

TERRITORY, LANDSCAPE AND URBAN LAYOUT IN THE IBERIAN CULTURE

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Dedicated to Dr Joan Sanmartí Grego

In this article we propose a panoramic review of the urban phenomena and designs in the Iberian culture (7th-1st centuries BC). Based on case studies linked to different territories in the extensive Iberian area, we look at these processes from different scales of approach. We begin with the complex and heterogeneous definition of town models to arrive at an analysis of the territories and ways in which the oppida expanded, by analysing and categorising the settlement and territorial organisation patterns. In particular, we propose an update of the settlement model typology, taking into account the nucleation and spatial structure variables, as well as the presence and/or absence of defined settlement rankings.

Keywords: Iberian culture; town; urban planning; territory; political models

1. THE *OPPIDUM*. THE BASIC IBERIAN SETTLEMENT UNIT

In the mid-7th century BC, the construction of a fortification in an area on the Guadalbullón River - a tributary of the Guadalquivir (southern Spain) - gave form to a plateau that enclosed an area of 5.3 ha. This settlement was the *oppidum* of Puente Tablas (Jaén province).

The occupation of the site had begun almost two centuries earlier, at the end of the 9th century BC, based on the concentration of a village population with a habitat in the pseudo-circular huts, characteristic of the Late Bronze Age in Upper Andalusia. The defensive construction was built without a foundation based on a double parallel wall of masonry interlocked with mud and using smaller stones as wedges. The space between the two walls was filled with gravel and earth and had intermediate braces. On the platform thus created a second body of adobe bricks was raised. On the exterior, to prevent the pressure of the huge five-metre-wide mass causing a collapse and bearing in mind that it did not have a foundation trench, a new stone wall was built as part of the construction plan. At its base it was 1.5 m from the vertically aligned wall, which was a few metres higher, giving a sloping form to the final structure. The early fortification of Puente Tablas was reinforced with twenty quadrangular towers that provided an advanced defence, at the same time as constituting buttresses.¹ Its builders undoubtedly visualised a structure destined to last for many years, a true political emblem of the *oppidum*. It was much more than a habitat. It was an expression in the landscape designed to project the image of a grand, powerful, white fortress against the horizon. In fact, no further work was needed on the walls until the middle of the 5th century BC. At that time that the lime roughcast was removed, leaving the

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¹ Molinos - Ruiz 2021.

bare stone; some of the bastions were reinforced with a new exterior facing; and the orientation of the Puerta del Sol or eastern gate, one of the two entrances to the *oppidum*, was modified until it faced exactly towards the east² (fig. 1).

The initial layout of the walls configured in the mid-7th century BC was maintained throughout the active life of the fortification, despite a lapse in its occupation at the end of the 4th century BC. Its definitive depopulation took place at the end of the 3rd century BC, when the Roman army's siege and capture of the *oppidum* is documented at the north gate.³

An additional modification is documented inside the *oppidum*: the initial circular huts gave way to houses with quadrangular floor plans from the first half of the 6th century BC (not before). In addition, the new houses were attached in a row and formed blocks, with their parallel arrangement facilitating the creation of rectilinear streets and a very regular urban layout. This trend was maintained throughout the rest of the life of the *oppidum* and the blocks were extended to the south in periods of demographic expansion. With this urban pattern, a space with small residential units was formalised which, due to its linear layout, facilitated the autonomy of its residents and the development of nuclear family units. To the south of the *oppidum* plateau, in an area separated from the group of houses, superimposed on a previous building that was probably aristocratic in origin, the existing building was extended in the mid-5th century BC to create a palace complex. To this we can add an entrance sanctuary built on three terraces next to the eastern gate of the *oppidum*. A temple with a layout of oriental tradition was built on the first terrace. It consisted of a porticoed side entrance, a patio with a bull-shaped altar, a *cella* and an *adyton* with a window through which the baetylic image of the goddess would have been taken outside at the equinox. On the second terrace there was a tower into which four natural caves were integrated. A channel crossed the sanctuary, simulating that water flowed from one of the caves, where an equinoctial hierophany also took place. An area of ritual deposits linked to the presence of another *baetylus* has been documented on the third terrace.⁴ Lastly, on the northern side of the *oppidum*, even without comprehensive excavation, evidence of what could have been a large community underground reservoir can be surmised.

