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CYPRIANUS EPISCOPUS TARRACONENSIS AND HIS INTERMENT

■ *Abstract*

Cyprian, metropolitan bishop of Tarragona, was active from the Thirteenth Council of Toledo in 683 to the Fifteenth Council in 688. It is supposed that his mortal remains lie in an alabaster casket-ossuary placed in the interior wall of the apse of Tarragona's cathedral. But the casket-ossuary and its inscription with the bishop's epitaph, have to be dated in 1460. The aim of this paper is to provide a new edition of this inscription (= CIL II, 2/14, 2088); and to demonstrate, through lexical and structure analysis and through latin epigraphic parallels, that the 1460 inscription it's based in the original inscription devoted to the bishop after his death (*terminus ante quem* 693, when his successor, Vera, signed as metropolitan in the Sixteenth Council of Toledo). If we are right, this will be the first metropolitan bishop of Tarragona to be documented through his, even in a copy, preserved epitaph.

Keywords: Cyprian, Metropolitan bishopric of Tarragona, Seventh Century, Funerary inscription, Visigothic history of church.

1. *Context, working hypothesis formulation and epigraphic publication*

Cyprian (1), the metropolitan bishop of Tarragona, is documented by the signatures on the Councils of Toledo minutes. Although he never attended them in person, he participated

* ICAC, Tarragona; ** ICAC, Tarragona.

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(1) Regarding Cyprian's episcopate *vid.: BLANCH* 1985, pp. 61-64; *FLÓREZ* 1859, pp. 89-93; *MARÍ* 1989, pp. 60-63; *MORERA* 1981, pp. 183-184; *MUÑOZ* 2001, p. 85; *PÉREZ* 2012, pp. 369, 380 and 444.

through delegates. His archdeacon, Ispasand, represented him at the Thirteenth Council of Toledo in 683 and a presbyter named Vitalianus and an abbot named Argebad went in his place to the Fourteenth Council of Toledo in 684. The last information we have about his episcopal activity is from his participation in the Fifteenth Council of Toledo in 688, where he was represented by the archpriest and abbot, Sesald. We do not know the year of his death, but it must have been prior to 693, as his successor Vera signed as metropolitan at the Sixteenth Council of Toledo in 693. It is supposed that his mortal remains lie in an alabaster casket-ossuary placed in a niche made in the interior wall of the apse of Tarragona cathedral in 1460. It has a frontal inscription containing the prelate's funerary epitaph.

This study is based on the hypothesis that the aforementioned epitaph is a full or partial copy of an earlier one that would have been carved on the Visigothic-period episcopal tombstone. We first analysed its form and lexical structure in relation to parallels from the contemporary and mediaeval periods. This analysis indicated that the text does not correspond to the time the casket was made and was not inscribed with a *ductus* from that period; rather it appears to have an earlier origin, contemporary with the bishop's death.

The doctoral thesis of one of the authors of this article (MUÑOZ 2013) reviews the current state of archaeological research on the location of the Visigothic cathedral of Tarragona in the so-called Upper Part (Part Alta), seeking its origins on the basis of what we know of the construction of the present-day cathedral. From this overview of our current knowledge it can be deduced that, despite the importance of the Tarragona church during the Late Roman and Visigothic periods, we have no conclusive data on the identification and location of the different episcopal complexes that were built in the city.

The martyrdom of Bishop Fructuosus and his deacons Augustius and Eulogius in the year 259 tells us that there was a Christian community in Tarragona in the mid-3rd century. From this we can infer the existence of a *domus ecclesiae* or place of worship at an undetermined site in the city, which would later become the first (indirectly) documented «cathedral» (2). Neither do we have any

