

'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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VOLUME III

(NOTES)



NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. For a recent view of the towns of Europe in this period, E.Ennen, The Medieval Town, (London, 1979), particularly chapters 1 to 4.
2. On this point, although referring to a purely British context, M.Aston and J.Bond, The Landscape of Towns, (London, 1976) pp.15-27.
3. The Oxford English Dictionary, under section Ib, defines topography as 'a detailed description or delineation of the features of a locality'.
4. For bibliographical information on Spanish towns, Ch.Verlinden, "L'histoire urbaine de la Péninsule Ibérique. Problèmes et tentatives de solution" in Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire 15 (1936) 1142-1166, which covers the works that appeared up to the Civil War. Subsequently, J.Ma Lacarra, "Orientation des études d'histoire urbaine en Espagne entre 1940 et 1957" in Le Moyen Âge 66 (1958) 317-339. The Indice Histórico Español published by the Department of Medieval History of the University of Barcelona since 1952, is an invaluable research tool, although its appearance has unfortunately been very irregular in recent years. To my shame, the section by J.Ma Font Rius and J.Ma Lacarra on Spain in the Guide International d'Histoire Urbaine I, Europe (ed.P.Wolff: Paris, 1977)

pp.157-186, came to my notice too late to be of direct use.

Two general works on Spanish towns are also of use, although the historical details they contain are not always accurate: O.Jürgens, Spanische Städte: Ihre bauliche Entwicklung und Ausgestaltung, (Hamburg, 1926), and E.A. Gutkind, International History of City Development, volume III, Urban development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal , (New York, 1967). A.García y Bellido et al., Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España, (Madrid, 1968²) is a work which deserves to be better known. The first edition (1954) does not contain the section by García y Bellido on the Roman period, and begins with that of L.Torres Balbas on the medieval one.

5. P.Linehan, The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century , (Cambridge, 1971) p. x, and R.A.Fletcher, The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century, (Oxford, 1978) p.28, both tell of conditions which are very similar to those in Catalonia, especially in the case of ecclesiastical archives.

6. B.Lewis, "The Antiquities of Tarragona" in Archaeological Journal 37 (1880) 1-30, pp.26-7.

7. P.Vilar, Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna, vol.I: Introducció. El medi natural, (Barcelona, 1964¹) p.167.

8. That part of Catalonia (i.e. Rosselló, Vallespir, Conflent, Capcir and parts of Cerdanya) which has been part of France since the mid-17th. century is virtually totally excluded from this work.

9. See the map in A.Yates, Catalan, (Teach Yourself Series) (London, 1975) p.xii.

10. W.Othmer, "Les tribus de la Hispania Tarraconensis en temps des Romans" in BRABLB 6 (1911-12) 325-348, is still a useful summary of the literary sources.

11. E.Albertini, Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine (Paris, 1923) pp.95-99.

12. Infra pp.249-50 for the de Fisco. The bishop of Ausona was the only one of those mentioned here who did not sign, and this diocese may thus have lain outside the district existing in the Visigothic period. However, in the 9th. century and later, it was more closely associated with the areas to the east, than ^{with these} to the west, largely as a result of geographical factors.

13. For the early medieval counties see the works of R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals cited in the bibliography.

14. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.340: Duran, BSH, pp.190-200, for the 13th. century walls.

15. In addition the type of documentation changes considerably in the course of the 13th. century. The first local chronicles appear, commercial documents become more frequent, and the topographical details of conveyance documentation become more summary, a process already noticeable in the later 12th. century.

16. There are numerous works on the 13th. century commercial development of the Crown of Aragon and its political context, but unfortunately few are in English. J.L. Shneidmann, The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350 in 2 vols, (London-New York, 1970) is not particularly reliable. C.E. Dufourcq, L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània occidental, segles XIII i XIV, (Barcelona, 1969) (Translated from the French L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, (Paris, 1966)), and M. del Treppo, Els mercaders catalans i l'expansió de la Corona catalano-aragonesa al segle XIV, (Barcelona, 1976) are more reliable. L. Nicolau d'Olwer, L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental, (Barcelona, 1974³: 1926¹), is still useful for the eastern Mediterranean. F. Soldevila, Història de Catalunya in 3 vols., (Barcelona, 1962-63) is the standard history. His Vida de Jaume I el Conqueridor, (Barcelona, 1958) is important for the 13th. century political situation. There is, however, no single work dealing with the effects of these changes on the towns of the area, although numerous local studies

exist. For the towns of the Catalan part of the Crown of Aragon, F.Carreras Candi, "Idea de l'avenç urbà de Catalunya al segle XIV" in III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Valencia, 1924), pp. 165-228, covers a wider period than the title might suggest.

17. This was in the area now known as 'La Ribera' to the south of the church of Sta. Maria del Mar. That it was laid out in the years following 1210 was demonstrated by S.Sanpere y Miquel, Topografía antigua de Barcelona: Rodalía de Corbera in 3 vols., (Barcelona, 1890-92). See infra pp.1351-52.

18. The lack of contributions concerning Spain to two major conferences in the last decade is rather indicative of the absence of work in this field. Neither Topografia urbana e vita cittadina sull'alto medioevo in Occidente (=Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XXI, Spoleto, 1974) nor M.W.Barley (ed.), European Towns. Their Archaeology and Early History, (London, 1977), the contributions to conferences held in Spoleto and Oxford in 1973 and 1975, contain anything directly concerning the Iberian Peninsula.

19. I know of no work which considers towns within the limits here chosen, although the central part is covered in J.M^a Lacarra, "Panorama de la historia

urbana en la Península Ibérica desde el siglo V al X" in La Città nell'alto medioevo (= Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, VI, Spoleto, 1958) pp.319-358. On the other hand numerous local histories deal with individual towns, and there are a number of regional approaches to medieval towns and their forerunners: for Aragon, J.Mª Lacarra, "El desarrollo urbano de Navarra y Aragón en la Edad Media" Pirineos 6 (1950) 5-34: for the Basque country, J.I. Linazasora, Permanencias y arquitectura urbana: las ciudades vascas de la época romana a la Ilustración, (Barcelona, 1978): for León and Castille, J.Gautier Dalché, Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX - XIII), (Madrid, 1979). These cover the greater part of northern Spain, as does J.Mª Lacarra, "Les villes frontières dans l'Espagne des XI^e et XII^e siècles" Le Moyen Âge 69 (1963) 205-222. The conditions which applied to those towns which remained under Arab rule until the 12th. and 13th. centuries were quite different, as is demonstrated by L.Torres Balbas in Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España (Madrid, 1968²) pp.67-170(see note 4, p.975).

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. E.F. James, The Merovingian Archaeology of South-west Gaul, (Oxford, 1977) p.194.
2. Writers such as Pere Tomic, Jeroni Pau, Gabriel Turull, Pere Miquel Carbonell, and Hieronymus Jorba span the 15th. and 16th. centuries. For their opinions on the origins of Barcelona, infra chapter III section 1.
3. After Pujades and Diago, whose works were published in the first decade of the 17th. century, there appeared little of significance, apart from Pere de Marca's Marca Hispanica, which however, was largely cast in the documentary mould, and owed little to the tradition of recording what could be seen or what tradition stated.
4. Particularly in the work of Bosarte and to a lesser extent in that of Flórez and Ponz.
5. These works fall into four distinct categories: firstly, those which were principally concerned with collecting historical sources, but which occasionally mentioned buildings or visible remains, e.g. Villanueva or Bofarull y Mascarb. Secondly, studies of structures per se, e.g. Laborde or Piferrer. Thirdly, guide books to Barcelona, which proliferated in the period 1845 to 1910, and which

sometimes demonstrated a surprising degree of erudition: to these might be added other general accounts of the city, such as that of Pi y Arimón, and descriptions of journies by both natives and foreigners. Finally, the tradition of general histories was maintained in the works of Balaguer and Bofarull y Brocá, and these contain details that concern the city, but which are not recorded in more specific works.

6. A. Elías de Molíns, Catálogo del Museo Provincial de Antigüedades de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1888).

7. An account of most, but not all, of the excavations carried out between 1920 and 1959 can be found in Durán, BSH, pp.23-64. See also, A.Florensa Ferrer, "Restauraciones y excavaciones en Barcelona durante los últimos veinticinco años" in CAHC 6 (1964) 5-36 (= Miscellanea Barcinonensia year III no.7 (1964) 7-25) which covers the post-Civil War period.

8. Notes concerning the excavations carried out since 1960 have generally appeared in CAHC, although these are rarely very detailed, and there are lacunae for certain years. Problems of staff and finances have meant that activity has been very restricted since c.1975.

9. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.62-65.

10. Cf. the comments of F.Pallarés Salvador,
"Las excavaciones de la Plaza de San Miguel y la
topografía romana de Barcino" in CAHC 13 (1969)
5-42, pp.5-6.
11. (E.Hübner), Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,
volume II (Berlin, 1869) nos. 4496 - 4602: idem,
Supplementum, (Berlin, 1892) nos.6145 - 6179.
12. Hispania Antiqua Epigrafica 1 (1950) - 16 (1965).
13. S.Mariner Bigorra, "Nuevas inscripciones latinas
de España" in AEA 28 (1955) 197-243; idem, "Corrección
a lecturas de epígrafes barcinonenses del Museo
Arqueológico de Barcelona" in Ampurias 28 (1966)
123-138: idem, "Los conjuntos epigráficos romanos del
Museo de Historia de la Ciudad" in CAHC 2 (1961) 5-
106: idem, "Complementos de 'Los conjuntos epigráficos
romanos del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad'" in CAHC
10 (1967) 61-127: idem, Inscripciones romanas de
Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1973), henceforth cited as IRB.
14. J.Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de la España
romana y visigoda, (Barcelona, 1942¹: Barcelona,
1969²).
15. J.Vives, "Inscripciones prerománicas barcelonesas"
in San Jorge no.47 (1962) 56-62: E.Hübner, Inscriptiones
Hispaniae Christianae, (Berlin, 1871) publishes four
of these, but tends to be even more difficult to trace.

16. J.Mas, Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona: vol. VIII, El fossar de la Seu de Barcelona y ses inscripcions funeraries, (Barcelona, 1911).
17. Conveniently collected in J.Vigué, El monestir romànic de Sant Pau del Camp, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.197-214.
18. The first step was the construction of the street cutting through the heart of the historic centre, and now represented by C/ de la Princesa, C/ Jaume I and C/ Ferran VII. This was followed by the demolition of the buildings which included parts of the Roman defences on the south and west sides, especially the Palau Reial Menor, and the ~~Convent~~ de l'Ensenyança. The most drastic alterations to the late medieval topography came in the early 20th. century with the opening of the Via Layetana and the Avinguda de la Catedral.
19. M.Galera, F.Roca and S.Tarragó, Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972) which contains 300 plans and drawings of the city, over half of them of pre-20th. century date. A useful list of modern plans and maps of the city is available in Comisión Mixta de Coordinación Estadística, Inventario de Información cartográfica de la Provincia de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970).

20. These two views are from the classic positions for drawing Barcelona - one from the summit of Montjuïc, the other a bird's eye view from the sea: they were produced by a Fleming, Anthonius van der Wyngaerde. Although not strictly speaking published, reproductions have been placed on the market.

21. A useful introduction to Catalan place-names is E. Moreu Rey, Els noms de lloc: introducció a la toponímia, (Barcelona, 1965): also his Toponímia catalana. Assaig de bibliografia, (Barcelona, 1974).

22. J. Balari Jovany, Orígenes històrics de Catalunya, (San Cugat del Vallés, 1964²: Barcelona, 1899¹).

23. e.g. E. Moreu Rey, La Rodalia de Caldes de Montbui. (Repertori històric de noms de lloc i ^{de} noms de persona, (Barcelona, 1962).

24. A. Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna in 2 vols., (Barcelona, 1854) esp. vol. I pp.214-270.

25. V. Balaguer, Los calles de Barcelona in 2 vols., (Barcelona, 1865).

26. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, passim.

27. A. Vallesca, Las calles de Barcelona desaparecidas, (Barcelona, 1945): L. Almerich, Història dels carrers de la Barcelona vella, (Barcelona, 1949):

F. Bravo Morato, Los nombres de las calles de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1971): J.Mª Espinàs and F. Català Roca, Vuit segles de carrers de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1974): J.Mª Espinàs, Alguns carrers antics de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1978).

28. The principal of these is the Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium edited by L. Barrau Dihigo and J. Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925). Another 13th. century chronicle, that of the convent of St. Pere de les Puel·les, is more closely connected with the city, but no more informative about the period in question: see M. Coll i Alentorn, "La crònica de Sant Pere de les Puelles" in I Col·loqui d'Història del Monaquisme Català volume I (Poblet, 1967) 35-50. The latter author's "La historiografia de Catalunya en el període primitiu" in Estudis Romànics 3 (1951-52) 139-197 is a useful guide to the works of this period.

29. M.N. Adler, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela" in The Jewish Quarterly Review (Old Series) 16 (1904) 453-473.

30. Apart from various trading agreements, and mentions of Barcelona in later 12th. century notarial documents, one must consider the account of the attack on Mallorca in 1114, the Liber Maiolichinus. A Catalan translation of this work by J. Vidal i Alcover can now be found in Mallorca: la primera conquesta cristiana, (published by the Fundació Jaume I; Barcelona, 1979).

31. On the survival of the usage of Visigothic law, infra p. 326 and note 64 on p.1260.
32. The dating of the Usatges is discussed by Bonnassie, La Catalogne..., pp.711-727. A linguistic approach has been taken up by J. Bastardas i Parera, Sobre la problemàtica dels Usatges de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1977).
33. The parchments of the Visigothic period have been studied in an unpublished doctoral thesis of the University of Barcelona by A. Mundó, Los diplomas visigodas originales en pergamino: transcripción y comentario: con un regesto de documentos de la época visigoda (1970). Reviews in Miscellanea Barcinonensia year X no.28 (1971) pp.63-5 and in Journal des Savants (1974) pp.218-222. Nothing like the documents on slate of the Visigothic period, found in the west of Spain, is known from Catalonia.
34. For general comments on this Catalan documentation, Bonnassie, La Catalogne..., pp.22-30.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. P.Vilar, Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna in 4 vols., (Barcelona, 1964¹) vol.I, p.225.
2. Ibid., p.275 et seq.
3. Ibid., p.368 et seq.
4. Ibid., pp.292-302 for the site of Barcelona: also idem, "Barcelone" in Revue Géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-ouest 7 (1936) 22-33: R.Courtot and R.Ferras, Les grandes villes du monde: Barcelone (= Notes et Etudes Documentaires no.3615: Paris, 1969) stressing locational parallels with Genoa and Marseilles. A brief summary of these factors in English in E.A. Gutkind, International History of City Development, vol.III, Urban development in southern Europe: Spain and Portugal, (New York, 1967) p.299. For geographical aspects of the Barcelona area in general M. Galera Monegal, Bibliografía geográfica de la ciudad de Barcelona, two volumes (Barcelona, 1973-8) is a valuable mine of sources.
5. The only map of which I know which endeavours to show the progressive recession of the sea is that in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, between pages 14 and 15. Those of S. Sanpere y Miquel, Topografía antigua de Barcelona: Rodalía de Corbera in 3 vols., (Barcelona,

1890-92) scattered throughout volume I, have been more influential, though they cover a shorter period of time. Both of these sources, however, only include a small part of the Barcelona coast immediately to the north-east of the city. For the advancement of the delta of the Llobregat see now, M^a A. Marqués, "Algunas características del delta del Llobregat" in CAHC 17 (1977) 11-16.

6. The name of 'Mons Taber' which is usually applied to this slight eminence is not strictly speaking correct, for when the name appears in the 11th. century it only applies to the area immediately around the Roman temple, that is its highest point, and it is never found in any other context. Numerous repetitions of the application of the name to the whole area of the Roman city make it difficult to eradicate this usage. This mistaken application is doubly unfortunate for it has given the name an importance it probably never had, and therefore lent credence to theories concerning the origins of the city which are based on its interpretation. In fact, the origin of the name is obscure, although it had apparently long been in use by the mid-11th. century, for a document of 1045 (C.71) refers to monte qui ab antiquis nuncupatus est Taber.

7. L. Solé Sabarís, "Ensayo de interpretación del Cuaternario barcelonés" in Miscellanea Barcinonensis year II no.3 (1963) 7-52.

8. ibid., p.14.
9. ibid., p.12. Also, A. de Bolós y Vayreda, Vegetación de las comarcas barcelonesas, (Barcelona, 1950) plan opposite p.48.
10. The most serious of these incidents was in 1862 when the stream on the line of the Rambles surfaced. However, as recently as September 1978 the Riera d'Horta emerged causing considerable damage.
11. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.306.
12. P.Vila, "Orígens i evolució de la Rambla" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia year IV no.11 (1965) 59-74.
13. A. Duran i Sanpere, "La riera de la Rambla" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia year VII no.19 (1968) 119-130.
14. P.Vila in Geografia de Catalunya (edited L.Solé i Sabarís) vol.III (Barcelona, 1968) p.502: idem, in Barcelona i la seva rodalia al llarg dels temps (edited P.Vila and L.Casassas) (Barcelona, 1974) p.28: idem, "La circulació de les aigües del Pla de Barcelona en el passat" in CAHC 17 (1977) 17-24; idem, "La hidrografia de Barcelona" in his Aspectes Geogràfics de Catalunya: Selecció d'escrits de Geografia, 2, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.333-365.
15. The clearest indication is in S.359, which

demonstrates the existence of streams to the east and west of the area to the north of the modern C/de la Canuda. By the end of the century, this stream had been given the name of the adjoining property owner to the west - that is the house of the Holy Sepulchre (S.571).

16. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.364.

17. Merdança was the most common of these in the early medieval period, and the one generally used here. Sometimes the alternative of Torrent Profon is given. From the 13th. century the upper part was called the torrent de Jonqueres, from the convent of that name, while the house of the Hospitallers established in 1205 gave it the name of Torrent de Sant Joan. The upper parts, outside the area of the medieval city, are variously known as the Riera de Vallcarca, d'Ariga, or de l'Olla.

18. For this transformation, F.Carreras Candi, La Via Layetana substituint als carrers de la Barcelona mitgeval, (Barcelona, 1913).

19. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.361. For the transformation of these streams into streets, A. Durán Sanpere, "Como los torrentes y los caminos se volvieron calles" Revista Ford⁶ no.35 (June, 1935) 217-224. For a description of this drain, A. Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) vol. I p.12.

20. Infra pp. 623-626.

21. See the pre-20th. century plans in M.Galera, F.Roca and S.Tarragó, Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972). For plans in relation to the modern city the works of Vila cited in note 14 and fig.6.

22. For the city, the most significant was the Cagalell, located between the Rambles and the monastery of St.Pau del Camp, and which limited development in that part of the city until the later Medieval period. The area to the south of Montjuïc which was used as a port in the 9th. and 10th. centuries, and perhaps beforehand, became similar, and was usually referred to as the Port stagnum in the 11th. century. To the east of the city, there may have been similar lagoons in the area of Sta.Maria del Mar (S.57 and 59), which disappeared after the diversion of the Merdança from its natural course, which I believe took place after the cutting of the Rech (c.1045) but before c.1060. Further away from the city one might mention the Laguna Lantanna and the Laguna Lanaria (Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.321, n.826). The former has given its name to the modern district of La Llacuna.

23. Infra pp.610-612.

24. Solé, op.cit., plan on p.12.

25. For the Llobregat, Marqués, op.cit. (note 5):
for the other streams between the two rivers, R.Julià,
"Características litológicas de las 'rieres' del
Pla de Barcelona" in CAHC 17 (1977) 25-30.

26. M.Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes dels Països
Catalans, (Barcelona, 1978) p.47.

27. For this point see the works of P.Vilar cited
in note 4. Also Geografia de Catalunya (edited by
L.Solé i Sabarís) vol.I, (Barcelona, 1958) p.603,
and J.Iglésies, "La cursa demogràfica de les principals
ciutats catalanes" in Memòries de la Reial Acadèmia
de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona³ 43 no.11 (1977)
453-476, especially p.458 on the central position
of Barcelona in relation to the other cities of
Catalonia.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. The pre-Roman finds from the modern area of Barcelona are conveniently listed in I. Rodà de Mayer, "La dispersión del poblamiento en el término de Barcelona en la época anterromana" in CAHC 17 (1977) 47-72. This, however, excludes any finds which might have been made in the modern district of Hospitalet. The most significant site, or at least the best known, was the fortified settlement of el Turó de la Rovira, re-examined by J.O. Granados García "El poblado layetano del Turó de la Rovira. En torno al iberismo en el Llano de Barcelona" in CAHC 17 (1977) 33-45: idem, "Cerámicas de barniz negro procedentes del poblado layetano del Turó de la Rovira (Barcelona)" ibid. 99-116.

2. A. Balil Illana, "Una nueva estación prerromana en el llano de Barcelona: el poblado layetano de la Penya del Moro, en San Just Desvern (Barcelona)" in Ampurias 17-18 (1955-56) 266-268: for more recent excavations, R. Pascual Guasch and J. Barberà Farras, "Las excavaciones del Instituto en el poblado prerromano de la Penya del Moro, en San Justo Desvern (Barcelona)" in Inf.Arg. no.13 (1974) 18-9: J. Barberà and E. Mata, "La Penya del Moro de Sant Just Desvern (Barcelona). Resum de les campanyes, 1972-1976" in Inf.Arg. 27-28 (1978) 56-61: J. Barberà, E. Sanmartí and E. Morral, La Penya del Moro (= Quaderns de Treball del Institut d' Arqueologia, 1) (Barcelona, 1979).

3. Bibliography to 1945 in CAB p.193. Subsequently numerous notes in the Butlletí del Club Excursionista Puig Castellar, and the monograph, A.Martínez i Hualde and J.Vicente i Castells, El poblat ibèric de Puig Castellar (excavacions dels anys 1954 - 1958) (Barcelona, 1966). These works are summarized, along with other pertinent material, in "Els estudis ibèrics (1965-1975)" in Fonaments 1 (Barcelona, 1978) 227-290, especially entries 100 to 114. Neither of these two settlements was very large, and the most substantial, leaving to one side the doubtful case of Montjuïc, were the Turó de la Rovira and Puig d'Olorde, where in addition to the bibliography supplied by Rodà, one might cite the recent excavations of J.O.Granados, "Excavacions en el poblado de Santa Creu d'Olorde" Inf.Arq. 26 (1978) 38-39.

4. Rodà, op.cit. p.75 and note 52, with reference to other sites with similar contexts.

5. The process of Romanization has been comparatively little studied in recent years: see, for example, A.Balil, "Algunos aspectos del proceso de la romanización de Cataluña" in Ampurias 17-18 (1955-56) 39-58. It seems improbable that such cases of transferral were enforced, and they more likely occurred for the sake of convenience.

6. Most general works on Iberian culture deal with this question: a recent study in J.Maluquer de Motes, "Panoràma general de la problemàtica sobre el

urbanismo pre-romano en la Península Ibérica" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) 7-27.

7. G.Nicolini, The Ancient Spaniards, (Farnborough, 1974) p.79 et seq. A.Arribas, Los Iberos, (Barcelona, 1965) p.118 et seq.

8. R.Ximenez de Rada, Historia de rebus Hispaniae in F. de Lorenzana, PP. Toletanorum quotquot extant opera vol.III, (Madrid, 1793) 1-208, chapter V, p.10. The section on historiography by M.Coll i Alentorn in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (edited by A.Duran i Sanpere, Barcelona, 1975) has been particularly useful in the preparation of this section.

9. Pere Tomich, Historias e conquestas dels excellentissims e Catholics Reys de Arago e de lurs antecessors los Comtes de Barcelona, (facsimile version of the 1534 edition, with indexes added by J.Saez Rico, Valencia, 1970) fol.iii, v.

10. e.g. Francesc de Barcelona, Llibre de los noblesses dels Reis (Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 428) cited Coll, op.cit., pp.43-44: or Gabriel Turull, Recort (edited by E.Bagué, Barcelona, 1950) p.43.

11. J.Pujades, Crónica universal del Principado de Cataluña, (Castilian edition, Barcelona, 1829-1831: first published in Catalan, Barcelona, 1609) in 8 vols: book III p.30.

12. This is apparent from the contemporary documentation which is discussed infra pp.867-871, and the survival of the names of the Castell de Port, the Estany del Port and the chapel of Nostra Senyora del Port until post medieval times. The presumption that this had its origins in Roman or even Prehistoric times has never been substantiated, and although by no means impossible, it should be treated as a hypothesis rather than an accepted fact.

13. Joan Margarit, Paralipomenon Hispaniae Libri Decem, (Granada, 1545) fol.xxii r-v. Also R.B.Tate, Joan Margarit i Pau, Cardenal i Bisbe de Girona, (Barcelona, 1976) pp.247-9.

14. F.Carreras Candi, "Lo Montjuich de Barcelona" in MRABLB 8 (1903) 195-450, p.224. P.Voltes Bou, Historia de Montjuich y su Castillo (Barcelona, 1960) p.42.

15. Pomponius Mela, Chorographia II 90: Spanish translation and commentary in A.García y Bellido, La España del siglo primero de nuestra Era, (Madrid, 1977²) p.30.

16. Voltes Bou, op.cit., pp.11-16 for a discussion

of the Montjuïc place-name: also Carreras Candi,
op.cit., p.210.

17. Jeroni Pau, Barcino (=Història de Barcelona
fins al segle XV: edited by J.Mª Casas Homs;
Barcelona, 1957) p.18.

18. Pere Miquel Carbonell, Chroniques de Espanya
fins açi no divulgades, (Barcelona, 1547) fol.iiii r.

19. Jerónimo de Jorba, Descripción de las
excelsas de la muy insigne ciudad de Barcelona,
(Barcelona, 1589: facsimile reprint, Barcelona, 1928)
fol.1 v.

20. Juan de Mariana, Historia de Rebus Hispaniae,
(Castilian translation as Historia de España
(= Biblioteca de Autores Españoles XXX) Madrid,
1864) p.37.

21. F.Diago, Historia de los Victoriosísimos
antiguos Condes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1603)
fol.4v.-7v.

22. Pujades, op.cit., Book I p.76.

23. Pedro de Marca, Marca Hispanica sive Limes
Hispanicus, (Paris, 1688) Book II chapter XIV, cols.150-8.
(Catalan translation by J.Icart (Barcelona, 1965)
pp.180-186).

24. N.Feliu de la Peña y Farell, Anales de Cataluña vol.I,(Barcelona, 1709) p.32 and p.52.

25. A.de Capmany y de Monpalau, Memorias Históricas sobre la Marina, Comercio y Artes de la Antigua Ciudad de Barcelona,(Madrid, 1779: reprinted, two volumes in three, with additional notes, Barcelona 1961-2)vol.I p.22.

I have been unable to consult Rafael Cervera, Discursos históricos de la fundación y nombre de la ciudad de Barcelona,(18th. century Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). The copy referred to by Carreras Cañdi, GGCCB,p.42 note 37, as being in the Institut Municipal de Història, cannot be traced). Other contemporaries add little that was different: e.g. I.Bosarte, Disertación sobre los monumentos antiguos pertenecientes a las tres nobles artes de pintura, escultura y arquitectura de Barcelona, (Madrid, 1786) pp.4-5: or A.Ponz, Viage de España, (Madrid, 1788) vol.XIV p.3.

26. E.Flórez, España Sagrada vol.XXIX (Madrid, 1859²) pp.15-16.

27. A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna in 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1854) vol.I p.234.

28. P.Piferrer, Recuerdos y Bellezas de España: vol.I, Cataluña (Barcelona, 1839: reprinted Barcelona,

1939) p.17.

29. Pi y Arimón, op.cit., p.17.

30. V.Balaguer, Historia de Cataluña, (Barcelona, 1860) vol.I pp.20-21.

31. A. de Bofarull y Brocá, Historia Crítica de Cataluña in 9 volumes, (Barcelona, 1876) vol.I p.32.

32. B.Hernandez Sanahuja, Disertación histórico-monumental de Barcelona, (Ms. dated 13.X.1864 in the Archivo Archidiocesano de Tarragona) pp.65-66.

33. F.Fita, "Antiguas murallas de Barcelona" in Revista Histórica Latina 3 (1876) 3-13, 65-71, 228-233, especially p.5.

34. See note 31.

35. S.Sanpere y Miquel, Barcelona: son passat, present y porvenir, (Barcelona, 1879) p.12, when he still believed in Greek origins. In his Història de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d.) he used Basque philology to explain the name and hence the origins of the city.

36. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.33-52, an argument later developed in his "Laye, antecesora de Barcelona en Montjuich" in El Noticiere Universal of 25th. January. 1930.

37. The inscription is IRB 51, with extensive bibliographical references. For its discovery see especially M.R.Berlanga, "Estudios epigráficos de las pequeñas inscripciones jurídicas romano-hispánicas" in RAAAB 4 (1903-05) 113-5 and F.Fita, "Barcelona romana: su primer período histórico" in BRAH 42 (1903) 481-483.
38. Text in Avienus, Ora Maritima, (edited A.Schulten, FHA I, Madrid, 1955²) lines 520 et seq. For a discussion of this problem, Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.34-36 and Rodà, op.cit., p.85, with references to earlier discussions.
39. The early form is clearly Barcino: the substitution of the 'n' for an 'l' is first recorded in A.D.344 (FHA VIII p.66) and during the late 4th. and subsequent centuries both forms were current.
40. Paulinus in a letter to Ausonius refers to Barcinus amoena (FHA VIII: letter XXIX 232, p.380). cf. Paulinus, Carmina, X, 232 (PL LXI col.458).
41. S.Mariner Bigorra, "La Barcelona romana a través de su municipio" CAHC 16 (1975) 185-197, p.185.
42. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.38: Rodà, op.cit., p.86: F.Pallarés, "La topografia i els orígens de la Barcelona romana" in CAHC 16 (1975) 5-48, p.10, all with ample bibliography, to which might be added

G. Jenkins, "Review of A.M.Guadán, 'Las leyendas ibéricas en las dracmas de imitación emporitana' (Barcelona, 1956)" in Numismatic Chronicle 18 (1957) 279-282, who accepts the Barkenø pieces as authentic against the opinion of Guadán. Most recently, L.Villaronga, Numismática Antigua de Hispanja, (Barcelona, 1979) p. 113, who also accepts them.

43. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.36 which effectively demolished the Punic or Semitic link, and suggested Celtic roots: Pallarés, op.cit., points to similar names in northern Italy.

44. F.Gimeno, Aportación al estudio de las monedas de Laie, (Barcelona, 1950): A.M.Guadán, Numismática ibérica e ibero-romana, (Madrid, 1969) p.197.

R.Martín Valls, La circulación monetaria ibérica, (Valladolid, 1967) pp.51-2. L.Villaronga, "Sistematización del numerario ibérico (II): El grupo centro catalán" in Acta Numisática 4 (1974) 15-63: idem, La moneda de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1976) p.12: idem, Numismática Antigua de Hispanja, (Barcelona, 1979) p. 210.

45. These are the limits accepted by most writers, and most recently by X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laietana, (Barcelona, 1978) in deciding the limits to be studied. No precise limits are provided by the ancient sources,

but by a policy of mutual exclusion, these seem to be the most likely.

46. Cf. the works of Carreras Candi cited in note 36. Accepted by L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.27: CAB p.60: CMB p.6: L.Pericot, "La pre-Barcelona" in CAHC 3 (1962) 21-35, esp. p.32 and most other general accounts.
47. See note 15.
48. García y Bellido, op.cit., pp.21-22.
49. M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona II De la Pre-història al segle XVI, (edited A.Duran i Sanpere) (Barcelona, 1975) p.93.
50. FHA VIII p.380 in letter XXVII to Paulinus: cf. MGH AA, vol.V,ii, letter XXV, 69 (p.192).
51. H. Sanpere y Miquel, Història de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d.) p.102.
52. He considered that there had been a bay in the area between the Roman colonia and the monastery of St.Pere de les Puelles, and that the city had taken its name from it. Although he was virtually unique in using geological evidence, something that his contemporaries never took into account, the evidence for this bay is still lacking, and later archaeological

finds have virtually disproved its existence, at least in the Roman period and later. However, the maps he published are still widely used today as indicating the position of the classical shore-line, with the result that the bay still appears, although somewhat smaller, and the points where Roman material has been found form a series of peninsulae: e.g. the map published by P.Vila, "La circulació de les aigües del Pla de Barcelona en el passat" in CAHC 17 (1977) 17-24, between pages 20 and 21. It would be far more logical to forget this bay, which largely came into existence on dubious philological grounds, and connect the points where Roman material is known so as to form a continuous uninterrupted coastline.

53. M.Mayer, "Punica Barcino" in Latina et Graeca 6 (1975) 45-54.

54. The question of Phoenician influence was reconsidered in a communication by E.Ripoll and E. Sanmartí, "La expansión griega en la Península Ibérica" given to the II Congreso de Culturas del Mediterráneo Occidental (Barcelona, 1975) publication of which is forthcoming.

55. Bibliography in CAB p.193 for the early excavations.

56. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.36-42.

57. Rodà, op.cit., pp.68-70 with bibliography.

58. M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (edited A.Durán i Sanpere) (Barcelona, 1975) p.73.

59. J-N.Bonneville, "Aux origines de Barcino romaine (Barcelone)" in Révue des Études Anciennes 80 (1978) 37-71, esp. pp.44-53, concludes that there is little evidence for Iberian settlement in the Pla de Barcelona in comparison with neighbouring areas: this view is perhaps too heavily influenced by the lack of coin finds, although clearly contains an element of truth. See fig.12 for their distribution.

60. See note 37.

61. CAB p.65.

62. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.48-50 and most subsequent works, e.g. CAB p.65.

63. Pallarès, op.cit., pp.11-14. M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I, pp.89-93 for a discussion of these views. Also A.Balil, "Topografía de Barcino" in Durius 1 (1973) 374-377.

64. For these excavations virtually the only information available is in Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.45 note 50 and p.87 note 1. For other remains found

at the same time as the inscription, A.Balil, "La exedra romana de Montjuich (Barcelona)" in Ampurias 17-18 (1955-56) 273-275. Bonneville, op.cit., pp.56-7 considers that the Arretine ware to which Balil refers cannot be considered to be of Republican date.

65. The statue was found in 1849 in unknown circumstances: J.Puiggarí, Garlanda de Joyells: estudis e impressions de Barcelona monumental, (Barcelona, 1879) p.16: A.Elías de Molíns, Catálogo del Museo Provincial de Antigüedades de Barcelona, (Barcelona , 1888) p.18: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.47: Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.135. The milestone is CIL II 6242 (= 6324a) and IRB 271.

66. Infra p.233 for a discussion of this cemetery.

67. Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I, p.122.

68. Infra p.867 for the Port area in the 10th. century.

69. Pallarés, op.cit., pp.10-11.

70. M.Tarradell, "Sobre el poblamiento romano en el Pla de Barcelona" in CAHC 17 (1977) 93-97, esp. pp.95-97.

71. Bonneville, op.cit., p.59 note 150 summarizing

earlier opinions.

72. ibid., pp.58-64.

73. C.H. V. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain, 217 B.C.-A.D.117, (London, 1939: reprinted New York, 1971) p.237 note 33.

74. IRB Add.2. J.Sol, "Apéndice" Miscellanea Barcinonensia year XI no.28 (1971) 165-167:

F-P. Verrié, "Barcino Augusta" in Akten des VI Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, (Munich, 1973) 478-480.

Anon., "Nova làpida trobada a Barcelona" in Inf.Arg. nos.4-5 (1971) 143.

75. For the inscription to Caracalla, IRB 23. The PAT of this inscription was at first interpreted as PATRICIA: S.Mariner, "Nuevas inscripciones latinas de España" in AEA 28 (1955) 219-220: idem, "Colonia Faventia Iulia Augusta Patricia ? Barcino" in Emerita 25 (1957) 149-158: this was soon altered to PATERNA, idem, "Nota sobre el cuarto cognomen de Barcino" in Emerita 25 (1957) 499-500, which soon became generally accepted: A.García y Bellido, "Las colonias romanas de España" in AHDE 29 (1959) 447-512, esp. pp.482-3: idem, "En torno a las diversas formas de los nombres de la Colonia Barcino" in CAHC 2 (1961) 111-114.

76. Pliny, Naturalis Historia, Book III 3, 22.
Spanish commentary and translation in A.García y Bellido, La España del siglo primero de nuestra Era, (Madrid, 1977²) p.131.

77. IRB 82-100 for the inscriptions to L.Licinius Secundus: for their interpretation, I.Rodà,
"Lucius Licinius Secundus, liberto de Lucius Licinius Sura" in Pyrenae 6 (1970) 167-183.

78. I.Rodà de Mayer, "Barcino; su fundación y títulos honoríficos" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, II (Zaragoza, 1976) 225-232, henceforth Rodà, "Barcino"

79. Rodà, "Barcino", p.228.

80. Pallarès, op.cit., p.15.

81. S.Mariner Bigorra, "Les cognomina de Barcino à la lumière d'une inscription de Caracalla récemment découverte" in Akte des IV Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik (Vienna, 1964) 234-238.

82. Rodà, "Barcino", p.231.

83. Pallarès, op.cit., p.15.

84. e.g. Mariner, "Les cognomina.....", p.237.

85. Ibid., p.236.

86. Ibid., p.235.

87. Verrié, op.cit., p.479: Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I, pp.92-3. The former agrees with Pallarés on the colonial status of the early settlement: the latter believes that a municipium is more likely.

88. Bonneville, op.cit., p.67.

89. Ibid., pp.61-64.

90. Bonneville, op.cit., pp.64-5 can only point to the example of Sabora in Baetica.

91. For example, although a date in the Augustan period is feasible according to the evidence he presents, it is by no means proven, as the known parallels for the inscription date from the late 2nd. century B.C. onwards.

92. One suspects that the long use of the mountain as a quarry, the cutting of road and rail links at its foot, the laying out of the main 20th. century cemetery, and the current development of the 'Port' zone, all contribute to make the possibility of such an event remote.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Supra pp.57-60.
2. The most thorough accounts of the plan of Barcino are in F.Pallarés Salvador, "Las excavaciones de la Plaza de San Miguel y la topografía romana de Barcino" in CAHC 13 (1969) 5-42: idem, "La topografía e le origini de Barcellona romana" in RSL 36 (1970) 63-102, and the same article in Catalan, "La topografia i els orígens de la Barcelona romana" in CAHC 16 (1975) 5-48, to which I generally refer (henceforth cited as Pallarés 1969, 1970 and 1975 respectively). For the planning of Augustan cities in Spain in general, A.Balil, "Las ideas urbanísticas en época augustea" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) pp.29-78.
3. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.47-8.
4. For example those in the Plaça de Sant Miquel (Pallarés, 1969, p.15) or in the courtyard of the Archbishop's Palace (J.O.Granados and I.Rodà, "Restos de una casa romana en el patio del Palacio Arzobispal de Barcelona" in CAN XV (Zaragoza, 1979) pp.983-1002).
5. Particularly the late Professor Pericot, e.g. L.Pericot García, "La pre-Barcelona" in CAHC 3

(1962) 21-35, especially p.33.

6. A.Durán y Sanpere, "Una vía sepulcral romana en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia year I no.1 (1962) 43-49, esp. pp.48-9: reprinted in CAHC 4 (1963) 63-101, esp. p.70, and in his BSH pp.97-119. For the suggestion that the remains might have been near their original point of deposition, M.Tarradell, in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (edited by A.Durán i Sanpere, Barcelona, 1975)p.74.

7. A.Durán y Sanpere, "Vestigios de la Barcelona romana en la Plaza del Rey" in Ampurias 5 (1943) 53-77, p.73 (= p.25 of the offprint with the same title but dated Barcelona, 1944, and p.81 of the same article translated into Catalan in his BSH). For the plaça de Sant Just, A.Durán y Sanpere, "Poblados ibéricos y origen del nombre Taber" in Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica IV (1947) p.28.

8. F.Udina and J.Mª Garrut, Barcelona: Dos mil años de historia (* Barcelona: Vint segles d'història), (Barcelona, 1963) p.33: I.Rodà, "La dispersión del poblamiento en el término de Barcelona en la época anterromana" in CAHC 17 (1977) 47-92, pp.79-80, points out that some of these vessels are Iberian, but come from pits on Montjuïc: the remaining pieces have typically early medieval lips, handles and spouts.

9. L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.28: Rodà, "La dispersión..." op.cit., p.79.
10. An extensive bibliography of these finds can be found in Rodà, "La dispersión ..." op.cit., p.80. For the coin-like objects, idem, "Un bronce monetiforme hallado en Barcelona" in Numisma nos.120-1, 23-4 (1973-74) 37-44. The earliest account of the discovery is in E.Paluzie Cantalozella, Blasones españoles y apuntes históricos de las cuarenta y nueve capitales de provincia, (Barcelona, 1860) pp.13-4, cited by Rodà.
11. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.33 note 21.
12. Paluzie, op.cit., 'un trozo de muralla antiquisima'.
13. Rodà, "La dispersión..." op.cit., p.83 discusses the various finds of Ibero-Roman coins in and around the city.
14. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Recintes murats a la regió central de Catalunya" in Arquitectura megalítica y ciclópea catalano-balear (Barcelona, 1965) pp.111-122, esp. pp.118-122, and in various other works published in the same period. Discussed by Rodà, "La dispersión..." op.cit., pp.83-4.

15. J.O.Granados García, "Notas para el estudio topográfico de la colonia Barcino en el siglo I: la primera muralla de la ciudad" in Symposion de ciudades augusteas,II (Zaragoza, 1976) pp.215-223.
16. Rodà, "La dispersión..." op.cit., p.87 note 88.
17. Oral information from Oriol Granados, who has had the opportunity to inspect material found in 1942-3 in the Plaça de Berenguer el Gran, outside the defences. The 'Republican' date occasionally attributed to sculptures found in the core of the late Roman defences, should not be taken for evidence of a city before Augustus: in most cases, an Augustan or even later date is equally applicable, for such pieces are copies in a provincial style, which owe some aspects of their production to earlier traditions.
18. Pallarès, 1975, pp.15-23: J-N.Bonneville, "Aux origines de Barcino romaine (Barcelona)" in Revue des Études Anciennes 80 (1978) 37-71, p.67, revises this date to 9/8 B.C., and also suggests an alternative of c.15B.C.
19. Moreover, the Augustan period was one of fervent road construction in Hispania, which might suggest that the appearance of the road and the foundation of the colonia are not necessarily related: see C.H.V. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain, 217B.C.-A.D.117, (London, 1939: reprinted New York, 1971) pp.149-150.

20. For the road system of Roman Laietana, see fig. 14. There are numerous accounts of the principal sources: the most recent, J.Mª Roldán Hervás, Itineraria Hispana: fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la Península Ibérica, (Valladolid-Granada, 1975). A valuable summary in R.Chevallier, Roman Roads, (London, 1976) pp.155-158.

21. Sutherland, op.cit., p.148. H.Galsterer, Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel, (Berlin, 1971) is of fundamental importance. For the question of Augustan towns in general, the various contributions to the Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas (Zaragoza, 1976) in two volumes, are of interest.

22. One of the few examples is IRB 35, discussed by A.Balil, "Inscripción funeraria de un centurión" in CAHC 2 (1961) 107-109.

23. Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I, p.104.

24. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.89. To these might be added the group of amphorae from the base of tower 16, which have sometimes been seen as part of an earlier structure in situ, rather than a purely structural device.

25. Pallarès, 1969, pp.15-21: Pallarès, 1975, pp.23-8.

26. A.Balil, "Topografía de Barcino" in Durius 1 (1973) 374-377.
27. Granados, "Notas para el estudio...." op.cit., pp.220-221.
28. Ibid. fig 4 and also the section published by A.Durán i Sanpere, BSH, p.37, reproduced in fig.17.
29. At the angle adjoining tower 33: Granados, "Notas para el estudio...." op.cit., p.220, and fig.16.
30. Plans reproduced on several occasions: e.g. A.Balil, Las Murallas romanas de Barcelona, (Madrid, 1961) p.25. Nevertheless, there may be some truth in Pallarés' theory at this point for a description of 1864 appears to describe remains earlier than the defences, although, as in the case of those in the C/Subtemiente Navarro, these may have equally belonged to a pre-defence phase, as yet insufficiently understood: B.Hernandez Sanahuja, Disertación histórico-monumental de Barcelona, (Ms, in the Archivo Archidocesano de Tarragona) fol.134, "Tanto es cierto que nosotros vimos deshacer un trozo del muro junto a la torre circular que flanqueaba la puerta que del Palau bajaba a las calles de Escudillers y Aviñó, y debajo de sus cimientos se encontró un pavimento romano, parte del cual estaba dentro de la Plaza del Palau, y parte fuera del recinto". For the 19th.century plan, see fig.46.

31. J.de C.Serra Ráfols and A.M^a Adroer, "Sondeos arqueológicos en las calles del Veguer, dels Brocaters y Baixada de Santa Eulàlia" in CAHC 11 (1967) 31-49.
32. A.García y Bellido, "Estudios sobre la Legio VII Gemina y su campamento" in Legio VII Gemina (León, 1979) pp.571-575. A.Beltrán Martínez, "Caesaraugusta" in Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) ^{esp.} pp.230-245.
33. The mosaic has been studied on several occasions* most recently by X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laietana, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.48-50 with full bibliography. It is noticeable that the early accounts of its discovery make no reference to its having been cut by the defences: e.g. A.Bofarull y Brocá, Gufa-Cicerone de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1855²) pp.252-3: V.Balaguer, Los calles de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1865) vol.I pp.412-3: J.Puiggarí, Garlanda de Joyells: estudis e impressions de Barcelona monumental, (Barcelona, 1879) p.16. The suggestion that it was cut by the walls seems to appear in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.92, and has been perpetuated by most later writers. One must now doubt this opinion, for the principal contemporary source, a drawing made by Rogent, also fails to mention the defences.
34. Pallarés, 1969, p.26: Pallarés, 1975, p.31.

35. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Balanç i estat¹ actual de l'estudi de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 129-148, p.138.
36. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.89: J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Notas sobre el sector nordeste de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 5 (1964) 5-64, esp.p.62. These remains are still partially visible among the gardens laid out at the foot of the defences. For the earliest phases of sector B of Sant Miquel, J.O.Granados, E.Manera and J.Sol, "Notas sobre Barcelona:sector B de la plaza de San Miguel" in CAN XIV (Zaragoza, 1977) 1105-1112, esp.p.1107.
37. A.Arribas, "La Barcelona de época romana" in CAHC 3 (1962) 37-52, p.41, refers to the walls of the house at the junction of Baixada del Cassador and C/ del Subteniente Navarro, found in 1959, saying that the pottery associated with them did not appear to be pre-Flavian.
38. For an up-to-date discussion of the walls of Badalona, J.Guitart Durán, Baetulo; topografia arqueològica, urbanismo e historia, (Badalona, 1976) pp.49-60.
39. Granados, "Notas para el estudio...." op.cit., pp.219-220.

40. Ibid., p.220, citing the remains from tower 33 and tower 78 of the north-west gate, for which now see J.O.Gramados García, "Estudios de arqueología romana barcelonesa: la puerta decumana o del noroeste" in Pyrenae 12 (1976) 157-171. More recent work is considered in a forthcoming article in Pyrenae 13 by Granados, Redá and myself. There is a brief note on earlier work in J.Sol, "Memoria de los trabajos realizados en la zona B de la Plaza de San Miguel y en la muralla romana de Barcelona, 1973" in NAH Arqueología 5 (1977) 79-88. One might also add to this list of points the area adjoining tower 1, the other tower of this gate, which remains unpublished except for entries in general accounts of the walls, but of which a plan can be found in Pallarés, 1969, p.24; Pallarés, 1975, p.27, reproduced in fig.31.

41. Balil, Las Murallas...., op.cit., p.63, following A.Durán i Sanpere, "Noves troballes arqueològiques a Barcelona" in Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics 1 (1952) p.65.

42. Granados, "Notas para el estudio...." op.cit., pp.221-222.

43. Cf. the works concerning towers 1 and 78 cited in note 40, to which may be added J.Bassegoda Nonell, "En la vieja Plaza Nueva, la Torre del Obispo" in Inf.Arg. no.16 (1975) 101-105: idem, "Carta del Prof. Bassegoda sobre la Puerta Romana de Barcelona" in Inf.Arg. no.24 (1977) 182-183.

44. Cf. the references to the works of Srta. Pallarés in note 34. A. Balil, "Topografía de Barcelona" in Durius 1 (1973) 374-377, p. 376, is uncertain of this interpretation. He is correct in stating that the various accounts of its discovery give rather differing descriptions of its precise location: e.g. J. Puiggarí, "Fachada romana delante de la Capilla de San Cristóbal" in Revista de Cataluña 1 (1862) 373-4: idem, Garlanda de joyells: estudis e impressions de Barcelona monumental, (Barcelona, 1879) pp. 40-42: idem (?), Capilla de San Cristóbal de Regomir, (Barcelona (?), n.d.) pp. 8-9: B. Hernandez Sanahuja, Disertación histórico-monumental de Barcelona, op.cit., fol. 138: I. Torres y Oriol, Barcelona histórica: antigua y moderna, (Barcelona, 1906) p. 48. It is by no means clear whether the structure was on the site of the existing chapel, or opposite it, and the account of Hernandez even implies that it was parallel to, rather than at right angles to, the street line. The drawings are by no means identical (figs. 20-21).
45. Pallarés, 1969, p. 30: Pallarés, 1975, p. 33.
46. Reproduced ibid., p. 33 and p. 35 respectively. (in fig. 23).
47. A. Ma Adroer, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 8 (1965) p. 147: A. Ma Adroer et al., "Las campañas arqueológicas municipales XXIV y XXV del Museo de Historia de la ciudad de Barcelona" in CAN IX (Zaragoza, 1966) 320-5, p. 325.

48. Oriol Granados has recently suggested that the hollow polygonal plan indicated by the plans published in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, between pages 832 and 833, might only refer to the upper part, and the lower part may have been solid like the gates either end of the decumanus maximus and possibly even semi-circular. (fig.22 for this plan).
49. This was suggested by A.A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854), p.322 and has been taken up by Srta.Pallarés. Other accounts, such as that of Hernandez Sanahuja, op.cit., fol.121, suggest that the gate lay between C/del Call and C/de Ferran VII.
50. Pallarés, 1969, p.36 and plan between pages 14 and 15: Pallarés, 1975, p.39 and plan between pages 44 and 45. A.Balil, "Sobre las fortificaciones del Bajo Imperio en Hispania. Las puertas de la muralla de Barcinó" in Actas del Primer Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1958) pp.279-280, considered that this gate was flanked by towers of square plan, but five years later in his Las Murallas...., op.cit., p.78, he placed it in the same category as the previous one. The state of knowledge could hardly be more confusing.
51. Balil, Las Murallas...., op.cit., p.41.
52. Infra pp.359-361.

53. That the decumanus maximus was blocked for at least part of its course between the present-day Plaça de Sant Jaume and the Cathedral cloister is apparent from 11th. and 12th. century documentation. The line was re-opened, restoring the Roman course, c.1270: see infra pp.420-1, and 466-8.

54. This is the house at the corner of C/del Call and C/de Sant Ramon del Call: CMB pp.336-7: for its restoration, A.Florensa Ferrer, "Restauraciones y excavaciones en Barcelona durante los últimos veinticinco años" in CAHC 6 (1964) 5-36, p.33. Another possibility is that there existed a small square adjoining the gate at this date, and the opposite side of the street was only built up after the collapse of part of the gate.

55. This is the scheme suggested by Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.92: Pallarés, 1969, pp.36-9: Pallarés, 1975, pp.45-7.

56. Pallarés, 1969, p.38: Pallarés, 1975, p.46.

57. Strictly speaking, it is only this part of the city which is known as Mons Taber. The fact that the temple podium is hardly at all below modern ground level may suggest that this part of the city has increased less in height than adjoining zones. In Antiquity, this difference of levels may have led to a need for terracing, and consequent disruptions

of street lines within the city. Such terracing clearly existed in neighbouring Baetulo: Guitart, op.cit., p.234.

58. In addition a drain was found crossing the line of the defences between towers 11 and 12, i.e. at the point where this line meets the walls.
J.de C.Serra Rafols, "Balanz i estat actual de l'estudi de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 129-148, p.136.

59. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.92.

60. Pallarés, 1975, pp.46-7. Apart from the cutting of C/de Jaume I, this area suffered comparatively little in the 19th. century.

61. Plans in A.García y Bellido, Urbanística de las grandes ciudades del Mundo Antiguo, (Madrid, 1966) p.180 : A.García y Bellido, et al., Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España, (Madrid, 1968²) p.45. (see fig.25).

62. For the drain in the C/de la Palma de Sant Just, A.Durán i Sanpere, BSH, p.29: idem, "Antiguas urbanizaciones de Barcelona" in Revista Ford 5 no.36 (1935) 297-307, particularly p.297 with an illustration of the location of the remains. The length below the church of St.Just has long been known, and was interpreted as part of early Christian catacombs in the 18th. century: F-P.Verrié,

La Iglesia de los Santos Justo y Pastor, (Barcelona, 1944) pp.12-13: more recently, with a plan of the remains, M. Ribás Bertrán and L. Balaguer Sabaté, "Los hipogeos anhistóricos en Cataluña" in Chthonia 1 (1963) 56-91, esp. pp.81-3, (see fig.26-7).

63. F. Udina Martorell, "Campana de las excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo por el Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona en 1961-62" in CAHC 11 (1967) 5-30, pp.15-23.

64. J. Sol, "Memoria de los trabajos realizados en la zona B de la Plaza de San Miguel y en la muralla romana de Barcelona, 1973" in NAH Arqueología 5 (1977) 79-83, esp. pp.84-5: a total of thirty-one surfaces were detected.

65. Durán i Sanpere, BSH, pp.28-9.

66. An alternative location for the southernmost of the cardines would be represented by C/de Calella and the small square at the junction of the Baixada de Viladecols and C/de Lladó: this, however, would have the disadvantage of leaving a half insula strip between the last cardo and the defences. However, such half insulae seem almost certain in the area of the forum, and may have been more extensive elsewhere than has been realized to date. For example, in the area of the cathedral cloister, particularly well

documented in the early 11th. century, there were a number of streets which could not have coincided with the lines proposed, and may have been the successors of earlier streets in the same area.

67. Pallarés, 1969, plan between pages 14 and 15:
Pallarés, 1975, plan between pages 44 and 45. (fig.15).

68. The topography of Tarragona and the two fora are discussed briefly infra pp.107-110.

69. Beltrán, op.cit., plan between pages 252 and 253.

70. P. de Palol, Gufa de Clunia, (Burgos, 1969²) pp.34-40: for a more recent plan of this site where excavation is continuing, idem, "Perduración de las ciudades augusteas en la zona norte y la Meseta" in Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I. (Zaragoza, 1976) pp.263-288.

71. For a summary of the excavations at Conimbriga J.Alarcão and R.Étienne, "Le Portugal à l'époque augustéene" in Symposion de Ciudades augusteas, I. (Zaragoza, 1976) pp.171-187, esp. pp.179-183.

72. The most recent plan in E.Ripoll i Perelló, Els orígens de la ciutat romana d'Empúries, (Barcelona, 1978) between pages 48 and 49, reproduced in fig.51. The excavations of recent years have concentrated on the forum area, but remain unpublished: infra p.115.

73. In Roman Britain, for example, the plans in R.G.Collingwood and I.A.Richmond, The Archaeology of Roman Britain, (London, 1969) p.109, or J.Wacher, The Towns of Roman Britain, (London, 1974) pp.42-6.

74. J.Pujades, Crónica universal del Principado de Cataluña, (Castilian edition, Barcelona, 1829-31) vol.IV, book VI, p.23 : "aunque hasta ahora yo no he podido alcanzar ni aun rastro de ella, a no ser que tengamos por tal un pedazo de columna de marmol de tres o cuatro palmos de largo con obra acanalada: el cual el año de 1599 se encontró en la casa que hace esquina a las calles de Call, y de San Honorat, cuando se re-edificó aquella casa por orden de los diputados de Cataluña. Y en la otra casa, mas adentro de la dicha calle de San Honorat, que está al lado de la casa de los herederos de Miçer Serra, fueron halladas dos bellisimas columnas aún erigidas, y sin capiteles.....".

75. L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.46.

76. The most complete argument against the suggestion that part of this area ever formed part of the forum in A.Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, III" in BSAA 38 (1972) 55-131, on p.114. The original assumption came not from the identification of structural remains, but from the presence of large

numbers of honorific inscriptions in the area. None of these, however, were in situ, and the distance from the forum is not excessive, so that their transferral at a later date is quite possible.

77. Such a continuity, or its possibility, has often found its way into local works, and has recently been mentioned in a communication by P.A.Février, "Permanence et héritages de l'antiquité dans la topographie des villes de l'occident durant le haut moyen âge" in Topografia urbana e vita cittadina sull'alto medioevo in occidente (= Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XXI, Spoleto, 1974) 41-138, p.106. It must however be stressed that this location of the medieval structures of government in the region of the forum is largely fortuitous. These bodies had no definite form until the mid 13th. century, and even then no permanent home. As will be demonstrated below, the area was occupied by a number of private houses, the three intra-mural parish churches and their cemeteries in the 11th. and 12th. centuries.

78. The most complete list of these early accounts of the remains is in J.Bassegoda Nonell, El Templo romano de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.135-139.

79. Infra pp454-461 for the discussion of the medieval topography of this zone.

80. Particularly those of Antoni Celles, with whose work Bassegoda's book is principally concerned. A statue was discovered nearby in 1875: F.Fita, "Estatua marmorea de estilo griego recién hallada en Barcelona" in Revista Histórica Latina 2 (1875) 193-5: reconsidered in A.Balil, "Estatua romana de Barcino" in AEA 32 (1959) 142-156.

81. J.Puig i Cadafalch, "El temple romà de Barcino: descoberta d'elements de la cornisa" AIEC 8 (1927-31) pp.89-97, dealing with fragments found in the restoration of the medieval canons' houses to the north.

82. J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1934) p.94 suggested a late Republican or early Imperial date.

83. H.Peirce and R.Tyler, L'Art Byzantin vol.II, (Paris, 1934) plate 95c and p.102 "Les grandes chapiteaux en marbre de Barcelone se trouvent, réemployés avec des colonnes antiques dans le local du Centre Excursioniste. Tout mutilés qu'ils sont, leur caractère VI^e siècle nous paraît certain".

84. J.O.Granados, El Templo romano de Barcelona, (pamphlet of the MHC, Barcelona, 1978) p.8. For the probable connection with the Imperial Cult, R.Étienne, Le culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien, (Paris, 1958) pp.219-220.

85. For the other cults, Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.71, 103 and 106. For the possible Mithraeum J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Sobre los últimos hallazgos epigráficos en Barcelona" CAHC 7 (1965) 9-30, p.24. S.Mariner Bigorra, "Complementos de 'Los conjuntos epigráficos romanos del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad'" in CAHC 10 (1967) 61-127, p.108: idem, "Nuevos testimonios de culto mitraico en el litoral de la Tarraconense", communication to the II Congreso de Culturas del Mediterráneo Occidental (Barcelona, October, 1975) forthcoming.
86. Pallarés, 1975, p.39.
87. For the drains, see note 62. For the mosaic, A.Aulestia y Pijoan, Barcelona: ressenya històrica, (Barcelona, 1878) p.12 note 1: also X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Région Latiète, (Barcelona, 1978) p.27.
88. IRB 30, with full bibliography: see particularly F.Carreras Candi, "Les aigues y banys de Barcelona" in BRABLB 2 (1903-04) 115-139 (= Miscel·lanea Històrica Catalana, I (Barcelona, 1905) 183-208), for earlier theories.
89. A.Balil, "El mosaico romano de la iglesia de San Miguel" in CAHC 1 (1960) 21-74: Barral, Les mosaïques..., op.cit., pp.39-44. For the

early history of the church, infra p. 325.

90. For the summaries of the various excavations published to date, see Chapter VII note 27, pp.1136-7.

91. CMB p.9. The remains are reconstructed in the MAB as a portico, and Professor Balil has dated the decorative elements to the first half of the 2nd. century : A.Balil, "Dos frisos arquitectónicos del Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona" in RABM 64 (1958) 297-333. That the remains were in situ, rather than incorporated in the late Roman defences is apparent from F.Fita, "Lapidas romanas recién halladas en Barcelona" in Revista Histórica Latina 3 (1876) 129-135, p.129: "a 20 pasos de la muralla y cincuenta de la calle de Fernando VII se acaban de hallar un sin fin de estriadas pilastras y gruesas columnas, algunas de 0,62m. de diametro, cuya respectiva posición en parte respetaron los bárbaros del Sur y del Norte, árabes y visigodos".

92. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.101-3, and the works cited above in notes 34 and 44.

93. J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1934) p.202, comparing them with fragments from the theatre at Arles. However, a funerary function is equally, if not more, probable: A.Balil, "Esculturas romanas de la Península Ibérica (II)" in BSAA 44 (1978) 349-374, pp.354-5.

94. A.Balil, "Miscellanea Barcinonensia (I)" in CAHC 2 (1961) 141-152, pp.148-152, dismisses the available evidence as hearsay, although the idea still finds its way into general accounts.
95. For the mosaic, Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.31-38.
96. IRB 32: discussed by R.Duncan Jones, "Human numbers in towns and town organizations of the Roman Empire: the evidence of gifts" in Historia 13 (1964) 199-208, p.205: for this individual see also, I.Rodà de Mayer, "Le iscrizioni in onore di Lucius Minicius Natalis Quadronicus Verus" in Dacia (N.S.) 22 (1978) 219-223.
97. IRB 44: discussed by A.García y Bellido, "Lápidas funerarias de gladiadores de Hispania" in AEA 33 (1960) 123-144, p.141: also by A.Balil, "Miscellanea Barcinonensia (I)" in CAHC 2 (1961) 141-152, pp.141-3.
98. Again the remains of the aqueduct have long been known in the historiography of the city: most recently, F.Casado, Acueductos romanos en España, (Madrid, 1972), unpaginated, with a review concerning Barcelona by J.O.Granados in Miscellanea Barcinonensia XIV no.41 (1975) 83-5: subsequently, and with full references to earlier works, M.Mayer and I.Rodà de Mayer, "El abastecimiento de aguas de la Barcelona romana: reconstrucción de su trazado" in Segovia y la

Arqueologia Romana (Barcelona, 1977) 265-277.

99. e.g. by Granados in the aforementioned review p.84.

100. For the remains of the aqueduct adjoining the defences and inside tower 1, J.de C.Serra Rafols, "Notas sobre el sector nordeste de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 5 (1964) 5-64, pp.9-13. An attempt to trace the aqueduct on the other side of the Plaça Nova, at the beginning of C/dels Arcs, was not successful, and it appears that it probably ran on the other side of this street, where the College of Architects now stands: J.Sol Vallés, "Notas sobre unas catas efectuadas en el solar de la casa nº 3 de la calle Arcs, de Barcelona, intentando situar el acueducto romano" in Segovia y la Arqueologia Romana (Barcelona, 1977) 377-382.

101. So significant were they that they gave their name to one of the major early medieval suburbs: infra p.560.

102. First recorded by Pere Miquel Carbonell, Chroniques de Espanya fins aci no divulgades (Barcelona, 1547) fol 4v. In the 18th. century, I.Bosarte, Disertación sobre los monumentos antiguos pertenecientes a las tres nobles artes de pintura, escultura y arquitectura de Barcelona, (Madrid, 1786) esp.pp.20-1 and A.Ponz,

Viage de España vol.XIV, (Madrid, 1788) p.63. In the 19th. century, J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, Sumario de las Antigüedades romanas que hay en España, (Madrid, 1832) p.15 and in many local guide books, both by Spaniards and foreigners: e.g. R.Ford, Handbook to Spain (London, 1845: reprinted 1966) vol.II p.726.

103. For the Comital Rech, infra p p.535-8.

The aqueduct from the Tibidabo-area was also paralleled by a later medieval course used to bring domestic water supply to the city: part of this was found in the excavations described in the work of Srta.Sol, cited in note 100.

104. Most recent guide-book, F.Udina, Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad), (Barcelona, 1969³).

105. A.Balil, "Arquitectura doméstica en la Barcelona romana" in Oretania 3 (1959) 125-133: idem, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, III " in BSAA 38 (1972) 55-131: henceforth referred to as Balil 1959 and 1972, respectively.

106. Infra pp.176-9.

107. Balil, 1959, p.126.

108. Ibid., p.126. The vessel might be compared with F.Oswald and T.D.Pryce, Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata, (London, 1920, reprinted 1966) pl. XI no.8 from Newstead, of late Vespasianic date (p.97).

109. For the original statement of the findspot of this sherd, A.Durán y Sanpere, "Vestigios de la Barcelona romana en la Plaza del Rey" in Ampurias 5 (1943) 53-77, p.73: also printed as an offprint individually paginated, but with the same title (Barcelona, 1944) and in his BSH (in Catalan) pp.65-84. The original version is here used and cited as Durán, "Vestigios...".
110. These are drains 'l' and the one parallel to it in fig. 33. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.62: Balil, 1959, p.127.
111. Drain 'n' and that adjoining it in fig. 33. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.62: Balil, 1959, p.127.
112. Drain 'm'.
113. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.63.
114. A.Balil, "Mosaicos ornamentales romanos de Barcelona" in AEA 35 (1962) 36-69, pp.39-43.
115. Barral, Les mosaïques...., op.cit., pp.63-5: idem, "Un pavement en 'opus sectile' de Barcelone" in Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1973) 59-64.
116. Balil, 1959, pp.129-131: Balil, 1972, pp.119-120.

117. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.65: Balil, 1959, p.129.
118. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.69: discussed in more detail infra pp. 244-246.
119. Discussed infra pp. 209-211.
120. Durán, "Vestigios...", pp.69-73: Balil, 1959, pp.131-2: Balil, 1972, pp.121-4.
121. A.Durán y Sanpere, Noticia y guía de las excavaciones de la calle de los Condes de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1954¹, 1957³): reprinted in his BSH (in Catalan) pp.86-96, to which I refer, given the pamphlet nature of the previous editions.
122. For the mosaic, A.Balil, "Mosaicos ornamentales..." op.cit., pp.42-5: Barral, Les mosaïques..., p.63.
123. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.114.
124. Ibid., p.116: J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 13 (1969) p.113: F-P.Verrié et al., "Actividades arqueológicas del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona en los últimos cinco años (1966-1970)" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 769-786, p.770.
125. Durán, BSH, p.91.
126. See note 62 for the excavations. For the mosaic,

Barral, Les mosaïques...., pp.28-30.

127. Ibid., pp.48-50, with full bibliography. The fragment discovered formed only the border of the mosaic, which must have been of considerable proportions.

128. Ibid., pp.30-31.

129. For references see note 87.

130. J.O.Granados and I.Rodà, "Restos de una casa romana en el patio del Palacio Arzobispal de Barcelona" in Inf.Arg. no.25 (1977) 215-6: idem, "Restos de una casa romana en el Patio del Palacio Arzobispal de Barcelona" in CAN XV (Zaragoza, 1979) 983-1002.

131. Durán, "Vestigios..." p.54 refers to finds in the 1920's in C/dels Templars. More work took place in the early 1960's in rescue conditions: F.Udina Martorell, "Campana de las excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo por el Museo de Historia de La Ciudad de Barcelona en 1961-62" in CAHC 11 (1967) 5-30, pp.24-30. For the excavations after 1967 see the full bibliography infra in note 27 of chapter VII, particularly, J.O.Granados, E.Manera and J.Sol, "Notas sobre Barcelona: sector B de la plaza de San Miguel" in CAN XIV (Zaragoza, 1977) 1105-1112.

132. In the absence of more extensive excavations and the uneven recording of stray finds, mosaics have

an important part to play in the understanding of the urban topography. One might also mention those from C/Sant Simplicí, Plaça de Sant Felip Neri and the small fragments from the Convent de l'Ensenyança, all of unknown date (Barral, Les mosaïques..., p.30, p.50 and pp.47-8 respectively).

133. The bibliography on the sculptural remains is extensive. Unfortunately the corpus of Barcelona material by A.Balil has not yet seen the light of day, and it now seems unlikely whether it will ever do so. The starting point must be A.Elfías de Molíns, Catálogo del Museo Provincial de Antigüedades de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1888), with a supplement in idem, "Inventario de los objetos que han ingresado en el Museo Provincial de Barcelona desde la publicación de su catálogo" in RABM (3rd. series) 2 (1898) 131-134: the next significant work is E.Albertini, "Sculptures romaines du Conventus Tarraconensis" in AIEC 4 (1911-12) nos.153-227, followed by the more general commentary of J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1934).

A.García y Bellido. Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, (Madrid, 1949) two volumes, includes most of the major pieces, and he subsequently studied some of the Barcelona material in more detail: idem, "Retratos romanos hallados en las murallas de Barcelona" in AEA 38 (1965) 55-74: idem, "Los retratos romanos hallados en la ciudad de Barcelona" in CAHC 9 (1965) 5-60: The most extensive studies

have been made by A. Balil: apart from the summary in Colonia IAPFB, pp. 125-158, one might cite the following works which concern either specifically, or in a more general way, sculptural material from Barcelona: "Dos frisos arquitectónicos del Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona" in RABM 64 (1958) 297-333: "Plástica provincial en la España romana" Revista de Guimarães 70 (1960) 107-131: "Esculturas antiguas en el Museo Marés de Barcelona" in AEA 34 (1961) 189-196: "Materiales para un 'corpus' de esculturas romanas del Conventus Tarraconensis" in AEA 34 (1961) 177-188 and AEA 35 (1962) 145-157: "Retratos romanos hallados en Barcelona" in Goya no. 46 (1962) 269-273: "Sobre el arte hispano-romano" in Hommages à A. Grenier (edited by M. Rénard, Brussels, 1962) 173-186: "Esculturas romanas del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad" in CAHC 6 (1964) 59-85: "Un 'Dodekatheon' de Barcelona" in BSAA 40-41 (1975) 594-6: Esculturas romanas de la Península Ibérica (= Studia Archaeologica, 51; Valladolid, 1977): "Esculturas romanas de la Península Ibérica (II)" in BSAA 44 (1978) 349-374: "Los Gorgoneia de Barcino" in Faventia 1/i (1979) 63-70. On a more local level, one must mention J. de C. Serra Rafols, "Dues representacions de Bacus o Dionysos trobades a Barcelona" in A Pedro Bosch-Gimpera, en el septuagésimo aniversario de su nacimiento (Mexico, 1963) 403-410: idem, "Sobre un hallazgo y una publicación recientes" in CAHC 6 (1964) 37-59: idem, "La filiación de los retratos

romanos procedentes de las murallas de Barcelona" in CAHC 8(1965) 5-46: H.Jucker, "Retratos romanos procedentes de las murallas de Barcelona" in CAHC 4 (1963) 7-60: A.Arribas and G.Trías, "Dos retratos romanos hallados en la calle de Baños Nuevos" in CAHC 5 (1964) 65-82.

134. For the early excavations, Durán, BSH p.24: for those of the mid 1950's, ibid., pp.55-7: A.Balil, "Una nueva lauda sepulcral, de mosaico, en el conventus Tarraconensis" in AEA 28 (1955) 142-4: P.de Palol, "Noticiario arqueológico referente a la época paleo-cristiana y visigoda" in AEA 28 (1955) 144-150: F.Udina, Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad), (Barcelona, 1969³) pp.52-3. For the mosaics, Barral, Les mosaïques.., pp.53-60 with full bibliography.

135. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.89.

136. F-P.Verrié, "Tres hallazgos arqueológicos significativos para la historia de Barcelona" in La Vanguardia (9th.January, 1972). Sr.Verrié suggests that there was a villa in this area, of which the baths survived to be called the 'old Baths' of the C/dels Banys Vells in the medieval period: apart from this one channel or drain, however, there is no other evidence. For the Banys Vells, infra pp. 546-7.

137. M.Ribas Bertran, Necrópolis romana en la Basílica de Santa María del Mar de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1977): for other publications on this site, infra p.223, where the cemetery is discussed.
138. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.176 states that it was composed of gold coins of Domitian, while A. Arribas, "La Barcelona de época romana" in CAHC 3 (1962) 37-52, p.41 just states that it was of the Flavian period. It was unfortunately dispersed soon after its discovery.
139. A.Durán y Sanpere, "Nuevos sepulcros romanos" in Barcelona year II no.16 (1956) 123-7: idem, "La Barcelona romana en 1956" in Barcelona, year III no.25 (1957) 27-30: idem, "Una vía sepulcral romana en Barcelona" in San Jorge no.26 (1957) 41-3: idem, "Una vía sepulcral romana en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia no.1 (1962) 43-9, no.3 (1963) 55-86 (= CAHC 4 (1963) 61-103: = BSH pp.97-119, in Catalan): see also the comments of A.Balil, "Una nueva necrópolis romana en Barcelona" in Ampurias 17-18 (1955-56) 269-272.
140. A.Ma Adroer, "La cerámica romana procedente de una necrópolis de Barcelona" in RSL 29 (1963) 99-124.
141. Durán, CAHC 4 (1963) p.102: seven coins from between Claudius and Philip the Arab were found.

142. The most complete study of this type of tomb, stressing the North African association, in D.Julia, "Les monuments funéraires en forme de demi-cylindre dans la province de Tarragonaise" in Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 1 (1965) 29-72.

143. For this class of tomb, see various works by C.Cid Priego, "El monumento conocido por 'Torre de los Escipiones' en las cercanías de Tarragona" in Ampurias 9-10 (1947-48) 137-169: idem, "El sepulcro de torre mediterráneo y sus relaciones con la tipología monumental" in Ampurias 11 (1949) 91-126: idem, "El mausoleo romano de Vilablareix" in AIEG 5 (1950) 228-234: idem, "La 'torre del Breny' sepulcro romano de las cercanías de Manresa" in Ampurias 12 (1950) 21-54: idem, "Dos sepulcros turriformes romanos de la provincia de Gerona" in Caesaraugusta 5 (1954) 61-84. Also, Th.Hauschild and S.Mariner, "Torre de los Escipiones" in MM 7 (1966) 162-188: A.Balil, "El monumento funerario romano de 'Les Gunyoles'" in Zephyrus 26-27 (1976) 389-399: this last example, along with other similar circular tombs, had previously been interpreted as a military watch-tower: see M.Ribas, "La torre romana de 'Les Gunyoles' en Avinyonet" in Ampurias 29 (1967) 275-280.

144. Reconstructed examples are on display in both the MAB and the MHC: for this type of tomb, A.García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, (Madrid, 1949) pp.306-9: most recently for the Barcelona examples, A.Balil, "Los Gorgoneia de Barcino"

in Faventia 1/i (1979) 63-70. and in BSAA 43 (1977) 418-9.

145. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.84: A.Arribas and G.Trías, "Dos retratos romanos hallados en la calle de Baños Nuevas" in CAHC 5 (1964) 65-82.

146. e.g. the pieces from the base of tower 6, A.Duran i Sanpere, "La torre poligonal (no.6) de la muralla romana" in CAHC 13 (1969) 51-67.

147. García y Bellido, Esculturas...., no.250 p.217: Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.142-3. It was in Barcelona by the 18th. century, although there is some doubt as to whether it was actually found in the city.

148. García y Bellido, Esculturas...., no.263, pp.253-5: Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.143-5. This was recorded in Barcelona in 1391, and thus it seems more probable that it was discovered in the city.

149. e.g. the two matching parts of the so-called 'Faustina' bust were found in towers 11 and 24 of the defences, several hundred metres apart.

150. The finds of the 19th. century, mainly from the west side of the defences produced few busts, and a large proportion of cupae, whereas in the more recent excavations on the opposite side of the city, the proportions would seem to be reversed.

151. Infra pp.845-852.

152. One might suspect that the valley was in fact densely populated, but studies of Roman rural settlement have largely depended on the work of individuals. Thus the area around Mataró is well known thanks to the work of M.Ribas, and the team based on the local museum. Similarly the area around Vilafranca del Penedès was recorded in detail by P.Giró. In both these areas, and also in the territorium of Baetulo (oral information from Dr.José Guitart, Director of Badalona Museum) rural sites of the early Roman period reach a density of up to one per square kilometre, and it seems fair to assume that the lower parts of the Vallès and the lower Llobregat Valley were broadly similar. A useful list of late Iberian and early Roman sites for this region exists in Vías y poblamiento romano, en el territorio del Area Metropolitana de Barcelona, which was produced as a purely internal publication for the Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona (1969): this supplements the long out-of-date Carta Arqueológica (CAB) of 1945.

153. Vías y poblamiento, nos.611-614: also L.Pericot, "Memoria de la delegación de la zona de Cataluña y Baleares; año 1965" in NAH 8-9 (1964-65) 265-277, p.266.

154. First published by A.Laborde, Voyage pittoresque

et historique de l'Espagne vol.I, (Paris, 1806)
 p.58 and pl.XII. Detailed consideration in J.Puig
 i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya,
 [Barcelona, 1934) pp.177-181 and pp.283-287.
 Destroyed during the Civil War, it was restored in the
 1950's: I.Clopas Batlle, "Inauguración de las obras
 de reconstrucción del Puente del Diablo de Martorell"
 in San Jorge nos.67-8 (1967) pp.60-68. For a recent
 study of the Arch on the northern Bank, A.García y
 Bellido, "Los arcos honoríficos en España" in
Colloquio italo-spagnolo sul tema: Hispania Romana (= Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura , Accademia
 Nazionale dei Lincei, Quaderno 200, 1974) pp.7-24.
 This arch presumably served as some form of boundary
 marker, although it is uncertain whether this was of
 the territorium of Barcino, or of the division
 between the Laietani and the Cessetani.

155. CAB p.154.

156. CAB pp.165-7: Vías y Poblamiento, nos. 530-533.

One might also mention the early Christian altar table
 from this area, probably an indication of a chapel
 belonging to a 5th. century villa: J.Vives, "Un
 nuevo altar romano-cristiano en la Tarraconense" in
Analecta Bollandiana 67 (1949) 401-6: P.de Palol,
 "Las mesas de altar paleocristianas en la Tarraconense"
 in Ampurias 19-20 (1957-58) 81-102: idem, "La mesa
 paleocristiana de Rubí" in San Jorge no.47 (1962)

12-17: E.Kitzinger, "A marble relief of the Theodosian period" in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 14 (1960) 17-42, p.31 note 58, does not consider that it necessarily came from a church.

157. Principally the mosaic from the villa on the Finca Modolell, found in the late 19th. century. See Barral, Les mosaïques....., pp.124-5 with full bibliography.

158. It is supposed that there was a villa on the site of the Torre de Picalquers, where one of the inscriptions of the L.Licinius Secundus series was found, although it is not impossible that this had been transferred there at a later date: CAB pp.113-4 and IRB 82. IRB 40 and 49 were also found there.

159. The baths of a villa were found in the mid-1950's and reported on by J.de C.Serra Ráfols to VIII Reunión de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Barcelona (= Informes y Memorias CGEA 32 (1956))pp.141-5. More recent accounts, principally concerned with the mosaics in A.Balil, "Mosaicos de las termas de una villa romana de San Baudelio de Llobregat (Barcelona)" in CAN XIII (Zaragoza, 1975) 895-8: X.Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.118-122, both with extensive local bibliography.

160. Vías y poblamiento mentions two sites (nos.752-3) at the Castle and the Town Hall. These are discussed infra p.234, with further bibliography. Vías y poblamiento also refers to two villa sites in the area of Sant Feliu de Llobregat (nos.758-9) and a cemetery at the Hermitage of Santa Madrona, Sant Andreu de la Barca (no.618) which is recorded briefly in the VIII Reunión de la Comisaría Provincial, op.cit., pp.151-3. M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (edited by A.Durà i Sanpere, Barcelona, 1975) p.86, has a distribution map of Roman rural settlement in this and neighbouring areas, which unfortunately does not bear a key to enable one to locate the individual sites (→ fig.44).

161. Infra pp. 231-43 in connection with the late Roman cemeteries of the 'Pla de Barcelona'. Also pp. 851-59 for the connection between Roman rural sites and medieval settlement, and the evidence of early medieval place-names for the identification of such sites.

162. Particularly the pits excavated when the Montjuïc stadium was built, and those from near the stadium of the C.F.Español: see I.Rodà de Mayer, "La dispersión del poblamiento en el término de Barcelona en la época anterromana" in CAHC 17 (1977) 47-92, pp.69-70 and 70-75 respectively.

163. M.Tarradell, "Sobre el poblamiento romano en el Pla de Barcelona" in CAHC 17 (1977) 93-97: the two principal sites in the Badalona area which continued to flourish into the 4th. century were those at Sentromà and Llefià. For the former, J.Guitart Durán, "Excavación en la zona sudeste de la villa romana de Sentromà (Tiana)" in Pyrenae 6 (1970) 111-165. The Llefià one is not so well-known, but is implied by finds over a long period: CAB p.48. More recently fragments of an early Christian sarcophagus have been found. More generally on rural settlement in the Badalona area, J.Mª Cuyas Tolosa, Història de Badalona vol. III (Badalona, 1977) pp.315-350: for the relationship with the town of Baetulo, infra p.149.

The comparative wealth of the late villas in the areas around Badalona and Mataró, which both appear to have gone into decline in the 3rd. century, and also in some areas where towns were small or non-existent, such as the Penedès and the Segre valley, stands in contrast to the small size of the rural sites from the area immediately around Barcelona. There may have been a connection between urban vitality and the wealth of rural estates, it having been difficult for the two to prosper concurrently.

164. This has long been noticed, although opinions have been divided as to whether it was deliberate, or

the result of incomplete knowledge. M.Tarradell, "Sobre el poblamiento romano...", tends to the former opinion as do I.

