

NEW THINKING IN OLD LANDSCAPES: DISCOVERIES, RESEARCH AND APPROACHES FOR LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL IBERIA

By PILAR DIARTE-BLASCO¹

Introduction

In the last two decades, the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula for both Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages has grown in scale, depth and understanding. Currently, these periods of important historical transition occupy an increasingly prominent position in archaeological research, as reflected in publications, projects, and conferences, these exploring themes such as landscape change, the reorganization of rural settlement and the evolution (or not) of towns and the socio-economic characters of these centres and their territories. To fully evaluate these changing settlement patterns and social dynamics in the face of changing polities between the 5th and 8th centuries AD – from late Roman to Visigothic to Arab control – it is of course essential to create a broader panorama of these (at times) confused and chaotic times. But Spain has long lagged somewhat behind other regions, notably in northern Europe, in its use and application of landscape archaeology. While this subdiscipline emerged in Britain in the 1950s, expanded greatly in the 1970s and 1980s with US input, and affected or was taken up in many countries, including Italy and France (albeit patchily) (cf. Watteaux 2009), in the Iberian context, take-up has been partial and long applied more to Roman or prehistoric landscapes. As this paper seeks to show, however, change is happening, owing much to the current invigoration of Spanish early medieval archaeology; indeed, a very striking feature of very recent archaeological and historical debate for the period is the greater inclusion of Spain within wider European debates (e.g. Wickham 2005; Brogiolo and Chavarría Arnau 2005; Francovich and Hodges 2003; Hamerow 2002). The images generated for Spain – as discussed below – reveal coincidences with other territories, but also much diversity.

This transitional period between the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages – and in the case of Spain the arrival and conquest of Muslim populations – have been well studied from an archaeological viewpoint in some fundamental aspects, such as the abandonment of the Roman villa system (e.g. Chavarría Arnau 2007; Ariño 2013, 99–106) or in terms of urban transformations (notably Gurt i Esparraguera 2000–01; Diarte-Blasco 2012; Diarte-Blasco and Gurt i Esparraguera 2015), and also via the historical record, with special attention long paid to the arrival of the Visigoths (Ripoll 1998; Arce 2003; Koch 2006; Sanz Serrano 2009) and the consolidation of the Christian Church and its wider socio-

economic role (see papers in Teja and Santos Yanguas 2001). Recent years have also seen fuller analysis of the concepts of identity and ethnicity, exploiting historical, archaeological and anthropological approaches (e.g. Quiros Castillo and Castellanos 2015).

Most prominent in such developments in the field, above all for studies in the northern and middle Iberian territories, has been the University of Basque Country and the figure of Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, as evident, for example, in the organization in 2008 of the international conference ‘The Archaeology of Villages in the Early Middle Ages’ (promptly published too: Quirós Castillo 2009 – the first in an important, ongoing series of monographs), which featured a number of papers on wider European change, but predominantly (via 25 articles) highlighted the rich range of Spanish archaeological evidence. Here was also made clear how collaboration between rescue archaeology and academic archaeologists had become instrumental in generating and contextualizing finds (see Quirós Castillo 2013). Four years later, in 2012, the same university hosted a hugely important conference dedicated to the palaeoenvironmental disciplines and to the reconstruction of landscapes (Quirós Castillo 2014): work presented here demonstrated the significant growth in archaeological analyses of farming and husbandry activities for historic periods and, above all, the early medieval centuries; from this have come more complex discussions on socio-ecological dynamics (e.g. Blanco-Gonzalez *et al.* 2015).

The ground covered

For long, the hitherto scarce interest in and application of landscape archaeology – plus the problems and costs involved in running such projects – hindered coherent or realistic assessments of early medieval landscapes. But the recent developments in Iberian archaeology noted above, chiefly rescue-related, have generated sometimes sizeable and very detailed data from late antique, early medieval and medieval farms, villages and hamlets (Vigil-Escalera 2000; Azkarate and Quirós Castillo 2001; Ariño 2013). As a result scholars have had to rapidly get to grips with a rich body of evidence regarding economic activities (from ceramics to grain silos), settlement form and evolution, and social structures (see volumes edited by Caballero *et al.* 2003; Vigil-Escalera 2000; 2006; Vigil-Escalera and Quirós Castillo 2016). Arguably this has led to a swift emergent maturity in Iberian late antique and early medieval archaeology.

¹ School of Archaeology & Ancient History, University of Leicester.

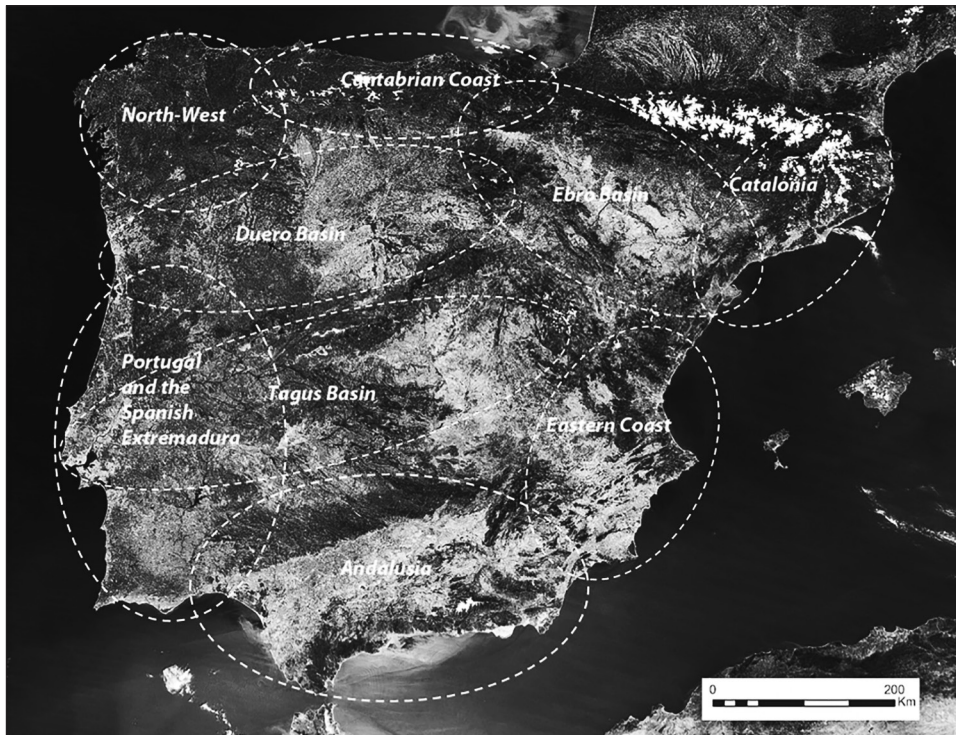


Figure 1 Iberian Peninsula: the nine geographical areas considered in this study.

These studies have combined to identify, broadly, two main phases within the time period under scrutiny here (summarized in Vigil-Escalera and Quirós Castillo 2012). The first, running from the 5th to 7th centuries AD, shows both a full breakdown of the old Roman settlement hierarchies and a foundation of a new type of landscape organization, one articulated by a fairly dense network of villages. The second reflects substantial change in the 8th century AD, marked historically by the arrival of Islamic groups from the south Mediterranean and archaeologically evidenced by the abandonment of many of the preceding period's rural sites and establishment of a new type of nucleation (this topic will not, however, be covered in this article). These two phases reveal a great diversity and complexity in the unitary geographic concept of the Peninsula, with different patterns of transformation evident, variously affected by the different power groups that prevailed, notably the Visigoths in the core of Iberia, the Suevi in the north-western corner, and the Byzantine military province in the southeast – to name only the most stable of these polities. Such territorial compartmentalization had in fact already existed during the Roman rule of Hispania but, as we will see, this intensified in the Early Middle Ages; this fact alone impacts on efforts to generate a coherent vision of the process.

The aim of this paper is to present an overview of the most significant studies in settlement patterns in Iberia in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Obviously, a short paper cannot fully take account of every publication and all trends in the excavated evidence and in current thought and interpretation in this growing field and no doubt I have neglected a number of relevant studies. Nonetheless, I hope that this outline will be sufficient to draw the main results and issues so far and offer readers an informed idea at least of the socio-economic and settlement dynamics in Spain in these transitional

centuries. Below I will consider nine main geographical areas (Fig. 1) as zones of analysis for assessing the characteristics of this territorial fragmentation and the principal trends and changes that can be traced in the rural contexts of the Iberian Peninsula.

1. The Duero Basin

In the west of the Peninsula, far from the Mediterranean area, lies the Duero basin, a substantial area of c. 90,000 km², formed by a high plateau surrounded by mountain chains. The valley consists of extensive plains crossed by the River Duero (almost 900 km in length, between Spanish and Portuguese territory) before draining into the Atlantic Ocean.

This area has been characterized by a much more ruralized Roman landscape (Díaz 1994; Chavarria Arnau 2006) than other parts of *Hispania*, even if incorporating a number of large urban centers – though the majority of these were abandoned in Late Antiquity, including *Termes* and *Uxama* (Dohijo 2011), and a few even before then, such as *Clunia* (Palol 1991). Note, however, that a few towns do maintain some economic and political role into the Visigothic period, such as *Legio* (Gutiérrez Gonzalez *et al.* 2010). The large *villa* estate properties, some of them very lavish, were instead dominant, with many persisting until the mid-5th century AD, after which we see the collapse of the Roman rural system and the decay – and subsequent avoidance of – the *villae* (Chavarria Arnau 2007; Quirós Castillo and Vigil Escalera 2006; Ariño 2013).

