA-MURAL AREA,

The topography of Barcelona in the 11th. and 12th. centuries is a topic which has rarely been considered in recent years. The majority of modern accounts have been based on the pioneer work of Carreras Candi, who carried out the greater part of his research in the early years of this century, culminating in his magistral volume on the city in the 'Geografia General de Catalunya' series¹. Although his work is still of the utmost importance, it was not based on the totality of sources, and largely dwelt upon the major structures of the city, rather than on the analysis of the changing face of the city as a whole. Moreover, the series of which it formed part is little known even within the rest of Spain, which is indeed unfortunate considering the detail with which the development of the city can be traced from the sources.

The contemporary documentation has already been briefly described, and there is no need to repeat that account here². It is, however, convenient to summarize the type of content of this documentation. The majority of the conveyance documents include details of the vendor, purchaser, the type of property, the general location, a more detailed descrip-

tion, a summary of the neighbouring properties, the price (when applicable), and various legal and penal clauses. At the end can be found the date, signatures of the attestants, those of witnesses, and the authentication of the scribe.

The first sections are of most interest in the present study. Given that they are frequently found in sufficient quantities, often connected by common factors of characters, location and date, they can be united in a sort of jig-saw - from which, unfortunately, a large number of pieces are missing. Guide-lines for its piecing together exist in the form of the defences and the approximate street-plan, but even so, there are pieces which can be joined together, but can then only be located approximately within the available space. At the end, a few pieces with little or no indicative information must remain in the box, waiting for new material to be turned up. As a result a mental picture of the city can be constructed, with a varying degree of clarity according to the date and the part of the walled area being considered. Unlike the descriptions of the entire city in the 'fogatges' of the 14th. and 15th. centuries, or the Angevin rentals of Canterbury employed by Dr.Urry in his analysis of that city³, the information for Barcelona is piecemeal, but nevertheless present in amounts large enough for an extensive account to be composed.

In the following sections it is aimed to do exactly that. Inevitably some zones are clearer than others: some are well-documented in one period, while virtually nothing is known about them in another: some areas are clear, but lack the fixed points to relate them to their surroundings: nevertheless, the resultant view is quite vivid. To assist the description of the intra-mural area, it is deemed convenient to divide the city into four basic quarters which can occasionally be sub-divided on a basis of blocks, according to the body of information. These four zones are those produced by the principal cross streets of the Roman city, basic divisions which have continued to the present day. In addition a fifth area is added in the southern part of the city, to incorporate the area around the gate and the projecting castellum.

Place-names (fig.74).

The principal way of assigning material to these five zones is through the description contained in the primary source. In the tenth century, the sources rarely specify the location of a property apart from giving the fact that it was within the walls of Barcelona, and the names of the neighbouring property owners. This usage can still be discerned in the first decades of the 11th century, but there was a growing tendency to supply more details, presumably

a result of the growth of the city and the need to avoid confusion, particularly in a period when disputes over property rights were rife, such as was the aftermath of 985. This is more noticeable in the case of sales, donations and mortgages, rather than wills, in which, throughout the centuries here studied, there was a tendency not to give a clearer location, which inevitably means that such properties now have to be located by means of other details, particularly personal names. Moreover, such place-names are more frequently found in the northern part of the city, where urban activity was more intense, whereas in the southern half there are fewer names to be found, and it is more common to find documents without them. One suspects that documents which cannot be related even hypothetically to any zone, which make up approximately ten per cent of the total, refer to properties in this part of the city, and, in any case, the great majority of them are wills, with few diagnostic details, and it is unlikely that the information they contain could alter the picture to any great extent. Towards the end of the 12th. century one also notes an increasing lack of concern about accurate locational descriptions, to the point that, on occasions, it is difficult to decide whether a property was in the intra-mural area or the suburbs, which is surely another indication of the decreasing importance of the defences by that date (C.323,333).

The majority of locational names are not true place-names, but are derived from important structures, such as have been discussed in the previous chapter. Foremost among these were names referring to the cathedral and its associated structures: these include locations 'next to' (C.78), 'near' (C.57,60), 'not far from' (C.256) and 'in front of' (C.65,218,223) the Cathedral. Others are found for properties in relation with the canonry (C.56,90), its cloister (C.35,134), refectory (C.149), dormitory (C.175) and also the cemeteries to be found in front of (C.218) and behind (C.266) the Cathedral. The Hospital of Guitart is similarly recorded (C.186) as were the three other churches within the walls (C.37,41,42), together with their cemeteries. Occasionally, the location is given within a particular parish (C.252) which might be understood as being within the vicinity of the church, but not particularly close. The scarcity of such references, however, means that our scant knowledge of the extent of the parishes is hardly enlarged.

In addition, the Episcopal (C.294,298) and Comital Palaces (C.131,142), both on the line of the defences, were used as topographical reckoning points, as were other parts of the walls, particularly the four gates. The meaning of the names of three of these - the Castell Vell Gate (with its variant forms), the Castell Nou or New Gate, and the Bishop's Gate - is obvious. The interpretation of the fourth, how-

ever, is uncertain. Tradition would associate the Regomir name applied to both castle and gate, with the residence there of a legendary Moorish King Gamir⁴. Carreras Candi proposed that the name was derived from the Rech of the city, supposedly cut under the direction of Count Mir, on the basis of a comparison with the name of a similar water-channel in Cervelló⁵. However, the transformation needed from 'Rech d'en Mir' to Regumir in the short space of time between Mir's lifetime and the first use of the place-name (C.7) makes this inherently improbable, as does the fact that the Rech itself never ran near this gate, for it entered the sea much further east. Moreover, all the available evidence points to its having come into use during the period of Ramon Berenguer I, three quarters of a century after the death of Mir⁶. Perhaps a derivation from the Visigothic personal name Recemirus is more likely, although this is not demonstrable⁷.

The further names applied to the defences in this southern part of the city also require some interpretation: that of Turre Ventosa (C.31,51) - 'the windy tower' - must have been a result of its position near the sea-shore and its consequent exposure to sea-breezes. The name Alezinos (C.13,15) applied to a length of the defences may have been derived from the same root as the Old French word meaning 'defences', although this remains to be proven⁸. The name Cauda Rubea used in the later 12th. century

for some towers at the north-east angle (C.309,S.354) must refer to some aspect of colour, and has survived in the modern street name of C/Corribia at the foot of the walls.

Other locations cite particular areas within the walls, such as the 'Freginal' in front of the Comital Palace (C.240), the adjacent market and its stalls (C.169) and the Jewish Quarter or Call (C.267). Others, for want of more notable features, cite the most outstanding residences in the area, such as that of Bernat Gelmir (C.39). Finally there are a handful of true place-names which need explanation, First the name 'Paradís' is applied to a house in the existing street of the same name (C.206,242). This was connected with its vicinity to the cemetery around the apses of the Romanesque Cathedral, and was also found in Catalonia at Vic and Egara-Terrassa in similar contexts, as well as further afield⁹. Nearby was the point known as Mons Taber, ab antiquis as the first occurrence of the name tells us (C.71). Various attempts have been made to derive this name from Semitic roots, resulting in fanciful accounts of the origins of the city¹⁰. Nevertheless, the name is only used of a comparatively small area around the highest point within the defences, adjoining the Roman Temple and particularly towards its north, and there is no justification for applying it to the whole of the walled area. Its meaning must remain mysterious.

Last, but by no means least, in this zone, there appears the name Miraculum throughout the 11th. and 12th. centuries (C.45,47). All the available evidence points to its site ^{being} in the same position as the still standing remains of the Roman temple in the C/del Paradís, and on one occasion the pinnaculum or tower of the Miraculum is mentioned (C.310,311), although it is unclear whether this refers to the columns of the temple themselves, or an adjacent structure. Recent explanations have concentrated on the sense of 'mirador' (viewpoint, vantage-point) for this name ¹¹, though I feel it would not be outrageous to suggest a more literal meaning, implying that the name was applied by the early medieval inhabitants of the city who marvelled at the miraculous construction skills of their forebears, as did the Anglo-Saxon poet before the ruins of Roman Bath¹².

Two other place-names appeared in the area near the church of St. Just. The first of these refers to a palm-tree, ipsa Palma (C.276), a type of tree which is also cited at other points in the city, and which in this case gave its name to the C/de la Palma de Sant Just. The second appears in various forms - Tremuletto, Tremoieto and Tremoled (C.196,267) - the latter being closest to the modern Catalan. Two possible meanings might be proposed: firstly, it could refer to a tree (mod. Catalan 'tremoleda') of the aspen or willow family, or secondly to the type of

shivering action performed by this tree and applied to either buildings or a site in the area¹³.

In conclusion, there are a very small number of street names which describe the location of a property, whereas nowadays, of course, this would be the automatic way to provide a locational description. Leaving aside the street descriptions which appear as the boundaries of properties, there are really only two examples. The first of these is C/Lladó, recorded as ad ipsum Ledonem in 1197 (C.345) and possibly derived from the earlier name of Alezinos via the form Aladinos¹⁴. The second is that of C/de la Freneria, usually called the street 'leading towards the Cathedral' in the 12th. century, but which makes its first appearance in an undated document, perhaps of the last decade of the 12th. century, or, more probably, the first decade of the following one¹⁵. It has, however, recently been maintained that this name was derived not from 'freners' or makers of cavalry equipment, who one would not be at all surprised to find in that zone¹⁶, but Farneria or the Comital and Royal granary situated nearby. Nevertheless, the arguments provided in favour of this assertion do not appear to be sufficient to mistrust the traditional etymology¹⁷. Overall, it seems that it was not until a century later that the street-names in the city became fixed, and even then many changes have occurred from the earliest recorded forms to the present day.

ZONE 1 (figs. 83 and 88).

This comprises the north-western sector of the city, that is the area enclosed by the defences between the Bishop's Gate and the ^Castell ^Nou on the one hand, and the modern C/del Call and C/del Bisbe on the other. This part of the city is perhaps the least documented because the Jewish Call took up the greater part of the area in this period, and it is convenient to discuss its topography and extent before considering the remaining 'Christian' documentation.

The extent of the Call was discussed by Bofarull in 1913 with the aid of 13th. century documentation¹⁸, and his account has generally been accepted by later writers. The standard interpretation is, thus, that the southern limit of the Hebrew Quarter then ran to the south of C/del Call, turned northwards when it reached the site of the present day Plaça de Sant Jaume, where an entrance was located, and continued under the site of the Palau de la Generalitat, as far as C/de Sant Sewer, there turning again in the direction of the defences. Carreras Candi drew up a plan of the Call at this date, in a little known work which has remained unused by the other specialists. In this he placed the eastern boundary on a much more irregular line (fig, 83)¹⁹, although it is unfortunate that he never discussed his reasons in print. In more recent years, the subject has remained somewhat neglected, and no great advance has been made

on the authors of half a century ago²⁰.

It seems possible that some light may be thrown on the matter by a consideration of the early medieval documentation referring not only to the immediately surrounding area, but also to the totality of Hebrew owned domains in the urban area. Although it seems probable that there was a Jewish community by the Visigothic period and certainly in the post-Reconquest phase, the earliest unequivocal reference to Hebrew property is the reference to a solario judaico in 971 (C.6)²¹. By that date the community must have been substantial, and suffered severely in 985, for a number of properties for which there was no other heir passed into the hands of the Count²². Throughout the succeeding two centuries the Jewish presence is marked by frequent signatures in Hebrew as participants in or witnesses to a transaction, and in the former case footnotes giving a Hebrew summary of the document's content are common. There are even a handful of documents written exclusively in Hebrew which miraculously survived the pogrom of 1391, in which the majority of the documents referring to the Call itself must have perished^{22bis}.

Although there was clearly an established community from the early 11th. century and probably long before, the first reference to the Call itself is not until 1082 (C.147) and it is surprising that no document referring to this part of the city, especially

those concerning the area of the later Episcopal Palace, in the 1060's and 1070's, mentions it beforehand. In addition, whereas in the period after 1082 there are references to Jewish land-owners in the suburbs and even more so in the territorium, there are none found outside the limits of the Call in the intra-mural area, even though in the first three-quarters of the century this had been a fairly common phenomenon (C.11,45,47,48bis). This may suggest that the definitive establishment of the Call was at some date between 1067, when Jews are found with property near the Regomir Gate (C.114-5), and 1082, although this district had presumably long been the centre of Jewish residence in the city. It may be that this occurred during the period of dispute between Count Ramon Berenguer II and his brother, Berenguer Ramon II, since a document containing a list of the heads of families of the Jewish community is found at that date²³.

From that date onwards, references to the Call begin to multiply; most are normally in documents related to Christian-owned properties bordering the Call, although C/Llibreteria was described in 1106 as itinere qui vadit ad Callu Iudaico (C.186), presumably indicating that it led towards the entrance located at the corner of Plaça de Sant Jaume. The available evidence suggests that all property within the Call was generally in the hands of Hebrews, although it was not impossible for Christians to acquire certain

rights, particularly as a result of unfulfilled mortgages or pledges. For example, in 1197 Bernat Dionís gave the altar of Sant Dionís in the Cathedral L morabetinos in meo pignore ipsius furni de Calle Judaico (C.343) and in the will of Ermengol of 016 in 1166, he left instructions ut redimant meum cobertor de Calle Judaico per XL solidi, which may indicate a similar financial operation²⁴.

