

# POWER AND RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE BANŪ SALĪM AREA (EIGHTH–ELEVENTH CENTURIES): PEASANT AND FRONTIER LANDSCAPES AS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

Marisa Bueno Sánchez  
Relmin, Université de Nantes

## *Introduction: Methodological Approach and Questions*

The concept of landscape embodies a variety of meanings. About two centuries ago Humboldt (1769–1859) defined landscape as the totality of all aspects of a region, as perceived by man. He described landscape as the sum of different aspects of the same reality: natural, geographical, geological, biological, and artistic (including human perception). Landscape is a dynamic construction constantly synthesizing the way people shape their environment through the deployment of cultural and social practices with the ways they are constrained by their natural surroundings. It is, therefore, a synthesis of habitat and history<sup>1</sup>

\* This article is a synthesis of my PhD dissertation and was developed in the Framework Research UCM Group 930.347, ‘Cristianos y musulmanes en el Medievo Hispánico’. This article has greatly benefitted from my postdoctoral position at the Maison des Sciences de l’Homme Ange Guépin (Nantes University) in the ERC, RELMIN framework, ‘The Legal Status of Religious Minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean World (5th–15th Centuries)’.

<sup>1</sup> F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan, and Matthew Stout, eds, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997), p. 57.

---

**Abstract:** This article aims to explain, from an archaeological-landscape perspective, the characteristics of rural settlements in the Duero-Jalón area, mainly in the Umayyad period. Landscape is presented as a social construction integrating activities and structures of various societies settled in the area – societies which had different functions and ways of understanding territory.

reflecting a powerful convergence of physical processes and cultural meaning, and can be considered a source and object of analysis.<sup>2</sup> Landscape archaeology addresses the complex issues of the ways in which people have consciously and unconsciously shaped the land around them. Human populations have engaged in a variety of processes in organizing space or altering their landscape for a variety of purposes: economic, social, political, and religious, as well as for subsistence. People often perceive, protect, and shape the land in the course of symbolic processes, engaging with their sense of place, memory, history, legends, and the boundaries of realms sacred and profane. Archaeology provides invaluable tools for examining such processes, including morphological and environmental data on medieval landscapes not available from other sources. Societies transform landscapes according to their cultural and social patterns, making it possible to speak of landscapes as social constructions.<sup>3</sup>

The impact of the Islamic conquest has been an issue of historical debate.<sup>4</sup> The arrival of a new group with a background different to that of the local population contributed to the reshaping of the landscape — as has been remarked by Thomas Glick, who presents the Islamic and Christian societies in the High Middle Ages as two cultures with contrasting ecological patterns. He describes ecological frontiers separating zones in which the components of agro-ecosystems (dry-farming, irrigation, gardening) were different for Christians and Muslims, and their perception of the environment was also diverse. This framework was determined and conditioned by ethnic divisions along ecological lines

whereby the Arabs reserved for themselves and their Neo-Muslim or Christian tenants the fertile lowlands as areas for development of hydraulic agriculture, the Berbers maintained a pastoral and arboricultural economy in the mountains; and cereal dry-farming was continued by the indigenous population, whether Christian or Islamized.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For different perspectives, see María Ruiz del Árbol and Almudena Saco del Valle, eds, *Landscapes as Cultural Heritage in the European Research. Proceeding of the Open Workshop, Madrid 29 October, 2004* (Madrid: CSIC, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Georges Bertrand, 'Le Paysage entre nature et société', *Revue géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest*, 49 (1978), 239–58; Christophe Tilley, 'Landscapes, Heritage and Identity', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11 (2006), 5–261.

<sup>4</sup> These polemics have been collected in Alejandro García Sanjuán, *La conquista islámica de la península Ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado: del catastrofismo al negacionismo* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2013), pp. 20–55.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 139–59.

The Umayyad state can be detected in frontier areas by an analysis of fortresses, through which it established a visible state model reflecting its power within the landscape:

In the context of landscapes, power is the capacity to impose a specific definition of the physical environment, one that reflects the symbols and meanings of a particular group of people [...] The particular landscape that comes to dominate and thereby influence social actions and the allocation of social resources is the one that represents the group exercising the greatest degree of power.<sup>6</sup>

Who ruled the territories in the north of the Middle Frontier, *al tagr al awsāt*? What kind of society was living there? Is it possible to recognize the Islamic impact in this area, as Pierre Guichard has demonstrated in the Valencian lowlands?<sup>7</sup> How can the Islamic influence in the north of the *al tagr al awsāt* be recognized and how did Muslim domination reshape the landscape in this area? What kind of relationship was established with the indigenous population? To answer these questions this article analyses written sources, both chronicles and Islamic legal texts, in order to understand the relationship between victors and vanquished. This study also examines archaeological sources in order to make visible the Muslim domination in this area and its influence over the medieval landscape. Because both Christian and Muslim chronicles focus on military campaigns and strategic fortresses, seldom mentioning settlements, agriculture, or population in this area, archaeological research concerning land use and settlements adds to the information provided by the written sources, revealing a new perspective.

This region under analysis has been associated with the Christian-Muslim frontier since the tenth century.<sup>8</sup> Archaeology offers certain challenges to medieval history,<sup>9</sup> most significantly based on the possibility of theorizing cultural change. Scholars have focused their studies on the analysis of different peri-

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Greider and Lorraine Garkovich, 'Landscapes: The Social Construction of Nature and the Environment', *Rural Sociology*, 59.1 (1994), 1–124 (p. 17).

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Guichard, 'Le peuplement de la région de Valencia aux deux premiers siècles de la domination musulmane', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 8 (1969), 103–56.

<sup>8</sup> Julio Escalona and Francisco Reyes, 'The County of Castile in the Tenth Century', in *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages: Exploring Landscape, Local Society and the World Beyond*, ed. by Julio Escalona and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 153–83.

<sup>9</sup> Antonio Malpica Cuello, 'La arqueología para el conocimiento de la sociedad andalusí', *Historia de Andalucía, VII Coloquio*, ed. by Antonio Malpica and others (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010), pp. 31–50.

ods of Muslim domination through the archaeological sites, mainly castles and control towers.<sup>10</sup> However, landscape has rarely been appreciated as source of analysis in this period. In this sense the panorama revealed is a portrait of rural settlements and their relationship with fortresses in this area. These sites are the evidence of the existence of rural communities in the north of the Middle March in the early Middle Ages. It is difficult to define the ethnic and religious ascription of the inhabitants, whether Berbers, Arabs, or Christians. The discussion centres on the nature of settlements in the Islamic conquest, the new organization reshaped by tribal groups (Arabs and Berbers), and the relationships with the indigenous population. The concept of community has been one of the widest and most frequently used in social science. Robert Redfield identified four key qualities in community: a smallness of social scale, homogeneity of activities and state of mind of members, a self-sufficiency across a broad range of needs and through time, and a consciousness of distinctiveness.<sup>11</sup> Communities can be treated as a bounded group of people, culturally homogeneous and resident in one territory. The analysis of different communities in this area provides a laboratory, as it were, for close observation of interrelations, sub-groups, and institutions, and offers them as microcosms of a larger social picture in early medieval Spain.

In recent years, the results of site surveys of rural settlements of the late Roman and medieval Islamic periods has resulted in a profound transformation in the study of early medieval villages in Spain.<sup>12</sup> Site surveys allow an

<sup>10</sup> Manuel Retuerce and Fernando Cobos, 'Fortificación islámica en el Alto Duero versus fortificación cristiana en el Alto Duero', *Cuando las horas primeras: en el milenario de la batalla de Calatañazor*, ed. by Carlos de la Casa (Soria: Diputación, 2004), pp. 229–27; Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, 'Recientes estudios sobre arqueología andalusí: la frontera media', *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 9 (1991), 371–78; Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, 'Fortificaciones tempranas en al-Andalus: Siglos VIII–X', in *Mil años de fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500–1500)*. *Actas do Simposio Internacional sobre castelos*, ed. by Isabel C. Ferrandes Ferreira (Lisboa: Colibrí, Câmara Municipal do Palmela, 2002), pp. 45–58 (pp. 51–58); Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, 'Asentamientos islámicos en el Madrid medieval', in *Testimonios del Madrid medieval*, ed. by Araceli Turina and others (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2004), pp. 43–79.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Redfield, *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956; repr. 1984), p. 60.

<sup>12</sup> Castillo Quirós and Juan Antonio, 'Early Medieval Villages in Spain in the Light of European Experience: New Approaches in Peasant Archaeology', in *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*, ed. by Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2009), pp. 13–29.

evaluation of the role of human activity and environmental change within the pattern of settlement growth, decline, and abandonment. This paper presents the results of archaeological surveys in the Jalón area, integrating data from the *Inventario Arqueológico de Soria*<sup>13</sup> (Archaeological and Culture Territorial Service of Soria, Castile-León) and the analysis of materials preserved in the Numantino Museum from various archaeological expeditions carried out in this area, as well as from some publications on excavations in Madrid and Guadalajara.<sup>14</sup> The archaeological data had been analysed by means of GIS applications (Geographical Information Systems). These systems allow the plotting of archaeological records on a map and explain spatial organization through a number of factors, such as adaptation to environmental conditions, territorial control, visible patterns in site positions, and physical manifestation of a symbolic ideology.<sup>15</sup> The analysis of these archaeological records makes it possible to define long-term rural settlements in the north of the Middle Frontier of al-Andalus. The Banū Salīm's historical territory is currently distributed in three administrative districts: Madrid, Castile-La Mancha, and Castile-León — all with a different pattern of archaeological development. This reality implies disparities on knowledge of rural settlements.

### *Land and Territory in Banū Salīm Area: Environmental Background*

Environment is the first external factor that affected the distribution of people, influencing, guiding, and conditioning their behaviour and patterns of exploiting the soil. In adapting to changes and limiting factors in the environment, human groups behaved according to utilitarian and functional aspects of living

<sup>13</sup> Archaeological data is based on information gathered at the Archaeological Service Castille-León (Soria), and surface surveys related to my PhD dissertation 'Land and Material Culture in Soria (8th to 12th Centuries): From Middle Frontier to Castilian Extremadura' (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Elena Serrano Mar Torra and others, 'Excavaciones en Guadalajara: secuencia andalusí desde época emiral a la taifa y presentación de un singular conjunto numismático', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 11 (2004), 79–113, José Luis Bermejo Crespo and Kenia Muñoz López-Astilleros, 'La producción cerámica en el entorno del Henares durante los siglos IX y X', in *Actas del V Encuentro de Historiadores del Valle del Henares* (Guadalajara: Diputación, 1996), pp. 79–86; Alfonso Vigil Escalera-Guirado, 'Sepulturas, huertos y radiocarbono (siglos VIII–XIII d.C): el proceso de islamización en el medio rural y otras cuestiones', *Studia Histórica, Historia Medieval*, 27 (2009), pp. 99–118.

<sup>15</sup> David Wheatly and Mark Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archaeological Application of GIS* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002), pp. 179–81.

— optimizing efficiency by maximizing proximity to good soils and markets, or adopting the best defensive position. Space should not be seen as a neutral container for human action, but rather, as a meaningful medium for human action.