165. Tarradell, ibid., points out that at the time of the construction of the area known as the Eixample (Ensanche) , various organizations and individuals existed who would have noted major discoveries. Another point which has so far escaped attention is that Cerdà, the architect and planner of this development, had previously preserved Roman material found during railway construction in Sant Andreu de Palomar, and thus might be expected to have paid some attention to any further discoveries: see V.Balaguer, Gufa de Barcelona a Granollers por el ferrocarril, (Barcelona 1857) p.36.

166. Infra p.865.

167. M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I, p.126.

168, Various words are used in the early medieval sources to describe the roads of the territorium: via, carraria, strata being the most frequent, and all of which are on occasions described as publica or antiqua. It remains uncertain whether the public roads were inherited from Antiquity or not, and for that reason only the last category has been accepted as indicating a route of Roman origin. For early

medieval roads in general, J.Balari Jovany, Origenes històrics de Catalunya (San Cugat del Vallés, 1964²: Barcelona 1899¹), pp.711-726.

169. ACA RBI 32: (for archive abbreviations see volume IV pp.1568-9).

170. Pallarès, 1975, p.20. One might also notice the similar place-name some six kilometres to the south of Girona.

171. Monterols in 989, LAEC II 28 84, Mas IX, no. 104 p.44: in 1038, ACA Monacales, Sant Llorenç del Munt no.123: in 1162, LAEC I 217 580, Mas XI no.1846, p.216: Les Corts in 1111, LAEC II 34 98, Mas X no. 1248 p.258.

172. Duran, BSH, p.126.

173. Tarradell, in Història de Barcelona, I, p.126.

174. Tarradell, ibid. Nor are there any unequivocal references to it in the medieval documentation, although there must have been routes linking these settlements. However, there was no concept of a single unitary route.

175. Ibid.: San Cugat del Vallés is somewhat

more than eight miles from the city, and thus a measurement from another point must be proposed. Although not recorded in ancient sources, the name of Octavianum is apparent from numerous references in the early medieval sources: moreover, a milestone was found during the pre-Civil War excavations: see J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "El miliari de Sant Cugat del Vallès" in El Miliario Extravagante no.8 (1965) p.176-8.

176. ACA RB III no.31.

177. e.g. 19.XII.1014 strata que pergit de Barchinona ad portum (LAEC IV 159 374, Mas IX no.338, p.150).

For the villa at St.Pau, infra pp.229-230.

178. Pallarés, 1975, p.17.

179. AHT-I-71.

180. Rodà, "La dispersión..."op.cit., p.91, citing Pliny, Natural History, 14, 6. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.77 note 65, citing Martial, Sat., VII, 53.

181. Tarradell, "Sobre el poblamiento romano...", pp.95-7.

182. R.Pascual Guasch, "Centros de producción y difusión geográfica de un tipo de ánfora" in CAN VII (Zaragoza, 1962) 334-345: A.Tchernia, "Les amphores

vinaires de Tarraconaise et leur exportation au début de l'Empire" in AEA 44 (1971) 38-85: idem and F.Zévi, "Amphores vinaires de Campanie et Tarraconaise à Ostie" in Recherches sur les amphores romaines (Rome, 1972) pp. 35-67 : R.Pascual Guasch, "Las ánforas de la Layetania" in Méthodes classiques et méthodes formelles dans les études des amphores (Rome, 1977) pp.47-96.

On Spanish amphorae in general, M.Beltrán Lloris, Las ánforas romanas en España (Zaragoza, 1970). In English, several older works are useful for general aspects of trade between Tarraconensis and Italy: M.P.Charlesworth, Trade routes and commerce of the Roman Empire, (Cambridge, 1926²): L.C.West, Imperial Roman Spain. The Objects of Trade, (Oxford, 1929): J.J.van Nostrand, Roman Spain in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome vol.III, (edited by T.Frank, Baltimore, 1937).

183. For this place-name supra p.55, and for the medieval period infra pp.867-71.

184. Tarradell, in Història de Barcelona I, p.130.

185. Most recently by Pallarés, 1969, p.18.

186. For small fortifications of the late Empire, R.G.Collingwood and I.A.Richmond, The Archaeology of Roman Britain, (London, 1969) p.55 (for Caer Gybi, a fortified beaching-point) and pp.60-69: also H.von

Petrikovits, "Fortifications in the north-western Roman Empire from the third to fifth centuries A.D." in JRS 61 (1971) 178-218, particularly p.191 for the ferry terminal at Engers on the Rhine.

Apart from city walls, fortifications have received relatively little attention in Spain. In general see A.Balil, "La defensa de Hispania en el Bajo Imperio" in Zephyrus 11 (1960) 179-197: idem, "Las fortificaciones del Bajo Imperio en las provincias romanas de España" in Celticum 6 (1963) 293-6: idem, "La defensa de Hispania en el Bajo Imperio: amenaza exterior e inquietud interna" in Legio VII Gemina (León, 1970) pp.603-620.

In the conventus Tarraconensis one can point to the fortification of Octavianum (Sant Cugat del Vallès) partially excavated before the Civil War: R.Lantier, "Les fouilles de San Cugat del Vallès" in Revue Archéologique 2 (1933) 341-7: CAB p.173 et seq.: P.Bosch-Gimpera and J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Scavi a Sant Cugat del Vallès, Catalogna. Del Castrum romano al monasterio attuale" in Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia 37 (1964-65) 307-323 and more recent excavations of a tower on which the Romanesque bell-tower stands, E.Ripoll (?), "Excavaciones en el monasterio de Sant Cugat del Vallès" in Inf.Arg.nos. 4-5 (1971) 133.

A number of poorly known defended sites have been recorded in the upper part of the province of Lleida: they are briefly mentioned in R.Pita Mercè, Lérida paleocristiana, (Lérida, 1973) pp.91-100, to which

one can add the recently discovered fort at Tentellatge: M.Tarradell, "Un fortí romà a Tentallatge" in Els Pobles pre-romans del Pirineu (= II Col.loqui Internacional d'Arqueologia de Puigcerdà; Puigcerdà, 1978) pp.245-250. The date of most of these structures, however, is extremely vague.

Nearer the coast, circular towers like that of 'Les Gunyoles' (see note 143) may all have been funerary in nature, rather than watch towers. Another example is that known as Torrassa del Moro in Llinars, CAB p.123. Others such as that at Olérdola (E.Ripoll Perelló, Olérdola: historia de la ciudad y gufa del conjunt monumental y Museo Monográfico (Barcelona, 1971), pp.67-8) or the Torre Gironella at Girona (infra p.118) are undoubtedly military works, but may principally have been of the Republican period. Our knowledge of these various structures clearly needs to be revised.

187. The hoard referred to in note 138.

188. Infra chapter VII p p.223-8.

189. Infra chapter VII p .229.

190. For the reconstruction of c.1032, infra p.352.

191. For the known remains, A.Balil, Las Murallas.., pp.47-9; A.Florensa Ferrer, Las murallas romanas de la ciudad (Barelona, 1958) p.12. Hernandez Sanahuja, Disertación histórico-monumental, op.cit., fols. 125-127, for reused material: fol.127 and 136 for 'double thickness' of the wall (see fig.45 a and b).

192. For the Cripplegate fort, W.F.Grimes, The excavation of Roman and Medieval London, (London, 1968) p.47: for the Praetorian Camp, I.A.Richmond, "The relation of the Praetorian Camp to Aurelian's Wall of Rome" in Papers of the British School at Rome 10 (1927) 12-22: M.Todd, The Walls of Rome, (London, 1978) p.26.
193. For the Praefectus: G.Barbieri, "Il 'Praefectus Orae Maritimae'" in Rivista di Filologia Classica 69 (1941) 268-280: idem, "Iaccetani, Lacetani e Laetani" in Athenaeum 21 (1943) 113-121: idem, "Ancora sul 'Praefectus Orae Maritimae'" in Rivista di Filologia Classica 74 (1946) 166: A.Balil, "Funcionarios subalternos en Hispania durante el Imperio Romano" in Emerita 33 (1965) 297-319, Emerita 34 (1966) 305-313: H.Devijver, "The career of M. Porcius Narbonensis (CIL II 4239). New evidence for the re-organization of the militiae equestres by the Emperor Claudius?" in Ancient Society 3 (1972) 165-191: Pallarés, 1975, p.6.
194. CIL II 4226 (= G.Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, (Berlin, 1975) no.289) refers to the praefecto orae maritimae laetanae. It is also possible that Baetulo may have originally been the headquarters of the force: see J.Guitart Durán, Baetulo; topografia arqueológica, urbanismo e historia, (Badalona, 1976) pp.25-34, discussing the person mentioned in this inscription and his connection with Baetulo.

195. The monastery of St.Pol de Mar was described as being in maritima in 978: F.Udina Martorell, EL Archivo Condal de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1951) no. 183 p.361. Although the modern 'comarca' name of Maresme only applies to the area between the River Tordera and Montgat, it originally must have extended as far south as the River Besòs. Badalona was described as situated in maritima on numerous occasions in the 11th. century, e.g. ACA RBI nos. 175, 237 and 307, BRII no.48.

196. See in general, I.Rodà, El origen de la vida municipal y la prosopografía romana de Barcino, (Summary of Doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1974): Balil, Colonia IAPFB, pp.67-85.

197. I.Rodà de Mayer, "La gens Pedania barcelonesa" in Hispania Antiqua 5 (1975) 223-268: also, F-P.Verrié, "Personaggi barcinonensi in un sarcofago romano di Genova" in Studi Genuensi 9 (1972) 3-11.

198. M.Mayer and I.Rodà, "La influencia helénica en los antropónimos romanos de Cataluña" in El Congreso Interhacional de estudios sobre las culturas del Mediterráneo occidental, (Barcelona, 1978) 85-103.

199. I.Rodà de Llanza, "Lucius Licinius Secundus, liberto de Lucius Licinius Sura" in Pyrenae 6 (1970)

167-18~~3~~.

200. A.Balil, "Miscellanea Barcinonensia (II)" in
CAHC 5 (1963) 173-182 for this family: Rodà,
El origen de la vida municipal....., p.3⁴ et seq.

201. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.91 for the lower
 figure: L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los
tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.61, for the upper one.

202. infra pp.831-5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. I here follow the recent works of Professor M. Tarradell, particularly his speech to the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona, Les ciutats romanes dels Països Catalans, (Barcelona, 1978): the division between what constituted a town and what did not in this period is of course as debatable as in any other part of the Empire, especially as we are here faced with other sites which were equally extensive, yet did not have a recognized juridicial status, or at least no indication of it is known today.

2. A.García y Bellido, "Las colonias romanas de Hispania" in AHDE 29 (1959) 447-512, pp.459-460, 502-3: idem, "Dos problemas de la romanización: las colonias de Tarraco y Dertosa" in BAT 62-63 (1962-63) 3-5.

3. In addition Ilerda was outside the conventus Tarraconensis falling within that of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza): the former, however, stretched to the south of the River Ebro and included towns in the area of modern Valencia: the best account of such boundaries is still E.Albertini, Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine, (Paris, 1923) pp.95-99 for the conventus.

4. Mentioned by Pomponius Mela, Chorographia, II 90: Pliny, Naturalis Historia, III 21 (A.García y Bellido, La España del siglo primero de nuestra Era, (Madrid,

1977²) p.30 and p.131 respectively). E.Ripoll Perelló summarized the state of knowledge in a pamphlet, El problema de la Sitges romana, (Sitges, 1963). Both Iberian and Roman material is recorded from Subirats: for the former, CAB p.200: for the latter, J.Bellmunt and P.Giró, "Dos columbarios en la cuenca del río Anoia" in Ampúrias 28 (1966) 255-261, although in neither case can the evidence be said to point to a nucleus of settlement. It should however, be noted that the parish was originally of considerably greater extent, including the modern town of Sant Sadurní de Noya, which might reflect an earlier situation. For a 19th. century opinion, M.Mayora, "Investigaciones sobre la situación de Cartago Vetus, Subur, antiguas ciudades de España" in MRABLB 2 (1868) 131-152.

5. The density of finds in the centre of the modern town and the figures of the first of the Vicañillo vases suggests this interpretation.

6. Suggested by F.Pallarés, "La topografia i els orígens de la Barcelona romana" in CAHC 16 (1975) p.16 note 23. In addition to the tower of 'La Torrassa del Moro' (probably funerary rather than defensive) other Roman material is known from the area (CAB p.123).

7. Pallarés cites a milestone of Julian from this area (op.cit., p.16 note 25) to which might be added

other material recorded by the CAB pp.152-3. It should be noted that the CAB gives a different provenance for the same milestone, as from Castellet to the south of Vilafranca: the exact course of the Roman road is thus somewhat in doubt. For another milestone from near St.Vicenç de Calders, see NAH 1-3 (1952) p.230 nos.430-1 and Ampurias 30 (1968) p.328. Although both in the case of Llinars and the Vilafranca area there is no absolute proof that these remains indicate small towns, this seems especially likely in the latter case for it is difficult to imagine this rich agricultural area, with numerous rural sites, without some market centre.

8. For work until 1945 a summary and bibliography in CAB pp.170-2: subsequently, L.Mas y Gomis, "Situación de la estación o poblado de Arragona de los itinerarios romanos de los primeros siglos" in Crónica del IV Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español (Cartagena, 1949) 395-398: V.Renóm and L.Mas Gomis, "Excavaciones en el poblado de Arrahona" in Arrahona 1-2 (1950) 93-116. Publication of this local journal has recently been resumed and it contains a large number of articles on this site and rural settlement in the area. A useful study of the samian ware from the site in E.Morral and C.Llobet, "Sigillata con marcas de Arragona" in CAN XIV (Zaragoza, 1977) 977-986.

9. For the bibliography on this site, supra chapter IV notes 153-4.

10. CAB p.125: the identification of Manresa with Bacassis is largely determined by the similarity between this name and the modern 'comarca' name of Bages, of which Manresa is the chief town. It is accepted by P.Bosch-Gimpera, "Katalonien in der Römischen Kaiserzeit" in Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römische Welt, II,3 (ed.H.Temporini: Berlin,1975)572-600,p.580.

11. Widely held to be the Setelsis recorded by Ptolemy: a set of baths, one of the few known from the region, was excavated in the 1920's: J.Serra Vilaró Estación ibérica, termas romanas y taller de 'terra sigillata' en Solsona, (MJSEA 63; Madrid, 1924). The inscriptions are collected in F.Lara Peinado, Epigraphia romana de Lérida, (Lérida, 1973) pp.269-291.

12. For Ager and the other towns of this province, F.Lara Peinado, Lérida romana, (Lérida, 1973) pp.36-41, which, however, should be used with a degree of scepticism.

13. These are the examples included by Tarradell, Les Ciutats romanes..., fig.1. Such a conclusion is debatable in the case of the last four examples, for it is largely achieved by a comparison of the location of these settlements with others of Iberian date. In fact in all cases, apart from the Greek influenced Emporiae and Rhode, the amount of pre-Roman material from these sites is minute.

14. In all these cases, however, although to a lesser extent for Barcino and Tarraco, the general pattern of pre-Roman settlement influences the location of the Roman cities, but was not decisive as to the exact site.
15. In early works the V of abbreviated inscriptions was usually interpreted as Victrix. The inscriptions with the titles of the city are discussed in P.Beltrán Villagrassa, "Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraconensis" in BAT 52 (1952) 31-40.
16. L.Pons d'Icart, Libro de las grandezas de Tarragona, (Lérida, 1572¹: Tarragona, 1883²).
17. Summaries of the various hypotheses are presented in A.Rovira Virgili, Història Nacional de Catalunya vol.II, (Barcelona, 1922: reprinted 1976) pp.157-168, and also in A.Beltrán^{Martínez,} "El problema de la muralla 'ciclópea' en Tarragona" in Caesaraugusta 29-30 (1967) 143-156, esp. pp.148-154.
18. J.Serra Vilaró, "La muralla de Tarragona" in AEA 22 (1949) 221-236: the arguments of A.García y Bellido, "A propósito del artículo de Serra Vilaró..." AEA 22 (1949) 280-2, defending his view that they were the work of Carthaginians immediately prior to the Roman conquest, are remarkably weak. A review of Serra Vilaró's article by J.Sánchez Real, BAT 50 (1950) pp.87-91, makes some important observations

partially based on A.Fick, "Die Stadtmauern von Tarragona" in Archäologischer Anzeiger (1933) cols. 481 et seq. E.Ripoll, "La cronología de las murallas de Tarragona" in Ampurias 13 (1951) 175-180 synthesized the different opinions of this stage of the debate.

19. The arguments were brought up-to-date in a series of lectures reported in BAT 64-65 (1964-65) 148-151, when ambivalent positions were still held, as in A.Beltrán, "La muralla ciclópea de Tarragona" in Arquitectura megalítica y ciclópea catalano-balear (Barcelona, 1965) 123-131. New material from the core of the walls was studied by N.Lamboglia, "Il problema della mura e delle origini di Tarragona" in Miscelánea Arqueológica I (= XXV Aniversario de los cursos de Ampurias: Barcelona, 1974) 397-405, who came to similar conclusions to those of Serra Vilaró.

20. Th.Hauschild, "La puerta romana de la muralla romana de Tarragona" in BAT 73-74 (1973-4) 23-34: Idem, "Das römische Tor in der Stadtmauer von Tarragona" in MM 15 (1974) 145-155: idem, "Torre de Minerva (San Magín): Ein Turm der römischen Stadtmauer von Tarragona" in MM 16 (1975) 246-262 (translated into Spanish as "Torre de Minerva (San Magín): Una torre de la muralla romana de Tarragona" in BAT 76-77 (1976-7) 49-73: he concludes that the Torre de

Minerva and the Torre del Cabiscol and the adjoining lengths of the wall where the height of the 'cyclopean' masonry is greater than elsewhere; predate the rest of the surviving circuit, although perhaps by not very long. For the sculpture which gave the former tower its name, W.Grunhagen, "Notas sobre el relieve de Minerva de la ~~muralla~~ de Tarragona" in BAT 76-77 (1976-7) 75-94. Recent excavations in MM 20 (1979) 204-237, and NAH Arg. 6 (1979) 275-280.

21. Tarradell, Les Ciutats romanes..., p.27 refers to a 4th. century B.C. Attic sherd.

22. The problem is in fact very similar to that of Barcelona, with an initial coinage of TARAKON imitating that of Ampurias, a 3rd. century B.C. reference to Tarrakon and a reference to Callipolis as well as Tarraco in the Ora Maritima. In addition there is a coin of the same type with the inscription KOSE of doubtful authenticity, plus a better known series of Ibero-Roman issues of the 2nd. century B.C. of KESE of KESSE. A summary of all these questions can be found in J.M.Recasens i Comes, La ciutat de Tarragona vol.I, (Barcelona, 1966) pp.79-103, which, however, should be brought up-to-date in the light of recent advances in Iberian and Ibero-Roman numismatics: L.Villaronga, Munismática antigua de Hispania, (Barcelona, 1979) pp.119-121.

For interpretations of the name of the city and other philological questions, P.Pericay, Tarraco: Historia y Mito, (Tarragona, 1952).

23. Recasens, op.cit., pp.107-125.

24. Th.Hauschild, "Tarraco en la época augustea" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas (Zaragoza, 1976) I, pp.213-8, p.214.

25. A.García y Bellido, "Las colonias romanas de Hispania" in AHDE 29 (1959) 447-512, pp.459-460.
H.Galsterer, Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (Berlin, 1971) p.71.

26. Hauschild, "Tarraco en la época augustea", p.216: their presence is attested by a series of inscriptions from the upper part of the city, G.Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (Berlin, 1975) nos.24-27: see also J.Sánchez Real, "Nota arqueológica" BAT 57 (1957) 3-5, on the discovery of that of Clunia.

27. This has long been realized in a half-hearted way, but only recently have all these remains been plotted: Th.Hauschild, "Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadtterrasse des antiken Tarraco" AEA 45-47 (1972-4) 3-44.

28. There is no full modern study of the circus: a plan was published by E.Flórez, España Sagrada vol.XXIV(Madrid, 1769¹) p.223, and reproduced in Recasens, op.cit., between pages 226 and 227. An account by B.Hernandez Sanahuja, "El circo maximo" published in BAT 52 (1952) 42-8, was in fact written

in 1877. Various other notes published during this century add little to our knowledge of its structure: A.Nogués Ferré, "Restos del circo romano de Tarragona en la calle del Trinquet Nou" in BAT 44 (1944) 4-5: idem, "Plano parcial de las bóvedas del circo romano de Tarragona" in BAT 53 (1952) 41: A.García y Bellido, "Las bóvedas de substrucción del circo romano de Tarragona" in BRAH 137 (1955) 15-16. The problem of the connection between the upper and the lower parts of the city is one that remains unresolved.

29. Hauschild, "Tarraco en la época augustea", p.217: idem, "Römische Konstruktionen...", plan on p.6: for the inscriptions the distribution map at the end of volume II of Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, and idem, Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris (= Anejos del AEA, no.6, Madrid, 1975), p.5 et seq.

30. The most accessible account of the 'Torre de Pilatos' is in the report of excavations carried out in 1962, A.Balil, Excavaciones en la Torre de Pilatos (Tarragona) (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 65: Madrid, 1969) pp.4-16 with references to earlier studies, engravings, legends, as well/as a description of the standing remains. That on the other side of the city in the Plaça de Pallol has attracted less attention: J.Sánchez Real, "Noticiario" BAT 56 (1956) 86-91: idem, "Noticiario" BAT 57 (1957) 94-98, are brief accounts of excavations in this area which have otherwise remained unpublished.

31. Hauschild, "Tarraco en la época augustea", p.217.
32. Ibid., pp.216-7. Various fragments now in the Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona are probably from this temple: Aibertini, nos.119-123, pp.384-9: J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1934) pp.102-7: B.Hernandez Sanahuja, "Templo de Octaviano Augusto en Tarragona" BAT 44 (1944) 25-36: A.García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, (Madrid, 1949) p.414. Several inscriptions dedicated to emperors from this part of the city support this idea. Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, nos.70,76,89,90,92,94,96 and 100. On the Imperial cult in Tarragona, see also R.Étienne, Le culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien, (Paris, 1958) pp. 405-414.
33. A.Beltrán Martínez, "Los monumentos romanos en las monedas hispano-romanos" in AEA 26 (1953) 39-66, especially pp.61-3.
34. Puig, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, attributed several fragments which probably belonged to the temple of the Imperial cult to other temples, notably that of Jupiter. A summary of the various interpretations of this upper terrace can be found in Recasens, op.cit., pp.187-236, referring to the versions of Pons d'Icart, op.cit., B.Hernandez Sanahuja,

Historia de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1892) (not seen) and A. Schulten, Tarraco, (Barcelona, 1948).

35. A summary of the work that took place can be found in A. del Arco and B. Hernandez Sanahuja, Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1894) pp.I-XXXV, where the four basic layers which characterized much of his thinking about the development of the city were distinguished (pp.XVIII-XIX). A section drawing illustrating these phases was published in B. Hernandez Sanahuja, "Informe de la comisión mixta de la Sociedad Arqueológica y Comisión de Monumentos de Tarragona sobre algunas antigüedades descubiertas en la misma ciudad" in MRABLB 2 (1868) 437-445, opposite p.439. There is, however, no evidence for placing any of the layers recorded before the 2nd. century B.C.. His interpretation of buildings in the lower part of the city as a Gymnasium is very dubious: idem, "Excavaciones en las ruinas del Gymnasio y las Termas" in Opúsculos históricos, arqueológicos y monumentales, (Tarragona, 1884) and at times he seems to have been involved in outright forgery of his discoveries, especially concerning the supposed sarcophagus of Hercules: O.Kurz, Fakes: a handbook for collectors and students, (London, n.d.) p.304-6. A large number of his works remained unpublished, and although some have been printed in BAT, others survive in the archives of Tarragona and warrant detailed study. A summary of his life and work can be found in BRAH 25 (1894) 336-368.

36. J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en Tarragona
(= MJSEA 116, Madrid, 1930) is the report. J.Puig
i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, p.237,
considered it as a macellum, because he believed in
the existence of only one forum in the upper part of
the city: if the latter is interpreted as suggested
by Dr.Hauschild, this inconvenience is removed.

37. Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarrago,
nos. 1 and 2: studied by M.del C.Beltrán Martínez
and J.Sánchez Real, "Una inscripción a Pompeyo en
Tarragona" in BAT 53-54 (1953-4) 3-9: A.D'Ors,
"Miscelanea epigráfica V. Una inscripción pompeyana
de Tarragona" in Emerita 40 (1972) 63-5.

38. Hauschild, "Tarraco en la época augustea", p.214.

39. ibid., p.216: A.Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la
España antigua, III " in BSAA 38 (1972) 55-131, p.125.

40. Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en Tarragona, pp.67-82.
Balil, op.cit., pp.125-9.

41. The only other published excavations within the
walls in the lower part of the city have been in C/
Unión and C/de Reding, and plaça de Prim: for the
first see Balil, op.cit., p.129 and S.Ventura Solsona,
"Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona" in MMAP 1 (1940) 89:
for the second, S.Ventura Solsona, "Museo Arqueológico
de Tarragona" in MMAP 2 (1941) 128-139, p.135: for the
last. L.Bonet Garí, "Excavaciones en Tarragona" in

Ampurias 3 (1941) 141-4. More recent work towards the port is noted in M.Berges and M.Ferrer, "Excavaciones arqueológicas en el solar de la calle Comandante de Rivadulla de Tarragona, Agosto 1973" in NAH Arqueologia 5 (1977) 227-234.

42. There are comparatively few studies on the mosaics of Tarragona and its hinterland: those which found their way into the museum in the 19th. century are briefly described in A.del Arco and B.Hernandez Sana-huja, Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1894) pp.204-9. Some of these have subsequently been studied in more detail, e.g. A.Blancho Freijeiro, "Mosaicos antiguos de asunto báquico" in BRAH 131 (1952) 273-316, p.300: A.Balil, "Il mosaico della Medusa di Tarragona" in Hommages à Marcel Rénard vol.iii (Brussels, 1969) 3-12. Subsequent finds, however, have been few in the city: for one example, M.Berges and R.Navarro, "Un mosaico con tema de muralla en Tarragona" in Pyrenae 10 (1974) 165-172. The latter author is preparing a thesis on the mosaics of Tarragona and its environs: some general comments can be found in A.Balil, "Las escuelas musivarias del Conventus Tarraconensis" in CAN VIII (Zaragoza, 1964) 406-419.

43. For excavations that took place in the amphitheatre in the early 1950's, S.Ventura Solsona, "Noticia de las excavaciones en curso en el anfiteatro de Tarragona" in AEA 27 (1954) 259-280: idem,

"Inscripciones halladas en el anfiteatro" in BAT 55 (1955) 3-21: A.García y Bellido, "Nemesis en una pintura mural del anfiteatro de Tarragona" in AEA 36 (1963) 177-181. It was in this amphitheatre that the bishop of Tarragona, Pructuosus, and two of his deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, were martyred in 259.

44. J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Teatre romà de Tarragona" in AIEC 6 (1915-20) 712-7: idem, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, pp.190-201: for work on the site during the Civil War, S.Ventura Solsona, "Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona" in MMA 3 (1942) 192-202, pp.196-202. The most recent work is unpublished except for newspaper notes.

45. A.García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, (Madrid, 1949) p.15 and p.24 refers to possible portraits of Drusus and Tiberius. Two second century figures are discussed by H.G.Niemeyer, "Zwei Panzerstatuen in Tarragona" in AEA 45-47 (1972-4) 157-170.

46. The chronology is that of Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, III " p.130.

47. Reports in J.Tulla, P.Beltrán and C.Oliva, Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona (=MJSEA 88, Madrid, 1927): J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana de

Tarragona (=MJSEA 93, Madrid, 1927): idem, (=MJSEA 104, 1929), idem, (=MJSEA, 111, 1930), idem, (=MJSEA 133, 1935). The last two reports are particularly important for the pre-cemetery occupation. An overall plan of the area without burials can be found in Th. Hauschild, "Ein römischer Zentralbau bei Tarragona" MM 11 (1970) 139-160, p.145. The structures are discussed by Balil, op.cit., pp.130-1 and most recently with re-interpretation by Ma D. del Amo, Estudio crítico de la necrópolis paleocristiana de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1979) pp.11-44.

48. "Noticiario" in BAT 69-70 (1969-70) p.125, pp. 134-5, pp.153-8: Ma D. del Amo Guinovart, "La necrópolis de Pere Martell" in BAT 71-2 (1971-2) 103-171: J.Sánchez Real, "Los enterramientos romanos de la Vía Augusta" in BAT 71-2 (1971-2) 173-208: the latter discusses the previous finds in this part of the city.

49. The excavations cited in the previous note produced two mosaics considered to date from c.200. Those in the area of the early Christian cemetery, although producing painted wall-plaster, had only one fragment of mosaic, possibly of Severan date, but perhaps brought from elsewhere: MJSEA 133 p.13 pl.XVI. A.Balil, "Dos mosaicos hispánicos de tema mitológico" in CAN X (Zaragoza, 1969) 379-386.

50. The best evidence is the distribution map of inscriptions published by Alföldy, Die römischen

Inscripfen von Tarraco, at the end of volume II, which shows that apart from the areas already mentioned, there was a burial zone along the main road leading along the coast towards Barcelona, and to a lesser extent on the northern fringes of the city. For the former, F.Martorell, "Inscripcions sepulcrales de Tarragona" in AIEC 6 (1915-20) 718. J.Sánchez Real, "Notas arqueológicas" BAT 56 (1956) 51-8: for the latter, idem, "Noticiario" BAT 56 (1956) 29-32.

51. Tarraconensis has been the most productive of the Spanish provinces for such objects, and the capital the most productive point: the starting point for their study is A.García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, nos.252-4,258,262 and 274, to which one should add the fragments, whether re-used or not, from the early Christian cemetery: J. Puig i Cadafalch, "Sarcòfags pagans en la necròpolis de Tarragona" in AIEC 7 (1921-6) 100-103. For the remaining pieces the following may also be consulted: P.Batlle Huguet, "Frente de sarcòfago romano con las figuras de Apolo y las Musas" in BAT 43 (1943) 73-9: A.García y Bellido, "Sarcòfagos romanos de tipo oriental hallados en la Península Ibérica" in AEA 21 (1948) 95-109: (J.Sánchez), "Noticiario" BAT 48 (1948) 110: S.Ventura Solsona, "Otros sarcòfagos romanos, paganos, con figuras" in BAT 49 (1949) 134-9: idem, "El sarcòfago de Hipólito, de la 'Punta de la Mora' del mar Tarraconense" in AEA 22 (1949) 147-174: J.Sánchez Real,

"El sarcófago de Hippólytos y la 'razzia' de Lord Stanhope" in AEA 23 (1950) 336-344: P.Acuña, "Un sarcófago ático de Tarragona con escenas de Batalla" in Zephyrus 25 (1974) 397-405: A.Balil, "Esculturas romanas del Conventus Tarraconensis" in Zephyrus 25 (1974) 407-412. These sarcophagi all date from the period between the middle of the 2nd. century and the mid 3rd. century.

52. Hauschild, "Tarraco en la época augustea", p.213.

53. The Roman port was presumably on the site of the modern one, although little is known of its disposition: for finds from the area, The Field Underwater Explorer's Club, "Informe de las operaciones submarinas en la Provincia de Tarragona" NAH 8 (1956-61) 200-8. M.Berges Soriano, "Los hallazgos arqueológicos submarinos ingresados en el Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona" in BAT 69-70 (1969-70) 3-19.

54. Apart from those from the city, those from Altafulla and Pared Delgada in the museum are of this period, and await detailed study: another from Pineda of 3rd. century date has been published by M.Bobadilla, "El mosaico de peces de La Pineda (Tarragona)" in Pyrenae 5 (1969) 141-154.

55. The upper part occupied over a third of the total area, leaving approximately 36 hectares in the lower section, for which Recasens, op.cit., p.132 has sug-

gested a population of 30,000, which seems excessive. Since so little is known about the extent of the suburbs and the density of structures within the walls, it would be adventurous to propose any figures.

56. M.Tarradell, "L'extensió urbana de Tàrraco comparada" in BAT 71-2 (1971-2) 95-101.

57. Ibid., pp.100-1: even so it was small in size compared to major North African or Gallic cities.

58. M.Tarradell, Les Ciutats romanes dels Països Catalans (Barcelona, 1978) p.57:

59. Pliny, Naturalis Historia, III, 6, cited by Tarradell, op.cit., p.57, although I have been unable to trace this reference.

60. Tarradell, Les Ciutats romanes., p.57.

61. Geografia de Catalunya vol.III (edited by L.Solé i Sabarís) (Barcelona, 1968) p.138: Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes, pp.27-8.

62. For the rôle of the Ebro valley in general, N.Dupré, "La place de la Vallée de L'Ebre dans l'Espagne romaine : recherches de géographie historique" in Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 9 (1973) 133-175.
An interesting sidelight on the maritime links of the

city is thrown by CIL II 4065 (=Albertini no.49), a funerary inscription with a design of a ship in the upper part.

63. CIL II 4054-6 and 6070 for divinities: CIL II 4057-8 for dedications to Antoninus Pius and Herennius, son of Decius: municipal posts and funerary inscriptions in CIL II 4059-68, plus J.Vives, Inscripciones Latinas de la España romana, (Barcelona, 1971-2) no.1567. See also A.del Arco Molinero, "Tortosa: nuevas inscripciones romanas" in BRAH 37 (1900) 326-8 for the circumstances of discovery of this and two others.

64. Plan in Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, (Espasa-Calpe, Bilbao-Madrid-Barcelona, 1928) vol.LXII opposite p.1540. Details of finds in E.Bayerri, Historia de Tortosa, vols.IV and V (Tortosa, 1943-8) passim .

65. The plan in the 'Enciclopedia Espasa', drawn up by the municipal architect Joan Abril, suggests that the area known as Remolins was included within the Roman city. This opinion seems to be largely based on the evidence of the surviving lengths of defences, **although** a later date seems more probable for those in this area: this area was suburban in the 12th. century, and was later referred to as a villanova. The core of the Roman city obviously lay between the Zuda and the bridge, and the fact that most of the honorific inscriptions have come from the area of the cathedral

might suggest that the forum was nearby, and that the tradition which states that the cathedral was on the site of a Roman temple is credible. A detailed analysis of the abundant documentation of the second half of the 12th. century would undoubtedly reveal details which would aid the interpretation of the topography of earlier periods. Figure 49, however, represents Abril's view.

66. A bibliography of works on Ampurias up to 1950 can be found in M.Almagro, Las fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias, (Barcelona, 1951) pp.182-194. The essay of P.Bosch-Gimpera, "Cronología e historia de Emporion" in Homenaje a García y Bellido II (Madrid, 1976) (= Revista de la Universidad Complutense 25 (1976)) 37-56 is a useful introduction.

67. This date is based not so much on the earliest material from the Palaiopolis, but on the earliest Greek material in the cemeteries that have been excavated, interpreted in the light of the historical context: E.Ripoll, Ampurias: descripción de las ruinas Y Museo Monográfico, (Barcelona, 1973³) pp.10-11.

68. M.Almagro, Excavaciones en la Palaiopolis de Ampurias (=Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 27; Madrid, 1964) pp.97-8.

69. The excavations began in 1908 and were reported in the AIEC up to the Civil War usually by the pen

of J.Puig i Cadafalch. A certain amount was done in this area after the Civil War, M.Almagro, "Excavaciones de Ampurias: últimos hallazgos y resultados" in AEA 18 (1945) 59-75, p.63: idem, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones, (Barcelona, 1951²) pp.87-160. Some comments on the distribution of structures in A.Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, I " in BSAA 36 (1970) 289-334, esp. pp.316-328.

70. The palaiopolis covered some 1.35 ha. and the 'Neapolis' about twice that area, so that the total urban area was approximately 4 hectares.

71. Ideas introduced in E.Ripoll, "Notas acerca de los orígenes de la ciudad romana de Ampurias" in Ampurias 33-34 (1971-2) 359-374 and expanded in his speech to the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona, Els orígens de la ciutat romana d'Empúries, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.19-51: these ideas were developed in M.J.Pena, E.Ripoll and E.Sanmartí, "Noves aportacions al coneixement de l'etapa tardo-republicana a Empúries" in Inf.Arg. 27-8 (1978) 62-7.

72. Ripoll, Els orígens..., pp.44-5.

73. The Campanian ware from Ampurias has been studied by Dr.E.Sanmartí of the MAB, although for the moment few of his conclusions have been published, and one can only cite his "El taller de las pequeñas estampillas en la Península Ibérica" in Ampurias 35 (1973)

135-173. The issues of the mint were without doubt the foremost of the region: the bibliography is extensive, the most important works being A.M.Guadán, Las monedas de plata de Emporion y Rhode, (Barcelona, 1968-70) in 2 volumes (= Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona 12 (1955-6) and 13 (1957-8)): and the various works of L.Villaronga, especially, The Aes coinage of Emporion (Oxford, 1977) and his Numismática Antigua de Hispania (Barcelona, 1979) pp. 96-101, 110-1, 125-7.

74. Most recently Ripoll, Els orígens..., p.58: Galsterer, op.cit., pp.26-7.

75. Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad...., p.162.

76. Cf. fig 51 . There is a degree of confusion over what is referred to as a decumanus or a cardo in the context of Ampurias: the plan itself is perhaps of the mid 1st. century B.C. to judge by the evidence of the Decumanus A: see M.Almagro and N. Lamboglia, "La estratigrafía del decumano A de Ampurias" in Ampurias 21 (1959) 1-28. For excavations on the line of the next street to the west, N. Lamboglia, "Scavi italo-spagnoli ad Ampurias" in RSL 21 (1955) 195-212.

77. Most of the work of the last twenty years has been concentrated in this zone, although no full

reports have been published: summaries of work until 1961 can be found in M.Almagro, Excavaciones en Ampurias (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 9; Madrid, 1962), with very little since then apart from the guide book, and more recently notes in Información Arqueológica (e.g. no.24 (1977) and nos.27-8 (1978))

78. Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad..., p.166.

79. Ripoll, Ampurias: descripción de las ruinas y Museo Monográfico, pp.64-6.

80. Ibid., p.661 Almagro, Excavaciones en Ampurias, pp.8-12 and fig.2.

81. Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad..., pp. 167-179: Ripoll, Ampurias: descripción de las ruinas y Museo Monográfico, pp.62-3: A.Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, III" in BSAA 38 (1972) 55-131, esp. pp.90-100.

82. Almagro, ibid., p.179: Ripoll, ibid., pp.63-4: Balil, ibid., pp.101-3.

83. Balil, op.cit., points out that occupation seems to have continued longer in the second house.

84. e.g. J.Botet y Sisó, Noticia Histórica y Arqueológica de la antigua ciudad de Emporion, (Madrid, 1879) pp.53-8: or J.Pella y Forgas, Historia del Ampurdán, (Barcelona, 1883) plan opposite p.353.

85. M.Almagro, "Estratigrafía de la ciudad helenístico-romana de Ampurias" in AEA 20 (1947) 179-199: idem, "El anfiteatro y la palestra de Ampurias" in Ampurias 17-18 (1955-6) 1-26.
86. M.Almagro, Las necrópolis de Ampurias: vol.II, Necrópolis romanas y necrópolis indígenas, (Barcelona, 1955) passim: idem, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad.., pp.181-212: idem, "El recinto sepulcral romano tardío de 'El Castellet' de Ampurias" in AEA 24 (1951) 99-116: idem, "Nuevas tumbas halladas en la necrópolis de Ampurias" in Ampurias 24 (1962) 225-238. It is noticeable that there are few of the funerary monuments found in other cities, although it is uncertain to what extent this is a result of later stone robbing.
87. M.Tarradell, Les Ciutats romanes dels Països Catalans, (Barcelona, 1978) p.41 gives the figure of c.21 ha., but E.Ripoll, Els orígens, p.50, points out that the area of the two parts of the Greek city, plus the zone in between, should be included.
88. E.Ripoll, J.Mª Nuix and L.Villaronga, "Circulació monetaria em Emporion" in Symposium Numismàtico de Barcelona I(1979) 45-56, p.50.
89. Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes...., p.47.
90. The inscriptions of Ampurias were collected by

M.Almagro, Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas, (Barcelona, 1952): comparatively little has been published on the mosaics, although a considerable number were found in the 'Neapolis' and others in the two houses in the northern part of the Roman city, mentioned above: the latter were exclusively of the 1st. century A.D., whereas another piece, with a fish design, was Augustan or Julio-Claudian: see A.Balil, "Arte helenístico en el Levante español: mosaico con representaciones de peces hallado en Ampurias" in BRAH 146 (1960) 267-310. The most renowned piece is a 2nd. or 1st. century B.C. representation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, which was re-used as the central emblem of a mosaic in the Roman city. For its discovery, Botet, op.cit., pp. 54-8. X.Barral i Altet is preparing a monograph on the mosaics of Ampurias: "Els mosaics d'Empúries: informació preliminar" in Faventia 1/i (1979) 71-6. In contrast there was an abundance of painted wall plaster in the Roman period: J.Nieto Prieto, "Los esquemas compositivos de la pintura mural romana de Ampurias" in CAN XIV (Zaragoza, 1977) 851-868.

91. Almagro, Ampurias: Historia de la ciudad..., p.50. For the date of the breakwater as between 175 and 150 B.C., NAH 6 (1962) p.422. The chronology of the silting of this area is in fact virtually unknown, although it must be noted that some of the late and post Roman burials in the 'Neapolis' were cut into layers of sand which overlay earlier structures.

92. Various works have been published on the defences during the past fifty years: A.Fick, "Die römischen Stadtmauern von Gerona" in Archäologischer Anzeiger (1930) cols.266-275: J.de C.Serra Rafols, "Les muralles ibèriques i romanes de Girona" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 69-85: idem, "El recinto antiguo de Gerona" in AEA 15(1942) 114-135: idem, in Els Castells Catalans vol.I (ed. R.Dalmau, Barcelona, 1967) pp.46-50:

M.Oliva Prat, "Recintos fortificados de tipo 'ciclópeo' en tierras gerundenses" in Arquitectura megalítica y ciclópea catalano-balear (Barcelona, 1965) 89-109, especially pp.91-4: A.Balil, "La defensa de Hispania en el Bajo Imperio" in Zephyrus 11 (1960) 179-197, especially pp.186-7. For an account of the restoration of the north side, J. Marqués Casanovas, "El Paseo Arqueológico de Gerona" in AIEG 16 (1963) 123-183.

93. Serra Rafols, AIEC 8, p.71 and AEA 15, p.116, considered that the possibility of an Iberian origin existed but was not proven. Authors of more general works have not always been so precise: e.g. J.Pla Cargol, Gerona arqueológica y monumental, (Gerona-Madrid, 1943) p.11 (suggesting a 5th. or 4th. century B.C. date) and idem, "Proceso del desarrollo urbano de Gerona a través de los tiempos" in AIEG 2 (1947) 209-228 (suggesting an original 6th. century nucleus in the upper part of the city, which expanded in the following century towards the river).

94. M.Oliva in L.Pericot (ed.), La labor de la

Comisión Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona durante los años 1942-1948 (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, 27; Madrid, 1952) p.152, referring to excavations in the upper part of the city in the area of the 'Cuartel General de Alemanes' and the 'Torre Gironella': M.Oliva Prat, "Excavaciones arqueológicas en la Provincia de Gerona en 1973" NAH Prehistoria 5 (1976) 131-140, p.140, referring to work in the north-west corner of the defences in the Casa Pastors. In neither case was any of the Iberian material published or a date for it proposed, and so the possibility that it belonged to the period after the Roman conquest remains.

95. M.A.Martín i Ortega, "Notícia sobre unes troballes romanes a l'Institut Vell de Girona" in Revista de Girona year XXIII no.81 (1977) 335-8.

96. Balil, "La defensa de Hispania,..." p.186 suggests this possibility: the doctoral thesis of J.^{ma} Nolla Brufau, La Ciudad romana de Gerunda (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1977) comes to similar conclusions: unfortunately, I have not been able to consult this work, which is in the course of publication. Similarly his thesis summary (U.A.B., 1978) came to my attention too late to be used in the composition of this part of my text.

97. These would be the poorly known Olossitani and

Castellani: cf. N.Lamboglia, "Una nova popolazione pirenaica: gli olossitani" in RSL 25 (1959) 147-161: idem, "La formazione del municipio di Emporiae" in RSL 39 (1973) 21-35, for the former group. For the latter, P.Bosch-Gimpera, "Katalonien in der römischen Kaiserzeit", plan on p.573, following the information of Ptolemy.

98. In the lower part of the city, the surviving Sobreportes gate (Serra Ràfols, AEA 15, pp.133-4) and the now destroyed one in the Plaça del Correu (ibid., p.119): for work in this area in 1959 see M.Oliva Prat, "Actividades de la Delegación de Excavaciones y del Servicio Provincial de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos de la Excma. Diputación de Gerona en 1959" in AIEG 13 (1959) 365-389, p.387. In the upper part of the city the Rufina gate (Serra Ràfols, op.cit., pp.125-7).

99. Called Sant Cristòfal: Marqués Casanovas, op.cit., p.161.

100. Serra Ràfols, op.cit., p.120.

101. A.Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, II " in BSAA 37 (1971) 5-75, pp.50-1.

102. In addition to these streets, the cathedral itself is on the same orientation.

103. Apart from the work cited in notes 94, 95 and 98, see, M. Oliva Prat, La labor de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona durante los años 1952-3 (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, 30; Madrid, 1956) p. 27. Idem, "Restos romanos del Museo: sección lapidaria" in MMA 9-10 (1948-9) 74-88, pp. 78-9, describing finds near the cathedral in 1904, citing J. B. Torroella, "Troballes arqueològiques a Girona" in RAAAB 4 (1903-5) 623-6, which I have not seen. More recently, J. M^a Nolla, "Excavacions arqueològiques a Girona: sondatges i troballes a la plaça de Sant Domènec" in Revista de Girona year XXIV no. 85 (1978) 367-374: idem, "Excavacions i sondeigs a Girona: les obres del Passeig Arqueològic (I)" in Revista de Girona Year XXV no. 87 (1979) 101-108.

104. CIL II 4620-2. One should also note a group of milestones of similar date from the Girona area: CIL II 6243 from Sarrià de Ter of A.D. 238, and the two from Palau Sacosta to the south of the city, one of which appears to be Constantinian: M. Oliva Prat, "Restos romanos del Museo: sección lapidaria" in MMA 9-10 (1948-9) p. 81.

105. For the two pagan sarcophagi, A. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, (Madrid, 1949) nos. 251 (late 2nd. century) and 265 (early 4th. century) The early Christian ones are covered infra p. 283 and note 156 to chapter VIII.

106. A.Balil, "Mosaico de Bellerofonte y la Quimera de Torre de Bell-lloch (Gerona)" in AEA 33 (1960) 98-112: idem, "Mosaicos circenses de Barcelona y Gerona" in BRAH 151 (1962) 257-351: idem, Mosaicos romanos de Hispania Citerior, I, Conventus Tarracensis. Fasciculo 12: Ager Emporitani et Gerundensis (= Studia Archeologica, 12; Santiago de Compostela, 1971) pp.21-56, with full bibliography on the three mosaics from this site.

107. Beginning in the 19th. century with J.Pellicer y Pages, Estudios histórico-arqueológicos sobre Ilduro, (Mataró, 1887). There is a summary in CAB pp.132-9, but this was soon supplanted by M.Ribas i Bertran, El poblament d'Ilduro (Barcelona, 1952) and idem, Els orígens de Mataró (Mataró, 1964). The most recent product has been the inventory of sites published by Mataró Museum, Carta dels vestigis arqueològics del Terme Municipal de Mataró, (Mataró, 1977) which is kept up-to-date by the journal Quaderns de Prehistòria i arqueologia de Mataró i el Maresme, produced by the same entity.

108. Ribas, op.cit. (1952) passim and (1964) pp.36-84: for the location of the mint, most recently J.Bonamusa i Roure, "El problema del solar de la Ilduro monetar, a través de los hallazgos numismáticos" in Miscel·lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i el Maresme I (1976) 29-31.

109. Ribas, (1964) p.92.

110. F.Gusi Gener, "La topografía urbanística de Iluro" in Miscel.lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i El Maresme I (1976) 35-9, p.35.

111. Especially the fact that Pomponius Mela ranked it alongside Baetulo and Blanda : Galsterer, op.cit., p.71 . A.Balil, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, .II " in BSAA 37 (1971) 5-75, p.51. One might be tempted to place it alongside Baetulo, with a foundation date of c.100 B.C., although this lacks the necessary evidence in the case of Iluro: one should also note the presence of cremation burials of 2nd. or 1st. century date near the church (Ribas (1964), p.106): these must have pre-dated the urban foundation.

112. Balil, op.cit., p.51: Gusi, op.cit., p.36.

113. Ribas, (1964), p.93, certainly considered them to be related, although he cited no evidence. On p.184 he described a two metre thick wall in the Plaça de la Peixateria on the south-eastern side: could this have been part of the defences ?

114. The present day C/St.Simó, C/Enrique Granados and C/Palau in one direction: C/St.Francesc, C/Sta. Maria and C/St.Cristòbol in the other (fig.53).

115. Balil, op.cit., p.51: CIL II 4612-5: Albertini p.455, referring to statues in a house opposite the Town Hall. I can find no reference to the columns mentioned by Balil.
116. Ribas, (1952) pp.57-8: (1964) pp.96-100.
117. Balil, op.cit., p.51: Carta dels vestigis... nos.12-45, pp.17-56.
118. Ribas, (1964), pp.111-4: Carta dels vestigis... no.33 p.44.
119. Carta dels vestigis... nos.28 and 30, pp.42-3.
120. Infra Chapter VIII pp. 292-3
121. Remains have been known there since the 19th. century: CAB p.137 no.29. Ribas, (1964) pp.188-9.
122. For the initial excavations, M.Ribas, "Descubrimiento de los restos de un edificio de la ciudad romana de Iluro (Mataró)" in Pyrenae 2 (1966) 125-8: for the mosaics, X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laietana, (Barcelona, 1978) nos.115-8, pp.111-4 and idem, "Mosaicos romanos de Mataró: la villa de Can Llauder y el edificio de Can Xammar" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 735-746.

123. Gusi, op.cit., p.37 : "Sin embargo la fecha relativa de esta estructura la colocamos a lo largo de todo el siglo segundo imperial...".
124. Ibid., "En cuanto a la fecha inicial de esta primera construcción, los materiales del estrato inferior dan una fecha aproximada de hacia la primera mitad del s.I d.n.E.",
125. e.g. CAB p.136 nos.10-12 and Carta dels vestigis.., nos.59-60, pp.68-9 are beyond the line of the defences here proposed, but are not funerary in nature.
126. CAB pp.134-5, nos.1-9: Ribas (1964), pp.114-6, pp.182-3: Carta dels vestigis..., no.16 pp.25-7:
J.Bonamusa i Roure, "Mataró: la necròpolis il·lusionesa de la Riera actualitzada arran de les últimes troballes" in Inf.Arg. nos.8-9 (1972) 37-42.
127. The principal sources are J.de C.Serra Ràfols, Forma Conventus Tarraconensis ^{Bachilo-Glands,} I: (Barcelona, 1928):
CAB passim: Ribas (1952) passim, with a review article by A.Balil, "La arqueologia de la Maresma" in AEA 26 (1953) 169-174: Ribas (1964) with a plan opposite p.17: Carta dels vestigis.., nos.46-89, pp.59-97.
128. This site was already known in the last century: cf. the data collected in CAB pp.132-3. For the excavations, M.Ribas (1964) pp.134-149: idem, "Descubrimiento de una villa romana en la finca

Torre Llauder de Mataró" in NAH 7 (1963) 206-8: idem, La villa romana de la Torre Llauder de Mataró (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 47; Madrid, 1966) * idem, "La villa romana de la Torre Llauder de Mataró" in NAH Arqueologia 1 (1972) 115-180. Carta dels vestigis, no. 64 pp. 71-5, has a summary and a full bibliography on this site.

129. Apart from the information supplied by the works cited in the previous note, this is confirmed by studies of the lamps and coins from this villa: J.F. Clariana i Roig, "Les llànties de la vil.la romana de Torre Llauder de Mataró" in Miscel.lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i El Maresme (1976) 43-84: C.Martí i García and J.Bonamusa i Roure, "La numismàtica de la vil.la romana de Torre Llauder (Mataró)" ibid., 87-116.

130. Like Can Xammar, a number of mosaics belong to this period: X.Barral i Altet, op.cit., (1973) pp. 735-742 and Les mosaïques...., nos. 102-114, pp. 103-111.

131. Gusi, op.cit., p. 38. On the other hand, a decline of the urban area to the profit of the villas seems more feasible.

132. J.Guitart Durán, Baetulo: topografia arqueològica urbanismo e historia, (Badalona, 1976), with a full bibliography of works up to 1973 on pp. 247-275.

133. The work of J.M. Cuyas Tolosa, carried out principally between 1940 and 1970, is now being published in the form of a Història de Badalona, (Badalona, 1975- , five volumes to date): volume III is concerned with the Roman period and chronicles a number of otherwise unpublished excavations.
134. Guitart, op.cit., pp.175-230 on the Campanian ware from Badalona: the same method applied to Iluro would surely clarify the doubts about the date of foundation, while the same technique could be applied to other fine wares to illuminate other periods where the chronology of general movements in the urban context is in doubt.
135. Op.cit., pp.49-59 for the defences, pp.57-8 for their date: for the excavations of 1934-7, J.de C. Serra Ràfols, "Excavaciones en Baetulo (Badalona) y descubrimiento de la puerta N.E. de la ciudad" in Ampurias 1 (1939) 268-289. For the historical context of the foundation, Guitart, op.cit., pp.239-242.
136. Only four sherds of Campanian ware of pre c.125 B.C. have been found, and although 5th. century B.C. material has been located, there need not have been any continuity of settlement between this date and c.100 B.C.: cf. Guitart, op.cit., p.240 note 3.
137. Ibid., pp.242-3.

138. ibid., pp.169-174: also J.Guitart Durán, "Un retrato del siglo I (a.d.J.C.) procedente de la ciudad romana de Baetulo" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 665-670. For the mosaics, A.Balil, "Mosaicos romanos de Baetulo (Badalona)" in Zephyrus 15 (1964) 85-100, especially nos.3,4 and 5: cf. Barral, Les mosaïques.., nos.53-61, pp.81-7.
139. Guitart, op.cit., p.244 and the works cited in note 182 of chapter IV.
140. Guitart, op.cit., pp.231-8 for the elucidation of the plan.
141. ibid., p.97 and p.244.
142. Serra Ráfols, "Excavaciones en Baetulo...", pp. 281-5: Guitart, op.cit., pp.135-9. For the tabula hospitalis of A.D.98, A.D'Ors, "Sobre la tabula patronatus de Badalona" in Emerita 7 (1939) 156-168: Guitart, op.cit., pp.25-8. It has been suggested that this structure could have been the residence of the Praefectus Orae Maritimae.
143. Guitart, op.cit., pp.61-80.
144. CIL II 4603 and 4610: also the Imperial dedications CIL II 4605-8.
145. Guitart, op.cit., pp.244-5.

146. Ibid., pp.127-8.
147. For the mosaics in general, see the work of Balil cited in note 138 and Barral, Les mosaïques..., nos.41-68, pp.70-90.
148. This is proved by the three 3rd. century Imperial inscriptions, CIL II 4606-8.
149. For a description of the site, J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "La evolución del poblamiento dentro del término de Tarrasa" in Estudios Geográficos 7 (1946) 47-72, esp. pp.58-9.
150. CIL II 4494-5: the former is a dedication to Antoninus Pius, the latter refers to a duumvir.
151. This is suggested by the title Municipium Flavium Egara in CIL II 4494.
For Vespasian and Spain, R.K.McElderry, "Vespasian's reconstruction of Spain" JRS 8 (1918) 53-102, ibid., 9 (1919) 86-94.
152. Serra Ráfols, op.cit., p.59, referring to Iberian and Greek pottery.
153. For references to these excavations, infra note 173 to chapter VIII.
154. CAB pp.208-9.

155. S.Cardús, La ciutat i la seu episcopal d'Egara,
(Tarrassa, 1964) p.33.
156. Albertini no.230, p.449.
157. P.Gorina y Gabarro in VIII Reunión de la Comi-
saria Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de
Barcelona (edited by J.de C. Serra Ráfols)(= Informes
y Memorias de la CGEA,32; Madrid, 1956) pp.159-166,
none of which were recorded in the CAB. See also
Cardús, op.cit., p.49 and A.Balil, "Sarcófago romano
del Levante español" in Revista de Guimarães 69
(1959) 303-320, on a lead coffin from Can Anglada.
Cardús, op.cit., p.36, also discusses a 1st. century
funerary inscription found away from the urban nucleus
(=CIL II 6144). For more recent excavations on a villa
site in this area, at Can Bosch, J.Ma Nuix, "Un
bronce inédito de Máximo Tirano acuñado en Barcelona,
hallado en Tarrasa (Barcelona)" in Numisma 26(1976)165-9.
158. CIL II 4479: the name survives as the name of
the modern comarca of Segarra.
159. CIL II 4480-4484.
160. F.Fita, "Lápidas de Prats del Rey" in BRAH
48 (1906) 243-5: J.Gudiol y Cunill, "Una nova
inscripció romana" in RAAAB 5 (1906-8) 738-9.
161. Albertini p.408: CAB p.161.

162. Infra note 114 of chapter XVII.

M.Tarradell, "Las ciudades romanas en el este de Hispania" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) p.291, refers to recent unsuccessful attempts to locate the precise site of the town.

163. From the use of the name in the form of the county and bishopric of Ausona in the medieval period, and the modern comarca name of Osona. The modern name of Vic is presumably derived from the form Vicus Ausetanorum.

164. CIL II 4537, IRB 86: M. D.Molas Font, "Acerca de la urbe Ausetanorum y la ciudad romana de Ausa" in BSAA 45 (1979) 189-202, p.190, suggests that the community had Latin rights up to the time of Vespasian.

165. CIL II 4618.

166. J.Gudiol Cunill, L'Ausa romana i el seu temple (Vich, 1907) pp.67-97. A series of articles in the periodical Ausa 3 (1958-60) 241-277 add little that is new.

167. J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1934) pp.107-111: Molas, op.cit., p.193: other sculptural pieces are in Albertini nos. 236-7.

168. Molas, op.cit., p.202.

169. T.Livy, Historia ad urbe condita book XXI, chapter LXI: FHA III p.58.
170. Most recently, L.Villaronga, "Sistematización del numerario ibérico del grupo ausetano" in Acta Numismática 3 (1973) 25-51.
171. Molas, op.cit., p.202.
172. CAB pp.223-4: Molas, op.cit., pp.194-5.
173. Infra chapter XVII pp.891-895.
174. No substantial villas are known from this area. In fact, the area between the pre-litoral depression, to the east, and the Segre valley, to the west, forms a large void in Roman rural settlement, and it can only be presumed that in the plain of Vic and neighbouring districts, there was little change in settlement patterns from the late Iberian period onwards. When Roman influence did penetrate local ways it was usually in the later Roman period: this is indicated by certain epigraphic finds, e.g. X.Sitjes i Molins, "Troballa de tres làpides romanes a Artés" in Ausa no.84 (1976) 85-9. These three 3rd. century inscriptions, however, double the number known from the comarca of Bages. For a site in inland Catalonia which may demonstrate continuous occupation between the pre-Roman period and the early medieval one (although with

very little Roman material) A.del Castillo and M.Riu,
 "El poblado bergistano de Camp Mauri" in CAN VII
 (Zaragoza, 1962) 426-431.

175. CIL II 4957-8 together with further finds
 recorded in Gudiol, op.cit., p.48 and CAB pp.104-5
 form a group of late Roman milestanes in the Congost
 valley. Two earlier ones imply that the road from the
 coast had previously taken a route via Caldes de
 Montbui and Collsuspina in order to reach the plain
 of Vic: one of these is CIL II 6244 and the second is
 published by E.Junyent, "Un nuevo miliario ausetano"
 in Ausa 2 (1955-7) 148-152. Further evidence for
 this route is found in the milestone CIL II 4956
 from near Caldes, and remains of the road between
Iluro and Caldes are known in the litoral mountain
 chain: R.Batista, "Los restos de la vía romana de
 Parpers en el término municipal de Argentona" in
Miscelánea Arqueológica I (= XXV Aniversario de los
 cursos de Ampurias, Barcelona, 1974) 125-133. It
 thus seems that the original road from the coast,
 constructed in the Republican period, started in the
 Mataró area and the more direct route from Barcelona
 only came into use in the 3rd. century.

176. For the location, sources and origins see
 J.Maluquer de Motes, "La colonia griega de Rhode
 localizada" in Zephyrus 14. (1963) 99-100* idem,
 "Rhode; la ciutat grega més antiga de Catalunya" in
Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives I (Barcelona, 1965)
 pp.143-151: idem, "Rhode (Rosas) la ciudad mas

antigua de Cataluña" in Revista de Gerona Year XI no. 31 (1965) 17-32: idem, "En torno a las fuentes griegas sobre el origen de Rhode" in Simposio Internacional de Colonizaciones (Barcelona, 1974) 125-138.

177. F.Riuró and F.Cufí, "Prospecciones arqueológicas en Rosas (Gerona)" in AIEG 15 (1961-2) 203-224.

M.Oliva Prat, "Las excavaciones en la Ciudadela de Rosas" in NAH 6 (1962) 162-4.

178. M.Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes dels Països Catalans, (Barcelona, 1978) p.17: idem, "Las ciudades romanas en el este de Hispania" in Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) p.291.

179. Oliva, op.cit., p.163. Idem, "Historia de las excavaciones de Rosas" in Revista de Gerona Year XI no.31 (1965) 63-74, especially the plans on p.65 and 73.

180. There would appear to have been two nuclei of settlement, one in the region of the early Christian church and the medieval monastery, the other around a large structure of uncertain function of 2nd. or 3rd. century origins: for this see the most recent excavation report by M^a A.Martin, J.Nieto and J.M^a Nolla, Excavaciones en la Ciudadela de Rosas (Campañas 1976-77), (Girona, 1979). For the coins of the earlier excavations see J.M^a Gurt Esparraguera, "Circulación monetaria en Rhode (Rosas) durante el

Imperio romano" in Acta Numismática 7 (1977) 103-114, which contains an extensive bibliography of works concerning the excavations that have taken place intermittently over the last half century.

181. Pomponius Mela, Chorographia, II 90: A.García y Bellido, La España del siglo primero de nuestra Era, (Madrid, 1977²) p.30.

182. Material recorded in J.de C. Serra Ráfols, Forma Conventus Tarraconensis I: Baetulo-Blanda, (Barcelona, 1928) p.60 : see also, A.del Castillo, "La Costa Brava en la Antigüedad en particular la zona entre Blanes y San Feliu de Guíxols. La villa romana de Tossa" in Ampurias 1 (1939) 186-287, p.233. Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona, Vías y poblamiento romanos en el territorio del Area Metropolitana de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1969) nos.3-4, p.73. For possible evidence of a port here, R.Pascual Guasch, "Cepos de ancla romanos recuperados frente a Blanes (Barcelona)" in Zephyrus 10 (1959) 176-180. For the excavations of 1972 in the core of the town which revealed a street with buildings either side and a sequence of occupation from the 2nd. century B.C. to the 1st. century A.D. see the Memoria of the Instituto de Arqueología y Prehistoria (University of Barcelona, 1972) p.13.

183. e.g. the discussion in CAB pp.91-3.

184. Tarradell, Les Ciutats romanes..., p.17:
Molas, op.cit., p.189 stating that this is to be
published in Cypsela 3 (forthcoming).
185. Pliny, Naturalis Historia, III 23: García y
Bellido, La España del siglo primero de nuestra Era,
p.132.
186. CIL II 4491: one should also note that found
in the parish church at a more recent date, possibly
dedicated to Tiberius: cf. Ampurias 24 (1962) p.289.
187. The description in CAB p.91 is prior to their
restoration.
188. CIL II 4487-9 to Apollo: 4491 to Isis: 4492 to
Minerva and 4493 to Salus: discussed by J.L.Cassani,
"Tres termas medicinales en la España romana" in
Cuadernos de Historia de España 10 (1948) 105-111,
especially pp.108-9.
189. CIL II 4956 and the discussion of this route
in note 175.
190. X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques..., nos.158-160,
pp.142-4.
191. Sites listed by CAB pp.91-3 and more recently
by A.de Montes de Pascual and L.Sala Sala, "Elementos

para la carta arqueológica del valle medio de la Riera de Caldas de Montbuy" in CAN VII (Zaragoza, 1962) pp.102-9. The local museum and the porticoes around the spa-pool house considerable quantities of unpublished material.

192. A.Tchernia, "Les amphores vinaires de Tarraconense et leur exportation au début de L'Empire" in AEA 44 (1971) 38-85: R.Pascual Guasch, "Las ánforas de la Layetania" in Méthodes classiques et méthodes formelles dans les études des amphores, (Rome, 1977) 47-96, esp. pp.48-9, 54-60 for this area, with a bibliography of his earlier works on this subject.

193. That mentioned above in note 184 and CIL II 6181.

194. J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Las termas romanas de Caldas de Malavella (Gerona)" in AEA 14 (1940-1) 304-315, p.307, although it is possible that the smaller 'pool' may have had a more utilitarian function. Other remains from the area of the town are described by M.Oliva, "Restos romanos del Museo: sección lapidaria" in MMAF 9-10 (1948-9) 74-88, esp. pp.84-6.

195. G.Arias, "Itinerarios romanos del Pirineo a Tarragona" in El Miliario Extravagante no.14 (1968) 399-403, p.401.

196. The name of the town is only recorded by Ptolemy II 6 68: Pliny, Naturalis Historia, III 23, refers to the Ceretani who are called Iuliani and Augustani. On the literary sources I have not been able to consult M.Delcor, "Livia, ancienne capitale de la Cerdagne, de l'Antiquité a l'occupation arabe d'après les témoignages littéraires" in Mélanges offerts à E.Griffe (Toulouse, 1972) p.171 et seq.

197. On the archaeological material the most reliable sources are J.Padró and A.Ma Ferrán, "Estado actual de la arqueología en el enclave de Llívia" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 865-874: M.Oliva Prat, "Troballes romanes a Llívia" in Cypsela 1 (1976) 136-140: J. Padró, A.Ma Ferrán and M.Cura, "Treballs arqueològics a Llívia" in Cypsela 2 (1978 ?) 233-246. The contributions to the second Col.loqui Internacional d'Arqueologia de Puigcerdà, held in July 1976, and published under the title of Els pobles pre-romans del Pirineu (Puigcerdà, 1978) are of some interest, particularly P.Campmajó and J.Padró, "Els Ceretans" ibid., pp.189-210.

198. e.g. Els Castells Catalans (ed. R.Dalmau) vol. IV (Barcelona, 1973) p.690, citing local authors: many of these assertions are based on hearsay.

199. Cf. Geografia de Catalunya (ed. L.Solé i Sabarís) vol.III (Barcelona, 1968) pp.36-44.

200. Tarradell, "Las ciudades romanas en el este de Hispania" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, I, p.293.
201. Tarradell does not propose a figure for Ilerda, but like Tortosa it best fits in his second category, presuming the course of the defences suggested is approximately correct.
202. It is described as municipium Ilerda by Pliny Naturalis Historia, III 24. For the coinage, F.Lara Peinado, Epigrafía romana de Lérida, (Lérida, 1973) pp.107-8.
203. The known inscriptions are collected in Lara, op.cit., pp.39-72.
204. F.Lara Peinado, Lérida romana, (Lérida, 1973) pp.107-8.
205. At least one inscription appears to have come from the defences: Lara, Epigrafía.., no.10 pp.52-3.
206. This was the Boters gate, recorded by A.Laborde, Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne vol.I (Paris, 1806) plate LXXI with a plan and an illustration of its form. Although A.Balil, "La defensa de Hispania en el Bajo Imperio" in Zephyrus 11 (1960) 179-197, pp.187-8, accepts it as late Roman, the externally polygonal form of the towers can only be

paralleled in the Castell Vell gate of Barcelona, which is not convincingly of this period: supra p.72 and infra p.361.

207. Lara, Lérida romana, p.116.

208. Ibid., pp.113-4.

209. Ibid., pp.115-6. However, his description of another supposed Roman cemetery in the middle of the city under the church of St.Joan sounds very improbable.

210. J.Colominas, "El poblado ibérico de Guissona" in Ampurias 3 (1941) 35-38.

211. Excavations by Dr.J.Guitart of the University of Barcelona: summaries in the Memoria of the Instituto de Arqueología y Prehistoria(1975) p.18, (1976) p.16, (1978) p.21. One might also note the inscription found in 1967, S.Mariner Bigorra and R.Pita Mercé, "Lápida funeraria de Sevula Prepusa a su hija Lesbia hallada en Guissona (Lérida)" in AEA 40 (1967) 60-68.

212. CIL II 4452-4: Lara, Epigraffa..., nos. 57,47 and 48 respectively.

213. CIL II 4452.

214. Lara, Lérida romana, p.36.

215. R.Pita Mercé, Lérida paleocristiana, (Lérida, 1973) pp.93-5.
216. Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes..., p.22.
217. J.Coromines, "La survivance du basque jusqu'au bas Moyen Age. Phénomènes de bilinguisme dans les Pyrénées centrales" in Estudis de Toponímia Catalana (Barcelona, 1965) vol.í, pp.93-151.
218. Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes..., p.23.
219. J.Pons, "Marcus Licinius Celtiber, d'Aeso" in Faventia 1/i (1979) 99-110, p.108: the inscriptions can be found in CIL II 4458-78, and Lara, Epigrafia..., nos.73-108.
220. The resistance of the Basques and their neighbours is well-known: for a slightly later period see M.Vigil and A.Barbero, "Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista: Cantabros y vascones desde fines del Imperio Romano hasta la invasión musulmana" in BRAH 156 (1965) 271-339. In the rural areas of northern Lleida one must therefore imagine a low level of Romanisation, similar to that of the Highland zone of Britannia, where some of the religious reliefs recorded by L.Diez Coronel y Montull, "El arte romano rústico del Valle de Arán y sus pervivencias medievales" in Ilerda 37 (1976) 161-204, would not be at all out of place.

221. No excavations have taken place in Isona:
traces of possible Roman or pre-Roman defences were
recorded by R.Pita Mercé, "Prospecciones arqueológicas
en Isona" in Ampurias 25 (1963) 219-224: idem,
Lêrida paleocristiana, p.96.

222. Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes..., p.38 and fig.3.

223. ibid., p.40.

224. ibid., fig.4 shows the relationship of the towns
to the regional groupings of comarques cf. my plan
fig.5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. H.Koethe, "Zur Geschichte Gallienus im dritten Viertel des 3. Jahrhunderts" in 32 Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission (1942-44; published in 1950) 199-224.

2. A.Balil Illana, "Las invasiones germánicas en Hispania durante la segunda mitad del siglo III de C." in Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval (1957-8) 49-91: idem, "Las invasiones germánicas en Hispania" in Cuadernos de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma 9 (1957) 97-143: idem, "Los trabajos de fortificación en las provincias del occidente romano después de la crisis del siglo III y su significación política, militar y social" in Actas del I Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1958) 281-284: idem, "Hispania en los años 260 a 300 de J.C." in Emerita 27 (1959) 269-295: idem, "De Marco Aurelio a Constantino. Una introducción a la España del Bajo Imperio" in Hispania 27 (1967) 245-341.

3. M.Tarradell, "Sobre las invasiones germánicas del siglo III de J.C. en la Península Ibérica" in Estudios Clásicos 3 (1955) 95-110: idem, "La crisis del siglo III en Hispania: unos aspectos fundamentales" in Actas del I Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1958) 263-275: idem, "Problemas cronológicos de las invasiones germánicas del siglo III" in CAN IV (Zaragoza, 1957) 231-239.

4. J.Ma Blázquez Martínez, Estructura económica y social de Hispania durante la Anarquía militar y el Bajo Imperio, (Madrid, 1964): idem, "La crisis del siglo III en Hispania y Mauritania Tingitana" in Hispania 28 (1968) 5-37.

5. The first specific association of the Barcelona defences and the raid came in the work of A.Bofarull y Brocá, notably his Historia Crítica de Cataluña, i, (Barcelona, 1876) p.120 et seq. This was followed by the influential Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.107. The first indication that this direct relationship need not have existed, and the situation was in fact far more complex comes in M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI (ed. A. Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.137: idem, Les ciutats romanes dels Països Catalans, (Barcelona, 1978) p.45, but no fuller discussion of the situation has yet been published.

6. This list of sources has been compiled from those cited in Balil, op.cit. (1957-8), pp.71-2 and note 64, and in Blázquez, op.cit. (1968), p.5. A further summary is also available in FHA VIII pp.47-8.

7. Tarradell, "Problemas cronológicos...", p.234.

8. For their martyrdom, P.Franchi dei Cavalieri, "Las Actas de San Fructuoso de Tarragona" in BAT 59 (1959) 3-70 (translated from the Italian edition in Note Agiografiche: Studi e Testi fasc.8 (Vatican City,

1935) 128-199), is the basic text.

9. Tarradell, "Problemas cronológicos...", p.234.

10. Tarradell, "La crisis del s.III...", p.273.

11. For the hoards, Balil in Cuadernos de la Escuela Española en Roma, pp.125-131 and 141-3.

12. For this hoard in particular, F.Mateu y Llopis, "El hallazgo de denarios romanos de Altafulla" in BAT 50 (1950) 53-8: J.Sánchez Real, "La invasión germánica del 259" in BAT 51 (1951) 129-131: idem, "Las invasiones germánicas" in BAT 57 (1957) 6-12.

13. Although the ideas of Sánchez Real are sometimes rather far-fetched, especially his proposition of three attacks on Tarragona, in the last of the above articles he does note the existence of an otherwise forgotten hoard, described in the first place in A.del Arco and B.Hernandez Sanahuja, Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1894) p.320. It is not always possible to re-establish the coins that formed part of these hoards among those now in this museum. For recent studies of its numismatic contents, J-C.Richard, "Monedas de la Galia y Romano-republicanas del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona" in Acta Numismática 7 (1977) 71-88, and more significantly in this context, J.Hiernard,

"Monedas del siglo III en el Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Tarragona" in Acta Numismática 8 (1978) 97-133, and idem, "Monedas del siglo III descubiertas en las excavaciones antiguas" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona I (1979) 83-90.

14. Balil in Cuadernos de la Escuela Española en Roma, pp.141-2.

15. For social conditions in Spain in the 3rd. century and later, apart from the works cited in notes 2 and 4, see G.Lachicha, "La estructura económica de Hispania en el Bajo Imperio" in Zephyrus 12 (1961) 55-169: A.Balil, "Aspectos sociales del Bajo Imperio" in Latomus 24 (1965) 886-904: idem and J.ª Blázquez in Historia económica y social de España vol.I (Madrid, 1973).

For the decline of towns in this area in general, Tarradell, Les ciutats romanes..., pp.43-8. For rural life and the disappearance of villas, idem, "Población y propiedad rural en el este peninsular durante el Bajo Imperio" in Actas del III Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1968) vol.II pp.164-9. A.Balil, "El poblamiento rural en el 'conventus Tarraconensis'" in Celticum 9 (1963) 217-228. A.Arribas, "La arqueología romana en Cataluña" in Problemas de la Prehistoria y de la Arqueología Catalanas (ed. J.Maluquer de Motes: Barcelona, 1963) pp.187-208, especially p.205.

16. Nevertheless, there is no definite evidence for ~~Baca~~audae in this part of the province.
17. Balil, op.cit., (1957-8), p.78. In general on the 'destruction' of the city, M.Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones, (Barcelona, 1951²) pp.49-52: E.Ripoll Perelló, Ampurias: descripción de las ruinas y Museo Monográfico, (Barcelona, 1973³) p.17.
18. For the stratigraphy, M.Almagro and N.Lamboglia, "La estratigrafía del decumano A de Ampurias" in Ampurias 21 (1959) 1-28, esp. pp.3-6, might be added to the comments of Balil, op.cit.(1957-8), p.78. Few coins from the excavation have been published in their archaeological contexts: for an overall view of the coins from the excavations of the Roman city, E.Ripoll, J.Ma Nuix and L.Villaronga, "Circulación monetaria en Emporion" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona I (1979) 45-56, pointing out the absence of coins between 275 and 330 and the presence of only 5 (1.3%) for the rest of the 4th. century.
19. Balil, op.cit. (1957-8), p.78. For a more recently excavated cemetery with indications of continued use in this period, M.Almagro, "Nuevas tumbas halladas en la necrópolis de Ampurias" in Ampurias 24 (1962) 225-238, esp. p.234.
- 19 bis. J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Les excavacions en Empúries: estudi de la topografia" in AIEC 2 (1908) 150-194,

attributed the use of the 'Neapolis' as a cemetery to the 3rd. century, stating that the decline of the city was a result of the invasions, changing trade-routes and the disappearance of the harbour (pp.192-4). It is argued below (p.275) that this cemetery came into use at a later date, and that the traditional burial habits were not much modified in the 4th. century. Finds of 'Terra Sigillata Grise' in the 'Neapolis' indicate that some degree of settlement continued: first noted by M^cCazurro, "Terra Sigillata; los vasos aretinos y sus imitaciones galo-romanas en Ampurias" in AIEC 3 (1909-10) 296-360, pp.349-351.

20. For the early Christian aspects, infra pp.274-8.

21. Tarradell, Las Ciutats romanes..., p.47.

22. For the defences in general see the references in note 92 of chapter V. For re-used material, L.Pericot (ed.), La labor de la Comisión Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona durante los años 1942-1948 (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, 27; Madrid, 1952) pp.157-8.

23. For this pottery, J.M^a Nolla Brufau and F.J. Nieto Prieto, "Acerca de la cronología de la muralla romana tardía de Gerunda: la terra sigillata clara de 'Casa Pastors'" in Faventia 1/ii (1979) 269-283.

24. Balil, Cuadernos de la Escuela Española.... en Roma, p.133. M.Ribas i Bertran, Els orígens de Mataró, (Mataró, 1964) p.93.
25. For this cemetery note 126 of chapter V. For the later burials within the walls, infra, Chapter VIII note 199.
26. F.Gusi Jener, "La topografía urbanística de Iluro" in Miscel.lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i el Maresme I (1976) 35-9, p.38, is of this opinion, but detailed analysis of the 'terra sigillata clara' from the various excavations is necessary before any firm conclusions can be drawn. A cursory examination of the published material suggests that 3rd. and 4th. century wares are comparatively infrequent.
27. For the bibliography, supra note 128 of chapter V. For the late Roman phase, infra p. 292 and note 201 to chapter VIII. For the coin series, C.Martí i García and J.Bonamusa i Roure, "La numismàtica de la vil·la romana d'Iluro de Torre Llauder (Mataró)" in Miscel.lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i el Maresme I (1976) 87-116.
28. J.Guitart Durán, Baetulo: topografía arqueològica, urbanismo e historia, (Badalona, 1976) p.245 and note 16.
29. Ibid., pp.36-9 (= CIL II 4606-8).
30. Ibid., pp.127-8.

31. For these burials J.Ma Cuyás Tolosa in VIII re-
unión de la Camisaria Provincial de Excavaciones
Arqueológicas de la Provincia de Barcelona (=Informes
y Memorias de CGEA, 32: ed.J.de C.Serra Ráfols:
Madrid, 1956) pp.56-58.
32. For Sentromà, J.Guitart Durán, "Excavación en
la zona sudeste de la villa romana de Sentromà (Tiana)" in
Pyrenae 6 (1970) 111-165* for the material from
Llefià, CAB p.48 & Guitart, Baetulo..., p.169,
and infra, note 210 to chapter VIII for fragments of
an early Christian sarcophagus.
33. Dr.Guitart has kindly informed me about other
rural sites in the Badalona area. Details of some
can be found in J.Ma Cuyas Tolosa, Història de Bada-
lona vol.III, (Badalona, 1977) pp.315-350, and the
University of Barcelona is conducting further research
on the area.
34. Bibliography in note 8 of chapter V. The
material on display in Sabadell Museum suggests
that late Roman occupation was less intensive.
35. P.Bosch-Gimpera and J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Scavi
a Sant Cugat del Vallès (Catalogna): del Castrum
romano al monasterio attuale" in Rendiconti della
Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia 37 (1964-5)
307-323, especially p.310.

36. J.de C. Serra Ráfols and E.de Fortuny, Excavaciones en Santa María de Egara, Tarrasa (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, 18: Madrid, 1949) p.51, date some burials under the 5th. century baptistery to the early 4th. century at the latest, which might indicate that the town had entered a period of decay by that date, but the evidence is so scanty and our knowledge of the disposition of the town so small, that no real conclusions can be drawn.
37. Balil, Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval (1957-8) p.81. No new material has been recorded from the Sitges area, in spite of its growth. E. Ripoll Perelló, El problema de la Sitges romana, (Sitges, 1963) provides a summary of knowledge. The discovery of a late Roman sarcophagus and other burials indicate the continued existence of a community: for these see A.Ferrer Soler, "El sarcófago romano de Sitges" in Ampurias 7-8 (1945-6) 366-8: idem, "Hallazgo de una necrópolis romana en el Santuario del Vinyet en Sitges" in Ampurias 12 (1951) 191-5.
38. For the subsequent excavations at Aderró, A.Arribas, "El poblado ibérico y la villa romana de Adarró (Villanueva y Geltrú)" in Ampurias 21 (1959) 323-9: A.Ferrer, "El poblado Iberó-romà de Darró, de nou al descobert" in Inf.Arq. no.26 (1978) 24-8. For late Roman pottery. J.W.Hayes, Late Roman Pottery (London, 1972) p.433.