Little is known of the internal structure of the Call. Later documentation indicates the existence of at least two synagogues and the associated educational establishments which are implied by the cultural achievements of inhabitants of the 12th. century Call²⁵. Carreras Candi indicated (fig. 83) the presence of a group of kosher butchers, and the donation of Bernat Dionís indicates the existence of a separate bread-oven for the community. Of private housing little is known because of the total absence of sources, though it is possible that some of the oldest surviving urban houses are situated within its limits²⁶. This is also borne out by the evidence of the hoard discovered in C/Sant Sever in a wall on the first floor of a house²⁷. The street plan shows a strong degree of conservatism, being more closely related to the Roman plan than any other part of the city, and it is likely that its current form was already established by the later 11th. century, apart for the cutting of the Baixada de Santa Eulalia and minor variations in the course of C/del Call²⁸.

Let us now return to the question of its limits: Carreras Candi suggested two phases of the Call, an earlier one up to the 13th. century, delimited by the defences, C/Sant Sever, C/Sant Honorat and C/del Call, and a subsequent one, of slightly larger size, the western and southern limits being replaced by the C/de Banyas Nous and a line approximately corresponding to that of the 19th. century C/de Ferran²⁹. Bofarull's interpretation, more widely known and accepted, is based on a document which he interpreted as containing the limits of the Call, although the information therein is very imprecise²⁹; ~~this~~ ^{his} pushes the western limit further towards C/del Bisbe. In support of this interpretation one might mention the walls found during restoration work in the Palau de la Generalitat in 1909, which have been claimed as the demarcation of the Call (fig. 84)³⁰.

It is apparent that the land immediately to the south of C/del Call was in Christian hands in 1058 (C.92), although in the later 12th. century at least one property to the south of the Castell Nou was owned by a Jew (C.303) suggesting that some expansion may have occurred. The hypothesis of Carreras Candi in this case may therefore be fairly accurate. To the west the line of the defences forms a natural boundary, though it seems probable that the practice of the inclusion of property at the foot of the walls as adjuncts of intra-mural houses led to the expansion

of the Call in that direction. The presence of the New Baths (Banyes Nous), constructed and initially operated by Jews, in this area also aided this process³¹.

The boundary to the east and north is the most difficult to establish. Documents of 1082, 1114 and 1116 (C.147, 192, 198) indicate the presence of Christian-owned houses to the west of the line of the C/del Bisbe, opposite the Canonical buildings, but immediately to the east of the Call. The location of a street to the north in the documents of 1082 and 1116 probably places this property to the south of C/de Sant Sever. If this line continued without changing orientation, it would indeed suggest that the wall located in the Pati dels Taronjers could have limited the Call. However, a further problem arises in a document of 1156 (C.267). In this Bernat Ministre bought houses which bordered to the west with the properties of three Jews, which must be presumed to have been within the Call. On the other hand, it is known that Bernat had property to the west of the Paradis houses (C.297, 302, 305, 306), and various indications would lead one to suppose that these two properties of Bernat were in fact one and the same. However, the boundaries implied for this document (fig. 92) would then indicate that this property either extended across the line of C/del Bisbe, blocking the course of a street which

has often been presumed to have been unimpeded for two thousand years, or, alternatively, it was entirely located to the east of this street, although the boundaries listed preferred for some unknown reason to cite the holdings on its opposite side rather than the street line itself. That the line of C/del Bisbe was in fact blocked is not as unlikely as may at first seem, for Carreras indicated in his plan of this area (fig. 85) 'abierto en 1379' on this section of the street, although it has been impossible to locate his source for such a suggestion³¹ bis. In addition, Millás suggested in 1969 that at the time of the pogrom of 1391, the boundary of the Call was on the west side of this street.³² One might thus suppose that the limit ran from the Castell Nou to the junction of C/del Bisbe and Plaça de Sant Jaume,^{and} from there along the west side of the former, as far as an uncertain point to the south of C/de Sant Sever (fig. 88).

From C/de Sant Sever onwards, the boundary was probably somewhat further north than usually proposed. It is known that houses near the Episcopal Palace had Hebrew properties lying to the south (C.294) and Bishop Arnau had even acquired such a property, presumably to expand the episcopal domains in this area prior to the commencement of the new palace (C.230,235). The very irregular course and name of C/del Montjuïc del Bisbe suggest that this street could have formed such a demarcation, which would have joined the line of the defences in the region

of Sant Felip Neri, the construction of which in the 18th. century masked earlier property divisions³³. Such a point would also coincide with the number of towers allocated to the Jews in the 15th. century account of the defences³⁴ (fig. 74).

One may reasonably ask what form this separation between the Hebrew and Christian communities took. For the moment the sources are contradictory, although a strategically placed excavation trench could rapidly provide a solution. The walls excavated in the Palau de la Generalitat were indeed of some height, and appear to have included small towers, although, as has been noted, they were probably not the limit of the Call, at least in the last decades of its life. Moreover, at least in the 13th. century, there were two gates to the Call, one in the Plaça de Sant Jaume, the other to the west, of uncertain location, but presumably adjoining the Castell Nou³⁵. In addition the document of 1082 refers to a street that solebat ire ad callem Judaicum. The tense of the verb is important, suggesting that something had happened to impede this previous function, such as the construction of a dividing wall between the two parts of the city. On the other hand, the descriptions of properties adjoining the Jewish ones make no reference to such a wall, and the boundaries are not noticeably different from those existing elsewhere in the city³⁶. In addition, the purchases of Bishop Arnau from Jews

and the isolated Hebrew property on the south side of the Call in 1168 (C.303) suggest that the limits of the Call were much more elastic in the generally more tolerant atmosphere of the 12th. century than might be supposed, and it may not have been until the decrees of Jaume I that the boundary was strictly established and a more effective barrier built in a period of increasing anti-Semitism³⁷.

The area of zone 1 thus remaining in Christian hands was limited to a strip of uncertain dimensions on the west side of the C/del Bisbe, plus the wedge between C/de Montjuïc del Bisbe and the defences, largely occupied from the mid-12th. century onwards by the new Episcopal Palace.

Of the former part, little can be said. Leaving aside the purchase made by Bernat Ministre in 1156 for discussion with the zone to the east, there are but three documents that can be linked with this strip. In 1082, Bishop Umbert, as part of what seems to have been a general move to make better use of the Cathedral's accumulated acquisitions, gave Ermengol Ramon, a judge, his wife and son, houses next to the door of the Canonica, presumably referring to a site opposite an entrance similar to that of the Gothic cloister (C.147). Hebrew owned property lay to the west, while to the south was the 'Hort de Sant Cugat' held by Bernat the Archdeacon, which

confirms the proposed location for this property for it is known to have stretched across the line of C/del Bisbe at the end of the block to the south of the Canonical buildings (C.90,143) (Fig. 92). In the period 1114-6 Ermengol Ramon and his family sold this property in three or four successive parts to Guerau Ramon, canon of Barcelona, for a total of 36 morabetins (C.192,198). From these documents it is apparent that it was partially allodial and partially held from the canons. Its subsequent history remains unknown.

In stark contrast, the area of the later 12th. century Episcopal Palace is one of the best documented parts of the city, and an elaborate story of its development can be written. It begins in the year 1066 when the heirs of a certain Audeguer sold a priest called Pere Seniofret a house with numerous adjuncts for 21 mancusos. Several years later, daughters of Audeguer Gondemar, presumably the same person, are found selling parts of a similarly located property, giving the impression of the disposal of an originally united property in various parts (C.110, 117,118). The prices paid by the purchaser on this occasion, a certain Joan Gamaz, were similarly small for a decade of high inflation, which might support the idea of fragmentation.

The next we hear of this property is some ten years later when the joint counts passed it to their

cousin, Adaledis, stating that they had received it as a result of confiscation from Joan Gamaz, because of the latter's counterfeiting activities (C.132). A small part of the same was sold a month later to Ramon Dalmau, described as a deacon (C.133). However, he had already acquired other property in this area from Viscount Udalard for a sum of 280 mancusos, (C.130) and only six months later was able to spend another 322 mancusos on ~~a~~ property located, like that of the Viscount, on the defences (C.134), which may in fact have been the buying out of a sitting tenant, whereas the Viscount had held the allodial rights. Finally he seems to have obtained the remaining part of Adaledis' property in 1081 for another 280 mancusos (C.146). Although it is difficult to draw a plan of this area since the original boundaries have been obliterated by the construction of the Episcopal Palace, I feel that the evidence points to all these properties as having been located on that site. Several of the documents refer to a location near the Canonica, which lay to the west of the cathedral, and one refers to the cloister (C.134). The other associations are with the Archdeacon's Towers, which are known to have been the gate-towers of the Bishop's gate. Thus it seems likely that Ramon Dalmau acquired all the property in the area later occupied by the first phase of the Palace, apart from that of Pere S_eniofret in the south-eastern angle of the block. In fact, Ramon's behaviour may not have been at all exemplary towards this neighbour, for a donation of

1097, by Pere, by now a canon, to Guillem Arnau tells of part of his estate having been unjustly destroyed by Ramon Dalmau (C.178). The exact reason for this must remain unknown, but in the light of his earlier purchasing activities, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that he was using strong arm methods to persuade an unwilling neighbour to sell.

In addition, Ramon Dalmau made an important alteration to the house he had bought by building a vault on the defences between towers 77 and 78, after having obtained the necessary permission from the bishop and canons (C.137). Using this he was able to expand this property so that in his will he was able to describe it as solarium unum et turrem, voltam et ipsum murum cum camara usque ad turrem cum curtale et viridario et domo iuxta portam (C.194). He bequeathed these, his best houses, to the Cathedral of Barcelona, but at the same time he had other property at the foot of the walls there, other houses near the Castell Nou, was receiving rents from houses in C/Llibreteria and near St.Miquel, and had bought and sold another property in the Paradis block³⁸.

The next two and a half decades are somewhat confusing. Ramon Berenguer III referred in his will to this property, conceding all his rights to the Cathedral.³⁹ There may have been a dispute with the Count about the right to give a permit to alter the

state of the defences, although this is only hypothetical. However, the will of Bishop Arnau of 1142 (C.230) shows further episcopal interest in the area, for he had bought two other properties - one from a certain Guerau, which he left to the college of Sta. Maria de Solsona, the other from a Jew called Ianto, which passed to the altar of St. Nicolau of the Cathedral (C.266). Other houses bought from a Jew named Jarato were bequeathed to his brothers Ponç and Berenguer.

In April 1144, the latter restored his part of the property to the new bishop for 40 morabetins (C. 237). Similarly in 1166 the houses of the Solsona community passed back into episcopal hands, and from this document we find that they were next to the new palace on the line of the defences (C.298). To the west of these were houses belonging to the canon, Bernat of Puigalt, who made an agreement with the tenant of the Solsona houses in 1154 over the height of a dividing wall and some offending overlooking windows (C.262). The same canon acquired more property in 1164 from a certain Gaszon, which bordered with houses that must have been located within the Call (C.294). Part of this property passed on his death to the bishop, the rest to the altar of St. Andreu⁴⁰. However, by an agreement of 1184, these were also acquired by the bishop in exchange for houses in the suburbs (C.326). All these moves

can be seen as part of a steady process to expand the episcopal domains in this part of the city, where his principal urban residence had already been established⁴¹.

The area was thus from the later 11th. century a densely urbanised one, with few references to gardens or trees. A large proportion of the owners were clerics, and the presence of the bishop became all important after the mid-12th. century, to the extent that part of the Call may have passed from Jewish hands directly into those of the spiritual leader of the Christian community.

ZONE 2

This is the area defined by the defences to the north-west and north-east, that is the length between the Bishop's Gate and the Castell Vell, and within the walls limited by the modern C/del Bisbe and C/de Llibreteria. About half of the documents referring to the intra-mural area concern this zone, thus making it the best documented, and the quarter that can be described in most detail. Much of what follows is based on the initial premise that the area today occupied by the cathedral and dependent structures was the same as that covered by similar buildings and the associated structures from the mid-11th. century onwards, as argued in the previous chapter,

and as a consequence of this there has been little subsequent change in the street pattern of the zone.

There have been two previous attempts at drawing a plan of this quarter in the period under discussion. The first, that of Carreras Candi⁴², and the second, which remains unpublished, is very recent⁴³. Carreras Candi accepted the traditional inverted orientation for the Romanesque Cathedral, thereby considerably distorting the results. The more recent plan correctly associated much of the material, although a larger quantity is used here, both from a wider range of archive sources and with the use of wills, which often enable one to trace a single property in time rather than just locate it on a plan. Moreover, the latter plan paid little respect to existing property boundaries with the result that the divisions created are all hypothetical, and frequently of a size which is too small to have been probable.

The bulk of documentation makes it worthwhile subdividing the zone into smaller units based on street blocks.

a) The defences from the Bishop's Gate to the Comital Palace (fig.90).