The historical territory ruled by Banū Salīm family is located in the Oriental North Plateau area of the Iberian Peninsula. Currently, this area belongs to the Spanish administrative regions of Soria province (Castile-León) and north Guadalajara (Castile-La Mancha), and it spreads as far as Madrid through the Henares River. Most of this area was characterized by poor soil and dry-farming areas devoted primarily to the production of cereals, but irrigation agriculture was also practised in the rich alluvial lands along the Henares, Jalón, and Nágima rivers. This territory integrates a specific geographical unity defined as a contact space between both plateaus — north and south — of the Iberian Peninsula and provides a natural corridor to the Mediterranean area through the Ebro. The small rivers in this area have a role as meeting points between the Ebro, Duero, and Tagus through the Jalón and Henares basins.

The Jalón river is born in a place called *Fuente Vieja* in *Sierra Ministra*, a southern branch of the Iberian System of mountains. It runs towards the northeast, creating a depression with materials from the Tertiary period before reaching the Ebro river. The geography of this area is very complex, broken by small hills and valleys, plateaus, and slopes, and generating small isolated cliffs. The river is nourished by small streams such as the Santa Cristina, Valladar, Mentirosa, Pradejón, and Hocino.<sup>16</sup> The Henares River likewise has its source in this same area, in Sierra Ministra, near Horna (1220 m) between Medinaceli and Sigüenza. The river is swollen by additional water from other watercourses such as the Sorobe, Cañamares, Salado, Dulce, and Bornoba, as it descends into the Madrid province and crosses Alcalá de Henares where it is augmented by the Torote river, increasing its volume. The connexions between these rivers create a natural passage and a road link between both plateaus of the Iberian Peninsula. Repositories of marl and clay form these lands. This area is very rich in salt which is found as high as the levels of limestone and sandstone shaping the mountains, particularly in the Salado and Jalón river areas.<sup>17</sup> The construc-

<sup>16</sup> M<sup>a</sup> Carmen Sancho de Francisco, 'El valle del Jalón como vía de comunicación', in *El valle del Jalón como vía de comunicación*, ed. by Jose Luis Argente (Soria: Diputación, 1990), p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Nuria Moreré Molinero, 'L'exploitation romaine du sel dans la region de Sigüenza', *Gerion*, 19 (1991), 223–35; Antonio Malpica Cuello and García Contreras, 'Asentamientos y explotación de la sal en el valle del Salado y la zona de Sigüenza en época altomedieval', *En la España Medieval*, 33 (2010), 295–324.

tion of salt evaporation ponds in these valleys originated through salt exploitation. The brine is fed into large ponds where natural evaporation allows the salt to be left for collection. The principal inner open salt area is found between Guadalajara and Soria. Salt collection has been well known in Atienza, near the Salado river area, and in Medinaceli in the Jalón river area.

The climate pattern in this region is continental-Mediterranean, which is characteristic of the supra-Mediterranean belt in central Spain. Climatic data on monthly temperature and total monthly precipitation for the period between 1964–2004, obtained from the Soria meteorological station, show the coldest month to be January with a mean minimum temperature of minus 2°C, while the warmest month is July with a mean maximum temperature of 28°C. The mean monthly rainfall ranges from 29.2 mm in August to 58.9 mm in May.<sup>18</sup> Traditional agricultural production follows a widespread pattern, including extensive cereal agriculture, maintenance of flocks of sheep and goats, and the felling of trees in mountain areas. The permanent watercourses in the area, the Jalón and Henares, make large-scale irrigation possible, although the rest of the territory is drained by small creeks which do not flow during the summer months. Excepting the areas irrigated by the rivers, the fertility of the soil is uniformly poor, with 80 per cent of the area currently classified as the poorest soil category due to a combination of high slopes with thin and acidic soil, although cereal crops have been routinely planted. The most important cities in this region have historically been Madrid, Guadalajara, and Medinaceli (currently a small village halfway between Madrid and Zaragoza and 75 km from Soria). Medinaceli, situated at 1200 m. of altitude, controls the Jalón Valley and access to the Ebro, and has been a strategically important town since Roman times, over the ancient road *Emerita Augusta-Roman Caesaraugusta* (A25 Antonino's Itinerary),<sup>19</sup> as well as continuing its strategic significance into the tenth century.

<sup>18</sup> Salvador Rivas-Martínez and Javier Loidi, 'Bioclimatology of the Iberian Peninsula', *Itinera Geobotanica*, 13 (1999), 41–47; Concepción Rodríguez Puebla and others, 'Spatial and Temporal Patterns of Annual Precipitation Variability over the Iberian Peninsula', *International Journal of Climatometry*, 19 (1998), 299–316.

<sup>19</sup> *Itineraria Hispania*, ed. by Jose Manuel Roldán Hervás, p. 125.

### *From Banū Salīm to the Umayyad's Frontier*

The territory between Medinaceli in the northwest, Atienza in the west, and Madrid in the south was ruled from the mid-eighth to tenth centuries by the Berber family Banū Salīm, who belonged to the Masmūdā Berber tribe from North Africa. They were protected by the Umayyad power as *mawāllī*<sup>20</sup> (clients) and attained important positions in the frontier administration,<sup>21</sup> such as governorships in the main *mudum* and lordships of the frontier, and being responsible for defence and fiscal control of this territory. The area between Medinaceli and Guadalajara was mentioned as *tagr Banū Salīm* by al-'Uḍrī and Al-Istarjī in their geographical works.<sup>22</sup> According to Yāqūt, Tarīq found the ruined Medinaceli in the early years of the Muslim conquest, but he does not mention the arrival or the installation of this important family. The first mention is provided by Ibn Ḥayyān when speaking of the death of Faray b. Masarra Salīm, lord of Guadalajara, grandson of Salīm, founder of the dynasty in the year 832. This territory in the north of the Middle March expanded progressively with a member of the family becoming *'amil* (governor) of the new city, and it had an important strategic position in controlling the constant rebellions in Toledo and Zaragoza against the Cordovan power.<sup>23</sup>

Changes in power and families in *tagr* areas were frequent. Banū Salīm were removed from Guadalajara and from the principal *mudun* in 920 by 'Abd al Raḥmān III. The official reason was the continuous complaints of the population against them.<sup>24</sup> Banū Salīm had neither staged nor participated in any rebellions or had any suspicion of them. The real cause of their removal is unknown, as they had fulfilled their role in collecting tribute during the previ-

<sup>20</sup> Maribel Fierro Bello, 'Mawāllī and muwalladum in al-Andalus (Second/Eight-Fourth/Tenth Centuries)', in *Patronate and Patronage in Early Classic Islam*, ed. by Monique Bernard and others (Leiden: Brill, 2005) I, 224–74.

<sup>21</sup> Helena de Felipe, *Identidad y onomástica de los beréberes de al-Andalus* (Madrid: CSIC, 1997), pp. 220–225.

<sup>22</sup> Al-'Uḍrī, 'La Marca Superior en la obra de al-'Uḍrī', éd. and trans. by Fernando La Granja, *Estudios de la Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón*, 8 (1967), 447–545 (p. 471).

<sup>23</sup> Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas* (Madrid: CSIC, 1991), pp. 284–304.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis V, Crónica del Califa 'Abd al Raḥmān III an Nāṣir entre los años 912 y 942*, ed. and trans. by María Jesus Viguera and others (Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1981), p. 105; Ibn 'Idāri, *Al Bayan al Mugrib, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al Bayano'l-Mogrib*, ed. and trans. by Émile Fagnan (Argel: Pierre Fontana, 1904), II, 291–92.



ous hundred years and their presence had been useful in this area in controlling attacks from Toledo and Banū Qasī. In this period the Christians kingdoms had begun their expansion from the north over Duero lands and, accordingly, the Caliph needed to consolidate his power in this territory where the Banū Salīm where the frontier lords.<sup>25</sup>

Nonetheless, the Banū Salīms did not disappear entirely from their positions of power after their dismissal. There is news about two members: ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, *amil* of Madrid in 929–30;<sup>26</sup> and Muḥammad b. Azrāq from Guadalajara, who was cavalry commander between 941 and 942, and was sent by the *qā’id* Aḥmad b. Yalā to Saktan to fight against their Castilian enemies.<sup>27</sup> After the dismissal of this family, ‘Abd al Raḥmān III attempted to control this area directly. The Caliph sent the vizier ‘Abū Hamīd ibn Basil to Medinaceli to deal with the revolt of the Tuḡībīes,<sup>28</sup> and Medinaceli was refortified in 946, becoming the military capital of the Middle Frontier ruled by General Galīb.<sup>29</sup> This town was described by al-Rāzī in the tenth century as the capital of a wide district, but he did not mention the existence of rural settlements.<sup>30</sup> This town was the administrative centre, while the nearby fortress of Gormaz became the military centre, the starting point for the northern expeditions replacing the Atienza fortress. Galīb became the lord of the frontier supporting the legal Caliph Ḥišām II, but opposing the *emir* Almanzor, thus triggering the war between them. Galīb was helped by Christians, while Almanzor was supported by his own Berber army. Both armies met in the Battle of Torreventosa (981) where Galīb died and Almanzor won control of this territory, whereupon Medinaceli became his headquarters for military actions

<sup>25</sup> *Anales Castellanos I*, éd. by Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1917), p. 24: ‘In era DCCCCCL populaverunt comites Monnio Muñiz Rauda, et Gondesalvo Telliz Hocsuma et Gundesalvo Fedinandez Aza et Clunia et Sancti Stephani iusta fluvius Doyri.’

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Almuqtabis II-I, Crónica de los emires Albakan I y ‘Abdarrahamān II entre los años 796 y 847*, ed. and trans. by Maḥmūd Alī Makkī and others (Zaragoza: La Aljafería, 2001), p. 327, n. 537.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis V*, p. 364.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis V*, pp. 243–44.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn ‘Idāri, *Al Bayan al Mugrib*, II, 397.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Rāzī, ‘La Description de l’Espagne d’Aḥmad al-Razī: essai de reconstitution de l’original arabe et traduction française’, éd. and trans. by Evariste Levi Provençal, *Al-Andalus*, 18 (1953), 51–108 (p. 79).

against the Castilians until his death in 1002. He is buried in this town.<sup>31</sup> After Almanzor's death his son succeeded in assuming the power. He resided in Medinaceli where the Byzantine embassy was received in 1006. When the first son of Almanzor died, he was succeeded by a second son, 'Abd al Raḥmān b. Abī Amir, Sanchuelo who became *hājib* and was murdered a few months later. The Cordovan power was led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's grandson who was removed from power a month later by Suleiman b. Hākam. All these events caused the *fitna*, civil war, which began the process of the breakup of al-Andalus and the Middle Frontier governed by Wādih.<sup>32</sup>

During the Taifa period, Medinaceli's district toggled between the Taifa of Zaragoza — ruled by the Banū Hūd — and Toledo were ruled by the Banū dil-Nūm. The rapid territorial Castilian expansion affected this territory when Ferdinand I attacked the Duero's fortresses (the towers of Gormaz, Berlanga, and Bordecorex), reaching Medinaceli in 1061. After the capture of Toledo in 1085, this territory between the Duero and the Central System belonged to Banū dil-Nūm, but was not included in the hinterland of the Taifa of Toledo, which was considered to be protected by the Castilian hinterland from possible attacks of the lords of Zaragoza.

