New Directions in the Study of Visigothic Spain

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Abstract

Since the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711, analysis of its history has been tied to contemporary Spanish politics. Political and economic developments in Spain since the 1970s have driven research into the late antique and early medieval period. Most notably, archaeological evidence has come to play a much more prominent role in analyses of the Visigothic period in Spain. This article synthesises archaeological and historical research from the past 20 years. It draws on recent developments in urban and rural archaeology in order to examine key avenues of research on the period: the negotiated nature of power, post-Roman identity politics, and law and literacy.

In recent decades, there has been a burgeoning interest in the study of late antique and early medieval Spanish history. A number of factors have contributed to this development: the collapse of the Franco regime and its teleological and single-purpose historiographical discourse, a higher degree of collaboration between Spanish and non-Spanish scholars, which has broken the 'language barrier' that in the past hindered interactions between Spanish academia and other scholarly traditions[1] and the large amount of material obtained from the boom in commercial archaeology in the 1990s and early 2000s. The main objective of this article is to sketch briefly some of the current themes in Visigothic studies, from historical and archaeological perspectives, citing many of the main scholars, publications and research projects of the past 20 years (since 1995). Although traditional scholarship has traced the origins of Spain to the Visigothic period, current approaches to the topic generally seek to move away from this monolithic view. Key trends in this movement away from this singular vision of the Visigothic period are the creation and interaction of central and local powers (and the methodologies by which these can be identified), the nature of power relationships and identity (or, more accurately, identities).

The breakdown of the Roman system is the key starting point for understanding a Visigothic period (mid–fifth to early eighth century) characterised by the emergence of a series of new power structures and relationships. Historical studies of the Visigothic period in Spain have traditionally been framed in terms of binaries of power. The dominant paradigms were of underlying tension often exploding into open conflict between royalty and aristocracy, between church and state, between Goths and Romans and between Nicene ('Catholic', 'orthodox') Christians and all kinds of 'deviant' groups (Jews, 'Arians'). These oppositions used to dominate conceptualisations of the Spanish political, social and religious landscape after the end of the Western Roman Empire and, more recently, scholarship has begun to reveal, are the result of scholars' uncritical acceptance of royal and ecclesiastical sources written from a 'centre-ist' perspective.[2] Churchmen such as Isidore of Seville, the seventh century bishops of Toledo and the Visigothic royal laws present power and decision-making as highly centralised, both historically and in contemporary politics and society.[3]

This centre-ist narrative has affected traditional approaches to the material culture of the Visigothic period deeply. Art-historical approaches dominated studies of the material culture of the

Visigothic-era in Spain from the mid-19th century. The archaeological study of late antiquity did not take off in Spain until the early 20th century under the influence of Germanophile academics in the 1930s and 1940s. The creation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Madrid in 1943 and the work of Martínez Santa-Olalla were particularly important.[4] The discipline later focused, under Franco, on the material identification of the Visigoths with the first Spaniards. This was done by focusing above all on early Christian sites (on the grounds that the Visigoths were Christians) and cemeteries with distinctively Germanic grave goods (the Visigoths were 'German', but soon became 'Spanish'). This led, for many years, to the unsustainable situation in which the only things that were known about the Visigoths through archaeology were that they prayed, died and got buried. Sadly, the combination of these very specific objectives and inadequate excavation methodologies meant that in most of the sites excavated in this period (the basilicas of the Francolí in Tarragona, Casa Herrera in Mérida and el Bovalar in Lérida, for instance), Islamic levels were ignored and not recorded, if not deliberately destroyed. This in turn led to the general assumption that seventh to eighth century pottery was indistinguishable from what had gone before and that there was no recognisable material culture for the eighth century as a whole.