Unfortunately, the archaeological record is fragmentary and it is difficult to draw an overall picture. What seems clear is that the weakness and breakdown of the urban settlements in this zone promoted the occupation and sometimes re-occupation of hilltop sites, some of these featuring protohistoric fortifications

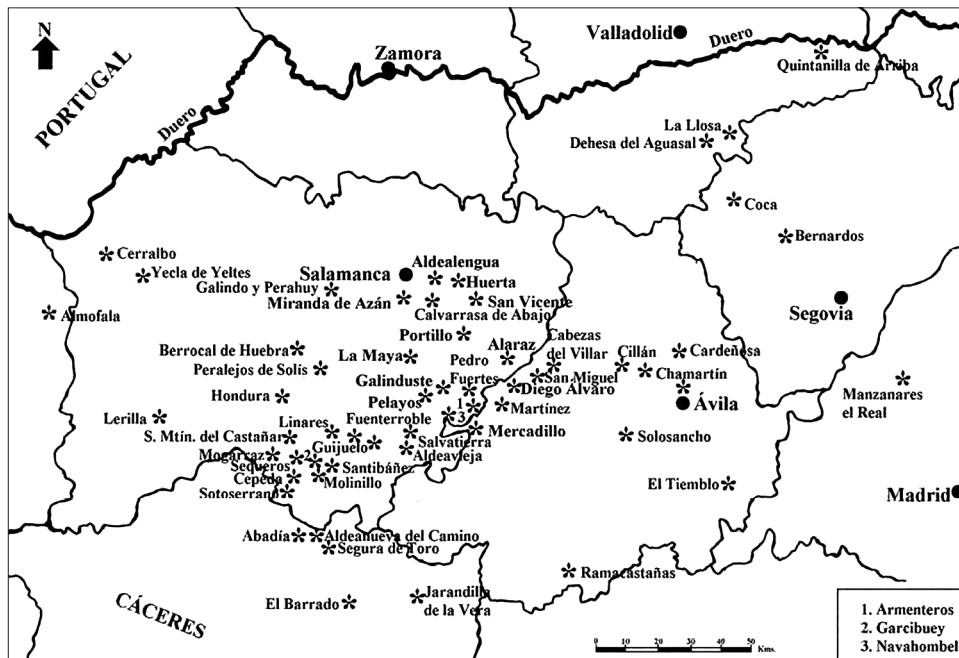


Figure 2 Distribution of the findspots of Visigothic slates in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula (from Martín Viso 2006).

(Quirós Castillo 2011a). Such sites were located mainly on the margins of urban territories or else in spaces lacking towns, presumably articulating and overseeing these 'empty' areas. While few of these hilltop sites have seen any detailed study, nonetheless, it seems that in those examples where surveys have occurred, occupation was fairly short-term, perhaps only until the end of the 6th century (see Vigil-Escalera and Tejerizo García 2014). One of the better known of this type of enclosed hilltop site is Bernardos, located between the urban centres of *Cauca* and *Segontia* (Fuentes and Barrio 1999; Gonzalo González 2006).

Apart from these hilltop sites and the enfeebled towns, we can also recognise the emergence of new farms and village communities from *c.* AD 500, generally set on lower to middle slopes and in the plain; their numbers signify a fairly busy exploitation of the landscape, one perhaps centred on animal husbandry (Tejerizo García 2013).

Strikingly, unlike other areas in the Peninsula, Mediterranean pottery imports appear completely absent from the 6th century onwards in the Duero zone (Quirós Castillo 2011a). Nevertheless, this lack need not denote a total rupture in the economy since palynological studies confirm some high-level production in this area (López Sáez *et al.* 2009; Quirós Castillo 2011a) and ceramic studies have helped to identify regional pottery styles emerging (Gutiérrez González and Hernández 2016 for the *Legio*-León area; more broadly, see papers in the volume edited by Vigil-Escalera Guirado and Quirós Castillo 2016).

The formation of these new types of rural settlements was probably a consequence of the dismantling process of the imperial economy – *i.e.* a weakened urban-rural infrastructure, reduced need for intensive land exploitation, diminished markets, and reversion to a more self-sufficient outlook. Nevertheless, archaeologically, it is very complicated to seek to observe this relationship between these new 'post-classical' habitats and the decay of the previous *villae* system (and other minor sites, like

vici, *mansiones*, *stationes*), even if the chronological coincidence appears evident. For example, in the territory of *Salmantica*, recent survey and excavation (Ariño and Rodríguez Hernández 1997; Ariño 2006; Ariño *et al.* 2002; Ariño *et al.* 2012) support the image of *villas* failing as seats of residence for elites in the later 4th and early 5th century, and then witnessing later, Visigothic-period site activity in terms of ephemeral housing structures, work areas, rubbish tips and burials (small to large-scale level). In the Santa Teresa reservoir zone, another type of settlement emerged in a site previously lacking Roman occupation, but distinguished by more stable structures (*i.e.* stone-built and more ordered), which might represent a monastic or an aristocratic complex. Very distinctive and fascinating finds from some of these site types are 'inscribed slates' – labelled as *Pizarras Visigodas* (Velázquez Soriano 1989, 2000) – comprising thin stones with inscribed texts in Latin, often lists, which, while there are still problems of interpretation, appear to represent a form of private documentation for these late antique groups. There are three basic typologies to these slates: numeric, textual (with religious, contractual or judicial texts) and figured (featuring drawings of religious buildings and agriculture works). One recent view sees a tributary significance to these slates, reflecting thereby some legal communications channel linking the central or regional authority with local powers/elites. Certainly they are striking evidence for a literate and functional Visigothic administration, aware of ownerships, economic needs and agricultural production (Martín Viso 2006b; Díaz and Martín Viso 2011). Such inscribed slates are in fact fairly common in the regions of Salamanca and Ávila, in central Iberia, and have a date range that perhaps spans the 6th to 8th centuries (Fig. 2).

2. The North-West

In addressing north-western *Hispania*, in this paper I primarily refer to the old Roman province of *Gallaecia*

(under Suevic control until the end of the 6th century), although it is not unusual to see in some studies a larger territorial demarcation which also includes the entire Duero basin. As in the Duero valley, this region featured a low number of *civitates* in the Roman period compared to other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. However, strikingly, many of these urban centres here survived through into the Middle Ages, sometimes in good health, as seems evident for the Augustan foundations of *Lucus*, *Bracara* and *Asturica*; similarly, *vici* such as Iria, Vigo, Orense and Tuy endured and evolved (Perez Losada 2002). Even the *villae* saw some extended life, in some cases to the central decades of the 6th century (López Quiroga 2004b). Archaeology has traced also a higher number of other, scattered secondary rural or semi-urban centres (Pérez Losada 2002, 51; López Quiroga 2004a; Sánchez Pardo and Rodríguez Resino 2009). An important spatial relationship can be recognized between these small-scale farming operations and the creation, from the 4th to 6th century, of the subsequent settlement structure (Sánchez Pardo 2008). This scattered pattern persisted into Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in the form of farms and hamlets; studies also indicated that the origins of many agricultural terraces lie between the 5th and 8th century (Ballesteros-Arias and Blanco-Rotea 2009; Ballesteros-Arias 2010).

Information about these rural sites and their domestic structures and spaces is somewhat restricted, since in the majority of cases, from their roots until the 13th century – when the process of formation of the rural population structure had ceased – occupation was often continuous (Bouhier 2001). Nevertheless, there are well-known cases, including A Pousada and As Pereiras (Ballesteros-Arias *et al.* 2006; Aboal Fernández and Cobas Fernández 1999), whose foundations as compact villages and hamlets lies in the 6th–7th centuries. Although mainly built with perishable materials, stones were also used in a sort of mixed technique (Sánchez Pardo 2010, 292–3). In the case of As Pereiras, we can identify an open agrarian settlement activated in the 3rd century AD, which shows a likely revitalisation in the Early Middle Ages; A Pousada by contrast emerges from the 6th/7th century as an agriculturally-oriented site with five pits or open *silos* excavated; a group of domestic spaces developed here from the 7th to 8th centuries.

Gallaecia also features a large number of inhabited hilltop sites of late antique and early medieval date, spread throughout the territory, although mainly sited in valleys and the more fertile agrarian areas (cf. Sanchez Pardo 2013, 153). It was relatively commonplace here to reuse former Iron Age hillforts, predominantly of small to medium size, between 0.1 and 5 ha (Sánchez Pardo 2012; 2013, 154); but some larger sites exist, from 6 to 24 ha, such as Aloia, Castro Valente and Pindo, endowed with sizeable curtain walls which suggest the presence of, or at least the control of these sites by, an aristocracy (even if supporting archaeological proof is scarce; Sánchez Pardo 2013, 154).

These were the principal characteristics of landscape articulation or organization in early medieval *Gallaecia*. The main difference between this and other peninsular areas is the clear tendency towards a polynuclear settlement structure, where house units lay some distance apart from one another, even if within one communal

area, sometimes called *possessor* (Sánchez Pardo and Rodríguez Resino 2009, 141–5). In this shared space a church normally lay as a focal axis; these churches tend to be early medieval in origin, not late antique (Sánchez Pardo 2008, 504–7). Many of these churches would later become feudal parish seats from the 11th century, often then re-founded in Romanesque form with associated churchyards (Rodríguez Resino 2008; pre-11th century phases to these cemeteries have not yet been identified).

3. The Cantabrian Coast

This area, in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, bordering with the Cantabrian Sea, can be divided into two research regions: the Basque Country and the regions of Cantabria and Asturias. Along with research in the Madrid region, studies undertaken in these areas, especially in the Basque Country, are probably front-runners in the analysis of rural settlement patterns in early medieval Spain.

A less dense urban network prevailed in the Basque Country than in other peninsular areas. In fact, only *Veliea*, in the southern sector of the Álava plain, can be considered an urban centre, until its abandonment by *c.* AD 500 (Fillooy and Gil 2000, 55). There were *civitates* or secondary clusters, like Arce, Arcaya and Espejo in Álava, and the modern Irún, named *Oiasso*, at the mouth of the River Bidasoa. Besides these, there were *villae*, such as Cabriana and Uralde and *vici* like Mariturri (Quirós Castillo and Vigil-Escalera 2006, 20–2; Quirós Castillo 2009; 2011a). This situation collapsed by the end of the 5th century, when a re-sizing of the *civitates* and a functional transformation of many of the *villae* occurred. The key difference between this area and, for example, the Duero Basin is that when this change happened, there is no ‘replacement’ pattern such as fortresses or other kinds of fortified hilltop site (Quirós Castillo 2009, 388–9; 2011a); currently the only known case is at Bilibio, set in a position to peripheral the Álava plain, closer to the Ebro valley, and comprising a fortified site associated with a church and occupied from the 5th–6th century; it perhaps persists across the whole early medieval period (Unzueta and Martín-Salcedo 1994). In addition, there seems to have been a scarcity of monumental churches and ‘central places’, making it difficult to propose the mode of territorial organization. This does not mean that no rural aristocracies were operating here, but these were probably on a very low scale (Quirós Castillo 2011a, 305), not easily detectable by archaeologists.