### *Occupation and Exploitation of Territory in the Umayyad Period*

Once the conquest was achieved the new subjects, inhabitants in the conquered lands, should be integrated into the political and social order even in the frontier. Although there is no mention concerning the population in the chronicles excepting some information on military campaigns, a rural population was settled in this area during Late Antiquity and the Islamic period. In many areas, this existing population was often the numerical majority immediately after the conquest and, accordingly, the new power granted them a protected subordinate place in society through the status of *dimī-s* or protected people. The Qur'an does not clearly establish the legal framework for non-Muslims within the *dār-al-Islām*. It declares that the Muslim should not force the people of the Book to convert, but should oblige them to recognize the superiority of Muslim authority by paying the poll-tax, *ḡizya* (Qur'an 9. 29). The *dimmi* sys-

<sup>31</sup> *Crónica Naierensis*, ed. by José Antonio Estévez Sola, *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII*, Pars II, CCCM–LXXI A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 146.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn 'Iḡāri, *La caída del califato de Córdoba y los reyes de taifas*, ed. and trans. by Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1993), pp. 47–93.

tem was supposedly based on the Pact of ‘Umar, traditionally dated to the reign of ‘Umar I (633–34), although some historians date it to ‘Umar II (717–20). The original document has not been preserved, but the most ancient version dates from the twelfth century.<sup>33</sup> Non-Muslims were not considered a group outside of Islamic law, but were fully integrated into the juridical casuistry of the Islamic legal system.<sup>34</sup>

When al-Andalus was conquered, the juridical tradition of the new rulers was the ancient Syrian School, but in the ninth century the School of Mālik was the only legal referent applied in the territories ruled from Cordova.<sup>35</sup> Muslim jurists make a basic distinction between a land conquered by force or by treaty, with consequences for land taxation, property rights of its original inhabitants, and their places of worship.<sup>36</sup> Reports on whether this territory was conquered by force or by treaty are ambiguous. There is no evidence of the existence of a treaty in this frontier area, so it is probable that it was conquered by force. In this case, land would be considered *waqf* for the benefit of Muslims. Land tax was treated as movable booty — *faʿy* — at the disposition of Muslim representatives. This tax was stipulated as a maximum of four dinars if they used gold as the metal system, or forty dirhams if they used silver,<sup>37</sup> and these amounts were considered fixed and could not be increased. The population of conquered lands remained in their villages and had to pay land tax according to the amount of land they held, rather than by the number of houses. They were not considered proprietors of the land they cultivated, and when they died or moved to another place the land in their possession was given to someone else.<sup>38</sup>

It is not clear exactly how many people converted to Islam in this area. Conversion implied a different legal status as the converts were new Muslims,

<sup>33</sup> Note 1068 RELMIN Project, TELMA web edition, IRHT, Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire de Textes-Orléans <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait1068/>>.

<sup>34</sup> Christian Muller, ‘Non-Muslims as Part of Islamic Law: Juridical Casuistry in a Fifth/Eleventh Century Law Manual’, in *The Legal Status of dimmīs in the Islamic West*, ed. by Maribel Fierro and John Tolan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 21–65.

<sup>35</sup> Alfonso Carmona González, ‘Doctrina sobre la ġizya en el occidente islámico pre-moderno’, in *The Legal Status of dimmīs in the Islamic West*, ed. by Maribel Fierro and John Tolan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 91–110.

<sup>36</sup> Emile Fagnan, *Le Livre d’impot foncier* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1921), 187–94.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Wanšārīsī, *al Mi’yār, al-mu’rib*, ed. by Madhi Haḡḡi and others, 13 vols (Rabat-Beirut, 1981), II, 53.

<sup>38</sup> Muller, ‘Non-Muslims as Part of Islamic Law’, p. 37.

and accordingly were required to pay *zacam*, and became proprietors of their own lands. This situation was noted by the grand *qadī* of Cordova Abū-l-Walīs b. Rush (d. 1126).<sup>39</sup> According to Mikel de Epalza, the decline of the Christian population in Spain was rapid, less because of individual conversion than because of a lack of ecclesiastical structures. In the absence of bishops and priests the inhabitants of the rural zones of the peninsula could not receive the essential sacraments of Christianity, particularly baptism, and thus within the space of a few generations they could no longer be considered Christians and instead became Muslims.<sup>40</sup> Concerning the status of conquered land, it was most likely an economic model of land occupation based on agricultural holding, a model similar to that implemented in Syria during the Muslim Mua'wīya conquest.<sup>41</sup> The ancient Roman *fundii* were divided into five parts, and the Islamic state became the proprietor of the fifth — *khums* — as outlined in Islamic law.<sup>42</sup> In the early Islamic period this fifth was probably for the Caliph, while the other lands were for the conquerors. This was a difficult problem to resolve for 'Abd al Raḥmān I.<sup>43</sup>

Agricultural production was particularly challenging in central Spain because of a lack of rainfall, a scarcity of trees and other vegetation, extreme temperatures, and rocky soil. Nevertheless, the farmers of the region grew wheat and other grains, raised sheep and goats, maintained vineyards, and carried on other agricultural activities near the river areas. All these possibilities gave rise to scattered rural settlements that had remained with slight changes since Late Antiquity. Rescue archaeological activities carried out in the most impor-

<sup>39</sup> Al-Wanšārīsī, *al Mi'yār*, ed. by Haḡḡi and others, VIII, 132: 'En se convertissant à l'islam, des gens avaient conservé la propriété de leurs villages que leurs héritiers s'étaient transmise au tours des années [...]'. Al-Wanšārīsī, *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au Moyen Âge: Analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wanšārīsī*, ed. and trans. by Vincent Lagardère (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez-CSIC, 1995), p. 357, n°286.

<sup>40</sup> Mikel de Epalza, 'Falta de Obispos y conversión al Islam de los Cristianos de al-Andalus', *Al-Qántara*, 15 (1994), 386–400.

<sup>41</sup> Muhammad A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation, AD 600–750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), I, 66–70.

<sup>42</sup> Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, '711–856: Los primeros años del Islam andalusí o una hipótesis de trabajo', *Ruptura o continuidad: pervivencias preislámicas en al-Andalus, Cuadernos Emeritenses*, 15 (1998), 85–142; Ibn al-Qūṭṭiya, *Historia de la Conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés, seguida de fragmentos históricos de Abencotaiba*, ed. and trans. by Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926), pp. 174–75.

<sup>43</sup> *Ajbār Maymūa*, *Colección de Tradiciones*, ed. and trans. by Emilio Lafuente Alcántara (Madrid: M. de Ribadeneyra, 1867), pp. 34–35.

tant *mudum* in the north of the Middle Frontier such as Madrid, Guadalajara, and Medinaceli have shed light on the occupation of this region during the Islamic period. Results from Túnel de Aguas Vivas (Guadalajara city centre) have helped to establish the chronological framework of Islamic pottery for this area.<sup>44</sup> But, what about rural settlements? Seven sites have been identified through field surveys as what will be referred to here as transitional period sites (dating from Late Antiquity to the early Islamic period, AD 600–950), and over one hundred places have been assigned to the later Islamic period, mostly military structures, but also several mid-slope settlements, close to either water-courses or salt areas. Banū Salīm's territory was a rural region occupied by farms associated with the exploitation of natural resources.

### Rural Settlements in the Jalón River Area

The transition from the late Roman to the medieval Islamic period in this area is characterized by a radical reorganization of the rural system and agricultural patterns, from an evenly spaced pattern of *villae* and farmsteads to a distribution of hamlets and hilltop villages. Some of these transitional sites survived in the later Islamic period as fortified sites associated with the frontier and military control. The interpretation of transitional sites has been problematic in the past for several reasons: low visibility, scarceness of pottery found in field surveys, and absence of reference excavations in this area. Despite this problem we have identified a number of hilltop habitation sites near Medinaceli, which had their origin in Late Antiquity and survived until the Islamic period.

'La Mantilla' is a good example of a transitional site. It is situated on the right bank of the Jalón river to the southeast of Fuencaliente village.<sup>45</sup> Survey activities have found a number of hand-formed cooking and water storage wares produced from local clays, mainly grey and brown pottery, of both oxidizing and reducing manufacturing methods, resembling wares found in Iron Age sites. Decorative elements are not very common in transitional pottery, making certain fragments with parallel and horizontal incisions noteworthy. As well, wheel-made pottery from the early Islamic period has been found. The settlement sequence is completed with evidence, both oral and bibliographical, concerning the necropolis associated with this site, but currently without mate-

<sup>44</sup> Serrano Mar Torra and others, 'Excavaciones en Guadalajara', pp. 91–92.

<sup>45</sup> *Inventario Arqueológico de Soria* (unpublished archaeological reports, Servicio de Territorio y Cultura de Soria, Junta de Castilla y León), Report: 42-113-0007-12.

rial evidence. ‘La Revilla’ is another site that can be dated to this period. The site covers four hectares between the La Mentirosa and Salobrar watercourses, permitting settlement of the population and development of economic activities associated with salt and agricultural exploitation. It is situated on a hilltop site clearly occupied from the Iron Age to Late Antiquity, along with some wheel-pottery from the early Islamic period. This chronology is based on pottery collected in the 1988 field survey and now stored in Numantino Museum.<sup>46</sup> Both sites, ‘La Mantilla’ and ‘La Revilla’, have been primarily linked to Late Antiquity, but their strategic positions in the valley, the existence of salt and agricultural resources, along with the presence of material evidence from the Islamic period may suggest the reoccupation of these sites in the ninth century. Following the Salobrar watercourse our surveys have located a farm area with similar materials and a badly damaged Islamic tower, mostly demolished, in the site known as ‘El Tormo’.<sup>47</sup>

Some similar sites have been found in the archaeological survey of the nearby valley originating in the small watercourse of La Mentirosa. Sites have been found close to the most important modern villages of Torralba del Moral and Ambrona. Near Torralba del Moral is found the site called ‘Cerro Santo’, dominating the valley with a long archaeological sequence from the Bronze Age to the Islamic period.<sup>48</sup> Hilltop sites have been detected in ‘La Mantilla I’ and in ‘Cerro Santo’. The traces of this sites consist mainly in scatterings of building stone, roof tiles, and hand-formed black and grey pottery with some materials associated with the Islamic period: cooking vessels and wares used for the serving of food and drink, such as glazed wares which are predominantly manganese-painted. These are not the only structures involving early Islamic colonization around this area close to Medinaceli. Many of the small medieval Islamic sites represent a continuation of the transitional hilltop settlements, while others were created in the early Islamic period with a settlement pattern characterized by middle-height site locations.

The archaeological field survey of the Jalón Valley has revealed the existence of some middle-height rural sites associated with farms. Two sites have been identified — ‘La Lámpara’ and ‘Los Avichuelos’ — through surface pottery,

<sup>46</sup> Museo Numantino Archive. MN-98/77/ 1–5.

<sup>47</sup> Ana María Martín Arija, *Documentación, excavación y protección del yacimiento del Tormo, Fuencaliente de Medinaceli*. Soria (unpublished report in archaeological and cultural service, Soria, 1993).