2. NUCLEATION

The *oppidum* is the element that best defines the Iberian urban model. *Oppida* with similar characteristics and processes began to appear all over the Iberian area between the mid-7th and mid-6th centuries BC. To reach this point, we have to take into account the fact that the population nucleation is supported by two factors. On the one hand, the development of increasingly complex urban designs made room for a larger number of inhabitants, thus increasing the population residing in the interior. On the other is the construction of the aforementioned fortifications that delimited the perimeters of the new towns, both for defence and symbolic identity purposes. To define the nucleation archaeologically, we need to analyse the size of the settlement. This is what allows us to infer demographic readings and characterise the type of control that each *oppidum* exercised over its territory and other settlements.

² Molinos - Ruiz 2021.

³ Lechuga *et al.* 2019.

⁴ Ruiz *et al.* 2016; Ruiz Rodríguez *et al.* 2018; Rueda Galán 2021.

We propose to begin with an analysis model by size ranges. It is significant that the latest studies to ascertain the scales of the Iberian settlements repeat the same size ranges in territories that are very distant from each other and with different methods and proposals. Catalonia has traditionally been attributed three settlement size ranges. The first is between 9 and 17 ha and includes three large nuclei: the *oppidum* of Puig de Sant Andreu (Ullastret, Girona) occupying 17 ha and defined as a *dipolis*; Burriac (Cabrera del Mar, Barcelona) covering 9-10 ha; and Cesse (Tarragona) that probably had an area of some 9 ha. A second level consists of those with areas of between 2 and 4 ha, a range that could be expanded to 6 ha to include cases such as El Vilar (Valls, Tarragona) (6 ha) or Masies de Sant Miquel (Banyeres, Tarragona) (4.5 ha).⁵ The third group is defined as villages of between 0.5 and one ha.⁶ The most recent proposed point of analysis is a model based on the demographic density gleaned from the study of the Edetani *oppidum* of Kelin (Caudete de las Fuentes, Valencia), a 10-ha site estimated to have had a population density of 385 inhabitants per hectare or, in other words, 26 m² per inhabitant.⁷ This has made it possible to propose a higher scale of *oppida* that could be defined as *oppida*-towns when they exceed 1000 inhabitants, i.e. from 2.5 ha.⁸ In addition to these references for Catalonia, I. Grau has defined three degrees in which the largest - which would define the towns - is between 2 and 10 ha,⁹ with the widely analyzed case of La Bastida de les Alcusses,¹⁰ although some *oppida*, such as Arse (Sagunto, Valencia) and Castellar de Meca (Ayora, Valencia), far exceed the upper limit.

For our part, we propose a model with five rankings, the first three corresponding to *oppida* and the upper two that could be included in town models, following the previously mentioned sizes ranges for Catalonia and Valencia. The typology of urban rankings starts from the paradigmatic figure of 10 ha of surface area that, for most authors, marks the lower limit of the first rank. If the traditional extension attributed to Cástulo (Linares, Jaén) is accepted, this rank can cover as much as 40 ha in the Upper Guadalquivir. This is difficult to confirm until the excavated area is increased, although it is true that the plateau, which marks the Roman wall and part of the Iberian wall, is of that size. In any case, this dubious measurement does not exclude Cástulo from being considered among the largest *oppida* in the Alto Guadalquivir, the area that has served as the basis for this typology and where there was an abundance of large *oppida* such as Cerro Bollero (Valenzuela, Córdoba), 20 ha; Torreparedones (Baena, Córdoba), 11 ha; Cerro Villargordo (Torredelcampo, Jaén), 18 ha; Ilturgi in Cerro de la Muela (Mengíbar, Jaén), 14 ha; Giribaile (Vilches, Jaén), 15 ha; and Baécula (Úbeda-Villacarrillo, Jaén), 20 ha. We could also mention Ategua and Colina de los Quemados (both in Córdoba); Ipolca (Porcuna, Jaén); Iltiraka (Úbeda la Vieja, Jaén); Cerro Alcalá, (Torres-Jimena, Jaén); and Toya (Peal de Becerro, Jaén), all with land areas of 10 ha or more, although in some cases it is difficult to ascertain their size due to overlapping later occupations. The second size range is mainly between 2.5 and 6 ha and includes Puente Tablas (Jaén); Torrebenzalá (Torredonjimeno,

⁵ Noguera *et al.* 2020.

⁶ Sanmartí *et al.* 2019.

⁷ Moreno Martín - Valor Abad 2010.

⁸ Belarte *et al.* 2019.

⁹ Grau Mira 2019.

¹⁰ Bonet Rosado - Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez eds. 2011.

