Indigeneity and Colonial Response:

The Metamorphoses of Balearic Culture in the Late Iron Age

By

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Alexander Smith, originally from Rochester, New York, is a Mediterranean archaeologist specializing in Western Mediterranean island societies, postcolonial theory, community-based archaeology and survey. He earned a Bachelor of Arts summa cum laude with highest honors from Brandeis University in 2009, double majoring in Classical Archaeology and Anthropology. Alexander has worked in many places around the world, including Jordan, Montserrat, Guatemala, Spain and Italy. He has been studying and excavating the Balearic Islands since 2007, working at the indigenous site of Torre d'en Galmés and the historical site of Isla del Rey, both on Menorca. Alexander is also known as "Alex the Archaeologist" as part of a Mediterranean archaeology outreach program run with the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester, New York. There he works with sixth-grade and ninth-grade classes of primarily inner-city schools to teach the next generation of archaeologists.

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Chapter 1: Toward an Understanding of Balearic Metamorphoses

The Balearic Islands are located off the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. The group consists of four major islands along with a series of subsidiary islands and islets. These four islands, from south to north, are Formentera, Ibiza, Mallorca and Menorca (see Figures 1 and 2). In Classical antiquity, the island group was divided into two parts. Mallorca and Menorca were considered the Balearic or Gymnasiae islands, owing to the cultural characteristics of the indigenous populations that occupied the two islands. Ibiza and Formentera were considered the Pityuses, or Pine Islands, again differentiated based on the Punic populations that occupied the two islands in the late first millennium B.C.E. A further discussion of these island names can be found in Chapter 2.

Ibiza and Formentera are fairly small islands located within close proximity of one another. Ibiza, the larger of the two, is roughly 571 sq. km, located just six km north of Formentera, which is only 83 sq. km. Ibiza is roughly 40 km from the mainland, and was most likely fairly accessible by boat at all times of the year. Mallorca and Menorca provide distinct island topographies both from the Pityuses, as well as from each other. Mallorca is the larger of the two at roughly 3,640 sq. km, and is located over 80 km northeast of Ibiza. The island contains three distinct topographic regions (see Figure 3). The Serra de Tramuntana, or the western coastal mountain range, contains the highest elevations of the island, and a formidable mountain range with difficult access to the coast. The center of the island is a relatively flat plain, extending from the southern central coast to the northern central coast. Finally, the small mountainous range on the eastern coast is known colloquially as the Eastern Hills, yet abuts a small coastal plain that provides easy coastal access. Menorca is located approximately 40 km northeast of Mallorca. Menorca is much smaller than Mallorca, at just 696 sq. km. Menorca has

only two distinct topographic regions. The northern half of the island is a relatively rugged landscape, exhibiting rolling hills and small peaks, while the southern half is a flat limestone shelf (see Figure 4). These topographic considerations will be important for later chapters concerning settlement patterns and communal differentiation amongst the indigenous island inhabitants.

Simply based on geography, Mallorca and Menorca are some of the most isolated islands in the Mediterranean (see Gómez 1995). Still, prevailing winds and sea currents provided a degree of navigability from mainland Europe and Ibiza at various times of the year. Generally speaking, the seas around the Balearic Islands are calm during the summer season, though quite tumultuous during the winter. During the winter season, prevailing, heavy winds blow south off the Gulf of Leon toward Menorca and Mallorca. Nevertheless, these winds are coupled with whirlpool-like sea currents in the Balearic Sea that make such a winter trip incredibly dangerous from the North or Northwest of the island group. The safest way of access by ship during any season was a path stemming from the Spanish mainland to Ibiza and subsequently to Mallorca and then Menorca. In many ways, the environmental conditions surrounding the Balearic Sea and the Western Mediterranean most likely provided a seasonal isolation of the two northern islands in antiquity, more pronounced on the comparatively remote Menorca. More information regarding currents and their potential significance for ancient navigation around the islands will be discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

An Outsider Looking In

Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, archaeological projects have steadily been amassing data on the prehistory, protohistory, and classical history of the islands.

Nevertheless, in Anglophone circles, the islands are often tangential to broader discussions of the Mediterranean. As the western-most island group in the Mediterranean, the history of scholarly thought and archaeological attention has been traditionally grounded in a relatively isolated Spanish academia and broader discussions of islands west of Italy. Even today, however, the islands represent a seemingly autonomous academic unit, in many ways separate from discussions of the Western Mediterranean, or even the Iberian Peninsula. The Balearics occupy a peripheral space in studies of the Mediterranean, yet their anthropological and comparative potential is vast.

This dissertation is concerned with Mallorca and Menorca from the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. These dates represent a period on the islands in which dramatic changes occur. These dates roughly correspond with an article published by Guerrero et al. in 2007a, describing the indigenous inhabitants of Mallorca and Menorca and their interactions with the broader Mediterranean world (Guerrero et al. 2007a). In many ways, this article served as an inspiration for this dissertation, as the period saw an exponential increase in Mallorcan and Menorcan contact and connectivity with the broader Mediterranean as well as marked societal and cultural changes on the islands. These connections include the settlement of Ibiza by Phoenicians in the seventh century and the gradual expansion of Carthaginian as well as Greek colonies in the Western Mediterranean. This time period also includes the Punic Wars that raged around the islands in the third and second centuries B.C.E., as well as the Roman conquest of Mallorca and Menorca in 123 B.C.E. Yet, during all these centuries of trade, interaction and warfare, the cultures of Mallorca and Menorca differentially retained indigenous cultural customs and marked differences from extra-island societies. In the same manner, indigenous society did not end with the Roman conquest, as cultural and communal sites remained in place on both islands. This dissertation takes the general ideas of Guerrero et al. 2007a regarding

Balearic indigenous societies as both in the center of the Mediterranean but on the periphery of intensive colonialism and interaction, to create a synthetic narrative, incorporating the multitudinous lines of archaeological evidence from the islands. At the same time, this work will attempt to apply Anglophone-based theoretical concepts to the study of these late Iron Age inhabitants of the Balearic Islands.

At the outset, it should be understood that although I have worked in the Balearic Islands for the better part of a decade, I remain an outsider to Spanish academia and Balearic archaeological circles. The following chapters do not provide new or raw archaeological data to specific sites on the islands. The chapters directly concerned with archaeological data are taken from a number of different sources, representing multiple academic camps and sometimes differing cultural chronologies. At the same time, the theories that are applied throughout these chapters represent ideas and influences primarily taken from my academic upbringing, heavily imbued with Anglophone scholarship of both the Mediterranean and the New World. Ultimately, while the archaeology of the Balearic Islands has had many brushes with theoretical application, the period in question, potentially the most fruitful for anthropological comparison, is one of the least well-theorized. This synthesis, then, is an attempt to approach the archaeology of Mallorca and Menorca with an emphasis on multiple theoretical applications in order to showcase the broader significance that this complex period has not only for the Mediterranean, but for archaeologies throughout the world dealing with themes of colonialism, identity, community and indigeneity.

Taking a Step Back: A Brief Chronology of the Balearic Islands

While the following chapters are concerned with the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., it is important to understand the broader trajectory of Mallorcan and Menorcan

culture. In the interest of brevity, I will forego debates regarding the initial colonization of the islands, and skip to the periods immediately prior to the Talayotic period on both islands. The islands were colonized notoriously late, as conservative estimates place initial permanent settlement on Mallorca in the third millennium B.C.E., and as late as the second century B.C.E. on Menorca (as well as Ibiza and Formentera, Lull et al. 2013). The Bronze Age in the Balearic Islands is a second millennium B.C.E. phenomenon, incorporating a large amount of differing types of archaeological sites and material culture. Some of the best known evidence stems from cave burials, such as the Cova des Mussol on Menorca,[1] which offer a glimpse into very early human manifestations of complex culture on the Balearic Islands. Although dolmen structures exist in the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., beginning in the second half of that millennium, naviform structures, particularly houses, are built (see Figure 5). These are often coastal or near-coastal establishments, as is the case with known structures on Menorca. These naviform houses are known from multiple locations on both islands, built roughly from 1400-1100 B.C.E. On Menorca, the naviform structure takes on funerary implications with the so-called navetas of the small island, built from approximately 1200-800 B.C.E (See Figure 6).[2]

Around 900 to 850 B.C.E., the islands see a dramatic shift in both occupation and internal economic functions. The ninth century B.C.E. is generally considered the beginning of the Talayotic period. A talayot is a large, watch-tower like edifice that was constructed out of megalithic blocks and placed at strategic locations throughout both islands (see Figures 7 and 8). Hundreds of talayots are built from the ninth century to the seventh century, potentially reflecting growing communities, elite social structures, or even the territorial fragmentation of

[1] Another important cave site from Menorca is the site of Biniai Nou (Plantalamor and Marquès 2001; Van Strydonck and Maes 2001).

[2] For more discussion of the chronological sequence of naviform houses and structures, see Guerrero et al. 2006b, as well as García 2006 for a discussion of Son Mercer de Baix, a Bronze Age naviform house from Menorca. Recent work has also been carried out at multiple sites on Menorca and Mallorca, particularly at Sa Ferradura on Mallorca and Cala Morell on Menorca (Anglada et al. 2014).

both islands. These settlements are almost exclusively interior, non-coastal localities. Until recently (Guerrero et al. 2002), these monuments were considered to be Bronze Age sites, much like similar structures located on Sardinia and Corsica (Kolb 2005). The now defunct chronological sequence placed the talayots as near contemporaries with navetas and naviform housing. Today, however, these monuments are widely accepted as first millennium B.C.E. structures, roughly dating to the beginning of the ninth-century and the Iron Age. More will be discussed regarding the chronological shift below in Chapter 2. Talayots can be square, oval, circular, hollow, solid, gargantuan and modest, though no meticulous categorization or chronology exists of these traits, or even substantive analyses of their patterning in the landscape and the meaning therein.

In the sixth century B.C.E., the islands undergo a series of dramatic changes. For one, Phoenician, Greek and eventually Carthaginian colonies begin interacting with the islands more heavily. Prior interaction existed, evidenced by goods from the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the Iberian world, yet the degree of this interaction began increasing dramatically in the sixth century. In 654 B.C.E., according to historical records, Phoenicians began settling Ibiza and Formentera which were unoccupied in the seventh century B.C.E. (Aubet 1994: 338). The lack of indigenous populations on the two southern islands also potentially inhibited interactions before the seventh century B.C.E., as the islands with the easiest access to mainland Europe were devoid of people and economic connections with Mallorca and Menorca. Carthaginian colonization of Ibiza and Formentera provided another, convenient trade connection with the northern two islands starting with initial Phoenician occupation in the seventh century B.C.E. Not only did the colonial presence on the Pityuses expand trading possibilities with Mallorca and Menorca, but the creation of Punic ceramic factories on Ibiza shortly thereafter fundamentally changed the nature of trade in the Balearics. These Punic factories remained in place well into

the Roman period, facilitating broad trading practices in the Balearic Island group and throughout the Western Mediterranean (Costa Ribas 2007). Carthaginian interactions with Mallorca increased particularly in the fourth century B.C.E. with the permanent establishment of Na Guardis and possibly Na Galera as well as Es Trenc off the southern coast of Mallorca (see Figure 9). These small sites served as emporia for the island populations from the fourth century B.C.E. through the second century B.C.E. Although these emporia existed off the coast of Mallorca, both islands arguably remained autonomous to Carthage. There is also ample evidence of Balearic mercenaries or slingers being used by Carthaginian and subsequently Roman armies,[3] yet no indication of colonial infrastructure or territorial control can be seen on the islands until the Roman conquest.

Despite the victories of the First and Second Punic Wars in the third and beginning of the second centuries B.C.E., Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza and Formentera remained independent. In 201 B.C.E., the two southern islands entered into a *foedus* with Rome as a result of an unprompted, unconditional surrender, resulting in the islands retaining a relative degree of autonomy, yet pledging their fidelity to the Roman Republic (Costa Ribas 2007: 88). Mallorca and Menorca remained independent throughout the Third Punic War, despite Rome's growing control of the Mediterranean coastline surrounding the islands. In 123 B.C.E., however, the northern two islands were accused of piratical activity and were conquered by Quintus Metellus, later Balearicus. This war was in concert with other conflicts raging in the Western Mediterranean, including the Celt-Iberian Wars and Gaullish conflicts (Morgan 1969), potentially leading Rome simply to quell the small islands' autonomy before they became an issue. This topic will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

[3] The slinger mercenary culture of the Balearic Islanders will be returned to in Chapter 2.

According to Pliny the Elder, the colonies of Palma and Pollentia on Mallorca were settled by 3,000 Romans or Italians upon conquest (*Natural History* III.77). Archaeological evidence only shows Roman occupation of Pollentia in the 70's B.C.E., and there are only two potential fort sites from both islands dating to the second century B.C.E. (Estarellas et al. 2014; Orfila et al. 2008). Yet over the course of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., Rome begins to change the islands dramatically. By the end of the first century C.E. and beginning of the second century C.E., the indigenous customs of the islanders had mostly disappeared. The islands remain in the domain of Rome until the fifth century C.E. Vandal invasion. Although the above chronology has been brief, the nature of indigenous life on Mallorca and Menorca was left out of the discussion of the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., as the subsequent chapters of this dissertation deal exactly with that issue.

Questions of Chronology: The Difficulties of Synthesis

Cultural chronologies of the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. vary dramatically. The difference is largely an artifact of different archaeological groups operating somewhat independently on the islands. Thus far, I have primarily referred to centuries instead of cultural timelines, in an attempt to avoid confusion. In fact, what is not evident in the previous section is the amount of debate regarding different cultural chronological designations for the Talayotic and Pre-Talayotic periods. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I will be referring to the Talayotic period as the ninth through seventh centuries B.C.E., and the periods before it as the Pre-Talayotic period.

Yet the problem persists in the chronological designations for subsequent centuries as well. Essentially, there are three paradigms in use. The first paradigm was used by Giovanni Lilliu in the mid-twentieth century while excavating the Mallorcan site of Ses Païsses (Lilliu 1959; 1960; 1962; 1965; Lilliu and Biancofiore 1959). He referred to the chronological sequence as

Talayotic I-IV, the last period (Talayotic IV) being roughly the sixth century B.C.E. to the Roman conquest in 123 B.C.E., followed by the Roman period (123 B.C.E.- fifth century C.E.). Guerrero and others from the Universitat des Illes Baleares refer to the period in question as the Post or Late Talayotic period, again representing the sixth century B.C.E. to the Roman conquest, followed again by a Roman period. Vincente Lull and the archaeological camp from the Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona understand the later chronology as Post-Talayotic (550-250 B.C.E.) followed by a Classical period (250 B.C.E. – 100 C.E.), which is in turn followed by a Roman period as well. The Classical period is also sometimes referred to as the Balearic period (Micó 2005a). For a graphic representation of these timelines, see Table 1. Lull's work is largely based on excavations at Son Fornés on Mallorca. All of these chronologies are still used in Balearic archaeology and for a longer discussion of the two most common models used the the UIB and UAB, see Chapter 2. For the purposes of expediency, I will use the Late Talayotic term as defined by Guerrero, as well as the Roman period from 123 B.C.E. on. As subsequent chapters will discuss, this choice is not an admonition that pre- or protohistory ends in 123 B.C.E., but is more an attempt to remain consistent in discussions of this later time period as well as accessible and comparable to extant archaeological data. Late Talayotic is used here instead of Post-Talayotic in order to avoid implications of cultural degeneration or collapse that the prefix "post" implies.

Mallorca and Menorca: Bound at the Hip?

Balearic archaeology, when turning to broader syntheses of indigenous cultures, often considers Mallorca and Menorca in concert. Despite the inherent differences in cultural manifestations and chronological sequences on both islands, the islands are seen as bound at the hip. The disaggregation of these islands as separate cultural entities is largely absent from Anglophone literature. This dissertation will approach these islands as largely separate entities,

but with comparative potential. In Spanish or Catalan studies of the islands today, the majority of works focus on a single island, or the two islands as separate, yet this concept is largely lost on Anglophone readers. Mallorca and Menorca were very different, at times remarkably so. With those differences in mind, this dissertation hopes to complicate the picture for those not familiar with Balearic bibliographies.

Terminology: Indigeneity, Protohistory and the Balearic World

The term indigenous as well as protohistoric or protohistory are used commonly in literature regarding the Balearic Islands. Although these terms are somewhat common in the Western Mediterranean, they both carry some theoretical baggage. Protohistory is used in Balearic literature to describe the islands during the Late Talayotic, as they begin regularly coming into contact with the literate Phoenicians by the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. There is no record of indigenous writing, nor do we have any understanding of their speech. The term protohistory will be used regularly throughout this dissertation and the term itself will be further defined in Chapter 2.

The term indigenous is perhaps a more contentious concept. Indigenous is used throughout Spanish and Catalan literature regarding the islands, particularly since the 1980's. I will be using this term frequently throughout this work, particularly with regard to the creation of indigenous customs or the maintenance of indigenous lifeways on both islands. Although the term is not necessarily used in the same way it would be in anthropological literature regarding the new world, it is nevertheless an apt description of the peoples inhabiting Mallorca and Menorca before the Roman period. This term will be further discussed in Chapter 7 as it pertains to the study of Mediterranean archaeology.

Approaching Indigeneity and the Balearic Islands:

The following chapters are separated based on thematic characteristics. The second chapter deals with the often complicated history of scholarship related to the islands, as well as the extant historical source materials describing both the indigenous inhabitants and the Carthaginian and Roman interactions. Chapter 3 focuses on changing settlement patterns during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods, attempting to approach the islands from a zoomed-out vantage point. This chapter is largely impeded by a general lack of published survey data on both islands and is thus shorter than subsequent chapters. Chapter 4 begins a more detailed analysis of houses and households on both islands. Chapter 5 changes focus to funerary and ritual spaces at many of the same sites in order to understand this often enigmatic site category for the Balearic Islands. Chapter 6 then turns to underwater archaeology and a discussion of the changing economies of both islands during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes this work by delving further into theoretical concepts of Mediterranean indigeneity, self-represented communities, and the metamorphoses of Balearic cultures in the wake of intense external interactions and changing internal dynamics. With all of these lifeways, landscapes, and interactions expounded upon, the following is an attempt to reconnect with a complex, enigmatic and somewhat neglected time period in Balearic history, to expose the choices and decisions these indigenous island societies made on the cusp of Mediterranean colonialism, imperialism and the dissolution of their indigenous world.

Chapter 1 Images and Tables

Figure 1: The Western Mediterranean. (Source: Google Earth)

Figure 2: The Balearic Islands with the main four islands labeled. (Source: Google Earth)

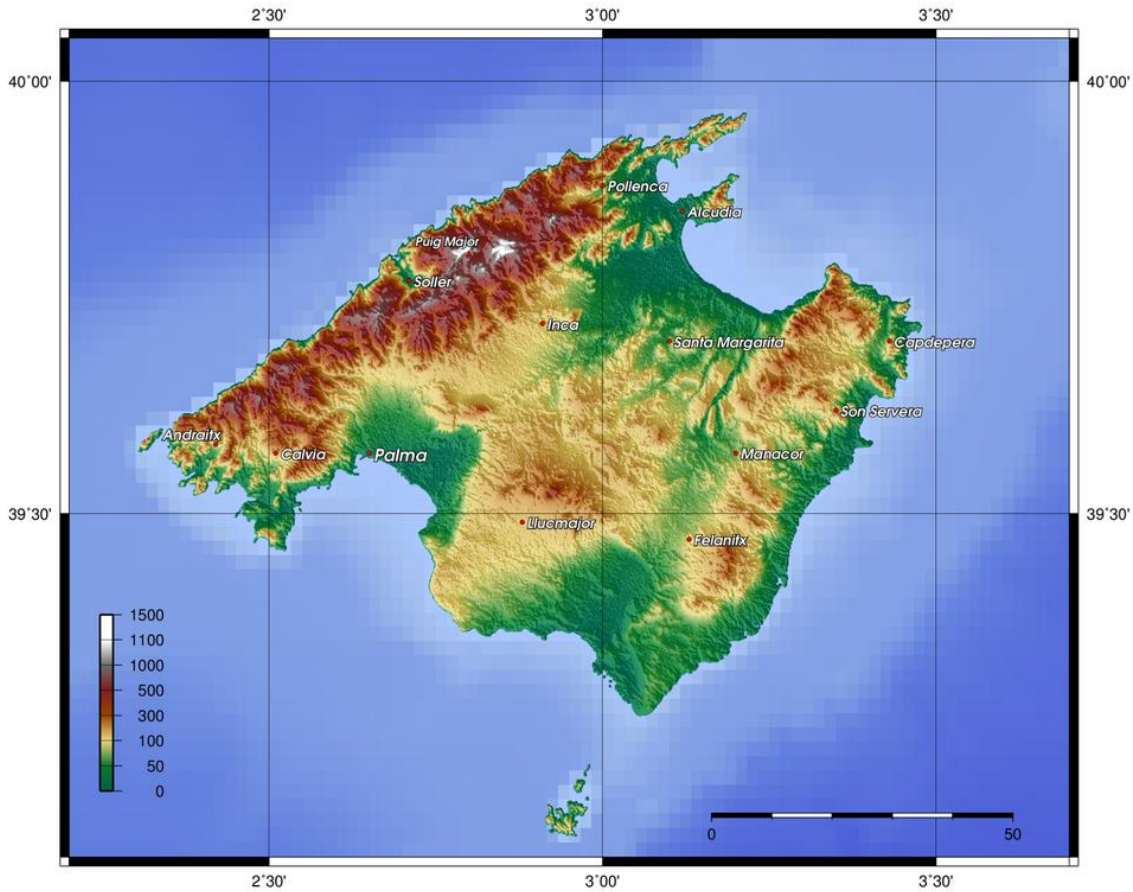


Figure 3: Digital Elevation Model of Mallorca. Note the large mountain range on the northwestern coast (Serra de Tramuntana), the small stretch of hill peaks near the eastern coast of the island as well as the relatively flat central area with intermittent hill peaks. (Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mallorca_topo.png#file)

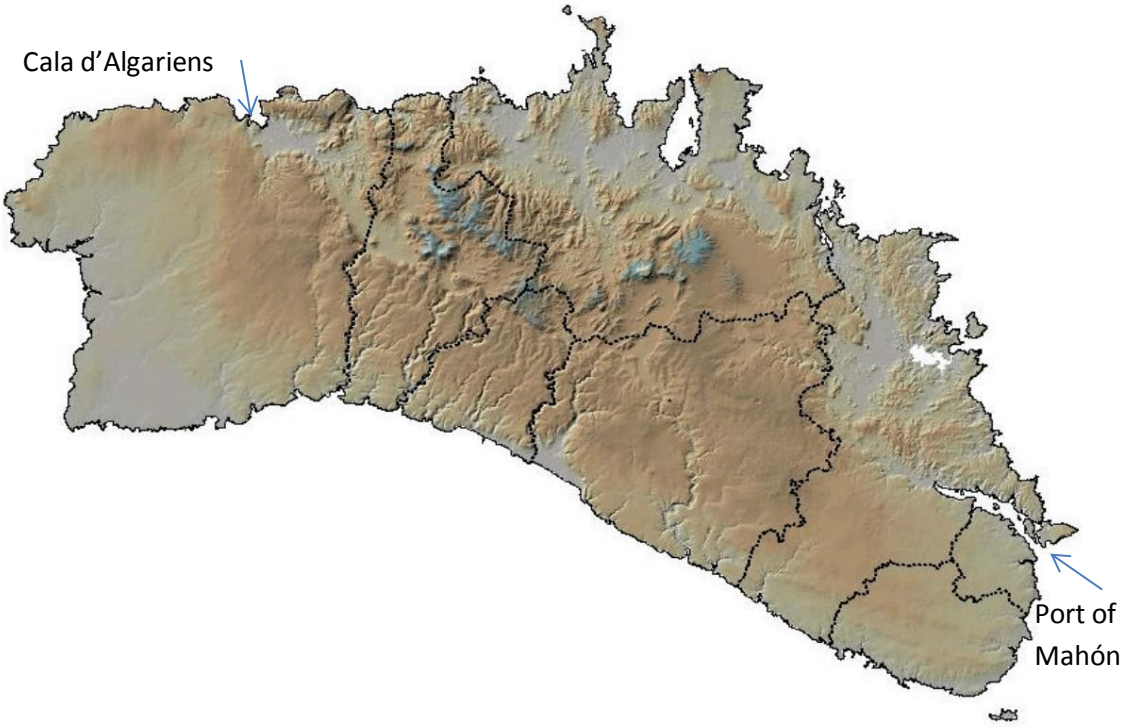


Figure 4: Topographic Map of Menorca. The geographic distinction between the northern half and the southern half of the island is a relative straight line extending from the port of Mahón in the East to Cala d'Algariens in the northwest. (Source: http://menorcadiferente.com/mapas-de-menorca/)

Figure 5: One of the many Bronze Age naviform houses found at S'Hospitalet Vell. (Photo by the author)

Figure 6: Naveta des Tudons on Menorca, one of the best preserved examples and heavily reconstructed examples of a funerary naveta on Menorca. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naveta_d'Es_Tudons#mediaviewer/File:Tudons01.jpg)

Figure 7: The large talayot at Trepucó on Menorca. Not pictured here is a secondary talayot also found at the site, the large preserved taula and taula precinct, as well as Late Iron Age dwellings and constructions. (Photo by the author)

Figure 8: Small Circular talayot from Capacorb Vell, Mallorca. The examples from Capacorb Vell exemplify the much smaller size of Mallorcan talayots than their typical counterparts from Menorca. (Photo by the author)

Figure 9: Na Guardis Islet taken from the air. (Source: http://www.masmar.net/esl/Gu%C3%ADas/Turismo/Baleares/Isla-de-Mallorca.-Costa-S.-De-Palma-a-Cap-Ses-Salines/Illa-na-Guardis)

	A	B	C
1000 BCE	Pre Talayotic Period	Proto Talayotic Period	Talayotic II
900 BCE			
800 BCE	Talayotic Period	Talayotic Period	Talayotic III
700 BCE			
600 BCE			
500 BCE	Post or Late Talayotic	Post Talayotic or Balearic Period	Talayotic IV
400 BCE			
300 BCE			
200 BCE			
100 BCE		Classical Period	
1 CE	Roman Period		Roman Period
100 CE			
200 CE		Roman Period	

Table 1: Various Timelines of Balearic Prehistory in the First Millennium B.C.E. Column A represents the work of Victor Guerrero and the Universitat de les Illes Baleares. Column B is the chronology as interpreted by Cristobal Veny, Javier Aramburu-Zabala, and the Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona. Column C represents the chronology created by Giovanni Lilliu and used today by Lluis Plantalamor and the Museum of Menorca. (Table by the author)

Chapter 2: The Beginning and the Present: The History of Scholarship and Textual Representations of the Balearic Islands and Islanders

Before discussing archaeological data associated with later indigenous cultural manifestations on Mallorca and Menorca, the history of archaeological study concerning the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods provides an entry point into the current state of scholarship in the region and the motivations behind this dissertation. The following chapter will serve to introduce this topic via two lines of evidence. First, a historiographic analysis of Balearic archeology is presented, focusing on some of the major players and trends in scholarship that have shaped the study of the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods on the islands. The continuing issues in the archaeological study of the Balearic Islands will be addressed, focusing on disciplinary divides. The second line of evidence will be a presentation of the ancient textual sources. These sources will be briefly addressed, highlighting ancient understandings of the Balearic islanders and the biases passed down to us through the textual record. Finally, the archaeological significance of the textual record will be discussed to conclude the chapter. Together, these themes represent the beginnings and the baggage of later prehistoric archaeology in the region.

A Brief History of Scholarly Engagement with the Balearic Islands

The archaeology of the Balearic Islands has a history that is more complex than one might assume. Despite being a relatively small island group, the islands have been the focus of detailed analyses and interpretation for centuries. This could be attributed to the island group's peculiar indigenous culture, described by ancient sources and sought out by early scholars. It could also be attributed to the nature of the monumental landscape of the Talayotic culture. As

an aside, it should be noted that the islands of Ibiza and Formentera have very different historiographic trajectories from Mallorca and Menorca. The academic divide is the result of the Phoenician and Carthaginian, literate populations on Ibiza and Formentera, separating the study of those islands from the contemporaneous protohistoric, non-literate indigenous cultures of Mallorca and Menorca. After the Bronze Age on Ibiza and Formentera, according to the archaeological record, the islands are abandoned (Gómez 1995: 448). Only with the Phoenicians in the seventh century, followed by Carthaginians soon after, do we see permanent settlement on the southern two islands after the Early Bronze Age. Thus from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, Mallorca and Menorca represent the only settled islands in the broader Balearic Island group. Beginning in the Early Iron Age, the indigenous inhabitants of Mallorca and Menorca are given the cultural label "Talayotic," preceded by a proto- or Pre-Talayotic period. For these reasons, the following history of archaeological engagement with the Balearic Islands will be primarily focused on Mallorca and Menorca, though comparisons and references will also be made to Ibiza and Formentera, particularly in regard to explorations of the few Punic and Roman archaeological sites on Mallorca and Menorca.

The Antiquarians and the Roman Goodies:

The earliest excavations of Roman sites on Mallorca and Menorca were formative for the study of Balearic archaeology and later understandings of the Late Iron Age. The history of archaeology in the Balearics, like many Mediterranean traditions, begins with interested aristocrats attempting to discover remnants of a classical past during the Renaissance. These initial explorations were soon followed by increased antiquarian fervor during the Enlightenment era of European history. With the conquest of the New World, Spain became a wealthy global kingdom and a powerful force in Renaissance Europe. Nevertheless, Spain's wealth and influence diminished in the 17th and 18th centuries. By the time of the institution of

the Grand Tour and the influx of Northern European antiquarian interest in the Mediterranean, Spain and the Iberian Peninsula were only minor, uncommon stops, unlike Italy and Greece. The actual manifestation of antiquarianism in Spain was different than other Mediterranean countries in part owing to its peripheral status in the eyes of Northern European aristocracy. The antiquarians of the Iberian Peninsula were not the French and British scholars who were rapidly collecting ancient items and visiting Classical sites across the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, but rather a self-identified, autochthonous group, comprised of citizens and subjects of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. Some of the first crudely executed archaeological studies on the Balearics were at the hands of home-grown antiquarians. The now well-documented Roman colonial site of Pollentia on Mallorca is considered one of the earliest archaeological or quasi-archaeological ventures in the Balearics and the result of excavations by Binimelis, a Balearic native and antiquarian. In the late 16th century, Binimelis first proposed that the site of Pollentia was not located in modern Pollença as the place name would suggest, but was instead located on the outskirts of Alcúdia (Doenges 2005: 6). His success in locating the site was grounded in geographic descriptions of the islands by Pliny the Elder that referred to Pollentia and Palma as the two largest Roman cities on Mallorca, originally established by the conqueror Quintus Metellus Caecilius. Other sites like Sanisera, Palma, Ciutadella, Mahón and chance finds throughout the landscape of both islands were also the foci of local antiquarian interests, as much of the museum collections on both islands would suggest, but Pollentia serves as our best known example of the birth of archaeology in the Balearics.

These early ventures in uncovering the classical past do not quite constitute the discipline of archaeology as it would be recognized today. Yet Roman sites were still the subject of some of the earliest, modern excavations on the islands. Moving to modern archaeological projects, Vallorí et al. (2011) describe the first systematic excavations of Pollentia in the 1920's-

40's, which uncovered much of the known area in and around the Roman city. These excavations represent some of the first systematic archaeological work on the islands. Pollentia was and remains an important resource for the study of Roman interactions and colonialism on Mallorca. Many of these early excavations, however, did not see the importance in understanding the indigenous material culture found at Pollentia and other Roman sites. Late Talayotic ceramics or other forms material culture were neither recognized as significant nor kept, even within newly developed systematic frameworks for documenting and preserving sites. While this lack of documentation of indigenous interactions is not surprising, it has a lasting detrimental impact on the study of archaeology today. Pollentia remains the subject of archaeological campaigns today, yet Roman material culture is priveleged. In fact, in almost all sites considered to be Roman foundations, indigenous remains are normally discounted or ignored in publication. The focus of archaeological attention on recognizably Roman material culture should be seen as a bias inherited from previous excavators and antiquarians who fetishized the Roman and ignored the native. In the past decade, this opinion has started to change. At present, however, archaeological understandings of Late Talayotic indigenous interactions with colonial Roman sites is hindered by this inherited perspective, which will be discussed in more detail below.

The Prehistorians Get Interested:

While the first Roman excavations are important for understanding some of the current shortcomings of current archaeological data regarding indigenous and Roman interactions, early prehistorians unwittingly obscured the Late Talayotic cultures of Mallorca and Menorca through the erroneous dating of Talayotic sites. Yet these early prehistorians also breathed early anthropological thought into the enigmatic megalithic monuments of the islands, while attempting to understand ancient, indigenous lifeways. Many of these early scholars were also

foreign, garnering international exposure and attention to the monuments which would significantly impact the focus of later archaeological efforts on the islands, as well as aspects of tourism in the later 20th century. Finally, prehistoric archaeology on the islands may have served a political purpose in its early years, particularly after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), which affected the manner in which archaeologists collaborated with foreign and domestic scholars.

The first academic interests in Balearic prehistory begin in the early 20th century, particularly with the works of Spanish, British, French, and Italian prehistorians who saw Talayotic megalithic monuments as a prehistoric link to similar monuments in the Western Mediterranean. Throughout the 20th century, talayots were assumed to be approximately the same age as megalithic monuments of Sardinia and Corsica due to their architectural forms and associated pottery assemblages (Murray 1932: 13). As a result of dating techniques primarily focused on evolutionary schemes of architectural style, the monuments of Mallorca and Menorca were placed in the Bronze Age, or the second millennium B.C.E. By placing the prehistoric cultures of Mallorca and Menorca in the Bronze Age, early prehistorians effectively squashed any consideration of indigenous cultures interacting with first millennium B.C.E. Phoenicians, Carthaginians or Romans, feeding into a teleological understanding of cultural evolution on the islands that has only recently been refuted.

One such prehistorian, the notable French prehistorian, Émile Cartailhac, produced the first non-Spanish or non-Catalan account of Balearic prehistory for an international audience. The work was titled *Monuments Primitifs des Îles Baléares,* published in 1892. Although much could be discussed regarding this book, it is mentioned here as really the first international exposure of the Balearic Island's prehistoric elements. Another important prehistoric intervention of the early 20th century was the work of British archaeologist Margaret Murray in

the 1930's, particularly at Trepucó on Menorca (Murray 1932). Murray hailed from Cambridge, and represents an early foreign and anthropological (termed ethnological at the time) approach to Talayotic archaeology (Murray 1932: 6). Murray was particularly interested in the enigmatic taula precincts, of which Trepucó represents one of the best known examples. At the time, the taula was considered a Talayotic-period construction, attributed again to the Bronze Age. Murray was one of the early excavators to point out the potential ceremonial significance of the taula precinct through the recovery of archaeological materials related to libations, feasting and ritual burning (1932).

Yet while British and continental scholars were increasingly becoming aware of the rich prehistoric elements of the Balearic Islands in the early 20th century, one archaeologist emerged as a leader of Balearic prehistory. Josep Colominas i Roca was a Catalan archaeologist based in Barcelona working in the early part of the twentieth century on Mediterranean Prehistory. From 1915-1920 he was commissioned to excavate a number of localities on Mallorca, including the town sites of Els Antigors, Capacorb Vell, Pedregar, San Juliá, Es Mitjá Gran, Vernissa, and Santueri, alongside the cave site of Cova de San Juliá. His excavations are recognized today as the foundation of prehistoric archaeological scholarship in the region, paving the way for the first systematic appraisal of Balearic Prehistory. While Cartailhac and Murray provided valuable foreign exposure and insight, it was Colominas who really began the tradition of Balearic prehistoric studies through his systematic and multitudinous projects. Like the autochthonous antiquarian scholars and early Roman archaeologists, Balearic prehistoric studies were from a very early stage dominated by local, Catalan academic interest (see Colominas 1923).

While Colominas paved the way for early prehistorians, the Civil War that raged from 1936-1939 fundamentally changed the archaeological landscape of Spain. In fact, Colominas was

under the direction of Pere Bosch i Gimpera at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, who fled to Mexico following the Fascist victory. The disruption of anti-Fascist Catalan academia after the Civil War brought about a relative silence in prehistoric studies stemming from the islands until the 1950's. While excavations at historic, Roman sites had taken place up to and after 1936-1939, it is clear that archaeologists took a decidedly more focused look at Balearic prehistory in the 1950's and 1960's.

In order to understand properly why archaeologists in Spain began focusing again on the prehistory of Menorca and Mallorca a decade after the civil war, larger political agendas must be taken into account. Up until the Spanish Civil War, some prominent Spanish archaeologists had aligned themselves with German models of cultural progression proposed by Gustav Kossina, which persisted until World War II (Díaz-Andreu 1993). Still, these archaeologists, such as Julio Martínez Santa Olalla, were not necessarily concerned with the role of the Balearic Islands in prehistory and their relation to the national narrative of prehistory.[4] After the Second World War, the political atmosphere of Spain was decidedly different. By not entering the war and supporting Germany, the Spaniards avoided disaster, but also isolated themselves - with Portugal - as Fascist nations. This was important for the history of archaeology in Spain, as the nation retained its authoritarian political structure, yet they had cut themselves off from the larger political agendas and academies of Europe until the death of Franco in 1975.

Isolation and authoritarianism gave rise to two trends in archaeology. The first was an internal reflection and a focus on a decidedly Spanish or Iberian academia, without much

[4] This was in spite of Santa Olalla's general interests in Catalan prehistory on the mainland in order to establish links between German Celts and the so-called "Celt-Iberians" of the Spanish mainland (for more information see Díaz-Andreu 1993; 2002). Santa Olalla was actually Pere Bosch i Gimpera's student in Barcelona, but sided with the Falangist movement at the outset of the Civil War. The Balearic Islands seemingly never enter these contentious theoretical discussions. Perhaps due to their island status and idiosyncratic prehistoric elements, the islands may have been considered peripheral.

contact with broader archaeological trends or theories that were popularized in places like the United Kingdom, the United States, France or even Italy. Neglected for example were movements beyond cultural-historical models of interpretation, the birth of New Archaeology, the first waves of archaeological survey, and Marxist archaeologies. The second trend was the consolidation of archaeological excavations into a single government archaeological agency, namely the Comisario General de Excavaciones Arqueologicas (CGEA). The CGEA, directed first by Julio Martínez Santa Olalla until the mid-1950's then by Luis Pericot García, was a means of controlling archaeological and intellectual output, as well as geographic foci (Díaz Andreu 1993). While this structure only lasted until the late 1950's, the effects of this reorganization would be felt for decades in the influence of prominent scholars and their scholarly products, particularly in the Balearic Islands.

Political factors led to Spanish archaeologists turning inward and focusing on areas and ancient sites that Spain controlled. This could explain the growing interest in Balearic prehistory arising. What is also perhaps a factor in the growing popularity of Balearic prehistory was that Talayotic archaeology was not politically charged. Because of episodes of depopulation during the Reconquista in the thirteenth century, the people of Mallorca and Menorca have no ancestral links to the megalithic monuments on the islands, unlike, for example, Sardinian connections to nuraghi. Mallorca was also pro-Franco and the Fascist Rebellion, while Menorca was vehemently Republican. Yet the prehistoric cultures of Mallorca and Menorca never seemed to enter political debates, unlike the Celt-Iberians and other mainland prehistoric cultures. Perhaps the Balearic Islands were seen as a neutral zone and an opportunity to study prehistory without political ramifications.

An important post-Spanish Civil War archaeologist who worked in the Balearic Islands was Luis Pericot García, the director of the CGEA from the mid-1950's mentioned above. To date, Pericot has written one of the only digests of archaeological data and trends on all four Balearic Islands from early prehistory to the Roman period with his work *The Balearic Islands* (1972).[5] Although one could argue whether this task is even feasible today, it remains one of the only comprehensive works on the archaeology of the Balearics translated into English today.[6] In the history of Balearic archaeology, Pericot's archaeological work on the islands is considered relatively minor. Pericot published a few items on the prehistory of the Balearic Islands in the 1920's, but returned to the islands in the 1950's and 60's from the position of various high-powered administrative and university appointments in Barcelona (Díaz-Andreu 2012: 58-66). His publications on Menorcan and Mallorcan archaeology are relatively few, focusing not on fieldwork, but on larger syntheses like his 1972 work mentioned above, taken from a work originally published in Spanish in 1958 (Díaz-Andreu 2012: 227-228; Pericot 1958; 1972).[7] Despite just a small number of general publications on the island, Pericot was very influential to the scholars and scholarship emerging from the islands in the formative 1950's and 1960's. Pericot's involvement and dialogue with the William J. Bryant Foundation led to a multi-decade collaborative project at Pollentia in Mallorca, starting in the 1960's and eventually overseen by Dartmouth College (Díaz-Andreu 2012: 227; Doenges 2005). The Bryant Foundation represents one of the few links between Spanish and American academia and funding in the mid-20th century and, until the early 2000's, the only American-run project on the Balearics.[8] Also, from

[5] Although one could argue that Guerrero et al. 2006a and 2006b come close to the task.
[6] The recent release of Van Strydonck's 2014b work is in many ways an updated version of Pericot's work, stemming from a Dutch scholar.
[7] As well as a re-translation back into Spanish of the 1972 English text in 1975 under the same name as the 1958 text (Pericot 1975).
[8] That is except for those projects run by William Waldren; however Waldren was not associated with an American university and most of his collaborators were Spanish.

his position at the Universitat de Barcelona, Pericot began a scholarly tradition at the university of studying Balearic prehistory that continues to this day with scholars such as Vicente Lull and the team working at Son Fornés, Mallorca. Along with the Universitat de les Illes Baleares, the Universitat de Barcelona maintains the largest concentration of Balearic prehistorians in Spain. Pericot represents an influential figure for both foreign involvement as well as the creation of a scholarly tradition of Balearic prehistoric archaeology in the academy.

Although Pericot's actual archaeological involvement with the islands was relatively minor, his student, Guillermo Roselló Bordoy was responsible for many archaeological operations, in Mallorca specifically, in the mid to late 20th century. (Riera and Riera 1999:7). His influence on the archaeology of the island was great in the 1960's, 70's, 80's and 90's, as he was seemingly involved in a large number of projects of multiple time periods on both Mallorca and Menorca. His work was supported by his involvement with the Museo Diocesano de Mallorca in Palma, which is the main archaeological museum of Mallorca, where he was curator-director of the museum from 1963 until recently (Riera and Riera 1999: 7). Roselló is a native Mallorcan, and has produced a corpus of publications that number in the hundreds. His importance for Mallorcan archaeology speaks for itself in both his position at the Museo Diocesano, as well as a lectureship which he maintained at the Universitat de les Illes Balears starting in 1965.[9] Although his doctoral thesis was on the prehistory of the Balearic Islands (1973), he is particularly notable for his work on Al-Andalus and the Balearics under Islamic control. He arrived at his dissertation topic through the guidance of Pericot, both promoting and promulgating prehistoric archaeology in the Balearic Islands through the establishment of an

[9]Riera and Riera 1999 refer to Roselló Bordoy's involvement with the Universitat de les Illes Balears since 1965. As the university was officially founded in 1978, this is probably referring to the associated higher education satellite campuses in Palma that shared affiliation with the Universitat de Barcelona and the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona from 1949 on.

academic archaeology group at the Universitat de les Illes Balears. Today, the Universitat remains a hub of prehistoric studies of the Balearic Islands.

Yet international scholarship did not cease during the Franco era. One international scholar who contributed greatly to the archaeology of Mallorca was Giovanni Lilliu. Working in the 1950's as Ses Païses, Lilliu adopted the chronology of Talayotic I (1500-1000), Talayotic II (1000-500) and Talayotic III (500-123 B.C.E.), and considered the Talayotic culture to be an isolated island group, particularly during the first two defined epochs (Palomar 2005). No doubt this presumption was based on geographic insularity and Lilliu's interpretation of the Talayots as an anti-outsider defense system (Palomar 2005). Lilliu was also a prominent scholar of Sardinian archaeology, primarily working on the Italian island. The connections were undoubtedly plentiful in his research, potentially again leading to an understandable yet incorrect assumption that these monuments were contemporaneous.

Another foreign prehistorian with a lasting impact on the Balearic Islands was William Waldren. Waldren began as an amateur archaeologist living on Mallorca, eventually rising to become a fully professional scholar and very well published contributor. Waldren was an American and conducted excavations all over Menorca and Mallorca. He was in large part responsible for international (particularly Anglophone) awareness of the archaeological potential of the Balearic Islands in the 1970's and 1980's through the establishment of a Museum at Deiá and international colloquia held there regularly. Some of Waldren's more impressive contributions include *The Balearic Pentapartite Division of Prehistory* (1986), in which he provided a radiocarbon sequence and dating for monuments and sites from all periods on the Balearics as well as *The Beaker Culture of the Balearic Islands* (1998). While his 1986 work was a significant step forward in the consideration of the Balearic Islands in a more grounded

temporal sequence, with a guide to absolute dates and an air of processual validity to archaeological findings, some of the dates have since been disproven. In particular, Waldren's work concerning the later, Talayotic and Late Talayotic periods, has been reevaluated due to the inclusion of corrupted or improperly calibrated samples. It is difficult to say whether Waldren was responsible or even partially responsible for what could be considered a boom in processual methods employed in Balearic prehistoric, but one could argue that his emphasis on discerning absolute dates and nailing down the chronologies of the excavations and monuments throughout the islands was a step in the right direction for island comparability to other parts of the Mediterranean.

Over the course of the twentieth century, prehistorians created a tradition of Balearic archaeology that has been rooted in international collaboration from the beginning. The archaeologists mentioned above began certain traditions of understanding the prehistoric, archaeological record, spurring initial interest in the enigmatic prehistoric monuments, establishing an academic archaeology group on Mallorca and Menorca, creating international collaborations, or instigating a rapid turn to scientific, processualism-driven methods through the incorporation of radiocarbon dating. Yet all of these archaeologists operated in a temporal system that placed the Talayotic culture in the Bronze Age, even after initial radiocarbon dating.[10] The Late Talayotic period, for all intents and purposes, did not exist as it does today. Under these prehistorians, the late or Post-Talayotic period was considered a cultural dead zone, spanning the entire Iron Age until the Roman conquest, without innovation or landscape modification, only to be revived by Carthaginian trade and the subsequent Roman conquest. In other words, the Late Talayotic period was synonymous with collapse, following a typical rise

[10] Lilliu recognized the potential importance of the later periods, yet still understood the Talayotic period as a Bronze Age phenomenon, in many ways reinforcing ideas of collapse and cultural decay associated with the Late Talayotic.

and fall of an ancient culture. As the next section will discuss, recent scholarship has compressed the Talayotic and Late Talayotic periods into the Iron Age, pushing indigenous chronologies into periods of Phoenician, Carthaginian and even Roman interactions. Yet for a century, the Late Talayotic was unknowingly ignored or improperly assigned, ultimately hindering our ability to understand what is now understood as a dynamic period in the pre- or protohistory of the islands.

Patterns of Change, Models of Colonialism: The Protohistoric Archaeologists

One important addition to the study of Balearic archaeology after the death of Franco and a veritable flood of theoretical paradigms in the late 1970's and early 1980's was the increased focus on interstitial periods. The study of protohistory does not necessarily adhere to the characterization of pure prehistoric cultures, but focuses on interactions with other colonial or imperial powers and the transitional episodes therein. The work of protohistorians has been a blessing and a curse for the archaeology of indigenous Mallorca and Menorca. At times these scholars fall back on basic paradigms of colonialism and cultural diffusion, yet they have also given life to a once neglected period.

It was the scholars of protohistory that began reassessing the radiocarbon dates obtained by Waldren in the 1990's and early 2000's, reevaluating samples recovered from their own excavations of later prehistoric sites on both islands (Guerrero et al. 2002). By the early 2000's it became widely accepted through the work of these protohistorians that the Talayotic cultural manifestations of talayots, taulas, megalithic domestic structures, and various types of burials were in fact much younger than previously thought, pushing discussions of indigenous Mallorcan and Menorcan culture into dialogue with colonial and imperial interactions (Guerrero et al. 2002; 2006b). The longstanding effects of protohistoric approaches to the archaeological

evidence on Mallorca and Menorca have resulted in a wealth of literature on the subject and theoretical paradigms that in many ways differ from mainland Spain, reflecting instead theoretical avenues used in the analyses of Roman Gaul (Michelozzi 1982).

Protohistoric analyses of the islands began in the late 1970's and early 1980's with scholars such as Victor Guerrero and his students. Guerrero began taking a serious look at the links between late prehistoric cultures and external, economic or colonial influences. He was instrumental in uncovering evidence of direct Punic engagement and even settlement on the southern coast of Mallorca (Guerrero 1984; 1985; 1991; 1997). Although his identification of some of these sites as "colonies" is questionable, and will be discussed further in subsequent chapters, the idea that the Punic world was directly interacting with the pre- or protohistoric cultures of Mallorca, and at least indirectly with Menorca, was a step forward in understanding the longue durée of the islands' histories. These discussions of protohistoric interactions in many ways make this dissertation possible, as scholars of Balearic protohistory have provided the fundamental publications to take a broader, synthetic look at the second half of the first century B.C.E. and episodes of foreign and indigenous interactions.

Archaeology in the Balearics Today:

Despite the advances of protohistorians in connecting indigenous history to the broader Mediterranean world in the first millennium B.C.E., the opinions and interpretations of scholars are today often dictated by institutional affiliation. There are two main institutions where archaeologists studying the Balearic Islands are housed today. The first, unsurprisingly, is the Universitat de les Illes Baleares (UIB), where Roselló Bordoy has lectured since the 1960's and other notable scholars such as Victor M. Guerrero Ayuso hold professorships and greatly influenced students of the university for decades. Today the UIB consists of a number of

scholars pertinent to the dissertation at hand, including Manuel Calvo Trias and Daniel Albero Santacreu, as well as others particularly focused on the earlier Talayotic and Pre-Talayotic periods. The UIB is the most consistently active archaeological force on the islands in terms of sheer volume of excavation projects, particularly when the works of Roselló Bordoy and Guerrero are taken into consideration. Their current foci span all four islands, though their work with excavations in and around the Calvía area in southwestern Mallorca is particularly compelling and will factor in this dissertation.