The regional landscape in this transitional period was defined instead by a high level of heterogeneity of settlements, including small villages, hamlets and farms. Farms like La Erilla, displaying a short lifespan between the 5th and 6th century, were perhaps unusual, since such rural sites often had a longer occupation, sometimes consolidated as villages in the 8th century (Quirós Castillo 2009, 387–90). These longer-lived communities often were located near to Roman sites, as at Zaballa, Aistra, Zornoztegi (where the dispersed house units with stone footings dating from the 5th century were replaced in the 8th century by a larger village: Quirós Castillo 2009, 390–8 – Fig. 3) and Gasteiz, now an urban site, but with a small Roman predecessor and a seemingly



Figure 3 Village of Zornoztegi (Salvatierra, Agurain), excavation 2006 (from Quirós Castillo and Vigil-Escalera 2006).

stable village from the 7th century (Azkarate and Quirós Castillo 2001; Azkarate and Solaun 2009). In fact, these villages were not organized into what might be labelled as networks until the 8th century (Quirós Castillo and Vigil-Escalera 2006; Quirós 2011a). In addition, one can recognize a rather specialized form of agriculture and livestock rearing in these sites, with a domestic mode of production, but no high-quality material culture (Azkarate *et al.* 2003).

A detailed analysis of these types of village and their domestic units has been made (Azkarate and Quirós Castillo 2001; Quirós Castillo 2011b), with good discussion possible on house forms, storage – particularly in terms of numerous silos cut into the ground, sometimes lined – and open spaces such as yards and even orchards. Unlike in the Duero Basin, this area features longhouse structures (Quirós Castillo 2011b).

Relevant is the study of the management of communal areas in the Basque Country and in the Cantabrian Mountains across the Roman to medieval period (see Fernández Mier and Quirós Castillo 2015), for both livestock and wood exploitation, since links can be made between the consolidation of the village network and a growing exploitation of agricultural, livestock and natural resources.

Also of note is the extended level of scholarly interest in rupestrian – cave or rock-cut – habitats across both the regions (Gutiérrez González 1982). Such sites appear to have been an important trend in our study period, evident in rupestrian hamlets like Los Moros in Corro in the Álava region (Quirós Castillo 2009; more broadly, see papers in López Quiroga and Martínez Tejera 2014). Various projects have studied caves and their (re)use in the Early Middle Ages (Fernández Mier 2009; Quirós Castillo and Alonso 2007), revealing a proportion perhaps linked to eremitic or monastic activity or retreats, but others linked to pastoral usage.

Our second region in the Cantabrian Coast is formed by Asturias and Cantabria. Both are crossed by the

Cantabrian Range, one of the main mountain ranges in Spain, running for over 300 km from the western limit of the Pyrenees to the Galician Massif. It is in this area that we see the most rugged valleys and mountains with swift-flowing rivers. In its southern limits – mainly the region of León – it could be considered as part of the Duero basin, but in its mountainous character it fits better within the Cantabrian section.

The most important *civitas* in this region is the modern Gijón, but there were other *civitates*, including *Flaviobriga*, modern Castro Urdiales. From the 6th century these urban centres suffered processes of abandonment, while fortified enclaves developed (Añibarro Rodríguez 2009). Rural organization here varies depending on the terrain: in the mountainous zones of Asturias and León villas seem completely absent (Fernández Mier 2011); in contrast, in the environs of Gijón, a higher number of *villae* occur. Mostly active into the 5th century, after this period, a majority were re-occupied with impermanent (timber) structures and sometimes with necropoleis, as seen in Beloños (Carrocera and Requejo 1989). The best-known example is the *villa* of Veranes, featuring burials of the 6th and 7th centuries and with a church built over the former *triclinium*. Elsewhere we can observe, in the 7th century, some industrial activity in and around the former villas, perhaps associated with robbing and recycling of the ruins (Fernández Ochoa *et al.* 2004).

As elsewhere in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, the occupation of hilltops is fairly commonplace in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Some of these sites had their origins in proto-historic times, such as the Asturian *castella* of Mohías and Coañas (Fernández Mier 2009) and San Emiliano, Cospedal and Mallo in León (Gutiérrez González 2002). This use/reuse was not always long-lived. One key site is Castro Ventosa, close to – and perhaps heir or refuge to – the *civitas Bergidum Flavium*, showing a fairly notable level of occupation during the 4th and 5th centuries (Balboa

de Paz *et al.* 2003; Fernández Mier 2009). A similar new power centre or central place may have lain at the castle of Cea (Léon). Systematic survey in this area has detected an early medieval settlement network, which saw transformation around the 10th century (Fernández Mier *et al.* 2013; Fernández Mier *et al.* 2014).

Besides such upland seats, other rural sites such as villages and hamlets have been recognised, usually demonstrating a clear relationship with animal husbandry and transhumance practices (Gutiérrez González and Múñiz López 2004). Some of these latter sites appear at an altitude of between 1200 and 1300 m, close to water courses, pasturage and also metal deposits (Fernández Mier 2009). Less common are lower-level, plain sites such as Corao (Cangas de Onís, Asturias) (Requejo Pagés and Gutiérrez González 2009).

4. The Ebro Basin

Unfortunately, archaeological data for the fluvial basin of the Ebro – with an area of *c.* 40,000 km² and a length of 840 km – and its evolution in post-classical times are currently very limited. Apart from the final stretch of the river in the Catalan region (see below) and its source area in the north (see above), the available evidence provides little detail (note, however, useful first efforts to clarify the regional ceramics: Hernández Vera and Bienes 2004). In its northern zone, in La Rioja, recent work points to an interesting *castra* network, perhaps active from the 7th century, with a seemingly exclusive military occupation (Tejado 2011); this probably relates to the Visigothic state's strategic control of access lines into the interior (the Meseta) of the Peninsula (see Tejado 2014).

5. Catalonia

The region of Catalonia, covering *c.* 32,000 km², has deep geographical differences between the heavily urbanized littoral zone and the interior, with its mountainous zones and flat lands. Consequent to a spate of public works and private constructions during the first decade of this century, a good number of sites have been identified, although there are some geographical biases due to urban building programmes – hence the higher site concentration around Barcelona (Fortó *et al.* 2009; Roig Buxó 2011a; Coll and Roig Buxó 2011).

While work by Roig Buxó (2009; 2011b) has explored late antique to early medieval rural evolutions, one can note that two of the most important archaeological sites for this period and region have been known for a long time. The first of these, El Bolavar (Serós, Lérida), was a Visigothic settlement with cemetery and basilica complex, with the village seemingly emerging in connection with the basilica (Palol 1989; 1999, 145–6). The second site is the *castellum* of Puigrom (Rosas, Gerona), a well defended hilltop settlement whose chronology covers the 6th and 7th centuries (Palol 2004). Both sites are currently exceptions in the rural panorama. The landscape also contained upland, but undefended hamlets, of small size (125–500 m²) such as Vilaclara (Castellfollit del Boix, Barcelona) and Collet dels Clapers (Pinos, Lérida), which lack antecedent Roman activity (Enrich *et al.* 1995; Guàrdia 2000; Roig

Buxó 2009, 230–1).

However, these site types are not common: prevalent are *ex novo* open village and hamlet sites in the plains or ones marking a re-occupation of *villa* sites after their abandonment by the 5th century. This site reuse was marked by a preference towards the peripheral zones of the *villae* which had not previously been developed (Gurt and Navarro 2005), as witnessed in the Plaza Mayor area of Castellar del Vallés (Barcelona), where a small village of timber huts grew up between the decayed villa's productive and residential sectors. Building technologies were far removed from the Roman past, lacking mortar and using perishable materials such as wood and clay; sites do, however, show a level of order and organization in the location of domestic units, productive areas and burials (Roig Buxó 2009, 214–15).

Moreover, a recent analysis of the Christianization of landscape in this area by Sales Carbonell (2011) enables recognition of an important spread and development in Christian buildings in the late antique *Tarraconensis*, in both urban and rural contexts. Particularly interesting is the probable link between transhumant routes in the pre-Pyrennees with the phenomenon of monasticism and with the location of the episcopal sees of *Ilerda* and *Vregllum* (Sales Carbonell and Salazar Ortiz 2013).

6. The Tagus Basin

A notable body of archaeological data for our study period stems from the administrative region of Madrid. Here, however, we employ the wider territorial concept of the Tagus basin to link in with the major urban centre of *Toletum*, the capital of the Visigothic Kingdom from the mid-6th century (summarized in Velázquez Soriano and Ripoll 2000). Apart from Toledo, the Roman landscape in this central zone of the Iberian Peninsula featured a number of other urban foci including the episcopal sees of *Ercavica* (Barroso Cabrera *et al.* 2014), *Complutum* and *Segobriga*, and the Visigothic royal foundation of *Recopolis* created by King Leovigild in AD 578 (all three of these cities and their late antique images are addressed in the edited volume Olmo 2008); there was also an array of large *villae*, some of them really sumptuous, such as Carranque (Fernández-Galiano *et al.* 2001). Once more, from the mid-5th century we begin to see a general abandonment of *villae* (Chavarría Arnau 2006; 2007) and the failure of some urban centres.

Nevertheless, the region's late antique and early medieval settlement pattern is one of the best known in the Peninsula. For over a decade in the Madrid region, within an area of *c.* 800 km² between the rivers Jarama and Guadarrama, tributaries of the Tagus, a large number of archaeological sites have been studied (though with many unfortunately destroyed) in rescue excavations connected to various public infrastructure and other works belonging to the urban explosion of the 1990s and earliest 21st century: more than 50 villages and a dozen farms have been identified, plus other types of structures as well as necropoleis (Quirós Castillo and Vigil-Escalera 2006; Vigil-Escalera 2007; 2009; 2015; Quirós Castillo 2011a, 289–94).

