

Insularity, Identity and Epigraphy in the Roman World

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Edited by

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SOME REMARKS ON THE IBERIAN
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BALEARIC ISLANDS
AND THEIR BEARING ON QUESTIONS
OF IDENTITY^{*}

VÍCTOR SABATÉ-VIDAL

In spite of its modest dimensions, the *corpus* of inscriptions from the Balearic Islands¹ has a series of features that make it quite unique in the context of the Western Mediterranean. As they are a part of call of prime importance for navigation between the Iberian Peninsula, Southern France, North Africa and Italy, one of the salient characteristics of the *corpus* is the variety of cultural influences that we encounter, so that we find Punic, Greek and Latin inscriptions at the same time². From the eighties onwards,

^{*} I am most grateful to Javier Velaza and Bartomeu Obrador for reading this paper and providing me with interesting feedback; to Dániel Kiss for his revision of the English text; to Àngels Pujol for her help with illustrations; and to Joan de Nicolás for letting me reproduce some of his drawings. This research has been carried out within the project “Escritura, cultura y sociedad en el *Conventus Scallabitanus*” (FFI2015–68571–P) and the research group LITTERA at the University of Barcelona (2014SGR63). The author is PhD research fellow funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (FPU2014).

¹ In this paper I use “Balearic Islands” or “*Baliares*” *stricto sensu*, that is, to refer to the Gymnesian Islands (Majorca and Minorca) as an archipelago distinct from that of the Pityuses (Ibiza and Formentera). I restrict my analysis to the former both for geographical and historical reasons: whereas the latter were politically and culturally dominated by the Phoenicians since the foundation of Ebusus in 654 BCE, the Balearic Iron Age witnessed the development of the indigenous Talayotic culture.

² See Fuentes 1986: 38–65 n. 10.01–29 and 12.01–31 (Punic); M. P. de Hoz 2014: 527–560 n. 470–498 (Greek); Veny 1965: 1–178 (Latin). The number of

moreover, some epigraphic documents have been published as Iberian. These could prove of great importance, since the evidence for the use of Palaeohispanic scripts and languages outside the Iberian Peninsula is extremely scarce¹. María Lourdes Albertos, in her renowned article from 1958, already found it surprising that

si la población baleárica prerromana fué ibera, como parece deducirse de su relación con la cultura argárica, en los tiempos más remotos, y por otras concomitancias arqueológicas con la región levantina, ya en plena época histórica, no se hayan encontrado en las Islas letreros ibéricos, tan frecuentes en todo el Levante (Albertos 1958: 240).

When she states that the pre-Roman population of the *Baliares* was Iberian, there is no doubt that Albertos uses this adjective not only in the sense of “coming from the Iberian Peninsula”, but also to mean “Iberian-speaking”. Yet to what degree of certainty can one assert that the language of the ancient Balearics was Iberian, either in prehistory or in the time of the Roman conquest?

First of all, a hypothetical relation between our islands and the Early and Middle Bronze Age Argaric culture (named after the type site of El Argar, Almería), which indeed seems to have existed, could imply that both regions shared the same language, but this was certainly not Iberian. Although Javier de Hoz holds that the Iberian language was the vernacular used in south-eastern Spain—in Contestania (Alicante) and its neighbouring areas, to be more specific—and a mere *lingua franca* everywhere else², there is sufficient evidence for the view that it spread across the Levantine coast from the north-east of the peninsula, or even from the other side of the Pyrenees. On the one hand, de Hoz himself (2009: 418) argues that the Levantine semisyllabary, the most characteristic and widely used Palaeohispanic script, must have originated where Iberian was the vernacular, but the older documents written in this signary are found in north-eastern Catalonia and Southern France, and it is also in this region where the so-called “dual system”, surely the original one in both the

inscriptions continues to increase over the years, and many of them are currently under revision.