In this length of the walls there were eleven towers, most of which can be allocated for this period. The earliest documentation refers to the area

nearest the first gate and in this case it is logical to begin there.

The first tower and the adjoining property was occupied, from c.1040 at least, by the Archdeacon of Barcelona. Given the documents which cite domos de Archidiacono and turre et curte Archilevite Barchinonensis (C.62-64), the references to Archidiaconal property on the othersside of the gate (C.130,134, 137), the mention of turres quae dicunt Archidiaconales in Papal Bulls of 1169 and 1176⁴⁴, and the continuity of occupation of the site by the Casa de l'Ardiaca down to the present day, there seems to be no reason to doubt this conclusion.

Immediately to the east stood a private house of some size. It is first mentioned in a document of 1018 when a deacon named Guillem, son of Sanctio, gave it to a priest called Gaucefret (C.33). He seems to have given it to a nephew of the same name, son of Trasuad, who in turn gave his portion, a half, to his brother Arluvi and his mother, in 1035 (C.57). This donation is repeated to his brother alone four years later, and yet again in the form of a sale for eight mancuso (C.62,63).

However, they were not the only people with rights over these houses, for in the following year we find a woman, Bona, and her three sons pledging

the property to Ermengol Auruz, son of judge Auruz the Greek, for 26 measures of grain (C.64). Presumably this debt was settled, for later in the same year two of the sons, Segarius and Gaucéfret are found selling the house, with the exception of Arluvi's part, to Bernat Amat, probably the noble of Claramunt of that name⁴⁵, and his wife for 8 ounces of gold (C.65). This price, which differs from the earlier one by a factor of seven, illustrates that there were obviously multiple rights over this property, which are not easily unravelled in the absence of detailed genealogical material. The consistent boundaries are the walls and the 'Hort' of the monastery of St. Llorenç del Munt to the north, the Archdeacon to the west, a certain Fulc Guisad to the east and the street to the south. Fulc is cited again in 1052, as is Bernat Amat in the same document and in 1054 (C.78, 83), both concerning properties on the other side of the street.

Beyond Fulc's property was another owned by the family of Bona, which was pledged in 1039 for six mancusos (C.61): this, like their other house, included a wall-tower, probably number 4. To the south lay a house of Ramon the Archdeacon, whereas to the east was a street. It is also possible that a further document of 1036 refers to this, although since it is now lost, this must remain uncertain (C.56). In the lowering of the level of the square in front of the cathedral in 1952, two parallel massive walls

were located, which may have marked the street cited in 1039⁴⁶. Of the later history of this part little is known: by the 13th. century the house of the Dean had been established adjoining towers 3 and 4. It was demolished in 1422 when the existing square was laid out⁴⁷.

In the rubrics of the Cartulary of Barcelona Cathedral, written in the 13th. century, there is a mention of the Dean's House when referring to a property to the east of it (C.283)⁴⁸. This was in 1161 although the property had passed into the canons' hands some sixty-six years earlier, when Deodat Bernat had given^{them} his house between the tower and yard of the Cathedral (either the Archidiaconal or the Dean's property) and the Canonical dormitory (C.175). Another document of 1110, the donation of this same house to Roger Pere, canon, also mentions the dormitory (C.190). This dormitory seems to have come into use in a moment of reform-mindedness in the late 11th. century, and when first recorded was clearly located over part of the Cathedral Hospital (S.190). Some structural fragments still surviving between towers 6 and 7 may belong to this phase⁴⁹.

It is interesting to note that Deodat Bernat was a descendant of the Bernat Amat of 1040, and Fulc Guisad may have been related to the same family⁵⁰. It thus seems probable that at some date in the second half of the 11th. century the greater

part of the property between towers 2 and 5 was amalgamated by this family, and then sub-divided again by the officers of the cathedral. The donation of 1161 is to the Ebdomarii (C.283), although two days beforehand another part of these houses had been separated and passed to the Hospital administration (C.282). On the other side of the Hospital was a property held by the Queralt family until 1134, when a house including tower 8 was given to the Templars (C.218): the location of the dormitory to the west of this property makes the location certain. The later history of this property is complicated, although Jaume I seems to have given part to the Mercedarians, who later sold it to the Cathedral for the construction of the Pia Almoina and the cutting of the Baixada dels Canonj⁵¹. In the 12th. century at least, a property of the Sacristan and the cemetery in front of the Cathedral lay to the south.

Further east, following the line of the defences, was a property belonging to the Castellvell family, which included three wall-towers (nos.9,10 and 11). First cited in the donation to the Templars, it is found again in 1171 when the whole complex, known as the domus de Cauda Rubea, was given by Ramon of Castellvell, future Bishop of Barcelona, to the canons (C.309). There seems to have been a dispute concerning this house towards the end of the century with Berenguer of Barcelona, which was settled by a cash payment

in 1195 (C.338) and a lesser payment to Berenguer's tenant, Ramon the Skinner, in the following year (C.334,341). The neighbouring houses of the Sacristan passed to form part of the patrimony of the new altar of St, Tomàs of Canterbury in 1186 (C.328).

The sector between the Cauda Rubea houses and the Comital Palace is perhaps the most difficult to interpret. Plans of the Royal Palace suggest a three-tower structure adjoining it to the north, which was later incorporated: this would then be the Castellvell property including towers 9 to 11⁵². However, earlier sources going back to the beginning of the 10th. century indicate that the Episcopal Palace was originally in this area. One can only presume that the space between the Castellvell property and the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona was occupied by this palace, and that by 1171 it had been given over to the Sacristan, for it is not mentioned in the donation of that year (C.309). Indeed, two documents of 1161 may refer to the effective demise and dismemberment of the old episcopal domains (C. 282-3). At some uncertain date after 1200 both this property and the Cauda Rubea towers passed into Royal hands for the enlargement of the Palace, an extension beyond the original northern entrance frequently referred to in later 11th. century sources⁵³.

b) The site of the Romanesque Cathedral (Fig. 86, 89).

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the site of the Gothic Cathedral was previously largely occupied by the Romanesque one and its dependencies. To the north and south lay cemeteries and to the west the cloister and canonical buildings. However, there were a few private structures in the midst of this ecclesiastical complex until the mid-12th century, and there is also an amount of information for the period prior to the construction of the Romanesque Cathedral, mainly concerning the area of the cloister. This material can be divided into two sub-groups.

i) The northern group.

In 1084, Mir Guillem gave the recently revived Cathedral Hospital some houses that he held as a result of an exchange with the canons of others that had been bequeathed to him in order to establish a charitable institution (C.149). The location of these, according to the borders, with streets to the north and west, and the Refectory and the Canonica to the east and south, was probably more or less on the site of the 13th century chapel of Sta. Lucia. The original bequest to Mir had taken place nearly half a century before (C.60) and although the exchange with the canons is no longer extant, this property was also near the cathedral. To the east of this property lay houses belonging to a certain Esteve, which may well have been those donated to an Esteve in 1031, and located to the west of the Cathedral entrance (C.50). If the pre-Romanesque cathedral

was on the same site, or the Romanesque one had already been commenced, it would be most logical to place these houses in the area now occupied by the Chapter House.

Another property which was clearly in the same area was that sold by Bonfill Guillem to the Bishop and canons in 1054 for ten ounces of gold, a substantial price for that date (C.83). Among the neighbouring owners were Esteve and Mir Guillem, and to the north lay the square in front of the Cathedral, the property of the Archdeacon, Bernat Amat and Fulc Guisad, all of whom, as has been seen above, had property along the back of the defences. A similar acquisition of two years earlier, also mentioning the last two names, was made from the abbot of the monastery of St. Martin della Isola Gallinaria near Albenga (C.78). In this case the property was a piece of land in front of the Cathedral entrance and presumably sought to provide space for enlarging the square and cemetery.

The common point in these sources is the pattern of acquisition by Barcelona Cathedral in the years surrounding the consecration of 1058, suggesting a need to obtain by whatever means possible certain properties in order to complete certain projects (C.87). However, not all were so essential, for in 1078, the bishop gave canon Ponç Geribert two small

houses near the Cathedral entrance and the church of the Holy Sepulchre: they had been previously used as an Infirmary and Chapter House, perhaps as temporary accomodation during the construction phase (C.138). Later, in 1092, Ponç obtained a destroyed house adjoining these and the cemetery (C.167). He proceeded to rebuild this, as described in his will of 1116, when he left it to Mir Seniofret (C.197). Another property described in 1155 may have been similarly located adjoining the cemetery, although it is equally possible that it was in the cemetery around the cathedral apses (C.266).

ii) The southern group (Fig. 89)

Another group of properties would seem to have been located between the cloister and the 'Hort' of Sant Cugat located at the northern end of the Paradis block, if the hypothesis of a pre-Romanesque Cathedral is accepted. If not, an alternative location for the cloister mentioned in 1020 must be found, and since it would appear to be difficult to place it adjoining the early Christian basilica, and the power of the continuity argument is strong, a location within the bounds of the succeeding cloisters, but covering a much smaller area, seems convincing.

The key document is an exchange between Bonucias and the Bishop and canons of a site and house, bordering to the east with the canonical cloister, to

the north an access alley, to the south Richild's property, and to the west a street (C.35). The canons were given permission to construct a dormitory, refectory or 'cellar' . The same property had been earmarked for the cathedral in 1014 by Gondeballus, preserving the rights of Bonucius (C.29), who was also referred to in Wilaranus' will of 1011 (C.27).

One of the neighbours of the 1020 document was also mentioned in 1009 as having property next to the Cathedral (C.22). A neighbour in this document, Ato the priest, also occurs in a document of 1044 (C.70) and again in 1047, when his possessions passed to Ramon the Judge (C.74). He , in turn, is mentioned in a donation of property by the monastery of Sant Cugat to Barcelona Cathedral in 1057 (C.90) and this property was located next to the Canonica. This was by no means the only property of this monastery for the sources indicate the presence of a large tract at the northern end of the Paradís block.

All these stray details combine to locate these houses and gardens in the southern and western part of the Gothic cloister, and the steady acquisition of such properties by the Cathedral (and probably others which cannot be accurately related, e.g. C.19) provided the necessary space for the great expansion of the Cathedral and its annexes in the mid-11th. century.

c) The Defences from the Comital Palace to the Castell Vell (Fig. 91).

In contrast to the unit just described, which was only documented in the 11th. century, this area remains undocumented until the 12th. century. Between the block where the Hospital d'en Guitart was located and the row of structures backing onto the defences was an open space referred to as the 'Freginal' on the site of what was later to become the Plaça de la Corretjeria⁵⁴ and afterwards the Plaça del Rei and Cort del Veguer. It was wider than the present day street, thus providing a suitably impressive approach to the main entrance of the Comital Palace. The function of the 'Freginal' was probably to provide corralling and grazing space for horses, whether they were of nobles and knights attending the Palace, or of merchants and wealthy farmers visiting the nearby market (C.186,208,240)⁵⁵.

Like much of this part of the city, the houses on the line of the defences here had a semi-industrial nature. In 1138/9 Berenguer Ramon, Vicar of Barcelona, gave the Templars rights over a workshop ante ipsum ferragenal iuxta Castrum Vetus (C.225), and located next to Arnau the Shoemaker's workshop. The latter re-appears in 1142 in a document referring to the transferral of rights on houses with a length of the walls, land, a yard and workshops, located

between the Castell Vell and Marti Petit's property (C.227). The same property was sold in 1164, though on this occasion the description included a wall-tower (C.295). It changed hands again in 1188 when it was given as a dowry (C.329) a provision that was confirmed in the donor's will of 1190 (C.332). A lost document of 1203 appears to have indicated that the important Dionís family also had property in this area on the line of the defences in the later 12th.century⁵⁶. To the north of these were the houses of the Palou family, probably located near the entrance to the Palace and ^{the} chapel of Sta.María. The property of the Palou family is also mentioned in another document of 1201⁵⁷.

Surprisingly no trace of medieval structures seems to have been found in the Plaça del Rei excavations, with the exception of a mortar pavement covering the 6th.century burials, presumably representing an early surface of the square⁵⁸. It is feasible that the properties indicated above were contained within the space between the Castell Vell and the modern limit of the Casa Padellás, which was transported to the site in the 1930's. A few medieval walls which were recorded during its reconstruction may confirm this idea, as might the supposition that the property of the Petit family passed to the Dionís⁵⁹.

It is uncertain whether the lack of earlier

documentation for this area is significant or not. Certainly, elsewhere on the defences other similar structures were being built by the early 11th. century. It is possible that until the 12th. century the 'Freginal' was of larger size, running up to the inner face of the defences, and not until the emergence of artisan activity was the demand for space sufficient to cause it to be built up.

d) The Comital Palace area (fig. 91).

The history of the Palace has already been considered, and it has been demonstrated that it must have been of similar size to the main hall of the later Medieval palace - the Tinell - with the possible addition of a few chambers to the north. It was already on this site in the 10th. century and may have had origins of Visigothic date. To the south lay a square and the 'Freginal' mentioned above. Adjoining the palace on the line of the defences was the Chapel of Sta. Maria.