(2) The text of the *Passio Fructuosi* (I) makes it clear: (...) *Reposito Fructuoso in cubiculo,*

references to the location of the episcopal church and the residence or residences of the bishops of Tarraco from the time of Gallienus to that of Theodosius. However, there is a considerable increase in the written and archaeological documentation from the Theodosian period. At the beginning of the 5th century the *Correspondència d'Agustí-Consenci* refers to the episcopate at the time of Bishop Titianus (3). The question of its location is still open to debate and no firm conclusion has yet been reached (4). From the archaeological record we know that the episcopal complex would normally have been located within the city walls (5), although there were exceptions. In the case of Tarraco the archaeological evidence remains silent with regard to Christian *intra pomerium* building activity prior to the mid-5th century. With the caution dictated by the future evolution of research and possible new discoveries, we are inclined to believe that the basilican complex in the Christian cemetery established on the banks of the River Francolí to commemorate the martyrs Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius is currently the most likely location for the episcopal complex. We must however admit that despite the lack of direct archaeological evidence it is possible that the 5th-century episcopal basilica occupied the palatial building on the axis of the head of the imperial worship area (HAUSCHILD 2009, p. 323). That first ecclesiastic building on the site would have subsequently been replaced by the Visigothic cathedral (6).

Thus, in the late 6th century, a new episcopal complex would emerge on the city's acropolis, in the former imperial worship area. If we accept that the 5th-century episcopal complex was in the necropolis, it would also be logical to believe that it is not mere chance that the decline of the necropolis coincided with the

direxerunt se beneficiarii in domo eiusdem, id est Aurelius, Festucius, Aelius, Pollentius, Donatus et Maximus (...).

(3) *Vid.* AMENGUAL 2001.

(4) Puig i Cadafalch (1936, 15) identified the necropolis basilica as the city's episcopal see based on parallels in Africa such as Timgad and Djemila. Jordi López (2006, p. 259) and Achim Arbeiter (2010, pp. 428-429) defend an intramural location for the episcopate based on the normal location of such complexes in accordance with the majority of urban parallels. In contrast, the complete lack of archaeological or epigraphic evidence within the Tarraco *pomerium*, the urban structure of Late Roman Tarraco leads other authors (MACIAS ET AL. 1999, p. 79; GODOY 2005, p. 66; KULIKOWSKI 2006, p. 140; MUÑOZ 2013) to consider the possibility that the basilican complex in the necropolis was the episcopal basilica.

(5) With regard to this subject *vid.* GUYON 2005; CHAVARRIA 2010.

(6) With regard to the transformation of the cathedral area from the Late Roman period to the Middle Ages *vid.* MUÑOZ 2013, pp. 192-222.

building of the new Visigothic cathedral. It is also logical to hypothesise that the cathedral status of the necropolis basilica would have been transferred to the new Visigothic cathedral. Whether or not this is what happened, it is a fact that the relics of the martyr saints Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius were moved to the new cathedral and that in the late 6th or early 7th century the Francolí complex's role as a martyrial shrine was transferred to the amphitheatre. The erection of this new basilica allowed the creation of a seasonal liturgical circuit with the cathedral (MUÑOZ 2013, 299).

The site proposed for the Visigothic cathedral dedicated to the worship of both Holy Jerusalem and St Fructuosus (7) is the area occupied between the apse of the mediaeval/present-day cathedral and the great hall or axial room of the imperial worship area, while the episcopate would have been on the north-eastern corner of the ancient imperial worship area (8). Items of Visigothic-period ecclesiastical architectural decoration and tombs have been documented in this area. Inside one of these tombs a bronze liturgical vessel dated to around the 7th century was found.

Following this tradition, we believe that the early mediaeval cathedral, which would have been used provisionally while the new cathedral was being readied for worship, would have been built behind the apse of the present-day cathedral, on the site of the Corpus Christi Chapel, as has already been suggested by some authors. The worship of St Thecla (we do not know whether this was the *restauratio* of an ancient cult in Tarragona or one that was introduced with the Christian restoration in the mediaeval period) would condition the new dedication of the mediaeval cathedral and the liturgical life of the Church in Tarragona.