38 bis. The evidence that Balil presented in 1957-8 (p.81) for the destruction of this villa was so slight as to be risible, consisting of one sherd of Southern Gaulish Samian, and the absence of any later material: cf. A.Balil, "La 'villa' romana de El Vilarenc (Calafell)" in Boletín della Biblioteca-Museo Balaguer 1 (1953) 12-20. Subsequent excavations appear to indicate that there was indeed a change in circumstances in the 3rd. century: M.Berges, "Noticiario" in BAT 69-70 (1969-70) 130-133.

39. For this point, P.Giró Romeu, "La villa romana del 'Casalot d'Espuny' en el Penedés" in Ampurias 21 (1959) 307-310, p.310: "...las explotaciones agrícolas romanas dedicadas principalmente al cultivo de la vid y el olivo en esta parte del Penedés alcanzaron su maximo desarrollo durante los siglos IV y V". For a sherd of late Roman pottery from this villa, E.Sanmartí Greco, "Fragmento de cerámica estampada del Museo de Vilafranca del Penedés" in Ampurias 30 (1968) 249-251: for a late inscription from another site, J.Vives, "La lápida opistógrafa de Sant Pere de Molanta" in Ampurias 22-3 (1960-1) 314-7. It is difficult to correlate this evidence with that of coins: N.Rafel, "Contribució a l'estudi de la circulació monetària a la comarca del Penedès" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona II (Barcelona, 1980) 15-20.

40. Supra note 12.

41. J.Sánchez Real, Los restos romanos de 'Els

Munts' Altafulla, Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1971) describing excavations of the early 1950's. For more recent work, M.Berges, "Informe sobre 'Els Munts'" BAT 69-70 (1969-70) 140-150: idem, "Las ruinas de 'Els Munts' (Altafulla, Tarragona)" in Inf.Arq. no.3 (1970) 81-7: idem, "Ruinas de 'Els Munts' Altafulla (Tarragona) 1973" in NAH Arqueologia 5 (1977) 37-42.

42. Berges, op.cit., (1969-70), p.142.

43. Berges, op.cit., (1970). p.87.

44. Discussed by Sánchez Real, "Las invasiones germánicas" in BAT 57 (1957) 6-12, p.10. Published by J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en Tarragona (= MJSEA 116; Madrid, 1932) p.59 and re-examined by A.Balil, "La política monetaria de la dinastía constantiniana y su reflejo en Hispania" in Príncipe de Viana 32 (1971) 27-34. Another hoard of this period came from the early Christian cemetery (MJSEA 111 p. 15) and a third from Barcelona: F.Mateu y Llopis, "Evocación del Imperio Constantino: en torno del hallazgo de pequeños bronce en las excavaciones arqueológicas de la Plaza de San Miguel de Barcelona" Miscellanea Barcinonensis Year IX no.26 (1970) 59-70. Other fourth century hoards are known from Galicia: F.Fariña Busto, "Tres tesorillos del siglo IV procedentes de la Provincia de Pontevedra" in BSAA 38 (1972) 249-266.

45. P.de Palol Salellas, Arqueología cristiana de la España romana, siglos IV al VI, (Madrid-Valladolid, 1967) p.116 et seq., has an extensive bibliography plus a summary and plans of the excavations by the German Archaeological Institute in Madrid, for which see: Th.Hauschild and H.Schlunk, "Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen in Centcelles" in MM 2 (1961) 119-182 (= Informe preliminar sobre los trabajos realizados en Centcelles (=Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 18: Madrid, 1962): H.G.NieCmeyer and Ch.Rüger, "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in Centcelles, 2: Die Keramik der Grabungen, 1959-61" in MM 3 (1962) 101-18: H.Schlunk, "Sucinto informe sobre las excavaciones de Centcelles" in NAH 7 (1963) 181-3: idem, "Sucinto informe sobre las excavaciones en Centcelles" in NAH 8-9 (1964-5) 166-8: Th.Hauschild, "Sucinto informe de las excavaciones en Centcelles" in NAH 8-9 (1964-5) 169-171: idem, "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in Centcelles 3: Zum Grundriss des spätantiken Baus" in MM 6 (1965) 127-138: Ch.Rüger, "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in Centcelles, 4" in MM 10 (1969) 251-275. Finally two articles in the Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana (Vatican City-Barcelona, 1972) 1, 459-476 and 1, 333-338, by Schlunk and Hauschild respectively.

45 bis. Balil, op.cit. (1957-8) p.81. The early Christian cemetery is considered infra pp. 264-7.

46. Ibid. On the one hand, finds of such coins are too numerous to be attributed solely to such activities,

while on the other, the coin list continues into the 4th. century. Only where there were no burials is it possible to separate those clearly associated with occupation from those associated with the cemetery. The coins of this site have been re-examined by L. Avellà, "Las monedas de la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona II (Barcelona, 1980) 52-76.

46 bis. Ma D. del Amo, Estudio crítico de la necrópolis paleocristiana de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1979) pp 41-44.

47. This phenomenon is discussed in detail in chapter VIII, infra pp. 256-260.

48. This is suggested by the hoard from the site (cf. note 44) and the general coin sequence: infra p. 257.

49. This might be supplemented by a hoard from Reus: A. del Arco and B. Hernandez Sanahuja, Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1894) p. 326, and also the evidence from the site at Calafell if the supposed destruction can be substantiated (supra note 38 bis). Balil, op.cit. (1957-8) p. 81 suggests an interruption of occupation of the site at Pórrporas also in the Tarragona area on the basis of the coin lists, but this is far more doubtful until more precise archaeological evidence is presented.

50. Jeroni Pau, Barcino (= Història de Barcelona fins al segle XV: (edited by J.M. Casas Homs: Barcelona, 1957) p.20. J.Pujades, Crònica universal del Principado de Cataluña, (Castilian version, Barcelona, 1829-31: originally published in Catalan, Barcelona, 1603) vol.III, book IV, p.129.
51. For the historiography of the walls, A.Balil, Las Murallas romanas de Barcelona, (Madrid, 1961) pp.19-33.
52. Especially in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.107 and most subsequent writers until 1970.
53. J.O.Granados García, "Notas para el estudio topográfico de la colonia Barcino en el siglo I: la primera muralla de la ciudad" in Symposion de Ciudades augusteas, II (Zaragoza, 1976) 215-223, and supra p. 69.
54. A.Balil, Las Murallas romanas de Barcelona. For work published since this monograph was written, the bibliography is extensive, although largely consisting of brief notes and reports on work in progress: J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Las excavaciones en la muralla romana de la Calle de la Tapinería de Barcelona" in Zephyrus 10 (1959) 129-141: idem, "Notas sobre el sector nordeste de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 5 (1964) 5-64: idem, "Excavaciones en la muralla romana de Barcelona" in NAH 8-9 (1964-5) 162-165: idem, "Sobre los últimos hallazgos epigráficos

en Barcelona" in CAHC 7 (1965) 9-30: idem, "Recintes murats a la regió central de Catalunya" in Arquitectura megalítica y ciclópea catalano-balear (Barcelona, 1965) 111-122: idem, "Balanç i estat actual de l'estudi de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 129-148.

A.Duran i Sanpere, "La torre poligonal (no.6) de la muralla romana" in CAHC 13 (1969) 51-67. A.Ma Adroer, "Ceràmica trobada a la torre poligonal de la muralla romana" in CAHC 13 (1969) 67-79: idem, "Crònica del Museo" in CAHC 8 (1965) p.146: idem et al., "Las campañas arqueológicas municipales XXIV y XXV del Museo de Historia de Barcelona" in CAN IX (Zaragoza, 1966) 320-5: F-P.Verrió, et al., "Actividades arqueológicas del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad en los últimos cinco años (1966-70)" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 769-786. F.Udina Martorell, "Campana de las excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo por el Museo de Historia de La Ciudad de Barcelona en 1961-2" in CAHC 11 (1967) 5-30. J.Ma Garrut, in CAHC 4 (1963) p.139, 6(1964) pp.126-7, and 130-2, 13 (1969) p.114, 15 (1973) pp.138-141, chronicling the work of the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad, sometimes otherwise unpublished. These works cover the period between 1960 and 1970 and are especially important for the period after 1965 when the excavations of Serra Rafols ceased.

For the early stages of Serra Rafols' work, two summaries in English are lively, although not always

accurate: A.H.Weiss, "Roman walls of Barcelona" in American Journal of Archaeology (1960) 189: idem, "The Roman Walls of Barcelona" in Archaeology 14 (1961) 188-197.

For work in the 1970's there is far less published information. This is largely the result of work being at a lower level of intensity and concentrated on features other than the defences. The main excavation has been in and around tower 78 for which see: J.Sol, "Memoria de los trabajos realizados en la zona B de la Plaza de San Miguel y en la muralla romana de Barcelona, 1973" in NAH Arqueologia 5 (1977) 79-88: J.O.Granados, "Estudios de arqueología romana barcelonesa: la puerta decumana o del noroeste" in Pyrenae 12 (1976) 157-171: idem, "La XXXV campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas municipales realizadas por el Museo de Historia de La Ciudad" in Inf.Arg. no.24 (1977) 169-172. A further article on these excavations is forthcoming in Pyrenae 13, by Granados, I. Rodà and myself.

55. Balil, Las Murallas..., pp.63-80 for the description of the structure. Although tower 6 is usually described as 'polygonal', the base was circular and the surviving remains of the upper part fragmentary.

56. For the western provinces, R.M.Butler, "Late Roman Town-walls in Gaul" in Archaeological Journal 116 (1959) 25-50; H. von Petrikovits, "Fortifications in the north-western Roman Empire from the third to

- fifth centuries A.D." in JRS 61 (1971) 178-218:
- J.S.Johnson, "A group of late Roman city walls in Gallia Belgica" in Britannia 4 (1973) 210-223:
- M.Todd, The Walls of Rome, (London, 1978) pp.69-83.
57. e.g. Weiss, op.cit., p.188.
58. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.131: idem, "La cronología de las fortificaciones de Barcino en el Bajo Imperio" in CAN IV (Zaragoza, 1957) p.225. For a broadly similar date for the Girona defences see the article cited in note 23. Although other defensive structures are known in the conventus, none are directly dated: see note 186 of chapter IV.
59. I.A.Richmond, "Five town walls in Hispania Citerior" in JRS 21 (1931) 86-100, p.100.
60. F-P.Verrié et al., in CAN XII, p.773 and fig.4.
61. He does not appear to have expressed this idea in print, but it is reported by J.M^a Navascués, "Los epitafios hispano-romanos de Antonia Festa y de Clodia Lupa" in Klio 38 (1960) 185-206, p.204. The coin is MHC Inv.no.3436. Soon afterwards, he proposed a date of between 270 and 280: J.de C. Serra Rafols, "Sobre els orígens de Barcelona" in Miscel.lània Fontseré (Barcelona,1961) 377-388, p.382.

62. A.Ma Adroer in CAHC 13 (1969) (see note 54) on the pottery from tower 6 is the only article to date concerning the pottery from the excavation of the defences: however, the fragments found either within, or sealed by, the walls are usually few in number, small in size and widely varying in date.

62 bis. Granados, "...La puerta decumana..." in Pyrenae 12 (1976) especially pp.167-9: idem, in NAH (Arqueologia) 9 (1980) 423-445.

63. F.Fita, "Lápidas romanas recién halladas en Barcelona" in Revista Histórica Latina 3 (1876) 129-135, especially p.129.

64. Pallarés, (1969), p.13, for example, accepts this as valid.

65. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.130, citing the original coin list from the site published by F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (III)" in Ampurias 6 (1944) pp.226-7. For the circulation of Roman coinage in Barcelona see now M.Campo and J.O.Granados, "Aproximación a la circulación monetaria en la colonia Barcino" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona I (Barcelona, 1979) 57-70, and their article in Numisma 27 (forthcoming). They conclude that the high percentage of coins from the period 260-294 is an eloquent indication of the lack of any destruction in these years.

66. Pallarés, (1969), pp.13-14.
67. Ma R.Puig Ochoa, Estudio de la 'T.S.Clara' procedente de las excavaciones de la Plaza de San Miguel de Barcelona, (Unpublished 'tesina de licenciatura', University of Barcelona, 1969) is the pottery report on the late Roman fine wares from the first season: I have used the copy in the Library of the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad.
68. Pallarés (1969), p.14.
69. Puig Ochoa, op.cit., p.150.
70. Ibid., nos. 20,24,26,34-5 are T.S.'A': nos. 98-9,114 and 154-5 are classified as T.S.'D'.
71. This holds true whether the chronology of N. Lamboglia, "Nuovi osservazioni sulla 'terra sigillata chiara'" in RSL 24 (1958) 257-330, 291(1963) 145-212 or that of J.W.Hayes, Late Roman Pottery (London, 1972) is followed.
72. Puig Ochoa, op.cit., only records one sherd, no.41.
73. Ibid., p.71. Pallarés (1969) p.13.
74. For the hoard, see the article of Mateu cited in note 44.

75. Supra pp.85-8 for the chronology: infra pp. 176-9 for the analysis of the structures.
76. infra p.180.
77. Pallarés (1969) p.40.
78. infra p.212.
79. IRB nos. 24-7.
80. CIL II 4620-1, to the wife of Gordian III and to Philip the Arab.
81. Supra note 29. Tarragona has also produced inscriptions of Aurelian, Probus, Carus and Carinus: see G.Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, (Berlin, 1975) nos.87-90, and one might also note the inscriptions to Numerianus of 283 (CIL II 4452) from Guissona, and to Maximian from Prats del Rei (chap. V, note 160) as indicating a wave of Imperial activity in the 280's
82. E.A.Thompson, The Early Germans, (Oxford, 1965) p.131.
83. Duran, BSH, p.57, suggests this possibility.
84. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (XIII)" in Numario Hispánico 4 (1955) 319-320.

84 bis. For fragments of a polychrome mosaic from tower 26, X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laietana, (Barcelona, 1978) p.27.

85. e.g. those buried by silt in the Plaça de la Vila de Madrid, for which see the bibliography cited in chapter IV note 139.

86. IRB, index on pages 245-6. Those pieces obviously not from the walls, but for some reason listed as such (e.g. those from the Plaça del Rei) have been ignored in these calculations.

87. IRB nos.39,42,44,56-7,65,69,73-6,78-80,120-125,128,130-134,136-138,140-141,146,150-151,153-154,157-158,164,167,170-173,175-178,180,183,185,186,189,194-197,201-202,206,208,210-211,217,219,226-227,231.

88. IRB nos.2,14,66,114,222,235-236,238,242,244,246-250,252-253,255-256,258-259,261-263. The first four are of uncertain category, the remainder are too fragmentary. To these should be added nos.46,103 and 220, perhaps from the defences, but not clearly so. The first and last of these are funerary, the second is a statue plinth.

89. IRB no.270. J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Un nuevo miliario barcelonés" in CAHC 6 (1964) 93-100, for this piece.

90. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.100.

91. Richmond, "Five town-walls...", p.97 considered that it was funerary.

92. Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica 4-5 (1953-4) no. 551, implied that it came from the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona. Duran, BSH p.46 and p.95 does not state that it was found in the walls, although Balil, Las Murallas..., p.102, believed that it was.

93. Both Mariner in IRB and Balil in Las Murallas..., p.136, state that such a provenance is possible rather than definite.

94. Mariner p.215 states that the provenance is, in fact, unknown, and only possibly the defences.

95. Based on the index of IRB pp. 245-6.

96. IRB.nos.20,23,27-28,30,43,59,62-64,67,70,77,86, 95,98,100,102,105-106,109,111,113,116,127,162,179, 192, and add.2.

97. IRB nos.241,243,245,257,265.

98. IRB nos.1 and 11.

99. IRB nos.223 and possibly 104.

100. Based on the index of IRB pp.245-7.
101. IRB. nos.15,22,24-25,29,35-37,40,48-49,55,61,84-85,93-94,96,101,103,112.
102. IRB nos.88,90-91,97,117,143. Most of these are almost certainly honorific.
103. IRB nos.46,122,169: the first two may have been from the defences.
104. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Sobre los últimos hallazgos epigráficos en Barcelona" CAHC 7 (1965) 9-30, esp.pp.16-19, came to similar conclusions, although he believed that the forum was probably used as a quarry from the fourth century onwards. It is surprising that this important point of view has not found its way into the subsequent literature.
105. A.Balil, Las Murallas..., pp.82-97 for this material.
106. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Notas sobre el sector nordeste de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 5 (1964) 5-64, pp.7-13 is the most detailed account.
107. Ibid., p.15: Balil, Las Murallas..., p.92 and note 25: Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.154 where he accepts Serra Ràfols' opinion.

108. A. Durán i Sanpere, "La torre poligonal (no.6) de la muralla romana" in CAHC 13 (1969) 51-67 (cf. Durán, BSH, pp. 48-52) is the most extensive account. In spite of the date of publication, the work was carried out in the early 1950's. The core of the tower was apparently left untouched.
109. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.90.
110. Serra Ráfols, "Notas..." p.20: A. Balil, "Materiales para un 'corpus' de esculturas romanas del Conventus Tarraconensis" in AEA 34 (1961) 177-188, pp.178-180: Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.136.
111. Serra Ráfols, "Notas...", p.20.
112. Ibid., p.26.
113. J. Ma Garrut in CAHC 6 (1964) pp.130-2: A. Ma Adroer et al., in CAN IX p.325. J. de C. Serra Ráfols, "Excavaciones en la muralla romana de Barcelona" in NAH 8-9 (1964-5) 162-5: idem, in CAHC 7 (1965) pp.9-13.
114. First reported by J. de C. Serra Ráfols, "Las excavaciones de la muralla romana de la Calle de la Tapinería de Barcelona" in Zephyrus 10 (1959) 129-141, p.138, with these attributions, initially accepted by other writers, e.g. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.134. Criticism by A. Balil, "Retratos romanos hallados en

Barcelona" in Goya no.46 (1962) 269-273: idem, Colonia IAPFB, pp.131-5 and by H.Jucker, "Retratos romanos procedentes de las murallas de Barcelona" in CAHC 4 (1963) 7-60, esp. pp.40-60: also by A.García y Bellido, "Retratos romanos hallados en las murallas de Barcelona " in AEA 38 (1965) 55-74 and a reply by J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "La filiació de los retratos romanos procedentes de las murallas" in CAHC 8 (1965) 5-46, maintaining the Imperial attributions. They are still exhibited as such.

115. Serra Ràfols, "Notas...", pp.31-2.

116. Ibid. p.33.

117. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Balanz i estat de l'estudi de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 129-148, p.138. Garrut, in CAHC 6 (1964) pp.126-7.

It is not clear from the published information whether they are a structural feature of the foundations, or part of a pre-existing structure. No other tower has been found with such an arrangement, and the amphorae themselves may be of an earlier type.

118. Serra Ràfols, "Notas...", pp.46-7. F.Udina Martorell, "Campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo por el Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona en 1961-2" in CAHC 11 (1967) 5-30, pp.7-13.

119. Serra Ráfols, "Notas...", p.48: see now A.Balil "Esculturas romanas de la Península Ibérica (II)" in BSAA 44 (1978) 349-374, nos.27-9, pp.368-70.
120. Serra Ráfols, "Notas...", pp.50-54.
121. Ibid. p.54.
122. J.Ma Garrut in CAHC 6 (1964) 130-2, 13 (1969) 114, 15 (1973) 138: Verrié et al., in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) p.770: Serra Ráfols in NAH 8-9 (1964-5) 162-5: idem in CAHC 7 (1965) 9-30: Adroer et al. in CAN IX (Zaragoza, 1966) p.325: Adreer in CAHC 8 (1965) 146.
123. Garrut in CAHC 15 (1973) p.141: Verrié et al. in CAN XII p.774 and 777. For the mosaic, see note 84 bis.
124. Garrut in CAHC 15 (1973) pp.138-9: Verrié et al. in CAN XII p.772. The defences between towers 26 and 33 are largely untouched.
125. Balil, Las Murallas..., suggests that they came from the walls, although the earliest account (see note 63, Fita p.129) expressly states that they were twenty paces from the walls.
126. B.Hernandez Sanahuja, Bisertación histórico-monumental de Barcelona (Ms. in the Archivo Archidocesano de Tarragona) pl.IX.

127. J.O.Granados, and E.Manera, "Notas de arqueología barcelonesa: retrato de un joven romano, aparecido en la torre 78 o del Arzobispado, de la muralla romana" in Pyrenae 11 (1975) 179-182.
128. A.Arribas and G.Trías, "Dos retratos romanos hallados en la calle de Baños Nuevos" in CAHC 5 (1964) 65-82.
129. Balil, Las Murallas..., p.93.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. For example, see the comments of P.Linehan, The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century, (Cambridge, 1971) p.1.
2. A discussion of this point in F.Udina Martorell, "Consideraciones acerca de los inicios del medioevo hispánico y la alta Reconquista" in Hispania 43 (1960) 211-234.
3. The latter point has long been realized, and has perhaps been over-emphasized, for one doubts whether contemporaries would have seen the state of affairs in this light. In addition, undue importance has been given to the rôle of the defences, which I would contend were not a decisive factor in the relative significance of Barcelona and Tarragona until the very end of the Visigothic period: in contrast the views of J. de C. Serra Ràfols, "Sobre els orígens de Barcelona" in Miscel.lània Fontseré (Barcelona, 1961) 377-388: idem, "Los orígenes de la Ciudad" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year II no.5 (1963) 23-38: idem, "Los orígenes de una ciudad" in CAN VIII (Zaragoza, 1964) 427-447, who considered that the defences were the primary factor in the city's later development.
4. F.Pallarés, "Las excavaciones de la Plaza de San Miguel y la topografía romana de Barcino" in CAHC 13

(1969) 5-42, henceforth referred to as Pallarés (1969).

5. Supra pp.67-68.

6. The complete transformation of the plan of the city after the construction of the late Roman defences was an idea defended by Duran in most of his works. For the supposed alteration of the position of the forum, A.Durán y Sanpere, Noticia y guía de las excavaciones de la Calle de los Condes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1954¹, 1957³: reprinted in Catalan in Duran, BSH, pp.86-96, the version here cited): defended by J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Sobre los últimos hallazgos epigráficos en Barcelona" in CAHC 7 (1965) 9-30, p.18, and in the guide-book of the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad, F.Udina Martorell, Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad), (Barcelona, 1969³) p.34. The most constant objections to this interpretation have come from A.Balil, e.g. "Las excavaciones de la Barcelona tardorromana en la calle de los Condes de Barcelona" in Zephyrus 5 (1954) 217-9: idem, Colonia IAPFB, pp.93-4: idem, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua ,III" in BSAA 38 (1972) 55-131, pp.113-5 for the fullest argument against this view.

7. e.g. J.A.Ceán Bermúdez, Sumario de las antigüedades romanas que hay en España, (Madrid, 1832) p.15: E. Flórez, España Sagrada, (Madrid, 1859²) vol. XXIX p.18. A. Bofarull y Brocá, Guía-Cicerone de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1855²) p.22, which all refer to the

the existence of large drains which were considered to be of Roman origin, but which were in fact the medieval canalization of the Merdança and Rambles streams. Even though these views were rejected by the early 20th. century, the exact extent of the early Imperial city was not defined until 1969.

8. Supra pp.68-71.

9. Supra pp.85-88.

10. A.Durán y Sanpere, "Vestigios de la Barcelona romana en la Plaza del Rey" in Ampurias 5 (1943) 53-77, p.63. Henceforth, Durán, "Vestigios...".

11. A.Balil, "Arquitectura doméstica en la Barcelona romana" in Oretania 3 (1959) 125-133, p.127: idem, "Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua, III." in BSAA 38 (1972) 55-131, p.116: henceforth Balil (1959) and (1972).

12. Balil, (1959) p.127.

13. Balil considered that there was probably a connection between the two series of rooms: more recent work related to the exhibition of these remains suggests that the wall was continuous.

14.. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.63: Balil, (1959) p.129: Balil, (1972) p.117.

15. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.65.
16. Balil, (1959) p.129: Balil, (1972) p.117.
17. X.Barral i Altet, "Un pavement en 'opus sectile' de Barcelone" in Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1973) 59-64: idem, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laetana, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.63-5, with full earlier bibliography. Balil dated it to the 2nd. century.
18. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.65: Balil, (1959) p.129: Balil, (1972) p.117.
19. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.65.
20. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, and A.Ma Adroer, "Sondeos arqueológicos en las calles del Veguer, dels Brocaters, y Baixada de Santa Eulàlia" in CAHC 11 (1967) 31-49, especially pp.31-4.
21. Durán, "Vestigios...", pp.69-73: Balil, (1959) p.131: Balil, (1972) p.123. The re-excavation of this area remains unpublished apart from the following brief notes: J.M^e Garrut, "Notas para la crónica del Museo" in CAHC 1 (1960) pp.144-5: idem, in CAHC 2 (1961) p.169. A.Duran i Sanpere, "Una llinatge romà a Barcelona" in Serra d'Or (2nd. series) Year II no.6 (1960) pp.23-4: J.de C. Serra Ràfols, "Dues

representacions de Bacus o Dionysos trobades a Barcelona" in A Pedro Bosch-Gimpera, en el septuagésimo aniversario de su nacimiento (Mexico City, 1963) pp.403-410: F.Udina Martorell, "Informe acerca del desarrollo de las excavaciones arqueológicas llevados a cabo por el Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona, durante el año 1961, de acuerdo con la autorización de la Dirección General de Bellas Artes" in NAH 6 (1962) pp.296-8: idem, "Campaña de las excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo por el Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona en 1961-2" in CAHC 11 (1967) 5-30, pp.13-4. No plan of the work carried out in 1960-1 has been published apart from the very simplified one in the MHC guide book: one must largely rely on the 1943 plan, which covers only part of the area and the photograph of the site (fig. 85-6).

22. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.71: Balil, (1959) p.131: Balil, (1972) p.123.

23. The coin finds from this area and the Casa Padellás were mainly of late Roman date, and contained issues up to the end of the Roman period: F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (III)" in Ampurias 6 (1944) 215-237, pp.226-7. In the more recent excavations they were exclusively of the 3rd. and 4th. centuries, although the absence of information concerning the stratigraphical location makes it dif-

ficult to interpret this evidence: for these coins, M.Tintó Sala, "El monetario del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona" in Numisma 26 (1976) 117-128.

24. This site remains virtually unpublished: see Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.114: F.Udina, Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad), (Barcelona, 1969³) p.42.

25. Supra pp.89-90.

26. Tintó, op.cit., p.122: F./Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (XIII)" Numario Hispánico 4 (1955) p.318.

27. The bibliography on this site is extense: the first work took place in 1928, and is mentioned by Durán, "Vestigios...", p.54 as a site in C/Templars, and idem, BSH, p.30. Further work took place in 1961 during the construction of the extension to the Town Hall, for which see, Udina, op.cit. (in note 21, of 1962), pp.297-8 and idem, op.cit. (in note 21 of 1967), pp.24-30: for sculpture finds from the site, Serra Ràfols, "Dues representacions..." and idem, "Sobre un hallazgo y una publicación recientes" in CAHC 6 (1964) 37-58, esp.p.45-58.

The more recent excavations are published as follows: Pallarés (1969) passim: F-P.Verrié et al., "Actividades arqueológicas del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad en los últimos cinco años (1966-70)" in

CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 769-786, esp. p.773 and 782-6: J.O.Granados, E.Manera and J.Sol, "Notas sobre Barcelona: sector B de la plaza de San Miguel" in CAN XIV (Zaragoza, 1977) 1105-1112: J.Sol, in Miscellanea Barcinonensia year XI no.28 (1971) p.165: idem, "Memoria de los trabajos realizados en la zona B de la Plaza de San Miguel y en la muralla romana de Barcelona, 1973" in NAH Arqueologia 5 (1977) 81-7: Anon., "Descubrimiento de un pavimento romano del siglo II en la plaza de San Miguel en Barcelona" in Inf.Arg. no.17 (1975) 145: J.O.Granados, "La XXXV campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas municipales realizadas por el Museo de Historia de la Ciudad" in Inf.Arg. no.24 (1977) 169-172.

For brief notes on each season's work, J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) 138-140 and 16 (1975) 159-161.

For the Terra Sigillata Clara from the first season, Ma R.Puig Ochoa, Estudio de la 'Terra Sigillata Clara' procedente de las excavaciones de la Plaza de San Miguel de Barcelona, (Unpublished 'Tesina', University of Barcelona, 1969): idem, "Fragmentos de una bandeja cuadrada de sigillata clara, hallados recientemente en Barcelona" in Pyrenae 5 (1969) 155-8.

For the mosaic from the church, A.Balil, "El mosaico romano de la iglesia de San Miguel" in CAHC 1 (1960) 21-74: and now, X.Barral, Los mosaïques..., pp.39-44, with full bibliography.

28. Garrut, in CAHC 16 (1975) p.159.
29. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Evocación del Imperio Constantiniano: en torno del hallazgo de pequeños broncees en las excavaciones arqueológicas de la Plaza de San Miguel de Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year IX no.26 (1970) 59-70. This was found in the caldarium, although it is not clear whether it dates the modifications supposed to be post-3rd. century invasion, or the final decline. The remaining coins from the site are unpublished apart from general accounts such as Tintó, op.cit., and the discussion of the Ibero-Roman coins by I.Rodà de Mayer, "La dispersión del poblamiento en el término de Barcelona en la época anterromana" in CAHC 17 (1977) p.83 with full bibliography.
30. Granados, Manera and Sol, op.cit., p.1108.
31. Udina, op.cit., (1962) p.298.
32. Granados, Manera and Sol, op.cit., p.1108.
33. Most recently studied by Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.31-9, although the important studies of A.Balil, "Mosaicos circenses de Barcelona y Gerona" in BRAH 151 (1962) 257-351 and "Sobre la cronología del mosaico circense de Barcino" in AEA 38 (1965) 125, are still of interest. Dr. Barral has also published some long-lost drawings of the wall-paintings of the

same structure, X.Barral i Altet, "Unes pintures murals romanes inèdites i el mosaic amb curses de circ de Barcelona" in CAHC 15 (1973) 31-68.

34. A.Balil, "El mosaico de 'las Tres Gracias' de Barcelona" in AEA 31 (1958) 63-95.

35. Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.44-7.

36. A.Elfas de Molíns, Catálogo del Museo Provincial de Antigüedades de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1888) lists most of the surviving material from this area. See also Albertini nos.161-172 and A.Balil, "Dos frisos arquitectónicos del Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona" in RABM 64 (1958) 297-333. Although these pieces have been re-assembled as a colonnaded area in the MAB, there is in fact no proof for this arrangement.

37. For the original discovery, F.Fita, "Lápidas romanas recién halladas en Barcelona" in Revista Histórica Latina 3 (1876) 129-135. For a plan of this area prior to the 19th. century demolitions and adaptations, I de Azcárate Ristori, "La enseñanza primaria en Barcelona desde 1600 a 1772" in CAHC 5 (1964) 131-171, p.148, based on that of Garriga of 1858.

38. For the mosaic, Barral, Les mosaïques..., p.30 (Pl. de Regomir). A.A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854), p.10 refers to the dis-

covery of some columns at this point, which one might expect to be a portico on the line of the decumanus maximus.

39. For the mosaic from C/de^{la} Palma de Sant Just, Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.28-30. For the excavation, Duran, BSH, p.29 and idem, "Antigues urbanitzacions de Barcelona" in Revista Ford Year 5 no.36 (1935) 297-304.

40. J.O.Granados and I.Rodà, "Restos de una casa romana en el patio del Palacio Arzobispal de Barcelona" in Inf.Arg. no.25 (1977) 215-6: idem, with the same title, in CAN XV (Zaragoza, 1979) 983-1002.

41. Cf. note 35 to chapter IV. Excavation in this street or 'baixada' (=slope, almost always cutting across the line of the Roman defences) failed to reveal any trace of the mosaic, although the outer face of the wall was located: J.de C.Serra Ràfols and A.M^a Adroer, "Sondeos arqueológicos en las calles del Veguer, dels Brocaters y Baixada de Santa Eulàlia" in CAHC 11 (1967) 31-49: F-P.Verrié, et al., in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) p.770.

42. Duran, BSH, pp.45-6 provides the basic account and a plan. A.Balil, M.Oliva and E.Ripoll, "Actividades arqueológicas en Cataluña durante los años 1952 y 1953" in AEA 28 (1955) 166-174, p.168, has some

details, and some pottery is illustrated in B. Wailes, Some imported pottery in western Britain A.D.400-800: its connections with Frankish and Visigothic Gaul (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1963) figs.21,22 and 28. The coins included issues of Theodosius and Arcadius: F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (VIII)" in Numario Hispánico 2 (1953) p.92.

Ironically, this excavation, which was carried out under salvage conditions, is one of the few for which there exists not only a plan, but also a section. The former has been repeatedly published and for the latter my thanks are due to Oriol Granados, who provided me with a copy (fig.61).

43. IRB 27, with full bibliography concerning its reuse.

44. I am here thinking of the inscription from the baths which was used as a step in the 4th. century: for references to this see chapter III note 74 and IRB Add. 2.

45. References conveniently assembled in FHA VIII p.380: Epistularum 23, 1-4 and 27, 87-9. Cf. MGH AA, vol.V,ii: XXI, 1-4 (p.181) and XXV, 87-9 (p.193).

46. The bibliography on the various classes of pottery is, of course, extensive, and only a selection of relevant works, particularly those which in-

clude material from Barcelona, can be cited here.

For material exclusively from Barcelona sites:

A. Ma Adroer Tasis, "La cerámica romana procedente de una necrópolis de Barcelona" in RSL 29 (1963) 99-124 (for material from the Pl. de la Vila de Madrid, all pre mid-3rd. century): idem, "Estudios de la cerámica 'terra sigillata' hallada al excavar la basílica paleocristiana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 153-173 (for material from the basilica, including the full range of late Roman fine wares): idem, "Cerámica trobada a la torre poligonal de la muralla romana" in CAHC 13 (1969) 69-79 (material from the excavation of tower 6: again pre mid-3rd. century). A. Bourgeois, "Céramique paléochrétienne de Barcelone (Museo de Historia de la Ciudad)" in Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 6 (1970) 53-77 (reprinted in CAHC 15 (1973) 69-94) (mainly concerned with 'sigillées grises et orangées'). J. O. Granados, "Notes d'arqueologia romana de Bàrcino: una imitació de la forma 1/3 de sigillata lucente de fabricació local" in Fonaments: Prehistòria i Mon Antic als Països Catalans 1 (Barcelona, 1978) 107-9 (on a 3rd. century vessel from a pit in the basilica area).

For other publications containing some Barcelona material: P. de Palol Salellas, "La cerámica estampada romano-cristiana" in Crónica del IV Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español (Cartagena, 1949) 450-468. N. Lamboglia, "Nuovi osservazioni sulla 'terra sigillata shiara'" in RSL 24 (1958) 257-330 and RSL 29 (1963) 145-212. Ma A. Mezquiriz de Catalán,

Terra Sigillata Hispánica, (Valencia, 1961) (demonstrating that the late Roman products of the kilns of the interior rarely reached coastal regions). B.Wailles, op.cit., (note 42) (noting the lack of Mediterranean wares in the Garonne gap, which would suggest commerce around the coast of the Iberian Peninsula): Y. and J. Rigoir, "Les dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes d'Espagne" in RSI³⁷ (1971) 33-68 (for Languedoc and Provence products in Tarraconensis principally). J.W.Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, (London, 1972) with references to material from Barcelona on p.482.

Other important works covering the Iberian peninsula include: H.Zeiss, "Spätrömische stempelverzierte Keramik aus Portugal und Spanien" in Homenagem a Martín Sarmiento (Guimarães, 1933) 468-472: and several articles by L.Caballero Zoreda in Trabajos de Prehistoria (N.S.) 27 (1970) and subsequent volumes. For commercial aspects, G.Martín, "Comercio y producción de cerámicas finas en época imperial" in Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia 5 (1968) 107-137, and for a recent review of the state of knowledge of the North African products, idem, "La 'sigillata clara': estat actual dels problemes" in Fonaments 1 (1978) 151-199.

47. For these links, infra chapter VIII pp.262-4.

48. For a study of this episode, A.Balil, "Un emperador en la Hispania del s.V" in AEA 37 (1964) 183-191.

49. Sozomen, Ecclesiastica Historia, IX, 13, 1:
cited FHA IX p.397. (=PG LXVII col.1621-2).
50. F.X.Calicó, "En torno a una posible moneda
barcelonesa del siglo IV" in CAHC 1 (1960) 95-105.
This was found in the course of excavations in the
Plaça de Sant Felip Neri, which have remained virtually
unpublished. The only details that I know of are in
A.Florensa, "Restauraciones y excavaciones en Barce-
lona durante los últimos veinticinco años" in CAHC
6 (1964) 5-36 (= Miscellanea Barcinonensis Year III
no.7 (1964) 7-25).
51. J.Mª Nuix, "Un bronce inédito de Máximo Tirano
acuñado en Barcelona, hallado en Tarrasa (Barcelona)"
in Numisma 26 (1976) 165-9.
52. H.Livermore, The Origins of Spain and Portugal,
(London, 1971) pp.73-4.
53. Olympiodorus, fragmenta 26: cited in FHA IX p.400.
54. Livermore, op.cit., p.79. E.A.Thompson, "The
Visigoths from Fritigern to Euric" in Historia 12
(1963) 105-126. The sources are collected in FHA
IX pp.36-45.
55. Thompson, ibid. and his "The settlement of the
Barbarians in Southern Gaul" in JRS 46 (1956) 65-75.

For another viewpoint: B.S.Bachrach, "Another look at the barbarian settlement in Southern Gaul" in Traditio 25 (1969) 354-8, and also J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, "Gothia and Romania" in his The Long-Haired Kings (London, 1962) 25-48 (originally published in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 44 (1961)).

56. Livermore, op.cit., p.85: Balil, "Un emperador en la Hispania del s.V", pp.190-1, and his Colonia IAPFB, p.54 note 63: sources in FHA IX pp.50-1.

57. The opinions of early authors on the temple are conveniently collected in J.Bassegoda Nonell, El Temple Romano de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.135-9.

58. By implying a 5th. century date for this structure and calling it a royal palace, it is inevitable that a connection with Athaulf will be made: e.g. J.Sobrequès in Història de Barcelona I: De la Pre-història al segle XVI (directed by A.Duran i Sanpere, Barcelona, 1975) p.165.

59. That is if one accepts the hypothesis of C.R. Brühl, "The town as a Political Centre. General Survey" in European Towns. Their Archaeology and Early History (edited by M.W.Barley: London, 1977) pp.419 - 430: and for the case of the towns of Gaul his Palatium und Civitas. Studien zur Profan-topographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3.bis 13 Jahrhundert in Gallien, Germanien und Italien: I. Gallien, (Cologne-Vienna, 1975) passim.

60. Pallarés (1969) p.13: "...which has provided us with important material to date the destruction of this zone to the period 400-420, with an abundance of stamped Terra Sigillata D and 'sigillata gris' of this period, which makes us think of a destruction of this central part of the city as a result of Athaulf's death...".
61. 1bid. p.10: "...a reconstruction of the city at the beginning of the 5th. century, and thus contemporary with the successors of Athaulf, to which correspond a series of walls constructed of stones and clay, a technique typical of the late Roman period on other sites..".
62. Spanish Archaeologists are reluctant to accept the conclusions of Hayes: see the reviews of his Late Roman Pottery by A.Balil (BSAA 38 (1972) 578-584) and especially the criticisms of Martín in Fonaments 1 (1978) (cited note 46). This, I feel, is partially the result of excessive reliance on coins for dating purposes: like most other parts of the western Empire, the numbers of site finds of 5th. century coins are small. Consequently, the date range is condensed into a far shorter period than Hayes proposes.
63. Balil, (1959) p.130: Balil, (1972) p.120.

64. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.63.
65. Serra Ráfols and Adroer, op.cit. (note 26), pp.31-4.
66. Balil,(1959) p.129: Balil,(1972) p.118.
67. This wall is not on the plan, but its location is visible in the model of the site on display in the MHC.
68. As Pallarés stated (cf.note 61), although it is surely difficult to date them as precisely as she would wish to.
69. FHA VIII p.66, citing Mansi III col.380.
70. A.Fábrega Grau, "El nacimiento del cristianismo en Barcelona y su desarrollo" in CAHC 3 (1962) 61-87, p.76.
71. For the works of Bishop Pacianus, L.Rubio Fernández, San Paciano: Obras, (Barcelona, 1958), esp. p.136 and 144: S.McKenna, Paganism and pagan survivals in Spain up to the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom, (Washington, 1938) p.47 for this incident. For the pagan celebrations of the Kalends of January, J.N.Hillgarth, "Popular religion in Visigothic Spain" in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, (edited E.James: Oxford, 1980) pp.3-60, esp.pp.16-7. For the wide appearance of stag cults, M.J.Swanton, "Finglesham

Man: a documentary postscript" in Antiquity 48 (1974) 313-5.

72. Fábrega, op.cit., p.78. Source in FHAVIII pp.395-6, from Gennadius, De Vir.Ill., (PL LVIII col.1078) and St.Jerome, Contra Vigilantium, (PL XXIII cols.354-367).

73. Fábrega, op.cit., pp.70-1

74. Ibid., pp.64-70. Also his Pasionario Hispánico (Siglos VII a. XII) 2 vols., (Madrid-Barcelona, 1953-5) i, pp.108-119: idem, Santa Eulalia de Barcelona, (Rome, 1958) passim: idem, "El culto a Santa Eulalia en la topografía de Barcelona" in Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica vol. XI (Barcelona, 1960) 29-39.

75. Fábrega, "El nacimiento del cristianismo...", pp.62-4. Prudentius, Peristephanon IV 33 (=PL LX col.363.).

76. M.Sotomayor, Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España. Estudio iconográfico, (Granada, 1975) pp.79-82.

77. Ibid., pp.93-6.

78. Ibid., p.99. Also his Datos históricos sobre los sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España, (Granada, 1973) p.107.

79. I.Rodà, "La iconografia de les estacions a Barcino: a propòsit d'un fragment de sarcòfag romà

reutilizat com a lăpida de F. de Requesens" in Faventia 1/i (1979) 77-93.

80. Ibid. for both the comparable pieces, with full bibliography: for the circumstances of discovery of the second, F-P. Verrié, "Tres hallazgos arqueológicos significativos para la historia de Barcelona" in La Vanguardia (9th. January, 1972).

81. The bibliography on the excavations in this zone is again extensive, but a definitive publication is still lacking. The original discovery was published by A. Durán y Sanpere, "Noticia de excavaciones: Bajada de la Canonja y Calle de los Condes" in Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica 1 (Barcelona, 1945) 23-4, with some further details in the guide by the same author, Noticia y guía de las excavaciones de la Calle de los Condes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1954¹, 1957³: reprinted in Catalan in his BSH, pp. 86-96) and in his "Las excavaciones de Barcelona" in BRABLB 26 (1954-6) 290-1.

These publications stimulated the notes of A. Balil, "Las excavaciones de la Barcelona tardorromana en la calle de los Condes de Barcelona" in Zephyrus 5 (1954) 217-9 and P. de Palol, "Noticiario arqueológico referente a la época paleocristiana y visigoda" in AEA 28 (1955) 144-150. The same author's Arqueología cristiana de la España romana, siglos IV-VI, (Madrid-Valladolid, 1967) pp. 38-43, is a valuable summary of knowledge at the date of publication,

most of which is still valid.

On the more recent excavations in the basilica and the discovery of the baptistery, the following may be consulted: J.Ma Garrut, "Notas para la crónica del museo" in CAHC 6 (1964) 128-9: CAHC 13 (1969) p.114: CAHC 15 (1973) 138-141: CAHC 16 (1975) p.162. F-P.Verrié et al., "Actividades arqueológicas del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad en los últimos cinco años (1966-70)" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 769-786. A.Ma Adroer Tasis, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 8 (1965) pp.145-6: idem et al., "Las campañas arqueológicas municipales XXIV y XXV del Museo de Historia de Barcelona" in CAN IX (Zaragoza, 1966) 320-5 (all of which are brief notes concerning the excavations).

For slightly more detailed accounts of various aspects of the excavations: F-P.Verrié et al., "Excavaciones en la basílica paleocristiana de Barcelona" in Boletín de la Institución 'Sancho el Sabio' 10 (1966) (=Actas de la Primera Reunión Nacional de Arqueología Paleocristiana) 43-76: A.Ma Adroer, "Ultimos hallazgos en la basílica paleocristiana de Barcelona" in CAHC 8 (1965) 47-58: J.Sol, "Hipótesis sobre una abertura de la basílica paleocristiana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 149-152.

For the excavation of the baptistery, F-P.Verrié, "Le baptistère de Barcelone" in Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana (Vatican City-Barcelona, 1972) i, 605-610: idem, "Il battisterio di Barcellona" in Atti degli IX Congresso Internazionale

di Archeologia Cristiana (Vatican City, 1978) ii, pp.599-600.

For finds, particularly inscriptions in reused positions, J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Sobre los últimos hallazgos epigráficos en Barcelona" in CAHC 7 (1965) 9-30, esp. pp.13-6. F-P.Verrié, "Un altre pedestal de Bàrcino, amb inscripció" in CAHC 12 (1968) 153-169. A.Mª Adroer, "Estudio de la cerámica 'terra sigillata' hallada al excavar la basílica paleocristiana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 153-173.

Of the various general accounts published, one of the best is J.Fontaine, L'art pré-roman hispanique, I, (La-Pierre-qui-Vive, 1973) p.55.

82. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. no.154, entitled, "Recopilación de varias notas que han resultado y motivado de las operaciones e excavaciones echas en esta ciudad de Barcelona para el hallazgo del Cuerpo de San Pedro Nolasco fundador del Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. en los años de 1781 y 1782 y ultimamente en el presente de 1788". Although this work includes plans and sections (!), it is impossible to relate them to more recent finds.

83. Little work has been carried out on the topography of early Christian structures in general in Spain: a recent article, L.A.García Moreno, "La cristianización de la topografía de las ciudades de la Península Ibérica durante la antigüedad tardía" in AEA 50-51 (1977-8) 311-321, is a useful start.

Several communications to the II Reunió d'Arqueologia paleocristiana hispànica (= IX Symposium de Pre-historia Peninsular) held at the Abbey of Montserrat in November 1978 are also of interest: these are in the course of publication.

84. J.M^a Garrut in CAHC 15 (1973) p.141: F-P.Verrié et al., in CAN XII p.775, although full publication is still awaited.

85. Livermore, op.cit., p.85: sources in FHA IX p.52.

86. Livermore, op.cit., p.89: sources in FHA IX p.62.

87. Livermore, op.cit., p.96: sources, especially Hydatius and Olimpiodorus, discussed in FHA IX p.62.

88. For a recent study of the Visigothic entry into Tarraconensis, E.A.Thompson, "The end of Roman Spain. Part III" in Nottingham Medieval Studies 22 (1978) 3-22, esp. p.7.

89. Ibid., p.8. For the Bacaudae, E.A.Thompson, "Peasant revolts in late Roman Gaul and Spain" in Past and Present 2 (1952) 11-23: an up-to-date bibliography and commentary can be found in his "The End of Roman Spain. Part IV" in Nottingham Medieval Studies 23 (1979) 1-21, pp.14-5. For the period in general, see also R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Del Reino de Tolosa al Reino de Toledo, (Madrid, 1960) (reprinted in Catalan in his Dels

visigots als catalans Vol.I, (Barcelona, 1974²+1969¹)
pp.27-67.

90. Livermore, op.cit., p.132. E.A.Thompson, The Goths in Spain, (Oxford, 1969) p.8.

91. FHA IX p.112, quoting Isidore, History of the Goths, (MGH AA XI (Chron.Min.II) p.282, 37).

92. FHA IX p.111, quoting the Chronicle of Zaragoza s.a. 510. He may have been an Alan: cf. B.S.Bachrach, A History of the Alans in the West, (Minneapolis, 1973) p.94 (cf. MGH AA XI (Chron.Min.II) p.223).

93. Note deleted.

94. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.114.

95. FHA IX p.111, quoting the Chronicle of Zaragoza s.a. 511. (MGH AA XI (Chron.Min.II) p.223).

96. FHA IX p.112, citing Isidore, History of the Goths, (MGH AA XI (Chron.Min.II) p.282).

97. Ibid.; for this episode, Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.8. For the location of Duodecimo, infra p. 859.

98. Fábrega, "El nacimiento del cristianismo...",

pp.79-81: Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain. Part III" pp.12-4.

99. For the text and discussion of this dubious document, L.Vazquez de Parga, La división de Wamba (Madrid, 1943): p.82: Barcinona teneat de Minora usque Pagesam: de Usa usque Bordel.

100. Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain. Part III" p.15.

101. For this period one may consult the recent full study of L.García Iglesias, "El intermedio ostrogodo en Hispania (507-549 d.C.)" in Hispania Antiqua 5 (1975) 89-120.

102. For the changes in royal centre in this period, Abadal, op.cit. and E.Ewig, "Résidence et capitale pendant le Haut Moyen Âge" in Revue Historique 230 (1963) 25-72, esp. p.31.

103. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.12.

104. FHA IX p.122: s.a.531 (MGH AA XI (Chron.Min.II) p.223).

105. Ibid., quoting History of the Goths, (MGH AA XI (Chron.Min.II) p.283).

106. FHA IX p.124, Historia Francorum, III, 10: Translation by L.Thorpe, The History of the Franks,

(London, 1974) p.170. I think that Professor Thorpe unduly complicated matters by translating the relevant part as 'one of the Christian churches'.

107. FHA IX p.122, citing Fredegar III 30
(MGH SRM II, p.103).

108. Livermore, op.cit., p.143.

109. Discussed in C.García Rodríguez, El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda, (Madrid, 1966) p.121. For the later connections of the Cross with the heraldic shield of the city, F.Udina Martorell, L'escut de la Ciutat de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1979) p.10, for these early manifestations.

110. García Rodríguez, op.cit., pp.253-4.

111. Fábrega, "El nacimiento del cristianismo...", p.77.

112. García Rodríguez, op.cit., p.134 and 160.

113. R.M.Harrison, "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona" in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 27 (1973) 297-300.

114. Barral, Les mosaïques..., p.27. He does not mention, however, the fuller account of A.A.Pi y Arimón,

Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna (Barcelona, 1854), p.486

115. Pallarés (1969), p.39.

116. The best description is in F-P.Verrié, La Iglesia de los Santos Justo y Pastor, (Barcelona, 1944) pp.17-8. For the marble, H.Schlunk, "Relaciones entre la Península Ibérica y Bizancio durante la época visigoda" in AEA 18 (1945) 177-204, esp. p.201. J.Werner, "Hallazgos de origen bizantino en España" in Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva 3 (1948) 107-112 does not mention it. For the context of Byzantine sculptural stonework in Spain, H.Schlunk, "Byzantinische Bauplastik aus Spanien" in MM 5 (1964) 234-254. For the link with Visigothic coins, F.Mateu y Llopis, "La ceca visigoda de Barcelona" in AST 16 (1943) 45-56.

117. Verrié, op.cit., p.19. Good illustrations of both these pieces in R.d'Àbadal i de Vinyals, Dels visigots als catalans, (Barcelona, 1974², 1969¹) i, between pages 112 and 113. Also in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.144 and 149.

118. Ewig, op.cit., p.31.

119. Durán, "Vestigios...", p.69.

120. Ibid., p.70.

121. Most descriptions of the site imply that the portico only existed in the area adjoining the intervalum street, and fail to take into account the other columns and pillars. This is partially because the 1934-5 excavations did not cover as wide an area as the 1960-1 season, and because the latter has not been adequately published. Although stratigraphically unproven, it makes sense to consider them all as part of one phase.

122. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Dues representacions de Bacus o Dionysos trobades a Barcelona" in A Pedro Bosch-Gimpera, en el septuagésimo aniversario de su nacimiento (Mexico City, 1963) 403-410.

122 bis. Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, p.262. It is similar to stamp 223b.

123. ibid., p.279. The stamp is not exactly paralleled but is similar to 330.

124. Serra Ràfols, op.cit., p.409: cf. Hayes, p.366 and stamp 71.

125. Serra Ràfols, op.cit., p.406.

126. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (III)" in Ampurias 6 (1944) p.227: idem, "La moneda bizantina en España" in Crónica del III Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español (Murcia, 1947) 310-320, p.319.

126 bis. Whenever honorific inscriptions have appeared in controlled excavations, the context has very clearly been a post-Roman one. This can be seen in the second phase of the basilica (J.Sol, "Hipótesis sobre una abertura de la basílica paleocristiana de Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 149-152), in the baptistery (F-P.Verrié, "Un altre pedestal de Bàrcino, amb inscripció" in CAHC 12 (1968) 153-169), and the Plaça del Rei (A.Durán i Sanpere, "Un llinatge romà a Barcelona" in Serra d'Or (2nd. series) Year 2 no.6 (1960) pp.23-4, and other such inscriptions from the first phase of excavations in Durán, "Vestigios...", p.68, reconsidered by A.Balil, "Nueva lectura de un epígrafe romana barcelonés" in Zephyrus 5 (1954) 219-222). To these should be added, of course, those from the supposed 'palatium!' discussed below. The statement of Srta. Pallarés (1969) p.40, "Lo que sabemos con certeza es que muchos restos del Foro de la época imperial destruidos por los Alemanes o inutilizados por ser anticuados o anacronísticos con la nueva era cristiana, aparecen aprovechados en las murallas bajo imperiales o en otros edificios.... que hace pensar a un cambio bastante radical y a una correspondencia parcial y genérica entre el Foro de la época de Augusto, el de los siglos II y III y el de los siglos IV y V después de J.C." is, in my opinion, far from the truth.

127. Durán, Noticia y guía....(ép.cit.in note 81) is

the basic publication, although some earlier works may be consulted, e.g. idem, "Noves troballes arqueològiques al subsòl de Barcelona" in Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics 2 (1953) p.56.

128. For this arcading, ibid. and idem, "¿ Un antiguo juego de origen germánico en Barcelona ?" in Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Erste Reihe. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens 9 (1954) 30-32, on a gamestone re-used in the structure.

129. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (XIII)" in Numario Hispánico 4 (1955) p.318. It is to be lamented that little has been published of the final stage of excavation under the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: see J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 13 (1969) p.113 and F-P. Verrié et al., in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) p.770 and see fig.32.

130. The inscriptions found there were IRB 11,23,27, 47,60,62,63,98,102,104,109,113,116, and 162.

131. For this entrance, A.Ma Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1978) p.21. It seems that remains of the medieval surface were found in the course of excavation (cf. Duran, BSH, p.42).

132. See note 126 bis. The original excavator var-

iously dated this structure to the 5th. or 6th. or 5th-6th. centuries.

133. A.Balil, "Las excavaciones de la Barcelona tardorromana en la calle de los Condes de Barcelona" in Zephyrus 5 (1954) 217-9.

133 bis. F. de Almeida, "Um 'palatium episcopi' do seculo VI em Idanha-a-Velha (Portugal)" in CAN IX (Zaragoza, 1966) 408-411. For possible early Christian episcopal palaces in Provence, P.A.Février, Le développement urbain en Provence de l'époque romaine à la fin du XIV^e siècle, (Paris, 1964) p. 60.

134. The principal occasions when a royal palace is mentioned are in 511 and 531: supra p.200 and 203. For the mud-slinging incidents, Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, III, 10. For the later topography and ownership of this area, infra, pp.441-7.

135. Brief comments on the work can be found in Duran, BSH, p.41,52 and 58. For the lost model, J.Ma Garrut, "Notas para la crónica del Museo" in CAHC 4 (1963) p.161, referring to a lecture given by Sr.Verrié.

136. Adroer, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona, p.17.

137. J.Ainaud de Lasarte, "Le Château royal de Barcelone" in Congrès Archéologique de France 117 (1959) 37-43.

138. For this description, ibid. p.38, with some additional remarks in A.Durán i Sanpere, "Noves troballes arqueològiques a Barcelona" in Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics 1 (1952) p.65.
139. Tintó, "El monetario..." p.122.
140. Illustrated in F.Udina and J.Mª Garrut, Barcelona: Dos mil años de historia, (Barcelona, 1963) p.33 (= Catalan edition, Barcelona: Vint segles d'història) where the lowest vessel in the illustration is clearly early medieval, although the others are Iberian vessels, from Montjuïc. Also in Durán, BSH, plate opposite p.33, illustrating seven vessels found under the Tinell in 1954.
141. The state of knowledge is summarized with bibliography in M.de Bouard and M.Riu, Manual de arqueología medieval: de la prospección a la historia, (Barcelona, 1977) pp.473-8. Large quantities of similar wares from the Sant Miquel excavation remain unpublished.
142. For this capital, infra p. 315.
143. Duran, Noticia y gufa..., (in BSH) p.96. A.Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.108.

144. For the wall-paintings, Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., p.42 and p.239.
- 144 bis Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, X, 31. Translation of L.Thorpe, The History of the Franks, (London, 1974) p.602.
145. Sol, op.cit.(in note 83), passim: the two inscriptions are IRB 64 and 179.
146. Verrié, op.cit.(in note 83). Fontaine, op.cit., p.56 who also discusses the parallels from Provence and Northern Italy. The plan of the baptistery is of an earlier type, which suggests that the 6th. century phase adapted and adopted an earlier baptistery. It appears that traces of this have now been found in the latest excavations, although this remains unpublished. For the context of baptisteries in the Iberian Peninsula, D.Iturgáiz, "Baptisterios paleo-cristianos de Hispania" in AST 40 (1967) 209-295, 41 (1968) 209-246. For baptismal rites, T.C.Akeley, Christian Initiation in Spain, 300-1100, (London, 1967) (to be used with caution). The baptistery of Barcelona stands out as being related to Italian and Provençal models rather than North African ones, unlike most of the manifestations of early Christianity in Tarraconensis.
147. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., p.42. Good

illustrations in his Arte hispánico de la época visigoda, (Barcelona, 1968) p.135.

148. J.Puig i Cadafalch et al., L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya vol.I, (Barcelona, 1909) p.345 fig.388.

149. For revised texts improving those of Mansi, J.Vives, Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos, (Madrid-Barcelona, 1963), p.53, pp.159-161.

150. For the woes of John of Biclar, Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.81 and J.Campos, Juan de Biclario, obispo de Gerona: su vida y su obra, (Madrid, 1960) p.21.

151. For these alterations, the works cited in notes 144 and 145, Oral suggestion of Sr.Verrié for the altar of Sta.Eulalia: for the structure, Durán, BSH, p. 96.

152. F.Udina, op.cit. (note 21) (1962), p.297 and (1967), pp.15-23.

153. This type of structure is found particularly in the wall running along the intervallum street under the Casa Padellás.

154. Cf. the works cited in note 27, particularly those of Udina, and Pallarés (1969) p.13. The same

holds true of the final stages of the excavation, carried out in 1975: it should be noted, however, that in the area called sector B, sufficient traces of the Roman structures survived in the medieval period when the zone was rebuilt (12th. century ?) for their walls to be followed by those of the medieval buildings (personal observation).

155. infra pp.478-85 for the discussion of this zone in the 11th. and 12th. centuries.

156. X.Barral i Altet, "Un tremissis visigoth du VI^e siècle trouvé à Barcelone" in Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique 29 (1974) 500-505: idem, "Un 'tremissis' visigotique du siècle VI^e trouvé à Barcelone" in CAHC 16 (1975) 149-158: idem, La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigothiques. Contribution à l'histoire économique du royaume visigot, (Munich, 1976) p.170. The other Visigothic coins he mentions as having been found in Barcelona (ibid. nos. 13, 14 and 81) unfortunately have no precise provenance .

Little information is available on the demise of the remaining monuments of Antiquity: although parts of the Temple in the C/Paradís still stood in the 11th.century, as they do today, others may have fallen before that date. In 1929, fragments of the temple were found at a distance which implied natural collapse , under the 14th. century Cases dels Cananges. Although no precise date for this collapse can be

proposed, it is best related to a period of near-abandonment, or low-level intensity of occupation. Since the area was built up once again by the later 11th. century, a date between the 6th. and the 10th centuries seems probable. For these finds, P.Bosch-Gimpera, "Nuevos descubrimientos romanos en Barcelona" in Barcelona:Atracción de Forateros Year XIX no.214 (1929) 104-6.

157. See, for example, P.A.Février, Le développement urbain en Provence, p.91 and his "Permanence . et héritages de l'antiquité dans la topographie des villes de l'occident durant le haut ^Amoyen~~age~~" in Topografia urbana e vita cittadina nell'alto medioevo in Occidente (=Settimane~~XLI~~: Spoleto, 1974) 41-138 and his "Towns in the Western Mediterranean" in European Towns. Their Archaeology and Early History, (edited M.W.Barley: London, 1977) pp.315-342.

158. The evidence for suburban settlement is discussed supra pp. 91-2. The fragments of mosaic from tower 26 are presumably from such a site, although I find it difficult to agree with Barral (Les mosaïques..., p.27) that they might have come from the house at the foot of the walls there, for this must have belong to a far earlier period (supra p.70), than the 2nd. or early 3rd. century date of the mosaic .

159. Supra p. 93 and note 139 to chapter IV.

160. A.Balil, "Los sarcófagos paleocristianos de Barcelona" in Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni vol.III (Milan-Varese, 1956) 667-687, an article of wider significance than its title might suggest.
161. This excavation has the rare honour of having been published, not only once, but no less than four times, with minor variations in text and illustrations. M.Ribas Bertrán, "Necrópolis romana en la basílica de Santa María del Mar de Barcelona" in Boletín de la Institución 'Sancho el Sabio' (= Actas de la 1ª Reunión Nacional de Arqueología Paleocristiana) 10 (1966) 151-172: idem, "Una necrópolis romana en la basílica de Santa María del Mar, de Barcelona" in Ampurias 29 (1967) 195-228: idem, "Descubrimiento de una necrópolis romana en la basílica de Santa María del Mar (Barcelona)" in CAHC 12 (1968) 5-32: idem, Necrópolis romana en la basílica de Santa María del Mar de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1977: in Catalan with Castilian summary).
162. Although the excavator considered that no difference in date could be assigned to the various classes of graves, this observation can be made from a consideration of the published plan (fig. 41-2).
163. Ribas (1966) p.166: (1967) p.204: (1968) p.31: (1977) p.12.

164. His suggestion was largely based on the date he had given the possible chapel in the villa of Torre Llauder, near Mataró, which he considered to be of the late 4th. century, largely because he believed it to have been destroyed by barbarians in the first decade of the following century: Ribas (1967) p.205. Such is the reputation of the barbarians that destructions can be attributed to them in areas where, in fact, they hardly passed. The pottery from Torre Llauder in fact suggests occupation well into the 5th. century and perhaps beyond: for the bibliography, note 128 to chapter V.

165. Balil, "Sarcófagos...", p.685.

166. For the tradition, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.127. For the invenio, infra p.322 : Balil, "Sarcófagos...", p.685 suggests a Tetrarchic date, and compares it with similar sarcophagi from Tarragona.

167. J.Serra Vilaró, "Sepulcros y ataúdes de la necrópolis de San Fructuoso (Tarragona)" in Ampurias 6 (1944) 179-209, esp. p.185, and now, MA D.del Amo, Estudio crítico de la necrópolis paleocristiana de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1979) pp.112-3.

168. Illustrated on the back cover of Ribas (1977).

169. Ribas (1966) p.153: (1967) p.197.

170. Ribas (1968) p.16: (1977) p.5.

171. Ribas (1966) p.154: (1967) p.198: (1968) p.17.

172. Sr.Verrié has kindly shown me some of the pottery from the baptistery excavations: I have personally examined that from C/Sant Sever, which however, is difficult to date, because of the apparent mixture of material of widely varying periods, although the pits were probably filled some time in the 13th. century. I hope to undertake a study of the material associated with the early medieval cemetery of Sant Miquel, in an attempt to establish a catalogue of forms and fabrics.

173. Ribas (1966) p.171: (1967) p.218: (1968) p.31: (1977) p.15.

174. S.Gagnière, "Les sépultures à inhumation du III^e au XIII^e siècle de notre ère dans la basse vallée du Rhône (Essai de chronologie typologique)" in Cahiers Rhodaniens 12 (1965) 53-110, esp. pp.83-5. For an apparently 7th. century context, see note 231.

175. For the later history of the church, infra pp. 518-21.

176. Unpublished, apart from a photograph on the front cover of Ribas (1977).

177. Referred to by Ribas (1977) p.7: also A.Fábrega Grau, Santa Eulalia de Barcelona, (Rome, 1958) p.111.
178. Unpublished. The controversy which this excavation provoked on the grounds that the site was unlikely to produce results, because it was under the sea in the late Roman period, seems to be unfounded if the number of finds from this area are taken into account. However, the fact that it had served as a late and post medieval cemetery certainly suggests that earlier remains would have been heavily disturbed. Although no burials of this period were found, a fragment of North African Red Slip Ware with a stamped cross, and walls which might have been part of the early medieval church (infra p.519 for its location) were found: information from J.Sol of the MHC.
179. Ribas (1977) p.7: Fábrega, Santa Eulalia..., p.111.
180. F-P.Verrié, "Tres hallazgos arqueológicos significativos para la historia de Barcelona" in La Vanguardia (9th January, 1972).
181. Ribas (1977) p.7.
182. Supra note 77: also M.Sotomayor, Datos históricos sobre los sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España, (Granada, 1973) p.102 with details of its discovery, the original account being in J.Puig i Cadafalch,

"Sarcòfag cristià trobat a Barcelona" in AIEC 7
(1921-6) 11D-1.

183. Balil, "Sarcòfagos...", p.673.

184. Ibid., p.672.

184 bis. Duran, BSH, pp.24-5. They overlay mosaics
of the first half of the third century: Barral,
Les mosaïques..., p.60. For the church, CMB p.306.

185. First referred to in A.Durán y Sanpere,
"En la agonia del 1954" Diario de Barcelona (31st.
December, 1954) and his BSH, p.55. Additional
comments by Balil, "Sarcòfagos..", p.672: idem,
"Una nueva lauda sepulcral, de mosaico, en el con-
ventus Tarraconensis" in AEA 28 (1955) 142-4: idem,
Colonia IAPFB, p.123. P.de Palol Salellas, "Notici-
ario arqueológico referente a la época paleocristiana
y visigoda" in AEA 28 (1955) 144-150: idem, Arqueo-
logia cristiana..., p.43, 277-8, 326. F.Udina,
Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad), (Barcelona,
1969³) pp.52-3. For the coins from the site,
F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (XIII)" in
Numario Hispánico 4 (1955) p.319.

186, For the date of the tomb mosaic and full
bibliography, X.Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.58-60.

187. J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) p.137. F-P.Verrié et al., in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) p.772.
 188. Cf. supra note 76. This location was recorded by I.Bosarte, Disertación sobre los monumentos antiguos....., (Madrid, 1786) pp.59-62.
 189. J. de Jorba, Descripción de las excellencias de la muy insigne ciudad de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1589: facsimile reprint, 1928) fol.10r. F. Diago, Historia de los Victoriosísimos antiguos Condes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1603) fol.11v. J.Pujades, Crónica universal del Principado de Cataluña, (Barcelona, 1829-31) Book III p.30. E.Flórez, España Sagrada vol.XXIX, (Madrid, 1859²) p.18.
- All these probably derived their information from Jeroni Pau, Barcino, (critical edition by J.M. Casas Homs, Història de Barcelona fins al segle XV (Barcelona, 1957) p.31) who stated that he had seen some Roman tombs there prior to its demolition.
190. Balil, "Sarcófagos..", p.671: CAB p.74.
 191. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.122.
 192. Personal observation.
 193. J.O.Granados, "Notas de arqueología barcelonesa:

fragmentos de cerámica romana y una hebilla de cinturón de placa calada hallados en San Pablo del Campo (Barcelona)" in CAN XV (Zaragoza, 1979) 967-982.

194. Pujades, op.cit., Book XII p.483.

195. Granados, op.cit., p.975.

196. Granados, op.cit. p.973, citing H.Zeiss, Die Grabfunde aus dem spanischen Westgotenreich, (Berlin-Leipzig, 1934).

197. J.Puig i Cadafalch et al., L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya vol.I, (Barcelona, 1909) p.345 and figs.389-390 for the capitals, and p.357 for the imposts. L.Torres Balbas, "Los modillones de lóbulos" in Archivo Español de Arte e Arqueología 12 (1936) 1-62, esp. p.39. CMB p.29. A.Florensa, "Elementos altomedievales de San Pablo del Campo" in San Jorge no.47 (1962) 44-8. J.Vigué, El monestir romànic de Sant Pau del Camp, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.104-8.

G.Duby, The early growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century, (London, 1974) p.59, refers to the long distances Pyrenean marble could travel even at this date.

198. Balil, "Sarcófagos..", pp.674-6.

199. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Una necrópolis romana a Les Corts" in Germinabit no.59 (1959) 10-11.

200. J.O.Granados García, "Estudio de cerámica romana barcelonesa. Un vaso de cerámica corintia hallado en la necrópolis romana de Las Corts" in BSAA 43 (1977) 395-409.
201. For this site: J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) p.141: F-P.Verrié et al., in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) p.777. M.Tarradell in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI (directed by A.Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.124. I.Rodà de Mayer, "La dispersión del poblamiento en el término de Barcelona en la época anter-romana" in CAHC 17 (1977) 47-92, esp. pp.70-5.
202. J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) p.141. J.Sol and I.Rodà, "La necrópolis tardo-romana de la calle^{de} Bagur" in Sants no.222 (February, 1972) 10-12.
203. Balil, "Sarcófagos..", p.676.
204. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Restos antiguos y columnas de procedencia barcelonesa descubiertas en la barriada de Sants" in CAHC 1 (1960) 83-93.
205. For a possible 6th. century inscription, J.Ma Millás Vallicrosa, "Epigrafía hebraicoespañola" in Sefarad 5 (1945) p.295: F.Cantera and J.Ma Millás, Las inscripciones hebraicas de España, (Madrid, 1956) p.188. Note that the excavators of the cemetery

considered that the earliest burials could belong to the 7th. century: A.Durán y Sanpere and J.Ma Millás Vallicrosa, "Una necrópolis judaica en el Montjuich de Barcelona" in Sefarad 7 (1947) 231-259. Duran, BSH p.37.

206. J.B., "Cementerios romanos y hebraicos de Montjuich de Barcelona" in Revista Histórica Latina 1 (1874) , p.29. A.Elfas de Molíns, Catálogo del Museo Provincial de Antigüedades de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1888) pp.64-5. Solé y Pla, Calvo and Serrallonga, Apuntes sobre la guía-histórica de Montjuich, (Typed Ms. of lectures given in 1898, in the library of the MHC). Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.47. J.Roca y Roca, "Montjuich: notas históricas y descriptivas" in Boletín de la Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros 29 (1917) 23. CAB p.64. J.Grahat y Grau, Comisión de Monumentos históricos y artísticos de la Provincia de Barcelona. Memoria de la labor realizada por la misma en su primer siglo de existencia (1844-1944), (Barcelona, 1947) p.192. Balil, "Sarcófagos..", p.674. For the location of Vista Alegre, P.Voltes Bou, Historia de Montjuich y su Castillo, (Barcelona, 1960) p.155.

207. I.Rodà de Mayer, "Notas arqueológicas: una tumba de 'tegulae' en Montjuich" in CAHC 16 (1975) 57-68.

208. J.Puig i Cadafalch et al., L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1909) vol.I p.348 fig.397.
209. R.Rovira Virgili, Història nacional de Catalunya vol.II, (Barcelona, 1922: reprinted 1976) p.247.
210. Anon., "Fragments romans trobats a Catalunya" in AIEC 1 (1907) 474-5.
- 210 bis. Rodà, "La dispersión del poblamiento..." pp.69-70 with bibliography, to which should be added Duran, BSH p.27.
211. Rodà, "La dispersión del poblamiento..." p.68. See also J.O.Granados, Barcelona, de la prehistoria a la romanización, (Barcelona, 1978) p.14.
212. CIL II 4955. Carreras Candi, GGCCB p.109. This does not appear in Mariner, IRB.
213. CAB pp.110-1, with bibliography to 1945: see especially, J.Puig i Cadafalch, "L'església de Cornellà" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 136-8. More recently J.Colominas and J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Hallazgos arqueológicos en Cornellà" in Miscelánea Histórica de Cornellà (1968) 24-8 and, for the mosaics, Barral, Les mosaïques..., pp.122-4, with extensive local bibliography.

214. A.Balil, "Mosaicos ornamentales romanos de Barcelona" in AEA 35 (1962) 36-69, p.61: idem, "El poblamiento rural en el 'Conventus Tarraconensis'" in Celticum 9 (1963) 217-228, p.227.
215. For the early medieval settlement pattern of the territorium, chapter XVI, especially p. 860.
216. Balil, "Sarcófagos.." p.674. This is presumably the same site as that mentioned in L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.75: "...otra necrópolis romano-cristiana, muy pobre se descubrió en el camino de Pedralbes a Esplugas...".
217. For this remarkable site which deserves to be more widely known in view of the importance of the range of material, infra p.280 : the occupation is dated by various Visigothic brooches and buckles as well as a coin of Akhila.
218. For the excavations, J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 16 (1975) p.164 and oral information from Oriol Granados. Also a note in La Vanguardia (7th.April, 1974).
219. A.Durán i Sanpere, "Noves troballes arqueològiques a Barcelona" in Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics 1 (1952) 65.

220. CMB p.20: J.Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda, (Barcelona, 1969²)
no.590: not included in the first edition of 1942.

221. Balil, "Sarcófagos..", p.670.

222. (E.Ripoll: editor), "Notas de Arqueología de Cataluña y Baleares, II" in Ampurias 24 (1962) p.283.

223. L.Pericot, "Memoria de la delegación de la zona de Cataluña y Baleares: año 1965" in NAH 8-9 (1964-5) p.268. A.Balil, "Mosaicos ornamentales romanos de Barcelona" in AEA 35 (1962) 36-69, p.63.

224. Balil, "Sarcófagos..", p.676.

225. Duran, BSH, p.43.

226. Rodà, "La dispersión del poblamiento...", pp.77-8.

227. Tarradell, in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, p.124.

228. Rodà, "La dispersión del poblamiento...", p.78.
The other example is Can Ros: for this connection,
infra Chapter XVI pp.855-6.

229. Balil, "Mosaicos ornamentales...", p.63. For the possible remains of a villa, J.Clapés y Corbera, Sant Andreu de Palomar, (Barcelona, 1900) p.71. Again,

there was clearly a chapel and a degree of settlement at this point in the tenth century: infra p.856.

230. J.Colominas Roca, "Fons de cabanes a Can Casanoves (Barcelona)" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 12-14:

CMB p.75: E.Ripoll i Perelló, "Restes pre-ibèriques i romanes a les immediacions de l'Hospital de Santa Creu i de Sant Pau" in L'Hospital de Santa Creu i de Sant Pau (Barcelona, n.d. but c.1971) pp.11-13.

231. J.Solà, "Sivella visigòtica de Sant Llorenç del Munt" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) p.151 and fig.237.

P.Palol Salellas, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón de época visigoda en Cataluña" in AEA 23 (1950) 73-98, p.81. Other similar burials have also been found on the same mountain: J.de C.Serra Ráfols and J.Maluquer, "Enterramientos de tegulae y losas en la montaña de Sant Llorenç del Munt" in Ampurias 9-10 (1947-8) 296-300. This might suggest that the shift to predominantly upland settlement, such a characteristic of 9th. and 10th. century Catalonia, had already begun by the 7th. century, and was not purely the result of later events.

232. E.Puig y Deulofeu, "Una làpida cristiana" in EUC 1 (1907) 37-9 : Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.122-3.

F.Fita, "Epígrafe visigótico de Barcelona" in BRAH 50 (1907) 143-9: Balil, "Sarcófagos.." p.674.

233. F.Fita, "Epigraffa visigòtica y romana de Barcelona, Mérida, Marente y Bujalance" in BRAH 55 (1909) 449-459.

234. IRB 188 with bibliography.

235. F.Fita, "Epigraffa visigòtica y romana de Barcelona" in BRAH 72 (1918) 83-91: of. Vives, IGERV, no.248.

236. J.Ma Garrut, "Notas para la crònica del Museo" in CAHC 4 (1963) p.156: F.Udina in CAHC 6 (1964) p.11.

237. Clapés y Corbera, op.cit., p.70.

238. Balil, "Mosaicos ornamentales...", p.63.

239. Like most Catalan place-names with the -à termination, the name is derived from an anus root, in this case Sirrianus. These place-names in the territorium are discussed infra chapter XVI pp.858-9.

240. J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Vertedero de época romana en el cerro de la Trinitat (Barcelona)" in Boletín del Club Excursionista Paig Castellar (2nd.series) 1 (1965) p.10. This apparently included late Roman material comparable to that from the Plaça del Rei.

240 bis. Hillgarth, "Popular religion in Visigothic Spain" (cited note 71), pp.11-8.

241. Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.57 note 66, suggests that the cemeteries of Sant Miquel and Montjuïc del Bisbe could also have had origins in this period. The excavation of St.Miquel leads one to suspect that both church and cemetery are mid 10th. century in origin. As for the other, this is not mentioned at all in early medieval sources, nor does it seem likely to have existed before the 15th. century: see J.Mas, Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona vol.VII La Fossar de la Seu de Barcelona y ses inscripcions funeraries, (Barcelona, 1911) pp.20-24.

242. Durán, "Vestigios...", pp.65-9.

243. Ibid., p.69.

244. Ibid., p.69. Other similar lamps appeared in the more recent excavations: F.Udina in NAH 6 (1962) p.297.

245. Vives, ICERV, no.519. For this bishop, D.H.Quentin, "Elpidius, évêque de Huesca" in Revue Bénédictine 23 (1906) 257-260 and 487.

Considerably later dates have also been suggested for this object: e.g. Rüd'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La Pre-Catalunya" in Història dels Catalans vol.II, (edited by F.Soldevila: Barcelona, 1961) p.635, attributing it to the period of the Reconquest. A similar object

in the form of a horse was found in the excavations of the C/dels Comtes de Barcelona, although this remains unpublished apart from illustrations such as that in Durán, BSH, plates between pp.80-81.

246. Palol, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón...", (cited in note 231) p.81, where the cross and horse shaped objects are also mentioned.

247. One is reminded of the jewellery of Kentish graves and those of northern France and the Rhineland in particular.

248. R.Pascual Guasch, "Las ánforas de la Plaza del Rey" in Ampurias 25 (1963) 224-234.

249. For this subject in general, E.Dyggve, "The origin of the urban churchyard" in Classica et Medievalia 13 (1952) 147-158. For the Braga Council, Mansi IX col.779: cited FHA IX p.144.

250. Février, Le développement urbain en Provence...., p.69 demonstrates that such burials were rare in Provence before the end of the 6th. century. In the case of the cities of Tarraconensis, substantial numbers of such burials are known from the cities which entered decline in the late Roman period (Ampurias, Mataró, Badalona and perhaps also Vic): on the other hand, in the case of Tarragona and Barcelona, they are comparatively rare, and probably begin at a later date: as far as I know, none are recorded from Girona.

In the three most important towns in the Visigothic period, then, these burials were less significant than elsewhere, and are thus, to some extent, an indication of urban vitality.

251. Duran, Noticia y guía..., (in his BSH), p.96.

252. A.Durán y Sanpere, "Noticia de excavaciones: Bajada de la Canonja y C/de los Condes" in Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica I (1945) 23-4: "A uno de los extremos de esta supuesta construcción basilical y en su parte exterior, han aparecido algunos sepulcros, formados unos con tejas planas y otras con ánforas...".

253. See note 42 for the bibliography of this site.

253. bis. My thanks go to Srta.Joaquima Sol of the MHC for the invitation to visit the site.

254. Février, Le développement urbain en Provence...., p.67.

255. For the locust plagues, see now M.Barceló, "Les plagues de llagost a la Carpetania, 578-649" in Estudis d'Història Agrària 1 (1978) 67-84.

For the plague in Septimania, E.James, "Septimania and its frontier: an archaeological approach" in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, (edited E.James: Oxford, 1980) 223-241, p.225 with references to

J.C.Russell, "That Earlier Plague" Demography 5 (1968) 174-184 and J-N.Biraben and J.le Goff, "La Peste dans le Haut Moyen Age" in Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations 24 (1969) 1484-1510. Plagues are mentioned in Spain and Southern Gaul in 443, 543-6, 570, 580 and 694 (Duby, op.cit., pp.12-3). The later 6th. century was clearly the period when most havoc was likely to have been wrought by plague. However, plagues were not the only reason for urban population decline, and without more definite evidence it is difficult to describe their effect.

256. There is no substantial account of the towns of Visigothic Spain: J.Ma Lacarra, "Panorama de la historia urbana en la Península Ibérica desde el siglo V al X" in La Città nell'alto Medioevo (= Settimane VI: Spoleto, 1958) 319-358, is one of the few considerations. Accounts of individual towns are, however, abundant, although of widely varying quality. For recent valuable studies of Zaragoza and Mérida, see L.García Iglesias, Zaragoza, ciudad visigoda, (Zaragoza, 1979). E.Sánchez Saler, "Mérida, metrópolis religiosa en época visigótica" in Hispania Antiqua 5 (1975) 135-150 and the stimulating discussion of R.Collins, "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585" in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, pp.189-219.

257. For this the classic C.Sánchez-Albornoz, Ruina y extinción del Municipio romano en España e instituciones que le reemplazan, (Buenos Aires, 1943) passim.