Traditional scholarship downplayed the importance of regionalism to the functioning of the political system within Visigothic Spain.[5] Yet, regional political power seems to have derived from and reinforced regional identities, some of which may have been quite longstanding.[6] Provinces such as Narbonensis and Gallaecia, perhaps because of their histories as separate kingdoms – the Gothic Kingdom of Toulouse and the Suevic Kingdom in Gallaecia – and their geographical distance from the Toledo could be the subject of quite intense opposition from the centre.[7] Other scholars have suggested that the identity distinction that really mattered in Visigothic Spain was that between the ruling elites at 'national' and regional levels and their subordinates.[8] On this interpretation, elites across Spain shared a common culture and value system that served to reinforce their superiority over the vast majority of the population.

Scholarly focus on the regionalisation of power in Visigothic Spain in the post-Franco years led to a stress on the negotiated nature of the struggle between Toledan centralisers and the aristocracies of areas that were more peripheral to the kingdom. Orders were not sent down a hierarchy from the centre of the kingdom to its regional peripheries. Rather, relationships were negotiated, and regions that were further from Toledan royal and ecclesiastical power tied themselves to the centre only insofar as local elites benefitted from the connection. More recently, even greater stress has been placed on the role of negotiation in the construction and maintenance of a whole range of relationships across the political and social spectrum.[9] Provincial aristocracies were as constrained in their ability to persuade and work with those lower down the social scale as were the representatives of the power of the Visigothic state. Contact between the churches of the provinces and the putative centre in Toledo was often equally strained.[10] Relations between Visigothic royalty and external powers, including the Byzantine Empire, other barbarian kingdoms and the papacy, were also highly affected by the tension between the desire to adhere to diplomatic niceties and the need to get things done on the ground. Rhetorical opposition was often balanced by pragmatic considerations.

This change in historiographical attitudes to the post-Roman (not solely Visigothic) period in the post-Franco era has been paralleled in archaeology. The arrival of democracy after 1975 and the creation of the autonomous communities during the 1980s transformed our knowledge of the archaeology of the Visigothic period; the development of regional research groups, with new ideas about 'Late Antiquity' (as discussed in international fora), led to new systematic excavations that extended beyond church complexes. The Consorcio de Mérida, the SIAM in Valencia and the TED'A in Tarragona all were created in this period. The first excavations of key sites such as El Tolmo de Minateda, Reccopolis, Segobriga and smaller sites in the Basque

Country took place at this time as well, and were followed, during the construction boom of the 1990s, by the discovery of numerous new rural and urban sites, many of which first became visible as a result of rescue excavations.

In the last two decades, therefore, a new approach to the history and archaeology of the post-Roman centuries in Spain has emerged. Historians and archaeologists have both, with time, made effective use of one another's work, effectively blurring the boundaries between their disciplines. One of the key debates is that of state power, centralization, regionalization and the inter-relation between central powers (or powers aspiring to occupy a central position) and regional power blocks. Archaeologists identify new post-Roman powers (local and/or central) by charting the emergence of 'central places'.[11] Historians, however, have looked into the articulation and attempted imposition of identity, especially through legal and religious means. Most archaeologists have sidestepped this discussion, especially when dealing with the contested issue of ethnicity. Recent work has underlined the ways in which individuals, particularly at the elite level, were able to 'mix' their identities. For example, in the late sixth century, a figure called Claudius was presented as a 'Roman' leader (*dux*) in the province of Lusitania and a 'Gothic' leader of troops elsewhere.[12] Of course, such nuances may be a function of differences between individual sources, but it is worth noting that these observations align well with studies on identity elsewhere in the early medieval West, which have noted its situational nature, multiplicity and flexibility.