¹ The most significant exceptions are a column found in Sardinia and a tombstone from Ibiza, both with funerary dedications, to which I will come back later on. For the Palaeohispanic languages and scripts, see *MLH* III.1; *MLH* IV; Ferrer, Moncunill and Velaza 2015.

² See de Hoz 1993; 2009; 2011a. The principal arguments against his hypothesis can be found in Ferrer 2013; Ballester 2014.

Levantine and the South-Eastern script¹, was used more extensively and more coherently². On the other hand, the affinities between the Iberian language and Aquitanian / ancient Basque³ would be difficult to explain if the former was restricted to Contestania and had never had any kind of contact with the latter, but much less so if they shared a border in the area of the Pyrenees⁴. The level of dialectalisation that can be inferred from the epigraphic material proves that the spread of Iberian southwards occurred not much before the appearance of the first inscriptions towards the end of the fifth century BCE (Velaza 2006), in an undetermined period but clearly not in Argaric times.

Secondly, the “concomitances of historical age” mentioned by Albertos could be summed up with the following quote, taken from one of the references that she gives in a footnote:

A más de la proximidad geográfica que hay entre este importante foco megalítico [i.e. that of the *Baliares*] y los otros de la banda costera peninsular (Ampurias, Gerona, Tarragona, Sagunto, Murcia, Andalucía) existen también afinidades formales entre el aparejo de los monumentos de una y otra zona, y por si fuese poco, concomitancias étnicas y hasta una sincronía más o menos lata, todo lo cual une en el espacio, en la cultura y en la *sangre* a dos regiones (la levantina y la baleárica) que no cabe separar (García-Bellido 1954: 411; the italics are mine).

Yet there is absolutely no proof for this genetic relationship between the two regions in Iberian times, and it would be difficult to find support for this view in more recent scientific works. The archaeological data does not indicate any migrations from the peninsula to the islands during the first millennium BCE, when the Iberians could already have settled in north-eastern Spain, at least until the conquest by Metellus in 123 BCE; and, in any case, the “three thousand Roman settlers from Iberia” that Strabo talks about⁵ are probably to be understood as discharged soldiers, and surely not as Iberians. The only connection that can be traced between the Levantine coast (mainly its Catalan section, to be more specific) and the Talayotic culture is commercial, due to the intensification of Punic trade from the fourth century BCE onwards, which caused the arrival of

¹ Ferrer 2010: 106–107; *pace* de Hoz 2009: 420–423.

² Velaza 2006: 278–279; Ballester 2010: 86–89; Ferrer 2013: 148; Ballester 2014: 63–66.

³ See Ballester 2001; Ferrer 2009; Orduña 2011. The latter two focus on the relationship between the Iberian and the Basque numeral systems.

⁴ Rodríguez Ramos 2001: 26–32; Ballester 2010: 83–86; 2014: 79–80.

⁵ Str. 3.5.1: ἐποίκους τρισχίλιους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Ῥωμαίων.

the first cargos of Iberian earthenware in the *Baliares*¹. The significant amount of coins from Iberian mints found all over the islands confirms the economic importance of this relationship², which continued even after the Roman conquest.

Albertos herself realised that the presence of Iberian speakers in the Balearic Islands had scarcely any basis in the evidence. The author analysed twenty-nine supposedly autochthonous personal names, mainly from inscriptions that were written in the Latin alphabet, and she reached the conclusion that almost all of them go back to Indo-European roots. She did however attempt to identify a few Iberian anthroponyms: *Vninis* in Santanyí, Majorca (*EE* IX 359), and *Vaisaedine* at Calascoves, Minorca (*CIL* II 3718)³. The former is compared with *Vninaunin* and *Vnininit* in the slab from Castulo⁴; the latter, admitting that the reading is doubtful, with *Baesadine* (ablative), an *imperator Hispanus* mentioned by Livy 33.44.4 (Albertos 1958: 236). Nevertheless, the inscription from Santanyí is now lost and its reading is very doubtful, so it does not constitute a reliable document, while that from Calascoves actually reads *hoc uenimus aedi / ne*, according to Jaume Juan's revision of the epigraph (Velaza 2014: 54, 56).

