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LANDSCAPE AWARD OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

THE LANDSCAPE OF BOLONIA COVE. TARIFA, CÁDIZ (SPAIN)

Research, planning and intervention



Background photography: Jesús Cuevas

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1. INTRODUCTION AND LOCATION

Before entering into details of the intervention carried out in Bolonia Cove and of its overarching framework project, it is useful to give a brief description of the territorial context of Bolonia and its historic cove.

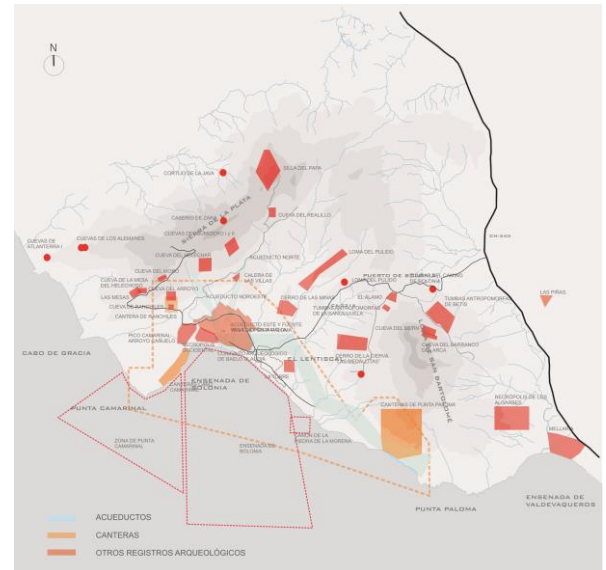
Located on the Atlantic coastline of the province of Cadiz, in the municipality of Tarifa, Bolonia Cove lies within the Straits Natural Park. The Straits, which divide and connect the landmasses of Europe and Africa and which belong to three marine regions (Macronesian, Atlantic and Mediterranean), make this an area of such singular ecological, biogeographical, cultural and landscape attributes that three different natural spaces lie within its limits: the Straits Natural Park, the Los Lances Natural Space and the Bolonia Dunes Natural Monument. Furthermore, the wealth of birdlife has led to the zone being declared a Special Protection Area and, in 2012, a Special Area of Conservation, forming part of the European Natura 2000 network.



Location of Bolonia Cove. Source: GP

With respect to historical evolution, the rock cavities and shelters of the most prominent mountainous outcrops are quite outstanding. In the proto-historical times, although this part of the Atlantic coastline around the Straits had few large or continuous settlements, an extremely valuable heritage built up, including caves with rock art and necropoleis and other burial zones, giving the cove singular territorial and heritage

values which are more than just isolated elements and are the result of age-old occupation.



Archaeological elements in Bolonia Cove and the initial area of the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex. Source: GP

These qualities and circumstances, together with the existence and the importance of the nearby Baelo Claudia archaeological complex (recognised as such in 1989, having been declared a Historic National Monument in 1925), make Bolonia and its surroundings an area of the highest cultural value and a unique landscape.

These significant heritage, natural and cultural components, together with the ongoing productive activities and the conservation of traditional architecture, differentiate the Cove from its surrounding area, which is defined in the *Guide to the Cultural Landscape of Bolonia Cove* as a cultural landscape which has come about through continued interaction between human beings and the environment. This is reinforced by the strong feelings of belonging felt by the local population.

For these reasons, it was accepted early on that the management of this area should be aimed at achieving a balance between the preservation of both these heritages, and also between conservation and the valorisation of the resources in the area, thereby responding to a growing social demand. And because the values which make Bolonia a living landscape of enormous singularity and hidden beauty depend on that balance.

The landscape of Bolonia

Bolonia Cove is one of the most widely recognised Andalusian landscapes for its natural and cultural values. Not only thanks to the nearby Roman city of Baelo Claudia, which grew out of the fishing activity in the area and which was associated with the production and marketing of salted fish and *garum* sauce, but also because fishing has left a very strong imprint on the memory of the territory, together with crop and livestock farming and more recent activities in the fields of tourism and sport.

Bolonia Cove is in a valley which opens out to the sea and is visually cut off from the land to the north by the mountain ranges, forging its relationships with the Atlantic Ocean and nearby North Africa. The area takes the shape of a huge natural auditorium, with the interior of the valley almost fully visible, reinforcing the sensation of isolation, of being a world apart. The Roman city of Baelo Claudia, the spectacular Bolonia Dunes, the pine groves and the cliffs on the coastline, together with the view of Africa on the horizon, only serve to encourage a medley of feelings of immutability, exceptionality and timelessness.

Today, the use and the exploitation of land around Bolonia produce agreeable sensations of tradition and authenticity: the tranquil pastureland with sheep, cattle and horses peacefully grazing together, with more urban and tourist activities in the town of El Lentiscal, sport enjoyed in freedom, to the rhythm of the wind and the waves on the beaches. Both of these worlds live together, mentally and physically, sharing time and space, in a mood of reciprocal acceptance that heightens the value of the landscape of the Cove. The beautiful contrasts between the morphology and the relief (vertical limestone rocks in the mountains facing a coastal slope of loamy hills) are replicated in the coexistence of different types of socio-economic activity which are very varied both in their origin and in the way they are performed.

2. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

The end product of the work done at Bolonia Cove is the intervention project, but we see this as part of a wider strategy which has made the intervention possible by informing it with knowledge of the territory and of the society and culture from which it sprang. At the same time, the strategy receives feedback from the imagination which conceived of the intervention in the Cove, gathering and projecting new ideas onto the territory, with ongoing updates.

And so, the intervention is a continuum which reflects the different stages through which the means of intervention has been defined, respecting the scale and qualities of the landscape. It covers the process of analysis, diagnosis and organisation, as part of a planning process, through to the process of drafting the project and the construction involved in the intervention. Two significant aspects which have reinforced the arguments for the project are: the means of participation and dissemination of the initiative and the close institutional cooperation that has supported it.

Therefore, the presentation and justification of the project sits on three axes or in three stages of the process which led to the intervention:

- I. *The planning of the landscape*, the *Guide* and the initial situation: elucidating what has been imagined by others in the past, at different times and with different objectives:
 1. The most outstanding qualities of Bolonia Cove and its surrounding area, as well as its heritage values (geological, archaeological, environmental, etc.).
 2. The cultures which have given rise to different territorial and spatial (geopolitical) configurations, the product of historical and contemporary contexts.
 3. The cultural landscape which has resulted from this accumulation of information and knowledge, and how it is organised.
- II. *Social perception of the landscape*: how society conceives of Bolonia as the space in which it lives and how it has to imagine a way

to adapt to the changing reality of the Cove and its heritage and non-heritage resources.