Some occupation of hilltop sites occurred in this period but much less intensively than in the Duero basin, probably because of a stronger residual urban role in the



Figure 4 Boundaries between different households, a fenced pathway and cultivated plots in the eastern half of the village of Gózquez (from Vigil-Escalera *et al.* 2014).

territorial organization. Nevertheless, some important hilltop sites are known, including the fortified Pontón de la Oliva (Patones, Madrid), with proto-historic and Roman Republican roots predating a reoccupation from at least the 5th century AD (Cuadrado 1991; Vigil-Escalera 2007; 2012; 2015, 241–4). The landscape was meanwhile densely populated by villages and farms – a pattern which endures to the present day – following two principal forms (Vigil-Escalera 2009; Quirós Castillo 2011a). Firstly, we can observe the formation of a village settlement caused by the gradual break-up of a Roman property, as proposed for El Pelicano, set close to a ruinous late antique *villa*, and reusing some of the old Roman field plots (Vigil Escalera 2007; 2009; 2015, 250–1); in such instances, an associated cemetery is often traced, spanning the 5th to 8th/9th century (Vigil-Escalera 2009, 321). Second are *ex novo* settlements, with evident early planning, such as Gózquez (Fig. 4), established in the early 6th century and abandoned in the mid-8th (Vigil-Escalera 2009, 329–31; Vigil-Escalera *et al.* 2014). In both cases, relationships can be identified with local urban markets or other commercial centres, although it is important to stress that products tend to become more regional-based and are rarely of high-quality, especially after *c.* AD 650 (Vigil-Escalera 2003; Quirós Castillo 2011a). Furthermore, the archaeology points to more basic productive strategies in farming and animal husbandry alongside a more intensive exploitation of the natural environment (see Hernández Beloqui *et al.* 2013). From the palaeobiological analyses, we know the main kind of crops – wheat and barley – which were stored in private and some communal *silos*, with primarily sheep-goat livestock and, to a lesser extent, cattle as well as wild birds (Vigil-Escalera 2007, 272–3; Vigil-Escalera *et al.* 2014).

7. Portugal and the Spanish Extremadura

The ancient province of *Lusitania* covered modern Portugal, the Spanish region of Extremadura and some

areas of the left slope of the Duero basin. Since a wide variety of landscapes exists in this area (Cerrillo 2012), from the Atlantic coast to the interior, it is difficult to make coherent generalizations on late antique evolutions and dynamics, both urban and rural. In fact, in some areas, such as the Alentejo plains, the picture is less clear (Alarcão *et al.* 1990), although a number of current surveys in this area should help to refine this (Carneiro 2014). In others we can paint at least a provisional image. For example, the area between the provincial frontier of the Duero and the Mondego valley corresponds largely to the southern part of the Suevic kingdom and thanks to a unique document, the *Parrochiale Suevum* (the ‘Suevic Parish List’ compiled the second half of the 6th century), we know the names of the locations of parishes and their relationship to the sites of later medieval villages. One striking feature here is the lack of correlation between early medieval village sites and late Roman *villae* (Alarcão 2004, 17; De Man 2012, 102; De Man 2014). Although *villae* did not survive, some evidence points to the maintenance of some of their field systems and boundaries, as attested in the Leiria region (Bernardes 2005, 570–4).

Occupation of hilltop sites has been traced in some areas, where late antique *castra* persisted as early medieval defended communities (De Man 2012). Some reuse of former Iron Age hilltop settlement sites occurs in the 5th or 6th century, as in the Paiva region (Vieira 2004); but the precise date of creation (perhaps initially in some cases as occasional refuges?) cannot always be easily determined. In the case of Castro do Tintinholho, in Upper Mondego, the defences (a curtain wall and a quadrangular tower) appear in place from at least the 6th century (Tente 2012; Tente and Martín Viso 2012).

A more secure sequence is recognized for the *territorium* of *Augusta Emerita*, capital of the *diocesis Hispaniarum* until the 5th century (Arce 1999, 79–80; Cordero Ruiz 2013). Here too we see a notable rise in prosperity for many *villas* in the 4th century with development of their storage and productive structures

(see Álvarez Martínez *et al.* 2002; Cordero Ruiz and Franco Moreno 2012, 152–3). By the 6th century at the latest, most of these *villae* had undergone important transformations, with spaces abandoned and impoverished structures imposed, and even set over the old mosaics. It was previously argued that these *villae* became *vici* (García Moreno 1989, 205–6), but the current quality of evidence warrants caution in this claim; in fact, some studies reveal a level of continuity in the occupation of these villa sites, as at Terrón Blanco (Chamizo Castro 2007), but without being able to say exactly what kind of settlement these were or what they became.

Particular attention has lately been given to the process of rural Christianization in this region, given the evidence of churches in excavations at large villas like La Cocosa and Torre Águila (Rodríguez Martín 1988; Chavarría Arnau 2007, 262; Cordero Ruiz and Franco Moreno 2012, 156–7). Perhaps these were initially private churches; many did not function as parishes for a wider population, since most villa churches do not extend far into the Early Middle Ages. Churches, however, did not always coincide with villas; the examples of Casa Herrera and San Pedro de Mérida show churches related to early Visigothic settlements (Cordero Ruiz and Sastre de Diego 2010; Cordero Ruiz 2014).

8. Andalusia

Andalusia, the southernmost region of Spain, is one of the best explored areas with regard to Roman urbanism, featuring a notable concentration of urban centres. Knowledge of the contemporary rural organization is good, but focussed strongly on *villae* (Hidalgo *et al.* 2013–14). The picture is less secure for later landscape evolutions, and although recent studies have enhanced the dataset researchers are still uncertain about the overall picture. In the lower Guadalquivir (western *Baetica*), for example, from the 5th century, it has been argued that settlements in the plains and in riverine areas were abandoned and that elevated sites – sometimes old late Iron Age/Iberic *oppida* sites – were favoured instead (but seemingly without defences) (Carr 2002, 201–3). However, a new argument sees only open settlements located close to water courses being quitted, while some sites in the plains controlling/overseeing communication routes (fluvial and terrestrial) continued into the 6th century (García Vargas and Vázquez Paz 2012, 245–6). The loss of the original functions of *villae* like Las Canteras, Fuente Quintillos and Altos de Valdeparrillos (Seville province) is meanwhile dated to the 5th century, if with some partial re-occupation/reuse in the 6th (García Vargas and Vázquez Paz 2012, 246–56).

In eastern *Baetica*, a number of *civitates*, including *Sexi* (Almuñecar) and *Salambina* (Salobreña) disappeared in the 5th to 6th centuries, although there is a coincident occupation of some hilltops close to these failed urban sites (Gomez Becerra 1998, 466–70). In fact, in nearby *Bastetania*, the 6th and 7th centuries see a predominance of elevated habitats (Salavdor Oyonate 2011, 541–3). In this area and others, such as around Almería (Rodríguez López and Cara Barrionuevo 1989, 455) and Sierra Nevada (Martín Civantos *et al.* 2010; Román Punzón and Martín Civantos 2014, 63–5), a

closer relationship of sites with natural resources for hunting and mining can be recognised. But other mining areas, notably those formerly overseen by the State – e.g. Riotinto (Huelva) – saw major collapses in activity in the 5th century (Pérez Macías 1998).

A revitalisation of the lowlands began in the 7th century, although some hilltop sites probably persisted as points of territorial control (Jiménez Puertas 2002, 93); these included the old *oppidum* of Alrután, occupied across the 5th to 10th centuries. This phenomenon of hilltop usage was especially dense in eastern Andalusia from the 5th century, whereas in the west, a high concentration of urban centres endured and continued to control the territory into the Early Middle Ages (Román Punzón and Martín Civantos 2014, 76).

9. Eastern coast

Halfway between the southern and the eastern Iberian coast, in the southern part of the province of Albacete, we find the interesting urban centre of El Tolmo de Minateda – the Visigothic site of *Eio* and the Muslim *Iyyuh* – a Roman town refounded by *c.* AD 600 as an episcopal see (with its extraordinary episcopal complex comprising a large basilica, baptistery and palace). Its importance lay in its strategic position between *Toletum*, the Visigothic royal capital, and *Carthago Spatia*, the Byzantine provincial capital (Abad Casal *et al.* 2000). From the 2nd century AD, we observe a growth in rural settlements, especially *villae* (Gutiérrez Lloret and Grau Mira 2012, 177); in Late Antiquity, some *villae* were abandoned but others reveal a level of continuity until the Arab Emiral period, although where occupation persisted there is a displacement, as evident in the *villae* of Torre Uchea and of Agra. In addition, there were *ex novo* settlements (e.g. Loma Lencina and Loma Eugenia), and small villages with associated burial areas, usually occupying hills in fertile areas. Noticeably, the chronology of these, emergent around the 7th century, coincided with the urban renewed activity and the peak of the Tolmo de Minateda complex (Gutiérrez Lloret and Grau Mira 2012, 190–3).

The region of Murcia included *Carthago Spartia*, the leading city in the compact Byzantine province, which had been carved out as part of the imperial efforts to regain the lost western Roman provinces in the 540s AD; this territory survived against the Visigothic state until *c.* 625. Other key imperial coastal centres featuring ports/harbours were *Malaca* and *Traducta* (in Andalusia) and Ceuta (in North Africa) (Vizcaíno 2009). This maritime emphasis facilitated the importation of eastern Mediterranean and North African goods into the 7th century in the province (Murcia Muñoz 2000, 380). In the *territorium* of *Carthago Spartia* – and in general in suburban contexts of this region – a continuity can be traced between the old *villae* and new village settlements in terms of site location, as seen in Cucarell, Villa Asuncion and Pozo Blanco (Murcia Muñoz 2000), whereas in other parts of the Murcian region such villages lay in the vicinity of former villas, but did not overlie their built space (Murcia Muñoz 2010, 146–51; Ramallo *et al.* 2012).

