ROCK-CUT CEMETERIES AND SETTLEMENT PROCESSES AT THE UPPER ARLANZA BASIN (BURGOS, SPAIN): A LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS

Necrópolis rupestres y procesos de poblamiento en el Alto Arlanza (Burgos): un análisis del paisaje tardoantiguo y altomedieval

María Dolores López Pérez, Karen Álvaro Rueda y Esther Travé Allepuz

Dpto. de Historia Medieval, Paleografía y Diplomática. Facultad de Geografía e Historia-UB. Montalegre, 6-8. 08001 Barcelona. Correo-e: mdlopez@ub.edu; kalvaro@ub.edu; esther.trave@ub.edu

ABSTRACT: Current research at the archaeological sites of the Upper Arlanza Basin (Burgos) offers new and interesting insights in order to understand village networks which probably played a leading role within this territory. Peasants used to live in scattered nuclei usually organized around a church surrounded by a rock-cut cemetery. Researchers must properly address the role played by these communities, their funerary practices, and their strong influence on this territory in order to get an overall comprehension of landscape organization in this area over the period stretching between 6th and 10th Centuries.

Our work aims at examining settlement patterns and funerary practices in remote mountain areas. This paper offers a general view on this complex panorama and discusses the general features of these archaeological sites, through the analysis and updating of archaeological register. Archaeological evidence points towards the existence of some patterns of behaviour that might have been shared by different communities in this area.

Key words: Archaeology; population; territory; religious nuclei; burial practices.

RESUMEN: Las investigaciones actuales en los yacimientos del Alto Arlanza (Burgos) proporcionan una perspectiva nueva y de interés para la comprensión de las redes aldeanas de campesinos que probablemente controlaron el territorio. Esta población se organizaba en núcleos de población diseminados a lo largo y ancho de un vasto territorio, habitualmente articulados alrededor de una iglesia rodeada por su cementerio. El papel de estas comunidades, sus prácticas funerarias y su influencia sobre el territorio son cuestiones que necesariamente deben ser planteadas para adquirir una comprensión global de la organización del paisaje en esta área entre los ss. VI-X.

Nuestro trabajo pretende ofrecer argumentos válidos acerca del poblamiento, ocupación del espacio y prácticas funerarias de estas comunidades en altura. En este trabajo ofrecemos una visión de conjunto de este panorama complejo y argumentamos nuestra propuesta sobre la actualización e interpretación del registro arqueológico. Las evidencias arqueológicas apuntan hacia la existencia de algunos patrones de ocupación del espacio que fueron compartidos por los distintos pobladores del lugar.

Palabras clave: Arqueología; población; territorio; centros religiosos; prácticas funerarias.

1. Introduction[1]

There is a great number of archaeological sites on the mountain area between the headwaters of rivers Arlanza and Duero (Burgos), in Northern Spain. All these sites exhibit rock-cut graves laid out around a little church, at least for the period from 6th century on. The tombs are cut into the sandstone soil of the wide valley formed by the Arlanza and all these sites are headed by a church, chapel or hermitage with their foundation carved on the rock floor (Álvaro, 2009: 108; López *et al.*, 2016: 39). This environment provides an excellent observatory to analyse how the early population organized the territory during the transition from Late Antiquity to Early Middle Age. The development of field archaeology has transformed ancient paradigms and has significantly contributed to the eternal debate about continuity and discontinuity between slavery and feudalism as economic systems. According to Wickham's view, this debate seems to float without anchors in the sea of current research, as he calls for a more systematic regional comparison in order to root the empirical elements for this debate (Wickham, 2005: 4-5). Therefore, the study of this area is quite relevant to offer new arguments for the comprehension of this transition.

In Spain, settlement patterns are heterogeneous and their analysis proves to be extremely complex, partly due to the scarcity of written and archaeological sources, but also due to *microregional* differences throughout the Spanish land. Whereas rock-cut cemeteries are a proof of population being settled in a particular region, the present knowledge about these sites is still weak. In 2002, A. Azkárate pointed out two main lacks: the first one focused on the relation between funerary areas and habitat; the second

one dealt with the problems concerning the partial knowledge researchers still have about the organization of the cemeteries, especially in rural or mountain areas (Azkárate, 2002: 129-131). Fifteen years later, significant works have been carried out in relation to the origin of medieval Christian burial, the creation of parish networks and their influence on landscape articulation. However, the problem about the transition from the post-Roman to the early-medieval periods in Europe is not solved yet, at least from an archaeological standpoint. One of the main strategies to improve research on the early-medieval period is to build up a good archaeological record of sites, particularly for Central and Northern Iberia (Martín-Viso, 2009: 10).

Therefore, our current research lines aim at building up this high-quality record in order to interpret ancient settlement processes in the Arlanza valley as a model for landscape occupation and exploitation. This interpretation must be done through both the review of ancient theories and interpretations and the excavation of annex areas of cemeteries. This fieldwork must determine whether there is a permanent habitat and where it is located. That is why we recently started archaeological fieldwork at the site of Revenga (Burgos). Results on this site are promising and will be soon available. A preliminary interpretation of results has already been published (López *et al.*, 2016: 164-171). Habitat structures found at this major site of Revenga are placed beside the necropolis area and can be dated back to the 6-7th Century, or maybe earlier, according to ceramic evidence[2]. Our current research commitment consists in properly interpreting the relation between sunken-featured buildings discovered at Revenga and the necropolis. Nevertheless, the inner structure of archaeological sites at the Upper Arlanza Basin (Fig. 1) has been studied in depth and the landscape distribution and arrangement carefully analysed. This task addresses the second lack Azkárate acknowledged: the partial knowledge about the cemeteries.

[2]   López, M. D. (dir.): *Memoria de los trabajos de excavación arqueológica en el yacimiento de Revenga (2015)*, inédita.

This revision demands a reinterpretation of the settlement pattern and occupation of mountain areas. Throughout this paper, ancient works carried out in the late sixties (Castillo, 1972) will be revisited, the recently updated archaeological record of these cemeteries will be carefully described and some interpretation will be provided. Indeed, the role of this mountain area should be reinforced as a key point to understand settlement processes, the establishment of early medieval villages and the development of Christian landscape. Certainly, both archaeological and written evidence allow for a precise definition of the abandonment of these villages at the end of the 13th century, but the information about the origin of rural communities in the Upper Arlanza Basin is very limited. That is mainly due to the absence of a complete archaeological record, which is particularly serious concerning domestic structures and habitat remains. One reason for the invisibility of habitat evidence is the widely extended use of wood as the main building material in this period (Wickham, 2005: 486, 491). Elementary wood-huts have completely disappeared leaving only their footprint on the rock surface.

Excavating the annexal areas of cemeteries and finding remains of habitat structures is a challenging strategy to sort out most of the main questions concerning settlement patterning. Nowadays, our research group's interpretation of these sites is built upon new fieldwork, in order to acquire a holistic insight on landscape and perform the comprehensive analysis of rural communities many scholars have asked for (Escalona, 2002: 63-64; Quirós, 2006).

Forthcoming results on the excavation at Revenga (Fig. 1) will reveal the existence of a permanent community whose features are still to be carefully examined. Notwithstanding this drawback, the analysis of funerary elements provides some information about the entity and organization of these household nuclei and sets the basis for the understanding of landscape articulation and its transformation during the early-medieval period. Raising this regional study to an international level will significantly contribute to the much-needed comparative approach that must be undertaken to get better insights on European settlement patterns at the dawn of Middle Age.

2. The role of archaeological evidence in new interpretations of medieval landscape

The Arlanza Basin is mentioned in written sources for the first time in the 11th Century, and historical information about this area is very rare before this moment. Written documents talk about the process of landscape occupation and distribution (Pastor, 1996: 48-55), but do not provide any information regarding the origin of the communities inhabiting this area. Therefore, it could be presumed that the Arlanza Basin was a peripheral area during the transition period from Late Antiquity to Middle Age, thus left outside the ancient political framework and the organization of the Castilian County (Escalona, 2002).

Written evidence from the 11th century onwards has been traditionally used by Hispanic historiography as the only source of information to get to know the landscape organization in the early-medieval period, completely overlooking the archaeological record. Fortunately, this situation significantly changed in recent decades, and the latest research has gradually incorporated the analysis of material remains to the historical discourse. That led to outstanding interpretative progress but also posed new questions with regard to the structure, layout and organization of these ancient communities inhabiting a hardly Romanized area (Álvaro, 2012: 50). Certainly, Roman domain would not have been strong on the mountains where the Upper Arlanza Basin is. The closest Roman city found in the area is Clunia (Peñalba de Castro, Burgos), placed 50 km away in a communication node, and no Roman evidence has been found nearby. The town of Salas de los Infantes, distant almost 20 km down in the valley, seems to be the closest point where Romans had regular intercourse with local population.

The main question concerns settlement patterns. From a general perspective, the basic discontinuity

between late-Roman landscape ordination and the new forms adopted by the Visigoth Kingdom of Toledo is generally accepted. Nevertheless, this transformation has to be still proved at a territorial level, especially because the extent of post-Roman occupation of the inner lands of Iberia is not unanimously perceived (Blanco, 2009: 20). Recent research carried out in several areas of Spain during the last ten years offers a wide range of interpretations for this process and provides evidence for many different patterns throughout distinctive areas.