<sup>48</sup> *Inventario Arqueológico de Soria*, Report: 42-113-0011-03.

mainly from the Islamic period. This pottery is recognized by its technical features: careened pots and glazed table dishes, *ataifores*, and manganese-painted and honey-coloured (*melado*) ware. All these wares are similar to the ones from Medinaceli, which may suggest commercial activity between the town and its rural area. This chronological sequence is not exclusive to the Jalón Valley, and is a common pattern in the north of the Middle Frontier as has been proved in studies made in the Salado Valley.<sup>49</sup>

The existence of rural farms and villages from the Islamic period is not exclusive to the Jalón area, but are also found around the area of the Duero River, that is considered the limit of the Banū Salīm's control area. The following sites close to Uxama, between the Rivers Ucero and Avión have been identified: 'Los Torrejones', 'Alto Tejera', 'Las Quintanas', 'Llano de la Torre', 'El Requejo', and 'El Castro'.<sup>50</sup> All of these middle-height settlements have been detected by surface pottery and chiefly by scattering of building stone and roof tiles, but have not yet been excavated. Thus, it is uncertain whether the occupation of these small sites extends back into the 800s AD or whether many continued to be occupied through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Only written sources, such as the *Chronicle Naierensis*, may suggest the continuity of these rural settlements in the Jalón and Duero valleys until the eleventh century when this area was devastated by Ferdinand I.<sup>51</sup>

### Rural Settlements in the Henares and Jarama River Areas

Recent excavations carried out in Madrid province shed light on Islamic rural settlements. These sites are located around the Henares and Jarama valleys: 'Las Fuentecillas' (San Fernando de Henares) close to the Henares River,<sup>52</sup> 'El Soto/Encadenado', 'La Huelga (Barajas)', 'La Indiana (Pinto-Madrid)'<sup>53</sup> in the Jarama

<sup>49</sup> Malpica Cuello and García-Contreras Ruiz, 'Asentamientos y explotación de la sal en el valle del Salado'.

<sup>50</sup> *Inventario Arqueológico de Soria*, Reports: 42-043-0008-37; 42-043-0008-08; 42-043-0014-08; 42-047-0001-04; 42-043-0008-24; 42-043-0001-02.

<sup>51</sup> *Crónica Naierensis*, ed. by Estévez Sola, Book III, § 8.

<sup>52</sup> Jose Luis Bermejo Crespo, 'Una explotación agrícola en el área de los Banū Salīm, *Vereda de Sedano o Las Fuentecillas*, San Fernando de Henares, Madrid', *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval*, 8 (1994), 205-25.

<sup>53</sup> Alfonso Vigil Escalera-Guirado, 'La Indiana (Pinto, Madrid): estructuras de habitación, almacenamiento, hidráulicas y sepulcrales de los siglos VI-IX en la Marca Media', *XXIX Congreso Nacional de Arqueología de Cartagena*, 1997 (Cartagena, 2000), IV, 213-24; about 'La Huelga',

valley, and ‘Fuente de La Mora (Leganés)’. The site called ‘Las Fuentecillas’ was an Islamic farm — *qarya* — situated near the Henares River that has been dated between the ninth and twelfth centuries. This site provides an interesting pottery sequence from the Emiral and Caliphal periods.<sup>54</sup> In the sites ‘El Soto/Encadenado’ and ‘La Huelga’, two separated areas have been detected — a residential space and a funerary place. In the funerary area were found burials from various religious traditions identified by their different rituals, with the ancient ones being identified as Christian and the most recent superimposed ones as Islamic burials.<sup>55</sup> This situation reflects the conversion process in rural families proved by mitochondrial DNA bone analysis that provides evidence of relationships between different skeletal remains.<sup>56</sup> However, not all the rural settlements dated in the seventh and eighth centuries survived the transition. A good example of this is the case of Gozquez de Arriba (San Martín de La Vega, Madrid), one of the largest late antique villages excavated in Madrid, which disappeared in the late eighth century.<sup>57</sup>

### Rural Settlements Associated with Salt in the Jalón Area

The Jalón Valley is an area historically important not only for its geostrategic position but also for its salt area.<sup>58</sup> Inland salt mines and salt flats played a key role in the pre-Roman, Roman, and medieval periods.<sup>59</sup> Wars were fought over

Alfonso Vigil Escalera-Guirado, ‘Nota preliminar acerca del hallazgo de una necrópolis altomedieval de rito islámico en la Comunidad de Madrid: el yacimiento de la Huelga (Barajas, Madrid)’, *Bolskan. Revista de Arqueología Oscense*, 21 (2004), 57–61.

<sup>54</sup> Jose Luis Bermejo Crespo and Kenia Muñoz López Astilleros, ‘El yacimiento medieval de “Vereda de Sedano” o “Las fuentecillas” (San Fernando de Henares, Madrid): campañas de excavación de 1989 y 1990’, *Estudios de Prehistoria y arqueología madrileñas*, 10 (1995–96), 111–20.

<sup>55</sup> Vigil Escalera-Guirado, ‘Sepulturas, huertos y radiocarbono (siglos VIII–XIII d.C.)’.

<sup>56</sup> Ana García Rubio, ‘Anejo: Informe antropológico’, in *Memoria: excavación arqueológica en el yacimiento «Encadenado/El Soto»: Campaña 2005 (Barajas Madrid)*, Área SCM, 2007 (unpublished archaeological report in DGPH de la Comunidad de Madrid).

<sup>57</sup> Alfonso Vigil Escalera-Guirado, ‘Cabañas: evidencias arqueológicas del sur de Madrid: Tipología, elementos de datación y discusión’, *AesPA*, 73 (2000), 223–52.

<sup>58</sup> *Guía del Mapa Minero de España*, ed. by Serafín de la Concha and José Suárez Feito (Madrid: IGME, 1961).

<sup>59</sup> Olivier Weller and Pierre Pétrequin, ‘L’Exploitation du sel: une longue histoire’, in *Sel, eau et forêt, d’hier à aujourd’hui*, ed. by Olivier Weller and others (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France-Comtè, 2008), pp. 9–13.



it, high taxes were placed on it, cities were built where a significant deposit of salt was discovered, trade in salt was very important, and salt was valuable enough to be used as currency in some areas. The Latin phrase *salarium argentum* — ‘salt money’ — referred to part of the payment made to every Roman soldier.<sup>60</sup> Salt is used for food storage, and is vital for any society as salt is important both in human and animal diets. In Castile, salt mineral deposits created a very important market obtaining significant profits and taxes in the medieval period.<sup>61</sup>

Inland there are occasional salt springs and natural outcrops of salt-bearing rocks, like the previously mentioned Salado Valley near Sigüenza<sup>62</sup> and the Jalón Valley near Medinaceli. Because salt became an important industry in these areas, people made salt evaporation ponds to allow the harvesting of this mineral, and these salterns remain visible in the cited areas even today. Toponyms in this region are sometimes associated with salt production, as evidenced by names such as ‘Salobrar spring’ or Jalón. According to al-‘Uḏrī and Yāqūt, the name Jalón, *wadī Salūm*, means ‘salt river’.<sup>63</sup> Other sites have been identified as associated with salt production, as shown by archaeological work based on field surveys by two small springs: Pradejón and Arbujuelo. A number of small medium-high sites (‘El Hundido’, ‘La Covatilla’, and ‘La Lagunilla’) have been identified as medieval Islamic sites on the basis of roof tiles and surface wares, mainly non-glazed wheel-pottery. This pottery is quite regular, and similar to wares manufactured in Medinaceli<sup>64</sup> and the Salado Valley near

<sup>60</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, ed. by Josefa Cantó and others (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), Book xxxi. xli. 89.

<sup>61</sup> Reyna Pastor de Tognery, ‘La sal en Castilla y León: un problema de la alimentación y del trabajo y una política fiscal’, *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 37–38 (1963), 42–87.

<sup>62</sup> Nuria Moreré Molinero, ‘La sal en el desarrollo histórico de Sigüenza: los primeros siglos’, in *Sal de interior en la historia, economía, medioambiente y sociedad*, ed. by Nuria Moreré (Madrid: Dickinson-Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 1997), pp. 3–31.

<sup>63</sup> Al-‘Uḏrī, ‘La Marca Superior en la obra’, ed. and trans. by La Granja, p. 457. He talks about wadī Salūm related to one of the five rivers of Zaragoza — this river passes through Medinaceli, Ariza, Calatayud, and Rueda. Yāqūt talks about Salūm as one of the *nāhiyas* or regions of Zaragoza and the most important river of this area was the *wadī Salūm*. Yāqūt, ‘La España musulmana en la obra de Yāqūt: siglos XII–XIII’, ed. and trans. by Gamal ‘Abd al-Karīm, *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 6 (1974), 13–354 (pp. 125 and 203).

<sup>64</sup> Marisa Bueno Sánchez, ‘Cerámica islámica en Medinaceli villa: excavaciones de urgencia e investigación (1975–2009)’, in *Metodología de análisis aplicada a los estudios de cerámica tardeoantigua y medieval de la Península Ibérica*, ed. by Raquel Martínez Peñín and others (León: Lobo Sapiens, 2010), pp. 75–91.

Sigüenza,<sup>65</sup> mostly careened non-glazed cooking pots<sup>66</sup> sometimes manganese-painted, which are very common in this area.<sup>67</sup> Written Castilian sources from the twelfth century give evidence of the exploitation of these sites around Medinaceli, which are called *Landet* salterns. These must have been exploited during the Umayyad period, because immediately after the feudal conquest of this village in 1122 the Bishop of Sigüenza purchased a house, a barnyard, a furnace, a mill, and most of the salt exploitation areas near Medinaceli. Queen Urraca of Castile confirmed this sale.<sup>68</sup> The taxes from this salt exploitation were assigned to the monastery of Saint Maria de Huerta by Bishop Arderico of Sigüenza.<sup>69</sup> In the thirteenth century the Calatrava Order settled in this area and assumed care of the exploitation of these salt areas.<sup>70</sup>

### Islamic Graveyards, *maqābir*

One of the biggest problems in medieval archaeology consists in analysing structural relations between burials, settlements, and landscape. Substantially, archaeological records have come from survey activities and only rarely have some sites been excavated in order to develop a comprehensive study of rural settlements. However, rescue archaeological excavations carried out in this area shed light on the Islamic burial places, *maqābir*, and their relationship with settlements. Three sites can be analysed: Adradas ('Alto del Val'), Morón ('Jaray'), and Monreal de Ariza ('Cerro Ógmico'), the latter situated in the

<sup>65</sup> Guillermo García Contreras, 'Aportación al estudio de la cerámica andalusí en la Marca Media: el valle del Salado (Sigüenza, Guadalajara)', in *Metodología de análisis aplicada a los estudios de cerámica tardoantigua y medieval de la Península Ibérica*, ed. by Raquel Martínez Peñín and others (León: Lobo Sapiens, 2010), pp. 91–100.

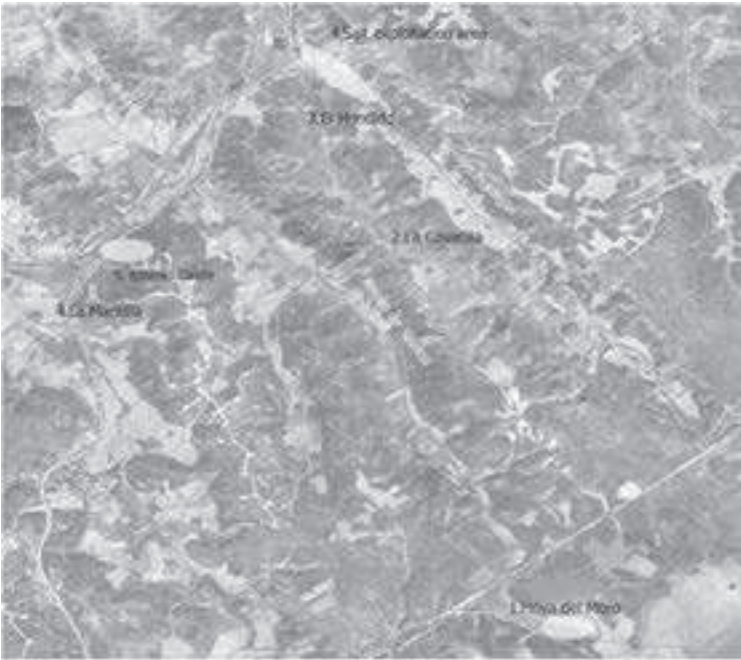
<sup>66</sup> Manuel Retuerce Velasco, *La cerámica andalusí de la Meseta* (Madrid: CRNA, 1998), I, 272.