The other major group from the Universitat Autónoma in Barcelona (UAB) is perhaps not as big as that from the UIB, but nevertheless has worked consistently on the islands for a long period of time. It might be argued that the interests of Pericot himself led to the lasting legacy that the UAB has had on the archaeology of Mallorca. Their current and recent members include Vincente Lull, Rafael Micó Peréz, Mateu Riera Rullan, and Beatriz Palomar Puebla, all of whom will be referenced extensively in this dissertation. The work of the UAB has revolved in recent years around the site of Son Fornés in central Mallorca (Lull et al. 2008). This site is one of the most important for understanding the progression of the Talayotic culture from the Talayotic period to and into the Roman period. This is due to the careful manner in which the excavations have been carried out and the attention to detail in the recreation of the area's monumental and domestic spaces. The site is not large, but the information and their archaeological museum are important for understanding the closing chapters of Mallorcan prehistory.

One of the major distinctions between the two schools is the chronological sequence they use to define Mallorcan and Menorcan prehistory. While these designations are in my opinion not important for the general understanding of the long term processes of cultural

change in the Talayotic culture, it should be understood the amount of conceptual influence these designations potentially have on the archaeology of the Balearics. For example, the UIB defines the Talayotic period as roughly 900/800-600/500 B.C.E. as Talayotico I, and from 600/500-123 B.C.E. as Talayótico II or Postalayótico (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 247). The UAB defines their chronological sequence as follows: 850-550 B.C.E. is Talayótico, 550-250 B.C.E. is Postalayótico and 250 B.C.E. – 100 C.E. is Clássic/Romá (Lull et al. 2008: 20-23). It is difficult to argue which chronological sequence is better, as, for example, the UAB bases much of its chronology on Son Fornés (Lull et al. 2008). Nevertheless, the distinction between Post-Talayotic and Classical or Roman recognizes some of the complexity of the Late Talayotic period, though the use of Talayotic IV is perhaps more apt in assessing the indigenous culture as connected to the previous Talayotic III phase without any sense of cultural decay implied in the Post-Talayotic label. Nevertheless, the UIB ends their chronology at 123 B.C.E., reflecting a reliance on textual information in the beginning of the Roman period. Still, the time period this dissertation hopes to address falls between roughly the sixth century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., and therefore encompasses multiple periods in each chronological scheme. For a graphic representation of these dates, see Chapter 1, Table 1.

Beyond the UAB and the UIB, there are a scatter of other Spanish universities that are involved in the archaeology of the Balearics and, in particular, the archaeology of the protohistoric and Roman periods on the islands. For example, not far away from the UAB, Miguel Ángel Cau, an expert in Late Roman archaeology of the Balearics but also notably involved with the important Roman city of Pollentia, teaches at the Universitat de Barcelona where he received his Ph.D. One of his colleagues and co-directors of the excavations in Pollentia, Margarita Orfila Pons, is now located at the Universidad de Granada, but received wrote her Ph.D. thesis at the UIB, which we will return to in Chapter 5. Both of these scholars

are actually quite a bit later in chronological interest than those housed at the UIB and UAB, particularly with emphases on Roman and late Roman material culture. There are no significant groups of archaeologists studying the Balearic Roman period at any university in Spain, unlike prehistoric studies. Scholars of Balearic Roman history and archaeology are scattered throughout Spain.

The impact of local museums on both islands must be considered when discussing the archaeological environment on Mallorca and Menorca and the excavations associated with these institutions. On Mallorca for example, the Deiá Museum in the western mountains, founded by William Waldren in the 1960's, served as both a research center for the surrounding area as well as a collaboration hub with yearly conferences for decades, only recently declining in prominence due to the death of Waldren in 2003. The Museu de Manacor in the eastern plain of Mallorca also houses a large collection of archaeological remains and is in charge of excavations surrounding such notable sites as S'Hospitallet Vell (Ramis and Salas 2014). On Menorca, the largest player would have to be the Museu de Menorca in Mahón, directed by Luis Plantalamor and responsible for many recent excavations on Menorca, including those at Cornia Nou, Torre d'en Galmés, and Cala Morell. The Museu de Ciutadella, located on the opposite side of the island from Mahón is primarily concerned with the area immediately surrounding Ciutadella, but also houses a large collection of Roman remains associated with the city, which has been identified as ancient *Iamo*.

International collaboration is also an important development for the history of archaeological study on the islands. European involvement in Mallorca and Menorca has varied throughout time with early interests by British and Italian prehistorians such as Margaret Murray and Giovanni Lilliu, as well as the very early interests of Émile Cartailhac. Today,

international collaboration persists in a number of capacities. Examples include the excavations of Cap de Forma in southern Menorca by a team from Sassari (Depalmas 2014) and the work of Van Strydonck of The Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage in Belgium on a number of projects on Menorca and Mallorca (see Van Strydonck 2014b). American involvement has historically been prominent on the island due to the work of the Bryant Foundation and their close ties to the excavations at Pollentia in collaboration with Dartmouth College (Doenges 2005). Today Pollentia forms part of the ArchaeoSpain network which invites scholars from all over the world to participate in excavations at Son Peretó and Pollentia on Mallorca (Cau et al. 2014), as well as sites in mainland Spain and Monte Testaccio, Italy. The program in Pollentia is for American high school students and continues an American legacy at the site, though not through an American institution. Another prominent international field school is the Ecomuseu de Sanisera, located in northern Menorca. As the name suggests, the primary focus of the school is on the Roman site of Sanisera and associated underwater and close-by archaeological remains (Contreras 1998; Contreras et al. 2006). Sanisera is particularly successful in the recruitment of American field school students, and is open to academic archaeologists as well as non-professional enthusiasts. The Boston University Menorca Field School in Archaeology and Heritage Management has been operating in Menorca at the site of Torre d'en Galmés from 2001-2014, previously excavated at Talatí de Dalt in 2000, and more recently at the site of Isla del Rey from 2013-2014 (Pérez-Juez 2011; Pérez-Juez et al. 2007). Finally, the University of Washington is launching a field school in collaboration with members of the UIB at the site of Talaiot de Mestre Ramon in Eastern Mallorca in the fall of 2014. Their appears to be a steady international presence on the islands with a substantial American contingency and the end result of many of these operations is a growing number of students who have worked in the Balearic Islands as undergraduates at a field school. In fact, there is probably a higher concentration of American students working in

the Balearics at field schools than in any other part of Spain. In short, American interest in the Balearic Islands will probably continue to grow in the next few decades.

Institutional Divides

Moving beyond the current state of field research on the islands, prehistoric, protohistoric and Classical-based archaeologies in many ways work in concert today in the Balearics but are still somewhat institutionally separated. Prehistoric and protohistoric archaeologies are concerned with people on the other side of history and both are based in anthropological theory. Balearic pre- and protohistorians are often located in the same departments and institutions, in constant contact with each other. Classical archaeology remains a bit of an institutional outsider. In particular, as the previous section highlighted, archaeologists concerned with the Balearic Islands during the Roman period are not located in the institutions and universities as the pre- and protohistorians of the Balearic Islands. While the academic system is quite different in Spain than in the US, and does not necessarily divide Classical and anthropological archaeologists, institutional separation nevertheless serves that purpose for the Balearic Islands, ultimately fragmenting discussions of indigenous islanders interacting with classical civilizations.

In this division then, we have a significant challenge concerning the interface of prehistory and history in terms of the creation of knowledge and the pursuit of archaeological information. In 123 B.C.E. the island populations of Mallorca and Menorca suddenly become part of what modern scholars view as a historical culture. Within the modern structure of both American and European academia, the Romans are studied differently from prehistoric cultures. This is especially evident in the United States with the placement of Classical, Roman archaeologists in Classical Studies departments and never within Anthropology departments

where one just might find a Mediterranean prehistorian. In Spain the situation is a bit more complicated. The division between academic structures is perhaps not as uniform as in North America. There may be some division between departments of Prehistory and Anthropology or Prehistory and Archaeology, and other more classically-minded departments of History and Geography in Spain, both of which house archaeologists. But there are also departments such as the Historical Sciences and Theory of Arts at the Universitat de les Illes Balears that appears to house all historians and archaeologists, perhaps owing to the size of the school. In other words, variation exists, more so than in American academia. Nevertheless, even without such obvious departmental divisions in Spain, as discussed above, prehistoric and classical archaeologists of the Balearic Islands are generally not employed by the same institutions. It is safe to say that the interface of prehistory and history poses some disciplinary tension in the Balearic Islands, which has resulted in a lack of methodological consistency over time, a fractured study of these island landscapes and a differential incorporation of archaeological theory.

Divisions in academic space, whether departmental or conceptual, lead to theoretical and methodological divergences. Yet, at the same time, many scholars have tried to work between spaces, such as protohistorians. Nevertheless, they often find themselves housed alongside or intellectually aligned with prehistorians, as protohistory is the study of the people without history who are interacting with historical cultures. This can extend to prehistoric societies coming into contact with historical societies, or even subclasses of historical societies that are not literate nor can create literature about themselves, yet are still nominally part of a larger historical entity. The Late Talayotic people of late first millennium B.C.E. fit both these criteria. The studied people and cultures are on the cusp of history, but not quite historical, leading to a significant difference in the way protohistoric populations have to be approached

archaeologically, different from prehistoric entities in some ways, but much more closely aligned with prehistoric, anthropologically-based studies than historical, classical civilizations.

Early proponents of protohistoric work such as Guerrero spearheaded research into colonial interactions, but the theoretical weight behind these research paradigms have in some ways been lacking, at least in the 1980's and 1990's iterations of these arguments. While this dissertation will examine archaeological information through the lens of post-colonial theoretical paradigms with regard to the Punic period, large strides forward have already been made in this field on the islands today, particularly with regard to Punic interactions with local inhabitants (Guerrero 1994; 2003). It is really, in my opinion, the Roman transition that proves most problematic for protohistory and any sort of theoretically inclined narrative regarding the end of prehistory.

Nevertheless, some consider the beginning of Punic interactions around the sixth century B.C.E. to be the end of prehistory. In other words, the degree to which Balearic islanders were incorporated into Punic economies and army structure has led many to believe that the islands were firmly under Carthaginian control (Contreras 1998). In keeping with these ideas, the Carthaginian presence in the archaeological record has been regarded as evidence of colonial control (see Guerrero 1997), representing a general shift away from Talayotic and Late Talayotic culture. Although this idea does have some merit in assuming that trade with societies outside of the islands had a major impact on island culture beginning around the sixth century B.C.E., it nevertheless simplifies the matter, perhaps to a fault. Although Mallorcan and Menorcan culture saw significant changes in the sixth century B.C.E. and after, indigenous peoples were clearly still occupying the same landscapes and sites. If anything, indigenous culture sees internal change, bringing about societal idiosyncrasy on Menorca and Mallorca manifested in

elite houses, ceremonial structures and burials. Rather than the direct result of Punic cultural hegemony or cultural diffusion, these changes stem from the indigenous heritage and culture on both islands, as will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Mallorcan and Menorcan societies were surely impacted by Punic wealth and trade, creating a multi-cultural negotiation of material and ceremonial practices on the islands, which extended into the Roman period. But indigenous culture was not subsumed by larger Western Mediterranean forces.

The Romans, however, provide what many call a complete halt to prehistory when they conquer the islands in 123 B.C.E. And, in some ways, they are correct. This is no longer a matter of an economic relationship with an outside culture. The Romans set up colonies and begin occupying major centers on the islands beginning in the first century B.C.E. The indigenous islanders' way of life is eventually not supported by trade, but instead slowly gives way to an incoming colonial, then imperial, economic system and people of different cultures. Much of this can be associated with the military domination of the islands and the formal incorporation of the land by a foreign power. Despite the conquest, indigenous society was not destroyed in 123 B.C.E. under the control of Rome. Evidence for the persistence of indigenous lifeways exists at many sites throughout both islands, in some cases dating to the second and third centuries C.E. The biggest problem, however, is a general lack of interest for this later time period at indigenous sites, perpetuating a temporal division that sees the Roman conquest as the end of indigenous culture and prehistory. Pre- and protohistorians are for the most part not interested in this later time period, relying on Roman archaeologists working at Roman foundation sites to fill the temporal void. In this manner, the Roman conquest of 123 B.C.E. still provides an admittedly significant break for the indigenous chronologies of Mallorca and Menorca, as well as an interpretive arena that is rarely approached by scholars. Although some authors have tried to break this conceptual barrier with archaeological evidence pointing to the persistence of

indigenous sites during the Roman period (Cardell et al. 1990), a theoretical interpretation of these phenomena is for the most part lacking. In this manner, protohistoric, anthropologically-based studies of the later iterations of indigenous culture on both islands are almost non-existent for the Roman period.

Despite strides made in the last three decades in the understanding of the protohistoric archaeological evidence of the Late Talayotic peoples, conceptual barriers still exist. Institutional barriers in Spain are perhaps not as systemic as the United States in dividing classical and anthropological archaeologists, yet divisions remain in approaching the archaeology of the Late Talayotic culture during the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. Theoretical, anthropological approaches to archaeological evidence are still more common in earlier prehistoric analyses of Pre-Talayotic and even Talayotic evidence, along with more concentrated emphasis on archaeometric analyses. There is evidence, however, that this trend is starting to change. As Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 will discuss, archaeologists are increasingly discussing the Late Talayotic and publishing material on the period and even the early Roman period. This dissertation will attempt to synthesize those publications in order to begin to look at the Late Talayotic cultures of both islands from a theoretical lens. One of the largest conceptual barriers to the study of the Late Talayotic peoples during the protohistoric and Roman periods is the textual data of historical authors, to which I now turn.

The Historical Record and the Study of the (Late) Talayotic People

Having discussed scholarship trends in the Balearics today and the influential predecessors for the study of the Late Talayotic culture in the second half of the first century B.C.E., I now turn to the proverbial elephant in the room: the historical record. The historical

corpus for the Balearic Islands is not particularly extensive, but is nevertheless influential to scholarship surrounding the islands, particularly just before, during, and after the Roman conquest. Rather than produce an encyclopedic account of all the ancient Greek and Roman textual sources, as well as epigraphic examples associated with the island, I have only chosen a select few that, in my opinion, hold the most significance for the study and understanding of the Late Talayotic people during the Protohistoric and early Roman periods. The following portion of the chapter is not an attempt to criticize the manner in which Roman archaeology, as a historical archaeology, is done on the islands. Rather it is an effort to show how historical and textual sources that deal with the Roman conquest of the Balearics have molded modern scholars' perception of the indigenous Late Talayotic people, before and after the Roman conquest of the islands.

Republican and Early Imperial Writers: Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny the Elder

In order to approach the goal above, it is necessary to understand exactly of what the textual tradition consists concerning the Balearics in the works of Roman authors. For the purposes of simplicity, Menorca and Mallorca will be discussed in concert with Ibiza and Formentera. The Balearics are in fact mentioned in many different ancient historical and poetic sources from the Greco-Roman world. Most of these references, however, are limited to off-hand comments regarding the Balearic slinger in reference to either military tactics or metaphorical, poetic significance in works such as Ovid.[11] Still, three ancient authors offer more substantive glimpses into the history and nature of the Balearic Islands: Pliny the the Elder, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus. While the texts of the former two primarily concern military and

[11] As a quick reference, the Balearics are mentioned by the following notable authors as well: Caesar, Cicero, Claudius Ptolemaeus, Dio Cassius, Florus, Frontinus, Mela, Orosius, Ovid, Plutarch, Polybius, Procopius, Severus, Virgil, Vitruvius, and Zonares (taken from the compilation by Blanes i Blanes et al. 1990).

geographic matters, the latter examples offer glimpses into the nature of the indigenous inhabitants of all four islands.

Turning to basic historical facts, Diodorus and Pliny the Elder are particularly important for their insights into the nature of the landscape and the general history of the islands, especially with regard to the Roman invasion. In this sense, the first major impact these texts have on our historical perceptions is with reference to historical dates. The first of these worth mentioning is the founding date of the Phoenician settlement on the island of Ibiza. Diodorus gives the founding date of *Ibshim* or the town on Ibiza as 160 years after the founding of Carthage, or 654 B.C.E. (Diodorus Siculus *Historical Library* V.16). While this date does actually concern a period well in advance of Roman settlement, it is important to remember that Diodorus, in recording this date, was writing in the mid-first century B.C.E. His perspective on this founding date can therefore be understood as a product of extant knowledge during an age of Roman hegemony over the Mediterranean and thus, in some manner, a product of Roman historical knowledge projecting onto the past.

While the exact date of the *foedus* agreement with Rome on the islands of Ibiza and Formentera is not secure, though conjecturally dated to the early second century B.C.E., the second date worth mentioning is 123 B.C.E. and the conquest of Mallorca and Menorca by Quintus Metellus, later known as Metellus Balearicus (Morgan 1969: 217); Pliny the Elder provides the source (*Natural History* (III.77). This date essentially provides the moment when Roman influence went from an indirect, most likely economic status to direct military control of the island. Having such a date, like that of the Phoenician founding date of Ibiza, is a very tempting control point on which to base shifting patterns of material consumption, inhabitation, or even destructive events. In fact, Pliny the Elder dates the founding of the two major cities on Mallorca, Palma and Pollentia, to exactly this time period, claiming that Metellus himself

founded the cities through the incorporation of 3,000 Roman settlers (*Natural History* III.77; Guerrero et al. 2007a: 80). As will be discussed below, archaeological evidence provides a different story of this event. Still, unlike the Phoenician founding date, scholars generally agree that this date is taken from the works of Posidonius originally, who was actually alive when Quintus Metellus invaded the islands (Morgan 1969: 227). This does not take away from the conceptual influence of the date, however, in understanding the archaeological record and the Roman interactions which followed.

Moving to other basic sources of evidence, another impact historical works have is on the naming of the islands themselves. In ancient times, the island group was divided between the southern two and northern two islands. In this manner, Ibiza and Formentera, as already noted, were known as the Pityusses or pine islands for their floral characteristic, cited in Strabo and taken from Posidonius (*Geography* III.5). Mallorca and Menorca, on the other hand, were known as either the Balearics, after the Greek βάλλειν, referencing the verb "to throw," as in a sling stone, or as the Gymansiae or "naked" islands (Strabo *Geography* III.5). This latter designation owes to the evident nakedness of the Balearic warriors in battle. Both of the terms used for Mallorca and Menorca are based on assumptions made about the indigenous populations, another theme which will be returned to below.

Finally, a third major line of evidence taken from historical documents is the names of Roman cities and colonies on the islands, as well as the approximate population of each island in antiquity. The names are found again in the works of Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* III.76-77). In his descriptions of the islands, Pliny cites Ebussus (Ibiza) as the only town on the Pityusses. The northern two islands have five on Mallorca and three on Menorca.[12] Although the exact placement of these cities is not specified by Pliny, having a record of the names of settlements

[12] On Mallorca these are Palma, Pollentia, Bocchorus, Guium, and Tucim. On Menorca these are Sanisera, Iamon and Magon. For a discussion of these sites see Chapter 3.

immediately provides some level of context to the Roman landscape of the Balearic Islands. In terms of demography, Diodorus provides us with population estimates claiming that the northern two islands could each support 30,000 individuals (*Historical Library* V.17). This number is also important for scholars attempting to understand to what extent island landscapes could have been populated in antiquity.

Before moving to later authors, it is useful also to understand how the more ethnographic accounts of the people of the Balearics may also have an effect on the manner in which modern scholars approach these ancient populations today. Strabo and Diodorus provide the most detailed descriptions of the people of the island group around the time of Roman conquest. Beginning with the southern two islands, Diodorus distinguishes the people of the Pityusses as a rather cosmopolitan mix of "barbarians," though Phoenicians or Punic peoples are most common (*Historical Library* V.16). While "barbarian" in this light should perhaps not be understood as an inherently negative term, it is clear that these islands were perceived as a cultural entity distinct from the northern two islands.

Moving to Mallorca and Menorca, Strabo again provides a rare, though perhaps idyllic glimpse into the contemporary customs of the Balearic peoples. In his descriptions of the inhabitants of the islands, he takes an almost kind-hearted view of the Balearic peoples, viewing them as benign, peaceful people owing to the fertility of the lands (*Geography* III.5). This was prior to the Roman conquest of course, when, according to Strabo, a few bad apples from the Gulf of Leon began committing piratical activities from the ports of the islands (*Geography* III.5). While this view is in large part shared by Diodorus, Livy does not make the distinction between the pirates and islanders, validating Quintus Metellus' military actions in conquering the

northern two islands (Morgan 1969: 218).[13] What can be gleaned from Strabo's account in particular is an assumption that the people of Mallorca and Menorca were simple, appeased barbarians within their fertile lands and isolated environment, portrayed as content with their lack of complexity. Livy's account portrays the islanders as pirates, and therefore in need of Roman intervention to quell lawlessness. It is questionable as to which perception is more favorable; yet either way, the islanders are in some way portrayed as inferior to the surrounding Roman civilization.

Diodorus provides two more descriptions of the nature of the Balearic islanders. He claims that the island inhabitants were also cave dwellers (*Historical Library* V.17). Although Diodorus does not necessarily mention this trait in a negative light, it nevertheless supports Strabo's assertions regarding the simplicity of the peoples, what likely stems from Strabo and Diodorus' mutual source of Posidonius (Morgan 1969: 219). Diodorus also claims that on the islands of Menorca and Mallorca, things such as precious metals or currency are not seen as valuable, but instead the islanders enjoy payment, particularly for their mercenary activities, with wine and women (*Historical Library* V.17). The culture in many ways is portrayed as free from the pitfalls of a monetary economy, again enjoying a relatively uncomplicated culture and potentially egalitarianism.

As mentioned above, the textual sources also provide ample information toward an understanding of the natives of Mallorca and Menorca as adept slingers, first in the Carthaginian, then the Roman army. While Livy offers clues into the military force in the Carthaginian armies, Strabo in particular offers a more ethnographic glimpse into the seriousness of slinging culture on the northern two islands. According to him, children in the Balearics would have to sling for their daily food allowance (Strabo, *Geography* III.5). Essentially,

[13] This vantage point is extrapolated from other, later extant works, as this particular portion of Livy's work does not now exist. These ancient sources included Florus and Orosius (Morgan 1969: 223).

Strabo is expanding on the notion that these people, along with being humble islanders, are also warriors trained from birth. Although they are not inherently violent, they are skilled fighters. It is clear that Strabo in particular looks upon the Balearics in a positive, if a slightly patronizing light. In this manner, when faced with Roman conquest in particular, the implication is that the society of the Balearics could not withstand the complex economic, political and military institutions of the Roman Empire, as their society was a relative *tabula rasa* and would have inevitably succumbed to Roman lifeways. As will be discussed below, this has an inherent effect on the manner in which modern scholars understand the process of Roman control and administration of the islands, as well as the changes in material culture, landscape, and lifeways.

Writing in the High Empire: Florus

In his analysis of the island, Florus adds his own opinions to the nature of the Balearic conquest. Unlike Diodorus who was writing in the first century C.E., or Strabo who was writing in the first century B.C.E., Florus, based in Africa, was writing during the second century C.E. during the time of Trajan and Hadrian. What is most intriguing about Florus' depiction of the Balearic islanders and their subsequent conquest lies in his specific details. At first glance, it is clear that Florus favors Livy's interpretation of the conquest, namely that the Romans justly routed a community of privateers preying on trade routes up and down the Spanish Balearic Coast. It is also clear that Strabo has been consulted in the assessment of details regarding the nature of the Balearic Islanders, namely about the Balearic children slinging for their daily bread (Florus *Epitome* I.43.5). Yet beyond these two influences, Florus takes on a particularly pejorative tone.

Unlike Strabo or Diodorus Siculus, to Florus the Balearic Islander is no longer the noble, egalitarian barbarian, but an immoral simpleton, prone to illegal activity and violence toward the arbiters of morality, the Romans. This is clearly expressed when Florus states, " You may wonder that savages who dwelt in the woods should venture even to look upon the sea from

their native rocks…" (Florus *Epitome* I.43.2-3). This statement is then followed by, "…but they actually went on board roughly constructed ships, and from time to time terrified passing ships by attacking them unexpectedly," (Florus *Epitome* I.43.3). In these statements, Florus is creating a caricature of the Balearic Islander as a greedy yet technologically and culturally backward savage who seizes the opportunity to prey on the weak. If indeed it was the islanders themselves who were partaking in such piratical activity, unlike Strabo's account, then perhaps these acts say something more about a society's resistance to an encroaching dominant political power. Just before the conquest of the Balearic Islands in 123 B.C.E., the small island coasts of Mallorca and Menorca represented the last vestiges of coastline not under Roman economic and military domination. This had been true since the Third Punic war in 146 B.C.E., and was more or less the case since Carthage's defeat in the Second Punic War after 201 B.C.E. Piracy could have been an act of desperation, an act of resistance, or simply a manner by which to make ends meet during that tumultuous time in Mediterranean history.

Florus, with these lines describing the barbarity of the island inhabitants, sets the stage for the subsequent conquest of the islands by the Romans. The conquest was, of course, justifiable because the islanders attacked a Roman vessel innocently passing by. This account of an unprovoked attack is noticeably absent from earlier accounts of the conquest. Florus' account agrees with Livy, unlike Diodorus and Strabo, describing the conquest as a justifiable response to piracy.

In the account Florus offers, it is perhaps worth returning to his depiction of the islanders as caricatures of savages with the audacity to stand up against the Roman Empire. In the words of Florus a certain sense of inherent superiority of the Romans and the ignobility of the savage islanders shines through. The Balearic islanders are not simply provincial, but almost primeval. These assumptions, stemming from an author writing long after the events he is

describing, may be a product of just that temporal discrepancy. Considering that, in chronological order, Strabo, then Livy, then Diodorus, then Florus wrote on the conquest of the islanders, with each iteration more temporally removed from the last, the islanders become increasingly cartoonish, stereotypically savage, and ignoble enemies. This of course contrasts significantly with Strabo's noble savage, evident in his account of the island conquest. Could this trend stem from an increasing indoctrination of Roman superiority and a teleological understanding of historical events, during the Antonine period? In other words, Rome was at the pinnacle of her power while Florus was writing his account of the Balearic War, and for some now vanished, island population to think they could outlast or avoid Roman domination would be sheer silliness. Although this may be a hyperbolic means of understanding Florus' intentions, there may be a hint of truth in those statements regarding the increasingly ignoble portrayal of this once resistant force, both insular and relatively small in population.

Late Antique Depctions of the Balearics: Orosius' Representation

Many ancient sources record the simple fact that the islands were conquered in 123 B.C.E. by Quintus Metellus Balearicus, followed by the foundation of Palma and Pollentia on Mallorca with an influx of 3000 Roman colonists settled by Metellus himself. Archaeologists have argued instead that while evidence for the foundation of Palma unfortunately is not attainable due to the modern city, Pollentia actually was seemingly founded in the first century C.E., based on extensive archaeological excavations carried out at the site since the 1960's (Arribas 1983; Doenges 2005; Orfila Pons et al. 2006; 2008; Woods 1970). While historical authors discuss the actual conquest and reasons for the Roman intervention, namely piracy, very few sources actually discuss what happened to the indigenous inhabitants after the conquest. As discussed above, a general distinction exists between historians like Strabo and Diodorus versus the harsher depiction of the islanders by Livy, whereby Strabo and Diodorus are

under the impression that the islands were not in fact full of pirates, but that perhaps intrusive populations came down from the Gulf of Lyon and subsequently caused such trouble for the Romans. As Morgan states (1969: 228) it is not altogether improbable that from 126 to 124 there was an influx of refugees from Cisalpine Gaul, where the Romans had been campaigning against the Gauls and in 123 B.C.E. had campaigned against the Allobrogeses and Arverni trbes. Livy on the other hand believes that the islanders were indeed the pirates and makes no distinction. This is reflected in Florus' account of a savage, ignoble and piratical islander, which is assumed to be based on Livy's own, now lost depiction of the Balearic War (Morgan 1969).

Moving on to a quite late source, that of Orosius Paulus, the fifth century Christian historian of the Roman Empire, a pattern of further simplifying the conflict continues. As six hundred years of history on the broader Roman Empire had passed when Orosius was writing, it is understandable that the Balearics only receive a few lines mentioning their general geography, a wildly incorrect statement describing the towns of the island and a narrative of the conquest by Metellus (*Seven Books* V.13.1). Still, Orosius is the only author who offers us a definitive statement regarding the fate of the Balearic islanders. In Book V Chapter 13.1 of *Seven Books on the History Against the Pagan* Orosius informs the reader that Metellus simply passed through the islands and killed most of the inhabitants, ending the pirate infestation (*Seven Books* V.13.1). This small sidenote in Orosius' history is significant in the very simple generalization he offers, and Orosius' claim has been postulated as a potential fate of the indigenous culture by some historians and archaeologists who deal with the period just after the Roman conquest of the islands (notably Guerrero et al. 2007a).

Considering the late date of the Orosius' works, it may be safe to assume that the statement regarding the fate of the Balearic islanders was hyperbolic for no reason other than to highlight the power of the Roman army during the late Republic. It is true, however, that by

this point in Balearic prehistory, a seemingly significant change was occurring in prehistoric settlement patterns. While some larger sites persisted into the Roman period, it appears many prehistoric, Late Talayotic settlements had been more or less abandoned. While some archaeologists might point to this as an obvious potential result of a bloody and intrusive conquest by the Romans, evidence for the abandonment of smaller sites in lieu of larger, often fortified settlements can similarly be observed beginning in the periods surrounding the rise of Carthaginian influence in the Western Mediterranean, in particular the fourth through third centuries B.C.E. Destruction layers dating to this time period only exist in select cases (Sintes and Isbert 2009), not necessarily confirming Orosius' statements.

According again to Gwyn Morgan (1969), Orosius and Florus both based their account largely on Livy. Considering the fact that Livy was almost certainly recording state doctrine regarding the necessary causes of the Balearic War, it is safe to assume that he most likely equated the islanders to pirates. It is logical then for Orosius, when studying this particular period and consulting the works of Livy, to read that the pirates were eradicated from the islands by the Roman invasion, which therefore meant that the islanders were eradicated as well. Archaeologically, we know that the islanders were not eradicated completely and evidence of a dramatic shift is not entirely apparent. This of course does not imply that 123 B.C.E. was not an extremely significant turning point in the history of Balearic culture, but that perhaps it was not a blank slate for Romanization.

The Epigraphic Record: A Changing Landscape?

Considering our lack of literary evidence regarding the persistence and changes of culture on the islands after 123 B.C.E., it is important to refer to our other textual resource, the epigraphic record. Unlike the written record, this provides a direct material link to the time periods surrounding Roman conquest. Still epigraphic sources have the added disadvantage of

being even more piecemeal. According to Raimondo Zucca's assessment of the Roman epigraphic record surrounding the island, there are 71 notable extant inscriptions that refer to the Balearics in the Roman Empire, 58 of which appear on the islands themselves (Zucca 1998). The inscriptions on the island are primarily dedicatory in nature to either gods or officials, and those appearing outside the Balearics generally refer to Quintus Metellus, or other Roman administrators in charge of the islands, which, after Roman conquest, was annexed first by the *Hispania Citerior* province, and later reorganized into the *Tarraconensis* province.

Still, the epigraphic evidence also gives clues as to the organization of the landscape during the Roman period. Many inscriptions found at known Roman sites refer to the place names that Pliny the Elder outlined in his *Natural History*. Some of these inscriptions, found within known Roman archaeological sites, are basic indications of the places at hand, such as Bocchorus, Palma, Pollentia, Iamo, Mago, Sanisera and Ebussus – all of which contain extant archaeological remains to varying degrees. Other epigraphic examples are found in areas where large archaeological remains relating to the Roman period are not necessarily extant. In this manner, the relative find spots of the epigraphic evidence on the islands are used to corroborate place names mentioned by Pliny. This is the case for Guium and Tucim in particular, as epigraphic data discovered in modern areas has been used to suggest a tentative location for these sites (Zucca 1998: 243; 252).

Just as important, however, are the epigraphic find spots that are not located near any known site mentioned by Pliny, nor are they associated with any specific extant Roman place name. This is particularly true at the town of Alayor in Menorca, where an inscription dedicated to Trajan was found (Zucca 1998: 261). Of course, the spoliation of these inscriptions or the basic movement of raw materials from one area to another to accommodate subsequent building practices after the abandonment of Roman cities is a factor to be taken into

consideration. This is not only true with objects found in unknown places, but also applies to those which are suggested as tentative evidence of site indentification. Still, if we accept that in certain contexts these inscriptions did not move far from their original placement in antiquity, this highlights a more significantly populated island landscape, perhaps with subsidiary towns or even farmsteads, which must have existed on these islands during the Roman period. In this manner, the epigraphic evidence can reveal clues to a more variable landscape than the one offered by Pliny. Nevertheless, as many of these inscriptions were found and removed from context in the late 19th century without a complementary archaeological assessment, the grounds for this argument are relatively thin. Still, the epigraphic evidence is not alone in alluding to a more complex geography of the island environments, as archaeological data, despite some inherent biases which will be discussed below, can give us clues into the world of the Balearics in the post-123 B.C.E. Balearic islands.

123 B.C.E.: A Date That Divides:

Many notable archaeologists from the Spanish and Anglophone worlds have produced reliable works regarding the Balearic Islands from prehistory into the modern period. The Roman colonization of 123 B.C.E., the preceding centuries and subsequent settlements within the islands are no exception, having been approached by many notable scholars (Cau 2003; 2004; Doenges 2005; Orfila et al. 2006; 2008). The transition of the islands from a somewhat independent Late Iron Age cultural milieu to the formal dominion of Roman authority was, in many ways, a watershed process for the island group. While some explanations are given for the disappearance of what is considered Late Talayotic indigenous customs, ranging from wholesale acculturation to Roman lifeways to simple extermination of the population (see Guerrero et al. 2007a), it is clear that the period after the Roman conquest of the Balearics marks the end of what scholars would consider prehistoric culture on the islands. While this process may have

begun with the cultural and potential colonial influences of the Carthaginian Empire in the Western Mediterranean, it is during the Roman period that the inhabitants are no longer considered even Late Talayotic, but simply subjects of a larger colonial and subsequently imperial network.

The jarring shift from a perceived prehistoric or even protohistoric culture to one subsumed by a historical empire is reflected in the works of many scholars dealing with prehistoric sites and material culture dating to around the Roman conquest. As displayed in many cultural time-lines of the islands, the Romans, unlike their Carthaginian predecessors, signify a complete, if not immediate shift to Roman culture with their conquest of the islands, distinct from Talayotic or what is considered Late Talayotic indigenous culture (for an example of this, see Gómez 1995: 448). With such notable sites as Pollentia on Mallorca and Sanisera on Menorca, both mentioned by Pliny the Elder, the aims of archaeological and historical analyses of Romanization on the islands fall almost exclusively on the analysis of Roman-established sites with literary reference. Nevertheless, it is also known by prehistoric archaeologists that many indigenous sites indeed persisted into the Roman period based on material culture encountered during excavations of domestic, burial and ritual contexts (Cardell et al. 1990). Although analyses of Roman material on indigenous sites exist in excavation reports and even some publications, this contact period is rarely given full attention and often constitutes a significant gap in the data. Postcolonialism as a theoretical concept has been embraced and discussed with regard to the Balearic Islands specifically, yet has never actually been applied to indigenous sites as part of the process of interaction, exchange, and the creation of the "Roman" island group (save for the notable example of Orfila 1988). Offsite analyses, though almost non-existent in both protohistoric and Roman-period studies of the islands, have also been overlooked as a means of investigating a changing landscape and the inevitable agricultural, economic, and

cultural changes that accompanied the perceived decline of indigenous culture and the birth of a Roman substitute.[14]

What the Roman presence on the Balearic Islands represents, however, is not just an episode in colonial or imperial interaction. The islands' transition into the Roman world can also be seen as an interpretive formation for modern scholars. In other words, when these islands come firmly under the influence of the Roman Empire, they are no longer interpreted by scholars as prehistoric or Punic, but rather enter the realm of Roman archaeology. With this transition comes the added interpretive weight of textual traditions stemming from epigraphic and historical records or Roman sources. The archaeology of these islands in this manner becomes a historical archaeology.[15] What clearly stems from this shift is a scholarly transition from interpretive, anthropological archaeologies, to those more text-driven approaches characteristic of Classical archaeology. Textual records become the basis of understanding society and culture in both the Roman and – it should be stressed – immediately pre-Roman periods on the islands. Questions remain as to how exactly these texts inform archaeological study on the islands today, what inherent biases these ancient texts contain, and what assumptions scholars make concerning Roman and native interactions based on these sources. In other words, how do texts change the epistemological structure of Roman or protohistoric archaeology on the Balearics today?

The Archaeological Response I: Island Settlements and the Indigenous Landscape

Having discussed the manner in which the Balearic Islands are portrayed in ancient literary sources and the degree to which epigraphic evidence affects our vantage point of the

[14] For a later exception to this, see Mas and Cau 2013.
[15] For further discussion concerning the transition from prehistoric to historic societies or archaeologies, many very excellent theoretical parallels exist in the realm of American historical archaeology (see Lightfoot 2006; Voss 2008). For an explicit discussion of this theme, see Orser 2001 and Chapter 7.

islands and islanders, this chapter will now turn to the archaeological responses to these textual traditions. For the purposes of clarity, this section has been split into two separate sections in order to discuss two related, but relatively different trends in archaeological scholarship. The first of these is the effect of ancient literary sources on the known archaeological geography of the regions at hand. In other words, as hinted above, scholars surrounding the Balearics have spent much time and effort attempting to locate or correlate Roman archaeological evidence to the literary and even epigraphic attestations of sites on the islands. This has led to a number of archaeological trends surrounding the Balearics that serve to shape the manner in which the Roman Balearics are interpreted and disseminated to the wider archaeological world.

First, deliberate attempts are often made to find sites that correspond to the words of Pliny the Elder, or the epigraphic record at hand. As has been discussed by Doenges, the famous site of Pollentia was actually discovered for this very reason in the 18th century on Mallorca (Doenges 2005: 2). Although this style of archaeological scholarship is much more reminiscent of antiquarian principles regarding the rediscovery of the ancient world stemming from the Renaissance (Dietler 2010: 28), such a tendency seems still to exist in literature regarding the Balearics. Not many substantive volumes exist regarding specifically the Roman period on the Balearic Islands, especially those incorporating material culture evidence. Raimondo Zucca's 1998 work *Insulae Baliares*, however, is just that, offering a fairly all-encompassing look at the Roman presence on the Balearic Islands up to and after 123 B.C.E. Still, there are indications in Zucca's writing that this book was intended as a basic rundown of material culture evidence concerning the Roman period on the islands as they relate to the literary sources. Instead of offering a substantive view of all Roman archaeological sites or occurrences of material culture on the islands, Zucca falls back on trying to understand the imperial administration and spatial layout of those sources known from the literary record, despite the fact that not all of them are

known archaeologically. So, although Zucca does not represent by any means an antiquarian mentality in the archaeological recovery of information on the island, it is nevertheless clear that there exists an over-reliance on the literary sources, and to a lesser extent the epigraphic data, to form a narrative of Roman rule on the islands without any incorporation of the indigenous, or rural settlements on the islands during this period.

Zucca highlights two further scholarly trends regarding the region and time-period, namely the over-emphasis of known place-names in Roman archaeological study on the islands today, and the lack of assessment of the concurrent occupations of the indigenous settlements on the islands. The first of these assumptions manifests itself significantly on the islands of Mallorca and Menorca. As mentioned above, six sites described by Pliny the Elder are known to exist archaeologically on the two islands. Three of these sites – Iamon, Magon, and Palma – are covered by modern cities and the evidence for Bocchorus is scant. Still, that leaves Sanisera and Pollentia, both of which were not destroyed by modern urban settlement and offer quite excellent archaeological sites for study today. While there is nothing wrong with having two known sites, cited by an ancient author as to their origin and purpose, the amount of attention they receive is particularly disproportionate. With teams working at Pollentia from the latter half of the 20th century into the present (Doenges 2005), and teams working at Sanisera since the 1980's (Contreras 1998; Contreras et al. 2006), publications concerning the Roman period in Menorca or Mallorca essentially concern these two sites. In fact, save for the larger, meta-narrative books that deal with broader Roman, or all ancient history, of the Balearic Islands (Pericot-Garcia 1972; Van Strydonck 2014), it is difficult to find a publication in the last 20 years regarding a Roman site that does not concern Pollentia or Sanisera.

To the credit of the current excavators of these projects, they are relatively careful in the attribution of literary information to their archaeological finds. This is particularly true with

Pollentia, in which the excavators argue against the date provided by Pliny the Elder for the foundation of the colony by Metellus in 123 B.C.E., observing that archaeological information puts the settlement of the colony more in line with the mid-first century B.C.E. (Orfila et al. 2006: 135) and a previous, indigenous settlement seemingly existed prior to the Roman town (Woods 1970). While the excavators of Sanisera do use independent artifact chronologies to calibrate occupation phases, the manner in which they present cultural contact is a bit questionable. This, in particular, will be returned to below.

Although the excavators of these sites in their own right use literary information in a responsible manner, the fact that the large majority of publications concerning the Romans stem from these two sites is due to their status as established, known Roman occupations in antiquity. Other, rural settlements, while they surely must have existed, are much more difficult to locate in the archaeological record and may not exist for us today due to rampant development as a result of tourism. Still, pedestrian or regional survey on the islands is almost non-existent, which may indicate that a lack of information regarding Roman rural settlements is not a reflection of what actually remains, but the method in which data has been collected. As the epigraphic sources and some scholars mention, there appear to be more settlements to be found (Orfila and Taltavull 1993), and though we are currently lacking an exact knowledge of the nature of these islands, a window of opportunity for scholarly engagement in this area seems to be emerging. For example, the recent work by Miguel Ángel Cau and Cristina Mas Florit on survey data in Eastern Mallorca has given us glimpses of what such an approach could accomplish, albeit in their case focusing on Late Antique settlements (Cau and Mas 2013).

Finally, the third evident trend in scholarship is a lack of any consideration of the indigenous landscape after 123 B.C.E. It is clear that in many sites around the islands, specifically in Menorca and Mallorca, indigenous settlements persisted long into the Roman period (Orfila

et al. 2008: 48). Archaeological research has revealed that the indigenous communities did in some ways survive the onslaught of the Roman army, and maintained a connection to their indigenous landscape. The primary issue is, however, that when discussing the Romans in the Balearic Islands, the indigenous peoples are usually not mentioned after conquest (Doenges 2005; Orfila Pons et al. 2006). With indigenous sites, the Roman periods are often not published. Despite the fact that these two cultures most likely lived next to each other for a significant length of time, modern scholarship separates them because of academic and disciplinary divides, leaving the interchanges that most likely occurred between these two cultures entirely obfuscated. In this manner, a culture which is primarily studied through the lens of anthropology is systematically isolated from one steeped in a tradition of ancient history and Classical literature.

It is perhaps unfair immediately to assume that history or literary traditions create arbitrary divisions in the archaeological record and, with this, the very epistemological framework from which different anthropological or Classical archaeologists operate. Still, there is something to be said about the Roman case study on the Balearics. The "Roman" landscape, specifically of Menorca and Mallorca, is often considered as the sites and settlements that are without a doubt "Roman." In order to confirm these designations, the places are often correlated to known place names based on the literary record, as referred to above. When the Romans take over the Balearic Islands in 123 B.C.E., the islands themselves become part of the broader Roman imperial landscape, as well as the indigenous people. The native, Talayotic settlements become part of the interconnections, interchanges, and inevitable social and economic networks that any self-sustaining Roman urban center would foster. Why the indigenous peoples are ignored as part of the Roman landscape is hard to understand. It may be due to the fact that specific indigenous centers are not mentioned in ancient literary accounts of

the islands, where only brief generalizations about the Menorcan and Mallorcan islanders having cave dwellings are offered (Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* V.17). In their literary obscurity, the indigenous become non-entities in modern Roman scholars' perception of the past. As will be discussed below, this affects ideas concerning cultural transmission and Romanization, ultimately basing ideas of Roman identity and cultural coherency on ancient history and literary attestations, placing the Romans in an inherently superior position to any native or indigenous landscape.

The Archaeological Response II: Transmission and Stagnation of Culture

Considering the ideas of culture transmission, Romanization and colonial dialogues, it is important to understand how the textual record plays into notions of cultural superiority, imperialism, and acculturation regarding the Balearic inhabitants. Much like the discussion of the landscape presented above, this analysis will primarily concern the northern two islands, and then briefly return to Ibiza and Formentera. Menorca and Mallorca present a somewhat familiar scenario for a colonization episode, as the Talayotic peoples were considered relatively backward people, being overwhelmed by a much more powerful military and economic force. Of course, this is a somewhat antiquated notion of colonialism, yet the legacy of such approaches has not completely disappeared in studies of the Roman conquest of the Balearics.

Ancient authors such as Strabo and Diodorus offer the ethnohistorical glimpses of these cultures that allow scholars to assume that the Talayotic peoples really were simple, egalitarian barbarians that were easily taken over and acculturated by the Romans. The common assumption made in scholarship today concerning the Balearic islanders is either they were engulfed by the broader cultural network of the Romans, subsequently acculturating to Roman lifeways, or they were simply wiped out by the invasion itself (Guerrero et al. 2007a: 80-81). While the latter assumption seems obviously false, the former seems in many ways related to

literary sources concerning the islands from the Roman period. Our only real contemporaneous glimpse of the Talayotic culture is through the works of Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny and a few others. Otherwise, our knowledge of the Talayotic people is acquired through archaeological data. Yet the eyewitness or even secondary account offered by literary or epigraphic data is quite tempting for archaeologists trying to understand the interworking of a relatively complex, prehistoric culture. The same can be said of the Romanist trying to understand what happened to the islanders after the Romans conquered the Balearics. The way in which Strabo and Diodorus specifically refer to the islanders as peaceful, egalitarian, and ultimately humble inhabitants may lend credence to the notion that the Romans, with unmatched military and economic strength, might inherently dominate such a group of natives. In this manner, a one-way exchange of culture and ideas passes from the Roman to the indigenous, from a complex to a simple culture, and the indigenous inhabitants gradually become acculturated to the lifeways of the dominant force.

In recent years, the advent of the postcolonial theoretical framework in the Western Mediterranean has spurred many reassessments of colonial interactions, from the Phoenicians to the Romans, in places like Sardinia, North Africa, Sicily, Mediterranean France, and the Iberian Peninsula (Dietler 2010; Hodos 2006; Jimenez 2011; van Dommelen 2003). These studies have shifted scholarly attention away from the colonizer to the colonized in understanding local responses to larger colonial or imperial forces. Although attempts have been made at such a characterization of the Balearic Islands (Guerrero et al. 2007a; Costa Ribas 2007), these studies have fallen short. The local populations are still very much seen as at the mercy of the dominant Roman power. Much of Guerrero et al.'s analysis of early Roman interaction, for example, reflects a unidirectionality of cultural exchange.

One may ask how postcolonial theory relates to archaeology's engagement with the textual record. For the case of the Balearics, there are two immediate impacts. The first really concerns scholars like Guerrero who, despite attempting to approach locality, continue to fall back on the dominant narrative of the Talayotic peoples being inevitably acculturated to Roman lifeways. This assumption again carries the baggage of Strabo and Diodorus' comments concerning the passive, unassuming nature of the inhabitants at the time of Roman conquest. The second, less obvious manner in which postcolonial theory can be applied to this example is through the lens of insularity. As Paul Rainbird has stated in numerous publications (1999; 2007), islands are often treated as backward, isolated environments in which notions of insularity take on negative repercussions. A postcolonial analysis of island environments has meant, in the present, a reevaluation of the role of insularity in the manifestation of island cultures, without the negative baggage. In many ways, understanding the preconceived cultural biases surrounding an island environment and island communities can be applied to the ethnohistorical accounts of Diodorus and Strabo. In other words, how was the island as a conceptual notion perceived in Roman times and what did this mean for the representation of the native islanders?

While such a study concerning historical and ethnohistorical accounts of island environments and insularity have not yet been applied to the Roman era, a study by Christy Constantakopoulou regarding the Delian League and Athenian Empire of the mid to late fifth century B.C.E. attempts to understand insularity, connectivity and the cultural significance of islands in the Aegean during Athens' rise to power (2007). A similar study of Roman perceptions concerning islands in the empire would surely be very different from Constantakopoulou's study, but could potentially lead to new avenues of inquiry concerning the presentation of the island in ancient, Roman historical sources. Although the Balearics do not receive a necessarily

negative reception by Strabo and Diodorus, they are nevertheless given a backward, idiosyncratic character, owing to statements regarding their desire for wine and women in lieu of money, or their humble cave dwellings. Sardinia and Corsica, on the other hand, are approached in quite a different manner by the same authors. Instead of an egalitarian, peaceful population, the natives are regarded as barbarous, brutal mountain people that are impossible to pacify (Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* V.14). Here, ideas of insularity serve again to essentialize the communities living on the islands, but in a much more negative light than the seemingly passive Balaeric Islands. What basically comes out of this discussion, then, is that island environments in the West are viewed as undeveloped manifestations of culture despite their centrality in the Western Mediterranean. This simplicity can either be peaceful or brutal in nature, but either way it manifests itself as a low level of social complexity from the vantage point of the Romans. Because of this, archaeologists must be cautious when using these ethnohistorical accounts and must also be careful not to let such accounts subconsciously inform our work or our perceptions of cultural superiority.