The development of a new Visigothic architecture of power can be seen in urban transformation, especially in relation to urban monumentality. Much of this work was based on theses put forward by Liebeschuetz over 20 years ago,[13] but changes in the Visigothic period have to be understood as the result of negotiations between traditional Roman forms, developed within a Spanish context, and the emergent power of the Visigothic monarchy in the late sixth century. As part of the process of state formation during Liuvigild's reign (568–586), towns began to play a key role in the administration of the kingdom, as they had done in the Roman past. This led to the development of a new urbanism and architecture of power that supported Liuvigild's centralising policies. This was a thesis put forward by Lauro Olmo Enciso[14] but expanded and complemented by the works of Miguel Alba, Julia Beltrán de Heredia, Ángel Fuentes, Sonia Gutiérrez Lloret and Albert Ribera. In a number of cases, as we know from sites such as Reccopolis,[15] the Vega Baja in Toledo,[16] El Tolmo de Minateda[17] and others,[18] direct royal intervention led to the development of new administrative complexes, and even the foundation of new urban nuclei. At some sites, collaboration with local elites led to the construction of new urban administrative centres. Mostly, these were episcopal complexes (as at Valencia,[19] Tarragona,[20] Barcelona[21] and probably Mérida[22]), but 'civil' administrative structures, such as the 'palatium' of Córdoba, were also developed.[23]

In Visigothic Spain new urban developments were heavily christianised. This was largely the result of the close association between royal and episcopal power and led to the replacement or downgrading of traditional urban elites by ecclesiastical elites. These patterns, although paralleled by processes elsewhere in the late antique West, are unique to Spain because no direct chronological continuity with the late Roman period has been demonstrated. In Visigothic Spain, this upsurge in urban monumentalisation comes after over two centuries of minimal urban development.[24] The rise of Christian monumentality relates directly to some of the main dichotomies identified in our historical sources, between Goths and Romans, and Arians and Nicenes. The sources, written by Nicene churchmen, focus on religious identity to the exclusion of many other issues that historians would like to know about. The theological training and confessional allegiances of many scholars, together with the long-established political significance of Catholicism, have reinforced this tendency and resulted in numerous foundational studies. It would be erroneous, therefore, to ignore our sources' strong focus on religious

orthodoxy and heresy, as well as on deviance more generally, not least because much social his-torical information can be extracted from them.[25] The extent to which many sources focus on the question of the Jews after the conversion of the Visigoths to Nicene Christianity in 587–589 is striking and sparks continued debate.[26] Religion was a fundamental marker of belonging in late antique and early medieval Spain. Yet, studies are revealing that, like ethnicity, it was flex-ible and open to manipulation by skilled power brokers and historians. For example, although often presented as a persecutor by Nicene historians, King Liuvigild seems to have been willing to negotiate the boundaries of Visigothic Arianism in order to achieve a rapprochement with the Nicene bishops. We might therefore be better advised to read Liuvigild as a pragmatist who was willing to compromise on matters of religion in order to achieve religious unity within the kingdom rather than seeing him as a persecuting heretic.[27] Similarly, although the Visigoths seem to have been perceived as heretics by some within Spain, such rhetorical opposition seems to have melted as soon as they converted to Nicene Christianity from Arianism and they were quickly embraced as orthodox protectors of the faith. The development of Visigothic royal power is explained by the sources as a triumph of (Nicene) Christianity, a process that is paralleled by the new triumphant Christian architecture that archaeologists found springing up across the urban centres of Visigothic Spain at the same time. Ecclesiastical elites were the most prominent members of local aristocracies, regardless of their 'ethnic' origin. In parallel to these developments in Visigothic urban centres, archaeology has revealed similar patterns linked to state formation in the Suevic kingdom of Gallaecia (especially at the royal acropolis of Braga in Falperra and the royally-sponsored monastic complex at Dumio[28]), and the reorganisation of urban landscapes in those areas under Byzantine control in the south–east.[29]

Whether these urban nuclei were monumentalised by the central administration or by local elites is an issue that relates directly to the debate that historians have traditionally engaged in over the degree of centralisation within the Visigothic state. The reaction of local powers to the strengthening of royal authority has been viewed either as a case of collaboration with central power or as a reaction against it. The binaries of Goth–Roman, monarchy–aristocracy and Arian–Nicene are no longer viewed as tenable, and neither are any stable and continuous distinc-tions between centre and periphery. It is clear that it is not possible to identify a single, centralising entity in Visigothic Spain. Plurality and diversity are evident in the historical and archaeological records at both central and regional levels, irrespective of the rhetoric of state and church.