Further evidence that may support the hypothesis of an *Ecclesia Mater* in the area behind the apse of the present-day cathedral is the presence there of the only remains attributable to a prelate of the Visigothic church of Tarragona, Bishop Cyprian, from the late 7th century (MUÑOZ 2013, pp. 207-208).

We know that the remains of St Cyprian were venerated in the Cathedral at the beginning of the 14th century. In fact, on 8 September 1303, the *Index Vell* of Tarragona cathedral records

(7) P. Florez (1770, p. 13) already considered that the Visigothic cathedral was dedicated to both Holy Jerusalem and St Fructuosus. Recently Professor Rafael Serra (2013, pp. 119-120) used liturgical arguments to give a fairly conclusive defence of the same idea.

(8) In this respect *vid.* MACIAS 2014.

an order given by Archbishop Roderic Tello (RAMON, RICOMÀ 1997, p. 145) that he should be interred in front of the altar of St Thecla *en la paret a on esta reservada la santa Spina y vol que en lo chor sia fet altre túmulo aon sia trasladat lo cors del beatissim Sant Cypria en altra temps arquebisbe, y que sil lo chor se mudava també se mudés dita sepultura* (9).

Subsequently, in 1460, St Cyprian's remains were dignified with a casket-ossuary made by Maurici Muntanya (RAMON 1993, p. 787), which survives to this day. More than a century later, in 1572, the historian Pons d'Icart described the casket saying that *está detras del altar mayor de la iglesia mayor de Tarragona, en la pared, de mármol alabastrino, encima de dos pequeños leones dorados, e la dicha sepultura, tumba o ataúd está toda al rededor muy bien labrada e dorada...,* (PONS D'ICART 1980, pp. 247-248).

Canon. Josep Blanch (1985, p. 63) tells us in his *Arxipiescopologi* that in 1643 the casket was opened on the orders of the Cathedral Chapter, as there was a small hole through which some of the bones were coming out. The canon himself witnessed the opening (10).

P. Henrique Florez also describes the casket in Volume XXV of his *España Sagrada* (1770, pp. 91-92), taking as a reference the historian Lluís Pons d'Icart's description (1572). At the end of 18th century the presbyter Marià Marí also cited the casket-ossuary of Bishop Cyprian in his *Arxipiescopologi*, basing his description on that of P. Flórez (MARÍ 1989, p. 61). In 1897 the historian Emili Morera described the urn and its vicissitudes based on Pons d'Icart's and Canon. Josep Blanch's references to it (MORERA 1981, pp. 182-183).

The urn was opened again in 1976. Canon. Salvador Ramon (1985, p. 63) testified to the condition of the remains and their location prior to the 15th century. He demonstrated that St Cyprian's remains had been deposited in another concavity in the same wall of the apse. Next to that concavity was the niche that today con-

(9) *Index Vell* no. 20, fol. 592v.

(10) «Entre altres me tocà la sort de trobar-me allí quant lo mestre alsà la tapa y viu dins dita caxeta de pedra una altre de noguer gastada ja del temps, forrada tota, al que se podia judicar, de vellut negre, y totes las vores de un llistó de seda groga, y dins tots los ossos de bon archebisbe ab la calavera, y segons se veia ere home de bona estatura. Quan en ciutat se sabé acudí molta gent particular a veure-ho, y s'en portaren tants de aquells ossos per relíquies, que fong menester que lo Vicari general, en seu vacant lo dr. Miquel Aguiló, ardiaca de Sant Llorens y canonge, manàs ab pena de excomunió publicar que tots tornassen los ossos a son lloc, ab què s-i posà remey y se ordenà al mestre que ab diligència acabàs la obra y tancàs la caxeta» (BLANCH 1985, p. 63).

tains the casket-ossuary of St Cyprian and that in those days held the relics of the Holy Thorn. In 1460 Bishop Cyprian's remains were dignified with the casket-ossuary we can see today and were placed in the niche of the Holy Thorn, where they have remained until today (11).