One particular notion concerning the identity of the Balearic islanders is the slinging culture, for which the northern two islands are famous. Due to the number of slinging attestations in ancient sources, the Balearic slinger has taken on a quite definitive role in the understanding of island identity during the Roman period. At the Roman fort site of Sanisera on Menorca, for instance, an engraved sling stone was found exhibiting a possible reference to a proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul in the late second century B.C.E., Quintus Servilius Caepio (Contreras et al. 2006: 19; see Figure 10). The excavators took this inscribed stone as evidence that Balearic slingers had been drafted as auxiliaries and inhabited the fort (Contreras et al. 2006: 19). Obviously, this interpretation is questionable, particularly the notion that sling stones equal people. Nevertheless, the excavators of Sanisera have taken this idea a step further and

produced a map of all known historical attestations of the Balearic slingers in battles throughout the Roman world (Contreras et al. 2006: 19; see Figure 11). Although meant to show the extent to which the slingers were dispersed by the Roman military, it unintentionally implies that the Late Talayotic peoples were solely slinger mercenaries or auxiliaries without a complex idiosyncratic culture. This particularly works well with most attestations of the Balearic islanders in historic sources, but leaves the responsible scholar asking why we must always understand these people through one, very specific lens. Surely they were notable for their slinging abilities, but also for their culture, monuments, material culture, and general lifeways. Here the affects of textual representations emerges to simplify the Balearic islander again, reducing their identity to one specific weapon. Perhaps this should be a clue that this is a decidedly Roman perspective, and there are some very fundamental characteristics missing.

Finally, Ibiza and Formentera are taken out of this equation of insularity, simplicity and cultural dominance. In fact, they are noted by Diodorus specifically as a relatively heterogeneous population, interested primarily in trade (*Historical Library* V.16). Perhaps then the islands were not understood as sanctuaries of indigenous cultures like the Balearics or even Sardinia and Corsica in Roman times. Instead, they might have been perceived of as an extension of Carthaginian power and culture. Faced with a literate community coming out of such a powerful military and economic legacy, the southern two islands may have been understood as the northern two islands' connection to the outside world, though this is never explicitly stated in ancient sources. Still, as publications by Guerrero concerning the colonization of Mallorca by Punic Ibiza (1997) imply, the southern two islands exhibited quite advanced trade and production networks as far back as the fourth century B.C.E. Based on scant evidence of only a few trading posts discovered on Mallorca, Guerrero claims that the Ibizans actually controlled the Mallorcans and Menorcans if not territorially, then economically (1997). This

conclusion may be an interpretation influenced by the presence of a literate culture in the neighborhood of a prehistoric society. Such an assumption draws again on notions of cultural inferiority or supremacy, entrenched in biases amassed from textual sources, as well as the juxtaposition of historic and prehistoric cultures.

Conclusion

While the space between prehistory and history is, in the case of the Balearics, ground upon which not many have dared to tread, it is a growing field in Spanish academia and perhaps the most fruitful avenue for future research of the region, as notions of insularity, identity, and colonialism can be critically assessed. At its core, however, this division entails an engagement with the distinctive factor that separates prehistoric and historic cultures, namely the textual tradition inherited with the latter. In many ways, texts form a completely independent line of evidence, which has historically been overly privileged in Classical archaeology. The time has come then to amass a critical assault on these traditions and expose the discrepancies between textual engagement and the facts on the ground, ultimately forming a more complete picture of Carthaginian interchanges and Roman conquest on the islands during the second half of the first millenium B.C.E. Material culture must be incorporated into the dialogue of textual presuppositions and cultural realities, extending far beyond the scope of our traditional sources into the broader protohistoric period. The chapters that follow will attempt to do just that: to incorporate the spatial and material evidence we have of the Talayotic people in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. not only to understand who they were as a people, but how in fact they changed in the face of the growing economic and political entities of the Western Mediterranean.

Chapter 2 Images

Figure 10: A sling stone with the inscription S CAE, possibly referring to Quintus Servilius Caepio, Consul in 106 B.C.E. and Proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul in 105 B.C.E. (Contreras et al. 2006: 19, Figure 5).

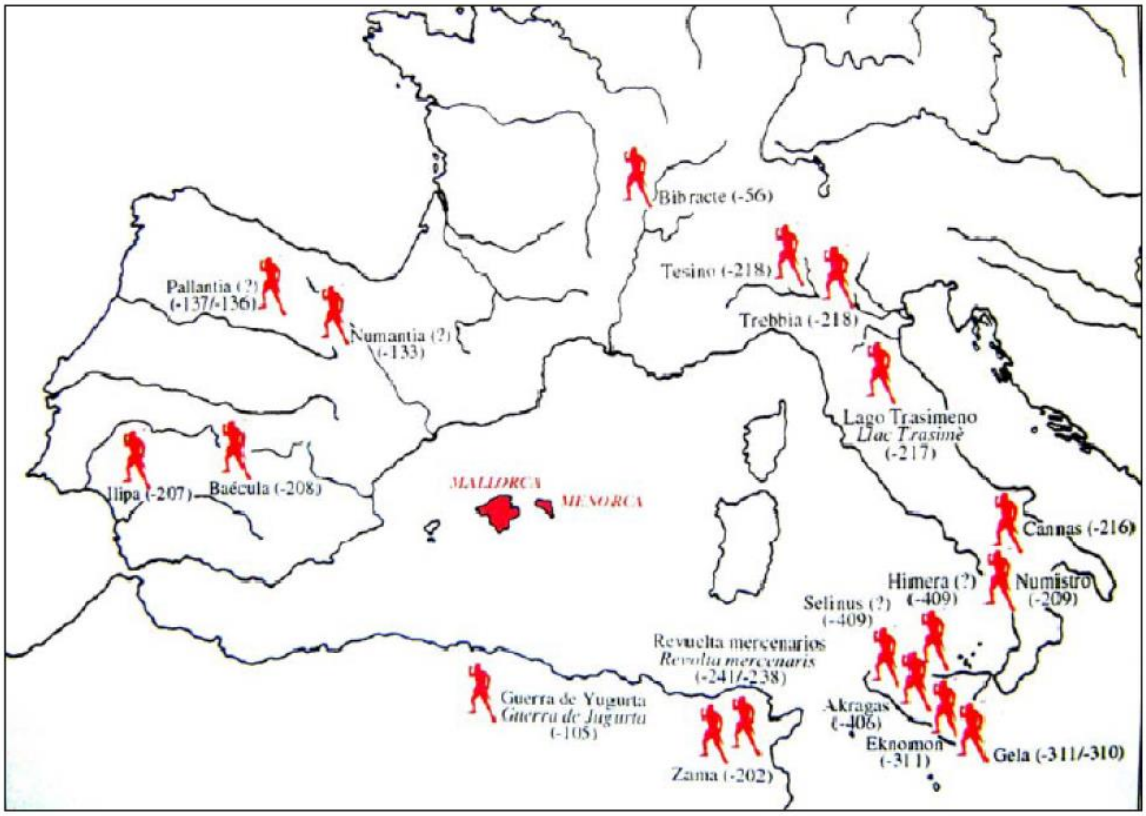


Figure 11: Historical attestations of slingers in battles around the Western Mediterranean during the Roman and pre-Roman periods. (Contreras et al. 2006: 19, Figure 4)

Chapter 3: Settlement Patterns and Patterns in Settlements during the Late Talayotic

Settlement data offer the broadest vantage point to begin the discussion of the archaeological evidence associated with the Late Talayotic and Early Roman indigenous inhabitants on Mallorca and Menorca. Subsequent chapters will be concerned with more focused archaeological evidence from specific sites, buildings and shipwrecks. This chapter is an attempt to approach the two islands as broader landscapes in the Late Iron Age. Survey archaeology is in many ways in its infancy on the islands, so much of this discussion will be relegated to general trends exhibited at well-documented sites. More so than any other chapter, settlement patterns and the discussion of the Mallorcan and Menorcan landscapes represent a future window for research into indigenous life, but a present state that leaves much to be desired.

Although the chronology for the Talayotic period is not set in stone, as recent revisions by various scholars have displayed (Guerrero et al. 2006a; 2006b), it is clear that the influence of Ibiza and Carthaginian culture is felt on both islands by the sixth century B.C.E., in turn impacting settlement patterns. Although it is difficult to define precisely the patterns that formed as a result of increased contact with the Punic, Greek and Iberian world that characterized the sixth through second centuries B.C.E. on the islands, some general hypotheses can be suggested based on the extant archaeological data. Broader encyclopedic works do exist for Mallorca and Menorca which highlight sites across each respective island in detail (Fernández-Miranda 1978; Orfila and Femenias 1993; Van Strydonck 2014).

To give some picture of the vast quantity of data set forth by these publications, Fernández-Miranda's 1978 volume cites over 1,300 sites on Mallorca alone (see Figure 12 for a

selection of sites from Fernández-Miranda's 1978 volume). These moreover are simply prehistoric sites, representing roughly one site for every three sq. km on Mallorca (Fernández-Miranda 1978: 36). The sites are fairly evenly dispersed throughout the landscape, as seen in Figure 1 below. The majority of the sites mentioned by Fernández-Miranda are also not published anywhere else, nor do many have any documented chronological resolution. In turn, despite such astronomical numbers and relative geographic resolution, a detailed diachronic understanding of settlement patterns on the island using Fernández-Miranda's work is not possible. This publication also appeared in 1978, and considering the degree to which the islands have been developed for tourism over the past 37 years, the number of sites must be even greater today. Still, a lack of broader encyclopedic analyses in recent years, coupled with a general lack of periodic resolution for the majority of known sites, leaves any precise quantitative or spatial analyses of settlement data presumptive at best.

In contrast to many studies that lump Mallorca and Menorca together as a single cultural entity in prehistory, the islands experienced different patterns of landscape use and settlement in the Late Talayotic and Early Roman periods. Unfortunately, an all-encompassing survey and assessment of the sites on Mallorca and Menorca for the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods warrants an entire dissertation. Instead, in order to understand some general patterns of indigenous sites on the island, this chapter will focus on broader trends observed at specific sites with higher temporal resolutions. Moving chronologically through each island separately, the sections below will focus on themes of settlement size, the construction of elite houses, the establishment of cyclopean walls, the abandonment of select sites and structures, as well as the impact of trade and colonization throughout both islands. Because this dissertation is discussing island landscapes, the indigenous relationship with the coast and the impact of seafaring mercantilism will be a common theme throughout the sections below.

Although Mallorca and Menorca exhibit some similarities in settlement practices throughout their histories, they experience very different chronological trajectories. The following sections intend to encapsulate what we do know regarding the Balearic Island's settlement growth and decline in the Late Talayotic and early Roman period on both islands.

The Geographical Setting of Settlements on Mallorca and Menorca

Topography plays major role in the settlement of certain areas and sites on both islands. Mallorca has a central plain that is surrounded by a large mountain range on the northwest coast and a smaller mountain range to on the eastern third of the island. With an area of 3,640 sq. km, Mallorca is the seventh largest island in the Mediterranean. Given such a significant surface area, variable topography, and even micro-climactic variation, different methods of living inevitably developed in antiquity based on environmental conditions alone. The sheer amount of space and topographic differentiation also led to variability in cultural contact in different parts of the island, resulting in differing idiosyncratic manifestations of cultural practices throughout Mallorca. In other words, Mallorca is an island, but a very large island, and any argument for the cultural homogeneity of its ancient inhabitants is over-simplistic. Cultural contact on Mallorca could in fact be understood as inland-based indigenous groups interacting with coastal inhabitants of the island, mountain-dwelling peoples interacting with the populations of the central plain, as well as foreign interventions coming into contact with sites located near or on ports. Mallorca's geography, potential for intra-island interactions and differential contact with the extra-island world warrants consideration as host to multiple self-identified localities or communities, even in prehistory, instead of being considered a singular Western Mediterranean locality and culture, often clumped alongside Menorca.

Menorca, on the other hand, is characterized by a relatively flat, limestone shelf to the south, with a varied geological matrix of steep hills and fertile soils to the north (known as the Tramuntana). It is difficult to make the same sort of environmental argument for variability on Menorca, as half of the island consists of a relatively homogenous geological makeup and consistent climate. While the northern half of Menorca presents a greater degree of climatic and geological variability, the south is host to the vast majority of indigenous sites in antiquity. Although a few sites exist to the north, the northern coast only develops larger population centers later in the Roman period with expanding seafaring mercantilism and changing trade routes across the Western Mediterranean, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. At the same time, the small size of Menorca (702 sq. km) is better suited to produce relative consistency in settlement practices and cultural manifestations. Of course, local iterations of culture varied to some degree on Menorca, yet the degree of intra-island idiosyncrasy in different ritual, funerary or domestic customs is by and large lacking on Menorca. Perhaps ancient Menorcans considered themselves part of a larger island-based imagined community, from which they developed an island-specific culture. This culture was very much separate from Mallorca, and the degree of this separation will be discussed below in terms of chronological slippage as well as the differentiation of cultural customs in the Late Talayotic and Early Roman periods.

Some of the defining characteristics of the Late Talayotic period on Mallorca include the absence of isolated talayots in lieu of emerging, megalithic villages radiating from the older monuments, as well as the construction of walled settlements (Fernández-Miranda 1978: 231). On Menorca, talayots (briefly described in Chapter 1) go through a similar transition, though with the addition of the taula precinct (also described in Chapter 1). On both islands, the talayot does not necessarily become defunct as a focal point for landscape occupation as many large settlements form around these older monuments. Still they are no longer constructed or even

used in the same capacity, depending on the site. During the later prehistory of the Balearics, it appears that settlements in general persist and expand but at different times and in different ways respectively on both islands.

Mallorca and Menorca lack substantial ore deposits or other major exploitable natural resources that might dictate island-wide settlement patterns in the wake of increased economic interaction with larger Mediterranean forces. Although some insubstantial copper deposits exist on Mallorca and Menorca,[16] a desirable site of minor resource acquisition for the islands is the Ses Salines area of Mallorca, where the coastal flats provide the potential for salt extraction. Both Roman and even Punic remains exist surrounding these salt flats (see Guerrero 1997). Still, a resource-based hypothesis as to how and why these population centers existed and persisted in certain areas is lacking.

Before delving into island specific chronologies, there are a few other broad comparisons that can be made between Mallorca and Menorca. During the Talayotic period, indigenous sites are notoriously absent from the coast on both islands and inland settlement generally persists into the Late Talayotic period and beyond. There are only a few exceptions to this trend, including the site of S'Illot which spans both the Talayotic and Late Talayotic periods and was excavated in the 1960's (Frey 1968). S'Illot also represents the only coastal indigenous site to have been excavated. There are, however, many sites that are located near the coast, such as Capacorb Vell, Puig de Sa Morisca, and Els Anitgors on Mallorca. The same could be said of Menorcan Talayotic and Late Talayotic villages such as Trepucó, Torre d'en Galmés, and even

[16] Ramis et al. 2005 and Alcover et al. 2007 discuss the potential mining of the central portion of the western mountain range for poor quality copper ores that could have been used in antiquity. Estarellas et al. 2012, Mateo et al. 2013, among others discuss copper mining on the offshore island of Illa d'en Colom on Menorca. Mateo and Estarellas 2015 also discuss the extant bronze objects from the Late or Post Talayotic period.

Torre Blanca in the north, which are not located on the coast but occupy vantage points with commanding views of coastal areas or the sea.

Oddly, publications do exist describing the overall density of settlements on Mallorca and Menorca, despite a lack of resolution for periods of occupation for known sites. The density of settlements on Mallorca and Menorca differ greatly. Guerrero et al. offer statistics placing Talayotic and Late Talayotic sites at approximately 2.47 km apart on average for Mallorca with a maximum of 4 km between sites, and 1.8 km on average for Menorca (2006b: 49). Along with a higher concentration of sites on Menorca, indigenous sites on the island tend to be much bigger, with an average size twice that of settlements on Mallorca (Guerrero et al. 2006: 48). Concentrations of sites, as mentioned above, cluster in the south on Menorca because of geological factors, but are evenly spaced throughout Mallorca. While settlements do not appear above an altitude of about 500 meters on Mallorca according to Guerrero et al. (2006b:49) due to the harsh, windswept environment, Menorca does not have a peak that exceeds an altitude of 400 meters,[17] obviating any altitude barrier. In general, Mallorcan sites in the mountains are much smaller and have not been studied to the degree as those near the coast or in the plains. The exception to this trend is the work carried out by William Waldren and associated archaeologists in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's. Much of his work, however, was concerned specifically with funerary caves and open-air sanctuaries, rather than settlement sites (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 51-52; Waldren 1979; 1986; 1991; 1996).

With these general factors in mind, I now move to discuss chronological trends in settlement over the course of the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods on both islands, beginning with Mallorca.

[17] El Toro, the largest hill on Menorca, is 342 meters in altitude.

Settlement Patterns in the Late Talayotic

Settlements from the Seventh to Fifth Centuries B.C.E.: Mallorca's Florescence

The Talayotic period has long been privileged in its consideration as the apex of prehistoric complexity on the islands of both Mallorca and Menorca. This is primarily the result of the scholarly interests of prehistorians from the early twentieth century to the present. The emphasis on the Talayotic period can be observed in the temporal nomenclature used by many scholars to denote periods that bookmark the Talayotic period (Pre-, Proto-, and Post- or Late Talayotic).[18] Talayots albeit attest to a large degree of community involvement, investment of resources and collaboration of manpower. Elites are often excluded from conversations regarding the talayots, as the Talayotic period has been considered an egalitarian manifestation of island society, drawing on collective power to create talayots as symbols of communities, despite the emergence of elite houses as early as the eighth century B.C.E.[19] The symbolic power of the talayot is coupled with elements of defense, collective farming practices, and rituals associated with these monuments, such as those associated with the site of Cornia Nou (Ferrer et al. 2012: 31). These monuments are also common throughout the landscapes of Mallorca and Menorca.

The emergence of permanent, free-standing dwellings is somewhat more vague in the Talayotic period. Although some examples of houses exist from the Talayotic period on

[18] Of course this is appended with the recent designations by some scholars who have defined a "Naviform" and "Prototalaiotic" period (Micó 2006: 432) and others who have called the Late or Post-Talayotic the "Balearic" period (Aramburu-Zabala 2011), discussed in Chapter 1.

[19] This argument has been put forth by Fernández-Miranda (1997: 65) for navetas, though he argues for talayots being an emergence of increased social differentiation. The excavators of Cornia Nou, however, consider the talayots to be communal investments, as evidenced by communal farming practices carried out at the site.

Mallorca, the eighth, seventh, sixth and fifth centuries saw a series of changes on Mallorca that reflect a growing amount of both social differentiation and expendable wealth. For that reason, the tail end of the Talayotic period, or the late eight and seventh centuries B.C.E., has been included in this section. The elements of change are most notably seen in the expansion of indigenous settlements to include large-scale elite dwellings in the form of semi-rectangular, walled courtyard houses, starting in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. (Castro-Martinéz et al. 2003; Aramburu-Zabala 2009a; see Figure 13). These courtyard houses will be discussed further in Chapter 4. These houses appeared at the end of the Talayotic period, but continue to be built and occupied into the Late Talayotic period, specifically until the fifth century B.C.E.[20] Along with large, courtyard houses being erected around Mallorca, the sixth and fifth centuries saw the expansion many indigenous settlements. Houses are commonly built around talayots, and the construction of limestone masonry dwellings of all sizes increases at sites like Ses Païsses, Puig de Sa Morisca, S'Illot, Capacorb Vell, as well as other sites in the Mallorcan countryside. During the fifth and sixth centuries B.C.E., cyclopean perimeter walls are also constructed on Mallorca, detailed in the "Fortified Settlements" section below.

The sixth and fifth centuries represent an expansion and elaboration of indigenous lifeways on Mallorca and what appears to be the creation of private space. The appearance of large-scale, walled courtyard households along with perimeter walls constitutes a major shift occurs in the economy and social stratification of the island. In terms of settlement patterns, some sites are continuously occupied from the Talayotic while other, new sites emerge, but there is no clear indication of patterned change, as will be seen in subsequent periods. In other words, sites remained in place, though their actual makeup changed rather significantly. The move from public, communal space, to an increasing focus on private space could be a reflection

[20] As is exemplified in the case of Ses Païsses (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a).

of economic development associated with elite access to trade goods stemming from off-island contact. During this period, imports increase from the Iberian, Greek and Carthaginian world (see Chapter 6). Although precursors of this trend can be seen in the latter part of the Talayotic period, the late eighth to fifth centuries B.C.E. represent a break from the past in the manner in which space is conceptualized, a theme further discussed in Chapter 4.

Settlements from the Fourth to Second Centuries B.C.E.: The Carthaginian Impact on Mallorca

By the fourth century B.C.E., Punic traders significantly impact the manner in which people live and the location of their settlements. Yet these shifts are not easily identifiable or simple to explain. Punic or Phoenician presence had been felt before the fourth century B.C.E., but became much more prevalent during the fourth through second centuries B.C.E. Also, compared to Menorca, Mallorca was much more involved with trade routes stemming from Ibiza, based on the amount of imported goods observed on the island.[21] One very basic way of understanding the changes that occurred within the Mallorcan indigenous landscape is in the fluctuations of size amongst well-documented sites. Such a task is extremely difficult, however, primarily due to the relatively poor temporal seriation for the vast majority of sites on Mallorca and a lack of interest in compiling such a timeline with only piecemeal information (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 45). The time period is also the most nebulous from a scholarly perspective, as scholars have generally avoided investingating indigenous sites during this period. Yet from the fourth to second centuries B.C.E., it seems Mallorca does see the influx of small, permanent off-shore Punic settlements: Na Guardis, Es Trenc and Na Galera (discussed in Chapter 6). Scholars tend to treat these Punic sites as a teleological inevitability on the road to incorporation in the Western Mediterranean global system, which culminates with the Roman conquest. In other

[21] Information regarding this absence is discussed in Chapter 6.

words, the small sites usher in a new era of Punic colonialism (Guerrero 1997). For many, these small Punic sites thus become more important for understanding broader social processes than indigenous settlement sites. In this manner, the fourth through second century B.C.E. is only approached at few excavations of indigenous settlements, representing subsidiary research interests of scholars within just the past twenty years.

With a comparatively small dataset for this time period, some extrapolations can still be made. Four of our best known and published indigenous sites occupied during this time period are Puig de Sa Morisca, Son Fornés, S'Illot and Ses Païsses. All of these sites, save for S'Illot, are located inland, conforming to the pattern of indigenous settlement detailed above. The degree to which these sites are actually removed from the sea is quite different, however. S'Illot is on the coast, while Puig de Sa Morisca and the nearby later third century settlement of El Turó de Ses Baies, overlook the port of Santa Ponça (see Figure 14). Ses Païsses and Son Fornés occupy more inland positions in the landscape, particularly Son Fornés, which is located directly in the center of Mallorca.

Taking the location of these sites into consideration, one encounters an interesting phenomenon when looking at the chronology of their settlement and occupation. S'Illot, Puig de Sa Morisca and El Turó de Ses Baies share a later chronology that entails a relative expansion during the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. While not as marked as sites on Menorca, which I will return to below, these three sites see continued occupation and size increases during the latter stages of the Late Talayotic. On the other hand, Son Fornés goes through a series of abandonment episodes throughout the Late Talayotic, but particularly during the fourth to second centuries B.C.E., resulting in the punctuated contraction and reoccupation of the site. Son Fornés goes through marked stages of reoccupation, but not the same degree of organized

and continuous occupation seen at the near-coastal sites. Ses Païsses, located in the northeastern corner of the island, close to S'Illot but far enough inland to be out of sea visibility, is relatively static. The houses at Ses Païsses, however, actually contract in size, as larger dwellings are broken up and smaller houses are put in their place during this period (as discussed in Chapter 4). Although surrounded by a cyclopean wall of the sixth century B.C.E., the site internally contracts, elite households disintegrate, and although the site size technically does not change, the interior of the site sees a dramatic shift away from organized elites.

While small in number, the sites listed above represent a geographically dispersed sample set. Although it is difficult to say whether these expansions or contractions were based on geography, perhaps they were symptoms of a changing economy. The influx of Punic trading in the south allowed coastal or near-coastal sites around the south and east of the island to persist and expand. Access to imported goods to trade amongst other indigenous settlements seems a logical boost to these sites' internal economies. Sites that were arguably secondary indigenous contacts, not directly involved with Punic or later Roman exchange, saw contraction, degrees of abandonment and the loss of elite dwellings. Without further data for the chronology of many of these sites, such observations remain preliminary. Yet the evidence points to the coastal or near-coastal sites flourishing during this period and maintaining settlement structure. Despite a lack of detail provided in the extant archaeological data, the evidence described above suggests that settlements on Mallorca undergo significant changes throughout the indigenous landscape. These trends in many ways run counter to the processes occurring on Menorca.

Settlements on Menorca from the Sixth to Second Centuries B.C.E.: Menorca's Rise

Menorca saw a different response to the changes occurring in the sixth to second centuries B.C.E. Menorcan inland sites flourished. Like Mallorca, many Menorcan sites during

the Late Talayotic period were still concentrated around or nearby monumental talayots constructed between the ninth and seventh centuries B.C.E. (see Figure 15). While not all talayots were reused as centers of Late Talayotic indigenous life (see Figure 16), many important sites, including Son Catlar, Torre d'en Galmés, Biniparratx Petit, So Na Caçana, Trepucó, Torralba d'en Salord, and Talatí de Dalt, used a talayot or talayots as village centers (on the reoccupation of the landscape and aspects of indigenous memory, see Chapter 5). Starting as early as the sixth century B.C.E., circular houses, characteristic of the Late Talayotic on Menorca, were being constructed at sites like Biniparratx Petit (Guerrero et al. 2007b and Hernández-Gasch 2007). Based on their size and the human labor investment, these households likely represented indigenous elite houses and an evident influx of wealth and social differentiation during the Late Talayotic. Menorca's construction and maintenance of these buildings persisted and intensified across the island, reaching an apex in the fourth to second centuries B.C.E.[22]

The continued growth of Menorca's settlements contrast to Mallorca's more varied expansion and disintegration of settlements during the same time period. As Chapter 4 will discuss, the nature of Menorcan settlements during the Talayotic period is still enigmatic, as we simply have no examples of Talayotic dwellings. The use of limestone masonry in the Late Talayotic thus represents an unprecedented set of indigenous architectural styles. Perhaps similar architectural and construction techniques were in use during the Talayotic period, but today there are no recognizable traces in the archaeological record. The absence of Talayotic houses may be the result of different building materials or the repurposing of limestone for later building projects.

It is difficult then to say to what extent Late Talayotic Menorcan sites expanded beyond earlier, as yet unidentified structures. Still, the shift to limestone masonry represents a dramatic

[22] For an example of the largest and latest houses, see Figure 17.

increase in the time and energy expended to create such households. Therefore, even without data from the Talayotic period, the construction of houses, particularly large-scale elite complexes, is significant. All of the sites mentioned in the previous paragraph experience an increase in size during the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. While many of the elite households fall into disrepair or are divided during the second and first centuries B.C.E., this phenomenon is not as dependent on geography in Menorca as it is in Mallorca. It should be noted, however, that the large majority of extant archaeological data stems from sites located on the southeast of the island. The western half of the island also exhibits numerous examples of continued occupation by indigenous inhabitants utilizing circular architectural forms for domestic purposes, but has been subject to less archaeological engagement. The geological bifurcation of Menorca described above remains a decisive factor for site placement and continuity on the southern half of the island, owing to a number of factors including access to water and storage of water, as well as accessible and easily manipulated limestone construction materials. Not all talayots are reused and repurposed for Late Talayotic settlements. No precise pattern emerges for the repurposing of talayots as settlement centers. In areas with large concentrations of talayots, such as the southeastern corner of Menorca for example, only select talayots are reused during the Late Talayotic period.

Throughout the Late Talayotic, Menorca experiences consistency in settlement continuity. Menorca sees an island-wide fourth to second century expansion of indigenous inland sites, including the construction of elite households. Unlike Mallroca, Menorcan near-coastal sites do not see rapid growth during the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. as compared to more inland settlements. In fact, one of the largest indigenous, Late Talayotic settlements on the island is Torre d'en Galmés, which is in the center of the island. Menorca is also quite different topographically. Due to the size, oblong shape, and relatively flat limestone shelf of the

southern half of the island, most sites have visual access to the sea. Even Torre d'en Galmés has a viewshed that touches a wide swath of sea and the site is within a two-hour walk from the coast. Therefore, sites like Mallorcan Son Fornés or even Ses Païsses, without visual or easy physical access to the sea do not exist on Menorca, precluding comparison to these sites' episodes of collapse and settlement fragmentation discussed in the section above. Menorca also has no evidence of Punic settlement on the island, though an increase in Punic material culture, particularly transport amphorae, can be observed between the fourth and second centuries B.C.E. Yet despite increases in trade and contact with the external world, Menorca remains a landscape of settlement continuity which does not favor near-coastal sites, and only very slowly changes during the Roman period with increasing extra-island political and economic influences.

Functional Similarities? Fortified Settlements on Menorca and Mallorca in the Late Talayotic

Beginning in the Late Talayotic period, many settlements on both Mallorca and Menorca were fortified with large cyclopean walls. Although recognizable traces of such walls exist at numerous sites throughout both islands, their chronologies are rather vague. For that reason, it is more useful to compare cyclopean walls from Mallorca and Menorca side-by-side. Some of the best examples of cyclopean perimeter walls include the site of S'Illot, Puig de Sa Morisca and Ses Païsses on Mallorca, as well as Son Catlar on Menorca. Evidence of walls also exists at Torre d'en Galmés, as well as other smaller sites throughout Menorca, but are not firmly identified or studied in the manner of Son Catlar. Among the sites on this short list, many differences can be observed.

The Mallorcan sites of S'Illot, Puig de Sa Morisca and Ses Païsses share some similarities in their cyclopean construction. These wall structures were installed sometime in the Late

Talayotic, yet more precise dating remains elusive. According to Guerrero et al., all three examples do not necessarily reflect defensive strategies by the indigenous inhabitants, as has previously been assumed, but instead are an attempt to define both private and communal space during this period of heavy interaction with the Mediterranean world (2006b: 55-56). Guerrero sees these walls as separating the town and its inhabitants from the surrounding territory. Though difficult to prove archaeologically, there does not appear to be evidence from any archaeological site of these walls being used as fortifications. Nevertheless, building large walls could have been a sign of wealth or prestige aimed at neighboring villages. The lack of ditches surrounding the walls, defensive towers, or zig zag entryways points to a communal purpose, according to Guerrero et al. (2006b: 55). Guerrero et al.'s arguments are convincing, warranting the reappraisal of these constructions as a communal investment and statement, rather than a defensive necessity.

Based on archaeological information from excavations of houses at Ses Païsses on Mallorca (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a; 2012), it appears that houses built within and onto these fortifications date to the sixth century B.C.E. (see Figure 18). On Mallorca it seems these walls were constructed at the end of the Late Talayotic period, potentially reflecting an indigenous, social reaction to the increase in trade and contact with Ibiza and Western Mediterranean. When analyzing the evidence from Puig de Sa Morisca, it becomes clear that the cyclopean wall surrounding the site was added later to a well-established Talayotic site in the subsequent Late Talayotic period (see Figure 19). Perhaps the addition was in concert with increasing trade operations occurring in the port of Santa Ponça nearby (Calvo et al. 2008; Guerrero and Calvo 2001). Finally, the site of S'Illot exhibits an external cyclopean wall that was seemingly never completed (see Figure 20). It only surrounds a third of the site with no evidence that the wall

continued in antiquity around the settlement or was planned to continue around the settlement (Frey 1970).

Menorca's Son Catlar exhibits an entirely different type of walled settlement than Mallorcan examples. The wall surrounding the site is a multi-layered, turriform construction (see Figures 21-25). The eastern entrance of the site wall was excavated in the mid-1990's by a team from the Museum of Menorca (Juan et al. 1998). The entrance revealed a zigzag pattern within the superstructure of the wall, suggesting a defensive, military element. The zigzag arrangement would prevent easy access to the site through the corridor as well as the entry of many people at once, as one must change directions twice within a five-meter long, narrow corridor to enter the site. This element is not featured in Mallorcan cyclopean walls. The wall at Son Catlar also has large square tower installations that were added later onto the cyclopean wall, perhaps during the Roman period. As Guerrero mentions, the site's cyclopean wall is widely thought to have been built at the end of the Late Talayotic, though it remains chronologically vague (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 56). Evidence from Torre d'en Galmés represents another site that appears to have a fortification wall surrounding it, though only a small section survives today. When compared to other examples, this small section seems more characteristic of the larger, turriform-like wall structure used at Son Catlar, rather than the examples from Mallorca. These two examples, but particularly Son Catlar, express a martial purpose in their construction and use.

To digress briefly, the domestic enclosure of Carthailac, which will be discussed extensively in the next chapter, exhibits a thin cyclopean enclosure wall, within the larger site of Torre d'en Galmés on Menorca. Excavated in the late 2000's, the enclosure dates from the third to second centuries B.C.E., and represents the largest domestic unit on Menorca and the last

major construction project at Torre d'en Galmés (Sintes and Isbert 2009). The external wall delimits a private, domestic compound. Carthailac's external wall could be seen as more akin to the village walls of Mallorca on a micro-scale, defining private or even a small community space as separate from the broader site's landscape. The chronology of Carthailac's wall does differ from Mallorcan examples by as much as three centuries, but the general meaning of the spatial division endures.

But why does Son Catlar exhibit seemingly martial fortifications constructed at such a late date? What can be said of cyclopean walls on Mallorca that did not serve a defensive purpose, but instead were used as boundaries of a town or community? When discussing the emergence of large-scale perimeter walls, the Late Iron Age *oppida* of Southern France and the Iberian Peninsula can be used as comparanda. Late Talayotic fortified sites share some key characteristics with mainland *oppida*. As Dietler describes, the *oppida* of Southern France exhibited defensive walls that were constructed around the sixth century B.C.E. and in increasing number during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. (2010: 172). The construction of these walls was an indigenous reaction to an influx of colonial populations in the region. Of course this was not a direct, militaristic response to the incoming colonial power, nor was it an attempt to mimic colonial practices. Dietler sees the construction of *oppida* fortifications as a defensive strategy in response to increased intercommunity violence (2010: 172), and not a sociopolitical symbol of wealth or prestige.

Son Catlar's wall is considered to be much later than the Mallorcan examples. As one of the longest surviving indigenous sites on Menorca, Son Catlar was occupied into the final stages of the Roman Empire. Perhaps the wall fortifications, which remain intact today, were a response to an increasingly encroaching foreign presence or even intercommunity competition

on the island during the end of the Late Talayotic and beginning of the Roman period. In the end, no sign of violence can be observed on the walls or in the settlement. Son Catlar's wall on Menorca still embodies the notions of protection and defense, corresponding to Dietler's observations of *oppida* fortifications. Yet the cyclopean walls of Mallorca do not. In fact, the examples from Mallorca seem less a response to violence and more a sociopolitical display, as outlined by Rowlands (1972; Dietler 2010: 173). The cyclopean walls at Puig de Sa Morisca, S'Illot and Ses Païsses were most likely meant to define the settlement, separate it from the extra-community landscape, and potentially serve to display wealth or prestige to neighboring villages.

Greg Woolf describes the construction of Late Iron Age *oppida* in mainland Europe as a fundamental de-urbanization of the landscape, not dissimilar from the Italian *incastellamento* of the medieval period (Woolf 1993: 231). In other words, open-air, urban settlements become nucleated in smaller fortified settlements, preventing open trade and cosmopolitanism to both control wealth and protect inhabitants from the threat of violence. Both Mallorcan and Menorcan examples can be viewed as facilitating nucleation while attempting to differentiate the sites from the external landscape, in one case for defensive purposes, and in the other perhaps to control and project wealth. If these sites were on mainland Iberia or Southern France, they all would most likely be considered *oppida*. Luckily for the study of the Balearics, the discussions of the Late Iron Age have largely not looked to mainland Europe for comparison, avoiding the *oppida* label and undue simplification. Grouping the totality of these sites from both islands into one category of indigenous reaction would be simply incorrect. Instead, they represented different island and territorial responses to changing economic and political landscapes at different points in the Late Talayotic and Early Roman periods.

The Roman Rift: Fact or Fabrication?

While the previous sections have dealt with the Late Talayotic period extending into the second century B.C.E., the following sections serve to outline Roman colonial sites on the islands and attempt to push the chronologies of inland indigenous settlements into the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. Many previous works on the archaeology of the Balearics use the Roman conquest of 123 B.C.E. as a clean break for the discussion of the indigenous landscape, while at times admitting that indigenous lifeways persisted well into the first, if not the second century C.E. It is true that the 123 B.C.E. date marks a significant political shift for the islands under foreign dominion for the first time. Yet in many ways, the "Roman Rift," as I describe it here, is as much a scholarly hurdle as it is a historical reality. In many studies of the prehistoric landscape, the post 123 B.C.E. persistence of settlement is, with a few exceptions, often downplayed (Orfila et al. 2008). To be fair, there is a rift in the settlement strategies on both islands, but it should be seen more as a progression than a wholesale change of indigenous custom. The following sections serve to highlight the persistence of indigenous communities in the Roman period, while attempting to encapsulate a dynamic, colonial period in the Balearics.

Indigenous Sites from the Second Century B.C.E. to the First Century C.E.: "Roman" Reorganization

The title of this section is a bit of a misnomer. Although the Romans did conquer and occupy the islands in 123 B.C.E., they did not take an active or singular role in the reorganization of the landscape. Indigenous sites that persisted into the first century C.E. experienced changes that reflect internal change, rather than external mandate by a colonial force. The exceptions to this are the Roman colonies. Literary attestations of the sites of Palma and Pollentia state that Quintus Metellus founded both towns in 123 B.C.E. Evidence from the site of Sanisera points to a similarly early date on Menorca. I will return to these settlements below. As discussed in

Chapter 2, the accounts of colonization offered by Pliny the Elder have not been archaeologically proven or entirely refuted. Many of the place names which are archaeologically identifiable have indications of prehistoric settlement prior to Roman colonization in the site itself or nearby.

Accounts of indigenous reactions to the conquest of the island do not paint the inhabitants in a positive light. Along with notions that they either died out or were quickly acculturated, there also seems to be the implicit assumption that Late Talayotic culture simply fell to pieces after the Romans conquered the islands. The problem remains, however, that most work carried out at indigenous sites generally does not focus on the post-conquest Roman period. Only in a few examples is the Roman period represented, and in such cases only tangentially in the data. Yet scholars of Balearic prehistory seem to agree that inland indigenous settlements on both islands continued to exist in some capacity into the Roman period (Cardell et al. 1990; Guerrero et al. 2007a; Orfila et al. 2008).

For Mallorca and Menorca, the process of site abandonment after the Roman colonization episode is nebulous. Although many of the sites enumerated thus far go through periods of restructuring or even temporary abandonment, all see some occupation into the Republican Roman period and beyond. As Cau and Mas (2013) have shown with their survey data gathered from the modern area of Felanitx on Mallorca, some indigenous sites are occupied well into Late Antiquity. In Cau and Mas' study however, surviving sites are inland. On Mallorca, inland settlements generally decline, but do not necessarily disappear. Perhaps inland settlements on both islands were less actively engaged with Roman populations, leading to a persistence of traditional lifeways, even if the size and population of such sites declined during the Roman period. Figure 26 shows settlement patterns surrounding the modern area of Felanitx in southeastern Mallorca during the early Imperial period, roughly comprising the

Augustan or Principate period. The survey area incorporated part of the Eastern hills of Mallorca as well as a large swathe of coastal area. The only coastal or even near-coastal sites still considered indigenous are contemporaneous cave burials.

While it is difficult to extend this discussion beyond these general ideas, settlement continuity and indigenous persistence should not be overlooked. In fact, the Roman period represents a very fruitful avenue of future research. Nevertheless, with the current state of scholarship in the region, one can only assert that indigenous sites indeed existed, in varying capacities, on both islands at least until the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., owing to a persistence of indigenous inhabitation, cultural processes and use of the landscape. Roman landscape modification, centuriation, and inland settlement are Augustan or even later phenomena.

Roman Colonial Settlement Sites on Mallorca

On the island of Mallorca, the colonies of Palma and Pollentia were immediately established by Quintus Metellus according to Pliny the Elder, coopting 3,000 Romans or Italians to settle and pacify the islands (Guerrero et al. 2007a: 80; Zucca 1998: 147). Palma is today covered by a modern, bustling city, offering only a patchwork of rescue excavations and little help in understanding early Roman interactions on the island. By contrast, Pollentia is a great archaeological resource for understanding the early manifestations of Roman culture on the island of Mallorca. Other municipalities mentioned by Pliny on the island include Bocchorus, Guium, and Tucis. Bocchorus is the only other attested Roman settlement, though only through references in the extant epigraphic record (Zucca 1998: 151). According to excavation teams working in Pollentia and Palma, no archaeological evidence for the two towns exists before 70 B.C.E., casting some doubt over the claims of the historical record (Orfila et al. 2006: 135).

Turning briefly to the site of Pollentia, the town is an intriguing manifestation of Roman planning. Purportedly built atop a previous Talayotic site with indigenous architectural

foundations (Woods 1970), Pollentia contains the standard forum, theater, and architectural planning that might typify a "Roman" settlement (Orfila et al. 2006: 135). Still, it seems that Talayotic material culture was not absent, at least in earlier periods, based on the archaeological data provided by the Dartmouth team working at the site in the 1990's and early 2000's (Doenges 2005). A description of the pottery's context and details of the assemblage are lacking, however, preventing an analysis of the ways indigenous customs or lifeways were incorporated in the "Roman" town. In fact, data regarding indigenous ceramics or other material culture might point to hybrid elements, or even indigenous families inhabiting the town. At present, not much can be said about the period of conquest and settlement in Mallorca, mainly due to the seemingly later dates of occupation at the specifically "Roman" archaeological sites, as well as an emphasis in scholarly literature on simply "Roman" aspects of such sites.

Yet despite a relative dearth of current data regarding known Roman sites on Mallorca, during the construction of El Hospital Universitario Son Espasses outside the city of Palma in the early 2010's, archaeologists uncovered what appeared to be a Roman camp, which roughly dates to the second half of the second century B.C.E. (Estarellas et al. 2014). This site, now known as Son Espases, is characterized by a standard Roman architectural plan for permanent camps (see Figures 27 and 28) and the appearance of Dressel 1 pottery scattered throughout the site's dumps and placed within the architecture. This site is essential to the study of the Roman conquest of Mallorca and even Menorca, as only the site of Sanisera on the north coast of Menorca claims to be a late second century B.C.E. Roman camp as well. The site of Son Espases is well dated, fairly well published, and represents clear evidence of Rome's first colonial interventions on the island. Its location should not be overlooked, being just outside of Palma, which was supposedly one of the earliest colonies and would become one of the most prominent cities on the Balearic Islands during the Roman period. Estarellas et al. consider Son

Espases to be soldier barracks, possibly dating to just after the Roman conquest of the island (2014: 152-153). Nevertheless, the ceramic assemblages and finds from this site have not yet been published, preventing further understanding of indigenous interactions with and potentially within the camp itself.

Finally, the town site of Bocchorus is potentially very important for understanding Roman and indigenous interactions and settlement patterns in the Early Roman period. Listed as a *foederata* by Pliny the Elder, in other words an "ally of Rome" bound by treaty, the site was not a Roman foundation. The other four placenames (Palma, Pollentia, Tucis and Guium) mentioned by Pliny were supposedly established by Romans. Unfortunately, archaeologists today have not Bocchorus, only finding traces in the epigraphic record, suggesting that the site was located somewhere in the north of the island (Zucca 1998: 151). Nevertheless, during the first century C.E., when Pliny the Elder was writing, a township with indigenous roots apparently existed on the island contemporaneously with other larger Roman establishments. The fact that this settlement was large enough to be mentioned by Pliny the Elder is evidence that indigenous lifeways persisted into the first century C.E. acknowledged by the Romans. In other words, Bocchorus was not a small indigenous settlement in the countryside, tucked away from commerce and interaction, preserving the last remnants of indigenous culture. Instead, Bocchorus represents a township participating in wider economic networks and the socio-political organization of the Roman colonial establishment on the island.

Yet the mention of Bocchorus could be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the presence of a seemingly influential indigenous settlement would seem to indicate that the settlement patterns of the island, far from being radically altered by the Romans, were a reflection of an indigenous past. Evidence of prehistoric foundations in Pollentia also attests to this assertion. Still, that only one site is mentioned as a significant indigenous township or

political player for both islands suggests a diminished influence of indigenous settlements. Indigenous spatial patterning saw the expansion of near-coastal settlements on Mallorca following the rise to commercial prominence of Ibiza, yet not one of these near-coastal settlements is mentioned by Pliny. On the other hand, perhaps there is a political element to Bocchorus' inclusion, as it might represent a singular civic ally on the two islands when the Romans invaded, not necessarily the biggest or most influential indigenous site. The problem of Bocchorus not only represents a mystery for archaeologists today, but also some tantalizing clues into how Romans actually perceived or incorporated indigenous settlements into their colonial network embracing the island.

Roman Colonial Settlement Sites on Menorca

For Menorca, Pliny the Elder mentions three towns, Iamo, Mago and Sanisera. Like Palma, the Roman towns of Iamo and Mago are covered by modern cities and extremely difficult to access archaeologically for evidence of the early Roman period. Ciutadella has long been assumed to be the port of Iamo, located on the western coast of the island with a small yet sheltered port. Mahón, unlike Ciutadella, retains the Roman name given to the port town. Located on the eastern coast of Menorca, Mahón harbor is the largest natural deep water harbor in the Mediterranean. It is debatable to what degree a deep harbor would have been useful in antiquity, as beach access may have been more desirable for loading and unloading ships. The majority of the Port of Mahón is surrounded by cliff-faces. Still, it is a very large body of water that is well protected from northerly winds coming from the Gulf of Leon. The discussion of the utility of the port of Mahón is particularly important when considering the manner in which the Romans used Menorca for trading or shipping during the Late Republican and Imperial periods.

Sanisera, the third locale mentioned by Pliny is located on the northern coast of Menorca. It is not covered by a modern settlement, and has been the subject of excavations since the 1990's by the Ecomuseu de Sanitja. Excavations of the site uncovered a Roman fort, dating to the late second century B.C.E. Sanisera represents the only Roman fort site on the island, and along with Son Espases, only one of two archaeologically attested second century B.C.E. Roman sites on Mallorca or Menorca. Like the later colonies of Mallorca and the port towns of Menorca, Sanisera is located on the coast. Although some prehistoric sites exist in relatively close proximity to Sanisera, the site marks a shift of settlement and trade to the northern coast of the island during the Roman period (as will be discussed in Chapter 6).

The fort site exhibits a planned grid design and a surrounding ditch or *fosse* (See Figure 29). Excavations at the site have revealed military equipment, including sling stones made of both worked stone and lead, presumably used by indigenous, slinger mercenaries from Mallorca and Menorca (Contreras 1998; Contreras et al. 2006). As discussed in Chapter 2, the residents of Mallorca and Menorca were famous in battle for their proficiency with a sling, and are discussed at great length by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. The sling stones suggest that indigenous inhabitants were being either persuaded or forced into joining Roman forces at the fort and potentially shipped out to other provinces. The Romans did use Balearic slingers in battle after the conquest of the island according to historical sources, so the inclusion of sling stones in the archaeological assemblage is not altogether surprising. Contextual data surrounding the sling stones is still quite vague from the extant publications.

Although some archaeological publications refer to the site (Bravo and Contreras 2014; Contreras 1998; Contreras et al. 2006), the extant publications lack substantive artifact data, save for scattered discussions of certain objects such as the sling stones, or any detail regarding the context of the few finds they mention. Like many of the sites discussed in this chapter, data

regarding ceramic assemblages or other finds relating to indigenous involvement within the site are not published, preventing any understanding of the fort's cultural or political impact on the island, or even the function of the fort site itself. Despite these problems, the site is most likely a fort, given the architectural features of the buildings excavated and the artifacts, now housed in the Ecomuseu of Sanitja, displaying military equipment, slingstones and a multitude of Dressel 1 amphorae. With further publications and critical analyses of the data, however, Sanisera could be a very useful resource for understanding colonial and indigenous interactions at the very beginning of Roman rule on the islands. At present, the lack of engagement of the site's publications with indigenous elements prevents further interpretation, and another potentially fruitful future prospect alongside the other Roman colonial settlement sites of Menorca and Mallorca.

The Shift to Ports during the Roman Period on Menorca and Mallorca

As Morgan (1969) suggests in his analysis of the textual sources surrounding the conquest of the islands, the eradication of piracy was only one of many motivations for the conquest of the islands. A secondary, yet perhaps more convincing reason for the conquest of Mallorca and Menorca was the potential access to the Iberian Peninsula offered by the ports of Mahón, Ciutadella, Palma, Pollentia, and other smaller coves. Large-scale movements of goods and armies could be more easily mobilized across the Western Mediterranean with the control of the Balearic Islands. At the time of Balearic conquest, the Iberian Peninsula was a tumultuous part of the Roman world, comprising young provinces full of rebellious indigenous populations. The Celt-Iberian conflict that raged in the Iberian Peninsula from 143-133 B.C.E., culminating in the siege of Numantia and the suicide of the Celt-Iberian chiefs, is likely intimately tied to the conquest of the Balearic Islands.

As the last bastion of political independence from Rome in the Western Mediterranean, it may have been logical for the Romans to occupy the islands before they became at all problematic and use the islands' purported piratical activities as an excuse. The conquest of the Balearics also nicely coincided with the campaigns waged in Transalpine Gaul, or Gallia Narbonensis, which was officially conquered in 121 B.C.E. Morgan suggests the "pirates" of the Balearics could have been transplant populations from Transalpine Gaul (1969). Given the strange relationship indigenous Late Talayotic peoples had with the sea, (detailed in eating habits in Chapter 4 and indigenous seafaring in Chapter 6) it is difficult to say whether the islanders were harassing Roman ships or not. In the end, it did not matter, as the Romans used piracy as the excuse to simply take over the islands. The importance of the ports to further reinforce Iberia is perhaps one reason why Pliny only describes coastal placenames on Mallorca and Menorca when he details the population centers of the islands in the first century C.E. The Romans might have viewed the Balearics as convenient harbors. In that case, Pliny's placenames would not reflect the entirety of settlement on the two islands, but perhaps places of strategic importance to the Romans.