<sup>67</sup> Serrano Mar Torra and others, 'Excavaciones en Guadalajara'; Bermejo Crespo and López-Astilleros, 'La producción cerámica'.

<sup>68</sup> *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y sus Obispos*, ed. by Toribio Minguella y Arnedo (Madrid, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1910), p. 351, doc. IV.

<sup>69</sup> *Cartulario del Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta*, ed. by Jose Antonio García Luján (Huerta: Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta, 1981), p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> Marisa Bueno Sánchez, 'El papel de la orden de Calatrava en la reorganización del espacio soriano en el siglo XIII', in *El nacimiento de la Orden de Calatrava: Primeros tiempos de expansión (siglos XII–XIII)*, ed. by Rafael Villegas (Ciudad Real: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 2010), pp. 346–75.



Ortofoto PNOA, 1:5000 mts.



Salt exploitation (Salinas de Medinaceli), "El Hundido" (1)



Ortofoto PNOA 1:50. Hoya del Moro (1)



Rural settlement, La Covadonga (2)



(3) Esteroz Castle and saltine area



LA Mantilla I, rural settlement optical view, (4) yellow point indicates "La Mantilla II" geographical area.

Figure 2.1. Salt exploitation and fortresses in the Jalón area. Images by the author.

Jalón Valley. The site called ‘Alto del Val’ is a very small site excavated in 1989.<sup>71</sup> Four graves were found cut into the natural limestone with small notches that would have supported the slabs for mating. Only one of the limestone slabs remains with a complete cover. The graves faced southwest and the deceased lay in a *decubitus* lateral position with legs slightly bent and hands on the pelvis. Nearby, a late Roman rural settlement — ‘El Val’ — has been identified. The proximity of both sites suggests a possible association between them. The burial area is placed beside a road as was consistent with the requirements of Islamic tradition.<sup>72</sup>

Another *maqbara*, the site called ‘Jaray’, has been discovered near Morón de Almazán. The name *xarea* comes from *šari’a* — this word in the Muslim West denotes outdoor oratories usually located just outside a village.<sup>73</sup> These outdoor oratories allowed the meeting of a large crowd for the collective invocation of rain. Supplication for rain was performed in the case of drought and persistent danger through the loss of crops. The manner of supplication is described in the *Book of Cordoba Judges*.<sup>74</sup> Today, this site preserves its ancient function, as it is still used as a traditional local pilgrimage place for rain supplication assisted by ecclesiastical authorities in the dry spring season. This site also had a collective burial place, which was located over a small hill near the main road. This necropolis appears on a small hilltop on the road from Morón to Adradas. It has not been entirely excavated and, in fact, only two test excavations have been done, making it impossible to define its complete extent, although it is presumed to be about 150 m, suggesting it was associated with a large village. Only thirteen graves were excavated and all of them lack inscriptions. Tombs are simple pits dug in the ground, seven graves were oriented east-west and six faced southwest, and in all these graves the bodies were lying in a *decubitus* lateral position. This site has been dated to the tenth to eleventh centuries, but this chronology has not yet been confirmed by C14 analysis.<sup>75</sup> There is no evidence of any Islamic

<sup>71</sup> Agustín Ruiz de Marco and others, ‘Las necrópolis de rito islámico en Castilla y León’, *Numantia*, 4 (1993), 207–18.

<sup>72</sup> Leopoldo Torres Balbás, ‘Cementerios hispanomusulmanes: crónica arqueológica de la España musulmana’, *Al-Andalus*, 22 (1957), 454–80.

<sup>73</sup> Leopoldo Torres Balbás, ‘*Musalla y sari’a* en las ciudades hispanomusulmanas’, *Al-Andalus*, 13 (1948), 167–80; Miguel Asín Palacios, *Contribución a la toponimia árabe de España* (Madrid: CSIC, 1941), p. 144.

<sup>74</sup> *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba, por Aljoxaní*, ed. and trans. by Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1914), p. 105.

<sup>75</sup> Ángel Sanz Aragonese and M<sup>a</sup> Jesús Sanz Lucas, ‘Excavación de urgencia en el yaci-

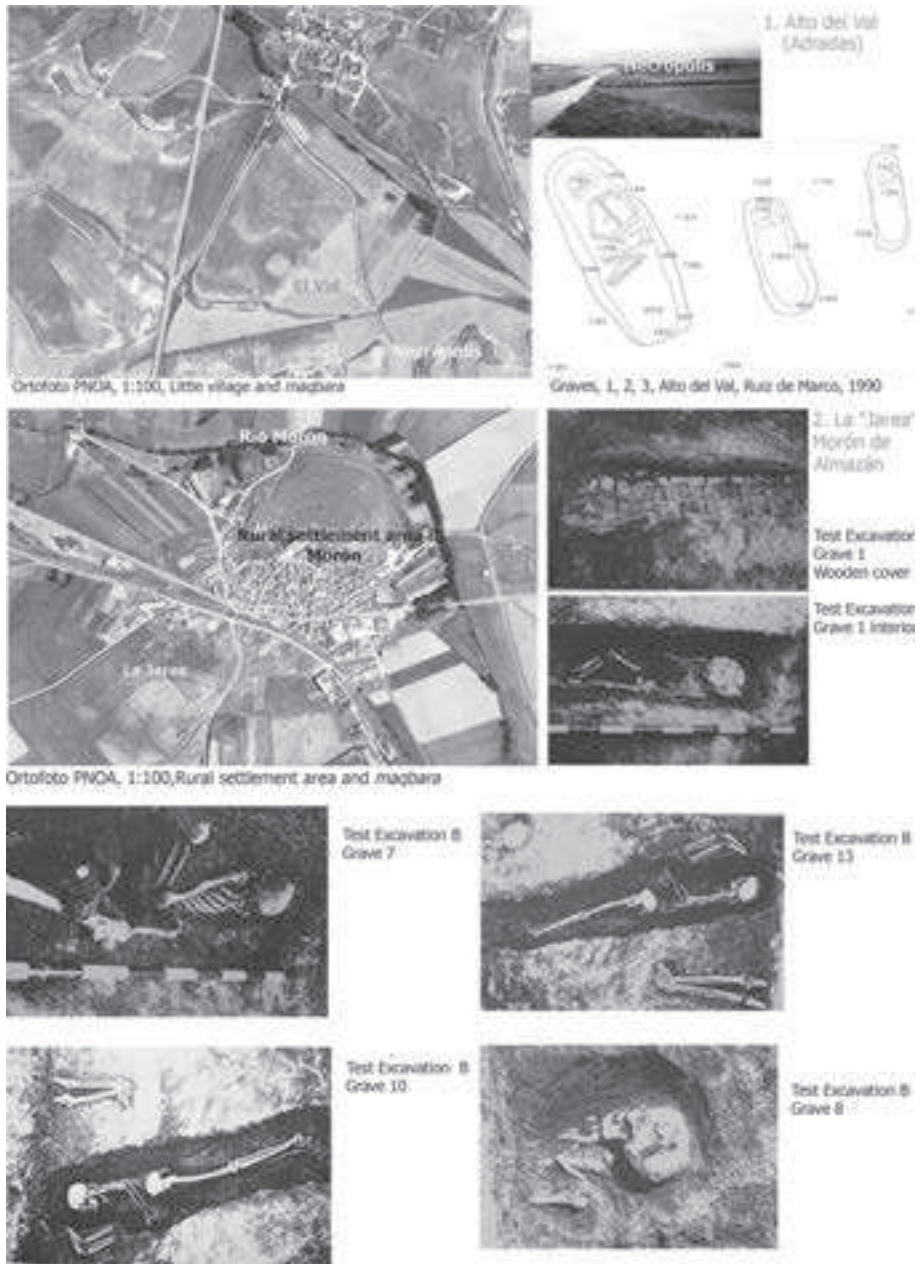


Figure 2.2. *Maqbaras* and rural settlements.  
 Images by Sanz Aragonés Angel, 1998, archaeological service Soria.

settlement in the vicinity in the official archaeological reports. However, on the surface at the hilltop site 'El Castillo' (Morón de Almazán), we have found distinctive Islamic ceramics, including both cooking vessels and wares used for the serving food and drink, manganese-painted, honey-coloured, and all of them characteristic of the Caliphal and Taifa periods. Recently, another Islamic cemetery has been discovered during the rescue archaeology programme carried out for the improvement of the Madrid–Barcelona Highway. The graves were near a site called Cerro Ógmico (Monreal de Ariza), which has been studied as a Celtiberian necropolis,<sup>76</sup> but some clues about this Islamic burial had been hinted at by Cerralbo earlier in 1909.<sup>77</sup>

### Rock-Cut-Tombs: The Christian *dhimmi*-s Population under Umayyad Power?

One hundred rock-cut tomb sites have been identified in this region. This kind of burial can be easily found through field surveys, although only two sites have been excavated to date.<sup>78</sup> The great problem presented by these sites is their chronological data. Substantially, these tombs are not associated with artefactual or osteological remains, thus making it impossible to determine accurate chronologies. They appear without grave goods, facing east-west, and are carved into the rock with different shapes: anthropomorphic, trapezoidal, and oval. Their presence is particularly significant in Tiermes and also in various sites along Sierra de la Pela. The site called 'Necrópolis del Río' in Tiermes has been excavated and dated to the sixth century. This chronology was based on a gold ring and other prestige grave goods from this period.<sup>79</sup> These tombs may have been reused in subsequent centuries, as has been proved by the analysis

miento de la Jarea' (unpublished archaeological report in archaeological and cultural service, Soria, 1988), pp. 8, 10.

<sup>76</sup> Ernesto García Soto Mateos and Rafael De la Rosa, 'Cerro Ógmico: un yacimiento de Campos de Urnas en el Alto Jalón', in *Poblamiento Celtibérico, Daroca (Zaragoza), 2-5 de octubre, 1991*, ed. by Francisco Burillo (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico 1995), pp. 265–74.

<sup>77</sup> Eduardo Aguilera y Gamboa, *El Alto Jalón, descubrimientos arqueológicos* (Madrid: Fontanet, 1909), pp. 74–86.

<sup>78</sup> Carlos Casa Martínez, *Las Necrópolis medievales de Soria* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), pp. 50–112.

<sup>79</sup> Eusebio Gutiérrez Dohijo, 'Dos anillos visigodos con lema cristiano procedentes de Tiermes (Montejo de Tiermes, Soria)', *V Reunión de Arqueología cristiana hispánica*, ed. by Joseph M. Gurt (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Universidad de Barcelona, 2000).

of the nearby funerary area in the Forum of Tiermes,<sup>80</sup> and thus, a long-term chronology (from the seventh to tenth centuries) can be inferred as a working hypothesis.