In the areas surrounding Madrid, a complex network of rural settlements (Vigil-Escalera, 2009), probably organized by elites and power structures (Quirós and Vigil-Escalera, 2006), has been detected and characterized. Other studies in northern Castilian space seem to reflect the long and slow transition between Late-Roman *villae* to Early-medieval villages (Martín-Viso, 2015). Similarly, the evolution of late-Roman villae towards new forms of settlement is asserted in Catalonia (Roig, 2009), even though the strong differences within the political context influenced by the Carolingian power do not make it easy to compare in this case (Folch *et al.*, 2009). Again, the transformation of Roman villae into early-medieval villages is suggested as far as the Basque Country is concerned; however, there is a claim for a more complex interpretation, including new concepts such as the inhabitants' competition for wealth and supplies (Quirós, 2009: 399).

None of these patterns seem to explain the historical evolution of the Upper Arlanza Basin. Both the vast amount of settlements unevenly distributed along the valley, and the recent excavation at Revenga suggest long endurance of ancient population. Those villages, most of them located above 1000 m high and below 1200 m on a sedimentary outcrop (Fig. 1), were probably autonomous with regard to power structures. The peripheral character of this mountain area, far away from communication channels and power centres, probably kept its inhabitants outside the military influence and taxation regime of the late-Roman, Visigoth and Muslim domains. These sites are closely related to each other in spite of their heterogeneity, because

different nuclei seem to be hierarchized according to their role within the landscape articulation. The landscape Christianisation process would have arranged the distribution of those communities in a new way at least from 7th century onwards before the integration of this region within Castilian political structures in 11th century.

3. Methods for a regressive landscape analysis

When comparing these ancient remains to the occupation of the landscape nowadays (Fig. 1), the most striking discovery is the gradual disappearance of sites and the progressive concentration of habitat. This process started for certain from the 13th century onwards. According to written evidence, most of these sites where inhabited and active between the 11th and 13th centuries. The absence of any written reference to these sites before the 11th century does not imply that they did not exist, but that the only source of information available is the archaeological record (Barceló, 1988: 73-87).

Weather and environment conditions are a serious constraint for the development of agriculture in favour of cattle economy and forest exploitation within a densely wooded area. This diagnose is still valid for present-day rural communities in the Arlanza basin. In contexts where beef cattle and sheep flock are the main economic activity, migratory herding or transhumance has played a crucial role through history (Honeychurch, 2014). Hence, our methodological approach suggests a regressive study of landscape, reading archaeological evidence from the present back to the past.

Accordingly, 40 sites in this area have been selected for landscape analysis (Fig. 2), including current inhabited settlements and deserted nuclei. Many of them, regardless of their being inhabited or not, show archaeological remains or funerary evidences. Some of them are large cemeteries and others just preserve few burials or abandoned ancient habitat structures. Thorough examination of the sites layout on the map leads to three assumptions. First, very few settlements are placed over 1200 m high. Only
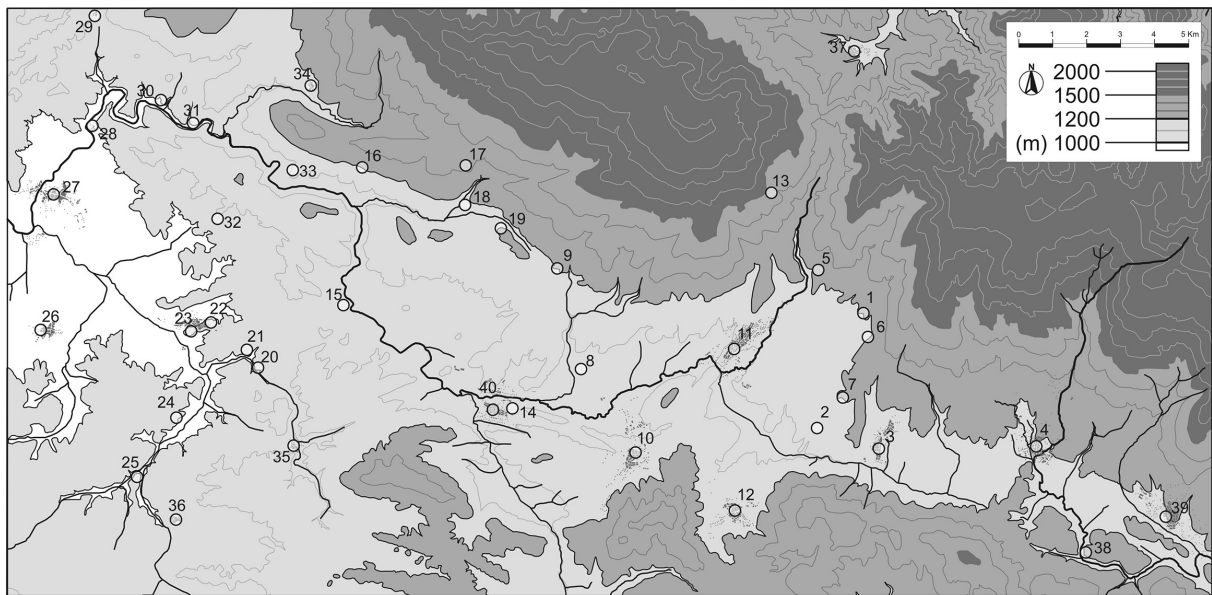
1. Cuyacabras, 2. Revenga, 3. Regumiel de la Sierra, 4. Duruelo de la Sierra, 5. San Martín, 6. Cueva Andrés, 7. La Cerca, 8. Prados de Bañuelos, 9. La Nava, 10. Vilviestre del Pinar, 11. Quintanar de la Sierra, 12. Canicosa de la Sierra, 13. Peñas Albas, 14. El Castillo, 15. Hornillos, 16. Prado Mediano, 17. Pajares, 18. Bustomediano, 19. Quintanar, 20. Covacha de las Monjas, 21. El Villar, 22. Santiuste, 23. La Muela, 24. Saelices, 25. San Miguel, 26. Hacinas (El Castillo), 27. Salas de los Infantes, 28. Castrovido, 29. Arroyo de Salas, 30. Terrazas, 31. Torneros, 32. Viguillas, 33. El Veinte, 34. Monasterio de la Sierra, 35. Moncalvillo, 36. Cabezón de la Sierra, 37. Neila, 38. Pozo de San Millán, 39. Covaleda, 40. Palacios de la Sierra.

Fig. 1. *Location map of the Upper Arlanza Basin showing the position of sampled sites and main urban nuclei; notice their position always at 1000-1200 m high.*

the sites of Peñas Albas and Pajares are located at higher altitude and both sites can be explained as seasonal settlements related to herding activities.

Second, population distribution throughout the Upper Arlanza Basin would have been definitely more disseminated in ancient times than today, according to the high number of deserted nuclei detected, with or without funerary evidence. As observed on the map, the number of inhabited sites was definitely higher during the Middle Age than today (Fig. 1). While in some areas the concentration of sites draws a complex network, others show scarce and scattered habitat nuclei, particularly when moving to the west. Therefore, population is unevenly settled and its distribution is not homogeneous.

And third, by measuring distances between settlements and the establishment of a hierarchy in archaeological terms, at least two different settlement patterns can be observed (Fig. 3): an A- *Agglomerative Settlement Pattern* predominant at the East and a B- *Lineal Settlement Pattern* mainly identified at

the West of the studied region. The agglomerative pattern has been defined from the reference point of the archaeological site of Cuyacabras (Quintanar de la Sierra, Burgos). This massive rock-cut cemetery seems to be a nerve point of landscape arrangement, and surrounding settlements are usually located at an average distance shorter than 4-5 km, occasionally reaching further distances, but never over 10 km. Within this agglomerative pattern, population units are generally homogeneous in size and rank, organized as a dense network occasionally strengthened by minor seasonal sites or hermitages. Initially defined as places for one or more hermits to live therein, these little communities in the Upper Arlanza Basin were probably formed by one or two families sharing the space around a sacred centre.

In contrast, the lineal pattern identifies another settlement process along the mountain slope in the western area. Notice the distribution of villages along the Arlanza River and one of its tributaries on the map (Figs. 1 and 3): from the town of Salas

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE	TOWN COUNCIL
Cabezón de la Sierra	not found (current town)	Cabezón de la Sierra
San Miguel	burials and current town	Cabezón de la Sierra
Canicosa de la Sierra	burials and current town	Canicosa de la Sierra
La Muela	deserted nucleus with burials	Castrillo de la Reina
Saelices	rock-cut necropolis	Castrillo de la Reina
Santiuste	hermitage	Castrillo de la Reina
La Cerca	hermitage	Comunero* de Revenga
Revenga	rock-cut necropolis	Comunero de Revenga
Covaleda	not found (current town)	Covaleda (Soria)
Pozo de San Millán	Rurials	Covaleda (Soria)
Duruelo de la Sierra	rock-cut necropolis	Duruelo de la Sierra (Soria)
Hacinas (El Castillo)	rock-cut necropolis	Hacinas
Covacha de las Monjas	hermitage	Ledanía*: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
Hornillos	deserted nucleus with burials	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
Pajares	deserted nucleus	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
Quintanar	deserted nucleus	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
Torneros	deserted nucleus	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
Viguillas	deserted nucleus	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
El Villar	deserted nucleus with burials	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Salas
Bustomediano	deserted nucleus with burials	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Monasterio-Salas
Prado Mediano	deserted nucleus	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Monasterio-Salas
El Veinte	deserted monastery	Ledanía: Castrillo-Hacinas-Monasterio-Salas
Monasterio de la Sierra	not found (current town)	Monasterio de la Sierra
Moncalvillo	not found (current town)	Moncalvillo
Neila	not found (current town)	Neila
Prados de Bañuelos	deserted nucleus with burials	Palacios de la Sierra
El Castillo	slab-built necropolis	Palacios de la Sierra
La Nava	rock-cut necropolis	Palacios de la Sierra
Palacios de la Sierra	burials and current town	Palacios de la Sierra
Cueva Andrés	hermitage	Quintanar de la Sierra
Peñas Albas	deserted nucleus	Quintanar de la Sierra
Quintanar de la Sierra	burials and current town	Quintanar de la Sierra
San Martín	burials	Quintanar de la Sierra
Cuyacabras	rock-cut necropolis	Quintanar de la Sierra
Regumiel de la Sierra	rock-cut necropolis	Regumiel de la Sierra
Arroyo de Salas	burials and current town	Salas de los Infantes
Castrovido	burials and current town	Salas de los Infantes
Salas de los Infantes	not found (current town)	Salas de los Infantes
Terrazas	not found (current town)	Salas de los Infantes
Vilviestre del Pinar	burials and current town	Vilviestre del Pinar
Comunero or *ledanía* are two spanish words both to denine a commonwealth of town councils that rule together a shared territory.		