4. The view of the population of Bolonia, through interviews with local inhabitants.
 5. Participatory workshops where children and young people creatively express their perception of the landscape in which they live.
 6. Survey of visitors to the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex before undertaking the works.
 7. Recording of visitor numbers during the period prior and subsequent to the execution of the project.
- III. *The intervention project*: how to imagine a new reality and to project it onto a given space at a given time, and, at the same time, for that space to become an environment that stimulates the imagination.
8. The landscape quality objectives of the project and their relationship with those proposed in the *Guide*, as well as other objectives related to the heritage and other relevant aspects.
 9. The intervention strategy, which in the project can be summarised in four actions indicating the type of intervention, and the spatial-heritage areas of action.
 10. The operations in the project through which the intervention is undertaken: a) cultural routes; b) valorisation of archaeological remains; c) a new line of museological and museographic discourse; and d) the definition of a linguistic code in the material treatment of archaeological areas, pathways and accesses.

However, it is not enough simply to report what has been done or how it has been done, but it is also necessary to revisit the initial motivation which, though apparently less bound to objects and places, has allowed us to follow this complex road.

Cultural landscapes which, as in the case of Bolonia, boast high quality landscapes and strong social ownership as well as their heritage values

make up a space for the imagination, both for local inhabitants and visitors. They do the same for those responsible for taking the decisions that lead to change.

Imagination and the act of imagining

We are interested in the imagination as a vehicle to take us to new places which are unknown, or even non-existent in the world of physical reality, at least at the moment. This is a type of journey that can transform us as much or more than travelling the world. Because the imagination has no financial limit, no limits on physical or mental capacities, on aptitudes or talent; in the space of our imagination, we can rise above our limitations.

Imagining a past or a future to which we belong in some way opens up a diversity of possible worlds, which could exist and which we will be able to create. Therefore, imagining is an act of freedom, both internal and towards others. And it also protects us from the scepticism that sometimes generates fear of death, so common in contemporary society.

And there are the landscapes, like the landscape of Bolonia, which, as well as taking us back to times past, projects us into the future. Because before planning or projecting and giving definite shape to our ideas in physical reality, it is necessary to imagine other possible worlds.

We approach the landscape from different viewpoints. It can act as a simple venue for an event, immutable with respect to what occurs there, as often happens in constructed landscapes which we do not always allow to evolve, but which do, in any case, change. It can also be understood as a testimony to a world that no longer exists, but which stimulates us and nourishes us with its signs (and sometimes conditions and oppresses us). But it can also be the raw material for other constructions or, better still, other dreams. All of the viewpoints are conceivable and all carry the implicit capacity to imagine.

3. PLANNING OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: PARTICIPATION, GUIDE AND LABORATORY

We must go back to the year 2000 and the successive stages and tasks undertaken, first in the area of the Straits of Gibraltar, in the municipalities of Barbate and Tarifa, and finally in Bolonia and the archaeological complex:

- I. *Culture 2000 and Partnerships for Conservation* projects
- II. *Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove*.
- III. Cultural landscape laboratory.

These projects give us a basic idea of the initial conditions in the study zone which led to the choice of Bolonia Cove and three of its archaeological sites (including Baelo Claudia) as the object of intervention.

***Culture 2000 and Partnerships for Conservation* projects: initial situation**

It would make no sense to explain these projects separately, as they should rather be taken as stages in the process which led to the planning of the landscape and culminated in the drafting of the *Guide* and, later, in the consolidation of the Laboratory.

Culture 2000

The fact that Culture 2000 is a transnational programme made it possible to share and to contrast with other European partners with common needs and concerns. One of its principal objectives was to consolidate the concept of a "Laboratory" for experts from different disciplines to study more sensitive ways of enjoying the cultural heritage.

The effects of the project were evaluated by means of three different mechanisms during implementation. The mechanisms were applied in Bolonia and they also helped to consolidate the IAPH in these fields, successfully in all three cases:

- 1) The landscape laboratory as a meeting point and a place for experimentation in all areas related to the cultural heritage.

- 2) The cultural heritage centre, which serves as a link between heritage, the economy and a society which is moving towards sustainable development.
- 3) Art workshops, which made it possible for participants to express their perception of new key aspects of the cultural heritage, from a contemporary point of view.

The idea arose through an innovative approach, with the environment and its resources being used to promote a holistic interpretation of the historical heritage and its context through the involvement of the local population, and experimenting with two perspectives: the technical-scientific perspective and the cultural perspective. The project was implemented in the following areas: the archaeological complex of Baelo Claudia (Cadiz, Spain), the Acropolis of Tessaaloniki (Greece), the archaeological park of Cortona (Italy) and the archaeological complex of Mirobriga (Alentejo, Portugal).

The implementation of the project involved two activities: 1) Territorial Assets; the Landscape Laboratory and 2) Territorial values; Cultural Resources.

The analysis undertaken as part of activity 1, through the interpretation of the Tarifa-Baelo Claudia-Barbate axis, highlights some aspects of Bolonia Cove and its surrounding area, indicating:

- i. Its isolated nature, resembling an island, or an amphitheatre surrounded by mountain ranges, underlining the significant presence of defensive constructions and restricted access by land as a result of the compartmentalisation of the space.
- ii. A significant cultural heritage: drovers' roads, archaeological sites and communal forest land.
- iii. The inheritance of a specific territorial model: enclosed fields for livestock, dispersed rural dwellings and commonly-owned forests.
- iv. An emerging territorial model with respect to tourism.
- v. Fragility in the face of urban development pressure and the project for a connection between Europe and Africa.

Taking into consideration the entire territory of Bolonia where human activity takes place, the document offers guidance for landscape, environmental and cultural policies. A prior assessment of the characteristics of a series of landscapes has made it possible to define the strategies, orientation and quality objectives for the protection, management and planning of the landscape.

Activity 2 closed with workshops on “Understanding our landscape as an experience”, which were designed as a laboratory coordinated by visual and plastic artists. They focused on raising awareness of the environment and its perception, on improving the ability of individuals and groups to observe and remember (using drawings and photographs), and on the importance of recognising and respecting differences (the physical, collective construction of landscapes) in that recognition. They used widely varying techniques including drawing, painting, collage, photography and modelling. A workshop was also held on eco-construction which included experiments with traditional materials and techniques, with a view to their revalorisation and to encourage the conservation of knowledge and know-how.

Partnerships for Conservation project

Within the framework of the Partnerships project, prior to the organisation of the workshops, participatory research was carried out, which gathered information and knowledge about the territory and people, also revalorising the knowledge, work and demands of local inhabitants. This situation of greater knowledge and awareness gave rise to increasing involvement in and expectations of decision-making on the heritage, territory and landscape by the local people.

The specific studies or subprojects which have a close relationship with the area of intervention and its surrounds are described below:

Visit Diary subproject.

Abundant data was collected and interviews held with: the culture department at Tarifa Town Council and in dispersed settlements; with the mayor and private agents in Facinas; different

agents in the towns of Betis, El Lentiscal, Bolonia and El Realillo; the leaders of the Mellaria cultural association in Tarifa; training and employment officers in the Campo de Gibraltar area; the councillor for Finance; the officer of the culture department at Barbate Town Council; the councillor and officer for culture at Tarifa Town Council. The following proposals were made:

- 1) Debating workshop: employment and cultural heritage.
- 2) Plastic arts and landscape workshop.
- 3) Distribution of a Culture 2000 CD.
- 4) Publication of the Culture 2000 project.
- 5) Publication of the Partnerships project and leaflet.
- 6) Presentation of the Partnerships project on the website of the IAPH (Andalusian Institute Historical Heritage Institute).