Jaén); Bobadilla (Alcaudete, Jaén); La Guardia or Mentessa Bastia (La Guardia, Jaén); Loma del Perro (Úbeda, Jaén); Cerro de la Cruz (Almedinilla, Córdoba); Atalayuelas (Fuerte del Rey, Jaén); and Cerro Minguillar (Baena, Córdoba), among others. Based on these two size ranges, we consider that the minimum sizes of each of the two described ranges - 2.5 and 10 ha - allow us to extrapolate the minimum sizes for the other ranges, given that the minimum size of the second group is 25% of the minimum size of the first range. Extrapolating this proposal to the following ranges, 2.5 ha would mark the maximum figure of the third range and 25% of it, 6,250 m², the minimum size creating the framework in which we find the small *oppida*, including San Cristóbal (Casillas de Martos, Jaén), Castellones de Ceal (Hinojares, Jaén) or Torrejón and Cerro Miguelino (both in Torredelcampo, Jaén). Finally, from the minimum marker of the third range, 0.6 ha, the fourth chronological range is defined at 25%, 1500 m², leaving for the fifth range those sites whose surface area is less than this figure.

Evaluating the case, the first two ranges correspond to the large and medium-sized *oppida*, towns in the Catalan and Valencian reading. We support this as long as the aristocratic town is distinguished and nuanced from the classical town. The third rank consists of the micronuclei, no longer comparable to towns, while the last two ranges correspond to settlements not identifiable with *oppida* (watchtowers, towers, tower-houses or palace-houses, fortresses or citadels, villages and agricultural trading posts; fig. 3).

3. THE EXPANSION OF THE *OPPIDA*. *PAGUS* TERRITORIAL AND ETHNIC TERRITORIES

If nucleation is the first variable to assess in the analysis of the Iberian settlement, the second is recognised in the nature of the political relations that define the territorial patterns beyond the *oppidum*. The key to this variable is given to us by the written sources in which Polybius or Livy, when describing the composition of the armies of the Iberian princes in the actions of the Second Punic War, define it in two different ways. One, as in the case of the Edetani and the Ilergetes, is an ethnically based configuration, headed by their princes Edeco and Indibil, respectively. The other is of a geographical nature, in which, in the cases of Orissos and Culchas or Colicas, their armies are calculated based on the contributions from the *oppida* that made up their political territories.¹¹ It appears to be no coincidence that if we superimpose the information provided by these ancient historians on a map of Iberian scripts, we can conclude that the territories of the *oppida* princes were in the area of the southeastern Iberian script and that the spheres of influence of the ethnic territory princes were in the northeastern script areas.¹² In other words, the ethnic factor was predominant in the political-military definition of the northern Iberians, while in those of south it was the number of *oppida* that defined the territories. It is important to highlight that, in this latter case, the formula of the *pagus*, the territorial expression of «the common water source»,¹³ has been archaeologically recognised as the most frequent mechanism for structuring the territorial expansion of the nuclear *oppida* in the Early and Full Iberian Periods.¹⁴ The first and earliest known case of a political *pagus* is documented at El Arroyo

¹¹ Coll i Palomas - Garcés i Estallo 1998; Ruiz Rodríguez 1998.

¹² Ferrer i Jane 2020.

¹³ Torelli 1988.

¹⁴ Ruiz Rodríguez *et al.* 2001.

Salado de Arjona (Jaén, East Andalusia). In that case, in response to the Tartessian colonial expansion with small farms along the course of the Guadalquivir River at the end of the 7th century BC, the hitherto invisible nucleus was militarily fortified. This created a political border with a series of towers such as that of Coronilla de Cazalilla (Jaén),¹⁵ which protected five *oppida*, one of which was on the hill of Villargordo (Torredelcampo, Jaén), a nucleus of 18 ha, although we do not know if it had already reached that size by then. The fact is that this chain of towers gave instant visibility to the territory of a *pagus* for a hundred years - the 6th century BC - while the towers were active. Just as clear archaeologically is the case of the Jandulilla River *pagus* where, at the beginning of the 4th century BC, an autonomous first-ranking *oppidum*, Iltiraka (Úbeda, Jaén), opened a colonisation process from the mouth of the Jandulilla River in the Guadalquivir. Next to a small lagoon in the sources of the river, it built a *heroon* with a tower crowned by sculptures that commemorated the founder of the lineage of Iltiraka, depicted protected by griffins and lions and confronting a gigantic wolf.¹⁶ Moreover, the *heroon* can be associated with the winter solstice sunset, as at that time the sun rolled from a nearby hill until it became lost below the horizon at its base,¹⁷ thus defining with this metaphor the hero's journey to the underworld, the conquest of a wild landscape. In any case, the construction of the *pagus* meant the political appropriation of a territory of 175 km² by the Iltiraka *oppidum*. This gave way to immediate economic actions, with the foundation of a second *oppidum* of 6 ha at Loma del Perro (Jódar, Jaén) and the opening of a trade route with the Mediterranean coast. Neither should we forget the case of a small *pagus* in the territory of Puig d'Alcoi (Alicante) and its local area in La Canal in the Serpis River valley, which acted as a water route¹⁸ (fig. 2).