As happened with the urban centres, the study of post-Roman rural communities began in Spain later than elsewhere in Western Europe. Researchers such as Juan Antonio Quirós (University of the Basque Country), Margarita Fernández Mier (León), Jose Carlos Sánchez Pardo (Santiago de Compostela), Iñaki Martín Viso (Salamanca) and Julio Escalona (CSIC – National Research Council) have been perhaps the most prominent figures in promoting and researching this topic. This research has been mostly carried out in the Basque Country and the province of Madrid, but with detailed regional studies carried out in recent years for Castile, Galicia, and Asturias and, to a lesser extent, in the southern half of the Peninsula and Catalonia.[30] The general picture that emerges from this work is twofold. On the one hand, the Roman villa system col-lapsed during the fifth century, and in most areas, rural centres of power seem to have shifted from villa sites to higher ground, often to fortified hilltop settlements.[31] In some cases this can be linked to instances of state intervention in areas where towns had ceased to function as administrative nodes.[32] In other cases, new economic and settlement patterns emerge in the archaeological record, centred on villages and usually linked to *Grubenhäuser*, or sunken-feature buildings. Studies have shown that the emergence of new rural networks, settlement patterns and 'village communities' was linked to the development of a new economic system, in which production was no longer dominated by a monoculture aimed at inter-regional trade, but rather focused on maximising the available resources for intra-regional and local distribution and consumption.

On similar lines, both rural and urban excavations have provided large amounts of material evidence with which it is now possible to analyse the evolution of the economy in the Visigothic period. This has helped to confirm that general trends noticeable elsewhere in the Mediterranean are equally applicable to Spain. A tendency to intra-regionality and the abandonment of long-distance trade is clearly evident. Imports from the Mediterranean seem to be limited only to coastal towns, with the Byzantine territories having a wider range of imports, probably linked to the *annona*.[33] But beyond these harbour nuclei (and the main elite centres in the interior, such as Toledo, Reccopolis and, to a lesser extent, Mérida[34]), trade seems to have been quite limited, as large-scale amphorae and pottery production came to an end by the sixth century. There may have been a larger continuity of trade in goods that leave no archaeological trace, but the evidence suggests that the distribution of these may have been quite reduced too. Recent studies have underlined the relevance that coarse wares, cooking wares and glass might have had in this period, although again the distribution evidence is quite limited, and overall, it seems that trade and exchange had been greatly reduced and Mediterranean imports may have largely come to an end by the seventh century.[35]

Studies of rural and urban sites continue to generate new avenues for research and publication. Perhaps the two most important areas of research are the archaeology of architecture and the emergence of an early Islamic archaeology for Spain. The most prominent research group in the former, and certainly the most ground-breaking, has been led by Luis Caballero Zoreda (CSIC). It includes, amongst others, Mª Ángeles Utrero and Isaac Sastre, whose combined architectural and archaeological studies on the various early medieval churches of the Peninsula (such as San Pedro de la Nave and San Juan de Baños) have convincingly undermined traditional art-historical chronologies of various churches traditionally considered Visigothic but now dated to the Mozarabic period (eighth to tenth centuries).[36] The increasingly refined chronologies given to ceramic sequences have facilitated the emergence of a clearly-defined material culture datable to the seventh and eighth centuries, leading to the emergence of archaeology in Spain covering the pre-caliphate period (711–939).[37] The excavations in Alicante and Mérida by Sonia Gutiérrez and Miguel Alba have been of key importance here,[38] leading to more specific pottery studies, such as those of José Cristobal Carvajal (University College London) and synthetic publications like those by Eduardo Manzano (CSIC).[39]

Archaeological research on Visigothic Spain continues to develop, providing new finds, raw data and general interpretative frameworks which are increasingly available to the wider academic community in languages other than Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese. The two main approaches to the archaeology of the Visigothic period (rural and urban) were led by scholars, most of whom are listed above, who broke with traditional interpretative models based on long-established paradigms. This was partly due to interaction with international scholars. The resulting dialogue ultimately drew the attention of historians, notably Pablo Díaz (Salamanca) and Santiago Castellanos (León), who were comfortable enough with the material record incorporate it into their work. Research into the written sources for Visigothic Spain therefore increasingly integrates archaeological evidence.