258. Text in Vives, Concilios..., p.54. Brief discussion in Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.99 and P.D.King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom, (Cambridge, 1972) p.69. It should be noted that the document belongs to 592, not 540, although it is included in the conciliar texts after the I Council of Barcelona of the latter year. The bishops who signed were those related to the Second Council of Zaragoza in 592.
259. L.A.García Moreno, "Algunos aspectos fiscales de la Península Ibérica durante el siglo VI" in Hispania Antiqua 1 (1971) 233-256, esp.pp.247-250: idem, "Estudios sobre la organización administrativa del Reino visigodo de Toledo" in AHDE 44 (1974) 5-155, esp. pp.41-3.
260. M.Vigil and A.Barbero, "Algunos aspectos de la feudalización del reino visigodo en relación a su organización financiera y militar" in Moneda y Crédito no.112 (March, 1970) 71-91, esp.p.75 (reprinted in their Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista, (Barcelona, 1974))
261. Based on the figures in G.C.Miles, The coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, Leovigild to Achila II, (New York, 1952) pp.70-1. For Tarragona, ibfra p.270. The mint of Girona, however, was particularly productive in the second half of the 7th. century. The number of coins of the Barcelona mint from known sites is too few for any conclusions to be

drawn about their circulation patterns and commercial links: for this subject in general, X.Barral i Altet, La circulation, (cited note 156).

261 bis. Cf. the ideas of Collins, "Mérida and Toledo..". One wonders whether Barcelona was deliberately promoted at the expense of Tarragona by the Visigothic monarchs in the late 5th. and 6th. centuries as Toledo was to be promoted from the later 6th. century onwards: ibid. p.213.

262. For the Barcelona mint, F.Mateu y Llopis, "La ceca visigoda de Barcelona" in AST 16 (1943) 45-56, although the comments of Miles, op.cit., p.202, should also be taken into account.

263. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Tarragona durante los visigodos a través de sus acuñaciones monetarias" in BAT 44 (1944) 69-104.

264. MGH Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi, vol.I (Berlin, 1892) Epist.Wisig: no.7. FHA IX p.251. Cited King, op.cit. p.202.

265. A.Fàbrega Grau, Santa Eulalia de Barcelona, (Rome, 1958) is convinced of the connection between Quiricus and the hymn (PL 86, col.1099-1100). Most other scholars advise caution, given the lack of definite references in the hymn, and the existence of an abbot and later archbishop of Toledo of the same name. The evidence for the monastery depends

on the identification of this abbas with the bishop of Barcelona, and also the identification of the latter as the author of the hymn: it is clearly based on weak foundations. Even if a monastery did exist, its location is unknown: it is unlikely to have been Sta.Eulalia del Camp, as most supporters of this theory have claimed, for that church was dedicated to the Mérida saint of the same name. It is surprising that there is no evidence for suburban churches in the Visigothic period, although R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals pointed out the low survival rate of monastic institutions in coastal areas: "El renaixement monàstic a Catalunya després de l'expulsió dels sarraïns" in Studia Monastica 3 (1961) 165-177.

266. García Iglesias, Zaragoza, ciudad visigoda, p.26: García Moreno, "La cristianización de la topografía..." (cited note 83), pp.320-1.

267. Letter of Quiricus in PL 80 col.727 (=FHA IX p.310). Letter of Idalius in PL 96 col.458: cited S.Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul, (Cambridge, Mass., 1937: reprinted New York, 1970) p.131 and Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.238.

268. see note 205.

269. Katz, op.cit., pp.148-151 and M.Chalon,

"L'inscription juive de Narbonne et la condition des Juifs en Narbonne à la fin du VII^e siècle" in

Hommage à André Dupont (Montpellier, 1974) 39-59.

For the later activities of the Jews of Narbonne,

R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Els Primers Comtes Catalans,

(Barcelona, 1965²: 1958¹) p.182 and J.A.Agus,

Urban civilization in pre-Crusade Europe, as reflected in Responsa Literature, (Leyden, 1965) vol.I pp.189-95.

270. Infra p. 263.

The Arab geographer al-Edrisi, writing in the mid-

12th. century, referred to Tarragona as a 'city of

Jews', although, since there was no community, or at

the most a very small one, at that date, he may have

been using earlier sources and speaking of the period

prior to the Arab conquest: discussed by J.M^a Recasens

i Comes, La ciutat de Tarragona vol.II, (Barcelona,

1975) pp.44-6.

271. Infra p.273.

272. B.S.Bachrach, "A Reassessment of Visigothic

Jewish Policy, 589-711" in American Historical Review

78 (1973) 11-34, but see the criticisms of J.N.Hill-

garth in Speculum 54 (1979) 104-7 and 607.

273. Chalon, op.cit., and James, op.cit. (note 255),

p.224: also R.Meméndez Pidal (ed.), Historia de España

vol.III España Visigoda, (Madrid, 1963²) p.197.

Although these towns had Jewish communities, it would seem that those of Girona and Ampurias-Roses were dispersed in the countryside in the early medieval period, although the date of this movement is unknown: infra p.886 and note 128 to chapter VIII.

274. King, op.cit., pp.195-8. Also L.A.García Moreno, "Colonias de comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica, s.V-VII" in Habis 3 (1972) 127-154.

275. For bronze liturgical objects, P.de Palol Salellas, Bronces hispanovisigodos de origen mediterráneo, I: Jarritos y paternas litúrgicos, (Barcelona, 1950). For stonework the references in note 116.

276. P.de Palol Salellas, Arte hispánico de la época visigoda, (Barcelona, 1968) passim.

277. Julian of Toledo, Historiae Wambae, chap.11 (FHA IX p.329); Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.221² (MGH SRM V p.510).

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. In general see the article of Lacarra cited in note 256 of the previous chapter (p.1183). For a more recent survey of the towns of the northern part of the Meseta , especially Clunia, which like Ampurias was long supposed to have disappeared after the 3rd century invasions, but which has been revealed to have had a degree of urban life into the 5th. and 6th. centuries, P.de Palol, "Perduración de las ciudades en la zona norte y la Meseta" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) 263-288. I have been unable to consult two other general surveys: A.R. Korsunski, "Las ciudades de España en el período del nacimiento de las relaciones feudales (siglos V-VII)" (in Russian) in Problemas socio-económicos de historia de España (Moscow, 1965) 3-63 or a forthcoming survey by L.A.García Moreno, in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, III.

2. For Recópolis (Zorita de los Canes, Guadalajara) see, K.Raddatz, "Studien zu Recópolis" in MM 5 (1964) 213-233: D.Claude, "Studien zu Recópolis, 2: Die historische Situation" in MM 6 (1965) 167-194: L. Vázquez de Parga, "Studien zu Recópolis, 3: Die archäologischen Funde" in MM 8 (1967) 259-280: K.Raddatz, "Recópolis: Eine westgotische Stadt in Kastilien" in Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter (ed.H.Jankuhn: Göttingen, 1973) 152-162. Interim reports of the more recent excavations are published in the periodical Wad-al-Hayara (Guadalajara). The coin hoard found in 1944 has been studied by X.Barral, La circulation, pp.86-92.

Far less can be said of the other towns believed to have been established by the Visigothic monarchs (Victoriacum and Ologicus): see E.A.Thompson, The Goths in Spain, (Oxford, 1969) p.70 and 168 respectively.

3. Orosius, VII, 22, 7-8 (quoted in FHA VIII p.47): PL XXXI, col.1119.

4. G.Alföldy, Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, (Berlin, 1975) nos.89,90,92,94-7,100 all found in the upper part of the city: plus nos.88,91,93,98, and 99 found elsewhere in the city.

5. For these changes, E.Albertini, Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine, (Paris, 1923) pp.117-123.

6. Ma D. del Amo Guinovart, "La necrópolis de Pere Martell" in BAT 71-72 (1971-2) 103-171.

7. The apparent absence of mosaics datable to after the mid-3rd.century is perhaps worthy of comment in this context, although the rejoinder should be added that most of those found in the 19th. century remain to be evaluated.

8. J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en Tarragona (=MJSEA 116; Madrid, 1930) pp.121-5: reconsidered by A.Balil, "La politica monetaria de la dinastía constantiniana y su reflejo en España" in Principe de Viana 32 (1971) 27-34.

9. Serra Vilaró, MJSEA 116, p.121 no.109.
10. This is based on a consideration of the illustrations in MJSEA 116: cf. J.Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, (London, 1972) p.433
11. J.Sánchez Real, "Exploración arqueológica en el jardín de la ~~Catedral~~ de Tarragona" in MM 10 (1969) 276-295: for the pottery from this excavation, Ch.B.Rüger, "Römische Keramik aus dem Kreuzgang der Kathedrale von Tarragona" in MM 9 (1968) 237-258.
12. Sánchez Real, op.cit., pp.291-2.
13. M.Berges, "Columnas romanas y cruces visigóticas en la Plaza del Rovellat, de Tarragona" in Miscelánea Arqueológica I (= XXV Aniversario de los cursos de Ampurias, 1947-1971) (Barcelona, 1974) 153-167.
14. A.Balil, Excavaciones en la Torre de Pilatos (Tarragona) (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 65: Madrid, 1969) pp.19-33: only the final layer (H) was clearly earlier, although the two immediately above (F and G) may also have been of similar date.
15. One is reminded of the contrasting views of the urban life of Verulamium according to the excavations of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Professor Frere: obviously the fact that an area of a city was abandoned, even towards the centre, does not prove the total decline of that city, but rather changing conditions.

16. These are most conveniently studied from the lists in the museum catalogue: A.del Arco and B. Hernandez Sanahuja, Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1894), although Hernandez's attribution of every 'destruction' layer to Euric should be taken into account: thus on p.324 he describes a group all from one structure in the area of the existing bull-ring: this, however, seems to fall into two chronological divisions - from Caracalla to Gallienus, and from Magnentius to Valens. On pp.325-6 he describes a group found in a glass vessel in association with the supposed baths near the gasworks, consisting of some thirty-nine coins from Gratian to Honorius, and on p.326 a similar group of eight coins from Gratian to Arcadius from the same area.

17. Sánchez Real, op.cit., p.291 suggested a date c.400 for layers D, E and F on the basis of the coin evidence, whereas Rüger proposed a date in the second half of the fourth century for E and F and a fifth century date for layer D (op.cit., p.239).

18. In the case of the Plaza del Rovellat, although a coin of Severina (270) was found, this was stratified above the late Roman floor levels, and the layers which they sealed included 'Terra Sigillata gris' stamped with palmette decoration and datable to the late 4th. century according to Rigoir (Berges, op.cit., p.159). However, the presence of other late third and fourth century wares may suggest that there had

already been a degree of occupation prior to this construction. In the case of the 'Torre de Pilatos' layer E, that immediately prior to an ashy layer D, which was interpreted as evidence of a fire, can be dated to the late 4th. century on the grounds of the bronze coinage and the pottery, of which, however, the excavator published few details (Balil, op.cit., p.25).

19. J.Sánchez Real, "Las invasiones germánicas" in BAT 57 (1957) 6-12, p.11 proposed an invasion in c. 360 to account for the forum hoard: this has not been accepted by subsequent writers, apart from J.M, Recasens i Comes, La ciutat de Tarragona vol.I, (Barcelona, 1966) p.156. That circumstances may have been somewhat unsettled in the area about this time is perhaps implied by the hoard from Sant Miquel, Barcelona and a second hoard from Tarragona from the early Christian cemetery, which has gone virtually unnoticed (J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona (=MJSEA 111; Madrid, 1930) pp.15-7, the last coin of which is of Constantius II (324-361). Serra Vilaró put this down to the arrival of early 5th. century barbarians, and M^{re} D. del Amo, Estudio crítico de la necrópolis paleocristiana de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1979) pp.40-41, is also of the opinion that it had been collected some time before being buried, although the absence of any ^{later} coins among 328 would be rather odd. It is surprising that L.Avellà, "Las monedas de la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona II (Barcelona, 1980) 52-76 does

not mention it.

The circumstances in which all these were buried seem obscure: they appear to be slightly too late to have been related to the revolt of Magnentius against Constans in Gaul, and the latter's death in 350, disturbances which affected Narbonensis and may have spread over the Pyrenees (FHA VIII p.69 for the sources), unless all the coins of Constantius were of the period up to 350. A further association between these events and the area comes in the form of the mausoleum of Centcelles probably erected for the burial of Constans: cf. H.Schlunk and D.Hauschild, Informe preliminar sobre los trabajos realizados en Centcelles (=Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 18: Madrid, 1962) p.67 and the name of the nearby town - Constanti-can hardly be coincidental: cf. J.Untermann, "Namenkundliche Bemerkungen zur Constanti und Centcelles" in MM 8 (1967) 226-9.

19 bis. Ausonius, Epistularum, XXIX, 233-4.

(quoted in FHA VIII p.383): cf. Paulinus, Carmina, X, 233-4 (PL LXI col.458).

20. J.Vives, Inscripciones latinas de la España romana, (Barcelona, 1971-2) 2 vols., vol.I nos. 1173-1236 conveniently lists the known inscriptions, from Gordian onwards.

21. A.del Arco, "Lápidas romanas de Tarragona" in BAT² no.5 (1914) 167-8, originally made the suggestion concerning the supposed dedication to Nepos, dating it to 474: this was rejected by P.Beltrán, "Colonia

Julia Victrix Triumphalis Tarraco" in BAT³ 2 no.20
(1923-4) 225-7: cf. Alföldy, op.cit., no.68.

The inscription referring to Anthemius is CIL II
4109, Alföldy, op.cit., no.100.

22. J.Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda, (Barcelona, 1969²) p.7. His no.194 is dated to 503 by consular dating, and he considered that no.195 might have a reference to the emperor Maurice, although Alföldy, op.cit., no.1013 and most other writers do not accept this and place it in the 5th. century.

23. e.g. the comments of Serra Vilaró, loc.cit.
(note 19), concerning the hoard from the early
Christian cemetery.

24. e.g. most recently the comments of E.Ä.Thompson,
"The End of Roman Spain. Part I". Nottingham Medieval
Studies 20 (1976) 3-28, p.23 or the map of X.Barral
i Altet, La circulation des monnaies suèves et visi-
gotiques (Munich, 1976) p.27. Nevertheless the long
tradition of the belief that the 409 invasion affected
all the peninsula proves remarkably difficult to
eradicate.

25. E.Ä.Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain. Part II"
in Nottingham Medieval Studies 22 (1978) at pp.14-5.

26. Senators, K.F.Stroheker, "Spanische Senatoren der spätrömischen und westgotischen Zeit" in MM 4 (1963) 107-132, p.123, citing Vives, ICERV, no.192.

Civil officials: presumably the Optimus whose tomb was covered by a mosaic with his portrait can be considered as such: cf. P.de Palol, Arqueologia cristiana de la España romana, siglos IV-VI, (Madrid-Valladolid, 1967) p.328: Vives, ICERV, no.294.

Military officials: apart from the retreat of Castinus magister militum to the city in 422 after his disastrous defeat at the hands of the Vandals (FHA IX pp. 51-3 for the sources), one can point to the sarcophagus of Leucadius, primicerius domesticorum: Vives, ICERV, no.205 for the inscription: for the sarcophagus and its date (c.430 ?) H.Schlunk, "Un taller de sarcófagos cristianos en Tarragona" in AEA 24 (1951) 67-97, at p.69.

27. This might be presumed on the occasion of his attempt to recover Vandal Africa: it seems logical that he would have passed via Tarragona from Arles en route for Zaragoza, while a fleet was being established at Elche (FHA IX pp.80-82 for the sources: E.A.Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain. Part II" in Nottingham Medieval Studies 21 (1977) 3-31, p.18 for the context).

28. This is suggested by the inscriptions referring to a fourth century emperor which Alföldy, op.cit., nos.98-99, considers were probably found there.

29. For the church infra p.268 and notes 75-6.
30. Reference supra in note 264 of the previous chapter, It may also refer to bull-fights (cf. FHA IX p.251). That such an event was not altogether impossible is suggested by the revival of circus races in Zaragoza in the early 6th. century: Chronicle of Zaragoza s.a.504 (FHA IX p.107) and L.García Iglesias, Zaragoza, ciudad visigoda, (Zaragoza, 1979) p.32.
31. At least in the first century A.D.: Pliny, Nat. Hist., XIX 4. A.García y Bellido, La España del siglo Primero de nuestra Era, (Madrid, 1977²) p.175.
32. The parallels have long been pointed out by Professor Palol: the theme has been taken up by J.M^a Blázquez, "Posible origen africano del cristianismo español" in AEA 40 (1967) 30-50.
33. Ibid., pp.36-7: A.Fábrega Grau, Pasionario Hispánico (siglos VII-XV) (Madrid-Barcelona, 1953-5) i, pp.137-148: C.García Rodríguez, El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda (Madrid, 1966) pp.304-315.
34. P.Franchi dei Cavalieri, "Las Actas de San Fructuoso de Tarragona" in BAT 59 (1959) 3-70, p.17 (translation of the original Italian published in Note Agiografiche: Studi e Testi 8 (1935) 128-199).
35. Schlunk, op.cit. (note 26), passim: idem, "Nuevas

interpretaciones de sarcófagos paleocristianos españoles" in Boletín de la Institución 'Sancho el Sabio' 10 (1966) (=Actas de la 1ª Reunión Nacional de Arqueología Paleocristiana) 101-116, esp. pp.112-6: idem, "Sarkophage aus christlichen Nekropolen in Khartago und Tarragona" in MM 8 (1967) 230-258: idem, "Sarcófagos paleocristianos labrados en Hispania" in Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Paleocristiana (Vatican City-Barcelona, 1972) i,187-218: Palol, Arqueología cristiana..., pp.306-313.

36. This has principally been the field of Professor P.de Palol: an initial study in "Una provincia occidental de arte paleocristiana" in Zephyrus 3 (1952) 41-48, p.44: developed with particular reference to Tarragona in his Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, (Tarragona, 1953) pp.26-31: and a definitive statement in the first two chapters of his Arqueología cristiana....

37. Palol, Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, pp.35-8: idem, Arqueología cristiana..., pp.321-348.

38. D.Julid, "Les monuments funéraires en forme de demi-cylindre dans la province romaine de Tarragonaise" in Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 1 (1965) 29-72.

39. In general, S.Mariner Bigorra, Inscripciones hispanas en verso, (Barcelona-Madrid, 1952): more specifically on inscriptions from Tarragona, idem, "El epitafio versificado de Iulius Statutus" in BAT

49 (1949) 123-133: idem, "El epitafio de Aper" BAT 55 (1955) 107-116: J.H.Oliver, "The Epitaph of Aerarius Aper at Tarraco" in American Journal of Philology 78 (1957) 152-162: S,Mariner Bigorra, "Ecos tardíos y lejanos de epígrafes tarraconenses en uno pacense" in BAT 66 (1966) 49-57.

40. The most important references are gathered in J.W.Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, (London, 1972) pp.431-3: see also note 46 to the previous chapter, for a wider bibliography, with special reference to Barcelona.

41. S.Olives Canals, "La inscripción griega num.103 del Museo Paleocristiano de Tarragona" in BAT 46 (1946) 41-6: (=Alföldy, op.cit., no.400) although this is probably of fourth century date rather than later. For Hebrew inscriptions of later date, J.Sánchez Real, "Noticiario" in BAT 52 (1952) 424-6, at p.425 (=F.Cantera and J.Ma Millás, Las inscripciones hebraicas de España, (Madrid, 1956) pp.350-4) and J.Sánchez Real, "Noticiario" in BAT 55 (1955) 136-141, at p.139 (= J.Ma Millás Vallicrosa, "Una nueva inscripción judaica bilingüe en Tarragona" in Sefarad 17 (1957) 3-10): these two pieces are Alföldy, op.cit., nos.1075-6.

42. A small proportion of those from the early Christian cemetery have been studied by R.Pascual i Guasch, "Les àmfores de la necròpolis paleocristiana

de Tarragona" in BAT 64-5 (1964-5) 3-27, although he offers no suggestions as to their origins, and his conclusions on the date and intensity of use of the cemetery are based on a fraction of the total number found. The classification of the various forms as currently employed in Spain is most conveniently found in M. Beltrán Lloris, Las ánforas romanas en España, (Zaragoza, 1970), although until more is known of the production and distribution of these vessels it is doubtful whether they can be dated with the precision these two authors would like to see, especially in the late Empire. It might be considered that the dating of these amphorae, and indeed most other ceramics in the area, in the 5th. century and beyond, has perhaps been hindered by an excessive regard for numismatic evidence: as in most other parts of the Western Empire coin lists from sites dry up after Honorius and Arcadius, but the fact that this was an indication of the closure or low output of mints rather than an end of human occupation seems rarely to have been noticed. That a proportion of them were of North African origin is indicated by del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.122-3.

43. One might also mention here the rilled amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea area, which also made an appearance, although to a far smaller extent, on the Catalan coast: one from the Tarragona cemetery is described by Pascual, op.cit., p.24, and others are known from Barcelona (cf. C.

Thomas, "Imported pottery in Dark Age Western Britain" in Medieval Archaeology 3 (1959) 89-111, p.92 and note 7.) Their dating, however, is not as uniformly late as often suggested: for a recent account on the area from where they originated, C.Scorpan, "Contribution à la connaissance de certains types de céramique romano-byzantins (IV^e-VII^e siècles) dans l'espace ~~istro~~-pontique" in Dacia (N.S.) 21 (1977) 269-297. For other east Mediterranean imports, Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, pp.431-3, referring to finds of Late Roman C Ware at Ampurias, Barcelona and Tarragona.

44. As in the 11th. and 12th. centuries, coastal trade with Provence and southern Spain was probably significant: cf. The comments of Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, IX 22, referring to 588 when "a ship from Spain put into port (Marseilles) with the usual kind of cargo, unfortunately bringing with it the source of this infection" (translation of L.Thorpe (London, 1974) p.510). Gregory implies in this chapter that both ships coming from Spain and epidemics were frequent features of life in Marseilles.

45. The Visigothic law codes indicate the regular arrival of eastern merchants until the end of the Kingdom, although one might expect that the greater part of their contacts were with the south: Cf. P.D.King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom, (Cambridge, 1972) p.195 and also, L.A.García Moreno, "Colonias de comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica, siglos V-VII" in Habis 3 (1972) 127-154.

46. Communities are recorded in the 250's at León, Astorga, Mérida, perhaps Zaragoza and Tarragona: the long traditions of apostolic foundation, however, remain unproven (J.N.Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain" in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, (edited E.James: Oxford, 1980) p.12.)
47. Most accessible in Franchi dei Cavalieri, op.cit., pp.58-70 with Spanish translation.
48. Ibid., pp.60-1.
49. The bibliography is extense: the starting point must be the five excavation reports, which, with the exception of the first, were of a high standard of publication for the time, and without which little re-interpretation would be possible: J.Tulla, P. Beltrán and C.Oliva, Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona (MJSEA 88: Madrid, 1927): J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona (=MJSEA 93,104,111 and 133: Madrid, 1927, 29,30 and 1935 respectively). It was identified as the resting place of the three martyrs through the interpretation of an inscription by J.Vives, "Una inscripció històrica dels màrtirs de Tarragona" in AST 9 (1933) 247-251. A summary of the basilica and cemetery in J.Serra Vilaró, Fructuós, Auguri i Eulogi, Màrtirs Sants de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1936) and in his La Necrópolis de San

Fructuoso, (Tarragona, 1948): a study of the various classes of graves by the same in "Sepulcros y ataúdes de la necrópolis de San Fructuoso (Tarragona)" in Ampurias 6 (1944) 179-207. The cemetery has recently been subjected to detailed re-examination: M^a D. del Amo, Estudio crítico de la Necrópolis paleocristiana de Tarragona, (Tarragona, 1979) of which the volume of plans and illustrations has not yet appeared.

50. Opinions summarized in Palol, Tarraco Hispano-visigoda, pp.26-31: idem, Arqueología paleocristiana, pp.51-9 and del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.219-250.

51. Particularly the works of Schlunk referred to in notes 26 and 35: to which might be added G.Bovini, I Sarcofagi paleocristiani della Spagna, (Rome, 1954) nos.31,33-40 and nos.1-3 of his crypto-Christian group. M.Sotomayor has drawn attention to three late fourth century fragments in the site museum: "Fragmentos pequeños romano-cristianos en Córdoba y Tarragona" in AEA 42 (1969) 183-9: all this information is now collated in del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.112-120.

52. Apart from the excavation reports, the most important publications are P.Batlle, "Les inscriptions paganes de la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 342-372 and J.Vives, "Inscripciones cristianas de la necrópolis romano-cristiana de

Tarragona" ibid. pp.375-400: the Christian ones were later conveniently published in Vives, ICERV, and all of them now appear in Alföldy, op.cit.

53. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., pp.328-334, with earlier bibliography: del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.106-112.

54. First pointed out by H.Schlunk, "Un taller...", (op.cit. note 26), pp.94-7.

55. J.M.Recasens i Comes, La ciutat de Tarragona vol.I, (Barcelona, 1966) p.175.

56. Schlunk, "Un taller...", p.97 inclines to this opinion.

57. del Amo, Estudio crítico..., p.254.

58. The principal piece is that in the cathedral facade for which see H.Schlunk, "Bemerkungen über den Bethesdasarkophag von Tarragona" in CAHC 12 (1968) 93-100 (= M.Sotomayor, Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España, ^{Estudio iconográfico,} (Granada, 1975) no.38, pp.213-9).

In addition one might cite the similarly dated fragments cited in note 51 and others first described by P.Batlle Huguet, "Fragmentos de sarcófagos paleocristianos inéditos en Tarragona" in AST 13 (1937-40) 61-4 (=Sotomayor, op.cit., nos 37 and 39). It should, however, be noted that del Amo, Estudio

crítico..., p.120, considers some early 4th. century fragments with loaves and fishes as Christian. Nevertheless, the lack of any other manifestation of Christianity until the end of the century is odd.

59. In addition to the work cited in note 6, see those of Chapter V note 48.

60. An important work on the area to the south of the Catalan coast, E.Llobregat, La Primitiva Cristiandad Valenciana, (Valencia, 1977) pp.105-116 suggests that even in Romanized areas one may doubt this success. See also Chapter VII note 71 for other references to pagan survivals.

61. Cf. the references in note 50.

62. J.Serra Vilaró, Fructuós, Auguri i Eulogi, op. cit., pp.87-92, for his definitive opinion. He had originally considered that it continued in use until the 6th. century (MJSEA 93, p.106) but by the final report was suggesting that not only was it destroyed by Euric's forces, but also that there had been an earlier destruction in the first decade of the fifth century, on the grounds that there were no coins after Theodosius (MJSEA 133, pp.85-6).

63. The arguments of Serra Vilaró were effectively demolished by J.Vives, "La necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona" in AST 13 (1937-40)

47-60, who considered that it went out of use in the mid-6th. century: his arguments are still largely valid: see now del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.249-251, who considers that the cemetery went out of use at the same or a slightly later date.

64. Vives, ICERV, no.278, discussed in his "La necrópolis...", pp.51-4: cf. Palol, Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, pp.93-8.

65. Only indirectly: Fructuós, Auguri i Eulogi..., p.138.

66. Vives, "La necrópolis....", p.54.

67. J.Serra Vilaró, Santa Tecla la Vieja, la primitiva Catedral de Tarragona (Tarragona, 1960) passim.

68. The evidence is their absence from the cemetery basilica: the date of any transferral is entirely conjectural. For a reconsideration of the supposed martyrs' tomb, del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.243-4.

69. In his view of Serra Vilaró's La Necrópolis de San Fructuoso in BAT 49 (1949) 215-9, he believed they were in the cemetery until the Arab invasion, although several years later, in his review of Palol's Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, (BAT 53-4 (1953-4) 88-91) he suggested that they may have been taken to the amphitheatre

church in the 6th. century, an argument developed in BAT 55 (1955) 131-5.

70. del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.249-251.

71. Published by J.Vives and J.Claveras, Oracional Visigótico, (Barcelona, 1946).

72. Although this work was carried out in the 1930's and it is mentioned in his subsequent publications, his arguments were not presented in detail until the publication of the work cited in note 67 in 1960.

73. The only necessarily Visigothic piece from the cathedral area is part of a cross found outside the area of excavation in 1959: Sta.Tecla la Vieja, pp.91-2.

74. Both Sánchez Real (BAT 49 (1949) p.219) and Palol (Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, pp.99-100) expressed grave doubts about this church. The 1960 publication has not changed the latter's opinion (Palol, Arqueología cristiana..., p.53, note 45).

75. Palol, Arqueología cristiana..., pp.59-62: R.Puertas Tricas, 'Iglesias hispánicas, (siglos IV al VIII). Testimonios literarios, (Madrid, 1975) pp.19-20,

76. For the excavation, S.Ventura Solsona, "Noticia de las excavaciones en curso en el anfiteatro de Tarragona" in AEA 27 (1954) 259-280, suggesting a late 6th. century date.

77. Cartulari de Poblet (edited by J.Pons Marqués: Barcelona, 1938) no.253, pp.153-4. This seems to have escaped the notice of students of the Visigothic period.
78. See Berges, op.cit. (in note 13), pp.165-6 for the Visigothic crosses.
79. Palol, Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, pp.104-6 for two pieces (nos.1 and 3) from this area (C/Portella and C/San Pedro Setubas) and more from the new market in P. de Palol, "Nuevos fragmentos de escultura decorativa hispanovisigoda de Tarragona" in BAT 62-3 (1962-3) 7-13. See also J.Sánchez Real, "Un taller de decoración hispanovisigodo en Tarragona" in BAT 62-3 (1962-3) 15-6 for the same pieces.
80. Serra Vilaró, Fructuós, Auguri i Eulogi, p.93 et seq. See now, P. de Palol, Arte Paleocristiano en España, (Barcelona, 1968) p.236.
81. e.g. the Visigothic inscription with HIC REQV recorded in "Noticiario" in BAT 69-70 (1969-70) p.125 as from the Portal del Carro.
82. Balil, Excavaciones en la Torre de Pilatos (Tarragona), pp.27-8.
83. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.73.
Whether there was a Gothic community in the 6th. century is an unresolved and probably unresolvable ques-

tion. The three finds of 'Visigothic' metalwork from the city and surrounding districts are hardly conclusive evidence, especially when they are all seventh century in date, by which date such divisions between racial groups were probably becoming blurred: cf. W.Hübener, "Zur Chronologie der westgotenzeitlichen Grabfunde in Spanien" in MM 11 (1970) 187-211, challenging some of the more accepted opinions about the nature of 'Visigothic' artefacts. The three pieces in question are a stray find from the early Christian cemetery (MJSEA 93, p.53: P.de Palol Salellas, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón de época visigoda en Cataluña" in AEA 23 (1950) 73-98, p.84, where he also refers to pieces which Zeiss considered to have come from the city, but although they were bought there, this seems improbable). The second is from the villa of Els Munts, Altafulla (M.Berges, "Las ruinas de 'Els Munts' (Altafulla, Tarragona)" in Inf.Arq. 3 (1970) 81-7, p.87), and the third comes from some distance to the west near Montblanc, (J.Espelt and C.Poblet, "Una sivella visigòtica del s.VII" in Aplec de Tèrballs no.1 del Centre d'Estudis de la Conca de Barberà (Montblanc, 1978) 25-32).

84. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Tarragona durante los visigodos a través de sus acuñaciones monetarias" in BAT 44 (1944) 69-104: idem, "~~De~~nuevo sobre Tarragona durante los visigodos a través de sus acuñaciones monetarias" in BAT 53-4 (1953-4) 13-7, answering criticisms of G.C.Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain: Leovigild to Achila II, (New York, 1952).

85. Mateu, op.cit. (1944), pp.84-92. However, I find it difficult to believe that coins were minted only in response to military needs.

86. This might be deduced from the fact that Wamba went directly from Huesca to Barcelona: for the account of his movements, Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.221.

87. Ibid., p.201, although this appears to have been more disruptive for the western part of Tarraconensis from Zaragoza northwards.

88. X.Barral i Altet, "El hallazgo de la Grassa (Tarragona)" in Numisma 26 (1974) 331-350; idem, La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigotiques, (Munich, 1976) pp.117-124.

89. P.de Palol, Bronces Hispanovisigóticos de origen mediterráneo, I: Jarritos y paternas iburgicas, (Barcelona, 1950) is the standard work, which can be partially brought up to date by his "Demografía y arqueología hispánicas de los siglos IV al VIII: ensayo de cartografía" in BSAA 32 (1966) 3-66, plus 11 maps, pp.51-2 and map VII. Apart from the la Grassa find, those from coastal Catalonia are both from rural sites in the Province of Girona, at Lladó and Calonge.

90. The article of P.Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (5th. series) 9 (1959) 123-140, suggests many other possibilities for the transmittal of objects.

90 bis. This would be in accord with the proposals of A.Ubieto Arteta, Ciclos económicos en la Edad Media española, (Valencia, 1969), although we still have much to understand about the economy of the Visigothic Kingdom.

91. In general one can refer to the account of E.Bayerri, Historia de Tortosa vol.VI, (Tortosa, 1954).

92. Quoted from FHA IX p.108: MGH AA XI (Chron.Min, II) p.222.

93. This incident is discussed by R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Del Reino de Tolosa al Reino de Toledo, (Madrid, 1960) (=Catalan version in his Dels visigots als catalans vol.I, (Barcelona, 1974²: 1969¹) 27-56 esp. p.50) and also by E.A.Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain. Part III" in Nottingham Medieval Studies 22 (1978) 3-22, at pp.8-9 and idem, "Britain A.D.406-410" in Britannia 8 (1977) 303-318, at pp.316-7.

94. Like most of the bishoprics of eastern Tarraco-nensis, it is not recorded until the Council of Tarragona in 516: only Tarragona, Barcelona and Egara are exceptions. For the Arian bishop,

Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.98.

95. For these see H.Schlunk in Ars Hispaniae,ii (Madrid, 1947) p.254 and fig.280, pointing out parallels for the pillar as far afield as Badajoz: also P.de Palol, "Escultura de época hispanovisigoda en Gerona" in AST 23 (1950) 1-13, p.7 drawing attention to more local parallels for the other piece.

96. G.C.Miles, The coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, p.70, lists only four coins, by far the lowest number for a mint in this region: they belong to the reign of Reccared.

97. Vives, ICERV, no.428: F.Cantera and J.Ma Millás, Las inscripciones hebraicas de España, (Madrid, 1956) pp.267-273, both with extensive earlier bibliography.

98. Apart from the study of Bayerri, Historia de Tortosa vol.VI, (Tortosa, 1954) there is no full scale account of its rôle in the Arab period, although its importance was increased by its position as the first (or last) town in Moslem territory from the early 9th. to the mid-12th, centuries.

99. L.Torres Balbas in R.Meméndez Pidal, Historia de España, V (Madrid, 1957) p.589 and fig.13.

Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.425.

100. This period in the history of Ampurias has not attracted the same amount of interest as earlier ones: it is indeed unfortunate that a projected monograph on early Christian remains and material from the city never came to fruition: see the note in M.Almagro Basch, "Museo Arqueológico de Ampurias (Gerona)" in MMAP 15 (1954) 163-171: in its absence the best account is M.Almagro and P. de Palol, "Los restos arqueológicos paleocristianos y alto-medievales de Ampurias" in Revista de Gerona no.20 (1962) 27-41.
101. References in note 18 to chapter VI.
102. M.Almagro, Las necrópolis de Ampurias: vol.II, Necrópolis romanas y necrópolis indígenas, (Barcelona, 1955) pp.19-118.
103. Ibid., pp.259-280: M.Almagro, "Nuevas tumbas halladas en la necrópolis de Ampurias" in Ampurias 24 (1962) 225-238: F.Martí Jusmet, "Nota antropológica a la inhumación no.X de Ampurias" in Ampurias 31-2 (1969-70) 311-8.
104. M.Almagro, "El recinto sepulcral romano tardío de 'El Castellet' de Ampurias" in AEA 24 (1951) 99-116: idem, Las necrópolis..., pp.289-295.
105. Almagro, Las necrópolis..., pp.305-7.

106. That a number have been found is implied by M.Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones, (Barcelona, 1951²) p.209.
107. Published details in J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Excavacions d'Empúries" in AIEC 5 (1913-4) 838-9: idem, "Enterraments cristians a Empúries" in AIEC 7 (1921-6) 111: idem, "Empúries: enterraments cristians" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 135.
108. The fullest account in Almagro and Palol, op. cit., pp.28-33, or in P.de Palol, Arqueologia cristiana.., pp.32-6. For early excavations in this part of the city, M.Oliva, "Presencia de la Diputación de Gerona en Ampurias: excavaciones en la basílica paleocristiana en el siglo XIX" in Miscelánea Arqueológica II (= XXV Aniversario de los Cursos de Ampurias: Barcelona, 1974) 87-100. For the early Christian altarpiece probably from this basilica, P.de Palol, "Las mesas de altar paleocristianas en la Tarraconense" in Ampurias 19-20 (1957-8) 81-102, pp.83-5.
109. A.García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, (Madrid, 1949) nos.271-2.
110. Ibid. no.272 had a lid of the same class as the surrounding 6th. and 7th. century burials.
111. P.de Palol, "La necrópolis de San Miguel del Arroyo y los broches de cinturón hispanorromanos del

siglo IV" in BSAA 34-35 (1969) 93-160, pp.151-4.

112. M.Oliva Prat, "Catálogo de los vidrios romanos de Ampurias" in AIEG 6 (1951) 119-136, p.135, although the dating of these pieces might need revision in the light of more recent research: a number of graves from the Tarragona cemetery also contained glass vessels, del Amo, Estudio crítico..., pp.129-131.

113. A.García y Bellido, "El vaso puteolana de Ampurias" in AEA 27 (1954) 212-226. In this context one might also mention two early pilgrim flasks from Ampurias, supposedly of 6th. century date: M.Almagro, Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas (Barcelona, 1932) pp.57-8.

114. J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Sivella visigòtica d'Empúries" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 150-1: P.de Palol, "Fíbulas y brochas de cinturón..." (op.cit. note 83), pp.78-9. For other metalwork of this period possibly from Ampurias, W.Hübener, "Schildförmige Gürtelhaften der Merowingerzeit in Spanien und Mitteleuropa" in MM 3 (1962) 152-176, at p.171.

115. Vives, ICERV, no.252: another probably later inscription in Almagro, Las inscripciones ampuritanas..., pp.234-6.

116. G.Bovini, I Sarcofagi paleocristiani della Spagna,

- (Vatican City, 1954) no.1, pp.35-7: P.de Palol, Arqueologia cristiana...., p.318: the most recent discussion of this class of sarcophagi in English in E.James, The Merovingian Archaeology of South-west Gaul, (Oxford, 1977) pp.29-61, proposing earlier dates.
117. Almagro and Palol, op.cit., pp.34-7.
118. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana...., p.318.
119. Almagro and Palol, op.cit., p.37 suggest a 9th. century date for the earliest, although burials continued to be made right through the medieval period.
120. Ibid. p.39. del Amo, Estudio crítico...., pp.142-3, argues for an earlier date for an example from Tarragona.
121. J.Puig i Cadafalch plan in AIEC 5 (1913-4) between pages 838 and 839, at d: Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la ciudad...., p.210.
122. Almagro, Las necrópolis...., pp.321-3.
123. Almagro, Ampurias: historia de la Ciudad...., p.211.
124. M.Almagro, Excavaciones en la Palaiopolis de Ampurias (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 27: Madrid, 1964) pp.43-54.

125. First noted by M.Cazurro, "Terra sigillata: los vasos aretinos y sus imitaciones galo-romanas en Ampurias" in AIEC 3 (1909-10) 296-360, pp.349-351: it has been more fully studied by J. and Y. Rigoir, "Les derivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes d'Espagne" in RSL 37 (1971) 33-68.

126. One must presume that the pieces described by Cazurro came from this part of the city, given that the early seasons of excavation were principally carried out in this area.

127. Almagro, Excavaciones en la Palaiopolis..., passim: the material from this excavation is almost exclusively of 5th. century or later date, with a certain amount of residual wares~~of~~ of earlier periods.

128. This is initially suggested by the widespread areas of burial and the scattered churches in the vicinity. A more distant dispersion may be suggested by the existence of Hebrew communities in a rural context in the Ampurdán, indicated by place-names such as Vilajuiga and Matajudaica in the 10th. century: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.116 for this hypothesis.

129. The various traditions of the propagation of Christianity in the city are summarized in Almagro, Las Fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias, (Barcelona, 1951) pp.97-111.

130. At the council of Tarragona in that year.
The location of the cathedral, however, is still an unsolved problem . It may have been the 'Neapolis' basilica, or the predecessor of the church of St. Martí in the Palaiopolis, which also houses an early Christian altar table (Almagro, Excavaciones en la Palaiopolis..., p.7) or an as yet unlocated structure.
131. J.M.Gurt Esparraguera, "Circulación monetaria en Rhode (Rosas) durante el Imperio Romano" in Acta Numismática 7 (1977) 103-114: idem, "La circulación monetaria en Rhode (Rosas) durante el Imperio Romano a través de dos colecciones particulares" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona I (Barcelona, 1979) 39-44.
132. Ma. A.Martin, J.Nieto and J.Ma Nolla, Excavaciones en la Ciudadela de Roses (Campañas 1976-77), (Girona, 1979)
133. Ibid., p. 12 . For earlier excavations see the works cited in notes 176 to 181 of Chapter V: to these may be added, M.Oliva Prat, "Excavaciones arqueológicas en la Provincia de Gerona en 1973" in NAH Prehistoria 5 (1976) 131-140, p.139 with plan between pages 136 and 137. For the early Christian church, Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., pp.30-1.
134. P.de Palol, "Las mesas de altar paleocristianas en la Tarraconense" in Ampurias 19-20 (1957-8) 81-102, pp.82-3.

135. L.Pericot (ed.), La Labor de la Comisión Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona durante los años 1942 a 1948 (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, no.27: Madrid, 1952) pp.136-141, esp. p.137.
136. First noted by P.de Palol Salellas, "La cerámica estampada romano-cristiana" in Crónica del IV Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español (Cartagena, 1949) 450-468, p.462. Subsequently, similar material has been published by F.Riuró and F.Cufí, "Prospecciones arqueológicas en Rosas (Gerona)" in AIEG 15 (1961-2) 203-224, p.223 nos.1-4 and 6: and by M.Oliva, "Historia de las excavaciones de Rosas" in Revista de Gerona Year XI no.31 (1965) 63-74, esp. p.66 and 68.
137. Palol, "Fibulas y broches de cinturón...", p.75: for a lyre-shaped belt attachment found more recently, M.Oliva Prat, "Las excavaciones en La Ciudadela de Rosas" in NAH 6 (1962) 162-4, p.164.
138. Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths..., p.85.
139. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.139.
140. F.Mateu y Llopis, "De la Hispania Tarraconense visigoda a la Marca Hispánica carolingia" in AST 19 (1946) 1-122, p.13: J.N.Hillgarth, "La conversión de los visigodos: notas críticas" in AST 34 (1961) 21-46, p.38.

141. If, as Professor Thompson suggests, the Vascones went down the Ebro valley, and then northwards along the coast, it is surprising that there is no other indication of this attack or the consequent campaigns. In addition, the distance involved is considerable, and there could have been no particular reason for taking Roses. Even though Basque place-names are found in the western parts of the Catalan Pyrenees, they probably did not spread sufficiently far to the east for a direct movement through the Catalan foothills to be proposed either: the geography of the region rules against this.

142. See the criticisms of Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.75.

143. P.de Palol in L.Pericot, La Labor... (cited note 135), pp.163-181.

144. Ibid. pp.173-180. There was none of the late stamped pottery which has been found in abundance at the sites in the Ciudadela area: even though some of the finds are of earlier date, this must suggest that the site did not come into use until the seventh century. The pottery of the Visigothic period, and particularly that not from graves, has not received the attention it deserves: an important contribution is W.Hübener, "Zur Chronologischen Gliederung des Gräberfeldes von San Pedro de Alcántara, Vega del Mar (Prov. Málaga)" in MM 6 (1965) 195 - 214.

145. Palol in Pericot, La Labor..., p.174.

Discussed in P. de Palol, "Ponderales y exagia romanobizantines en España" in Ampurias 11 (1949) 127-150: idem, "De exagia" in Ampurias 14 (1952) 217-8. Such weights may be understood as evidence of economic activity taking place within a Byzantine ambit.

146. Palol, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón...", pp. 76-7: most of these came from earlier excavations in 1917, which were never published.

147. X.Barral i Altet, La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigotiques, (Munich, 1976) p.196.

148. Palol in Pericot, La Labor..., referring to rotary querns, keys, metal bowls, slave (?) chains, combs, tweezers, axes, picks, saws etc. The only site producing a similar range of material is that of Yecla at Santo Domingo de Silos: see S.González Salas, El castro de Yecla de Santo Domingo de Silos (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, 7: Madrid, 1945).

149. Miles, The coinage of the Visigoths..., no.515.

150. Although there was little in the way of settlement in the area, there were a number of monasteries: the best known is that at St.Pere de Rodes, and for excavations on the site of another possible monastic

site, J.Badia, "Les restes alt-medievals de Puig Alt (Roses)" in Revista de Gerona Year XXI no.70 (1975) 27-33, although the ecclesiastical nature of this site remains to be demonstrated.

151. Infra pp. 895-901.

152. Supra p. 147.

153. In the context of Spain, the extra-mural cathedral is comparatively rare: cf. L.A.García Moreno, "La cristianización de la topografía de las ciudades de la Península Ibérica durante la antigüedad tardía" in AEA 50-1 (1977-8) p.316.

154. There are numerous studies of these: e.g. H.Schlunk, "Arte visigodo" in Ars Hispaniae ii (Madrid, 1947) pp.311-320.

155. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.220.

156. The most recent study of these with full bibliography in M.Sotomayor, Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España. Estudio iconográfico, (Granada, 1975) nos.1-4, 11-12, pp.19-46, 83-92.

157. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, no.265.

158. Ibid., no.251.

159. A.Fábrega Grau, Pasionario Hispánico (siglos VII a XII), i (Madrid-Barcelona, 1953) pp.144-148,
160. Ibid. p.144, referring to Peristephanon, IV 29-30. See also, R.Puertas Tricas, Iglesias hispánicas, (siglos IV al VIII). Testimonios literarios, (Madrid, 1975) pp.18-19.
161. Palol, Arqueología cristiana..., pp.36-7, 276-7.
162. CIL II 4620-1.
163. P. de Palol, "Escultura de época hispanovisigoda an Gerona" in AST 23 (1959) 1-13
164. J.Botet y Sisó, "Sepulturas antiguas recién descubiertas en el Mercadal de Gerona" in Revista de Gerona 14 (1890) 266-9: the sarcophagi are described by M.Oliva Prat, "Restos romanos del Museo (de Gerona): Sección lapidaria" in MMAP 9-10 (1948-9) 74-88, p.87.
165. Vives, ICERV, no.329, suggesting a 9th. to 12th. century date. E.Hübner, Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae, (Berlin, 1871) no.192, proposed a 6th-7th. century date.
166. Sources in FHA IX p.122: discussed in Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.11: R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Del Reino de Tolosa al Reino de Toledo, (Madrid, 1960)

- p.61. L.García Iglesias, "El intermedio ostrogodo en Hispania (507-549 d.C.)" Hispania Antiqua 5 (1975) 89-120, p.99 note 38.
167. J.Vives, Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos, (Madrid-Barcelona, 1963) pp.39-41.
168. Miles, The coinage of the Visigoths..., passim. I have not seen F.Mateu y Llopis, "Las monedas visigodas de Gerona" in Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria 22 (1947) 167-178. The circumstances of discovery of the coins from Girona mentioned by Barral, La circulation..., no.15 and 103, are unknown.
169. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.221.
170. Infra pp.885-91 for early medieval Girona.
171. Infra p.886 for the vagaries of the early medieval Jewish inhabitants.
172. The sources are in FHA IX p.89: the incident has been discussed on numerous occasions, most recently by E.A.Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain. Part (III)." in Nottingham Medieval Studies 22 (1978) pp.13-4: the vicinity of Barcelona and Egara must surely dispel any doubts that Professor Thompson might have about the identity of Nundinarius' see.

173. Apart from the purely local bibliography which is mainly derivative, the most important works are: J.Gudiol, "La catedral visigòtica d'Egara" in AIEC 6 (1915-20) 747-753: J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Basílica d'Egara: excavacions prop de l'església de Sant Pere" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 138-140: idem, La Seu visigòtica d'Egara, (Barcelona, 1936): idem, Noves descobertes a la catedral d'Egara, (Barcelona, 1948): CAB pp.205-213: H.Schlunk in Ars Hispaniae, ii (Madrid, 1947) pp.389-396: J.de C.Serra Ráfols and E. de Fortuny, Excavaciones en Santa María de Egara, Tarrasa (= Informes y Memorias de la CGEA, 18: Madrid, 1949): A.Cirici Pellicer, "Contribución al estudio de las iglesias de Tarrasa" in Ampurias 7-8 (1945-6) 215-232: E.Junyent, "Las iglesias de la antigua Sede de Egara" in Ampurias 17-18 (1955-6) 79-96: Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., pp.45-51: J.Ainaud de Lasarte, Los Templos visigótico-románicos de Tarrasa, (Madrid, 1976).

174. For the excavation reports see the works of Gudiol, Puig and Serra-Ráfols and Fortuny cited in the previous note.

175. Supra p.126.

176. I here follow the interpretation of Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., which in turn is largely based on the valuable synthesis of Junyent.

177. For this funerary mosaic see Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., pp.327-8 and X.Barral i Altet, Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laietana, (Barcelona, 1978) no.145, p.133, with bibliography. The inscription is Vives, ICERV, no.250.
178. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., pp.210-3: Barral, Les mosaïques..., no.144, pp.131-3.
179. Serra Ráfols and Fortuny, op.cit., pp.12-8.
180. Ibid., pp.41-8.
181. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., pp.151-4: although the form is more reminiscent of the north Italian and Provencal examples, the position, if the other excavated remains are interpreted as an apse, is closer to the North African Parallels.
182. For the original hypothesis of Puig i Cadafalch, his "Les pintures del segle VI de la Catedral d'Egara(Terrassa)" in AIEC 8 (1927-31) 141-9: of the remaining authors whose works are cited in note 173 it has been accepted by Cirici alone.
183. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., p.47.
184. Ibid. p.51. An up-to-date and lucid account in J.Fontaine, L'art pré-roman hispanique (La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1973) pp.351-7 and 383-5.

185. Ainaud, op.cit., p.80 for the altar table. For the mosaic, Barral, Les mosaïques..., no.146, pp. 134-6 and idem, Els mosaics de paviment medievals a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1979) pp. 39-53.

186. The foundation might also indicate the growing strength of Christianity in rural areas during the early 5th. century: for the rural sites, supra p.126. covering those in the Terrassa area, although many others from the Vallès as a whole could be cited.

187. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.291 note 1. On the other hand, one should also note the altar table from St.Pere covered with graffiti and Gothic names (Vives, ICERV, nos.332 and 558). Nevertheless, the majority of these need not be pre-Reconquest in date, and most could be paralleled in the 10th. century.

188. Palol, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón..", pp. 81-3 referring to material from St.Llorenç del Munt and Sant Cugat del Vallès, to which should be added a more recent find from Granollers, perhaps of considerably earlier date: J.Estrada, "Sepultures visigòtiques a Granollers" in Vallès (17th.October, 1970). Even more remarkable would be the burial found in 1859 between Lliça de Munt and Santa Eulalia de Ronçana, to the west of Granollers, which, if the published account could be trusted, would appear to have been of Visigothic date: V.Balaguer, Historia

de Cataluña i (Barcelona, 1860) p.136: "Parece que consistían en un mango de puñal o daga de oro macizo con piedras incrustadas, un collar de varias piedras engarzadas en oro, del cual colgaba una cruz, y ultimamente, una diadema de oro con varias piedras engarzadas y con unos pendientes de piedras alrededor de ella". It is surprising that this information has not been followed up by later writers, and one must doubt its validity.

189. Serra Ràfols, and Fortuny, op.cit., pp.39-40: Junyent, op.cit. p.93.

190. J.M^a Font Rius, Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña, (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969) documents nos.1 and 2, discussed pp.595-6.

191. E.Junyent, L'arquitectura religiosa a la Catalunya carolingia, (Barcelona, 1963) p.19.

192. The principal contemporary account of the excavations is R.Lantier, "Les fouilles de San Cugat del Vallés" in Revue Archéologique⁶ 2 (1933) 341-7, although the summary in CAB pp.175-7 is also valuable. Subsequently, P.Bosch-Gimpera and J.de C. Serra Ràfols, "Scavi a Sant Cugat del Vallès (Catalogna): Del Castrum romano al monasterio attuale" in Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia 37 (1964-65) 307-323: Palol, Arqueologia

cristiana..., pp.43-4: X.Barral i Altet, "La basilique paléochrétienne et visigotique de Sant Cugat del Vallès (Barcelone): Dossier archéologique et essai d'interpretation" in Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome: Antiquité 86 part ii (1974) 891-928. More recent excavations around the apses of the standing church have remained unpublished apart from a note in Inf.Arg. nos.4-5,(1971) p.133. The name of the site is not recorded in any ancient text, although it is documented in such a way from the late 9th. century onwards that there is little doubt that it refers to its position in relation to Barcelona. For a milestone of Claudius from the original excavations, J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "El mil.liari de Sant Cugat del Vallès" in El Miliario Extravagante no.8 (1965) 176-8.

193. X.Barral, "Un mosaico sepulcral paleocristiano inédito de Sant Cugat del Vallés, Barcelona" in BSAA 38 (1972) 476-485; idem, Les mosaïques..., no.140, pp.125-7.

194. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, no.275.

195. Palol, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón..", pp.82-3.

196. A.Fàbrega Grau, Pasionario Hispánico, i pp.137-142: C.García Rodríguez, El culto de los Santos en la España romana y visigoda (Madrid, 1966) pp.313-5.

197. For the 7th. century stonework from the site, P. de Palol, "Escultura de época hispanovisigoda en Gerona" in AST 23 (1950) 1-13, p.9 and fig.3: for the relationship between Visigothic and 9th. century monasteries, R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "El remaixement monàstic a Catalunya després de l'expulsió dels sarraïns" in Studia Monastica 3 (1961) 165-177, esp. p.171 for the possible continuity of this site.

The location of the monastery and nearby points within the suburbium of Barcelona in the 10th. century is perhaps an indication of a continuing 'spacial relationship' between the two, for although the sense of this location was not as restricted as at a later date, when it only referred to the area immediately around the city, it was rarely used to describe points outside the modern 'Pla de Barcelona'.

197 bis. This is implied by the abundance of the Palau place-names in the modern 'comarques' of the Val·lès: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.152.

198. The decline is indicated by the apparent lack of late Roman material from most of the sites excavated in the urban area, apart from those immediately around the church: see in general, Carta dels vestigis arqueològics del Terme Municipal de Mataró, (Mataró, 1977) especially nos.28-33: for a re-examination of the material from one of these sites, R. Fado i Xifre and A.Soler i Casellas, "Estudi de les

troballes arqueològiques de la Plaça Pius XII^e (Mataró)" in Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia del Maresme 7 (1979) 199-206. For the Riera cemetery, Chapter V note 126.

199. For this cemetery, G.Junyent, "Scavo della necropolis cristiana de Iluro" in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana 36 (1960) 145-150: M.Ribas i Bertran, Els orígens de Mataró, (Mataró, 1964) pp.100-111: idem, "Descubrimiento de nuevas sepulturas de la necrópolis romana de Ilurá (Mataró)" in Ampurias 31-2 (1969-70) 291-3: idem, El Maresme en els primers segles del cristianisme, (Mataró, 1975) pp.72-88: Carta dels Vestigis..., nos.17 and 41.

200. Ribas, op.cit. (1975) plate 3 and fig.3: discussed by H.Schlunk, "Byzantinische Bauplastik aus Spanien" in MM 5 (1964) 234-254.

201. M.Ribas Bertran, La villa romana de la Torre Llauder de Mataró (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 47: Madrid, 1964) p.22. Unfortunately the evidence is presented in such a way that it is impossible to date the destruction layer which apparently covered the site.

202. Ibid. pp.25-7: Ribas, op.cit., (1975) pp.63-6, both referring to 5th-6th. century North African imports. For the association of chapels with villas,

and the subsequent disappearance of the latter but not the former in other parts of the Empire, see J.Percival, The Roman Villa. An Historical introduction, (London, 1976) pp.183-199.

203. J.Bonamusa i Roure, "Necròpolis de l'Alta Edat Mitjana al veïnat de Mata (Mataró)" in Miscel.lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i el Maresme I (Mataró, 1976) pp.121-7. For another similar, but probably somewhat later cemetery, also situated in the area towards the coastal mountains, R.Batista i Noguera and J.Bonamusa Roure, "Treballa d'una necròpolis de l'Alta Edat Mitjana a Vilassar de Dalt" in Inf.Arq. 16 (1975) 106-8.

204. Vives, ICERV, no.550: for the original publication, L.Ferrer i Clariana, "Epigrafia visigòtica en el temple de Sant Martí de Mata (Mataró)" in AST 35 (1962) 309-310.

205. Ribas, op.cit.(1975), pp.43-50 (St.Cugat de Traïà), 59-62 (St.Cebrià de Cabrera de Mar), 125-133 (St.Cristòfor de Cabrils).

206. J.M.Cuyàs Tolosa, Història de Badalona,iii, (Badalona, 1977) p.307.

207. J.de C.Serra Ráfols, "Excavaciones en Baetulo (Badalona) y descubrimiento de la puerta NE de la Ciudad" in Ampurias 1 (1939) 268-289, pp.287-8.

208. For these burials, see chapter VI note 31: the increasing ruralization of the towns of the Maresme is also indicated by monetary circulation in the fourth century: J.M.Gurt, "Circulación monetaria en época imperial, en la costa catalana entre los municipios de Baetulo e Iluro" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona I (Barcelona, 1979) 71-82.

209. For Sentromà, Chapter VI note 32. Cuyàs, Història de Badalona, iii p.360 refers to a possible early Christian structure, which, as far as I know, remains unproven.

210. M.Sotomayor, Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España. Estudio iconográfico, (Granada, 1975) no.14 pp.97-98 with earlier bibliography. For other material from the site, see Chapter VI note 32.

211. For the burials, including a sarcophagus, J. de C.Serra Ràfols, "Las Termas romanas de Caldas de Malavefia (Gerona)" in AEA 14 (1940-1) 304-315, p.315 and M.Oliva Prat, "Restos romanos del Museo (de Gerona): sección lapidaria" in MMAP 9-10 (1948-9) 74-88, p.85. For the Byzantine coin, a follis of Justin II (565-578) from the Puig de les Animes, F.Mateu y Llopis, "La moneda bizantina en España" in Crónica del III Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español (Murcia, 1947) 310-320, p.317.

212. For this sarcophagus, J.Padró, A.^{Ma} Ferrán and M.Cura, "Treballs arqueològics a Llívia" in Cypsela 2 (1978 ?) 233-246, p.238.
213. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p.222. For the idea of this forming part of a Pyrenean frontier defence, M.Vigil and J.Barbero, "Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista: cántabros y vascones desde fines del Imperio Romano hasta la invasión musulmana" in BRAH 156 (1965) 271-339, pp.315-8.
214. References in Chapter V note 160.
215. CAB pp.222-4 nos.3 and 9: M. D.Molas Font, "Acerca de la urbe Ausetanorum y la ciudad romana de Ausa" in BSAA 45 (1979) 189-202, p.194.
216. Vives, ICERV, no.251: for the bishops E.Junyent, La Ciutat de Vic i la seva història, (Barcelona, 1976) pp.32-3.
217. E.Junyent, "La Primitiva Sede Episcopal de Ausona" in Ausa 5 (1964-7) 8-13.
218. CAB p.222 no.3.
219. For the milestones of the late third and fourth centuries, references in note 175 to chapter V.
- The civitas Rotensi, identified as a settlement near the modern town of Roda de Ter, a few kilometres to the north of Vic, may have come into existence during

this period, for it certainly existed in the early 9th. century. Its origins, however, are exceedingly obscure, and in any reference there is the possibility of confusion with Roses on the coast: infra pp.893-4 for this problem in the early Medieval period. For possible Visigothic period burials in this area CAB p.165, and for Visigothic metalwork from La Gleva nearby, Palol, "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón...", p.84.

220. The excavations in the area of the altar of the monastic church of Ripoll have revealed a sequence of burials going back to the late Roman period; apart from brief notes they remain unpublished: Inf.Arg. nos.4-5 (1971) p.133 and La Vanguardia of 13th.November, 1977. That the Romanization of these areas tended to go hand in hand with conversion to Christianity is perhaps implied by the discovery of a sarcophagus from Southern Gaul imported in the 6th. century, in a church at Tona to the south of Vic, at the point where the old and new routes from the coast joined: this is mentioned by H.Schlunk, "Sarcófagos paleocristianos labrados en Hispania" in Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana (Vatican City-Barcelona, 1972) I, 187-218, p.214.

221. The bibliography is extense: to name only three works which cover a wide number of sites, and leaving aside excavation reports of individual sites, the following might be consulted: R,Pita

Mercé, "La localización de yacimientos en el Valle Medio del Ebro" in Caesaraugusta 29-30 (1967) 157-177: idem, "Mosaicos romanos tardíos en las comarcas del Segre y Cinca" in BSAA 34-5 (1969) 31-64: idem, Lérida paleocristiana, (Lérida, 1973). The contradiction is between the evidence for Bacaudic activity in this area, the only part of the region under discussion where it is attested, and on the other hand the apparently flourishing state of villa life: one can only assume that after the mid-5th. century any threat was crushed.

222. Ausonius, Epistularum, XXIX 58-~~9~~ (FHA VIII p.382) cf. MGH AA, vol.V,ii, letter XXIIII, 58-9: p.189.

223. F.Lara Peinado, Lérida romana, (Lérida, 1973) p.32. Certain fragments of mosaic appear to indicate that some like those from the late villas may have existed within the city or in its immediate neighbourhood: ibid: pp.127-8. For the cemetery, ibid. pp. 114-5.

224. Sources gathered in FHA IX pp.69-70.

225. M.Guallar Perez, Lérida visigoda, (Lérida, 1974) pp.72-118, discusses at length the known bishops and the canons of this council.

226. J.Guitart Durán in Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología: Memoria, (Universidad de Barcelona, 1978) p.21.

227. R.Pita Mercé, Lérida paleocristiana, p.95.
228. Supra Chapter V p.133.
229. J. and Y.Rigoir, "Les derivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes d'Espagne" in RSL 37 (1971) 33-68, distribution map on p.35. The local potteries also produced the 'late 37' form of Terra Sigillata Hispanica, which must be dated to the later 4th. century: M^a A.Mezquiriz de Catalán, Terra Sigillata Hispanica, (Valencia, 1961) pp.39-40.
230. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, no.268.
231. At the second Council of Toledo: it is uncertain whether the absence of a bishop of Urgellum at the provincial councils of 516 and 517 is an indication that the see was founded between these dates. The first appearance of a bishop of Osca (Huesca) at the same council might suggest that it was only at this time that bishoprics were formed in the Pyrenean zones.
232. R.Pita Mercé, Lérida paleocristiana, p.100. C.Batlle i Gallart, Els orígens medievals de la Seu d'Urgell, (Barcelona, 1979) pp.7-11. One should note, however, the possibility of previous settlement in the plain: this is implied by the cemetery which, by the presence of burials under triangular settings of tiles, must have been in use at some point in the

late Roman or Visigothic periods, found at Eucata near Seu d'Urgell: M.de Boüard and M.Riu, Manual de Arqueologia medieval, (Barcelona, 1977) p.420.

233. I am hear thinking of the large number of mints in the areas previously held by the Suevi, and also those unlocated ones which might have been related to campaigns against the Vascones (e.g.Cestavvi). A useful map of mints in P.de Palol, "Demografia y Arqueologia hispánicas de los siglos IV al VIII: Ensayo de cartografía" in BSAA 32 (1966) 3-66, map XI.

234. The twenty-six pieces which Palol discussed in "Fíbulas y broches de cinturón...", thirty years ago can now be increased to at least thirty (additional material from Roses, Granollers, Montblanc and Altafulla). I do not include the decorative metalwork of the late 4th. and 5th. centuries of which there appear to be a number of pieces in the area, such as from the Torre Llauder villa, but which have not been studied in depth, although it is apparent that there are none of the cemeteries containing a number of burials with such material, like those from the Duero valley and other parts of the supposed Limes.

235. For the text of the consecration of the cathedral in 839 which contains the names of the parishes, and almost certainly reflects the situation in the later Visigothic period, P.Pujol, "L'acte de consagració

i dotació de la Catedral d'Urgell, de l'any 819 o 839" in Estudis Romànics 2 (1917) 92-115. For later consecrations within the early Medieval period, which demonstrate the limits reached as the Reconquest advanced, C.Baraut, "Les actes de consagracions d'esglésies del Bisbat d'Urgell (segles IX-XII)" in Urgellia 1 (1978) 11-182.

236. Particularly striking in the case of the material found in situ in the excavations of the church at Bobalà (Lleida): see R.Pita and P.de Palol, "La basílica de Bobalà y su mobiliario litúrgico" in Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana (Vatican City-Barcelona, 1972) i, 383-401. The contrast between coastal and inland areas is particularly evident in the case of late Roman pottery, for the North African wares rarely penetrated into the interior, although the products of Languedoc and Provence had more success there, although the most widely found material, while it was still being produced, was the late category of Terra Sigillata Hispánica. In contrast, this class is rare on the coast.

237. I base my hypothesis on the dispersion of the Tarragona Jews on the fact that one of the earliest references to Jews in the area of Barcelona comes not from the city but from near the future town of Vilanova i la Geltrú, halfway between Tarragona and Barcelona, and very close to the frontier in the mid-10th. century: see M.Schwab and J.Miret y Sans,

"Le plus ancien document à présent connu des Juifs catalans" in BRABLB 8 (1915-6) 229-233. The document refers to Cubelles, the core of modern Vilanova i la Geltrú, a town which only developed towards the middle of the 13th. century.

238. On the villa itself, A. del Castillo Yurrita, "La Costa Brava en la Antigüedad, en particular la zona entre Blanes y San Feliu de Guíxols. La villa romana de Tossa" in Ampurias 1 (1939) 186-267: for the mosaic, A. Balil, "Algunos mosaicos hispanorromanos de época tardía" in Príncipe de Viana 26 (1965) 281-293, p. 284 note 8, suggesting a late 5th or 6th. century date rather than the frequently stated 4th. century one. This seems reasonable on the grounds of comparison with the 5th. century mosaic from the Tarragona early Christian cemetery.

239. For an early Christian inscription, Vives, ICERV, no. 300: the original publication states that it was found at Llafranc on the coast, not Palafrugell: J. Pellas y Forgas, Historia del Ampurdán, (Barcelona, 1883) p. 357. For other material from this area, see G. Trías Rubies, "Materiales arqueológicos de Llafranc (Gerona)" in Pyrenae 2 (1966) 93-116, although little or none of this is late Roman in date: a polychrome mosaic was however recorded by Pellas, op. cit. p. 210, and discussed by A. Balil, Mosaicos Romanos de Hispania Citerior, I. Conventus Tarragonensis. Fascículo 1º Ager Emporitanus et Gerundensis

(= *Studia Archeologica*, 12: Santiago de Compostela, 1971) p.20. For early medieval tombs around the church of Palafrugell, Pella, op.cit., p.328, and for an otherwise unpublished early Christian structure at nearby Sta.Cristina de Aro, Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., p.37 note 22.

240. Palol, Arqueologia cristiana..., p.37 note 22: L.Esteva Cruañas, "Cerámica romana de época tardía hallada en San Feliu de Guíxols (Gerona)" in BSAA 28 (1962) 49-68: idem, "Excavació a la Porta Ferrada de Sant Feliu de Guíxols" in Revista de Girona Year XXIV no.82 (1978) 29-40. However populated this coastal area may have been in the 5th. and 6th. centuries, by the 9th. century it was largely deserted: cf. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.110.

241. I.A.Richmond, "Five town-walls in Hispania Citerior" in JRS 21 (1931) 86-100, p.100.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. For this period see, E.A.Thompson, The Goths in Spain, (Oxford, 1969) p.251: M.Coll i Alentorn, Els successors de Witiza en la zona nord-est del domini visigòtic, (Barcelona, 1971) and most recently, M.Barceló, "El rei Akhila i els fills de Witiza: encara un altra recerca" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XVII no.49 (1978) 59-78. For the coins of Akhila, X.Barral i Altet, La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigotiques, (Munich, 1976) nos. 167-174. from Puig Rom, Narbonne, Ruséino, near Perpignan. No.169, from a cave, can be paralleled by other cave finds of late Visigothic coins (Barral nos.136 and 159) which illustrate a largely unrealized aspect of settlement in this period.

2. The problem lies in the interpretation of the Arabic sources of widely varying date and trustworthiness. A good summary with references to the sources is in J.M^a Millás Vallicrosa, "La conquista musulmana de la región pirenaica" in Pirineos 2 (1946) 53-67. He concludes that following the chronicle Fath al-Andalus of the 12th. century, and other sources, it seems likely that Musa, after taking Zaragoza, proceeded eastwards and reached the coast. Ibn Jaldun and al-Maqqari, writing at a later date, claimed that he conquered all the area up to Narbonne. All these events must be placed before 714, for in

that year he returned to Damascus. However, Millás found it difficult to accept these last assertions and considered that it was probably al-Hurr (716-9) who was the first emir to take and hold Barcelona. Ibn Jaldun and al-Maqqari also considered that he or another of the successors of Ayyub definitively occupied the region. A.G.Chejne, Historia de España Musulmana, (Madrid, 1980) p.21, expresses the opinion that this would have occurred under Ayyub's predecessor, the son of Musa. The various accounts are not incompatible if the 714 attack is considered as no more than a raid, with the conquest coming two or three years later.

3. Millás, op.cit, p.57, considered that this was Tarragona, and this certainly fits the events of Musa's campaign far better. See also F.Codera, "Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona bajo la dominación musulmana" in AIEC 3 (1909-10) 178-202, pp.178-183.

4. Moissac Chronicle in Recueil de historiens des Gaules et de la France (edited M.Bouquet). vol.2 (Paris, 1869) p.655 (= MGH SS I (Hanover, 1826) ed.G. Pertz) c.A.D.725: Ambisa Rex Sarracenorum cum ingenti exercitu post quintum annum Gallias aggreditur, Carcassonam expugnat, et capit, et usque Nemauso pace acquisivit et obsides eorum Barchinona transmisit.

5. Annales Mettenses, in Bouquet, Recueil..., vol.2., p.335,

on the submission of Suleiman dated to 752, although Arabic sources would suggest a date some 25 years later for this event, thereby connecting it with Charlemagne's attack on Zaragoza: cf. J.Mª Millàs Vallicrosa, "Els textos d'historiadors musulmans referents a la Catalunya Carolingia" in Quaderns d'Estudi 14 (1922) 125-161, esp.p.141.

6. The protected peoples.

7. J.Vernet i Ginés in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI (directed by A. Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.169.

8. R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La Pre-Catalunya" in Història dels Catalans vol.II, (directed by F.Soldevila: Barcelona, 1961) p.632. F-P.Verrié, La Iglesia de los Santos Justo y Pastor, (Barcelona, 1944) p.11.

9. The evidence for the existence of St.Just in the Visigothic period is presented above pp.205-7. Nevertheless, the fact that cathedrals in other cities were taken over as mosques, or converted from mosques to Cathedrals on Reconquest (e.g. Tortosa and Toledo), may well suggest that these suppositions are acceptable.

10. Duran, BSH, p.92. M.Tintó i Sala, "El monetario del Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona" Numisma 26 (1976) 117-128, p.120. cf. G.C.Miles, The Coinage of the Umayyads in Spain, (New York, 1950) pp.20-22 and 113-126 for the coinage of this period.
11. C.131 and infra p.443.
12. Duran, BSH, p.92, describes the association of the coin with human skeletons: for the later stonework, ibid. p.95 no.36. The description of the find-spot of these pieces is derived from oral information from F-P,Verrié.
13. This consisted of about two hundred eastern dihrams from a large number of mints: F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos Monetarios (XI)" in Numario Hispánico 3 (1954) p.253. The significance of this and other 8th. century finds in Catalonia needs reconsideration.
14. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos Monetarios (XXII)" in Numisma 22 (1972) no.1407: Tintó i Sala, op.cit. p.120. F-P.Verrié, "Il battisterio di Barcellona" in Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiani (Vatican City, 1978) ii, 599-600.
This coin is probably of the year 782.
15. B.Hernandez Sanahuja, Disertación histórico-monumental de Barcelona, (Unpublished Ms. in the Archivo Archidiocesano de Tarragona, dated 13.X.1864),

folio 121. His basic tenet was that the defences of Barcelona were of Arab construction: he illustrates one coin (plate VIII) coming from the Tower of Cato, which was located in the area of the modern C/Ferran VII, and dated to 1046. He also records another coin of 1050 (plate VIII, 4) as coming from one of the towers of the Regomir Gate (folio 137). Although both of these coins post-date the earliest recorded references to the medieval castles located at these gates, they could nevertheless be interpreted as providing a terminus post quem for certain of their structural phases.

16. F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (IV)" Ampurias 7-8 (1945-6) p.251, dating them to 1130-63. These were found in a wall on the first floor of the house at the junction of C/Sant Sever and C/Sant Felip Neri, where excavations took place in 1966, with the discovery of three medieval pits sealed by a layer that has been related with the destruction of the Jewish Call in 1391. The filling of the pits can probably be dated to the late 12th. or early 13th. century, to judge by the wide range of medieval coarse wares and the lack of later 13th. century green and manganese decorated pottery. I hope to publish a note on this material in the near future. For the excavations of 1966 see: J.M^a Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) p.137: F-P. Verrié et al., "Actividades arqueológicas del Museo de Historia

de la Ciudad en los últimos cinco años (1966-1970)" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) p.770: J.Sol Vallés and A.Mª Adroer Tasis, "Silos medievales en la calle de San Severo, en Barcelona" in CAN XV (Zaragoza, 1979), which the authors allowed me to read before publication.

J.Botet i Sisó, Les monedes catalanes, i (Barcelona, 1908: reprinted 1976) p.81 refers to other 11th. century coins found in the area of the Call: these however, were local imitations of the Ceuta mint. Barcelona was clearly a mint of some significance in the reigns of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, and coins of the city are found in Southern France. Tenth century issues, however, are comparatively rare, although a few pieces of controversial attribution and documentary sources suggest that minting occurred at least intermittently. In the later 10th. century Arab issues again became predominant, and it was not until the first decades of the 11th. century that local minting regained strength. For issues in this period, A.M.Balaguer and M.Crusafont i Sabatés, "Els comtats catalans: les seves encunyacions i àrees d'influència I, Corpus" in Symposium Numismàtic de Barcelona I (Barcelona, 1979) 377-508, revising the classification of Botet, op.cit., and for their circulation, A.M.Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions de l'estudi de la moneda catalana comtal" in ibid. II (Barcelona, 1980) 297-330. For the relative value of the various units see appendix C in volume IV.

17. MHC Caja 585 unnumbered sherd and number 45 respectively. For this site see note 16. For parallels for the first piece among late Caliphal and Taifa products, L.M.Llubià, Cerámica Medieval Española, (Barcelona, 1973²) figs.31, 62 and 64. For parallels for the other in Pisa, G.Berti and L.Tongiorgi, "Frammenti di giare con decorazioni impresse a stampo trovati a Pisa" in Faenza 58 (1972) 3-10.

18. Unpublished: my thanks go to Oriol Granados for this information. See now idem in NAH (Arqueologia) 9 (1980) 423-445, p.430.

19. For the basilica, J.M.^a Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) p.138. For Sta.Maria del Mar, supra chapter VII p. 225. Other pottery found in the area of the Palau Requesens is so described, but since no precise description is given, this find is less certain: see J.Grahit y Grau, Comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de la Provincia de Barcelona: Memoria de la labor realizada por la misma en su primer siglo de existencia (1844-1944), (Barcelona, 1947) p.53. Such imports must have increased in number after the fall of the Caliphate, and reached even rural areas via the nobility cf. the 11th. century vessel from St.Quirze de Pedret illustrated in Història de Catalunya Salvat, ii (ed.J.M.Salrach: Barcelona, 1978-9) p.56.

20. For this inscription, F.Udina and J.M^a Garrut, Barcelona: Dos mil años de historia, (Barcelona, 1963) p.106. For its find-spot at the foot of the defences in C/del Subteniente Navarro in an area where no other pre-11th. century material was located, J. de C.Serra Ràfols, "Notas sobre el sector nordeste de la muralla romana de Barcelona" in CAHC 5 (1964) p.64. Most recently discussed by Vernet, op.cit., p.174.
21. Illustrated in Vernet, op.cit., p.171 and 173. See also F.Udina, Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad), (Barcelona, 1969³) p. 87 for the find-spot and for the other pieces of Caliphal stonework from Catalonia, E.Tarracó i Planas, "L'escultura en el monestir de Ripoll, ara fa mil anys" in Revista de Girona XXIV no.83 (1978) 179-190, p.189.
22. For the 12th. century Arab Baths and their parallels, infra p. 545.
23. J.M.Salrach i Marés, El procés de formació naci-de Catalunya (segles VIII-IX): i, El Domini Carolingi, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.14-24, with full references to earlier discussions. L.Auzias, "Les sièges de Barcelone, de Tortose et d'Huesca, 801-811" Annales du Midi 48 (1936) 5-28 endeavoured to place the date of the Reconquest of Barcelona in 803, following the 'Astronomer': this was rectified by P.Wolff "Les événements de Catalogne de 798-812 et la chronologie de l'Astronome" in AEM 2 (1965) 451-9.

B.S.Bachrach, "Military organization in Aquitaine under the early Carolingians" in Speculum 49 (1974) 1-33, has some interesting points on the military aspects of the campaign, not included by Salrach, who I follow on other points.

24. Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux, (edited and translated into French by E.Faral: Paris, 1939) lines 302-571, pp.26-47. For an interesting philosophical approach to this source, J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El asedio de Barcelona, según Ermoldo el Negro" in BRABLB 37 (1977-8) 149-169.

25. These were Usuard and Odilard from St.Germain-des-Près, who were searching for the relics of St. Vincent. The account by Aimon of St.Germain des Près De Translatione sanctorum martyrum Georgii, Aurelii et Nathaliae ex urbe Corduba Parisios has been published in E.Flórez, España Sagrada X (Madrid, 1753) and Bouquet, Recueil..., vol.7 (Paris, 1870) pp.353-5. The bishop was Adaulphus, who is attested by later sources, and the Viscount Sunifred. The count of that period, Humfrid, would appear to have spent little time in the area: cf. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.185.

26. Annales Bertiniani, (ed.M. Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens..., vol.7, p.68): Mauri Barcinonam judeis prodentibus capiunt: interfectisque pene omnibus christianis et urbe vastata, impune redeunt, and related in most general accounts.

27. The most thorough discussion of this event is by R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "Un gran comte de Barcelona preterit: Guifred Borrell, 897-911" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year III no.8 (1964) 49-90 (= CAHC 5 (1964) 83-130 and his Dels Visigots als catalans, (Barcelona, 1974²) 1, 323-362, p.87). It would appear that after the death of Wifred the Hairy in a skirmish with the Moslem Lord of Lleida, the city was evacuated, although it remains unclear whether Arab forces actually occupied it. The dating is provided by a phrase in the transcription of the copy of the 844 privileges of Charles the Bald to the inhabitants of Barcelona (in LAEC I 1 1: Mas IX no.1, p.1): Hoc est exemplar precepti translatum in civitate Barchinona, in anno primo quo obiit Odo rex, tempore Borrelli comite filii quondam Wifredi, eidem nominis nuncupati, post reversionem Barchinonensium. See also, G.Feliu Montfort, "El Condado de Barcelona en los siglos IX y X: organización territorial y económico-social" in Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña 7 (1972) 9-32, p.12.

28. See infra pp. 340-5. The number of campaigns that would seem to have affected the Barcelona area between 801 and 985 is almost endless. Using the Arab sources collected by Millás, op.cit. (note 5), they occurred in 827, 841, 845/6, 850/1, 861/2, 883/4, 911/2, 913 and 965: to these one must add the instability caused by the infighting concerning the title of the Count of Barcelona in the period up to 878.

28 bis. For the towns of León and Castille in this period, J.Gautier Dalché, Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX-XIII), (Madrid, 1979) pp.15-48. Aragón and Navarre had even less in the way of urban life: J.Mª Lacarra, "El desarrollo urbano de Navarra y Aragón en la Edad Media" in Pirineos 6 (1950) 5-34, with an English summary on pp.25-9. The only town with any connection with Antiquity was Pamplona, and it was only in the later 11th. century that other towns such as Jaca emerged. For Jaca see now, L.H.Nelson, "The foundation of Jaca (1076): urban growth in early Aragon" in Speculum 53 (1978) 688-708.

The revival in urban life in al-Andalus was far greater in scope and the cities easily outstripped their Roman forerunners: it is a subject which has not yet been adequately studied. In general see L.Torres Balbas in Historia de España V, (ed.R. Menéndez Pidal: Madrid, 1957) pp.195-255.

The population of greater Córdoba may have reached half-a-million souls at its peak: M.Lombard, The Golden Age of Islam, (Amsterdam-Oxford, 1975) pp.140-5.

29. Salrach, op.cit., i, pp.39-46 and R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La família del primer comte barceloní, Berà" in CAHC 10 (1967) pp.187-193.

30. A bibliography of his works can be found in volume I of his collected works, Dels visigots als catalans, (Barcelona, 1974²) pp.17-20.

31. For the possible remains of the Visigothic palace supra pp.211-3.

For the connection between the counts of the Visigothic period and those of the ninth century, F.Udina "L'évolution du titre comtal à Barcelone" in Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale. 14 (1971) 149-157 and 17 (1974) 235-245, particularly the first article p.150.