1) Employment and heritage workshop

The structure of the workshop included two forums. In the first, the results of the Partnerships project were gathered, while in the second, proposals for training and employment were put forward. The objectives were:

1. To involve the agents and local inhabitants of the zone in development and employment actions related to the heritage.
2. To transfer the information obtained in the first stage of the project and generate a debate on the potential of the heritage in the zone.
3. To generate a viable proposal for employment-oriented training activities taking advantage of the resources and knowledge that make up the local heritage.

2) Plastic arts and landscape workshop

Artists, heritage specialists, students, young people and other interested parties engaged with their environment with a view to enjoying it in all possible ways, without limit, to take ownership of it and to understand it.

Some of the objectives of the workshop were:

1. To take a new look at what we have always seen.
2. To discover realities closely linked to the place.
3. To find the links that make up the landscape in our memories.

The results of the workshops suggested the possibility of continuing with this dynamic in which different groups engage with their landscape from an artistic and heritage angle.

Views and Demands subproject

Part of the work undertaken in this subproject is included in section 4, *Social perception of the landscape and participation*, in order to bring a coherent narrative to the set of actions related to perception, which culminated in the drafting of the *Guide* and which later served to guide the intervention. In all events, it was organised in three interrelated areas which made it possible to define the heritage elements considered most significant by the different groups:

- i. The ways of life.
- ii. Meeting places.
- iii. Different views and landscapes.

Intervention subproject

We shall only mention here the preliminary study of the Baelo Claudia (and other) archaeological sites, whose purpose was to improve our knowledge of them, in order to safeguard this cultural asset which is essential to the understanding of Roman civilisation in the Peninsula.

The excellent conservation of the urban structure of Baelo Claudia and its location in an area that has historically been of high environmental and geostrategic value make it an extremely valuable resource for the interpretation of the concept of heritage + territory.

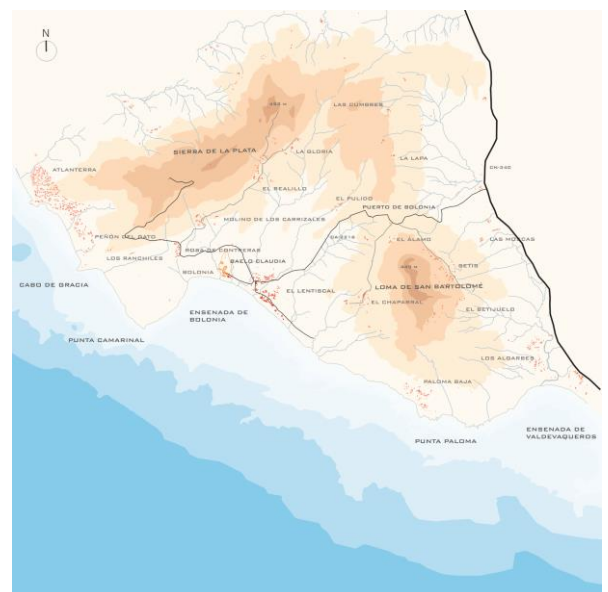
The document therefore addresses the territorial context and the different aspects of its urban structure. It also includes an inventory and basic description of the necropoleis, one of which, the necropolis, was also the object of intervention.

Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove and the Laboratory

As mentioned in the introduction, Bolonia Cove brings together in the same space a number of extraordinarily singular natural and cultural values. The actions undertaken in such a special cultural landscape, therefore, must follow strategies informed by profound knowledge of the environment and history of the place. For this purpose, the Andalusian Historical Heritage Institute decided to draw up the *Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove* (2004), which was in turn a methodological proposal for landscape analysis from the cultural heritage management viewpoint.

This proposal was based on the criteria of the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000), paying special attention to the elaboration of a diagnosis that addresses the main aspects that make up the landscape of the Cove: the territory, natural and anthropic actions and interactions and the individual and social perception of the place.

Each of these aspects was addressed, giving a diachronic view which is not often seen in landscape studies, which are generally more focused on the characteristics of the space. Therefore, the historical time dimension took a leading role and the entire complex of the Cove was conceived as part of the cultural heritage.



Settlements in Bolonia Cove. Source: GP

That historical dimension has contributed to the shaping of a landscape in which the archaeological heritage becomes particularly significant in three ways:

a) Bolonia Cove has the highest density of archaeological sites among all the surrounding municipalities.

b) The Campo de Gibraltar area has been divided into five zones in which the continued existence of settlements is particularly notable. The only zone which has not seen that continuity but which, nevertheless, shows a high level of long-term settlement in the past is Bolonia Cove.

c) After an analysis of the singularity of the archaeological sites in the municipalities in the area of the Cove, it was seen that the Cove also had the greatest density of sites which stood out for their rarity, state of conservation, interest to researchers and the administrations, etc.

The *Guide* is a pioneering document of its kind, being transdisciplinary in its object of study, polysemic and transversal. Our current knowledge of the wealth of sensorial texture, social identity, the profundity of time and many other material and immaterial aspects would, undoubtedly, be impossible without prior teamwork of this calibre. It was not conceived exclusively as an analytical and diagnostic document, as project proposals were chosen in order to maintain the values of the place and to allow the development of initiatives to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants.

The management of the cultural landscape at Bolonia Cove promoted in the *Guide* has chosen to direct its evolution without damaging the balance between the factors which bring it character and singularity, promoting those actions which tend to its conservation, without neglecting social, cultural and economic prosperity. With this objective, the *Guide* included a section on projects which, based on the analyses carried out, are not limited to aspects directly related to individual cultural resources, but to all of those which affect the configuration of its landscape. Its execution, therefore, requires the involvement of local agents and the different competent

administrations. To this end, five main groups of proposals were drawn up, with a total of 19 projects. They are listed below:

CULTURAL RESOURCES

- P 1 Cultural landscape centre.
- P 2 Network of cultural routes.
- P 3 Visual structure of the landscape of Bolonia Cove. Proposal for a network of scenic viewpoints.
- P 4 Action plans in the Baelo Claudia archaeological site. Basic lines for integrated planning.
- P 5 Archaeological resource potential and risk plan.
- P 6 Cultural resource management workshop.

PROTECTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

- P 7 Ecosystems at risk. Conservation and treatment.
- P 8 Landscape project for the shore of the Cove. New relationships with the coastline.

MODERNISATION OF INFRASTRUCTURE

- P 9 Network of rural roads and pathways.
- P 10 Parking areas. Connections with the road network and the cultural offer.

TERRITORIAL PLANNING

- P 11 Urban planning in El Lentiscal.
- P 12 Rural improvement plan. Strategies for economic and social development.
- P 13 Protection policies. An approach to the cultural landscape. Appropriate adaptation of activities in the landscape.