FIG. 2. *List of sampled sites for landscape analysis showing the town council they belong to and the kind of archaeological evidences found.*

de los Infantes to the north-east, the villages of Castrovido and Terrazas and the deserted nuclei of Torneros, El Veinte, Prado Mediano, Pajares, Bustomediano, Quintanar, and La Nava are no more than 3 km away from one another. The landscape occupation in this area followed a step-by-step settlement process probably trying to guarantee access to water. Habitat nuclei in this area are usually
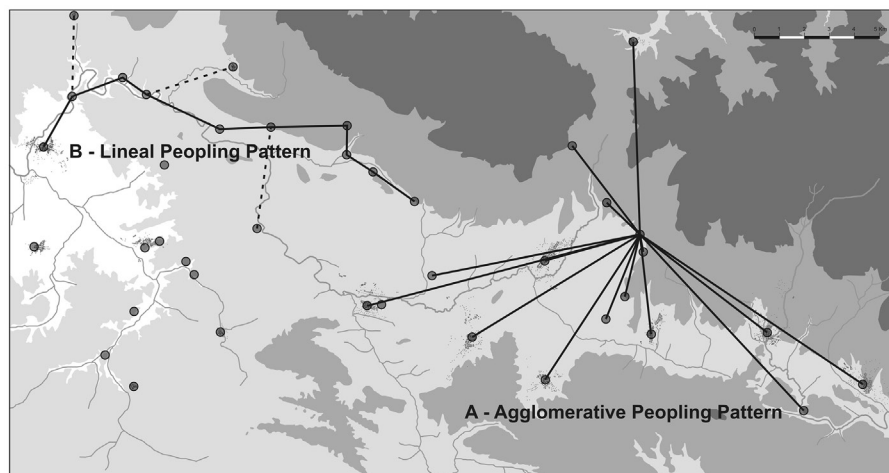
Fig. 3. *Location map of the Upper Arlanza Basin showing the position of sampled sites and the diagrams of agglomerative and lineal settlement patterns identified.*

small and many of them were abandoned at the end of the Middle Age after having been exploited as herding villages in the mountains.

Some other settlements in the area around Salas de los Infantes do not fit into these two models. This area of Roman influence was less populated in early-medieval times. Villages were placed on the plain, so they were not constrained by the same hard environmental conditions than mountain locations. These settlements are slightly different and, thus, the interpretation of settlement processes in this area implies different methodological approaches. This piece of work will focus on the cave-dwelling regions and their cemeteries.

4. Population networks and nodes for landscape articulation

Regardless of the settlement pattern being agglomerative or lineal, an interesting issue to deal with is the nature and internal distribution of these villages seasonally or permanently inhabited by rural communities. Archaeological evidence at sampled sites reveals the presence of frequent postholes and foundations carved out on the sedimentary outcrop and the use of wood as building material. Both pieces of evidence are comparable to those of

other early medieval rural settlements (Peytremann, 2012). Although information about the inner composition of these nuclei is scarce, extensive examination of this evidence suggests that habitat structures are scattered around the church and the cemetery as milestones for the holy space. These two elements –church and cemetery– are always a distinctive feature of the archaeological sites at Burgos and suggest the permanent character of rural communities in the area (Álvaro, 2012: 101).

Along with the main features and layout of funerary assemblages and churches, a hierarchy of settlements can be determined according to the number of burials discovered. This is particularly valid for the eastern agglomerative area, where population nuclei are scattered throughout a vast landscape. Accordingly, archaeological sites can be classified into three different categories regarding their size: *extensive cemeteries* display more than one hundred tombs; *medium-sized settlements* are those including more than 10 burials; and *minor habitat units*, possibly isolated households, show a small number of tombs occasionally attached to a hermitage (Fig. 4). Despite being partial and limited, the observation of these visible traces of rural communities offers an overview of the broad panorama of the valley.

The sites of Revenga, Cuyacabras (Fig. 4a), Regumiel de la Sierra, Duruelo de la Sierra and Palacios de la Sierra are good examples of extensive cemeteries, so that they must have been significant villages in medieval times. The fact that Regumiel, Duruelo and Palacios are still inhabited today makes it difficult to perceive the ancient structures and layout of these sites, whereas their continuous transformation and their permanency as population
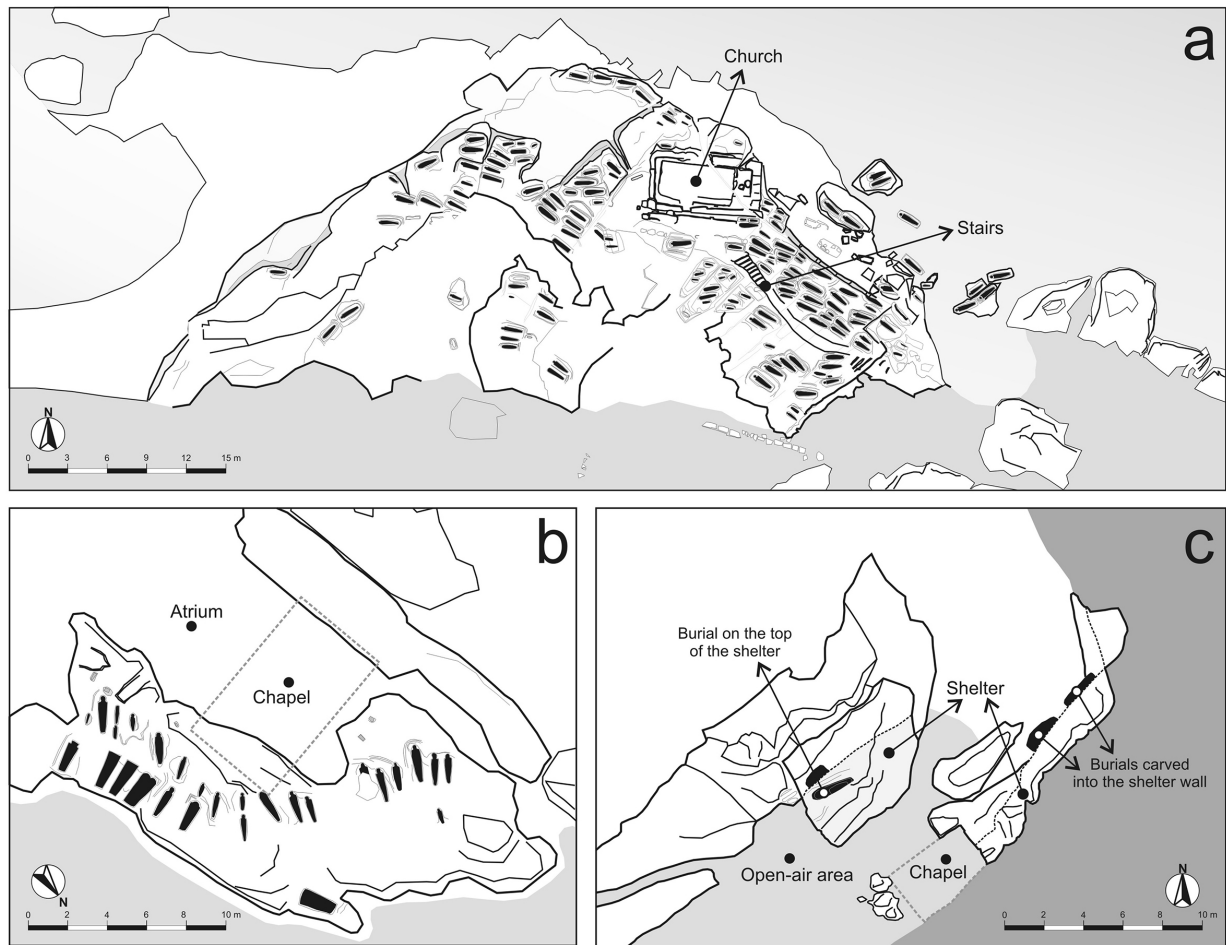
Fɪɢ. 4.   *Outlines of three archaeological sites representative of the main categories: extensive necropolis of Cuyacabras (a), medium-sized settlement of Saelices (b), and minor habitat unit of Cueva Andrés (c) (outlines by ɢʀᴀᴍᴘ-ᴜʙ).*

nuclei confirm their role as nerve points in landscape organization. In contrast, the sites of Revenga and Cuyacabras were abandoned from the 13ᵗʰ century onwards, despite having been major nuclei in early medieval times. Finally, other sites like Canicosa de la Sierra or Quintanar de la Sierra could be included within this group. Seemingly, they exhibited similar features, but continued occupancy until the present day has deleted much of their ancient traces.

