

Title: From Pre-Roman Bailo to Roman Baelo: Long-term landscape dynamics in the Straits of Gibraltar
Short running title: Landscape dynamics in the Straits of Gibraltar

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ABSTRACT

The Straits of Gibraltar has been historically an important maritime axis of connection between the Mediterranean and Atlantic areas of the Iberian Peninsula. For this reason, most of the archaeological research has focused on the coastal settlements but its archaeological landscape remains mostly unknown. In this paper we present recent intensive surveys carried out in which a wide range of sites was detected, dating from the eighth BC to the fourteenth AD. We will present the study of the ancient landscape from the long-term perspective. Previous to the Roman expansion, the Pre-Roman Bailo-La Silla del Papa was an urban central place that created a dense network of subordinated settlements. Later on, the central place was translated from the inland into the coast town of Baelo Claudia but territorial structure was based on a similar pattern.

1. A TERRITORIAL APPROACH TO EARLY URBANISATION: THE CASE OF BAILO-BAELO CLAUDIA

The Hispano-Roman town of Baelo Claudia (Tarifa, Cádiz, Spain), on the northern shore of the Strait of Gibraltar (Fig. 1), is one of the best-preserved and most widely known archaeological complexes on the Iberian Peninsula. It has traditionally been interpreted as a port town founded in the second century BC, which would have crystallised in the time of Augustus and become consolidated with the acquisition of the municipal statute under Claudius. The function of this urban entity was linked to the imperial structuring of the trade and administrative network in the northern sector of the Strait. Its economy was considered to be mainly maritime, orientated towards fishing, salting and trade, and the territory that extended inland from it was practically ignored (Ménanteau *et al.* 1983, 201; Sillières 1997, 20).

However, this traditional view of the town of Baelo has recently been questioned in aspects that lead us to consider redefining its role in the territorial scheme of the region. The first point is the corroboration that the Roman town is heir to an urban tradition that began in the early years of the first millennium BC. In fact, recent excavations in the urban settlement of La Silla del Papa have demonstrated that it had a community that controlled and economically exploited the territory from

its rocky location in the Sierra de la Plata mountains, at a distance of approximately 4 km from the later coastal town. Practically unknown to research until barely ten years ago, the *oppidum* of La Silla del Papa is identified as the town of Bailo, which is known for the coins it issued, and is now considered the urban predecessor of Roman Baelo (Moret *et al.* 2008). The existence of an urban centre prior to Baelo places us in a completely new scenario when it comes to interpreting the town founded in the Augustan period, both for the motives and circumstances of its establishment and, particularly, for its location in the region, as it can no longer be considered an *ex novo* foundation (Moret and Prados 2014).

A second aspect that needs to be reviewed is the relationship between the town and its surrounding territory and this is what we will look at in this study. We will propose that the evolutionary processes of the population suggest a more complex situation than that of a port town that grew as part of an external territorial design, as has been defended until now. On other words, we propose that from the outset the vocation of the town was to control and exploit its own hinterland territory and complement its previously known maritime activity.

Our aim with this case study is to contribute to the historical debate on the role and functions of the Roman town. This is not a new subject and, despite it having been revisited recently (Horden and Purcell 2000, chap. 4; Mattingly 1997; Millett 1991), there are still questions to be answered, especially regarding the way the territory was organised. In this respect, the survey and spatial analyses undertaken (Alcock and Cherry 2004; Barker and Lloyd 1991; Francovich and Patterson 2000; Johnson and Millett 2013) provide us with complex overviews of the territorial processes and structures that allow us to further our understanding of the urban phenomena in antiquity. Although the features and processes of urbanisation are similar in various areas of the Mediterranean, they are by definition a local process, the characteristics and pace of which depend on the circumstances of each place and historical process (Damgaard *et al.* 1997). They are not, therefore, the expected result of an analogous process in all cases (Osborne 2005).

This is the framework for the paper we present here, which is aimed at approaching the study of the *Baelonense* territory from the perspectives of its landscape and the long term. This focus allows us to understand the settlement network and its evolution and functions over that long sequence of time. Thus we can hypothesise the existence of a territory structured around two consecutive towns that had the same function as governing nodes of the system, independently of their changes in morphology and location. The town of La Silla del Papa/Bailo, between the eighth and the first centuries BC, and that of Baelo, from the turn of the era to the end of antiquity, had similar roles, albeit with significant cultural differences.

Our hypothesis is that the Roman town of Baelo can be seen as the result of a historical process under which a network of settlements and a territorial organisation on a regional scale were established. This structure was partially incorporated into the new Roman situation, which was much more complex than traditionally thought. This approach, therefore, can be attributed to the theoretical tendencies that see the process of Roman implantation as an adaptive and discursive dynamic that included local agency as a fundamental part of the process (van Dommelen 1998; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007). In this way, we distance ourselves from those standardised and unidirectional models of the cultural adoption of the Roman moulds.

The research in the territory of La Silla del Papa/Bailo and Baelo has been carried out under the auspices of the *Archeostraits* project led D. Marzoli and P. Moret, the objective of which is the characterise the first-millennium-BC landscapes in the Strait of Gibraltar. It aims to assess the palaeoenvironmental and populational transformations through two case studies: Los Castillejos de Alcorrín (Manilva, Málaga) and La Silla del Papa. These towns were practically unknown two decades ago, but today they are revealing themselves to be essential for our understanding of the urbanisation process in the area. The current interdisciplinary project consists of geoarchaeological studies to determine the geomorphological evolution of the area's estuaries and inlets (May *et al.* 2016); palaeobotanical analyses to evaluate the degree of anthropisation and progressive agricultural intensification; and archaeological surveys to characterise the different settlement models over time.

2. FRAMING THE CASE STUDY: FROM PHOENICIAN COLONISATION TO ROMAN RULE IN THE STRAITS OF GIBRALTAR

The study region is on the northern Atlantic slope and encompasses the coastline of Tarifa and the inland area of Campo de Gibraltar county. It has certain particularities that distinguish it from the neighbouring areas, such as the lower valley of the River Guadalquivir and the bays of Cádiz, Málaga and Tangier, which in the past were places with greater demographic and historical relevance. The reasons for this include a compartmentalising mountainous relief, which only leaves a narrow inhabitable strip between the mountains and the coast, and a damp climate caused by the notable influence of the Atlantic. Thus, we find a wooded landscape, a population concentrated along the coast and with few people living in the mountains. This terrain is less suitable for extensive agriculture and the development of large population centres, with Algeciras/Gibraltar bay being the main exception (Fig. 2).