The impression of the post-Liuvigild Visigothic monarchy as a powerful and centralised organisation is highly dependent on a restricted number of written sources produced by quite a small elite group. The royal laws and records of the church councils of sixth and seventh century Spain are voluminous and essential to study of the period.[40] However, their normative nature, difficulty of interpretation and the scarcity of narrative sources to which they can be compared have led scholars to question the extent to which they reflect social reality beyond the imagination of royal and ecclesiastical lawmakers. It was not without reason that Roger Collins entitled a section of his monograph on Visigothic Spain 'The Fog of the Law'.[41] The expansion in archaeological investigations in recent decades has helped to lift the mist.

Those scholars that have compared normative legal sources with narratives have achieved notable results, contributing to the impression that power and identity were largely nego-tiated in Visigothic Spain. The laws and church councils sought to reinforce royal and episcopal power rhetorically, but they do not necessarily reflect contemporary socio-political realities. Nor do they seem, despite the frequency with which certain enactments were promulgated, to have been very effective in making the power of the king and bishops felt in the provinces.

The key development in intellectual life during the seventh century was what used to be called the 'Isidorian Renaissance'. Although the label 'renaissance' has been abandoned, not least because the phenomenon seems to have been restricted to a very small number of members of the ecclesiastical elite, there was an upsurge in scholarly activity in the period that seems to have been inspired by the work of Isidore of Seville (d. 636). Other key figures in this movement, who developed the legacy of Isidore across the remainder of the seventh century were Braulio and Taio of Zaragoza, Ildefonsus I and II of Toledo, Julian of Toledo and Eugenius of Toledo and many of their works have recently been the subject of modern scholarly editions for the first time. It is likely that Isidore was deeply influenced by Leander, his brother and predecessor as Bishop of Seville, although Leader's surviving corpus is rather small. It has also been argued that Isidore received quite enthusiastic support from King Sisebut (d. 621) and that royal sponsorship was important to the overall development of the movement.[42]

Perhaps the key feature of the intellectual life of Visigothic kingdom in the Isidorian and post-Isidorian eras was its focus on the transmission, reuse and repurposing of the ideas of patris-tic and classical authors for use by contemporaries. Formerly, these efforts were interpreted as largely antiquarian in nature, an attempt to 'save' the learning of the ancient world as a 'dark age' dawned. More recent work has established that Isidore and his successors were not attempting to 'save' ancient Christian and classical knowledge for posterity, but to apply those parts of it that they judged to be useful to solve present problems. Usefulness, especially in relation to the organisation and functioning of the church, was the primary criteria governing engagement with sources from the past. The works of Patristic authorities such as Augustine (d. 430) and Gregory the Great (d. 604) were cut up and spliced with other Christian and classical writers to create new works that dealt with topics that had hitherto been neglected in monastic libraries. Isidore's *Sententiae*, a spiritual handbook made up of three parts that provide guidance on doctrine and living a Christian life, is a good example of this approach; although they are made up almost entirely of extracts from earlier Christian writers, these are combined with a range of other works, and on occasion, Isidore inserts his own opinion. The utility of the text and the fact that it filled a gap in early medieval libraries are underlined by its widespread diffusion.