The casket-ossuary is 65 cm high and 63 cm wide and it is embedded in a framed quadrangular niche. It is supported by two lions and on its front there is a twin-framed rectangular plaque inscribed with the epitaph. The external frame is decorated with acanthus flowers, while the internal one is moulded. The script is Gothic and rubricated (dark red). The initial letter is 4.5 cm high and the rest are between 2.7 cm and 3.3 cm high. The text is spread over five lines. The separation of the letters is conditioned by the plant motifs and on the last line the expression *in pace* has been inscribed with plant motifs of olive branches rising out of some of the letters with a symbolic and aesthetic intentionality. In this way the plant motif fills the empty field of the fifth line. Inscribed at the beginning and end of the text are the classical motifs of the cross and the Tau Cross, the institutional symbol of the Church of Tarragona.

The epitaph on the casket says the following (our epigraphic edition, autopsy of 2014):

(Crux) *Hic . requiescit . uir s(anc)tissimus*
Cyprianus . prim(a)e . sedis Terrach-(sic!)
one(n)sis ciuitatis ep(iscop)us . d(e)positu^s

(11) «(...) Moreover, in the accounts for the reconstruction of the present-day final resting place of St Cyprian the following amount is recorded: «item he pagat 10 sous e 6 diners a un jove picapedrer per foradar e trencar la paret on sta la osa del dit s. Ciprià» [author's reference: *Llibre de l'Obra* 1400-1500. Manuscript from the Tarragona Chapter Archive]. He says «foradar e trencar» (pierce and break) the wall where the bones are; in other words, open the tomb in the wall that was covered by a stone slab, probably bearing the epitaph reproduced on the alabaster urn we know today. Our opinion is that the niche of the Holy Thorn, which is mentioned in the documents of [Archbishop] Tello and the pastoral visit of 1449, was the apse where today we find the final resting place of St Cyprian. This is because, as we have already stated, in the whole of the presbytery area there is no other hole in the wall that could have served as a niche, and that when they placed the relic in the theca, they took advantage to place in it the remains of St Cyprian that had been in the same wall in the previously mentioned hole. When the plaster was removed from the apse walls, holes made at regular distances – which can still be seen – were revealed. Each was covered by a rectangular 40×25 cm stone slab; they were 85 cm apart and 45 cm above the present floor level, all around the apse. The floor next to wall is different by a width of 60 cm. Perhaps these holes were used to hold the supports for the old choir seating, because if this was where St Cyprian's remains were kept, there was also a choir, as the document says: "... vol que en lo chor sia fet altre túmulo aont sia traslladat lo cors del beatíssim sant Ciprià quòndam archebisbe... [author's reference: *Index Vell*. Manuscript from the Tarragona Chapter Archive, no. 20 fol. 492]» (RAMON 1993, pp. 786-787).

Foto de Josep M^a Macías (ICAC).

est i(n) hu(n)c tumulu(m) . octauo k(a)l(end)as
5 maias in pace (T inscripta, non pertinet ad inscriptionem)

Section of variants (only from epigraphic publications in fundamental *corpora*):

1 Tarrac- RIT 941, CIL II, 2/14, 2088; 3 ciuitatis om. RIT 941; 4 est om. RIT 941, CIL II, 2/14, 2088.

2. *The most contemporary possible Christian parallels/evidence for a funerary inscription on mosaic in the floor of the Visigothic church*