The geomorphological studies show us an irregular coastline marked by small estuaries, sand bars and salt-water lagoons (Ménanteau *et al.* 2003), that make up the inlet known as the Ensenada de Bolonia an advantageous place to establish a coastal settlement with a port vocation. As far as the inland area is concerned, a geographical aspect of enormous interest with regard to the organisation of the area's settlement is La Janda lagoon, which no longer exists, but was once an inland basin. It is these two geographical areas that saw the historical occupation in antiquity we are going to study, although traditionally research has focused exclusively on the coast.

We will concentrate our study on four periods that mark the historical dynamics in the Strait region and that will allow us to frame our study. They are the following:

1. The Phoenician colonisation, attested from as early as the ninth century BC in Cádiz and Málaga (Gener *et al.* 2014; Arancibia *et al.* 2011) and marked in our area by the beginning of the hilltop settlements near the coast, such as Los Castillejos de Alcorrín (Marzoli *et al.* 2010) and La Silla del Papa. After the first experimentation and contact phase, there appears to have been a period of consolidation of the colonisation in the seventh century BC, with the establishment of factories or small trading centres, such as Cerro del Prado (Pellicer *et al.* 1977), the enclave at the mouth of the River Guadiaro (Schubart 1987) and probably Tarifa (Prados *et al.* 2011).

2. Subsequently we have to situate the period of population concentration that covers the sixth to the third centuries BC and that we call the "urban phase". In the case of the towns of Phoenician origin, this corresponds to the "Punic phase". This period is characterised by a marked territorialisation and hierarchisation of the settlements, both the inland indigenous *oppida*, about which we know very little, and the colonies, that create truly stable territories with an accentuated rural orientation (van Dommelen 2005; López Castro 2008).

3. From the mid-third century BC, the progressive influence of Carthage and the Barca dynasty in Iberia, which led to the Second Punic War, brought to the area a horizon of urban monumentalisation, the establishment of new enclaves, the intensification of agricultural production and the development of the communications networks. Subsequently, in the second and first centuries BC, although the area was already in the orbit of Rome and had had a Latin *colonia* –Carteia– from 171 BC (Livy, XLIII, 3), we can speak of a "neo-Punic" phase. In this period, the towns of the Strait, benefitting from the access to more distant markets, enjoyed a period of splendour that was expressed in Punic cultural, religious and linguistic terms. This is the case of La Silla del Papa/Bailo and its bilingual coinage in Latin and Neo-Punic (Bendala 2012).

4. The Augustan period is marked by substantial changes in the area's towns and territories, with new foundations such as Traducta in Algeciras, a profusion of salting factories on the coast and the configuration of a rural "Roman-style" landscape characterised by *villae* (Jiménez Vialás 2017). It is in this context that we have to understand the transfer of the population and the political nucleus from La Silla del Papa/Bailo to Baelo, on the coast, where there were already salting facilities in operation (Alarcón 2007). The coastal location was ideal for the economic model rolled out in the Roman period on the Strait (Moret and Prados 2014).

As is habitual in other areas, we know very little about the territory in the hinterland of the towns, a lack of knowledge that has conditioned their interpretation as exclusively coastal towns. This is why knowledge of the settlement network is essential for understanding the development of the human groups that inhabited these territories. It is precisely the territorial organisation that provides us with our best opportunity to gauge the social hierarchisation and complexification reached by the first urban communities.

3. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY: METHODS AND AREAS

The territorial study began with a topographic analysis based on high-resolution digital models of the terrain –between 1 and 5 m depending on the zones of interest– generated from LiDAR data and with the contribution of other documents, including aerial photography and historical cartography. This analysis allowed us to get to know the main geographical features of the zone and, as a consequence, to establish a surface reconnaissance strategy of the terrain.

From a morphological perspective, the territory is defined by a coastal platform where the San Bartolomé, La Plata and El Retín mountain ranges end abruptly in the sea. These mountain ranges are formed by siliceous sandstones and have alignments perpendicular to the coast, creating intermediate depressions such as the Zahara and Bolonia inlets. Our starting hypothesis is that the *oppidum* of La Silla del Papa/Bailo was the centre of a territory that would have controlled and exploited one of these intermediate valleys that linked the sea with the interior lands.

Taking these considerations into account, we decided to analyse three windows of observation corresponding to three sectors (Fig. 3):

1. The western piedmont of the Sierra de la Plata mountains and their connection to the Ensenada de Zahara inlet to the west and the Janda depression via the River Almodóvar to the north. These are the most accessible lands and the easiest to control visually from the *oppidum*, making it at first sight its productive space.

2. The second zone is the Ensenada de Bolonia inlet, well known as the home of Roman Baelo. It makes up a well-defined landscape unit, as it is flanked by the La Plata and San Bartolomé mountains to the west and east, respectively. It is separated from the lands of the interior by two passes: that of Bolonia, through which the modern road runs, and that of Facinas, near La Silla del Papa (Sillières 1997, 20). From the historical point of view, it is obvious that this landscape was the nuclear area in Roman times and was organised around Baelo; however, how the relationship of this area with La Silla del Papa/Bailo remains to be determined.

3. Lastly, the Sierra del Retín mountains constitute the north-western limit of the analysed area. Their importance lies in their location, equidistant between the territorial area we are studying and the other outstanding historical nucleus, Baesippo (present-day Vejer), which would have accentuated its frontier-like nature.

The main fieldwork tasks were based on intensive surveying and reconnaissance of the terrain with a total coverage of the areas previously selected. The surface was covered with the aim of identifying the plots in which scatters and other archaeological indicators were recorded. In the 2015 and 2016 campaigns, approximately 485 ha of terrain was covered with a total distance travelled of 102 km. The strips were recorded using GPS tracking to ensure a uniform coverage of the plots and systematic data collection.

In those places with tenuous but compact concentrations, the perimeter of the finds was marked (Fig. 4, a). In places with a high concentration of finds, but a more diffuse pattern, the location of each pottery sherd and other evidence, including structures, was geolocated (Fig. 4, b).

Some of the archaeological sites identified in the surveys contained the remains of walls that indicated the layout of ancient habitational structures. We completed the geolocation of the surface finds with a graphic record of them. In larger areas, vertical and oblique photographs were taken with a drone and then used to prepare the surface photogrammetry (Fig. 4, c).

The detailed study of the pottery assemblages allowed us to date and identify the previously mentioned chronological phases. In general, the greatest chronological resolution was provided by Mediterranean pottery, tableware and imported amphoras. To these repertoires, we can add the local pottery from the same series identified in the excavations of both Baelo Claudia and La Silla del Papa/Bailo.

4. SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS AND LANDSCAPE STRUCTURE BEFORE AND AFTER THE ROMANS

The survey and territorial analysis results reveal a complex, dense population made up of 38 settlements (Table 1), the main features of which are shown on the attached chart. This documentation allows us to outline an initial approach to the settlement pattern and the territorial structure, which we summarise on the basis of the four phases described in the previously-defined historical scheme.

4.1. *The foundation of La Silla del Papa and the early territorial configuration (ninth to sixth c. BC)*

The information from the surveys and excavations at La Silla del Papa/Bailo points to a chronological coincidence between the occupation of the hilltop settlement and the establishment of small subordinate villages (Fig. 5). They are distributed across the piedmont of the Sierra de la Plata mountains, both towards the Zahara valley to the west (Zambrana, La Canchorrera Baja) and the River Almodóvar to the east (Torre del Alamillo).

The main conclusion we can contribute is the chronological correspondence between the early occupation of La Silla del Papa and its surrounding territory and the Phoenician presence on the coast. In other words, in both the main town and the valley, the handmade indigenous-tradition pottery (cooking pots) are accompanied by the first Phoenician imports (amphoras from the T-10 series) and productions specific to a colonisation consolidation phase, such as carinated bowls or Carambolo-type painted ware. These repertoires denote fluid contacts with the colonisers, who were present from as early as the ninth century BC in the bays of Cádiz and Málaga and the seventh century BC in Tarifa (Prados *et al.* 2011) and Algeciras bay (Pellicer *et al.* 1977), and perhaps also in Barbate (Ferrer 2017).

The settlement pattern for this phase is marked by the concentration of the population in a nuclear hilltop site such as La Silla del Papa, an area that does not appear to have been previously occupied. In parallel, the surrounding productive territory was occupied by small sites that were also near the possible communication routes to La Janda, the coast or the mountains. These villages would have been mainly devoted to farming, although in some cases they would also have been charged with controlling the roads. This would have been the case of La Torre del Alamillo, which was situated on a hill with a very good view of the Almodóvar valley and the passes to the mountains and the Tarifa coast.

All this appears to indicate that the opening up of the local societies to the Mediterranean, highlighted archaeologically by the presence of the aforementioned Phoenician pottery, brought with it major socioeconomic changes. The most outstanding evidence is the appearance of the *oppidum*, a concentrated hilltop site that also acted as a hub for a series of surrounding dependent settlements used to control the roads and exploit the farmland. This was a profound restructuring that set the bases for the subsequent spatial models.

4.2. *Territorial consolidation under La Silla del Papa/Bailo (sixth to third c. BC)*

The information we have to date for the sixth and fifth centuries BC is sparse. However, that changes in the fourth century, when there is a veritable increasing of the settlements, whose main feature is a high degree of hierarchisation.

The settlements that make up the territory of the *oppidum* of La Silla del Papa/Bailo can be divided into three types according to their location, size and function (Fig. 6):

a) La Silla del Papa/Bailo was the main centre or hilltop *oppidum*; it was fortified and had an area of more than 3 ha.

b) There would have been at least two secondary *oppida* or urban nuclei: El Peñón del Aljibe and La Atalaya. They cover a large area, more than 2 ha each, and are situated on one of the frontiers of the territory, in the Sierra del Retín mountains, in places with an excellent visual domination of the surrounding area.

We could perhaps add a third settlement to this category, El Cerro de la Rosa Grande, where we identify a possible defensive structure, although a lack of data prevents us from confirming this. As in the other cases mentioned, it is an ideal site from which to control the communications routes, as it is on the hill that separates the Ensenada de Bolonia from the Almodóvar valley. It controls, therefore, a traditional path known as Camino de la Laja that runs parallel to Laja de las Algas.

c) An area of agricultural production was formed around La Silla del Papa/Bailo in which to date we have been able to identify six rural sites. They constitute a network of small settlements with areas of between 2000 and 5000 m² that have been identified from pottery dispersions and some building remains. They are situated on small hills in the belt near the urban nucleus, controlling small streams and springs (Fig. 7).

These sites are interpreted as protohistoric farms that would have exploited the agricultural land the people living in the *oppidum* would have found hard to farm due to the difficulty of reaching it from their hilltop site. They were, therefore, a constellation of dependent sites in the territory dominated by the central site and located close enough so that their inhabitants could take refuge in the fortified oppidum if necessary. The more distant terrains do not show signs of ancient occupation.

The type of terrain (scrub and pastureland) is suitable for extensive farming or stockbreeding. In the case of Canchorrerillas 2, we documented the structure of a possible animal enclosure that we could, in theory, link to this type of farming.

In some cases, such as Laja de las Algas or Canchorrerillas 2, we can make out structures of a certain size that may be the so-called “farming villas”, or *magar* in the Punic terminology. In the case of El Piojo we could propose a mixed economic orientation, with an agricultural function combined with the exploitation of marine resources, given its location near the coast (Arévalo *et al.* 2001).

It is a settlement pattern similar to that known in other coastal settings on the southern Iberian Peninsula (López Castro 2008) and specifically in the neighbouring territory of Baesippo (Ferrer 2017). It is also very similar to that identified in the nearby bay of Algeciras, where we can highlight the existence of two settlements that also mark the limits of the territory of Punic Carteia. These enclaves are strategically situated to control the roads connecting that town with Málaga to the east and Cádiz to the west (Jiménez Vialás 2017). These examples indicate the existence of similar regional patterns in the territorial organisation and in which special emphasis was placed on controlling the roads.

4.3. The reinforcement of territorial control (third to first c. BC)

From the mid-third century BC, we attest the continuity of the previous model of agrarian settlement and the addition of several enclaves linked to the strategic control of the territory (Fig. 7). Together with a dense rural occupation, a series of solid buildings has been identified in the peripheral reliefs that frame the county; they are quadrangular and have thick stone walls –always wider than 50 cm– from which we can surmise that they were of a considerable height or at least were quite large. The first settlement in which these remains were identified is that known as Betis, in the Sierra de San Bartolomé mountains, overlooking the pass towards the Ensenada de Valdevaqueros (Moret *et al.* 2008, 365, fig. 8; 2014). Similar characteristics can be seen in the building of Las Marianas, which controlled the coastal corridor linking the county with the Baesippo area to the west.

This type of free-standing, isolated building on promontories are interpreted as solid structures whose main function would have been territorial control in the Republican period. They would have marked out the different communications corridors in the county, supporting the hypothesis that they were to guard and control both the terrestrial corridors and the coastal communications.