Medium-sized settlements and minor habitat units were not part of the key nodes for landscape articulation, but they thickened the population network in medieval times. Reduced groups formed by few households would have constituted medium-sized settlements that did not manage to create an

influential and long-lasting community, whatever the reasons. In spite of that, all of them had a church and a cemetery, which implies permanent settlement. The sites of La Nava, Saelices, Prados de Bañuelos (Fig. 4b) and San Martín, among others, are good examples of these sites. Finally, the third group of minor habitat units is a heterogeneous assemblage of small nuclei exhibiting the tenuous traces of a chapel and some isolated burials. The hermitages of Covacha de las Monjas, Santiuste or Cueva Andrés (Fig. 4c) are interesting examples of these sites. A family or a couple of families might have gathered together around the figure of a hermit, or some spiritual leader might have lived therein. Some of these medium and minor settlements
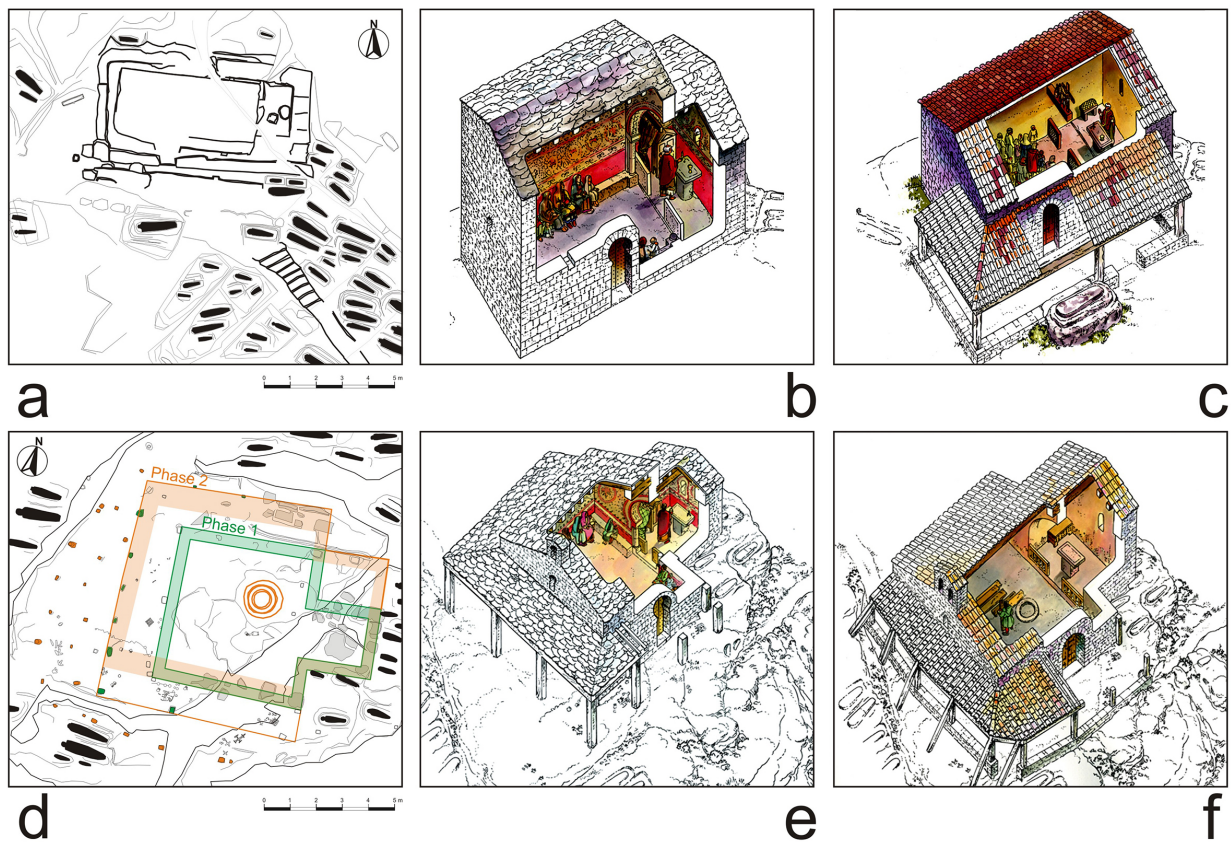
FIG. 5. *Hypothetical reconstruction of medieval churches at major cemeteries: outline of the church footprint on the sandstone surface at Cuyacabras (a) and reconstruction of phases 1 (b) and 2 (c); outline of the church foundations at Revenga showing the funerary washbasin (d) and reconstruction of phases 1 (e) and 2 (f) (outlines by GRAMP-UB and pictures by F. Riart).*

might have been early abandoned. This could be the case of La Cerca and Cueva Andrés, possibly absorbed by the major sites of Revenga and Cuyacabras respectively.

5. Visible traces of rural communities: re-reading the archaeological record

All these sites exhibit a small church, a cemetery and a habitat space, whose extension limits are still difficult to determine at this moment, the church and the cemetery being the essential and most visible archaeological remain. They probably were the core of these communities notwithstanding their size or number of inhabitants. Usually placed at the highest point of the village, the church would have been the central point, and both the cemetery and the habitat structures would have been laid out around it. These partially rock-cut structures show strong similarities with one another in all sampled sites. It is possible to recover the initial shape of these buildings and their further refurbishments through the detailed examination of their sandstone surface. In that sense, the churches of Cuyacabras (Fig. 5a-c) and Revenga (Fig. 5d-f) are the most representative examples of this analysis.

The role of these churches within their surrounding landscape is related to the formation of the parish network as the Christianization of the territory took place. G. Ripoll and I. Velázquez remark that the parish network already existed in the 4th Century, even though in the earliest moments there was no clear and systematic organization yet (Ripoll and

Velázquez, 1999: 107). The churches of Cuyacabras and Revenga and some others in the Upper Arlanza Basin might have been the first Christian buildings on this territory, in the attempt to organize a still autonomous landscape in early medieval times, probably not controlled by any established power yet, due to its isolation on the mountains.

The organizing task of the Church has been recently reviewed and considered as part of the landscape restructuring process, not necessarily related to the feudal transformations at the dawn of the 10th Century (García de Cortázar, 2012: 299). Therefore, according to M. Lauwers's view (2005, 2013), landscape occupation between the 8th and 11th centuries would have been the result of a slow and long-lasting "inecclesiamento", instead of the "incastellamento" proposed by P. Toubert (1973). The churches of Cuyacabras and Revenga are likely to have been a leading part of this gradual process in the Upper Arlanza Basin.

Our perception is that there is a strong continuity of population and landscape occupation throughout the transit from Late Antiquity to Medieval times in this region. Early population might have been progressively Christianized and organized around small churches until incorporated to the feudal network of parishes and villages. This is our interpretation of the population processes according to the archaeological record, although not all scholars share the same perception (Martín-Viso 2012a, b).

The church of Cuyacabras was placed at the top of an esplanade. The sandstone surface had been thoroughly cut, levelled and carved to adapt to the building's shape and to enable the building of a corridor with eight stairs leading to the church (Fig. 5a). Hence, it is one of the best examples of cave-dwelling buildings in this area. Archaeological evidence points at the evolution of the church according to two building phases. The first church had two different liturgical spaces: the nave and the presbytery. The rectangular nave had a continuous bench alongside the wall for the parishioners to sit on and to support the building's structure. It was separated from the apse by an iconostasis preventing

the worshippers from accessing the presbytery. The iconostasis was formed by two shuttering walls at the base and probably reinforced by a triumphal horseshoe arch (Fig. 5b). The presbytery's ground level was higher than the nave floor, and the remains of the altar foundations, fully attached to the eastern wall, are still visible. At some moment, the church was partially overhauled and slightly widened. Refurbishment works affected the southern wall, built upon a more solid foundation to reinforce the façade. The iconostasis was demolished, so that the new building just comprised one single space. A new freestanding altar was placed, and a portico was attached to the southern wall of the building (Fig. 5c).

A similar double-phased evolution took place at the neighbour church of Revenga. The sandstone surface on this site offers a vast amount of remains in order to interpret the building process of the church. Careful examination and registering of all postholes, carvings and incisions on the rocky surface (Padilla and Rueda, 2011a: 443) allowed for a revision of previous works carried out in the late sixties. A. Castillo (1972: 16) suggested that the church was built at once and the village was early abandoned. Regardless of when the village was deserted, archaeological remains clearly prove that the building experienced an utter refurbishment (Fig. 5a). The earlier church had a squared apse attached to a 33 m² nave and the northern and western walls were surrounded by a portico (Fig. 5d).

It is not possible to explain the double row of postholes identified at the west of the building without considering the existence of a full refurbishment to enlarge the church's surface. Therefore the nave's surface was significantly widened within the later building and finally reached 59 m². In spite of the building's enlargement, the shape and layout of the church did not change: during both building phases the church was formed by a squared nave attached to an also squared apse, an entrance placed at the southern wall and a portico attached to the entrance. The apse in the second phase, though, was considerably wider, so that the portico had to be underpinned due to the unevenness of the floor surface.