Despite Pliny's potential bias in understanding the island's inhabitants and settlements, indigenous archaeological evidence does not provide an alternative, given a lack of scholarly engagement with the topic. While indigenous settlement patterns of the Early Roman period are not well understood, a discussion of coastal sites warrants further attention. The argument above suggests that Romans or colonial Italians dwelt on the port cities of Palma, Pollentia, Iamon, Mago and Sanisera. Yet before the Roman period, coastal, port sites, beyond a select few indigenous and small-scale Punic examples, did not exist on both islands, despite the existence of near-coastal sites on Mallorca. These Roman sites represent major urban establishments in the Roman period. Funerary sites were commonplace on the coasts or near the coasts of

Menorca and Mallorca in the Late Talayotic, but settlement sites were typically inland or near the coast but not directly on ports.

At first glance, Pollentia represents an exception to this trend, with a previous indigenous site located beneath portions of the later coastal, Roman town. But Pollentia is not exactly on the coast. It is near the coast and has associated harbors, but in many ways reflects the near-coastal settlement trend of other portions of indigenous Mallorca. Pollentia is therefore not an exception, but really evidence of Roman urban planning working in concert with previously established indigenous places. Perhaps previous indigenous settlements existed at Palma or even sites on Menorca as well, but the evidence just does not exist to support this argument. In the end, however, the most active sites in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. became the port or even near-port sites on both islands. Underwater evidence, discussed in Chapter 6, further supports the first century C.E. apex of trade and exchange stemming from major port sites around both islands.

By the first century C.E., many port sites emerged along the coasts of both islands (see Chapter 6). It is during the first and second centuries C.E. that many indigenous, inland sites were abandoned, including such notable examples as Torre d'en Galmés, Son Fornés, Ses Païsses, and many others from both islands. Not all indigenous sites were abandoned, but a very large portion, if not the vast majority, were left unoccupied. The ports thereafter became major settlement centers, and the final remnants of recognizable indigenous culture began to fade out. From the first century B.C.E. on, indigenous sites were slowly abandoned and coastal sites emerged, owing to a changing economy, political structure, and ultimately a different lifestyle of the Balearic Islanders.

Conclusion

Settlement pattern study for Balearic Islands is in its infancy. Without large-scale, systematic pedestrian surveys of both islands, not much can be said based on the current state of accessible archaeological information. The dearth of survey data is coupled with a lack of broader encyclopedic syntheses or site catalogues for both islands in the last twenty years. In fact, the catalogues that do exist (Fernández-Miranda 1978; Orfila and Femenias 1993), do not provide sufficiently accurate date ranges to allow diachronic analyses of known, excavated sites. This may be an artifact of poor publication or limited excavations of many of these sites, but the problem prohibits any broader syntheses of both islands. With Mas and Cau's work in eastern Mallorca, survey archaeology is showing signs of increased importance in Balearic scholarship. Their extensive pedestrian survey of the area surrounding Felanitx in 2007 (Cau and Mas 2013) was focused on the Roman, Late Roman, Vandal and Byzantine landscape, but represents an inherently diachronic focus and presents enticing information for the study of indigenous sites. Such an archaeological survey for the study of the entire Iron Age would be immensely helpful for understanding just how much settlements and society change during the Late Talayotic and Early Roman periods, and to what extent this is the result of internal and or extra-island factors.

Yet the data used for this chapter comprised extant archaeological information from a few well documented sites with identifiable chronological sequences. Although it is difficult to isolate obvious trends, the Late Talayotic saw the florescence of indigenous sites on both islands, but at different times. I argue above that on Mallorca settlements are both defined with external walls, which most likely served as markers of prestige and territorial differentiation, and increase in size during the Talayotic/Late Talayotic transition. The sites are then subject to economic factors with the influx of foreign trade in the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. as the near-coastal sites expand and the inland sites contract. On Menorca, the fourth to second

centuries B.C.E. represent the apex of construction and expansion of indigenous sites with monumental domestic archaeology stemming from the sixth century B.C.E. Perimeter cyclopean walls on Menorca, specifically at Son Catlar, represent defensive strategies at a later date than Mallorcan counterparts. Although the Roman occupation represents a fundamental change to both islands' economic and cultural systems, many indigenous sites are inhabited well beyond conquest, even, as is described by Cau and Mas (2013), well into Late Antiquity. Still, there is an evident shift in focus from inland or near-coastal sites, to larger coastal establishments during the Roman period.

For all that is unclear regarding island-specific settlement patterns, it is clear that Mallorca and Menorca display idiosyncratic responses to the changing world of the Western Mediterranean in the Late Talayotic and Early Roman periods. In the case of Mallorca, proximity to the coast offers a potential geographic factor for understanding the growth and decline of specific indigenous sites. Menorcan settlement patterns, however, remain inland, though on such a small island, the coast is never too far away. Nevertheless, by the first century C.E., settlement patterns on both islands appear to converge on the coasts, reflecting a changing economy and influence of the Roman Empire. For a more detailed examination of domestic architecture and indigenous lifeways to flesh out these basic arguments, I will now turn to the archaeological data relating to houses on both islands during the Late Talayotic and Early Roman periods.

Chapter 3 Images

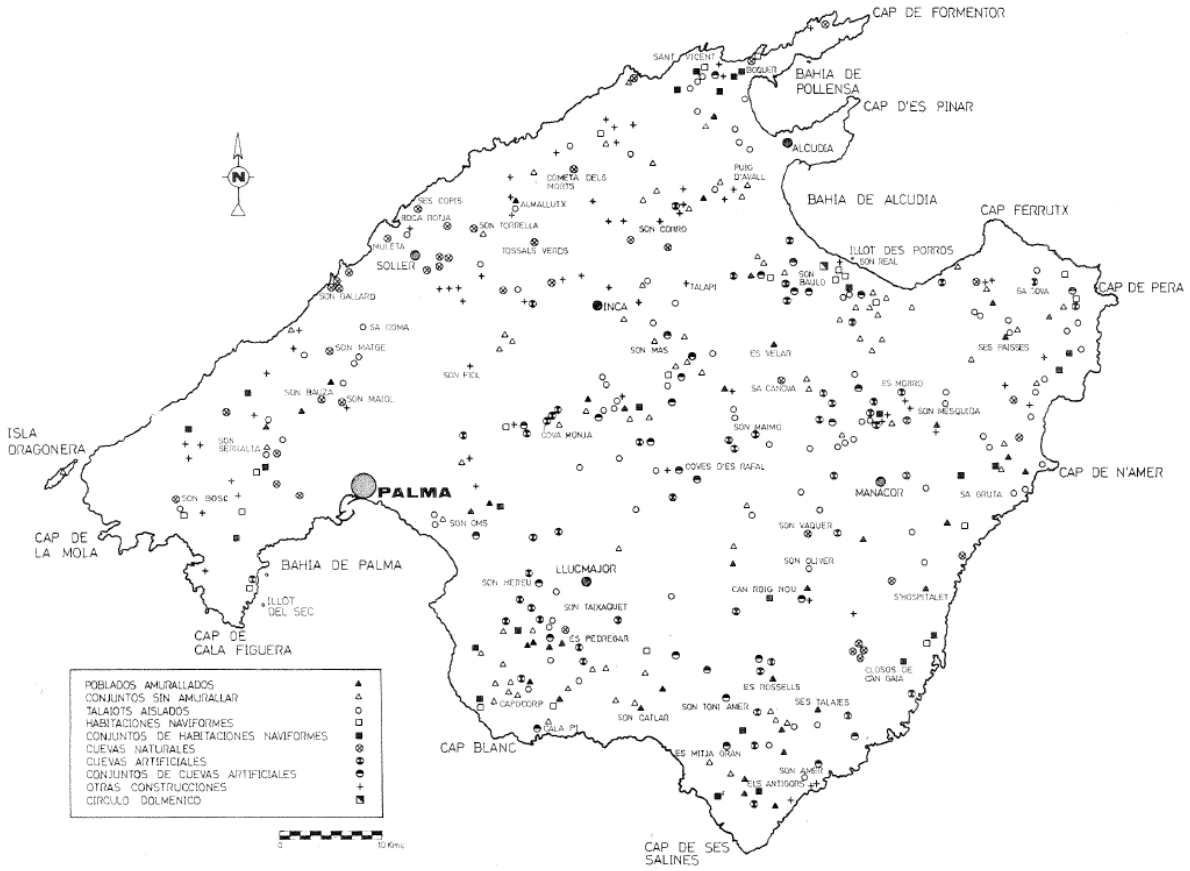


Figure 12: Image from Fernández-Miranda 1978 showing archaeological sites on Mallorca for the entire span of prehistory. Many sites on this map are close to the coast, but are still multiple miles inland. The select few that are on the coast are funerary caves. (Fernández-Miranda 1978: 34)

Figure 13: Remains of elite dwelling abutting exterior wall at Ses Païsses, Mallorca. (Photo by the author)

Figure 14: Puig de Sa Morisca's settlement area which flourished during the Late Talayotic period. (Photo by the author)

Figure 15: One of So Na Caçana's talayot surrounded by ceremonial complexes and dwellings in the southeast of Menorca. (Photo by the author)

Figure 16: The isolated talayot of Trebaluger in southeast Menorca. (Photo by the author)

Figure 17: The third century B.C.E. Cartailhac precinct at Torre d'en Galmés with circular dwelling. (Source: http://ipce.mcu.es/presentacion/funciones/present-func-invest2.html)

Figure 18: Wall at Ses Païsses. This entrance is on the east and is one of two entry points to the site. The entrance is roughly 2 meters in height. (Photo by the author)

Figure 19: The remains of the external wall of the central settlement at Puig de Sa Morisca. (Photo by the author)

Figure 20: S'Illot's exterior wall. (Photo by the author)

Figure 21: Son Catlar's singular entrance to the site. Beyond the large entry corridor, the blocks of stones bend the path immediately to the left. Not pictured here is the final bend back to the right, creating a zigzag pattern of entry. (Photo by the author)

Figure 22: Son Catlar's wall exhibiting blocks that were quarried from previous funerary caves or rock faces as displayed by the carved niche. (Photo by the author)

Figure 23: Meredith Anderson Langlitz standing next to one of the blocks used in the construction of the wall. At approximately 175 centimeters, Meredith is approximately 150 centimeters smaller than the block's height, displaying the intensity of both quarrying and construction of this wall. (Photo by the author)

Figure 24: Zoomed out view of Son Catlar's wall. The wall extends 870 meters around the site. (Photo by the author)

Figure 25: One of eight square protruding towers added later to the wall of Son Catlar, possibly during the Roman period. (Photo by the author)

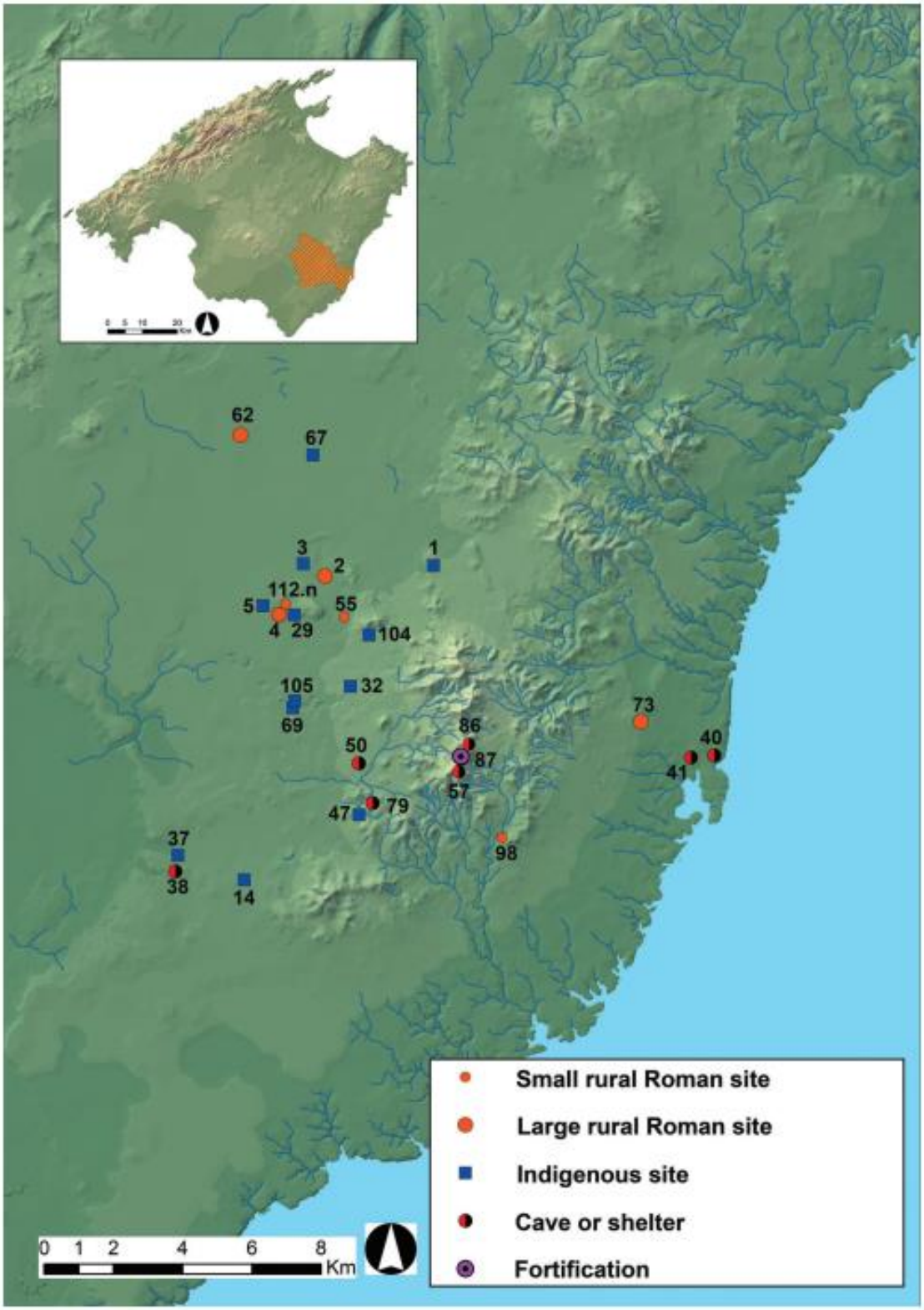


Figure 26: Roman and Indigenous sites near Felanitx (highlighted Orange within the inset) during the early Imperial period. (Cau and Mas 2013: 252)

Figure 27: Site of Son Espases near Palma, Mallorca. (Photo by the author)

Figure 28: A large piece of Dressel 1 pottery incorporated into the architecture of a building at Son Espases. Dressel 1 amphorae are roughly contemporary with the Roman conquest of Mallorca in the late Second Century B.C.E. (Photo by the author)

Figure 29: The site of Sanisera with Roman buildings in the background and an excavated fortification trench in the foreground. (Photo by the author)

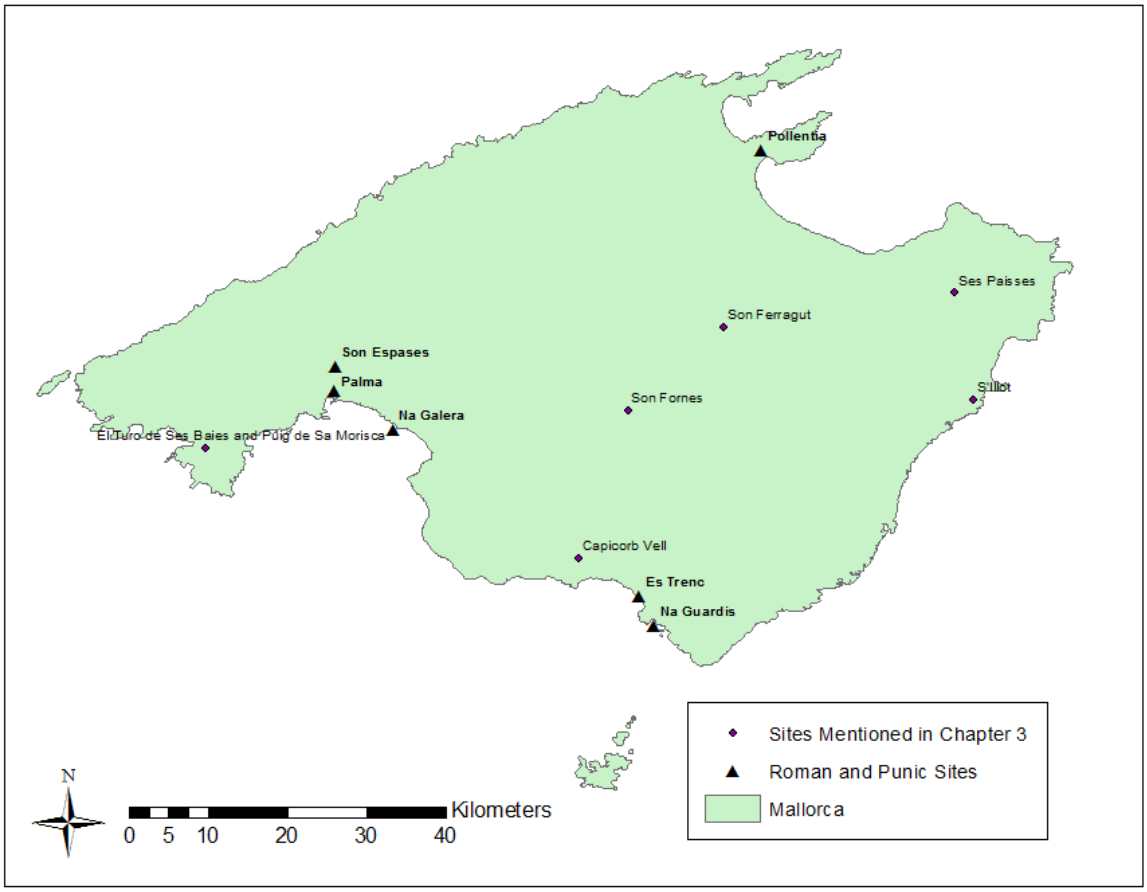


Figure 30: Mallorcan sites mentioned in the text alongside Roman and Punic sites. (Image by the author)

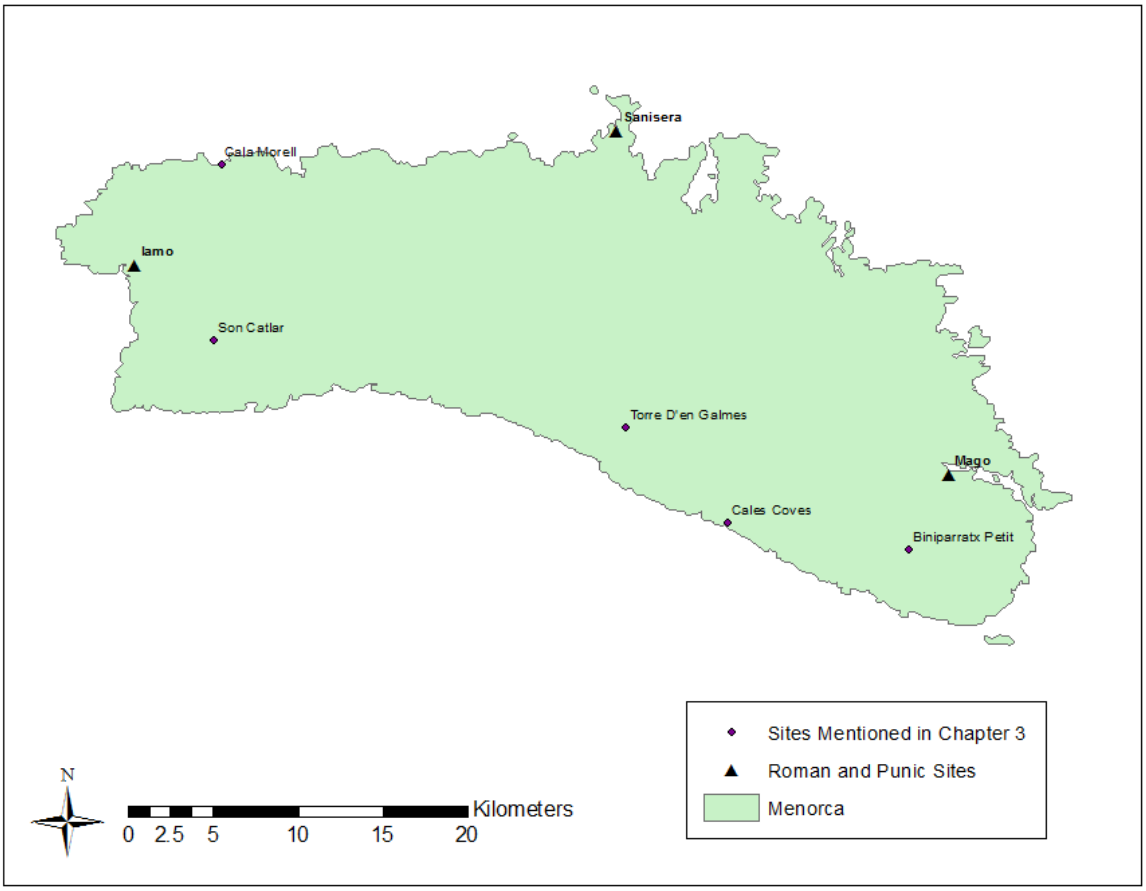


Figure 31: Menorcan sites mentioned in Chapter 3 alongside Roman and Punic sites. (Image by the author)

Chapter 4: The House and the Household during the Protohistoric Period

Domestic archaeology can provide a glimpse into the lifeways of a community of the many different social and class groups within it. In order to assess this type of information, this chapter will highlight case studies on Mallorca and Menorca that vary in many ways, but are important, well documented indigenous sites of the Late Talayotic and Roman periods, sites that display domestic habits that reflect expressions of indigenous identity in a world slowly being subsumed by global powers. This chapter by no means represents an encyclopedic attempt at concentrating all known information on Late Talayotic or even Roman era indigenous households. Instead, the goal is to provide a basic account of better known or better published sites in order to isolate general trends observed on the islands during this period and to relate them to larger processes of interaction, colonization and imperialism in the Western Mediterranean.

By and large the chief factor for the categorization and analysis of these domestic sites is the island. Many scholars, including Fernandez-Miranda (1997: 67) have conceded that, based on the archaeological remains of the Post or Late Talayotic period, it is obvious that Menorca and Mallorca respectively possessed two separate cultures. The picture, as discussed in Chapter 1, is actually far more fragmented, as various regions in Mallorca develop their own idiosyncratic means of cultural expression. Menorca is less fragmented, but still quite distinct from Mallorca. These distinctions, of course, are reflected in the domestic archaeological and architectural remains as well of sites on both islands. In a gargantuan feat, this chapter will attempt to condense some key aspects of domestic life and change that occurred in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. across these islands. The manner in which this chapter will be broken down is dictated by two major lines of evidence: architecture and domestic space. These two foci are largely the product of the type of archaeological work that has been carried out as well

as the extant publications, which often favor discussions of architecture. The chapter will therefore be split into two sections, the first one focusing on changing architectural trends on the islands, the second on the changing use of domestic space and household assemblages; these will be divided by different approaches to each individual island.

Domestic Architecture:

While domestic architecture is important for understanding exactly how people lived on a very basic level, it does not necessarily represent all classes or groups of individuals equally. For instance, the islands of Mallorca and Menorca offer glimpses into the domestic architecture of really only a handful of sites and elite houses therein, almost exclusively located within larger, quasi-urban settlements. Temporary structures, farmhouses, or smaller dwellings outside of major sites are poorly known, primarily due to a lack of systematic survey carried out on the islands. Still, the islands at least allow a glimpse, albeit a skewed glimpse into indigenous lifeways during the Late Talayotic and into the Roman period.

Furthermore, it is clear that Mallorcan and Menorcan architecture operate on two separate trajectories of style and temporal range. For this reason, their discussions are separated, allowing an analysis of each island independently. By and large, however, evidence regarding the variable development of prehistoric domestic architectural forms, focusing on regional specificity is absent. What remains is a sort of fixed trajectory (Guerrero et al. 2006b), or really an imagined, linear progression of domestic structures leading up to the Roman conquest, allowing little room for regional difference on the islands and for different housing styles operating simultaneously. It is also the case that archaeological attention has not abundantly focused on the Late Talayotic period on Mallorca, while domestic archaeological

evidence for the Late Talayotic period is fairly prevalent on Menorca, primarily due to the megalithic nature of these houses, and has been investigated in numerous capacities.[23] Yet the subject has perhaps not been entirely embraced as a powerful tool in accessing the daily life and worldviews of the Late Talayotic people. Although it is a bit presumptuous to assume that orthogonality, for example, indicates cultural evolution, it still should be understood as a significant change in Talayotic spatial understanding of domestic space. It represents variability in the landscape of Mallorca, and makes Menorca's lack of orthogonal domestic architecture significant. The following sections will attempt to integrate this evidence into a broader understanding of the social and cultural changes occurring in Mallorca and Menorca in the Protohistoric period.

Mallorcan Households: Architecture during the Talayotic and Late Talayotic Periods

The study of Mallorcan household architecture represents a legacy of archaeological practice that has focused primarily on Talayotic and Pre-Talayotic forms. While examples exist for the Late Talayotic period, the complicated nature and regional differentiation of this time period are largely obscured. Domestic architecture on Mallorca is a complex matter from the beginning of the Talayotic period, presenting a seeming dichotomy between indigenous custom and foreign influence, resulting in a Late Talayotic landscape that is difficult to access. The following sections will attempt to couch Mallorcan domestic architecture in its past and traditions, while describing the few Late Talayotic examples we have of this type of evidence.

[23] Although contained in many general works regarding the Talayotic and Late Talayotic culture (for example Guerrero et al. 2006b), others like Hernández-Gasch 2011a present information on the larger phenomena of domestic architecture in the Iron Age, as well as Hernández-Gasch 2007, which focuses primarily on Menorca.

Precursors of Mallorcan Houses: Naviform and Talayotic Dwellings

Late Talayotic Mallorcan houses did not emerge from a vacuum. Precursors from the Talayotic period exist on both islands, yet the examples from Mallorca are much better preserved. Naviform dwellings played a significant role in the style of housing on Mallorca before the Talayotic period during the Bronze Age.[24] These types of dwellings and naviform tombs are particularly common on both islands, with Menorca in general favoring the architectural element as a tomb.[25] The naviform ground plan is decidedly domestic on Mallorca, with many early examples; naviform houses are primarily Late Bronze Age, and thus their inclusion in this chapter will only be brief.

One such example is the site of S'Hospitalet Vell, located in southeast Mallorca, south of Manacor and between the Eastern Hills and the Mediterranean. The earliest structures located on site are a series of four naviform houses. These houses are roughly 15-17 meters in length and around 3-7.5 meters in width and their shape and domestic purpose are unmistakable (Ramis and Salas 2012; 2014). Cave sites obviously predate these houses, yet the construction of such naviform houses in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. (Anglada et al. 2014; Guerrero et al. 2007b; Ramis and Salas 2012; 2014), are our earliest examples of freestanding domestic architecture on Mallorca and Menorca. These houses are very simple in plan, with an elongated horseshoe shape featuring a raised hearth platform and sometimes small dividing walls, depending on the example (see Figure 32). Production space is generally seen as an outdoor activity in a communal working area (Salvá and Hernández 2009: 301-304). One

[24] This period is sometimes referred to as the "Naviform Period," owing to the style and shape of the houses. This convention is particular to the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona (Micó 2006).
[25] Although not as common as Mallorcan examples, Menorcan naviform houses do exist. These predate the late Bronze Age and early Iron age funerary navetas. For an example of a recent excavation, see Anglada et al. 2014.

peculiarity of S'Hospitalet is the close by, but architecturally very distinct, square talayot and orthogonal indigenous buildings of the Iron Age, a form I will return to below.

What perhaps differentiates Mallorca from Menorca to some degree is the proximity of Mallorca to the trade routes and economic influence of Ibiza. It seems that, architecturally, Mallorca in some areas follows a gradual development that in many ways mirrors external contact and exchange of ideas. Although it is not quite correct to say that Phoenician or Punic traders of Ibiza were in direct control of the island or were culturally dominant, the influence of an external culture seems evident. Sites such as Na Guardis and Es Trenc attest to some degree of Punic involvement on the island, potentially affecting the indigenous architectural repertoire.[26]

Generally, indigenous houses in Mallorca gradually become more orthogonal toward the end of the Talayotic period and at the beginning of the Late Talayotic, around the seventh or sixth centuries B.C.E. (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 45). There are obviously problems with a basic trajectory toward rectangular dwellings, not least of which is the inherent assumption that orthogonality equates to civility and an automatically later date. Still, it is necessary to dwell on this basic trend for the time being given the issues of cultural contact and the exchange of ideas, particularly with regard to Mallorca and Ibiza. To serve as a guide, I've included here a representation produced by Guerrero et al. 2006 (See Figure 33), showing the basic trajectory of house styles during the Talayotic and Late Talayotic periods.

Son Ferragut, featured in Figure 33, is perhaps one of the best studied sites for the eighth to sixth centuries on the island, producing a large BAR volume entitled *Mujeres y Hombres en Espacios Domésticos* (Castro-Martinéz et al. 2003). The site referred to in the

[26] For more information on this subject, particularly the interpretation of a Punic colonization of Mallorca and Menorca, see Guerrero 1997.

volume and shown below in Figure 34 represents a quasi-rectangular structure that has attributes reminiscent of extra-island interaction, but was occupied by indigenous groups fairly early on (from the eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E.). The contents and analyses of the *Mujeres y Hombres* volume will be briefly discussed in subsequent sections, but it is worth considering the style of architecture of that particular house here. It represents a very early adoption of a rectangular plan, but in an undoubtedly indigenous environment and an extremely inland settlement.[27] The location of the site therefore precludes any easy explanation of the site as colonial or foreign. Segmentation of space is fairly regular, but the outdoor patio, characteristic of contemporary semi-circular houses, is maintained (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 55). Of course, it is also worth noting that square talayots were also being constructed during this time period, located throughout the island (see Aramburu-Zabala and Belmonte 2002). Orthogonal structural styles were quickly being coopted for indigenous purposes from the ninth to sixth centuries B.C.E.

Still, the entire argument above is coupled with the unfortunate fact that not all households were orthogonal, nor did those that were necessarily stay orthogonal, as we shall see below. Some sites even contain semi-circular houses from the Talayotic period. For instance, the site of S'Illot on the eastern coast of Mallorca exhibits semi-circular houses dating from the ninth to sixth centuries B.C.E., similar to the later Menorcan examples (Krause 1978; see Figure 35). Despite being a coastal settlement, S'Illot exhibits a semi-circular domestic form, while contemporaneous Son Ferragut, in the middle of mainland Mallorca, develops orthogonal house plans. Perhaps these changes are not reflections of access to goods or exposure to outside

[27] Son Ferragut is located near modern day Sineu, Mallorca, almost in the exact center of Mallorca's central plain.

influences, but rather indications of communal differentiation during the Talayotic period. These houses at S'Illot remain semi-circular during the Late Talayotic period as well.

The patterns become increasingly complex with other types of domestic structures appearing in the Talayotic period. Along with semi-circular houses, the period also saw apsidal houses, such as those as Ses Païses (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 46; Lilliu 1965), shown in Figure 36, and sometimes semi-rectangular, irregular attached houses, best illustrated in Figure 37 at the site of Capacorb Vell (Colominas 1923). The trajectory of household architecture in Mallorca is clearly muddled, with everything from a semi-circle to a rectangle, with a lot of varying interpretations resulting. Although interesting, this discussion is a bit peripheral to the Late Talayotic, though should be noted as a potential early example of societal fragmentation on Mallorca.

Na Guardis and Punic Influence

As observed, Mallorca was most likely influenced by connections with the wider Punic world that emerged in the 7th to 6th centuries B.C.E. It is also clear that the houses detailed by Guerrero's trajectory in Figure 33 are idyllic, and perhaps gloss over the complexity of both islands. I will return to this sentiment below, but first I would like to further discuss the potential significance of Punic interaction on Mallorcan domestic architecture. Historically, Ibiza was known to have been settled by Phoenician traders in the 7th century B.C.E. The literary date is 654 B.C.E., and archaeological evidence at such sites as Sa Caleta and Puig des Molins attest to the settlement of the island in and around the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th centuries B.C.E. (Aubet 1994; Ramon 2007). Similarly, the site of Na Guardis on the Mallorcan coast is also significant as a well preserved example of a Punic trading post. There is some evidence of small

subsidiary sites, such as Es Trenc (Guerrero 1997), or Na Galera also exhibiting Punic elements, but in general, the evidence for colonization or even trading outposts is fairly scant.

That is, of course, save for the site of Na Guardis, located on a small islet near the Colonia de Sant Jordi, the area is desirable for seafaring and potential settlement, given its relatively protected harbor. Although the islet seems like a small, inconspicuous settlement, it constitutes some of the best available evidence of the Punic colonization of Mallorca, and in turn Menorca. The islet was the subject of excavations from 1978 through the mid-1980's by Victor M. Guerrero Ayuso of the Universitat de les Illes Baleares. The site shows material culture traces that date as early as the sixth century B.C.E. in some cases, with the structures and a preponderance of material indicating permanent settlement in the fourth century B.C.E. (Guerrero 2000: 1539). According to Guerrero, Na Guardis was occupied until the late second century B.C.E., when it was abandoned peacefully around the time of the Roman invasion of the Balearics in 123 B.C.E. (Guerrero et al. 2007a: 80). What was discovered here was a seemingly functional Phoenician settlement, complete with a metal working facility and potential areas of storage for the shipment of products to and from the island of Mallorca.

The orthogonal shape of the structures found at Na Guardis are evocative of Punic building styles perhaps carried over from Ibiza or other parts of the Western Mediterranean. Figure 38 of House 2 on the island site of Na Guardis attests to this style of structure. Nevertheless, the date of the buildings of Na Guardis, postdate the emergence of the architectural orthogonality of Mallorcan house structures by about 200 years. It is hard to say then that Na Guardis itself had a significant impact on household architecture and building styles in Mallorca, even if the emergence of orthogonality can ultimately be traced to contacts with Ibiza, mainland Europe or North Africa.

The Late Talayotic: A Period of Transition

For our period, the sixth century B.C.E. until the first century C.E., the evidence on Mallorca is a bit less obvious. Rectangular or semi-rectangular styles seem to persist at sites like Son Fornés and Ses Païsses, yet evidence is much less forthcoming, perhaps due to a relative lack of interest in the domestic archaeology of the Late Talayotic. Continuity seems to exist, namely in Hernández-Gasch's description of an apsidal house located in Capocorb Vell, dated to the Late Talayotic, yet examples of this form are otherwise relatively rare during this period (2011: 48). For Late Talayotic architecture, we largely have to look to different sites than those used above to describe ideal examples of Talayotic architecture.

The site of Son Fornés is a notable site located in the central plain of Mallorca, exhibiting approximately a 1000 year occupational history, from the 9th century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. and has yielded a number of dwellings dating from various periods. The houses located at Son Fornés are significant for a couple of reasons. For one, the architecture actually seems to be more orthogonal during the period roughly understood as constituting the 9th through 6th centuries B.C.E. (Gasull et al. 1984; Hernández-Gasch 2011a). After this period, the houses actually seem to become less orthogonal in plan, and more vernacular for the island.[28] The question remains, as to whether or not this indicates some sort of social transformation occurring, which some authors see as the disintegration of talayotic culture, or even an occupation by another people.[29] The possibility of some sort of coastal or urban nucleation with the advent of Carthaginian trade is also possible, leaving sites like Son Fornés less wealthy and potentially more the residence of local farmers.

[28] In this instance, vernacular is referring to buildings that are more functional for domestic purposes, making use of irregular plots and architectural plans, rather than monumental or planned. The above statement is true save for a sanctuary site excavated in 2012 (Amengual et al. 2014).
[29] For an example of this, see Micó 2006.

In Figure 39 and 40 we can see twon plans of the progression of occupation as outlined by the current archaeological data from Son Fornés (see Figure 41 for an image of the site). Remarkably, the urban pattern shifts significantly during various phases of occupation and reuse. I say "reuse" here because, as has been noted by the excavators, the site was abandoned sometime in the third century B.C.E., then reoccupied again in the second century B.C.E. (Gasull et al. 1984; Amengual et al. 2010; 2012; 2014). The implications of this shift will be discussed in the next chapter as it relates to potential themes of collective memory and indigenous identity. Nevertheless, the shift in occupation and multiple phases very much muddles any sort of linear architectural progression. This is of course not surprising, as Son Fornés is relatively small, the architecture surrounding the site relating to household dwellings most likely are expressions of local use. The site's location inland also has some potential bearing on the fact that architectural forms are relatively haphazard, irregular, and do not appear to reflect a transmission of culture from Punic or Roman architectural ideals to the indigenous site. In the case of Son Fornés, one could argue that orthogonal space actually transforms into less uniform standards of construction in both the Late Talayotic phase as well as the Roman period (known to archaeologists at Son Fornés as the Classical period; Lull et al. 2001). This seems to reflect more a functional, potentially impromptu use of space, however, rather than a structured architectural program or even a self-aware reference to traditional indigenous architectural forms.

According to the basic typology presented by Guerrero et al. (2006b) above, it seems clear that in Mallorca specifically, there was a gradual shift away from the semi-circular, naviform, or otherwise relatively curved walls in the Iron Age. By the 6th century B.C.E., many Mallorcan households have already become quite orthogonal. The indigenous construction of domestic space in Mallorca follows a form that outside influences like Greek, Punic, Iberian and

Romans might find recognizable. For some reason, the indigenous, circular or naviform domestic architectural form is abandoned early in the Iron Age, severing (whether self-consciously or not) links with the shape and look of their former domestic structures. That is, except for one site, El Turó de Ses Beies, located in Santa Ponça, Mallorca.[30]

El Turó de Ses Beies is located in the southwestern portion of Mallorca, close to Puig de Sa Morisca and Son Ferrer (see Figure 42). The site presents us with a relative conundrum in Mallorcan archaeology, as it was occupied from the mid third century B.C.E. into the first century C.E. (Camps and Vallespir 1998; Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 51). Here, instead of a rectangular or semi-rectangular house ground plan, the site looks almost Menorcan, exhibiting multiple semicircular enclosures. Evidently, this is a singular example of a circular house village being established after the Talayotic period, and represents a potential regional variation not unlike the very unique adaptations of Son Real funerary customs.[31] At the same time, the site has a large amount of associated Punic materials. El Turó might represent a group of people on Mallorca who chose to construct their houses differently, idiosyncratically, in contrast to other populations on Mallorca or even the Punic traders they were seemingly engaging with. This type of overt variation seems to indicate a distinctive community, or some sort of self-aware differentiation.

Although diversity in architectural forms is difficult to isolate, Mallorca is still clearly a fractured landscape, particularly for a holistic understanding of architectural forms during the Late Talayotic and into the Roman period. Examples are sparse, and with such an early adaptation of orthogonal architectural forms, it is often very difficult to discern indigenous, self-

[30] This is also the case at S'Illot, except the houses found in the Late Talayotic at this site are again of the vernacular, small-scale style, most likely more utilitarian, conforming the available walls of other structures.
[31] See Chapter 5.

conscious choices in architecture, from the adoption of foreign influences. As the case of El Turó suggests, distinct communal groups with different customs do exist on the island. Yet for Mallorca, we must look ahead to the complexity of domestic data to understand what exactly happened during the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. These aspects of indigenous continuity will be further discussed below.

Menorcan Households: Architecture

The above discussion of domestic forms in Mallorca and its degree of incorporation of orthogonal architecture is important for understanding Menorcan household architecture and the inherent differences between the two islands. Evidence of domestic architecture on Menorca offers both coherence and idiosyncrasy when compared to Mallorca. Despite the relative efflorescence in number of Menorcan freestanding houses in the Late Talayotic, it should also be understood that domestic forms are relatively homogeneous across the island. Subtle variation exists between sites, but by and large many of the same architectural conventions and styles are being incorporated throughout the island. The other basic point that must be made is that houses from the previous Talayotic period on Menorca have not been published or excavated, and while they surely exist, they have not been approached archaeologically.[32]

The Circular Houses of Menorca

From Figure 2 provided above it is clear that Menorcan household architecture appears in a non-orthogonal, circular plan beginning at the end of the Talayotic and the beginning of the

[32] Guerrero et al. (2006) reference Trepucó as an example of a Talayotic dwelling, which Hernández-Gasch also refers to as "attached" (2011: 50). These houses are in close proximity to a sixth century circular dwelling (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 51), but have been omitted here due to their small size and unknown dating. For more information see Plantalamor 1991.

Late Talayotic (around the sixth century B.C.E.). This phenomenon has been commented on multiple times by various authors.[33] As discussed previously, the Late Talayotic period appears to be a time of relative florescence on the island, particularly between the sixth and second centuries B.C.E., as sites like Torre d'en Galmés actually increase in size with the construction of numerous dwellings (Pérez-Juez et al. 2007: 53). This is in contrast to what appears to be a contraction of indigenous settlements on Mallorca. Along with settlement intensification, Menorcan architectural styles are seemingly retained throughout the Late Talayotic,[34] as the construction of circular households begins in the sixth century C.E. and appears to intensify over the course of the third century B.C.E., followed by progressive abandonment in the third and second centuries B.C.E.[35]

Domestic architecture is not entirely straightforward in Menorca, as even some houses, like a select few at Torre d'en Galmés are, at times, quasi-orthogonal (see Figure 43). These houses are built roughly in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., but occupied into the Roman period and the first century C.E.[36] Nevertheless, these quasi-orthogonal buildings are actually the smaller dwellings on the site of Torre d'en Galmés (Pérez-Juez et al. 2007; Pérez-Juez 2011), with the larger, more impressive dwellings exhibiting circular, indigenous motifs and contemporary dates of construction (Sintes and Isbert 2009: 256). For this reason, particularly

[33] The most prolific author commenting on the phenomenon of circular houses is Jordi Hernández-Gasch; Examples include an overall synthesis of domestic space construction in Salvá and Hernández-Gasch 2009; a specifically iron age synthesis found in Hernández-Gasch 2011a; as well as the description of Biniparratx Petit, Hernández-Gasch 2007; Guerrero et al. 2007b.

[34] This is nevertheless problematic, as will be discussed later on, examples of domestic spaces from the Talayotic period on Menorca are notoriously lacking.

[35] For an example of this, see the late-third century precinct of Cartailhac in Torre d'en Galmés, described by Sintes and Isbert 2009.

[36] Based on excavations carried out by the Boston University team of House 2 (Pérez-Juez et al. 2007).

on the site of Torre d'en Galmés, the smaller, quasi-orthogonal buildings have for the most part not been excavated.[37]

Of course, the definition of quasi-orthogonal that I'm using here is entirely subjective. Compared to Mallorcan counterparts, the quasi-orthogonal type of house at Torre d'en Galmés is still quite circular in shape. In fact, House 2 is architecturally mimics, or rather conforms to the ground plan of the adjacent house, fitting into the rather nebulous "attached" category of Iron Age house plans (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 45).[38] To my knowledge, all the quasi-orthogonal houses at Torre d'en Galmés are attached to other dwellings. Nevertheless, beyond the example of Torre d'en Galmés, there are a few more examples of what are called attached houses extending from Talayots or other households (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 45). These are visible specifically at Trepucó (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 57; Plantalamor 1991), Talatí de Dalt (Juan and Pons et al. 2002), Torelló (Castrillo 2005) and Sant Vincenç d'Alcaidús (Plantalamor 1991).

The circular house type, however, is almost ubiquitous across the island, particularly for freestanding houses. A modest example of this style of architecture is Biniparritx Petit (see Figure 44), a site with houses excavated in association with the elongation of Menorca's international airport runway in the 1990's and subsequent excavations in the early 2000's (Nicolás 1997; Guerrero et al. 2007b; Hernández-Gasch 2007). House 1 consists of a series of compartmentalized spaces surrounding an outdoor courtyard, seen in Figure 44 below. The house is relatively modest in size (40-90 square meters of interior space), yet has large, square columns defining the indoor space, a trend I will return to below (Salvá and Hernández-Gasch

[37] With the exception of House 2, excavated by the Boston University team from 2001-2010 (Pérez-Juez et al. 2007)

[38] Although technically, it is not attached as was proven by archaeologists from Boston University. In fact, it has a small alleyway between its eastern wall and Circle 1, though it does conform to its shape (Pérez-Juez et al. 2007).

2009: 309). Cisterns, raised platforms for hearths or ovens, as well as work areas were all typical of such houses (Hernández-Gasch 2007: 18).

The temptation to equate the lack of orthogonality to a relative lack of direct interaction with Punic culture or traders is tempting, especially given how far away Menorca is from Ibiza as compared to Mallorca; Menorca might be considered the most isolated island of the Balearics geographically. External contact certainly does not equate to internal change, yet arguing that Menorca remained "untouched" by foreign cultures is not true either. There is ample evidence, even from the large scale indigenous site of Torre d'en Galmés itself that there was quite a bit of Punic trading occurring, as demonstrated by large quantities of Ibizan, Punic amphorae littered across the surface of the site and within excavated contexts. For example, Circle 7, excavated by the Museu de Menorca in the late 2000's, was occupied from the fourth till the second century B.C.E. (Ferrer et al. 2011). Of the ceramics recovered, Ibizan Ebusitano wares made up 15% of the total ceramic assemblage, whereas other Punic ceramics made up 3 percent of the ceramics and other imports 1 percent or less (Ferrer et al. 2011: 113). Circle 1, also excavated by the Museu de Menorca in the early 2000's, had approximately 30% Ebusitano, excluding medieval ceramics, in a site that has a longer chronological span, and indeed potential occupation into the Roman period (Juan and Pons 2011: 98).

It could be suggested that perhaps the large amount of Punic pottery found at Torre d'en Galmés was the result of some sort of redistributive area for commercial goods located on the site. All the same, almost all other sites on the island of Menorca appear to exhibit the same approximate proportions of Punic wares and amphora sherds, if they are not frequently mentioned or statistically analyzed in the literature. There are no sites on Menorca that are conclusively redistribution centers, including Torre d'en Galmés, as the sites seem relatively

homogenous in the presence and prevalence of Punic, specifically Ibizan, Ebusitano wares. Some arguments have been put forth regarding the degree of interaction with Iberian and Greek traders (Hernández-Gasch 2007: 13), though material evidence tends to be scarce, unlike the relatively ubiquitous Ebuistano wares. [39]

It seems then, that perhaps lack of contact is not a valid explanation for the evident retention of indigenous, elite domestic architectural forms. On Mallorca, for instance, evidence for the maintenance and persistence of cult areas does persist into the Late Talayotic and Roman periods despite a seemingly complete restructuration of domestic forms.[40] In the case of Menorca, isolation may be important for understanding the retention of indigenous lifeways, but perhaps was secondary to considerations of island communities, the size of Menorca, and the monumental Talayotic heritage of the native Menorcans. This style of house was standard for the Late Talayotic on Menorca, and although some similarities can be drawn between sites like El Turó or S'Illot on Mallorca, the complex internal structure of Menorcan houses clearly differentiate the architectural style - a process which continues with the additions of hypostyle halls and megalithic architecture, to which we will turn next.

Hypostyle Halls, Megaliths and References to Indigenous Architecture

These Menorcan houses represent large amounts of human labor and resources, indicative of elite status or wealth of the home owners, while retaining their indigenous, circular forms. Along with the circular architectural ground plan, however, settlements across Menorca develop the addition of hypostyle halls. These are long corridors, usually attached to an outer wall of a house that were used to potentially store food or house animals. The halls generally extended along the side of the house, supported by large pillars between two narrow aisles. The

[39] See Chapter 6
[40] See Chapter 5

shape of these structures was generally an elongated, skinny U-shape, with an apsidal or quasi-apsidal back wall. While most houses in Menorca and Mallorca were most likely covered by waddle and daub or adobe-like materials, these hypostyle halls were actually roofed with large megalithic blocks (see Figure 45). Though "hypostyle halls" exists on Mallorca, and the term is still used, for example, to denote Building 6 at Ses Païsses (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 55), the hypostyle halls of Mallorca are far smaller, less megalithic in nature, and are much more enigmatic in terms of their function and form. On Menorca, it is quite an obvious feature, though it only exists in select circumstances at larger sites.[41] Notable examples include those found at Torre d'en Galmés, Torralba d'en Salord, and Talatí de Dalt, but many other, large examples exist around the island.[42]

Along with hypostyle halls, a final architectural phenomenon is the megalithic columns used in these households. For this, I will focus on Torre d'en Galmés, as the site is famous for both its Late Talayotic dwellings - all from within a short spans of time (sixth to second centuries B.C.E.) - and all well excavated. On Menorca, house columns are often one or two megalithic stones, ranging from circular drums to large rectangular blocks. These columns can extend the height of the house at times with just one megalithic stone (sometimes more than 2 meters in height). These columns are capped with a capital that is usually rectangular. Columns also exist in the construction of Mallorcan houses, yet these are often smaller, and often are composed of multiple drums. Houses in Mallorca often have one central column,[43] while Menorcan houses usually contain multiple columns, positioned in a circular pattern in the center of the dwelling, depending on the size of the building. For example, one of the more modest examples from

[41] The chronology of the hypostyle halls is roughly contemporary to the houses themselves, but no separate chronology is available for the feature.
[42] Most have not been excavated, so I've only included confirmed examples here.
[43] There are of course exceptions to this, including at Ses Païsses, where a contemporary building (fifth to second centuries B.C.E.) with five preserved pilaster bases can be seen (Precinct 10), (Aramburu-Zabala and Hernández-Gasch 2005: 29).