One of the most notable traditions in the tombs of important persons in the Tarragona Church is that of the funerary inscription on mosaic. The parallels that this type of inscription can contribute to the study of that of Cyprian is a possibility to take into account, as we are starting from the hypothesis that his inscription was probably originally in the floor of the early Visigothic church. Gómez Pallarès (2002, pp. 67-70) published and commented on these mosaic inscriptions. Of particular interest is T 1 (pp. 67-68 and Plate XVII, photo 30) dedicated to Optimus who, to judge from the iconography rather than the text, may have held a position of responsibility in the Tarragona Church in the first quarter

of the 5th century. However, the Optimus text is metric and cannot be compared to that of Cyprian. T 2 (GÓMEZ PALLARÈS, 2002, pp. 68-69 and Plate XVIII, Photo 31) contributes the formula *in pace* (l. 5 of our inscription), which is very common and proves nothing. T 3, which is very hard to read (GÓMEZ PALLARÈS 2002, p. 69 and Plate XVIII, Photo 32), appears to begin with the name of the deceased, also has the formula *in pace* and appears to end with the beginning of a date. This would be the only parallel in Tarragona of the Cyprian text, but it predates it by two centuries and its reading is doubtful. Moreover, it is in a necropolis and not on a church floor.

Away from Tarragona, the funerary inscription dedicated to *Baleria* (sic) from the basilica of Son Peretó (Manacor), PM2 Gómez Pallarès (2002, pp. 61-61, Plate XIII and Photo 23) and dated a century before the death of Cyprian (second half of the 6th century), offers a more convincing parallel as far as the text is concerned, although not in terms of the episcopal rank... however, the text says *Baleria / fidelis in / pace uixit / annis LX tr(an)s(iuit) / de hac uita (s(ub) d(ie) II Kal(endas) octo(bris)*. We can see how the name of the deceased heads the text; an adjective complements her in accordance with her category in the Church (*fidelis* preceding *sanctissimus*); it tells us when she died and it also uses the syntagma *in pace*. It should also be emphasised that Baleria's funerary inscription uses quite naturally the abbreviations we also see in that of Cyprian and that it is on the floor of a basilica.

The tradition of mosaic funerary inscriptions comes from North Africa, where we can find parallels that perhaps also have to be taken into account. Duval (1976) made a careful study of them and we would like to highlight some of them. The first is not in fact African, but from Grado in Italy; it was found in the sacristy of the church of Elijah and dates to the second half of the 5th century (DUVAL 1976, pp. 75-76 and Figure 37, plus p. 131). It is dedicated to a converted Jew, although the formula used is very similar to that of Cyprian; it begins: *Hic requiescit Petrus qui Parario*. It also explains his circumstance (*filius Olimpii Iudaei*) and specifies the formula of where and when he was buried: *in hanc s(an)c(t)am aulam digne sepultus est sub d(ie) pr(i)d(ie) id(us) iuli (i)nd(ictione) quarta*. The second funerary inscription that represents a good parallel is from Sidi Abich (Tunisia), in an annex to the church and also from an ecclesiastical floor (DUVAL 1976, pp. 117-118 and Figure 49, plus p. 132). It is obviously Byzantine and

datable to the late 6th century. It has a *crux* at the head of the text (like that of Cyprian) and reads *Paulus / episcopus / prime se-/ dis prouin-/cie Mauri-/tanie in pa-/ce requie-/bit (sic!) s(ub) d(ie) XV / kal(endas) mar/tias (chrismo)*. It has all the elements of that of Cyprian: it belongs to a bishop identified as such; it begins with the cross; it gives geographical data; it uses the formula *in pace* plus the date, only changing the verb to *depositus* instead of *req- uiebit* (sic). The chronology and the place the funerary inscription was found are also factors that make the African text similar to that of Cyprian. There can be no doubt that it is a good parallel for supporting the hypothesis that Cyprian's inscription could have existed at the end of the 7th century on a church floor in Tarragona and that, moreover, it may have been conceived as a mosaic funerary inscription.

The *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae septimo saeculo antiquiores* also provide us with some parallels, although perhaps not such solid ones. Vol. X, *regio V Picenum* (ed. G. Binazzi, Bari 1995, n. 44) publishes a mosaic inscription from Santa Maria della Piazza dated to the late 6th or the 7th century which states (fragmentarily...) *Hic requie/scit Stefa/nus filiu/s Sarm(at...)*.