Faced with this model of the southern Iberians based on *pagi* and with no apparent political memory of their previous ethnic structure, the northern Iberians consolidated their political territories in ethnic units as the basis of their territorial models, associating them with a first-ranking *oppidum*, as documented in their settlement patterns:¹⁹ Indiketes with their capital in Ullastret; Laietani in Burriac; and Cossetani with a centre in Tarragona. Moreover, their geographical areas were more or less similar in size (2,775 m² for the Indiketes, 2,000 m² for the Laietani, and 2,800 m² for the Cossetani), if we draw a plot of Thiessen polygons with a centre in each of the capitals.²⁰ It so happens that these *oppida*-capitals are the only sites with necropolises in their peri-urban surroundings, no doubt where the ashes of the aristocratic elites who governed each ethnic unit were buried. This was very different to the world of the *pagus* where the *oppida*, although they were of third rank, had their own peri-urban necropolis for their aristocrats and clientele, a common model in the gentilic systems. We cannot rule out the underlying existence of *pagi* in these ethnic territories. However, if they did exist, as they may have done among the Cossetani on the Foix or Francolí Rivers, they would always have been subunits of the ethnic territory. An ethnic model in which the domination of this factor was even more powerful

¹⁵ Ruiz - Molinos 2012.

¹⁶ Molinos Molinos *et al.* 1998.

¹⁷ Unpublished analysis by C. Esteban.

¹⁸ Grau Mira - Segura Martí 2013.

¹⁹ Sanmartí *et al.* 2019.

²⁰ Sanmartí *et al.* 2019.

corresponds to the ethnic groups of the interior of Catalonia, which, as has been assessed, did not reach a high degree of nucleation with their micronuclear models (Ilergetes, Lacetani or Ausetani on the Ebro). Significantly, they were the towns that formed the intertribal alliances during the Second Punic War, as shown by the armies of Indibil and Mandonio, which were organically structured with Ilergetes, arranged in the middle of the coalition, and the Lacetani and Ausetani of the Ebro at each end.

It remains for us to evaluate the case of the Edetan territory of Sant Miquel de Lliria (Valencia), which developed in the north of the middle valley of the Turia River. This is a case of a *pagus* with its capital in a first-rank *oppidum*, to which can be added a group of third-rank *oppida* and a group of farms or fortified villages such as Castellet de Bernabé (Lliria, Valencia). Surrounding and protecting the entire complex of settlements was a group of watchtowers on high ground, for example, Puntal dels Llops (Olocau, Valencia).²¹ It is not possible to compare this *pagus* and the ethnic territory of the Edetani, which was characterised by other *pagi* around the *oppida* of Arse (Sagunto, Valencia), Carencia (Turis, Valencia) or Kelin (Caudete de las Fuentes, Valencia),²² although the ethnic-political unification of the *pagi* should not be ruled out in exceptional situations of war. This could be read into the offer of Edecon as a client to Scipio following the capture of Cartagonova. In other words, here the ethnic factor was secondary, although it could have existed.

4. SETTLEMENT PATTERN MODELS

Regarding the typological basis of the nucleation and spatial organisation in *pagus* or ethnic territories, we previously proposed a classification of settlement patterns.²³ We have now updated this according to the presence/absence of defined settlement ranges in each territorial unit (fig. 4).

1. Cellular settlement models (absence of the first, second and third ranks)

a. Fifth-rank cellular settlement (family fortresses/tower-houses). Preferentially based on fifth-rank archaeological sites - since they never exceed 1500 m² - in which the forms of architecture of power are evident, ranking their position above the rest of the settlements, normally agrarian, also of fifth rank, or even fourth rank. Although the most paradigmatic case has been documented in post-Tartessian Extremadura, in the Iberian area the best-known model is the Sant Jaume complex in La Hoya de Ulledecona, north of the Senia River, during the second half of the 7th century BC. This is a group of settlements in Alcanar (Tarragona province) made up of watchtowers or strategic sites such as Castell de Ulledecona, La Cogula (300 m²) and La Ferradura (400 m²); La Moleta del Remei (4000-2800 m²), a fortified village; and Sant Jaume (500-650 m²), a fortress. In this last case, it was not for the residence of a group like the Ilergetes fortresses, but for a family grouping; hence its definition as a fortified and multi-compartmented house.²⁴ In contrast to previous models, there was no nucleation here; in fact, the model was not developed during the ancient Iberian stage, since Sant Jaume was destroyed in 600 BC. However, in the area of Bajo Aragón and Bajo Ebro, the cellular model survived in the tower-houses: Tossal

²¹ Bernabeu - Bonet - Mata 1987.