To the west and south-west of the palace were a series of private structures, most of which would seem to have been located on the site of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, or the adjoining Plaça de Sant Iu. The early history of this block is obscure. The first possible reference is that to an aula canonicorum to the north of the Hospital d'en Guitart in 1045 (C. 71). This is never heard of again, although canonical property in this area was later

extensive. This may have been a reference to the general extent of the early canonical 'cloister', and the reference to trees in both this document and the donation of 1009 (C.21) supports this interpretation. Whatever the case, the area seems to have had a surprisingly low density of structures.

In 1067, Bishop Berenguer ceded Company Tudiscle a site for the construction of houses located in loco vocitato Mons Tamber (C.113). To the west lay the Comital Palace and the square in front of it, to the south and east streets leading towards the Cathedral, and to the north the subsidiary entrance to the Palace, that referred to in the description of the Castellvell family's property to the north. The bishop had obtained this property from the brothers Guifret and Ramon Seniofret. The latter had property near the cloister in 1044 (C.70), in the Miracle block in 1066 (C.111) and attested his will in 1080 (C.144). The former, however, is found only on one other occasion, in the settlement of a dispute with the same brother, in which Ramon transferred his rights to Guifret (C.98). The fact that this dispute was settled in episcopali domo may be a clue to the location of this house, for the Episcopal Palace at this time was immediately to the north, and its vicinity may have determined that the matter was taken there for litigation. It would seem that Company died without completing his obligation, for his will of 1069 refers only to his houses in the suburbs (S.151).

Some nine years later Bishop Umbert renewed the efforts of his predecessor to rebuild this sector when he gave some land and an old house to a certain Bernat Udalard, with the condition that this should be reconstructed (C.131). The similarity of the boundaries, with the exception of the additional presence of Comital houses to the east, perhaps suggesting a colonization of the square and 'Freginal', indicates that this was the same property as given to Company. Bernat Udalard failed to keep his part of the agreement for in the following year legal action was taken by the canons who demanded an explanation for his mistreatment of these houses (C.142).

This must have been settled satisfactorily for a decade later the Count gave him the adjoining houses fronting onto the square (C.162). The reason for such a donation is unstated, but it may have been connected with the relationship of Bernat to the vicecomital family, it seeming possible that he was a younger son of Viscount Udalard. In 1095 we have the first indication of the type of activity taking place in this zone. Bernat and his wife Persedia gave their son-in-law, Martí Petit (I) all their workshops and oven in loco vocitato Monte Taber extending de ipso pinnaculo nostro solarario usque ad portam Palacii Comitalli, which they state had been acquired from the canons and counts (C.172). It is unclear what was being manufactured in these

workshops, although, as Dr. Bonnassie has pointed out, the donation of three atauds or chests, one of Moorish manufacture and another in Lombardic style, probably indicates some type of fine carpentry⁶⁰. As Balzri also pointed out, the rights of the canons were maintained, and Martí Petit (I) had to continue to pay an annual rent, thus illustrating that these dealings rather than outright sales⁶¹ were emphyteutical in nature. The annual rent of 8 mancusos established in 1078 suggests along with the other evidence that this property was extensive, for rents of one or two mancusos were general at the time.

In 1097, Count Ramon Berenguer III added more adjacent houses for a hundred pieces of good silver (C.179). Ten days later Bernat Udalard mortgaged his houses to his daughter and son-in-law for 360 mancusos, a debt that was never settled (C.180). The reasons for such an operation were unstated, although it is possible that he was experiencing the financial difficulties that seem to have affected the vicecomital family in the later 11th. century. Nevertheless, when he re-married two years later, he was still able to give his new wife, Eg, four hundred mancusos rovalentis plus half of his houses (C.182).

It is not certain when Bernat died, but his daughter Azaledis drew up her will in 1114, leaving other houses which were nearby on the defences, but not contiguous, to her husband (C.193). Like so much

other property in this area, these had been acquired from the Count. She must have died shortly afterwards for two years later Martí had remarried and gave his new wife part of the complex which had been acquired from the Count and had previously belonged to Pere Guifret of Besalú. From the boundaries declared in this document we also learn that Bernat Udalard was dead (C.199).

There then follows a quarter of a century of silence until Martí Petit (I) appears in a document of 1142 as married to a Guillema, his third wife. In this document they gave their son, Martí Petit (II), to the Cathedral of Barcelona, to be a canon, along with the debt of 360 mancusos, workshops and the oven (C.228). This was returned to their possession later in the same year (C.229). Twenty years later their son the canon recognized that he still held the same property, although some changes had been made (C.285). The oven had disappeared, although he gave permission for it to be rebuilt, and in its place were more workshops to a total of five, tria scilicet nova et duo vetera. He also refers to the mortgage of his grandfather as being of 100 m^orabetins, which gives a useful exchange rate between late 11th. century mancusos and 12th. century monetary units.

After Martí Petit (II)'s death, part of the property, at least, passed to the Colrado family. In 1173

Jóan Colrado and his sister, Bona, gave their nephew Guillem their rights for 1100 solidos (C.314) and at the beginning of the 13th. century, he sold them back to the canons for 400 morabetins, and the borders show that either the property had been further subdivided, or that the area in front of the Royal Palace had become increasingly urbanised, for there are references to three distinct houses to the east⁶².

It would be worthwhile to study the later history of this site, because of an erroneous connection between the early Episcopal Palace and the structures which have been excavated in this area. This idea appears to have originated in the writings of the 18th. century episcopal archivist, Campillo, who stated that for the construction of the Palau del Lloctinent, the present-day Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, it was necessary to buy houses next to the old Palace, among which were properties of the Bishop. He interpreted the reference to the old palace as meaning the Episcopal Palace, although there is no reason why it should not have referred to the Comital-Royal one. Another document of 1316 also refers to houses in this zone. In this the bishop ceded his rights to Jaume II, and gave his permission for the demolition of the bridge which joined these structures to the late Romanesque additions to the Cathedral. This bridge could not have been built before the mid-13th. century, and it must be assumed that the structures

on the east side of the street were in the hands of the Sacristan, perhaps as compensation for those further north, lost in the 13th. century expansion of the Royal Palace. ~~Some~~ of these structures were soon demolished for the laying out of the Plaça de Sant Iu, although the others to the south remained in ecclesiastical hands until the 16th. century. The absolute lack of references to an Episcopal Palace is striking.⁶³

Consequently there is no reason to associate the 6th. century structures excavated in the Plaça de Sant Iu and under the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón with the original Episcopal Palace. Such evidence as we have would suggest that this was slightly further towards the north. A more probable association would be the identification of this structure with the old house leased to Bernat Udalard in 1078. This tripartite structure would presumably have been refurbished, and finally demolished in the early 14th. century, as indeed the discovery of architectural fragments of the Romanesque Cathedral within the filling of the various rooms might suggest.

e) The Hospital d'En Guitart area (Fig.91)

This area remains undocumented until 1045, when Count Ramon Berenguer I and Countess Elisabeth gave an extensive property to the Hospital (C.71). The borders are of interest, although it should be taken into account that the orientation is anomalous as is apparent from the location of the whole prope ianuam quae respicit septentrionem. To the east (south) lay the banchis vel in via quae ducit euntes et reuntes as ianuam Castellii Novi (= C/Llibreteria): to the south (west) was the border in Miraculo seu in monte ab antiquis nuncupatus est Taber (= the area of the Roman Temple): to the west (north) a border in aula canonicorum vel in janua quae cominus patet iuxta arbores qui dicuntur ulmi (= probably the site of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón and the early canonical cloister extending to the west) and finally to the north (east) was fori foribus (=the edge of the market). The document is not without its mysteries for the phraseology is most unusual for a document of the period, and given that the original does not survive, doubts might be cast on its authenticity. Nevertheless, that there was a hospital on this site, in part or all of the block, is proved by various later documents, although it did not prosper and probably ceased to function in the first decades of the 12th. century.

The documents here related to this zone in the early 12th. century are somewhat problematical, as some of the locations are uncertain and are based on the association with other properties held by the same individuals in securely located deals, and also partly through a policy of exclusion, for it seems impossible to locate them elsewhere if all the available indications are taken into account.

In 1125 Viscount Guilabert gave his daughter Arsendis and his son-in-law, Guillem Ramon of the Castellvell lineage, Vicar of Barcelona, houses held by Gerbert Astarum (the Spearmaker ?) with adjacent workshops. The borders place streets on all four sides, which either suggests a very large property, or that they are no more than a general location of several separate units (C.206). To the east lay the street from the market above the Hospital to the Cathedral. To the south was the street where the door of Arnau Adals' property opened. To the north^{ran} the street from the Comital Palace to the Paradis and finally to the west another street leading in the direction of the Cathedral. It might be argued that these limits could also be used to describe the block to the west, where indeed the Viscounts held estates, but it is rather strange that none of the other property-owners known there are recorded.

That Arnau Adals had property in this block is demonstrated by other documents. In 1093 he received a pledge of houses with workshops located ante portam maiore prope ipsos bancos (C.169). The anomalous borders suggest either a location at the corner of C/ Llibreteria and Cort del Veguer or of the same street and C/Freneria. In 1126, Bishop Oleguer gave the canons some houses held by Ramon Arnau the Baker, together with his bread-oven, as bequeathed to the Bishop in Berenguer Bernat's will (C.208). These were situated super ipsum ferregenalem, a space which has already been shown to have been on the site of the Cort del Veguer and Plaça del Rei, and adjoining the houses of Arnau Adals, and so once again a location within this block seems the most acceptable.

However, the most detailed information comes from the Cartulary of the Cistercian house of Poblet, in a series of documents studied by Dr.Cabestany, but mistakenly located to the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona as a result of the confusion of the two 11th.century hospitals, a subject which has recently been clarified by Mn.Baucells⁶⁴. In March 1145 Ramon Berenguer IV gave Guillem the Cutler half a workshop between those of Guerau Ferrer and Pong, of Toulouse in ipsis voltis que condam fuerunt hospitalis for the sum of 30 solidos. They faced onto a street leading towards the Cathedral (=C/Freneria) and stood before the

houses of the late Gerbert Astarum, who was mentioned in the document of 1125 (C.239).

Six days later, another part of this area was sold to Bernat the Shield-maker and Guillem the Weaver (C.240). The details included in this document are among the most intricate in such conveyance sources. The arches and terrace sold were super ipsis voltis que condam fuerunt hospitalis and above the Count's bread-oven, and adjoined the 'Freginal'. To the east were the house-walls of the late Pere Bernat Marcus's sons and a dung-hill "where you should make a stone staircase to ascend to aforesaid houses". To the south was the 'Freginal' and the street "where you should build a porch with beams and a portico on top of aforesaid arches, and with an exit into the same street". To the west was the street leading to the cathedral (= C/Freneria) running before Gerbert Astarum's houses "on which street, next to the wall of Guerau Ferrer's workshop you should make a stone staircase, by the instructions of the probi homines and my Bailiff, in order to ascend to your aforesaid houses" and finally to the north was "the half of aforesaid vault which is held by Ramon Celler, and house-walls of the aforesaid late Pere Bernat's sons". The appearance of staircases suggests that the area was far from level, a feature of the natural topography that can be noted today, and the Count was trying to maximise his use

of an area that had fallen into decay.

Little over a year later, Guillem the Cutler sold his share to Bernat the Shield-maker and his partner for 45 solidos, thus making a fifty percent profit (C.245). In 1172 Bernat gave his son of the same name his half of the property, and he had already received the other half from his uncle Guillem (C.313). Bernat the younger became a conversus of the Cistercian monastery of Poblet in 1185, and donated this property on his acceptance (C.327). In 1203 it was in the hands of the Sunyer family⁶⁵. The presence of small workshops in this area is still visible today in the small size of the properties fronting onto C/Freneria

Most of the remaining documents seem to refer to the southern part of this block between C/Brocaters and Baixada del Presó. In 1174 there is a reference to a house in ipso ferregenali with streets on all four sides, which may suggest colonization of a previously open space (C.316). In the same year the priest Pere Dominic bequeathed to the canons houses with workshops apud ferregenale (C.317). The same person had appeared in 1171 when he had given the canons houses described as being near the Miracle, but perhaps more probably located in this block (C.310-311). He retained part of this property in the first document, but this was also transferred on

the following day, and the fact that it bordered on two sides with streets leading to the market indicates a position at the junction of Baixada del Presó and the Cort del Veguer, as does the recurrence of the name of Arnau Adals to the north, rather than one nearer the remains of the Temple as is suggested by the phrase intus pignaculum quod vocant Miraculum.

Documents of the last decade of the century indicate that some of the most substantial citizens of the city held property in this area. The first concerns the Aimeric family (C.338 bis) and the second Bernat Dionís and Bernat Marcus (III)(C.323), and it might be remembered that the latter's father is also recorded in the zone (C.240). They settled their differences over a dividing-wall between their properties ad ipsum Ferregenale and to the west lay the terraces over the vaults, much as described in such detail half a century before. One gains the impression that if the area had been under-developed in the early 12th. century, this picture rapidly altered and by the middle of the century the structures were tightly packed.