We have also linked the settlement of El Peñón del Aljibe to the same control system. This enclave exhibits extraordinary strategic conditions for controlling the territory and has direct visual communication with La Silla del Papa/Bailo (Moret *et al.* 2014). The system would have been completed with Cerro de la Rosa Grande and Torre del Alamillo, both situated on high promontories in the vicinity of La Silla del Papa/Bailo and overlooking the corridor reaching the settlement from the northwest of the county.

All this evidence shows us a complex territorial control network centralised in the main *oppidum* and with the secondary settlement and smaller sites linked by a visual intercommunications network. This network may have been set up in an earlier period, but there can be no doubt that it was reinforced in the Republican period. Mentions by writers such as Appian and Sallust give an account of the role played by the Ensenada de Bolonia inlet in the connections with the shores of the Strait, with references to the transit and settlement of troops (Moret *et al.* 2014). Some of the most interesting mentions refer to the regrouping of troops in the area of *Mons Belleia*, convincingly argued to be La Silla del Papa/Bailo, where Sertorius concentrated his forces after crossing the Strait in 80 BC (Sallust, Hist., I, 104). It is also possible to hypothesise that the large enclosure identified at El Alamillo 1 was the encampment corresponding to this episode.

Another aspect that characterises the Republican phase is the emergence of new archaeological sites in the Ensenada de Bolonia, where we find Los Ranchiles, the first evidence of a salting industry in El Anclón-Punta Camarinal, and in the industrial quarter of the subsequent Baelo (Bernal *et al.* 2007). It was precisely at this time that the south-western tower of La Silla del Papa/Bailo was built to ensure visual control of the coast, which demonstrates an interest in that portion of the territory (Moret *et al.* 2008, 362).

4.4. The Ager Baelonensis and the configuration of a Roman territorium (first to second c. AD)

The excavations of recent years allow us to date the end of La Silla del Papa/Bailo to the period of Augustus (Moret *et al.* 2017). At that time the site was peacefully abandoned and the population was transferred from the heights of La Sierra de la Plata to the new town of Baelo on the Ensenada de Bolonia inlet. The coastal town took on a true urban entity (Sillières 1997), indicating that the priority was maritime connections to other territories. This pattern points to a new system established by the effective Roman implantation in the decades prior to the turn of the era.

Nevertheless, although the appearance of the new town is the most important element of change, it would have been accompanied by a dense, structured settlement pattern that continued the previous territorial structure. At the same time as the move of the urban nucleus to Baelo, we see the emergence of a series of rural enclaves of diverse sizes and functions, in a pattern similar to that described for the earlier phases. The settlement pattern is defined by the following settlement categories (Fig. 8):

1. The town of Baelo Claudia, the structural nucleus of the system, had a legal statute recognised from the time of Claudius, as well as literary and epigraphic testimonials and notable evidence of monumentalisation that would have made it an important Roman centre in the region (Sillières 1997).

2. Rural agglomeration. The settlement of Canchorrerillas 1 is a concentrated Roman site. The size of this settlement, with dispersed buildings not specifically of a residential nature, to judge by their characteristics and large size, leads us to believe that it could have been a secondary aggregated-type establishment.

3. Villas or rural settlements of a notable size. We find a series of extensive rural sites that appear to have been in use for long periods and contain frequent Roman finds of varying categories. However, they lack the refined architecture associated with the conspicuous consumption of proprietors of high social standing (*pars urbana*), making it difficult to categorise them as villas in the strictest sense. This is possibly due to the fact that landowners did not establish their luxurious residences in the countryside and therefore invest the wealth generated by these agricultural estates

there. Instead they would have lived in the nearby town. These sites are La Campana, La Torre, El Cerro de las Minas 1 and La Loma del Pulido 3.

4. Lastly, we find a series of small settlements characterised as farms and agricultural factories. They are settlements with an area of less than 1 ha and their finds consist mainly of ordinary building materials, with few signs of wealth. Of particular note in the movable finds repertory is the majority presence of common tableware and storage ware, with a scarcity of luxury items. These would have been the homes of the peasants who worked the small farms. El Alamillo 3, El Chaparral and El Álamo can be placed in this category.

The locations of the Roman settlements described are concentrated into two different zones that we believe can be explained by the continuity of the preceding settlement pattern. A group of rural nuclei is concentrated in the farming area of the La Silla del Papa piedmont, where we found the earlier protohistoric farms. Although the town was abandoned, it is possible that the surrounding agricultural land continued to be farmed. These parcelled-out, ploughed lands that had been valued for centuries were now distributed in a network of new settlements built according to Roman guidelines in the traditional fields.

The second settlement zone is on the immediate outskirts of the Roman town, near the Ensenada de Bolonia. There we find the possible villas of La Torre, El Cerro de las Minas 1 and La Loma del Pulido 3, together with the farms of El Álamo and El Chaparral. The proximity of the town would have favoured the development of this ring of rural settlements that would have supplied the urban markets with their farm products. The distribution of these settlements marks out the access road to the Ensenada de Bolonia inlet across La Loma del Pulido ridge, which allows us to trace the route of the ancient road through this area.

5. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN AN URBAN SYSTEM ON THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR

The data contributed on the settlement dynamics constitute a first approach to the territorial organisation of Bailo-Baelo from the perspective of landscape archaeology. We have focused mainly on what the characterisation of the settlement pattern and the territorial structure involved in terms of agricultural production and territorial control. In this last section we would like to point out some aspects that contribute to composing a new panorama of the ancient landscapes in the area of the Strait.

5.1. *The town/towns.*

Until recently, the historical interpretation of Baelo Claudia had been based exclusively on the situation of the urban nucleus itself. Current documentation makes it essential to include the pre-Roman town. Although on a different site, La Silla del Papa/Bailo was the antecedent that explains the Roman town, as it not only provided the population for the new foundation, but also meant the continuity of the forms of urban organisation in the county.

In that respect, the town of Baelo Claudia would have been one of a long list of towns of indigenous origin in the Hispanic provinces that were completely renewed by building programmes and legal transformations (Abad *et al.* 2006; Keay 1998; Keay and Terrenato 2001). However, in the case of Baelo, that renovation was accompanied by a move of some kilometres that may have accentuated the novel nature of the town, although today we know that the urban predecessor was nearby.

The move did not only entail the replacement of one town with another, but also the actual transfer of a community with its own identity, as is shown by the fact that the name was maintained. No less relevant is the apparent political entity of La Silla del Papa/Bailo, which was sufficiently developed to undergo such a transcendental change in its territorial organisation and to bring about a clear reorientation of its economy.