In short, it seems that Iberian was never widely spoken in the *Baliares*⁵. We shall turn back, then, to those inscriptions published as Iberian that I mentioned earlier, in order to see how they have to be interpreted and whether they bear information on questions of insular identity. A great part of the documents come from the Roman city of *Pollentia* (now Alcúdia, Majorca), but they are all highly problematic:

1. A fragment of Iberian pottery (from the second quarter of the first century BCE) which bears an incomplete graffito, broken away at both sides⁶. Velaza (1993: 241) claims that it uses the Levantine script and reads [---]uakun[---], and so does Noemí Moncunill (2007: 382), albeit

¹ See Fernández-Miranda 1976: 255–256, 289–290; de Nicolás 1983: 214–220; Gornés and Plantalamor 1991.

² See Ripollés 1982: 447–448, 453–458; de Nicolás 1983: 237–241.

³ Albertos (1958: 236) also gives some Iberian parallels for *Sicina* in Santanyí (*CIL* II 3671), but ends by saying that it may contain the PIE root **seg^h-* “to hold, to overpower” (LIV² 515–516; IEW 888–889), “que se ha extendido incluso hasta el ibero” (!). The name should actually be read *Siginia* (Velaza 2014: 60–61).

⁴ *CIL* II 3302 = *MLH* III H.6.1.

⁵ I have consciously left aside the toponymic data, as they require a detailed and careful analysis that would exceed the limits of this paper.

⁶ Velaza 1993: 241, fig. 13.1. See also Velaza 1996b: 329; Moncunill 2007: 382, 436; Velaza 2015: 382–383.

she proposes [---]**l**akun[---] as another possible reading¹. In either case, however, the letters <a> and <ku> have strange shapes and are more rounded than what could be expected for Iberian signs of this period, inasmuch as these became more rectilinear in the course of the second century BCE due to the spread of epigraphy on stone and coins (Maluquer 1968: 65–67). It is far less problematic, therefore, to regard this inscription as Latin². Along these lines, Santiago Pérez Orozco (2015: 350) reads *P]apon[i*, with an exact parallel in Santanyi³, but I think that our text may contain a Punic anthroponym: [---]adon[---].

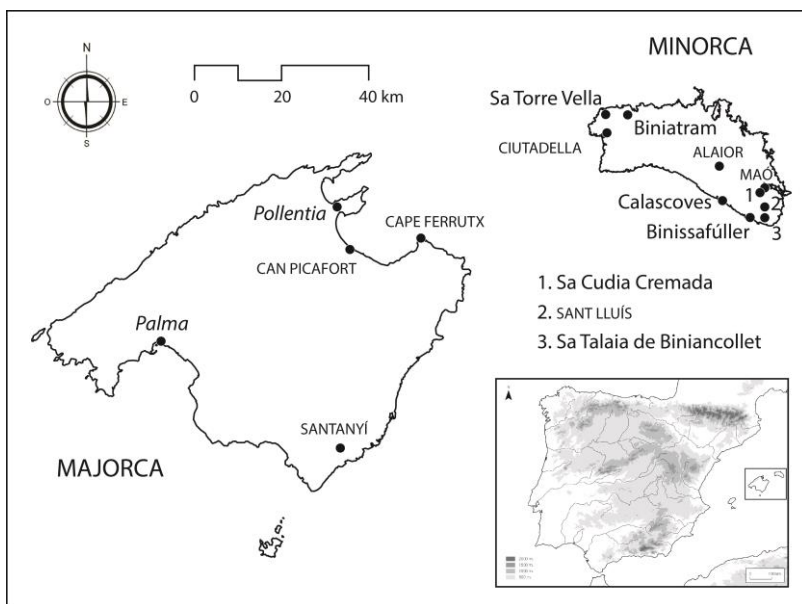


Fig. 1. Map showing the places and sites mentioned in the text.