32. Supra pp 208-11/for these remains.

33. For the disputes with the canons over Sta.Maria del Mar, infra p.519. St.Pere is generally accepted to have been sponsored by the Counts of Barcelona: F.Udina Martorell, "El milenario del Real Monasterio de San Pedro de las Puellas y el Acta de consagración de su primitivo templo" in BRABLB 18 (1945) 217-244 especially pp.238-9 for the probability that the foundation pre-dated the consecration of 945 by some time. Also, A.Paulí Meléndez, El real monasterio de San Pedro de la Puellas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1945).

34. St.Miquel was certainly under Comital control in the mid-11th. century, and the earliest known reference to the church, of 951 (ACB DC(a) 1,18), is a donation to it by Countess Richilde. The association with St.Pau del Camp is a result of the discovery there of the funerary inscription of Count Guifred Borrell (d.911). It might be argued that, unless he founded a monastic community there, there was no reason for him to be buried away from the

usual burial place of the monastery of Ripoll.

34 bis. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.144-9.

35. G.Feliu Montfort, La Formación del Dominio Territorial de la Sede de Barcelona (800-1010), (Summary of Doctoral Thesis presented to Barcelona University, 1972) (Barcelona, 1975) p.11.

35 bis. R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Catalunya Carolingia II: Els Diplomes Carolingis a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1926-52) no.XXII, p.349.

36. Ibid., appendix VII, p.430. One imagines that the arrival of Mozarabs from Córdoba in these years must have been a fairly frequent occurrence, given the atmosphere of persecution there.

37. Ibid., p.68. Also LAEC I 1 2: Mas IX no.4 p.3.

38. Ibid. The community of canons had probably been established early in Frodoinus' tenure, but had already fallen into decay: Feliu, op.cit., p.9.

39. The most thorough account of the cult of Sta. Eulalia in Barcelona is A.Fàbrega Grau, Santa Eulalia de Barcelona, (Rome, 1958).

40. The codices preserved in the ACB which contain this account are of 14th. century date, but there is little reason to doubt that the greater part is genuine: the text is M.C.Díaz y Díaz, Index scriptorum

latinorum medii aevi hispanorum, (Madrid, 1959) p.129 no.511 and is published in S.Puig & Puig, Episcopologio de la Sede Barcinonense, (Barcelona, 1929) pp.357-9.

41. e.g. in the document cited in note 37 and in C.1: domum Sancte Crucis et Sancte Eulalie qui ibidem quiescat.

42. For these inscriptions, J.Vives, "Inscripciones prerrománicas barcelonesas" in San Jorge no.47 (July, 1962) 56-62: this one is on pp.56-7, and was found in 1774 in the crypt of Sta.Eulalia.

43. The greatest criticism that can be levelled at Canon Fábrega's work on Sta.Eulalia is that his acceptance of the Barcelona saint rests principally on this identification: cf. the comments of C.García Rodríguez, El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda, (Madrid, 1966) pp.299-302.

44. De translatione..., op.cit. (note 25), p.354: Itaque proficiscentes Barcinonis ad moenia, quamvis multipliceter fatigati perveniunt in urbem sanguinis sanctorum martyrium Cucuphatis et Eulaliae virginis madore circumlitam.

45. Fábrega, op.cit., p.73.

46. For this view of events, G.Feliu i Montfort,

"Els inicis del domini territorial de la Seu de Barcelona" in Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña 14 (1976) 45-61, p.50. For the significance of the remains of Sta.Eulalia to the inhabitants of Mérida in the 6th. century, R.Collins, "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585" in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, (edited by E.James: Oxford, 1980) 189-219, pp.207-8 and 213-4.

47. Abadal, Catalunya Carolingia II, appendix VIII, p.434. The original is in the ACB with a copy in LAEC I 9 16, Mas IX no.3 p.2.

48. The debate began at the beginning of this century: J.Calmette, "Une lettre close originale de Charles le Chauve" in Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiées par l'École Française de Rome 32 (1902) 135 and idem, "Sur la lettre de Charles le Chauve aux Barcelonais" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 64 (1903) 329-334, defending it as entirely genuine. In opposition, P.Lauer, "Lettre close de Charles le Chauve pour les Barcelonais" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 63 (1902) 696-9. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.183, considered that the postscript was a later addition, although more recently there has perhaps been a tendency to accept it as authentic. However, the hand looks very much like one of the late 10th. or 11th centuries: it has been reproduced photographically on several occasions, e.g. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.182 and R.

d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Dels visigots als catalans, (Barcelona, 1974²) i, pl.18, opp.p.177.

49. Text in J.Villanueva, Viage literario a las iglesias de España VI, (Valencia, 1821) appendix XI, pp.262-6. For the ecclesiastical context, E.Magnou-Nortier, La société laïque et L'Eglise dans la Province Ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéene) de la fin du VIII^e à la fin du XI^e siècle, (Toulouse, n.d. but c.1974) p.368 and 370.

50. For this burial, Verrié, op.cit. (note 14), p.599. It can be compared with both the graves from Sant Miquel and others in southern France: it would fall into type VI according to S.Gagnière, "Les sépultures à inhumation du III^e au XIII^e siècle de notre ère dans la basse vallée du Rhône" in Cahiers Rhodaniens 12 (1965) 53-110. However, the precise dating which it is often attempted to give these and other classes of medieval burials, e.g. the so-called 'Olérdola-type', should be treated with a considerable degree of caution. Although a general typology is visible, the dating of the changes might vary somewhat from area to area, and until a considerable number of tombs with dating evidence have been studied, or the transitions within a single cemetery made clear, these dates can only be tentative, For the 'Olérdola-type' see A. del Castillo, "Cronología de las tumbas llamadas 'Olérdolanas'" in CAN XI (Zaragoza, 1970) 835-845.

51. This was first pointed out by Feliu, op.cit. (in note 46) p.54. In the Cathedral Archive there are 24 donations to Sant Miquel of this period, compared with only seven to the Holy Cross.
52. e.g. domum Sancte Crucis et Sancte Eulalie sedis et Sancto Michaelis in Barchinona in 960 (LAEC IV 65 179, Mas IX no.21, pp.10-1): ad Sancto Michaelis et Sancte Eulalie de Barchinona of 985 (CSC 37 252, Rius I no171, p.142): ad domum Sancto Michaelis in sedis Barchinona of 992 (LAEC IV 115 296, Mas IX no.117 p.49).
53. Feliu, op.cit., p.54.
54. For the history of the interpretations of the structure and its identification with the baths building, A.Balil, "El mosaico romano de la iglesia de San Miguel" in CAHC 1 (1960) 21-74. It would be fruitless to speculate on the function of the building, if any, in the period between the date when the baths went out of use (6th. century ?) and the mid-10th. century.
55. Feliu, op.cit., p.54 and in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (directed by A.Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.183, referring to ipsi canonici de Sancti Michaelis.
56. LAEC III 73 193, Mas IX no.14, pp.7-8.

57. For the arguments for and against this question infra pp.377-381.
58. St.Michael was, of course, a particularly popular dedication in the tenth century: cf. E.Moreu Rey, "La dévotion à Saint Michel dans les pays catalans" in Millénaire Monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel vol.III (Paris, 1971) pp.369-388.
59. Document C.2 and infra p.391 . The episcopal residence had obviously gone through a period of instability, for Frodoinus had had trouble in reclaiming the domus of his predecessor (presuming that this refers to the episcopal residence and not to the cathedral, or indeed the whole ecclesiastical complex) and this document makes it apparent that the bishop was acquiring small properties between the Early Christian basilica and the Comital Palace, in the area where the Episcopal Palace stood in the 11th. and first half of the 12th. centuries.
60. Infra p.394 for the origins of the hospital.
61. Durán, BSH, p.96. The educational function of the cathedral in the Early Middle Ages played an important part in the maintenance of urban life, which has perhaps been underestimated. The reliance on written property deeds, which seem never to have gone out of use, could only have continued if there

was an unbroken supply of scribes and legal experts, who could only have been educated in such centres. The caput scolas was still a prominent figure in early 11th. century Barcelona, and his many faceted function is visible in a signature of Poncius, cognomento Bonus Filius, clericus et iudex, doctorque parvulorum in 1020 (LAEC I 144 374, Mas IX no.397 p.182).

62. G.Feliu i Montfort, "Sunifred, anomenat Llobet, ardiaca de Barcelona (finals del segle X)" in II Col·loqui d'Història del Monacisme Català (=Scriptorium Populeti, 7:

Poblet, 1972) 51-63. For his possible works, M.C.Díaz y Díaz, Index scriptorum Latinorum mediæ ævi Hispanorum, (Madrid, 1959) p.149, nos.608-612. For his contacts with Gerbert, L.Nicolau d'Olwer, "Gerbert (Silvestre II) y la cultura catalana del siglo X" in EUC 4 (1910) 332-358.

63. Often published: most recently by J.ª Font Rius, Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña, (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969) vol.I nos.1 and 2, pp.3-7, with commentary on pp.591-4.

64. This continuity has of course long been realized. For recent studies of the use of Visigothic Law in this period, J.Bastier, "Le testament en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècle: un survivance wisigothique"

in Revue Historique du droit français et étranger 51 (1973) 373-417. M.Zimmerman, "L'usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècle" in Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 9 (1973) 233-281. W.Kienast, "La pervivencia del derecho godo en el sur de Francia y Cataluña" in BRABLB 35 (1973-4) 265-295. F.Udina Martorell, "El sedimento visigodo en la Cataluña Condal" in RABM 77 (1974) 565-581. F.Mateu y Llopis, "De la Hispania Tarraconense visigoda a la Marca Hispánica Carolingia" in AST 19 (1946) 1-122, is of wider interest as it deals with matters other than the purely legal ones,

65. Documented cited supra p.315 and note 103. Although it might be argued that the idea of two hundred years or more was only meant to imply a very long time, the date of the conquest in 801 clearly formed an important part of local historical tradition and is the starting point for such chronicles as exist of local origin: e.g. Annales Barcinonenses, (MGH SS XXIII (Hanover, 1874) p. 1): Chronicle of Barcelona, (P.de Marca, Marca Hispanica (Paris, 1688) cols.753-8): Chronicle of St.Pere de les Puellas, (M.Coll, "La crònica de Sant Pere de les Puellas" in I Col.loqui d'Història del Monaquisme Català: i, (Poblet 1967) 35-50): and the Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium, (edited by L.Barrau Dihigo and J.Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), It is clear from the many accounts of the Reconquest that the resident population remained fundamentally unaltered.

66. It appears for the first time in Mozio's will (ADB Mensa Episcopalis, Título IV part I, no.1). He had died in Zaragoza on his way back from captivity in Córdoba, and bequeathed 100 sols. to the altar of Sta.Maria within the church. It was thus firmly established by 985. Leaving aside the improbable claims for apostolic foundation (although it is interesting that Campillo in Speculum Septem Ecclesiarum Parrochialium intus civitate Barcinonensem existentium, (Ms. in ADB, 1751) fol.528v, states that it was built where St.James had preached in publica platea, which fits the location in the middle of the forum) and the scarcity of dedications to St.James in the Visigothic period (C.García Rodríguez, El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda, (Madrid, 1966) p.160), it seems most probable that it was founded after the Reconquest, in spite of its location which recalls earlier times. Whether it can be related to the increasing vogue of Saint James through the influence of Santiago de Compostela is another matter: the first Catalan pilgrim recorded to the Galician shrine was a priest of Barcelona who had made the journey prior to 1001: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.939. The pilgrimage was particularly popular in the first half of the 11th. century.

67. For the reference of 965, C.4. For the Visigothic period, supra pp 205-7.

68. Vives, op.cit. (in note 42), no.9, p.60. See also J.Mas, Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona Vol.VIII, El Fossar de la Seu de Barcelona y ses inscripcions funeraries, (Barcelona, 1911) p.84.

69. Vives, op.cit., no.3 p.58, now in the MHC.

These inscriptions may be compared with those from Italy; N.Gray, "The Palaeography of Latin inscriptions in the 8th., 9th. and 10th. centuries in Italy" in Papers of the British School at Rome 16 (1948) 38-167. They imply the survival of Roman stone-cutting techniques, or perhaps more probably, in view of the lack of such inscriptions between the 6th. and later 9th. centuries, renewed contacts with a centre with such continuity.

70. For the graves, F.Pallarès Salvador, "Las excavaciones de la Plaza de San Miguel y la topografía romana de Barcino" in CAHC 13 (1969) 5-42, p.11.

For the document of 993, LAEC IV 48 142, Mas XII no.2757, p.318:

Filius meus mortuus fuit in Barchinona et sepultus in Sancto Michaeli. The inscription found in this area in the 19th. century is probably false: J.A.Llabet y Vallllosera, "Observaciones sobre una inscripción del siglo décimo encontrada en Barcelona" in MRABLB 2 (1868) 181-6. Another fragment of an inscription probably of 10th. century funerary type has been found in the more recent excavations, and is now in the MHC. For the evidence for the later shift of the cemetery, infra p.404.

70 bis. For this problem see appendix B in volume IV.
 In the following chapters, unless otherwise stated, north generally means 'north as referred to in the documentation' or geographical north-west. East consequently means north-east, south means south-east and west is south-west.

71. For the problem of units of measurement see Appendix A in volume IV.

72. Abadal, Catalunya Carolingia II, p.166, a precept of Lothar of 982 confirming the possessions of the monastery: et in civitate Barchinona casas, cum curtibus, ortis, puteis, terris et vineis. This presumably included the monastery's intra-mural property near St.Miquel, for which see infra p.823.

73. Infra p.357.

74. It is cited by G.Feliu Montfort, "Las ventas con pago en moneda en el Condado de Barcelona hasta el año 1010" in Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña 5 (1971) 9-41, p.17, as being in the ACB with the number DC(c) 4,84: this would imply a 12th. century date, although presumably there was a confusion between Louis VI and Louis IV 'the Overseas'. Unfortunately, this parchment neither figures in the card-index of this series, nor can be traced among the parchments, although it may be hoped that it will re-appear some day: (now located: see C.3 bis).

75. Documents C.6 was partially published by M. Schwab and J.Miret y Sans, "Documents de juifs barcelonais au XI^e siècle" in BRAH 69 (1916) 569-70. See also their "Le plus ancien document à présent connu des juifs catalans" in BRABLB 8 (1915-6) 229-233. For the possibility of a Jewish community in the Visigothic period, supra p. 252. For Jews in c.852 and 877; supra notes 26 and 47. For another later 9th. century reference to the Jews of Barcelona in general terms in the responsa of Amram (869-887) see D.Romano in Història de Catalunya Salvat, ii, (ed.J.M.Salrach: Barcelona, 1978-9) p.143.

76. For the analysis of these words, see chapter XIV. Since solarium rarely appears as clearly constituting a part of the residence before the second half of the eleventh century, I understand these 10th. century references as meaning a plot of land, although the other sense is not impossible, as in C.3 bis.

77. This is particularly clear after 1000, when the post of Archdeacon of Barcelona was monopolized by the Montcada family for nearly a century, and one of the bishops, Guislibert, was son of the Viscount and for a time held both offices, but must have been equally true in the later 10th. century.

78. His will can be found as document C.6.

79. e.g. C.11,13 and 15.

80. P.J.Banks, "'Greeks' in early medieval Barcelona ?" in Faventia 2, i(forthcoming), where all the known references are collected to identify a minimum of seven individuals so named.
81. R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Com Catalunya s'obrí al món mil anys enrera, (Barcelona, 1960). Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.325-361.
82. For the port and the surrounding zone in the later tenth century, infra p.867-72.
83. Text in Vita Iohannis Gorciensis, in MGH SS IV pp.355-58 . Discussed in A.Paz y Meliá, "La Embajada del Emperador de Alemania, Otón I al Califa de Córdoba, Abderrahman III" in Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba 10 (1931) 255-283: A.A.el-Hajji, Andalusian Diplomatic Relations with western Europe during the Umayyad period, (Beirut, 1970) p.215: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.341 and note 56.
84. Whereas John of Gorz continued along the coast to Tortosa, the monks of c.858 had gone westwards from Barcelona towards Zaragoza: see the works cited in note 25.
85. The word is of uncertain meaning, although it was originally associated with the right of passage of

troops: cf. E.Rodó Bingué, El lenguaje técnico del feudalismo, (Barcelona, 1957) pp.215-6, but it came to be applied to market tolls and similar fees payable on the passage of merchandise: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.154-5. Although the Count Of Barcelona had advanced in 936-7, any authority or threat he held over Tortosa could only have been ephemeral, so the most likely interpretation seems to be a tax on ships or merchandise coming from that port. The source is LAEC IV 73 193, Mas IX no.14, pp.7-8.

86. el-Hajji, op.cit., p.83,93, and 95: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.340-3 with a discussion of the problems.

87. On the question of imports and exports, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.417-425. As he points out (p.424) the only slaves that are found in the local documentation are a few rural workers, plus, at a later date, Saracen craftsmen.

88. The theory that a slave-trade was the reason for urban growth was primarily proposed by J.Vicens Vives, Manual de Historia Económica de España, (Barcelona, 1967⁵) pp.138-9, although he had previously invoked the hypothesis of Albigensian gold. Unfortunately, this has had very wide influence, although it was challenged by Y.Renouard, "Les prin-

cipaux aspects économiques et sociaux de l'histoire des pays de la Couronne d'Aragon aux XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles" in VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, i (Barcelona, 1962) 231-264, p.260; "L'hypothèse de J.Vicens Vives.... d'une ville de contact entre deux mondes chrétien et musulman et tirant de la piraterie et du commerce des esclaves est-elle justifiée par les textes ?". The subject has now been examined in detail by J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XI no.31 (1972) 55-88, and idem, "The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural evolution or commercial development?" in Speculum 52 (1977) 265-286.

89. The proof of burials comes in the form of inscriptions from the two churches: Vives, op.cit., p.58 nos. 2 and 4. That from St.Pere (or rather St.Sadurn, as the monastery is unlikely to have existed as early as the late 9th. century) is fragmentary and was re-used (in the 10th. century ?) for a piece of decorative stonework with a cross with pendant alpha and omega, a characteristic design of the late Visigothic and pre-Romanesque periods. The one from St.Pau is of Count Guifred Borrell (d.911), on the reverse of a Roman inscription. It is usually held to demonstrate a link between this count and an otherwise unproven 10th. century monastery there.

90. For the evidence of a Roman villa, late Roman and Visigothic burials, Visigothic period stonework, see supra p.229 . For the earliest documentary evidence of the late 10th, century, infra pp.527-9.

91. For more details of the location and growth of the market, infra pp.547-551.. Although a market is implied in 878 by the donation of tolls to the bishop (document cited in note 37), it is not known where this was located. The extra-mural location may indicate an attempt to avoid paying tolls on goods entering the walled city, and so this 878 precept may have contributed to fixing the market site outside the main gate. A very similar site was to be found in León: C.Sánchez-Albornoz, Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años, (Madrid, 1966⁵) pp.30-56. For the origins of markets in Catalonia, J.Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals els segles X al XII" in his El Món rural a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1973) pp. 41-62 (originally published as "Notes sobre el poblament català medieval: el mercat" in Miscel·lània Puig i Cadafalch vol.I (Barcelona, 1947) pp.225-241). For the rest of Spain, L.G. de Valdeavellano, El Mercado, apuntes para su estudio en León y Castilla durante la Edad Media, (Seville, 1975²).

Whether there was much in the way of suburban settlement before c.950 is doubtful: it is feasible that a number of structures had continued to exist, especially near the churches, but there is no direct evidence. It is true that Arab sources refer to a

siege of Barcelona, the capture of 'rabals' and two forts in 861/2 (cited in Millás, op.cit.(note 5) p.150), but in the absence of further evidence I would prefer to interpret this as referring to the outlying settlements of the plain. In addition, this account is unusual in that it finds no reflection in the Frankish sources: cf. J.M.Salrach, El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (segles VIII-IX), ii (Barcelona, 1978) p.58.

92. The intra-mural area was 10.4 ha. and allowing for some suburban inhabitants, with an average density of 100 per ha., the total falls short of this figure, and probably by no small margin if, as I believe, much of the southern part of the walled city was taken up by agricultural land. After 985, one can probably postulate a population of 1000 or fewer. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.115-6 suggests a density of 150 per ha. in the mid-10th. century, and thus proposes slightly higher figures. For later numbers, and further evidence on population density, infra pp.831-5.

93. There were over fifty Jewish heads of family in 1079 (infra p.830) and in the late 10th. century twenty-four heads of family in Girona, which one might expect to be the same size or slightly smaller than the Barcelona community (infra p.886).

94. This is suggested by a document of 1029 (C.48 bis),

By the middle of the 12th. century, the orchards had been built over, and it was not until the later 13th. century that the street was cut through this area again. For the discussion of these points infra p. 420.

95. Infra p. 487. It is possible, however, that this is a result of a bias in the sources towards that zone in the years after 985.

96. Again this is based on evidence relating to the period after 985: infra pp. 552-8.

However, the archaeological evidence, particularly from the Plaça de Sant Miquel (supra p. 219) should also be taken into account, and appears to support the hypothesis.

97. Climatic conditions and the consequent alterations in habitat have never been considered as responsible for or influencing the pattern of suburban expansion. Whereas in the late Roman period, and perhaps as late as the 6th. century, burials were being made not only on the site of Sta. Marçà del Mar, but also to its south, the church was clearly very close to the shoreline in the 10th. and 11th. centuries, if one considers both the descriptions of the position of the church and those of nearby properties. Not until the 12th. century did the coast there recede, and only in the early 13th. century could the strip to the south of the Gothic church be built upon. Similarly the early Roman coin hoard from the site of the Post Office, and the burials from the Gobierno Mili-

tar, both appeared at points which one would have expected to have been covered by the waves in the 10th. and 11th. centuries. Unless one accepts the existence of numerous irregularities in the coast line and the presence of small islands to explain these phenomena, the best solution would seem to be a phase of marine transgression beginning perhaps in the post-Roman period (6th. century ?) and lasting until the 11th., when the sea was receding. This would thus cover the same period as the early medieval climatic depression, although the connection between coastal variations and climate is at best tenuous.

The problem is also influenced by the stream known as the Merdançà, which should have entered the sea fairly close to Sta, Marïa del Mar, if it had followed its natural course. There is some evidence to suggest that it was diverted from this alignment around the middle of the 11th. century (infra p. 625). Of course, this would have also led to improved drainage in the area around the market, thus making the area more conducive to settlement. Moreover, it would appear that the rivers Llobregat and Besòs, and perhaps all the streams in between, were depositing considerable quantities of silt in the early medieval period : not only did this force the abandonment of the 'Port' area at the foot of Montjuïc, but the course of the Besòs was altered, for the islands in the channel and along the coast near its mouth (ACA Ramon Borrell nos. 6 and 27) are not recorded after the late 10th.

century. This would also indicate a general advance of the shoreline, and the conversion of previously marshy land into more suitable areas for agriculture and construction.

99. D.W.Lomax, The Reconquest of Spain, (London, 1978) p.46.

100. There is general agreement between the Arab and the Christian sources: for the Arab ones, Millás, op.cit. (in note 5) p.160. A good account of these events and their historical setting in R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, (Barcelona, 1965²) pp.327-341.

The date of 986 which has often been given for this attack is not acceptable: F.Udina Martorell, El Archivo Condal de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1951) pp.XXXII-XXXIV discusses the dating. For dating problems in the 10th. century in general, G.Feliu Montfort, "La Cronologia según los Reyes Francos en el Condado de Barcelona (siglo X)" in AEM 6 (1969) 441-463, with an English summary on p.843. For the end of the 10th. century and early 11th., A.M.Mundó, "La datació de documents pel Rei Robert a Catalunya" in AEM 4 (1967) 13-34.

101. J.R(ipoll) V(ilamajor), Testamento sacramental de cierto catalan llamado Wilmundo, que murió en la defensa de Barcelona, ganado por los moros en tiempo del Conde Borrell, (Vich, 1828), publishing ACV Cajón 6 no.170: et sic perrexit in espedicionem publica

pro defensione Barkinona civitate, ubi pro infestatione paganorum captus est, vel captivitate ductus et gladio interfectus.

102. For ~~Rexac~~ (Vallès) LAEC II 178 518, Mas IX no.143, p.60 (of 994): for Marbrell in the Llobregat valley, ACB DB 1697 (of 1008).

103. LAEC II 16 46, Mas IX no.89, pp.37-8, of 987: published by F.Fita, "La destrucción de Barcelona por Almanzor" in BRAH 7 (1885) 189-192.

104. e.g. Per voce fratri meo qui interiit in civitate Barchinona quando fuit deprehensa a Saracenis (LAEC IV 19 60, Mas IX no.94, p.40: of 988): per vocem condam fratri meo qui interiit in civitate Barchinona quando fuit destructa a Sarracenis (S.16).

105. propter interitionem Barchinona civitatem quia ibi interiit ipse et omnibus consanguineis suis (LAEC II 100 305, Mas IX no.103, p.44 of 989, with an identical phrase in LAEC II 103 313, Mas IX no. 189, pp.80-1 of 998). Advenit me per voce fratri meo Recosindo quia interiit in Barchinona ille et uxori sue cum filiis suis (LAEC II 101 308, Mas IX no.173, p.73).

106. et quando fui in captivitate non fuit unquam homo nec femina qui me redimeret (LAEC IV 48 142, Mas XII no.2757, p.318).

107. qui mihi advenerunt per successionem mortuorum hebreorum qui in interitu Barchinone civitatis perierunt (ACA Ramon Borrell 45 of 1000).

108. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.211.

109. LAEC II 93 282, Mas IX no.110 pp.46-7, dedimus in redempcione pro captivis quod posuerat Aurucio iudice pro se in Spania, implies that this was the case. Auruz had returned to Barcelona by 987 when he signed a document (that cited in note 103). He received a further gift in the will of Bishop Vivas of c.995 (LAEC I 23 46, Mas IX no.148, pp.63-4), although this may have been for the general redemption of captives. Lomax, op.cit., p.105 cites a similar case of a Bishop of Tuy c.920. For the Auruz incident Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.345-6. For Auruz himself, my "'Greeks' in early medieval Barcelona ?" in Faventia 2,i(forthcoming).

110. For the catalogue of 11th. century bequests for captives, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.957-8. For the origins of the Mercedarians, J.Brodman "The origins of the Mercedarian Order: a reassessment" in Studia Monastica 19 (1977) 353-360.

111. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.344 note 69, cites examples of people returning as late as 1000 and 1002, and it should be remembered that disputes continued into the first decade of the 11th. century.

112. The prime example was Vivas of Provencals, studied in P.Bonnassie, "Une famille de la campagne barcelonaise et ses activités économiques aux alentours de l'an Mil" in Annales du Midi 76 (1964) 261-303, although one could add others, such as Sunyer of Horta, M^a R.Bultó Blajot, "El antiguo término de Horta y su parroquia de San Juan" in CAHC 7 (1965) 59-79.

113. For example the dispute of 8.V.1000 (ACB DB 138):
In horum presentia adstitit quadam mulier (...)la
captiva nomine Matrona lacrimosa proferens querela
de suas hereditates et facultates paternas quas ei
dissipaverat frater suus Bonushomo et subverterat
tempore quamdiu prenotata Matrona detempta fuerat
in vincula captivitates in civitate Corduba.

114. Hismaeliti venerunt usque ad Barchinona, Qui
omnem^{terram} devastantes prendiderunt ac depopulaverunt
totam Barchinonam succenderuntque in ea magno
incendio ita ut congregata integerrime consumerent
 (LAEC II 178 518, Mas IX no.143 pp.60-1).

For other references to the 'year that Barcelona died' and 'the year when Barcelona was depopulated by the Saracens', Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.344.

115. F.Udina Martorell, El Archivo Condal de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1951) p.397, no.212: propter necessitatem de restauracione ecclesie qui fuit dissipata a Sarracenis in anno quod fuit Barchinona dextructa.

116. a coopertura Sanct Saturnini (a testamentary bequest in S.21).

117. S.19.

118. quod expendimus in restaurationem in prefati cenobi. (ACA Ramon Borrell 93).

119. Infra p.673.

120. For the destruction of other city walls by Almansur, see F.Arias, Las Murallas romanas de Lugo (= Studia Archeologica,¹⁴; Santiago de Compostela, 1972) p. 25.

The only possible loss was that of the still rather doubtful community of St.Pau del Camp: the most recent and thorough study of the history of the church accepts that the evidence of document S.19 referring to property in the area de Monte Chato usque in cenobio Sancti Pauli, de mare usque in ipso montium cacumine points to the fact that a monastery existed or had existed. However, this description could equally well have applied to the area of the Maresme and not the 'pla de Barcelonaa', and the monastery in question, like other tenth century references to a monastery of Sancti Pauli would refer to St.Pol de Mar (A.Pladevall in J.Vigué, El monestir romànic de Sant Pau del Camp, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.20-1). This seems even more probable if the Monte Chato is interpreted as Montgat

and not Montcada. Even in the case of St.Pau, the church is mentioned in 986 (S.7) and all the other churches of Barcelona appear in the will of Mozion, declared in the following year (ADB Mensa Episcopalis, Titulo IV, no.1). It is slightly more difficult to prove that they were all in use or serviceable, and the best evidence for this comes in the form of the sacramental conditions of wills being sworn on their altars: e.g. that of Bishop Vivas was declared in 995 on the altar of Sta.Coloma, cuius altaria est consecratus intus domum Sancte Crucis Sedis Barchinone (S.25).

121. For these events, R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, (Barcelona, 1965²) pp.332-341.

122. S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) pp.16-20.

123. Ibid., pp.20-23 and Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.347-351 on this and subsequent campaigns.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. The claim that the defences were almost the 'raison d'être' of the city was put forward by J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "Sobre els orígens de Barcelona" in Miscel.lània Fontseré (Barcelona, 1961) pp.377-388 and other works cited in note 3 of chapter VII.

2. The archaeological evidence is not particularly informative on this point, but there does exist the possibility that the intervallum street was being encroached upon in the Visigothic period: supra p.218. However, there is no proof of structures being built against the walls until the end of the 10th. century, although there may have been yards and other open spaces. Even in the case of the Comital Palace there may have been a small space between the end of the main hall of the 11th.century and the walls, which was only later blocked and covered by the fore-chamber of the palace.

3. This work is the manuscript now in the Biblioteca de ^Catalunya, Ms.no.487, with the relevant sections on folios 98 and 99. Entitled Llibre de les Nobleses dels Reis, it was written by a certain Francesc, of whom little is known. It has been discussed by M.Coll i Alentorn, "El Llibre de les Nobleses dels Reis" in EUC 13 (1928) 485-524.

- 3 bis. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.115 envisages

the occupation of wall-towers as evidence for pressure on space in the walled area. The abundance of gardens and even fields found until the later 11th. century suggests that this was not so in the early decades of the century.

4. I would divide the windows added to towers into various categories: the earliest must be the small simple ones like that in tower 75, with the arch of the window made of a single piece of stone. In the 11th. century, such windows gradually became higher although equally simple in style. The double windows with capital and column probably do not appear until the late 11th. century at the earliest, and the majority are probably of 12th. and 13th. century date.

For the windows between towers 6 and 7, see A.Duran i Sanpere, "La torre poligonal (no.6) de la muralla" in CAHC 13 (1969) 51-67: his illustrations are reproduced in figs 76. One might also note the capital, supposedly of Caliphal style, from the upper floor of the Pia Almoina building located against the defences at this point: CMB p.44. and fig.139. This, however, was presumably originally used in some other structure in the area.

5. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.297, refers to a new gate which he places in the area of the Jewish Call. I consider that this is the same as the Castell Nou

gate, for there is no other evidence for a fifth gate, nor trace of it in the topography of that part of the city: both the example he cites (C.42) and others referring to the intramural (C.194) and suburban (S.153,279) areas leave little doubt that it was in the same area as the Castell Nou. This may, however, indicate that a degree of rebuilding took place with the appearance of the Castle, or that the gate was already slightly displaced to the north of the Roman gate.

6. For a fuller discussion of this event, P.J. Banks, "The north-western gate of the City of Barcelona in the 11th. and 12th. centuries" in CAHC 17 (1977) 117-127.

7. For illustrations of these vaults, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.342 and figure 75.

8. Banks, op.cit., p.125 for further discussion.

9. For data concerning the cutting of the 'baixades' see Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.340.

10. M. Biddle, "The evolution of towns: Planned towns before 1066" in The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales, (ed. M.W. Barley, London, 1976) 19-32, p.22.

11. The principal illustration of the Regomir gate

is the not very informative one in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.357. For the Plaça Nova gate, see the bibliography cited in notes 40 and 43 of chapter IV. The side passages were certainly blocked after the end of the fourth century for a coin of Gratian was in the filling (F.Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios (XXII)" in Numisma 22 (1972) . . . no.1406) but little other material was recorded from the first phase of the excavation, although J.Bassegoda Nonell, "Carta" in Inf.Arg. no.24 (1977) 182-3 , suggests that it was blocked at a considerably later date. However, the build up of material in the adjoining chamber, and the discovery of an early medieval burial at a height similar to that of the vault of the passage may suggest that it would have become virtually impassable by the time of the Reconquest. My thanks go to Srta.J.Sol of the MHC for showing me these excavations early in 1979. The blocking or reduction in size of gates was, of course, a fairly common feature of the post-Roman period in general: e.g. Caerwent.

12. Supra p.321 and J.M.Salrach i Marés, El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya:ii,L'establiment de la dinastia nacional, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.75-6.

13. For tower 78, J.Bassegoda, "En la vieja Plaza Nueva, la Torre del Obispo" in Inf.Arg. no.16 (1975) 101-5, especially the elevation on p.103. Note that

the vault between it and tower 77 was rounded rather than pointed, and thus was probably that erected c. 1078. For the documentation, Banks, op.cit., p.120. One should also mention the tower visible in the early 19th.century engravings of the gate, which appears to have been located over the back part of the gate passage. Rectangular in plan, it unfortunately has no diagnostic features to enable one to propose a date, although it was considerably higher than the two gate towers proper: these engravings are numerous and are perhaps most accessible in A.Balil, Las Murallas romanas de Barcelona, (Madrid ., 1961) p.52, the best of them being by A.Laborde, Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, i (Paris, 1806) plate IX (fig.18).

14. The errors contained in J.Tort Mensa, Els murs forans que defençaven la Barcelona de Borrell II....., (Molins de Rei, 1976) are too numerous for his hypothesis - that the Regomir castle and gate were not at the same point - to be taken seriously.

15. His will, dated 4.V.1148, is CSC 286 285, published by Rius III no.979, pp.158-160.

16. GGCCB, p.269, note 533: cf.C.238.

17. LAEC I 113 282, Mas XI no.1691, pp.145-6.

18. LAEC I 66 142, Mas XI no.1989, p.277: Ad noticiam cunctorum perveniat quod ego Berengarius de

Barchinona recognosco et auctorizo me tenere et habere
ad feudum per te Raimunde Barchinonensis sedis decane
Castrum de Regumir cum una cavalleria terre quam
habet per me et tenet Berengarius de Serriano in
Barchinona et in eius territorio....: see also
Els Castells Catalans, vol.I (ed.R.Dalmau: Barcelona,
1968) pp.530-1.

19. 1169 in LAEC I 20 32, Mas XI no.1929,p.251:

1176 in LAEC I 20 33, Mas XI no.2007,pp.284-5.

The former was published in J.Villanueva, Viage
Literario a las iglesias de España, vol.XVII (Madrid,
1851) pp.324-6: cum portis duabus eiusdem civitatis.
The other, of course, was the Bishop's gate.

20. F.Pallarés, "Las excavaciones de la Plaza de
San Miguel y la topografía romana de Barcino" in
CAHC 13 (1969) 5-42, p.35.

21. For the circular hollow towers at Orléans of
possibly Augustan date, H.von Petrikovits,
"Fortifications in the North-western Roman Empire
from the Third to Fifth centuries AD" in JRS 61
(1971) 178-218, p.200: however, any similarity
with the Barcelona towers is slight. For Cardiff
Castle, J.Ward, "Cardiff Castle; its Roman Origin"
in Archaeologia 57 (1899-1901) 335-352, especially
pl.xlviii, opposite p.341. F.Arias Vilas, Las
Murallas romanas de Lugo (Santiago de Compostela,
1972) p.92, refers to Split and Carmo as parallels

for Barcelona, but considers the form to be a late one. The closest parallels would seem to be in the Boters gate at Lleida, illustrated by Laborde, op.cit., plate LXXI, but again undated.

Oriol Granados has suggested to me that the early 19th.century plan refers only to the upper storey, and that the lower part was in fact solid: this was not true in the case of the left-hand tower, demolished in 1714-5, for Pujades' drawing clearly shows an entrance cut into it (see figure 23).

22. A.M^a Adroer, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 8 (1965) p.147. Idem et al., "Las campañas arqueológicas municipales XXIV y XXV del Museo de Historia de Barcelona" in CAN IX (Zaragoza, 1966) 320-5.

23. For the Vicar's seal, F.Pallarés, "La topografia i els orígens de la Barcelona romana" in CAHC 16 (1975) 5-48, p.35. It should be noted that in the marginal annotations of the LAEC, for example, castles are depicted in a similar manner, with two lateral towers and a higher central one, although the fact that the Bishop's Gate had this form may be a factor to induce acceptance; (see fig.23).

Military architecture of the early medieval centuries has unfortunately been little studied in the region, in spite of the research contained in Els Castells Catalans, which mainly consider documentary aspects. Tenth century polygonal towers can be found in the castle at Gélida (Alt Penedès), and the gate-towers

of the 13th.century defences of Barcelona were also polygonal, though any direct comparison is difficult in view of the paucity of information.

24. ACA RBIII 259 of 3.XII.1112: de castro vero Barchinonensi super portam merchatalem quod vocant Castellum vetus.

25. ACA RBI 287 of 1.X.1062: ipsum Castrum Vetulum quod ibi est super unam portam civitatis quod dicitur vicecomitale.

26. For the form of the Castle, Els Castells Catalans, vol.I, pp.520-1.

27. For the viscounts and their urban estates, infra p. 770.

28. ACA RBI s.f.39.

29. LFM no.337 p.358 (=ACA RBI 292).

30. In 1062 Guerau Alemany of Cervelló (ACA RBI 287) and in the following year Geribert Guàrdar (LFM no. 227, p.238).

31. ACA RBIII 131 and 132.

32. ACA RBIII 142.

33. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.269.

34. Ibid., p.268.
35. ACA RBIII 159 and RBIII s.f.18.
36. For more details of the early Vicars, who gradually acquired the authority of the Viscounts, infra pp.772-6.
37. For these points, supra p. 73.
38. B.Hernandez Sanahuja, Disertación histoficomonumental de Barcelona (Ms. in the Archivo Archidiocesano de Tarragona) fol.121.
39. A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) i , p.320. For the Girona defences, see the bibliography cited in note 92 to chapter V.
40. LFM I no.223 p.232.
41. Els Castells Catalans, vol.I, p.526.
42. LFM I no.417 p.439.
43. LFM I no.418, p.439: this family is discussed by A.Pladevall, "Els seneschals dels Comtes de Barcelona durant el segle X" in AEM 3 (1966) 111-130.
44. Control may have been usurped by the supporters of the assassinated Count Ramon Berenguer II, one of

whom, B(erenguer) Guillem, is found returning it to Berenguer Ramon II in 1089 (ACA BRII 59).

45. The document of 1128 is ACA RBIII 303. For that of 1145, Els Castells Catalans, vol.I, p.526 and LFM I no.293 p.318.

46. For the 15th.century History, see note 3. The document of 1232 is ACB DA 2163(b).

47. ACB DA 1850.

47 bis. For their use as prisons, at least in the case of the Castells Vell and Nou, Els Castells Catalans, vol.I, p.521 and 526.

48. The most accurate early plan is that of M.Garriga (1859), which was the first to include accurate property boundaries (M. Galera et al., Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972) no.124 p.185). This, however, was drawn after the first urban reforms, and long after the construction of the Ciutadella had destroyed a considerable area of 13th.and 14th.century development in the south-eastern corner of the city. The earliest reasonably reliable plan is one of 1700 (ibid. no.30, p.68). The earliest existing plans only pre-date this by a few decades, and add little other information. (see fig.96).

49. This is a study which has hardly been undertaken, but would add enormously to our knowledge of urban development. Three of the four quarters of the city are documented in the 14th. century, with block by block lists of the hearths. For a discussion of the potential, J.F.Cabestany i Fort, "Els fogatges, font per a l'estudi de la topografia econòmica i social de la Barcelona del segle XIV" in VIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Valencia, 1969) t.ii, v.1, pp.133-4.

50. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.340-2.

51. For the possibility of the existence of other streets in the cloister area prior to the mid-11th. century, infra pp.435-8.

For two small squares that disappeared during the construction of the Gothic Cathedral, F.Carreras Candi, "Les obres de la Catedral de Barcelona" in BRABLB (1913-4) 22-30, 128-36, and his GGCCB, p.372.

52. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.373. J.Ma Garrut, 600 Anys de la Plaça Nova, (Barcelona, 1978²) pp.46-7.

53. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.372. For another similar change in the market area, J.F.Cabestany i Fort, "Una primera reforma urbana a Barcelona: la Plaça del Blat (1351)" in CAHC 17 (1977) #41-154.

54. This document is ACB DC(d) Capsa 15, 1390.

55. C.49 via vel calle: C.92 strata publica vel charraria and charraria vel calle: C.131 in itinere vel callibus publicis.

56. C.37 ipsa carrera qui pergit de ipsa porta majore directa usque ad alia porta qui est ad ipso Castello Novo: C.68 ipsa strada publica que pergit ad Sancti Jacobi vel in aliis locis: C.71 via quae ducit euntes et redeuntes ad januam Castellii Novi: C.186 itinere que vadit ad Calle Iudaico et ubique: C.311 platea quae vadit ad forum.

57. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.299.

58. For the Visigothic period, supra pp.213-5 and the post Reconquest period, pp.318-320.

59. A.Mª Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1978): the relevant part was previously published as "El Palau Reial Major, Síntesi dels seus orígens" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XIV no.41 (1975) 131-164, and the thesis summarized in El Palacio Real Mayor de Barcelona en la época de Martín el Humano, (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1975). One might still consult J.Mª Madurell i Marimón, "El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona" in AST 12 (1936) 491-518, 13 (1937-40) 89-112, 14 (1941) 129-154.

60. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.176 and 211: cited in LAEC IV 34 100, Mas IX no.209, p.88.
61. CSC 97 337, Rius II no.437, p.81, of 1011:
Anno XV^o regnante Rodberto Rege, venit Guitardus
abbas ante domnum Raimundem comitem coniugemque suam
E,messindem, in Barchinona civitate, in comitali
palacio....
62. BC 8699: the sacramental swearing of Berenguer Ramon I's will: cf. R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La data i el lloc de la mort del comte Berenguer Ramon I" in his Dels visigots als catalans, II (Barcelona, 1974²) 331-2 (originally published in Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics 1 (1952) 43-44).
63. ACA RBI s.f.39: Item iudicaverunt ut iamdictus
episcopus liberet ad iamdictum comitem ipsos homines
qui jactaverunt petras de ipso clochario super ipsum
palatium et in antea faciat directum de ipsis hominibus
qui fuerunt ibi in ipsa sedicione. Similiter etiam
iudicaverunt ut iamdictus episcopus faciat directum
ad iamdictum comitem de ipsis hominibus qui erant in
ipso Kastro Vicecomitali qui jactaverunt petras super
ipsum palacium sive in ipsa curte comitale.
64. Documents transcribed in volume IV, pp.1946-57.

65. That mentioned in C.162 must be that in the Plaça del Rei, while C.113 refers to the other entrance to the north. I consider that this was to the south of the position suggested by Adroer, figures 78 and 79. Traces of this were apparently found in excavations in the zone (Duran, BSH, p.41) although the description is rather vague.

66. The areas covered by the barrel vaults were certainly occupied during this period: early medieval pottery from them has been noted above, p.64. and 13th.-14th. century wares from the zone are now in the Museo de Ceràmica de Barcelona. The windows and other features were revealed during the course of restoration work in the 1940's. Until the Civil War the palace had been occupied by the Convent of Sta.Clara, and most of the original features obscured. They are in two levels, which would suggest two floors above the vaults (fig.77): Adroer, op.cit., pp.17-8, Duran, BSH, pp.252-3 (see also fig.78).

67. CMB p.242.

68. S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) p.200. This presumably would have been the Cathedral Hospital located to the north of the palace.

69. Adroer, op.cit., p.19.

70. Infra p.433 . I identify the range adjoining towers 8 to 10 as that owned by the Castellvell family in the early 12th.century, which later passed to the Cathedral.

71. ACA Alfons I 135 (=ADB Sta.Anna, Martí, p.139, no.164). Adroer, op.cit., p.21: idem. et al., "Distintos aspectos de la Barcelona de Alfonso el Casto" in VII Còngreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón vol.ii (Barcelona, 1962) pp.159-60.

72. They are particularly visible between towers 13 and 14, and in fact two phases prior to the early 14th.century construction may exist, The stonework associated with them is similar to that of the palace itself, and completely different to the larger, better cut blocks of the Gothic phase: see fig.75.

73. This has normally been dated slightly later following Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.279-280. Document S.241 refers to a palatium maior implying the existence of the palatium minor by that date.

74. For the Barcelona Palace within its wider context, J.Gardelles, "Les palais dans l'Europe occidentale chrétienne du X^e au XII^e siècle" in Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale 19. (1976) 115-134.

75. The bibliography on the Cathedral is extensive, but since most of the works are almost entirely con-

cerned with the standing building they are of comparatively little significance here: among the more recent descriptions are that in CMB pp.43-88, and A.Durán y Sanpere, La Catedral de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1952).

76. A.Campillo, Disquisito methodi consignandi annos aerae Christianae (Barcelona, 1766) p.98 note 1.

This was based on a misinterpretation of the location of the altar of St.Thomas of Canterbury, dedicated in 1186 in ecclesie Sancte Crucis Sancteque Eulalie super portas eiusdem ecclesia in ipsa volta versus orientem, which he interpreted as indicating the position of the main entrance to the east (in fact south-east), whereas it is better understood if the altar was situated in the eastern (in fact north-east) part of the vault. The reference is from LAEC I 350 999, Mas XII no.2174, p.40.

77. e.g.Adroer, op.cit., p.19: F.Carreras Candi, Cataluña Ilustrada: Ciudad de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d.) plan opposite p.32 (= figs 78 and 85).

78. LAEC I 14 29, Mas X no.747, p.29. Published on numerous occasions: P.de Marca, Marca Hispanica, (Paris, 1688) no. 248 col.1113-6 : P.de Bofarull y Mascará, Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados, (Barcelona, 1836) ii, pp.82-7. S.Puig y Puig, Episcopologio de la Sede Barcelonense, (Barcelona, 1929) appendix XLVII, pp. 388-91.

79. M.Vergés i Trias and T-M, Vinyoles i Vidal, La Seu Romànica de Barcelona, (unpublished work, 1978: awarded the 'Premi Puig i Cadafalch of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1979).
80. Ibid., pp.20-1
81. Ibid., pp.143-9.
- 81bis. For the idea of the temporary cathedral, F.Carreras Candi, "Les obres de la Catedral de Barcelona" in BRABLB 7 (1913-14) 130 and his GGCCB, p.440. A similar situation, with the survival of an earlier cathedral within a later one, has been demonstrated by the excavations of the last decade in Florence.
82. These documents are discussed infra pp.435-8: cf. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.85-88.
83. Documents C.78,218,223, and 309 all imply that the principal entrance was towards the defences.
84. Discussed in Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.13-4. The basic drawings are in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.230-1. The most surprising aspect of all this is that Carreras Candi could accept them to be part of the entrance, but then went on to place the orientation of the cathedral in the opposite direction.

85. These have revealed part of the remains found in the late 19th. century according to Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., p.15, although there are contradictions between the published plans and these parts re-excavated.

86. It has long been realized that the St.Iu door of the Cathedral was one of the earliest parts of the standing structure, mainly as a result of the inscriptions of 1298 (e.g. CMB p.46), but not until the article of A.Florensa Ferrer, "¿ Se inició en Barcelona una catedral entre la románica y la gótica ?" in CAHC 4 (1963) 109-112, was it proposed that there were still earlier parts. This has now been re-interpreted by Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.36-7. Also presumably belonging to the late Romanesque phase was the door leading from the cloister, which some have interpreted as an early Gothic adaptation of a Romanesque doorway; cf. ibid. pp.16-7.

87. For the various notes and summaries of the basilica excavations see note 81 to chapter VII. No serious attempt has yet been made to interpret archaeologically the end of the life of this basilica: statements to the effect that it was destroyed in 985 are based on guesswork, and are not entirely convincing if this was the cathedral in use at that time for it would have had to have been restored very rapidly as it continued ^{in use} for another 70 years. The evidence from the baptistery is clearer, and it had fallen out of use by the middle of the 10th. century.

88. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.6-8.

89. Discussed supra p.324.

90. The marble slabs are referred to in Duran, BSH, p.96, no.51. The doorway appears to cut the 6th. century (?) marble-effect wall-paintings, although there is no archaeological evidence for a more precise date.

91. Reference in note 78:intra menia Barchi-
nonensis civitatis cum vidisset aulam episcopalis
sedis iam deficere vetustate operis ex parte destructam
a barbaris, indoluit causa divini amoris et eam reno-
vari et restaurari fecit et annuit ei fundamentis... .

91 bis. Vergés and Vinyoles, ^{op.cit.} p.6 and the comments in note 87.

92. Those of Sta.Coloma, first mentioned in 995, (LAEC IV 51 150, Mas IX no.149, p.64) and Sta.Maria (LAEC II 28 81, Mas IX no.306, pp.131-2). This reference, of 1011, to domum Sancta Maria de ipsa canonica de Sancta Cruce Sancteque Eulalie sedis Barchinone is somewhat unusual for at no other time is a separate church of Sta.Maria in the cathedral complex. If it was not the altar that is later found in the Gothic church, it may be a reference to Sta.Maria del Mar, which had been given to the newly reorganized community of canons in 1009.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the location of the altar of Sta.Eulalia, described in the invenio, fits that suggested above in note 90:

precepit idem venerabilis episcopus fossam aperire in dextera parte iuxta crepidinem eiusdem altaris et submiserunt in ea in illud vasculum marmoreum in quo prius positum fuerat (Puig y Puig, op.cit., p. 358).

93. LAEC II 129 382, Mas IX no.151,p.65, the will of Archdeacon Sunifred Llobet, made before setting out for Rome, et concedo ad ospitalaris domum qui est ante ianua Sancte Crucis ipsum meum alaudem...: LAEC I 285 764, Mas XI no.1422, p.17, dono Deo et hospitali pauperum quod est iuxta sedem... .

94. In addition to the half-a-dozen pieces in the MHC (nos. ~~3299~~ -3300), there are two more in the Museo de Arte de Catalunya (nos.14397.8) found during the construction of the Gothic façade in the 19th.century, and which have usually been considered to be of 10th. rather than 11th.century date (cf.J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'escultura romànica a Catalunya, I (=Monumenta Cataloniae V) (Barcelona,1949) plate 5. A tenth century date for all the pieces is accepted in CMB p.44, but more recently (e.g. Duran, BSH, p.95 no.36) those in the MHC have usually been described as being part of the Romanesque Cathedral, and thus of mid-11th century date. Since

no comparative study exists of these pieces and they were all found re-used in later contexts, any such chronology lacks a sound base, and one suspects that because it is accepted that there was a Romanesque cathedral as the immediate successor of the early Christian basilica, these pieces have been given an 11th.century date since it is historically most acceptable. (cf.Duran, BSH, pp.89-90). Although some of these pieces probably are from the Romanesque cathedral, others are better paralleled in 10th.century Italy than anywhere else to judge by a cursory consideration of the volumes of Corpus della Scultura altomedievale (Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo: Spoleto, 9 volumes to date).

95. Apart from the tomb of Sta.Eulalia, there is that of a certain Recce(f)redus, J.Vives, "Inscripciones prerománicas barcelonesas" in San Jorge no.47 (1962) 56-62, p.60 and CNB p.34 also mentions a marble fragment from the nearby 12th.century Episcopal Palace inscribed ANSULFUI ARESINDA, the current location of which is unknown; although the names would point to an 11th.century or earlier date.

96. Supra p.325.

97. Another possible interpretation is that this was an example of a triple dedication common in tenth century 'episcopal' contexts as at Vic and Egara. This could even provide scope for accommodating both theories, by suggesting that at any one time there

were three separate churches - the early Christian basilica, perhaps by this date the shrine of Sta. Eulalia; a cathedral on the site of the Romanesque and Gothic ones, but smaller in size, and dedicated to Sta.Creu: and finally the baptistery, later replaced by St.Miquel. Analysis of the various combinations of names in the period 985-1010 reveals no consistent pattern, for at all times there are joint references to Sta.Creu and Sta.Eulalia, and if only one of these dedications is found, it is usually the former. Nevertheless the references to Sta.Eulalia and St.Miquel together in 985 and 992 (see note 52 of chapter IX) are difficult to interpret unless there was some alteration in circumstances, and references to Sta.Eulalia alone are more frequent during this period than either before or afterwards. This attractive hypothesis, however, must remain unproven until further evidence can be found. That a pre-existing church was restored after the events of 985 is implied by LAEC IV 106 263, Mas IX no.183, p.78: propter quod dedistis nobis ad restauracionem nostre matris ecclesie numos V aureos et modios III inter frumentum et ordeum (997).

98. C.57,61 and 64 are all 'prope'the cathedral, while C.65 is 'ante'.

99. C.50: ad occiduam partem ad osteum nostre matre ecclesie.

100. C.21: In super concessit ibi praedictus Ethius pontifex ipsa claustra qui est iuxta ecclesiam Sede Sancta Crucis, qui est circumdata ex pariete petra et calce et est ibi domus inchoata ad refectorium...

...Iungit se iamdicta claustra a parte occidentali cum ipsa praefatae ecclesia et pertingit usque ad palatium episcopi quem dicunt solarium longum cum omnes arbores qui infra sunt et cum puteo vel vites ut faciunt ibi domos quoties voluerint. In topographical terms this description is extremely ambiguous. In as far as any attempt has been made to locate the cloister in question, it has generally been placed between the early Christian basilica and the episcopal palace adjoining that of the Count. This fits the phrasing of the document, if west is anomalous (volume IV appendix A), but gives it an improbably small size. I interpret it as lying to the west (standard) of the cathedral (whether the early Christian basilica or the supposed pre-Romanesque one) and extending to the south. It would thus have been on approximately the same site as the eastern part of the standing cloister (fig. 89) and would have extended into the area of the apses of the Romanesque and Gothic Cathedrals, which might find support in the reference to an aula canonicorum towards the site of the present Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in C.71. That there was no change in site is borne out by later references to the cloister from c.1020 onwards: infra pp.385-7.

101. One might suppose a simple three-nave structure like other mid-10th.century Catalan churches, e.g. Santa Maria d'Amer. For pre-Romanesque architecture in general, G.G.King, Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain, (New York, 1924), is still useful.
102. From the later 16th.century onwards, but as Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., have pointed out, there is no documentary proof of that date.
103. These are tabulated on pp.1978-80 of volume IV.
- 103 bis. Sobrequès, op.cit.(note 68), p.55.
104. J.Marquès Casanovas, "El frontal de oro de la Seo de Gerona" in AIEG 13 (1959) 213-231.
For a donation for this, ACA RBI 96, the sacramental swearing of ^Bernat Ermengol's will on the altar of Sta.Maria in the church of St.Jaume in Barcelona:
et ad opera tabulae aureae ecclesie Sancte Marie Sedis Gerunde duas uncias auri.
105. For the donations see the table on p.1979.
Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.56-7 for the crypt.
106. The basic work on Catalan Romanesque art is J.Puig i Cadafalch, A.de Falguera, and J.Goday y Casals, L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya, in three volumes (Barcelona, 1909-18). In English, the first section of W.M.Whitehill, Spanish Romanesque Architecture of

the Eleventh Century, (Oxford, 1941: reprinted 1968), is still reliable. In the last decade there has been an immense revival of interest at a local level, and numerous studies of individual churches or groups have appeared, particularly those published by Artestudi of Barcelona.

107. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.26-7.

108. K.J.Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800-1200, (London, 1959) p.171.

109. For the Peace and Truce in 11th.century Catalonia, see K.Kennelly, "Medieval towns and the Peace of God" in Medievalia et Humanistica 15 (1963) 35-53.

idem, "Sobre la Paz de Dios y la Sagrera en el Condado de Barcelona" in AEM 5 (1968) 107-136: E.Junyent, La Pau i la Treva (Barcelona, 1975): Bonnassée, La Catalogne, 11, pp.653-662. The declaration at Barcelona in 1063 (AHT-IV-A-4) seems to have gone unnoticed by students of the subject, although that of five years later has long been known: e.g. P.de Marca, Marca Hispanica, (Paris, 1688) col.1138, no. CCLXVIII.

110. ACA RBI 39.

111. LAEC II 15 41, Mas X no.1076, p.180.

112. Tabulated on p.1980.

113. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.229-232: Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.24-5.
114. Ibid., pp.42-44 for the list of altars and the first documentary references, and see fig.80.
115. J.Ainaud, "Les fonts baptismals de la catedral romànica de Barcelona" in AST 37 (1964) 357-9.
116. Florensa Ferrer, op.cit.: Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.36-7.
117. The former is mentioned in C.167 and 218, and the latter in C.246 and 266. Although Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.299 associated the Paradís with the columns of the Roman temple, the name was frequently applied to cemeteries: L.B.Nadal, "Paradís" in EUC 6 (1912) 328-332. The fact that the word Parvis was also associated with entrance porticoes has contributed to the confusion over the orientation of the Romanesque Cathedral: that two meanings were possible is apparent from Niermeyer, MLLM, p.761.
- Of wider consideration on this question are, J.C. Picard, "Les origines du mot paradisus-parvis" in Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge 83 (1971) 159-186 and T.W.Lyman, "Portails, portiques, paradis: rapports iconologiques dans le Midi" in Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà 7 (1976) 35-43.

118. That these were taking place prior to the commencement of the Romanesque Cathedral is apparent from the agreement of 1036 between the bishop and canons: Et Guilabertus episcopus superdictus dedit prefate canonice omnes voces adquisicionum de sepul-turis mortuorum hominum quas habebat vel habere debebat in ipsa claustra prefate canonice exceptus ipsas absolutiones (LAEC I 2 3 , Mas IX no.493,p.232). References to burials in the cloister continue through the period of construction of the Romanesque cathedral, thus suggesting continuity on the same site: e.g. LAEC II 25 71, Mas IX no.656,p.300(of 1053). However, these are few in comparison to the vast number of wills which leave the body to the canons for burial: in these cases it is uncertain whether burial would have taken place in the cloister or in one of the other two cemeteries.

119. P.de Bofarull y Mascaró, Los Condes de Barcelona Vindicados, (Barcelona, 1836) i, p.220, referring to LAEC I 151 396, Mas IX no.389, pp.175-6.

120. e.g. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.250 and the plan reproduced in figure 85.

121. LAEC III 75 193, Mas IX no.14, p.7.

122. Document C.21, with detailed commentary and comparison with the other cathedral canonries of Catalonia in J.Bauer, "Die Vita Canonica der Katalanischen Kathedralkapitel vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert"

in Homenaje a Johannes Vincke I. (Madrid, 1962) 81-112, especially pp.100-2, and more generally his articles in Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft. Erste Reihe: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens 21 (1963), 22 (1965), and 23 (1967).

123. In C.27, the sacramental swearing of Wilaranus' will, which he made prior to setting off for Santiago, there is a bequest of money to the Cathedral clergy: et concessit ad sacerdotes domum Sancte Crucis sedis prelibate, viginti mancuso ad viginti sacerdotes.

It is not clear, however, if they were all considered as canons. J.Villanueva, Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España, vol.XVIII (Madrid, 1851) pp.94-5, refers to a Commentary of Job in the Cathedral Library with a list of Canons and officers at the end, which he considered to be of 12th.century date, but which must belong to c.1070 to judge by some of the more frequently named individuals. They make a total of forty.

124. In note 100.

125. The one possible doubt that must be expressed concerns the aula canonicorum mentioned in 1045 (C.71), which seems to suggest a property in the region of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. I would prefer to interpret this as the southern limit of the 'cloister' recorded in 1009, and this is not as impossible as it may at first appear for some decades later the Bishop and canons had extensive

rights in that area (C.131), but it is strange that no further references are recorded. Some explanation may lie in the document itself, which uses unusual, rather flowery vocabulary. Another possibility, raised in discussion with Sr.Vergés and Sra.Vinyoles, that it acted as some form of temporary accommodation during the mid-11th.century transformation of the area is not altogether convincing, given the other evidence for general continuity. If the claustra of 1009 is accepted as the whole area enclosed by the wall that the bishop transferred to the canons, there is no reason why it need have been limited to just one side of the cathedral.

126. For the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.299. Documentation in ACA RBI 379 (= LAEC I 199 537, Mas X no.845, p.73) of 1067: sepulcrum in honorem Sanct Sepulchri Domini Nostri Jesu Christi factum in Barchinona juxta ecclesiam Sancte Crucis. LAEC III 9 17, Mas X no.1017, p.153: ad Sanctum Sepulcrum qui erat iuxta ecclesiam Sancte Crucis. Also C.138. For the suggestion that it may have been round, Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., p.30. For other round churches of Romanesque date, Whitehill, op.cit., pp.130-2 and now J.Vigué, Les esglésies romàniques catalanes de planta circular i triangular, (Barcelona, 1975): for the circular church at Vic, E.Junyent, "La iglesia de la Rodona" in Ausa 2 (1955-57) 447-53: for the Romanesque cathedral complex of Vic in general, X.Barral i Altet, La Catedral romànica de Vic, (Barcelona, 1979).

127. The ad opera donations for the canonical buildings are tabulated in volume IV, pp.1981-2.
128. LAEC I 282 757, Mas X no.1029, p.158:pauperum et omnium atque peregrinorum hospitali habitaculo quod videtur esse situm intra menia prefate urbis iuxta introitu prelocute Sancte Sedis subtus eodem nostro dormitorio, quod est ad plagam septentrionalem et detinet se cum ipso prelocute civitatis muro....
129. LAEC I 285 764, Mas XI no.1422, p.17: ...ego, O(legarius), Dei gratia Terrachonensis archiepiscopus cūm omni conventu eiusdem sedis dono Deo et hospitali pauperum quod est iuxta sedem, omnes lectos cum pannis clericorum mortuorum...
130. LAEC IV 139 340, Mas XI no.1906, p.241: published in S.Puig y Puig, Episcopologio de la Sede Barcimonense, (Barcelona, 1929) appendix LXXXI, pp.424-5.
- 130 bis. The exact date of this reorganization is unclear, although it was clearly in existence by 1177: see T.M.Bisson, "Ramon de Caldes (c.1135-c.1200): Dean of Barcelona and King's Minister" in Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner, (Philadelphia, 1977) pp.281-292, p.283.
131. The evidence for the Dean's house is presented below, pp.432-3. It probably did not come into existence until the later 12th. century, almost certainly under

Ramon of Caldes (cf. the previous note). It was largely demolished in 1420 during the construction of the square in front of the Cathedral entrance, and thus some of the remains excavated in 1952 (supra p.184 and fig.61) almost certainly belong to it, although they are hardly very impressive.

132. Discussed infra pp.433-4.

133. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.88-92: for the description of this area, infra pp.441-7.

134. Ibid., pp.186-190 for the transcription of the 1316 document, which is ADB Mensa Episcopal, Título XV no.16.

135. N.Font y Sagué, "Lo Palau Episcopal" in Jochs Florals Any XXXVII (Barcelona, 1895) pp.123-133. For the document of 878, supra p.322.

136. LAEC II 58 159, Mas IX no.366, p.164: in ipsa opera de palacio episcopale vel in ipso clochario.
S,54: mancusos iiii de auro quod expensastis in ipsa voltura de ipso clokario.

137. Cf. supra note 63.

138. C.98. C.113 makes it clear that this was alongside the original episcopal palace.

139. References in note 19: ...p^{al}alatium episcopale cum turribus que palatio comitale contigue videntur...

The fact that the neighbouring palace is described as comital rather than royal is not necessarily an indication that Papal scribes were using earlier sources for even though Alfons I was king by 1169, in the local context he was strictly speaking only count.

140. The donation by the Castellvell family is of the year 1171, whereas the first of the two bulls is clearly of 1169: that the domos de Cauda Rubea were already considered to form part of the canonical domains might be suggested by the phrase in the 1171 document, Prefate quo domus de Cauda Rubea advenerunt me per dimissionem patris mei Guillelmi de Castro Vetulo et canonice per eius dimissionem. Nevertheless, this clearly refers to the canons and not the bishop.

141. LAEC IV 204-5 468-470, Mas XII nos.2455-7, pp. 170-1.

142. Font y Sagué, op.cit., p.129.

143. LAEC IV 204 468: B.de Barchinona Gron iurato dixit quod vidit et audivit quod camerarius Rivipolentis tenebat et possidebat ortum et domum et voltam que sunt subtus palacium domini episcopi in pace. Addens quod vidit et fuit cum hominibus camerarii,

qui abstrahabant paleam de ipsa volta ad bestias
ipsius camerarii. Interrogatus de tempore dixit
quod ben sunt transacti XL anni.

The fact that straw was kept there is not without interest since the street running around the line of the defences at this point is C/de la Palla, and this practice of keeping agricultural produce at the foot of the walls may have been general.

144. LAEC IV 205 469:episcopus apperuit fines-
tras que sunt in palatium versus circium et apertis
fenestris dixit: Videatis quia non possum spuere
nisi in locum istum quem camerarius Rivipollentis
a me petit.

145. Ibid: ...vidit quod Guafredus Abbas Rivipol-
lentis ecclesie concessit predicto Guillermo de
Terroia Barchinonensi episcopo in vita sua teneri.

146. The dispute was in fact a consequence of the will of Ramon Dalmau, who left the extra-mural property to the monastery of Ripoll (S.277) while leaving the intra-mural part to the Cathedral (C.194). That the dispute could occur and be maintained over a long period is an interesting result of the blurring of property divisions with the construction of vaults between the wall-towers and the general decline in importance of the late Roman defences: it is noticeable that the crux of the matter was the space under the vault: for Ramon Dalmau, see Banks, op. cit., (note 6) passim.

147. CMB pp.32-34 for the late Romanesque phase of the palace, although it must be added that traces of the earlier structure have been found in recent restoration work, and it is all the more lamentable that the excavation carried out in the courtyard in December, 1976, was no more than a salvage operation, for the transition in this well-documented zone would have been of some interest and potentially of considerable importance in the establishment of an early and high medieval pottery sequence. For the excavation see note 40 to chapter VII.

148. See note 93. The date of origin is unknown: the suggestion of J.F. Matthew, "A Pious Supporter of Theodosius I: Maternus Cynegius and his family" in Journal of Theological Studies (N.S.) 18 (1967) 438-446, 445-6, that it may have been on the site of a 4th-5th. century xenodochium is without any basis if it is taken into account that the inscription which he uses to propose the hypothesis was at least a century older, for it was incorporated into the foundations of the Roman defences, not, as he states, the wall of a house. That such an institution may have existed in the Visigothic period is feasible: there was certainly an important one in Mérida, but there is no evidence of its existence until after 985.

149. C.14

150. C.21, to which should be added LAEC I 232 630, Mas IX no.283, p.120. These documents have been studied by P.Wolff, "Quidam homo nomine Roberto negociatore" in Le Moyen Âge Livre Jubilaire 69 (1963) 129-39.
151. C.27; ad ospitale peregrinorum.
152. LAEC I 283 757, Mas IX no.422, p.194: Ospicium qui se inlaterat cum ipso portico aule et sedis Sancte Crucis Sancteque Eulalie et licenciam inde habeant servientes sedis prelibate bonum ospitium construere ad susceptione peregrinorum et pauperorum ospitio indigencium ut ibidem conquiescant et pausent usque quo relevantur ad melioram vitam et sanitatem.
153. The only other reference to it that I can trace is a donation by Countess Elisabeth to Mir Guillem of 200 mancusos in c.1045-9: published in J.E.Ruiz Doménech, "El sentido de la riqueza en el Condado de Barcelona en el siglo XI. Notas para su estudio" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XIV no.41 (1975) 49-60, esp. pp.59-60.
154. J.Baucells i Reig, "La Pia Almoína de la Seo de Barcelona: Origen y desarrollo" in A Pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média (Lisbon, 1973) 73-135, especially pp. 81-6 and note 23.
155. e.g. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.301.

156. LAEC I 290 788, Mas X no.1085, p.184.
157. For the other hospitals of the late 12th. and 13th.centuries, see CMB pp.296-8: more recently, F.Udina i Martorell, "Els precedents de l'Hospital de Santa Creu" in L'Hospital de Santa Creu i de Sant Pau,(Barcelona, n.d.) pp.15-22, but which contains some hypotheses which cannot be supported by any available evidence. One might also note the other aspects of popular religious feeling manifested in the later 12th.century, with the multiplication of altars and chapels in the cathedral, often associated with brotherhoods which were the forerunners of the later trade guilds or 'gremis',
158. For the Visigothic period, supra pp.205-7. and the post Reconquest period, p.327.
159. For the imported capital, R.M.Harrison, "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona" in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 27 (1973) 297-300. For the church in the 10th.century, supra p.325.
160. For St.Jaume in the 10th.century and its origins, supra p.1262 (=note 66 to chapter IX).
161. St.Jaume in LAEC IV 157 369, Mas X no.772, p.40. St.Miquel in LAEC I 4 5, Mas IX no.586, p.272. St. Just in C.4.

162. For the par^ochial divisions of Barcelona, F. de P. Colldeforns, Les Parròquies Barcelonines en el segle XIX: I, Epoca constitucionalista (1820-24), (Barcelona, 1936). For earlier periods it is necessary to rely on the lists of the churches within each parish, which define the approximate extent. The most complete source for this is the manuscript volume II of Campillo's Speculum housed in the ADB.
163. The ad opera donations for this and the other two churches are tabulated on pp. 1982-84.
164. CMB pp. 188-9 for the later structure.
165. These sources are S.124 (1057), that cited in note 161 (1060): and LAEC IV 140 342, Mas XII no. 2762, p. 318 (c. 1083).
166. St. Tomàs in C.103, S.143, to which might be added ACB DB 1252 (of 1047): ACB DB 1244 (of 1058): and ACA RBII 9 (of 1076) - the will of Count Ramon Berenguer I. For Sta. Maria, C.38 and C.88.
167. The position of the cemetery in the early 19th. century is visible on the plan in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, between pp. 832 and 833, reproduced in figure 82.
168. The bull of 1105 is in the AHN Clero series: Carpeta 151, no. 1. It is referred to and summarized

in F.Solsona Climent, "Pergaminos de la Catedral de Barcelona en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid" in VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón vol.iii (Barcelona, 1962) 97-106, p.98, no.I.

169. ACA RBI 43; ante hostium ecclesie Sancti Justini sub ipso porticu. F-P.Verrié, La Iglesia de los Santos Justo y Pastor (Barcelona, 1944) p.31, considers that this is an indication of the Romanesque structure, but the number of porticoes in Catalan Romanesque Architecture is few, They are more a characteristic of the Meseta, where a covered portico to the south of the church is ubiquitous in Old Castile. In the pre-Romanesque period one might point to the portico at the monastery of St. Feliu de Guíxols in the province of Girona.

170. S.21: concedo ad domum Sancti Celedonii...: it seems that this can be identified with this chapel since it follows a donation to St.Just.

171. The first recorded will sworn on this altar was in 1082 (S.188) and by the end of the century at least half the wills sworn in the city were on this altar: e.g. C.183: ACBC DC(b)1,289 (of 1085): LAEC I 169 445, Mas X no.1059, p.173 (of 1087): LAEC IV 21 65, Mas X no.1131 p.204 (of 1094) etc. cf. the comments of Verrié, op.cit., p.23.

172. Supra pp.324-5.

173. Mas IX nos.218,235,251,276,278/and then two final donations in the 1020's, nos.405 and 416.
174. C.27, a document of considerable interest for the relative significance of the churches of the Barcelona area in the early 11th.century.
175. Liber Dotationum I 216 699 (Consulted by means of the summary in the Archive of the BC): in this a certain Isarn gave his son an allod held from St. Miquel which had been leased from the Bishop of Barcelona, to whom he would have to pay rent.
176. Reference cited in note 161.
177. LAEC I 5 6, Mas IX no.697, p.320.
178. Reference cited in note 168.
179. Tabulated on p .1983.
180. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.272 for the illustration.
181. Ibid., p.271 note 541 for the text, dated to 1147. CMB p.181 interprets this as the reconstruction of the vault at this date.
182. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.273 for the illustration. CMB p.181 dates the doorway to c.1200.

183. For the excavations in this area, a full bibliography can be found in note 27 to chapter VII. For the remains of the cemetery and documentary evidence supra p. 1263 (=note 70 to chapter IX).

184. LAEC IV 48 142, Mas XII no.2757, p.318.

185. Plan referred to in note 167, reproduced in figure 82.

186. Their property in the urban zone is discussed infra pp.820-1.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, especially pp.284-328.
One might also notes his other more general accounts, in La Via Layetana substituint als carrers de la Barcelona mitgeval, (Barcelona, 1913) pp.18-34, and "Excursió retrospectiva a la vella Barcelona" in BCEC 26 (1916) 141-53, 257-66, 281-92, and 317-26. The only other previous writer who used this material to reconstruct the landscape was S.Sanpere y Miquel, principally in his "Una excursió pel Pla de Barcelona en lo segle X" in BCEC 3 (1893) 9-26, which, however, contains a number of errors concerning identification.
3. W.Urry, Canterbury under the Angevin Kings, (London, 1967). In general on such sources in a purely British context, B.M.Palliser, "Sources for urban topography: documents, buildings, and archaeology" in The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales, (Ed. M.W.Barley: London, 1976) pp.1-7.
2. Supra, chapter I, pp.27-9 for a general account, and volume IV pp.1552-63, for the archives and their contents.
4. Briefly described in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp. 167-8. The legend is recorded by Pujades in the early 17th.century: J.Pujades, Crónica universal del Principado de Cataluña, (Barcelona, 1829-31) vol.VI, Book 9, p.7. Other legends concerning the castle

are recorded in J. Amades, "El Castillo de Regomir" in San Jorge no.35 (1959) 28-31.

5. F. Carreras Candi, "Les aïgues y banys de Barcelona" in BRABLE 2 (1903-04) 115-138, esp. p.123 and repeated in most of his later works.. It is accepted in almost all subsequent works.

6. Infra pp.555-6 on the Rech for a discussion of these points.

7. For Visigothic personal names in early Medieval Catalonia, the starting point is Balari, Origenes històrics, ii, pp.568-92, and subsequently P. Aebischer, Essai sur l'onomastique catalane du IX^e au XI^e siècle (= Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica de Lingüística i Literatura 1 (Barcelona, 1928)):
K.W.J. Adams, A Study of the Germanic Personal names of Catalonia from 800 to 1000 A.D., (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1966): idem,
"Considerations nouvelles sur les plus anciens noms germaniques d'origine septentrionale en Catalogne au IX^e et X^e siècles" in Revue Internationale d'Onomastique 21 (1969) 81-104.

8. This interpretation was proposed by M. Schwab and J. Miret, "Documents sur les Juifs catalans aux XI^e XII^e et XIII^e siècles" in Revue des Études Juives 68 (1914) 49-83, p.62 note 1. Similarly unproven is the claim that it was of Arabic origin, made by Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.170, and it is unclear whether the Al- prefix is sufficient basis for this

hypothesis in an area where Arabic derived place-names are rare.

9. See the references in note 117 of Chapter X, to which might be added the note in EUC 6 (1912) p.482 for Terrassa, where one of the streams adjoining the promontory where Egara was located is known as Vall-paradis, and, for the name in Vic, E.Junyent, "La Primitiva Sede Episcopal de Ausona" in Ausa 5 (1964-67) 8-13, using the evidence of the present day pl. Paradis as evidence for the location of the early Christian cathedral.

10. Especially in the works of Sanpere y Miquel at the end of the 19th.century, but still being proposed in the 1950's (e.g. J.Mª Millàs Vallicrosa in Actas del 1º Congreso Arqueológico de Marruecos Español p.269, which I have not been able to see: cited in Balil, Colonia IAPFB, p.36 note 27) and with echoes even today (e.g. C.Batlle in Història de Barcelona I: de la Prehistòria al Segle XVI, (directed by A. Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p. 359).

11. The idea appears to have been proposed by Balari, Orígenes històrics, p.79 and has been taken up again by M.Vergés i Trias and T-M.Vinyoles i Vidal, La Seu Romànica de Barcelona, (Unpublished work: Barcelona, 1978) p.94. The name is also found in Lleida in the later 12th.century (cf. LAEC I 180 478, Mas XI no.2047, p.302) in a similar context.

12. Cf. F.M.Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, (Oxford, 1971³) p.198.

13. Alcover et al., DCVB, vol.10 p.476. s.v. 'tremoleda'.

14. Early forms of Lladó appear in C.181 and 264, although in neither case is the name used to describe a street. The last recorded use of Alazins is in C.212, but several earlier references have the form Aladins (e.g.C.183) and on one occasion Adalins (C.322) which may be a transitional form to the modern street name.

15. queddam operatorium in ipsum Freneriae quem tenet capellanus Sancte Marie juxta Palatium episcopi (LAEC IV 233 502, Mas XII no.2768, p.319). This is presumably a reference to the former episcopal palace. The name Freneria is also cited in a document of 1218 in an agreement between the Canons of Barcelona and the monastery of St.Pere de Casserres near Vic, concerning houses in the street leading to the Freneria: this property was in the street of that name, and had formerly been held by Cluny (C.342). (the document of 1218 is ACB DA 1431).

16. Infra pp.812-3, for the trade topography of this zone.

17. A.Mª Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1978) p.40 n.137 and p.150,

cites the Farneria as the origin of this name, claiming that the presence of 'freners' in the area was purely coincidental: however, the Farneria does not appear until the early 14th. century, a century after the references here cited.

18. F. de Bofarull y Sans, "Jaime I y los judíos" in I Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó, II (Barcelona, 1913) 819-943, p. 840 (This article is also sometimes referred to by its sub-title, "Los Judíos en el Territorio de Barcelona en los siglos X, XI y XII").

19. For his original interpretation, F. Carreras Candi, "Evolució històrica dels jueus y juheissants barcelonins" in EUC 3 (1909) 404-428, 498-522: 4 (1910) 45-65, 359-373: p. 407: also in his GGCCB, pp. 489-490. For his later, evolutionary view, idem, Cataluña Ilustrada: La Ciudad de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d., but c. 1922) pp. 65-6 and the plan opposite p. 64, reproduced in figure 83.

20. More recent general accounts are in J. Ma Millás Vallicrosa, "Esbozo histórico sobre los judíos en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year V no. 12 (1966) 13-20: M. Tintó Sala, "Breves notas sobre los judíos en Barcelona" in CAHC 10 (1967) 203-8. One might also refer to the basic general works on Jews, particularly Y. Baer, A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, i (Philadelphia, 1961).

21. For the early indications of a Hebrew community, supra p.252 and p.317, 324.

Particularly significant is the cemetery excavated on Montjuïc, discussed infra in Chapter XVI pp.873-4, and the series of inscriptions found both on Montjuïc and in the city proper: these are studied in F.Cantera and J.Ma Millás, Las inscripciones hebraicas en España, (Madrid, 1956) pp.183-220 : those found subsequently, reused in later contexts in the city, are principally of 13th. and 14th.century date and have been published by Millás on various occasions in CAHC and Sefarad.

22. ACA Ramon Borrell 45: vindo tibi terras et vineas qui mihi advenerunt per successionem mortuorum hebreorum qui in interitu Barcinone civitatis perierunt (1000).

22 bis. The Hebrew signatures or summaries are too numerous to list here: most were collected by Bofarull, op.cit. and others are to be found in the works of Schwab and Miret y Sans, listed in the bibliography. As a preliminary to these works one might notice R.J.H.Gottheil, "Early Spanish Shetarot" in The Jewish Quarterly Review (O.S.) 16 (1904) 702-8, referring to parchments in the ACA.

For the documents completely in Hebrew, J.Ma Millás i Vallicrosa, "Documents hebraics dels jueus catalans" in Memòries de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1, fasc.3 (Barcelona, 1927), principally concerned with those in the ACB, and more recently on those in the ACA,

J.Riera i Sans and F.Udina i Martorell, "Els documents en hebreu conservats a l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XVII no.49 (1978) 21-36.

23. This document is ACA RBII 39: published by F.Eita, "Barcelona en 1079: su castillo del Puerto y su Aljama hebrea. Documento inédito" in BRAH 43 (1903) 361-8. Similarly in Girona the extent of Jewish property was greater in the earlier 11th. century, or at least more dispersed, and the Call seems to have been a later creation: infra p.886. One wonders whether this was an influence acquired from Arab cities, or at least as a result of the demarcation of Christian, Hebrew and Moslem districts in the Castilian reconquest of the later 11th. century.

24. LAEC IV 107 267, Mas XI no.1893, p.236. For the growth of credit operations, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.399-409, and the works of J.E. Ruiz Doménec, especially, "Introducción al estudio del crédito en la Ciudad de Barcelona durante los siglos XI y XII" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XIV no.42 (1975) 17-33. For later developments, the works of A-E.Sayous, originally published in the 1930's, are vital: they have been reprinted in book form as Els mètodes comercials a la Barcelona medieval, (edited by A.García i Sanz and G.Feliu i Montfort; Barcelona, 1975).

25. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.490: Millás, op.cit.
(note 20) p.15.
26. J.E.Hernandez Cros, G.Mora and X.Pouplare,
Guía de Arquitectura de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1973²)
p.44, give a 12th.century date for a house in C/
de Santo Domingo del Call.
27. Supra p.314 and note 16 to Chapter IX for
this hoard and the excavations in this house.
28. For the Baixada de Santa Eulalia, Carreras Candi,
GGCCB, p.341, note 902: although he does not identify
this new street with the Baixada, it seems a logical
conclusion given that it is the only one within the
Call that cuts across the line of the late Roman walls.
Although it might be supposed that the alterations
in the line of the C/del Call were a result of the
collapse of part of the Castell Nou, certain factors
may indicate that the irregular north side was in
existence prior to the demise of the Call in 1391:
the principal one is the house situate at the junction
of this street and C/ de Santo Domingo del Call,
which fronts onto this street line, yet must have
existed by the later 14th.century. It is thus pro-
posed that there may have been a form of yard or
square immediately inside the city gate, and an
access to the Call established there.

29. F. Carreras Candi, Cataluña Ilustrada: la Ciudad de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d.) p.66.

29 bis. Bofarull y Sans, op.cit., p.840: this source does, however, indicate the existence of two entrances.

30. The contemporary accounts of these discoveries rarely go beyond a plan (figure 84), a few lines and some photographs: the principal one is J. Puig i Cadafalch and J. Miret y Sans, "El Palau de la Diputació General de Catalunya" in AIEC 3 (1909-10) 385-480, esp. pp.390-1 : La Actualidad Year V no.219 has some interesting contemporary press photographs. F. Gómez Catón, "La reconstrucción y restauración del Palacio Provincial" in San Jorge no.73 (1969) 6-23 has some larger photographs. The material recorded is of the 13th. and 14th. centuries: J. Font y Gumà, "Ceràmica valenciana i catalana trobada al Pati dels Taronjers" in AIEC 3 (1909-10) 716-8: J. Ma Millàs Vallicrosa, "¿Dos candilejas hebraicas?" in CAHC 13 (1969) 91-5: similar vessels to the latter of 14th. century date are known from Soria and are now in the Museo de San Juan del Duero.

31. Another Hebrew property to the south of C/del Call is detectable in C.291: it seems to have been beyond the limits of the Call. For the New Baths, infra p. 545: for other property held at the foot of the walls by a Jew and a possible convert in 1078, see C.134.

31 bis. Further confirmation of the likelihood of this street-line being blocked can be found in C.48 bis. The property therein described lay to the west of the purchases of Ermemir Ruf , which were in the angle of C/Paradís: to the west lay another Jewish owned property, whereas one might expect to have found a street given the distance involved. The only street it records is one to the north, which had disappeared by the 1080's and may have been the last remnant of the Roman cardo now represented by the Baixada de Sta.Clara, separating this Hebrew owned property from the 'Hort' of St.Cugat which probably also straddled the street-line. . Duran, BSH, p.130 also implies that the C/del Bisbe was incomplete, but until c.1270 rather than 1379.

32. J.Ma Millás, "Dos candilejas ...", (cited note 30) pp.94-5.

33. For the construction of Sant Felip Neri, CMB pp.213-4 and now J.de C.Laplana, L'oratori de St.Felip Neri de Barcelona i el seu patrimoni artístic i monumental, (Montserrat, 1978).

34. BC Ms.487 fol.98r. (of the 15th.century) states that there were 15 towers between the Castell Nou and the Bishop's Gate: modern research suggests only 14, although the area is poorly known, and two others have been proposed at various times. Of these 13 were supposedly held by Jews and the last two formed

part of the Episcopal Palace. If this is accepted those of the Jews would have been the modern nos. 62 to 75 plus the doubtful 68 or 72. However, they may not have all been within the Call in the 12th. century.

35. Bofarull y Sans, op.cit., p.340: Carreras Candi in his plan of the Call suggests that the Baixada de Santa Eulalia was the other, and equated it with the New Gate mentioned in C.42: this gate is inherently improbable, although it could have been an entrance from the later 13th.century onwards. For reasons discussed in the previous chapter, I identify the 'New Gate' with that of the Castell Nou, or a modification of part of it.

36. e.g. C.198: ab occasu in pariete qui communis habetur intra prephatas quos tibi vendimus domos etiam dictum Iudeorum Callem: C.267: ab occiduo in domibus Maimonis judeis, et Hanoch atque Nazmain.

37. For the changes of the 13th, and more especially the 14th.centuries, Baer, op.cit., passim.

38. For these other activities, see S.277, C.194, C.163, C.109, C.143,145,170 respectively, I have studied the events of 1077-1115 referring to this area in "The North-western gate of the City of Barcelona in the 11th. and 12th.centuries" in CAHC 17 (1977) 117-127.

39. This will is known from various copies: primarily that of ACA RBIII 316 which was copied into the LFM (vol.I, no.493, p.527). The sacramental swearing is known from ACA RBIV 6 and Arxiu de Montserrat, Pergamins de Sta.Maria de Montserrat, no.8. There are some differences between the various versions, with the result that it is not clear whose palace is being referred to, although the best reading would seem to be:

Item dimisit eidem Sede omne ipsum directum et voces et auctoritates quas querelebat in domibus quae fuerunt Raimundi Dalmatii, pro emendacione illius turris et muri quod addidit suo palacio.

40. The sacramental swearing of his will took place on May 17th. 1184 on the altar of St.Joan in the Cathedral: it had been composed on 6th.April, 1183, when he had departed for Santiago: he completed this pilgrimage and returned to Barcelona and lived "many days" before dying on 21st.November (LAEC I 209 561, Mas XII no.2147, p.27).

41. It should be noted, however, that the property of Sta.Maria de Solsona was still distinct in 1213: LAEC I 264 715, Mas XII no.2548, p.212: cf. J.Costa y Bafarull, Memorias de la Ciudad de Solsona y su Iglesia, (Barcelona, 1959) i, p. 73, for the origins of this property.

42. F.Carreras Candi, Cataluña Ilustrada¹³, Ciudad de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d.) opposite p.32 and fig. 85.

43. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., between pp.96 and 97. I am grateful for their gift of an enlarged copy of this plan. (=fig.87).

44. Cited in note 19 of Chapter X.

45. For this individual, S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) pp.69-70. He was apparently named 'Viscount of Tarragona' and also led an embassy to Denia: cf. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.354, note 100.

46. Duran, BSH, pp.45-6, and see figure 61.

Attempts to identify these two walls as the Romanesque Cathedral border on the ludicrous: on the one hand they are too closely set to be the side walls, and on the other there are no indications of the apses one would expect to see.

47. For the construction of this square, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.372.

48. The Dean's House may have come into use under Ramon of Caldes, the most famous of the 12th.century holders of this post: his house in Barcelona was certainly used for at leasting one Royal accounting session (ACA Alfons I 519) and since he is not recorded as having property elsewhere in the city, it might be assumed that it was in this residence. The rubric reads; Excomutacio de illis domibus que sunt intra palacium decani et hospitalet per illas domos paradisi.

49. Supra p.352 and note 4 to Chapter X.

50. Deodat Bernat was probably Bernat's son: cf Els Castells Catalans (ed.R.Dalmau) vol.V (Barcelona, 1976) pp.322-3, also Bernat's bequest in CSC 192 602, Rius II no.662,p.326: The Claramunt line later became Viscounts of Cardona (S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Barons de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1957) p.53) and given that the not particularly common name of Fulc was frequent in the earlier line of the Viscounts, there may have been a connection.

51. For the donation to the Order of La Mercè, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.301, referring to the donation of the hospital to that Order: he considered this as that of Guitart, although it is probable that it was either part of the by-then disused Cathedral Hospital, or the property to the south, held by the Templars, This is the opinion expressed by A.Mª Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1978) p.25. For some reason this was later offered for the projected monastic house of Celestians, but reverted to the Mercedarians who sold it to the Canons for the construction of the still standing Pia Almoina in 1424, and the cutting of the Baixada de la Canonja: ibid., p.139 and document 265: J.Baucells i Reig, "La Pia Almoina de la Seo de Barcelona: Origen y desarrollo" in A Pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península

Ibérica a Idade Média, (Lisbon, 1973) 73-135, p.111.

This property thus passed through a full circle:

Canons and Templars to Mercedarians and Celestians
and back to the Canons.

52. Cf. the plans published in Adroer, op.cit.,
figs.14 and 37.

53. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., p.91 also conclude that this palace went out of use in the later 12th.century.

54. This name is recorded in a 13th.century hand on the reverse of document C.332 of 1190, which refers to this zone.

55. The other 'freginals' and the meaning of the word are discussed infra pp. 723-5.

56. ADB Sta.Anna, Martí, p.446 no.670, in which the daughter and granddaughter of Berenguer Dionís sell houses with a tower and wall, not far from the Castell Vell, with the defences to the east, Pere Adalbert's houses to the south, a street to the west, and Pere de Palau's houses to the north.

57. LAEC I 83 192, Mas XII no.2344, p.117.

58. A.Durán y Sanpere, "Vestigios de la Barcelona romana en la Plaza del Rey" in Ampurias 5 (1943) 53-77, p.66.

59. ibid., p.65 refers to a wall which may have been medieval at the southern end of the excavated area, but in general post-Roman remains were ignored. The fact that the Petit line died out with Martí Petit (II) (infra p.445) suggests a re-allocation of this property in the late 12th.century.
60. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.856.
61. Balari, Orígenes Històrics, ii, p.670. These early emphyteutic or permanent leases often have the format of sales: cf. F.Carreras Canals, "Notes sobre **los** orígens de la Enfiteusis en lo Territori de Barcelona" in Revista Jurídica de Catalunya 15 (1909) 193-212, and continued in seven more parts in the same and following volumes.
62. Document cited in note 57. For later developments, Adroer, op.cit., particularly the plan in figure 2. (= my fig.78).
63. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., pp.90-91 for most of these points.
64. J.F.Cabestany, "Bernat Escuder, un barceloní convers de Poblet (1185)" in Miscel·lània Històrica Catalana (= Scriptorium Populeti, 3: Poblet, 1970) 147-153: Baucells, op.cit., p.84.

65. Cartulari de Poblet no.254. By this date the Count's bread-oven had been exchanged with the Canons, a transaction recorded in S.630 of 1200.
66. For the building activities of the mid-12th. century, infra pp.752*3.
67. For the Cases dels Canonges, CMB pp.309-311 and Duran, BSH, pp. 382-400.
68. A document of 22nd.February, 1124 is evidence of this: in this Ramon Pons recognizes that he holds the property formerly of Riculf the Grammarician and Guillem Giscafret: this is stated to be in territorio Barchinone in parroechia Sancti Andree Palumbario sive in Orta vel in parroechia Sanct Genessii de Agudels, but there is no mention of urban property (Arxiu de Montserrat, Pergamins de St.Benet de Bages, no. 1659).
69. C.120 and 150: C.48 bis must have been located here or on a neighbouring site, but the transformations of the central decades of the 11th.century make it impossible to be more precise.
70. Palm trees have always attracted attention in Barcelona: this is partly because, at least nowadays, and perhaps also in the slightly warmer 11th. and 12th.centuries, they can grow in the local climate but not bear fruit, and therefore have to

be imported.

71. Other isolated parchments referring to this area around St.Just and St.Jaume are C.58,82,86, 129; the last three ~~are~~ related, and concern a property that passed to the monastery of St.Cugat. Also C.76 and 96: one might guess that these were all in the area between St.Just and the Castell Vell (cf. fig. 93), but this is really only guesswork.

72. Evidence presented below demonstrates that Arbert Bernat was son of Bernat Gelmir who died in 1054 (C.84): there were three sons; little or nothing is known about Guerau. Ermengol drew up his will in 1084 (C.153), but had previously given property to the canons (C.141). Both the properties in question were probably in the St.Just area. Bernat Gelmir also probably had other estates on the south-west side of the defences.

73. This structure has been little studied, despite its intrinsic interest: CMB pp.337-8.

74. ACB DC(c) 6,231:et omnium rerum parrochiam Sancti Justi et in omnibus aliis locis sicut melius habent et tenent per Gerallum Alamagni.

75. ACA Monacales, St Llorenç del Munt, pergamino no.376 of 1206: houses in loco que dicitur Tmoled.

76. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XI no.31 (1972) 55-80. Criticism expressed by M. Barceló, "L'or d'al-Andalus a Catalunya: un or vist i no vist (970-1085)" in Symposium Numismàtico de Barcelona I (1979) 313-328, especially p.323, note 62. See also infra p.789.

77. This claim is made by J.Sobrequès in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al Segle XVI, (directed by A.Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.215, although I can find no evidence for it. A summary check reveals at least three people of this name, although, if, as seems probable, this is the same as the Bernat Ramon de Barcelona, he may have been a progenitor of the lines who used this surname in the following century.

78. This document, which will be referred to on numerous occasions is RBIIIs.f. 71 and is transcribed in vol.IV: pp.1951-57 : see also RBII 39 (note 23). For this incident, one can refer to most of the standard histories of the Counts, particularly P. de Bofarull y Mascaró, Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados, (Barcelona, 1836) ii, pp.112-3 and more recently S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) pp.122-3.

79. C.128, a document of doubtful authenticity, may have been connected with this family's holdings.

The quotation is from RBII 71 s.f. cited in the previous note.

80. For Pere of Barcelona as Vicar of Barcelona infra p.775 : Pere's father, Arnau, was Pere Ricart's cousin: cf. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "Solidaridad Familiar y Organizaciones de Clanes en la Ciudad de Barcelona en los siglos XI y XII" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year ~~XV~~ no.45 (1976) 7-26, p.25.
81. Bernat became a canon in 1155, C.266 bis.
82. This group of transactions is the closest one can see in the city to clan activities, although the later 12th. and subsequent centuries still need further investigation: for the subject in general see J.Heers, Le Clan Familial au Moyen Age, (Paris, 1974: I have used the Spanish translation, El Clan Familiar en la Edad Media, (Barcelona, 1978)), and the work of Ruiz Doménec cited in note 80 for the case of Barcelona, to which might be added his "Las estructura familiares catalanas en la alta Edad Media" in CAHC 16 (1975) 69-123, esp. pp.108-118.
83. The principal exceptions are C.51,114 and 115 which all suggest a location in the region of the castellum to the west of the gate. However, I believe that the name was used more widely of the whole southern part of the walls.

84. De ipsos ferragenales qui sunt subtus Turres Ventosas que fuerunt Mironis Guadalli et de aliis ferragenals qui sunt subtus Regumir ubi fuerunt factas naves (RBII s.f.71): notice the plural form of the name; transcribed in volume IV, pp.1951-7.

84 bis. F.Udina Martorell and J.Ma Garçut, Barcelona: Dos mil años de historia, (Barcelona, 1963) p.118. on this point.

85. There is an obvious link between the two documents of 1067 since the borders are exactly the same, although there is no apparent connection between the parties involved: in the second (C.115) rights pass to a Jew, Salomon Baro, who also appears in a now missing document of 1076 (C.127): these are of some significance, for they are the last intra-mural references to Jewish property outside the Call and its immediate environment.

86. It is feasible that some of these properties were on the eastern side of the walls, in the area of the C/Lladó, where, as has been seen, Bernat Gelmir's son had property. The lack of precision in these documents stands in stark contrast to the majority from the intra-mural area.

87. The subject of measurements is dealt with in an appendix in volume IV, pp. 1991-97.

88. This document is transcribed in volume IV, pp.1964-66.

89. The House of the Hospitalers was not founded until 1205, and subsequently gave its name to the C/ de la Riera de St.Joan, the street on the line of the Merdança: see J.Miret y Sans, Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1910) pp.568-78: Carreras Candi GGCCB, p.463: CMB p.197: A4Duran i Sanpere, "L'església de Sant Joan de Jerusalem, de Barcelona" in AST 34 (1961) 141-96. Sobrequés in Història de Barcelona, I:p.239 states that the Hospitalers had a house by c.1120: although they were receiving bequests of goods and cash by that date, I cannot find any reference to this.

90. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.420-4: CMB pp.259-64 for the 14th.century and later history of the palace (fig.46). The Templar property had clearly been increased by the mid-13th.century when the surviving late Romanesque Chapel was built (CMB p.32). See also, A.J.Forey, The Templars in the Corona de Aragón, (Oxford, 1973) p.50.

91. Supra pp.483-4 for this point. Other properties in the zone are perhaps those recorded in C.210 and C.232 through the link of the Barberà family (C.271).

92. The question of agricultural land in the city and the possible 'masos' is discussed below, pp.723-30.

Notes to Chapter XII

1. For the 13th.-14th. century defences, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.343-357: Durán, BSH, pp.190-208. Remains have been found in recent years in the Plaça de Catalunya, although a full-scale study of these and the later extensions, setting them in the context of urban defences in the Crown of Aragon, is still needed.

2. J.Pau, Barcino (Història de Barcelona fins al segle XV): edited by J.M.Casas Homs: Barcelona, 1957) p.24: "Durant la dominació goda a causa del contingut augment de població, foren construïdes moltes cases als suburbis de Barcelona" and also p.30.
J. Pujades, Crònica universal del Principado de Cataluña (Barcelona, 1829-31) vol.III, book IV, p.109,129 and 283: p.109: "porque muchos que escaparon de la fiebre alemana y ruina de Tarragona, se vinieron a recoger y a reparar a Barcelona: con lo que se aumentó el numero de habitantes, se extendió la población, y se edificarán muchas casas en el terreno de parte de afuera de la muralla vieja...".

3. F.Diago, Historia de los Victoriosísimos antiguos Condes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1603) fol.11v.
"En este montezillo pues llamado Taber fue fundida Barcelona. Tiene tres murallas con fosso en la postrera de ellas. La primera es antiquissima aló

que muestra, y fue grandemente levantada: las otras dos que ciñan a esta, son mucho más modernos y se han ido labrando para guardar a los arrabales que poco a poco por el discurso de tiempo se han añadido a la ciudad antigua".

A. Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854), p.18: "En este tiempo (the 12th. century) empezó a poblarse el espacio extendido entre sus primitivas murallas y la Rambla y Puerta Nueva como también el terreno entonces apellidado la Ribera, y hoy ocupado por la Ciudadela y el Paseo Nuevo o de San Juan, y recibieron unos y otros el nombre de arrabales. Extendiose después la población hacia la playa, trozo que se llamó Vilanova, a la manera que los barrios contruidos por las casas edificadas de la Puerta del Mar a la plaza de las Barcas, ahora Duque de Medinaceli, se apellidaron Vilanova de las Roquetas."

4. A. de Campany y de Monpalau, Memorias Históricas sobre la Marina, Comercio y Artes de la Antigua Ciudad de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1779: reprinted with introduction, Barcelona, 1961-2) i, p.24: "Esta ciudad, reducida a los principios, desde luego que fue corte de sus Principes adquirió nueva extensión, arrabales y marina propria".

5. P. de Bofarull y Mascaró. Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados, (Barcelona, 1836) i, p.128: the document is S.3.

6. A de Bofarull y Brocá, Guía-Cicerone de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1847¹) p.XVI: "Durante este mismo siglo (XII) empezaron a nacer arrabales a alguna distancia aunque poca de las murallas". Idem, Historia Crítica de Cataluña, (Barcelona, 1876) ii, p.283: "La existencia de aquellos suburbios se encuentra citada a diversos documentos del tiempo de nuestro conde Ramon Borrell".

7. S.Sanpere y Miquel, Topografía antigua de Barcelona: Rodalía de Corbera, (Barcelona, 1890) i, p.23. See also his "Excursió pel Pla de Barcelona en lo sègle X" in BCEC 3 (1893) 9-26.

8. Balari, Orígenes históricos, ii, pp.510-1

9. For the bibliography of Carreras Candi, see Ma R, Bultó Blajot, "Francisc Carreras i Candi: notes biogràfiques y bibliogràfiques de un gran historiador" in Documentos y Estudios 17 (1967) 7-120: and for an assessment of his work on Barcelona, A.Durán i Sanpere, "Francesc Carreras i Candi i la historiografia de Barcelona" in his Barcelona i la seva història, III: l'art i la cultura, (Barcelona, 1975) pp.583-591.

10. F.Carreras Candi, La Via Layetana substituïnt als carrers de la Barcelona mitgeval, (Barcelona. 1913) esp. pp.20-30.

11. Idem, GGCCB, pp.302-7: idem, "Excursió retrospectiva a la vella Barcelona" in BCEC 26 (1916) 141-153, 257-266, 281-292, 317-326, esp. p.258: idem, "Idea de l'avenç urbà de Catalunya al segle XIV" in III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Valencia, 1923), pp.165-228 : esp. p.209.

12. A.Rovira i Virgili, Història Nacional de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1924: reprinted, 1976) vol.III, p.331.

13. A.del Castillo in L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.99 and 107.

14. CMB p.26 and pp.35-8, one of the most lucid accounts to date.

15. One of the few examples is his consideration of the origins of the C/de Montcada, in his BSH, pp. 444-463. A bibliography of his works was published by the MHC in 1970: however, the greater part of these were newspaper articles or notes of the type printed in the volumes of Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica (Barcelona, 1945- date: 14 volumes).

16. F.Udina Martorell, El Archivo Condal de Barcelona en los siglos IX - X, (Barcelona, 1951): idem, "La Barcelona Condal (siglos VIII al XII)" in CAHC 3 (1962) 94-112, p.110. M.Mitjá Sagué, "Condado y Ciudad de Barcelona. Capítulos de su historia en

los siglos IX y X" in Estudios históricos y documentos de los Archivos de Protocolos 3 (1955) 267-281, esp. p.277.

17. To cite only those of the last two decades:
 R.Tasis, Barcelona, Imatge i història d'una Ciutat, (Barcelona, 1961) p.33: F.Udina and J.Ma Garrut, Barcelona: Dos mil años de historia (Barcelona, 1963) p.199: P.Vila Dinares and L.Casassas Simó, Barcelona i la seva rodalia al llarg dels temps, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.77-8. S.Sobrequès, "La Barcelona de l'alta edat mitjana" in Història de Barcelona I: De la Pre-història al segle XVI, (J.A.Duran: Barcelona, 1975) pp.206-9, which, although introducing new material, still follows the main points established by Carreras Candi. Neither do the articles principally concerned with the expansion of the city add much that is new: A. Florensa Ferrer, "Evolución de la ciudad en la Baja Edad Media" in CAHC 3 (1962) 113-128: M.Tintó Sala, "La historia urbanística de España, especialmente de Barcelona, hasta el siglo XVIII: estado de la situación" in Atti del 12 Convegno Internazionale di Storia Urbanistica (Lucca, 1976) pp.200-242 (with text in Spanish and Italian).

18. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.488-91: ii, 849-53. However, the plan of suburban growth on p.490 should be used with extreme caution, if at all, because of numerous inaccuracies. The Arcs Antics suburb

should have been located outside the Bishop's Gate, not the Castell Vell: the St.Pere de les Puelles suburb was really very small, much smaller than depicted: the course of the Merdança was much closer to the defences than shown: there is no evidence for a street leading from the Regomir gate to Sta.Maria del Mar. Overall it exhibits the problem of the identification of north, for several features have been shifted through 90° to the east of their true locations, (reproduced in fig.94).

19. Dr.Ruiz Doménec relies on the interpretation of Carreras Candi in most of his works (cf.bibliography). Neither does A.M.Udina Abelló, El Consell de Cent Barceloní, (Barcelona, 1977), in his chapter on the growth of medieval Barcelona (pp.15-22) add anything new.

20. As will be shown in the analysis of the individual zones, the division between the suburbium and the territorium lay beyond the Rech near the church of Sta.Eulalia del Camp to the east: it then continued above the monastery of St Pere and the area known as Cort Comtal. To the west, the area around St.Pau del Camp was usually considered to be part of the territorium until the mid-12th.century (S.7,65,108, 246,318,417), although its vicinity to the city is often commented on. Thenceforth it is described as being in the suburbium (S.498,504,535,545) or in the burgo

(S.475,511,512,557). The line of the Rambles may thus have been the original boundary, but just as the area beyond the stream was walled after the 13th. century defences, so it may have been added to the original suburbium in the mid-12th. century.

For place-names in the territorium and problems of unlocatable names, infra chapter XVI, where the available plans of the territorium are also discussed. The principal name which was probably sited in this zone was that of Arenys, referring to the Rambles stream, although since the name could have also referred to points further upstream and was also used of other streams, the material is difficult to distinguish.

21. Places in the territorium described as located in the suburbium: ACA Borrell II 56 (=Udina, Archivo Condal no.224) referring to Calvera in 990: LAEC II 93, 282, Mas IX no.110, p.46 referring to Horta in 991: ACA Ramon Borrell I referring to Auro Invento in 993: ibid. 2 referring to Parets Delgades in 993 etc. For St.Cugat del Vallès in the suburbium CSC 319 955 , Rius I no.162, p.136 of 984.

On this whole question of terminology see the work of Mitjá cited in note 16, although a clear pattern is yet to be established.

22. These are summarized in volume III pp.1697-1938. and are identified by S. followed by the appropriate number.

23. Duran, BSH, pp.133-147 for the development of roads in the Pla de Barcelona: the connection with early medieval churches, however, has hardly ever been mentioned.

24. For this point supra p.1311.

25. The narrowest of these was the C/de les Doncelles, joining C/de la Tapineria with the Plaça del Oli, which measured only 1.10m. in width: cf. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.360, where he also discusses other characteristics of streets formed in the early Middle Ages, particularly the vaults built over them. The factor of street widths is not taken into account here because of the transformations of the past century, although it is possible that further research on the question could produce results.

26. For the basic theory of planned blocks one might consult the works of M.R.G. Conzen, especially his "The use of town plans in the study of urban history" in The Study of Urban History, (edited H.J.Dyos, London, 1968) pp.113-120. Such an approach has hardly ever been employed in the case of Barcelona, although the fact that an element of planning was involved in the C/de Montcada was realised by Duran (BSH, p.446) and some similar comments have been made in the Història de Catalunya Salvat, (ed.J.M.Salrach; Barcelona, 1978-9) i, p.192. The conclusions reached here are

drawn from the 1:2000 plan of the city issued by the Ajuntament, supplemented by the information of the Garriga 'quarterons' plans of 1858, consisting of 118 sheets at 1:250 scale, and the reconstructed plan of the late Medieval topography (figs. 101, 109-10).

27. e.g. those around the church of Sta. Maria del Pi, where the natural topography determined the street pattern to a greater extent than elsewhere. The letters in this list refer to those on fig. 102. where a distinction is made between those areas described as a 'vilanova' and those which were not. This plan also reflects the effective extent of medieval settlement by marking the areas which were still horticultural land c.1700, there having been no apparent growth between the early 15th. century and that date, and possibly some recession.

28. For this zone infra pp. 579-586: virtually all the structures in this part of the city appear to date from the later 19th. century, although the street pattern, and to a lesser extent the property boundaries are of far earlier origins. It was described as the Villa Sepulcri in the late 12th. century.

29. Discussed infra pp. 586-591: it would appear that each block was owned by a separate lord or institution, giving rise to the Villa Queralt and the Villa dels Arcs of Bernat Marcus (III).

30. The evidence to demonstrate that houses were isolated in this area until the 13th century is presented in the following chapter. The first reference to a more definitive urbanization comes in 1271 with a mention of the 'Vilanova del Cogoll' presumably referring to the 'Cogoll Antic' near the monastery of St.Pere (ACB DC(d) Capsa 25, 3511): other documents of 1253 may also refer to the same area (ACB DA 370, which includes a dozen leases of plots of land for the construction of houses: also ACB DC(d) carpeta 12, 909, which refers to a Vilanova near the Arcs Antics, which crossed the northern side of this zone). The present day streets had certainly been laid out by the 1280's: ACB DA 2047 of 1284 refers to the 'carrer mes alt de St.Pere' as does ACB DC(d)capsa 17, 1805 of 1286, while ACB DA 1427 of 1286 records a 'Carrer Nou de Sant Pere'.

31. The evidence is presented infra p.606, being derived principally from his will, transcribed in volume IV pp.1967-74 referring to villam suam ante suam capellam. The blocks to the east of C/dels Mercaders probably belong to a similar period, although the motive force for their urbanization is uncertain.

32. Infra pp.601-7 for the 12th century building programmes in this zone, and the identification of this together with f) as the failed 'vilanova' of

1057-60. ACB DC (d) capsa 15, 1412 of 1260 demonstrates that parts of the area were fully built-up with the characteristic vaults over narrow streets, although LAEC I 240 647, Mas XII no.2657, p.275 of the previous year refers to a new street next to the church of St.Cugat del Rech, which suggests that other parts were less densely occupied.

33. Again the basic layout of this area probably existed in the later 11th.century, although it was not more fully urbanized until the 13th.century. Various documents in the ADB Mensa Episcopal series, título III, refer to this and a number of later rentals for the zone exist together with plans of the area: it was clearly under episcopal control.

34. Infra pp. 612-623.

35. The origins of this area are fairly clear, thanks to the research of S.Sanpere y Miquel, Topografía Antigua de Barcelona: Rodalía de Corbera, (Barcelona, 1890-92) in three volumes. In 1209, King Pere I gave the Cathedral of Barcelona the shore between the mouth of the Rech and the Alfondrec and the Drassanes towards the Regomir gate (LAEC I 14 28, Mas XII no. 2426, p.157). This was subsequently subdivided and given to wealthy citizens such as the Durfort family, who subdivided their holdings into smaller plots such as that given to Joan de Orta (ACA Diversos, Sentmenat, Index 8 no.20) measuring 11 by 7 dexters, with the

condition that houses should be built. Other plots were smaller, only 3 dexters wide (ACA Diversos, Sentmenat, Index 1, nos.2 and 3). Because of the adjacent 'vilanova del Mar', some confusion over nomenclature arose: in 1219 the 'vila de Alfou', related to the prominent family of that name, between the 'villa nova' and the 'villa vella' is mentioned (ACB DA 793), although it was also in the hands of the Durforts: the Mediona family also appears to have been closely related with the development of the area (ACB DB 1420 and DB 758, both of 1218), although they too sold out in 1220 (ACB DC(d) Carpeza 5, 3995). There is thus little doubt that the area was built up in the decade between 1210 and 1220. The connection with the Llull family was studied by J.Miret y Sans, "La Vila Nova de Barcelona y la familia d'En Ramón Lull en la XIII centuria" in BRABLB 5 (1909-10) 525-535. That the western part of the zone was urbanized at a later date is suggested by the larger size of the blocks and the similarity with the even later shore developments further west.

36. This area presumably post-dates the church of Sta.Marta referred to in 1285 (ACB DA 31-34) and certainly the area described in the previous section.

37. A.Mª Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1978) p.26, refers to an inhabitant of Villanovam juxta monasterium Sancte

Clare in the period 1285-91 . The hospital of Sta.Marta, later of Pere Desvilar, was similarly located at the same date, Sanpere y Miquel, op.cit., p.47 note 13. Although the area was totally destroyed in the construction of the Ciutadella, early plans illustrate the format of the blocks; see fig.104.

38. This is the least certain of the 'vilanoves' and the reference in the 1364 'fogatge' may in fact be to the previous area: it depends on the interpretation of the not very clear street names in the text, for which see Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.388. Another possibility is that it refers to the area of 'horts' behind the monastery of St.Agustí Vell, which had a regular plan in the later 17th.century: since the population declined in the later 14th.century, it may have been a recent foundation in 1364 which failed to attract settlers.

39. Infra pp.645-51 for this area in the 12th. century, when it was largely open: some houses may have been built in the Codals area in the early 13th.century (ACB DA 2062 of 1227) and there was development along C/de la Boqueria (ACB DC(d) Capsa 15, 1400 of 1218). The growth of this area was, however, slow. The area was particularly inhabited by the practicans of various noxious trades, which have given their names to modern street names.

40. Although there were some houses in the area in the later 12th.century and a baker's oven by 1210 towards the Leper's Hospital (ACB DA 1115), the first clear reference to more extensive urbanization comes in the 1270's: there are references to houses beyond the Riera de la Boqueria in 1273 and 1277 (ACB DC(d) capsa 22, 2823 and carpeta 7, 4221) and to houses next to the Hospital d'En Colom in 1278 (ACB DC(d) Capsa 25, 3455), which probably indicate ribbon development. However, the density of population in these areas was still low in the 16th. century when the first topographical drawings were made, and the regular property divisions visible today belong to the later 18th.century.

41. Spain has been left behind in studies of medieval town-planning. The starting point must be the section by Torres Balbas in A.García y Bellido et al., Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España, (Madrid, 1968²): P.Lavedan and J.Huguency, L'Urbanisme au Moyen Age, (Geneva, 1974) has little to say about Spain except those towns on the route to Santiago de Compostela, and virtually nothing on Catalonia. Concerning the theory of town-layout, but in the 14th.century, J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Idees tèdriques sobre urbanisme en el segle XIV: un fragment d'Eiximenis" in EUC 21 (1931) 1-10. More recently G.Alomar, Urbanismo en la Edad Media. Las Ordinacions de Jaime II (1300) en el Reino de Mallorca, (Barcelona, 1976) relating the Balearics to present-day Southern France.

42. via (S.55): calle (S.133) & platea (S.259):
carrera (S.387).
43. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.279-281: Els Castells Catalans (ed. R.Dalmau: Barcelona, 1968) I, p.557-8.
44. For the earlier periods, supra pp.223-6, 322-3.
The most extensive account of the existing church is B.Bassegoda, Santa Maria de la Mar: Monografia Històrica-Artística, (Barcelona, 1925) in 2 vols, with a section on the period up to the 14th.century.
45. LAEC I 2 3, Mas IX no.493, p.229. Bassegoda, op.cit., p.37.
46. LAEC I 8 14, Mas IX no.312, p.136.
47. see document S.59.
48. See C.16: also ACA BRI 4: ACV Calaix 9, Ep II nos.22 and 23 for wills sworn there. In the will of Wilaranus (C.26) the church probably received two mancuses as opposed to the one of most of the rest of the non-monastic churches in the Barcelona area: however, it is here recorded by the otherwise unknown name of Sta.Maria Gurgite as opposed to the Sta.Maria Occidentale, which is clearly Sta.Maria del Pi.

49. Vergés and Vinyoles, op.cit., p.51 for the interpretation of the 14th.century documentation. J.Roca y Colí, La Providencia recompensando la piedad de los fieles parroquianos de Santa María del Mar, (Barcelona, 1861) cited in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.313 note 750. La Vanguardia Española of 21st.August, 1979 reports the discovery of a wall which may have been part of the early church, although this remains doubtful. For possible 11th. or 12th. century remains under the Gothic high altar, M.Ribas Bertran, Necrópolis romana en la basílica de Santa Maria del Mar de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1977) pp.4-5 and fig.4 for an elevation.
50. These are tabulated in volume IV pp.1984-5.
51. Will of Pere Vivas, ACA RBI 145: et iubeo vindere ipso meo saumario et de ipso precio dare faciatis oro mea sepultura mancosos ii a domum Sancte Marie de littore maris ubi iubeo me sepellire. Also the will of Guitart Ananias, ACV Calaix 9, Ep.II no.59. The cemetery is mentioned for the first time in S.231.
52. For the 14th.century church, Bassegoda, op.cit., passim: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.451-3: CMB pp.115-132.
53. CMB p.108.

54. C.28: ACB DC(b) 1,17 (of 1039): ACA RBI 40 (of 1040): LAEC I 65 141, Mas X no.995, p.143 (of 1080).

55. Tabulated on p.1986

56. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.319 and 454:

57. See volume IV p.1986.

58. ACB DA 301: this document gives the impression of being unfinished, for a number of details are missing and there is no authentication.

59. Much of the neighbouring property was in the hands of the Dean c.1200: see volume III pp.1975-6. This document also makes it clear that the church was by then parrochial, although it is not known when it became so. For the extent of the medieval parish F. de P. Colldeforns, Les Parròquies Barcelonines en el segle XIX: i Epoca constitucionalista (1820-24), (Barcelona, 1936) p.22.

60. LAEC II 115 344, Mas IX no.672, p.307 (of 1054). There is a problem of confusion for, prior to the establishment of the church, the road leading towards St.Cugat del Vallès, that is the one leaving from the Bishop's Gate, could also be described as the caminus Sancti Cucuphatis, as it certainly was at later dates.

61. For the church, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.453: CMB p.219. For the excavations directed by A.Arribas, F.Udina Martorell, "Campana de las excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo por el Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de Barcelona en 1961-2" in CAHC 11 (1967) 5-30, pp.23-4.

One unsolved mystery is the possible church of St. Salvador recorded by Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.304 note 694 on the basis of the evidence of a document of 1081 (LAEC IV 118 309, Mas X no.998, p.144) which records a church of this name and document S.283, which records the place-name Salvador as having been near the church of St.Cugat del Rech: the church is otherwise unrecorded in the Barcelona area, and although there is another church which only rarely appeared in the documentation in the territorium (St. Bartolomeu: infra p. 878) if it were really in the urban area, this is quite surprising. The place-name is only found on one other occasion to my knowledge, as the ortum de Salvatore in the will of Marcutius the Greek (C.38). The type of property involved in the 1081 document is unlikely to have been in this part of the city, and the position of the document in the Cartulary suggests a location in the Olérdola district of the Penedès, so it seems probable that this supposed church never existed.

62. Supra p. 355 for the origins of the church, and the pre-Romanesque art and architecture.

63. ACV C6 1276, the will of Viscountess Richilda:
Et ipsos alaudes quod abebat in locum que dicunt
Decollatos et in ⁺Parietes iussit donare ad monasterium
Sancti Petri et Sancti Saturnini que sunt ante Bar-
chinona: ACV C6 785, the will of Ingeluada: et con-
cedo a Sancto Petro monasterio que est ante porta
civitatis Barchinona equas II et kaficios V de vino
et manchoso I que mihi debet Gelmiro filio que fuit
Agio et concedo Sancti Petri Barchinona ancilla
mea Gisclavara (of 981).

64. For the tradition, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.170:
 CMB pp.21-4. The sources for the early history of
 the monastery are quite extensive, although have
 never been fully exploited. Apart from documents
 in the various Barcelona archives, the monastery it-
 self houses a collection, and a substantial number
 are in the Vic archives, with others at Montserrat
 and in Madrid (AHN).

65. Document cited in note 58.

66. It was close to a point known as the Cogoll
 Antic, although not actually on it. The first part
 of this place-name refers to a slight eminence, but
 why it should be described as 'ancient' remains
 obscure. However, another 'Cogoll' place-name in
 the region immediately around the city clearly had
 an element of settlement at a very early date, and
 it is legitimate to wonder whether the same was the
 case here, although the settlement had been abandoned

by the 10th.century, for all the property recorded in its vicinity consisted of vineyards and fields.

67. For the inscription see note 89 to chapter IX. A new study of the pre-Romanesque remains of these churches is sorely needed, since they form the largest group in the city by far. The best accounts to date are those of J.Puig i Cadafalch, et.al., L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya, ii (Barcelona, 1911) pp.115-9 and J.Puig i Cadafalch, L'Escultura romànica a Catalunya, I (=Monumenta Cataloniae V) (Barcelona, 1949) p.23. The interpretation is not aided by the drastic restoration that took place after the 'Setmana Tragica' of 1909.

68. ACA Ramon Borrell 93: Per has vineas vel per terra et eo quod super hoc adedistis nobis sumam pecunie id est XI mancosos aureos et XI exarachellos de argento quod expendimus in restaurationem in prefati cenobii.

69. CSC 19 46 : Rius I no.293, p.246 of 993 records only four

70. LAEC I 11 24, Mas IX no.434, p.200

71. For the portico see J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El sentido de la riqueza en el Condado de ^Barcelona en el siglo XI" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XIV no.41 (1975) 49-60, p.56. One of the more interesting aspects

of this prosperity is the connection between the monastery and the iron ore mines at Castellar del Vallès, which may have led to the monastery being the channel through which the metal principally reached the city: cf. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.473.

72. The two donations are Arxiu de Sant Pere, pergamins nos.36 and 43 of 1075 and 1082: However, in 1059 (S.132) there were only four nuns plus the abbess. A Bull of 1072 may indicate changed circumstances.

73. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.206-8: CMB p.24, both with illustrations, and the former with extensive contemporary comments on the destruction. Fragments are to be found in the Museo de Arte de Catalunya, nos.9867-8 and others in the Museo Santacana in Martorell, for which see, F.Santacana Romeu, Catalec ilustrat del Museu Santacana de Martorell, (Barcelona, 1909): see also figs.105-6.

74. S,363 and ACV C6 2015. It was also considered to be a parish church in the 12th.century: A.Paulí Meléndez, El real monasterio de San Pedro de las Puellas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1945) p.50.

75. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.222.

76. J.Vigué, El monestir romànic de Sant Pau del Camp(Barcelona, 1974) with a historical section by A.Pladevall.

77. For the period before 985, supra pp.335-6.
78. The three documents which J.Mas, Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona, vol.XIII (Barcelona, 1921) cites as referring to the church in the period prior to the monastic foundation of the later 11th.century, and copied by Pladevall, op.cit., p.20, should, however, be revised. That dated to 985 is really of the following year (S.7): that of 1017, Trasoar's will, refers not to St.Pau but to St.Pere de les Puelles: that of 1048, however, is acceptable. (S.108).
79. This and subsequent donations are tabulated in volume IV p.1988.
80. For the origins of this family, Els Castells Catalans, II (Barcelona, 1969) pp.259-260.
81. LAEC III 9 17, Mas X.no.1017, p.153.
82. The correct decipherment of this inscription took rather a long time, and a number of extravagant theories were produced as a result of mis-readings: Vigué, op.cit., pp.110-115. Nevertheless, the identity of Renart is still a mystery, even though it was a fairly unusual name in the 12th.century.
83. Pladevall in ibid., considered that the definitive foundation did not occur until 1117, although

the above references must indicate that it had already existed for some time by that date.

84. Ibid., p.24, and CSC 8 8, Rius III no.849, p.45.

85. C.198, S.290 and C.207.

86. Pladevall^{in Vigué,} op.cit., p.53.

87. ACB DC(c) 5, 185 (of 1163) the will of Mir Guillem. A donation of a son to become a monk of 1170 exists in ACA Monacales, St.Pau del Camp, un-numbered parchment.

88. The document of 996 is ACB DB 147 (= LAEC III 121.314, Mas IX no.165, p.71) when it appears under the control of the Bishop and canons. A reference in the will of Motio of 987 (ADB Mensa Episcopalis, Título IV, part I, no.1) to ipsa faxia de terra quae est ad Sancta Eulalia foris muros is probably to this church rather than to either of the two dedicated to Eulalia of Mérida in the territorium. There is also a possible 9th.century reference to the same area, which was later consolidated in Episcopalis hands (supra p.322). Roman tombs were reportedly to be seen in the area of the church in the 15th. century (references in note 189 to chapter VII). The hypothesis that there was a monastery there in the Visigothic period has little evidence to recom-

mend it. The site remained outside the 13th-14th. century defences, and although a schism occurred in the community in 1309, and the two groups sought new intra-mural bases, the church continued in existence until the 16th. century (Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.461-463).

89. Transcribed in volume IV pp.1964-66.

90. The ad opera donations are tabulated in volume III, p.1989: the donation of the Palace chapel is ACA Alfons I 135.

91. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.276-7: CMB pp.88-9: Duran, BSH, pp.525-530.

For the Order in general, Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol.13, p.316, s.v. Sant Sepulcre, Ordre del,.

92. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.278: CMB p.31.

93. The first suggestion of this date comes in A.A: Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona 1854) i, p.551, citing a work by a rector of the chapel, C.Bartomeu Cebredo, Memoria de Santae Mariae Capellae Bernardi Marcutii, which I have been unable to trace. Campillo in the mid-18th. century certainly did not know this source when composing his Speculum Septem Parrochialum Barchinonensium, (Ms. in ADB)

fol.197, and proposed a date of c.1200.

94. This will is transcribed in volume IV. pp.1967-74.

95. For the other hospitals, CMB pp.296-7 and F.Udina Martorell, "Els precedents de l'Hospital de Santa Creu" in L'Hospital de Santa Creu i de Sant Pau (Barcelona, n.d. but c.1971) pp.15-22.

96. CMB p.31: S.Puig y Puig, Episcopologio de la Sede Barcinonense, (Barcelona, 1929) p.159.

Udina, op.cit., p.17, suggests 9th.century origins, although I can see no evidence for this. The documentation in the ACB which refers to this hospital contains no 12th.century material: I have not been able to see an undergraduate disseftation of the Universidad de Barcelona cited in AEM 8 (1972-73) p.3, A.Perez Santamaría, El Hospital de San Lázaro o Casa dels Malalts o Masells (siglos XII a XIV) (Barcelona, 1970).

97. Cf. C.Platt, "The Evolution of towns: Natural growth" in The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales, (edited M.W.^Barley! London, 1976) pp.48-56, p.55 citing M.B.Honeybourne, "The Leper Hospitals of the London Area" in Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society 21 (1967) 3-61.

98. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.463.

99. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.463-4: CMB, pp.100-104.
100. Platt, op.cit., p.55 for friaries and hospitals at the fringes of English medieval towns. In the case of Barcelona one must point to the Franciscans (c.1230), Santa Caterina (c.1249), La Mercè (mid-13th.) Santa Clara (mid-13th.) , Sta.Maria de Jonqueres (late 13th.) plus those foundations beyond the Rambles to the west. All these effectively lay outside the built-up area at the time of their construction. I deal with this point further in my entry on Barcelona in the Dictionary of the Middle Ages (New York, forthcoming), and see fig.95 for their location.
101. C.84 includes a reference to ipsa cenania, while C.181 and S.374 both mention an 'hort' called ad ipsa cenia. For the meaning, Alcover et al., DCVB, volume 9 , p.825 : s.v. 'sènia'. Such features were also to be found in the baths: cf. S.415, and 623-4.
102. F.Carreras Candi, "Les aigües y banys de Barcelona" in BRABLB 2 (1903-04) 115-130, esp. p.123.
103. It should not be confused with the many irrigation channels in existence, particularly along the two rivers, and between the Llobregat and Montjuïc. For irrigation in general, Bohnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.464-9 and fig.23.

104. e.g. LAEC IV 18 56, Mas IX no.44, p.19 (of 965):
ACA Ramon Borrell 25 (of 996): LAEC IV 18 58, Mas
IX no.534, p.249 (of 1041).
105. Sanpere y Miquel, Topografía Antigua de Barcelona, p.22 citing ACA Borrell II 70 (= Udina, Archivo Condal, no.237)
106. The most detailed account of this possibility is in M.Mayer and I.Rodà, "El abastecimiento de aguas de la Barcelona romana: reconstrucción de su trazado" in Segovia y la Arqueología Romana (Barcelona, 1977) 265-277.
107. For aqueduct arches near St.Pere at the Cogoll Antic, see the document cited in note 41 of chapter XIII. For arches in the territorium, S.27, which must indicate that some sections were carried by an aqueduct.
108. M.Galera, F.Roca and S.Tarragó, Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972) pp.130-9. Various lengths are still visible or can be traced on modern maps.
109. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, iⁱ, p.832.
110. The first reference to the rego comitale is in ACB DA 2536 of 1068, not as Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.466 states of 1075. The mills at El Clot are found in 1048 (S,109)), in 1097 (S.234), in 1148

(S.369) and in 1151 (ACA Real Patrimonio, Subsecció de la Bailía, Clase 2ª A^c vol.2: fol.2r.) all related to the counts. The drop in level was of course important for the operation for the mills, and although none exist there today, parallels can be found throughout rural Catalonia: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.459-463 for the operation of mills. For a 17th.century example, probably not all that much different, A.Altisent, "Equipament d'un molí hidràulic a Montblanc, el 1686" in BAT 71-2 (1971-2) 357-365.

111. For the last sections, where the medieval topography has disappeared, Sanpere y Miquel, Topografia antiga de Barcelona, p.79, and fig.104.

112. Ibid., p.28.

113. Ibid., p.24.

114. A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) i, p.219, shows that there were several streets incorporating this name in the area. S.Sanpere y Miquel, Història de Barcelona, (Barcelona, n.d.) p.142, corrects his earlier opinion.

115. If the Solar mills were in existence by this date, it may have referred to them, but the family association with the later operators of the mills suggests this was not so.

116. The third mill had certainly been built by 1116 (S.280).
117. There are referred to in RBII s.f.71, transcribed in volume IV , pp.1951-7.
118. On this incident in the Reconquest, S.Sobre-
qués i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona,
1970²) p.162 and Els Castells Catalans, **IV** (Barcelona,
1973) pp.591-2.
119. New mills were also constructed at Solar by
1160: LAEC IV 2 6, Mas XII no.2709, p.301 mentions
them.
120. For the dispute with the Montcada family,
ACA RBIV 62, discussed by J.C.Shideler, The Mont-
cadas, 1000-1230. The History of a Medieval Catalan
Noble Family, (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation,
University of California, Berkeley, 1979) p.133.
Usatge 74 concerns the Rech: text in Usatges de
Barcelona, (edited J.Rovira Ermengol: Barcelona,
1933) p.92.
121. e.g. the plan published in M.Galera et al.,
Atlas de Barcelona, as number 41.
122. These mills are recorded on numerous occasions
from the late 11th.century onwards, although they

may have been the same as those recorded on the Besòs in the 16th. century: Estadella first appears in 1088 (ACA BRII 45) and Altafulla in 1104 (LAEC I 230 623, Mas IX no.1192, p.233). There was a mill in this area in the Roman period: J.Mª Garrut, "Crònica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1973) p.139. J.E.Ruiz Doménes, "The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural revolution or commercial development?" in Speculum 52 (1977) 265-286, p.272, suggests that some of the mills springing up along the Besòs were fulling mills.

123. For such medieval baths in general, C.Martinell, "Los baños medievales en el Levante español" in Cuadernos de Arquitectura 1 no.1 (1944) 5-19. For those of Girona, J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Els Banys Àrabs de Girona i la influència moresca a Catalunya" in AIEC 3 (1913-14) 687-728. For those of Palma de Mallorca, G.Rosselló Bordoy, "Sobre els 'Banys Àrabs' de Ciutat de Mallorca" in his Mallorca Musulmana, (Palma de Mallorca, 1973) pp.29-43.

124. The most thorough accounts were those in I. Bosarte, Disertación sobre los monumentos antiguos..., (Madrid, 1786) pp.69-70: A.Laborde, Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, i (Paris, 1806) pl.X and see my figure 108. For the surviving pieces reconstructed in the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad

see, F.Udina Martorell, Guía del Museo (de Historia de la Ciudad)(Barcelona, 1969³) pp.86-87.

125. J.Villanueva, Viage Literario a las iglesias de España, vol.XVII (Madrid, 1851) pp.394-6. These documents were then in the Royal Palace: they are S.415 and S.623-4,

126. ACB DA 69 of 1242 refers to houses in the C/dels Banys Nous.

127. M.Pujades, Crónica universal del Principado de Cataluña, (Barcelona, 1829-31) vol.III, Book IV, p.72:

"Los unos cerca de Santa María del Mar, y el sitio donde estaban retiene aún el nombre de 'Carrer dels banys vells'. Y habrá cosa de treinta años que en aquella calle, a mano izquierda, caminando a dicha iglesia de Santa María, a la mitad de la calle, se hallaban aun los vestigios de aquellos baños."

F-P.Verrié, "Tres hallazgos arqueológicos significativos para la historia de Barcelona" in La Vanguardia (9th.January, 1972) suggested that these could have been part of a suburban villa of Roman date, the channels of which were located in the adjoining C/de Montcada: this is possible, but remains strictly hypothetical.

128. They may have been those called balneis maris Barchinone vocatus de Stavach in 1394 (ACA Real

Patrimonio, Subsección de la Bailía, Clase 5ª, B2, fol.190r-v.) This volumes contains other documents pertaining to the operation of bath-houses. An oven or bakery called 'dels Banys Vells' is found in 1257 and 1288 (ACA Real Patrimonio, Subsección de la Bailía, Clase 2ª A^C vol.8).

129. ACA RBI 67.

130. Arxiu de Montserrat, Pergamins de St.Benet de Bages, no.1462.

131. ACA RBIII 159 of 1112.

132. S.436. Numerous illustrations of Catalan market squares in L.Feduchi, Itinerarios de arquitectura popular española, vol.3: Cataluña, Aragón, Levante y Baleares, (Barcelona, 1976).

133. ACA Alfons I 435: sciendum tamen est quod terminus vendicionis furni de mercato et laudarum prima dies januarii et furni Balneorum similiter et de macello Bocherie festivitas Sancti Michaelis.

This and other similar sources are to be published by Professor T.Bisson of University of California, Berkeley. 'Boqueria' is derived from the same root as modern French 'boucherie' and English 'butcher'; cf. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.383. Stalls existed in this street by 1218 (ACB DC(d) Capsa 15, 1400).

134. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.374-5: J.F.Cabestany, "Una primera reforma urbana a Barcelona: la Plaça del Blat"(1351)" in CAHC 17 (1977) 141-154.
135. Although measures clearly existed in the market in the earlier 11th.century, many loans were made according to the lender's vessels: for the new measures, ACA RBI 229: for their location in the market, S.192.
136. Arxiu de Sant ^Pere de les Puelles, pergamí 60. Also LAEC I 61 130, Mas X no.1104, p.192 of 1092: mensuratis ad ipsum dextrum que videtur esse mensuratum ad orientalem portam iamdicti civitatis.
137. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona." in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XI no.31 (1972) 55-88, pp.81-2.
138. ACA RBIII 165 of 1113.
139. S.347: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.851. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.534 believed that this institution had its origins in the 14th.century.
140. R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Catalunya Carolingia, II: Els Diplomes Carolingis a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1926-52) p.68.

141. LAEC I 14 28, Mas XII no.2426, p.157. Published by S, Sanpere y Miquel, Topografía Antigua de Barcelona, Vol.II (Pruebas) p.IV-V: ACA Pere I 154 of 1203 refers to illos VI operatorios qui sunt introitu aIfondachi Barchinone.

142. This is not the place to discuss the commercial life of Barcelona in c.1200, but the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela makes it clear that traders from most parts of the Mediterranean were visiting the city by the 1160's, and, by the end of the century, local venturers were equalling their trading expeditions and could be found extensively in the eastern Mediterranean.

143. The adaratzana is mentioned in the document of 1209 cited in note 141: Sanpere y Miquel, op.cit., vol.I pp.15-6 discusses the location following the evidence of Pi y Arimón: they conclude that it was between the Baixada de Viladecols, Baixada dels Lleons, C/de la Mercè and Plaça d'Antoni López. For the transferral to the 14th.century site, CMB p.278.

144. ACA RBII s.f.71 transcribed in Volume IV pp.1951-7.

145. Infra p. 867 for the Montjuïc port.

146. In 1204 we find Eisan ships taking refuge from Genovese attackers ad portum Barchinone (ACA Pere I 188).

147. For the port constructions of later medieval date, R. Conde i Delgado de la Molina, El Port i la Marina Barcelonina en el segle XV, (Barcelona, 1976): J-F.

Cabestany and J. Sabrequés, "La construcció del Port de Barcelona al segle XV" in

Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña 7 (1972) 41-113.

148. L. G. de Valdeavellano, Orígenes de la Burguesía en la España Medieval, (Madrid, 1975²). J. Ma Font Rius, "Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña" in AHDE 16 (1945) 389-529, 17 (1946) 229-585.

149. For south-western France, A. Dupont, Les cités de la Narbonnaise première depuis les invasions germaniques jusqu'à l'apparition du Consolat, (Nîmes, 1942), For Provence, where the development occurred slightly later, P. A. Février, Le développement urbain en Provence de l'époque romaine à la fin du XIV^e siècle, (Paris, 1964): for south-eastern France, G. Duby, "Les villes du sud-est de la Gaule du VIII^e au XI^e siècle" in La Città nell'Alto Medioevo (Settimane VI, Spoleto, 1958) 231-258: for Italy in general, Y. Renouard, Les villes d'Italie de la fin du X^e au début du XIV^e siècle, (Paris, 1969²) in two volumes: for Milan in particular, C. Violante, La società milanese nell'età pre-comunale, (Bari, 1953).

150. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p. 489.

151. P.Bonnassie, "Une famille de la campagne barcelonaise et ses activités économiques aux alentours de l'an Mil" in Annales du Midi 76 (1964) 261-303.

152. To these must be added the three centres of suburban settlement which may have had earlier origins and go back before the tenth century: the 'Cogoll' (Fig. 97 no.20) and Clerà (Fig. 97 no.21) for which see infra p.580 and 591 : To these might be added the possible former settlement at the 'Cogoll Antic'. It is noticeable that these three points were all at the fringes of the suburban area as defined in the 11th.century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII

1. For the aqueduct, supra p.83 and notes 98 to 103 of chapter IV.
2. ADB Sta.Anna, no.487 of 29th.January, 1217:
in burgo Barchinone ante Trileam Canonice in calle
que vocitatur de Canuta.
3. For the 14th.-15th.century defences of the area to the west of the Rambles, A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) vol.I pp.330-40.
Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.354-6: CMB, pp.38-40:
Duran, BSH, pp. 200-208.
4. The meaning is uncertain: perhaps 'the place called Seven Sleeves' ?
5. The link with the Queralt family in the latter document suggests a location either towards the Lepers' Hospital or near the Cort Comtal zone: it refers to an animal-powered water-pump.
6. This name is referred to as ante moenia in 1083 (S.191) but in the territorium in 1015: M.Schwab and J.Miret y Sans, "Le plus ancien document à présent connu des juifs catalans" in BRABLB 8 (1915) 229-233, for the latter document, stated to be in the ACA Monacales series, although I have been unable to trace it there. It is not the same as ACB DC(b)1,39.

7. Henceforth an attempt is made to use the original terminology to describe the various forms of the suburbs: Burgo is interpreted as a comparatively urbanized extra-mural area, whereas suburbium is usually, although not always, used to denote a more rural-looking district, and villanova is understood to mean a planted or planned suburban area.

8. Apart from these street lines, it is possible that the aqueduct is indicated by a curving property boundary between C/Alt de St.Pere and C/de Ortigosa.

9. Supra p 553.

10. 'Establishment' is here used to indicate an emphyteutical or perpetual lease of a plot of land with the condition that it should be improved and generally that houses should be built there.

11. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.857. His will is ACV C9 Ep.II no.59 of 1057 and illustrates the link with the Comital family, who owed him money.

12. P.Bonnassie, "Une famille de la campagne barcelonaise et ses activités économiques aux alentours de l'An Mil" in Annales du Midi 76 (1964) 261-303.

13. The distribution of ecclesiastical properties is discussed in chapter XV.

14. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.385 and 389, citing the Fogatge lists, where the Carrer del Forn de Ripoll adjoins the Plaça Nova.
15. Infra chapter XV pp.811-2 on this point.
16. For the dispute and references, supra p.393.
The final settlement is in ACB DA 586 of 21st.September,1211, by which the Bishop retained this property in exchange for houses in the Plaça de Sant Miquel, where the monastery already had other property.
17. A number of other documents also refer to this zone and have not been mentioned in this exposition: S.48,93,94,114,145,157,192,196,274,397,425,529,564,589,591. It is possible that several of these, especially those of the later 12th.century, really refer to the adjoining area to the north.
18. See note 2.
19. P.J.Bassegoda Musté, Huerto y Viñedo de Barcelona: Contribución al estudio de la historia del urbanismo de la Ciudad Condal, (Barcelona, 1971) p.153.
20. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.315: Bassegoda Musté, op.cit., p.128.

21. J.Ma Millás Vallierosa and F.Udina Martorell,
 "Dos documentos latino-hebraicos del Archivo del
 Monasterio de San Pedro de las Puellas de Barcelona"
 in Sefarad 7 (1947) 123-130, p.130.

In fact, most of the documentation for this zone comes from the Archive of Sta.Anna now housed in the ADB, although it was still in its originally home in the early 20th.century. It was virtually inaccessible until about 1975, and for that reason throws valuable light on this sector of the city.

22. The document of 988 is now untraceable, but was noted as ACA Monacales Montalegre no.626 by Balari at the end of the 19th.century. This series is in the course of re-classification and ^{the document} cannot be traced at the moment. I owe the reference to M.Mayer and I.Rodà, "El abastecimiento de aguas de la Barcelona romana: reconstrucción de su trazado" in Segovia y la Arqueología Romana (Barcelona, 1977) p.267 note 8 . They also refer to another document of 1002, referring to the area near the defences and the Arcs Antics from the same series (Montalegre no.608), and others from the ACA Cancillería parchment series which are similarly, and even more mysteriously, nowadays unknown.

23. Balari, Orígenes históricos, p.95.

24. e.g. LAEC I 61 130, Mas X no.1104, p.192:
 Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.296, note 640. The docu-

ment both he and Bassegoda Musté cite as of 1142, is-
in fact dated 1153: LAEC I 318 888, Mas XI no.1697,
p.148.

25. The Cogoll near St.Pere is mentioned in 1009
(ACA Ramon Borrell 93) ad ipso Cucullo prope ipso
Cenobio: its identification with the Cogoll Antic
comes in ADB Sta.Anna, File SE1 no.55 of 1161:
in terminio de ipso Cucullo Antiquo et de cenobio
Sancti Petri Puellarum. Clearly the place name was
not always defined, so confusion is possible. To
make matters worse, another Cogoll Antic existed in
Cornellà in the Llobregat valley: AHT-I-67 of 1085.

25 bis. S.197 also refers to an hort on the Cogoll
ante portam Bompar Stephani, which would suggest
a house.

26. His will, S.366, shows that he was a Canon of
Barcelona Cathedral, but little else is known about
him. The intra-mural property was sold at a later
date (C.255-6) and the proceeds used to improve the
houses in the area of Sta.Anna.

27. In addition to those cited in the text, one
should also note documents S.357,407,451,602.

28. The Villa Sepulchri is also mentioned in S.590.

29. Nevertheless, as late as the 19th. century, the central parts of these large blocks were still open, and occupied by horticultural plots: this is apparent from most of the plans of the period.

30. S.236 and 372 may also be related to this property of the monastery.

31. It is possible that more light would be thrown on the holdings of the Queralt family in the city by the family archives deposited in the ACA, Sección Diversos, which I have not been able to see.

32. The documents cited in note 22 as from the Montalegre House of Carthusians may have been connected with the property of St. Pol de Mar, for the property of the latter appears to have passed to the former.

33. That this area was between the Arcs Antics and Cort Comtal is implied by documents such as S.525: the family is considered below, pp. 791-99.

34. Supra p.513.

35. For example see the plan in M.Galera, S.Tarragó and F.Roca, Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972) p.68.

36. For this derivation, P.Aebischer, Études de toponymie catalane (=Memòries de la Secció Filològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1 (1926) fasc.3) p.80, although he did not know this example. There was another place of the same name in the territorium near the 'White Tower' of Provençals, the 'Parets Delgades', and the place called Auro Invento: ACA Ramon Borrell 90 of 1007: in loco vocitatum Clerano ad ipsa Turre Alba prefata, justa ipsas parietes antiquas que dicunt delgadas.

37. Examples from Manresa are cited by Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.488: cf.GMLC fasc.ii, col.242.

38. This concentration of houses is recorded by a personal name in S.573, signed by Berengarii de Calle Sancti Petri.

38 bis. Interestingly enough this seems to be implied by two references to a vilar of St.Pere in 1061 and 1069 (LAEC II 114 340, Mas X no.781, pp. 45-6 and LAEC II 122 363, Mas X no.875, pp.87-88) in documents concerned with the neighbouring areas of the territorium: as will be seen in the case of Vic and Badalona (infra, p.892 and 904 respectively) this word was usually used to indicate a small nucleus of settlement, often at some slight distance from the main core of settlement: it is not found on any other occasion in the context of Barcelona itself.

39. For the Cogoll Antic and Marunyà, LAEC I 135 346, Mas IX no.615, p.284 of 1048: in territorio Barcinone supra ipsum Cucullum Antiquum prope locum vocitatum Marunniano. For Marunyà and Puig de Mayer, ACA RBI 216 of 1058: in terminio de Marunnano et de Pugio de Maier and ACA RBI 275 of 1062: in terminio de Pugio de Maier et de Marunnano.

40. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.188.

41. For the aqueduct passing near the Cogoll Antic

and possible houses there, LAEC I 326 926, Mas XI no.1506, p.54 of 1140: ipsam domum que est palitiam quem habebat ad ipsas arcus iuxta Cucullum Antiquum.

42. The significance of such locations is suggestively discussed by A.Lombard-Jourdan, "Oppidum et banlieue: sur l'origine et les dimensions du territoire urbaine" in Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations 27 (1972) 373-395.

43. The meaning of the place-name is uncertain: on the one hand it might have referred to the unhealthy nature of the district, on the other to the sick or lepers who may have gathered to beg alms along the main road at the point where it left the suburbium.

44. R.d'Abadal, Catalunya Carolingia II: Els Diplomes Carolingis a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1926-52) pp.349-50 for the discussion of the lost text of 858 which was referred to in a document of 874 issued at the Synod of Attigny. Other land in the area may have passed to the bishop as the result of Mozio's will preserved in ADB Mensa Episcopalis, Título IV, I no.1, and the church itself was certainly under episcopal control in 996, for in that year Bishop Aetius disposed of some of its property: LAEC III 121 314, Mas IX, no.165, p.71.

45. This document is S.53. Whether this property

can be located in this part of the city depends on whether there was a tradition that St.Cucufate was martyred at the point where the church was consecrated in 1023 or not. The text of the consecration certainly mentions the caminus Sancti Cucufatis (S.67), although the same or similar names were also applied to the road heading directly towards St.Cugat del Vallès, and so confusion is possible.

46. Balari, Orígenes Históricos, ii, p.511.

47. The Montjuïc villanova is briefly discussed on p. 869 . The name in the late 11th.,12th. and very early 13th.centuries was applied to the area discussed as zone 8: the last obvious reference is in 1208 :
in burgo Barchinone ad Villam novam in alodio canonice

(=AHN Clero, Pergaminos de Barcelona: Sta.María del Mar, which I have not seen but which is cited by L.G.de Valdeavellano, Orígenes de la Burguesía en la España Medieval (Madrid,1975²) p.116, note¹⁵²)

A decade later there was confusion over whether this villanova, by then well over a century old, should be called so, or whether the name should be used of further development to the south (ACB DA 793, of 1219). In the following year, it was definitely used of the newly-planned area (ACB DC(d) Carpeta 5, 3995). However, this name did not last long for in the mid-13th.century, the new development towards St.Pere was so called (ACB DC(d) Capsa, 12 no.909 of 1253).

By the end of the century the situation had changed yet again (see note 37 to chapter XII) and in the mid-14th. century was applied to a seventh area (note 38 to chapter XII). A. Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) i, p.19, mentions a 'Vilanova de les Roquetes' which was equated with the Codols area by Carreras Candi, La Via Layetana, (Barcelona, 1913) p.22. The latter author also suggested that the area to the west of the Rambles was so described in the 16th. and 17th. centuries (GGCCB, p.773). I have not been able to verify the last two cases. In all the others there is an association between the word and planned areas: on the other hand it was not used of areas of spontaneous growth.

48. The rentals of the Bishop are contained in ADB Mensa Episcopal, Título III.

49. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.250.

50. The association with the Dean is also shown in the rent-roll transcribed in Volume IV pp.1975-6.

51. The will of Bernat Marcus (III) transcribed in volume IV pp.1967-74 refers to the villa opposite his chapel. S.548 may also refer to development in this area.

52. See the references in note 32 of chapter XII.

53. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.831, considers that growth was a continuous process, although it is noticeable that, in the case of the cities, the initial expansion of the first decades of the century then slowed down, and a series of cycles seem more appropriate.
54. For the new measures, ACA RBI 229: for the cathedral, supra pp.375-385.
55. F.Carreras Candi, "Notes sobre los origens de la Enfiteusis en lo Territori de Barcelona" in Revista Jurídica de Cataluña 15 (1909) 193-212, 241-244, 289-302, 504-8: 16 (1910) 26-34, 64-85, 122-133, 145-153. This work demonstrates that such leases hardly ever appear in an urban context before c.1070; previously, leases had generally been limited for the tenant's lifetime, or a maximum of three generations, and rents payable in kind: obviously such limited tenure was not an inducement to developing properties.
56. Supra pp.535-545.
57. For the ecclesiastical foundations, CMB p.173 and p.297.
58. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, between pp.14 and 15.

59. In this way there is a gap in the coastal development, where the Llotja and the structures immediately to its east and west were built in the 15th. and 16th. centuries: this leads me to suppose that there was some form of bay there, and the land was only recovered at a later date than the rest of the coastal area, which was already built up in the 14th. century.
60. Balari, Origenes Históricos, p.511.
61. Duran, BSH, pp.444-6 noted the existence of this element.
62. The three divisions to the east measure approximately 44 metres, that between C/Montcada and C/dels Banys Vells somewhat more.
63. Property in possession of a canon, S.214: missing documents, S.216 and 388: multiple property, S.268. The remaining twenty-six documents are: S.185,199,200,202,208,230,231,244,252,260,291,326, 350,353,360,361,371,424,444,460,582,593-6,611.
64. One might also note the document of 1208 from the AHN, related to Sta.Maria del Mar: cited in note 47.
65. Carreras Candi, "Notes sobre los origens de la Enfiteusis en lo Territori de Barcelona", p.212.

66. The fact that this plot was irregular is of no great significance for in the area nearest the sea the property lines were not exactly perpendicular. Only one other documents contains figures (S.360): this was an 'hort' of more or less rectangular plan, measuring 12 by 14 metres. The plots created by the reconstructed division of the area, which, of course, need not have ever been entirely implemented, vary considerably in size, ranging from 40 to 55 metres by 20 to 30 metres.

67. S.388. This document is also mentioned by A.de Bofarull y Brocá, Guía-Cicerone de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1847¹) p.221. It is unfortunate that neither author stated his source of information. Since Pi y Arimón referred to the scribe Arnaldus, who is attested in Barcelona at this date, there are some grounds for considering it as genuine.

68. Duran, BSH, p.446. If this were true it is strange that there is no other record of such a connection between this family and the city. In fact, after the 11th.century, the family held little if any property in the urban area: my thanks go to John Shideler for discussing this point with me.

69. Duran, BSH, p.447. Dra.Carmen Batlle, who has been researching the 13th.century bourgeoisie of Barcelona, has confirmed this evidence.

70. For the houses of the C/Montcada, CMB pp.339-343: A.Florensa, La Calle de Montcada, (Barcelona, 1959²): and Durán, BSH, pp.448-457.
71. See the maps in the works of P.Vila cited in note 14 of Chapter II, and also my figure 6.
72. Balari, Origenes históricos, i, p.151. The document is ACA RBII 45 (= S.176) and Balari clearly confused the limits of the suburban properties with those of Provençals.
73. The monastery was located at the confluence of two streams, which are still approximately recorded in the urban topography by the Via Layetana and C/de Jonqueres: for the monastery CMB, pp.163-6 and M-M.Costa, "El monestir de Jonqueres" in CAHC 15 (1973) 95-119.
74. Recorded 'under' the market in S.236 and 261: near the street to Sta. Maria in S.201 and 257: and near St.Cugat del Rech in S.156 and 159.
75. Found as a limit of the villanova in S.460: next to the 'Molins del Mar' in S.221, 280, 322, 428.
76. A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) i, p.12: Balari, Origenes históricos, i, p.151: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.361-3:

and A.del Castillo in L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.124, all deal with the course and construction of these drains.

77. On the other hand, S.129 also of 1059 does mention it, although it is impossible to be certain whether this refers to the later course or not, this seems probable.

78. Balari, Orígenes históricos, i, p.149. The Meritanciano form is in fact rare: apart from the document cited by him, which is S.23, only S.87 has this form.

79. Balari, op.cit., pp.149-150, cites other examples in Catalonia: that running through Vic is especially significant. For examples at Tudela, Burgos and Numancia see L.Torres Balbas, in A.García y Bellido et al., Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España, (Madrid, 1968²) pp.140-1.

J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural revolution or commercial development ?" in Speculum 52 (1977) 265-286, p.271 suggests that the stream was used for irrigation purposes:

J-N, Bonneville, "Aux origines de Barcino romaine" in Revue des Études Anciennes 80 (1978) 37-71, p.39 note 14, considers that it powered mills. The former would have been difficult by the end of the 11th.century: the latter is simply erroneous, although the

waters of the Merdança at a later date flowed into the Rech, and thus helped to power the 'Molins del Mar'.

80.. Apart from the sales to Guillem Durfort in S. 612-3: even these were probably to the south of the Market, which was an area where such families held the greater part of their urban estates.

81. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.303 and followed by most subsequent writers on the subject, e.g. CMB, p.26.

82. V.Balaguer, Las Calles de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1865) i, p. 109.

83. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.385, note 1087.

84. For the street at the foot of the walls here, supra p 510.

85. For the later development of properties in this street, documents S.441,501,549.

86. For this possible meaning of the caput unius trabis qui dicitur monai, see Alcover et al., DCVB vol.7, p.531, s.v. 'Mogall'.

87. A.Pi y Arimón, Barcelona, Antigua y Moderna, (Barcelona, 1854) i p.48 for the street name. For further bibliography on the street names, see note 27 to chapter I, although far more work is needed on the earliest forms of these names as recorded in the Fogatges.
88. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.304: CMB, p.25.
89. The owner of this property, Ramon of Viladecols, or one of his heirs and successors, presumably gave his name to the existing Baixada de Viladecols at this point. An existing house in this area exhibits ~~some~~ features which may belong to the end of the 12th.century, or more probably the 13th. These include late Romanesque windows and the characteristic tower of high-standard urban dwellings: cf. CMB, p.339. It is located opposite the end of the Baixada at the angle of C/del Correu Vell and C/del Hostal del Sol.
90. ACA RBII s.f.71, transcribed in volume IV pp.1951-7.
91. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.306-7.
92. Balari, Orígenes históricos, p.71. Bassegoda Musté, op.cit., p.156.

93. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.431 discusses this incident.
94. Documents S.149,150,153,154,155,160,161,167, 169,184,187, and J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XI no.31 (1972)55-88,
95. Supra p.549 and note.133 to Chapter XII.
96. First mentioned in S.246, although such lagoons were recorded in the area in the tenth century, e.g. in S.7.
97. e.g. ACA RBI 58 (of 1042): ACB DA 1410 (of 1054): ACB DC(b) 2,158 (of 1050): ACA RBI 207 (of 1057), all concerning vines and/or land. There was an Arenys towards Sarrià in 1056 (LAEC I 115 287, Mas X no.708, p.11) and another in the parish of St.Andreu de Palomar found in 1102 (AHT4I-87).
98. ACA RBII s.f.71, transcribed in Volume IV pp.1951-7.
99. For the possibility that this may have been a Roman aqueduct in origin, Mayer and Rodà, op.cit., p.274. For another reference to this, referring to the lower slopes of Montjuïc, ACB DA 703 (5.IV.1032): in regario qui discurrit iusta Sancti Pauli et descendit usque in ipso stagno.

100. The mean of 'mud-brick walls' is clear, although the location is not immediately apparent. However, there exists a modern street called C/de les Tapies near St.Pau del Camp, which does not fit with the rest of the planning of the area, suggesting an earlier origin. Pi y Arimón, op.cit., i p. 255, derived the name from the walls existing on either side of a path leading across the area. The 14th. century hearth-tax documentation mentions a C/d'En Tapies on the other side of the city near the monastery of Sta.Clara (Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.388), although it seems very unlikely that houses should have been built there in the 12th. century, and the first proposal seems more acceptable, for it also fits the general trend of property development in the area in this period.

101. Carreras Candi, "Una excursió retrospectiva a la vella Barcelona" in BCEC 26 (1916) p.258: "Surgexen a'aquí y d'allà, sense ordre ni plan preconcebàt, barris o vilanoves".

102. Bernat Marcus (III)'s will also mentions villam suam de Butarello and the villa de Puteo de Moranta, the former of unknown location, the latter presumably in the family estates recorded above the Puteo de Morantà throughout the 12th. century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV

1. Balari, Orígenes Históricos, only dedicates two pages to the structure of the house (ii, pp.617-8): Carreras Candi, GGCCB, a few paragraphs on p.302: del Castillo in L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.127: M.Tintó Sala, "La historia urbanística de España, especialmente de Barcelona, hasta el siglo XVIII: estado de la situación" in Atti del 12 Convegno Internazionale di Storia Urbanistica (Lucca, 1976) pp.200-242, p. 216.

2. C.Sánchez-Albornoz, Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años, (Madrid, 1966⁵) pp.118-138: see now the criticisms of this work in C.Esteba Díaz, Estructura social de la Ciudad de León en los siglos XI-XIII, (León, 1977) particularly concerning the 'urban' or 'pre-urban' nature of 10th century León.

For the changes in house types in the rest of Europe, a valuable summary in D.A.Bullough, "Social and economic structure and topography in the early medieval city" in Topografia urbana e vita cittadina sull'alto medioevo in Occidente (= Settimane XXI: Spoleto, 1974) 351-399, esp.pp.391-6. For the townscapes of Latium in the same period, P.Toubert, Les structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle, (Paris-Rome, 1973) i, pp.660-669.

3. J.E.Hernandez Cres, G.Mora and X.Pouplare,

Guía de Arquitectura de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1973²)

p.44, refer to houses in the area of the Call of reputedly 11th.century date, although the survival of Romanesque features in domestic architecture could imply a later date.

The structures to the north of the Royal Palace are also probably of 13th.century date, rather than of the 12th.century as suggested by A.Mª Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1978)

p.21. Some of the vaults of the ground floor of the Casa de l'Ardiaca are of similar style, and Mn. J. Martí has informed me that features of perhaps the late 12th.century and early 13th.century have been located during restoration work in the Episcopal Palace. All these examples, however, are from the uppermost levels of society.

4. Houses of this period were almost certainly among those destroyed during the construction of the Via Layetana: F.Carreras Candi, La Via Layetana, (Barcelona, 1913) records the lost streets with numerous drawings of capitals found and elevations and photographs of certain houses. Although a few capitals might be of 12th.century date, none of the houses illustrated are clearly pre-13th.century. Some of these capitals are now in the Museo Santacana of Martorell, although were acquired after the composition of the catalogue of 1909 and therefore remain virtually unpublished. More information is available for the 13th. and 14th.centuries, on which,

V.Lámperez, Arquitectura civil española, (Madrid, 1922) i, p.113,119,129 has some useful comments. CMB, pp.331-9 is a good coverage of the surviving remains, the greatest concentration of which is in C/Montcada, for which also see, A.Florensa, La Calle de Montcada, (Barcelona, 1959²) and Duran, BSH, pp. 444-463: There is considerably less information on the housing on the non-bourgeois levels of society. L.Feduchi, Itinerarios de Arquitectura Popular española, 3; Cataluña, Aragón, Levante y Baleares, (Barcelona, 1976) pp.251-55, found comparatively little of importance in the city, although the collection of photographs from smaller towns and villages is useful.

5. Within the defences the word casa appears in C.3,5,6,8,11,13,14,15,18,19,22,25,30,34,35,42,45,46, 49,56,56 bis,59,61,66,68 up to the middle of the 11th.century. Thereafter, C.76,77,80,81,90,96,99, 108,110,114,115,118,146,159,173,181 to the end of the century, and only a handful in the 12th.century, C.187, 191,244,327.

7. GMLC, fasc.4, col.414-7, under definition 1, concludes, "en nuestros documentos casa se usa especialmente con referencia a casas situadas en el campo o en pequeños núcleos de población. Aunque parece ser ya sinónimo de domus en algunos documentos aparecen ambos terminos contrapuestos. Para designar las casas situadas dentro de los muros de la ciudad de Barcelona se usa con preferencia domus".

6. C.11,13,15,18,30,56,66,77,80,114,115 all refer to the Regomir zone where the word domus was practically never used.

8. Prior to 1000 there are 11 occurrences of Casa or casae as opposed to only 1 of domus-domos:

1001-1020 18 to 13: 1021-1040 25 to 16: 1041-1060

13 to 16: 1061-1080 21 to 29: 1081 to 1100 12 to 39.

9. An inscription, apparently still in situ, appears to record the construction of a block of houses in the late 12th.century: oral information from J.C. Shideler, who confirms that this seems to be supported by the overall evidence of the documentation.

10. Balari, Orígenes Históricos, ii, p.717.

11. Mansiones are found on the defences in C.38,43, 61,64,67,75,79,94, all of pre-late 11th.century date.

12. S.25, C.32,38,53,67,94,95,123,144: i.e. nine of the twenty-one 11th.century intra-mural examples.

13. Alcover et al., DCVB, vii, p.209, states that the word in modern Catalan often has this figurative sense.

14. Document cited in Chapter XI/Note 39.

15. Alcover et al., DCVB, ix, pp.986-7.

M.Fullana, Diccionari de l'art i dels oficis de la
construcció, (Palma de Mallorca, 1974) p. 311.

16. Alcover et al., DCVB, iii, p.10.

17. GMLC, fasc.4, col.420-4.

18. C.10,11,13 and 15 all probably refer to the Regomir zone and contain a dozen references to casales. One should note, however, that C.7, referring to the same sector, and dated 975, also mentions several properties of this type.

19. S.12,16,17,22,24,26,29,32.

20. GMLC, fasc.4, col.419-420.

21. This is explicit in C.163 of 1090: casalities constructos atque hedificatos in ortale Sancte Crucis Sancteque Eulalie, solies cum parietibus et cum una vite, foveas et cloacas, et limites sive petris, simul cum guttis et stillicidiis. Also C.41 of 1024: casaliciis que iusta predictas domos sunt cum illorum parietibus et cum omnibus petris vel eis omnia que infra predicta casalicios sunt.

22. superposito is significantly crossed out in the original parchment.

23. There are only ten instances of the two words in the 12th.century, compared to at least double that number from the 11th.century from approximately half the number of documents.