Torre d'en Galmés, House 2, exhibits at least 1 large column (over two meters, rectangular and 1 meter in width), along with a potential four other examples in the house of similar size (Pérez-Juez 2011). Other houses, such as Circle 7 at Torre d'en Galmés shown in Figure 46, where a preserved hypostyle hall can be observed, has evidence of at least four megalithic columns in the center of the house (Ferrer et al. 2011).

Yet it is the magnificent example of the Cartailhac circle at Torre d'en Galmés that perhaps displays a deeper, cultural significance of these interior columns. At 375 square meters, Cartailhac is one of the largest structures at Torre d'en Galmés and easily the largest house on the site, consisting of a large external cyclopean wall for the entire precinct, a large outdoor area, and a 145 square meter house structure (see Figure 47; Sintes and Isbert 2009: 254). It is also one of the latest constructions at Torre d'en Galmés, dating to the third century B.C.E. (Sintes and Isbert 2009: 256). Upon entering the actual house, one is immediately struck by the shape of the internal columns, all reminiscent of the taula[44] (see Figure 48). Further evidence may debunk this large complex as a house structure, placing it in the category of religious precinct, but incontrovertible evidence beyond these internal columns is currently lacking. The structure is not entirely dissimilar in shape to the religious precincts of places like So Na Caçana,[45] Torralba d'en Salord,[46] or even the taula precinct located at Torre d'en Galmés itself, but it is much more characteristic of a very large, Menorcan house. The excavators labeled the Cartailhac precinct a domestic structure based on what are considered domestic activities of consumption and metal production (Sintes and Isbert 2009: 251).

From figure 48 above, the similarities between the supporting, internal columns of the house and the shape of a taula are clear. Although not serving a ritual purpose, perhaps these

[44] A large T shaped megalithic monument with surrounding ritual precinct, referred to in Chapter 5.
[45] Niched religious structure located next to the large, easternmost talayot (Plantalamor 1987).
[46] See ground plan of Taula precinct (Fernández-Miranda et al. 1995).

stones were more than functional, even referring to the taula itself as a kind of decorative motif. The taula sanctuary, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, was in fact heavily used during this period. These ideas might seem speculative, but it appears that the Menorcan house was utilizing domestic architectural forms that were Menorcan, products of the culture of the island, and, as examples like Cartailhac show, houses retained their style but became bigger as the Late Talayotic progressed. I believe this is a sort of hyper-representation of indigenous forms, potentially in response to an incoming Mediterranean power, or perhaps an expression of indigenous identity through the continuation and elaboration of an island-specific architecture. Couched in these terms, perhaps interpreting Cartailhac's supporting columns as a reference to the taula is not preposterous, or even interpreting hypostyle halls as referencing something akin to a naveta,[47] though serving domestic, not funerary purposes. The argument could be made connecting Menorca's megalithic architecture and domestic embellishments to previous and contemporaneous monuments. Nevertheless, even if one is not convinced of these connections, the evidence on the ground still clearly points to an immense differentiation in domestic architectural forms on Menorca from Mallorca or indeed any other society nearby. Menorca develops a series of unique domestic forms and embellishments that continue to be used from the sixth century B.C.E., into the first century C.E., potentially pointing to a society that is both aware of an indigenous island identity, and perceived as coherent amongst themselves.

Conclusion: Architecture and Identity

Domestic architecture is only one component in the broader discussion of domestic archaeology and use of space. I hope, however, that the above sections have shown how important architecture is not only in understanding the differences between Mallorca and

[47] The technical name for a funerary naviform structure on Menorca, again referred to in Chapter 5.

Menorca during the Late Talayotic and into the Roman period, but also as reflections of indigenous identity. Of course the study of both Mallorcan and Menorcan domestic data is fraught with perils. Mallorcan data is scattered for the Late Talayotic, often stemming from specific sites with well-documented contexts. Yet Mallorca also has a very complicated picture of domestic archaeology in the Talayotic period, which does not seem to persist into the Late Talayotic. Some of our best examples stem from what could be considered small-scale, functional farmhouse examples from sites like Son Fornés or even Ses Païsses.

Menorca suffers from very different issues. For one, archaeological remains of houses from the Talayotic period do not exist or have not been identified.[48] Bronze Age naviform structures do exist, alongside those in Mallorca, yet a temporal gap of approximately four hundred years then occur during an otherwise incredibly formative period in the Iron Age of Menorca. Yet what emerges in the Late Talayotic on Menorca is a series of circular houses that are megalithic in nature but also highly evocative of potential symbolic elements in the Menorcan monumental landscape. They are like nothing seen in Mallorca, nor are they reminiscent of any Punic, Roman, Greek or Iberian houses. One could make connections to the circular structures of Sardinia or Corsica, yet those were built in the Bronze Age, approximately one thousand years removed from the structures of Menorca. The large-scale and omnipresence of the circular house across the island indicates that the communities shared this custom, were aware of its difference from other foreign customs and continued to invest in its display as a symbol of island identity. Perhaps this instance of a shared identity translated into a perception of indigeneity in the face of global Mediterranean powers circling the small island.

[48] Guerrero et al. provide some examples of houses from the end of the Talayotic period at Trepucó and Biniparatx Petit with radiocarbon dates from the eighth and ninth centuries. Nevertheless, as they contend, there have been no publications supporting these dates, nor does the radiocarbon evidence support a construction date of that period or simply a point after which the houses must have been built (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 62-63).

The domestic architecture of Menorca may be evocative of a hyperbolic attempt to differentiate indigenous customs. Nevertheless, before jumping to such sweeping conclusions, the change and persistence of domestic space for both Mallorca and Menorca must be considered.

Domestic Spaces and Finds: The Internal Structure of the House

In terms of the actual archaeological signature these domestic spaces leave behind, it is necessary to turn to a few select case studies from both islands. Given the divergent nature of domestic spaces amongst the Balearic Islands during the Late Talayotic period , analyzing each island as an individual entity exhibiting unique developments may grant us a more accessible and useful picture of life during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods on both islands.

A Household Archaeology of the Balearic Islands?

Before delving into the contextual information, it is important to understand to what degree domestic archaeology has been approached in the archaeological record on both islands, particularly for the time periods in which we are interested. The archaeological study of houses archaeologically has been approached many times in the Balearics. The theoretical study of households and their operations has also been studied, if only in select cases. A chief figure on this topic is Jordí Hernández-Gasch. His publications regarding houses at Biniparratx Petit (Guerrero et al. 2007b; Hernández-Gasch 2007), Ses Païsses (Aramburu-Zabala and Hernández-Gasch and 2005; Hernández-Gasch and Aramburu-Zabala 2000), as well as broader syntheses of data from both islands will be heavily referenced below (Hernández-Gasch 2011a; Hernández-Gasch et al. 2011; Salvá and Hernández-Gasch 2009). Castro-Martínez and that team have also approached the idea of domestic archaeology on Mallorca regarding the site of Son Ferragut.[49]

[49] For references to their specifically theoretically oriented works, see Castro-Martínez et al. 2002; 2003.

Their perspective on domestic space is what Anglophone scholars would consider to be household archaeology, though their bibliography reflects none of that literature. They attempt to define spaces of domestic activities and even gender, yet, in the end, leave the data to speak for itself. Hernández-Gasch and his many co-authors treat the data similarly, relying on the data more so than a theoretical engagement. Nevertheless, both teams' approach to household archaeology on Mallorca is bold, and has set a standard on the island for the study of houses and households. Other sites to some degree incorporate ideas of spatial divisions based on work, gender, age, etc., but not in an explicitly theoretical capacity. Ideas of temporality within household spaces have also been of a concern.

In short, household archaeology exists on Mallorca and Menorca, but perhaps not in the same defined capacity, nor with the theoretical goals of modern Anglophone household archaeological studies.[50] One primary reason for this, bluntly, is gaps in the data. While there are many archaeological sites that have dwellings dating to the Late Talayotic or early Roman periods in Mallorca, they are often ignored, while scholars focus on the analysis of earlier, Talayotic period domestic spaces. Menorca, on the other hand, is a comparatively poor diachronic dataset. Large gaps remain between the Bronze Age and Late Talayotic, and the early Roman period is not well studied. Nevertheless, the dataset for the Late Talayotic is specifically quite rich, with large houses populating the entire Menorcan landscape. Because of their megalithic nature, many of these houses have been excavated and indeed continue to be excavated today. Our chronological resolution for these sites is decent, and although these houses, like their Mallorcan counterparts, have not been explored through the theoretical paradigms of household archaeology, they remain a definite resource for the study of household

[50] The reasons for a general failure to approach domestic archaeology in any comparative capacity, not simply Anglophone styles, is commented upon by Salvá and Hernández-Gasch 2009 as due to a general lack of comparable evidence from disparate archaeological ventures.

spaces and, given their prevalence in the Menorcan landscape, potential places for future excavation.

Mallorca and Menorca present, as already said, a fractured cultural landscape, with communities operating in micro-social structures with differing traits. That leaves the task of defining a single domestic prototype of later Menorcan or Mallorcan culture near Herculean. The following sections will not attempt to condense all Mallorcan or Menorcan domestic houses into one cultural prototype, but instead will serve to highlight aspects of certain case studies and sites that reflect consistency or change from communal tradition, as potential indicators of identity and economy

Of course there are some problems with the goals outlined above. For one, Menorca does not possess an unbroken dataset of houses stemming from the Bronze Age to the Late Talayotic - as Talayotic houses are archaeologically non-existent. I must compare Menorcan houses from different sites and different centuries within the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods to one another. In this context, the concept of tradition is difficult, yet the distinctive nature of Late Talayotic houses on Menorca provides a degree of cultural similarity that can be approached microscopically. With Mallorca, the problems arise with the type of data available for the Late Talayotic. This is, of course a reflection of general trends in the Mallorcan countryside during this period, particularly with the shrinking and abandonment of indigenous sites. Yet it is also a reflection of, in my opinion, a general lack of scholarly interest in this time period, at least in terms of domestic space on Mallorca. Still, we have some examples, and these households represent some of the smallest units of analysis we have for the social structures and cultural traditions of the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods, save for communal burials. The following section will endeavor to understand these spaces in their contexts

amongst the culture of the Late Talayotic period to better understand the people who populated this landscape in flux.

Bringing Down the House: Mallorcan Domestic Enclosures at Ses Païsses and Son Fornés

Mallorca is perhaps the more difficult of the two islands to sum up given its size and amount of regional differences accross the island. That said, the degree to which Late Talayotic data has been analyzed on the islands is quite low and as Salvá and Hernández-Gasch have mentioned, the potential for an in-depth analysis of domestic sites on Mallorca and Menorca is still a prospect for the future (2009: 299). On Mallorca, the closest example that we have to what Anglophone literature regards as domestic archaeology is the results from the Son Ferragut site (Castro-Martínez et al. 2003). Unfortunately, this site is Talayotic, and though it will be brought into this discussion from comparative purposes, it will not be assessed in detail. Instead, I would like to turn to two sites that experienced continuous occupation from the Talayotic period through the Late Talayotic, into the first or even second centuries C.E. Although many sites fit this bill, Ses Païsses and Son Fornés offer two rare case studies for the island of Mallorca, representing two well documented and published sites that have focused on domestic archaeology.

Ses Païsses is one of the most emblematic sites of Mallorca. Along with being a site of early explorations of the Talayotic culture (Lilliu 1965), the site has also undergone rigorous excavations since the late 1990's, of domestic structures in particular. Ses Païsses has a sanctuary and one central talayot with a series of radiating, multi-temporal dwellings. Ses Païsses also boasts a large cyclopean wall. Two domestic structures from the site, excavated by Aramburu-Zabala in the 2000's, represent remarkable examples of diachronic structures. Both

buildings were constructed in the Talayotic period, and contain both modification and reuse into the first centuries C.E. House 25 and Building 13 also reflect two different sizes of structure, as House 25 is 154 square meters in internal plan, 238 square meters in total, (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a:3), while Building 13 is only about 80 square meters in total (Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 10). Both are located within the cyclopean walls of Ses Païsses, are roughly contemporaneous, and have very different architectural plans.

House 25, the larger of the two, was excavated from 2004 to 2006, and based on radiocarbon dates and nearby architecture, placed roughly between 750 and 500 B.C.E. (see Figure 49 for Phase I). The excavators however believe the building to be close in date to around 650-540 B.C.E., based on previous excavations of a nearby, adjoining building (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 2). From the ground plan in Figure 49, one can see the similarities to the Talayotic house located at Son Ferragut.[51] Like Son Ferragut, House 25 is rectangular in form, with a large open patio area at the precinct's entrance. The open patio leads to two chambers in the rear of the household.

The purpose of this open area is perhaps cause for a brief digression. Unlike previous naviform, Bronze Age dwellings, these square dwellings incorporate a large amount of enclosed outdoor space to be utilized for domestic production. Naviform houses, such as those at S'Hospitalet Vell and Son Oms, exhibit associated work and production areas outdoors. The transition to a sort of "fenced off" outdoor precinct is what Salvá and Hernández-Gasch refer to as the privatization of the home and domestic work space in the Talayotic period, while the previous naviform periods are characterized by communal space (2009: 316-317). The authors associate this with potential increase in the complexity of the economy, the establishment of

[51] Son Ferragut, like House 25, dates to between 700 and 500 B.C.E., (Castro-Martínez et al. 2003). Other examples of this type of square housing can be seen from S'Hospitalet (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 16-17).

wealthy elites, and their desire to control means of production related to their own households (2009: 318). I will return to these themes of private versus public, and the manipulation of household space below, but this type of behavior can be seen on both islands during the end of the Talayotic and within the Late Talayotic to varying degrees. The change from communal production space to private precincts should be considered a significant shift in indigenous thought during the Talayotic period.

The excavators saw House 25 having four phases. The first was defined as the construction of the house and initial use in approximately the 6th century, followed by a dramatic change in the fourth century C.E., in which the surrounding patio walls are destroyed (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 80). While evidence for production of grains and the use of metallurgy is slight for the first phase, Phase II, the fourth to third centuries B.C.E., sees not only the collapse of the walls, but also the increased use of the patio space for the processing of cereals (see Figure 50 and 51; Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 81). There is also evidence of metallurgical production within the homes themselves (see Figure 50 and 51). Metal objects become far more common, grain and seed deposits were found alongside an increased number of grinding stones, or preparation areas. The amount of imported objects also increased dramatically, with glass beads and metal objects all appearing throughout the courtyard (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 82).

Phase III constitutes an entire restructuring of House 25, including the construction of House 16, within the northeastern corner of House 25 (see Figure 52). House 16 was built in the third century, but was in ruins by the second century, which Aramburu-Zabala equates to effects of the Punic Wars (2009a: 240-241). In the second century, another area in the southeastern corner of House 25 is occupied, while the courtyard has already become exterior, no longer associated with a dwelling. Food production appears to be concentrated within the structures

during this period (see Figure 53), while metallurgical objects are quite common, along with other imported items. Nevertheless, a significant change during this period is movement of cereal preparation indoors, and no clear use of the courtyard as a space of production, particularly in the second century B.C.E. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 243). Finally, Phase IV sees the increased fragmentation of the remaining courtyard space, particularly in the southwest corner from the first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. (see Figure 53), although this final phase remains a very obscured, near surface deposit (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 480-481). Evidence from the first century C.E. is evident in this final phase, including a coin from the reign of Tiberius (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 481).

People were thus still inhabiting the area, importing many objects such as amphorae, finewares, and glass objects from other Roman provinces, as well as metal objects of bronze, iron and lead.[52] This trajectory is pertinent for the anthropological study of the use of space. It appears that household industry indeed becomes encircled by a "private" courtyard by the seventh century B.C.E., but soon becomes relatively public again in the fourth century, seemingly not used for production purposes in the second to first centuries C.E. The amount of grain being processed seems to increase based on the amount of molinos, or grain grinding stones, found at the site from the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E., while subsequently the processing of grain appears to move indoors, or at least not in the immediate courtyard area.

Moving to our second example of Building 13 at Ses Païsses, it is a more modest dwelling to the large House 25. It is a trapezoidal attachment to the outer wall of House 25 and the cyclopean wall of Ses Païsses itself. Building 13 in fact does not start off as a house, but is identified as a building for the preparation and production of cheese, grains, and other food

[52] The author does postulate, however, that the area was being utilized for mining and the production of Iron (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 10).

stuffs, associated with its neighbor, House 25 (see Figure 54; Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 15). This is attested by abundant remains of seeds and preparation devices. The house itself dates from approximately the same time as House 25, estimated at the sixth century B.C.E., as the structure is built into the outer wall of House 25 (Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 12). The author suggests that this small area served as a sort of hypostyle hall, as you might see in other parts of Ses Païsses or even on Menorca: an attachment to a larger house where food processing and other communal practices take place (Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 15). While the effects of this small building on the overall function of House 25 is informative, it is in the succeeding phases that Building 13 itself actually becomes a habitation.

In the second phase of this building's operation, dating to approximately the fourth or third centuries B.C.E., a small new house is built in the northern half of the area defined by Building 13, only 36 square meters, but with stairs potentially leading to a roof (Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 97). Imports are not extremely common during this period, yet the preparation of grains and other types of food is still evident. In the next phase, however, roughly dating to the second century B.C.E. persisting until the first century C.E., another, circular house develops in the southern portion of this area (Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 168-169). Essentially, what we have with each of these houses is an increased fragmentation of the interior spaces. This is probably due to reoccupation and to potential population increases in the village of Ses Païsses itself, but also to a fundamental shift from the large, open patio style of dwelling that first appears at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. Imports increase and the processing of grain also increases, including the places of production. It seems also that the preparation of grain, and food more generally, moves indoors sometime in the early to mid-Late Talayotic and stays there. Perhaps communal spaces were used elsewhere on the site or outside the nearby city wall. What is clear,

however, is that the control of private outdoor space is lost in the Late Talayotic, potentially signaling a waning power of elite families.

Son Fornés is in many ways a counterbalance to Ses Païsses. The two sites are inherently different. Son Fornés contains three talayots and series of multi-temporal structures between these large ceremonial structures. Also, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Son Fornés contains two sanctuaries as compared to Ses Païsses' one. Overall, Son Fornés has smaller houses, and instances of site-wide complete abandonment. That is why, for instance, the site sees a completely new set of structures following abandonment in the third centuries B.C.E. The reoccupations of Son Fornés will be further explored in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, what we have here is a strange disjuncture in form, resulting in houses in the Late Talayotic and early Roman period that in many ways lack identifiable form, and lack an identifiable style or purpose beyond functionality. Household production remains indoors from the Talayotic period through to the Roman period at Son Fornés, but the "fenced in" production areas do not exist (Gasull et al. 1981; 1984; Lull et al. 2001). Perhaps Son Fornés represents a village infrastructure in each of its iterations, relying on communal space that is not predefined. Activities are completed indoors, and any others that require outdoor space are done outside the house in public spaces.

Essentially, it seems that Mallorca experiences a breakdown in the type of household unit that roughly corresponds to House 25 at Ses Païsses or House Alpha at Son Ferragut. These houses most likely represent elite dwellings, exercising control over an external area in the form of an open air patio. At Son Fornés, these houses do not seem to exist, despite the presence of three large talayots. Perhaps these houses are a regional phenomenon, as they only seem to appear at select sites in the northeastern part of Mallorca. Places like Puig de Sa Morisca or S'Illot don't have these types of households in the Talayotic period. Perhaps the other regions

expressed elite identity through other means, rather than control of domestic or productive space. Finally, it can also be suggested that the sites without these large domestic structures were relatively egalitarian.

What is clear, however, is that this form of spatial control does not last, even at Ses Païsses and Son Ferragut. It appears that even with interruptions, as in the case of Son Fornés, Mallorcan villages operate in a somewhat communal atmosphere, without strict delineations of working space beyond the limits of the indoor home. Perhaps this is actually a return to the communal nature seen in the Naviform period, which persisted at certain sites. If the complex household was a sign of elite status, than the absence therein is perhaps reminiscent of a society without elite families or households. The architectural style from the Late Talayotic on is suggestive of functionality for smaller, less wealthy families, rather than a control of space by elite households. As we shall see, the situation on Menorca is very different.

Building and Maintaining: Menorcan Domestic Data

Menorcan domestic data is at once more coherent, yet also more constrained. As has been mentioned multiple times, Menorcan architectural traditions, specifically of Talayotic houses are archaeologically non-existent. There are, however, many example of Late Talayotic houses across the island, if not many that have been systematically documented to the degree desired for a detailed analysis of domestic space and the changes therein in this period. The sites that I will be focusing on here are Torre d'en Galmés, specifically the excavations cunducted by Boston University and the Museu de Menorca in recent years, as well as the sites of Talatí de Dalt and Biniparratx Petit.[53] Unfortunately, these sites are all located in the eastern

[53] Biniparratx Petit was excavated by a team from the Universitat de les Illes Baleares from 2000-2003, and Torre d'en Galmés, beyond the excavations carried out by the Boston University team from 2001-2010, has seen excavations lead by Lluis Plantalamor and the Friends of the Museum of Menorca association.

half of Menorca, an area that is both heavily trafficked with tourism and conveniently located close to both the Museum of Menorca and the University campus in Alaior. It would be wonderful to also incorporate evidence from such notable sites as Sant Vicenç l'Alcaídus or Son Catlar for instance, both of which have well-preserved households. Sadly, the former is only briefly published in various overviews of households, despite being excavated in the 1970's by the Museum of Menorca (Plantalamor 1991; Plantalamor and Rita 1977), while the latter has only seen one published excavation season in the mid-1990's which looked only at the cyclopean wall and entrance to the site (Juan et al. 1998). While I will be drawing these sites in for comparison, it is impossible to look at them in a detailed fashion as with Torre d'en Galmés, Talatí de Dalt and Biniparratx Petit.[54]

To begin, however, with a general introduction, during the sixth century B.C.E. circular houses develop on Menorca containing a large patio area for domestic and craft production. Unlike the rectangular houses of Mallorca, these large circular complexes, which exist throughout the island, sometimes remain in use with only slight modification into the Roman period. Salvá and Hernández-Gasch (2009: 311) see these domestic settings as a type of societal standardization through architectural form and domestic function that is not shared with Mallorca. One can argue, however, that the increased control of activities that would have been external to the household is similar to Mallorcan houses of the end of the Talayotic period. While other, irregular houses exist during this time period, they often function similarly to the circular houses, with areas for craft production located within the dwelling precinct.

[54] Trepucó also offers a glimpse into the domestic life of the Late Talayotic period, yet in irregular houses, more akin to House 2 at Torre d'en Galmés or even House 3 at Talatí de Dalt, both of which we will discuss below. Other sites on the island also share both irregular and circular plans, yet here we will be focusing exclusively on the sites of Talatí de Dalt, Biniparratx Petit and Torre d'en Galmés.

To begin with the circular plan houses, a notable and well-published site is the village of Biniparratx Petit, located in the south east of the island. This site contains a talayot, like most of the aforementioned sites in Menorca, though does not have a taula precinct. Biniparratx Petit is smaller than the large regional centers of Torre d'en Galmés and Son Catlar, but nevertheless is part of a fairly significant concentration of archaeological sites in the southeast corner of the island. The site does contain a large talayot, but most of the site is off limits to archaeological excavation as it is located in and around the island's main airport.

With the expansion of the airport's runways in the 1990's one large domestic structure was excavated, and then transported block by block to a park just outside the parking lot of the main airport terminal (Nicolás 1997). While only a portion of the site remains in situ, and indeed is off limits to the general public, archaeologists, particularly Victor Guerrero and Jordi Hernández-Gasch, led excavations in another large circular household just south of the site's talayot from 2000-2003 (Guerrero et al. 2007b; Hernández-Gasch 2007). Here, we will be focusing on the *in situ* House 1. During this excavation, the archaeologists involved actually took an explicitly protohistoric approach to the discussion of this house, obviously influenced by Victor Guerrero's work.[55]

House 1, as seen in Figure 44, has two hypothesized bedrooms, a series of work spaces, a cistern, a hearth and food production area, with 79 square meters of internal space. It was erected at some point between the late sixth and early fourth century B.C.E. according to radiocarbon dates; the excavators however consider the house to date from the second half of the sixth century B.C.E. (Hernández-Gasch 2007: 10). Hernández-Gasch (2007: 10-12) describes

[55] As is the case specifically in Menorca, focusing on protohistory and calling it by this particular name is relatively uncommon. In this manner, this excavation has an increased significance for its inclusion in this dissertation which hopes to straddle this awkward, protohistoric period and explore the implications of focusing specifically on this nebulous time period.

two phases, the first spanning the initial construction and use of the house form the sixth century until the second half of the third century B.C.E. when the house is abandoned. The second phase lasts from the first century B.C.E. until the second half of the first century C.E. During the first phase, the use of the space, as defined in Figure 44, is attested. However, after the reoccupation of the space, the function seems to change greatly, as Hernández-Gasch attributes its use in this period to some sort of shepherd activity, as multiple spaces in the house's original set up are combined to form a larger animal pen area (2007: 12). There is some new construction of spaces, including the creation of a paved area in the central portion of the house, though its function remains uncertain. In some ways, the dates of abandonment seem dubious as they are simply not well explained, beyond ruined walls and a potential connection to the Second Punic War. At the same time they echo Mallorcan domestic shifts in the fourth century B.C.E., if occurring slightly later. Yet this is not always the case in Menorca.

For instance, we can turn to the precinct of Cartailhac at Torre d'en Galmés, perhaps the largest domestic space on Menorca and an example of a double circular enclosure (see Figure 45). Cartailhac was constructed in the third century B.C.E. and used at least until the end of the second century B.C.E. (Sintes and Isbert 2009: 256). Not enough evidence exists to understand the specific function of the interior spaces, nor do we have published accounts of faunal, flotation, or even small finds from the house, yet its chronology is striking. In many ways, Cartailhac represents the epitome of the control of space, incorporating a large circular outer-wall to fully encompass the entire desired production space. Cartailhac is constructed three centuries after these houses begin being built, pointing to a persistence of culture and even a symbolic referential power of the circular dwelling for the elites that inhabited the house at Torre d'en Galmés.

Circle 1 of Torre d'en Galmés, excavated from 2001 to 2005 by the Museum of Menorca, offers a frustrating comparative lens. While the establishment of the site is dated to roughly the sixth century B.C.E., like the other circular houses found at Biniparratx Petit, its chronology is a bit unclear after this point (see Figure 55; Juan and Pons 2011: 101). Essentially, the excavators mention a second phase with a rectangular structure built within the circular plan dating to the first century C.E. to the second century C.E. based on Roman coinage found within the area (Juan and Pons 2011: 102). Nevertheless, despite this being a second phase, no end is given to the first phase, meaning – presumably - there was uninterrupted occupation from the sixth century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. Although renovation is evident at these sites, it is difficult to make an argument of complete abandonment based on distinctive architectural stages for sites such as Circle 1, as architectural modifications do not necessarily equate to site abandonment. Perhaps the idea that there must be a transition in or around the third or second century B.C.E. because of the impact of the Punic Wars on Menorca has conditioned understandings of these household precincts.

Yet not all houses were large and circular, even at Torre d'en Galmés. For the discussion of irregular houses, we must focus in large part on studies carried out by the Boston University team in the so called House 2 of the site. This house complex is located right next to Circle 1 described above (Juan and Pons 2011). House 2's shape actually conforms to the outline of the adjacent building, creating a subtle crescent shape, and what appears to be a quasi-orthogonality not uncommon to some of the site's other dwellings. The house was built in approximately the fourth century B.C.E. and consists of a series of heavily modified, compartmentalized spaces (Pérez-Juez 2011; Pérez-Juez et al. 2007). The house shows an occupational history that actually continues into the Roman period, potentially the first decades of the second century B.C.E. as evidenced by the construction of a partition wall sometime in

the first century B.C.E. and resulting imported ceramic deposits (Pérez-Juez 2011: 122). This wall was part of an overall increase in the internal divisions of House 2 during the first century B.C.E. The actual chronological sequence of occupation can be seen in Figure 56.

Along with providing an unbroken chronology of the dwelling into the first century C.E., micromorphological analyses of the various rooms showed that, although the space appeared to have a patio in the southern half of the Late Talayotic construction, it was actually roofed with vegetal materials (Pérez-Juez et al. 2007: 62-63). No other houses on Menorca have been studied using similar methodologies, so we do not know for sure if this was the case with other, large circular dwellings, such as House 1, House 7 (mentioned above; Ferrer et al. 2011), and Cartailhac at Torre d'en Galmés, or other sites around the island. The irregular Building 13 from Ses Païsses on Mallorca, however, has been similarly reconstructed (Aramburu-Zabala 2012). Micromorphological finds from within House 2 at Torre d'en Galmés point to a fair amount of manure burning which could indicate regional specialization in livestock, particularly during the later phases of occupation when the coastal areas are being settled by Romans, as suggested by Pérez-Juez (2011: 122). Unlike the circular houses at Sant Vincenç d'Alcaidús, House 2 has an alley way between the outer wall of the house and the next, circular House 1. Pérez-Juez attributes this to a type of Talayotic urbanism developing in the Late Talayotic period, emphasizing spaces between buildings, rather than buildings lumped atop one-another (Pérez-Juez 2011: 127-128).

Briefly turning to one other example of a non-orthogonal dwellings, Talatí de Dalt in southeast Menorca was excavated from 1997-2001, with a concentration on the precincts of a number of houses. House 1 and 3 from these excavations were irregularly shaped, smaller structures, with occupational debris dating from the Pre-Talayotic and Talayotic periods. Their

highest concentrations of material, however, were in the Late Talayotic period from the fourth century to first centuries B.C.E., with evidence extending into the first half of the first century C.E. (Juan et al. 2002: 375). While the publication record for these excavations is limited, again we have an irregular, in this case stone covered, cave-like dwelling occupied at an indigenous site with a large taula and talayot precinct well into the first century C.E. What is also significant is the intensive occupation of the space beginning in the fourth century and continuing into the first century C.E., whereas the nearby site of Biniparratx Petit witnesses seeming abandonment in the third century B.C.E. (Juan et al. 2002: 376). The nearby patio was also possibly a communal workspace, shared with other small houses in the area, though this hypothesis is not explicitly put forward by the excavators despite their mention of an adjacent communal patio.

Menorcan households suggest a number of important elements. For one, we see the same delineation of private space at the very beginning of the Late Talayotic period, much like Mallorca, indicating elite control of goods, or even, as Salvá and Hernández-Gasch (2009) suggest, privatization and control of household and household production. Of course, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the circular nature of these dwellings is impressively consistent across the island, and non-existent on Mallorca, perhaps evocative of a social organization or custom specific to Menorca. Nevertheless, dates of occupation range for many of these sites. By and large, these closed off precinct sites last at least into the third century B.C.E., longer than their Mallorcan counterparts, and in the case of Circle 1 at Torre d'en Galmés, potentially even into the second century C.E. Their dates of construction, however, are almost always attributed to the sixth or early fifth century (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 49), except for the very notable example of the Cartailhac precinct at Torre d'en Galmés, which has a third century B.C.E. date of

construction.[56] With such a chronological gap, one must wonder whether there are other later examples on Menorca besides Cartailhac and potentially House 7 of Torre d'en Galmés. One also has to wonder whether some of the excavations that have taken place have actually were biased to these earlier dates in order to situate these megalithic houses on the cusp of the Talayotic period and indeed closer to the moment of construction of large-scale, patioed, rectangular houses in Mallorca. As Hernández-Gasch rightly points out, the foci of these circular houses are the outdoor workspaces, exemplified by Biniparratx Petit House 1. Of course this is also the case for irregular houses, such as Torre d'en Galmés House 2, which contains a covered workspace area, as well as Talatí de Dalt's House 3, which opens up to a potential communal patio.

As on Mallorca, the later irregularly shaped houses of the Late Talayotic and Roman period of these sites emphasize space outside the domestic precinct. Yet the persistence of circular dwellings into the third or even second centuries B.C.E. reflect a continuing traditional trajectory that emphasizes the control of domestic and associated production space outside of the precinct. Already by the fourth century B.C.E. on Mallorca, this system collapsed and a village, non-elite economy of production takes its place, emphasizing communal production space for outdoor activities rather than privately circumscribed space. Although one sees some indications of a similar collapse in the second century B.C.E. on Menorca, it is after a lengthy period of circular house construction and occupation, emphasizing indigenous traditions. In this manner, Menorca appears to maintain a system of local elite families that control space through circular house complexes and perimeter walls. On both islands, however, these spaces are continually reused into the first, if not the second centuries C.E.

[56] House 7 at Torre d'en Galmés appear to also have a later date of construction, approximately the fourth century B.C.E. based on evidence recovered during excavations (Ferrer et al. 2011: 110).

The Things They Ate

Another vantage point into the domestic life of ancient Mallorca and Menorca was the persistence and introduction of certain food stuffs. As mentioned above, the inconsistency of domestic explorations throughout Mallorca and Menorca has led to a relative dearth of information, particularly with regard to exploited cereals and vegetal remains, collected via flotation techniques. That is not to say, however, that nothing can be said about Mallorcan or Menorcan households and the various usages of particular food stuffs. For instance, one of the primary changes during the Late Talayotic period on both islands is the increased use of the hand mill for processing of new grains and cereals. This is particularly the case on Menorca at the sites of Torre d'en Galmés and Biniparratx Petit (Guererro et al. 2006b: 119). Molinos used for processing are common at these sites, as well as silo storage areas, possibly in the form of hypostyle halls. On Mallorca, pollen evidence from the site of S'Illot des Porros attests to cultivated cereals dating from the early fifth century, some of the first indications of intensive agricultural production (Guerrero et al. 2006: 121). Indigenous ceramic assemblages from both islands also attest to an increase in grain cultivation through the increase in production of large storage vessels, beginning in the Talayotic period and continuing into the Late Talayotic. Evidence of large amounts of carbonized grain seeds can be seen at the site of Ses Païsses as well (Aramburu-Zabala 2012: 12). Yet most of our understanding of such phenomena across the islands ends with these fairly basic claims.

Faunal assemblages also provide a window into the domestic life of Mallorca and Menorca. A recent article by Hernández-Gasch et al. (2011) provides a substantial introduction to larger patterns of faunal assemblages in Mallorca and Menorca from the Bronze Age to the end of the Late Talayotic period. Although the number of viable sites is small, the authors combine known, reliable data to comment on various trends seen in the use of livestock and

other types of foodstuffs, particularly in the Talayotic and Late Talayotic periods. As mentioned before, the evidence for Talayotic houses is particularly scant on Menorca, so diachronic comparison is lacking. Nevertheless, Hernández-Gasch and Ramis create quite telling schematics for understanding the progression of livestock exploitation from the Talayotic into the Late Talayotic periods (See Table 2 below).

As seen in Table 2, three Mallorcan sites were analyzed from the Talayotic period, S'Illot, Son Fornés and Son Ferragut, representing an average of 68.5% goats and sheep, 18.3% bovine, and 13.2% pig. As the authors comment (2011: 128), the high percentage of pig and low percentage of goat and sheep from Son Fornés may reflect some associated religious significance with the nearby talayots, ultimately dragging down the percentage of sheep and goat, while raising pig. The picture changes significantly in the Late Talayotic of Mallorca, as totals become 73.3% sheep and goat, 17.2% bovine, and 9.5% pig (2011: 129). Pig, sheep and goat do not reflect a potential ceremonial meaning. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Illot des Porros, a site associated with funerary rituals and remains, both inflates bovine percentages and significantly reduces sheep and goat, as seen in Table 2. Ses Païsses, S'Illot, and Son Ferrandell all represent particular domestic settings without inherent ritual significance. Their percentages range from 72.7 to 81% sheep and goat, 10.7-17.7% bovine, and 8.3-9.8% pig, totals much more reflective of domestic settings and different from the previous Talayotic phase. The main difference is a decrease in bovines, with an increase in ovicaprids of about 5% overall, possibly representing the influence of Punic customs which heavily favored ovicaprid consumption.

While this difference seems subtle at first, when compared to the Menorcan example, it becomes quite distinct. It seems from the Menorcan examples provided of five Late Talayotic domestic settings from four sites, totals of faunal analyses point toward an average of 62.1%

ovicaprids, 22.6% bovine, and 15.3% pig. This represents a much more mixed livestock economy than Mallorca during the first or second half of the first millennium B.C.E. As Table 2 suggests, this mixture was different for each of these sites, though all are from the eastern half of the island. One particularly remarkable example is the case of Biniparratx Petit. The site has two entries in this graph, representing two different time periods. Although not clear from the figure, Sectors A and D represent a period leading up to approximately the second century B.C.E., followed by sector B, which persists into the first century C.E. (Guerrero et al. 2007b). The amount of ovicaprids actually goes down between the third and second century, with cattle numbers rising. Some authors see this as a direct result of Mago's Carthaginian troops quartering on the island in 205 B.C.E., and potentially consuming the island's population of ovicaprids, leaving the indigenous population with a dearth of goats or sheep (Sánchez 2003; Hernández-Gasch et al. 2011: 131). This argument, however, seems too reliant on the historical record, and perhaps the low numbers of ovicaprids was an indigenous cultural preference.

Our understanding of what exactly these people ate is a topic of consideration that deserves much expansion in the future. As it stands, we can say some basic things about the Talayotic and Late Talayotic peoples, including the increased consumption of cultivated cereals, as well as the tendency toward ovicaprids consumption on Mallorca, without any clear preference on Menorca. Although mollusk consumption is attested during both periods, sea life in the diet remains quite low throughout this period, though there is evidence of monk seal at S'Illot and S'Illot des Porros in the Late Talayotic (Hernández-Gasch et al. 2011: 128). The chicken, coming from the Punic world, also makes an appearance in the Late Talayotic at Ses Païsses and Son Fornés on Mallorca, but not on Menorca. Also, evidence for the consumption of dog appears at Talatí de Dalt on Menorca, and S'Hirt d'en Xim on Ibiza, but not on Mallorca (Hernández-Gasch et al. 2011: 131). The picture is spotty, but gives us some idea of change and

persistence of customs on the islands, with livestock offering us our best vantage point, as we see subtle change in Mallorca and fairly erratic, probably regional specializations and persistence of indigenous consumption customs on Menorca.

Conclusions: The Household and the Village

While I would like to save much of the theoretical discussions regarding communities, identity, indigeneity and the Protohistoric Balearic Islands for the seventh and final chapter, it is worth discussing some implications of the data outlined above. As Lisa Nevett points out (2010: 5), Roman and Greek archaeologies of Classical time periods are often concerned with the division of space, architectural arrangements, and text. One could argue the same problems face Balearic archaeology, particularly in the Late Talayotic. Of course our texts are miniscule and piecemeal, yet the dynamics of social change as seen through the lens of the household are primarily assessed through architectural plans or architectural organization. This is primarily the result of a lack of detailed, published data reflecting deposits within houses and artifact distributions. Understanding the temporality of the house is also at times diminished, as only select excavations have high quality interpretations of phasing, while others gloss over different, diachronic uses. The data is unfortunately erratic, and indeed this dissertation is guilty of understanding Late Talayotic houses primarily through architectural change and arrangement.

Nevertheless, much can be said about change in spaces of production, namely their nature as either private or public spaces, on both Mallorca and Menorca. The discussion of private versus public space has been featured in a few discussions of Balearic households (Hernández-Gasch 2011a; Salvá and Hernández-Gasch 2009). Of course, the term private and public should be understood as artifacts of modernism and western culture (Kent 1990; Nevett

2010: 6), so private and public should not be the operative words here, but rather community and control. The courtyard houses on Mallorca and Menorca have parallels in both Iberia (Belarte 2008) from the sixth to second centuries B.C.E. and in southern France (Belarte 2009; Dietler 1997; 2004; 2005; 2010) from the third to first centuries B.C.E. In both regions, we encounter walled, semi-planned indigenous settlements that employ courtyard architecture. Although the houses are much more orthogonal than, say, the examples from certain sites on Mallorca and all sites on Menorca, the social and elite motivations for the construction of these houses seem similar.

In this context, I will focus on the houses of southern France. Appearing around the third century B.C.E., they incorporate a number of rooms surrounding an open air courtyard, even expanding into public spaces, such as predefined streets or walkways within settlements. This is apparent at the site of Lattes, in which houses during the third century actually incorporated part of what we would consider the street, a process which some consider to be the expansion of the household precinct to incorporate activities that might have once been outdoors (Belarte 2009: 240-241). This is exactly what some authors have proposed for the Balearics on both islands (Hernández-Gasch 2011a; Salvá and Hernández-Gasch 2009). Belarte (2009: 254) also contends with the reality that not all members of the communities of the sites opted to build these larger houses, as smaller houses still exist, as well as connected houses with a communal courtyard. Of course this is seen, for example, at the site of Talatí de Dalt on Menorca, as well as contemporary and earlier sites on Mallorca. These courtyard houses may indicate elite dwellings with the capability of controlling production space, while smaller houses with communal courtyards or outdoor space may in fact be both a remnant of traditional practices, and a mark of the non-elite. For Mallorca and Menorca, I argue above that the trajectory of these large-scale consolidations of elite houses operate on different timelines, but ultimately both transition

into areas of communal production, returning to what was characteristic of the early Talayotic and even Pre-Talayotic periods on the islands. Yet this happens in Mallorca much earlier than Menorca, as by the beginning of the fourth century B.C.E.,[57] these courtyard houses are no longer used, at least in the same capacity. On Menorca, evidence exists for these houses persisting at least into the end of the third century, if not the second century B.C.E., with others questionably functioning into the first or even second centuries C.E. This difference points to two different trajectories of cultural habits and indigenous economies.

As one final note, I would like to compare the construction of the circular dwellings of Menorca to other types of architectural manifestations of a culture in transition. The circular nature and late date of the Menorcan houses do not have any comparanda in the Western Mediterranean in the sixth to third centuries B.C.E. These houses could be seen as expressions of resource or production control by local elites, but with an architectural syntax that is entirely unique for domestic sites. Guessing at the shape's origin is in many ways an impossible task, save for architectural features that look vaguely ceremonial (see Page 139). Yet the unique nature of these houses begs further, anthropological comparison. As many archaeologists and anthropologists have discussed, the spatial syntax of the house can be interpreted as a reproduction of the inhabitant's worldview (Broadbent et al. 1980; Preucel 2000: 69). Having a megalithic circular dwelling possibly stemming from an elite's access to labor, coupled with an obvious control of domestic and productive space in a circular format - when every elite culture surrounding Menorca is utilizing orthogonal or quasi-orthogonal patterns - is telling of a serious difference in worldview. In fact, I would argue that it is a fundamental assertion of indigenous

[57] Son Ferragut, for example, a type site for the Mallorcan courtyard domestic enclosures, is abandoned at the end of the 6th century B.C.E. (Castro-Martínez et al. 2003).

identity amongst Menorcans, expressing individuality in the face of external forces, and even neighboring Mallorca, to some degree.

Robert Preucel's work with communities during the seventeenth century Pueblo Revolt may be of some use in understanding these processes. In his works, Preucel describes a series of communities fragmented by Spanish colonialism in the American Southwest, yet during the two decades of the Pueblo Revolt, they create new mesa top settlements with central plaza areas that assert tradition through architectural elements (Preucel 2000: 70; Leibmann et al. 2005). This tradition is not necessarily a particular village tradition, but a fabricated landscape, incorporating elements of multiple villages in a display of communal ethnogenesis as a rhetoric of resistance (Preucel 2000: 73). Menorca did not see a formal colonization until the Roman period, and thus resistance is maybe not the best word to use in describing these houses, nor do we have any indication of previous, "traditional" domestic settings, beyond earlier naviform houses of the Pre-Talayotic Late Bronze Age. But perhaps the circular houses represent a conscious assertion of shared origins, or even a shared island community in the face of increasing outside pressures from the sixth to the first centuries B.C.E.[58] In other words, like the mesa-top villages of the Pueblo Revolt, architecture is potentially serving as an ethnogenetic force, emphasizing distinction and tradition amongst Menorcan elites in a newly fabricated domestic form. External pressures may have spurred the creation of a particularly Menorcan domestic architectural form and internal arrangement, not previously seen on Menorca, Mallorca, or any nearby cultures in the Western Mediterranean. This form, perpetuated and expanded by elite households, perhaps also served as a symbol of island identity. In this manner,

[58] One could also cite El Turó de Ses Baies as another example of this happening on Mallorca during the third to first centuries B.C.E., though in this case it was just part of the Mallorcan landscape, nearby the larger, earlier settlement of Puig de Sa Morisca. In that sense, it may simply represent a small-scale village community asserting its cultural independence amidst the growing forces and colonial ventures of the Romans in nearby Palma.

as opposed to the elites of Hellenizing or Romanizing areas around the Mediterranean that tend to foster the incorporation or even hybridization of incoming customs,[59] the elites of Menorca created indigenous, traditional spaces.

Having discussed two very different landscapes in the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods on Menorca and Mallorca, I would now like to turn to current understandings of funerary and ritual sites of both islands to further outline a model of interpretation of the protohistoric societies of the Balearic Islands.

[59] Obviously this is a debated topic, particularly concerning Romanization. For basic references see Gosden 2004: 104, 106, but also Dietler 2010. Elite members of a community both adopt colonial ideas to emphasize distinction or privilege, but have also been known to adopt incoming traits to internal customs, creating hybrid, approachable and ultimately popular forms of traditional culture.

Chapter 4 Images and Tables

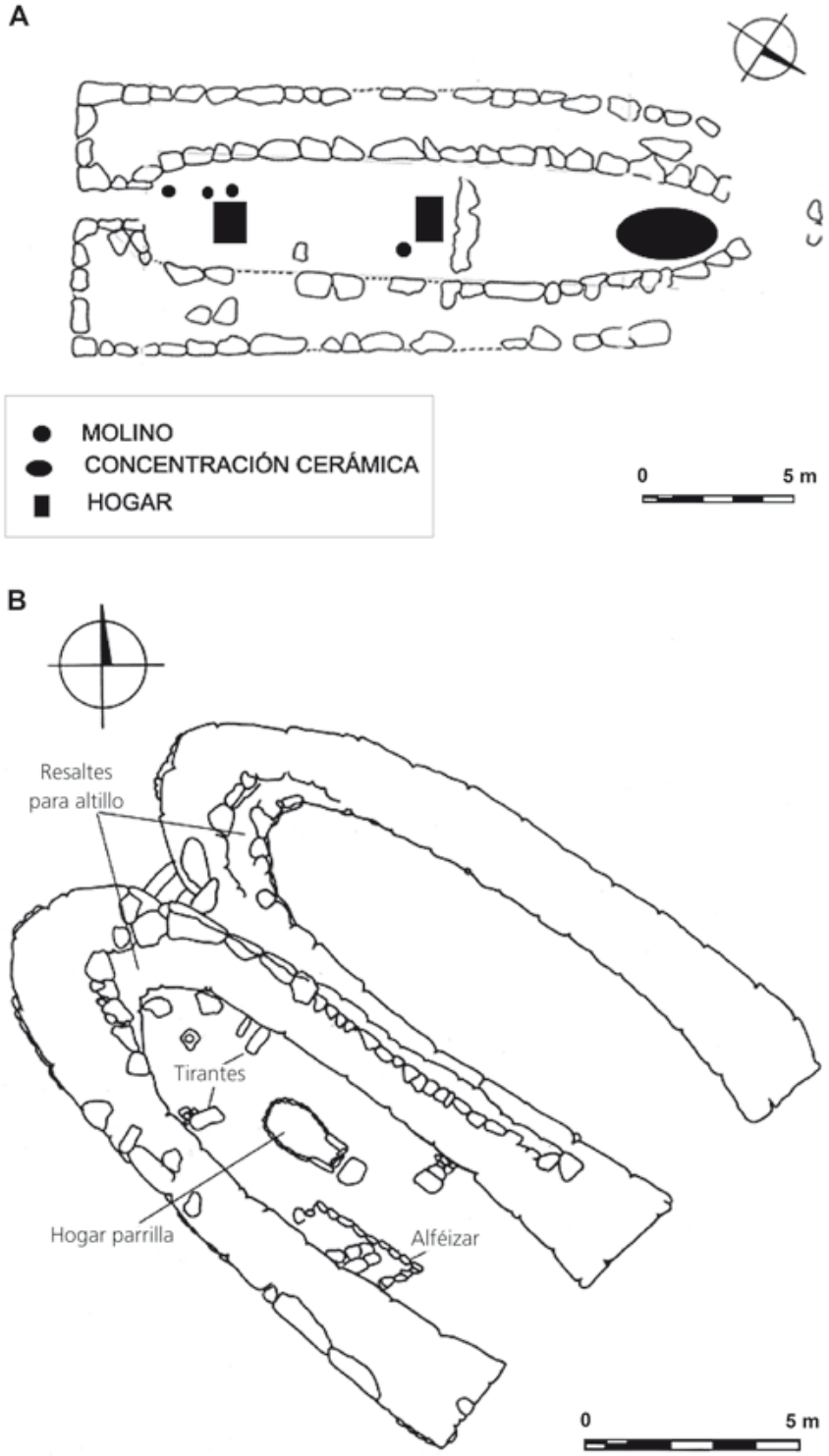


Figure 32: Naviform houses from S'Hospitalet Vell in southeast Mallorca. Notice the indicated molinos, or grinding stones, as well as the hogar, or hearth. (Ramìs and Salas 2014: 4)

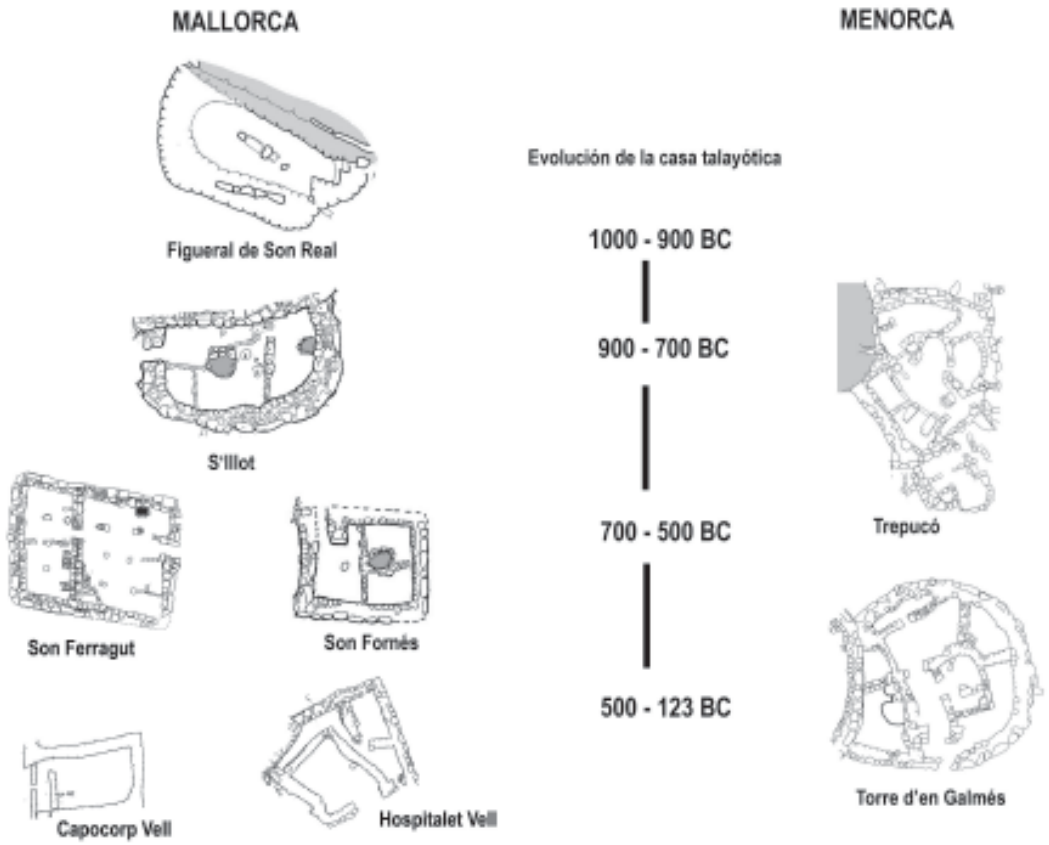


Figure 33: Evolution of Talayotic Houses (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 56). Notice the slightly teleological bent to the diagram, as well as the severe lack of Menorcan examples.