2. A potsherd of an imitation of Campanian ware (Campana B-oide) with a graffito that has lost its lower half⁴. Velaza's reading is **baka**+, but the letters could again be Latin. As a matter of fact, in the Palaeohispanic

¹ In the transcriptions, bold type indicates that the text is written (or is considered to be written) in one of the semisyllabic Palaeohispanic scripts.

² Javier de Hoz (1998: 137; de Hoz and Luján 2001: 365) holds the same view, even though he gives no transcription of the graffito.

³ CIL II 6315 (= Veny 1965, n. 108): *Paponi filio* [---].

⁴ Velaza 1996a: 89 n. 883, as well as 2015: 382–383.

script the third sign can only be <bi> and, since the sequence **bakabi* has no *comparanda* in the Iberian corpus, it is preferable to read *LAP*, which ought to be interpreted as an abbreviation of ownership¹.

3. A spherical bronze weight with traces of two silver-encrusted letters on one of its flat sides. It was mentioned by Enrique A. Llobregat (1972: 125)² as a parallel for an almost identical weight found at El Monastil (Elda, Alicante) with a supposed Iberian inscription³, which however turned out to be Greek and from the Byzantine Age (the sixth or the seventh century)⁴, as is the case with the weight from *Pollentia*⁵.

Emilio Trilla and Antonio Calero (2008: 72–77) have published twelve coin-shaped lead tokens of local issue, the obverse of which bears the head of a man (possibly Hercules) and on the reverse of which the authors have seen Iberian–Latin legends. The find-spots of these pieces are unknown, but the fact that they all come from private collections in Majorca seems to point towards an insular origin. This seems to be confirmed by the publication of another lead token of the same issue found at Sa Talaia de Biniancollet (Sant Lluís, Minorca)⁶. These tokens bear two lines of text, placed above and beneath a possible club, but the legend is difficult to read because of the wear on them and the bad quality of the minting. The upper line preserves the remains of three or four signs which, once again according to Trilla and Calero, would be in the South-Eastern Iberian semisyllabary, while the letters of the lower line are Latin, although not easily identifiable either. Nonetheless, the signs in the upper line that are more clearly legible (the last one and the penultimate one) could be in the Latin alphabet as well (*V* and *M*, respectively), and hence there is no need for an Iberian reading which, in any case, renders a bizarre sequence with no parallels at all⁷.

The last inscription from Majorca is a lead tablet of unknown provenance, apparently found between Can Picafort and Cape Ferrutx. A

¹ As an example, it could stand for *L(ucius) Ap(onius)*.

² In the *editio princeps* (Arribas, Tarradell and Woods 1978: 35–36 fig. 18 n. 5) is a drawing of the weight and its inscription, as well as a brief mention of the object.

³ *MLH* III G.11.1.

⁴ M. P. de Hoz 2014, n. 279; López Fernández 2015.

⁵ N. 473 in M. P. de Hoz 2014. Both inscriptions read the same text and indicate the value of the weight: Λ(ἵτρα) Α', "one pound".

⁶ de Nicolás and Obrador (forthcoming), n. 2.

⁷ Trilla and Calero (2008: 72) suggest to read *škas*, with an inverted <ka> sign (!), but the only possible readings from an Iberian viewpoint—and the signs would have to be taken as Levantine, not as South-Eastern—are (+)+*rn̄s* (dextrorse) or *šrn̄*+(+) (sinistrorse).

photo of it illustrates the entry “illes Balears” in the *Gran Enciclopèdia de Mallorca* (Dolç 1989: 349), with the caption “inscripció ibèrica sobre plom”. The tablet has been lost. We must follow Javier Velaza (2015: 383–384) in considering it to be a modern forgery. The picture allows us to see that the inscription mixes Iberian, Italic and Punic signs, and the incised rectangle that frames the text is also quite unique.