The location and size of the rock-cut tombs mentioned above are widely dissimilar. They could appear as isolated tombs or in large groups reflecting the size of the community which used them. Small groups are common in plain wheat field areas associated with family farming. Large groups indicate the existence of a village, as well as varying degrees of social hierarchy, as is seen in the Miño de Medinaceli necropolis. However, domestic structures associated with these burials have not been found in this region, so these should be the focus of future excavations and surveys. These tombs are not an isolated phenomenon and may be related to others existing in the Iberian Peninsula: Salamanca, Celorico da Beira (Portugal), Revenga and Cuyacabras (Burgos region), and Madrid.<sup>81</sup> Extensive dating of these burials would support the hypothesis of continuity of indigenous rural settlements in this area after the Muslim conquest. In this *tagr* area different communities, as identified by their burials, could coexist, with all of them under Umayyad power and their agents. These communities comprised both Muslims (the cases of Morón de Almazán, and Cerro Ógmico indicated above, or even ‘El Soto/Encadenado’, ‘La Huelga’ — Madrid)<sup>82</sup> and the indigenous inhabitants of this area, who were slightly Christianized and maintained old traditions.

### *Pottery: Another Way to Understand Social Construction*

One of the most important problems concerning the study of these early medieval sites is the recognition of their material cultures. To overcome this, the analysis of pottery offers another way to resolve questions about the chronology of sites and social interaction between conquerors and conquered. Research on the function and technology of ceramic production provides new tools for

<sup>80</sup> Eusebio Gutiérrez Dohijo, ‘La necrópolis hispanovisigoda del área foral de Tiermes’, *Pyrenae*, 38 (2007), 129–62; Jose Ignacio Padilla Lapuente and others, *Yacimiento Arqueológico de Cuyacabras, despoblado, iglesia y necrópolis: eremitorio de Cueva Andrés, Quintanar de la Sierra, Burgos* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 2003), pp. 39–50.

<sup>81</sup> Iñaki Martín Viso, ‘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 (2007), 22–47.

<sup>82</sup> Vigil Escalera-Guirado, ‘Sepulturas, huertos y radiocarbono (siglos VIII–XIII d.C.)’.

understanding social change and cultural heritage.<sup>83</sup> The rescue excavation campaign developed in Guadalajara (Tunel de Aguas Vivas) has helped to establish the chronological framework for Islamic pottery in the Middle Frontier.<sup>84</sup> This sequence has been completed with data from different campaigns developed in the Medinaceli area: the earlier campaign in Villavieja<sup>85</sup> and new ones carried out in Medinaceli Village.<sup>86</sup> As well, data from a number of rural settlements such as ‘Las Fuentecillas’ has been included.<sup>87</sup>

In the early Islamic period both traditions are found — the ancient local pottery from Late Antiquity based on hand-formed cooking wares and water storage wares produced with local clays, and the new Islamic-type ceramics from the conquerors. The first consists mainly of non-glazed pottery, globular cooking pots with flat bases, and vessels heir to the ancient *dolia*. The Muslim people introduced new forms and decorations, such as the careened cooking pots and jars with convex bases, globular vessels (*redomas*), careened casseroles, grooved globular pots which are manganese-painted, oil lamps, and honey-glazed dishes. This type of pottery came from the main towns, where different potters were established selling their output to rural inhabitants. During the Caliphal period hand-formed pottery disappeared and was replaced by wheel-made pottery, mainly green-manganese-glazed wares with epigraphical or figurative decoration. Many of these tablewares were luxury objects used by the aristocracy living in the towns, such as Guadalajara, Medinaceli, or Madrid. In rural settlements only simple cooking vessels and very elemental honey-glazed dishes (*ataifores*) were found. The same distinctive Islamic pottery remains in the Taifa period with some decorative innovations, such as the *cuerda seca* technique and luxury lusterware applied to tableware.<sup>88</sup>

The presence of prestige objects like luxury tableware indicates social differences in society, namely the military aristocracy who lived in Medinaceli and Guadalajara in contrast to the rural communities. Analysis of surface pottery

<sup>83</sup> Sander Van der Leeuw, ‘Giving the Potter a Choice: Conceptual Aspects of Pottery Techniques’, in *Technological Choices: Transformation in Material Cultures since the Neolithic*, ed. by Pierre Lemonnier (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 238–88.

<sup>84</sup> Serrano Mar Torra and others, ‘Excavaciones en Guadalajara.’

<sup>85</sup> Susana Gómez Martínez, ‘Cerámica islámica de Medinaceli’, *Boletín de Arqueología medieval*, 10 (1996), 123–82.

<sup>86</sup> Bueno Sánchez, ‘Cerámica islámica en Medinaceli villa’, pp. 89–90.

<sup>87</sup> Bermejo Crespo, ‘Una explotación agrícola en el área de los Banū Salīm.’

<sup>88</sup> Gómez Martínez, ‘Cerámica islámica de Medinaceli’, p. 173.



from rural settlements corroborates some differences between those located near urban areas who were highly arabized, and those who were distant from the main villages where the old Roman tradition and handmade pottery survived beside the Islamic types.

### *Military Frontier Landscapes and the Expression of Umayyad Power*

Banū Salīm family, Umayyad's clients, were the lords of this area and responsible for defence and fiscal control of this territory. Control was established from different *mudun* like Guadalajara or Medinaceli, both mentioned in the chronicles. Some principal fortresses are mentioned in written sources linked to these towns, and these fortresses controlled other ones, mainly square towers (*burj*) and round watchtowers situated in the proximity of rural settlements. The main function of this castral network was to control the population, tax collection (mostly in grain),<sup>89</sup> and organization of the defence of the corridor connecting Toledo with Zaragoza. This territory between Toledo and Zaragoza was optimal for controlling rebellions in both areas. This area was first fortified by Muḥammad I, who fortified Madrid and built other small fortresses along the aforementioned corridor, for example, Esteras of Medinaceli and Talamanca, both of which are mentioned in written sources and have solid archaeological evidence.<sup>90</sup> The main fortress in this area was *Qalāt abd Salām* (Alcalá la Vieja), founded around the ninth century, during the al-Ḥakam I period,<sup>91</sup> near the ancient Roman-Visigothic town of Complutum. The name *Qalāt*<sup>92</sup> is associated with the family name *Salām*, while the toponym of this fortress is associated with the Banū Salīm lineage which also ruled *Madīnat Salīm* and *Wad al Hayāra* (Guadalajara).

<sup>89</sup> Ernesto García Soto-Mateos and Susana Ferrero Ros, 'La Atalaya islámica del Cerro de la Quebrada o el Mirador del Cid de Sigüenza y algunas consideraciones sobre fortificaciones islámicas en el nordeste de Guadalajara', in *Actas del II Simposium de Arqueología de Guadalajara*, ed. by Ernesto García-Soto and others (Molina de Aragón: Diputación Provincial, 2008), pp. 265–78.

<sup>90</sup> M<sup>a</sup> Jesús Landete, 'Los restos arquitectónicos de Talamanca del Jarama', *Revista de Arqueología*, 18 (1982), 6–29 (pp. 6–9); Manuel Retuerce Velasco, 'Informe sobre la excavación arqueológica efectuada en el solar de la Cuesta de la Vega–Calle Mayor', *Villa de Madrid*, 86 (1987), 53–72.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Almuqtabis II-I*, ed. and trans. by Ali Makkī and others, p. 291 (*Qalāt Rabat*).

<sup>92</sup> The word *Qalāt* is used to describe new foundations after Islamic conquest. Manuel Acín, 'La fortificación en al-Andalus', *Archaeologia Medievale*, 22 (1995), 7–36 (pp. 11–12).

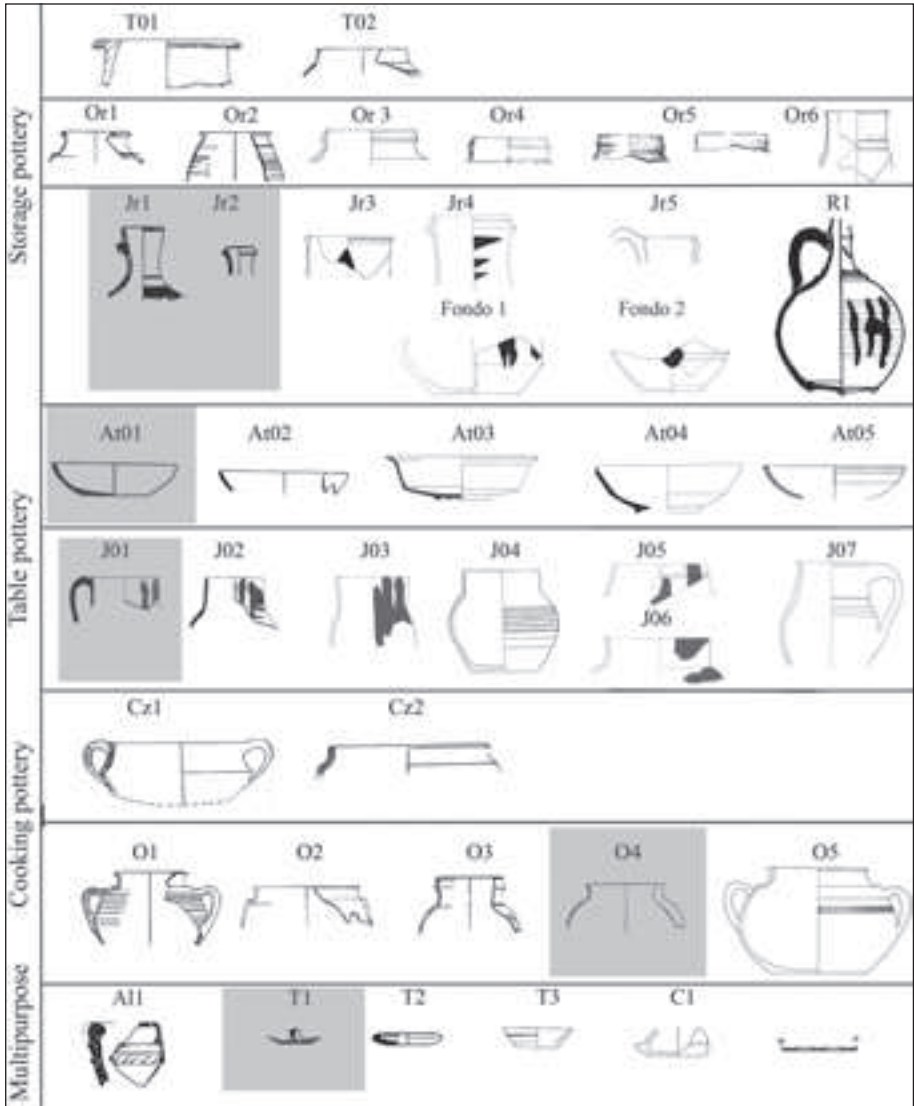


Figure 2.3. Pottery from Medinaceli. Shading denotes emiral phase.  
Image by the author.