SEA-RELATED

- P 14 Industrial fishing. "*Almadraba*" traditional tuna fishing. Proposal for social, cultural and tourist optimisation.
- P 15 The sea and fisheries. Proposal for social, cultural and tourist optimisation.

LAND-RELATED

- P 16 Demarcation of enclaves and properties.
- P 17 Rehabilitation of traditional buildings.
- P 18 Orientation towards ecological livestock farming.

TOURISM AND TRADE-RELATED

- P 19 Tourism in rural areas. Creation of facilities and services in areas within the Cove.

The Landscape Laboratory

The Laboratory is the fruit of this preliminary experience. Since its creation in 1989, the IAPH has widened the traditional purpose of the tutelage of cultural assets to other areas of singular cultural values. Since the year 2000, it has been working in the field of cultural landscapes and has broken new ground with the *Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove*,

(2004). This background, together with the advent of the European Landscape Convention, led the IAPH, as the instrumental arm of the Regional Department of Culture, to create a Cultural Landscape Laboratory, which began operations in 2005 and became part of the organisational structure of the Regional Ministry in June 2008.

The cultural values of the landscape are studied in the Laboratory, analysing how they are intertwined with the environment and with historical processes and socio-economic activities. This analysis has made it possible to identify the landscapes of cultural interest, which are characterised by their balanced evolution and the maintenance of their character. As a result, the Laboratory runs a programme consisting of four types of action related to the protection, management and planning of the landscape:

- a) Identification and characterisation of the cultural values of the landscape, and of landscapes of cultural interest.
- b) Criteria for action in cultural landscapes.
- c) Promotion of the landscape to reinforce appreciation of its values.
- d) Intervention in cultural landscapes: on buildings, with landscape-related criteria.

The results of the projects run by the Laboratory can be evaluated through different parameters, among which those referring to the four above-mentioned fields of action stand out:

1. Research and innovation.
2. Transfer, dissemination and distribution.
3. Collaboration and cooperation.
4. Intervention.

The project which we enter for the award is the best example of the path followed, due to the validation of the experience by the results achieved.

4. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF THE LANDSCAPE

Throughout the project and by means of participatory research and field work, the complexity of the social perception of the Bolonia landscape was examined.

Views and demands (Partnerships)

The Partnerships conservation project represented the first steps towards more profound knowledge of Bolonia Cove and its surrounding area. We refer not only to knowledge of the territory and the landscape, but also to recognition of the perception and attitudes of local inhabitants towards them. This task certainly turned out to be very complex. It is extremely useful to describe part of that work here in order to understand the need for the intervention in a territory which has profound meaning, and has also seen decades of demands by the local population.

In an initial step, knowledge of the territory was examined and the contrasts between coastal zones and mountain zones were recognised: between the concentration of the population and land use, in the former case, and the dispersion of habitation in the other. This dispersion is partly related to large landholdings, but also fundamentally to the presence of smallholdings, locally known as “enclaves”. The origin of these enclaves goes back, in many cases, to the conquest by the Crown of Castile. Likewise, the conflicts arising from the restrictions which came with the creation of the natural parks of Los Alcornocales and the Straits were also recognised.

In accordance with these two types of territory, two groups of people who have inhabited them until almost the end of the last century were identified: “sea people” and “forest people”. These groups mutually recognise their differences.

The *forest people*, the owners of enclaves, though devoted to livestock farming, supplemented their income as day labourers making charcoal and harvesting cork. During the 1970s, forestry activities related to reforestation with pine and eucalyptus gradually replaced livestock farming, causing drastic losses to families whose economy was based on these resources. At the same time, most of the crops located in areas with *bujeo* soil, which required seasonal labour, disappeared, with areas of La Janda being particularly affected. Little by little, smallholders abandoned the cultivation of the land, as they could not compete

with the prices of crops produced on extensive farms. This has had an extremely negative effect on the traditional disperse building heritage.

The evolution of the way of life of the *sea people* has been no better. The history of the coastal towns cannot be explained separately from the evolution of fishery activities down the centuries. Until less than 30 years ago, in Bolonia, the inhabitants of the old settlement on the beach, which was located on the ruins and which was moved when the archaeological complex was delimited, lived from fishing. There were several dozen families who sold their catch to the forest people.

Though the work of both groups has historically been separate, they have shared some tasks, such as the *jabega* (a fishing technique) and shellfishing. A social group devoted to this work has always been part of the worldview of the people devoted to agri-forestry and livestock farming. The imposing presence of the sea forms part of the discourse of the country people, of their landscape, their comparisons, their life experiences.

In the 1990s, **new activities** appeared: wind farms, the baking industry, water and wind sports and, finally, tourism. The pressure of tourism has been a determining factor in the definition of protection policies for the coast and the Straits area, with a view to preserving their natural and cultural values.

In all of this process, mention should be made of **ethnic minorities**, arriving through two migratory currents: Europeans, especially Germans, who visit or who settle in the area, and immigrants who constantly pass through this zone seeking a home and work.

The intangible heritage

The **cork harvest**, an activity undertaken only by men, has been recognised as a specialised occupation, though the quest for greater exploitation and continuous cost reductions is preventing the training of new workers. This circumstance has been detrimental to forest wealth and to the very continuity of the activity. However, despite the difficulties, cork harvesting still today forms part of the everyday life of the

men and women of the area. It is inseparable from the way of life of many of the people of Tarifa and is an unquestionable part of the intangible heritage of the zone.

Two further elements enrich the intangible heritage of the area: the *almadraba* and the fish salting and conservation industry.

The *almadraba*, a tuna fishing technique, goes back to the times of the first civilisations to populate this stretch of the Andalusian coastline. Palaeolithic rock paintings, an expression of "Southern peninsular art", represent sea species. It is believed, though, that it was in Neolithic times that fishing techniques using nets were developed. With the arrival of the Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans, many texts were written on the fisheries and related salting industries. Though the activity was more closely associated with Zahara de los Atunes and Barbate, it was also practised at Bolonia Cove, and Baelo Claudia is the best example of that cultural heritage.

The *almadraba* is one of the elements which make up the heritage of the coastal towns. Its importance lies in the fact that it is behind the local founding myths and it is an inseparable element of the historical-artistic heritage, in the same way as the castle at Zahara, or the archaeological heritage, such as Baelo Claudia, or the rock art.

Salting and conservation, which date back to time immemorial, as can be seen from the salting industries at Baelo Claudia, have left a significant cultural heritage in the area. Work related to salting and conserving was characteristic of the groups that settled the coastal strip from Tarifa to Barbate. Though their origin can be verified in myth and also in documents, the importance attached to them in the Partnerships research project was due to the manner in which the activity has shaped the way of life of the women who worked in these industries, and of their sons and husbands who worked on the seas.

At the confluence of these two worlds, of the sea and of the forest, is the celebration of the day of **Our Lady of the Light**, whose ceremonies are an

inseparable part of the intangible heritage of the people of Tarifa.