5.2. *The town/territory.*

The urban nuclei were integrated into complex networks of settlements, making up spatial structures through which people, goods, knowledge and political decisions flowed. Despite this, until now only a few archaeological surveys for heritage management purposes had been carried out (Troya and Castiñeira 1995) and a superficial study of the immediate territory of the town (Arévalo *et al.* 2001). This lack of research has led Baelo Claudia to be considered, in historiographic terms, as a town practically without a territory and focused on trade and seafaring.

Now the settlement and the territory have benefited from a joint research programme that has offered us an integrated view, which is the only way to approach the complexity of ancient towns (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988). Our research shows us a territory occupied and exploited from the hilltop settlement that, in turn, exhibited a desire to control the natural corridors linking the coast and the interior. The typology and location of the rural occupation attests a clear dependence on the *oppidum* from the beginning of the first millennium BC.

For the Roman period, the *ager-urbs* binomial that constituted the concept of a *territorium* belonging to a Roman town can be recognised in the *territorium baelonensis*. Here we find the majority of the settlements that make up the territorial models of the western provinces of the Empire and similar landscape structures (Fiches *et al.* 2013).

5.3. The sea/countryside.

Traditional research has favoured the maritime orientation of the town of Baelo Claudia in terms of the production of salted goods, trade and maritime traffic. These activities were without doubt the economic base of the Roman town. However, it also had an agricultural component and a series of significant overland connections. The agrarian segment was heir to the pre-Roman forms of exploitation that survived in the same productive areas in the interior of the county. These resources would have made a significant contribution to the town's economy, especially for the subsistence of the local community, which would have lived off the nearby hinterland.

Conversely, although the economic bases of the pre-Roman town of Baelo were mainly agricultural, they also made good use of the resources of the coast. We find dependent settlements on the Ensenada de Bolonia inlet and on the coast-interior communications corridors, confirming this symbiotic integration between those domains. In other words, we should not picture a pre-Roman farming system contrasting with a Roman maritime one. Rather we are seeing complex and complementary settlement systems in which no specific orientation was exclusively predominant.

5.4. Landscape/culture.

The Roman implantation was a colonial process in which a landscape and a culture took shape and, far from being the gradual and monolithic expansion of the Italic component, it brought with it phenomena of interaction between populations of different cultures and identities. We need to pay attention to the variety of processes and agents involved, together with the Romano-Italic factor. It is precisely along these interpretative lines that we see expressed the most recent contributions to the recognisable cultural dynamics in the town of Baelo, especially in the funerary sphere (Prados and Jiménez 2015).

These same considerations can be applied to the organisation of the landscape, where we find the spatial forms known from diverse traditions, both in the survival of the native settlement patterns and the introduction of new territorial plans. One example is the meagre presence, at least at the current state of research, of the Italic villa-type settlement models. The rural settlements recognised in this study are more closely linked to native traditions in their habitat concepts and they were integrated into the imperial administrative structure without any great difficulty (Terrenato 2007).

It is precisely this survival of the landscape organisation, which was fully integrated into the new reorganisation that took place at the beginning of the imperial period that opens up new possibilities

for understanding the complex history of the urban circumstances in the Strait area and, more widely, the adoption and innovation present in the Roman expansion.

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TABLES

Table 1. List of sites.

SITE	PLACEMENT	EXTENSION (in hectares)	CHRONOLOGY
1. La Campana	Slope	0.7-1	1 st -2 nd AD
2. Fuente Canchorrerilla 2	Slope	0.3	6 th -7 th AD
3. La Atalaya	Hilltop	0.4	4 th -1 st BC
4. El Alamillo 3	Slope	0.08	1 st AD
5. Canchorrera baja	Slope	0.4	9 th BC-7 th AD
6. Los Horquillos 2	Low Hill	0.05-0.1	5 th -2 nd BC
7. Los Horquillos 3	Low Hill	0.13	5 th -2 nd BC
8. Los Horquillos 4	Low Hill	0.01	5 th -2 nd BC
9. Canchorrera alta	Slope	0.11	13 th AD
10. Fuente Canchorrerilla	Slope	0.7	6 th -7 th AD
11. Los Mosquitos	Low Hill	0.05-0.03	5 th -2 nd BC
12. Torre del Alamillo	Hilltop	0.01	7 th BC-10 th AD
13. Canchorrerilla 1	Slope	2.5 -2	1 st -2 nd AD
14. Las Marianas	Slope	2.3	5 th -2 nd BC
15. Peñón del Aljibe	Hilltop-Slope	5 -7	4 th -1 st BC
16. El Alamillo 2	Slope	0.5	10 th AD
17. Canchorrerilla 2	Slope	0.6	5 th BC-2 nd AD
18. Las Calabazas	Slope	0.01	5 th -2 nd BC
19. Zambrana	Low Hill	0.4	11 th -2 nd BC
20. Los Horquillos 1	Low Hill	0.012	10 th AD
21. El Alamillo 1	Slope	0.5	2 nd -1 st BC
22. Laja de las Algas	Slope	0.01	5 th -2 nd BC
23. La Torre	Low Hill	0.4	1 st -4 th AD
24. El Piojo	Low Hill	0.5 -1	4 th BC
25. Cerro de las Minas 1	Low Hill	0.8	1 st -4 th AD
26. Cerro de las Minas 2	Slope	0.01	1 st -2 nd AD
27. Cerro de la Cierva	Low hill	0.6	2 nd -1 st BC, 10 th -12 th AD
28. El Chaparral	Slope	0.3	1 st -2 nd AD
29. Ranchiles	Plain	0.01	2 nd - 1 st BC
30. C. de la Rosa Grande	Hilltop	0.3	5 th -2 nd BC
31. Loma del Pulido 1	Slope	0.04	1 st -2 nd AD
32. Loma del Pulido 2	Slope	0.04	1 st -2 nd AD
33. Loma del Pulido 3	Slope	0.7-0.5	1 st -2 nd AD
34. Loma del Pulido 4	Slope	0.3	1 st -2 nd AD
35. Loma del Pulido 5	Slope	0.03	6 th -7 th AD
36. El Álamo	Mountain pass	0.5	1 st -4 th AD
37. Betis	Slope	0.02	2 nd -1 st BC
38. El Anclón-Punta Camarinal	Coastline	0.01	2 nd -1 st BC

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Location of the Study Area in the Straits of Gibraltar with the modern (white dots) and ancient towns (black dots) (Base map from *IGN*²).



Figure 2. View of the Almodovar Valley in the Study Area (picture by H. Jiménez-Vialás).