With the second-phase refurbishment, a wash-basin was cut on the rocky surface at the centre of the church. This 78-cm-wide and 30-cm-deep hole was interpreted by A. Castillo as a baptistery, but further examination of the area has seriously challenged this theory (Padilla and Rueda, 2011b). Seemingly, the washbasin is relatively recent and was probably built once the Roman rite was widely spread and the ancient tradition of baptism by immersion disused. Other interpretations point at a funerary use of this basin according to the study of the rock engravings found in the area.

A great number of cryptic pictures were sculpted on the rocky surface of Revenga (Fig. 6). Most of them were placed under the portico of the church and a couple of them around the washbasin. They represent different motifs: footprints and handprints (Fig. 6b-f) are the most abundant designs, along with crosses (Fig. 6f-g) or game boards (Fig. 6g-h). Occasionally, horseshoes or other geometric motifs are also sculpted (Fig. 6g). The most enigmatic ones are those representing human or animal figures such as a horse rider (Fig. 6e), a love-making couple with explicit sexual attributes (Fig. 6b) and an enigmatic figure, perhaps a moon-hatted woman with a handprint on the top (Fig. 6d). This last picture is placed quite close to the washbasin (Fig. 6a). Given the traditional significance of the moon as a representation of biological rhythms and femaleness, in some contexts it has been related to the Great Beyond and therefore death (Barandiarán, 2001: 110). Hence, the washbasin in Revenga might have been used for obituary purposes related to water and purification, in a period when funerary practices (Ripoll and Molist, 2014) were not completely standardized yet (Treffort, 1996: 70).

Church legislation regarding funerary practices or parish organization was under development during the early-medieval period (Paxton, 1990). Thus, the refurbishment of both churches and the layout of their respective cemeteries reveal the changes that these rural communities underwent during the occupation of these sites. Cuyacabras and Revenga are good examples to show how a rural community settled down permanently and developed an internal organization and government for the village. Throughout the next section, the layout and main features of the cemeteries will be discussed. The general layout of the church and the cemetery around it seems to be quite similar in all extensive cemeteries (Fig. 4a) and medium-sized settlements (Fig. 4b) with the only abovementioned differences of permanency and impact on the surrounding landscape articulation. In contrast,
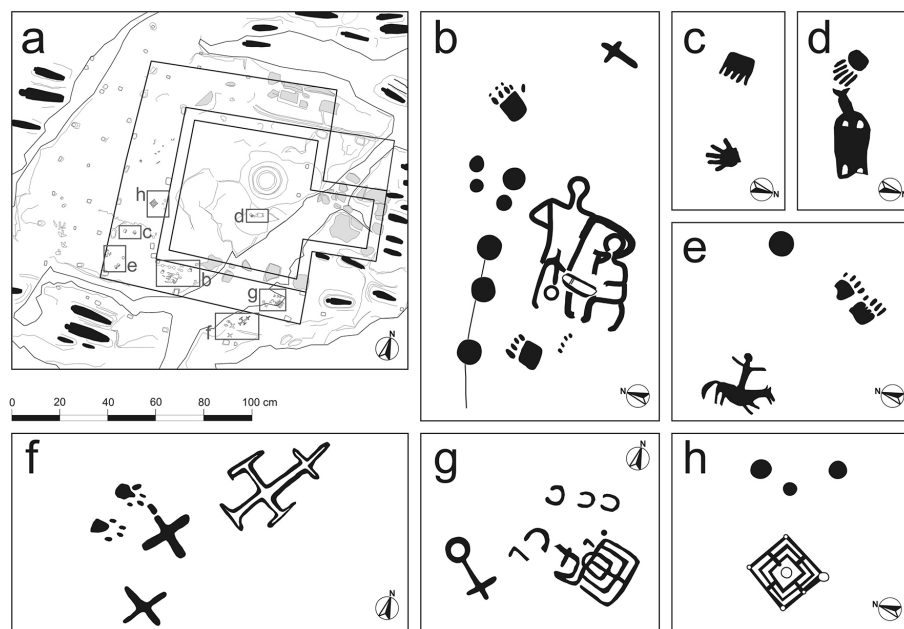

Fig. 6. *Rock engravings at Revenga: Outline of the church footprint with location of main engravings indicated (a); love-making couple with footprints and circular engravings (b); handprints (c); enigmatic figure perhaps of a moon-hatted woman with a handprint on the top (d); horse rider staring at the sun and handprints (e); crosses and footprints (f); horseshoes, cross above the globe, geometric motif (g); and game board (f) (outline and designs by GRAMP-UB).*

minor habitat units are more heterogeneous assemblages and their interpretation is hence more complicated.

Cueva Andrés is a representative example of these minor habitat units. Placed at the neighbourhood of Cuyacabras, the archaeological site of Cueva Andrés is an outstanding example of medieval cave-dwelling habitat (Fig. 7). In fact, the occupation of caves for living, herding or productive purposes is not uncommon in medieval times (Buhagiar, 1997, 2007). The general overview of this site suggests that it was the residence of a hermit living in a forest glade besides a stream. The site

encloses a large mountain wall with the remains of a collapsed cave at the north. On the wall surface, cutting marks of tools used to widen the shelter are still perceivable (Fig. 7a). This shelter was delimited at the east by a small chapel with a cross inside a horseshoe arch carved into the eastern wall (Fig. 7b). Similar habitat structures were found at the site of La Cerca, amongst others. These hermitages were definitely not central points for landscape organization, but contributed to thickening the population network. In Early Christianity they perhaps played a significant role for people's evangelization in this isolated area still at the dawn of Christianity.
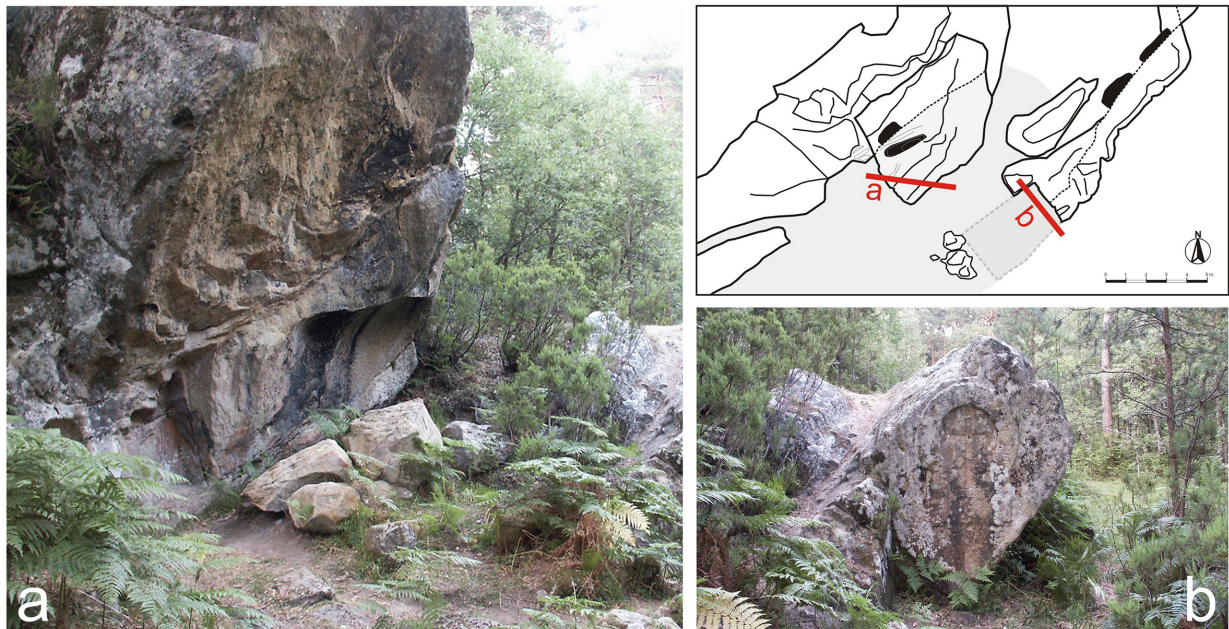

Fig. 7. *Rock-cut hermitage of Cueva Andrés: general view of the collapsed shelter (a) and detail of the chapel wall with a sculpted cross (b) (outline and pictures by* GRAMP-UB*).*

6. Cemeteries and funerary areas

Regardless of their size, the vast majority of cemeteries found along the Upper Arlanza Basin exhibit tombs placed within a holy space around the church. The best preserved of these sites have been exhaustively recorded. Their graves have been analysed and classified according to their number, carving procedure, shape and size (Fig. 8). The position and alignment of these tombs have been also

examined. The result is an overall view of funerary practices and regulations at the origin of Christian cemeteries.