From the perspective of **social demands** for the appropriation of the territory, the relevant role of land in Andalusian culture is of interest. In our study zone, aspects related to the resolution of the land conflict are central to identity and they have all the necessary ingredients: unequal distribution of the land and pressure to tertiarise the space. However, the fact that the ownership of the land of the 3,000 enclaves in Tarifa (largely unregulated) is mainly public is one of the reasons why, though the conflict exists, it is dormant. There is a convergence of interests between small-scale day labourers who own enclaves, day labourers who do not possess any land, unions and politicians.

This suspension of the conflict is due above all to the socio-political role played by the owners of the enclaves with respect to environmental conflicts, a role through which they have woven robust alliances with different eco-pacifist groups with whom they have joined forces in questions such as the “war for water”, the high-tension cable under the Straits, the proliferation of wind turbines and their effect on migratory birds, pressure for urban development, the return of the land sold to the Ministry of Defence in 1984, etc.

The inclusion of these attitudes and values as forms of expression of the local intangible heritage is justified by the fact that they are forms of expression of a political culture. Specifically, it is notable that the existence of communal land and possessions, such as the enclaves, dampen the effect of the polarised structure of land ownership, allowing the existence of groups of people who are key to the articulation of citizens’ movements.

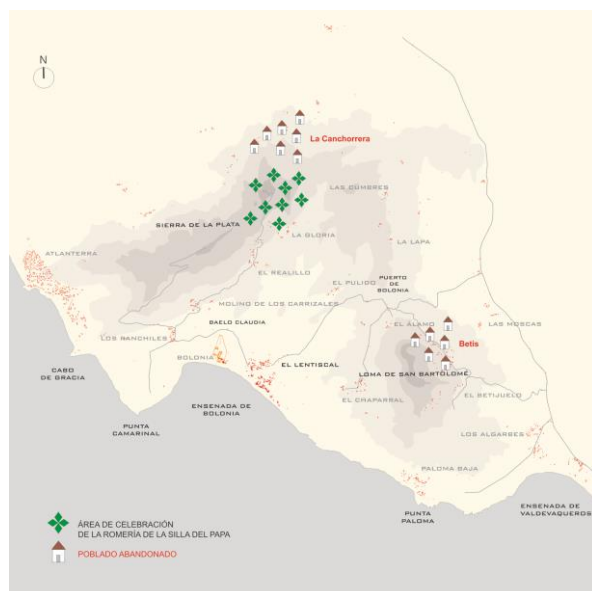
Perceptions (*Landscape Guide*)

We include here an extract/summary of the chapter on Perceptions of the *Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove*. The purpose was to understand the different perceptions of the landscape which converge and interact in the Bolonia Cove area. By explicitly stating these perceptions, the aim was to contrast the projects

for the future which are implicit in them and to compare the images which each of the social groups and institutions attributed to this zone, in order to determine which coincide, which are contradictory and in what ways they are in conflict.

With the introduction of extensive livestock farming, the local calendar of festivities associated with farming activities practically disappeared. These festivities, which were shared by all of the disseminated population nuclei throughout the zone, involved the celebration of the most significant moments of the agricultural cycle.

In this way, both the sowing season in autumn and in the harvesting season in spring are marked by different inaugural festivities whose celebration rotated each year among the different towns and villages. This circulating celebration indicated a symbolic equality that the community attributed to the dispersed population, which was perceived by everyone. St John’s Day was also celebrated. Christmas time was also celebrated intensely, but this was restricted to the family circle.



Local festivities and the home towns of the population. Source: GP

For its part, Good Friday saw the celebration of the pilgrimage to Silla del Papa to collect “blood grass”, a medicinal herb that grows only on the peaks of the mountains. The site of the pilgrimage was occupied by mobile telephone

masts, while motor vehicles brought in too many people for the festivities and it gradually lost its character and meaning when the gathering of the blood grass ceased.

But this is not all of the **social and territorial structure** determined by the collective experiences associated with agri-livestock activities and expressed symbolically in local festivities. The festivities also celebrate the fact of belonging to a wider territorial framework. This feeling is manifested through participation in the pilgrimage of Our Lady of the Light, the patron of Tarifa.

However, there are two differentiated spaces in Bolonia Cove on which two different formulae for material and symbolic appropriation have been generated. The meaning of the sea and the land in the local collective imagination has been uneven. The population of the Cove has ignored the sea for the last few centuries. The generalised predominance of agri-livestock and forestry activities, in preference to fisheries, corroborates this.

The maritime space is characterised by its unpredictability, being extremely random and, consequently, being very difficult to control. For this reason, the inhabitants of the Cove, with the exception of the old fishing nucleus at Bolonia, have not been involved in fishing activities. Their participation has been limited to the *jabega* and shellfishing, which, despite allowing the exploitation of marine resources, are not eminently fishing activities. The redeployment of the population away from sea-based activities and towards the land, as the sole spatial reference point, indicates the perception of the maritime space of the Straits as a border area.

Fishermen were seen as being lower on the social scale by the forest people. This is a response to their precarious settlement on the ruins in Bolonia. The **social marginalisation** of the fishing community correlated to a physical space that was also stigmatised: the sea. With the arrival of tourism, there came a redefinition of the sea/land spaces. The beach as a place for leisure and enjoyment was not appropriated locally until the arrival of tourism.

From a marginalised space to landscape wealth

As a source of resources, the Bolonia Cove area is today perceived by its inhabitants as a great landscape asset. The valorisation of the landscape is the result of an external view and connects with the new aesthetic tastes and ethical parameters of Western urban societies.

Local awareness of the landscape as an attraction has led to it being conceived as a resource which can be exploited through tourism. Its exploitation and management have taken an individualised initiative model. In parallel, there is manifest opposition to the exploitation of the tourism resource by powerful external capital.

This dynamic of family business coincides with the model for the management of the traditional unit of exploitation of agri-livestock activities. For this reason, there is a generalised rejection of investment of capital by outside interests which concentrates financial profit in a few hands when, according to the local discourse, it should be enjoyed by the population which has helped to maintain the landscape.

The local population has not always held the **current positive valuation** of the landscape. The great deficiencies that the area has suffered until its valorisation contributed to a past perception of the territory as poor, uncultured, unproductive and marginalised.

Although emigration to industrial urban areas in the 1970s affected these small settlements, the depopulation of smallholdings was seen more in those occupied by landless day labourers. The introduction of extensive livestock farming brought about the diversification of the source of income for these peasant families. And the expectations of work of local inhabitants could not be met in their home towns.

For the local population, the first incoming inhabitants, coming largely from the main Spanish cities were, above all, foreigners, and were perceived as being *weird*, *hippies*, a little *crazy*. With time, though, some of these outsiders have integrated into local society, participating in the local spaces and dynamics. This positive evaluation of the area still did not carry sufficient weight among the local population of the town of

Tarifa when the project was run, as they still continued partly to attribute poverty and ruin to the area around Bolonia beach.