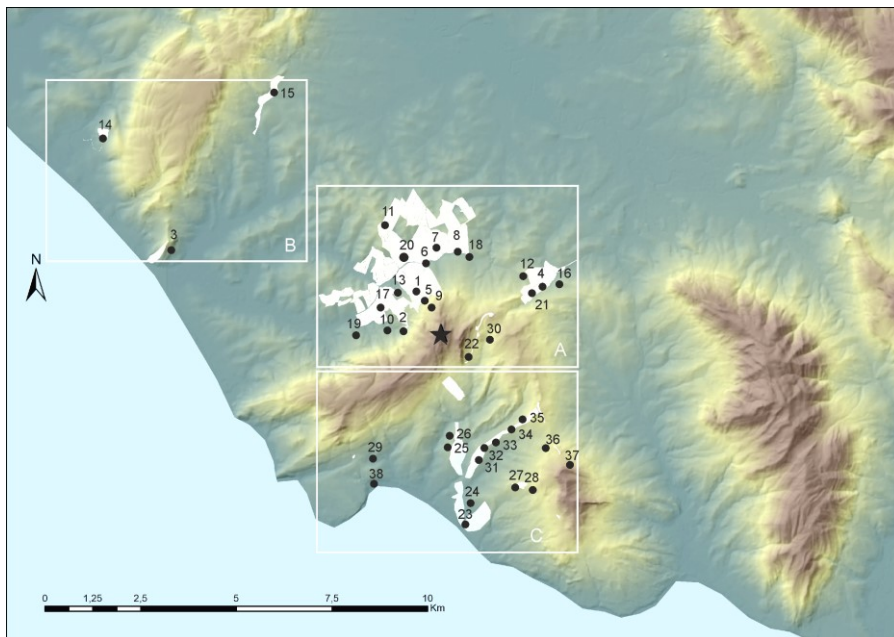


Figure 3. Digital elevation model of the Study Area with the ancient settlement in the prospected areas (Digital data from IGN).

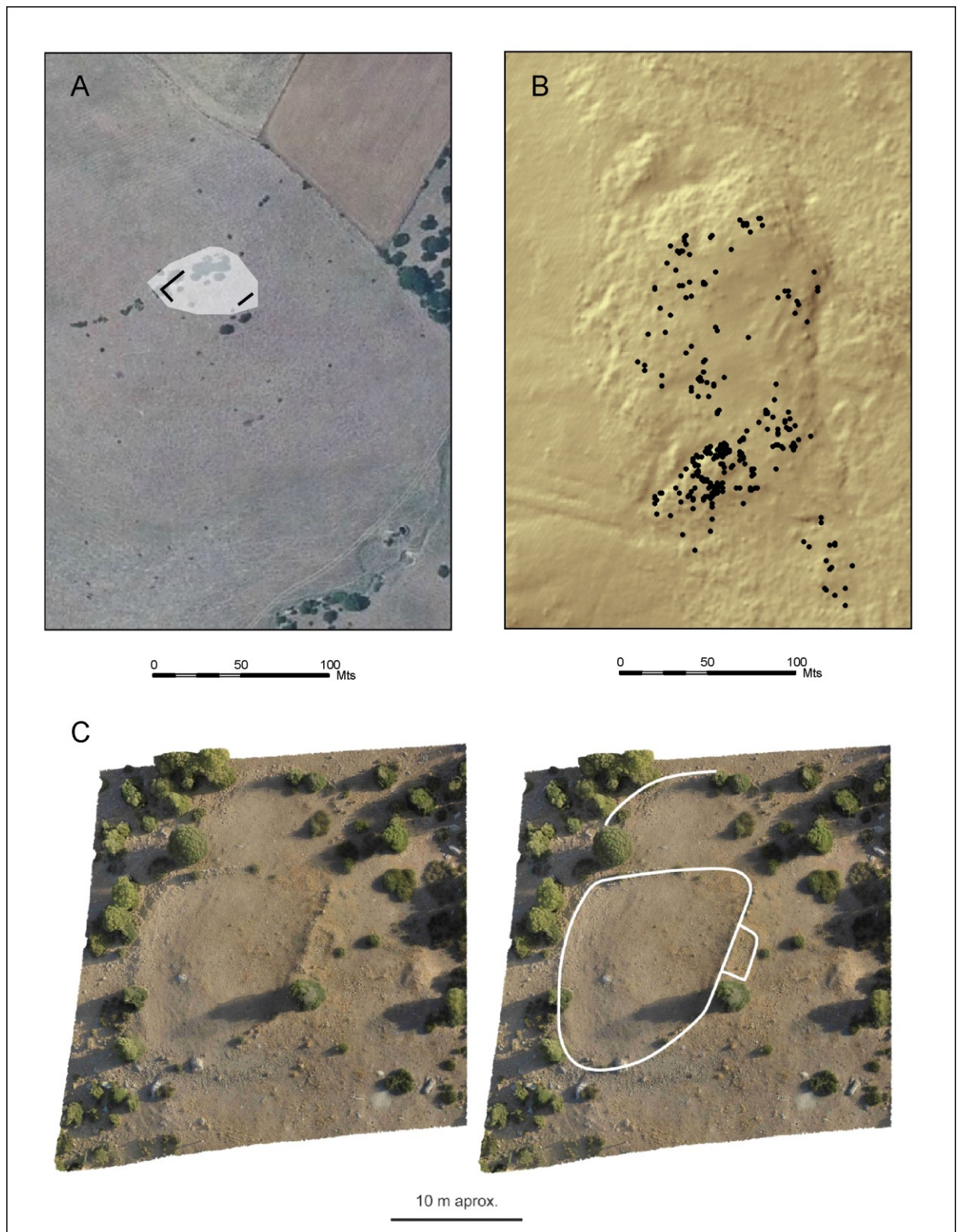


Figure 4. Spatial record of the Surface remains. A: Area of scatters with observed structures; B: Geolocation of each pottery fragments. C: Aerial photogrammetry with the surface structures (Digital data from *IGN* and *Archeostraits Project*).