After the Visigothic conquest of this Byzantine enclave, most of the noted ports ceased to function

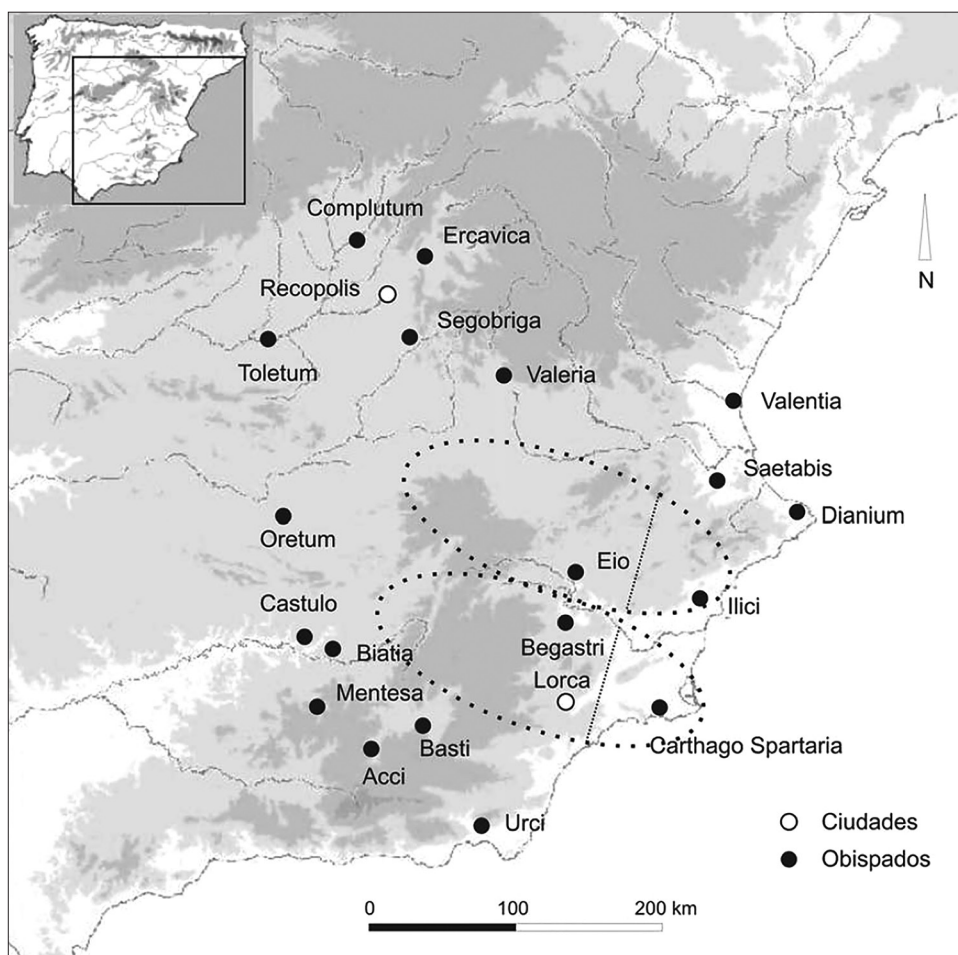


Figure 5 Principal urban centres (open circles) and bishoprics (black circles) in the Iberian eastern coast (from Gutiérrez Lloret and Grau Mira 2012).

as commercial nodes, and imports largely fail (García Moreno 2001). In the current state of knowledge, this Visigothic takeover made no major difference to the landscape articulation, with many villages persisting into the 8th century. Meanwhile, as these coastal foci faded, we see other towns like *Eio* and *Begastri* revive, with a likely matched growth in their hinterlands (Fig. 5).

Northwards, in the sizeable *territorium* of *Valentia*, in a general context of crisis – evident in urban centres like *Edeta* and *Saguntum* – most of the *villae* fail in the 5th century. A few persist in some fashion, however, until the Islamic period (Jiménez *et al.* 2014, 273): one example is the villa of L'Horta Vella, which shrank into a Visigothic farm (Jiménez *et al.* 2005). The area also features a small network of fortifications – sites such as Valencia la Vella (Roselló 2000), la Senda de l'Horteta (Alapont and Tormo 2005) and Punt de Cid (Arasa 2000) – which should likely relate to the Visigothic frontier (*limes*) against the noted Byzantine province (Jiménez *et al.* 2014, 274–5).

Conclusions

Changes in settlement, in land use and contacts, were the result of a deep and long transformation in both society and economics in late antique Iberia. People and power in this transitional period experienced a restructuring process with a decreasing central (Roman) authority stimulating the growth of local power groups, many of

which were centred on the large estate landholders. The 5th century witnessed no doubt a complex negotiation of power as new peoples – Suevi and Visigoths especially, but of uncertain numeric scale – moved into and established their own territorial bases, alongside, with or replacing the local elites. As seen above, changes in the rural landscape especially appear to respond to emergent and revised socio-economic trajectories: some villas endure and may signify the old 'order' holding on; others are lost and new foci are established, perhaps signifying new landholders and strategies; and villages and hilltop sites denote more communal rural enterprises. Patterns vary across the Iberian Peninsula, but, as discussed, some common trends do appear evident. This diverse articulation of the rural settlement landscape then underwent new change in the Islamic period.

However, the picture described for Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Spain is uneven, due mainly to problems in the current archaeological record. Nevertheless, we can recognize how the last fifteen years especially has seen much work done, above all within north-west Spain (spanning the Duero Basin and Cantabrian Coast) and in the Madrid region. Things are improving elsewhere in Spain, and publications are appearing, but much still remains to be done, especially in areas like the Ebro valley. However, the results thus far have revealed, as in other European areas, a great diversity and a complex regional heterogeneity (Wickham 2005) – these defining the principal characteristics of this transitional period.

To summarise the main trends in rural Iberia: first we have observed the dismantling of the *villa* system between the 5th and 6th centuries AD and, usually, its substitution with a different kind of occupation, with domestic structures set over either the *pars urbana* or, in other cases, in the *pars rustica*. While this process could be viewed as a continuity of settlement in the territory, there was clearly a different functionality and an altered property. As this dismantling occurred, *ex novo* settlement began also to appear, connected with both fertile and marginal lands. In each scenario the new houses and work spaces conformed to comparable materials and techniques, largely timber-built and much less permanent. Scholars debate, meanwhile, how we should define some of these settlement units, whether villages, hamlets, *vici* or farms and estates.

Particularly interesting is what we might call the 'hilltop settlement phenomenon' which is especially prevalent in the Duero basin. The absence of a solid network of urban centres – with towns in crisis in some cases already in the late Roman period – in this area could be one reason promoting this pattern of upland seats, many defended and implying thereby communities seeking to define and defend their spaces. However, urban weakness cannot be the sole explanation, because in the Basque Country we see a scarce number of urban centres but no upland fortresses, whereas in the regions of Asturias and Cantabria hilltop sites had an important role. Are the differences due to diverse social and military factors? Closer scrutiny of site forms and contents is needed to assess functions and relationships.

While many elements of the late antique and early medieval settlement pattern thus remain confusing or uncertain, the archaeology is at least enabling a better understanding of some aspects of contemporary economic organization and rural production: animal husbandry was the economic base of this society, and developed trade relations seem to be minimal – and also less traceable – than in the Roman period. Furthermore, activities such as forestry, hunting and mining, as evident in some areas of the Cantabrian coast and in Andalusia, may have come to play a more prominent role in rural exploitation and, ultimately, in settlement organization. This was, accordingly, both a simple but also a complex landscape – or set of landscapes – in the post-classical Iberian Peninsula; quite clearly, archaeology – both surveys and excavations (rescue and research) – has much to do to let us define and understand this better. Let's see how far we get.

Acknowledgements

This paper has been written as part of the MED-FARWEST project based at the University of Leicester and funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 658045. My thanks go to Dr Neil Christie for his assistance in checking and improving this paper.

Bibliography

Abad Casal, L., Gutiérrez Lloret, S. and Gamo Parras, B. 2000 La ciudad visigoda del Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete)

- y la sede episcopal de Eio. In *Los orígenes del cristianismo en Valencia y su entorno (Grandes temas arqueológicos II)*. Valencia, 101–12
- Aboal Fernández R. and Cobas Fernández I. 1999 *La arqueología de la Gasificación de Galicia 10. Sondeos en el Yacimiento Romano-Medieval de As Pereiras*, Tapa 13, Santiago de Compostela
- Alapont, L. and Tormo, F. 2005 La necrópolis i les troballes monetàries del jaciment visigòtic de 'la Senda de l'Horteta' en Alcàsser (Valencia). In J. M. Gurt and A. Ribera (eds), *VI Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (Valencia, 2003). Barcelona, 317–22
- Alarcão, J. 2004 *In territorio Colimbrie: lugares velhos (e alguns deles, destembrados) do Mondego*, Trabalhos de Arqueologia 38. Lisboa
- Alarcão, J., Étienne, R. and Mayet, F. 1990 *Les villas romaines de São Cucufate (Portugal)*. Paris
- Álvarez Martínez, J. M., Nogales Basarrate, T., Rodríguez Martín, F. G. and Gorges, J. G. 2002 Los Embalses de Augusta Emerita y de sus alrededores. Estado de la cuestión. In F. Bueno Hernández (ed.), *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de las presas*. Badajoz, 199–255
- Añibarro Rodríguez, J. 2009 El poblamiento de las aldeas costeras en el Cantábrico central durante la Alta Edad Media. Una perspectiva arqueológica. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 191–201
- Arasa, F. 2000 El conjunto monumental de Almenara (la Plana Baixa, Castelló). In A. Ribera (ed.), *Los orígenes del cristianismo en Valencia y su entorno*. Valencia, 113–18
- Arce, J. 1999 Los gobernadores de la Diócesis Hispaniarum (ss. IV–V d.C.) y la continuidad de las estructuras administrativas romanas en la Península Ibérica. *Antiquité Tardive* 7, 73–83
- Arce, J. 2003 The enigmatic fifth century in Hispania. Some historical problems. In H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl (eds), *Regna and Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World (TRW 13)*, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 135–57
- Ariño, E. 2006 Modelos de poblamiento rural en la provincia de Salamanca (España) entre la antigüedad y la Alta Edad Media. *Zephyrus* 59, 317–57
- Ariño, E. 2013 El hábitat rural en la Península Ibérica entre finales del siglo IV y principios del VIII: un ensayo interpretativo. *Antiquité Tardive* 21, 93–123
- Ariño, E., Riera, S. and Rodríguez Hernández, J. 2002 De Roma al Medievo. Estructuras de hábitat y evolución del paisaje vegetal en el territorio de Salamanca. *Zephyrus* 55, 283–309
- Ariño, E., Dahi, S. and Sánchez, E. 2012 Patrones de ocupación rural en el territorio de Salamanca. Antigüedad Tardía y Alta Edad Media. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio*, Anejos de AEspaAr, LXI, 123–45
- Ariño, E. and Rodríguez Hernández, J. 1997 El poblamiento romano y visigodo en el territorio de Salamanca. Datos de una prospección intensiva. *Zephyrus* 50, 225–45
- Azkarate, A. and Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2001 Arquitectura doméstica altomedieval en la Península Ibérica. Reflexiones a partir de las excavaciones arqueológicas de la Catedral de Santa María de Vitoria-Gasteiz, País Vasco. *Archeologia Medievale* 28, 25–60
- Azkarate A. and Solaún, J.L. 2009 Nacimiento y transformación de un asentamiento altomedieval en un futuro centro de poder: Gasteiz desde finales del siglo VII d. C. a inicios del segundo milenio. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages*. Bilbao, 405–428
- Azkarate, A., Solaún, J. L. and Nuñez, J. 2003 Materiales y contextos cerámicos de los siglos VI al X en el País Vasco. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz and M. Retuerce Velasco (eds), *Cerámicas tardorromanas y altomedievales en la Península Ibérica*. Madrid, 321–370
- Balboa de Paz, J.A., Díaz Álvarez, I. and Fernández Vázquez, V. (eds) 2003 *Actas de las Jornadas sobre Castro Ventosa*. Ponferrada
- Ballesteros-Arias, P. 2010 La Arqueología rural y la construcción de un paisaje agrario medieval: el caso de Galicia. In H. Kirchner (ed.), *Por una arqueología agraria. Perspectivas de investigación sobre espacios de cultivo en las sociedades medievales hispánicas*, BAR S2062. Oxford, 185–202
- Ballesteros-Arias P. and Blanco-Rotea R. 2009 Aldeas y espacios agrarios altomedievales en Galicia. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 115–35