24. For this meaning of solarium, Niermeyer, MLLM, p.976.

25. C.22,33,35,37,50,57,61,63,65,139,157,169,172, 179,180.

26. Located on the defences, C.38,44,73,84,181: undetermined locations, C.19,27,34,125,139: exceptions to the general pattern, C.52,96,124.

27. Twelfth century examples in the area around the Cathedral: C.186,187,190,192,194,199,222,259,268, 273,274; elsewhere, C.201,244,247,251.

28. C.1,3, and 6. C.5bis (954) is an exception.

29. S.11,41,50,89,137,168,173,176,220,261,288,294, 293,366,398,470bis,484,533,551.

30. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.850, comes to the same conclusion.

31. Balari, Origenes históricos, ii, p.664: Alcover et al., DCVB, iii, p.103.

32. Balari, Origenes históricos, ii, pp.659-665.
 Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.448-455 on the importance of viticulture. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona" Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XI no.31 (1972) 55-88, esp. pp. 80-83, on the possible rôle of men such as Ricart Guillem in an export trade of the products.
33. ACA RBII 39: Dederunt quoque ad aliam partem Castrum Vetulum Barchinone cum omnibus turribus que sunt contra mare usque ad cellarium quod fuit patris eorum et cellarium Bernardi Remundi cum suis porticis et cortal et portam et introitus et egressas...
 Published by F.Fita, "Barcelona en 1079: su castillo del Puerto y su Aljama hebrea. Documento inédito" in BRAN 43 (1903) 361-368 and see pp.1946-51.
34. C.62,76,107,125,143,150,180,186,197,211,240, 266,273.
35. C.180 et operatoriis et perticum cum quoquina:
 C.186 et operatoriis, quoquina et porticos, curte et parietes: perhaps also C.150 domos cum...perticis hostiis atque ianuis.
36. S.172,277,267,312,485,614.
37. C.62 turrem et solarios et murum et curte et

portico et casalitios: C.76 casas cum curte et
portico et gukinea: C.125 alios domos cum cortels
et porticos et quoquina et cloacas: C.143 cum ipsium
cortilium et porticos: C.266 ipsam salam cum curtali
et portico.

38. S.112 casale cum portico et curte et ficulnea,
solis et superpositis, parietes...: S.130 domos,
guttis et stillicinios, hostios et ianuis, foveis
et cloacis, parietibus, porticos: S.163 forno...
id est buada et casal cooperto cum fustos et portico
et cortello cum parietes in circuitu.

39. C.211 domos...cum camera et porticu.

40. C.273 feci meum porticum equalem ad socanial in
ipso pariete tui solarii. For the possible interpre-
 tation of socanial, Fullana, op.cit., p.310, s.v.
 sôcol.

41. e.g. S.49 duos domicilios unum superior et alium
inferior cum suos solos et superpositos...cum ipsos
archos opere antico factes. S.276 mansiones meas
proprias...infraque subtus prefatos archos antiquos.
 Several later 12th.century parchments referring to
 this sector having drawings on the reverse which seem
 to show large double doors under an arch, which may
 indicate one way in which they were used: S.461,523.

42 Intra-mural examples: C.101 ipsa mea sala nova cum ipso curtale iusta ecclesie Sancti Jacobi:

C.119 ipsam guttam de ipsam vestram salam noviter factam qui est super meam curtem et ibi cadet per tempus pluviarum: C.263 ab oriente in sala Bernardi Dalmatii et in pariete comuni que sit inter nos et te in que carrigemus subtus tuam guttam: C.266 ipsam salam cum curtali et portico in qua solebat stare magister Martinus Bartolomeus,

43. Alcover et al., DCVB, ix, p.678: Niermeyer, MLLM; p.932.

44. Bullough, op.cit., p.393.

45. S.220 mansiones meas proprias id sunt duos solarios cum singulas salas constructas ex petra et calce cum curtes, cum hostios, januas atque limites cum solis et superpositis, cum gutis, stillicidiis, cum cloacis atque puteo cum foveis: S.257 usque in pinnaculum sale longe.

46. S.405, 463, 487. Unfortunately all three are only known from 18th. century summaries, which means that information which might have helped to interpret their meaning is almost totally absent.

47. C.194 ipsas meas domos meliores quas abeo in muro civitatis, quas emi de Udalardo vicecomite et

de Arnaldo Gontarii et uxore eius. Scilicet solarium
unum et turrem, voltam et ipsum murum cum camera,
usque ad turrem cum curtale et viridario et domo
iuxta portam.

48. C.222: et damus vobis licentiam facere pinna-
culum in capite de ipsa nostra cambra et in eo carre-
gare et in ipso pariete de ipso nostro solario novo,
nos et vos carregamus communiter et faciamus chanalem
per medium parietem, unde aqua pluvialis discurrit,
quam aquam in domibus vestris recollibatis et si
ipsum parietem contingerit cadere, comuniter redirigamus.

49. C.180 a meridie in parietibus domorum vestrorum
et in guttas de furno vestro et in ipsum operatorium
qui se tenet cum pignaculum de prescriptum meum sola-
rium. C.188 ab ecciduo in guttis coquina nostra et
in pinnaculum solium nostrum qui se tenet cum turre
nostra. C.222 (cited in note 48). C.259 in illo
meo pariete in quo habeo guttam discurrentem in domum
tuam versus orientem sicut ipse paries a pignaculo
solarii uxoris Poncii de Tolosa tenet recta linea
versus parietem casalicium condam Xalvini.....ā
circā in chanthera pignaculi de solario uxoris
Poncii de Tolosa. S.263 in pignaculo nostri solarii
qui sit comunis inter nos et te. C.268 et quantum
pignaculum tui solarii exaltes illum parietem quam
opus fuit meam guttam semper recolligas discurrentem
in domum tuam.

C.274 Omnibus sit manifestum quod ego, Petrus de Corron, et tu, Poncius scribe, per bonum amorem et per bonam vicinitatem facimus unum pinnaculum communiter in meo alodio et in tuo inter domos meas in quibus habito et illas tuas domos quas emisti de Sepulcro Iherosolimitano. Quod pinnaculum terminatur ab oriente in domibus uxoris Poncii de Tolosa: a meridie in predictis domibus tuis: ab occiduo in pariete tui solarii: a circio in domibus meis. Sicut ab istis terminis concluditur et terminatur predictum pinnaculum, ego et mei et tu et tui habeamus omni tempore comuniter ad carrigandum et faciendum quod ibi voluerimus excepte quod tu non habeas guttam super me nec ego super te...

50. C.Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinatis, (Niort, 1883-87) vi, pp.327-8: Niermeyer, MLLM, p.797.

51. See note 45, S.257.

52. S.294 a circio in pinnaculum domum Raimundus Carbonelli Carnifice et in androna.

53. S.515 et si parietem nostruc pinnaculi de solarrio que fuit turris(?) proiecerimus aut ceciderit similiter eadem ratione facias cum petra que ibi est...

54. A.M^a Adroer i Tasis, El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1978) p.151.

55. For this feature, called the *solà* in modern Catalan, see Fullana, op.cit., p.311: CMB p.332 and the illustration in my fig.113-4.

56. Although Benjamin continually wondered at the towers of Italian cities (D.Waley, The Italian City Republics, (London, 1978²) p.100) he made no such comments on Barcelona, and nor are the Barcelona examples closely associated with the important 12th. century families. The examples that survive show that the Barcelona tower was rarely more than a storey higher than the main body of the residence, and cannot thus be compared with Italian examples.

57. Sánchez-Albornoz, op.cit., p.116: wealthy houses, however, had tiled roofs like the Barcelona examples (ibid., p.122).

58. C.197: text cited in note 69, although it also refers to the use of tiles. References to a casa palleriza on Montjuïc (ACA BRI 168); ipsam domum que est palitia near the Cogoll Antic (LAEC I 326 926, Mas XI no.1506, p.54): and domos de pallicia de Curte Comitalli (S.585) may refer to thatched roofs (cf.Niermeyer, MLLM, p.755 citing a casa palleata in Parma in 854). However, they might also refer to barns for the storage of straw, which was certainly kept in the vaults next to the Bishop's Gate in the 12th century (supra p.1311) and there is a reference to ipsa pallicia in S.635.

59. e.g. C.214 domo vestra discooperto: S.173
casalicios discoopertos.

60. S.21 a coopertura Sancti Saturnini: C.88 ad Sancti Michaeli... ad tegumentum eius: C.94 ad ipsa cubertura de ipsa ecclesia Sanct Michaelis.

61. S.219,223,262 also include the formula pavimentis et tectis, although this clearly sheds little light on the matter.

62. For Caulers, M.Riu, Excavaciones en el Poblado Medieval de Caulers (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 88: Madrid, 1975) p. 79 .

A furno tegulario is mentioned in the area of Campo Amaro in the parish of St.Andreu de Palomar, district of Horta: this was probably in the area of the modern Calle de Campamor which stretches from the old village of Horta towards the coastal mountains. (LAEC II 105 321, Mas IX no.637, p.293 of 1052). Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.325 note 853, cites other kilns in the territorium. For the structure of early medieval pottery kilns, M.Riu, "Els forn medievals de ceràmica gris a Catalunya" in Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals no.1 (May,1980) 56-59.

63. C.65 scala facta cum petra et calce: C.107 schalam ex petra et calce factam: C.125 solario ex petra et calce: C.139 ipso solario ex petra et

calce constructum! C.180 scala ex petra cum calce
constructa: C.186 domos nostras proprias qui sunt
solarios cum subtilis et operatoriiis, quoquina et
porticos, curte et parietes, archos et scala de petra
et calce constructos: C.197 (see note 69): C.240
in ipso fimorali ubi faciatis scalam lapideam cum
gradibús. C.243, Sit notúm cunctis, qualiter ego,
Andreas Balati, et uxor mea, Ermessendis, propter
bonem amorem collegimus tibi, Gaufrido, in ipsos duos
parietes nostros qui sunt versus domos tuas ut habeas
nobiscum per medietatem quorum unus est versus meridia
et alter est versus occidente in que est ipsa androna
quos duas parietes dextrus et facias novos de petra
et calce usque ad ipsum socanal domus nostre que est
versus meridia et inde transet aquam domus nostre et
collige eam semper tu et tui, et leves inde ipsos
socanals propter necessitatem operandi et illic pon-
derabis versus partem tuam et operabilis cum terra
super ipsum parietem de petra versus partem tuam et
nos carricabimus versus nos in ipsam nostram partem
et quod destruxeris de nostre ut bene nos rehedifices
et deinde possideas tu et tui potenter ipsam medieta-
tem parietum quos hedificaberis..... .

64. S.76 in demo...qui est facta ex petra et calce:
 S.176 domos...cum solario ex petra et calce constructo:
 S.220 mansiones meas proprias, id sunt duos solarios
cum singulas salas constructas ex petra et calce:
 S.271 et archos de petra et calce constructos: S.281

et scala de petra: S.484 et scala de petra: S.515
quem parietem tu et tui facias de tribus tapiis sum
ex petra et calce, et de aliis tribus de terra cum
mortario.

65. See Chapter XVI p.875.

66. J.Sol Vallés and A.Mª Adroer Tasis, "Silos medievales en la calle de San Severo, en Barcelona" in CAN XV (Zaragoza, 1979), 1195-1202.

67. Durán, BSH, p. 45 for the remains: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.372 for the opening of the square,

68. Such a structure is recorded in S.515 cited in note 64: S.454 also suggests that by the mid-12th. century wealthy houses were usually of stone at least up to the beginning of the first floor.

69. Property descriptions occasionally record the presence of unused stones: e.g. C.110 et diversorum modos petris: C.41 et cum omnibus petris vel eis omnia que infra predictos casalicios sunt. The use of stone in house construction is also implicit in C.61 et omnia instrumenta mansiones, id sunt bigas et chabirons et lapides (cited by Balari, Orígenes históricos, ii, p.617). The most revealing text, however, is probably Ponç Geribert's will (C.197): et erant ipso tempore casales disco-opertos et com-

pervi eos de meas bigas et cabirons et cannas et tegulas et feci ibi cortallo cum fundamento de suas tapieras ex petra et calce constructum et feci ibi porticum et portas et hosticos.

Nevertheless, this use of stone should not blind us to the fact that a combination of wood, rammed earth and poor quality brick and tile probably continued to be the most frequently used for any but the higher levels of housing: cf. CMB p.334.

70. The proportions are as follows for the intramural area:

1000-1020	9 <u>curtes</u>	0 <u>curtales</u>
1021-1040	23	0
1041-1060	13	2
1061-1080	14	6
1081-1100	14	7
1101-1120	4	6
1121-1140	0	5

Henceforth exclusively curtales.

71. Alcover et al., DCWB, iii, pp.610-11.

72. GMLC, fasc.6, col.750-2 for curtalis, "terreno cercado que contiene diversas edificaciones": col. 758-766 for curtis: "terreno cercado y descubierto inmediato a una edificación urbana". The words never have the sense found in León of an area containing several houses, for they are generally subsidiary to the residence in the property description.

73. e.g. C.255,256,258,266,267,269,270.

74. The first example is in S.231 of 1096.

75. Balari, Orígenes Históricos, ii, p.618, cites a similar example from St.Esteve de Granollers.

76. Not included in GMLC : Niermeyer, MLLM, p.156.

77. GMLC, fasc.6, col.690-1 defines coquina as "construcción provista de un fogón u hogar especialmente a cocer el alimento de los animales: en los documentos que se citan, los contextos no permiten precisar con seguridad en qué consisten las coquinae que se mencionan: sin duda se trata de edificaciones independientes de la casa-vivienda."

Seventeen examples are recorded within the defences:

C.30 casas cum curte et quoquina: C.37 ipso suo solarío et curte et choquina: C.38 alterum solarium et turrem cum curte et cellario, et puteo, coquina: C.57 domos, id est turris cum solaris et subtalis et quoquina, curte...: C.76 casas cum curte et portico et quinea: C.125 domos cum cortels et porticos et quoquina: C.160 domos ... simul cum ipsa coquina et parietes: C.180 domos meas cum curtes qued est solarium cum subtali et operatoris et porticum cum quoquina: C.186 domos ... qui sunt solaris cum subtalis et operatoris, quoquina ut portices, curte et parietes: C.187 meam coquinam i cum meam partem de

de ipso curtello et casa: C.188 in guttis coquina
nostra et in pinnaculum solarium: C.194 domum et
quoquinam et ortum: C.244 in angulo de ipsa nostra
coquina: C.247 in guttis suis coquine: C.251 in
angulo de coquina: C.275 in canthera tue coquine:
C.319 in pariete coquine.

77 bis. It is difficult to point to any archaeological evidence in Barcelona, but even in the 13th. century in Genoa, the kitchen of the Episcopal Palace was detached from the main ranges: see D. Andrews and D. Pringle, "Excavations in Medieval Genoa, 1971-1976: The Palace and Convent of San Silvestro" in Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar (= BAR Supplementary Series 41: edited H. Blake, T. W. Potter and D. B. Whitehouse: Oxford, 1978) ii, 339-365, esp. pp. 345-8.

78. Buada, GMLC, fasc. 3, col. 298-300: ciga (cigia),
ibid., fasc. 4, col. 497-9: Balari, Origenes Históricos,
i, pp. 135-140.

79. ACA RBI 484 (of 1075).

80. C.94. In the suburbs the diminutive buadela occurs twice: S.183 and 262.

81. C.18, 19, 20, 35, 36, 38, 40, 42, 66, 77, 80, 83, 91, 99.

82. The seven others connected solely with houses are: C.110,118,125,146,149,153,180. Another thirteen examples were more closely related to market-gardens and orchards: C.105,108,120,129,133,143,144,145,148, 170,171,178,181.

83. C.186,194,196,219,238,242,255,271,294 all of which apart from C.196 and 271 are connected with houses.

84. Of the 29 references to wells before 1050, 24 are related to horts, only two of which did not have trees recorded: the other five are connected with casae (4) and Casalis (1).

85. Of the 23 references in the period 1051-1100, 6 relate exclusively to houses, 5 only to 'horts' and 12 to properties which included both features, although there was normally a closer link between the well and the 'hort'.

86. For the whole of the 12th.century there are only 21 references to wells, of which 9 are exclusively related to houses and 12 more closely associated with 'horts'.

87. For the piped water supply of the 14th.century and later, and the public fountains, several of which still survive and function, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.392-8.

88. Niermeyer, MLLM, p.716.

89. For 'claveguera', Alcover et al., DCVB, iii, p.203.
For clavagario, GMLC, fasc.4, col.509.

90. For cloaca, Du Cange, op.cit., ii, p.375.

91. ACA Ramon Borrell 81: vindimus vobis casales nostrum proprium et ipsa aquaducto cum ipsa clavagaria unde exiit ipsa aqua que est infra curte de Bellitus...

92. Du Cange, op.cit., iv, 143 (gutta): vii, p.598 (stillicidium).

93. GMLC, fasc.1, col.101-2 (androna): fasc.4, col.509, (clavagario); C.130 refers to andonis et clavagariis. C.275 refers to a chanalis on a wall.

94. For these public works: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.360-5.

95. For this explanation, Fullana, op.cit., pp.265-6.

96. Alcover et al., DCVB, vi, p.48.

97. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.470-1, accepts the meaning of field to grow grain crops to feed these animals, and notes that many of them were owned by the nobility, who would have had numbers of horses and mules.

98. GMLC, fasc.4-5, col.511-4.

99. Combined numbers of occurrences of the two words for twenty year periods for the walled city

are : 1000-20 - 13	1101-20 - 6
1021-40 - 10	1121-40 - 6
1041-60 - 8	1141-60 - 4
1061-80 - 12	1161-80 - 2
1081-1100- 6	1181-1200-4

100. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural revolution or commercial development ?" in Speculum 52 (1977) 265-286, p.271, suggests that the 'horts' without trees in their descriptions may have been used to cultivate textile and dye plants, and that ownership of these was linked to that of the tentative fulling-mills on the River Besòs: although the theory is very attractive, there is no concrete evidence.

101. Cf. the two meanings given by Niermeyer, MLLM, p.1111.

102. S.Sobrequès in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (ed. A.Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p. 182.

103. For the importance of arboriculture and horticulture in the 11th.century economy, Bonnassie,

La Catalogne, i, pp.456-9. Approximately 60% of the suburban 'horts' are recorded as containing trees, and it is possible that some of the others also did. There was only a slight decrease, if any, in favour of the non-orchard 'horts' in the 12th.century, although the latter do appear to have been more frequent in the inner suburbs.

104. Balari, Origenes históricos, ii, p.650. Niermeyer, MLLM, p.1044, proposes the meaning of vines grown on trellis-work, and this is also feasible. Vines proper are recorded in the suburbs on a number of occasions (S.8,36,52,135,162), but always before the last quarter of the 11th.century. The territorium adjoining the suburbium, however, had a very high concentration of vineyards (S.9,297,419), to the extent that the area to the north of the city was known as Vinyals.

105. Both Balari, Origenes históricos, ii, p.669 and Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.856, have noted the appearance of these workshops.

106. Documents concerning the control of bread-ovens by the Count-Kings are to be found in ACA Real Patrimonio, Subsección de la Bailía, Clase 2ª, A^c, Vol.8 (entitled, 'Stabilimentorum et aliorum VIIA') and this refers to the later ovens constructed within

the city walls. For the concept, A.Coy Cotonat, "El derecho llamado 'furnatico' en el siglo XIII" in I Congrès d'Història de la Coroma de Aragó, (Barcelona, 1909) i, 190-3.

107. Ibid., fol.47r.
108. Full document transcribed in volume IV pp.1967-74.
109. One should also note S.272, which is a lease of an oven for a restricted period, possibly connected with the same family.
110. ACA Alfons I 652: Sciendum est quod debet suscipere eximenta furni de Castro Novo et operatorum fori usque in festivitate Sancti Johannis (1193).
111. ACA Alfons I 435.
112. The various trades are discussed infra Chapter XV pp. 801-15.
113. Supra Chapter XII p.551.
114. Even prior to the major moneyer of the period - Bonnom - there is evidence for their existence: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.219 cites a Guifredo monetario in 1012 and ACV Calaix 6 no.839 of 1020 has the signature of a Suniario monetario.
115. Infra p.802-4.
116. Infra p. 804.

117. The values of the various units of mensuration are discussed in an appendix in volume IV pp.1991-7.
118. The full list of examples is as follows:
S.5,53,144,201,204,207,213,237,360.
119. Supra chapter XII p.602.
120. Sánchez-Albornoz, op.cit., p.170 no.6, refers to a Korte with five separate casas, and there are other similar examples from the same city. In the case of Barcelona, one wonders whether some of the plural usages of domos refer to similar complexes, especially in the case of the list of RBII s.f.71 transcribed in volume IV pp.1951-7.
121. S.478 and see note 75.
122. Bullough, op.cit., p.395.
123. One suspects that this was the case of the Belloc complex in the Sant Miquel zone, for separate structures, especially the coquina, are found there at a much later date than elsewhere. For the possible influence of castle architecture, CMB, pp.331-2.
This is also perhaps evident in one of the few late 12th.century 'urban' structures that survive in the region - the ex-palace in Vilafranca del Penedès, now housing the Museu del Vi, with its twin towers.

124. The two Peres of Corró, father and son, must have written a large proportion of the documents in Barcelona in the period 1150 to 1208: their hands were remarkably alike, suggesting that the father taught his son.

125. These houses would have been the prototypes of the 13th.century and later houses that were referred to at the beginning of the chapter. Although the descriptions become simpler, it is noticeable that from the mid-11th.century, houses began to include the characteristic features of these houses - the ground floor storage space, the location of the principal rooms above, the internal gallery, the attached tower, the central or adjoining yard with well and some form of drainage and sanitary arrangements. Figures 112-4 attempt to reconstruct the plan and elevation of such a house, and may be contrasted with figure 111 an earlier version of the same level of housing, incorporating a wall tower, but still with some detached features. The former is a simplified version of a 13th.century house in C/Montcada (CMB plates XLIV-XLV).

126. S.133,170,173,185,198,199,202,210,221,228,230, 232,240,252,283,290,291,296,324,354,356,357,358,368, 374,385,391,417,450,452,461 bis, 468,469,470,475,476, 480, 489,490,493,496,497,498,504,506,512,519,535,545, 550,551,554,556,557,558,568,570,571,580,583,614,620, 626,633.

127. Volume IV pp.2001-2011.
128. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii,p.899.
129. Apart from the tables published by Bonnassie, one might also consult the lists of prices of various commodities by J.Rius Cornadó, "Datos sobre la economía monetaria en Cataluña durante el siglo XI" in Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña 9 (1973) 15-67: once again, however, there is little comparative material for Catalonia for the 12th.century.
130. There are very few prices for the last three decades of the 12th.century concerning the walled area.
131. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.911.
132. For the first incident, ACA RBI s.f. 39: for the second, A.Pladevall, "Els senescals dels comtes de Barcelona durant el segle XI" in AEM 3 (1966) 111-130, p.114.
133. Supra Chapter XIII p.605.
134. F.Carreras Candi, "Notes sobre los orígenes de la enfiteusis en lo Territori de Barcelona" in Revista Jurídica de Cataluña 15 (1909) 193-212, 241-244, 289-302, 504-8: 16 (1910) 26-34, 64-85, 122-133, 145-153.

135. Partially transcribed in volume III pp.1964-6.

136. One of these, that of the Dean, has a certain amount of information pertaining to Barcelona and is partially transcribed in volume III pp. 1975-6. Other relevant ones are Mas XII nos.2189,2421,2461, 2486,2765-68, all from LAEC IV: they contain little of significance for the city, although often have details of estates in the territorium.

137. There is also an abbreviated capbreu on the reverse of a parchment in Arxiu de Montserrat, pergamins de Sant Benet de Bages, no.1291, but this once again is concerned with properties in the territorium rather than the city proper.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XV

1. The best guide to 10th. and 11th. century Catalan society is in Bonnassie, La Catalogne, chapters IV and XV: for Barcelona in particular, i, pp. 492-6 and ii, 853-8. The always suggestive works of J.E. Ruiz Domènec endeavour to relate the Barcelona context to the rest of Europe, mainly for the period up to 1130, but on occasions come close to forcing the evidence into pre-conceived models, rather than letting the documents speak for themselves. A study of the rest of the 12th. century, and indeed the following century is sorely needed. As comparative material, C. Estepa Díaz, Estructura social de la Ciudad de León en los siglos XI-XIII, (León, 1977), is of some interest.
2. For the palace and the Visigothic background, supra pp. 211-15, 319-320, 371-74.
3. This 15th. century History of Barcelona is described in M. Coll i Alentorn, "El libre de les Nobleses dels Reys" in EUC 13 (1928) pp. 485-524: it concerns folios 97-99 of BC Ms. no. 487.
4. This hypothesis was put forward by M. Mitjà Sagú, "Condado y ciudad de Barcelona. Capítulos de su historia en los siglos IX y X" in Estudios históricos y documentos de los Archivos de Protocolos 3 (1955) 267-281, p. 279.

If it is accepted, it implies that the inner suburbs were built up in plots colonized as 'horts' by the inhabitants of the 9th. and 10th. century city, with the implicit consent of the counts. The remaining areas stayed under more direct comital control, to be disposed of as he wished, as did the strip at the foot of the defences, which would explain the presence of the substantial 'hort' of St.Llorenç there.

5. The renunciation of rights by Berenguer Ramon I over Sta.Maria del Mar implies that they had originally been comital. St.Pere was endowed by members of the comital family and maintained close connections with the family into the 11th. century, while St.Pau may have been founded by Count Wifred Borrell.

6. For the decline of the Roman system of urban rule, C.Sánchez-Albornóz, Ruina y Extinción del Municipio romano en España e instituciones que le reemplazan, (Buenos Aires, 1943). It should also be noted that other comital properties were to be found in this part of the city (C.76,292) as well as their interests in the churches, which adds credibility to this hypothesis.

7. For this chain of action, so important for describing how a medieval 'newtown' was urbanized, supra P.1351. For later Royal intervention on the seashore, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.339.

8. RBII s.f.71, transcribed in volume IV. pp.1951-7.
9. ACA Ramon Borrell 45.
10. Usatges de Barcelona, (ed. J.Rovira Ermengol: Barcelona, 1933)no.LIX, p.89: Item statuerunt .
11. J.C.Shideler, The Montcadas, 1000-1230. The History of a Medieval Catalan Noble Family, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1979) p.135.
12. Alfons I claimed the exorquie of all citizens of Barcelona: see J.Ma Font Rius, Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña, (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969) vol.I part 1, doc.120, pp.173-4.
13. For their intervention in the Rech and Mills, S.109: over bread-ovens, S.255: the institution of new measures in the market c.1058 may indicate that the Count was already strengthening his control at that date: this was tightened according to Dr.Ruiz Doménec under Ramon Berenguer II, and even more closely supervised under his son, with the imposition of new regulations:
14. Foremost among these was the Durfort family, with control of both the Banys Nous (S.623-4) and the meat-market (S.574), although the families of the Espiells and Vidals also benefitted.

The Fiscal Accounts to be published by Professor Bisson also include a number of references which indicate royal concern for market revenues.

15. For the Viscounts of Barcelona, F.Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.260-7: idem, "Relaciones de los Vizcondes de Barcelona con los Arabes" in his Miscelanea Histórica Catalana, II (Barcelona, 1906) pp.23-32. I.Frank, "Reverter, vicomte de Barcelone" in BRABLB 26 (1954-56) pp.196-204. S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Barons de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1957¹) pp.37-40. P.Català i Roca, Extinció del Vescomtat de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1974).

16. Supra Chapter X note 63.

17. For the activities of Bernat Udalard, Balari, Orígenes històrics, ii, pp.669-71 and Bonnassie, La Catañogne, ii, pp.855-6. For the suggestion that he was a member of the wicecomital family, S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) p.146.

18. For their interests in this zone, F.Carreras Candi, "Lo Montjuich de Barcelona" in MRABLB 8 (1901) pp.195-450.

19. J.Lalinde, La jurisdicción real inferior en Cataluña, (Barcelona, 1966), has little to say about

the early vicars. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.267-270, established the names of several, and this has been the basis of later works. The whole subject of Royal officials of the 12th.century is in need of further research, and the conclusions here presented can only be regarded as tentative, based on only a small proportion of the documents in which the Vicars must have appeared.

20. Whether the factors apparent in the early 13th. century, such as the sale of the office, and its normal duration for five years, were also the norm in the later 12th.century is as yet uncertain: see ACA Pere I 220 of 1205 for these points.

21. ACB DA 250, cited Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.709, n.66.

22. This relationship is proven by the interests of both father and son in the castle of Lliça: cf. Els Castells Catalans, (ed.R.Dalmau) vol.II (Barcelona, 1969) p.225.

23. He signed a document of 22.X.1113 (S.267) and is recorded in a dispute with the Bishop over market-rights in 1114 (S.270).

24. Shideler, op.cit., p.404.

25. The dispute was settled in March 1113 (ACA RBIII 115: published Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.268,

note 530) (=LFM I, 382, p.400).

26. GGCCB, p.269: no reference to his source.

27. Ibid., p.269. His son, Ramon, held the family property on the walls in 1134 (C.218).

28. Ibid., p.269.

29. Ibid., p.269.

30. His name appears in the documents C.221-2, both of that year.

31. However, I can find no reference to him actually exercising the power, although he was certainly a figure of some importance in the public sphere, especially in the Market (S.517,538,604).

32. He appears in a dispute of 1151 acting alongside the 'prohoms': this is the first recorded occasion that the two parties sat in judgment together (S.384).

33. He signed a document of 1155 as visarius (S.392), is recorded as such in LFM I p.269,369, and 371, but was not exercising the charge in 1160.

34. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.269. He appears alongside the 'prohoms' in 1168 (S.458).

35. He appears in a dispute between the sons of Aimeric of Perugia in 1180 (ACB DC(c) 253).

36. S.585.

37. For this loan to the count ACB DC(c) 4,26, published by J.Miret i Sans, "Los ciudadanos de Barcelona en 1148" in BRAB 9 (1918-20) 137-140.

38. For the early history of the seneschalcy and these events see A.Pladevall, "Els senescals dels Comtes de Barcelona durant el segle XI" in AEM 3 (1966) 111-130.

39. For the history of this family, see Shideler, op.cit., passim.

40. That Ramon de Caldes had a house in Barcelona is demonstrated by one of the fiscal documents of the reign of Alfons I: ACA Alfons I 519: Anno MCLXXXVIII xvi kalendas iunai apud Barchinone in domo R.de Calidis venerunt ad computum.....

This, however, may have been the property later known as the Dean's House (supra p.432). For 12th.century Comital and Royal bailiffs, A.M.Aragó, "La institución 'baiulus regia' en Cataluña en la época de Alfonso el Casto" in VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona, 1962)iii, 137-42.

41. Particularly Bonnassie, La Catalogne, passim.
42. Els Castells Catalans (ed.R.Dalmau) 6 volumes in 7 (Barcelona, 1968-79).
43. Especially the entries in ~~Gran~~ Enciclopedia Catalana (13 volumes to date, Barcelona, 1970-80).
A useful bibliographical article by A.de Fluvià and M-M.Costa, " Incógnitas genealógicas en las casas condales catalanas" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year^{XII} no.36 (1973) 21-39 , covers a far wider period.
44. One example is that of Bernat Amat (of Claramunt) and Deodat of the same line who held property on the north side of the defences (supra pp.430-2), but who are not immediately obviously nobles from the charter evidence.
45. These changes are described by Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.781-808.
46. ibid., i, p.494.
47. Guifred of Mediona (fl.c.1020) had given other property near the cathedral to the monastery of St. Llorenç del Munt (C.73).
48. For these troubles see, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.625-646. It is noticeable that many of these

families came from the frontier districts of the Penedès, which was the homeland of Mir Geribert: see also S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) pp.56-65.

49. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.631.

50. C.218,309,338.

51. ACB DA 1850.

52. Els Castells Catalans, (ed. R.Dalmau) vol.I (Barcelona, 1968) p,526.

53. See the reference in note 3.

54. ACB DA 2163b: a division of goods in the Castell Nou and the Castle of Belloc, by the brothers Ramon and Guillem, sons of Bernat of Belloc.

55. J.Vigué, El monestir romànic de Sant Pau del Camp, (Barcelona, 1974) pp.24-7.

56. S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) p.164 points out the importance of the Castellvell and La Roca families (the latter were closely related to the Bellocs) as counsellors of Ramon Berenguer II.

57. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "Solidaridad familiar y organización de Clanes en la Ciudad de Barcelona en los siglos XI y XII" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia no.45 Year XV (1976) 7-26, esp. p.25. The origins that he claims for Bernat Ramon (p.22) as the son of the Archdeacon Ramon, must now be questioned in view of the discovery by Shideler (op.cit., pp.95-101) that Ramon was a member of the Montcada family, and had no known offspring. Another possible origin for this inhabitant, that he was a younger brother of Count Ramon Berenguer I (suggested by J.Sobreques i Callicó in Història de Barcelona I: De la Pre-història al segle XVI, (directed A.Durán i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.215) may be more acceptable in view of the fact that his house and cellar were in comital hands in 1079, but still remains undemonstrated.

58. LAEC I 104 253, Mas XI no.1737, p.168.

59. He is found settling a dispute with the cathedral in 1173 (C.315) and he became a canon on the following day: LAEC I 103 250, Mas XI no.1986, p.276.

60. His will (C.232) states that he was injured during an attack on Fraga which he made with the host, and might suggest that, although he returned to Barcelona, he died of his wounds: it certainly indicates his knightly activities.

61. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.187-192.
62. For Auruz see my "'Greeks' in early medieval Barcelona ?" in Faventia 2 part i (forthcoming).
63. Author of the Liber Iudicum Popularis, for which see, F.Valls Taberner, "El 'Liber Iudicum Popularis' de Homobonus de Barcelona" in AHDE 2 (1926) 200-212.
- 63 bis. A third judge with the surname Marc, Guillem Marc, is found as late as 1068 (AHT-I-60) owning property in Sant Gervasi de Cassoles. The relation between the three is unclear.
64. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.190.
65. Ibid., ii, pp.560-566.
66. Fixing prices, S.68: attesting wills, ACB DB 1697 of 12.VIII.1008. For the same institution in Castile, Ma del C. Carlé, "'Boni homines' y hombres buenos" in Cuadernos de Historia de España 39-40 (1964) 133-168.
67. e.g. ACB DB 533 of 20.V.1001: Noticia in quorum presencia residebat domno Odone episcopo cum congregacione monacherum domum Sanct Cucufati cenobii et in presencia aliorum bonorum hominum qui subtus reborati sunt....

68. ACA RBI 67 of 1044: a dispute between two of the leading inhabitants of the city, Pere, son of Vivas of Provençals, and Bonfill, son of Auruz the Judge, over rights in Provençals. Among the named 'bonhoms' are three priests, an artisan, and Guitart Ananias, whose will (ACV C9 Ep.II 59) reveals him to be an intimate of the count.

69. The four named are Ramon Gondebal, Arnau Gontar, Guerau Quadragesima Intrante, and Ramon Dalmau, all of whom appear frequently in the documentation of the period.

70. On at least five occasions: C.259,261,268: S.384,422.

71. Pere Adarró in 1168: S.458.

72. The 'sacristà' (treasurer) of the canons is occasionally found: e.g. in ACV C6 2277 (1.VI.1130) referring to the territorium, or C.268 and S,422.

73. The 'prohoms' are a subject that has recently attracted the attention of several scholars, although the full fruits of their research have yet to be published: for the moment see A.Mª Udina Abelló, El Consell de Cent Barceloní, (Barcelona, 1977) pp.23-29, and J.Mª Font Rius, "La Barcelona medieval a través de su municipio" in CAHC 16 (1975) 198-201. For

later developments, the same author's Jaume I i la
Municipalitat de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1977).

I have not considered here the question of the city's liberties, for which see: J.Ma Font Rius, "Génesis y manifestaciones iniciales..", in Miscellanea Barci-
nonensia Year VI no.16 (1967) 67-92, and his Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña, vol.I part ii (Barcelona, 1969) pp.591-4.

74, Usatges de Barcelona, (ed. J.Rovira . Ermengol: Barcelona, 1933) p.57. However, this need no longer refer to the 11th. century for the date of compilation has been considerably revised in recent years: for an account of this, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.711-731. For a linguistic approach to the problem, J.Bastardes i Parera, Sobre la problemàtica dels Usatges de Barcelona, (Discurs llegit..... a la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona: Barcelona, 1977).

75. For this document, see note 37: The main residence of Bernat Marcus was near the Chapel and Hospital he founded. Of the other contributors, Joan Martí had an allod near St.Pau (S.396), Aimeric properties between the market and Sta.Maria del Mar (S.355,399, 409), Guillem Pons in the villanova (S.360,382), A.Adarró in the Arcs suburb (S.404), P.Amalric near the Merdança (S.495), Arnau Pere de Arcs presumably in the suburbs from which he derived his name, al-

though he is not attested there (care should be taken not to confuse him with Arnau Pere the Knight, already discussed, or several other people of the same name, e.g. Arnau Pere de Sants recorded in 1153 in Llibre Blanch no.55 p.62). Of the remaining two names on the list - Ermengol of Manresa and Joan Tota - little or nothing is known.

76. LAEC IV 126 323, Mas X no.701, p.8.

77. In the will of Bernat Gelmir (C.84).

78. P.Wolff, "Quidam homo nomine Roberto negociatore" in Le Moyen Âge Livre Jubilaire 69 (1963) 129-139.

79. M.N.Adler, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela" in The Jewish Quarterly Review (O.S.) 16 (1904) 453-473, p.467: "It (Tarragona) is situated by the sea and two days' journey from the city of Barcelona, where there is a holy congregation, including sages, wise and illustrious men, such as R.Shesheth, R. Shealtiel, R.Solomon and R.Abraham son of Chisdai. It is a small city and beautiful, lying upon the sea-coast. Merchants come thither from all quarters with their wares, from Greece, from Pisa, Genoa, Sicily, Alexandria in Egypt, Palestine, Africa and all its coasts".

80. For the manifestations of trade in the late 12th.

century and afterwards, see the works cited in note 16 to the Introduction. Vessels and commercial contracts are attested in the coastal cities of Catalonia from the last few decades of the century, and Catalans were present in the eastern Mediterranean by the end of the century: a useful summary of the evidence can be found in the introduction to A.E.Sayous, Els mètodes comercials a la Barcelona medieval, (Barcelona, 1975) pp.13-17 by A.García i Sanz and G.Feliu i Montfort.

81. These are the conclusions of J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensia Year XI no.31 (1972) 55-88.

82. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.857.

83. P.Bonnassie, "Une famille de la campagne barcelonaise et ses activités économiques aux alentours de l'an Mil" in Annales du Midi 76 (1964) 261-303.

84. This hypothesis for the origins of the growth of Barcelona has probably been the most favoured until the last decade: see principally the works of C.Verlinden, "La place de la Catalogne dans l'histoire commerciale du monde méditerranéen" in Revue des Cours et Conférences 1 (1937-8) 586-605, and 737-754: idem, "The rise of Spanish trade in the Middle Ages" in Economic History Review 10

(1940) 44-59: idem, L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale, vol. I (Bruges, 1955) pp.167-8: idem, "La traite des esclaves. Un grand commerce international au X^e siècle" in Etudes de Civilisation médiévale (IX^e-XII^e siècles) Mélanges offerts à E-R.Labande, (Poitiers, 1974) pp.721-730.

85. The best study of these tributes to Christian counts and kings is J.Ma Lacarra, "Aspectos económicos de la sumisión de los reinos de taifas(1010-1102)" in Homenaje a J.Vicens Vives I (Barcelona, 1965) pp. 255-277.

86. For this character, Ruiz Doménec, op.cit. (note 81) especially p.76 et seq. In a later work (op.cit. in note 57, p.24) he is more disposed to accept noble origins for Ricart Guillem. This seems all the more likely, taking into consideration his close and early association with the count, his participation in the campaign against El Cid (S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) p.139), the possible origin of his father-in-law (note 57), his interest in castles, and the possibly noble rank of his son, whose exorquia Count Ramon Berenguer IV claimed.

87. See note 17.

88. Possibly the son of a Gelmir who was buying

property in the city in the last two decades of the 10th. century (C.10,11). Although Bernat Gelmir had interests in the castle of Lliçà, they appear to have been secondary to his urban estates.

89. Note deleted.

90. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.842-4 for the general situation and for Catalans in Genoa. For the Campaign against Mallorca, S.Sobrequès; Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, pp.174-180, and for the basic source, the Liber Maiolochinus, see now J.Vidal i Alcover in Mallorca, la primera conquesta cristiana, (Fundació Jaume I: Barcelona, 1979). For the commercial agreements, A.de Capmany y de Monpàlau, Memorias Históricas sobre la Marina, Comercio y Artes de la Antigua Ciudad de Barcelona, (Madrid, 1779: reprinted with introduction and notes, 1961-2) 2 volumes in 3, volume II, app.1-2, pp.3-5, and for more recently found sources, J.E.Ruiz Doménech, "En torno a un tratado comercial entre las ciudades de Genova y Barcelona en la primera mitad del siglo XII" in Atti del Primo Congresso Storico Liguria-Catalogna (Ventimiglia-Bordighera, 1969) 151-160. The first true commercial partnership in Catalonia has been published by A.Altisent, "Una societat mercantil a Catalunya a darreries del segle XII" in BRABLE 32 (1967-8) 45-65, although one may suspect that purchases by two unrelated men in partnership, such as that of Bonet of Manresa and Bertrand of Montpellier (S.387), had a very similar background.

Shares in ships are sporadically recorded in the second half of the 12th. century: cf. the will of Guilabert the Englishman (Anglicus) of 8.V.1172, from Tortosa, where there was a considerable English contingent among the settlers after the Reconquest: Dono Iordano Anglico quartem partem quam habeo in illo vexello Renaldi et Lanfranchi cum sua exartia (Published in Udina, Llibre Blanch, no.157, pp.156-9.).

91. Immigration from the first three cities seems reasonable in view of the interests of the Counts of Barcelona in the Midi. For an account of these, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.859-863. Nevertheless, immigration from across the Pyrenees to the Barcelona area was far less than it was to other Spanish cities, particularly those of the route to Santiago, and those founded as the Reconquest advanced: for these movements see, M.Défournieux, Les français en Espagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles, (Paris, 1949).

92. Particularly the Vicars, the Bailiff (Bailiulus or 'batlle'), the amocतालafia (market supervision), the Almazतालafia (right to transport redeemed slaves), and minting rights.

93. Supra Chapter XII note 93.

94. Transcribed in volume IV pp.1967-74.
95. Last, mentioned in S.337 of 27,XI.1139; his sons are recorded as acting independently in S.340 of 25.IX.1141.
96. For naming patterns, Balari, Origenes Históricos, ii, pp.583-594. By the end of the 12th.century, fixed surnames were becoming frequent among the leading families of the city: e.g. Arcs, Gruny, Durfort.
97. One of the few others who used this naming pattern were the Arberts, possibly descendents of the first Vicar, e.g. Pere Arbert Ponç (C.325), Bernat Arbert Ponç (C.342): for a Pere Arbert as a descendent of the first Vicar, Arbert Bernat, C.264.
98. I have studied Marcutius along with the other 'Greeks' in my "'Greeks' in early medieval Barcelona ?" in Faventia 2 part i (Forthcoming), and publish there his will (C.38).
99. LAEC IV 155 365, Mas IX no.545, p.254 of 1042.
100. Liber Dotationum (Arxiu Capítular de Seu d'Urgell) vol.I 235 797: (of.1042) (consulted by means of the summaries in the Archive of the BC). In 1054 he witnessed Bernat Gelmir's will (C.84).

101. ACB DB 360 (of 23.VI.1056) in vineas que fuerunt de Guilaberti Marcucii.
102. LAEC II 155 447, Mas X no.1391, p.324: published by J.M^a Font Rius, "Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña" in AHDE 17 (1946) pp.555-6, and discussed ibid., p.414 note 761. This is by far the earliest reference to 'consuls' in the area, and is rather enigmatic, for it seems unlikely that they could really have been 'consuls' as the word was later understood. One hypothesis is that the name was used as a consequence of the close contacts with the Genoese consuls in this period. For the later consuls in Catalonia, A.Gouron, "Diffusion des consulats méridionaux et expansion du droit romain aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 121 (1963) 26-76, esp. pp.38-9 referring to examples at Cervera (1182) Perpinyà (1197) and Lleida (1197): for a failed attempt at Vic, infra chapter XVII note 62.
103. e.g. signing S.485. He may also have acted as judge, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.278 note 565, as his father did (C.288).
104. LAEC I 297, 818, Mas XI, no.2079, p.317.
105. S.508. His father may have owned a ship: in a document of 9.XI.1150 involving him (Udina, Llibre

Blanch, no.47, pp.54-5) there is a reference to quinta ipsius galee.

106. S.530. The right had first been given to Ramon Berenguer III to a group of Jews (ACA RBIII s.f. 91).

107. After his death this was conceded to his nephew as requested in his will (S.604): the fact that it had been previously held by Bernart of Barcelona and Berenguer Ramon, suggests that for a time this had been related to the vicariate.

108. For the legend of Bernat Marcus' wealth, A.del Castillo in L.Pericot et al., Barcelona a través de los tiempos, (Barcelona, 1944) p.108 and A.Durán Sanpere, "La leyenda de Marcús" in Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica II (1946) 257-260.

109. These families appear in S.587,601,627 (Gruny), 527,574,597,612-3,622-5,633,635 (Durfort). Their importance in 13th.century society was noted by Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.536. The inter-relationships and activities of these families are at present being studied by Dra.Carmen Batlle of the University of Barcelona.

110. See chapter XVI p. 873.

111. ACB DC(c) 5,111 (a transcription of 1198).

112. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.492 and ii, p.855 drawing on Balari, Origenes Históricos, pp.668-9. Further evidence adds little knowledge to the range of trades represented.
113. For later developments in Barcelona, where there was wider diversification in the later Middle Ages, see the summary by M.Tintó i Sala, Els Gremis a la Barcelona Medieval, (Barcelona, 1978). P. Bonnassie, La Organización del Trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV, (Anejos del AEM 8: Barcelona, 1975) has a useful introductory section and a good bibliographical coverage.
114. For comital coin issues, see now the corpus of A.Mª Balaguer and M.Crusafont, "Els comtats catalans: les seves encunyacions i àrees d'influència I, Corpus" in Symposium Numismàtico de Barcelona I (Barcelona, 1979) 377-508, replacing the older J.Botet i Sisó, Les monedes catalanes, (Barcelona, 1908-11; reprinted 1976).
115. For two earlier moneyers, see Chapter XIV note 114. For the issues of Bonhom and Aeneas, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.379-382: also, G.C.Miles, "Bonhom de Barcelone" in Etudes d'Orientalisme à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal, ii (Paris, 1962) pp.683-693.

116. Summarized by Balari, Origenes históricos, ii, pp.691-2: also in Botet i Sisó, op.cit., i, pp. 198-203. The documents are ACA RBI 182, 228, 361 and s.f.48.
117. Supra p.796 : one wonders whether the moneyer Marcus recorded in the mid-11th.century should be considered as an alternative progenitor of the family of that name, given their interest in the mint. Unfortunately, nothing else is known about him.
118. CMB p.323: A.Ros Torner, La Ribera de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1973) p.9, states that in the 15th.century it was considered to have been there since time immemorial, although I am uncertain of the source for this idea.
119. For the forge at St.Andreu de Palomar in 1138, LAEC II 53 148, Mas XI no.1482, p.44. For Paulo, Bonnassie, "Une famille..." op.cit., p.278, with a copy of his signature. For other aspects of iron-working in early medieval Catalonia, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.472-5.
120. One might imagine this of a certain Dominic the Miller, who is found on various occasions (S.378, 381,384,385).
121. LAEC I 72 161, Mas XI no.1956, pp.263-4. However, only two of the signatures are described as

piscatores, there also being two fullers and a troubadour. It is therefore unclear whether these were all directly fishermen, or connected in some other way with the trade.

122. The area of the C/del Veguer was later known as la Corretgeria (reverse of C.332). There may have been some collective organization of the trade in the later 12th.century since LAEC I 231 625, Mas XI no.1819 p.202 refers to vines owned by the corrigiaria. At a latter date there was a concentration of leather preparation industries in the eastern part of the city, indicated by the place-name Blanqueria.

123. The following section is largely taken from my "The origins of the 'Gremi de Sabaters' of Barcelona" in CAHC 18 (forthcoming).

124. The Latin sutor and the Romance sabater are both used.

125. e.g. Mas X nos.1491,1611,1802,2059.

126. S.79, 87, and in the list of inhabitants of c.1079 a shoemaker is found beneath the defences.

127. For this 'cofradia' see the documents summarized by Mas XII nos.2402,2403,2424,2591 and also those in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, also dating from the early 13th.century. There

exists a catalogue of some of these exhibited in
 1931: Exposició de documents de l'Antic Gremi
 de Mestres Sabaters de Barcelona

128. Note that C/de la Tapineria was previously
 known as C/de la Sabateria: Carreras Candi, GGCCB,
 p.416.

129. For the distribution of these trades see
 A.Capmany and A.Durán Sanpere, El Gremio de los Maes-
 tros Zapateros, (Barcelona, 1944) p.14. For the
 patron saints, Tintó, op.cit., p.37.

130. J.F.Cabestany i Fort, "Els Mestres Sabaters
 i la Confraria de Sant Marc" in Homenaje a Jaime
 Vicens Vives II (Barcelona, 1967) pp.75-84, p.75-
 6.

131. As may a document of the 1180's which seems
 to refer to the property of the Sabateria (S.550).
 Unfortunately, the original of this enigmatic source
 cannot now be located, and it is only known from
 an 18th.century summary.

132. Infra p.816.

133. Balari, Origenes històrics, p.677.

134. No full study of the distribution of trades
 in the later Middle Ages has yet been made, although

the works of Tintó and Bonnassie both contain useful data, as does Carreras Candi, GGCCB, passim. A starting point would be an examination of the trades detailed in the 14th. century Fogatges.

135. Escuders or targers.

136. Astarus (?).

137. Cultellarius. Note the presence of a C/de la Dagueria in the area today.

138. Ballestarius: they may have been making cross-bows or any form of artillery.

139. Frenarius.

140. Escubiliarius.

141. Supra Chapter XI notes 15-17.

142. C.263: Sit notum cunctis quod ego Maria femina
fília qui fui Calvinii monetarii pro magno egritudine
que longo tempore passa sum et pro necessitate
pauperitatis ac nudtatis...

143. For fulling mills, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.855 citing ACA RBIV 233. For the suggestion that the Besòs mills were fulling mills (which I

consider to be undemonstrated) J.E.Ruiz Doménec,
 "The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural
 revolution or commercial development ?" in Speculum
 52 (1977) 265-286, p.272.

144. ad cannam de draperiam (S.613). Note the
 presence of a Ramona Draperia in 1200 (S.628) which,
 for want of better evidence, has to be classified as
 the oldest female trade in Barcelona.

145. Supra chapter XV note 62.

146. Tintó, op.cit., map at the end, with the posi-
 tion of the various streets named after 'Escudillers'.

147. Balari, Orígenes históricos, pp.665 for barrels,
 which were often given names.

148. LAEC IV 204 468, Mas XII no.2455, p.170 (undated
 but referring to the later 12th.century): et addidit
quod ipse iacuit in ipsa volta multociens et fecit
ibi tonnas et alias lignorum operationes.

149. LAEC I 232 630, Mas IX no.283, p.120. See the
 work cited in note 78 for this incident.

150. ACB DA 370g of 18.IV.990.

151. For the changes in early 11th.century society,

Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.809-829: J.E.Ruiz Doménec, "El desarrollo de la economía monetaria. La crisis de los pequeños propietarios libres durante los siglos XI y XII en el Condado de Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensis Year XIII no.38 (1974) 27-65.

152.

For dumb inhabitants C.200 and S.295. For a widow giving property to her son with the condition that he should care for her in old age, S.467.

153. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.298-302.

154. Ibid., p.858.

155. ACA Monacales, St.Llorenç del Munt 62: published by M.Schwab and J.Miret y Sans, "Le plus ancien document à présent connu des juifs catalans" in BRAHLE 8 (1915) 229-233: His will in the same series, no.82, complements the details of the list.

156. e.g. C.269 and 270.

157. The exact date of the reform is unknown, but is apparent from the appearance of 'pabords' (provosts), each with responsibility for a month of the year.

158. S.32,39,132,147,236,318,346,372,404,417, plus those in the zone around the monastery itself.

159. S.240,292,344,413,455,495, C.196 plus those in the zone around the monastery.

160. The primary source for the estates of this monastery is, of course, the Cartulary, published by J.Rius Serra in 1945-7, but of which the fourth volume, of appendices and indexes, has never appeared. Neither has there been any full-scale study of its domains.

161. For the dispute, supra p.392.

For the property near Sant Miquel: J.A.Llobet y Vall-lloera, "Observaciones sobre una inscripción del siglo décimo encontrada en Barcelona" in MRAELB 2 (1868) pp.181-6. This inscription was "en la casa del monje-camarero de Ripoll sita en la plazuela del cementerio de San Miguel".

162. Although the properties of St.Benet de Bages were frequently associated with the southern French house of St.Ponç de Thomières (and similarly those of St.Llorenç del Munt with the Ligurian house of St.Martin della Isola Gallinaria) this was the result of a degree of Cluniac intervention in the later 11th.century: see A.M.Mundó, "Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements monastiques de l'est des Pyrénées du X^e au XII^e siècle" in Annales du Midi 75 (1963) 551-573 (English version as "Monastic movements in the East Pyrenees" in Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages (London, 1971) 98-122),

163. Arxiu de Montserrat: Perg. de Sant Benet de Bages, 1291 (reverse): Hic est brevis honoris Sancti Benedicti quam habet in Barchinona. In primis ortum atque triliam iuxta Sancte Cucuphatem sive Sancte Petri Cenobii.... .

164. Chapter XIII note 32 and S. 569.

165. ACV Lib.Dot. fol.94v.-95r.: ...tradimus in perpetuum ut in operibus ipsorum domorum et turrum ad bene operandum et meliorandum mille solidos sedem cognitionem nostram et arbitrium unius prabi hominis Barchinone et unius Lambardi quos nos eligamus... .

166. J.F.Cabestany i Fort, "Bernat Escuder, un barceloní convers de Poblet (1185)" in Miscel.lània Històrica Catalana (=Scriptorium Populeti, 3: Poblet, 1970) 147-153, for this event.

167. J.Sobrequès i Callicó in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (directed by A. Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) p.239, states that the Hospitallers had urban property by the 1120's, although I do not know on what basis he makes this claim. For the house of St.Joan of the Hospitallers, see the works cited in note 89 to chapter XI (p.1340).

168. The material related to this monastery now in the Library of the University of Barcelona came to my attention too late to be of use in the study of this monastery's estates.

169. St.Pol de Mar was technically in the County of Girona, although geographically closer to Barcelona. A possible property of the more distant Sant Feliu de Guíxols is recorded in 1181 (S.522),

170. Chapter XI pp.416-8.

171. Arcs-C.134, S.225,276.

Puteo de Moranta - S.174,193,213.

St.Pere de les Puelles - S.75,316.

Sta.Eulalia del Camp - S.334.

St.Cugat del Rech - S.223,283.

Rech - S.146.

Villanova - S.202.

Market - S.436.

Sta.Maria del Mar - S.55,56,186.

172. S.64,149,154,155,167,169,184,187,415,623,624.

173. The bibliography on Jewish property in the territorium is extensive: R.J.H.Gottheil,

"Early Spanish Shetarot" in The Jewish Quarterly Review (O.S.) 16 (1904) 702-8:
F.de Bofarull y Sans, "Jaime I y los judíos" in I Congrès d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó part ii (Barcelona, 1913) pp.819-943. M.Schwab and J.Miret y Sans, "Documents sur les juifs catalans aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles" in Revue des Études Juives 68 (1914) 49-83 and 174-197: idem, "Le plus ancien

document à présent connu des juifs catalans" in BRAHLE 8 (1915) 229-233: idem, "Documents de juifs barcelonaises au XI^e siècle" in BRAH 69 (1916) 569-583. J.Ma Millàs Vallicrosa, "Documents hebraics dels jueus catalans" in Memòries de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1 fasc.3 (Barcelona, 1927): idem, "Posesiones inmuebles rústicas, propiedad de los judíos en los alrededores de Barcelona" in Sefarad 27 (1967) 64-69.

174. Converts are presumably indicated by the name baptizate: examples in C.42,181: S.276,284, and possibly by names such as Guerau Quadragesima Intrante.

175. F.Fita, "Barcelona en 1079: su Castillo del Puerto y su Aljama hebrea. Documento inédito" in BRAH 43 (1903) 361-8, publishing ACA RBII 39. He divided the list of Jewish names into two groups of twenty. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.851 states that there are 54 heads of family: in fact 54 names are mentioned, though it is not clear whether they all represented separate households. One curious point, which would tend to support the theory that the topography of the Call is one of the least changed in the city, is the fact that the area covered today contains approximately the same number of properties, if allowance is made for the later churches and Palau de la Generalitat.

176. J.C.Russell, "Population in Europe, 500-1500" in The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Middle Ages, (ed.C.M.Cipolla; London, 1972) pp.25-70, esp. p.28.
177. For the Girona Jews, infra Chapter XVII p.886. For Narbonne, M.N.Adler, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela" in The Jewish Quarterly Review (O.S.)16 (1904) 453-473, p.467.
178. ACA RBII s.f. 71 (transcribed in vol. IV pp.1951-1957). Probably of 1079, like RBII 39. (pp.1946-50).
179. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.851-3. This is surprisingly the first attempt to discuss this document in terms of human numbers rather than just political factors, for which, P.de Bofarull y Mascaró, Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados, (Barcelona, 1836) p.112-3 :J.Sobrequès i Callicó in Història de Barcelona, I, p.215, interprets the whole list as applying to the intra-mural area, suggesting a figure of under 1000 plus the Jews.
180. For these two zones, supra chapter XI pp.454-68.
181. J.C.Russell, Medieval Regions and their cities, (Newton Abbot, 1972) p.122. Slightly higher figures in H.C.Darby, A New Historical Geography of England before 1600, (Cambridge, 1976) p.71.

182. The maximum is suggested by Russell, op.cit., p.169, though it should be noted that this is based on an area of 260 ha. for the city, which includes all the walled area beyond the Rambles, much of which was open land, which would suggest that his figures should be reduced. The minimum by J.Iglésies, "La cursa demogràfica de les principals ciutats catalanes" in Memorias de la Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona(3rd.series) 43 (1977) 453-478, p.458, citing the earlier bibliography. The most likely figure seems to lie between the two extremes.

183. Russell, op.cit., p.43 for the Italian towns. J.Ordoñez and J.Ma Salazar, "Orígenes y juventud de la ciudad" in Barcelona: Divulgación Histórica XIV (1974) 11-16, p.16, suggest a late 12th.century population of 25,000, which seems excessive in view of the subsequent growth.

184. There are comparatively few studies on internal migration of this period in Catalonia; one exception being J.M.Recasens i Comes, La Ciutat de Tarragona, vol. II (Barcelona, 1975) pp.229-230. Even in New Catalonia the rôle of foreigners was less than it was elsewhere in the Peninsula, and the majority of settlers were from Catalonia, although tended to come from further away than those in Barcelona. A few more Italians might be added to the Barcelona statistics: surnames such as Carroso, Petroso, and Kasaro (S.329,350,518) are not at all local in origin.

185. A raised number after the place of origin indicates the minimum number of individuals.

186. Benjamin of Tudela took two days from Tarragona to Barcelona (97 kms), although only a day and a half to Girona (101 kms), although he was presumably travelling on horseback: Adler, op.cit., p.467.

187. For establishments to immigrants: S.290,461bis, 493,497,506,535,554,556,557,580,619,626.

188. Russell, op.cit., p.170. The 'fogatge' of 1389-90 has recently been published: F.Marsà et al., Onomàstica barcelonina del segle XIV (Barcelona,1977).

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVI

1. For legal aspects of the period after the Reconquest up to the 12th. century, J. M^a Font Rius, Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña, (Barcelona-Madrid, 1969) vol. I part ii, pp. 591-4. For the later extended area to which the rights and liberties of the city applied, ^{and} the 'Hort i Vinyet' see Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp. 330-3. For town-country interdependence in Castile in the same period, M^o del C. Carlé, "La Ciudad y su contorno en León y Castilla (siglos X-XIII)" in AEM 8 (1972-3) 69-104.

2. These limits are derived from the conjunction of various documents: see Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp. 287-9. The most frequent general boundaries for the territorium are as in ACA Ramon Borrell I (4.XII. 993): de parte circi in cacumine de ipsos montes et de aquilonis in flumine Bisaucio, et de meridie in ipsa mare, et de occiduo in flumine Lubricato.

This also demonstrates that the direction of north for the territorium was generally considered to be the same as that established for the urban area, that is really north-west.

3. S. Sanpere y Miquel, "Una excursió pel Pla de Barcelona en lo segle X" in BCEC 3 (1893) 9-26.

4. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.287-292.
5. M.Mitjá Sagué, "Condado y ciudad de Barcelona. Capítulos de su historia en los siglos IX y X" in Estudios Históricos y documentos de los Archivos de Protocolos 3 (1955) 267-281.
6. P.J.Bassegoda Musté, Huerto y Viñedo de Barcelona: contribución al estudio de la historia del urbanismo de la ciudad condal, (Barcelona, 1971) passim.
7. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.288.
8. For this district see the useful collection of local documentation in E.Carbonell, Esplugues de Llobregat: monografía histórica, (Barcelona, 1949)
9. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.290.
10. Ibid., p.287, n.599.
11. For the development of the other towns in the Barcelona area, infra Chapter XVII.
12. Op.cit., note 5.
13. To name but one example, Vilapiscina was recorded as in the pagus in 962 (LAEC II 86 254, Mas IX no.29 p.14), but in the county in 987 (ACB DA 1938),

14. LAEC III 75 193, Mas IX no.14, p.7 of 944.

Udina, Archivo Condal, no.161, p.329.

15. Mitjá, op.cit., p.275, "en la época carolingia las palabras Condado, Pago y Territorio fueron sinonimas."

16. For the Penedès, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.285 note 589: for the Vallès, LAEC III 107 304, Mas IX no.42, p.18 of 965: for the Maresme, LAEC II 163 477, Mas IX no.27, p.13, of 962.

17. Thus, over half the documents referring to the 'Pla de Barcelona' in the period before 985 are describing property in the pagus: Udina, Archivo Condal, no.152, p.318 (961): LAEC II 86 254, Mas IX no.29, p.14 (962): ACB DB 806 (=LAEC I 242 656, Mas IX no.30, p.14 (963): LAEC II 69 197, Mas IX no.36, p.16 (964): ACB DA 2372 (970): LAEC II 63 176, Mas IX no.47, p.21 (971): ACB DA 2250 (975): Udina, Archivo Condal, no.183 p.361 (978): ACB DC(a) 1,33 (981): CSC 297 905, Rius I no.159, p.132 (984): ACB DC(a) 1,36 (984): LAEC II 86 257, Mas IX no.75 p.32 (985). The use of the term seems to suddenly stop after 985 and both county and territory are in common use for the Pla, until the early 11th.century, when the latter starts to become predominant: for this reason I would tentatively equate the pre-985 pagus with the post-985 territorium, although, needless to say, there are points beyond the Pla recorded as being in the pagus.

18. Supra chapter XII pp.506-9.

19. There are two reasons why Martorell might have been a boundary point: on the one hand it seems likely that the settlement there was the Fines of the Antonine Itinerary or the Ad Fines of the Vicarello Vases: for the Roman road network in Spain, see now J.Mª Roldán Hervás, Itineraria Hispana: Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la Península Ibérica, (Valladolid-Granada, 1975). On the other hand, the arch on the bridge may itself have been a boundary mark, for which see R.Nierhaus, "Baedro - Topographische Studien zum Territorium des Conventus Cordubensis" in MM 5 (1964) 185-212, p.203 and L.A.Holland, Janus and the Bridge (Rome, 1961) p.294. For other remains in the comarca of Baix Llobregat, supra p.96 : the University of Barcelona and the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad of Barcelona are carrying out an extensive research programme on the Roman sites in the area.

20. For the decline of the other towns in the late Roman period, supra pp.307-11 : for the medieval towns of the Barcelona area, infra Chapter XVII pp. 931-34 : for the importance of markets in this process, J.Vilà Valentí, "Notes sobre el poblament català medieval: El Mercat" in Miscel·lània Puig i Cadafalch, i, (Barcelona, 1947) pp.225-241: reprinted with the title 'Vida rural i mercats setmanals els segles

X al XII" in his El Món Pural a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1973) pp.41-62.

21. LAEC I 101 246, Mas IX no.6, p.3 for the 919 reference. It is recorded at least four times again before 985: LAEC IV 18 56, Mas IX no.44, pp.19-20 (965): LAEC II 63 176, Mas IX no.47, p.21 (965): ACB DC(a) 1,33 (981): and CSC 358 1046, Rius I no.139 pp.115-8 (981).

22. Perhaps recorded in LAEC II 23 65, Mas XII no. 2673, p.283: strata francigena qua itur de Collo de Fenestrellis ad Provinciana (1068), but more certainly in 1124, in CSC 545, cited Balari, Origenes històrics, i, p.253.

23. Balari, Origenes històrics, i, pp.253-4.

24. For finés names in general, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumwissenschaft vol.VIB (Stuttgart, 1909) cols.2322-26.

25. Thus with the application of the liberties of 801 to both Barcelona and Terrassa, as well as those of 844, there was every reason for the Vallès to be considered to be part of the territorium. With the growth of castle districts, this obviously became more restricted.

26. Op.cit., p.276. This can be supplemented by a reference to the St.Pau del Camp zone, which, as has

been noted, seemed to straddle the territorium-suburbium boundary, as in territorio Barcinonense vel in ejus circuitu in 1003 (S.38). However, since the decades after 985 were a period of flux as regards terminology, as so many other features, it is difficult to draw conclusions from these variations.

27. Op.cit., pp.277-8 and supra, Chapter XV pp.765-8, for early Comital property.

28. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.150-2.

29. e.g. F.Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.62-4. For a study of the early documentation, F. de Bofarull y Sans, "Orígenes del pueblo de San Martín de Provensals" in MRABLB 5 (1893) 189-253, which, however, should be used with a degree of care.

30. For a consideration of the state of knowledge of centuriation in Spain, the contributions in Estudios sobre centuriaciones romanas en España, (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1974) are useful.

31. For example, see M.Galera, F.Roca and S.Tarragó Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972) plan no.30 of c.1700 which shows these features: it should be compared with plan no.114 of 1855 (see fig.96).

32. Some of the problems of mensuration are discussed in an appendix in Volume IV pp.1991-7 : a rapid

analysis of twenty-two documents of the period of Count Ramon Borrell in the ACA, shows that twelve were large plots, half of which were truly rectangular: another four were strips: and the last six were small plots, under twenty metres square. The sources for the topography of the territorium are as numerous as those concerned with the city proper in this period and perhaps more abundant. The principal sources are, as before, the ACB and the ACA, but pertinent material can be found in almost any archive in the Barcelona area.

33. Supra Chapter VII, pp. 229-243.

34. For references see notes 201-2, 238, and note 83 of Chapter VIII respectively: for the latter also the works cited in note 41 of Chapter VI. It should also be noted that Visigothic period stonework from more recent seasons is on display in the Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona.

35. Two such examples would be the church at Mata, (supra p. 293) and that at Cornellà (supra p. 233).

36. J.Guitart Durán, "Excavación en la zona sudeste de la villa romana de Sentromà (Tiana)" in Pyrenae 6 (1970) 111-165, p.111, "...debe señalarse aquí la importancia histórica que adquiere el yacimiento, al constar la continuidad del habitat en el lugar

aún con momentos de mayor o menor vitalidad, desde la época romano-republicana, hasta la actualidad.". However, it is my belief that there was no direct continuity between the villa as such, and the 'masía on any site, and that if continuity occurred, this passed through various transitional stages. J.E. Ruiz Doménec, "Una etapa de la ocupación del suelo. La roturación de tierras en la Catañuña Vieja en los inicios del siglo XI" in Hispania 33 (1973) 481-517, p.505, comes to similar conclusions.

37. A stone head of Medusa from a tomb has long been known: Albertini, no.174, p.425, fig.202 and most recently, A.Balil, "Los Gorgoneia de Barcino" in Faventia 1/i (1979) 63-70, esp. p.66. For the remains of structures, presumably a villa, Anon., "Destrucción de unos restos romanos en L'Hospitalet de Llobregat" in Inf.Arq. no.24 (1977) p.183.

38. Supra Chapter VII pp.229-230.

39. Supra Chapter VII p.237.

40. J.Clapés y Corbera, Sant Andreu de Palomar, (Barcelona, 1900) pp.70-3 and supra Chapter VII p.239.

41. Supra Chapter VII p.235.

42. For the monastery see CMB pp.132-152. The chapel

is first recorded in 1029, when it was included in the sale of a piece of land at Pedralbes: ACB DA 2337 (= LAEC II 8 23, Mas IX no.439, p.202).

43. Supra Chapter VII p.231 and p.238.
44. Articles in the newspaper El Noticiero Universal for 16th. and 21st. February, 1979.
45. M.Ribas Bertrán and L.Balaguer Sabaté, "Los hipogeos anhistóricos en Cataluña (I)" in Chthonia 1 (1963) 56-91, p.58: Els Castells Catalans (edited R.Dalmau) vol.I (Barcelona, 1967) p.592.
46. J.Ma Garrut, "Crónica del Museo" in CAHC 15 (1971) p.139: for the medieval mills, note 122 to chapter XII.
47. G.Duby, The Early Growth of the European Economy, (London , 1974) pp.11-13.
48. Vilapiscina subterior in LAEC II 86 254, Mas IX no.29, p.14 (1962): superior in ACB DA 1938 (1987).
49. CSC 34 106, Rius I no.104, p.85.
50. LAEC II 48 127, Mas IX no.230, pp.97-8.
51. ACA BRI 69: also cited in ACA RBIII 44 (1997),

by which time it was a 'mas'. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.314, seems to have considered that it was around the church of Sant Martí, but this is strictly unproven.

52. LAEC I 242 658, Mas IX no.28, p.13: at a later date the name is recorded as Villatrad, and was exclusively occupied by vines, eg. LAEC I 224 606, Mas X no.824, p.64 (1066). It was probably near the point known as Perella. (ACB DB 1422 of 1076) where a vilar is recorded in 1074 (LAEC II 118 352 Mas X no.911, p.104), and located in the southern part of Sant Andreu. A via antiqua is recorded there in 1157 (ADB Sta.Anna, File SE1, no.277).

53. LAEC II 16 44, Mas X no.980, p.136.-

To this list one should add the Vilardell in the area of Sants: ante villam de Sanctis ubi dicunt ad ipsum vilarzwillum (LAEC I 176 464, Mas IX no.396, pp.181-2 of 1020).

For the question of vila- names in general in Catalonia, P.Aebischer, Études de toponymie catalane, (=Memòries de la Secció Filològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, I, fasc.3: (Barcelona,1926)).

54. First mentioned in 993: ACA Ramon Borrell 2. Stated to be near the Torre Alba in 998 (ACA Ramon Borrell 38) and Auro Invento (ACA Ramon Borrell 36), and El Clot in 1094 (LAEC I 185 496, Mas X no.1126, p.202). In 1009 a property was recorded there cum

columbario maceries petrarum vel parietes opere antiquo structas (Arxiu San Pere de les Puelles, no.13).

See also note 69.

55. LAEC II 102 311, Mas IX no.193, p.82.(999).

56. LAEC II 86 254, Mas IX no.29, p.14 (962).

57. ACA Ramon Borell 40 (997).

58. Arxiu Sant Pere de les Puelles no.23 (1041):
ACA RBIII 8 (1093): Arxiu Sant Pere de les Puelles
68 (1120). This was probably in the area known as
Cirisano, probably in the upper part of the territorium, where in 1061 a sale of two modiatis of land
included ipsas parietes antiquas que infra sunt
(Arxiu Montserrat: Perg. Bages no.1474 (ex-2450),
and see also note 69.

59. J.Sánchez Real, "Noticiario" in BAT 51 fasc.
34 (1951) 108-9: S.Ventura Solsona, "Museo Arqueológico
de Tarragona" in MMA 2 (1941) 132.

60. First recorded in 961: Udina, Archivo Condal,
no.152, p.318 (= ACA Seniofred 65).

61. LAEC I 226 612, Mas IX no.80, p.34 (986) and
numerous other occasions (supra Chapter IV p.97).

62. ACB DB 1527 (1013): a codina was a rock, normally with a spring or waterfall (Balari, Origenes històrics, i, p.71).

63. ACV C9 Ep.II no.20: buadella was a class of pit (Balari, Origenes històrics, i, pp.135-6).

64. LAEC II 87 260, Mas IX no.616, p.284: it refers to some type of water-tank (Balari, Origenes històrics, i, pp.196-8).

65. First cited LAEC I 126 314, Mas IX no.174, p.74 (1997), For the possibility of settlement having existed at this point, supra Chapter XIII p.596.

66. ACA BRI 119 (1035) of uncertain meaning. One might also add an era antiga, referring to a plateau (Balari, Origenes històrics, i, p.102) near Sta.Eulalia de Vilapiscina (LAEC II 103 316, Mas IX no.692, p.317) in 1055.

67. P.Aebischer, Études de toponymie catalane (= Memòries de la Secció Filològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, vol.I, fasc.3) (Barcelona, 1926) for these names in Catalonia in general.

For a modern discussion of the connection with villas, with particular reference to France, J.Percival, The Roman Villa. An historical introduction, (London, 1976) p.30.

68. Aebischer, op.cit., p.130 and 125 respectively: for the villa remains, supra note 37. However, the first indication of medieval settlement does not come until the 1050's (BC no.1705 (= M.Schwab and J.Miret y Sans, "Documents sur les juifs catalans aux XI^e XII^e et XIII^e siècles" in Revue des Études Juives 69 (1914) p.54, no.1 stating it to be in the Archive of Sta.Anna (!)) and BC no.2226 of 1055 and 1057) and the villa is not mentioned until the end of the century (ACB DA 2288 (= LAEC IV 26 80, Mas X no.1163, p.220 of 1098) and there need not have been any continuity of settlement as such. In the case of Sarrià, although no Roman remains are known, the villa is found in 1013: LAEC II 12 37, Mas IX no.324, p.144 (=ACB DB 504).

69. Apart from the Clerà place-name within the bounds of the suburbium (Supra Chapter XIII p. 592), there was another which was frequently associated with the name Parietes Delgadas and which was probably the original villa-name: in loco vocitatum Clerano ad ipsa Turre Alba prefata, justa ipsas Parietes antiquas que dicunt delgadas (ACA Ramon Borrell 90). For the possible remains at Cirsà, see note 58: in 1052 houses are recorded there (ACB DC(b) 2,171).

70. The third pair are Silvianum, in the northern part of Sant Andreu (Aebischer, op.cit., p.132), first mentioned in 965 when it still had its own 'terme' (district) (LAEC II 64 182, Mas IX no.41, p.18)

and Quintiano (Aebischer, op.cit., p.127): settlement is recorded at the latter point in 1066 (ACB DB 1669) and 1085 (ACB DB 1346) and a 'mas' in 1090 (infra note 113).

71. Balari, Origenes históricos, i, p.258.

72. First cited in 1041: ACB DA 260: location clear in LAEC I 324 916, Mas XI no.1529, p.64 (1142).

73. LAEC I 107 261, Mas IX no.394, p.180 (1020): prope civitate Barchinona quasi miliarios duos in locum vocitatum Portum ab anterioribus.

74. First recorded in 986, LAEC IV 17 53, Mas IX no.82, p.35: settlement there in 1045 (ACB DA 2513 (= LAEC IV 27 83, Mas IX no.576, p.268)), 1057 (ACB DA 1835) and 1091 (B& no.2157).

75. ACA Ramon Borrell 64 (1001) and ACA BRI 111 (1034).

76. FHA IX pp.112-3.

77. For the problems of the early medieval villa Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.125-9. One might contrast the two meanings of village and village-district with the help of two documents of 1003-4, the first of which (ACA Ramon Borrell 69) refers to lands intus in Villa de Provincials in locum que

dicunt ad ipsa Calvera, that is some distance from the principal focus of settlement, while the second (ACA Ramon Borrell 70) mentions houses adjoining other houses, and therefore in some type of nucleus, as intus in villa Provincialis, that is with the same phraseology.

78. For the former, P. Bonnassie, "Une famille de la campagne barcelonaise et ses activités économiques aux alentours de l'an Mil" in Annales du Midi 76 (1964) 261-303: for the latter, Ma R. Bultó Blajot, "El antiguo término de Horta y su parroquia de San Juan" in CAHC 7 (1965) pp.59-79.

79. Because the bulk of the evidence for the early decades comes from the two easternmost districts, because of these family archives, points of settlement can be traced at Sant Genís, Canellas, Romanet, Agudells, and Vilapiscina, all near the foot of this chain. The wide range of place-names in the parish of Sant Andreu de Palomar also suggests a greater intensity of activity.

80. Supra Chapter VII p.240.

81. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.73-130.

82. For example houses are not recorded at Calvaria after 989 (ACA Borrell II 54: Udina, Archivo Condal, no.221, p.408): at Auro Invento after 1035 (ACA BRI

115) or at Romanet after 1052 (ACB DC(b) 2,165).

83. ACA RBI 234: in terminio de Auro Invento ad ipsos Vinnales (1059) and a similar reference for the Parietes Antiguas in 1086 (ACB DA 2314), although the vinearios supra civitate Barchinona were mentioned as early as 998 (CSC 55 204, Rius I no.353, p.282).

84. 1056, ACB DA 287 (=LAEC II 52 141, Mas X no.710 p.11): 1062, LAEC II 51 136, Mas X no.783, p.46. There is a transition from the first references to the valley of Horta in the district of Silvià, mentioned in the document cited in note 70 of 965.

85. LAEC II 107 327, Mas X no.1136, p.206: Bultó, op.cit., p.69.

86. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.322. Houses were being erected in the area around the church in the years immediately before the consecration of 1101 (ibid., p.322 notes 834-5), although 'sagreres' had existed as early as 1046 (Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.655).

87. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.323.

88. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.307-8: LAEC II 47 123, Mas XI, no.1412, p.12

89. Ibid., p.312, note 745. Beyond the limits of the territorium, the church of Sta.Maria d'Esplugues

was also consecrated in 1103: E. Carbonell, Esplugues de Llobregat: Monografia històrica, (Barcelona, 1949) p.23.

90. For the towers, see the references in the following pages and the distribution in figure 119. A similar process can be seen in areas just outside the territorium, where the previous names of districts were replaced by the names of the parish churches: e.g. Alchale for Sant Boi de Llobregat (CSC 261 80\$ Rius II 368 p. 15) (1002): Desverz to Sant Just Desvern: Mizano to Sant Joan Despi: Tiziano to Sant Feliu de Llobregat and Agues Toses to Sant Andreu de la Barca (Carreeras Candi, GGCCB, p.326).

91. K. Kennelly, "Medieval towns and the Peace of God" in Medievalia et Humanistica 15 (1963) 35-53: idem, "Sobre la Paz de Dios y la Sagrera en el Condado de Barcelona (1030-1130)" in AEM 5(1968) 107-136.

92. Ibid., pp.133-5, noting especially LAEC IV 53 156, Mas IX no.678, pp.310-2 concerning Sant Boi. A useful list in Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp. 653-6. They also existed in two other churches in the territorium, at Sant Martí de Provençals in 1084 (ACA BRII 8) and Sant Vicenç de Sarrià by 1099 (ACB DA 2322 (= LAEC II 4 12, Mas X no.1170, p.223)). They are not recorded around either the urban or the Montjuïc churches.

93. Inevitably, before the later 11th. century it is difficult to distinguish from purely documentary sources between isolated dwellings and loosely grouped settlements on the one hand, and small hamlets and larger nucleated settlements on the other. Nevertheless, the decline in favour of the last group in the period between 1030 and 1060 is apparent.

94. LAEC II 72 205, Mas X no.719, p.16 (in Agudells) and LAEC IV 29 88, Mas X no.731, p.22. The latter, called Malvitge, was probably near the modern housing estate of Bellvitge: the name may have been derived not from the vista, but from the personal name Amalvigia, found describing an irrigation channel in the zone at an earlier date (see note 127). For the 'mas' in general, see, J. Camps i Arboix, La Masia Catalana, (Barcelona, 1959).

95. For the origins of the 'mas', J. Vilà Valentí, El món rural a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1973) pp.63-78. There may be an earlier example in Provençals in 1047, which appears to have consisted of some separated plots and parcels (ACA RBI 91). In any case, they are rare throughout the 11th. century.

96. LAEC I 200 538, Mas X no.1334, p.298 (1125),

97. LAEC II 68 195, Mas XI no.1672, p.136 (1151).

98. LAEC IV 8 25, Mas XI, no.1824, p.205 (1160).

99. A summary of the principal sites excavated can be found in M.Riu, "El habitat en Catalunya en la Alta Edad Media (Siglos IX-XII)" in Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Palermo, 1976) i, pp.284-290, to which might be added idem, "Excavaciones en el poblado medieval de Caulers" (= Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 88: Madrid, 1975) and idem, "Estaciones medievales en el término municipal de Saldes (Barcelona)" in NAH Arqueologia 3 (1975) 269-290.

100. For early masies, M.Riu, "El manso de 'La Creu de Pedra' en Castelltort, municipio de Guixers (Provincia de Lérida)" in NAH Arqueologia 1 (1972) 183-196, and A.del Castillo, "El manso medieval A de Vilosiu" in Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives i (Barcelona, 1965) 219-228. Several tower type 12th.century 'masies' are studied in J.F.Cabestany, "Tres mansos medievales (Pontons)" in Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Palermo, 1976) ii, pp.548-556.