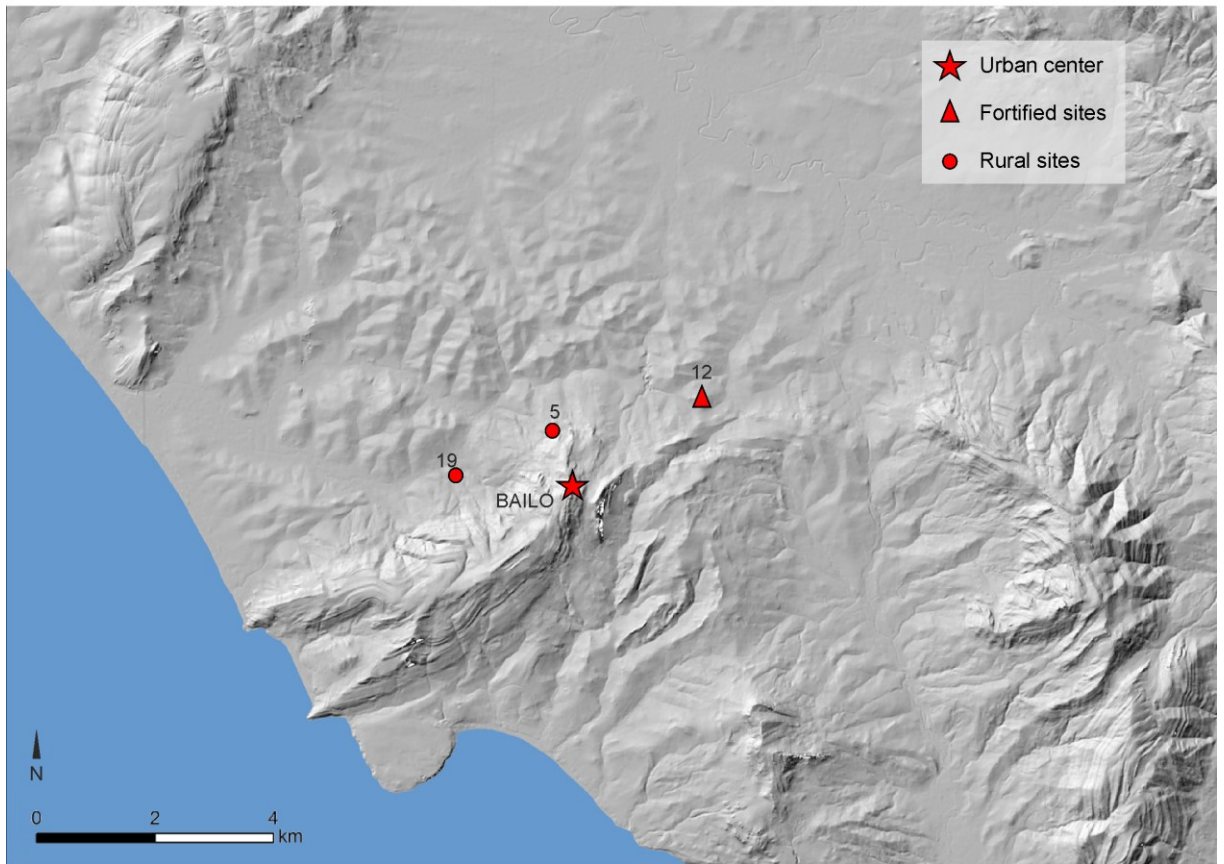


Figure 5. Settlement of the Early Iron Age (ninth to sixth BC) (Digital data from *JGN*).

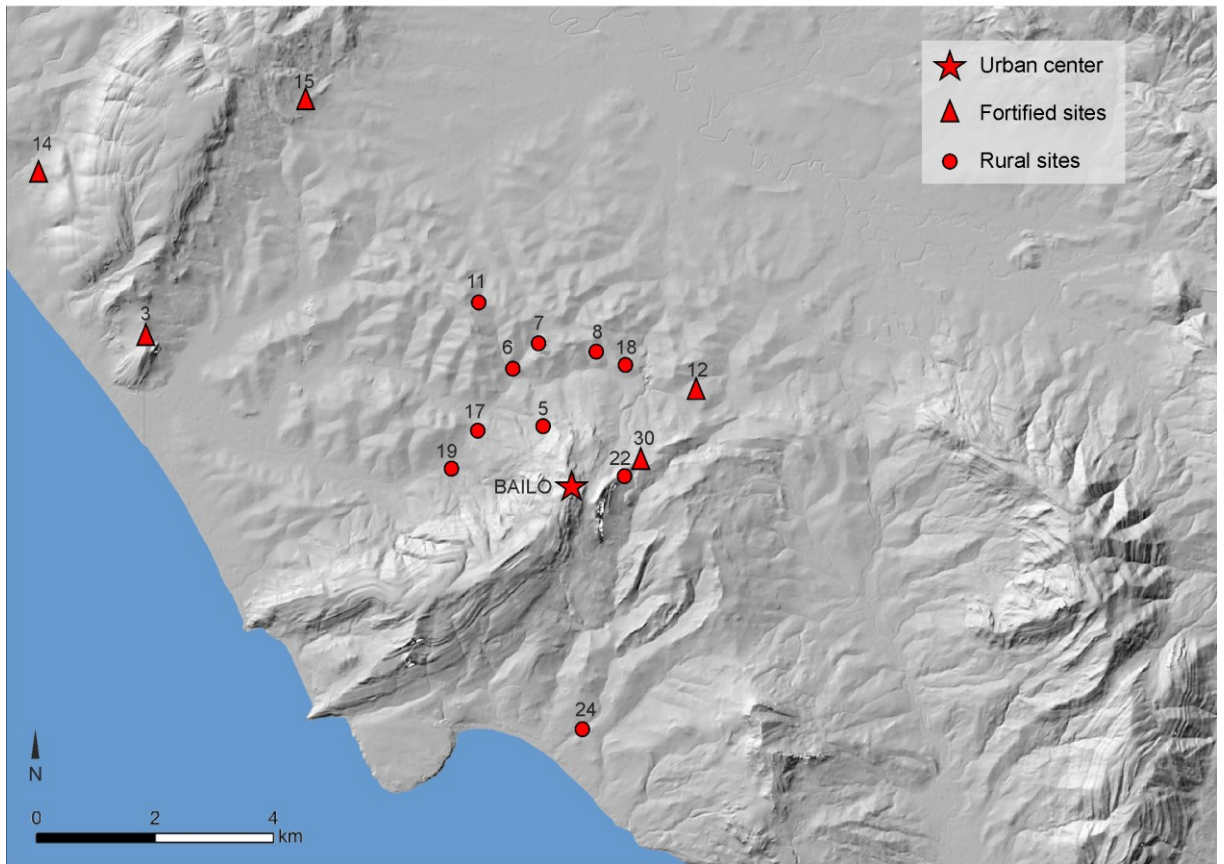


Figure 6. Settlement of the Second Iron Age (sixth to third BC) (Digital data from *IGN*).