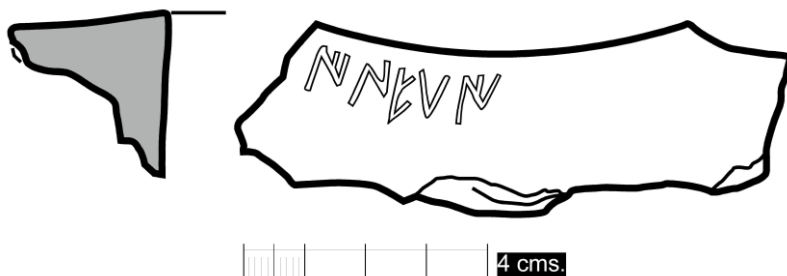


Fig. 2. Iberian graffito from Biniatram (Minorca). Drawing by Joan C. de Nicolás.

Moving on to Minorca, in 1993 Joan de Nicolás and María J. Conde published a sherd of a painted *kalathos* of the Emporitan type, found on the surface at Biniatram (Ciutadella) and dated on account of its typology to between ca. 180 and 130 BCE. On the rim is an Iberian graffito, broken away at the left but written, without doubt, in the Levantine semisyllabary: [---]ine¹**mí** (fig. 2)¹. The ending **-mí** is a very common Iberian particle that appears attached to personal names, sometimes in combination with other personal suffixes (namely **-ar** or **-en**), and it forms well-defined structures that are generally interpreted as indications of ownership². [---]ine should thus be the end of an anthroponym—or maybe of a common name, if the text were of some length and contained more elements apart from the personal name³.

¹ BDH IB.2.1. See de Nicolás and Conde 1993: 40, 59 fig. 1.1.4.4, 60 n. 1.1.4.4, as well as de Nicolás and Obrador (forthcoming).

² On **-mí**, see MLH III.1 § 534; Ferrer 2006: 148–150. On **-ar** and **-en**, see MLH III.1 §§ 512 and 521; Ferrer 2006: 144–145.

³ There is **anaieine** on a rock inscription from Guils de Cerdanya, in the province of Girona (BDH Gl.2.2: **anaieinekabin**), but it cannot be determined whether it is a personal name or not (Campmajo and Ferrer 2010: 259–260). The graffito on a Campanian B pyx from Canovelles (Barcelona) used to be read as **ine** (MLH III C.23.1 = BDH B.15.1), but according to a new analysis by Joan Ferrer (Ferrer *et al.* 2009: 121), the supposed third sign does not exist and thus the inscription reads

Did this *kalathos* belong to an Iberian living in Minorca? It could indeed be the case, but we cannot dismiss the possibility that the vessel travelled from north-eastern Catalonia, where it had been produced, with the inscription on it. Painted Iberian earthenware was the object of an intensive trade during the second and first centuries BCE, after the Roman unification of the Western Mediterranean, and it reached settlements all over the coastal areas in large amounts. In view of the common practice among the Iberians to inscribe the owner's name on vessels of greater or lesser value (as it was among many other peoples), it would not be surprising if a few *kalathoi* already carried inscriptions when being transported abroad. An example that proves this phenomenon to have occurred comes from the Greek colony of *Emporion* (L'Escala, Girona). It is an Attic fish plate from the fourth century BCE that bears three graffiti on its foot: one in the Graeco-Iberian script that reads *gorotiginai*; a second one in the Levantine semisyllabary that reads **aurkefen**; and a third graffito that has almost disappeared under the latter¹. Both *gorotiginai* and **aurkefen** are personal names carrying some of the aforementioned suffixes, and thus constitute indications of ownership: *gorotigi-nai*, with *-nai* being the conventional transcription of *-ni* in the Graeco-Iberian script, and **aurkefe-(e)n**. Since this adaptation of the Greek alphabet to write in Iberian was used almost only in Contestania, the easiest explanation is that the plate arrived at *Emporion* with the name of the former Contestan owner, and then **aurkefe**, using the Iberian script that was typical in the region, inscribed his name as the new owner (de Hoz 2011b: 397–398).