According to the carving procedure of the tombs, *rock-cut graves*, *stone sarcophagi* and *wall-niches* can be distinguished. Rock-cut graves (Fig. 9a) are those formed by a shaped hole directly cut into the rock at surface level. Stone sarcophagi (Fig. 9b) have been found only at the necropolis of La Nava. These are sculpted tombs that protrude from the

		Saelices	Santiuste	Revenga	Cueva de las Monjas	Prados de Bañuelos	La Nava	Cueva Andrés	Cuyacabras	Regumiel
Rock-cut graves	Undetermined	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
	Rectangular	2	-	-	-	6	-	-	7	-
	Trapezoidal	1	-	4	-	2	-	-	11	4
	Oval	1	-	37	-	1	-	2	67	9
	Anthropomorphic	23	6	85	9	1	-	-	65	51
Stone sarcophagi	Combined	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	10	5
	Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Trapezoidal	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
	Oval	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-
	Anthropomorphic	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-
Wall-niches		-	-	-	-	-	-	2	13	-
Slab-buil graves		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-
Total amount of graves		**27**	**6**	**138**	**9**	**10**	**25**	**4**	**177**	**80**
Percentage (%) of each age group estimated according to grave lenght	Children	26	0	35	0	0	15	25	35	35
	Young adults	22	0	24	0	0	7	0	25	14
	Adults	48	100	41	100	100	78	75	40	51
Number of double/shared burials		1 (4%)	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-

Fig. 8. *General classification of graves according to their carving procedure, shape and size at selected cemeteries within this study.*

rock surface level. The rocky soil can then be carved at both sides of the grave in order to create a rim. An isolated stone can be used for this purpose as well. These two types show similar shapes, the most common ones being rectangular, trapezoidal, oval or anthropomorphic (Figs. 8 and 9e). Rock-cut graves occasionally show two of these shapes combined, so that the upper part of the grave is usually trapezoidal or oval-shaped whereas the base is anthropomorphic. Although infrequent, this composed carving technique is particularly useful when burying two people in the same grave, as done in Prados de Bañuelos (Fig. 9c) or Saelices.

Wall-niches (Fig. 9c) are carved out inside a vertical wall so that the dead body is then introduced by the side. This kind of burial is located in the eastern region in particular and has only been found at Cuyacabras and Cueva Andrés. Finally, non-carved slab-built tombs are infrequent in this area. The necropolis of El Castillo (Palacios de la Sierra, Burgos) is the only example where slab-built

tombs are predominant. Apparently, these ones also coexisted with carved burials in extensive cemeteries at Cuyacabras and Revenga, but their number is clearly insignificant (Fig. 8).

This rock-dwelling practice is the most frequent in the area, but there are some exceptions. The necropolis of Palacios de la Sierra mainly exhibits slab graves dated back to the 13th and 14th Century. In spite of that, rock-carved tombs are the only form of burial found during Late Antiquity and Early Middle Age. The chronology of rock burials is currently under revision and huge efforts are being devoted to create a complete archaeological register (Vaquerizo, 2002). Whereas it seems clear that they disappeared progressively from the 12th Century onwards, the beginning of this practice is not well defined yet. Traditionally, it has been generally assumed that this tombs date back to the 9th or 10th centuries, but according to our current works in Revenga our perception is that this phenomenon started much earlier.

Nevertheless, this kind of burial does not seem to represent any form of social distinction. Rock-dwelling tombs are the main funerary element for both adult and children. No evidence of class distinction has been found and tombs were mostly individual and anonymous. In fact, one of the main changes detected in this period is the transition from ancient cemeteries with burial identification and family groups to the new Christian conception of cemeteries, where individuals are equal in front of God in the hour of their death.

The mere analysis of graves allows for some considerations as regards burial practices and cemetery's layout. People's concern about corpse preservation is supported by the general practice of carving drain channels for dewatering in all recorded

tombs. Indeed, the vast majority of them show fitting marks that allow for presuming a general grave sealing with a stone slab on the top. The result is a properly sealed tomb that will not be reopened nor reused while the village is inhabited. It will not be until much afterwards, after the depopulation of these sites, that graves will be desecrated, remaining bodies removed, and stone slabs used as building material. Grave's reuse or reshaping was a common practice in some areas (O'Sullivan *et al.*, 2013: 300; Ollich, 2012: 284), but it never occurred in the Arlanza Basin. This might be due to the regulation of cemeteries and burial space in this area in the early-medieval period.

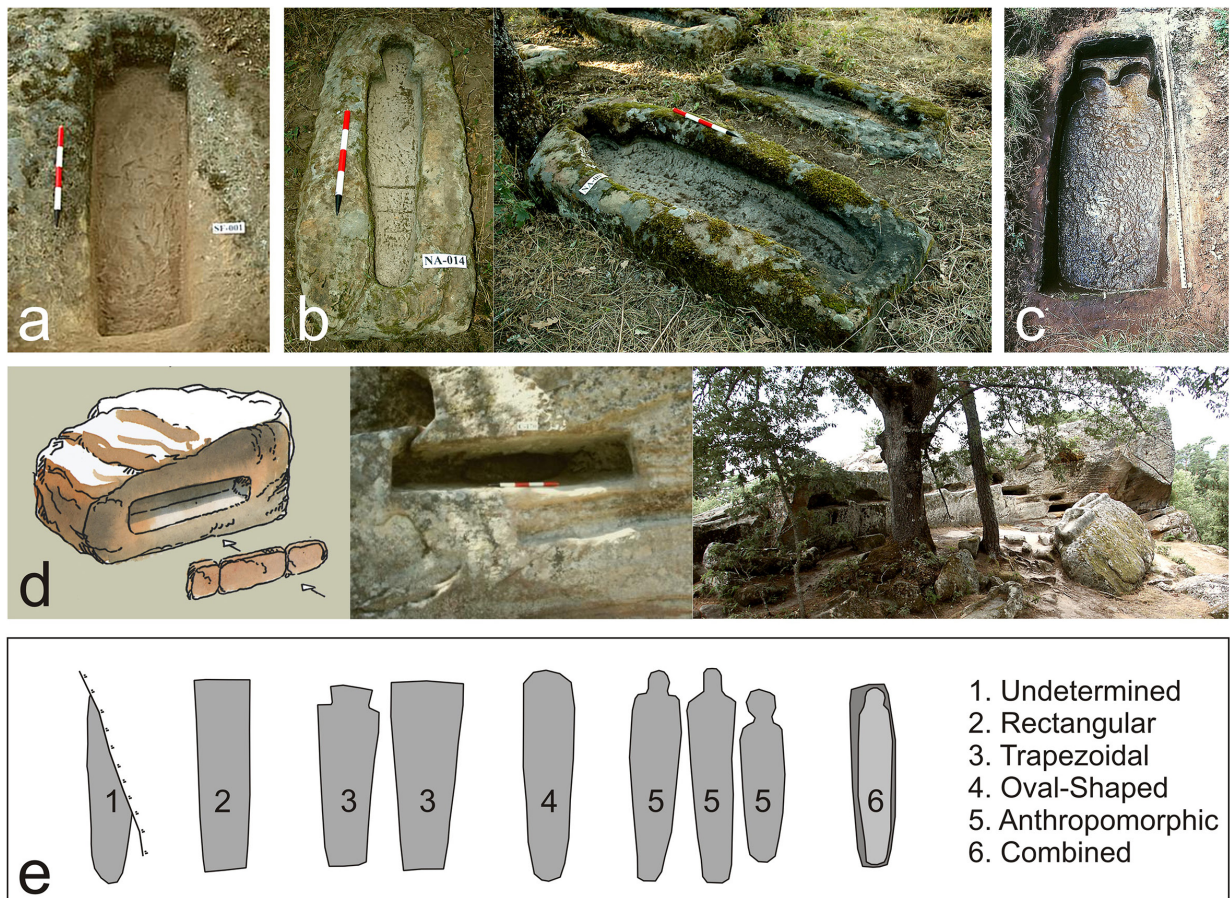Those rules also concerned the position of graves within the cemetery. It should be noticed that there