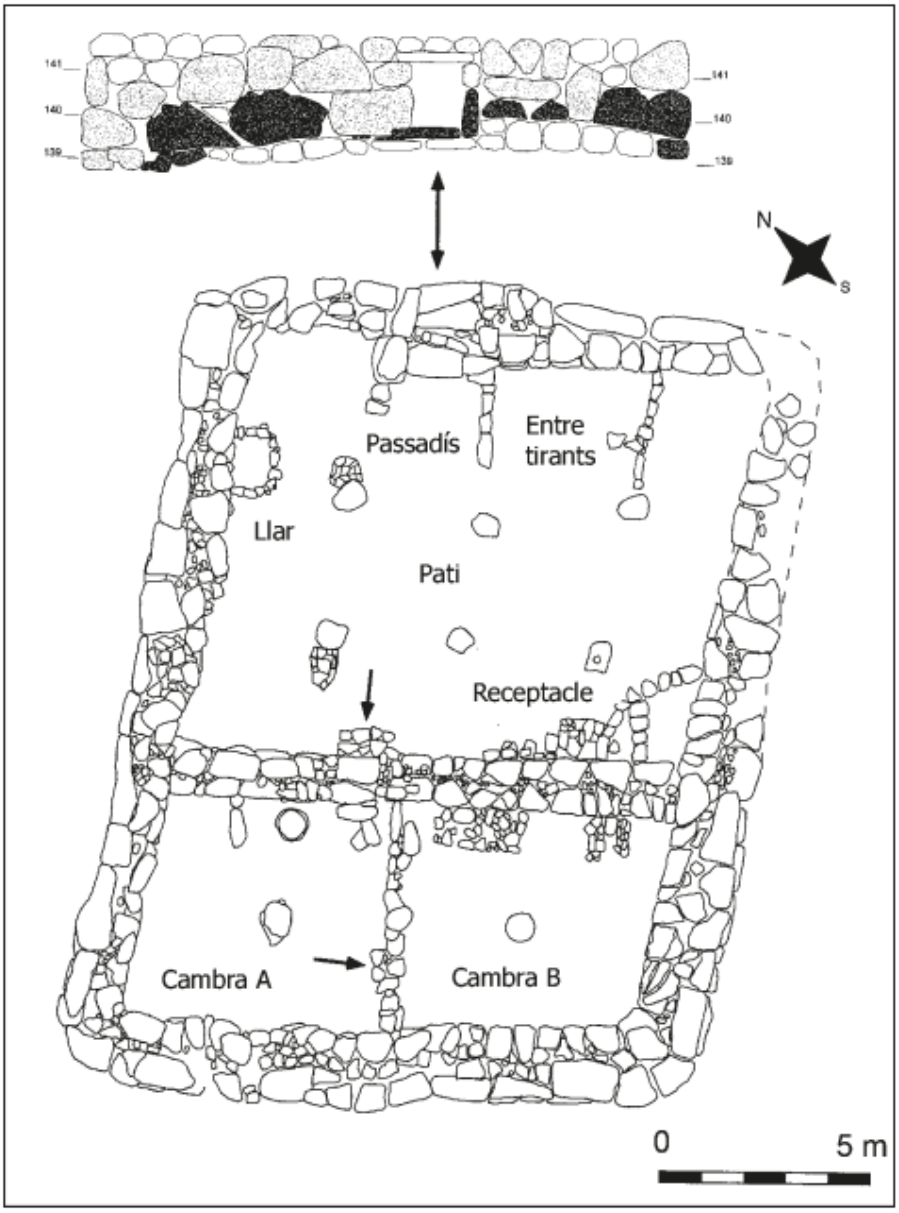


Figure 34: Puig Morter de Son Ferragut building Alpha located in central Mallorca. Notice the two chambers toward the bottom of the image and the large, presumably open patio above. (Castro-Martínez et al. 2003, after Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 55)

Figure 35: S'Illot in Eastern Mallorca. Notice the large perimeter wall on the bottom of the image as well as the circular dwellings particularly prevalent in the northern portion of the site, or the upper right-hand portion of the image. (Guerrero et al. 2006: 23 after Frey and Roselló 1964)

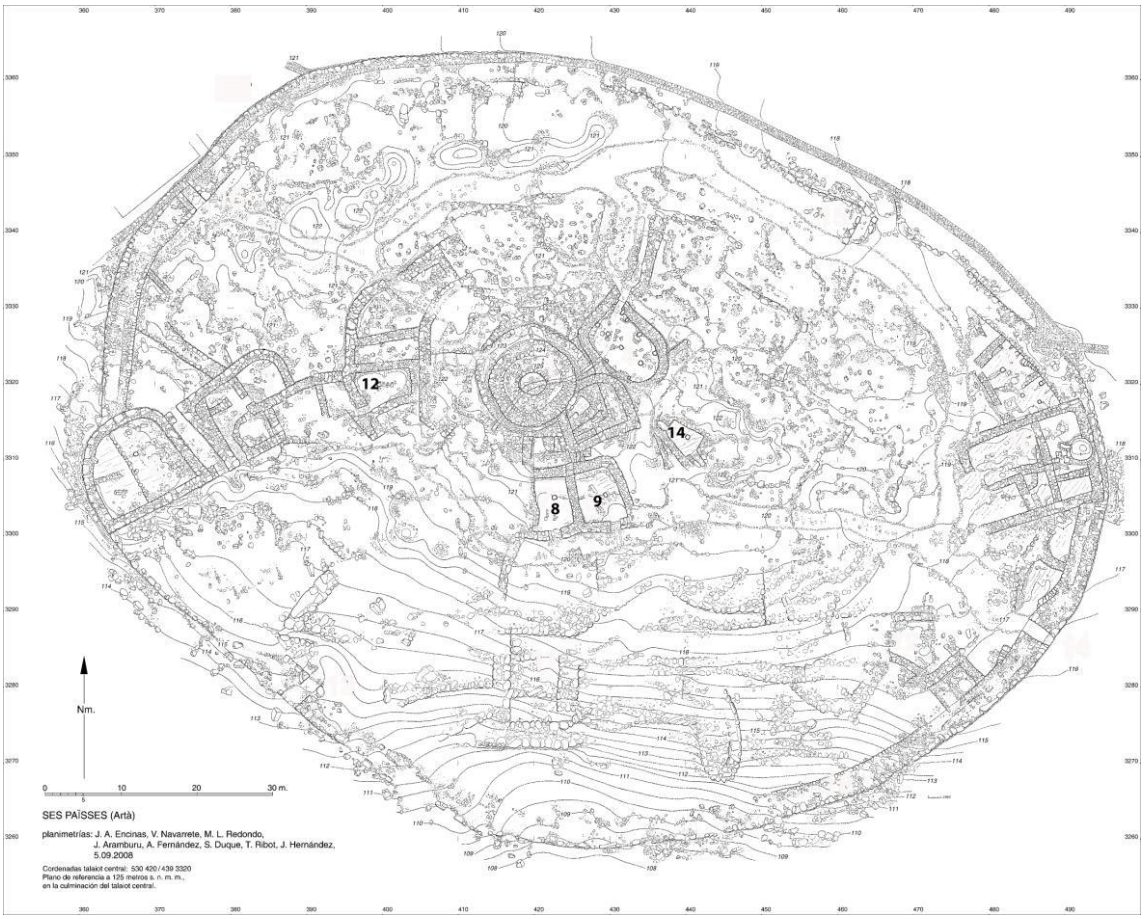


Figure 36: Ses Païsses in northeast Mallorca (Aramburu-Zabala 2011: 4). The central talayot is surrounded by domestic and ritual structures. House 25 and Building 13 are located on the eastern extreme of the site. House 25 is the rectangular structure.

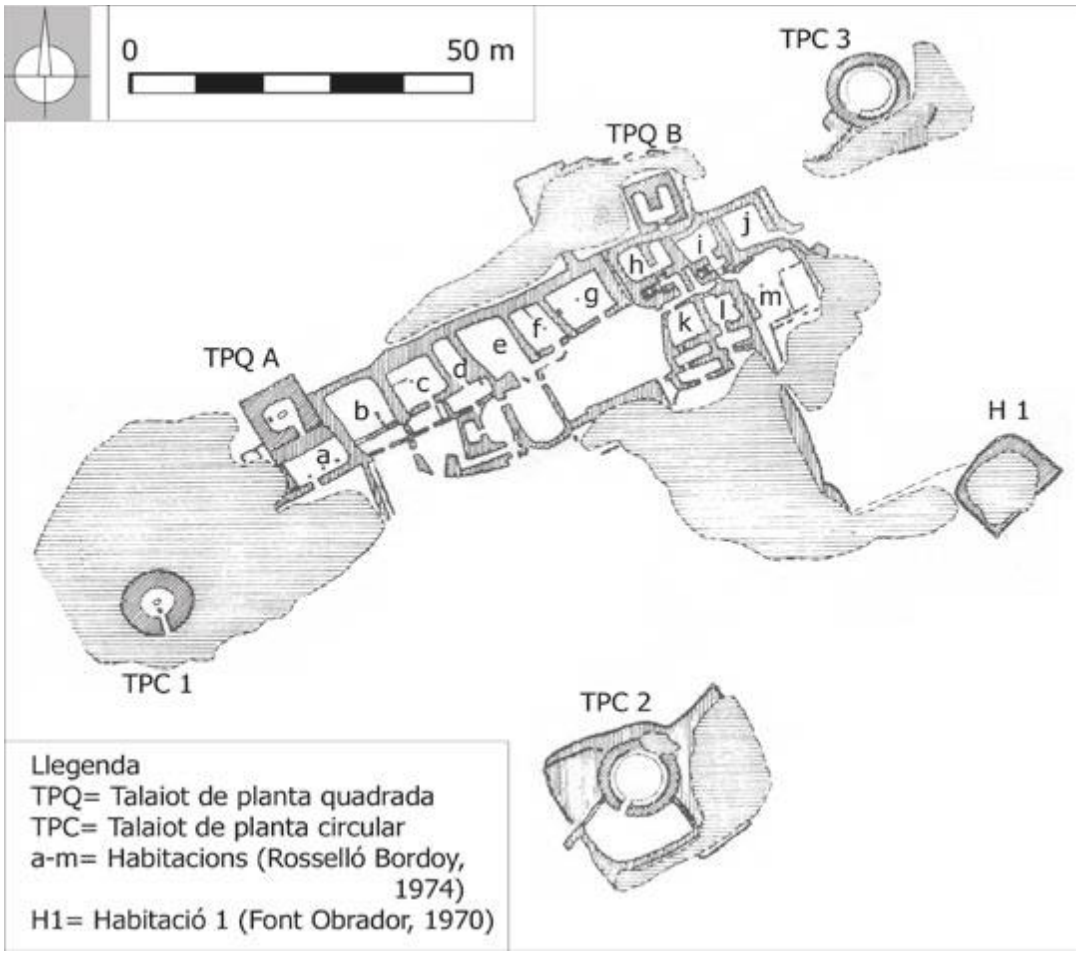


Figure 37: Capacorb Vell in southeast Mallorca (Hernández-Gasch 2011a: 56, originally published in Roselló-Bordoy 1974: Fig. 1). This site was excavated by Colominas in the 1920's, and exhibits square, Talayotic house unites between a series of square and circular talayots. Houses K, L and M are particularly irregular.

Figure 38: House 2 at Na Guardis in southeast Mallorca. Notice the orthogonal walls of the Punic house on this islet located just off the coast of Colonia Sant Jordí. (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 217)

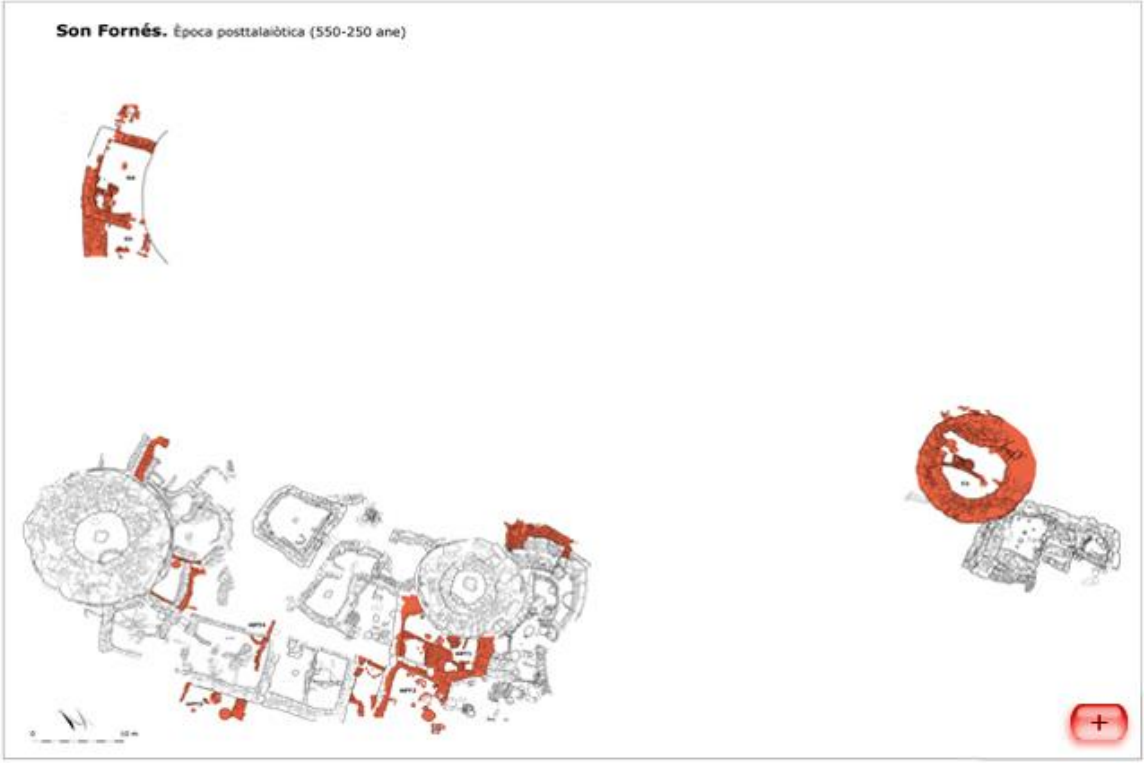


Figure 39: Son Fornés and buildings in use during the period defined as "Post-Talayotic" (550 – 250 B.C.E.) by the excavators. (Source: http://www.sonfornes.mallorca.museum/yacimientoPOpoeng.htm)

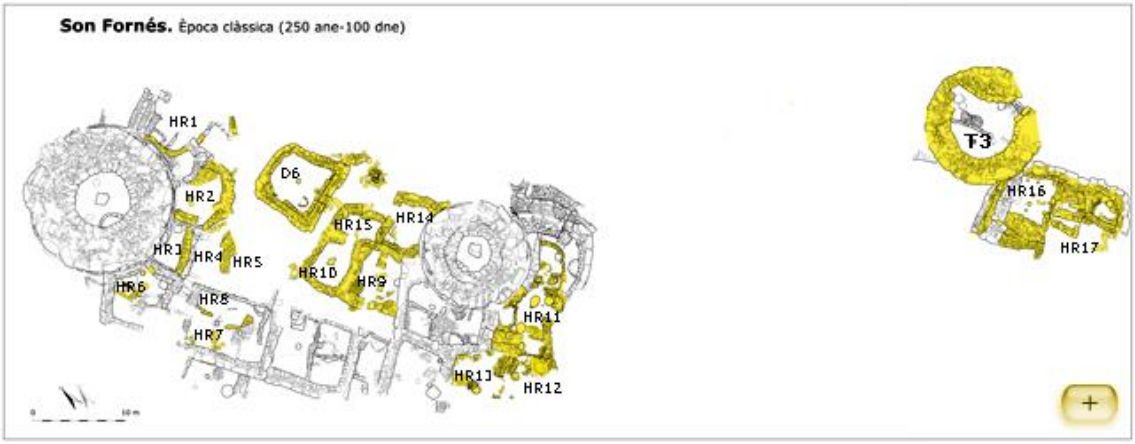


Figure 40: Son Fornés and buildings in use during the period defined as "Classical" (250 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.) by the excavators. (Source: http://www.sonfornes.mallorca.museum/yacimientoCLpoeng.htm)

Figure 41: View of Son Fornés' excavated village structures facing the large, western talayot. Notice the multitude of layered (and preserved) architectural remains surrounding the talayot. The central talayot is just out of view to the right of this photograph. (Photo by the author)

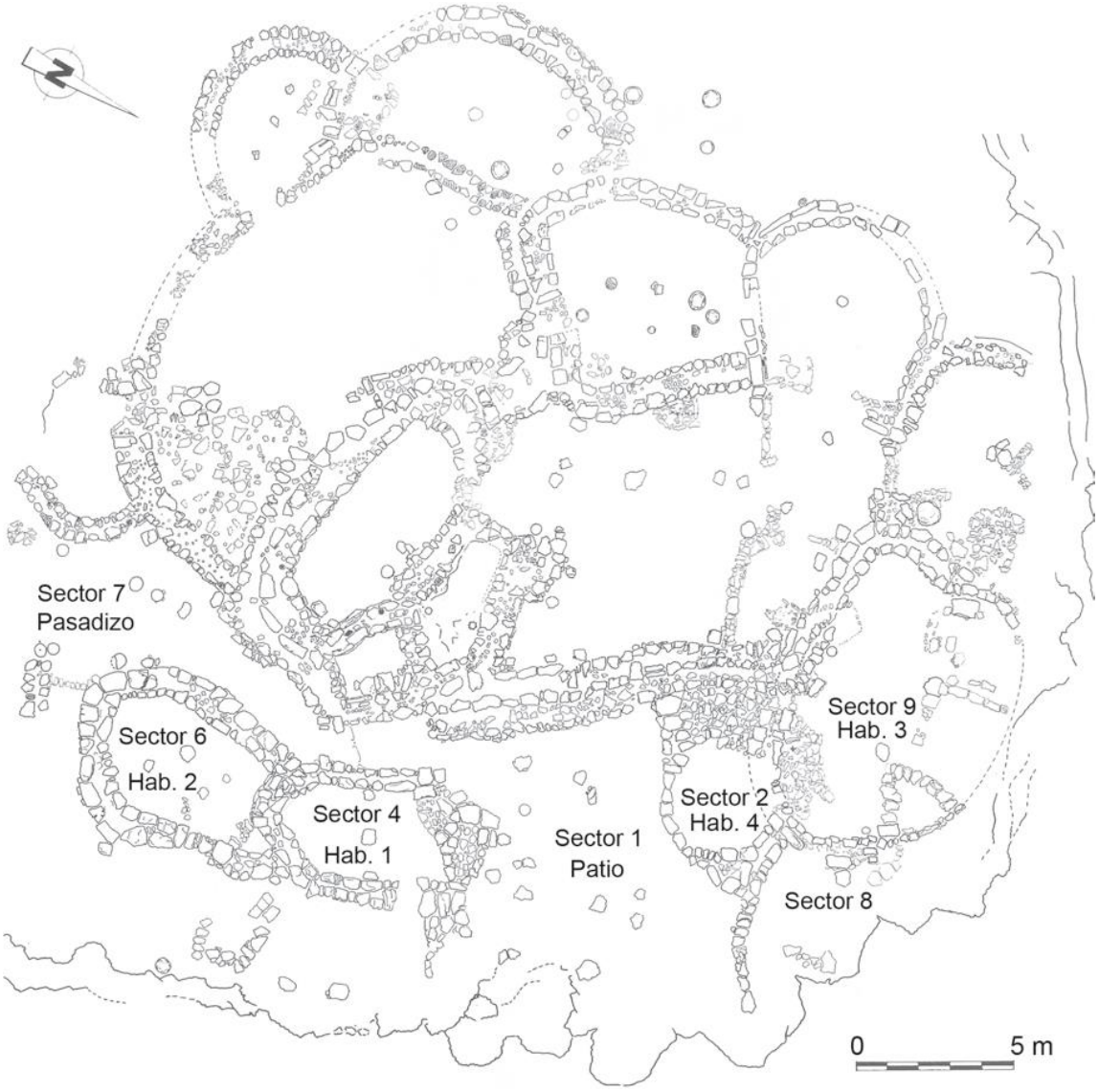


Figure 42: El Turó de Ses Baies, occupied from the third century B.C.E. to the first century B.C.E. Notice the lack of orthogonal walls and the prevalence of small, circular habitations. (Salvá and Hernaández-Gasch 2009: 316 after Camps and Vellespir 1998)

Figure 43: House 2 from Torre d'en Galmés in 2007. Notice the quasi-orthogonal shape of the dwelling as well as the outer wall that conforms to the shape of the neighboring house. (Pérez-Juez 2011: 121)

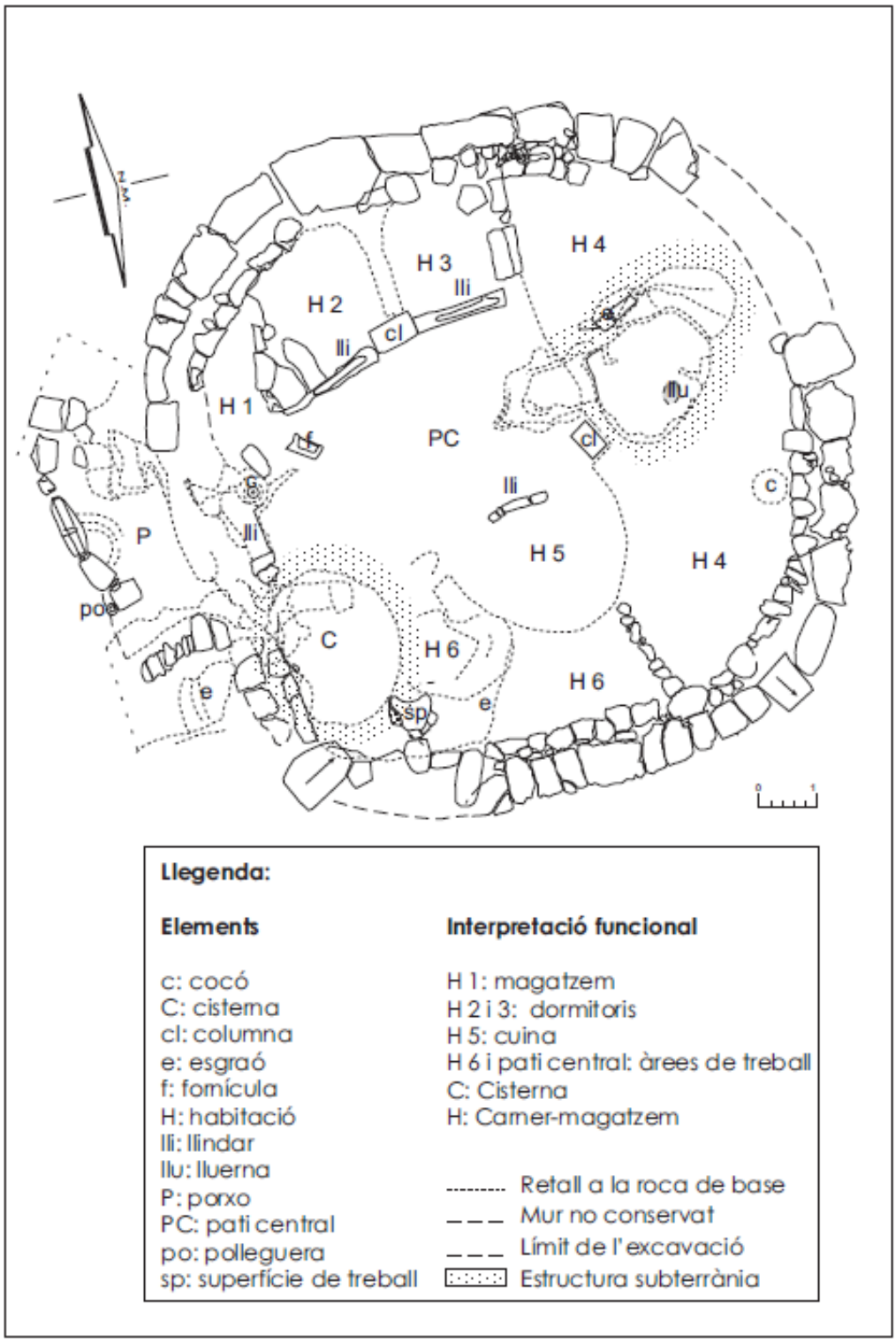


Figure 44: Plan of House 1 at Biniparratx Petit. H1 is a storage magazine, while H2 and H3 are supposedly bedrooms. H6 is a work area and H5 represents the kitchen. (Hernández-Gasch 2007: Figure 1)

Figure 45: Hypostyle hall of House 6 at Torre d'en Galmés in 2014. The hall is actually roofed with megalithic limestone blocks, and was most likely used as a storage facility. (Photo by the author)

Figure 46: Internal column from House (Circle) 7 at Torre d'en Galmés. (Photo by the author)

Figure 47: The precinct of Cartailhac with external circular wall, hypostyle hall and house area. The entire image is considered to be just one house precinct. (Source: http://menorcaarqueologica.com/que-te-proponemos/paseos-arqueologico/)

Figure 48: The internal columns of the Cartailhac precinct in 2014, reminiscent of the taula form (see Chapter 5). (Photo by the author)

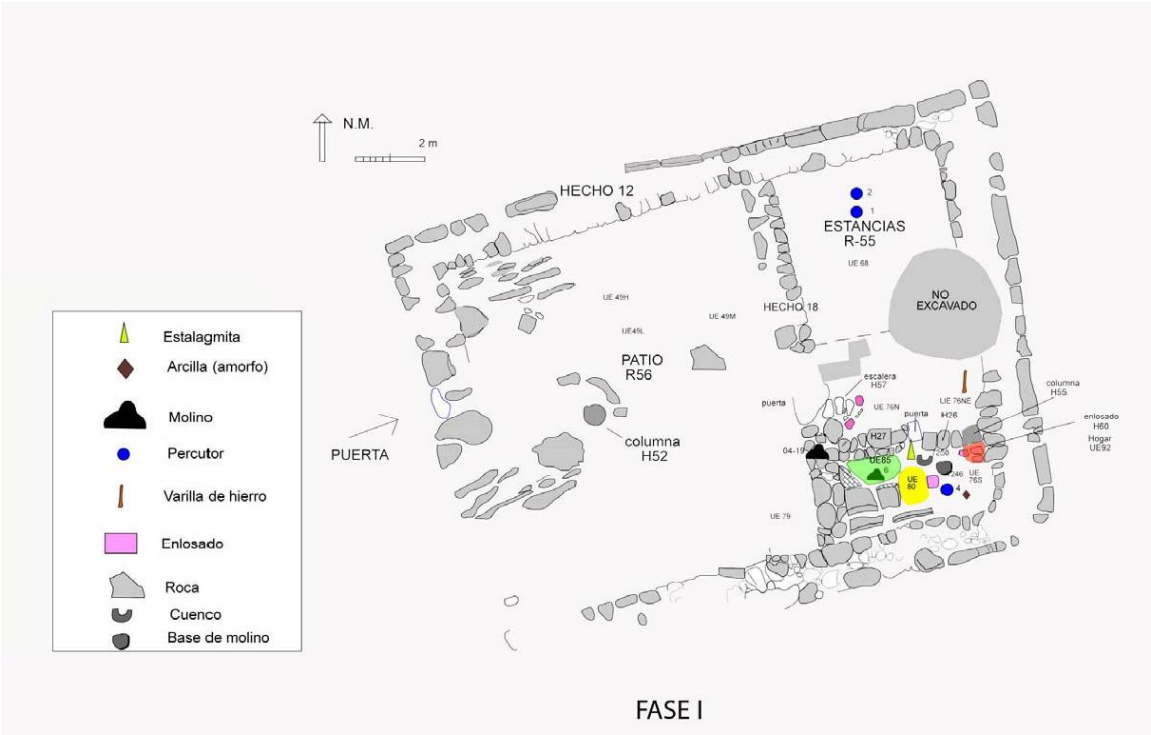


Figure 49: Phase 1 from House 25 at Ses Païsses. Notice the remains of the external wall. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 19)

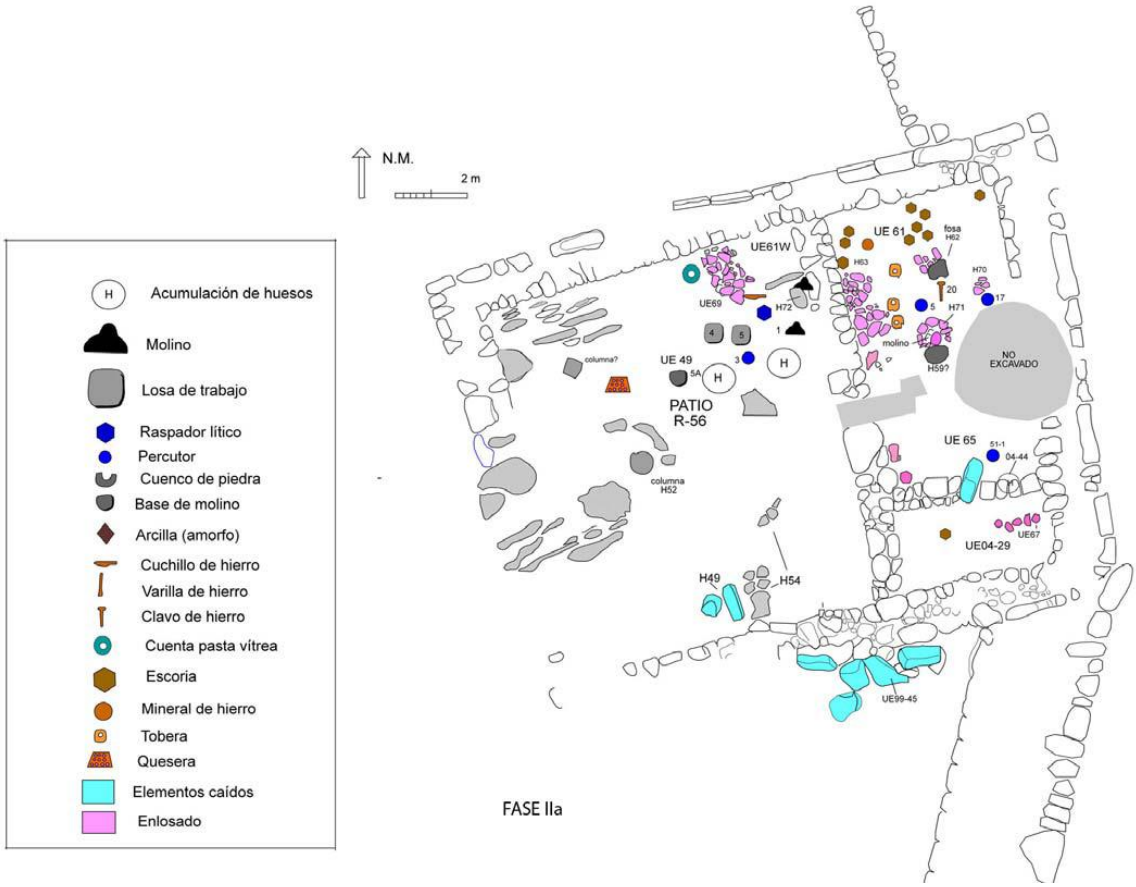


Figure 50: Phase IIa (early fourth century B.C.E.) from House 25 at Ses Païsses. By this time, the patio area was no longer enclosed, but exhibited ruined surrounding walls. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 83)

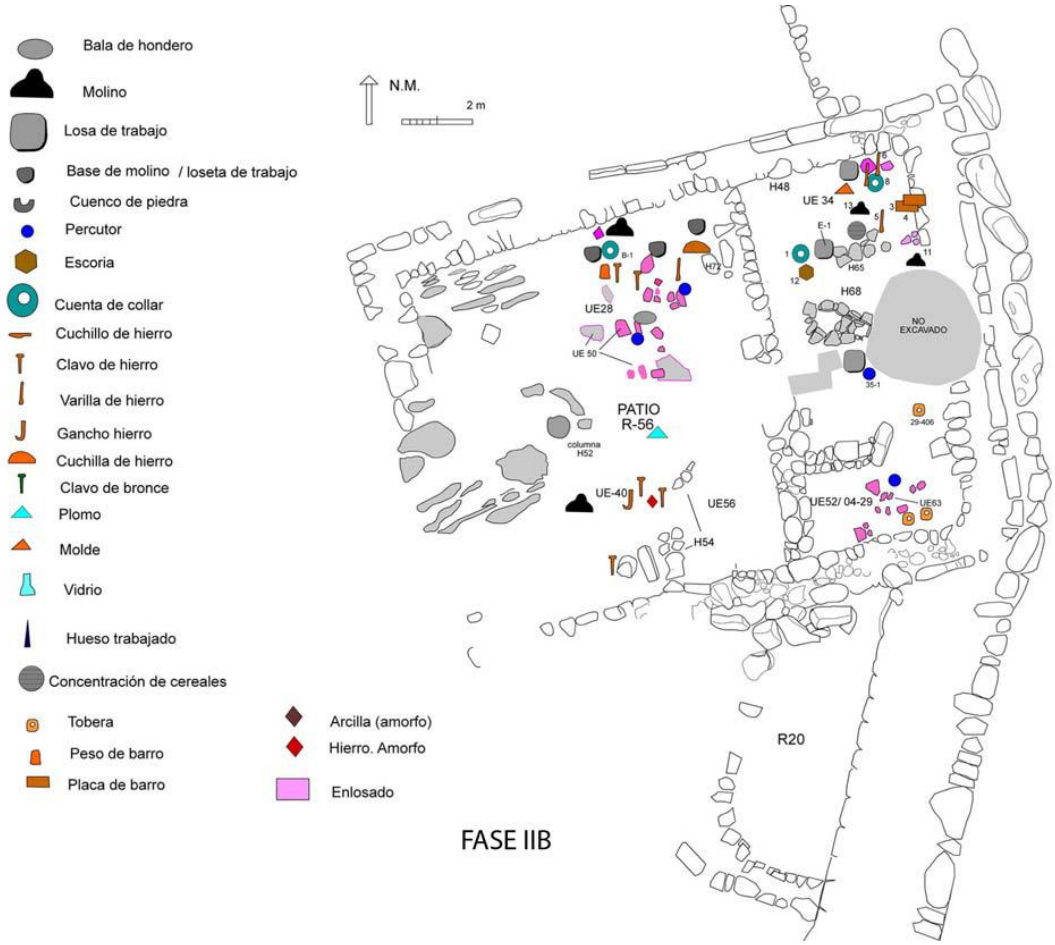


Figure 51: Phase IIB (end of fourth and beginning of third century B.C.E.) of House 25 at Ses Païsses. Notice the activity in the patio area, which is no longer private space. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 84)

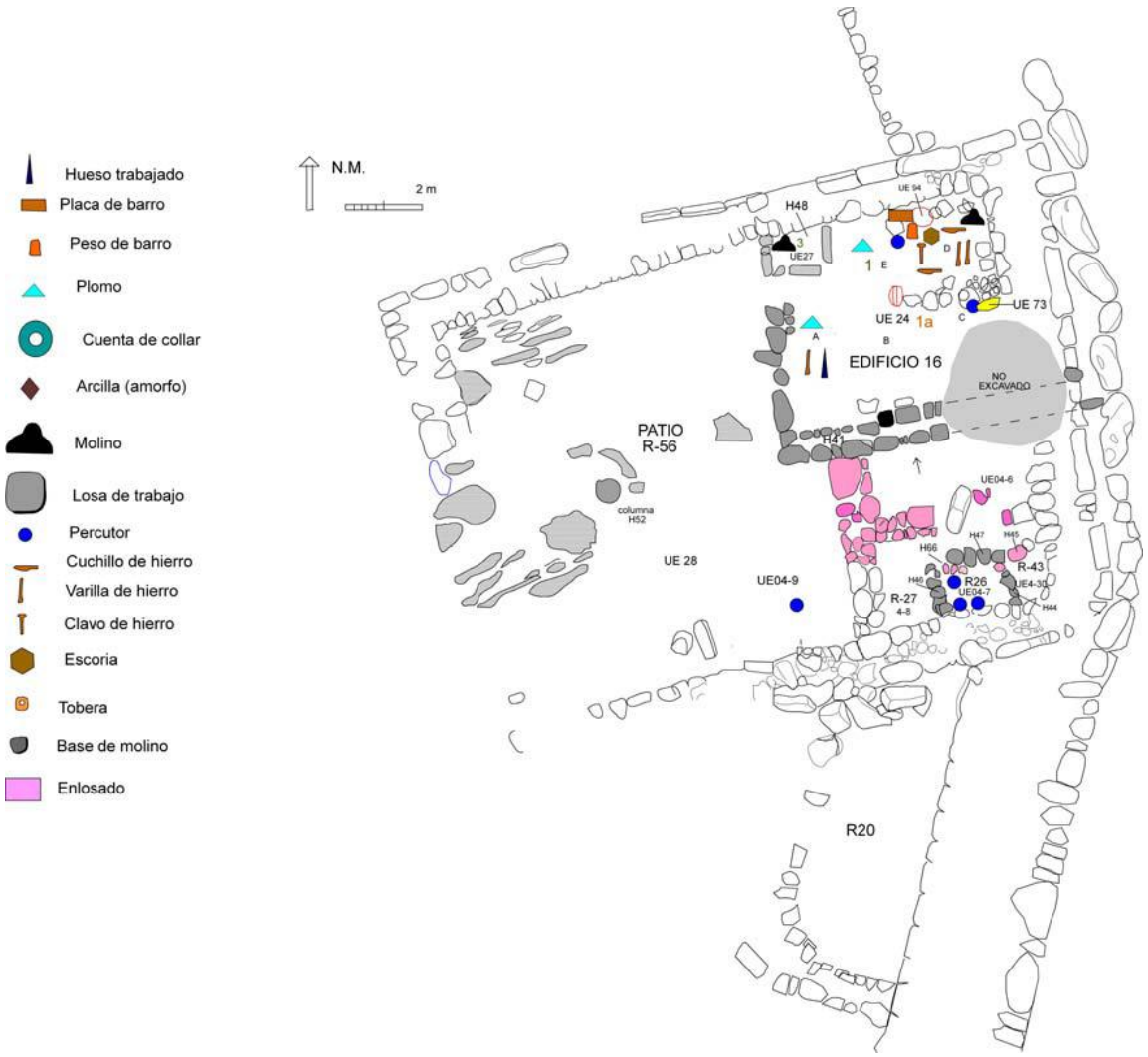


Figure 52: Phase III (Second century B.C.E.) of House 25 at Ses Païsses with the construction of House 16 in the southeast corner and the fragmentation of the surrounding space. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 244)

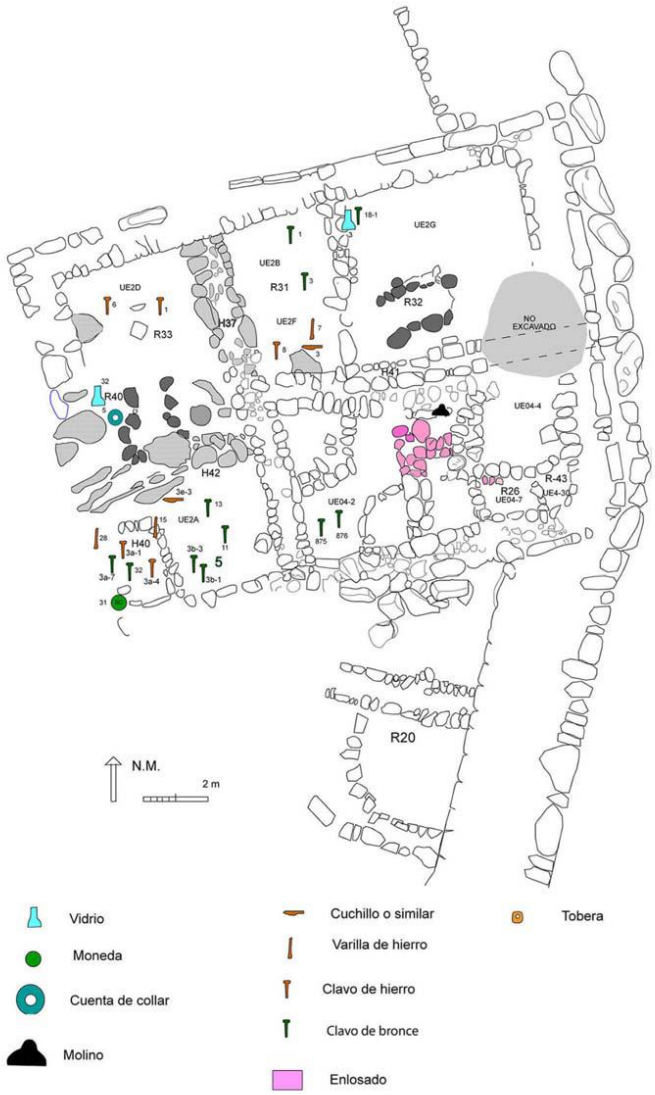


Figure 53: Phase IV (first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.) of House 25 at Ses Païsses and the continued fragmentation of space at the site. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 482)

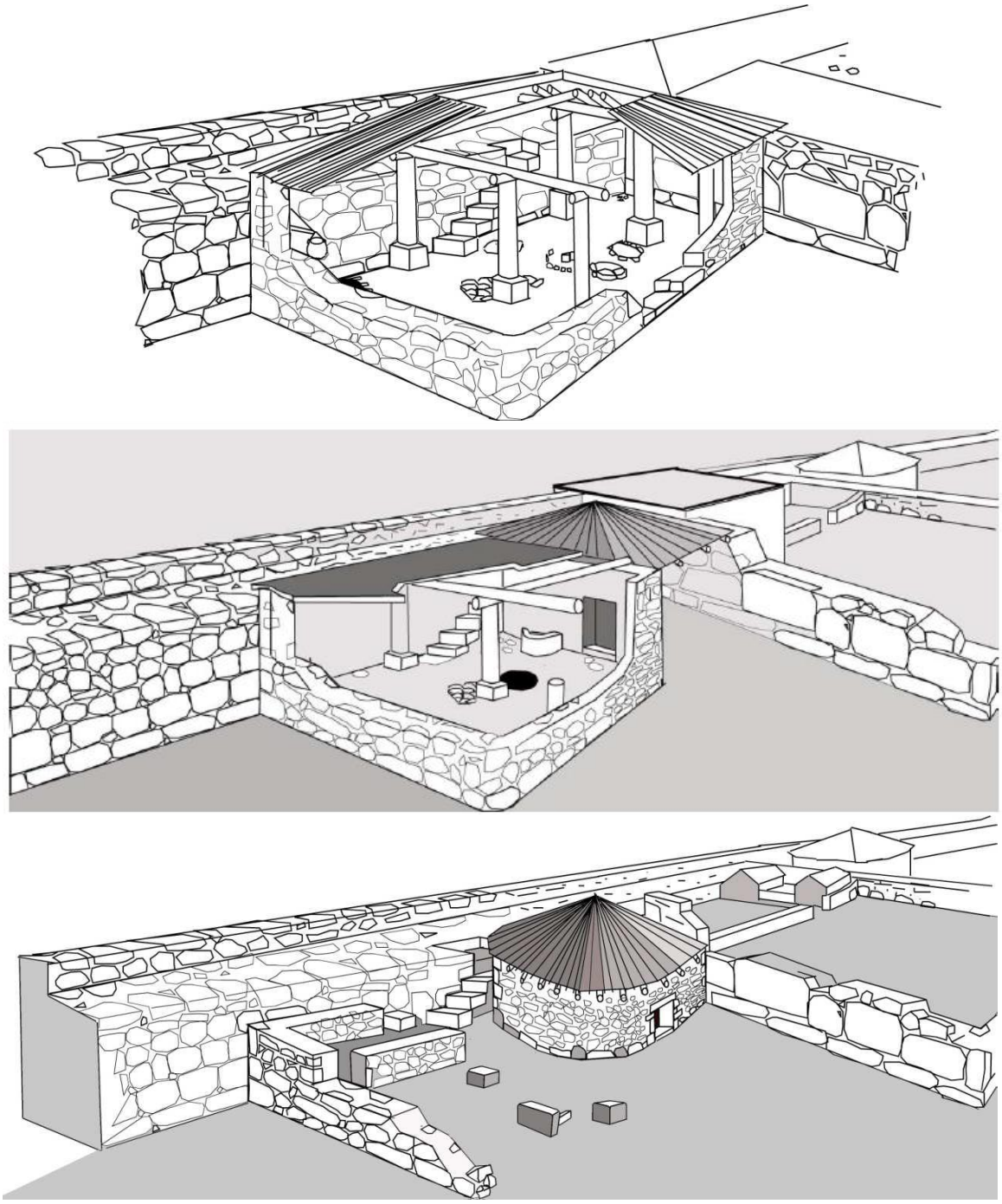


Figure 54: Reconstructions of Building 13 for Phases I (sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.), II (fourth and third centuries B.C.E.) and III (second and first centuries B.C.E.). Notice the change of the Building from a storage unit for the neighboring house to an autonomous, smaller household unit. (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a: 9, 96, 168)

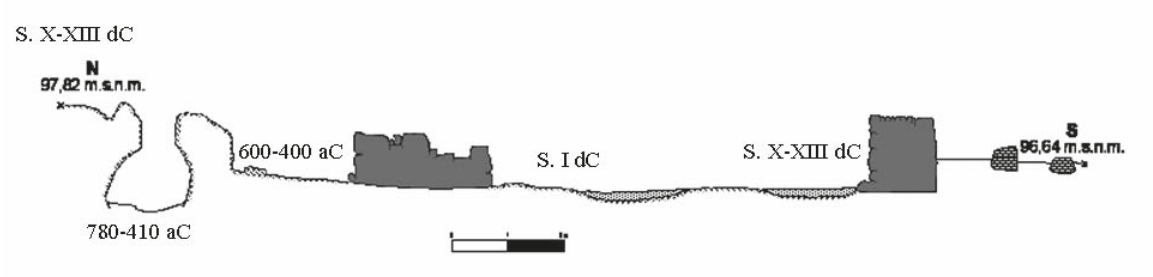


Figure 55: House 1 from Torre d'en Galmés showing the typical circular shape of Menorcan houses, as well as a square, smaller addition in the middle of the structure, roughly dated to the first century C.E. (Joan and Pons 2011: 105)