We shall deal separately with a small biconical jar of the so-called “grey pottery of the Catalan coast” that was found by accident at Sa Cudia Cremada (Maó), apparently in the remains of a burial². On the lower part of the upper body is a series of signs incised before firing, and thus made in the Iberian workshop where the object was manufactured. Some of them do not belong to any writing system, while others seem to have been partly inspired by the shapes of the Iberian script (fig. 3). So these signs do not constitute an actual inscription but provide, instead, evidence for the use of symbolic writing as a decorative motif on pottery, quite usual in the

in. Otherwise, there seems to be no connection between the text from Biniatram and the segment **ine** that is found on coins as an indicator of their value (*MLH* I A.6.05 = *BDH* Mon.110.34) and on the first lead tablet from Monteró (Lleida) with an undetermined function (*BDH* L.1.1,2).

¹ *MLH* III C.1.9 = *BDH* Gl.10.15.

² Fenn 1950: 79–80 fig. 75; Fernández-Miranda 1976: 268 fig. 6.42, 269 n. 42, 278; de Nicolás 1983: 218.

Iberian world in the first stages of the development of writing—albeit this particular jar dates back to the third century BCE (Fernández-Miranda 1976: 287), when the Levantine signary had already long been in use.

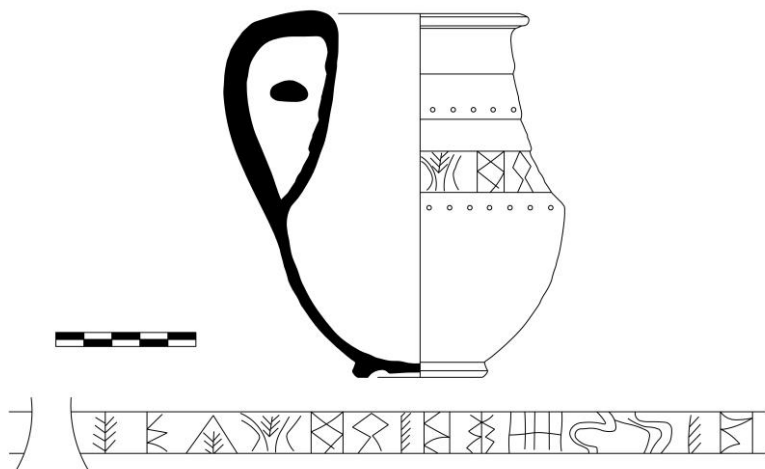


Fig. 3. Biconical jar with symbolic writing from Sa Cudia Cremada (Minorca).
Drawing by Joan C. de Nicolás.

As regards the smallest inscriptions to exist, single-letter graffiti, a large number has been found in the Balearic Islands. These epigraphs are commonly interpreted as commercial marks, used by traders to indicate matters such as the price of the vessel, the number or type of products in a consignment, the identity of the merchant, and so on. A distinction has to be drawn, however, between the marks added *ante coctionem* and *post coctionem*, since the former are to be connected with the making of the pottery rather than with its subsequent commercial distribution. Some scholars have attempted to identify Iberian single-letter graffiti on vessels from *Pollentia*, the Talayotic settlement of Sa Torre Vella d'en Lozano (Ciutadella), the anchorage of Calascoves (Alaior), and the shipwreck of Binissafüller (Sant Lluís)¹. Those from Binissafüller were carved before

¹ *Pollentia*: Velaza 1996a: 89 n. 46, 277, 381, 677 and 882. Calascoves and Sa Torre Vella: de Nicolás 1983: 233. Binissafüller: Mata and Soria 1997: 311, 345–347; Simón 2013: 563–564; Soria and Mata 2015: 158.

firing on to *amphorae* of peninsular origin, so, even if they are Iberian¹, they have nothing to do with the island next to which the boat sank. The other graffiti pose at least two problems.