²² Mata Parreño 2001.

²³ Ruiz Rodríguez 2008.

²⁴ Garcia i Rubert 2011.

Montañés (Valdetorno, Teruel), Assut (Tivenys, Tarragona), Coll del Moro (Gandesa, Tarragona), among others, and continued to develop from the 6th century BC, following the initial model of Sant Jaume. Many of these sites collapsed in the 5th-4th centuries BC opening up the zone to nucleation²⁵ that was reached in the 3rd century BC with the construction of *oppida* such as Castellet de Banyoles (4.5 ha).²⁶

b. Fourth rank cellular settlement (collective fortresses). Recognised in the ancient Iberian period on the Segre River (6th century BC). In this phase, different fortresses (the residences of a collective) competed, without apparently imposing on each other. These were highly fortified sites and always of the fourth rank in size, between the 2,000 m² of Vilars de Arbeca and the 6,000 m² of Molí d’Espigol in Tornabous (both in Lleida province).²⁷

2. *Micronuclear settlement models (absence of first and second ranks)*. In this model, the third rank assumes the highest position in the settlement hierarchy.

a. Micronuclear settlement with an oppidum-village structure. In the territory of Contat-Alcoia in the Serpis River valley in the 5th-4th centuries BC small *pagi* were configured with a third rank *oppidum* at their head. They included Covalta (Albaida, Valencia) and Puig d’Alcoi (1.5 ha), with settlements smaller than 0.5 ha characteristic of the fourth rank²⁸ in their surroundings (La Sarga, Mas de Regall and La Moleta, in the case of Puig d’Alcoi). On a basic scale due to their internal hierarchical structure, they are actually similar to a nuclear settlement model; however, on the higher territorial scale that defines the Serpis *pagus*, in this phase there was no hierarchy between the *oppida* and their local territories.

b. Micronuclear settlement with a collective oppidum-fortress structure. The aforementioned Iberian territory of the Segre was hierarchised in the 5th-4th centuries BC during the development of the Full Iberian Period. It was then that some fortresses, such as Molí d’Espigol, grew to 1 ha, surpassing the perimeters of their earlier fortification. To this case we have to add El Tossal de la Pleta (Arbeca, Lleida) (1.4 ha).²⁹ Both these settlements, which were already in the third rank, developed a hierarchical model with two ranks, the second of which would be defined by the rest of the fourth rank fortresses that survived, or the new ones, such as Estinclells (Verdú, Lleida), that were established. In some cases, such as Els Vilars (Arbeca, Leida) were depopulated.³⁰

3. *Nuclear settlement models*. These are settlement patterns in which the first and/or second ranks are recorded. Two types can be defined:

a. Mononuclear settlement. In this type there is a single first or second rank *oppidum*, to which third, fourth and fifth rank settlements may or may not be added. The paradigmatic case is the Edetan settlement of the Turia River *pagus*, where Tossal de Sant Miquel de Lliria grew to reach 10 ha and, without documenting a second rank, the following scale did not exceed 2 ha (third rank): La Señá (Villar del Arzobispo, Valencia)

²⁵ Bea *et al.* 2012.

²⁶ Sanmartí *et al.* 2019.

²⁷ Principal *et al.* 2019.

²⁸ Grau Mira - Segura Martí 2013.

²⁹ Asensio Vilaró *et al.* 2017.

³⁰ Asensio Vilaró *et al.* 2017; Principal *et al.* 2019.

(0.8 ha) or Monravana (Lliria, Valencia) (0.8/0.6 ha).³¹ The rest of the sites were watchtowers (Puntal dels Llops, 900 m²) and villages (Castellet de Bernabe, 1000 m²) of the fifth rank. This is a variant with relative demographic nucleation and highly hierarchical relationships.

A second variant with the same structure as the previous model, although with a smaller hierarchical nucleus (second rather than first rank), has been documented in the *pagus* of the Alcoi-Comtat valleys in the 3rd century BC, when the area was structured around the La Serreta *oppidum* (Alcoi, Alacant) (6 ha),³² absorbing into a higher political unit the territories of El Puig and Covalta, *oppida* that were depopulated at that time.