The Castilian *condal* powers began their expansion around 912 in the Duero area and the Banū Salīm family was dismissed in 920. All of their territory was controlled directly by the Umayyad power, appointing governors and refortifying sites such as Medinaceli in 946, and other small towers such as Conquezuela, Bujarrabal, or Barbatona. A number of new towers were created, such as Mezquetillas or the tower of Alcubilla de las Peñas, in order to protect and control the principal routes from Medinaceli to Gormaz and Berlanga.<sup>93</sup> Written documents concerning the campaigns led in the region by the Umayyads and Castilian kings during the second half of the tenth century mention the principal castles in this region: Gormaz, Berlanga, and Atienza. These are located in strategic spots of visual control over the landscape, organizing the defence of the corridor connecting Medinaceli with the Duero region. Gormaz was the most important fortress near the Duero River, probably built in the ‘Abd al Raḥmān I period,<sup>94</sup> later restored by Muḥammad I and mainly during the Caliphal period. An epigraph preserved in the Burgo Osma Cathedral Museum talks about the rebuilding of this fortress in 965<sup>95</sup> when it became the principal symbol of Umayyad power in this area.<sup>96</sup> Clearly this was a supralocal strategy attesting the presence of a power aiming to control a much larger territory. In this sense it is possible to talk about military landscapes where fortification suggests an ability to organize manpower, as well as revealing how power can be expressed through a military language.

### *Taking Positions: Landscapes and Frontiers Societies Revisited*

The analysis of landscape integrating both castles and rural settlements allows an understanding of the transition from Late Antiquity to the Islamic period in the Middle Frontier of al-Andalus from the eighth to eleventh centuries.

<sup>93</sup> Mario Huete and others, ‘Un itinerario musulmán de ataque a la frontera castellana en el siglo x: Fortalezas, castillos y atalayas entre Medinaceli y san Esteban de Gormaz’, *Castillos de España*, 93 (1987), 3–14.

<sup>94</sup> Banks, Philip, and Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, ‘Excavations on the Califal Fortress of Gormaz (1979–1981), a Summary’ (Oxford: British Archeological Reports, International Series, 1984), pp. 674–704; Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, ‘Fortificaciones tempranas en al-Andalus’.

<sup>95</sup> José Antonio Souto Lasala, ‘La lápida árabe de la ermita de San Miguel de Gormaz (Soria)’, in *San Miguel de Gormaz: plan integral para la recuperación de un edificio histórico*, ed. by Elena Heras and others (Valladolid: Junta Castilla y León, 2008), pp. 73–84.

<sup>96</sup> Antonio Almagro Gorbea, ‘La puerta califal del Castillo de Gormaz’, *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 5 (2008), 55–77 (pp. 57–58).

During this period this territory was considered an unstable region, especially after the tenth century when it became a frontier between Christians and Muslims. Here both civilizations gained and lost territory. It is interesting to analyse the successively established strategies of occupation in this area in order to understand how the change from rural society to a militarized one reshaped the landscape. The analysis of different territorial scales — local, supralocal, and state level — has revealed three distinct societies with diverse archaeological impact over this territory:

1. The local level was ruled by rural communities who lived in this territory even before the Islamic period. Although rural settlements are mostly invisible in field surveys, some traces remain in the landscape chiefly as scatterings of building stone, roof tiles, pottery and, rarely, simple towers made of unlocked masonry. Traces of this rural society can also be detected by their burial sites, whether Christian or Islamic. In order to establish a chronology and occupation patterns, two phases can be distinguished. The first are transitional sites, characterized by the presence of hand-formed pottery produced from local clays and increasing frequency of wheel-made pottery from the early Islamic tradition. These settlements were mainly hilltop sites that remained into the Islamic period when they were transformed into control towers in order to consolidate Islamic domination. It is unlikely that all the sites were reoccupied, but rather, it seems that there was settlement movement around the landscape and a cyclical abandonment and reoccupation of specific sites, especially those places in areas where routes were controlled.

The second phase comprises sites created during the Islamic period, mostly mid-slope sites in the vicinity of the Jalón and Henares rivers, some situated near salt areas. Pottery associated with these sites was mainly distinctive Islamic wares, manganese-painted and honey-coloured dishes and jars. It is impossible to know if the people who lived in this area were or were not Muslim, based only on pottery they used. Despite this problem there is some evidence of Islamic conversion in certain sites, based on burial analysis.

2. The supralocal level was articulated by the Banū Salīm family. Their archaeological impact can be detected in several sites, such as the aforementioned *Madīnat Salīm* and *Qalāt Salām* associated with square towers (*burj*), Bujarrabal (mostly rebuilt during the Caliphal period), or Casares tower (Riba de Saelices).<sup>97</sup> The Berber towers can be recognized by their system of construction similar to Umayyad models. The power of this family was the first stage of

<sup>97</sup> Antonio Almagro Gorbea, 'Las torres beréberes de la Marca Media: aportaciones a su estudio', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 12 (1976), 279–306.

military society in the Middle Frontier. Pottery associated with this new power in towns is recognized through new Islamic forms such as careened cooking pots and jars, and manganese-painted and glazed pottery.

3. Caliphal state power was settled in the mid-tenth century and this territory was reshaped as a military frontier. Castles and towers were rebuilt with specific constructions patterns similar to those applied in classical Umayyad constructions, and some new towers were built in order to reinforce military control in this region. Pottery from this period is easily recognized, mainly green-manganese decoration and luxury glazed wares.

Landscapes can be explained as social constructions and reflect different relationships between societies and the environment from the eighth to eleventh centuries. Various groups transformed the natural environment into symbolic landscape through the use of cultural, political, and religious internal patterns. Indigenous rural communities can be recognized by their rock-cut tombs, and burial sites over ancient stones with a special meaning for their own communities. The Islamic population used their *maqābir* to integrate unobtrusively into the landscape, while the Berber groups used their own names when creating new settlements and used similar construction standards to the Cordoba ones. Finally, Umayyad power expressed itself through military control and fortifications and the Islamic pottery tradition. Every castle is more than a castle, every rock is something more than a rock, and a thorough analysis is necessary to understand what they really meant.

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

- Anales Castellanos I*, ed. by Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1917)
- Ajbār Maymūa*, *Colección de Tradiciones*, ed. and trans. by Emilio Lafuente Alcántara (Madrid: M. de Ribadeneira, 1867)
- Al-Rāzī, 'La Description de l'Espagne d'Ahmad al-Razī: essai de reconstitution de l'original arabe et traduction française', ed. and trans. by Evariste Levi Provençal, *Al-Andalus*, 18.1 (1953), 51–108
- Al-'Uḍrī, 'La Marca Superior en la obra de al 'Uḍrī', ed. and trans. by Fernando La Granja, *Estudios de la Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón*, 8 (1967), 447–545
- Al-Wanšārīsī, *al Mi'yār, al-mu'rib*, ed. by Madhi Haḡyī and others, 13 vols (Rabat-Beirut, 1981)
- , *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au Moyen Âge: analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wanšārīsī*, ed. and trans. by Vincent Lagardère (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez-CSIC, 1995)
- Cartulario del Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta*, ed. by Jose Antonio García Luján (Huerta: Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta, 1981)
- Crónica naierensis*, ed. by José Antonio Estévez Sola, *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII*, Pars II, CCCM–LXXI A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995)
- Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y sus Obispos*, ed. by Toribio Minguella y Arnedo (Madrid, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1910)
- Historia de los jueces de Córdoba, por Aljoxaní*, ed. and trans. by Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1914)
- Ibn Ḥayyān, *Almuqtābis II-I: crónica de los emires Albakan I y 'Abdarrahmān II entre los años 796 y 847*, ed. and trans. by Maḥmūd Alī Makkī and others (Zaragoza: La Aljafería, 2001)
- , *Muqtābis V: crónica del Califa 'Abd al Raḥmām III an Nāsir entre los años 912 y 942*, ed. and trans. by María Jesus Viguera and others (Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1981)
- Ibn 'Idāri, *Al Bayan al Mugrib: histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al Bayano'l-Mogrib*, ed. and trans. by Émile Fagnan (Argel: Pierre Fontana, 1904)
- , *La caída del califato de Córdoba y los reyes de taifas*, ed. and trans. by Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1993)
- Ibn al-Qūṭṭiya, *Historia de la Conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés, seguida de fragmentos históricos de Abencotaiba*, ed. and trans. by Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926)
- Itineraria Hispania*, ed. by Jose Manuel Roldán Hervás, *Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la Península* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1975)
- Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, ed. by Josefa Cantó and others (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002)
- Yāqūt, 'La España musulmana en la obra de Yāqūt: siglos XII–XIII', ed. and trans. by Gamal 'Abd al-Karīm, *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 6 (1974), 13–354

## Secondary Studies

- Acién, Manuel, 'La fortificación en al-Andalus', *Archaeologia Medievale*, 22 (1995), 7–36
- Aguilera y Gamboa, Eduardo, *El Alto Jalón, descubrimientos arqueológicos* (Madrid: Fontanet, 1909)
- Aalen, F. H. A., Kevin Whelan, and Matthew Stout, eds, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997)
- Almagro Gorbea, Antonio, 'La puerta califal del Castillo de Gormaz', *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 5 (2008), 55–77
- , 'Las torres beréberes de la Marca Media: aportaciones a su estudio', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 12 (1976), 279–306
- Banks, Philip, and Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, 'Excavations on the Califal Fortress of Gormaz (1979–1981): A Summary' (Oxford: British Arqueological Reports, International Series, 1984), pp. 674–704
- Bermejo Crespo, Jose Luis, 'Una explotación agrícola en el área de los Banū Salīm, *Vereda de Sedano o Las Fuentecillas*, San Fernando de Henares, Madrid', *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval*, 8 (1994), 205–25
- Bermejo Crespo, Jose Luis, and Kenia Muñoz López Astilleros, 'La producción cerámica en el entorno del Henares durante los siglos IX y X', in *Actas del V Encuentro de Historiadores del Valle del Henares* (Guadalajara: Diputación, 1996), pp. 79–86
- , 'El yacimiento medieval de "Vereda de Sedano" o "Las fuentecillas" (San Fernando de Henares, Madrid): campañas de excavación de 1989 y 1990', *Estudios de Prehistoria y arqueología madrileñas*, 10 (1995–96), 111–20
- Bertrand, Georges, 'Le Paysage entre nature et société', *Revue géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest*, 49 (1978), 239–58
- Bueno Sánchez, Marisa, 'Cerámica islámica en Medinaceli villa: excavaciones de urgencia e investigación (1975–2009)', in *Metodología de análisis aplicada a los estudios de cerámica tardoantigua y medieval de la Península Ibérica*, ed. by Raquel Martínez Peñín and others (León: Lobo Sapiens, 2010), pp. 75–91
- , 'Land and Material Culture in Soria (8th to 12th Centuries): From Middle Frontier to Castilian Extremadura' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2012)
- , 'El papel de la orden de Calatrava en la reorganización del espacio soriano en el siglo XIII', in *El nacimiento de la Orden de Calatrava: primeros tiempos de expansión (siglos XII–XIII)*, ed. by Rafael Villegas (Ciudad Real: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 2010), pp. 346–75
- Carmona González, Alfonso, 'Doctrina sobre la ġizya en el occidente islámico pre-moderno', in *The Legal Status of dimmīs in the Islamic West*, ed. by Maribel Fierro and John Tolan (Turhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 91–110
- Casa Martínez, Carlos, *Las Necrópolis medievales de Soria* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992)
- Guía del Mapa Minero de España*, ed. by Serafín de la Concha and José Suárez Feito (Madrid: IGME, 1961)