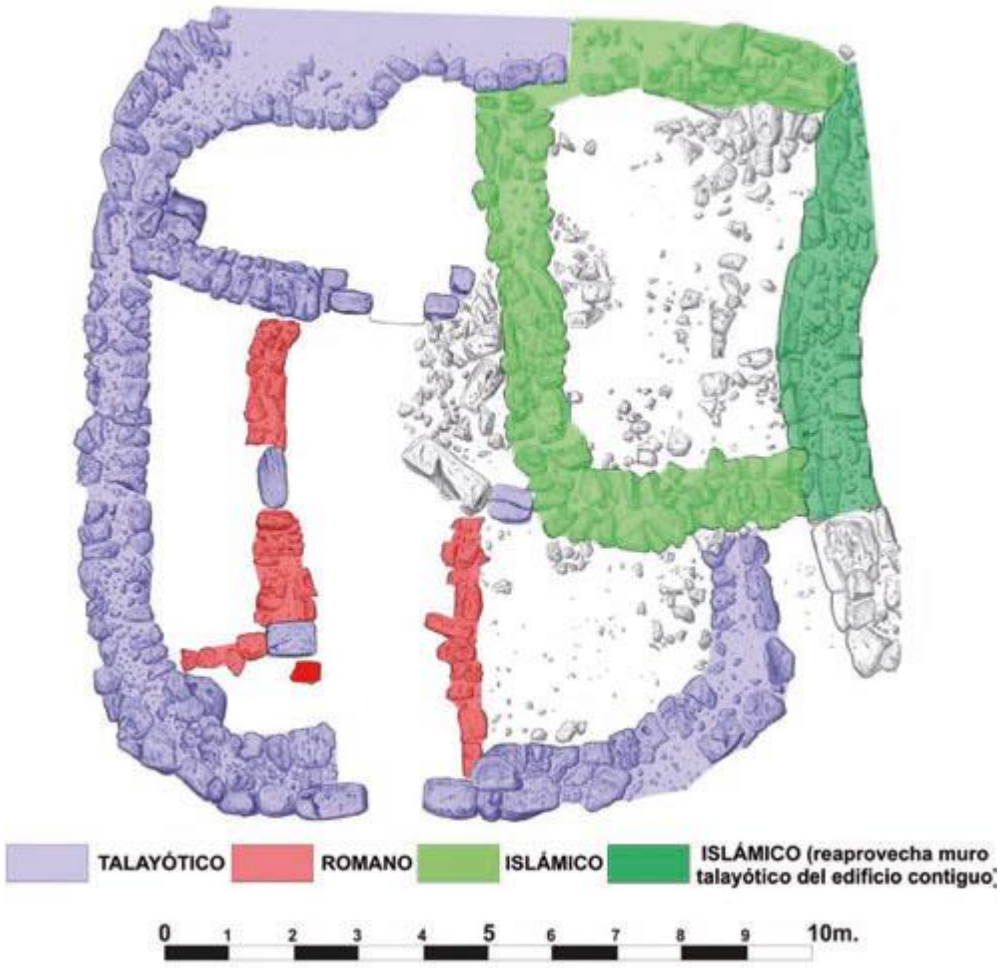
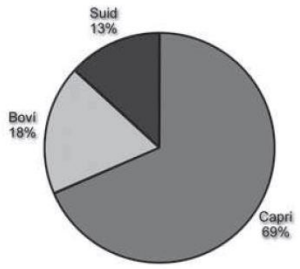
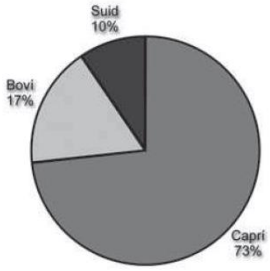


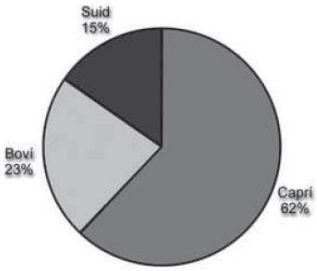
Figure 56: Phasing of House 2 at Torre d'en Galmés displaying Late Talayotic, Roman and Islamic phasing. Note the shape of the building is not quite circular, yet not altogether orthogonal. (Pérez-Juez 2011: 122)



Jaciment	NR	Tàxons domèstics (% NR)		
		Caprí	Boví	Porc
S'Illot	4683	72,3	18,2	9,4
Son Fornés	1195	52,2	15,0	32,8
Son Ferragut	716	70,4	24,6	5,0
TOTAL	**6594**	**68,5**	**18,3**	**13,2**



Jaciment	NR	Tàxons domèstics (% NR)		
		Caprí	Boví	Porc
Ses Païsses	3600	72,7	17,7	9,6
Illot des Porros	1376	57,7	31,3	11,0
S'Illot	1820	75,1	15,1	9,8
Son Ferrandell	2673	81,0	10,7	8,3
TOTAL	**9469**	**73,3**	**17,2**	**9,5**



Jaciment	NR	Tàxons domèstics (% NR)		
		Caprí	Boví	Porc
Torre den Galmés (Casa 2)	388	70,1	15,5	14,4
Talatí de Dalt	2813	58,3	21,3	20,3
Biniparratx Petit (Sectors A i D)	3044	73,0	12,4	14,6
Biniparratx Petit (Sector B)	7601	61,2	24,9	13,9
Talaies de n'Alzina	1027	44,8	40,7	14,5
TOTAL	**14873**	**62,1**	**22,6**	**15,3**

Table 2: Graphs representing the percentages of Ovicaprid, Bovine and Suid consumption on Mallorca during the first half of the first millennium B.C.E., followed by the second half of the first millennium B.C.E., and finally Menorcan data from the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. (Hernández-Gasch et al. 2011: 127, 129, 130)

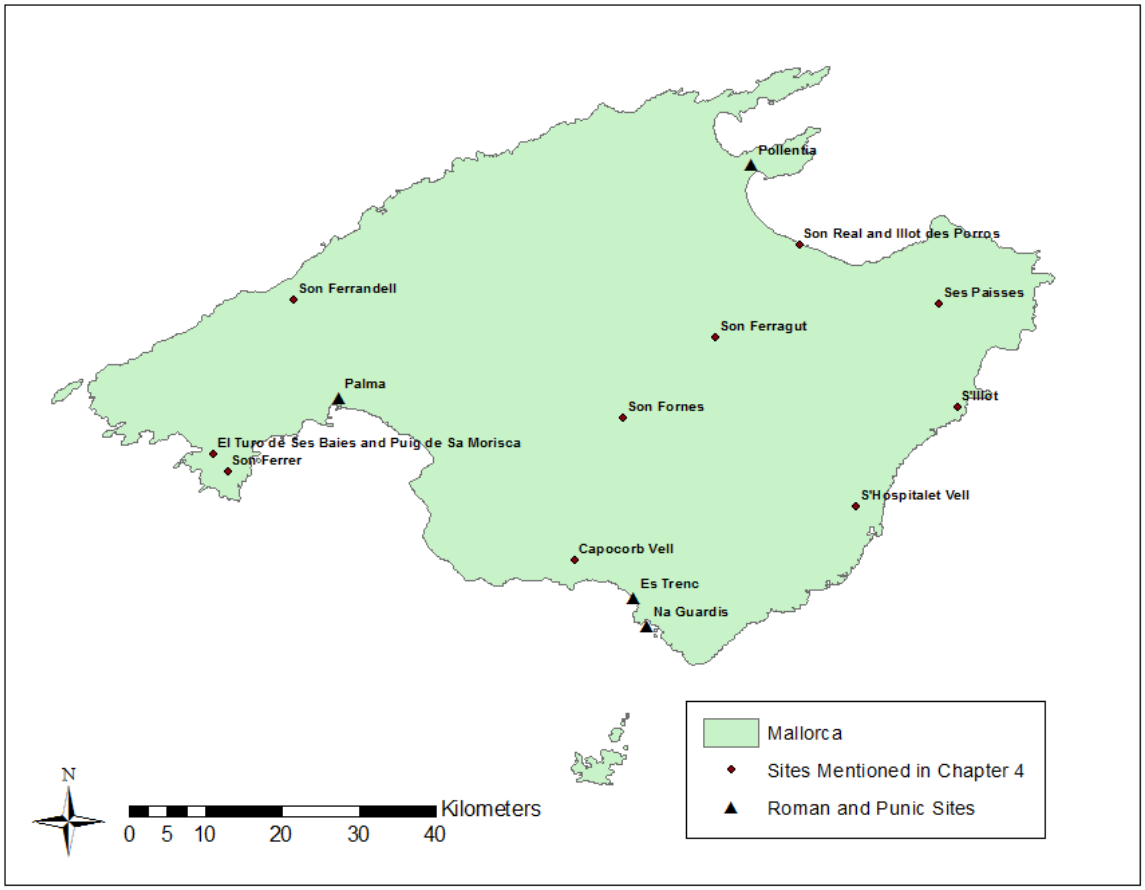


Figure 57: Mallorca with sites mentioned in Chapter 4. (Image by the author)

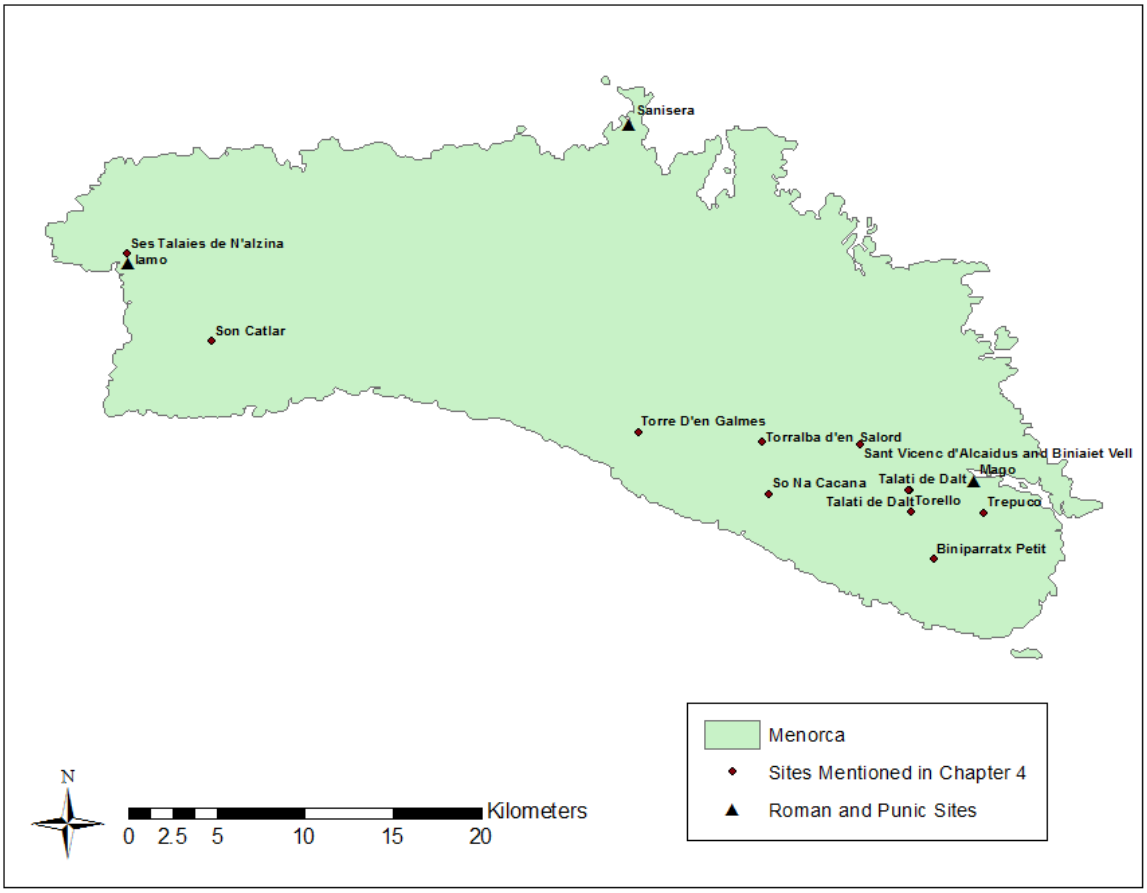


Figure 58: Menorca with sites mentioned in Chapter 4. (Image by the author)

Chapter 5: The Inherited and Manipulated Landscape: Monuments, Ritual Practices and Funerary Customs in the Late Talayotic

The indigenous cultures of Mallorca and Menorca are probably best known in both scholarly and popular circles for their enigmatic ritual and funerary monuments. Often megalithic in nature and fairly well preserved, this ritual and funerary landscape is both intriguing and jumbled, especially when discussing Mallorca and Menorca together. Monuments such as the famous navetas of Menorca, the monumental inhumation burials of Son Real on Mallorca, the taulas of Menorca, the cave burials on Menorca, and even the namesake of the indigenous inhabitants, the talayots themselves, are all part of what has been rightly considered a rich ceremonial landscape on both islands. The allure of these mysterious, megalithic monuments has drawn archaeologists from many parts of Europe to investigate the prehistoric cultures of Mallorca and Menorca.

While the monuments of these islands have been the focus of archaeological attention for many decades, this chapter aims not simply to highlight certain noteworthy projects that have been conducted in these settings, but also to approach a holistic understanding of later, Post or Late Talayotic developments that saw these ritual landscapes gradually change, then ultimately fade away. In other words, the tombs and megalithic monuments represent both the inherited and transformed cultural landscape of the Late Talayotic peoples. In this chapter I will look at a sample of well-known and ideally well documented instances of funerary and ritual practices on the islands of Mallorca and Menorca. Said throughout the opening chapters of this dissertation, I will again treat Mallorca and Menorca as generally separate entities. Arguably in no other way are Mallorca and Menorca more distinct than with regard to ceremonial practices during this later period. As will become obvious, a Talayotic ritual culture was not only highly

fragmented across the islands, it was also quite variable through time as well, owing to cultural change and the influence of external Mediterranean powers.

This chapter is admittedly large in scope, attempting to analyze data from two very sizable corpora of archaeological data. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is actually impossible to disaggregate the two lines of evidence completely. The ritual and funerary monuments are often intertwined, or at least closely associated with one another. The reason why these two subsets of data have been incorporated is not simply because of some shared attributes and usage, but because of the effect of external influences on the nature of these particular cultural manifestations. The monuments of Mallorca and Menorca, neither strictly funerary nor ritual, have long been examined through the lens of external influence. For instance, how did the talayot come into existence, or the preceding naviform architectural traditions in both domestic and funerary settings?[60] The next section aims at least to introduce these issues with a window into current archaeological information and theoretical understandings of these monuments on Mallorca and Menorca, about which central questions abound throughout the prehistory of Mallorca and Menorca. Are Talayotic and Late Talayotic monuments the manifestations of interaction and exposure to other Mediterranean cultures? Or are they autochthonous innovations, born from a unique island environment and the sociological and political processes therein?

The Genesis of Monuments on Menorca and Mallorca

Before delving into the archaeological data regarding the Late Talayotic usage of ceremonial complexes and monuments in the succeeding sections, it is first necessary to discuss, at least to some extent, how these monuments came into existence. Talayotic culture is by no

[60] Although associations with other island societies have been deemed increasingly tenuous; for an example of this, see Kolb 2005.

means the first culture on the islands of Mallorca and Menorca. As Chapter 1 has discussed, Talayotic culture was preceded by a Bronze Age, Pre-Talayotic culture that incorporated first dolmen funerary enclosures on Menorca then on Mallorca, subsequently utilizing naviform-building structural motifs to create domestic settings and monumental funerary establishments (see Gili et al. 2006). All of this, of course, occurred over a substantial period of time in the second millennium B.C.E. The Talayotic culture is identified today as a later indigenous cultural development particular to the Iron Age in the early first millennium B.C.E.

As the name would imply, talayots were the first monumental architectural features to appear as particular to the Iron Age Talayotic culture. These monuments are now known to have been erected sometime between 900 B.C.E. and around 600/500 B.C.E., more often dating from earlier in this period (Guerrero et al. 2002; Guerrero et al. 2006b: 33). The taula on Menorca also appears between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.E. on Menorca, representing not only a unique ritual environment, but a quite late addition to the Talayotic cultural repertoire (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 168). The following Late or Post-Talayotic period saw the cessation of construction of such monuments, but the continued use and proximal occupation of many of these areas.

Returning to the genesis of monuments on the islands of Menorca and Mallorca, it is perhaps important to compare the timelines of the establishment of certain monuments in the Talayotic traditions. The talayot itself appears at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. It represents a transition not only to a different monumental building style, but a substantial amount of human labor investment, and perhaps indicates a particular increase in social complexity on the islands. This may include the development of a political environment of large, connected communities that was not seen to the same degree in previous periods.

Nevertheless, the timeline is a critical issue here. Talayots, according to radiocarbon dating (Gili 1995), were established sometime between the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.E. Connecting this date to broader, Western Mediterranean history, it is also at this time that Phoenicians started occupying trading outposts in North Africa and certain parts of the southern Spanish coast.[61] Could the so-called "towers" be a reaction to interaction with a broader Mediterranean world? The possibility that settlers from the Iberian coast or the coast of the Gulf of Leon were finding their way into Mallorca and Menorca is certainly feasible, and has been used as an explanation for other cultural innovations in previous periods on the islands. There are multiple potential causes of the construction of these monuments on Mallorca and Menorca, and this dissertation will not attempt to answer this question, nor dwell on it further.

Yet before moving on, it is also important to consider the chronology of the taula as well. Considered to be a ritual monument today, the taula and surrounding complex appears in the latter part of the Talayotic period, namely between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C.E., though the precise foundational dates are difficult to isolate, and most archaeologists would argue for the later end of this spectrum (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 168). This date is particularly intriguing because of what is happening during this time period on the southern island of Ibiza. It is around this time, according to historical accounts (Aubet 1994), that the colony of Sa Caleta, followed by the town site of Ebussus was founded on Ibiza, which became a flourishing port and production center for the Punic world in the subsequent centuries (Costa 2007). While chronologies do seem coincidental, it should be understood that Menorca is indeed quite far from Ibiza, and making a connection between the construction of Talayotic monuments and the appearance of Eastern Mediterranean traders is rife with questions concerning the geographic viability of not only interaction, but direct cultural response in such a short period of time. Yet,

[61] With of course longstanding presences in certain sites on the southern coast of Spain.

as is made clear by the blanket term “Talayotic,” Menorca shared many connections with Mallorca, obviously manifested in the talayot structure itself. Cultural connections existed across the island chain, and assuming that Menorca was somehow unaware of the changes occurring on Ibiza is perhaps an unfair assessment, falling back on conceptual models of insularity rather than the probable reality that Menorca, like Mallorca, was very much connected to the broader Mediterranean. But we must not fall into the trap of assigning too much importance to the arrival of Eastern Mediterranean merchants and colonies with the establishment of Talayotic culture.

I hope here to illustrate the continuity and change of cultural practices regarding funerary and ritual customs on the two islands in the Late Talayotic. But, of course, this is predicated on the assumption that these islands did not exist in a vacuum, and were indeed interacting with the broader Mediterranean world. This extends to Punic traders, whose influence is probably most remarkable from the mid-first millennium B.C.E. until after the Second Punic War, when Roman material culture and practices not only appear on the islands, but begin dominating imported assemblages and eventually alter indigenous customs. What this boils down to, then, is island responses to a broader Mediterranean world. As I hope is clear from the above section, the genesis of monuments on the two islands may or may not be related to extra-island forces surrounding the islands themselves, or even an indigenous reaction to these forces as part of a communal self-identification (as suggested for earlier periods by Gili et al. 2006). Yet, after the 6th century B.C.E., the Western Mediterranean becomes a much more significant arena for emerging and longstanding Mediterranean powers, adding economic and political pressures to existence on the islands of Mallorca and Menorca. In this manner, Mallorca and Menorca form a sort of cultural periphery in the center of the Western Mediterranean, but also become surrounded by political and economic communities

that had the capacity to significantly affect the ritual and funerary elements of the island. I would like now to return to the archaeology of the Late Talayotic to discuss particular aspects of island life that are at once the most popular archaeological features, while at the same time the most complex and enigmatic datasets the islands have to offer.

Monumental Reuse and the Protohistoric Landsacape

It is an unquestionable fact that during the protohistoric period on both islands, the Late Talayotic period, monuments erected during previous centuries were not only evident, but dominated the landscape. Talayots, navetas, naviform houses and even megalithic dolmens dotted the ancient landscape, and even in ruined form or disuse, their presence could not have been ignored. In many cases these architectural forms were reused or incorporated into broader living structures. Taulas are omitted from the list above of previous monuments due to the fact that there is evidence, from Torre d'en Galmés and Trepucó among other sites, that these monuments were still regularly used well into the second half of the first millennium B.C.E.; therefore these monuments will be discussed seperately (Flaquer 1943; Murray 1932, Roselló 1984). While navetas, naviform structures and dolmens all marked the islands, the talayots dominated the inherited landscape of the Late Talayotic period. For the purposes of this chapter, I will only focus on the impact of the talayot in the Late Talayotic.

The Continued Use of the Talayot

Moving to the talayot, this architectural feature represents one of the most common archaeological sites prevalent on both islands. This may, however, be more of an artifact of the manner in which research has been undertaken from the start than the reality on the ground. Talayots represent the biggest, and some of the most emblematic monuments on the Balearics.

While the general consensus now is that these so-called towers were erected in the 9-6th centuries B.C.E., roughly at the beginning of the Iron Age (Guerrero et al. 2006b), they had, for a long time, been associated with the Bronze Age, based on previous studies involving radiocarbon dating, associated finds, and the desire of many scholars to equate their existence with the Sardinian Nuraghe or the Torre of Corsica.[62]

Despite not being associated with the cultural forces postulated behind the construction of monuments on Sardinia and Corsica, such as the Myceneans or other earlier civilizations visiting the islands, the fact that talayots were constructed about 500-800 years after the traditional Bronze Age 14th century date of Nuragi, for instance, makes them quite distinct. The idea of monumental autochthony must be considered, though it is perhaps possible to still point toward Sardinia as the inspiration of their construction. All references to other islands aside, the talayot became a distinctively Talayotic feature of the prehistoric landscapes of both Mallorca and Menorca. In other words, the talayot may have represented a key cultural symbol of both regional power and indigenous authority.

The talayot is usually characterized by a conical shape and a hollow interior, with various means of support, incorporating megalithic building blocks. Nevertheless, the talayot has quite a range in both size and shape, as talayots such as those as s'Hospitalet Vell on Mallorca are square, the talayot of Son Fornés on Mallorca is small and circular, while some Talayots on Menorca are massive circular and elliptical shapes, generally larger than Mallorcan counterparts. The interior of the talayot is shaped in a number of different ways, as some have a central pillar, multiple levels, various room arrangements, and others are not hollow, but filled with stones. Functionality is also dependent on the talayot itself, as many are postulated as

[62] For an example of this, see Kolb 2005.

places of feasting, others are used or reused as communal ritual centers, and still others are thought to be militaristic or defensive in nature.

Essentially, the talayot embodies a cultural shift during the Iron Age that reflects a mobilized, community-based workforce, undoubtedly the result of increased communal complexity, territoriality, and/or wealth. Nevertheless, what concerns us for the second half of the first century B.C.E. is not the original intention of the talayot in each individual circumstance, nor the shape or size, but instead the reuse of these edifices by indigenous people up to and into the Roman period. Still, continuity of tradition is important, if it indeed exists or is archaeologically identifiable. In the end, despite the existence of some 274 talayots, only a handful have been excavated.[63] Despite the complicated layouts and potential meanings of these monuments, understanding how the later Talayotic people interacted with them may give us an added understanding of indigenous self-awareness, communal awareness, perceptions of cultural continuity, or even elements of resistance to invading Mediterranean forces.

During the Late Talayotic period, talayots are focal points of many protohistoric, Late Talayotic settlements throughout the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. In fact, it is difficult to find a single such dwelling site on either island that was not somehow associated with at least one talayot. Many of the dwellings around these monuments are often megalithic, permanent sites, as discussed in Chapter 4, potentially indicating a middle to higher status individual. Perhaps the lower status individuals constructed their houses out of wood and mud brick further afield, but without archaeological information to support this claim, it remains simply a hypothesis. In fact, the lack of houses known outside the talayot's vicinity may be more an artifact of monumentally-biased archaeological investigations in the region. In other words, it

[63] Some key examples include Ses Païses, S'Hospitalet Vell, Son Fornés, Son Cascanar, Capicorb Vell, and Son Favar. Excavations of Menorcan talayots are even rarer. For a recent excavation of the talayot of Cascanar on Mallorca, see Aramburu-Zabala 2009b; 2011.

is difficult to make a wholistic argument given the history of archaeology in the region. Still, the houses that we do have for this period are constructed out of stone, and are all associated with a nearby talayot.

One exceptional type-site for understanding the importance of talayots as focal points of settlement is the village of Son Fornés. The site itself has three excavated talayots and has been investigated systematically since the 1970's (Amengual et al.2010; 2012; 2014; Gasull et al. 1984; Lull et al. 2001).[64] Between the two excavated talayots in the central portion of the site (see Figure 59 and 60) is a substantial domestic area, as mentioned in Chapter 4, that has been very carefully excavated and analyzed. The results are quite intriguing from the point of view of domestic archaeology, but also for our understanding the role of the talayot in the very latest of Talayotic periods. According to Gasull et al., the site was occupied sometime before the sixth century B.C.E., based on radiocarbon dates (1984: 12). Although the exact founding date is not fixed, it appears that the final stage of initial building occurred in the last third of the sixth century B.C.E. (Gasull et al. 1984: 12). The function of all the structures between the talayots is not known for this period (except for the so-called habitación 1), yet in subsequent phases, it appears that they were used for domestic functions (Gasull et al. 1984: 10). Recently, two sanctuaries have been excavated in this area (Amengual et al. 2012; 2014); I will return to these in the subsequent section on Mallorcan sanctuaries. Following the sixth century B.C.E., sometime before the middle of the third century B.C.E. the talayot and related buildings were destroyed. However, beginning in the later third century B.C.E. and continuing into the middle of the second, the excavators saw a reoccupation of the site, as well as increased commercial contacts indicated by Punic and other new imported goods.

[64] Publications by Vincente Lull and his team from Barcelona also describe the phasing of the site with the chronology seen in Table 1 (Lull et al. 2001; 2011).

The following phase, namely between the middle of the second century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. saw the relative decrease of indigenous ceramics and the increase of imported, particularly Roman wares. Surprisingly, there is also another later phase that is not particularly well defined by the authors, as they contend more of the site needs to be investigated to confirm this period (Gasull et al. 1984: 15). Figure 59, below, shows the relative sequencing of the structures adjacent to the northernmost talayot (talayot 1), outlined in detail, while Figure 60 shows a large-scale view of the precinct surrounding the talayots and more recently excavated structures at the site. It should be said the site most likely extends quite a bit further, potentially with other, larger architecture, but has not been archaeologically explored. Nevertheless, the amount of data and detail with which this site has been excavated is particularly striking.

Despite being destroyed sometime after the sixth century B.C.E., the site was reoccupied in the third century B.C.E., potentially by a different group of people, though it is impossible to say so without a doubt. Nevertheless, their settlement strategy focused on reusing and modifying the architecture closest to the talayots. The reoccupation of the space points to a range of possible processes. For one, the new inhabitants of the site simply return to what might at that time have been standing or partially standing architecture. This is not necessarily a complicated idea, but nevertheless should remain a factor taken into consideration given the ease in reoccupying a previously built space. Still, they are also occupying an area that is right next to the talayots, which, even today, are conspicuous monuments in the landscape itself.

A number of inviting theories can be applied to this reoccupation near the talayots themselves, very much in keeping with the general theme of this dissertation. The talayots were at once potentially intimidating structures in the landscape as well as focal points. Occupation

around such structures could have served to protect the site, providing the tactical advantage of having a large, stone structure from which one could look out and view approaching neighbors. On the other hand, the site would nevertheless be conspicuous in that it is quite visible in the landscape and makes it a potential target. Obviously, it is almost impossible to disentangle the relative practical advantages or disadvantages of being close to these older monuments. Still, it is important to take into consider practical factors before delving into the symbolic. Based on the protohistoric settlement patterns of both islands, it seems that living near or even adjacent to talayots indeed held an advantage that outweighed other practical concerns. As can be seen in Figure 61, the viewshed from atop talayot 1 is of limited extent in the overall landscape, but does loom over the immediately surrounding area.

Yet cultural factors beyond practical motivations must also be taken into consideration. Son Fornés is, in this regard, is again useful, as the site is reoccupied by what appear to be indigenous Mallorcans in the third century B.C.E., at the height of Carthaginian economic influence and commerce with both Balearic Islands, and notably persists into the first century C.E. Despite the presence of sites like Na Guardis and the expansion of coastal trade routes, resulting in the increased size of coastal settlements on the island, in the third century B.C.E. a group of indigenous people decided to go back to Son Fornés, a site located in the central plain of Mallorca. The process of resettling Son Fornés was contradictory to an evolutionary scheme of gradual indigenous acceptance of external influences. The question still remains, however, as to why they went back to these monuments.

Perhaps an alternative explanation to tactical territorial advantage might be power or prestige. Being surrounded by ancient monuments meant that the inhabitants of Son Fornés suddenly became at least partially associated with them. The talayot may have become a

symbol of community or even power for the inhabitants living around or within the monument. In the end, the talayot was not necessarily a fortification or a defensive tower, nor was it particularly big (with the larger just over 16 meters and the smaller 12 meters in diameter) and despite the potential tactical advantage in seeing a hostile force approach, they likely provided only minimal security. Because of this, it may make more sense to consider the talayot a reflection of cultural inheritance or identity. By being associated with the monument, the people living nearby are establishing a connection with a more ancient architectural tradition. The potential power of the talayot becomes not couched in the practical but the symbolic, as those living nearby can claim some sort of connection to a ruined, monumental past. Although it is difficult to prove definitely, the continued occupation and reoccupation of these spaces might be speaking to an affinity and perceived connection with this monumental past, potentially exploited by elites, or perhaps an expression of indigenous identity as well.

While it is easy to point to many sites around both Mallorca and Menorca that display these traits,[65] at this point we can focus on just one other site, Son Catlar on Menorca. Son Catlar is an intriguing site for a number of reasons. It is one of the best preserved fortified sites, with almost the entire expanse of its cyclopean wall still extant. Despite this characteristic and a veritable wealth of architectural and domestic remains, the site has been not been well published or even widely explored.[66] In fact, from the signage at the site it appears that the taula precinct was completely excavated in the 1920's, but no publication was ever produced and much of the original material has disappeared. Nevertheless, much can be said regarding the importance of the talayot in the persistence of this settlement into the first century C.E.

[65] A good example of a Mallorcan site is Ses Païsses, which saw continual occupation into the Roman period, but again with a small (12 meter in diameter) talayot. As with Son Fornés, associated sanctuaries were also erected in the Late Talayotic period (Aramburu-Zabala 2009a; Aramburu-Zabala et al. 2005; Hernández-Gasch and Aramburu-Zabala 2000)

[66] For the one recent article published about Son Catlar, see Juan 1998. Due to the general lack of publications regarding Son Catlar, I have here relied on the site's detailed signage as a reference point.

Unlike Son Fornés, Son Catlar was continuously occupied from the early Iron Age at least until the first century C.E. Like Torre d'en Galmés, Son Catlar represents one of a series of larger, Menorcan Talayotic sites that are occupied into the Late Talayotic period and experience a florescence during this later period. This included the construction of a cyclopean wall in the 3rd century B.C.E., as well as the continued construction of houses around the site's three talayots within this delimited perimiter. As Figure 62 shows, the viewshed of Son Catlar is quite large, as it has both views of most of the western third of Menorca, as well as the waters between Menorca and Mallorca. Tactical advantage may have been granted because of such a position, allowing the site to flourish during the Late Talayotic period. Building a house or a community near three imposing talayots most likely served to aggrandize the inhabitants in such a strategic position, connecting them to an indigenous past as a symbolic force. Given that the settlement survived for so long under indigenous rule, carrying on with indigenous customs during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods, these continuities are striking in such a visible monumental town site, despite inevitable trade relations with Mallorca and Ibiza. The same is true of Torre d'en Galmés, which experienced a similar florescence in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., again with the three talayots and taula precincts serving as the central node of the settlement. Figure 63 shows a similarly expansive viewshed from Torre d'en Galmés, with clear lines of site to portions of the central-southern portion of the island and a large part of the sea to the south of Menorca.

Although all these cases boast tactical advantage, in all three cases described above, the talayots' value most likely lies in the integration of such position and symbolic force. Despite incoming trading wealth, coastal settlements were still uncommon until the Roman period. Even marine animals such as fish are archaeologically uncommon and seemingly not a major part of the indigenous diet (as discussed in Chapter 4). The talayot distribution likely represents ancient

communities that were able to mobilize human labor to guild these monuments, resulting in divisions of space in the landscape. The talayot becomes a symbol of these boundaries, and likely a monumental node, attracting inhabitants for hundreds of years. Even after such communal divisions changed, the claim to an ancient monument or marker denoting power could still have been potent. In this manner, tactical advantage and symbolic meaning are difficult to disentangle. The Romans (and the Carthaginians to a lesser degree) alter this scenario, but only very slowly and much later on in the history of these monuments (see Chapter 3).

Memory and Reuse: Approaching the Talayot in the Protohistoric Period

The amounts of literature surrounding memory, landscape and reoccupation of ancient spaces by both ancient and modern peoples has exploded in the last 20 years. This is, most likely, due to the increasing emphasis on reconstructions of ancient landscapes rather than specific sites, as well as a new appreciation of the diachronic nature of almost any archaeological site or study area. Van Dyke and Alcock's (2003) work on the subject provides a particularly relevant approach to understanding the reuse of monuments and funerary areas in the Late Talayotic period, given the near total reliance on archaeological evidence the work offers. The Talayotic and Late Talayotic people left us without self-representative texts or even decent descriptions by foreigners of their customs, leaving us with simply an archaeological history of these people.

Despite a lack of direct evidence to describe the memories and knowledge of the Talayotic peoples, it is important to understand, as Katina Lillios states (2003: 129), that "pre-historic peoples should not, in any sense, be thought of as memory-challenged." Memory was expressed in prehistoric culture through oral traditions, movement, customs, material culture,

and monumentalization. As Lillios argues, many pieces of material culture contained mnemonics that may not be self-evident to archaeologists today, but conveyed a diverse set of meanings to prehistoric individuals (2003: 130). Using this idea, I would like to focus on the monumental constructions of the Talayotic people.

It is tempting to jump immediately to rhetoric about memory and power with respect to the monuments of Mallorca and Menorca. It is easy to see the continuation of occupation around talayots, for instance, well after their disuse, as a symbolic connection to an ancient authority, if not explicitly to a memory of a past society itself. Of course, in some ways this also implies the existence of a highly influential elite group attempting to perpetuate their authority, not unlike the landscape manipulations and monument reverence seen in the spolia practices of ancient Byzantium (Papalexandrou 2003) or even the use of the Colosseum as modern political propaganda (Kostof 1973). Nevertheless, the idea of "Collective Memory" as a means to establish group identity, while playing into these notions of elite control to some degree, also relies heavily on the assumption that people at large believe in a collective and communal past that associates them with these ancient monuments - a past that connects them to a powerful heritage, whether directly through cultural continuity or indirectly via simple spatial association (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4). Either way it is powerful. The talayots of ancient Mallorca and Menorca may have been initially established based on their expressions of regional power during the Talayotic period, as discussed above. They nevertheless continued in use as markers of power, identity and potentially even community long after their initial functionality ceased for the Late Talayotic indigenous inhabitants of the Balearic Islands.

These ideas, particularly expounded by Emma Blake in her understanding of Nuragic towers and their subsequent reuse, become very relevant to understanding the Talayotic

monuments, and specifically the talayot itself. Blake emphasizes in her 1998 article, "Sardinia's Nuraghi: Four Millennia of Becoming," that although such monuments are considered by modern archaeologists and historians to be "Nuragic," it was not always this way in the past; there were both episodes of direct association with the heritage of the Nuragic people as well as disjuncture. For example, during the later Roman periods, the towers were still a focal point for domestic and ritual purposes, but their direct Nuragic association is unclear, as many sites were reused and repurposed during this period (Blake 1998: 63-64). Nevertheless, what is particularly important in Blake's explanation of Nuragic towers as focal points of activity during the Roman period, is that she does not see this as "passive ethno-cultural continuity" on the part of the Sardinians (1998: 64). Instead, despite being under Roman rule, the inhabitants actually used the monuments to forge a Sardo-Roman identity, connecting themselves with the past, despite living in the culturally-dominant Roman world at that time.

Evidence for habitation around talayots during the Talayotic period is by and large lacking. The implications of Blake's work instead pertain to the subsequent adoption of this practice during the Late Talayotic period. Their continued centrality cannot be seen as a mere "passive ethno-cultural continuity," but in fact as either a quasi-political statement of the community's association with an ancient heritage, whether real or imagined, or an expression of communal cohesion and collective identity, or both (see Figure 64). Although one could argue that the occupation of talayot sites is simply spatial continuity, we also have to keep in mind that the temporal gap between the construction of these monuments and the construction of dwellings surrounding them can be 500 to 800 years. Talayotic culture in no way is stagnant for the better part of a millennium, significantly changing with the arrival of Punic traders and the development of economies to answer the broader growth of the Western Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C.E. This was coupled with Carthaginian use of Balearic warriors as

mercenaries, discussed in Chapter 2. Still, later communities develop settlements around talayots, arguing that Talayotic people of the late first millennium B.C.E. saw these monuments as coherent connections to an indigenous or at least local past in the face of the rising power and influence of external economic and cultural forces. The association with and centrality of the talayot in many of these communities may have been a self-conscious statement of indigeneity. In this manner, memory becomes a means of communal cohesion, as a form of resistance to larger, Western Mediterranean powers - not unlike the florescence of megalithic, Late Talayotic domestic architecture on Menorca. Memory becomes an expression of communal indigeneity. We will return to these themes of indigeneity, resistance, and community in Chapter 7.

Menorca's Self Expression in the Taula

In many ways, the taula represents a different subset of monuments in the inherited landscape. The monument exclusively exists on Menorca, and is almost always associated with a talayot or talayot complex. On Menorca, if one sees a taula, a talayot is nearby. The same cannot be said of the talayot, however, as many exist in isolation.[67] No other monument is as closely associated as these two, as the taula and the talayot represent the only seemingly non-domestic and non-funerary monuments on the island. Beyond being associated with the talayot, the taula also represents a much later cultural manifestation. The period of construction for taulas is generally considered to be the beginning of the Late Talayotic period extending into the end of the Talayotic period, that is the eighth through sixth centuries B.C.E., but they are used heavily from the sixth century B.C.E. until the second century B.C.E., and in some cases later (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 33). The construction and use of these megalithic monuments directly

[67] Although there are many examples of this, as taulas are a later monument only at select sites, some major examples include Cornia Nou, Torelló, and Trébaluger.

corresponds to what has been previously described as a period of significant transition and modification with the advent of Western Mediterranean super-powers.

Worth noting is the radiocarbon evidence surrounding some of these taulas. Sadly, the taulas at Torre d'en Galmés, Trepucó, and Son Catlar, some of the largest and best preserved examples, were excavated too early and too completely to produce radiocarbon samples from their taula precincts.[68] There are, however, a few that do have chronological markers. Torralba d'en Salord for example exhibits very late radiocarbon dates that correspond to occupational levels. From Micó's 2005a encyclopedic publication of radiocarbon dates, there appears to be a florescence of taula use from the third century B.C.E. until the second C.E. The nine dates that correspond to this in Micó's work (2005a: 508-512) show a gradual chronological progression without temporal punctuation from the fifth century B.C.E. into the second century C.E. Five of these dates were taken directly from the taula precinct, including the second century date, which, according Micó and his sources, constitute the final phase of occupation of the site and use of the precinct. This particular radiocarbon date was from what was considered to be a ritual deposit of animal bones (Micó 2005a: 512).[69] This is therefore a particularly important example of the taula being used into the second century C.E., possibly even the third, based on the calibration error of plus or minus sixty years. This example is quite late, but one must wonder whether, if sites like Son Catlar and Torre d'en Galmés had not been excavated so early on, their taula precincts would domenstrate just as late an occupational deposit.

[68] All of these three sites were excavated in the early 20th century, with the taula precincts at Torre d'en Galmés excavated in the 1940's by Flaquer (1948), Trepucó excavated by Margaret Murray (1932), and the site of Son Catlar's taula precinct excavated by a local archaeologist who never published the results.
[69] The radiocarbon date in question (CSIC-501) is associated with a publication listed by Micó (2005a: 512), namely Mestres and Nicolás 1999. Micó also cites a personal communication with an excavator of the site in the early 1990's. The calibrated date is 170 C.E. plus or minus 60 years.

The only other radiocarbon date that archaeologists have for the taula precincts is from the site of So Na Caçana in central Menorca. Micó references one date, upon which he says there is not adequate information to comment (2005a: 309). He goes on to say that the sample was considered to be from an archaeological deposit exhibiting the final moment of use of the taula precinct (2005a: 309). Nevertheless, the date is quite late again, approximately first century B.C.E.[70] This is, of course, a much earlier date of final use than Torralba - if, that is, in fact from the final layers of the excavation, which was not absolutely certain in Micó's description.

So Na Caçana in southeast Menorca exhibits a slightly earlier date of "final use," in the first century B.C.E. While not as large as sites like Torre d'en Galmés or Son Catlar, it hosts two taula precincts along with other buildings that appear ceremonial in nature (Plantalamor 1987). The earlier date is perhaps due to the nature of So Na Caçana, an immense religious center which might have necessitated a ceremonial infrastructure. The Roman colonial occupation might have disrupted such an ifrastructure, leading to population movement or abandonment. In other words, areas with less of a religious significance may have fared better in the face of Roman occupation of the landscape. An ideal site to test this hypothesis would be Son Catlar due to the factors of a large continuous population, cyclopean fortification and only one taula complex. While we don't have the radiocarbon dates for Son Catlar's taula precinct, we can assume that the site similarly saw the protection and persistence of indigenous customs, perhaps due to the fact that the site was not a major religious center.

Son Catlar, however, is not the only site without any associated radiocarbon dates. Out of many dozens of taulas on Menorca, we have only six radiocarbon dates from two taula

[70] The radiocarbon date referenced here (IRPA-1128) is again listed by Micó (2005a: 309), associated with the works of Plantalamor and Van Strydonck 1997, as well as Van Strydonck et al. 1998. The calibrated date is 70 C.E. plus or minus 60 years.

precincts. Of course taulas in particular were targeted for excavation by some of the first prehistoric archaeologists on Menorca, well before radiocarbon dating was invented or implemented widely, which has in turn left us with a degree of chronological uncertainty, despite datable pottery. However, the late dates reveal that the indigenous customs were enduring, perhaps more so at larger sites that were not heavily invested in ceremonial complexes such as So Na Caçana. Perhaps the taula owes its longevity to its unique customs, a setting without any direct correlates in the Punic or Roman worlds. But one could also argue the opposite, that if the population was trying to "become" more Roman or Punic, it would abandon the most idiosyncratic aspects of their culture, those that were not easily adaptable or changeable.

We must also understand that we do not have dates for the foundations of these monuments. It is also probably a false hope to think that more radiocarbon dates will emerge from taula precincts, and if they did, they would probably come from the much smaller, less populated sites, for that is what remains to be excavated on the island.[71] These sites would probably also yield radiocarbon dates that would reflect those of So Na Caçana more so than Torralba. In short, then, this window into the very late extension of protohistoric indigenous self-expression is only a fraction of would it could have been, and represents a lost subset of important chronological information.

As a general rule, taula precincts have rarely been excavated.[72] Phasing of such sites can thus be problematic in terms of archaeological finds. Nevertheless, assemblages from certain

[71] Though there are exceptions to this: the larger sites of Trepucó, Son Catlar, Torre d'en Galmés, Torralba, and Talatí de Dalt have all been excavated.
[72] Beyond the early excavations of Torre d'en Galmés, Trepucó, Sa Torreta, Son Catlar, the later excavations include Binisafullet, excavated in the 1980's by the Museum of Menorca (Gual and Plantalamor 1991), as well So Na Caçana, again excavated in the 1980's by the Museum of Menorca

excavations do exist, notably from the central Menorcan site of Torre d'en Galmés where work in the 1940's of the site's taula complex uncovered a seventh century B.C.E. Imhotep sculpture (Flaquer 1948). Another example of a taula precinct is the eastern Menorcan site of Torralba d'en Salord, excavated in the 1970's, which uncovered a small bronze votive bull figurine (Fernández-Miranda 1978). Both of these objects appear to be imported, though the bronze bull may be of indigenous manufacture. Figurines are very rare, and anthropomorphic figures found in taula complexes, beyond Imhotep, are lacking. At Torre d'en Galmés, a potential warrior's helmet was discovered, but this is the only case of any warrior associated with a taula complex and, in my opinion, is a feeble argument for use similar to that at the Mallorcan sanctuaries. Bronze warriors are not lacking in Menorca, though it is a very small corpus of only seven examples (Gual 2013).[73] Considering that on the island of Mallorca, the site of Son Favar had four of these statues in just one sanctuary, it seems that these figures, while intriguing, are at best peripheral to the meaning of Menorca's taula precinct.[74] Although many of the taula precincts were excavated very early in the history of archaeology on the island, bronze figurines are perhaps one of the finds that archaeologists, even in the 19th century, would have surely published, or at least kept and displayed. The lack of examples, then, may be symptomatic of an inherent difference between the Mallorcan and Menorcan sanctuaries. This also holds true in large part with animal figurines as well, as only the bronze bull of Torralba serves as an example from a taula precinct.

(Plantalamor 1987), and of course Torralba d'en Salord, excavated in the 1970's and early 1980's by Fernández-Miranda (Fernández-Miranda 1978; Fernández-Miranda et al. 1995).

[73] Two of these bronzes were recovered in the 19th century, and all come without archaeological context. In fact, two other bronzes were reportedly found at Binicalaf and Torelló, prehistoric sites that lack a taula precinct. None of the others were found near a taula, save for the Mars of Sa Cavelleria (Gual 2013). This last example, however, has been identified stylistically as Roman, from the first half of the first century C.E. (Moreno 2012: 182), the end of the scope of this dissertation for precisely the reason that indigenous culture dramatically shifts toward Roman culture during the Augustan period.

[74] For more discussion on these themes, see Gual 1993 and Orfila 1983.

Although imported ceramics, lamps and other types of materials do exist at taula sites, one expected item is lacking in the Late Talayotic period. Indigenous imitations of Punic libation vessels, though evident at sanctuary sites in Mallorca (such as Son Marí), do not occur in the taula precincts. The lack of such an indigenous type of vessel perhaps points to a lesser emphasis on consumption of liquids, like wine, or perhaps a different means of ingestion than Mallorcan counterparts. Although these differences are slight, I propose that differential drinking and consumption patterns in the taula precinct represents a lesser degree of cultural integration, and more of an emphasis on specifically Menorcan, inherited cultural traits. The lack of anthropomorphic figurines also plays into this notion. The worship of bulls and animals seemed a societal norm on both islands during the Talayotic phase, but the lack of anthropomorphic figurines on Menorca, beyond the peculiar appearance of Imhotep, represents more a continuation of culture in the Late Talayotic, albeit using imported ceramics and other materials. The taula assemblages, in other words, do not reflect a cultural incorporation of an incoming belief system or even obvious cultural attributes of the Punic, Greek or Roman worlds.

Mallorcan Sanctuaries in the Protohistoric Period

Perhaps a lesser known, yet equally important counterpart to the taulas of Menorca were the sanctuaries of Mallorca. If less megalithic in nature, they were nevertheless an important expression of island identity and cultic manifestations. The sanctuaries of Mallorca were not quite as ostentatious as the large taulas on Menorca, but were fairly common in indigenous sites during the protohistoric period on the island. No real pattern for their geographic locations exists, save for their relative frequency around dwellings, nor do we have any good indications of hierarchical classifications for Mallorcan sanctuaries (Guerrero et al. 2006b: 150). Nevertheless, it is possible to discuss trends based on apparent ceremonial finds at sanctuary sites like Son Corró, including artifacts such as bronze offering paraphernalia (see

Figure 65); these are not too dissimilar to Menorcan finds in and around the taula, a point I will return to below.

The Mallorcan sanctuary does indeed incorporate a degree of megalithic monumentality in the form of large column-like stones, placed upright. The similarity to the taula is intriguing and drawing parallels between the singular megalith of Menorca and Mallorca's manifestation of multiple megaliths is enticing. And there are more similarities. Notably, the early Mallorcan precinct is generally of a "U" shape, not unlike taula complexes, while gradually becoming more square. Within the "U" shape are the megalithic columns known colloquially today as "bastillas." These bastillas can range in number, from a reported 13 at Son Corró to 3 at Son Mas, to a single column, as is the case of Son Fornés (see Figures 66 and 67; Guerrero et al. 2006b: 150-154; Amengual et al. 2014).[75]

The general history behind the dating of the sanctuaries is also significant. As Guerrero et al. 2006 discuss, the sanctuary at Son Mas, for example, was identified originally by William Waldren as dating to sometime between 830 and 660 B.C.E. based on radiocarbon dates. It remains one of the only sanctuaries with an absolute chronology (see Aramburu-Zabala 2010). The issue of course is that these dates have since been questioned outright, creating the need to discuss these features as something of protohistoric significance. In Guerrero et al.'s discussion of the matter (2006b), they state that the dates could be an indication of a destroyed monument located beneath the sanctuary itself, as a bone found within the sanctuary wall higher in the stratigraphic sequence was dated to between 300-170 B.C.E. Although these early dates exist for the construction of these complexes, the earliest evidence based on archaeological materials (rather than radiocarbon dates) - namely types of pottery and offerings

[75] The single column, however, does not bear resemblance to the t-shaped taula column.

left at these sanctuaries - date to approximately the sixth century B.C.E. Thus at least the height of the use of these sanctuaries would lie in the protohistoric period.

Discussions by De Mulder et al. (2007: 355) of the Republican Roman ceramics found in the sanctuary at Son Mas point to an even later date of occupation and use of the site, pointing to the late third to early first century B.C.E. occupation of the site. Recently, dates ranging from the late sixth to early fifth centuries for the appearance of these sanctuaries have also been postulated.[76] The chronology of both construction and heavy use of these monuments is thus not that dissimilar to the taula precincts of Menorca, perhaps even a bit later. The temptation is to equate these sanctuaries to an indigenous self-representation and religious custom, not dissimilar to the taula. Like the taula, the longevity and ultimate disappearance of these sanctuaries is marred by uncertainty due to the Roman conquest and the resulting application of theories regarding Romanization as a complete and immediate game changer.