The same variant can also be recognised in the highlands of Granada in the network of rivers that makes up the Guadiana Menor valley and that forms a group of *pagi* headed by a second-rank settlement and an average distance of 30 km between them. They are Cerro Cepero (Basti, Baza, Granada) on the Baza River; Cerro del Real (Galera, Granada) on the Guardal-Galera River and the *oppidum* of Forruchu (Villanueva de las Torres, Granada) on the Fardes-Gor River, all with areas of around 6 ha. In the 3rd century BC these *oppida* underwent a colonisation that defined their *pagi*³³ with well-fortified *oppida* or third-rank towns: Fuente Amarga (Galera Granada) and Cerro del Almendro (Huéscar, Granada) in the *pagus* of Cerro del Real or Los Castellones (Laborcillas, Granada) and Las Angosturas (Gor, Granada) in the Forruchu *pagus*. The third-rank *oppidum* of Castellones de Ceal (15.3 km from Forruchu) may have belonged to this *pagus*. However, its foundation at the end of the 5th century BC would place the origin of this group, or at least this *pagus*, in a previous century. No cases are documented in the Baza *pagus*, perhaps because those nuclei are nearer the course of the Almanzora River, following the Baza River. We also note the existence of rural settlements on the plain, the foundation of which can be established in the mid-4th or early 3rd-centuries BC, within the framework of the colonisation.³⁴ However, there is no indication of size to assess whether they were of fourth or fifth rank.

b. Polynuclear settlement. The first variant is recognised when, along with the three *oppida* ranks, fourth and fifth rank archaeological sites are documented. They are the Indiketan, Laietanian and Cossetanian settlement models on the coast of Catalonia in which there was only one first-rank *oppidum* at the top of each hierarchy (Ullastret, Burriac and Tarragona). Depending on each case, these were followed in size by a single second-rank *oppidum* at Sant Julià de Ramis (Girona) (4 ha) among the Indiketes or, among Laietani, a group of *oppida*, also of the second rank, but smaller: Cadira de Bisbe (Premià de Dalt, Barcelona) (3 ha); Torre Roja (Caldes de Montbui, Barcelona) (3 ha); and Torre dels Encantats (Arenys de Mar, Barcelona) (2-4 ha).³⁵ Among the Cossetani they were larger; El Vilar (Valls, Tarragona) (6 ha); Sant Miquel d'Olèrdola (Tarragona) (3.3 ha); Darro (Villanova i la Geltrú, Barcelona) (4 ha); and Masies de Sant Miquel (Banyeres del Penedès, Tarragona) (4.5 ha). To these we can add villages, trading posts and citadels, all fourth and fifth ranking. This is a hierarchical settlement pattern with relative nucleation.

³¹ Bernabeu - Bonet - Mata 1987.

³² Grau Mira 2019.

³³ Adroher - López 2002.

³⁴ Adroher - López 2002.

³⁵ Sanmartí *et al.* 2019.

The second variant is a settlement pattern with absolute nucleation. These are cases in which the first-rank *oppida* also occupy the pinnacle of the model: Iltiraka in the Jandulilla *pagus*, while the other *oppidum*, Loma del Perro, is second rank. A particular case is that of the Guarrizas River *pagus* where two first-rank *oppida*, Cástulo and Giribaile (Vilches, Jaén), coexisted, although the former stands out for its superior size and greater antiquity. No fourth- or fifth-rank agrarian settlements have been documented in this second variant, as has been shown in the intensive surveying (almost excavation) of Marroquíes Bajos (Jaén), where small agrarian settlements from the 6th century and 2nd-1st centuries BC have been found, although none from between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC.³⁶ In contrast, worship sites were built at the beginning of the 4th century BC in the Jandulilla *pagus*; for example, the *heroon*-tower of El Pajarillo (Huelma, Jaén)³⁷ and, in the second half of the 4th or the 3rd centuries BC, the territorial cave sanctuaries, such as La Cueva de la Lobera (Castellar, Jaén).³⁸

5. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE STATE-TERRITORIES AMONG THE SOUTHERN IBERIAN IN THE 3RD CENTURY BC