It is convenient to include here a couple of documents which refer to properties on the other side of the C/de LLibreteria, which, because of the nature of the structures involved are more related to the area just considered than to the Sant Just zone to which they topographically belong. The first

is of 1090 and is a sale to Bernat Burrunga of an unbuilt property between Sant Jaume and the Castell Vell (C.163) fronting onto a street towards the north and adjoining other houses which similarly owed rent to Ramon Dalmau, the ambitious canon who had amalgamated property next to the Bishop's Gate. The other, of 1106, concerns the sale of a complex house with workshops, opposite the Hospital and the 'Freginal' (C.186). The fact that this property had streets on all four sides means that it can be identified as that in the block now defined by C/Llibreteria, C/Dagueria, C/de Jaume I, and C/de les Trompetes de Jaume I.

F) The Miracle block (fig.92),

The identification of this place-name with the area around the remains of the Roman Temple, of which four columns are still standing today, has already been mentioned. The documentation is fairly extensive and falls into two main groups, the earlier of the 1080's and the later of c.1135-60, with a few later documents. The underlying assumption of what follows in this and the following section, concerning the Paradís block to the west, is that the street pattern in existence today had already been established by the later 11th. century, and probably by 1025, particularly as regards the curious course of C/del Paradís, and subsequently few changes took place, not only in street lines, but also in the basic property

divisions within each block. Today, the Miracle block can be divided into two parts on the basis of these catastral divisions, a larger northern part comprised of several substantial properties, and a smaller southern one, where smaller properties fronting onto C/de Llibreteria are predominant. The greater part of the documentation concerns the former.

In the 1080's the principal character was a certain Guillem Giscafret, who also had interests in the neighbouring Paradís block. In 1082 he bought from Guilabert Ramon an 'hort' bordering to the east with Gerbert Mir 's property, to the south with that of Viscount Udalard, to the west with a street (=C/ del Paradís) and to the north further property of the same Guilabert (C.148). Several years later he gave this property plus an adjoining one, acquired from the Viscount, and thus presumably that to the south, to the monastery of St.Ponç de Thomières, and the location was described as in loco vocitato Monte Taber sub ipso Miraculo (C.153). The boundaries are similar to those of the previous document with the exception that to the north and east there was also now a property of the monastery of Cluny. This was derived from a bequest in the will of Gerbert Mir of 1074 (C.123). The property of Guilabert Ramon can also be traced back before this date, for he had received his father's, Ramon Seniofret's, house in 1080 (C.144). The latter had been mentioned in 1066 when it was

exempted in a donation to the Cathedral: domum illam
 ... que iungitur domibus Geriberti Mironis et Mironis
Giliberti atque ipsi Miraculo, and bordered to the
 north, east and west with streets, thus suggesting
 an extensive property, which was subsequently sub-
 divided and sold off (C.111). The remaining property
 of Guilabert Ramon passed in his will of 1095 to
 Pere Primicherius (C.177).

The connection between the Viscount and this
 zone seems to have been long established for in 1044
 Viscount-Bishop Guila^lbert had property to the north
 and east of another which could only have been located
 along the line of C/de Llibreteria (C.68). The
 financial difficulties of the Viscounts at this date
 have already been noted in their sales of property
 next to the Bishop's gate. In 1084 the Viscount
 gave a certain Andreu Guilabert a plot for a cash rent
 (C.151), and although this document is unfortunately
 missing, some details of it are apparent from one
 of four years later, when Andreu sold this right to
 a certain Ermeniardis, her daughter and son-in-law,
 Robert known as Calvino (C.157). Consisting of
 workshops and other structures, it was situated subtus
ipso Miraculo, bordering to the north with the Cluny
 estate, to the east a street (= C/Freneria) to the
 south a certain Pere the Baptized's property, and
 finally to the west that of Guillem Giscafret again.

This last border was the cause of problems for many years, and in 1088 there was the first of a series of disputes about the dividing walls on this line (C.158).

There then follows a period of silence lasting almost half a century. Fortunately, when the documentation begins again there are some factors which are common to both periods, thus enabling us to relate the two. Because of the extraordinary bulk of the 12th-century material, the area will be divided into four quadrants and each examined in turn.

i) The north-eastern quadrant

In 1135 the daughter of John the Captain mortgaged houses in the allod of Cluny to Pere of Perpinyà, and these bordered to the east with the street leading to the Cathedral (= C/Freneria), to the south the property of Calvino, now a moneyer, to the west the property of Berenguer Ramon, Vicar of Barcelona, and finally to the north the houses of Ponç of Toulouse (C.221). The latter also had rights over this same property through a mortgage, and soon after sold these to Pere, and gave his permission for various structural alterations in the area between the two houses (C.222). In 1152 Pere's widow sold Guillem Dionís her houses in the allod of Cluny (C.258) and two years later Ponç' widow, Bisenda, sold the same person a workshop, although it is unclear whether this was here, or on the other side of the street in the

Hospital vaults where it is known that Ponç had property (C.265). In Guillem's will of 1179, this, along with other adjacent properties to the south, passed to his sons Bernat and Berenguer, although the partition between the two is not clear (C.319). At the end of the century, Bernat's portion was given to the Canons (C.342,344).

ii) The south-eastern quadrant

In the 1080's, as we saw, this part lay mainly in the hands of Calvino and his relatives. This seems to have been maintained for a considerable time, until 1154 when his daughter Maria and her husband sold Guillem Dionfs a small part - illum nostrum ortulum cum iiii^{or} palmis legitimis de nostro solario quem habemus in alodio Vicecomitis et Barchinonensis sedis - together with further property to the west in the allod of St.Ponç (C.263). From a document of 1183, it would seem that the rest of this property was also acquired by the Dionfs family (C.324) and this is confirmed by a document of 1184 which gave Berenguer Dionfs half illis domibus et curtali que fuerunt Einardi et uxoris eius (C.325), Einard having been Maria's husband. Of the other properties and names which appear in these documents little is known but it may be assumed that they held the houses fronting onto C/de Llibreteria, men such as Bernat Dalmau, Pere Arbert Pons and his sons, and Arnau Miro.

iii) The north-western quadrant.

Towards the end of the 11th. century this had been mainly in Guillem Giscafret's hands. The subsequent development is unknown, though before 1145 it seems to have been firmly in the possession of the Vicar, Berenguer Ramon, as indicated also by the mortgages of 1135 (C.221-2). In 1145, his widow sold part for 30 morabetins to the brothers Pere and Joan Ramon (C.238). To the east, as might be expected, were the holdings of Pere of Perpinyà and Ponç of Toulouse: to the south property of Calvino, which would suggest that he had obtained another part of Guillem Giscafret's estates: to the west the street (= C/del Paradis) and finally to the north houses belonging to the Cathedral and the late Pere Gaucelm. Joan soon sold his share to his brother for 16 morabetins (C.241) and the main difference in the neighbours is the appearance of the Cathedral houses in the possession of Ponç the Scribe. Pere offered the whole property to the order of the Holy Sepulchre stating that to the west was the publica platea que ante mansiones Paradisi transit (C.242).

Soon afterwards, Pere Bernat, acting for the Holy Sepulchre, made an agreement with Pere of Perpinyà on a wall dividing their respective properties (C.243). Part of this was sold in 1151 to Ponç the Comital scribe (C.256) and he had already bought another part a week beforehand, which had belonged to Pere

of Corró (C.255). This last document also informs us that the property to the north, belonging to the Cathedral, was also in the hands of Pong, having been acquired in 1146 (C.246). Like Guillem Giscafret some generations before, Pong continued to amalgamate various properties. In an agreement with Guillem Dionís we hear of casalicium condam Xalvini in quo habeo medietatem (C.259), which is presumably part of the allod of St.Ponç sold to Guillem in 1154. Pong, as befitting a person of his station, was very fond of litigation, or at least was considerably more careful with those parchments which actually concerned him, for there are no fewer than six documents referring to agreements and disputes between him and his neighbours. Three of these were with Guillem Dionís and concerned the property formerly Calvino's in the south-western quadrant, which was split between them (C.259,268,273). Two were with another neighbour of the same profession, Pere of Corró, and concern plans to build a wall and a tower (C.274-5). The final one concerns Pere of Toulouse, probably the son of Pong (C.296). Pong the Scribe drew up his will in 1168 leaving the houses ~~where~~ Pere the Ebdomarius lived (perhaps those to the north) to Berenguer of Badalona, and then to the priest of the altar of the Holy Sepulchre, and his houses adjoining those of Guillem Dionís to the altars of St.Joan and St.Pere (C.304).

iv) The south-western quadrant.

The last of these four sub-divisions is hardly represented in the 12th. century documentary record. The property including the site of the Temple held by Calvino seems to have been divided and passed to Pong the Scribe and Guillem Dionis. This is implied by the description of a wall running across the property in 1156 - in ipso pariete meo sicut tenet ab ipso calle que ante ianuas Paradisi pergit ad Sedem usque as ipsum parietem qui est similiter posita inter me et te usque oriente (C.268). Guillem Dionis' share passed together with the property to the east in the donation by his son to the Cathedral in 1197, since the appropriate document refers to the land as stretching from one street to the other (C.342).

To the south again there are few details. There were probably the last remnants of the once extensive vicecomital estates, plus properties of Joan Ferrer and Bernat Arbert Pons, who was related to the Pere Arbert Pons who also held properties along C/de Llibreteria (C.263, 324). Unlike the Hospital block and the area around the Comital Palace, this Miracle zone was primarily residential, with substantial houses which incorporated some of the most modern features of civil architecture, although much of the wealth which led to these alterations in the 12th. century must have been derived from commercial and quasi-industrial activity⁶⁶.

g) The Paradís block (fig.92)

In the discussion of the Miracle zone the presence of a street running in front of the Paradís houses has been noted, as has the connection between this name and the cathedral cemetery located around the apse. Later documentation, to be considered below, proves that these houses had a street on two sides, the east and the south, plus part of another street to the west. All these factors make it seem very likely that this name thus refers to the site at the angle of the C/del Paradís, a hypothesis which is reinforced when the medieval date of several of the surrounding structures is taken into account, for the topography can have hardly changed since that date.

This property can be traced back to the third decade of the 11th. century, when in a series of related sales, several Jews sold Ermemir Ruf a property located ad ipso Miraculo at such an angle. The fact that at this date the property was not built up, consisting of a 'freginal' and other horticultural plots, demonstrates that even quite central parts of the city were quite rural in appearance at that date. Soon afterwards, Ermemir sold the plots he had bought, plus his own houses, to a certain Senderet, a priest, and his son, Joan, for a total of sixteen mancosos (C.45,47,48bis,49).

Its subsequent history is uncertain, although it would appear to be the same as that referred to in a document of 1084, which is in the same parchment collection as the four just mentioned. In this Abbot Frotard of St.Ponç de Thomières returned a property to Guillem Giscafret, cleric of Barcelona, that he had given the monastery, and which had previously belonged to Riculf the Grammarician (C.150). The purchases of Guillem on the other side of C/del Paradis have been noted, although the distinctly different street boundaries for this make it clear that it was not directly united with them. To the north lay the houses Of Berenguer and Ramon Donuz, while to the west stood those of Odo.

Shortly afterwards, Ramon Donuz left his brother his half of their houses in Barcelona, for his lifetime, although they were to be returned to the canons on his death (C.155). A third brother had died c.1078, leaving his portion to the other two (C.136). This brother, Guillem Donuz, is also mentioned in a document of 1073, as holding property to the south of that of Guillem Bofill, which was being sold to Ermengol Samarelli and his wife, Trudgardis (C.120). To the west lay a house belonging to Oto Guifret, who was probably the same as the Odo of 1084, for the name was not particularly common: to the north and east lay the properties of Sant Cugat, which can be identified as the 'Hort' the monastery had in this

part of the city, and also to the east a property held by Dalmau Geribert, who was involved in a dispute over this in 1079 (C.140). The properties to the east may have extended beyond the present-day street line of the later medieval Cases dels Canonges for the limits of these were probably modified during the construction of the apse of the Gothic Cathedral⁶⁷.

What happened to the property of Ermengol Samarelli after 1073 is not clear, for seven years later two brothers, Bofill and Ramon Pere are found selling one with identical borders in a pair of transactions to Ramon Dalmau, the ecclesiastic who at the same time was building up his estate next to the Bishop's Gate (C.143 and 145). He later sold it, apparently without making a profit, to Bernat Ermengol, perhaps a son of the Ermengol of 1073 (C.170). In 1092 he obtained from his brothers and sisters total rights over this property, which reinforces the idea of inheritance (C.166). Since the 1080 sales had concerned two quarter shares, one might guess that rights had become subdivided between two families and were only later reunited.

A document of 1021, unrelated to all the others, may describe a property on the strip between C/del a Paradís and C/del Bisbe, fronting onto the square outside the church of St.Jaume (C.37): this would thus have lain to the south of Odo's houses.