On the one hand, it is difficult to assign them to a specific epigraphic tradition, since all the writing systems that coexist in the Western Mediterranean derive ultimately from the Phoenician alphabet and, therefore, many signs in different systems have shapes in common. The two letters on a Campanian A dish from Calascoves could either be Iberian <n> and <tu> or Latin <N> and <A>. The two marks on a similar dish from Sa Torre Vella, a cross and a trident that can be respectively read as Iberian <ta> and <ti>, may not even have a graphematic value, but, in any case, they are also quite usual in Greek, Latin and Punic epigraphy. Most marks from *Pollentia* could be Greek or Latin, as has been pointed out by their editor². The only one that is certainly Palaeohispanic is on the sherd of a Campanian A dish (n. 677); the graffito consists of an allograph of the Iberian <be> syllabogram³ that cannot be confused with any letter of the coexistent alphabets, since it is a derivation of older forms of the same sign⁴.

On the other hand, there is the problem that these marks do not appear to have been produced by local people at their find-spot (or nearby), but, as already said, by traders and during any of the commercial stages between the firing of the pieces and their arrival at the final destination. If it is likely that the inscription from Biniatram (Minorca) was written on the peninsula, in the case of single-letter graffiti it is very difficult to think of an insular origin—they were probably carved before setting sail for the *Baliares*, either in Italia or in Hispania.

To conclude, up to now the Balearic Islands have provided us with one real Iberian inscription—the graffito from Biniatram—and several marks of uncertain affiliation, of which only one is Palaeohispanic without doubt—the <be> sign from *Pollentia*. Two documents (each one from a different island of the archipelago, and the latter consisting of just one letter) are not

¹ For an interpretation of them as Punic, which is also more problematic for chronological and historical reasons (Mata and Soria 1997: 311), see Díaz and Fernández-Miranda 1977: 202–211; Fuentes 1986: 53–61 n. 12.01–20.

² Even n. 381, which according to Velaza (1996a: 89) is an Iberian <u>, can be interpreted as a Greek or Latin <A>.

³ It corresponds to **be1** in Untermann's classification (*MLH* III.1, 246) and to **be6** in that of Rodríguez Ramos (2004: 114, 143), who dates it between 150/125 and 50 BCE.

⁴ It is pure chance that it coincides with the Odal rune, which is derived from a variant of the letter <O> in northern Italic scripts, such as the Lepontic alphabet.

enough to maintain that an Iberian community was living on the *Baliares* in the second and first centuries BCE, neither on Minorca nor on Majorca¹, the more so because it cannot be proven that these documents were written on the islands. None of them are inscriptions on rock or public epigraphs that are put on permanent display in a specific location, such as steles, but they are inscriptions on everyday objects (*instrumenta inscripta*) that can easily travel elsewhere once the text has been added—and, in the case of trademarks, they usually do so. Things would be different if we had documents that gave clear proof of the existence of a migrant community living in a territory where the dominant language was not their own, and that showed a use of epigraphy to assert or preserve an identity. This is the case of the Celtiberian tombstone found in the vicinity of the Punic necropolis of Puig des Molins (Ibiza), the Iberian column from Cagliari (Sardinia) or the Latin–Gaulish stele from Todi (Umbria)².

¹ As an example, this has been affirmed by Sanmartí *et al.* (1996: 62–63) for the case of *Pollentia*, but we could find similar assertions in less scientific works.

² Ibiza: *MLH* IV K.16.1; Simón 2013: 260–261 P131; Velaza 2015. Cagliari: *MLH* III X.0.1; Simón 2013: 248–249 P117. Todi: Estarán 2016, with previous bibliography. For the Ibiza and Sardinia tombstones, see also the contribution by Velaza in this same volume.

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