Polybius' references to Colicas,³⁹ called Culchas by Livy,⁴⁰ indicate that, when he offered his support to Scipio in the year 206 BC, this *basileus* or *rex* governed a political territory of 28 *oppida*. Diodorus also highlights the fact that the *basileus* of the Orissians, at the head of a coalition of 12 *oppida*, defeated Hamilcar Barca.⁴¹ It is important to note that Polybius only uses this political nomenclature to define Colicas and the Ilergetian Indibil, who the Greek historian never presents as prince-*regulo-dynastes*, because they would surely characterise the ruler of an *oppidum* or even a *pagus*, which constituted, according to N. Coll and I. Garcés, the lower political scale in the representation of Iberian power.⁴² Until recently it has not been possible to transfer these documentary references to the archaeological field. However, things changed with the attestation of two facts.⁴³ On the one hand, the distribution map drawn up of the bronze votive offerings from the Marsal Collection,⁴⁴ which until recently had been limited to the two territorial sanctuaries of Sierra Morena (Collado de los Jardines in Santa Elena, Jaén, and Cueva de la Lobera, in Castellar, Jaén), shows how the bronzes formed a wide territorial space around Cástulo. Secondly, the excavation of a newly-discovered open air sanctuary, Haza del Rayo (Sabiote, Jaén), on a route that connected the *oppidum* of Baécula to Cástulo and Cueva de la Lobera, crossing the Guadalquivir and Guadalimar valleys, made it possible to recognise a wide network of paths and places of worship with common archaeological finds, including bronze votive offerings.⁴⁵ The particular development of Cástulo from the 5th-4th

³⁶ Serrano Peña 2020.

³⁷ Molinos Molinos *et al.* 1998.

³⁸ Rueda Galán 2011.

³⁹ Polib. 21,11,7.

⁴⁰ Liv. 28, 13,3.

⁴¹ Diod. 25, 10, 3.

⁴² Coll i Palomas - Garcés i Estallo 1998.

⁴³ Ruiz Rodríguez 2021.

⁴⁴ Ruiz Rodríguez - Rueda Galán 2014.

⁴⁵ Rueda Galán *et al.* 2021.

century BC by forging, firstly, a large *oppidum* with at least two lineages in competition and, secondly, building its own *pagus* with a cave sanctuary in El Collado de los Jardines, near the source of the Guarrizas River in Despeñaperros, and a satellite *oppidum* in Giribaile, led from the end of the 4th century and during the 3rd century BC to the construction of a pyramidal political model, with a hierarchy between *oppida*, probably governed by vassalage formulas.⁴⁶ In it, great importance was placed on alliance relationships through marriage, which would have given rise to a new political model that renounced the forms based on a territory ordered by a geographical component and imposed *oppida* integration criteria, not necessarily organised in continuous territories, but in political concepts of dependency between aristocratic houses. To all this was added a layer or network of pilgrimage routes ending at the great cave sanctuaries of the Sierra Morena that structured the political territory based on a network of sacred landscapes, a model that had already been tested with the *pagi* of Jandulilla and Cástulo and that facilitated the economic objectives. A model whose success is confirmed by early currency issues in the last third of the 3rd century BC or the marriages of the Carthaginian generals, Hasdrubal and Hannibal, with princesses of the town. Nevertheless, the kingdom of Cástulo was structured around between six and nine *oppida* and an area that would have covered some 4500 km², i.e. twice the size of the territories of the coastal models of Catalonia, although it was a territory smaller than that of Ilergetes (9500 km²) or the extended territory of Edetani.

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⁴⁶ Testart - Baray 2007.

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Fig. 1 - *Oppidum* of Puente Tablas. Recreation of urban layout based on research (Author: F. Gómez).