In 1109 Bernat Ermengol left his houses to the Canons, with the condition that they were to be held by Pere Ministre Bord (C.189). After this there is an absence of information for about a generation until 1133, when Dalmau Berenguer, son of Berenguer Donuz, returned his father's holdings to the Canons (C.216) and these were given back to him in the following year (C.217), when we learn that they were inhabited by Bernat Viziati. These are mentioned again in 1157 when the Palou family returned them, stating that they had been held by Pere Primicherius (C.269). To the south lay the Paradís houses, to the east a street, to the west Bernat Ministre's houses, and to the north property of Berenguer of Llobregat and Berenguer of Badalona, held from Sant Cugat. This was soon given back to the Palou family (C.270), and this deed was confirmed in 1162 (C.289) the rights being stated as per vocem Dalmacii Geriberti sacerdotis et canonici atque Dalmatii Berengarii patris mei et Berengarii Donutii patris eius.

It is now convenient to re-examine the property at the angle of the street, now known as the Paradís houses. There is no direct information as to what happened between the 1080's and the 1160's. Certainly, the rights of St.Ponç disappeared, leaving no trace⁶⁸. In 1164 the houses were in the hands of Guillem of Barcelona and passed to Berenguer of Subirats (C.297). To the east and south was the street (= C/del Paradís) to the west part of another (now an unnamed alley)

and property of Bernat Ministræ, who has already been mentioned, and to the north the canonical property under the control of the Palous. The price for this sale of 1200 solidos is quite high, thus suggesting a considerable extent. Two years later Berenguer sold it to Pere de Oliveto for 1100 solidos (C.299), but the latter, the bishop's bailiff, got into financial difficulties, and mortgaged the houses for 50 morabetins (C.302). He died before March 1169, for on the 25th of that month the Bishop sold them back to Berenguer of Subirats for 1000 solidos (C.305). This was not the only part of his domains ~~here~~ for prior to 1169 he had acquired part of Bernat Ministræ's houses to the west, next to those of St.Cugat (C.306).

At the end of March 1169, Berenguer offered the Paradís houses to the Canonry (C.307) and his will of the same year confirmed this (C.308), with the condition that the Ebdomarii (Guerau of Cardedeu and Bernat of Moguda) should have the western half sicut ego divisi....cum scamino novo, whereas the eastern half, cum omnibus petris, perhaps remains of the Temple, went to the priest of the altars of St.Silvestre and St.Esteve, in whose hands this property is found in 1188 (C.330).

The houses of Bernat Ministræ to the west create a topographical problem which is not easy to solve, and which has been mentioned in the discussion of the

limits of the Jewish Call at the beginning of this chapter. Towards the end of the 11th. century they were in the hands of Odo Guifret⁶⁹, and there then follows a period of silence until 1156 when Bernat bought them from the heirs of Pere Lusanç, and they were described as being paulo longe ab ipsa Sede iuxta Callem Iudaicum (C.267). To the east were the Primicherius'houses, that is those held by the Palous, and those of Berenguer of Badalona. To the north we find the 'Hort' of Sant Cugat and to the west the properties of three Jews, presumably within the Call. Finally to the south a street, property of Sant Cugat, and another street. If one interprets the two streets as having been the first parts of C/del Paradís and C/del Bisbe leading from the Plaça de Sant Jaume, it is evident that this property did indeed lie across the line of the former decumanus maximus, and that the edge of the Call was located on the western side of this street line. This property was conceded in 1171 to the altar of Sant Esteve in the Cathedral (C.312).

The 'Hort' of Sant Cugat appears again in the later 12th. century, when a certain Adalbeta sold the monastery her houses built in it ante portam ipsam Canonicam, perhaps corresponding to an entrance more or less on the site of the Gothic Porta de la Pietat (C.321). To the north was a street (= C/de la Pietat), but it was otherwise surrounded by the

property of the monastery. This, plus the indications of an extensive estate of the monastery on both sides of the C/del Bisbe in the later 11th. century, suggests that this part of the Paradís block remained firmly under the control of the abbot, although a degree of development gradually took place in the 12th. century. The presence of the 'Hort' on both sides of the street may be yet another argument in favour of a blocked length of this principal thoroughfare during these centuries.

ZONE 3 (fig. 95).

As soon as the line joining the east and west gates is crossed, the amount of information that can be used to provide topographical analysis is much smaller, and more difficult to synthesize than that used for the detailed ^{study} of the two northern zones. There are various reasons for this. Firstly, the three southerly zones were further away from the focal point of the city, and the canons, whose capitulary has provided much of the information for zone two, had less interest in them. Moreover, they were less densely urbanized, there were more open spaces, more horticultural land, fewer examples of amalgamations, all of which probably led to a smaller volume of material having originally been created.

Zone 3 can be defined as the area lying between C/Llibreteria and C/de la Ciutat to the north and west, the defences to the east, and a vague line to the south, in the area of the modern C/de la Cometa. However, a certain amount of material here used refers to sites on the other side of C/de la Ciutat, but has been included here because of locational references derived from the churches of St. Just and St. Jaume. Indeed it was these two churches that provided the majority of locations for the area, and it was only in the 12th. century that others appeared - Lladó, Tremoled and Palma. This lack of variety would also seem to indicate a low level of activity in the zone.

The earliest post-985 document concerning the area is one of 994 when the Bishop exchanged casales with a certain Marcutius for other property in the Regomir zone (C.13). The Archdeacon had also acquired a similar property in the area in 975 from the same source (C.7). However, it is not until the 1020's that the body of information can be interpreted in any detail, and in this we see the accumulation of various pieces by the monastery of St. Benet de Bages. In 1020, Bernat, son of the late Viscount Bardina, sold Borrell a 'freginal' for eight mancosos (C.36). Not only did this border a major street line - ipsa calle que pergit ad Castrum Regumiri (= C/de la Ciutat or C/de la Palma de St. Just ?) - but also of the neighbouring properties only one could be described as built-up. In 1024 the same property, together with some adjacent houses, was sold to St. Benet (C.41). In the autumn of the previous year, Guifret son of Marcutius, perhaps the same as the person recorded in 994, had given the monastery an allod which included houses near St. Just (C.40). Together with the houses were various trees, including a palm, which may be related to that cited in the 12th. century in the area, which probably gave its name to C/de la Palma de St. Just⁷⁰. The subsequent history of this monastic estate is not very clear, but in 1078 the houses were given to a Guillem Bellit to rebuild and maintain as a residence for the abbot and monks when they had occasion to come to Barcelona (C.135), although these do not appear in his will (C.161).

This picture of an area of horticultural or even agricultural land with scattered houses is difficult to reconcile with the evidence that comes from the area on the other side of the church of St. Just, that is to the north and west. It is to that district that a group of documents dating from the central decades of the century belong, because of the consistent references to both St. Just and the church of St. Jaume.

The larger number of streets to be found would suggest an area where small blocks with a multiplicity of intervening streets were predominant. The difference from the area to the south of St. Just may also be partially attributable to the generation that had passed since the acquisitions of St. Benet de Bages, but nevertheless, the frequency of substantial houses rather than open land is apparent.

In 1056 Guillem Bernat of Queralt sold a priest called Bernat Bofill a piece of enclosed land surrounded by houses and streets (C.89). Among the neighbouring property owners were Udalgard and Alemany, the latter of the Cervelló family. From a document of 1058 we learn that Bernat sold the same property for two or three times the original price (depending on the exact value of the mancuses involved) to a fellow priest, Ermemir (C.91). From the same document we also know that more of the Queralt property in this area, houses on the other side of the street

to the west (= C/de la Ciutat ?) had passed into the hands of a certain Bernat Guifret. Similarly, on his death in 1062, Udalgard's property passed to his brother Gerbert Bonuçius (C.95,97), who gave it to

Jocfret in his will of 1065, to be held from the canons (C.101). This seems to be proved by two documents of 1063 and 1065 involving Ermemir, the first a pledge for ten mancuses, the second a donation to the canons, and in particular to Pere Arnau, although this was contested by Ermemir's sons some years later (C.99,105,122). The most interesting aspect of these documents is that they mention the cemetery of St. Just as having been located immediately to the east and south, whereas the documents referring to the same property a decade earlier had cited private houses (C.89,91) which must either indicate that Ermemir had acquired further property, or that the cemetery had expanded in size.

The remaining documents which patently belong to this zone in the 11th. century cannot be so extensively related. In 1033 Bishop Madallus and the Chapter gave Ramon the deacon a solar with a yard and various other buildings in front of St. Jaume, and bordering with streets on three sides (C.52). In 1091 the aged Ramon gave this same property to Pere Geribert primischola, reserving the right to live there while he was alive (C.164). The northern neighbour in both these documents was a certain Oliba Mir, who also appears in another of 1053 (C.79). Since

both the monastery of Ripoll and Bernat Ramon also figure in this and are known to have had property near the church of St. Miquel to the west, this document may be best related to the area on the west side of the modern C/de la Ciutat⁷¹.

The vision conveyed by these sources as a whole is one of an urbanized area with substantial properties, often occupying half a block, and divided by narrow short streets, most of which have now been swept away, but which then existed in the area between the two churches and occupied part of the site of the Roman forum, although something of the earlier layout survived until the mid-19th. century to the north of St. Just. That the greater part of the documentation belongs to the 1050's and 1060's cannot be a coincidence and must be another of the aspects illustrating the rapid growth of those decades, when land which had long remained unbuilt was urbanized anew and prices rose rapidly.

There is a slight increase in the body of information for the 12th. century, but the picture established for the later 11th. century does not seem to have changed very much, except that there now exists evidence for the area along the eastern side of the defences. This began at the very end of the 11th. century when Arbert Bernat, first recorded Vicar of Barcelona, left his son a mansó, previously of his

brother Ermengol, together with a tower and a length of wall. This included among the confused description of the boundaries ipso cal qui pergit as Sanctum Iustum (C.181). The fact that he possessed at least another three wall-towers, the location of all of which is uncertain, may indicate that this family held a virtual monopoly on the defences to the south of the Castell Vell, thereby restricting any development there, and explaining the scarcity of sources for this zone⁷². A reflection of this estate, perhaps the forerunner of the Palau de Requesens⁷³, can be found nearly a century later in a document of 1197 which refers to the allod of Bernat of Font-tallada, canon of Barcelona, quod fuit Arberti Bernardi, and located ad ipsam Ledonem, the present-day C/de Lladó (C.345). Other properties must have lain between the same street and the defences, such as these given to Pere Udalgard and his wife by the Bishop and canons of Vic in 1117 (C.200). A bequest by a certain Esteve Adalbert in 1104 gave houses on this part of the defences to his nephew Pere Ramon (C.185) and the former is also mentioned in a donation of houses in this area to the canons of Barcelona in 1126 (C.209). A further document of 1154 is unfortunately now missing (C.264). These rather scant details, plus the evidence of the current catastral plans, indicate a series of large urban houses between wall-towers 24 and 33, although they may not have come into existence until the mid- or later 11th. century.

The area to the south of St. Just remained very much the domain of the great Catalan monasteries. The property of St. Benet de Bages was leased to a certain Mir Balluin in 1103 for an annual payment of half a pound of piperis (C.184). An adjoining property was that owned by the Cervelló family and sold by the widow of Guerau Alemany III in 1116 (C.196). This was known as the domus de Tremuletto a place-name which became increasingly frequent in the 12th. century. However, the family's rights over this or another property were maintained for its holdings in the parish of St. Just are mentioned in 1173⁷⁴. Another adjacent property exchanged hands in 1126 to judge by the presence of a common neighbour in Berenguer Bernat (C.210). However, it is noticeable that this document is one of the small percentage which does not define the location within the defences, presumably the result of the lack of fixed points in this area. Moreover, the proportion of 'horts' and other forms of unbuilt property was still high, possibly not very different to the situation a century beforehand.

Another property in this block to the south of St. Just is extensively documented during the 12th. century. In 1125 Ramon Pere of Girona gave Arnau praepositus of Barcelona Cathedral his casales next to St. Just and to the east of the property of St. Benet and the Tremoled (C.207). These must have

been sold to a Guillem Ramon who is found selling casales with an identical location twenty-four years later to Ponç of Ronçana (C.253). A decade afterwards, Ponç, by now Dean of Barcelona, gave this property, now urbanized, per meum hedificium, to the Chapter (C.276). Two days later Pere the Sacristan gave Ponç the rights over the site (C.277) and on the next day he gave them to Ramon of Castellvell, another canon, and future Bishop, to look after during his absence on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (C.278), although the fundamental donation was repeated in his will of 15th May (C.279). Ponç presumably never returned to Barcelona, although it is not known where he died. Nevertheless, two years later, Ramon of Castellvell, now primicerius, gave the Chapter the sixty morabetins he had received from Ponç (C.286), although at the end of the century, Ramon, by now elevated to the episcopacy, leased Berenguer of Sant Cugat a similarly located house for three hundred morabetins plus an annual rent of one morabetin to the canons (C.335).