The Isidorian "project" was also underpinned by the idea that knowledge of the history and forms of language at the level of its constituent parts – individual words – could have positive social and moral effects.[43] This can be seen most clearly in Isidore's *Etymologies*, but a number of his other writings were also intended to enable his readers to understand and manipulate language successfully.[44] That the Isidorian "project" was by no means neutral in design but was supposed to have practical moral effects and to reinforce the social and political order can be seen most clearly in the fact that many of its key texts were highly normative in nature, seek-ing to "fix" knowledge in place and to lay down guidelines and ground rules for the proper functioning of society, church and individual spirituality. The work of Isidore and the bishops who succeeded him within the ecclesiastical leadership of seventh century Spain seems to have been carried out with the explicit support of the Visigothic monarchy. Such cooperation can be seen as a textual counterpoint to the archaeological evidence for royal–episcopal cooperation in the construction of urban administrative infrastructure across the cities of Spain.

Despite the close association between episcopal and royal power noticeable in the written sources and the archaeology, there are some clues that literacy extended beyond the social and political elites. The evidence of the *pizarras* – inscriptions on slate discovered across northern Spain that indicate a range of day-to-day activities requiring literacy such as records of transactions and school exercises – suggest that literacy was perhaps quite widespread.[45] This material evidence suggests some degree of continuity of literate practices from the late Roman period and/or the success of the episcopal elite in maintaining education in Spain.[46] Whichever interpretation one prefers, it indicates that the bishops may not have controlled language as much as the Isidorian sources posit, again reinforcing the impression that normative frameworks and pragmatic realities were as often at odds as they were synchronised, at the level of the textual as well as the material record.

Studies of the material and textual evidence for Visigothic Spain continue apace. For example, exciting work is being conducted into the transmission of the works of Visigothic-era authors in the centuries following the fall of the kingdom, and as was noted above, the field of early Islamic archaeology in Spain is expanding. It is hoped that in the future, there will be synthetic studies across a number of levels and fields: between history, archaeology and cognate disciplines; between different regions within Spain; and between Spain and the rest of Europe. Contact with European colleagues stimulated new developments in Spanish research, and it may now be time for European colleagues to take cognisance of the boom of late antique studies – both archaeological and historical – in Spain.

Short Biographies

Jamie Wood researches the social history of the late antique and the early medieval periods, with a particular focus on Iberia, history-writing, education and violence. He has authored or co-authored articles in *Early Medieval Europe*, the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* and the *European Review of History* and published a monograph on the historical works of Isidore of Seville, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain* (Leiden, 2012), with Brill. He has held a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship (2009–2011) and a visiting position at the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz (2014). He is a senior lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Lincoln (UK) and has taught at the Universities of Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Warwick in the past. Jamie holds a PhD in Classics and Ancient History, an MA in Medieval History and a BA (Hons.) in History from the University of Manchester.

Javier Martínez Jiménez is a professional archaeologist, who has recently (2013) completed his doctoral thesis at the University of Oxford on the continuity of aqueducts in post-Roman Spain and their impact on urbanism, and he has published various articles on the archaeology of the Visigothic period. He has directed the survey and excavation of the aqueduct of Reccopolis (2010–13) and co-directed excavations at the late Antique site of Casa Herrera, Mérida (2012–13).

Notes

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[1] Bowes and Kulikowski (eds.), *Hispania in late antiquity*, which is rationalised, at least partially, as an attempt to make Spanish-language scholarship available to Anglo-phone audiences. Two important edited collections published in 1999 are Ferreiro (ed.), *The Visigoths* and Heather (ed.), *The Visigoths from the Migration* Period *to the Seventh Century*.

[2] For a perceptive review of the topic see Stocking, 'Review article: Continuity, culture and the state in late antique and early medieval Iberia'.

[3] Velázquez Soriano, '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*'; Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain*.

[4] Tejerizo García, 'Identidad nacional y arqueología en el primer franquismo'.

[5] Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*.

[6] Quirós Castillo, 'Early medieval landscapes in north-west Spain'; Castellanos, Santiago, 'The Political Nature of Taxation in Visigothic Spain'. For a summary of recent scholarship on this issue, see Wood, 'Borders, Centres and Peripheries'.