Local perceptions regarding **institutional action** are generally negative. Both the interventions and the reforestation of the 1970s, which seriously affected the environmental quality of the forests, such as environmental protection, with the declaration of the Straits Park, given the scant public participation involved, were seen as a threat to the economy of small landowners.

In contrast to the detailed characterisation of the environmental aspects of the physical environment and the biological communities seen in the Plans for the parks, there was a reduction in cultural resources at the archaeological sites. Neither was any mention made of the cultural heritage related to traditional socio-economic activities, a deficiency which the *Guide* has attempted to remedy.

Perceptions of land ownership

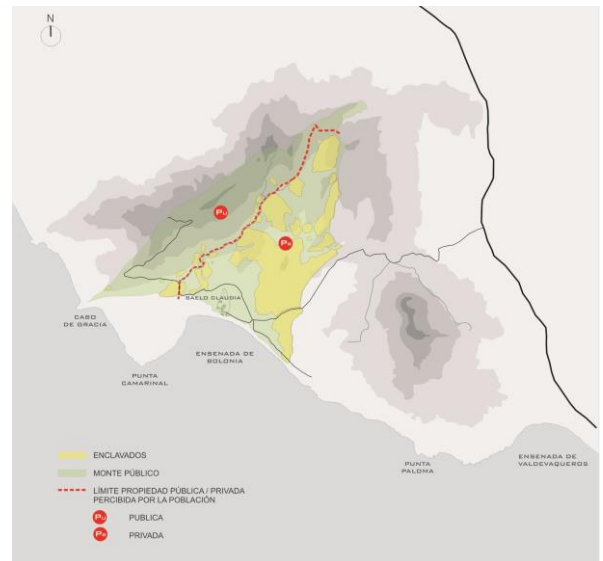
The formulae for the appropriation of municipal land by the inhabitants are still not entirely clear. It must be borne in mind that, since the second half of the 19th century, after the confiscations of church properties, and until the Civil War, both public and private land had been occupied, (especially, in the case of private land, during the Second Republic), by landless peasants. The discourse that justified these occupations appealed to the right to the land of those who worked it, delegitimising the usurpations of private and common land that had previously been committed by the agrarian bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that the workers occupied some of the enclaves in Tarifa, and it is no coincidence that, at this time, the forestry authorities became involved in the matter and attempted to demarcate municipal pastureland through the recognition of the enclaves.

However, the procedure for the demarcation of the public pastureland in Tarifa was random, without the necessary rigour for an operation of this type, and was not completed. The disparity of situations revealed the reality on the ground: recognised enclaves and unrecognised enclaves.

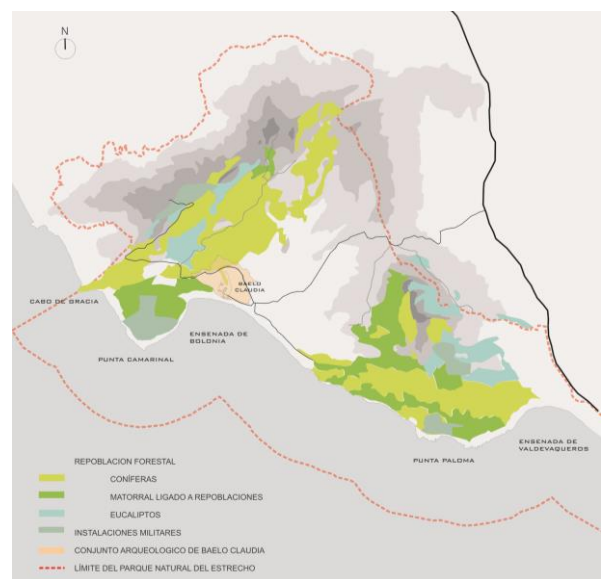
The intense pressure suffered by families living on unrecognised enclaves led them to believe that attempts at regularisation were absurd. The experience of the inhabitants supports this statement.

Landscapes experienced, landscapes imagined

The perceptions of the local population regarding their landscape are far from uniform. The more or less comprehensive knowledge of the landscape in which they live means that a wealth of diverse connotations arise, multiplying the reference points of the landscape.



Perception of public forest among the population. Source: GP



Institutional perceptions.

The introduction of tourism and the expectations that this generated among the local population have produced a new perception of the land. The displacement of agricultural, forestry and

livestock farming activities by tourism has led to a change in land use which, in turn, has brought about new valuations.

This change in perception is verbalised in local discourse, and so what was previously called “land” is now called “terrain”. Likewise, the traditional measure of the area of farmland, the *fanega*, has now become the square metre. These new components in the discourse are just two examples which reflect the substantive change in the uses and perceptions of the land.

Frontier perceptions

A point of union for centuries, the Straits of Gibraltar are today one of the most important frontiers in Andalusia. They separate Spain from Morocco, and they also delimit the European Union and the Maghreb. They are a political and economic frontier that limits access by people from the most disadvantaged areas of Africa to the supposed economic paradise of the so-called first world. A frontier that has been constructed ideologically for centuries, when European progress attempted to segment the Mediterranean in two parts: the Christian and the Muslim world. From a diachronic viewpoint, the dimension of the zone or area of this frontier of which Bolonia Cove forms part can be observed.

In the Campo de Gibraltar area, contraband has traditionally been a way of life for many families. In recent decades, smuggling has changed its meaning, and has become oriented towards drug trafficking across the frontier. It is no surprise that when, in 2003, schoolchildren in the El Lentiscal primary school were asked about the work of their families, they included drug trafficking.

Another of the perceptions which creates contradictory images and which does not always favour the portrayal of this territory as a corner of paradise is its appearance in the media associated with the arrival of immigrants. This has become so significant that some media have called it the “town of the open boats”. A walk along the beaches of Bolonia will confirm the tragedy that is occurring in the Straits. The remains of these small boats appear scattered around the coves of Punta Paloma.



Drawing by a pupil at a rural primary school in Tarifa. El Lentiscal.

Visitor perceptions

In February 2004, a survey was taken among visitors to the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex. They were asked to select three landscape elements that were representative of Bolonia Cove, choosing between: the sea, the beach, Baelo Claudia, the flora and fauna, the mountains, the gastronomy, the dunes and the African coast. The result was certainly interesting and established a starting point for other, more comprehensive surveys.

The ruins of Baelo Claudia stand out as the most important element for something over 78% of respondents, followed by the sea (63.5%) and the beach (44.5%), which are closely related, and in fourth place, the arc of mountain ranges that delimit the study area, with 43.8%. The evaluation of Baelo Claudia was generalised, without distinction between the place of origin of respondents, while the sea and the beach were mentioned more by Spanish visitors, and the mountains by foreigners. It can be taken from this that the essential frontier elements of the territory, the sea and the mountains are particularly perceived by visitors to the Cove, with the archaeological complex taking a central role in the space.

There is an almost total ignorance of other heritage elements of the Cove. Only 14.6% of the respondents claimed to know of other archaeological sites or monuments in the Baelo Claudia area. This conclusion was a determining factor in the decision to address the heritage in the project for action.