3. *The most contemporary possible Christian parallels/evidence for a non-mosaic funerary inscription carved directly in the floor of the Visigothic church*

The second source of information we need to take into account when looking for parallels that could provide more evidence for our hypothesis that the text dedicated to Cyprian on the 15th-century casket is a copy of the 7th-century original and not a mediaeval creation, is that of the funerary inscriptions carved on tombstones rather than on tessellated floors. To begin with we used the most common database for prosaic formulas, the Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/es/>). The first search based on the formulas of our Tarragona text, *Hic requiescit + santissimus*: the only parallel is ours (cited as RIT 941). The second search, *Hic requiescit + uir. ICUR 2, 4156 = ILCV 990 (add.) = CLE 1477 = AEp 2007, 205*: this is the *carmen epigraphicum* dedicated to Pope Gregory I, Gregory the Great (ca. 540-12 March 604), the final formula of which ends (with abbreviations: there is a photo on the database!) *hic requiescit Gregorius p(a)p(a)*

qui sed(it) ann(os) XIII mens(es) VI d(ies) X / d(e)p(ositus) X^{III}
Id(us) Mart(ias)... The photograph of the inscription makes the parallel triply interesting, not only because it refers to the highest rank of ecclesiastical dignity who is buried below a church floor, but also because the formulas coincide in their language and approximate chronology and, above all, because the funerary inscription is carved into the floor of the church. The third search, *Hic requiescit + episcopus...*: we have compiled all the parallels, but there are too many of them for one to be determining or significant. It is simply a very widely used and known formula. The fourth search, *Hic requiescit + depositus in...*: this also has many parallels and while there are still none that end the formula with *depositus in tumulum*, we do have ICUR 1, 749 = ILCV 840 add. from Rome, *Hic requiescit in pace Amen / s (sic!) qui fecit cum <u>x<o>re ann(os) dep(ositus) in / locum quem donauit dominus papa / Hormisda poss<i>d(e)atur loc(us) eum quis([umqua]m remo<u>eat Symmac(h)o et oethio vv(iris) cc(larissimis)*. This text is from the first half of the 6th century (Pope Silverius, 450-6 from October 523).

4. *Parallels/evidence that the epigraphic formulary on the casket-ossuary made in 1460 is not habitual at the time of the transfer*

From Sections 2 and 3 of this study we deduce that a formula such as the one dedicated to Cyprian on a 15th-century casket could have been copied from an original text written at the time of the bishop's death. We can now see that the epigraphic formula used on the casket-ossuary from 1460 was not habitual either at the time of the transfer, nor was it in general use in the late mediaeval period, especially if we take into account the use of the terms *hic requiescit* and *depositus*. In general, the formula *hic requiescit* is common on the funerary inscriptions prior to the 11th century (12). The verb *requiescere* continued to be used subsequently on epitaphs following the formula *requiescat in pace*,

(12) By way of an example, in the *Corpus Documentale Latinum Cataloniae (CODOLCAT)* the use of *requiescit* is only documented in seven documents from the following years: 878, 941, 976, 989, 993, 995 and 1034. In this regard vid. BOLÒS 2006, pp. 81-82; 91-92; 106-107; 111-113; 114-115; PARDO 1994, pp. 27-29; PRUENCA 1995, pp. 53-54. Among others we also document the formula *Hic requiescit* on the sepulchral inscription of Witiza in the basilica of Saints Justus and Pastor in Barcelona, which dates from the year 900 (RIU BARRERA 1982, p. 190).

although it was replaced with the verb *jacere* in the opening formula of the funerary text. This is also the verb that is found in 13th-century Romance language texts.

The use of the participle *depositus* is not common in late mediaeval funerary epigraphy. There are only a few known examples in the Catalan region or France and they are closely linked to the early Christian or Visigothic formulaic tradition. We also carefully reviewed the funerary epigraphy from Tarragona cathedral from between the 11th and 15th centuries (13): a total of 102 funerary epigraphs, one from the 11th century, thirteen from the 12th century, fifteen from the 13th century, fifty-four from the 14th century and fifteen from the 15th century. In no case were the terms *hic requiescit* and *depositus* used. Only on the sepulchre of the archbishop of Tarragona, Joan of Aragon, (†1334), dating from around 1337, does the epitaph begin with the formula *Hic quiescit*.