- Ballesteros-Arias P., Blanco-Rotea R. and Prieto Martínez, P. 2006 The early mediaeval site of A Pousada (Santiago de Compostela, A Coruña, Spain). In J. A. Quirós Castillo and A. Vigil-Escalera 2006, *Networks of peasant villages between Toledo and Velega Alabense, Northwestern Spain (V–Xth Centuries)*, *Archeologia Medieval* 33, 79–128
- Barroso Cabrera, R., Carrobes, J., Diarte-Blasco, P. and Morín, J. 2014 La evolución del suburbio y territorio ercavicense desde la tardía Antigüedad a la época hispanovisigoda. In J. López Quiroga and A. M. Martínez Tejera (eds), *In concavis petrarum habitaverunt. El fenómeno rupestre en el Mediterráneo Medieval: de la investigación a la puesta en valor*. Archaeological Studies on Late Antiquity and Early Medieval Europe (AD 400–1000). BAR S2591. Oxford, 257–94
- Bernardes J. P. 2005 Entre Romanos e Medievos. O problema do povoamento da região de Leiria durante a Alta Idade Média. *Arquipélago, História*, 2a serie IX, 563–76
- Blanco-González A., López-Sáez J. A., Alba F., Abel D. and Pérez S. 2015 Medieval landscapes in the Spanish Central System (450–1350): a palaeoenvironmental and historical perspective. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 7 (1), 1–17
- Bouhier, A. 2001 *Galicja. Ensaio xeográfico de análise e interpretación de un vello complexo agrario*. Santiago de Compostela
- Brogio G.P. and Chavarría Arnau, A. 2005 *Aristocrazie e campagne nell'Occidente da Costantino a Carlo Magno*. Florence
- Caballero, L., Mateos, P. and Retuerce, M. (eds) 2003 *Cerámicas tardorromanas y altomedievales en la Península Ibérica. Ruptura y continuidad*. Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología XXVIII. Madrid
- Carneiro, A. 2014 Poder e território: o Alto Alentejo entre o Império e a Antiguidade Tardia. In F. Cerqueira, A. T. Gonçalves, E. Medeiros and D. Leão (eds), *Saberes e poderes no Mundo Antigo*. Estudos ibero-latino-americanos Volume II – Dos poderes, Coimbra, 261–81
- Carr, K. E. 2002 *Vandals to Visigoths. Rural Settlement Patterns in Early Medieval Spain*. Ann Arbor
- Carrocer Fernández, E. and Requejo Pagés, O. 1989 Producciones cerámicas tardías en castros y villas asturianas. *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval* 3, 21–30
- Cerrillo, E. 2012 El mundo rural tardoantiguo en Lusitania. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio*, Anejos de AEspaAr, LXI, 65–77
- Chamizo de Castro, J. J. 2007 La Vía de la Plata, testigo mudo de la ocupación del territorio emeritense. Intervención arqueológica realizada en la finca Terrón Blanco (Mérida). *Memoria* 10, 47–75
- Chavarría Arnau, A. 2006 Romanos y visigodos en el valle del Duero (siglos V–VIII). *Lancia* 6 (2004–05), 191–209
- Chavarría Arnau, A. 2007 *El final de las uillae en Hispania (siglos IV–VIII)*. Turnhout
- Coll J. M. and Roig Buxó J. 2011 La fi de les vil·les romanes baix imperials a la Depressió Prelitoral (segles IV i V): Contextos estratigràfics i registre material per a la seva datació. In *Actes del IV Congrés d'Arqueologia Medieval i Moderna a Catalunya Tarragona del 10 al 13 de juny de 2010*, Ajuntament de Tarragona, ACRAM, Volum I. Tarragona, 161–72
- Cordero Ruiz, T. 2013 *El territorio emeritense durante la Antigüedad Tardía (siglos IV–VIII). Génesis y evolución del mundo rural lusitano*. Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología LXVI. Madrid.
- Cordero Ruiz, T. 2014 La transformación de la arquitectura y el paisaje del sureste de Lusitania durante la Antigüedad Tardía. In S. Gómez, V. Lopes and S. Macías (eds), *O sudoeste peninsular entre Roma e o Islão*. Mértola, 70–91
- Cordero Ruiz, T. and Franco Moreno, T. 2012 El territorio emeritense durante la Antigüedad Tardía y la Alta Edad Media. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio*, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, LXI. Mérida, 143–69
- Cordero Ruiz, T. and Sastre de Diego, I. 2010 El yacimiento de Casa Herrera en el contexto del territorio emeritense. In Olmo, L. (ed.), *Espacios urbanos en el occidente mediterráneo (s. VI–VIII)*. Toledo, 91–7
- Cuadrado, E. 1991 El Castro de la Dehesa de la Oliva. *Arqueología, Paleontología y Etnografía* 2, 189–255
- De Man, A. 2012 Forms of late antique settlement in Lusitania. In R. Annaert, T. Jacobs, I. In 't Ven and S. Coppens (eds), *The Very Beginning of Europe? Cultural and Social Dimensions of Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation (5th–8th Century)*. Brussels, 101–8
- De Man, A. 2014 'Definindo a Lusitânia pós-imperial. Algumas ideias estruturantes'. In R. Catalán, P. Fuentes and J. C. Sastre (eds), *Las fortificaciones en la Tardoantigüedad. Elites y articulación del territorio (siglos V–VIII d.C.)*. Madrid, 13–20
- Diarte-Blasco, P. 2012 *La configuración urbana de la Hispania tardoantigua. Transformaciones y pervivencias de los espacios públicos romanos (s. III–VI d.C.)*. BAR S2429. Oxford
- Diarte-Blasco, P. and Gurti i Esparraguera, J. M. 2015 La percepción del espacio en el urbanismo tardoantiguo: características evolutivas en el ejemplo hispano. *Antiquité Tardive* 23, 307–28
- Díaz, P. C. 1994 La ocupación germánica del valle del Duero: un ensayo interpretativo. *Hispania Antiqua* 18, 457–76
- Díaz, P. C. and Martín Viso, I. 2011 Una contabilidad esquiva: las pizarras numerales visigodas y el caso de El Cortinal de san Juan (Salvatierra de Tormes, España). In P. C. Díaz and I. Martín Viso (eds), *Between Taxation and Rent. Fiscal Problems from Late Antiquity to Early Middle Ages/ Entre el impuesto y la renta. Problemas de la fiscalidad tardoantigua y altomedieval*. Bari, 221–50
- Dohijo E. 2011 *La Antigüedad Tardía en el Alto Valle del Duero*. BAR International Series, 2199. Oxford
- Enrich J., Enrich J. and Pedraz, L. 1995 *Vilaclara de Castellfollit del Boix (el Bages). Un asentament rural de l'Antiguitat Tardana*. Igualada
- Fernández-Galiano, D. et al. 2001 *Carranque. Centro de la Hispania romana (Museo Arqueológico Regional (Alcalá de Henares, 27 Abril–23 Septiembre 2001)*. Madrid
- Fernández Mier, M. 2009 La génesis de la aldea en las provincias de Asturias y León. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 149–65
- Fernández Mier, M. 2011 Changing scales of local power in the early medieval Iberian North-West. In J. Escalona and A. Reynolds (eds), *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages. Exploring Landscape, Local Society and the World Beyond*. Turnhout, 87–117
- Fernández Mier, M. and Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2015 El aprovechamiento de los espacios comunales en el noroeste de la Península Ibérica entre el período romano y el medieval. *II Capitale culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, Vol. 12, 689–717
- Fernández Mier, M., Aparicio Martínez, P., González Álvarez, D., Fernández Fernández, J. and Alonso González, P. 2013 Proyecto de investigación: la formación de los paisajes agrarios del noroeste peninsular durante la Edad Media (siglos V al XII). *Debates de Arqueología Medieval*, 359–74
- Fernández Mier, M., Tejerizo García, C. and Aparicio Martínez, P. 2014 El territorio de Cea (León) durante la tardorromanidad y la Alta Edad Media. In R. Catalán, P. Fuentes and J. C. Sastre (eds), *Las fortificaciones en la Tardoantigüedad. Elites y articulación del territorio (siglos V–VIII d.C.)*, Madrid, 159–78
- Fernández Ochoa, C., Gil Sendino, F. and Orejas Saco, A. 2004 La villa romana de Veranes. El complejo rural tardorromano y propuesta de estudio del territorio. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 77, 197–219
- Fillooy, I. and Gil, E. 2000 *La romanización en Álava. Catálogo de la exposición permanente sobre Álava en época romana en el Museo de Arqueología de Álava*. Vitoria-Gasteiz
- Fortó, A., Martínez, P. and Muñoz, V. 2009 Los yacimientos del Pla del Serrador (Les Franqueses del Vallès) y de Ca l'Estrada (Canovelles), dos ejemplos de asentamiento agrícola entre los siglos V y XIII dC en el entorno de Granollers (Vallès Oriental, Barcelona). In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 263–74
- Francovich R. and Hodges R. 2003 *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c. 400–1000*. London.
- Fuentes, A. and Barrio J. 1999 Proyecto de investigación arqueológica en el Cerro de la Virgen del Castillo de Bernardos (Segovia). In R. Balbín and P. Bueno (eds), *II Congreso de Arqueología Peninsular, tomo IV, Arqueología romana y medieval*. Madrid, 441–50
- García Moreno, L. A. 2001 Comercio y comerciantes en la Málaga de época visigoda y bizantina. In F. Wulff, G. Cruz and C. Martínez (eds), *II Congreso de Historia Antigua de Málaga: Comercio y comerciantes en la Historia Antigua de Málaga (siglo VII a.C. –711 d.C.)*. Málaga, 663–80
- García Moreno, L. A. 1989 *Historia de España Visigoda*. Madrid