Artistic and other perceptions

The *Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove* addresses other relevant aspects of the perception of the landscape, such as the landscape as seen by travellers, in art, through the plastic arts or in the cinema and in literature. It also explores images of consumption and stereotyped images, and closes the chapter with perceptions through the senses. But we shall not enter into details here on these matters, as the *Guide* can be found on the IAPH website:

[https://repositorio.iaph.es/bitstream/11532/202939/1/Guia del Paisaje Cultural de la Ensenada.pdf](https://repositorio.iaph.es/bitstream/11532/202939/1/Guia%20del%20Paisaje%20Cultural%20de%20la%20Ensenada.pdf)

5. THE ACTION PROJECT

To understand the guidelines for the intervention, the objectives of the framework project should be kept in mind, as they were defined by means of territorial recognition and diagnosis, participatory research and the debating forums and workshops.

In order to “Overcome the concept of heritage as a delimited object (also disconnected and, therefore, distant) and address the difficulty of acting on different scales in a scenario where different realities of the heritage converge”, it was decided that the cultural routes and the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex (as a focus of cultural attraction) should have a supporting and linking function. A series of routes were drawn up in order to offer a reading of the territory by means of pathways that link the heritage elements together and make their perception a cultural added value. This has, furthermore, responded to the demand for social use of the heritage, which is perceived as being collective.

In order to “Stimulate the awareness of the inhabitants of Bolonia and its surrounding area of their territorial heritage, while recognising their ways of life, and their ways of thinking about and feeling for their own landscape”, the routes illustrate the territorial diversity and the landscapes of Bolonia Cove and its surrounding area. Inland, from the mountain ranges, we can

glimpse the Straits and the foothills of the Atlas Mountains in Morocco, “a stone’s throw away”. Two continents and two related cultures, separated down the centuries. Two marine worlds, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, at what was for millennia the doorway to the East, or to the West, depending on the viewpoint. From the beach and the coast, the mountain ranges with their unique, beautiful geomorphology, speak of another way of life, unconnected to the resources of the sea. Both of these views are necessary in order to understand the life of the inhabitants of Bolonia and that of their ancestors and forebears.

To “Integrate the natural and cultural heritage in a prime, strategically-located environment from the geopolitical point of view and, to that end, to encourage collaboration between the institutions responsible for its management”, as well as stimulating perception of both heritages and their complementary nature, it was decided to use itineraries to link together the heritage elements which bring the triple quality of their territorial location and views of the surroundings, an acceptable state of conservation and complementary interest, as well as a greater capacity to receive visitors without generating negative repercussions on the natural environment. In this way, they not only lead visitors to the heritage elements, but they also recognise them in their natural surroundings and in the complexity of the geopolitical enclave of the Cove.



Location of archaeological remains and itineraries. Itineraries to and from Baelo Claudia.

Likewise, the intervention project had its own general objectives, which were more restricted in time and space:

- A. To improve the cultural interpretation and reading of the landscape of the Cove.
- B. To encourage public enjoyment and improve the experience of the landscape.
- C. To enhance the identity values of the landscape as a resource for sustainable development.

The specific objectives are related to each action.

The intervention proposal was elaborated on the basis of the guidelines laid down in the *Guide*. The drafting of the project and the execution of the works was supported by the collaboration of the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex.

Standing out among the significant contributions of the action project are its proposals which were made through the inclusion of a number of strategic lines of action (a project of projects) whose objectives were the improvement of the landscape of the Cove, the recognition of its values and the diversification of its production.

Priority was given to the qualification of the landscape of the Cove, developing four groups of actions which fall within the projects sketched out in the *Guide*: the Network of Cultural Itineraries, the Action Plans at Baelo Claudia and the Landscape Project on the coastal strip.

The strategy was based on experience of the itineraries as a mechanism to incorporate heritage objects into the underlying cultural discourse of the Cove. The proposal systemises the intervention through actions associated with objectives which meet land use demands while also providing informative content to complement the reading of the landscape.

Traversing. Flat ground that makes visitor areas which define the itineraries, structuring the territory, providing for crossover points between itineraries, constructing stages that act as information points and viewing platforms.

Guiding. Signage developed on three levels: nominal, descriptive and orientation, screen printed onto elements that are designed in the project to fulfil another function.

Protecting. Vertical elements which provide for accessibility and safety in the areas of intervention.

Enjoying. Facilities installed so that the visitor can stop to enjoy the experience.

It was also proposed to incorporate a screen-printed language, for updated information about natural and anthropic traces and footprints which form part of the history and customs of the place using contemporary materials, such as natural stone, wood, steel and prefabricated concrete.

The project is ultimately understood as an exercise in the transfer of knowledge: providing the support on which the reciprocal relationships typical of contemporary times can rest, where the objects of the past play a fundamental role in the construction of the present and the future.

Action 1: Adaptation of the landscape on the coastal strip of the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex

The singularity of Baelo Claudia lies in the importance of its industrial sector, located in the southern end of the city, consisting of a complex of archaeological structures which were once salting factories devoted to the processing, loading and trading of fish. Next to this area, the archaeological complex was enclosed by a mesh fence and heather that obscured the coastal section of its perimeter, which had to be reformed so as to recover the lost connection with the sea.

This meets specific objective 1, to *Improve the spatial relationships between Baelo Claudia and the sea*, through: 1) the creation of an accessible itinerary on the coastal strip of the Baelo Claudia archaeological complex; 2) the improvement of beach access infrastructure; 3) the improvement of the access infrastructure to the Bolonia Dunes; and 4) the installation of a new enclosure on the coastal edge of the archaeological complex.

In order to achieve objective 1, the southern perimeter of the complex was adapted and the relationships between the emerging archaeological structures and the coastal strip were improved. The search for new crossover

viewpoints, from inland towards the beach and from the beach towards the interior of the remains, led to the proposal to create an intermediate space: a new limit that expands to create an itinerary whose route follows the orthogonal geometry of the north-south and the east-west streets of the Roman city plan, breaking the directionality of the coastline and creating scenic viewpoints, prime platforms for the perception of the landscape of the Cove. In this way, the city becomes visible from the sea, extending the line of the north-south streets towards the beach.

It meets specific object 4, to *Improve the spatial relationships between the Baelo Claudia site and its surrounds*, through: 1) new enclosures and demarcations; and 2) the improvement of access.

In order to achieve objective 4, the elements delimiting the archaeological complex were improved, including correct signage of the access points. The fencing and gates were replaced, with two basic types constructed in a similar style being used (enclosure with mesh and enclosure with wire) which reinterprets the traditional fencing of the Cove. The replacement of the enclosure around the entire perimeter of the complex improved its relationship with the coastal strip and the natural surroundings, allowing greater visibility.

Action 2: Adaptation of the Archaeological Complex to the new museum project

This achieves specific objective 2, to *Improve the cultural interpretation and reading of the Roman city of Baelo Claudia*, through: 1) the recuperation of the street plan; 2) the definition of a new material language in the treatment of archaeological areas and borders; and 3) new museology and museography.