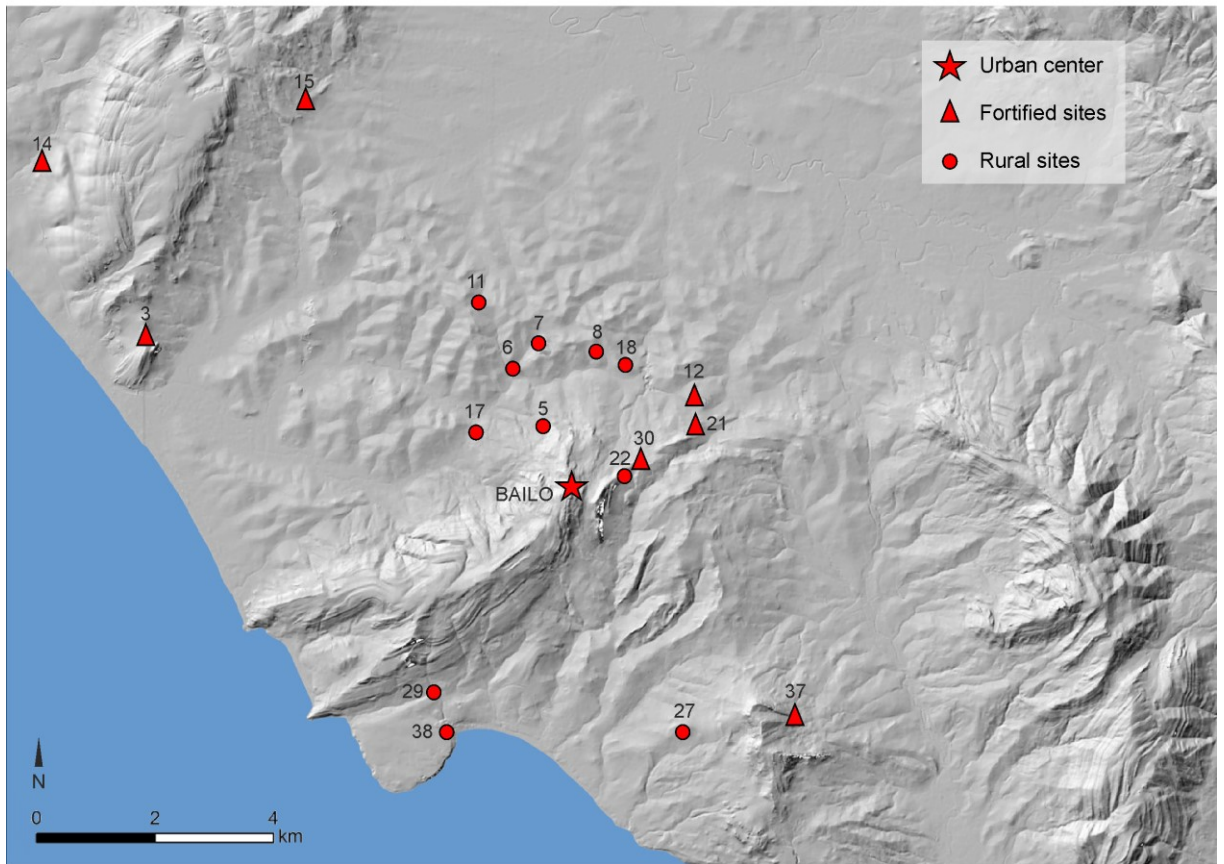


Figure 7. Settlement of the Roman Republican Period (third to first BC) (Digital data from *IGN*).

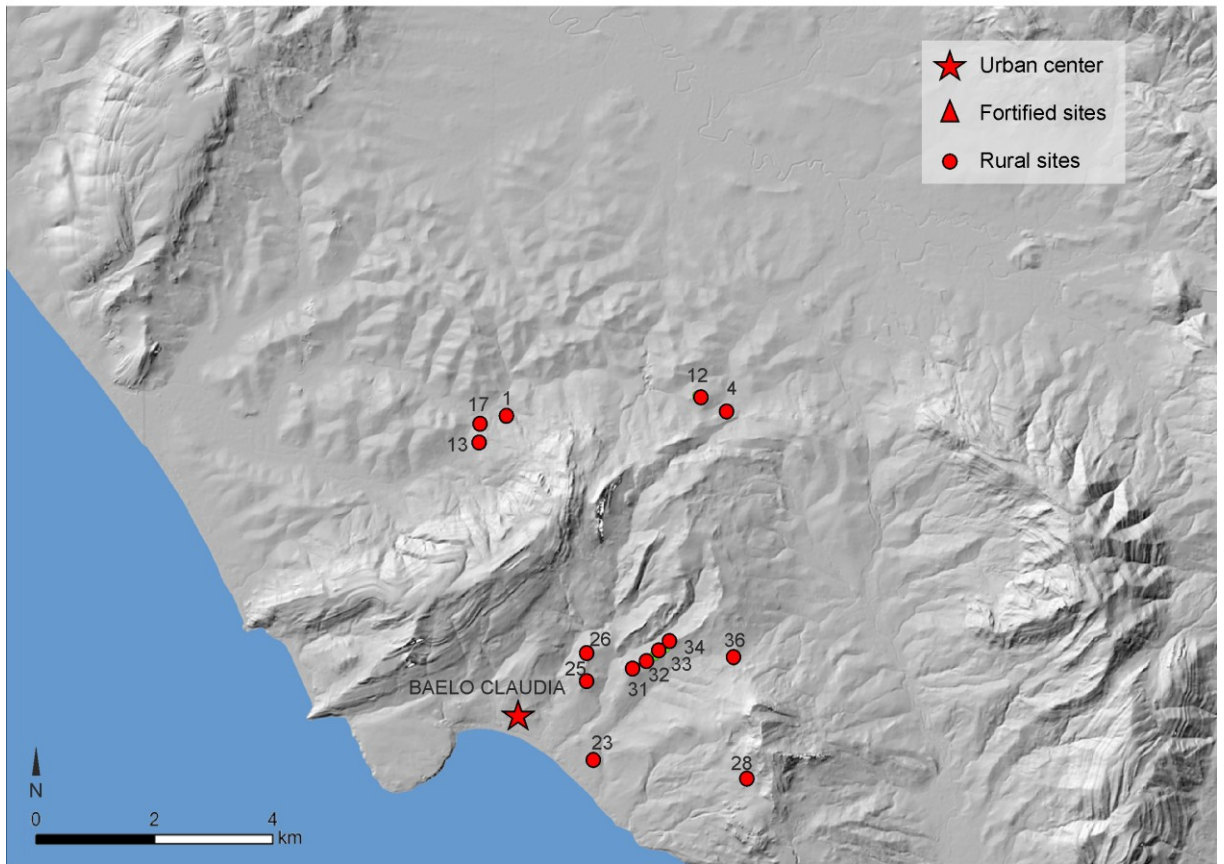


Figure 8. Settlement of the Early Roman Empire (first to second AD) (Digital data from *IGN*).

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² IGN: Spanish *Instituto Geográfico Nacional*.