- García Vargas, E. and Vázquez Paz, J. 2012 El poblamiento rural en las campiñas al sur del Guadalquivir durante la Antigüedad Tardía (siglos IV–VI d.C.). In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio. Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología*, LXI. Mérida, 235–62
- Gómez Becerra, A. 1998 *El poblamiento altomedieval en la Costa de Granada*. Granada
- Gonzalo González, J. M. 2006 *El Cerro del Castillo, Bernardos (Segovia). Un yacimiento arqueológico singular en la provincia de Segovia durante la antigüedad tardía*. Segovia
- Guàrdia, J. 2000 El Collet dels Clapers de Segúes: un hàbitat alt-medieval al Solsonès. In *Actes del I Congrés d'Arqueologia Medieval i Moderna a Catalunya, 13, 14 i 15 de novembre de 1998*. Igualada, 234–241
- Gurt i Esparraguera, J. M. 2000–1 Transformaciones en el tejido de las ciudades hispanas durante la Antigüedad Tardía: *dinámicas urbanas*. *Zephyrus* 53–4, pp. 443–71
- Gurt i Esparraguera, J. M. and Navarro, R. 2005 Les transformacions en els assentaments i en el territori durant l'antiguitat tardana. *Cota Zero* 20, 87–98
- Gutiérrez González, J. A. 1982 Habitats rupestres altomedievales en la Meseta Norte y Cordillera Cantábrica. *Estudios Humanísticos* 4, 29–55
- Gutiérrez González, J. A. 2002 Del *Castrum* al *Castellum*. Los castros entre la Antigüedad y la Edad Media. In M. A. de Blas Cortina and A. Villa Valdés (eds), *Los poblados fortificados del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica: formación y desarrollo de la cultura castreña*. Navia, 301–16
- Gutiérrez González, J. A., Campomanes Alvaredo, E., Miguel Hernández, F., Benítez González, C., Martín del Otero, P., Muñoz Villarejo, F. A. and San Román Fernández, F. 2010 *Legio (León) en época visigoda: la ciudad y su territorio*. In A. García (ed.), *Espacios urbanos en el occidente mediterráneo (S. VI–VIII)*. Toledo, 131–6
- Gutiérrez González, J. A. and Hernández, F. A. 2016 Cerámica altomedieval en León y su entorno. In A. Vigil-Escalera Guirado and J. A. Quirós Castillo (eds), *La cerámica de la Alta Edad Media en el cuadrante noroeste de la península Ibérica (siglos V–X). Sistemas de producción, mecanismos de distribución*. Documentos de Arqueología Medieval 9. Bilbao, 139–72
- Gutiérrez González, J. A. and Muñiz López, I. 2014 Reflexiones sobre los centros de poder en el Asturorum Regnum. De las crónicas al paisaje. In *Sulcum sevit. Estudios en Homenaje a Eloy Benito Ruano*. Oviedo, 333–72
- Gutiérrez Lloret, S. and Grau Mira, I. 2012 El territorio tardoantiguo y altomedieval en el sureste de Hispania: Eio-Iyyuh como caso de estudio. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio. Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología*, LXI. Mérida, 171–98
- Hamerow H. 2002 *Early Medieval Settlements. The Archeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400–900*. Oxford
- Hernández Beolqui, B., Burjachs, F. and Iriarte Chiapusso, M. J. 2013 Antropización en el paisaje vegetal de la época visigoda en el centr peninsular a través del registro paleopalinoológico. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *El poblamiento rural de la época visigoda en Hispania. Arqueología del campesinado en el interior peninsular*, Documentos de Arqueología Medieval 6. Bilbao, 345–56
- Hernández Vera, J. A. and Bienes Calvo, J. J. 2004 Cerámicas hispanovisigodas y de tradición en el Valle Medio del Ebro. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz and M. Retuerce Velasco (eds), *Cerámicas tardorromanas y altomedievales en la Península Ibérica*. Madrid, 307–20
- Hidalgo, R., Buzón, M. and Carrillo, J. R. 2013–14 Las villas romanas de Andalucía: novedades y últimos hallazgos. *Romvlla* 12, 7–18
- Jiménez Puertas, M. 2002 *El poblamiento del territorio de Loja en la Edad Media*. Granada
- Jiménez, J. L., Burriel, J. M., Serrano, M., Salavert, J. V. and Rosselló, M. 2005 L'Horta Vella (Bétera, Valencia). De vil.la altimperial a establiment rural visigòtic. In J. M. Gurt and A. Ribera (eds), *VI Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (Valencia, 2003). Barcelona, 305–15
- Jiménez, J. L., Ribera, A. and Roselló, M. 2014 *Valentia* y su *territorium* desde época romana imperial a la Antigüedad Tardía: una síntesis. In D. Vaquerizo, J. A. Garriguet and A. León (eds), *Ciudad y territorio: transformaciones materiales e ideológicas entre la época clásica y el Altomedioevo*. Córdoba, 265–81
- Koch, M. 2006 *Gotthi intra Hispanias sedes acceperunt*. Consideraciones sobre la supuesta inmigración visigoda en la Península Ibérica. *Pyrenae* 37 (2), 83–104
- López Quiroga, J. 2004a *El final de la antigüedad en la Gallaecia*. La Coruña
- López Quiroga, J. 2004b Después del 'final' de las *villae* entre el Miño y el Duero (ss. VII–X): comunidades 'fructuosianas', hábitat rupestre y 'aldeas'. *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología* 31–2 (2005–06), 219–46
- López Quiroga, J. and Martínez Tejera, A. M. (eds) 2014 *In concavis petrarum habitaverunt. El fenómeno rupestre en el Mediterráneo Medieval: de la investigación a la puesta en valor*. Archaeological Studies on Late Antiquity and Early Medieval Europe (AD 400–1000): Proceedings 4. BAR S2591. Oxford
- López Sáez, J.A., López Merino, L. Alba Sánchez, F. and Pérez Díaz, S. 2009 Contribución paleoambiental al estudio de la trashumancia en el sector abulense de la Sierra de Gredos. *Hispania* 69, 9–38
- Martín Civantos, J. M., Almagro Vidal, C and Arboledas Martínez, L. 2010 Una minería casi desconocida. Épocas medieval y moderna. In F. Conteras and J. Dueñas, *La minería y la metalurgia en el Alto Guadalquivir: desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*. Jaen, 203–57
- Martín Viso, I. 2006a Central places and the territorial organization of communities: the occupation of hilltop sites in early medieval northern Castile. In W. Davies, G. Halsall and A. Reynolds (eds), *People and Space in the Middle Ages 300–1300*. Turnhout, 167–186
- Martín Viso, I. 2006b Tributación y escenarios locales en el centro de la Península Ibérica: algunas hipótesis a partir del análisis de las pizarras 'visigodas'. *Antiquité Tardive* 14, 263–290
- Murcia Muñoz, A. J. 2000 Asentamientos rurales de los siglos V–VII d.C. en el contorno de Cartagena. In J. M. Gurt i Esparraguera and N. Tena (eds), *V Reunió de Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica*. Barcelona, 371–82
- Murcia Muñoz, A. J. 2010 Poblamiento rural romano en el Campo de Cartagena (siglos III a.C.–VII d.C.). In J. M. Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania: 15 años después: Actas de las II Jornadas sobre Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania*. Murcia, 141–65
- Olmo, L. (ed.) 2008 *Recópolis y la ciudad en la época visigoda*. Zona Arqueológica 9. Alcalá de Henares
- Palol, P. de 1989 *El Bóvalar (Serós, Segrià). Conjunt d'època paleocristiana i visigòtica*. Barcelona
- Palol, P. de 1991 *Clunia 0: Studia varia cluniensia*. Valladolid
- Palol, P. de 1999 Poblament del Bóvalar, Basílica paleocristiana, baptisteri i necròpolis del Bóvalar. In P. de Palol and A. Pladevall (eds), *Del romà al romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*. Barcelona, 145–6, 188–92, 319–21, 343–5
- Palol, P. de 2004 *El castrum del Puig de les Muralles de Puig rom (Roses, Alt Empordà)*. Sèrie Monogràfica, núm. 22. Barcelona
- Pérez Losada, F. 2002 *Entre a Cidade e a Aldea: estudio arqueohistórico dos "aglomerados secundarios" romanos en Galicia*. Brigantium: Boletín do Museu Arqueolóxico e Histórico da Coruña 13. La Coruña
- Pérez Macías, J. A. 1998 *Las minas de Huelva en la Antigüedad*. Huelva
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. (ed.) 2009 *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2009 Arqueología del campesinado altomedieval: las aldeas y las granjas del País Vasco. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 385–403
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2011a Early medieval landscapes in north-west Spain: local power and communities, fifth–eighth centuries. *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (3), 285–311
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2011b La arquitectura doméstica en los yacimientos rurales en torno al año 711. *Zona Arqueológica* 15, 63–82
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2013 ¿Por qué la arqueología preventiva ha hecho posible la arqueología del campesinado medieval?. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *El poblamiento rural de época visigoda en Hispania. Arqueología del campesinado en el interior peninsular*. Documentos de Arqueología Medieval, n.º 6. Bilbao, 29–63
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. (ed) 2014 *Agrarian Archaeology in Early Medieval Europe*. Quaternary International Volume, 346