Other houses in this area are mentioned in 1117, 1148 and 1188, the latter in an allod of the canons, but inhabited by the priest of St. Just (C.201, 252, 331). The amount of ecclesiastical property in the area was high, for not only were the Chapter of Barcelona and the monastery of St. Benet de Bages present, but also the monastery of St. Pau del Camp (C.203)

and in the early 13th. century that of Sant Llorenç del Munt⁷⁵. In addition, in the area nearer St. Jaume the monastery of St. Cugat del Vallès retained its rights. In 1193 Arnau de Posis acquired the rights over a house situated in this allod from his mother and sister (G.336-7). The denser pattern of occupation noted in the later 11th. century continued, and a strong popular element was present in the form of a proportion of artisans, found in two documents of 1147 referring to a house immediately to the west of St. Jaume (C.248-9). Another document of the same year refers to houses in front of the same church ex maxime parte noviter constructas et melioratas (C.250), while a further pair of documents of 1163 refer to a house to the south of the cemetery of this church, again with artisan neighbours (C.292-3).

A final document of 1130 may be connected with the poorly known zone to the north-east of St. Just, and to the south of C/Llibreteria, because of the vicinity to property of Arnau Adals, who held more to the north of that street. However, the house in question was certainly in poor condition, for it lacked a roof, and the owners were prepared to forego the future revenue from rent for the far from princely sum of five morabetins (C.214). In general terms then it would seem that the patterns established by the later 11th. century were maintained throughout the following one, although with, it might be supposed, increasingly intensive usage.

ZONE 4 (fig. 93).

This part of the city, defined by the Call to the north, C/de la Ciutat to the east, the defences to the west, and merging with the fifth zone to the south, has a body of evidence comparable in quantity to that of the St.Just-St.Jaume zone, a valid comparison given that the type of property and inhabitant found in the two zones, and therefore the general stages of development, were rather similar. The place-names which enable one to allocate material are limited, the two consistent features being the Church of St.Miquel and the Castell Nou and its associated gate.

One of the earliest documents, of 1024, is a donation by Bishop Deodat to the Cathedral Hospital including an 'hort' previously belonging to a recently baptised Jew, which was immediately to the south of the via que inde transit et agriditur per portam Novam eiusdem civitatis (=C/del Call) (C.42). Although houses were to be found to the east of this plot, to the west was a vineyard, one of only two or three references to viticulture within the walls. Another document of 1058 concerns a similarly located property, to the south of charraria vel calle qui vadit de Chastronovo predictae ad Sanctum Iacobum (C.92). This property, sold by Mir Oliba to Count Ramon Berenguer I, was a 'freginal' or a piece of

land for grazing or corraling purposes. The eastern limit was charraria qui vadit inter Sanctum Michaelum (= C/del Pas de l' Ensenyança ?) and it extended as far as the defences with more open land to the south. The evidence of these two documents is indeed startling: here, along one of the major thoroughfares of the city was open land with hardly a building in site: we are looking at a zone apparently even more rural than the third one, for the continuation of this street to the east was at least built up by the mid-11th. century, even if open land had been frequent in the 1020's.

Most of the remaining sources concern the area between the church and the defences. In 1028, the executors of Guitart's estate sold Elias, a priest, a property on the walls, which had been obtained from the late Count, probably Ramon Borrell (C.46). Elias in fact already owned adjacent property to the south and an orchard at the foot of the defences. We do not know when he died, but his property was divided between his three sons, Company, probably the eldest, who always acted individually, and Bernat and Berenguer, who usually appear together. In 1058 Company pledged his houses with tower and wall for two kaficis of barley and one sexter of wheat ad mensura nova. (C.93). This property lay directly to the south of that of Mir Oliba, whom we have already seen disposing of part of his estates in the same year, and which

in turn adjoined the Castell Nou. Seven years later Company sold his houses to Ricart Guillem for the substantial price of 280 mancusos (C.107), a price which can only be compared with the sums paid by Ramon Dalmau in the following decade when prices in general had risen substantially. Soon afterwards his two brothers followed his example and sold their not so grand houses for 175 mancusos (C.108) and in 1068 Mir Oliba sold Ricart the property to the north for 140 mancusos, although he retained part of the defences and a house (C.116).

Ricart Guillem thus united a domain of considerable magnitude for the intra-mural area. Dr. Ruiz Doménec has described his rise, although his purely commercial background is by no means as clear as he would like us to accept⁷⁶. It is noteworthy that his wife was the daughter of his new neighbour to the south, Bernat Ramon, an intimate of Count Ramon Berenguer I, perhaps even a member of the Comital family⁷⁷. This character also appears in several documents relating to this zone. In 1054 he bought from the famine stricken monks of Ripoll a piece of a yard adjoining his own house (C.85). In 1065, his sister-in-law, Ermessendis, made a settlement with him over the estate of her late husband Guillem Ramon in domibus tuis que sunt secus ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis Archangeli (C.106). In 1079, when Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II divided the lord-

ship of the city between each other, Bernat Ramon's house was to be the residence for half the year for each count, the other six months being spent in the Comital Palace⁷⁸. Thus it is clear that these structures must have been of sufficient size and splendour to accomodate the retinue of a Count, and, moreover, were suitably located half-way round the defences from the Comital Palace. By this date Bernat was probably dead, because of the reference to ipsas domos qui fuerunt Bernardus Raimundi qui sunt ante Sancte Michaelis ex petra et calce constructas⁷⁹. The last time he had acted in this area was in 1067 when he had acquired the square in front of the church, perhaps the site of the earlier cemetery, from the Bishop and canons, and which he may have built on for the construction of these stone houses (C.112).

In the meantime, Ricart Guillem had been improving the houses that he had purchased. In 1071 there was a dispute with Mir Oliba, who accepted the presence of the gutter de ipsam vestram salam noviter factam qui est super meam curtem in exchange for an ounce of gold (C.119). Four years later Mir sold Ricart another part of his property, namely the length of the defences, for three ounces of gold and five migeras of barley (C.126). This document gives us a fixed point for these properties by referring to the tower next to the Castell Nou (= no.59) as ipsa turre que est fracta que est iusta ipso Chastro Novo.

Ricart Guillem thus possessed towers 56 to 58, for in his will of 1115 he left his three sons three towers, and whereas the available documentation points to the purchase of only two, the third may have been derived from his father-in-law's property (C.195), although it is clear that he did not inherit all of his estates.

The only other material referring to this zone in the 11th. century is an undated donation by Bishop Berenguer (1061-69) to Ramon Dalmau, described as Dean in the available 18th. century copy, of a block of houses next to St. Miquel (C.109), and a donation to the Chapter of houses by Berenguer Ramon and Ramon Berenguer his son in 1090 (C.160). These were surrounded on three sides by other property of Berenguer Bernat from whom they had received this as a pledge, while on the fourth side was a square, perhaps that in front of the church. Both these donations fit into the general pattern for the area of a number of substantial houses, with considerable open spaces around them.

There would seem to have been few major changes in the course of the 12th. century, although the families involved were no longer the same. In 1109 Ramon Renart gave Bernat Pere some houses adjoining his own which were located on the defences (C.188, 203). Ramon Renart had probably married the widow of the

Berenguer Bernat mentioned in 1090, which might support the idea that this property was to be found to the south of the church, on either side of C/dels Gegants. Their daughter, Sancia, was married to Pere Bertrand of Belloc, whô in 1146 gave further property to the same Bernat Pere (C.244). In the course of two transactions in 1147, he sold this to his brother Guillem, a Shoemaker (C.247,251). In addition, Bernat, together with a third brother, held property outside the defences at this point (C.226, S.335). However the Belloc family retained rights in this zone for in 1150 the bishop gave Pere Bertand and Sancia, and their son Ramon, a canon, houses which had been given to the Cathedral by Ramon Bernat (C.254). In 1154, the family disputed with Bernat, son of Arnau Pere the Knight (C.261), who had died in 1143, a property adjoining that of the monastery of Ripoll. Another transaction concerning this family occurred in 1166, when Bernat's brother, Pere of Barcelona, pledged a neighbouring house to Berenguer Ruben, his brother-in-law (C.300). Towards the end of the century Guillem Pere the Shoemaker's daughter sold her houses to Pere, priest of Granollers, who later received rent and lordship rights from the Belloc family (C.339,340).

Along the line of the defences the property of Ricart Guillem passed principally to his son Pere, who was forced to maintain legal disputes with Arnau Pere the Knight (C.226) and possibly also with his

son Pere of Barcelona. In 1160 Pere of Barcelona gave Berenguer Ramon IV all the rights over the property of Pere Ricart, who had presumably died without heirs and intestate. The future of the property was probably debated between the Count as lord of all nobles and Pere, either because of his position as Vicar, or through some family association⁸⁰ (C.280). The count had also acquired at an uncertain date the vallum of the Castell Nou from the Belloc family, and the land immediately to the south of the gate, in exchange for property in the suburbs (C.291). The former property of Pere Ricart is also referred to in a document of 1168 concerning a pledge of a house by a Jew on the southern fringes of the Call (C.303). Pere of Barcelona re-appears in 1173 when he returned property that had been held by his brother, Bernat de Machiz, a canon, and his father, from the Chapter (C.315)⁸¹. In 1181 Pere's wife gave the canons two parts of an orchard also in this zone (C.320), and a final document of 1192 refers to some small houses near St.Miquel (C.333bis).

From the complex transactions just described, it seems that there were several major forces involved in this zone. On the one hand ^{stood} the Count, apparently allied with the Belloc family, and inheriting the domains of Pere Ricart, and on the other, Arnau Pere and his heirs. The remaining small property owners could do little more than watch and endeavour to

maintain their existing possessions. The Bellocæ seem to have been the victors, for in the early 13th. century they are found not only with their widespread property, but also as holding the Castell Nou⁸².

Zone 5 (fig. 93)

In many ways this zone in the southern part of the city is the most enigmatic. Firstly, it lacks clear definition, for although the defences form a clear southern boundary, to the north it merges with the previous two zones. Secondly, it is difficult to arrange the existing material into suitable groups for allocation within these vague limits. Although several names appear on more than one occasion, there is no single example of extensive transactions concerning one individual or institution. Moreover, there is a large proportion of earlier eleventh century material, which usually contains simple names, without patronyms or other forms of cognomina, which makes identification more complex. In addition the place-names are not very varied, the principal two being Regomir - easily identifiable because of the continued existence of the street of that name, and the definite location of the gate and castle of that name - and Alezinos. This latter name may be derived from a root referring to the city-walls, although it difficult to establish with any degree of certainty to which part in particular of the southern side of the defences it was related. Indeed, it may

have been a general location rather than a specific one, although it is noticeable that the two names Regomir and Alezinos are almost never found in the same document⁸³. A third place-name, Turre Ventosa, probably refers to wall-tower number 41, the one that projected most from the body of the defences, rather than number 33, which is often considered to have been 'the Windy Tower'. A number of points support this claim: firstly a document of 1016 mentions the appenditio de ipsa Turre Ventosa (C.31), which was likely to have been the rectangular projecting castellum on the line of the defences. A reference of c.1079 to a 'freginal' on the shore beneath this tower strengthens the hypothesis, for this would have been considerably closer to the sea than tower 33⁸⁴. Finally a document of 1032 referring to property in locum quae dicunt Alaizinos qui est inter ipsum Castrum Regumirum et ipsa Torre Ventosa almost certainly refers to this projection because of the nearly square measurements given for the property, which would have been less likely in the case of an oblique angle in the defences, such as that adjoining tower 33 (C.51).

The lack of other significant structures means that on occasions the only factor aiding location is that of personal names, with all the inherent risks in this process. However, over half the pertinent documentation refers to properties not on the line of the walls, and these must go a long way to com-

plete the voids between the southern parts of the walls and the areas immediately to the south of the churches of St.Miquel and St.Just. It is difficult to situate many of these within the present day topography, partly because of changes wrought with the cutting of 'baixades' in the Middle Ages and with the urban reforms of the 19th.century, but principally because there are simply very few fixed points. Consequently, the description of this zone here provided is far more interpretative/that that given for the other zones, although nevertheless of significance because of the ^{contrast with} neighbouring areas to the north.

The first group of documents was drawn up as a result of the circumstances after the destruction of 985. In the first of 988, a certain Susanna sold Eldefret a property she had received from Gomarell as a pledge before 985 (C.10). Both had been taken into captivity, but managed to escape and return to Barcelona, where Gomarell failed to repay the debt, a not surprising course of events in these troubled years. Susanna asked for an evaluation from the city judges and other boni homines, which they gave as fifteen solidos. The property was described as a yard with casalis, and among the adjoining properties was another similar one owned by a certain Mauro, who appears in subsequent documents. In 990 two women sold the judge Ervig Marc some property ad prope

pertinencias Sancte Crucis Sedis Barchinona (C.11). This location may suggest a site near the Cathedral, although the recurrence of Mauro's name could also suggest a location in the Regomir district. The striking point about this document is that a large proportion of the people cited in it were dead or missing, and in the absence of heirs, there had arisen the problem of legal ownership for several properties. Two further documents link the previous two to the Alazinos area. In 994 Marcutius exchanged with Bishop Vivas a casalis (C.13) and in 997, the son of Mauro, called Pere, sold casales in locum vocitatum Alazinos (C.15). The abundance of casales and similar properties in these closing years of the tenth century is worthy of note, and one must assume that it is another indication of the profound effect of the events of 985, at least on this part of the city. Tradition states that Almansur's attack was a joint land and sea operation, and the evidence for destruction in this part of the city nearest the sea, and the centre of shipbuilding and fishing activities, may uphold tradition^{84 bis}.