- Epalza, Mikel de, 'Falta de Obispos y conversión al Islam de los Cristianos de al-Andalus', *Al-Qántara*, 15 (1994), 386–400
- Escalona, Julio, and Francisco Reyes, 'The County of Castile in the Tenth Century', in *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages: Exploring Landscape, Local Society and the World Beyond*, ed. by Julio Escalona and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 153–83
- Felipe, Helena de, *Identidad y onomástica de los beréberes de al-Andalus* (Madrid: CSIC, 1997)
- Fagnan, Émile, *Le Livre d'impôt foncier* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1921)
- Fierro Bello, Maribel, 'Mawāllī and muwalladum in al-Andalus (Second/Eight–Fourth/Tenth Centuries)', in *Patronage and Patronage in Early Classic Islam*, ed. by Monique Bernards and others (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 1, 224–74
- García Rubio, Ana, 'Anejo. Informe antropológico', in *Memoria: excavación arqueológica en el yacimiento «Encadenado/El Soto»*. Campaña 2005 (Barajas Madrid), Área SCM, 2007 (unpublished archaeological report in DGPH de la Comunidad de Madrid)
- García Sanjuán, Alejandro, *La conquista islámica de la península Ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado: del catastrofismo al negacionismo* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2013)
- García Soto-Mateos, Ernesto, and Susana Ferrero Ros, 'La Atalaya islámica del Cerro de la Quebrada o el Mirador del Cid de Sigüenza y algunas consideraciones sobre fortificaciones islámicas en el nordeste de Guadalajara', in *Actas del II Simposium de Arqueología de Guadalajara*, ed. by Ernesto García-Soto and others (Molina de Aragón: Diputación Provincial, 2008), pp. 265–78
- García Soto Mateos, Ernesto, and Rafael De la Rosa, 'Cerro Ógmico: un yacimiento de Campos de Urnas en el Alto Jalón', in *Poblamiento Celtibérico, Daroca (Zaragoza), 2–5 de octubre, 1991*, ed. by Francisco Burillo (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico 1995), pp. 265–74
- García Contreras, Guillermo, 'Aportación al estudio de la cerámica andalusí en la Marca Media: el valle del Salado (Sigüenza, Guadalajara)', in *Metodología de análisis aplicada a los estudios de cerámica tardoantigua y medieval de la Península Ibérica*, ed. by Raquel Martínez Peñín and others (León: Lobo Sapiens, 2010), pp. 91–100
- Glick, Thomas, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979)
- Gómez Martínez, Susana, 'Cerámica islámica de Medinaceli', *Boletín de Arqueología medieval*, 10 (1996), 123–82
- Greider, Thomas, and Lorraine Garkovich, 'Landscapes: The Social Construction of Nature and the Environment', *Rural Sociology*, 59.1 (1994), 1–124
- Guichard, Pierre, 'Le Peuplement de la région de Valencia aux deux premiers siècles de la domination musulmane', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 8 (1969), 103–56
- Gutiérrez Dohijo, Eusebio, 'Dos anillos visigodos con lema cristiano procedentes de Tiermes (Montejo de Tiermes, Soria)', *V Reunión de Arqueología cristiana hispánica*, ed. by Joseph M. Gurt (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Universidad de Barcelona, 2000)
- , 'La necrópolis hispanovisigoda del área foral de Tiermes', *Pyrenae*, 38 (2007), 129–62



- Huete, Mario, and others, 'Un itinerario musulmán de ataque a la frontera castellana en el siglo x: fortalezas, castillos y atalayas entre Medinaceli y san Esteban de Gormaz', *Castillos de España*, 93 (1987), 3–14
- Inventario Arqueológico de Soria* (unpublished archaeological reports, Servicio de Territorio y Cultura de Soria, Junta de Castilla y León)
- Landete, M<sup>a</sup> Jesús, 'Los restos arquitectónicos de Talamanca del Jarama', *Revista de Arqueología*, 18 (1982), 6–29
- Manzano Moreno, Eduardo, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas* (Madrid: CSIC, 1991)
- Malpica Cuello, Antonio, 'La arqueología para el conocimiento de la sociedad andalusí', *Historia de Andalucía, VII Coloquio*, ed. by Antonio Malpica and others (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010), pp. 31–50
- Malpica Cuello, Antonio, and Guillermo García Contreras, 'Asentamientos y explotación de la sal en el valle del Salado y la zona de Sigüenza en época altomedieval', *En la España Medieval*, 33 (2010), 295–324
- Martín Arijá, Ana María, *Documentación, excavación y protección del yacimiento del Tormo, Fuencaliente de Medinaceli. Soria* (unpublished report in archaeological and cultural service, Soria, 1993)
- Martín Viso, Iñaki, '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 (2007), 22–47
- Moreré Molinero, Nuria, 'L'Exploitation romaine du sel dans la region de Sigüenza', *Gerion*, 19 (1991), 223–35
- , 'La sal en el desarrollo histórico de Sigüenza: los primeros siglos', in *Sal de interior en la historia, economía, medioambiente y sociedad*, ed. by Nuria Moreré (Madrid: Dickynson-Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 1997), pp. 3–31
- Muller, Christian, 'Non-Muslims as Part of Islamic Law: Juridical Casuistry in a Fifth/ Eleventh Century Law Manual', in *The Legal Status of dimmīs in the Islamic West*, ed. by Maribel Fierro and John Tolan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 21–65
- Redfield, Robert, *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956; repr. 1984)
- Retuerce Velasco, Manuel, *La cerámica andalusí de la Meseta* (Madrid: CRNA, 1998)
- , 'Informe sobre la excavación arqueológica efectuada en el solar de la Cuesta de La Vega–Calle Mayor', *Villa de Madrid*, 86 (1987), 53–72
- Retuerce, Manuel, and Fernando Cobos, 'Fortificación islámica en el Alto Duero versus fortificación cristiana en el Alto Duero', *Cuando las horas primeras: en el milenario de la batalla de Calatañazor*, ed. by Carlos de la Casa (Soria: Diputación, 2004), pp. 229–27
- Rodríguez Puebla, Concepción, and others, 'Spatial and Temporal Patterns of Annual Precipitation Variability over the Iberian Peninsula', *International Journal of Climatology*, 19 (1998), 299–316
- Ruiz de Marco, Agustín, and others, 'Las necrópolis de rito islámico en Castilla y León', *Numantia*, 4 (1993), 207–18

- Sanz Aragonese, Ángel, and M<sup>a</sup> Jesús Sanz Lucas, 'Excavación de urgencia en el yacimiento de la Jarea' (unpublished archaeological report in archaeological and cultural service, Soria, 1988)
- Padilla Lapuente, Jose Ignacio, and others, *Yacimiento Arqueológico de Cuyacabras, despojado, iglesia y necrópolis: Eremitorio de Cueva Andrés, Quintanar de la Sierra, Burgos* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 2003)
- Pastor de Tognery, Reyna, 'La sal en Castilla y León: un problema de la alimentación y del trabajo y una política fiscal', *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 37–38 (1963), 42–87
- Rivas-Martínez, Salvador, and Javier Loidi, 'Bioclimatology of the Iberian Peninsula', *Itinera Geobotanica*, 13 (1999), 41–47
- Ruiz del Árbol, María, and Almudena Saco del Valle, eds, *Landscapes as Cultural Heritage in the European Research. Proceeding of the Open Workshop, Madrid 29 October, 2004* (Madrid: CSIC, 2005)
- Quirós, Castillo, and Juan Antonio, 'Early Medieval Villages in Spain in the Light of European Experience: New Approaches in Peasant Archaeology', in *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*, ed. by Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2009), pp. 13–29
- Sancho de Francisco, M<sup>a</sup> Carmen, 'El valle del Jalón como vía de comunicación', in *El valle del Jalón como vía de comunicación*, ed. by Jose Luis Argente (Soria: Diputación, 1990)
- Serrano, Elena, Mar Torra, and others, 'Excavaciones en Guadalajara: secuencia andalusí desde época emiral a la taifa y presentación de un singular conjunto numismático', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 11 (2004), 79–113
- Shaban, Muhammad A., *Islamic History. A New Interpretation, AD 600–750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)
- Souto Lasala, José Antonio, 'La lápida árabe de la ermita de San Miguel de Gormaz (Soria)', in *San Miguel de Gormaz: plan integral para la recuperación de un edificio histórico*, ed. by Elena Heras and others (Valladolid: Junta Castilla y León, 2008), pp. 73–84
- Tilley, Christophe, 'Landscapes, Heritage and Identity', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11 (2006), 5–261
- TELMA web edition, IRHT, Institut de Recherche et d' Histoire de Textes-Orléans <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait1068/>>
- Torres Balbás, Leopoldo, 'Cementerios hispanomusulmanes: Crónica arqueológica de la España musulmana', *Al-Andalus*, 22 (1957), 454–80
- , 'Musalla y sari'a en las ciudades hispanomusulmanas', *Al-Andalus*, 13 (1948), 167–80
- Van der Leeuw, Sander, 'Giving the Potter a Choice: Conceptual Aspects of Pottery Techniques', in *Technological Choices: Transformation in Material Cultures since the Neolithic*, ed. by Pierre Lemonnier (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 238–88
- Vigil Escalera-Guirado, Alfonso, 'Cabañas: evidencias arqueológicas del sur de Madrid: tipología, elementos de datación y discusión', *AesPA*, 73 (2000), 223–52
- , 'La Indiana (Pinto, Madrid): estructuras de habitación, almacenamiento, hidráulicas y sepulcrales de los siglos VI–IX en la Marca Media', *XXIX Congreso Nacional de Arqueología de Cartagena, 1997* (Cartagena, 2000), IV, 213–24

- , 'Nota preliminar acerca del hallazgo de una necrópolis altomedieval de rito islámico en la Comunidad de Madrid: el yacimiento de la Huelga (Barajas, Madrid)', *Bolskan. Revista de Arqueología Oscense*, 21 (2004), 57–61
- , 'Sepulturas, huertos y radiocarbono (siglos VIII–XIII d.C): el proceso de islamización en el medio rural y otras cuestiones', *Studia Histórica, Historia Medieval*, 27 (2009), pp. 99–118
- Weller, Olivier, and Pierre Pétrequin, 'L'Exploitation du sel: une longue histoire', in *Sel, eau et forêt, d'hier à aujourd'hui*, ed. by Olivier Weller and others (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France-Comtè, 2008), pp. 9–13
- Wheatly, David, and Mark Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archaeological Application of GIS* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002)
- Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, Juan, '711–856: Los primeros años del Islam andalusí o una hipótesis de trabajo', *Ruptura o continuidad. Pervivencias preislámicas en al-Andalus, Cuadernos Emeritenses*, 15 (1998), 85–142
- , 'Asentamientos islámicos en el Madrid medieval', in *Testimonios del Madrid medieval*, ed. by Araceli Turina and others (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2004), pp. 43–79
- , 'Fortificaciones tempranas en al-Andalus: siglos VIII–X', in *Mil anos de fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500–1500). Actas do Simposio Internacional sobre castelos*, ed. by Isabel C. Ferrandes Ferreira (Lisboa: Colibrí, Câmara Municipal do Palmela, 2002), pp. 45–58
- , 'Recientes estudios sobre arqueología andalusí: la frontera media', *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 9 (1991), 371–78