In the case of Girona Cathedral, where we have a continuity of worship from around the year 1000, we can find no inscription between the 11th and 15th centuries that contain the expressions *Hic requiesquit* or *depositus* (14).

5. Conclusions of the historic and epigraphic study and that of the parallels of the inscription formula

From the evidence obtained so far (Sections 2, 3 and 4) we can state that the presumably original text composed in the early 1460s uses a formulaic structure and a lexicon deeply rooted in the early Christian and Visigothic tradition; however there is nothing similar to it in any other epitaph in Tarragona cathedral between the late 11th and the 15th centuries. Therefore, it appears that we can reasonably return to the hypothesis proposed at the beginning of this article and suggest that there is some evidence to confirm that the inscription we read on Cyprian's casket-osuary, which was made in 1460, may indeed be the result of the literary transmission across the centuries of the first inscription that would originally have identified the tomb of Cyprian in the

(13) For a general bibliography of cathedral epigraphy *vid.* MORERA 1904; CAPDEVILA 1935; SERRA 1950; 1960; RAMON-RICOMÀ 1970; RAMON 1999-2000; MARTÍ AIXALÀ 2002; SERRANO-LOZANO in press.

(14) A compilation of the inscriptions from Girona Cathedral in MARQUÉS 2009.

«cathedral» of Tarragona at the time of his death in the late 7th century.

The body of evidence compiled here leads us to believe that Bishop Cyprian's tomb and funerary inscription could have been in the remains of the Visigothic episcopal complex of Tarragona. The historian Emili Morera, for example, tells us of the belief that the prelate's remains were found in the area of the axial hall of the imperial worship area (MOREIRA 1981, p. 189). Identified by the ecclesiastic community that was building the mediaeval cathedral, they were preserved and subsequently placed in the interior wall of the cathedral apse, close to the altar. The *traslato* to this place must have required a new receptacle with the copy of the earlier epitaph. The copying of tomb epitaphs to preserve the memory is quite frequent in the Christian world. For example, in the Chapel of the Presentation in Tarragona cathedral there is a funerary inscription dedicated to Dalmau Montoliu, a deacon of the Cathedral and bishop of Tortosa, who died in 1306. He was buried in this place before the chapel was built. Later one of his descendants had another sepulchral inscription placed on it with a copy of that epitaph (MOREIRA 1904, p. 84).

A singular case with reminiscences of that of Tarragona is the epitaph of Dynamius, Bishop of Avignon. The epigraph was actually carved between the 11th and 12th centuries, whereas the death of the bishop is documented between 624 and 625 (15).

In the context of the *restauratio* of the primate and metropolitan dignity of the Tarragona church following centuries of ecclesial institutional absence it was very important to depict the city's glorious Christian past liturgically. The Christian and mediaeval restoration of the city of Tarragona and its surrounding area was an enterprise promoted on the principles of historical legitimacy that conferred on the city of Tarragona the status of metropolitan see since Roman and Visigothic times, with the martyrial figure of Bishop Fructuosus as a guarantee of this antiquity. This is clearly shown in the papal bull sent by Urban II to Bishop Berenguer Seniofred of Lluçà, *Inter primas hispaniarum urbes* (1091). The references to the martyr St Fructuosus or a bishop from the Visigothic period in the cathedral presbytery make this message quite unmistakable. In the 15th century

(15) *Vid.* FABREAU, R.; MICHAUD, J. *et alii* 1988, pp. 121-122.

Bishop Cyprian's tomb was dignified with a new casket-ossuary on which the earlier epitaph was reproduced and it is this that has survived to the present day.

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