101. The name of Esplugues de Llobregat is perhaps evocative of such a situation: cf. Balari, Orígenes històrics, i, pp.133-4. Although no particular site can be pointed to, a number of late Visigothic coins have been found in caves, suggesting a degree of occupation in the 8th. and subsequent centuries: X.Barral i Altet, La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigotiques, (Munich, 1976) nos.136, 159, 169. For the first, J.Maluquer in Cypselia 1 (1976) 157-158.

102. J.E.Ruiz Doménec, La Sociedad barcelonesa en los siglos XI y XII, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona, 1974) and idem, "The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural revolution or commercial development?" in Speculum 52 (1977) 265-286.

103. For comparative prices in the period 1000-1080, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.911-926,

104. F.Carreras Candi, "Lo Montjuich de Barcelona" in MRABLB 8 (1901) pp.195-450.

105. P.Voltes Bou, Historia de Montjuich y su Castillo, (Barcelona, 1960).

106. e.g. Mitjá, op.cit., p.269, "El port tantas veces confundido con un puerto marítimo". In Catalan usage it can have the sense of 'mountain-pass' (cf. Niermeyer, MLLM, p.817), but this bears no relation to the topography of the zone.

107. See the document cited in note 73 and Carreras Candi, "Lo Montjuich de Barcelona", p.224.

108. e.g. ACB DA 2372 (970): DA 2500 (974) and DA 2250 (975).

109. Brachia in the sources: cum ipso brachio de ipso stagno (ARxiu Sant Pere de les Puel·les, no.10). Also in ipso bracio de estan longo (ACB BB 792 of 1017).

110. ACB DA 2372: in ipso stanio que est in pago Barchinonensis in loquo que dicunt Porto (970).
111. ACA Ramon Borrell 17 (995): it is noticeable that a later transcription of the same document, apart from changing the location from the County to the territorium of Barcelona, to conform with contemporary usage, also adds the phrase aput ipsa aqua after cum ipsa paratura as an explanation. Another example in Ramon Borrell 63 (1002).
112. See the plan in Voltes Bou, op.cit., opposite p.9.
113. ¶63, ACB DB 806 (= LAEC I 242 656, Mas IX no. 30, p.14): 1073, LAEC I 176 462, Mas X no.906, p.101: 1090, ACB DB 1047 (=LAEC I 173 456, Mas X no.1095, p.188).
114. Supra p.552.
115. Voltes Bou, op.cit., p.45: it is first mentioned in the will of Ermeniarda (LAEC IV 159 375, Mas IX no.449, p.208).
116. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.246. Els Castells Catalans, (ed.R.Dalmau) vol.I (Barcelona, 1947) pp.505-515.
117. 984, CSC 297 905, Rius I no.159, p.132. Subsequent examples in LAEC IV 153 355, Mas IX no. 240, p.102 (1005): Arxiu Sant Pere de les Puelles no.10 (1006): ACB DB 792 (1017): Arxiu Sant Pere

de les Puelles, no.18 (1026){=ACA BRI 54): ACB DA 1439 (1064): ACB DA 780 (1066){= LAEC IV 27 84, Mas X no.830, p.67): LAEC IV 28 86, Mas X no.833, p68 (1067): ACB DB 1306 (=LAEC IV 11 34, Mas X no. 918, p.108) (1074): LAEC I 235 638, Mas X no.920, p.109.(1074): LAEC IV 9 28, Mas X no.1034, pp.161-2 (1083): LAEC IV 13 41, Mas X no.1338, p.300 (1125): ACB DA 2098 (1153): Llibre Blanch no.116, pp.117-8 (1164).

118. ACB DA 2127 (1030): ACB DA 2126 (1034): ACB DA 2129 (1035).

119. As in the example of 1125 in note 117.

120. ACB DB 514 (=LAEC I 157 413, Mas IX no.3,p.2). This document has frequently been dated to 878, although the dating clause clearly refers to Louis the Overseas. It should be noted, however, that although it cites property in territorio Barchinonense in Monte Iudeigo in terminio de Villa nova, both this and the surrounding properties were pieces of land rather than houses.

121. For this broadening of horizons, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.325-361.

122. Most recently by F.Pallarés Salvador, "La topografia i els orígens de la Barcelona romana"

in CAHC 16 (1975) 5-48, 11-15.

123. Supra p.100 : The mouth of the River Besòs may have been similarly used, for quantities of amphorae were found in its course in the early years of this century (Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.288).

124. For the range of meanings and dated examples, Niermeyer, MLLM, pp.816-7: for the classic conclusions of Pirenne, and modifications, E.Emmen, Frügeschichte der europäischen Stadt, (Bonn, 1953) pp.124-9 : and also R.Latouche, The Birth of Western Economy, (London, 1967²) pp.248-252.. However, it is difficult to make direct comparisons with the examples of the Low Countries and the Rhineland, because of the distance in space and time. Closer may have been examples in northern Italy, for a castello quod vocatur Portus is recorded at Verona in 967, and similar institutions are found at Asti and Parma: R.Doehaerd, Occidente durante la alta Edad Media: economías y sociedades, (Barcelona, 1974) p.63.

125. Some of the most prominent members of late 10th.century society held estates in the zone: e.g. Ervig the Vicar (ACB DA 2372, 970): the Viscounts of Barcelona (AEB DA 2250, 975: Udina, Archivo Condal, no.183, p.361, 978: ACB DC(b) 1,42, of 1016): the Comital family (CSC 73 289, Rius I 297 250, of 994): the nobles Seniofred RicRabensis (LAEC I 148 385, Mas IX no.311, p.134, of 1012) and Guifred of Mediona

(LAEC I 107 261, Mas IX no.394, p.180, of 1020):
 Archdeacon Sunifred Llobet (ACB DA 303b (=LAEC IV
 159 374, Mas IX no.338, pp.150-1) 1014): Auruz the
 Judge (ACA Ramon Borrell 50, of 1000) and Guitart the
 Greek (LAEC IV 152 355, Mas IX no.240, pp.102-3, of
 1005: Arxiu Sant Pere de les Puelles no.10 of 1006:
 ACB DC(b) 1,42 of 1016), as well as the extensive
 property of the Cathedral of Barcelona are prominent.

125 bis. The decline of the area is apparent from
 several points of view, Firstly, the references to
 water-rights etc. cease: secondly, the document cited
 in note 107, implies that the port was no longer used:
 thirdly, the same document mentions terra que fuit
rafegaria de Geriberto prefixo: the meaning of
rafegaria is unclear, but it may have had a connection
 with wrecked ships (cf. Balari, Origenes històrics,
 ii, p.550: the meaning of taxes on passing herds
 as in Niermeyer, MLLM, p.881 av. rafica is meaningless
 in the context): fourthly, the disappearance of the
 islands in the Besòs and at its mouth about this
 date, presumably as a result of silting, has been
 noted above (note 97 to Chapter IX): finally,
 as part of this last process, reeds appear in the
 area: aput ipsas Channas (ACB DB 792 of 1017):et
ipso kannedo (ACB DB 756 (=LAEC I 144 374, Mas IX
 no.397, p.102) of 1020): and the Port name seems
 to have changed to that of Circulo, implying that
 access from the sea was difficult (ad ipsum circulum

sive ad ipsum portum: ACB DA 303b, of 1014).

126. e.g. in 1002, ACA Ramon Borrell 63 records a field with sides measuring 85,110,99 and 85 dexters.

127. Regario de Malvigia femina (ACA Ramon Borrell 63): regario de Lubrigadello (same document): the latter course may have come from a lesser stream of the Llobregat, which like the Besòs was changing course around this date, for a document of 995 (ACA Ramon Borrell 17) refers to the Llobregadello vetera. Interestingly enough, the references to irrigation channels cease c.1020, another indication of the decline of this zone.

128. In torrente qui per imbrem ducit aquas (1019) in ACB DB 1292 (=LAEC I 133 341, Mas IX no.383,p.171).

129. e.g. LAEC I 162 427, Mas X no.1251, p.259: una vinea herema (II11). See also S.64.

130. And also settlement: near the Fonte Onrada in 962 (see LAEC I 242 658, Mas IX no.28, p.13) and the Fonte Cova in the following year (ACB DB 806).

131. First recorded in ACB DB 1361 (=LAEC I 155 407, Mas X no.1108, p.194) of 1093.

132. First recorded ACA RBIII 153 of 1112.

133. ipsum mansum quod vocant de Serra (ACA RBIII 190, of 1116) and mansum nostrum quod vocant de ipsas Fexas (ACA RBIII 211, of 1118).
134. See note 119, referring to Espodella.
135. Voltes Bou, op.cit., pp.53-4.
136. For the cemetery, supra Chapter VII p.233.
Some early medieval pottery was among that found in the pits during the construction of the Montjuïc Stadium in 1928: oral information from Oriol Granados.
137. LAEC I 297 817, Mas XI, no.1428, p.19.
138. Voltes Bou, op.cit., pp.54-5. For dedications to this saint see the study of E.Moreu Rey, "L'antiga devoció a Sant Fruituós" in BAT 71-2 (1971-72) 245-252.
139. Voltes Bou, op.cit., pp.54-5 with references.
140. ACB DA 2443b: published Mas XIII, appendix XVII, pp.243-5, but misdated to 1264, through a confusion of the date of the original and that of the transcription.
141. LAEC I 173 457, Mas X no.1148, p.212.
142. Supra Chapter VII pp.233-4.

143. For the Montjuic of Girona, F.Cantera and J.M^a Millás, Las inscripciones hebraicas de España, (Madrid, 1956) pp.231-260, although it is apparently not recorded until the 12th.century. For Bordeaux, Narbonne, Arles and Clermont, M.de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines chrétiennes de Bordeaux, (Paris, 1960) p.212.
144. A.Durán Sanpere and J.M^a Millás Vallicrosa, "Una necrópolis judaica en el Montjuich de Barcelona" in Sefarad 7 (1947) 231-259: also Duran, BSH, pp. 37-8 : and for the human remains, M. and A. Prevosti, "Restos humanos procedentes de una necrópolis judaica de Montjuich (Barcelona)" in Trabajos del Instituto 'Bernardino de Sahagún' de Antropología y Etnología 12 (1951) 63-148: (see fig.117⁴).
145. The inscriptions found in the cemetery and elsewhere are collected in Cantera and Millás, op.cit., pp.188-230: others found subsequently, in the centre of the historic city, reused in later buildings, have been published by the second author, generally in CAHC: they are all of 13th.century or later date.
146. Document cited in note 113 (in fact of 1090) referring to veteres judeorum sepulturas.
147. Document of 1072, ACB DB 1521: in via que pergit ad fossar Iudaicho. Other references in ACB DA 2054 (1090) and ACA RBIII 16 (1093).

148. F.Fita, "Guillem Berenguer, ex-Obispo de Vich. El cementerio hebreo de Barcelona en 1111. Documentos inéditos" in BRAH 17 (1890) 190-199: this was because he had located an inscription that he dated to 1043, and because of the reference of 1091, which implied (to him) that the whole cemetery had fallen out of use.

149. Discussed J.Ma Millás Vallicrosa, "Epigrafía hebraico-española" in Sefarad 5 (1945) p.295, and Cantera and Millás, op.cit., pp.188-190.

150. All the early documents refer directly to Monte Iudaico, without forms such as 'the mountain that is called Montjuïc', which usually suggest that a name was a comparatively recent innovation.

151. The imposts from both St.Pere and the Cathedral of (?) 10th.century date are of Montjuïc stone, as are those over the marble capitals of St.Pau.

152. ACA Ramon Borrell 18(1996).

153. ACA Cancillería, Varia, 1: fol.4v.-5r.

One might also note a property on the mountain in 1055 cum copia petrarum infra sistentium (ACB DB 1436).

154. A useful summary of the information for the area around Barcelona in G.Feliu i Montfort, "La

població del Territori de Barcelona en el segle XIV" in Estudis d'Història Medieval 1 (1969) 61-73. In the second half of the 14th. century Sant Andreu, Sta. Eulalia de Provençana and Sarrià all had over a hundred hearths, whereas St. Genís d'Agudells-Horta and Sants had c.50 and Provençals only 27. Montjuïc was not recorded as a separate entity.

155. The divisions in figure 119 are based on those of the plan in Carreras Candi, GGCCB, between pages 296 and 297. The map of the place-names of the territorium at the end of Bassegoda Musté, op.cit., adds little. More complete is a plan published commercially by A. Novell Bofarull in 1972, which, in my opinion, locates most place-names accurately, although it is unfortunate that it was not accompanied by the necessary critical apparatus.

156. See the references in notes 68 and 86.

157. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.290, note 610.

158. ACA Ramon Borrell 62: the church is not recorded until the beginning of the 12th. century: Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.323, note 840.

159. Jewish property in ACA Ramon Borrell 45 (1000): settlement in ACA RBI 346 (1066): A C/Magoria can be found near the Sants railway station.

160. For the documentation for this parish, F. Carreras Candi, Notes històriques de Sarrià, (Barcelona, 1901): the tower is first recorded in 995 (ibid., p.89).
161. LAEC I 171 452, Mas XI no.1466, p.37 (of 1137), although it is probably the same as the Turrem Hostaldi recorded in 964 (LAEC IV 18 56, Mas IX no.44, pp19-20).
162. LAEC II 16 44, Mas X no.980, p.136 (1079).
163. For the existing church, CMB p.222. J.Fiter Inglès, Las cercanías de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1888) p.80, states that 'la iglesia fue dedicada por el Obispo Teoderico de Barcelona, y el acta de dotación es de 4 de julio de 931'. I have been unable to trace his source of information.
164. For wooded areas, one of the few such references for the territorium, LAEC II 40 110, Mas IX no.474, p.222, of 1034.
165. Cited in ACB DB 2398, of 1031.
166. See note 50.
167. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.309 note 725, citing Clapés, op.cit., p.26.

168. Bultó Blajot, op.cit., passim.

169. To list only the more certain examples: Buadella, Clavagera, Campo Amaro, Campo Bono, Campo Malo, Canyelles, Curtes, Curtezeles, Cordells, Citges, Connamina, Pamo, Furnello, Finestrelles, Horta, Montedells, Oimatells, Oria, Palma, Parets de Vinece, Perella, Planelles, Ponte, Romanet, Sala, Sosribes, Silvià, Tapioles, Trullar, Tonna, Vall Dunizia, Ventosa, Vilapiscina.

170. In 1095(ACA RBIII 32): et ecclesiam Sancti Bartolomei que ibi est: est autem suprascripta omnia in territorio Barchinone in parrochiam Sancti Andree de Palumbario in loco vocitato Cannellas. In 1122 an allod is recorded at Cannelles beneath the church (LAEC II 49 131, Mas X no.1315, pp.289-290). It should not be confused with the chapel of Sant Bartolomeu d'Olorde at the other extreme of the territorium (LAEC I 320 898, Mas XI no.1561, pp.78-9, of 1143). Its later history is uncertain, for unless it was the same as the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Finestrelles, it is not listed in the survey of 1279-80: J.Rius Serra, Rationes Decimarum Hispaniae, (Barcelona, 1946) i, p.9. I can find no other reference to this in secondary works.

171. For this church, MeBrassó, "Pinturas murales románicas en San Iscle de les Feixes" in Anales y

Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona 3 (1945)
169-175.

172. First mentioned in 1098 (CSC 290 892, Rius II no.771 p.428) when it was given to the monastery of Sant Cugat. I can find only one other reference, to property it held at Vinyals in 1145 (ADB Sta.Anna, File SE1 no.565). For the later development of this church, now the Mare de Deu del Coll, see CMB, p.176.

173. See note 97. The settlement around Sant Andreu did not exist in 1009, when open land existed around the church (ACVCC, 6 no. 2334), although 'sagreres' were in existence by 1034.

174. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.312.

175. For this information, ACB DC(b) 1,11: for some reason the settlement is referred to as an oppidum in 994 - a unique usage of the word in the territorium: in insula de flumen Bissaucii, in terminio de Provincialis opido (ACA Ramon Borrell 6).

176. For the Torre Blanca, Bofarull y Sans, op.cit., p.208 : This decline may be reflected in the low figure in the 14th.century fogatges, and even in the 19th.century the district was without a single important nucleus, but rather several lesser ones -

at La Sagrera (the nucleus of Sant Martí proper), El Clot, La Llacuna, Poble Nou and Camp de l'Arpa. Even in the later 17th century, settlement was very limited: see the plan in M.Galera, F.Roca, and S. Tarragó, Atlas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1972) no.25.

177. The former were first named as such in 1088 (ACA BRII 45), but there had long been mills on the Besòs. Those at El Clot are found soon after the construction of the Rech in 1048 (ACA RBI 99).

178. Carreras Candi, GGCCB, p.305, note 697.

179. Cited in 1061: LAEC II 119 355, Mas X no.775, p.42.

180. For the road network, Carreras Candi, GGCCB, pp.294-6: supra Chapter IV p.97 for the Roman background.

181. A document of 987 places it near Montjuïc (ACB DB 1502) while another of 1100 places it to the east of Sants (LAEC I 227 616, Mas X no.1174, p.224). For the later Creu Coberta, F.Carreras Candi, Là Creu Coberta de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1915).

182. Cf. G.Caster, "Le vignoble suburbain de Toulouse au XII^e siècle" in Annales du Midi 78 (1966) 201-217, and C.Higounet, Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Age, (Bordeaux, 1963) pp.246-252.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVII

1. R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La institució comtal carolingia en la pre-Catalunya del segle IX" in AEM 1 (1964) 29-75, p.67: reprinted in his Dels visigots als catalans, (Barcelona, 1974²) I, p.222.

2. For the vocabulary of settlement types in the Catalan context, the starting point is J.M^a Font Rius, "Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña" in AHDE 16 (1945) 389-529, 17 (1946) 229-585, especially the first part, chapter II. For a discussion of civitates and castra, C.Estepa. "La vida urbana en el norte de la Península Ibérica en los siglos VIII y IX. El significado de los términos 'civitates' y 'castra'" in Hispania 38 (1978) 257-276. For the problem of the villa, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.215-9,

3. The market is not directly attested until the late 10th.century, and indirectly through evidence for tolls in 878. The same might be said of Girona, where, however, the Jewish community may have been missing for most of the 9th.century.

4. The charts in R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, (Barcelona, 1965²) between pages 240 and 241, and 336 and 337, are a useful summary of the state of knowledge for the period up to the late 10th. century.

5. For the defences, see the bibliography cited in note 92 of Chapter V.

6. For the castle aspects of the medieval city, Els Castells Catalans, (edited R.Dalmau) vol.III (Barcelona, 1971) pp.214-231. Example of a feudal oath: ACA RBI I93 ...et ipsam civitatem que dicitur Gerunda cum suo castro Gerundela et cum omnibus turribus et muris et hedificiis que in p̄dicta civitate sunt et erunt (1056).

7. Archivo Diocesano de Gerona, Cartoral de Carlo-magno, fol.319: in via et platea que pergit ad Gerundella (published in J.Villanueva, Viage literario a las iglesias de España, XIII (Madrid, 1850) app.21, pp.236-7 and in J.Marqués Casanovas and J.Ma Marqués Planagumá, "Apuntes históricos sobre el Palacio Episcopal de Gerona" in AIEG 14 (1960) 263-306, doc.III). A summary of the contents of this cartulary can be found in J.Botet i Sisó, Index cronologic del Cartoral de la Curia de Gerona, anomenat de Carlo Magno, (Barcelona, 1905), this document being no.66, p.21.

8. The earliest documents referring to the Cathedral speak of it as standing inside the walls: E.Flórez, España Sagrada, XLIII (Madrid, 1819³) appendix XIV, p.391 (of 887): Archivo Capitular de Gerona, Llibre Vert, fol.185 (of 894). As has recently been pointed out, there is very little evidence to suggest that

cathedrals in this part of the Mediterranean world were originally extra-mural: P.Février, "Towns in the western Mediterranean" in European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History, (ed.M.W.Barley: London, 1977) pp.325-6.

9. For the Romanesque Cathedral, consecrated in 1038, J.Pla Cargol, Gerona arqueològica y monumental, (Gerona-Madrid, 1943) p.113. For the tower, W.M.Whitehill, Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century, (Oxford, 1941: reprinted, 1968) p.133.

10. Both documents published by Marqués and Marqués, op.cit., nos. II and III.

11. Ibid., pp.271-2.

12. J.Marqués Casanovas, "Sobre los antiguos judíos de Gerona" in Sefarad 23 (1963) 22-34.

13. Ibid., pp.29-31.

14. The synagogue adjoined the Episcopal Palace according to the document of 988 mentioned above, although it later changed site: C.Batlle, "Solución al problema de las dos sinagogas de Gerona" in Sefarad 19 (1959) 301-320. Another document of 963 published by Marqués, op.cit., p.34, refers to a Hebrew property on the main road passing through the

city. Christian and Hebrew properties are found alongside one another in Rius II no.426 pp.70-1 (= ACA Monacales, Perg.St.Cugat no.112) of 1010. For the later history of the Hebrew community, J. Marqués Casanovas, "Los judíos de Gerona en el siglo XI" in Sefarad 25 (1965) 49-58: idem, "Judíos de Gerona en el siglo XII" in AIEG 22 (1974-75) 1-21.

15. The natural topography of the site, of course, determines that the streets must have a sharp slope or be stepped. Unfortunately, access to the Archive collections of Girona has been very restricted until recently, and it has not been possible to take into account the full range of existing sources, which may now be consulted in the Archivo Diocesano and the Archivo Capitular. The comments here presented are based on the small amount of published material, the summary of Botet of the Cartulary of Charlemagne, and a few miscellaneous documents referring to the city located in other collections. As in Barcelona, it seems that the area around the Cathedral is the best documented: for this area in the 12th. century, J. Marqués Casanovas, "La Pia Almoína del Pa de la Seu de Girona" in Revista de Girona Year XXIII no.81 (1977) 325-331.

16. Property on the defences beneath the Viscount's tower in 1054, recorded in Botet, Index, p.30, no.115.

17. For the late Roman and Visigothic periods,
supra Chapter VIII pp.283-5.

For the document of 894, Archivo Capítular de Gerona,
Llibre Vert, fol.185: Sanct Felicis martyris ecclesie
quae est fundatus ante portam Gerunda civitate.

18. Bâtet, Index, p.37, no.151.

19. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.488, citing J.Pla
Cargol, Gerona Històrica, (Gerona-Madrid, 1962⁵) pp.50-1.

20. J.Pla Cargol, Gerona arqueològica y monumental,
(Gerona-Madrid, 1943) p.55.

21. The most complete study of these baths is that
of J.Puig i Cadafalch, "Els Banys Àrabs de Girona i
la influència moresca a Catalunya" in AIEC 5 (1913-14)
687-728. At the end of the 13th.century they appear
to have been in a poor state of repair: a document
of 1294 refers to their reconstruction (ACA Real
Patrimonio, Subsección de la Bailía, Clase 5ª B2,
fol.189): most of the standing structure probably
belongs to this date.

22. Pla, Gerona arqueològica y monumental, p.34.

23. Ibid., p.29, stating the date of 992: see also,
A.Pladevall and F.Català Roca, Els Monestirs c ---
(Barcelona, 1968) pp.176-79: and C.Barraquer,
Casas de Religiosos en Cataluña, ^{durante} al primer terci
siglo XIX, (Barcelona, 1906) i, pp.64-73.

24. Botet, Index, p.32, no.126 and p.45, no.193.
25. The inscriptions are collected in F.Cantera Burgos and J.Ma Millás Vallicrosa, Las inscripciones hebraicas de España, (Madrid, 1956) pp.231-260.
26. Botet, Index, p.59, no.269. Other churches also appeared in the area, notably that of St.Nicholas (probably 12th.century), and further away that of St. Daniel, already in existence in the early 11th.century (F.Monsalvatge y Fossas, Noticias Históricas del Condado de Besalú,xiv (Olot,1904) pp.310-1) and Pla, Gerona Arqueológica y monumental, p.44 and 51. The defences which enclosed this suburban growth and partially survive were, however, of 14th.century date.
27. P.de Palol, "Escultura de época hispanovisigoda en Gerona" in AST 23 (1950) 1-13: CIL II 4621 was re-used as an altar there. For Romanesque remains, Pla, Gerona arqueológica y monumental, pp.210-11.
28. In 1010 a Jew sold an allod here prope fores iuxta muros Gerunde: see J.Marqués Casanovas, "Los judíos de Gerona en el siglo XI" in Sefarad 25 (1965) p.57. The document of 1121^{is} in Pasqual, Sacra Cathaloniae Antiquitatis Monumenta, (BC Ms.729) iii, p.43 (although this refers to the pagination of the section, not the volume as a whole) citing a document from the church of Sta.Maria de Vilabertran. The document of 1157 ^{is}

in ACA Real Patrimonio, Subsección de la Bailía, Clase 2ª Ac, vd.2, fol.9r-v. (15th.century copy of a transcription of 1228).

29. Botet, Index, p.22, no.73: p.24, no.85(pre-1031): p.24, no.83 (1027).

30. Botet, Index, pp.54-5, no.246: this will also mentions the church of St.Nicholas (see note 26).

31. Supra, note 164 to Chapter VIII.

32. A mill is mentioned in the document cited in note 30. The Comital Rech in Botet, Index, p.22, no.74., citing E.Flórez, España Sagrada, XIIII (Madrid,1819) appendix XXVII.

33. ACA RBIV 343: discussed by J.Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals als segles X al XII" in his El Món rural a Catalunya (Barcelona, 1973) 41-62, p.55.

33 bis. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i,p.116, suggests a figure of one thousand, as opposed to one thousand five hundred for Barcelona, both of which seem to be reasonable estimates: if anything the population of the two cities may have been slightly less.

34. These conclusions must be regarded as tentative given the limited range of source material used: the only published work on the development of the city, J.Pla Cargol, "Proceso del desarrollo urbano de Gerona a través de los tiempos" in AIEG 2 (1947) 209-228, should be used with a certain degree of care. Two older works also contain useful information on structures: C.Rahola, La ciutat de Girona, i (Barcelona, 1928) and J.Botet y Sisó, La Provincia de Girona (in the Geografia General de Catalunya series, edited by F.Carreras i Gandi: Barcelona, n.d.) pp.185-263. Although the later medieval history of the city was investigated by S.Sobrequès i Vidal, much remains to be done on the period before the 14th. and 15th. centuries.

35. This point is made by J.Iglésies, "La cursa demogràfica de les principals ciutats catalanes" in Memories de la Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona 43 no.11 (1977) 453-476, p.456.

The name applied to Girona - 'the city of sieges' - is illustrative of its strategic location.

36. R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La Plana de Vic en els segles VIII i IX" in his Dels visigots als catalans, i (Barcelona, 1974²) 309-322, p.310.

37, Ibid., p.315.

38. For this work of resettlement, R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, (Barcelona, 1965²) pp.73-110.
39. For the Roman town, supra Chapter V pp.127-8.
40. The fullest discussion of this point is in E.Junyent, "La Primitiva Sede episcopal de Ausona" in Ausa 5 (1964-67) 8-13: it is based on the location of later churches and the place-name 'Paradís', and is not altogether convincing.
41. Supra Chapter VIII note 218.
42. For the early episcopal centre, E.Junyent, "La Catedral de Vich en el período de la Reconquista" in Ausa 5 (1964-67) 121-8: for the crypt, idem, "La cripta románica de la Catedral de Vic" in AEM 3 (1966) 91-110.
43. Whitehill, op.cit., p.100
44. For this and all other aspects concerning the Romanesque Cathedral, see now X.Barral i Altet, La Catedral Románica de Vic, (Barcelona, 1979).
45. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.229. A.García (Sanz), "Orígens del Mercat de Vich" in Ausa 5 (1964-67) 129-134 and 161-166, citing documents from Udina, Archivo

Condal, nos.7,11, and 138.

46. This statement is based on a cursory consideration of the parchments in the ACV Calaix 6 and Calaix 9, as well as the Cartulary (Liber Dotationum). The considerable amount of material from the 10th, and 11th.centuries in this archive would no doubt supply very full details of the exact pattern of growth. For the moment one might consult E.Junyent, "Evolució històrica de la urbanització de Vic" in Ausa 6 (1968-71) 41-52, and idem, La Ciutat de Vic i la seva història, (Barcelona, 1976) pp.41-2.

47. Although the expression is found in the early 10th.century (e.g. Pasqual, Sacra Cathaloniae Antiquitatis Monumenta (BC Ms.729) i, p.53,no.2), the villa Vici only consistently appears after c.1060, that is at the same time as the second wave of expansion in Barcelona.

48. Pasqual, op.cit., i, p.85, no.74.

49. I.Ollich i Castanyer, "Les entitats eclesiàstiques de Vic al segle XIII" in Ausa no.84 (1976) 90-101, p.92.

50. ACV C6 1520 (1089)

51. In 1098: E.Flórez, España Sagrada, ~~XXVIII~~ (Madrid, 1774) appendix XIX. The name of the stream is re-

miniscent of the Barcelona Merdança.

52. J.Botet i Sisó, Les monedes catalanes, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1908-11: reprinted 1976) i, pp.167-185. A.M.Balaguer and M.Crusafont i Sabatés, "Els comtats catalans: les seves encunyacions i àrees d'influència. I, *Corpus*" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona I (Barcelona, 1979) pp.377-508, esp. pp.404-411. T.M.Bisson, Conservation of Coinage, (Oxford, 1979) pp.78-80.

53. Els Castells Catalans, Vol.IV (Barcelona, 1973) pp.1011-23 for the structure and its discovery. For the disputes, J.C.Shideler, The Montcadas, 1000-1230. The History of a Medieval Catalan Noble Family, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1979) pp.296-306.

54. Various documents in the ACV C⁶ series refer to it in the period up to the mid-11th century: e.g. Ep.II nos. 4 (936), 2 (947), 3 (946) describing it as having a territorium. Also some notes in Els Castells Catalans, vol.IV, pp.1038-9

55. For the excavations, M.de Boüard and M.Riu, Manual de Arqueología Medieval, (Barcelona, 1977) pp. 443-4. I.Ollich, "Hebillas medievales procedentes de Roda de Ter" in Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Palermo, 1976) ii, pp.505-

516. Idem, "El jaciment arqueològic medieval de l'Esquerda a les Masies de Roda de Ter (Osona) I: Informe preliminar i estat de la qüestió" in Quaderns d'Estudis medievals no.1 (May, 1980) 5-14.
56. Abadal, "La Plana de Vic", p.312.
57. Botet, op.cit., pp.11-12, certainly did not consider that Roses was a likely site for the mint, nor Roda de Ter as an adequate replacement, although he probably did not know the source material for the civitas: consequently he suggested that the mint may not have been in Catalonia, giving Rodez in the south of France as an alternative. F.Mateu y Llopis, "De la Hispania Tarraconense visigoda a la Marca Hispánica carolingia" in AST 19 (1946) 1-122, pp.20-21, considered that the choice lay between a site in the Roses area (such as the monastery of St.Pere de Rodes) or Rodà in Ribargorça, the episcopal centre that had inherited the mantle of Lleida: he concluded in favour of the former because of the distance involved. Although there had been a Visigothic mint in Roses, with a similar name, there are two reasons which suggest that it should not be attributed to that site. Firstly, it appears to have been largely abandoned, apart from a minor monastery, and secondly, Ampurias (or at least the count) was minting nearby, although it had not done so in the Visigothic period. Thus if this coin did come from a Catalan mint, I would propose that Roda civitas is the most likely candidate during its short life in the early 9th.century.

58. E.Junyent, "La fortificaci6n de Vich en 1368" in Ausa 2 (1955-57) 347-356: idem, "La Puerta de Malloles" in Ausa 1 (1952-54) 257-263, discussing the excavation of one of the gates, and its relationship to the earlier defences.
59. Junyents, "Evoluci6 hist6rica...", p.44: idem, La Ciutat de Vic i la seva hist6ria, pp.78-81.
60. Ibid., pp.88-91. F.Carreras Candi, "Notes Dotze-centistes d'Ausona" in his Miscelanea Hist6rica Catalana II (Barcelona, 1906) 361-463.
61. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.838: Garcia, op.cit., p.164.
62. A.Garcia, "Els Espanyol, una familia burgesa vigatana del segle XIII" in Ausa 6 (1968-71) 165-185. For the citizens in the later 12th.century and their attempts at municipal organization against the bishop, P.H.Friedman, "An unsuccessful attempt at urban organization in Twelfth-century Catalonia" in Speculum 54 (1979) 479-491.
63. Geografia de Catalunya, (edited S.Sol6 i Sabarís) vol.II (Barcelona, 1968) p.367, for the figure of 16 hectares. I am not convinced that the area enclosed by the 14th.century defences was the same as the 12th. century extent of the town, for the mid14th.century hearth-tax lists suggest about 500 hearths, or a

population of around 2,500. Obviously the population a century and a half before should have been somewhat, even considerably, less. The alternative is that this area was occupied, but population distribution was uneven within the area, and that considerable open spaces remained. More research on the documentation is needed to clarify this point. Vic is particularly rich in 13th. and 14th. century sources, particularly from the notarial series of the Arxiu de la Curia Fumada: for later developments, apart from the works of García, Carreras Candi, and Junyent cited above, see J-P. Cuvillier, "Les communautés rurales de la plaine de Vich aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles" in Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 5 (1969) 73-106.

64. Supra Chapter VIII, pp.274-8.

65. Supra Chapter VIII, pp.275-6.

66. For the coins, Botet i Sisó, Les monedes catalanes, i, pp.11,90-109; and Balaguer and Crusafont, op.cit., pp.388-390. For the circulation A.M.Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions de l'estudi de la moneda catalana comtal" in Symposium Numismático de Barcelona II (Barcelona, 1980) pp.297-320, esp. p.319 for examples appearing in southern France.

67. M.Almagro, and P.de Palol, "Los restos arqueológicos paleocristianos y alto-medievales de Ampurias" in Revista de Gerona no.20 (1962) 27-41, pp.34-5

68. Ibid., pp.37-8. P.de Palol, Arqueologia cristiana de la España romana, siglos IV - VI, (Madrid-Valladolid, 1967) pp.154-5, for a discussion of the possible baptistery.
69. Almagro and Palol, op.cit., pp.39-40: for the coins, Balaguer and Crusafont', op.cit., pp.427-8, who only list seven, while the excavators state that eight were found.
70. Almagro and Palol, op.cit., p.40. For these excavations of the surrounding churches see also the notes in M.Almagro Basch, "Museo Arqueológico de Ampurias (Gerona)" in MMAF 15 (1954) 163-171, and 16-18 (1955-57) 150-3.
71. Almagro and Palol, op.cit., p.41. Also E.Albert Corp, U'Empordà al temps visigòtic i l'Alta Edat Mitjana, (Barcelona, 1970), passim, but often unreliable.
72. One is reminded of the case of Luni, in a similar geographical situation, which was usually believed to have been largely abandoned after the Roman period, but where Bryan Ward-Perkins' excavations in the forum area have revealed a substantial degree of settlement in the early medieval centuries.
73. The documentary references are conveniently assembled in M.Almagro Basch, Las fuentes escritas

referentes a Ampurias, (Barcelona, 1951) which was originally published as an article in Ampurias 12 (1950) 145-235: for this document, the book form pp.125-9.

74. M.Almagro, Excavaciones en la Palaaiopolis de Ampurias (=Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 27: Madrid, 1964).

75. Ibid. p.7 for the date of 926: text published in M.Almagro, Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas, (Barcelona, 1952) pp.236-241: also discussed in idem, Ampurias: Historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones, (Barcelona, 1951²) pp.77-80.

76. Almagro, Excavaciones en la Palaaiopolis, pp.22-6. This theory, although with more catastrophic overtones, was propounded by J.Botet y Sisó, Noticia Histórica y Arqueológica de la antigua ciudad de Emporion, (Madrid, 1879) p.137 and by J.Pella y Forgas, Historia del Ampurdán, (Barcelona, 1883) p.321.

77. A.R.Lewis, Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean 500-1000, (Princeton, 1951) p.104: R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, (Barcelona, 1965²) p.185.

78. Ibid., pp.183-5. That there may have been more maritime contact between pre-Catalonia and Almeria

than usually supposed is suggested by the funerary inscription of 917 from that city: S,Mariner, "De la Marca Hispánica a Almería: una lápida sepulcral inédita del Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Granada" in AEM 2 (1965) 459-465.

79. The fullest discussion of this possibility, with several documented cases of destruction by Ungalis J.M^a Millás Vallicrosa, "Sobre las incursiones hungaras en la Cataluña Condal" in Homenaje a Johannes Vincke, i (Madrid, 1962) pp.73-80.

80. For this point, supra, Chapter VIII pp.279-282.

81. For the inscription, P.de Palol, "Una lápida medieval de Santa María de Rosas" in AST 19 (1946) 273-8. For the archaeological remains in general, idem, "Rosas de la Antigüedad a la Edad Media" in Revista de Gerona Year XI no.31 (1965) 19-29: also M.Oliva Prat, "Arquitectura románica ampurdanesa: Sta.María de Rosas" in Revista de Gerona Year XVIII no.61 (1972) 32-43 and Year XIX no.63 (1973) 14-34. The latter author considered that apart from the monastery there was no true settlement between the Reconquest and the later 11th.century.

82. For the donation, Els Castells Catalans, vol.II (Barcelona, 1969) p.405. The state of knowledge of Catalan military architecture is not at a stage for one to make an effort to date such an isolated tower.

Documentary evidence (e.g. for those in the Olérdola region) would suggest a date in the second half of the tenth century: the earliest examples recorded were of timber: see M.Riu, " Probables huellas de los primeros castillos de la Cataluña Carolingia" in San Jorge no.47 (1962) 35-43.

83. They therefore had another centre beyond the Pyrenees which became the nucleus - or a part of it - around which Perpinyà developed in the later 11th. and 12th.centuries. A brief account of the origins of this city, which by the end of the 12th.century was one of the most important in the realms of the Crown of Aragón, is in Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.846-7.

84. Els Castells Catalans, vol.II (Barcelona, 1969) pp.377-393 and 483-493. Perelada in origin was likely to have been of more significance, at least theoretically, because of the pagus named after it: in 880 Castelló was within Pergladá's territorium (Monsalvatje, Noticias Históricas del Condado de Besalú, xi (Olot, 1901) p.183 no.xxxviii). The general opinion has been that Ampurias was abandoned for Castelló under Gausfred in the later 10th.century, although the most complete study, P.Negre Pastell, "Castelló de Ampurias: de villa rural a capital del Condado de Ampurias: Notas históricas (Siglos IX a XII)" in AIEG 17 (1958) 89-172, suggests a later date for the definitive transfer, which I am inclined to accept.

85. Ibid., p.133.
86. A summary of the genealogy of the Counts of Ampurias can be found in S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Barons de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1957) pp.13-21.
87. For this incident, ibid., pp.17-8: Balari, Origenes històrics, ii, pp.684-5: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.837.
88. Negre, op.cit., p.165. For the Jews, F.Cantera Burgos and J.Ma Millàs Vallicrosa, Las inscripciones hebraicas de España, (Madrid, 1956) pp.260-2.
89. For Figueres, J.Ma Font Rius, Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña, (Barcelona-Madrid, 1969) I, part II, pp.622-3.
90. For the early Christian aspects, supra Chapter VIII pp.292-3.
91. In addition to the church at Mata, which would seem to have been the most important community, there are those at Traià and Cabrils, plus a lost example at Cabrera de Mar: these are all associated with late Roman and Visigothic period material: M.Ribas i Bertran, El Maresme en els primers segles del cristianisme, (Mataró, 1975) pp.115-133. Burials are evident at the church at Traià (ibid., fig.5) and have

been found at Mata: J.Bonamusa i Roure, "Necròpolis de l'Alta Edat Mitjana al veïnat de Mata (Mataró)" in Miscel.lànies arqueològiques de Mataró i El Maresme I (Mataró, 1976) pp.121-7.

92. The documentation is scattered throughout the archives, and no work has attempted to bring it together: however one is struck by the appearance of places like Mata, Premià de Dalt, Argentona, Tiana rather than those on the coast. E.Albert, D'Iluro a Mataró. El Maresme del segle V al segle XIII, (Mataró, 1975) is of little use.

93. LAEC I 112 277, Mas IX no.263, p.112: cited by L.Ferrer i Clariana, "Mataró a l'Edat Mitjana (segles X-XV)" in AST 40 (1967) 3-24, p.5.

94. J.Ma Pellicer y Pages, "Nuevas aclaraciones relativas a la historia de Mataró" in BAAAB(1892) 115-9: Balari, Origenes históricos, ii, pp.513-4, saw it as a city-suburb distinction, a stand which is hard to justify in the light of the evidence for the non-urban status of Mataró at that date.

95. Ferrer, op.cit., p.6, but referring to the castle of Mata, rather than the town, to which the name was only gradually transferred.

96. P.Vilar, Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna, I (Barcelona, 1964¹) pp.287-290, for this phenomenon.

97. For the Roman period, supra Chapter V, pp. 123-125.
98. For the late Roman remains, supra Chapter VIII, pp.294-5.
99. First noted in LAEC II 132 389, Mas IX no.101, p.43 (of 989): this practice continued into the 11th.century (e.g. ACA RBI 175,237,307). Vicus was not widely used to describe settlements at this date, but is found at Vic and Seu, where it is presumably in contrast to the civitas. However, it is also used in other contexts outside the territorium of Barcelona, but like Badalona, within its direct sphere of influence, notably the settlements which were later known as St.Joan Despí and St.Just Desvern in the Llobregat valley, which were often called vico Mizano and vico Verszo at this date (e.g. LAEC I 28 51, Mas XII no.2662, p.279). On other occasions, however, Badalona was described as a villa (e.g. ACV Lib.Dot. fol.95).
100. ACA RBI 195: in territorio Betulona in villar de Morgads vocitato (1056).
101. Apart from the document cited in the previous note, ACA RBI 175, 307, BRII 48.
102. For the inscriptions, J.Guitart Durán, Baetulo;

topografia arqueològica, urbanismo e historia, (Badalona, 1976) pp.29-40, inscriptions nos.2-8.

103. For the church see F.Fita, "Badalona, su iglesia parroquial" in BRAH 18 (1896) 168-172.

The district had 140 hearths in 1358, i.e. a population of c.700 spread throughout the area of 23 square kilometers.

104. Supra Chapter.V pp.129-130.

105. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.110.

106. Els Castells Catalans, vol.III (Barcelona, 1971) pp.353-370, for the castle and the Cabrera family. The planned town may have been laid out after the destruction by French forces in 1285, as in the case of Sant Feliu de Guíxols (fig.149b7).

107. Supra Chapter V, Pp.130-131.

108. e.g. LAEC III 141 368, Mas IX no.13, p.7 (of 940) and LAEC III 75 193, Mas IX no.14, p.7 (of 944). For the area of the Vallès in the later 9th. and 10th.centuries, A.M.Mundó, "Domains and rights of Sant Pere de Vilamajor (Catalonia). A Polyptych of c.950 and c.1060" in Speculum 49 (1974) 238-257; and R.Vall Rimblas, "El repoblament del Vallès durant la Reconquesta" in Arrahona (2a epoca) 1 (1976) 7-24.

109. E.Moreu Rey, La Rodalia de Caldes de Montbui,
Repertori històric de noms de lloc i^{de} noms de persona,
(Barcelona, 1962) pp.50-51.
110. LAEC III 73 195, Mas XI no.1520, p.60. By
this date it was a typical example of the many small
towns of Catalonia.
111. Supra P.295.
112. Els Castells Catalans, vol.III (Barcelona,
1971) pp.380-4 for the document of 914 and the castle.
113. Supra, Chapter V, p.127.
114. For the document of 945, Font Rius, Cartas de
Población, pp.690-1. For La Manresana, Els Castells
Catalans, vol.V (Barcelona, 1976) pp.346-352, and
J.J.Piquer i Jover, "El Senyoriu de la Manresana"
in CAHC 12 (1968) 51-71, based on the abundant docu-
mentation in the ACA.
115. For these points, Font Rius, Cartas de Población,
pp.690-1.
116. Supra pp.133-4 and 298,
117. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.706-7.
118. C.Rocafort, la Provincia de Lleyda, (in the series
Geografia General de Catalunya, edited F.Carreras

Candi: Barcelona, n.d.) p.413, citing a document of 1035.

119. Supra Chapter V, p.134.

120. In the 14th.century it had only some 125 inhabitants: Rocafort, op.cit., p.801. For the document of 973, P.de Marca, Marca Hispanica, (Paris, 1688) no.CXV col.902 : even though the donation is th the monastery of St.Sadurní de Tavernoles, I cannot trace it in the Cartulario de Tavernoles, (edited by J.Soler) in Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura 26-28 (1960-62) and it may have been lost during the Civil War.

For Tremp, Sort and Pobla de Segur, Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.660-2.

121. Supra pp.131-2 and 295.

122. For a study of the transition of the area from the Visigothic period to the Middle Ages, J.Ma Salrach, "La Cerdanya entre l'Antiguitat i l'Edat Mitjana. Aproximació al procés de formació, vigència i transformació d'unes estructures" in Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals no.1 (May, 1980) 15-24.

123. For the castle (mainly of 13th.century date) Els Castells Catalans, vol.IV (Barcelona, 1973) pp. 690-703.

124. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.845-6.

125. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, p.634.

126. At some date in the later medieval period the settlement shifted down the hillside and congregated around the church at its base: this was probably after the French destruction of 1477 (Els Castells Catalans, IV, p.703). In 1359 it had had only 21 hearths.

127. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, pp.845-6: Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.634-6. The existing modified grid-plan of the town was presumably laid out at this date, and expanded in the 13th. century (fig.125).

128. Supra Chapter VIII, pp.286-9.

Although it has often been claimed that the three bishoprics that disappeared (Tarragona, Egara, and Ampurias) did so because of resistance to the Arab invaders, I feel that this can only be sustained in the first case, and even then only tentatively: for the other two there is simply no evidence, and reasons connected with the economic decline of the towns and their regions may be equally tenable.

129. e.g. AHT-I-4 of 963: domum Sancti Petri qui est situs in sede Egarensis. The evolution of the name of Terrassa is studied by J.Ma Martí i Bonet, P.Puig i Ustrell and J.Sanllehi i Ubach, Evolució paleogràfica del nom de Terrassa, (Terrassa, 1975).

130. Much of the surviving structure of Sant Miquel and

and the apse of Sta. Maria are of later Carolingian rather than Visigothic date, and although the rest of Sta. Maria is early 12th. century Romanesque, there are later 10th. or early 11th. century features in St. Pere, including the lobed apses, the altar screen with its paintings and the mosaic at its foot. The bibliography on these churches is extensive: most recently J. Ainaud de Lasarte, Los Templos Visigótico-románicos de Tarrasa, (Madrid, 1976) with good illustrations and bibliography, although the text is brief. For the mosaic, X. Barral i Altet, Els mosaics de paviment medievals a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1979) pp. 39-53. In addition to these churches a domum Sancti Pauli que situs est in Egara is mentioned in 958 (AHT-I-2), although this may have been a subsidiary chapel or altar. The adjoining ravine of Vallparadis derives its name from the same roots as the Paradís element in Barcelona and Vic, and is mentioned as being near the Comital residence in 1091 (AHT-I-75).

131. This is the most likely interpretation of the defiance of the priest Baio against Bishop Prodoinus recorded at the Synod of Attigny in 874: R. D'Abadal i de Vinyals, Catalunya Carolíngia, II: Els Diplomes Carolingis a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1926-52) pp. 430-2 for the text.

132. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp. 595-6 for its inclusion in the early franchises of Barcelona.

For topographical points, J.Soler i Palet, Egara-Terrassa (Terrassa, 1928) p.64: J.de C.Serra Ràfols, "La evolució del poblamiento dentro del término de Tarrasa" in Estudios Geográficos 7 (1946) 47-72, pp. 68-9: S.Cardús, Terrassa medieval. Visió històrica, (Terrassa, 1960) p.9.

133. For the defended area, the comital residence, and the tower around which the community gathered, Els Castells Catalans, vol.II (Barcelona, 1969) pp. 144-152 and in general the works cited in the previous note. In spite of the abundant documentation there is no reference to a market in this period, which would in itself suggest that urban growth was slight. For the rural area, apart from a scatter of documents in the Barcelona archives, one must note the collections of the AHT, principally derived from the Priory of Sta Maria of Egara, which seems to have replaced that of Sant Adrià de Besòs, and the remarkable collection made by J.Miret y Sans, "Los noms personals y geogràfics de la encontrada de Terrassa en los siglos X^e y XI^e" in BRABLB 7 (1913-14) 385-407 and 485-509, which were subsequently deposited in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, and British Library, Additional Charters, nos.62,604-62681.

134. For the transition towards the upper part of the city and the early Christian topography, supra Chapter VIII pp.256-271.

135. A discussion of Tarragona under Moslem rule can be found in S.Capdevila, "Sobre la invasió àrab i Reconquesta de Tarragona" in BAT 64-5 (1964-65) 29-63: with a commentary in J.M.Recasens i Comès, La ciutat de Tarragona, II (Barcelona, 1975) pp.30-46.
136. Ibid., pp.35-7. The most recent discussion of these campaigns, with full details of the sources in J.M.Salrach i Marés, El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (segles VIII-IX), vol. I El domini carolingi, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.32-9.
137. Abadal, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, pp.314-6, points to several factors, such as evidence for a campaign in 936-7, the title of 'Prince of Barcelona and Tarragona' given by Arab writers: the receipt of tribute (or talls ?) from Tortosa, to support this. Even so there is little evidence to suggest that Tarragona was re-occupied.
138. R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "L'Abat Cesari, fundador de Santa Cecília de Montserrat i pretès arquebisbe de Tarragona. La falsa butlla de Santa Cecília" in his Dels visigots als catalans, (Barcelona, 1974²) II, pp.25-55. Idem, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, pp.308-310. I have been unable to consult L.McCrank, Restoration and Re-conquest in Medieval Catalonia. The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971-1177, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1974).

139. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.121-8. J.Iglésies, La Reconquesta a les valls de l'Anoia i Gaià, (Barcelona, 1963) pp.27-31.
140. S.Sobrequés; Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1970²) pp.142-5: on this individual, A.Pladevall, "La verdedera filiació de Berenguer Seniofred de Lluça, primer arquebisbe de Tarragona del segle XI, conegut fins ara per Berenguer de Rosanes" in BAT 66 (1966) 71-81.
141. The bibliography is extensive: to cite only the publications of the last two decades, J.Iglésies, La Restauració de Tarragona, (Barcelona, 1963): Sobrequés, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, pp.190-3: Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.722-7: Recasens, op.cit., pp.54-60: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp. 847-9.
142. Iglésies, La Restauració de Tarragona, pp.30-57: Recasens, op.cit., 60-69.
143. Particularly Al-Himyari: see A.García y Bellido, "Un importante texto árabe valioso para nuestra historia antigua" in AEA 16 (1943) 303-317, from which are derived Anom., "Interesantes noticias arqueológicas sobre Tarragona en el tiempo de la dominación arabe" in BAT 44 (1944) 42-43, and Recasens, op.cit., pp.42-44.

144. A Du Chesne Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui, (Paris, 1619) Book XIII, p.892, cited in E.Morera, Tarragona Cristiana, i, (Tarragona, 1897) p.392.
145. Recasens, op.cit., p.40, after J.Serra Vilaró, Excavaciones en la Necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona, (=MJSEA 133: Madrid , 1935) plate XLV.
146. Ibid., pp.38-9. Most writers following E.Lévi-Provençal in Historia de España, IV (ed.R.Menéndez Pidal: Madrid, 1950) p.301, have considered this piece to indicate the construction or reconstruction of a mosque in Tarragona, c.960.
147. The collections of the Tarragona ecclesiastical archives were largely destroyed in the 19th.century if not before. The 12th.century documents transcribed into the Llibre de la Corretja, preserved in the Archivo Histórico Archidiecésano, are important for the legal aspects of the resettlement, but contain little topographical information. The Archivo Municipal, which I have been unable to consult, may contain some relevant material, but most of what follows is derived from documents in the Cartularies of St. Cugat and Poblet, and parchments in the ACB and ACV. Many of these were transcribed by Morera, Tarragona Cristiana, i, appendix XXIV.
148. ADB Sta.Anna, file SE1, unnumbered parchment.

149. Cartulari de Poblet, (ed. J.Pons Marqués: Barcelona, 1938) no.253, pp.153-4.
150. Ibid. nos.257-9, pp.155-7: ACB DC(c) capsa 6, 244 (of 1178): CSC 82 314, Rius III no.1051, p.216: CSC 82 315, Rius III no.1070, p.232. The property of Sant Cugat is discussed in J.Rius Serra, "Casas de San Cugat del Vallés en la ciudad de Tarragona" in BAT 45 (1945) 54-57.
151. For example see the study of Th.Hauschild, "Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadterrassse des antiken Tarraco" in AEA 45-47 (1972-74) 3-44, which has revealed a number of these, although no doubt many more still exist.
152. Recasens, op.cit., pp.211-224 has a good discussion of the medieval topography, with a plan on p.218.
153. Ibid., p.221.
154. For the News and the Call, J.Serra Vilaró, "Situación del barrio judío en Tarragona" in BAT 47 (1947) 22-25: J.Sánchez Real, "Los judíos en Tarragona" in BAT 49 (1949) 15-45: Idem, "La judería de Tarragona" in Sefarad 11 (1951) 339-384.
155. e.g. ACB DC(c) capsa 6, 294. also, A.Altisent, "Comerç marítim i capitalisme incipient" in Miscellània Històrica Catalana (= Scriptorium Populeti, 3 : Poblet,

1970) pp.161-180. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.726-7.

156. For Oviedo, the most thorough study is H.Rodriguez Balbin, Estudio sobre los primeros siglos del desarrollo urbano de Oviedo (700-1145), (Oviedo, 1977). For Santiago, see the comments of Février, op.cit., (in note 8) p.336.

157. This subject is not one which has been researched in depth, but grosso modo the county of Cerdanya occupied the area of the Eretani; the pagus of Berga, that of the Bergistani: the county of Besalú perhaps that of the Castellani: the county of Ampurias that of the Indigetæ: that of Ausona, the Ausetani; that of Barcelona, the Laietani: the one exception is the County of Girona, which, like the Visigothic Diocese seems to have been carved out of the area of the last three groupings (compare figures 4,72 and 127). Some opinions on this matter can be found in R.d'Abadal, Els precedents antics a la Història de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1967) pp.99-101, and M.Aventin and J. Salrach, Els Orígens històrics (=Coneixer Catalunya 1: Barcelona, 1977) p.26.

158. To the south of the Pyrenees, one can point to the pagi of Perelada, Berga and Besalú which became separate counties, and those of Manresa and Ripoll which did not.

159. J.Mª Salrach Marés, Los Condes y el Condado de Besalú durante la época carolingia, (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Universidad de Barcelona, 1974).
160. M. Corominas, "Nota preliminar sobre el poblado romano de Besalú" in AIEG 14 (1960) 307-314. Other Roman material is known from the medieval centre, but it is unclear whether it was in situ: Albertini, nos.244-5, p.461.
161. The greater part of the medieval sources were brought together by F. Montsalvatje y Fossas, Noticias Históricas del Condado de Besalú, 26 volumes (Olot, 1889-1919), of which volumes XI, XIII, XV and XIX are especially important for the town. For aspects concerning the fortifications, Els Castells Catalans, (Barcelona, 1971) vol.III pp.31-44.
162. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, p.487. The extent of settlement, however, was probably very limited.
163. The churches were that within the castle, which became the monastery of Sta. Maria (possibly originally dedicated to St. Genis and St. Miquel), the parish church of St. Vicenç in the burgo (the St. Rafael, Sta. Maria and St. Joan which Bonnassie cites were probably no more than altars within it), the monastery of St. Pere, also in the burgo, and the hospital church of St. Julià.

164. Balaguer and Crusafont, op.cit., pp.438-441.
165. Els Castells Catalans, vol.III, p.34. The surviving remains, particularly the portico, may belong to this period.
166. Monsalvatge, op.cit., vol.XI,no.CCXLVII, p.264, referring to the walled area, which as this and other documents show was very small, immediately around Sta.Maria.
167. The principal evidence for their presence is the surviving ritual bath of Miqwah, for which see: J.Ma Millás Vallicrós, "Descubrimiento de una Miqwah en la población de Besalú" in Sefarad 25 (1965) 67-9: C.Muñuera Bassols, "Sobre la Sinagoga de Besalú" in Sefarad 28 (1968) 69-79: M.Grau Montserrat, "Noves dades sobre la Sinagoga de Besalú, I; noticies sobre la Sinagoga" in Revista de Girona Year XXIV no.82 (1978) 49-54: N.Freixas Camps and N.Soler i Masferrer, "Descobriment de probables restes arqueològics de la sinagoga de Besalú" ibid., pp.55-61.
168. For the surviving remains in general, J.Ma. Corominas and J.Marqués Casanovas, Catálogo Monumental de la Provincia de Gerona: La comarca de Besalú, (Gerona, 1976).
169. For this region in the 9th.century, J.M.Salrach i Marés, El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (Segles VIII-IX): vol.I, L'Establiment de la dinastia nacional, (Barcelona, 1978) pp.121-139:

for the subsequent period, E. Junyent, El Comtat de Berga en els segles X i XI, (Berga, 1969).

170. They are mentioned by Titus Livy, Historia de urbe condita, 34, 17: cited FHA III p.184.

171. Botet i Sisó, Les Monedes Catalanes, i, p.123 (of 990).

172. ACA RBII 52, cited by Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals...", p.45.

173. ACA RBIV 38. Most of the growth, however, belonged to the later 12th. century and after: Font Rius, Cartas de Población, p.642 and Els Castells Catalans, vol.V (Barcelona, 1976) pp.856-866, add little concerning its development.

174. For the Roman material from the site, CAB pp. 124-5: it is often stated that it was the Bacassis mentioned by Ptolemy, the name having been transformed to the modern comarca name of Bages. For the possible late Roman origins of the bridge over the Llobregat, Fasti Archaeologici 16 (1964) no.6857.

175. Abadal, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, pp.85-7: it would thus have been a resettlement centre for Bages, as Vic was for Osona: in spite of this, it is unlikely to have had much in the way of urban life until a later date.

176. For the development of this area Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, pp.224-9. J.Vilà Valentí stresses the importance of viticulture in his "Ara fa un miler d'anys: el monestir de Sant Benet de Bages" in his El món rural a Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1973) pp.11-19.
177. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.488. The difference between this word and burgus is difficult to define: it may imply that the nucleus was some distance from the original settlement, and in most cases implies that the latter was unwallled: it is, of course, derived from the Arabic (GMLC fasc.2 col.242).
178. Sobrequès, Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, pp.17-20 is probably the most accurate account.
179. J.Sarrety Arbós, Història de Manresa, (Barcelona, 1931) p.25: for the remains of the Romanesque church J.M.Gasol, La Seu de Manresa, (Manresa, 1978) p.20.
180. Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals.." p.45, citing ACA RBI 24.
181. ACB DC(b) carpeta 1, 334, a donation to ecclesiam Sancte Marie intra Minorise civitatis menia constructa (1093). If this was a case of 11th.century new defences, it is one of the very few examples from the area, where most urban defences were inherited from an earlier period or of 13th-14th.century date.

182. Sarret, Arbós, op.cit., pp.50-1: Geografia de Catalunya, (edited L.Solé i Sabarís, Barcelona, 1968) ii, pp.487-490.
183. The barrio Saragozano is noted by Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.488: and the tanning mills, ibid., ii, p.855.
184. For the market, Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals...", pp.43-4: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.368.
185. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.615-7: such franchises were, of course, necessary given the exposed position of the community,
186. For this incident, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p.417.
187. For the site and the church, Els Castells Catalans, vol.V (Barcelona, 1976) pp.532-598, with copious illustrations and plans: the lower part of the town, with its defences and polygonal gate-towers of 14th.century date, was probably increasingly occupied at the beginning of that century (Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.616-7). The same author suggests a population of 400 to 500 in the early 12th.century, no mean figure for the period.
188. For the Counts of Urgell after 992, S.Sobrequès i

Vidal, Els Barons de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1957)
pp.24-29.

189. Supra Chapter VIII, p.299.

190. For this move, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, pp.97-

98. C.Batlle i Gallart, Els orígens medievals de la Seu d'Urgell, (Barcelona, 1979) p.8, attributes the move to two factors, the destruction of the previous settlement by Moslem forces in 793, and a wish to disassociate the bishopric from the Adoptionist heresy of Felix.

191. Cited in 850: Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals...", p.43 note 3.

192. Like Vic, it was normally referred to as a vicus in the sources, in contrast to the old civitas. Batlle, op.cit., pp.16-9 recognizes the 11th.century as the formative period in the development of the topography: I had reached similar conclusions by a rapid consideration of the documents transcribed in the Cathedral cartulary (via the copies housed in the Biblioteca de Catalunya), for, as at Vic, agricultural properties are found in the vicinity of the Cathedral until the 11th.century.

193. Batlle, op.cit., pp.19-20: L.Serdà Prat, Seo de Urgel, (Seu de Urgel? 1964) p.44: Geografia de

Catalunya, II, p.176, for the state of affairs c.1200.

On the development of the town, one should also consult the forthcoming studies of Carmen Batlle in the XXI and XXII Asamblea Intercomarcal d'Estudiosos.

194. J.Costa y Bafarull, Memorias de la Ciudad de Solsona y su Iglesia, (Barcelona, 1959) 2 vols. is the fullest account even though it was written early in the last century.

195. F.Lara Peinado, Lérida romana, (Lérida, 1973) p.38, identifies it as Setelsis: this, however, is as yet unproven, although the -ona suffix suggests pre-Roman origins for the name, and there was undoubtedly Roman occupation on the site (supra chapter V note 11).

196. R.Pita Mercé, "La localización de yacimientos romanos en el Valle medio del Ebro" in Caesaraugusta 29-30 (1967) 157-177, p. 161 suggests this, although the proof of this, like many of his statements is lacking, and they are more likely to have been medieval in date, but perhaps re-using Roman material, as at Guissona.

197. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.655-7.

198. For the castle, Els Castells Catalans, vol.VI part i (Barcelona, 1979) pp.85-103. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, p.656 for the 11th.century growth.

The abundant information of the Solsona Archives, partially reproduced by Costa y Bafarull, could no doubt be used to trace this growth more accurately: these archives have been surprisingly under-used.

199. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.656-7.

In 1359 there were 212 hearths, and a century and a half beforehand, the population is likely to have been half that suggested by this figure. The walled area enclosed approximately 4 hectares.

200. R.Pita Mercé, Lérida Árabe, i (Lérida, 1974) pp.60-61.

201. R.Pita Mercé, "La muralla romana de Ager (Lérida)" in AEA 40 (1967) 104-109.

202. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.713-5, stressing its importance juridicially because of the transition in the type of franchise. One should also note the presence of the Collegiate church of St.Pere, which, as was seen in the case of Solsona, could also play a part in promoting urban life. From a purely factual point of view F.Sanahuja, Historia de la Villa de Ager, (Barcelona, 1961) is useful.

203. R.Pita Mercé and L.Diez Coronel, "Informe

sobre el hallazgo de unos mosaicos romanos en la partida Reguer de Puigvert de Agramunt" in NAH 6 (1964) 171-6: R.Pita Mercé, "Mosaicos romanos tardíos en las comarcas del Segre y Cinca" in BSAA 34-35 (1969) 31-64, pp.57-8.

204. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.707-8, for these points.

205. Coinage recorded by Balari, Orígenes históricos, ii, p.694: illustration of the church in Els Castells Catalans, vol.VI, part ii (Barcelona, 1979) p.964: it was probably built under Toulousan influence, immigrants from that region playing a considerable part in the resettlement of this region. Other points in Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.707-8. The fact that there were only 67 hearths in 1359 may suggest that the initial impetus was not maintained.

206. For the archaeological remains, L.Diez Coronel, "La alcazaba de Balaguer y su palacio árabe del siglo X" in Ilerda 29 (1966-68) 335-354: idem, "El castell dels Comtes d'Urgell, fortalesa àrab" in Ilerda 34 (1973) 31-9: idem, "Fortificaciones árabes en Balaguer (Lérida) con un palacio del siglo XI" in CAN XII (Zaragoza, 1973) 829-832. For Islamic material, O.Ewert, Islamische Funde in Balaguer und die Aljaferia in Zaragoza, (Berlin, 1971). Juan Zozaya has also

informed me of his unpublished excavations there.

The problem still remains whether to compare it with Arab new towns of the 10th. century such as Murcia, Almería and Tudela (L. Torres Balbas, Ciudades Hispano-musulmanas, (Madrid, n.d.) i, pp. 47-69) or the great frontier fortresses such as Gormaz.

207. For the Reconquest and resettlement, Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp. 717-721.

208. See, for example, that published by C. Rocafort, La Provincia de Lleyda, p. 217 (dated 1645). It had 344 hearths in 1359.

209. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp. 662-3.

210. For Tremp, ibid., p. 660 and plan in figure 136. Sort probably emerged even later, similarly around a castle: see the plan and details in Rocafort, La Provincia de Lleyda, pp. 652-4.

211. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, i, p. 368.

212. For the see of Roda, R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "Origen i procés de consolidació de la Seu Ribagorçana de Roda" in his Dels visigots als catalans, II (Barcelona, 1974²) pp. 57-139. For the settlement, F. Arroyo, "El dominio territorial del Obispado de Roda (siglos XI y XII)" in Hispania Sacra 22 (1970) 69-128.

213, E.Ripoll Perelló, Olérdola: historia de la ciudad y Guía del conjunto monumental y Museo Monográfico, (Barcelona, 1971) p.30, with bibliography on pp.87-9: especially important for the medieval remains is A.Ferrer Soler, "El castro antiguo de San Miguel de Olérdola" in AEA 22 (1949) 21-73,

214. LAEC IV 110 277, Mas IX no.113, p.48.

Remains of many periods can be seen in the structure of the church; part of the original Mozarabic church with horseshoe arch: the main body of the later 10th. century, and various later Romanesque additions, as well as the 'Olérdola' burials around it: see Ripoll, op.cit., pp.61-7.

215. For Mir Geribert, S.Sobrequès i Vidal, Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona, pp.46-8, 57-65: R.Planes, Mir Geribert, Príncep d'Olérdola, (Barcelona, 1970): Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, pp.625-644.

Documents referring to the urban nature of the interior: CSC 118 392, Rius I no.130, p.104 (1978): CSC 128 420, Rius I no.213, p.178 (1987): ACA BRI 6 (1018).

216. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.666-7: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.845,

217. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.667-9 for the origins and royal involvement. Els Castells Catalans, vol.III (Barcelona, 1971) pp.731-741 for the palace. For the market, Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i

mercats setmanals...", p.47: fixed shops are mentioned there at the end of the century (ibid., p.59). The settlement was walled in the 13th. century according to Geografia de Catalunya, III (edited L.Solé i Sabarís: Barcelona 1968) p.320.

218. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, p.686.

219. Vilà Vafenti, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals..", p.47, citing CSC 201 628, Rius III no.1215, p.345.

220. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.692-4: A. Durán i Sanpere, Libre de Cervera, (Tàrraga, 1972) pp.19-25 for a summary of this period: Els Castells Catalans, vol.VI. part i (Barcelona, 1979) pp.572-596, for the castle and the defences. For municipal life, A.Gouron, "Diffusion des consolats méridionaux et expansion du droit romain aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 121 (1963) 26-76, esp. pp.38-9.

221. For Espluga there is the detailed study of A.Altisent, "Un poble de la Catalunya Nova Els segles XI i XII. L'Espluga de Francolí de 1079 a 1200" in AEM 3 (1966) 131-214 (with English summary on pp.812-3): see also Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.751-3.

222. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.639-640: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, pp.844-5.

223. I know of no study of the development of the town of Ripoll as opposed to the monastery which is well known: a few comments in J.Botet i Sisó, La Provincia de Girona, (in the series Geografia General de Catalunya, edited by F.Carreras Candi: Barcelona, n.d.) pp.898-900 : for Sant Joan, Font Rius, Cartas de Población, p.611, and some comments in Els Castells Catalans, vol.V (Barcelona, 1976) pp.89-95.
224. Both the monastery founded in the mid-10th. century and its port were significant in its growth: Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.604-5. The Pisan fleet en route for the Balaerics anchored there in 1113, and from 1127 tolls were collected from Genoese vessels: Bonnassie, La Catalogne, pp.842-3. The regular plan (fig.149) must have been laid out after the French destruction of 1285.
225. For the castle, Els Castells Catalans, II, pp.107-116, and R.Subirana Oller, "Investigacions arqueologiques en el turó del castell d'Arrahona" in Arrahona 2 (1976) 5-22.
226. J.Miret y Sans, "Los noms personals y geografichs de la encontrada de Terrasa en los segles X y XI" in BRABLB 7 (1913-14) no.19, p.391.
227. I.Morral and C.Llobet, "Sant Nicolau, resultats d'una prospecció" in Arrahona (22 epoca) 4-5 (1978) 7-99, for the excavation of the cemetery,
228. ACA RBIII 163: discussed Bonnassie, La Catalogne, ii, p.837.

229. For the archaeology of Granollers, J.Estrada Garriga, Síntesis arqueológica de Granollers y su comarcaa, (Granollers, 1950), and J.Baülles, Granollers, (Granollers, 1965).
230. Or perhaps that coming from the Argenton-Mataró area: LAEC III 19 42, Mas IX no.129, p.54.
231. Vilà Valentí, "Vida rural i mercats setmanals..", p.45, citing LAEC III 47 132, Mas IX no.535, p.250.
232. Ibid., p.45, citing CSC 89 322, Rius II no.523, p.175. Houses around the market are cited frequently in the 12th.century: Udina; Llibre Blanch, nos 76, 88, and 130. For settlement in the Roman period, supra Chapter IV p. 96 . In spite of the small size of most of the rivers in the area, bridges were still of importance, although it is uncertain whether this was the bridge over the Llobregat being referred to as under construction in certain wills of the late 11th.century: for a list of these donations, Bonnassie, La Catalogne, pp.953-4.
233. For the Reconquest of Tortosa and its resettlement, Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.771-5: idem, "La Comarca de Tortosa a raíz de la Reconquista cristiana" in Cuadernos de Historia de España 19 (1953) 104-128: J.Iglésies, La Conquesta de Tortosa, (Barcelona, 1961) and a series of volumes in the

'Episodis d'Història' series by R.Miravall, which, however, add little concerning the topography. The standard history of Tortosa, E.Bayerri, Historia de Tortosa, VII (Tortosa, 1954) is also disappointing in this respect, in spite of the abundance of information it contains. There are many documents concerning the city in the second half of the 12th. century in the ACA Cancilleria and Gran Priorato collections, derived from the interests of Templars and Hospitallers as well as the counts themselves: even richer are the Tortosa Archives, which, however, are of difficult access at the moment.

234. For the Reconquest of Lleida, Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.807-810: J.Tortosa Durán, "La conquista de la ciudad de Lérida por Ramón Berenguer IV, Conde de Barcelona" in Ilerda 11 (1953) 27-66: J. Lladonosa, La Conquesta de Lleida, (Barcelona, 1961). The standard local history, idem, La Ciutat de Lleida, (Tàrrrega, 1972-5) in two volumes, is a useful mine of facts. Once again, the Lleida archives are of very difficult access.

235. For the irregular plans of Arab cities, L. Torres Balbas in A.García y Bellido et al., Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España, (Madrid, 1968²) pp.75-96, and idem, Ciudades hispano-musulmanes, (Madrid, n.d.) i, pp.285-294.

236. In the mid-14th. century Barcelona had 6668 hearths, Perpinyà 2675, Lleida 1213, Tortosa 991, Girona 957, Tarragona 860, Puigcerdà 654, followed by Vic, Cervera, Manresa, Montblanc, Vilafranca, Valls and Berga all above 400, i.e. with a population of 2,000 or more. Figures from J. Iglésies, "La cursa demogràfica de les principals ciutats catalanes" in Memories de la Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona 43 (1977) 453-476.

237. The route down the Segre valley via Puigcerdà and Seu d'Urgell naturally attracted people from Languedoc: J. Lladonosa, "Marchands toulousains a Lérida aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles" in Annales du Midi 70 (1958) 223-230. The coastal cities were more heterogeneous: Tortosa had a substantial colony of Englishmen (and one Welshman) alongside the Genoese and those from Languedoc: R. Miravall, Immigració britànica a Tortosa (segle XII), (Barcelona, 1980).

238. Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp. XVII-XVIII.

239. Information derived from a lecture given by C. Higounet in the ACA on 9th. July, 1977: he identifies the first such foundation with regular plan as Nogaro in c.1060: for the plans of towns on the route to Santiago, Torres Balbas, in Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España, pp. 104-111.

240. Supra note 222. The plan consists of two parallel streets, plus those at the back of the defences, and a number of cross streets: it is thus very similar to that of Puente la Reina (Navarre: c.1120).
241. P.Lavedan and J.Hugueney, L'Urbanisme au Moyen Âge, (Geneva, 1974) p. 43 : and for later developments, north of the Pyrenees, M.W.Beresford, New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantations in England, Wales and Gascony, (London, 1967).
242. Plans in Torres Balbas in Resumen Histórico del Urbanismo en España, pp.122-26. Similar plans are to be found in Mallorca, see G.Alomar, Urbanismo en la Edad Media. Las Ordenaciones de Jaume II (1300) en el Reino de Mallorca, (Barcelona, 1976) (see fig.150).
243. See notes 223, 106, 224, and figure 149.
244. Much of the following, at least the ideas concerning the Roman period, is drawn from the recent work of M.Tarradell: "L'extensió urbana de Tàrraco, comap[er]rada" in BAT 71-72 (1971-72) 95-101: idem, "Las ciudades romanas en el este de Hispania" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976) pp.289-313: idem, "Apos[er]illas a 'Las ciudades romanas en el este de Hispania'" in Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas, II (Zaragoza, 1976) pp.269-273: idem, in Història de Barcelona I: De la Prehistòria al segle XVI, (directed by A.Duran i Sanpere: Barcelona, 1975) pp.108-110: idem, Les Ciutats romanes dels Països Catalans, (Barcelona, 1978) esp. pp.40-43.

245. These figures are based on the one hand on the hearth-tax lists of the 14th. century, it being considered that a population of about half that suggested then would be likely in c.1200, plus supplementary information based on the extent of each town: needless to say, such calculations are only very approximate, although they probably indicate correctly the relative size of the towns discussed.

246. For the comarcal and regional divisions, Generalitat de Catalunya, La Divisió territorial de Catalunya, (Barcelona, 1937, reprinted 1977), and see figure 5.

For the state of towns in the 14th. century, when there were a large number of small towns with around 500 inhabitants, F. Carreras Candi, "Idea de l'avenç urbà de Catalunya al segle XIV" in III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Valencia, 1923) I, pp.165-228.

247. For references, see note 2 to Chapter XII.

248. There is some evidence to suggest that Barcelona was somewhat of an Arian stronghold as a result of the choice, particularly the exile and suffering of John of Biclar (Chapter VII note 150):

However we do hear of the Catholic Bishop contemporary with the Arian one, Ugnus, at the time of the conversion.

249. Although the theories of J.Serra Vilaró, San Próspero de Tarragona y sus discípulos refugiados en Italia en el año 711, (Barcelona, 1943) are probably untenable (see the review of B.Gaiffier in Analecta Bollandiana 66 (1948) 315-6 and the comments of P.de Palol Salellas, Tarraco Hispanovisigoda, (Tarragona, 1953) pp.89-92), the Italian evidence still seems to denote some emigration from Spain, particularly in the form of the Mozarabic Prayer book in Verona, and Visigothic influences on writing (D.A.Bullough, "Social and economic structure and topography in the early médiæval city" in Topografia urbana e vita cittadina sull'alto medioevo in Occidente (= Settimane XXI: Spoleto, 1974) p.375). J.M. Recasens i Comes, "A propòsit de la ocupació àrab de Tarragona i l' emigració de Sant Pròsper a Itàlia" in BAT 71-2 (1971-72) 209-213, although accepting Serra Vilaró's hypothesis, makes the valid point that such an emigration would have probably taken place after resistance.

250. Plans of Valls and Montblanc in the later Middle Ages in figures 146-7.

Salou became the port for Tarragona: in general for these towns, Font Rius, Cartas de Población, pp.727-753.

251. Iglésies, op.cit. (note 236), p.458.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY (but excluding archive abbreviations, for which see volume IV pp.1568-70)

- Albertini E. Albertini, "Sculptures romaines du Conventus Tarraconensis" in AIEC 4 (1911-12) 323-471 (with number of piece).
- Alcover A.M. Alcover, F. de B. Moll and M. Sanchis et al., DCVB. Guarnier, Diccionari català-valencià-balear, 10 volumes, (Palma de Mallorca, 1930-62: reprinted 1976).
- AEA Archivo Español de Arqueología.
- AEM Anuario de Estudios Medievales.
- AHDE Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español.
- AIEC Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- AIEG Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses.
- Annales Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations.
- ESC tions.
- AST Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia.
- BAAAB Boletín de la Asociación Artístico-Arqueológica Barcelonesa.
- Balari, Orígenes Históricos, J. Balari Jovany, Orígenes históricos de Cataluña, 3 vols., (St. Cugat del Vallés, 1964²: Barcelona, 1899¹).
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- BAT Boletín Arqueológico de Tarragona (4th. series unless otherwise stated).

- BCEC Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya.
- Bonnassie, La Catalogne, P.Bonnassie, La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975-76).
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- BRABLB Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona.
- BRAH Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia.
- BSAA Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología (de Valladolid).
- CAB M.Almagro, J.de C.Serra Ráfols and J. Colominas Roca, Carta Arqueológica de España: Barcelona, (Madrid,1945).
- CAHC Cuadernos de Arqueología e Historia de la Ciudad (Barcelona).
- CAN Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, followed by conference number, and date and place of publication, not meeting.
- Carreras Candi, GGCCB, F.Carreras Candi, La Ciutat de Barcelona in the series Geografia General de Catalunya, (edited idem: Barcelona, n.d.).
- Cartulari de Poblet, Cartulari de Poblet: edició del Manuscrit de Tarragona, (ed.J.Pons Marqués: Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Barcelona, 1938).

- CIL II E.Hübner, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
volume II, (Berlin, 1869) with Supplementum, (Berlin, 1892).
- CGEA Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas [Informes y Memorias).
- CMB J.Ainaud de Lasarte, J.Gudiol and F-P.
Verrié, Catálogo Monumental de España: La Ciudad de Barcelona, 2 vols.(Madrid,1947).
- CODOIN Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, (original editor P.de Bofarull y Mascaró: Barcelona, 1847-.....) 51 volumes to date.
- CSC Cartulario de San Cugat del Vallés,
(ed.J.Rius Serra: Barcelona, 1945-~~8~~) 3 vols.
- Duran, BSH, A.Duran i Sanpere, Barcelona i la seva història, I: La formació d'una gran ciutat,
(Barcelona, 1973²: 1972¹). The remaining volumes are cited completely.
- EUC Estudis Universitaris Catalans.
- FHA Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae, (ed. P.Bosch Gimpera, L.Pericot and A.Schulten: Barcelona, 8 vols. to date, 1922-.....)
- Flórez, ES E.Flórez, España Sagrada, 52 volumes,
(Madrid, 1787-98).
- GMLC M.Bassols de Clement and J.Bastardas Parera
(eds.), Glossarium mediae latinitatis Cataloniae, (Barcelona, 1962-.....) 7 fascicules to date.
- Inf.Arg. Información Arqueológica (Barcelona).

- IRB S.Mariner Bigorra, Inscripciones romanas de Barcelona, (Barcelona, 1973).
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies
- LAEC Libri Antiquitatum Ecclesiae Cathedralis, (Barcelona Cathedral Cartulary: see Màs).
- LFM F.Miquel Rosell, Liber Feudorum Maior; Cartulario Real que^{se} conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 2 vols.(Barcelona, 1945).
- Llibre Blanch F.Udina Martorell, El 'Llibre Blanch' de Santas Creus (Cartulario del siglo XII), (Barcelona, 1947).
- MAB Museo Arqueològic de Barcelona.
- Mansi J.D.Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, (Florence, 1759-1927) 56 volumes.
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- Mas J.Mas, Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona, 13 vols.,(Barcelona, 1906-21).
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- AA Auctores Antiquissimi,
- SRM Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum,
- SS Scriptores.
- Chron.Min. Chronica Minora (=AA IX,XI and XIII).

- MHC Museo de Historia de la Ciudad (Barcelona).
- Millás, J.Ma. Millás Vallicrosa, "Documents hebraics
Documents dels jueus catalans" in Memòries de l'
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 (Barcelona, 1927).
- MJSEA Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones Arqueológicas.
- MMAP Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos
Provinciales.
- MM Madridrer Mitteilungen.
- MRABLE Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas
Letras de Barcelona.
- NAH Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico.
- NAH Arg. " " " : Arqueo-
logia (since 1972).
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MLLM. minus, (Leiden, 1954-57, with conclusion
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PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome.

PG J-P.Migne, Patrologia Graeca, (Paris).

PL J-P.Migne, Patrologia Latina, (Paris).

Puig y Puig, S.Puig y Puig, Episcopologio de la Sede
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RAAAB Revista de la Asociación Artístico-Arqueo-
lógica Barcelonesa.

RABM Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos
(Fourth series unless stated).

RSL Rivista di Studi Liguri.

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and Miret
y Sans sur les juifs catalans aux XI^e, XII^e et
XIII^e siècles" in Revue des Études Juives
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ICERV, España romana y visigoda, (Barcelona,
1969²; Barcelona, 1942¹).