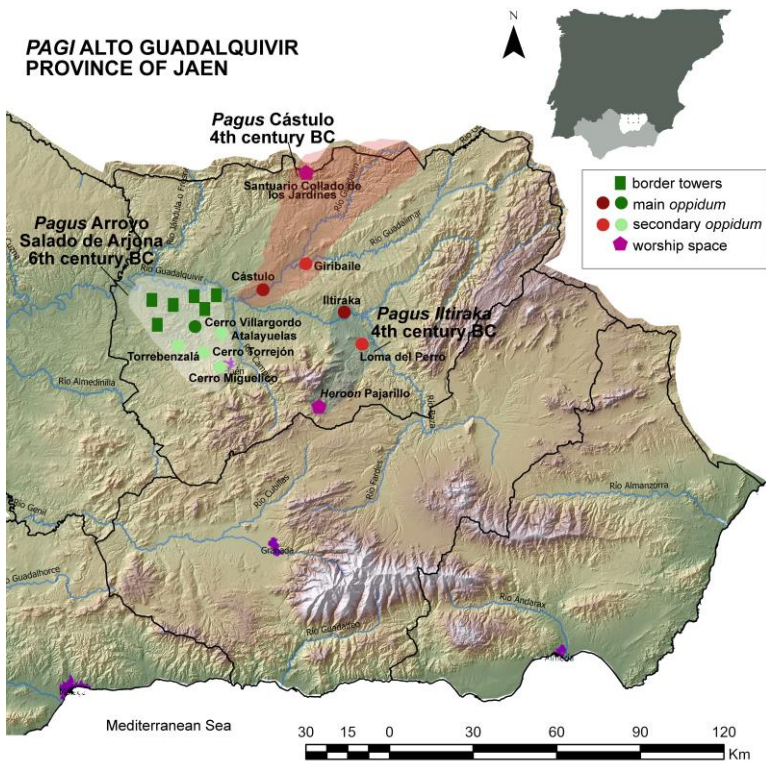


Fig. 2 - Territorial *pagi* in the Alto Guadalquivir (eastern Andalusia). 6th-4th centuries BC. (image created by the Authors).

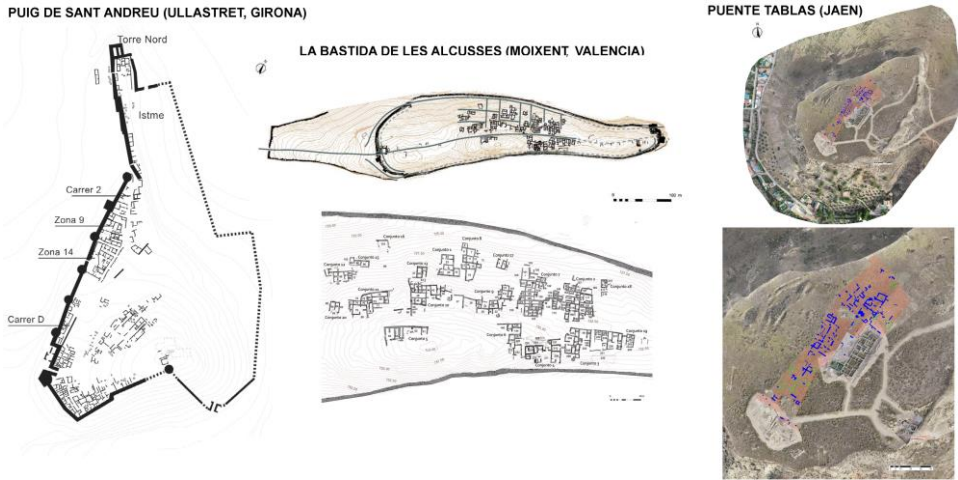


Fig. 3 - Urban models in the Iberian area (Del Prado 2010; Bonet Rosado - Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez eds. 2011; Ruiz - Molinos 2021; Rueda Galán *et al.* 2022).

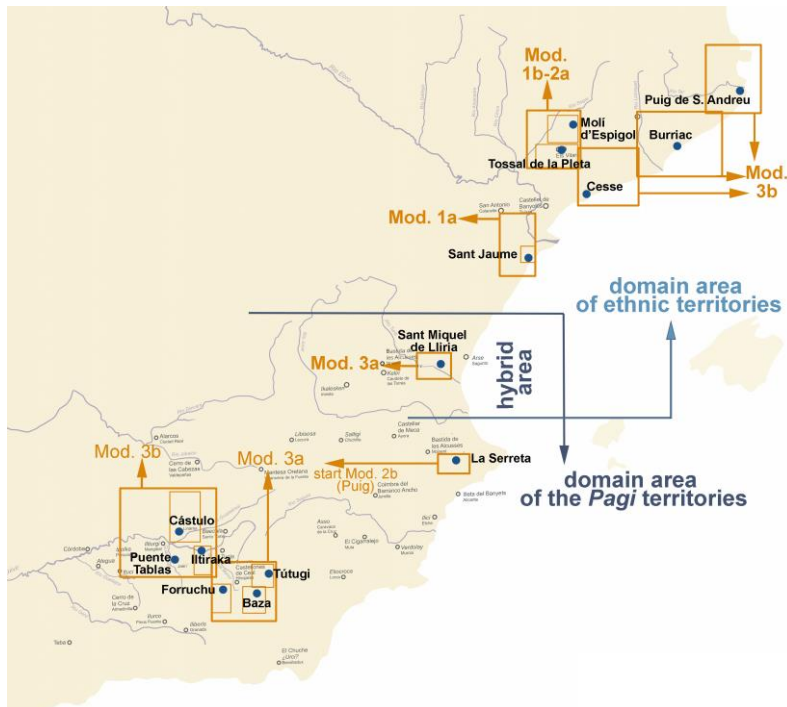


Fig. 4 - Map of the models of settlement patterns, with indication of the main cities cited in the text (image created by the Authors).