Streets and archaeological areas were delimited, incorporating the protection and delimitation of the remains and the signage into a single element. New visitor areas were established at strategic points, as viewing platforms that structure the itinerary and provide meeting points between the Roman street plan and the complementary itineraries. These areas were

repaved and street furniture (benches and seats) were provided, located mainly in the shade, with waste bins and a fountain.

The street plan of the early imperial city was also recovered and accessibility and presentation were improved. Priority was given to the recuperation of the original street plan and public spaces. To this end, some alterations to the morphology of the city were eliminated and, using different materials and textures for the paving and finish, it was differentiated from the new itineraries and visitor areas.

In order to achieve another of the specific objectives of the intervention, the improvement of access to the remains, articulated walkways made of wooden staves, wooden platforms and with paths of *albero* (a local calcarenite sand) were constructed, making up an accessible circuit for improved viewing and comprehension.

The execution of the action project represents an opportunity to update the discourse used in the presentation of the archaeological remains (museological content and museographic support) to match that of the visitor reception centre. This discourse is to be reinforced through the definition of a linguistic code in the treatment of the archaeological spaces and itineraries, and it will be applicable in areas of the ruins that are still unexcavated, and which are not the object of this intervention. This language will be used in all of the actions taken in the Cove.

Action 3: Port of Bolonia-anthropomorphic tombs cultural itinerary

This achieves objective 5, to *Valorise the cultural itinerary from the port of Bolonia to the Betis anthropomorphic tombs*, through: 1) the creation of viewing and rest areas; and 2) new museology and museography.

The cultural itinerary from the port of Bolonia to the Betis-Betijuelo anthropomorphic tombs makes use of the secondary roadway which gives access to these remains. The project aims to provide a new layer to the reading of this territory through the recognition of heritage elements.

The elements proposed are located mainly in the Betis *dehesa* pastureland, the location of the anthropomorphic tombs, and at those viewing points that have been considered of interest, either for their landscape value or their proximity to an element of the cultural and natural heritage of the Cove.

Visitor areas were established in the form of platforms which widen the roadside, made of pieces of prefabricated concrete and with graphic images and texts offering both cultural information and signage of the itinerary. Some of these areas include street furniture.

Furthermore, the itinerary has been equipped with bicycle parks located next to the access path to the Betis *dehesa* and in the village of Betijuelo, which is the beginning of a signed footpath through the Natural Park. A viewing area has been established in the Betis *dehesa* to view the anthropomorphic tombs excavated in the rock, with information on stamped stainless steel plates or roto-engraved onto the prefabricated concrete.

Action 4: Los Algarbes Necropolis cultural itinerary

This achieves objective 6, to *Valorise the Los Algarbes necropolis*, through: 1) the installation of new enclosures and perimeters; 2) the improvement of access; 3) the creation of viewing and rest areas; and 4) new museology and museography.

The work undertaken under this action focused on the valorisation of the Los Algarbes necropolis, one of the most relevant archaeological remains in Andalusia, through the creation of a cultural itinerary continuing as far as the Punta Paloma enclave.

The archaeological site was improved through the construction of pathways of different types which allow visitors to approach the funerary structures or which lead to viewing or observation points equipped with street furniture (information point, bicycle parking, benches and waste bins) and with cultural signage of the site incorporated into the prefabricated concrete paving of the rest and viewing areas. The action included the installation of a new enclosure

around the archaeological site, reinterpreting the traditional hedges of mastic and wild olive.

6. CONCLUSIONS: IMAGINING THE FUTURE

Through the fieldwork and participatory research undertaken through the Culture 2000 and Partnerships for Conservation European projects (which provided material for the *Guide*), it has been possible to ascertain what the *forest people* and the *sea people* thought of their landscape and how they felt about it. A contradictory valuation of Baelo Claudia and the Straits Natural Park was detected, since, despite being appreciated as heritage values, they were perceived as obstacles to local development.

The negative perception of the archaeological site was the legacy of the transfer of the fishing village, which was built on the ruins, and it was overcome when the inhabitants who changed their agri-livestock farming activities for tourism realised that the archaeological complex was a cultural and tourism magnet that improved their economies. The conflict between the owners of enclaves and the Natural Park is complex and persists, though it has been attenuated/suspended. Its resolution will require a pact which has still not been reached.

All parties must have imagined a reality for which in some cases they were unprepared since, among other questions, they perceived it as irrelevant to them and costly. However, this singular space of the Cove, so generous in the beauty and diversity of its landscape, has been the ideal scenario to imagine those necessary changes. Over ten years have passed since then and the situation has become favourable, despite the crisis.

The survey taken during the drafting of the *Guide to the cultural landscape of Bolonia Cove* detected the interest in and the approval of visitors with respect to the Baelo Claudia archaeological site and the Cove. But by then, they were demanding more and better information about the archaeological complex and the surrounding area. Their responses evidenced a lack of knowledge regarding the rest of the extremely valuable cultural heritage of the Cove, a question that was to be resolved by the *Guide* with its proposals for projects which led to

the actions on the landscape which are the object of this award.

The reality today is very different and can be read in two ways. Firstly, through the statistics of visitor numbers to the archaeological complex. It is useful to remember that the works finished in late 2012 and during 2013, the publicity campaign regarding the intervention began, explaining the new visiting conditions and the itineraries through the landscape. This change has borne its best fruits since 2014, when there was an increase of 10% in visitor numbers with respect to the previous year, rising from 137,559 visits in 2013 to 150,763 in 2014. But the increase continued and, in 2017, a total of 165,547 visits were recorded, 20% more than in 2013. The available data for 2018 suggests that the trend continues.

We would highlight the interesting fact that the increased visitor numbers consist of two fundamental components: Andalusian visitors in school groups rose by 25% between 2013 and 2017, and Andalusian visitors in non-school groups grew by more than 40% over the same period, showing that tourism companies have found a new line of business, as was confirmed when several of them were consulted. A survey remains to be taken in this sector, and data remains to be crossed with the Natural Park, through which many visitors reach the Cove.

Secondly, the changes must also be interpreted through the imagination of the children and young pupils of the rural primary school who, at the request of the IAPH, have again drawn pictures about Bolonia, as they did in 2004. It should be remembered that these pupils are not only from Bolonia, as some come from Tarifa, mainly the children of foreigners who send their children to this school because of its prime setting. In all events, in answer to the question: *What do you think is the most important and the most beautiful thing about the landscape of Bolonia? Tell me in a picture*, the children responded with a diverse, illustrative portrait of their perceptions of the landscape, which we attach to close the following page.

And if, as appears to be the case, the children are able to take on board the wealth of the landscape of the Cove as part of their cultural heritage, the

continued survival and social appropriation of the natural and cultural heritage will be guaranteed. It will then be for them to imagine other possible worlds.

Next page: Drawings by children at Colegio Rural Campiña de Tarifa (Rural School) in response to the question: What do you think is the most important and attractive aspect of Bolonia's landscape? Draw your answer.