- Quirós Castillo, J. A. and Alonso Martín, A. 2007 Las ocupaciones rupestres en el fin de la Antigüedad. Los materiales cerámicos de Los Husos (Laguardía, Álava). *Veieia* 24–5, 1123–42
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. and Castellanos, S. (eds) 2015 *Identidad y etnicidad en Hispania. Propuestas teóricas y cultura material en los siglos V–VIII*. Documentos de Arqueología Medieval 8. Bilbao
- Quirós Castillo, J. A. and Vigil-Escalera, A. 2006 Networks of peasant villages between Toledo and Velegia Alabense, northwestern Spain (V–X centuries). *Archeologia Medievale* 33, 79–130
- Ramallo, S. F., García Blázquez, L. A. and Vizcaíno Sánchez, J. 2012 Poblamiento rural de época tardía en el entorno de Murcia. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio*, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, LXI, 329–74
- Requejo Pagés, O. and Gutiérrez González, J. A. 2009 El asentamiento altomedieval de la vega de Corao (Cangas de Onís, Asturias, España). In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 167–79
- Ripoll, G. 1998 The arrival of the Visigoths in Hispania. Population problems and the process of acculturation. In W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities (300–800)*. Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 153–87
- Rodríguez López, M. J. and Cara Barrionuevo, L. 1989 Aproximación al conocimiento de la Historia agrícola de la Alpujarra Oriental (Almería). Épocas Antigua y Medieval. In *I Coloquio de Historia y Medio físico*. Almería, 443–66
- Rodríguez Martín, F. G. 1988 La villa romana de la dehesa de Torre Águila en Barbaño-Montijo (Badajoz). *Extremadura Arqueológica* I, 201–19
- Rodríguez Resino, A. 2008 Comunidades rurales, poderes locales y señorío episcopal en la tierra de Santiago de los siglos V a XI: una visión desde el registro arqueológico. *Munibe (Antropología-Arkeologia)* 59, 219–42
- Roig Buxó, J. 2009 Asentamientos rurales y poblados tardoantiguos y altomedievales en Cataluña (siglos VI al X). In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 207–51
- Roig Buxó J. 2011a Vilatges i assentaments pagesos de l'Antiguitat Tardana als territoris de Barcino i Egara (Depressió Litoral i Prelitoral): Caracterització del poblament rural entre els ss. V–VIII. In *Actes del IV Congrés d'Arqueologia Medieval i Moderna a Catalunya, Tarragona del 10 al 13 de juny de 2010*, Ajuntament de Tarragona, ACRAM, Vol I. Tarragona, 227–50
- Roig Buxó, J. 2011b Formas de poblamiento rural y producciones cerámicas en torno al 711: documentación arqueológica del área catalana. *Zona Arqueológica* n° 15, Volumen II. Madrid, 121–46
- Román Punzón, J. M. and Martín Civantos, J. M. 2014 Aproximación al poblamiento tardoantiguo en Andalucía. In R. Catalán, P. Fuentes and J. C. Sastre (eds), *Las fortificaciones en la Tardoantigüedad. Elites y articulación del territorio (siglos V–VIII d. C.)*. Madrid, 57–78
- Rosselló, M. 2000 El recinto fortificado de 'València la Vella' en Ribarroja de Túria. In A. Ribera (ed), *Los orígenes del cristianismo en Valencia y su entorno*. Valencia, 127–33
- Sales Carbonell, J. 2011 Esglésies tardoantigues a Catalunya (segles IV–VII): els exemples de l'Anoia, el Bages, el Baix Llobregat, el Garraf i el Penedès. In O. Achón, P. de Vingo, T. Juárez, J. Miquel and J. Pinar (eds), *Esglésies rurals a Catalunya entre l'Antiguitat i l'Edat Mitjana (segles V–X)*, Taula rodona, *Esparguera-Montserrat*, 25–27 d'Octubre de 2007. Bologna, 67–85
- Sales Carbonell, J. and Salazar Ortiz, N. 2013 *El Prepirineo ilderdense en la Antigüedad Tardía: procesos de cristianización de un paisaje en la Tarraconensis*. *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 23, 27–44
- Salvador Oyónate, J. 2011 *La Bastitania romana y visigoda. Arqueología e historia de un territorio*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Universidad de Granada
- Sánchez Pardo, J. C. 2008 *Territorio y poblamiento en Galicia entre la Antigüedad y la Plena Edad Media*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Santiago de Compostela
- Sánchez Pardo, J. C. 2010 Poblamiento rural tardorromano y altomedieval en Galicia. Una revisión arqueológica. *Archeologia Medievale* 37, 285–306
- Sánchez Pardo, J. C. 2012 Castros, castillos y otras fortificaciones en el paisaje sociopolítico de Galicia (siglos IV–XI). In J. A. Quirós Castillo and J. M. Tejado Sebastián (eds), *Los castillos altomedievales en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica*. Bilbao, 29–56
- Sánchez Pardo, J. C. 2013 Power and rural landscapes in early medieval Galicia (400–900 AD): towards a re-incorporation of the archaeology into the historical narrative. *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2), 140–68
- Sánchez Pardo J.C. and Rodríguez Resino A. 2009 Poblamiento rural altomedieval en Galicia: balance y perspectivas de trabajo. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 137–47
- Sanz Serrano, R. 2009. *Historia de los Godos. Una epopeya histórica de Escandinavia a Toledo*. Madrid
- Teja, R. and Santos Yanguas, J. (eds) 2001 *El cristianismo: aspectos históricos de su origen y difusión en Hispania (Actas del Symposium de Vitoria-Gasteiz, 25 a 27 de noviembre de 1996)*. Vitoria
- Tejado, J. M. 2011 *Castros militares altomedievales en el alto valle del Iregua (La Rioja, España): una realidad 'poco común'*. *Archeologia Medievale* 38, 137–82
- Tejado, J. M. 2014 Comparación entre los espacios del Valle del Ebro y La Meseta: La rioja y Burgos en la Antigüedad tardía. In R. Catalán, P. Fuentes and J. C. Sastre (eds), *Las fortificaciones en la Tardoantigüedad. Elites y articulación del territorio (siglos V–VIII d.C.)*. Madrid, 95–120
- Tejerizo García, C. 2013 La arqueología de las aldeas altomedievales en la cuenca del Duero (ss. V–VIII): problemas y perspectivas. *Debates de Arqueología Medieval* 3, 289–315
- Tente, C. 2012 Settlement and society in the Upper Mondego Basin (centre of Portugal) between the 5th and the 11th centuries. *Archeologia Medievale* 39, 385–98
- Tente, C. and Martín Viso, I. 2012 O Castro do Tintinho (Guarda, Portugal). Interpretação dos dados arqueológicos como fortificação do período pós-romano. In J. A. Quirós Castillo and J. M. Tejado Sebastián (eds), *Los Castillos Altomedievales en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica*. Bilbao, 57–75
- Unzueta, M. and Martínez Salcedo, A. 1994 Proyecto de variante y túnel entre las Conchas de Haro y el cruce de Briñas. In *Arqueología de Urgencia en Álava, 1989–1993*. Vitoria-Gasteiz, 43–60
- Velázquez Soriano, I. 1989 *Las pizarras visigodas: edición crítica y estudio*. Murcia
- Velázquez Soriano, I. 2000 *Documentos de época visigoda escritos en pizarra (siglos VI–VIII)*, 2 vols. Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi, Series Hispanica, Turnhout
- Velázquez Soriano, I. and Ripoll, G. 2000 Toletum, la construcción de una urbs regia. In G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt i Esparraguera (eds), *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)*. Barcelona, 521–78
- Vieira M.A. 2004 *Alto Paiva. Povoamento nas épocas romana e alto-medieval*. Trabalhos de Arqueologia 36. Lisbon
- Vigil-Escalera, A. 2000 Cabañas de época visigoda: evidencias arqueológicas del sur de Madrid. Tipología, elementos de datación y discusión. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 73, 223–52
- Vigil-Escalera, A. 2003 Cerámicas tardorromanas y altomedievales en Madrid. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz and M. Retuerce Velasco (eds), *Cerámicas tardorromanas y altomedievales en la Península Ibérica*. Madrid, 371–388
- Vigil-Escalera, A. 2006 El modelo de poblamiento rural en la Meseta y algunas cuestiones de visibilidad arqueológica. In J. López Quiroga et al. (eds), *Galia e Hispania en el contexto de la presencia 'Germánica' (s. V–VII)*. Balance y perspectivas, BAR S1534. Oxford, 89–108
- Vigil-Escalera, A. 2009 Las aldeas altomedievales madrileñas y su proceso formativo. In J. A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao, 315–39
- Vigil-Escalera, A. 2012 El asentamiento encastillado altomedieval de La Dehesa de la Oliva (Patones, Madrid). In J. A. Quirós Castillo and J. M. Tejado Sebastián (eds), *Los castillos altomedievales en el noroeste de la península Ibérica*. Documentos de Arqueología e Historia 4. Bilbao, 239–62
- Vigil-Escalera, A. 2015 *Los primeros paisajes altomedievales en el interior de Hispania. Registros campesinos del siglo quinto d.C.* Documentos de Arqueología Medieval 7. Bilbao
- Vigil-Escalera, A., Moreno-García, M., Peña-Chocarro, L., Morales Muñoz, A., Llorente Rodríguez, L., Sabato, D. and Uccchesu, M. 2014 Productive strategies and consumption patterns in the early medieval village of Gózquez (Madrid, Spain). *Quaternary International* 346, 7–19

- Vigil-Escalera, A. and Quirós Castillo, J. A. 2012 *Arqueología de los paisajes rurales altomedievales en el noroeste peninsular*. In L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos and T. Cordero (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. El territorio*, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, LXI, 79–95
- Vigil-Escalera, A. and Quirós Castillo, J. A. (eds) 2016 *La cerámica de la Alta Edad Media en el cuadrante noroeste de la península Ibérica (siglos V–X). Sistemas de producción, mecanismos de distribución*. Documentos de Arqueología Medieval 9. Bilbao
- Vigil-Escalera, A. and Tejerizo García, C. 2014 Asentamientos fortificados altomedievales en la Meseta: algunas distorsiones historiográficas. In R. Catalán, P. Fuentes and J. C. Sastre (eds), *Las fortificaciones en la Tardoantigüedad. Elites y articulación del territorio (siglos V–VIII d.C.)*. Madrid, 229–46
- Vizcaino, J. 2009 *La presencia bizantina en Hispania (siglos VI–VII). La documentación arqueológica*. Antigüedad y Cristianismo, XXIV. Murcia
- Watteaux, M. 2009 Settlement and landscape in English historical studies: a French view. *Medieval Settlement Research* 24, 20–30
- Wickham C. 2005 *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*. Oxford