FIG. 9. *Main classification of graves according to their carving procedure and shape: rock-cut graves (a); stone sarcophagi (b) and wall-niches (d). Occasionally, shared burials can be found (c) (Outline and pictures by* GRAMP-UB).
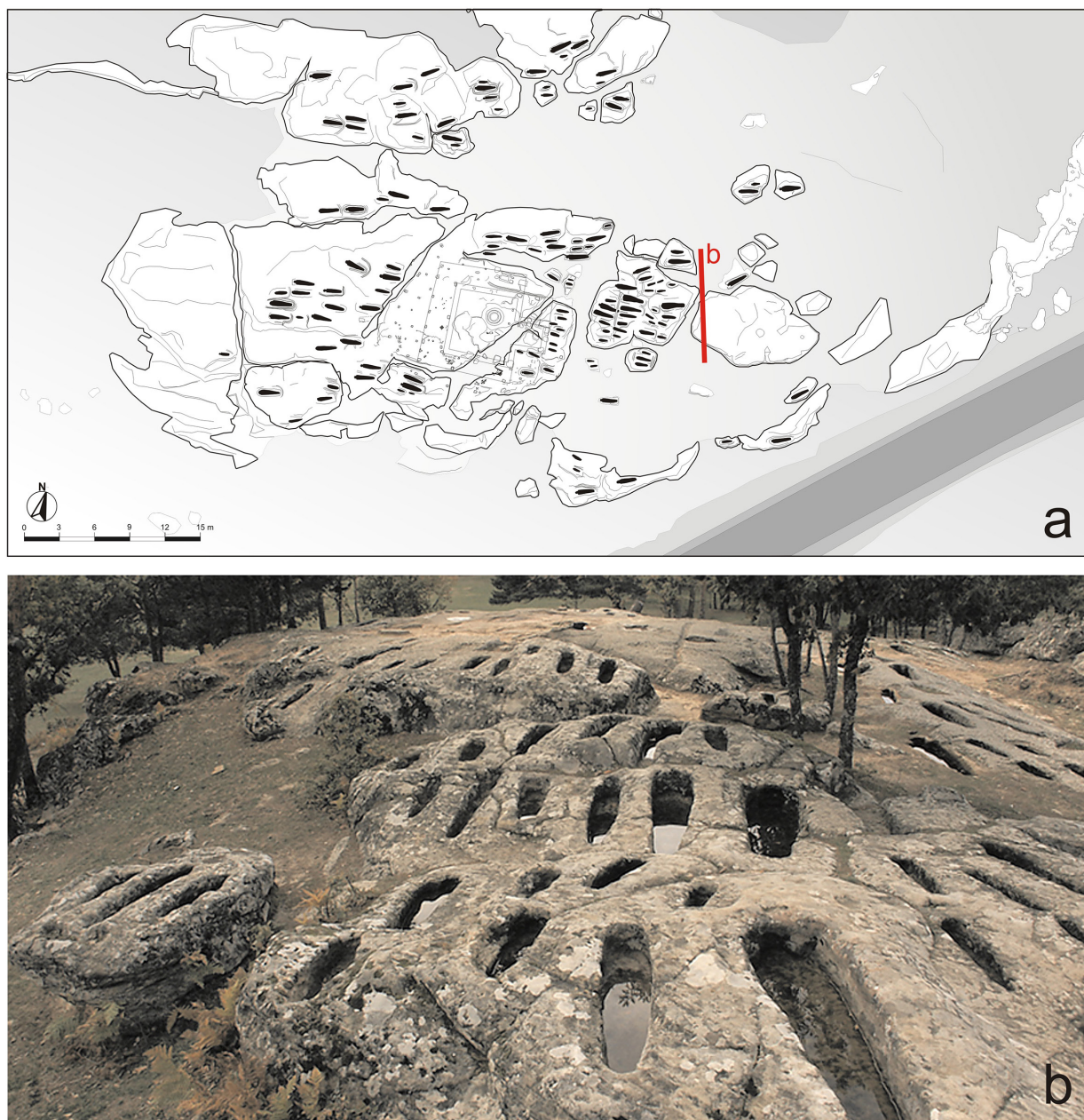
Fig. 10. *Burial layout at Revenga: outline of the extensive necropolis (a) and general view of the most densely carved outcrop (b). Notice the imprecise orientation of tombs and the complete absence of graves in the portico area (outline and picture by* GRAMP-UB).

are no burials in the portico areas in the extensive cemeteries of Cuyacabras (Fig. 5a) and Revenga (Fig. 10a), whereas the entire available rock surface is densely exploited elsewhere (Fig. 10b). Actually, burials were not placed inside the church or at the entrance, according to the prohibition established at the Church Council of Braga in 561 AD banning this practice. Despite the Church's concern to ban burials inside the temples, this habit must have not been completely eradicated. Church Councils in Iberia often emphasized the validity of this veto. After numerous unsuccessful attempts, tombs inside

churches were occasionally allowed as an exception and a privilege from the 9th Century onwards (Treffort, 1996: 138). At this time, the cemeteries in the Upper Arlanza Basin were likely to be already settled and functioning outside the church buildings.

Seemingly, the layout of graves throughout the rocky esplanades does not follow any strict criteria. They were generally placed side by side using all the space available. There is a general tendency to WE alignment in all cemeteries. The dead were placed with their feet to the east and their head to the west so that they could quietly rest waiting their resurrection. Nevertheless, wide oscillations in this alignment have been recorded in all the sites (Figs. 4 and 10). This imprecise orientation and the irregular layout of graves might suggest that people were not seriously concerned about the exact position of graves (García-Camino, 2002: 232; Padilla and Álvaro, 2012: 54).

Cemeteries offer highly valuable anthropological information when skeletons are preserved. Unfortunately this is not the case of cemeteries in the Upper Arlanza Basin, since these were desecrated and spoiled centuries ago. A few bone remains were found in the mid-20th century in extremely bad conditions and they were never studied. It is therefore problematic to gather information regarding the gender, age or height of the inhabitants of the Arlanza Basin in that period. Notwithstanding this drawback, a very rough estimation of age has been made considering graves' length (Fig. 8). As a result, graves have been distributed into three groups of age: *children* (length below 100 cm), *young adults* (100-154 cm) and *adults* (above 154 cm).

The average percentage of children graves at the extensive cemeteries (35%) indicates a very low life expectancy. This is not surprising given the fact that population underwent frequent crises of supplies and periods of shortage during the early-medieval period. In contrast, in minor habitat units, the proportion of adult people is clearly higher. No children were found at Santiuste or Covacha de las Monjas, whereas only one amongst four was found at Cueva Andrés. This can also be easily explained by the fact that these minor habitat units were usually

hermitages and children were not expected to live therein. Anyway, the child tomb found at Cueva Andrés suggests that hermits might have occasionally been husbandmen. Going any further with age estimation in the absence of bone remains would be definitely unreliable (Brothwell, 1987; González Martín, 2008).

7. Discussion and final remarks

One of the main problems arising from the current state-of-the-art is the difficulty of determining the exact chronology of cemeteries and churches, as well as the features of cohabitation between these spaces and the habitat. In spite of these difficulties, some parallels can be examined. Examples of wooden rectangular-shaped churches similar to those in the Upper Arlanza Basin have been found in France. They have been dated within a wide fork between the 5th and the 10th centuries (Peytremann, 1995: 12). Preliminary results of recent fieldwork at the site of Revenga confirm the existence of permanent population prior to the church and funerary area, both probably established in the 6th or 7th centuries. During this period, landscape and spaces were probably arranged according to the development of sacred areas and the Church's new requirements for Christian cemeteries. Our regressive landscape analysis shows how landscape Christianization plays a crucial role in the transition from Late Antiquity to Early Middle Age.

A re-reading of archaeological evidence challenged many of the earliest interpretations of these sites made in the 1960s. Our examination of selected rock-cut churches and cemeteries allows for an identification of refurbishment processes and transformations within villages that prove the permanent character of main habitat nuclei. The role played by these communities and their funerary practices are certainly concomitant with the development of early Christianity and Church regulations. In fact, the transition between late-Roman communities and early-medieval villages has a lot to do with the origin and expansion of Christian societies in Iberia.

From this perspective, the progressive linkage between the world of the dead and the world of the living has become one of the main indicators in current research for change or discontinuity between Antiquity and the Middle Age (Brogiolo, 1998). This connection is not linear in time, but presents a heterogeneous evolution with remarkable differences between different regions. The particular features of each region must be assessed by means of archaeological methods, as written evidence is completely lacking in most cases (Azkárate, 2002: 135-136).

Within the rural environment, the difficulty arising from many different burial forms is worsened by the scarce knowledge about the habitat structures related to the cemetery. G. Ripoll pointed to the existence of weak relationships between most cemeteries and the habitat structures nearby (Ripoll, 1998: 248), but the state-of-the-art has significantly changed in recent times. Some parallels of long-lasting occupation can be found in the Iberian Peninsula. Perhaps the most striking case is the site of Olèrdola. In this site, rock-cut tombs have been studied for decades. The settlement is a must-know example of enduring inhabitation from ancient times to the strengthening of feudality (Molist and Bosch, 2012).

Therefore, the disruption between ancient and medieval settlement processes seems to be accepted, but some elements of continuity must be taken into account. Some of them have been introduced along this paper. Research on early cemeteries carried out by C. Treffort (1996) shows the endurance of some practices, rituals and gestures revealing ancestral and pagan rituals resistant to the Church's evangelizing effort. That would be the case of the engravings found at Revenga, which have been described above. The survival of these elements shows the strength of the ancient culture outside the clergy's influence. The cemeteries in the Arlanza, built under the shadow of the temple and close to the habitat space, might be related to these ancient practices linked to the period. However, they undoubtedly show the strong transformation occurred in medieval times.

The overall view of this mountain landscape evidences that transformations occurred in medieval

times are at the root of current distribution of population. There is a strong permanency of settlements, economic activities and anthropological features in these rural communities based on their adaptability to landscape and climate. The examination of early-medieval cemeteries is an interesting starting point to set up the basis for further examination, focused on the identification and excavation of habitat structures. Our future research aims at providing a better understanding of population networks and the origin of cave-dwelling habitat linked to the formation and consolidation of European feudal power.

In this sense, the Upper Arlanza Basin is a paradigmatic case of how early medieval rural communities occupied and exploited particular landscapes. Overlooked by the establishment of that period, they developed as self-sufficient communities during centuries, at least until the 11th century. Then, they were integrated within the developing feudal structures and, therefore, regularly mentioned in documents. Apparently, the population network was already set up at that moment regardless of their uncertain origins. The role played by earliest religious communities probably had some influence on the Christianization of the Arlanza Basin and on the settlement of the earliest population.

Bibliography

Álvaro, K. (2012): *El poblamiento altomedieval y sus manifestaciones funerarias en la cuenca alta del río Arlanza (ss. IX-XI)*. Barcelona: Univ. de Barcelona. (URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10803/80651 [acceso 29-05-2015]).

Álvaro, K. and Padilla, J. I. (2012): "Arquitectura religiosa y necrópolis rupestres entre el alto Arlanza y la cabecera del Duero (ss. IX-XI)", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 18 (2), pp. 445-458.