[7] Martínez Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba*.

[8] Castellanos, *La hagiografía visigoda*.

[9] Castellanos and Martín Viso, 'The local articulation of central power'; Martin, *La géographie*.

[10] Stocking, 'Martianus, Aventius, and Isidore'.

[11] Martínez Jiménez and Tejerizo García, 'Central places in the post-Roman Mediterranean'.

[12] Buchberger, 'From Romans to Goths and Franks'.

[13] Liebeschuetz, 'The end of the ancient city'.

[14] Esp. Olmo Enciso, 'Recópolis'.

[15] Olmo Enciso, 'Recópolis'.

[16] Olmo Enciso, 'La Vega Baja en época visigoda'.

[17] Abad Casal, Gutiérrez Lloret, and Gamo Parras, '"Eio", "Iyyuh" y el Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete)'.

[18] Sources mention other minor urban foundations (Victoriacum, Oligicus), and there is evidence for new fortified enclosures,directly linked to Visigothic intervention, such as in Itálica or Conimbriga: Martínez Jiménez, '*Erexit, fautore Deo, rex inclytus urbem*'.

[19] Ribera Lacomba, 'La ciudad de Valencia'.

[20] Macias Solé, 'Tarracona visigoda'.

[21] Beltrán de Heredia (ed.), *From Barcino to Barchinona*.

[22] Alba Calzado and Mateos Cruz, 'El paisaje urbano de Emerita en época visigoda'.

[23] Vaquerizo and Murillo (eds.) *El anfiteatro romano de Córdoba*; Gurt Esparraguera and Ribera Lacomba (eds.), *VI reunió d'arqueologia cristiana hispànica*.

[24] Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*. Martínez Jiménez, 'Crisis or crises?'.

[25] Castellanos, 'The Significance of Social Unanimity in a Visigothic Hagiography'.

[26] González Salinero, 'La polémica antijudía en la Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda'; Stocking, 'Early Medieval Christian Identity and Anti-Judaism'; Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*; Drews, 'Jews as pagans?'.

[27] Wood, 'Religious Strategies of Distinction'.

[28] Fontes, 'A igreja sueva de Dume (Braga)'; López Quiroga, *El final de la antigüedad tardía en Gallaecia*, esp. 532–3.

[29] Vizcaíno Sánchez, *La presencia bizantina en Hispania*; Martínez Jiménez and Moreno Narganes, '*Nunc autem a Gothis subversa*'.

[30] The latest compilation of papers can be found in Quirós Castillo (ed.), *El poblamiento rural de época visigoda en Hispania*.

[31] Vigil-Escalera and Tejerizo García, 'Asentamientos fortificados altomedievales en la Meseta'.

[32] Quirós Castillo, 'Early medieval landscapes in north-west Spain'.

[33] Martínez and Moreno, '*Nunc autem*'; Melcalf, '*Visigothic monetary history*'.

[34] Bonifay and Bernal, 'Recópolis, paradigma de las importaciones africanas en el *visigothorum regnum*'.

[35] Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700*; Castro Priego and Gómez de la Torre-Verdejo, 'La actividad artesanal en Recópolis'; Gurt Esparraguera, Buxeda Garrigós, and Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *LRCW I. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean*.

[36] Based at the CSIC (National Research Centre): Caballero Zoreda, Mateos Cruz and Utrero Agudo, *El siglo VII frente al siglo VII*.

[37] VV. AA. *711. Arqueología e Historia entre dos mundos*.

[38] Caballero, Mateos and Retuerce (eds.), *Cerámicas Tardorromanas y Altomedievales en la Península Ibérica*.

[39] Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas*.

[40] Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom*.

[41] Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, 223–38.

[42] Hen, 'A Visigothic king in search of an identity'.

[43] Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*.

[44] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*.

[45] Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas*; Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*.

[46] Barrett, 'Latin literacy in early medieval Spain'.

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