If it is accepted that casales or plots fit for construction were abundant, this implies that at a later date, and perhaps also previously, this zone showed some degree of urbanization, almost certainly more intense than that of the zones immediately to the north at a similar date. As an example, in 1016

a certain Guifre~~ç~~ Carbonell sold Bovet Rainard a portion of the Turre Alba, a defensive tower near the village of Prevençals in the territorium of the city, plus rights over a casalicium near the Turre Ventosa, for the small sum of half a mancus (C.31). The same property was sold twenty-five years later for eleven mancuses to Guitart and his son Ramon, although it had been considerably altered and now included a house (C.66). Bovet retained property in the area and probably obtained more, as is suggested by the dispute he entered into with Isarn Gaucefret in 1046, about property which he had acquired from the latter's father (C.72). On Bovet's death in 1059 he left his estates to his three sons - Guitart, Renart and Odo (C.94). The second received ipsa mansione quod habeo infra muros civitatis Barchinone ubi est ipsa palea simul cum ipsa buada et cum medietate de ipso curtel cum caput de ipsos casales ambos integriter, while Odo was left ipso cellarario cum medietate de ipsa curte et cum ipso exio. Odo does not seem to have long outlived his father for in the sacramental conditions of his will six years later he left his share to his brother Renart (C.103). The other brother also had property in this part of the city, even though this is not mentioned in either of the two wills. He appears as owning houses ad Alaizins subtus ipso Kastro Regumir in 1067 (C.114-5) and left them to Guillem Ramon in 1095 (C.174)⁸⁵. To complete the story as far as possible,

the property bought in 1041 passed from Ramon Guitart, who in later life became a judge, to the Canons of Barcelona (C.176 and 183), although it is possible that the reference to the property that had been Ramon Guitart's in a document of 1182 referring to this zone is an indication of the same house (C.322). Thus, in the course of the 11th. century, the area immediately to the west of the Regomir gate contained a substantial number of residences on plots which had probably been ruinous at the end of the previous century: there were a few market-gardens and orchards, but none of the large open spaces found slightly further north even in the first half of the century.

Canonical and other ecclesiastical property in this part of the city was neither very extensive nor particularly consolidated, unlike the zones to the north, and especially the area around the Cathedral, but had a long history. As far back as 975 we find Archdeacon Llobet exchanging with his superior, Bishop Vivas, casales iuxta portam qui dicitur Regumir (C.7). The first of these was obviously next to the gate, towards the east, bordering to the south with the wall itself, and to the west with the via qui graditur per ipsam portam, while the other lay to the west of the gate, and possibly in the angle of the projecting castellum, for the defences were to be found to its east and south. This concentration of property

in archidiaconal hands is particularly interesting for the same pattern was to be seen in the area adjoining the north-west gate of the city, and it presumably illustrates one of the more secular rôles of the archdeacon as a substitute for the bishop in controlling two of the entrances to the city, while the other two may have been supervised by the viscount as the deputy for the count.

In 1005 Bishop Aetius sold, in order to finance repairs to the Turre Granada in the Penedàs, made necessary by recent Moslem incursions, a house plus land in the Banyols district, to a certain Guitart the Greek (C.18). The fact that Guitart had a close in 1015 iusta Castra Rugumir vel in eius termine (C.30), and is not known to have held other intra-mural property, indicates that this purchase may well have been in this zone. His name also occurs in a will of 1054 as having held property on the defences to the south of a substantial complex owned by a certain Bernat Gelmir, which included a minimum of three wall-towers (C.84). To the north of Bernat's property, or part of it, was that of Gilmund Baiaricus, who is also cited in the will of Marcutius the Greek in 1021, who in turn also had extensive estates along the defences (C.38). The fact that several of these properties had orchards at the foot of the walls, a pattern later known mainly along the west side, as in the case of Ricart Guillem and his neighbours,

rather than the east side, where the area immediately beneath the walls seems to have been rather damp and perhaps even permanently waterlogged, means that these houses should occupy the line of the defences between towers number 45 and 55, although the type of documentation makes it impossible for us to define the distribution more exactly. In addition there are other references to property near that of Bernat Gelmir, as in the case of the houses of Borrell in 1023 (C.39) and those of Bernat Ermengol, including two wall-towers, mentioned in his will of 1065 (C.100). The two towers with solar in between bequeathed by Adalbert the Judge to Vic Cathedral in the same year and described as being on the western side of the walls, must also have been part of this series of important residences (C.104)⁸⁶.

To return to the question of ecclesiastical estates, an extremely significant document is an episcopal donation of 1032 to a certain Eldesind of land in the city ad meridianam plagam in locum que dicunt Alaizinos que est inter ipsum Castrum Regumirum et ipsa torre Ventosa for the purpose of reconstructing the defences in that area (C.51). Not content with these details, the location is described as having the walls to the south and east, and the measurements of the four sides are given to show that it was a nearly square plot of approximately 21 metres square⁸⁷. This must surely imply that it was located in the

castellum, occupying something like a quarter of its area. It is not clear whether the state of disrepair was the result of an enemy attack, for it seems surprising that it could have been left in such a state for half a century after 985, or simply decay and old age, although the concern shown demonstrates that the territory of Barcelona was still far from secure in the 1030's, at least in the opinion of its inhabitants.

The other references to canonical properties are strictly piecemeal. Such property is mentioned in a document of 1041 already cited (C.66), but after this nearly a century passes before further activity. In 1129 Ramon Pere of Mata exchanged with the Bishop and canons a 'mas' called de ipso hulmo in the district of Sta. Eulalia de Provençana and houses at Alazins iuxta portam Regumiri Castri (C.212). In 1161, Pere, sacristan of Barcelona, gave Bernat of Cardedeu houses bordered by streets on three sides (C.284). Pere had received these from his grandfather Pere Miró and a person of this name appears in a document of 1084 as receiving property on the defences, although it is difficult to make any connection between the two (C.152). Finally reference must be made to the ecclesiastical rights over the Regomir Castle, only clear from the mid-12th. century onwards, but probably of much greater antiquity.

The property of other ecclesiastical foundations was equally restricted. Apart from a property of a St.Pere (of Vic or de las Puèlles ?) (C.51), we can include rental rights of the community of Sta.Eulalia del Camp⁸⁸, and property of the Hospitallers (C.284)⁸⁹. The most important was the donation by Ramon Pere of Massanet in 1134 to the Templars, consisting of a house with towers and walls called de Galifa, near the Regomir Castle (C.219). Since the Templar properties passed into royal hands by confiscation in the 14th.century, and this urban site was used as a Royal Palace (= Palau Reial Menor) until the 19th. century, there is little doubt about its location, although it was presumably considerably smaller than the space occupied by the later palace, and was restricted to an area in the angle of the walls⁹⁰. It is interesting to note that the other Templar property in the city was diametrically opposed in the north-east angle of the walls.

Several mid-12th.century documents also refer to this zone between the Templar houses and the estates of the Belloc family in the St.Miquel zone, although the connection with the properties along the line of the defences in the 11th.century is not clear. In 1158 the Templars gave Pere the Moneyer some houses in the Regomir district which Arnau Berenguer, Pere's brother-in-law, had built for them (C.272). These two men also appear in a document of 1125 which may

be the reason for the later transaction, although unfortunately both are now lost (C.205). Pere may have been the same as Pere Martí the Money-changer who bought property on the west side of the defences at ad Alius (= Alezinos ?) (C.271) and another document of this period may also refer to Templar transactions in this zone (C.270 bis). Another well-documented inhabitant of this zone was Arnau Pere who had property at the foot of the walls (C.219) and also within them. In 1130 he had returned to his uncle Ramon Bernat usurped houses which stood on the walls iuxta ipsum Castrum de Rugumir (C.213). It is interesting to note that copies of this have survived in two archives in completely separate series, a unique case for a document of this type in Barcelona. The disputes between Arnau Pere, together with his sons, and the Belloc family and the Count have already been mentioned, but the repetition of the connection serves to demonstrate the vicinity of the Belloc domains to the Regomir zone, and it seems feasible the Arnau Pere and his sons held property along the walls between those domains and those of the Templars⁹¹. Like the southern part of zone 4 the overall impression of this south-western district, even in the mid-12th century, is one of substantial houses with attached horticultural land, and with none of the cramped conditions of the northern zones of the intra-mural area.

For the final unit in this zone, it is necessary to return to the 11th. century. These documents would seem to be related to the area to the north and east of the gate, a section which up to now has been devoid of information. In 1023 Count Berenguer Ramon I sold Ramon Guifret houses with towers and with the city walls to the south and east which, as long as the orientation is not anomalous, should have been in the angle where tower 33 stands (C.43). He left these in his will of 1035 to his brother Guillem, Archdeacon and later Bishop of Vic (C.56), and this donation gave rise to the possessions of Vic Cathedral on the eastern side of the walls at a later date (C.124). Another source of 1023 is the sale by Gondebal Auruz to his brother Ermengol of the sixth part of houses on the defences (C.44). Other references to the property of these brothers, sons of the judge Auruz the Greek, occur in documents of three decades later, which suggest that they held several plots stretching from the defences to C/de la Ciutat, for in one document the western border of a casalis sold by Guadall Auruz was calle publico que pergit ad Regumiro (C.77 and 80).

A final document which belongs to the group related to the eastern line of the defences is one of 1006 (C.20) which, together with those of 1023, goes some way to filling the gap in the C/de Lladó during the 11th. century noted above in the discussion of the St. Just zone. In this Gotmar gave a 'mas'

with the defences and the road at their base to the east. This topographical arrangement is the same as that described in 1023, and for this reason the property may be assigned to this area. Whether it was really a 'mas' (= farm) or whether this was a mis-transcription of the word mansio in the 13th. century must remain open to discussion⁹².

Nevertheless it would not be impossible to imagine such a rural establishment in this part of the city in the early 11th. century. There were large numbers of 'horts' particularly in the parts adjoining zones 3 and 4, and even larger open spaces. However, around the gate there seems to have been a small nucleus of settlement from a very early date, which suffered extensively in 985. This recovered, the houses were rebuilt and perhaps new ones were added to the back face of the walls, but the area to the north remained open, thus leaving this nucleus somewhat separate from the rest of the intra-mural area. This independence is reflected in the wider use of the word casa to describe the house rather than the more customary domus, the former being more widespread in villages than urban contexts. The phrase 'in the district (termina) of the Regomir Castle' also indicates some idea of a separate spirit, for again this is not found in connection with the other city castles, and is more characteristic of rural castle districts (fig.73).

Although rural properties - fields, vines and extensive orchards - were present in central areas of the city, even close to the old core around the Cathedral, these were gradually built over, initially in the 1020's and 1030's, and with renewed vigour in the second half of the 11th. century. The Regomir district, however, seems to have been largely left behind in this process of expansion and modernisation, perhaps as a result of the lack of ecclesiastical or comital interest, and this applies even more strongly to the area immediately outside the Regomir Gate, which lost after the 1020's the precocious growth it had exhibited. As in other parts of the city the most important residences were on the defences and it may be that others which cannot be located were also in that zone (e.g. C.67,73,75). As in the adjacent parts of zones 3 and 4, such properties remained extensive. On the other hand, the properties clustered round the Regomir gate were probably of small size, as is also suggested by the present-day catastral plan of that zone.

After a period of stagnation in the first decades of the 12th. century, there was a revival of growth from c.1130 onwards throughout the city. In the northern zones this meant that a saturation point was reached, gardens and orchards almost totally disappeared and substantial houses imitating those of the defences were constructed away from the walls. This ever-growing proximity between neighbours led to border disputes and agreements over joint con-

struction projects in the most densely populated zones around the Cathedral. The Regomir zone and the southern parts of zones 3 and 4 were not totally unaffected by this renewed growth, but even so there were few changes in the basic pattern that had been established by the end of the 11th. century. The lack of artisans in these districts, when names indicating trades and workshops were growing in numbers, particularly in the area between the Comital Palace and the Castell Vell, but also around the church of St. Jaume, is striking, and the Regomir zone could still accommodate immigrants in the 12th. century, who were rarely to be found as newcomers in the northern parts of the intra-mural area.

In 985 then, the core of the city was located around the Cathedral and Comital Palace, with a scatter of houses throughout the walled area, and the possibility of other nuclei elsewhere, most probably around the Regomir Gate. In the aftermath of 985 reconstruction took place in the same zones, leaving the central parts of the city still rather open, but with an increased emphasis on the building of substantial residences along the line of the walls. From the middle of the century a process of renewal can be detected, the open spaces were built over and new forms of land utilisation took their place, especially with the appearance of workshops. After a recession in the early 12th. century, the movement regained force, and open land disappeared from the

northern sectors of the walled area, although 'horts' still remained attached to houses in the southern sectors. The latter remained somewhat less developed throughout the 12th. century, the initiative for growth having long since spread outside the walls to the ever-increasing suburbs. It is these which must now be considered.