Azkárate, A. (2002): "De la Tardoantigüedad al Medievo cristiano. Una mirada a los estudios arqueológicos sobre el mundo funerario". In Vaquerizo, D. (ed.): *Espacios y usos funerarios en el occidente romano*. Córdoba: Univ. de Córdoba, pp. 115-140.

Barandiarán, J. M. (2001): *Mitología Vasca*. San Sebastián: Txertoa.

Barceló, M. (ed.) (1988): *Arqueología medieval: en las afueras del medievalismo*. Barcelona: Crítica.

Blanco, A. (2009): "Espacios residenciales y productivos del interior peninsular entre la Antigüedad Tardía y la Alta Edad Media. Propuestas desde la arqueología extensiva". In Martín Viso, I. (ed.): ¿Tiempos oscuros? *Territorio y sociedad en el centro de la Península Ibérica (siglos VII-X)*. Salamanca: Sílex-Univ. de Salamanca, pp. 15-30.

Brogiolo, G. P. (1998): "Conclusioni". Brogiolo, G. P. and Cantino, G. (eds.): *Sepolture tra IV e VIII secolo. VII Seminario sul Tardoantico e l'Altomedioevo in Italia Centrosettentrionale (Gardone Riviera, 1996)*. Mantova: sap Società Archeologica, pp. 229-231.

Brothwell, D. (1987): *Desenterrando huesos: la excavación, tratamiento y estudio de restos del esqueleto humano*. México: fce.

Buhagiar, K. (1997): "The San Niklaw Cave-Settlement", *Melita Historica*, 12 (2), pp. 131-137.

Buhagiar, K. (2007): "Water management strategies and the Cave-Dwelling phenomenon in Late-Medieval Malta", *Medieval Archaeology*, 51, pp. 103-129.

Castillo, A. (1972): *Excavaciones altomedievales en las provincias de Soria, Logroño y Burgos*. Madrid: Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas.

Escalona, J. (2002): *Sociedad y Territorio en la Alta Edad Media castellana. La formación del Alfoz de Lara*. bar Int. Ser., 1079. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Folch, C.; Gibert, J. and Martí, R. (2009): "Asentamientos rurales de la Alta Edad Media en Catalunya Vella (siglos VIII-XI). Resultados preliminares de un proyecto de investigación". In Quirós, J. A. (dir.): *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao: upv, pp. 289-301.

García Camino, I. (2002): *Arqueología y poblamiento en Bizkaia. Siglos VI-XII. La configuración de la sociedad feudal*. Bilbao: Diput. Foral de Bizkaia.

García de Cortázar J. A. (2012): *Historia religiosa del Occidente medieval (Años 313 – 1464)*. Madrid: Akal.

González Martín, A. (2008): "Mitos y realidades en torno a la excavación, el tratamiento y el estudio de los restos arqueológicos no-adultos". In Gusi, F. and Olària, C. (eds.): Nasciturus, infans, puerulus vobis mater terra. *La muerte en la infancia*. Castellón: Diput. de Castellón.

Honeychurch, W. (2014): "Alternative Complexities: The Archaeology of Pastoral Nomadic States", *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 22 (4), pp. 277-326.

Lauwers, M. (2005): *Naissance du cimitière. Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval*. París: Flammarion.

Lauwers, M. (2013): "De l'incastellamento a l'ineclesiamento". In Iogna-Prat, D.; Lauwers, M.; Manzel, F. and Rosé, I. (dirs.): *Cluny, les moines et la société au premier âge féodal*. Rennes: pur.

López, M. D.; Álvaro, K. and Travé, E. (2016): *Yacimiento arqueológico de Revenga. Iglesia, necrópolis, aldea*. Burgos: Diput. de Burgos.

Martín Viso, I. (2007): "Tumbas y sociedades locales en el centro de la Península en la Alta Edad Media: el caso de la comarca de Riba Côa (Portugal)", *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 14, pp. 21-47.

Martín Viso, I. (ed.) (2009): ¿Tiempos oscuros? *Territorio y sociedad en el centro de la Península Ibérica (siglos VII-X)*. Salamanca: Sílex-Univ. de Salamanca.

Martín Viso, I. (2012a): "Enterramientos, memoria social y paisaje en la Alta Edad Media: propuestas para un análisis de las tumbas excavadas en roca en el centro-oeste de la península ibérica", *Zephyrus*, 69, pp. 165-187.

Martín Viso, I. (2012b): "Paisajes Sagrados, paisajes eclesiásticos: de la necrópolis a la parroquia en el centro de la península ibérica", *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13.2, pp. 3-45.

Martín Viso, I. (2015): "Espacios funerarios e iglesias en el centro peninsular: una relación compleja". In Sabaté, F. and Brufal, J. (eds.): *Arqueologia medieval. Els espais sagrats*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, pp. 81-114.

Molist, N. and Bosch, J. M. (2012): "El cementiri medieval de Sant Miquel d'Olèrdola (Olèrdola, Alt Penedès)". In Molist, N. and Ripoll, G. (eds.): *Arqueologia funerària al nord-est peninsular (segles VI-XII)*. Monografies d'Olèrdola, vol. 3.2. Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, pp. 469-494.

Ollich, I. (2012): "La necròpolis medieval de l'Esquerda (segles VIII-XIV d.C.). Cronologia i noves perspectives de recerca". In Molist, N. and Ripoll, G. (eds.): *Arqueologia funerària al nord-est peninsular (segles VI-XII)*. Monografies d'Olèrdola, vol. 3.2. Barcelona: mac, pp. 275-286.

Ortega, M. T. (1993): *El clima del sector norte de la Cordillera Ibérica. Estudio Geográfico*. Valladolid: Univ. de Valladolid.

Padilla, J. I. and Álvaro, K. (2010): "Necrópolis rupestres y el poblamiento altomedieval en al Alto Arlanza (Burgos)", *En la España Medieval*, 33, pp. 259-294.

Padilla, J. I. and Álvaro, K. (2012): "Alberto del Castillo y la cronología de las tumbas llamadas olerdolanas". In Molist, N. and Ripoll, G. (eds.): *Arqueologia funerària al nord-est peninsular (segles VI-XII)*. Monografies d'Olèrdola, vol. 3.1. Barcelona: mac, pp. 33-40.

Padilla, J. I. and Rueda, K. A. (2011a): "Los grabados rupestres del despoblado medieval de Revenga (Burgos)", *Munibe (Antropologia-Arkeologia)*, 62, pp. 439-459.

Padilla, J. I. and Rueda, K. A. (2011b): "La pileta del despoblado medieval de Revenga (Burgos): A propósito del lavado ritual de los difuntos y sus evidencias arqueológicas", *Pyrenae*, 42 (1), pp. 85-118.

Pastor, E. (1996): *Castilla en el tránsito de la Antigüedad al Feudalismo. Poblamiento, poder político y estructura social. Del Arlanza al Duero (siglos VII-XI)*. Valladolid: JCYL.

Paxton, F. S. (1990): *Christianizing Death: The creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. New York: CUP.

Peytremann, E. (2012): "The Archaeology of early medieval (6th-12th centuries) rural settlements in France", *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 9, pp. 213-230.

Quirós, J. A. (2006): "La génesis del paisaje medieval en Álava: la formación de la red aldeana", *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 13 (1), pp. 49-94.

Quirós, J. A. (2009): "Arqueología del campesinado altomedieval: las aldeas y las granjas del País Vasco". In Quirós, J. A. (dir.): *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao: UPV, pp. 385-403.

Ripoll, G. (1988): *Toréutica de la Bética (ss. VI y VII d. C.)*. Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de les Bones Lletres.

Ripoll, G. and Molist, N. (2014): "*Cura mortuorum* en el nordeste de la Península Ibérica, siglos IV al XII d. C.", *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder*, 9, pp. 5-66.

Ripoll, G. and Velázquez, I. (1999): "Origen y desarrollo de las *parrochiae* en la Hispania de la Antigüedad tardía". In Pergola, P. (ed.): *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV-VII sec.)*. Sussidiallo Studio delle antichità cristiane, XII. El Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, pp. 101-165.

Roig, J. (2009): "Asentamientos rurales y poblados tardoantiguos y altomedievales en Cataluña (siglos VI al X)". In Quirós, J. A. (dir.): *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao: UPV, pp. 207-251.

Toubert, P. (1973): *Les Structures du Latium médiéval: Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle*. Paris & Rome: École Française de Rome.

Treffort, C. (1996): *L'église carolingienne et la mort. Christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives*. Lyon: CIHAM.

Vaquerizo, D. (2002): "Espacio y usos funerarios en Corduba". In Vaquerizo, D. (ed.): *Espacio y usos funerarios en el Occidente romano: actas del Congreso Internacional*. Córdoba: Univ. de Córdoba, vol. 2, pp. 141-201.

Vigil-Escalera, A. (2009): "Las aldeas altomedievales madrileñas y su proceso formativo". In Quirós, J. A. (dir.): *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*. Bilbao: UPV.

Vigil-Escalera, A. and Quirós, J. A. (2006): "Networks of peasant villages between Toledo and *Uelegia Alabense*, Northwestern Spain (V-Xth centuries)", *Archeologia Medievale*, 33, pp. 79-130.

Wickham, C. (2005): *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*. Oxford: OUP.

Zadora-Río, E. (1995): "Le village des historiens et le village des archéologues". In Monet, E. (ed.): *Campagnes médiévales. L'homme et son espace. Études offertes à Robert Fossier*. Paris: Public. de La Sorbonne, pp. 145-153.