The artifacts and materials found at these sanctuary sites are indeed in many ways similar to the taulas of Menorca. Archaeologists generally find a large amount of burnt bone and ash, along with ceramics for the consumption of beverages, ritual libation bowls and imported storage amphorae. All of these material remains indicate vestiges of ritual feasting and drinking, similar to the Menorcan contexts. One perhaps significant difference from taula precincts is the appearance of more numerous bronze objects, glass paste beads, and other types of metal objects both locally produced and imported. For instance, some of the most famous examples of both imported and locally made metal objects are found at the site of Son Favar. Son Favar, located in a talayot, is slightly different from a typical Mallorcan sanctuary but indeed is Late

[76] Another notable Mallorcan sanctuary is located in Ses Países, though due to the early excavations by Lilliu, it has been omitted from discussion. Nevertheless, upon restoration, archaeologists were able to obtain radiocarbon dates from the late sixth to early fifth centuries for the construction of the building, with use extending into the first century B.C.E. (Aramburu-Zabala 2010).

Talayotic in date, ranging from the fourth to third centuries B.C.E., and - according to Guerrero - operated in antiquity in a similar manner to other Mallorcan sanctuaries (Amorós and García Bellido 1947; Guerrero 1994: 167).

Beyond a slew of ceremonial objects of bronze, ceramic vessels, glass beads and stone, some of the most important finds associated with this site were bronze warrior statues with armor motifs reminiscent of the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as one statue attributed to Reseph Melkart, the Punic smithing god (Guerrero 1994: 167). These statues could reflect metallurgical traditions on Mallorca as well as indigenous conscription in the Carthaginian army as slingers. Although the taula precincts share similar motifs with other finds of the Mallorca sanctuary, such as bronze bulls, the one anthropomorphic figurine found is much more abstract.[77] The statues at Son Favar, on the other hand, are a bit more coherent in their depiction of eastern-clad warriors, either potential enemies of the Carthaginians or even perhaps self-representations, as well as a possible Punic god. The connection to Ibiza or even Carthage seems much more straightforward, as it was not as unlikely that knowledge of Punic gods or foreign warriors entered Talayotic society on Mallorca as Menorca.

Continuing with this discussion of differences between Mallorcan and Menorcan ceremonial precincts, metal objects such as locally made iron falcatas and knives, as well as imported bronze objects were far more prevalent in Mallorcan sanctuaries. This was also evident in burial customs, which I will return to below. The site of Son Marí in central-northern Mallorca provides an example of a sanctuary that was in use from the fifth to first centuries B.C.E., and - along with burnt animal bones - also contained many different types of imported

[77] Our only examples of anthropomorphic figurines in Menorcan taula sanctuaries is the statue of Imhotep found at Torre d'en Galmés,[77] obviously imported and bearing no plausible meaning to Talayotic culture beyond those attributed to it upon acquisition by the Talayotic people and not directly associated with Egyptian culture.

ceramic wares, as well as bronze, lead and iron objects (Guerrero 1983; 1991b).[78] Perhaps one of the most intriguing finds was a small wheel-thrown Punic-Ebusitano libation bowl alongside an indigenous copy of the same vessel made by hand. Imitations are not necessarily uncommon, as Late Talayotic vessels take on aspects of Punic and Roman vessels, and similar copies have been found at the site of Son Fornés. Yet if these vessels were being used for ritual purposes, the talayotic people were not only straying from a distinctive indigenous style of libation bowl (see Figure 68), attempting to copy their Punic neighbors. Although many other libation vessels of indigenous variety are also found associated with Son Marí, there appears to be a significant amount of cultural mixing occurring at this site, or the blurring of lines between indigenous custom and imported objects, gods, and ideas. This is not dissimilar to those seen in the sanctuaries associated with Nuragic sanctuaries on Sardinia (Van Dommelen 1998; 2003). In this manner, the Mallorcan sanctuaries and the associated material culture appear to become manifestations of cultural hybridity.

One additional site to discuss is the recently excavated sanctuaries of Son Fornés. As mentioned earlier (Page 196), the site has two occupational periods in the Late Talayotic, one dating roughly from the sixth to third centuries B.C.E., followed by a phase from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. Son Fornés has two identified sanctuaries. Both have been recently excavated by the team from Barcelona, Sanctuary 1 in 2008 (Amengual et al. 2012: 71) and Sanctuary 2 in 2011 (Amengual et al. 2014: 101). These sanctuaries are slightly smaller than the others mentioned thus far, and with fewer numerous imported remains. Sanctuary 1 is slightly earlier than Sanctuary 2, dating from the fifth century for its initial phase,[79] while

[78] For more information on changing practices of animal sacrifice as well as comparisons of Son Marí with the sanctuaries of Allmalutx and Son Mas, see Guerrero 1991b.
[79] Though according to the authors, the dating is much more difficult for Sanctuary 1 (Amengual et al. 2012: 71).

Sanctuary 2 is attributed to the late fourth century by the excavators (Amengual et al. 2014: 101). One notices immediately that Sanctuary 1 is much more of the horseshoe-shaped style, while Sanctuary 2 is almost rectangular. Both sanctuaries were reused when the site was reoccupied in the third century B.C.E. into the first century C.E.

Although Sanctuary 1 is an intriguing discovery, the chronology of Sanctuary 2 is a bit clearer, and for my purposes here, I will be relying on the latter (See Figure 67). During the primary phase of Sanctuary 2, imported vessels include Punic-Ebusitano amphorae, Punic-Ebusitano imitation black glaze ware and Campanian ware, along with a blue glass bead, small pieces of iron and lead, and some associated flint. Food storage vessels in indigenous wares exist, though with only a few examples of the small libation cups or vessels typically associated with these sanctuaries (Amengual et al. 2014: 104). In the second phase, the excavators suggest that two banquet platforms were installed in the square enclosure, pointing to differential practices of feasting, surely evoking a change of practice.[80] Indigenous wares include many small vessels with incised decoration, absent from the first occupation but typical of Mallorcan sanctuaries at this time (Amengual et al. 2014: 106).[81] Imported vessels are almost exclusively Punic-Ebussitano, or Ibizan Carthaginian amphorae and fineware forms, save for a sherd of a Greco-Italic container, as well as a blue glass bead and a small lead plate (Amengual et al. 2014: 106).[82] Over the course of the fourth, third and second century, the sanctuary and its deposits changed very little, save for the architectural additions of banquet benches and the increase in number of indigenous small libation vessels. Any simple evolutionary trajectory of cultural diffusion or resistance collapses with these opposing traits. Benches representing a more

[80] This also occurs with Sanctuary 1 (Amengual et al. 2012: 75).
[81] For Sanctuary 1, the excavators don't explicitly note an increase in these small vessels, but do reference a significant increase in the proportion of indigenous wares (Amengual et al. 2012: 76).
[82] Sanctuary 1 yielded all of these objects, more types of metallic objects, as well as the addition of a large concentration of coins (as compared to the rest of the site) during this period (Amengual et al. 2012: 77).

Central or Eastern Mediterranean style of consumption are matched with an increase in indigenous libation vessels of local design motifs and forms. Ritual feasting and sacrifice seem to persist in these spaces, yet the manner in which these rituals were enacted appear consistently blurred between indigenous and outside influences.

While the Mallorcan sanctuaries in some ways represent an indigenous response and the creation of customs, they did not require the same amount of human capital or resources in the creation of the enclosures as the taula precinct. Menorcan taulas are unique in this aspect, often incorporating megalithic blocks placed upright. Mallorcan sanctuaries by contrast, are simply smaller and represent a less intensive communal investment. It is difficult to say to what degree this reflects a lesser desire to differentiate indigenous culture from incoming cultural influences, smaller village populations, or simply regional cultural differences. Nevertheless, the fact that such sanctuaries exist, appearing both to emphasize indigenous custom while still incorporating external objects or even architectural features (as is the case of Son Fornés) is intriguing. In my opinion this supports a hypothesis that Mallorca's indigenous metamorphosis in the Late Talayotic was toward a hybrid culture, combining indigenous tradition and Punic cultural adoption to create a new, Mallorcan indigenous culture.

Conclusion: Monuments, Ritual and Time

Monuments and ritual spaces, particularly devoted to the communal worship of gods underwent a series of transformations in the protohistoric and Roman periods of the islands. It is clear that the islanders did not abandon many of the megalithic monuments their Bronze Age and early Iron Age ancestors left them. Instead, the most apt description of these monuments and their use would be persistence in settlement and landscape, as well as persistence in ritual

and culture. Talayots, despite not necessarily being used in the same fashion on both islands, still represent a kind of settlement anchor, as was described in the case of Son Fornés. Talayots remain the monumental backbone of most indigenous settlements well into the Roman period. Although it is difficult to disaggregate functionality and symbol in the continued settlements around talayots, the idea of indigenous memory and connection to a self-aware past should not be ruled out. Further study of persistent settlements based around talayots could open many avenues toward understanding talayotic lifeways, self-identification, and community identities throughout the island landscapes.

In the case of taulas, a Menorcan persistence of custom seems evident and can be emphasized as a particularly indigenous cultural form. Although it is impossible to say with certainty that ritual activity at taulas did not change over the centuries, it is nevertheless surprising that in some cases, the use of these precincts persisted into at least the 3rd century C.E., as in the case of Talati de Dalt. Still, other evidence points to 2nd or even 1st century B.C.E. ritual deposits, once again evoking a tenacity toward indigenous customs on the island of Menorca. The Mallorcan "bastillas," or sanctuaries, persist as well, though involving less communal investment than taula precincts in their construction. At the same time, these sanctuaries showcase a perpetuation of indigenous culture through ceremonial practice, while blurring "pure" indigenous customs with foreign imports and architectural features. The external influences are clear in the use of many varieties of imported fine wares, but also in the incorporation of glass objects, glass paste beads, many different types of metal objects, and even ivory. These imported goods were less common on Menorca. In the end, however, despite their degree of hybridity, these ceremonial preincts persisted, as did the beacon-like talayot structure, forming focal points for indigenous culture and life well into the Roman period.

The Funerary Landscape of Mallorca and Menorca

While spaces like sanctuaries and structures like talayots often capture our attention archaeologically, we also must understand these spaces as part of the larger network of ritual space of these islands, and that extends to funerary customs and traditions. Unlike the relatively coherent ritual landscapes of Mallorca and Menorca, the funerary landscape on both islands are by no means consistent. From about the sixth century B.C.E., funerary practices go from being relatively conservative or straightforward, to scattered and unpredictable - particularly on Mallorca. Before the arrival of intense external contacts, burial on both islands appears as largely cave-based necropoleis with inhumation burials. Connections with external forces provoke interesting patterns in the cultural manifestations of burial from the sixth century B.C.E. on.

During the protohistoric period, burial on Mallorca and Menorca varies from cave inhumations, above-ground burials, shaft graves, to quicklime burials. There are different instances of inhumation, cremation and a quick-lime hybrid which rests somewhere between the two. There are island-specific patterns, shared customs between the two islands, and practices entirely unique to single cemeteries. The spectrum is intense, and the following section hopes to expose some of these late burial practices, their complicated nature, and what this might say about the Talayotic culture up to and into the Roman period.

The Road to the End of the Talayotic: Burial Methods and Antecessors

Before discussing the rich landscape of funerary monuments, structures, and complexes, it is important to understand the precursors of the protohistoric period. One of the most notable structures of the ancient Balearic world, the funerary naveta, again primarily found on Menorca, was indeed a large-scale, monumental funerary enclosure that undoubtedly

impacted the surrounding landscape and successive generations of islanders. As these monuments date from the late bronze age, (Guerrero et al. 2006b; Pericot 1973), they represent a cultural manifestation passed down to the islanders in the period we are concerned with here, again representing close to a millennium of existence during the protohistoric period and undoubtedly centuries of disuse, reuse, or abandonment. Navetas, as intriguing as they are, will not be the focus of this section, though for future research, looking into the manner in which protohistoric peoples actually interacted with these monuments would most likely garner extremely fruitful results.

Alongside navetas, cave burials are extremely common on both islands, ranging from small natural caves, to larger, rock-cut cave complexes. These burials are always communal, as are essentially all burials in Talayotic culture into the Roman period. Cave burials come are constructed in many forms during the Late Talayotic: incorporated carved niches, cremation rituals, lime burials, wooden and stone coffins, as well as increasingly complex, carved ground plans. While cave burials will factor into the proceeding section, the focus here is primarily on the unique manifestations of funerary rites and rituals during the protohistoric period, particularly focusing on the necropoleis of Son Real on Mallorca, the complex cave burials of Menorca, the lime burials of Mallorca and Menorca, and the necropolis of Sa Carrotja on Mallorca, dealt with in roughly chronological sequence. While more common forms of cave burial are important for the study of the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods, especially with regard to continuing indigenous customs, they are nevertheless much less focused upon by archaeologists. In other words, the evidence for these simple cave burials after the Bronze Age is scant, owing to archaeological and academic emphases for the past century. The lines of evidence outlined above of uncommon burial practices provide better documented windows

into the protohistoric rites and rituals, particularly in the wake of and in response to extra-island pressures faced during these periods.

It should be noted that Talayotic funeral practices in navetas, caves, and even the precursor, the dolmen, were all inhumation and communal. Punic burial practices in Carthage were generally inhumation as well. Beginning in approximately the sixth century B.C.E., burials in places like Puig D'es Mollins on Ibiza and similar sites on Sardinia see the adoption of inhumation over cremation. Inhumation was a burgeoning, prevalent practice in Carthage during this period, representing a break from the cremation practices of the earlier Phoenicians. Some scholars have understood this as an increased association with Carthage as a dominant political force in the region, if not simply evidence of the integration with Punic culture (Van Dommelen 1998: 124). Yet it is precisely at the time of interaction with Phoenicians and subsequently Punic traders in the area that Mallorca and Menorca begin using cremation and quick lime burial techniques.

How then do Mallorcan and Menorcan burial practices reflect a broader Punic Ibizan or even Carthaginian influence? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand the extant knowledge we have of prehistoric burial customs on the two islands and what bearing these might have had on the unique cultural manifestations throughout the islands. Probably our only modern source of information on the burial customs of the Balearic Islanders stems from a small quote by Diodorus Siculus. He writes:

> "Peculiar also and altogether strange is their practice regarding the burial of the dead; for they dismember the body with wooden knives, and then they place the pieces in a jar and pile upon it a heap of stones," (*Library of History* V.18.2).

From Diodorus' statement above, it is clear that burial practices were at least seen as unorthodox on the islands based on accounts of the indigenous culture. Diodorus of course does

not specify which island he is referring to, which, as we have seen, is a deciding factor in understanding the indigenous cultures on the islands. The practice described above is not exactly simple inhumation either, but rather a ritual destruction of the body, potentially for ease of disposal. Evidence of these types of burials on Mallorca and Menorca is lacking, though the use of large ceramic jars for the inhumation of neo- or pre-natal children has been demonstrated in Mallorca.[83] In this respect, our evidence from literary sources is perhaps correct regarding one funerary practice, but over-simplifies what was an incredibly heterogeneous period for the island cultures. The following sections will attempt to disentangle some these practices to draw comparison amongst the islands, and with outside influences.

Son Real, S'Illot des Porros and the Construction of a Community

Son Real and S'Illot des Porros represent two very enigmatic sites for Balearic archaeology located relatively close to one another on the northern coast of Mallorca. Son Real represents an older cemetery, dating from the eight century B.C.E., but extending into the second century B.C.E. in three phases defined by Hernández-Gasch (1998). Located on the northern coast of Mallorca, Son Real is a unique, above-ground necropolis with many types of chamber tombs, ranging from circular to naviform to square. The site primarily utilized inhumation-type burial practices but later also used cremation. No other type of cemetery like Son Real exists anywhere on Mallorca or Menorca. The above-ground tombs take the form of squares, circles, naviform shapes and rectangles, reflecting architectural features such as houses, talayots and sanctuaries of the indigenous culture and heritage of the island.

As stated above, the site was occupied in three separate phases as defined by Nuría Tarradell and Jordi Hernández-Gasch in their excavations of the site in the 1960's (Tarradell

[83] For references to this practice, see Guerrero 1986; also Rosselló and Guerrero 1983 regarding the infant cemetery of Son Oms.

1964) and in the 1990's (Tarradell and Hernández-Gasch 1998). The first phase, comprising the eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E. was characterized by the construction of circular, naviform and square monumental tombs (Hernández-Gasch et al. 2005: 383). The cemetery was considered by these same researchers to be a place of prestige. The burials were still communal, though with only ten to twelve inhumations instead of dozens, as in other sites in both Mallorca and Menorca. The freestanding monumental forms differed greatly from other burial practices on Mallorca, which was primarily comprised of modest natural cave burials and modified hypogea. Yet it did not differ from architectural styles found throughout the island, namely in the circular, naviform and square form, all of which were attested during the Talayotic period in the form of houses and talayots themselves. The connection between the monuments and homes of Mallorca and Menorca are clear and have been touched on by others (Guerrero et al. 2006b; Hernández-Gasch and Sanmartí 1999; Hernández-Gasch et al. 2005). The inhumed individuals of this period were primarily male, though during the subsequent period between the fifth and fourth centuries C.E., this is no longer the case. As time went on, Phase II saw the population of the cemetery grow with similar types of tombs, but generally less megalithic in nature. This period dates to the fifth century B.C.E. The subsequent Phase III of Son Real dates between the fourth and second centuries B.C.E., but supposedly continuing in some capacity into the first century A.D. (Hernández et al. 2005: 384). This final phase includes tombs that are communal, less megalithic and generally square stone cavities. For a progression of these types see Figure 69.

Although this cemetery is unique in many respects, it perhaps is a good way of approaching cultural change in funerary practices during the Late Talayotic. As the above section states, the use of Son Real came on the cusp of the Talayotic and Late Talayotic periods. It is possible that the open air format of the tomb could be the result of contacts with the

Phoenician world, or even a reference to the megalithic Navetas of Menorca. Still, Son Real marks a significant change in burial practices at its outset. The graves began reproducing indigenous architectural forms such as talayots and domestic navetas, arguably a reference to the late Bronze and early Iron Ages on the islands. Although presented in a new format, these monuments were burials of prestige expressed in an indigenous architectural language. Over time, these burials become less megalithic in nature, incorporating smaller blocks and thinner construction. They also appear to become less elite, yet stay communal. By the final phase, they are thin rectangular tombs, not particularly reminiscent of older monuments and are indeed less elite with regard to funerary remains. Perhaps, through this trajectory, Son Real is displaying a gradual change from a highly indigenous and elite self-expression, to a less elite, more basic burial site, devoid of indigenous architecture and symbolism, save for communal burial styles. Yet these people still wanted to be buried near the great tombs of the past, again evoking a sense of memory and tradition despite an obvious shift in the manifestation of funerary practice.

Yet this transition may also be related to the use of the nearby cemetery, S'Illot des Porros in the later periods. S'Illot des Porros is a small off-shore island, located within 500 meters of Son Real. It has a later date of occupation between the sixth or fifth century B.C.E. and the Flavian period in the first century C.E. (Piga et al. 2010: 441). According to Guerrero et al. 2006b, stemming from Tarradell 1964, there were evidently tombs like those of Son Real on the island before the construction of these later chambers, signifying a degree of communal continuity and use with the nearby site of Son Real (2006b: 208). There are three burial chambers located on the island (see Figure 70). One is from the fourth century B.C.E. (Tomb C) and contains primarily inhumations with only select cases of cremation, while the other two were established much later in the third century B.C.E. (Tomb A) and the latter half of the

second century B.C.E. (Tomb B). Piga et al.'s 2010 article on the progression of inhumation vs. cremation remains is relevant here for understanding changing patterns of use. Tomb B sees almost exclusively inhumation burials, while Tomb A, which was used simultaneously, sees cremation burials in the second century B.C.E., followed by inhumations later on, first in the fetal position, then in supine position, a pattern similarly reflected in Tomb B (Piga et al. 2010: 441; Hernández-Gasch et al. 1998). In Tomb A, the excavators note scattered lime and sand deposits potentially differentiating burning episodes (Piga et al. 2010: 441).

These tombs have a distinct circular shape in a freestanding structure, but much larger than the one to three meter openings of Son Real tombs, at approximately six to seven meters in diameter. These structures are much more reminiscent of miniature Menorcan houses than any previous monument on the islands. They remain entirely unique, not simply for Mallorca, but for the Balearics in general. Although one could make a connection with complex hypogea of Menorca, pointing to the ground plan, construction technique and columns of the tombs, one could also make a connection to Mallorcan sanctuaries (Guerrero et al 2006b: 203). Indeed a Mallorcan sanctuary is located nearby, named Sa Punta des Patró, that excavators have likened to Menorcan influence or inspiration, based on the U-shaped ground plan of the structure and its late date, citing material remains that point to a use of the sanctuary from the last quarter of the second century B.C.E. into the Roman period (Hernández-Gasch 2011b: 388). Essentially, there is no simple answer, as it seems this site is imbued with a degree of complexity and idiosyncrasy that prevents comparison.

While the collective burial custom is characteristic of the island, as well as both inhumation and cremation during this period, it is nevertheless intriguing that such a unique architectural form is adopted and utilized well into the Roman period. Perhaps this is a case of

indigenous persistence, or even Menorcan influence, as the coast faces Menorca directly and it is far enough away from the Roman site of Pollentia that perhaps the rituals could be maintained beyond conquest. In the end, it may represent a persistent community that differentiated itself early on and then continued to bury their dead and worship in a fashion that might have been alien to other communities on Mallorca. The persistence of S'Illot des Porros could then be seen as proof of an indigenous persistence and cultural tenacity on Mallorca extending well into the Roman period. As we will see with the site of Sa Carrotja, this does not seem to happen in other places on the island, and in fact the site of Sa Carrotja presents a fairly straightforward understanding of an indigenous community integrated into foreign burial practices.

Cave Burials on Menorca

Complex cave burials, incorporating multiple tomb chambers, are a particularly common phenomenon on Menorca during the Late Talayotic. Although evidence exists of some similar types of burials on Mallorca (Micó 2006: 429), they are not nearly as common on Mallorca, nor do they represent a distinct cultural and temporal phenomenon as they do on Menorca. For these reasons, the purpose of this section is to focus on some of the larger-scale sites that exist on Menorca, particularly Cales Coves and Cala Morell, to discuss cave burials in the context of this transitional protohistoric period. Both of the sites mentioned here are coastal, and as their names suggest, they overlook a cove. Both Cala Morell and Cales Coves are protected coves, Cala Morell on the northwest coast of Menorca and Cales Coves on the south-central coast. Although many other sites exist on Menorca, these sites were chosen simply because of their publications and documentation, as they represent some of the best known and best studied cave burials on Menorca.

Why do these cave burials matter? The cave burials on Menorca represent a cultural manifestation of the Talayotic people as an expression of group identity and reverence. Caves have been in use on the islands for millennia, with some of the oldest artifacts from both islands found in sometimes precarious, cliff-side cave systems. The Cova des Mussol complex of western Menorca exhibits incredible preservation, highlighting indigenous customs used for burial practices involving the cutting of the deceased's hair and the deposition of intricately carved wooden figurines (Micó 2005b). Cova des Mussol represents only the best preserved example, as other cave burial and sanctuary areas of similar importance surely existed, but are now lost. Partial cave dwellings are also well known from such sites as Talatí de Dalt and Torre d'en Galmés on the island, often with external modifications, but generally dating to the Talayotic period. Of course, Diodorus Siculus famously depicted the Talayotic peoples as cave-dwellers in his work, potentially describing funerary caves encountered at places like Cales Coves, Cala Morell, and other sites up and down the coast of Menorca and indeed caves from Mallorca. Cave use is both a longstanding tradition on the islands as well as an overly emphasized historical detail, as Diodorus's descriptions in many ways curb a holistic understanding of these places.

Turning to the archaeological evidence, Cales Coves is the most straightforward of the two case studies in this section, as it is one of the most famous and most studied areas on Menorca. The site has been excavated numerous times with large-scale, systematic excavations carried out in the 1960's and 70's, with further campaigns carried out through the present day. The primary publication of the Cales Coves complex is Veny's 1982 tome, describing in vast detail the various archaeological traces of the site. This work was followed by numerous publications in the 1990's and 2000's of more recent analysis and excavations (Gornés 1994; Gornés 1996; Gornés and Gual 2000; Gornés et al. 2006; Micó 2005a; 2006). Cales Coves is a

cave complex with 84 individual tombs comprising man-made and natural cave formations, with occupations ranging from the early Talayotic period to the Roman period, though the end of occupation of this area is rarely approached and thus a bit unclear (Gornés 1996: 93; Veny 1982). The site also served as an anchorage point, with evidence of trade and ship activity dating from the fourth century B.C.E. into the Roman period, which will be further discussed in Chapter 6 (Belén and Fernandéz-Miranda 1979). Evidence of Roman occupation, particularly in the form of an anchorage point, less so a necropolis, comes in the form of a well-known dedicatory inscription located near the shore of the northeastern branch of the cove (Figure 71).

Although used since the end of the second millennium B.C.E., the cave site experienced an important shift during the later prehistory of Menorca, namely from the sixth century on. According to Gornés, the tomb sizes expand greatly during the period between the sixth century and the fourth century B.C.E., resulting in multi-chamber cave tombs, increasingly complicated floor plans, larger burials, and more elaborate grave goods (1996: 99-101). Gornés gives the statistic that before the sixth century B.C.E., the average tomb took approximately 29 working days to complete, according to his calculations, whereas after the sixth century, this number soars to between 198 and 266 working days (1996: 100). Gornés sees this as an obvious indication that there are growing inequities of wealth and social stratification occurring in the Talayotic populations during this time period. Because the period from the sixth to fourth century represents the growing florescence of this funerary culture, Gornés associates these growing inequities to trade with Ibiza and the growing Punic influence (1996: 101).

These assertions emerge from the results of systematic excavations that took place of Tomb XXI at Cales Coves during the early 1990's by Gornés and a team from the Universitat de les Illes Baleares (Gornés 1994; Gornés and Gual 2000; Gornés et al. 2006). The tomb is a multi-

chamber man-made cave, approximately 63 square meters in floor plan, which ranks as a comparatively modest tomb, though in keeping with the larger tombs of the Talayotic period before the sixth century (Gornés et al. 2006: 168).[84] The tomb contained the remains of 186 individuals of all ages and sexes deposited over the course of the end of the ninth through the fourth centuries B.C.E. (Gornés et al. 2006: 169). Tomb XXI is probably our best known and best excavated tomb from Cales Coves despite being looted numerous times, complete with radiocarbon dates placing the tomb's range between the ninth and fourth centuries B.C.E. (Micó 2005a: 76-79). As time goes by in the use of the tomb, the grave goods become more elaborate and evoke a sense of increasing wealth from abroad.[85] Gornés and his numerous co-authors see this as a relatively straight-forward process that is heightened by the cove's use as an anchorage, starting at least in the fourth century B.C.E. What is important about tomb XXI is the carved-out column in the tomb chamber. Dating to the late fourth century, the column is a very early example of this type of architectural feature found in an artificial cave. The excavators have suggested that there may be some connection with the column as a symbol of the megalithic structures abundant throughout Menorca, as a sort of sacred reference (Gornés et al. 2006).

Although the discussion of the column above seems a digression, it is important for understanding the continuity of tradition and the later manifestations of cave burials in Cales Coves. According to Gornés' statistical analyses, not only do the tombs of Cales Coves get larger after the sixth century, they also become more complex and more ornate (1996: 94). Entrances to the artificial caves become rectangular, develop stairs, exhibit more internal columns of a circular and eventual square nature, and finally develop classical pilasters framing the tombs'

[84] Tomb sizes can range from under 10 square meters to over 200 according to calculations by Gornés (1996).
[85] For examples of the grave goods, see Gornés et al. 2006.

entrances (Gornés 1996: 99-101). For an example of this type of tomb from Cala Morell, see Figures 72-74. In general, the larger the tomb, the more likely it is to have these orthogonal and classical elements. Nevertheless, burials were still communal and in keeping with Talayotic traditions of burial goods, despite the influx of new prestige items.

It is clear that the caves represent a hybrid custom, incorporating foreign architectural elements and indigenous customs. In the case of Cales Coves, the site was very visible to incoming traders seeking anchorage at the protected cove. Perhaps the pilaster and orthogonal facades were a show of a global sensibility or integration, despite housing a very indigenous and ancient tradition of communal cave burials. In fact, the appearance of the facades at Cales Coves might be a reason why ancient authors such as Strabo describe the Talayotic people as cave-dwellers, as these facades look very much like entrances to homes in the Greco-Roman world. The burials were still part of a trajectory of indigenous custom despite their increasingly classical appearance, and evidence from nearby indigenous dwelling sites like Torre d'en Galmés, suggest that other aspects of indigenous architecture, such as ritual or domestic spaces, were not impacted by orthogonal types or classical styles. In fact, as I discussed in Chapter 3, one could even argue the opposite in the case of domestic architecture, as it continues to recall an indigenous, circular style into the Roman period on Menorca.

Cales Coves is not the only site on Menorca with these increasingly complicated rock-cut, chamber tombs. In fact, Cala Morell, Forma Nou, Sant Joan de Missa, and Sa Regana des Cans all have these complex hypogea with associated radiocarbon dates (Micó 2006: 429). Before moving on, however, I would like to focus on Cala Morell. Unlike Cales Coves, Cala Morell exhibits a chronological sequence that extends into the first century B.C.E. based on radiocarbon dates (Micó 2005a: 71). As mentioned before, it is assumed that Cales Coves was used into the

Roman period based on evidence regarding imported burial goods, but without radiocarbon dates. Generally speaking, this period is not discussed as thoroughly as the previous period of Punic interaction from the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E. For that delicate time period, we must look at Cala Morell.[86] According to Gustau Juan, the necropolis of Cala Morell has had occupational episodes from early prehistory into the second century C.E. (1996: 829). What is of particular interest is the cave tombs 9 and 10 of that site. These two burials represent some of the best dated evidence we have from these cave sites, placing them directly in the Roman period. Tomb 10 has one radiocarbon date associated with it from the late second to early first century C.E., based on excavations carried on in the early 1990's by Gustau Juan and Lluis Plantalamor in association with the Museu de Menorca. Both tomb 9 and tomb 10 have the rectangular features, evidence of pilasters, stylized windows, and multi-chamber interiors with columns as seen at Cales Coves (see Figures 73 and 74; Juan 1996; 1999; Juan and Plantalamor 1996). As with Tomb 10, Tomb 9 was also excavated in the early 1990's on the same project, and in both cases, although there is only one radiocarbon date, there is evidence of funerary remains dating to the second century C.E., namely African Red-Slip ware (Juan 1996: 833). It is clear that the collective burials within Menorcan hypogea continued well into the Roman period, despite being modified over the course of the second half of the first millennium B.C.E.

Lime Burials on Mallorca and Menorca

Lime burials are a strange phenomenon during the protohistoric period, specifically in Mallorca. These burials have been the focus of few studies on the islands.[87] While publications exist for the lime burial evidence before the 1970's, we can start this discussion with Stuiver and Waldren's 1975 article discussing Carbon 14 samples taken of lime burials from Mallorca,

[86] For further detail on the site, see Plantalamor et al. 1989.
[87] With exceptions by William Waldren, Minzer Stuiver (Waldren and Tuiver 1975), and Mark Van Strydonck (Van Strydonck et al. 2013).

specifically from the site of Son Matge. This article is short, only amounting to just two pages, but it nevertheless represents one of the first Anglophone forays into these enigmatic phenomena. Waldren and Stuiver place the general date range of these quicklime burials to approximately 600-100 B.C.E. based on radiocarbon dates taken from Son Matge and comparative examples (1975: 475). Unfortunately, as we will see, this date range has been recently challenged (Van Strydonck et al. 2013). Waldren and Stuiver specifically mention that not only were these burial customs entirely unique for the Mediterranean, they were also most likely caused by interaction with Punic and Phoenician traders and their practices of quicklime production (1975: 475). In other words, the technology for quicklime production was given to the people of the Balearics, and they in turn used the methodology for a new, unique purpose. This is an important assertion for understanding indigenous reactions to the incoming influences of Phoenician and Punic trade networks, as these burials represent a particularly indigenous burial custom stemming from a borrowed technology during a particularly intense period of cross-cultural interaction.

Yet where the Waldren and Stuiver article falls short is in the actual description of what these customs were and how they manifested themselves in the archaeology itself. In subsequent works regarding the quicklime burial process, Waldren produced a series of articles with Mark Van Strydonck describing the enigmatic character of the quicklime burials, supported by radiocarbon dates and osteological evidence (Van Strydonck and Waldren 1990; 1995; Waldren and Van Strydonck 1995). Despite these articles the nature of the quicklime burials remains relatively enigmatic. As one recent article points out, there are some correlates with the quicklime burial practices in Northwestern Europe that are relatively contemporary (Van Strydonck et al. 2013: 1). Still, Northwestern Europe and the Balearic Islands are very far apart, hinting at coincidental cultural developments.

On Mallorca and Menorca there are many known sites that contain these quicklime burials, all located within cave or rock shelters. Some of these include: Son Matge (Mallorca), Muertos Gallard (Mallorca), Son Maimó (Mallorca), Son Boronat (Mallorca), Cova de Na Dent (Mallorca), Son Barçá (Mallorca), Punta de S'Escullar (Mallorca), Binigaus (Menorca), and Sant Joan de Misa (Menorca). As can be seen in the Figure 75, the sites that actually exhibit this phenomenon are not located close to one another in Mallorca but are concentrated in the southern portion of Menorca. The quicklime burial processes are all relatively consistent, including the smashing of associated ceramics and destruction of metal tools associated with the grave (De Mulder et al. 2014; Van Strydonck et al. 2013: 1).

The chronology of these burials has recently been contested by new materials excavated at Cova de Na Dent (Mallorca), located again on the Eastern coast of Mallorca. According to Van Strydonk et al. (2013) the chronological sequence of the various lime burials discovered in some ways do not correspond to chronological expectations put forth as early as 1975 by William Waldren. According to Van Strydonck et al., the human remains of the lime burials exhibit AMS dates that correspond to the early first millennium B.C.E., firmly before the protohistoric period, as was suggested by Waldren in 1975. Although this is just one study, and these dates could be outliers or disproven in future years, it is possible that the origins of these quick lime burial practices are perhaps not a result of Punic interaction but reflect a longer tradition in Talayotic funerary culture. By predating intensive interactions with Punic settlers, the quicklime burials appear to be a potentially auctothonous invention, or some sort of byproduct of interactions with the mainland. Nevertheless, they do indeed persist into the first century C.E., well into Roman times, according to the same AMS dates, and the practice is exhibited throughout the protohistoric period. In this way, the burials remain important for understanding Balearic funerary customs specifically during the protohistoric period, as the

persistence of the ritual could be attributed to a broader tenacity with regard to indigenous traditions or even identity. Of course, evidence of Roman pottery in and around the graves themselves potentially also represents an appropriation of Roman material culture into a distinctly indigenous practice (Van Strydonck et al. 2014: 7).

Along with the chronology of the burial practices, the exact nature of the burial itself has also recently come into question. According to Waldren and Stuiver 1975, the burials represent inhumation in quicklime, which then decomposes or rather quickly destroys the body itself. According to a recent article by Van Strydonck et al. (2013), it appears that osteological evidence points to the cremation of the body before internment, except in select few cases, notably an example displayed in Waldren's DAMARC museum in Deia, as well as an example from Son Barçá (Van Strydonck et al. 2013: 7). Quicklime, according to Van Strydonck and others[88] would actually preserve the body to a large degree, whereas pre-burial cremation would obliterate the body, leaving the remains in a condition similar to what has been observed at rock shelters on Mallorca and Menorca.

The implications for this are two-fold. For one, the assertion that Waldren and Stuiver made in 1975 that the quicklime burials represent the adoption of inhumation rites, potentially associated with Punic involvement is immediately called into question. There does not seem to be any easy association in this regard. This is compounded by the fact that these types of burials, quicklime with smashed or damaged artifacts incorporated into a matrix of previously cremated remains, is not evocative of any other ritual on the islands, or any comparable source on the immediate mainland of the Mediterranean. The only association that can be made is the tenuous assertion that cremation is used primarily in these rituals, not reflecting Punic

[88] For an example of this see Schotsmans et al. 2011.

influence. Nevertheless, as has been noted above, both inhumation and cremation rituals are attested for Balearic prehistory, both during the Talayotic and Pre-Talayotic periods, as well as afterward in the protohistoric or Late Talayotic period. Such a basic dichotomy of cremation vs. inhumation as any sort of indicator for external influence seems to fall flat in the Balearics during this period, leaving the archaeologist to wonder how much influence can really be traced, except in extremely local environments as in the case of Sa Carrotja.

The quicklime burials, however, still represent a significant force in the burial customs of the Late Talayotic peoples during the protohistoric period and continue into the historic, Roman period. The attribution to an early origin of the ritual, as put forth in Van Strydonck et al. 2014, only serves to emphasize the auctothonous nature of the ritual, and not a direct association with the Punic culture. The ritual's persistence into as late as the first century C.E. is also a testament to indigenous identity and the longevity of particular customs. The geographic distribution of these sites also represents concentrations that are not quite recognizable, but span both islands, potentially indicating heavy interactions or even cultural ties between the two islands at these particular localities. The ritual's presence during the protohistoric period is also a testament to a shifting world of indigenous space, as many of these sites represent areas far from the centers of trade and interaction spurred by Punic and Roman interactions. In Figure 75, one can see the spatial layout of these sites as opposed to Punic and Roman settlement sites located on the island. Could these sites and areas represent pockets of indigenous cultural continuity, or clans consciously resisting external cultural forces? The presence on both islands represents one of the only distinguishable ritual practices evidenced on both islands during this period, and one of the only connections that these otherwise very different two islands had during this period. Nevertheless, it does not represent the last iteration of indigenous custom.

Sa Carrotja and Late Iron Age Burials on Mallorca

Mallorca provides a highly variable landscape for the production and proliferation of funerary monuments and customs. Sa Carrotja is indeed another exception, being neither the setting for lime burials as was discussed in the previous section, nor is it the same type of freestanding burial chambers, evoking Punic influences, as was discussed with Son Real. Sa Carrotja is located in the Ses Salines area in southeast Mallorca and was the subject of Margarita Orfila's 1988 BAR publication, *La Necrópolis de Sa Carotja y la romanización de la isla de Mallorca*. From the title of this work, it is obvious that Orfila is approaching the cemetery as a very specific and important element to understanding the Romanization of Mallorca. This publication is also important as it represents one of the only publications of Mallorcan funerary practices with explicit reference to processes of Romanization beyond general overviews or accounts of inscriptions. Her work represents some of the latest temporal analyses of even nominally talayotic funerary customs. Because of the specificity of her work on this subject, Orfila's BAR volume, which is in turn a reproduction of her own dissertation, will be recounted in this section with reference to a few more modern works. Before continuing, it should also be noted that her 1988 volume is only in part devoted to funerary customs and the necropolis of Sa Carrotja. In fact, much of the work delves into settlement patterns and the rural landscape of the Ses Salines area of southeastern Mallorca, which has been referenced in Chapter 3.

Sa Carrotja is important for this discussion for a number of reasons. First, it is an open-air necropolis, not unlike Son Real. This type of burial is unique for Balearic Islands, and does not represent an indigenous cultural manifestation, at least according to Orfila (1988: 129). Secondly, Sa Carrotja was in operation as a cemetery roughly from the third century B.C.E. until the sixth century C.E. (Orfila 1988: 130). According to Orfila's evidence, the most active period of use for the cemetery was between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. (1988: 132).

Thirdly, Sa Carrotja has no primary settlement associated with it, Punic, Roman or Indigenous. Collective cave burials were still in operation in the surrounding area during the early part of the cemetery's use, and the nearby tiny site of Na Guardis, although relatively close, was by the third and second centuries C.E., near abandonment (Guerrero et al. 2007a: 80; Orfila 1988: 129). In fact, Orfila argues against an earlier chronology suggested by Guerrero (1985), which claims a late fifth to early fourth century B.C.E. beginning for the cemetery, based on an Eb 12 (Ebusitano Punic) vessel found at the site (Orfila 1988: 130). Such a chronology would put the cemetery nicely in line with that of Na Guardis, Es Trenc, and Punic forays into trade establishments on the southern coast of Menorca. But the later chronology casts doubt on any direct, Punic use or even cultural influence, and the potential use of the cemetery in the second and first centuries B.C.E. is odd. Orfila mentions, however, that the highest concentration of material correlates to the latter half of the first century B.C.E. into the first century C.E. (1988: 131).

Beyond the chronological concentration at the end of our period in question, the manner in which many of these burials are produced is intriguing. As stated above, the cemetery was an open air cemetery which was primarily comprised of ceramic urn burials, simple inhumations, and stone box burials. Orfila also points toward potential Semitic, Roman and Iberian parallels for urn burials and different body preparation methods (1988: 42-47). The stone box-graves appear around the third to second centuries B.C.E. on Mallorca in large numbers, used for infants and adults, usually within cave necropoleis. According to Orfila and others (Almagro 1982), these stone box graves represent a moment of assimilation and a potential indication of indigenous acceptance of external funerary rites, adopted to their own needs (Orfila 1988: 52). Parallels for them are noted by Orfila in Mozia, Sicily, but dating to the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.E. Of course, this is quite a temporal gap, though Orfila also gives comparanda from Punic North Africa dating from the third century B.C.E. (1988: 52).

Again, these boxes emerge just before Roman conquest, and although one could argue for Punic involvement or influence, the body preparation methods seems to disrupt this notion as well. There does not seem to be any practice for the body, as both inhumation and cremation are used, specifically at Sa Carrotja itself. Orfila confesses that there is no way of knowing if both processes were used simultaneously (1988: 129), and the presence of both inhumation and cremation in previous, Talayotic burial customs is attested for both Mallorca and Menorca, alongside the quick-lime burials as well. Perhaps then, Punic influence was only partially adopted by the indigenous populations in the area, as evidenced by the lack of ubiquity of body preparation, as opposed to the dominantly inhumation process (save for infant burials) of Carthage at this time. The lack of a nearby colonial site points to potential indigenous adoption of such techniques and customs.

Orfila does not give statistics of the precise amount of exhumed burials, nor does she outright claim any specific cultural connections to particular graves. She does, however, provide us with a remarkable study of associated decorated stone sepulchers. Many of these hold inscriptions that were collected in the 18th and 19th centuries, but still grant us some information about Sa Carrotja. Of the 46 attested examples, all dating to after Roman conquest, 11 of the associated inscriptions have seemingly indigenous names, as opposed to Roman names. Of these 11, three can be dated to the first century C.E., meaning the survival of potentially indigenous personal names into the second century C.E., despite being presented in Roman form. One example dating to the second century C.E. that combines Latin and Indoeuropean names says:

> ANNIA. ASI(tio)
> Anno XIII
> OCRATIA
> SIGENIA

ANNIS. XVI
DVLCISSIMAE
FUISTIS. VALE(te) (Orfila 1988: 66; CIL II n. 3671)

The above epitaph is described by Orfila as having both Latin words and two potentially indigenous names, ASITIO and SIGENIA (Orfila 1988: 83). With such a late date, this inscription represents both a shift to Roman customs, as well as some indication of the persistence of indigenous identity, if only in given names.

Sa Carrotja represents a transition in funerary remains and customs, in many ways signaling the end of indigenous customs. Through the evidence of use throughout Mallorca of the stone box-grave starting in the third century B.C.E. before any formal colonization, as well as the tradition of variable body preparation techniques and onomastic evidence it seems that that indigenous people on Mallorca were utilizing these types of graves. Sa Carrotja represents one of the first cemeteries where people are buried individually, along with Llucmajor (Orfila 1988: 53). It is possible that this area was more heavily influenced by foreign entities because of salt flat mining that potentially took place in the surrounding region, spurred by Punic and Roman interest. Nevertheless, the evidence for an associated settlement is still lacking. If anything, the most logical explanation is that the indigenous inhabitants adopted this method of burying the dead, most likely still inhabiting their traditional villages. Still, at this point in time it becomes increasingly difficult to separate indigenous from non-indigenous customs, as the practice of individual inhumation, sepulcher construction, and stone box-burial really represents a complete break from previous customs, with only the slight evidence of Indoeuropean names to point toward any indication of indigeneity.

Funerary Remains and Late Talayotic Expressions of Community

Funerary remains, perhaps more so than any other line of evidence, best reflect the changing dynamics of indigenous culture in the Late Talayotic. External influences can be observed along with decisions to both consolidate and elaborate on previous rituals. Although there were distinctions between Mallorcan and Menorcan funerary rituals even in the Talayotic period, particularly with the appearance of the funerary naveta on Menorca, the Late Talayotic saw both some similarities in the realm of lime burials, but also increasing differences as increasingly complex hypogea began dotting the landscape of Menorca while open-air cemeteries and individual graves start appearing on Mallorca. The relationship between interment, cremation, and the odd mix of lime burials with external influences is complicated, as both techniques were used despite a trend toward inhumation in the Punic world. Lime burials could even be a traditional indigenous practice, potentially influenced by Phoenician lime-production technology and cremation practices, but inherently a local form of body preparation for which parallels are lacking in the Western Mediterranean. It also persists well into the Late Talayotic and the Roman period.

Mallorca sees a mixed palette of funerary rites and rituals. Although only the most elaborate and peculiar are described here, these strange practices should be understood as both self-referential, indigenous customs, as well as an integration of other external influences. Son Real presents an open air necropolis not previously seen in the Balearics, yet the tombs themselves are still collective and are initially created to reflect Talayotic monuments and houses. Over time, they become more square yet remain communal. S'Illot des Porros sees a continued use of the area immediately surrounding Son Real with communal burials of similar forms. One can see a trajectory of increased integration and hybridization of an indigenous custom. On the other end of the spectrum, Sa Carrotja presents the end of recognizably

indigenous burials, with individual graves, stone or wooden boxes to be buried in, and gravestones. Yet the last vestiges remain with the names of the people themselves, reflecting potentially indigenous inhabitants incorporating this new form of funerary ritual.

While Mallorca sees this general trajectory of increased external influence, Menorca seems to create hyper-traditional necropoleis, expanding and elaborating on previous customs to create complex hypogea throughout the island. These burials remain communal, but over time do take on some classical elements such as outer pilasters and fashioned columns. Eventually they too begin incorporating wooden sarcophagi, but remain somewhat traditional in form. Although a degree of cultural appropriation or perhaps hybridization is evident here, the populations of Menorca appear to have been elaborating on and referencing their own traditions throughout the island as a sort of cementation of tradition in the face of increased external influence. Although only two case studies are mentioned here, there are literally hundreds of these tombs throughout Menorca, and although some differences exist in chamber size, number and the columns being used, they are relatively homogeneous. Although one could argue that the elites of Son Real were creating a community identity with their self-referential tombs, Menorcan cave complexes are so common and dispersed throughout the island, not to mention used through the Roman period, that the complex hypogea seem to be much more an island-wide cohesion of tradition and a self-conscious expression of community therein. In this manner, given these necropoleis' prominent positions overlooking major ports, perhaps they were indeed a self-conscious expression of identity, community and indigeneity to all those who passed by.

Conclusions: The Inherited and Created Landscapes as Expressions of Indigeneity

In the previous two sections, I have presented the tip of the iceberg for funerary and ritual practices on Mallorca and Menorca. To describe all of these practices, even just for the Late Talayotic period, would necessitate an entire dissertation. But in the examples I have chosen here, I have attempted to highlight some of the key sites and characteristics that make the Late Talayotic unique, both in the manner in which these monuments and funerary structures reference past practices and incorporate new characteristics from the Phoenician, Punic and Roman worlds. Through these lines of evidence, patterns have emerged. For one, memory is a powerful tool in the Late Talayotic on both islands, as talayots are perhaps not used in the same capacity, but the towns around them remain inhabited and are even reoccupied during this period. Connections to a memory of tradition and island culture can be seen not only with the talayot, but also in the burials of Son Real, the cave burials of Menorca, the cultic practices of both Mallorcan sanctuaries and Menorcan taula precincts, and arguably in the lime burials so characteristic of this period.

Although memory and self-referenced traits are common throughout this period, another pattern emerges. Through a more detailed analysis of taula precincts and Menorcan complex hypogea, it appears that Menorcan practices reflect an increased emphasis on previous Talayotic culture, molded into a specifically Menorcan culture, removed from Mallorcan sanctuaries and other burial processes through a hyperactive monumentalization of megalithic taulas and the increasing complexity of ornate hypogea. In my opinion, these differences are enough to point to a culture looking to identify itself as a distinctive island community in the wake of increased interaction with Phoenician, Punic, Greek and Roman contacts, but also from Mallorca itself and the unfolding scenario of that island. The sometimes remarkably late dates of

occupation for taula sanctuaries and complex hypogea attest to the longevity of such a self-identification, lasting well into the Roman period.

Mallorcan evidence is in many ways similar upon first glance to Menorcan sites and processes. Upon careful analysis, however, correlates begin to break down. For instance, Mallorcan sanctuaries, although similar in function to Menorcan taula precincts, may at first look like a direct correlate, but embody certain, inherent differences that give these structures perhaps a different meaning to the society. Although ritual feasting is maintained, the lack of monumentalization to the same degree as seen throughout Menorca is an obvious difference, as some larger sanctuaries exist, as in the case of Son Oms or Son Mas, yet many of these structures in ground plan look like contemporary houses. The appearance of anthropomorphic figurines in the form of warriors, and the increased use of metals and imported goods as well as the incorporation of imitation wares point to a ritual setting that has changed as the result of cultural interchange with the Punic world. The progression in funerary sites offers a similar trajectory, as Mallorcan sites begin incorporating various Punic and then Roman elements, resulting in the cemetery of Sa Carrotja, in which some graves can barely be distinguished as indigenous. Mallorcan evidence is much more scattered than the relative homogeneity of Menorcan evidence, with select cemeteries and ritual sites offering entirely different impressions of indigenous culture and the extent to which interaction has affected these traditions. It seems that this heterogeneity is symptomatic of a culture in flux, morphing into a hybrid rendition of itself, with pockets of increased idiosyncrasy and alternatively integration of external influences. Although eventually external influences take over in the Augustan period, it is clear that Mallorca presents us with a landscape of change that is at once foreign, traditional, and hybrid, ultimately reflecting a fractured landscape of different communities adjusting to life in the Late Talayotic period.

Chapter 5 Images and Tables

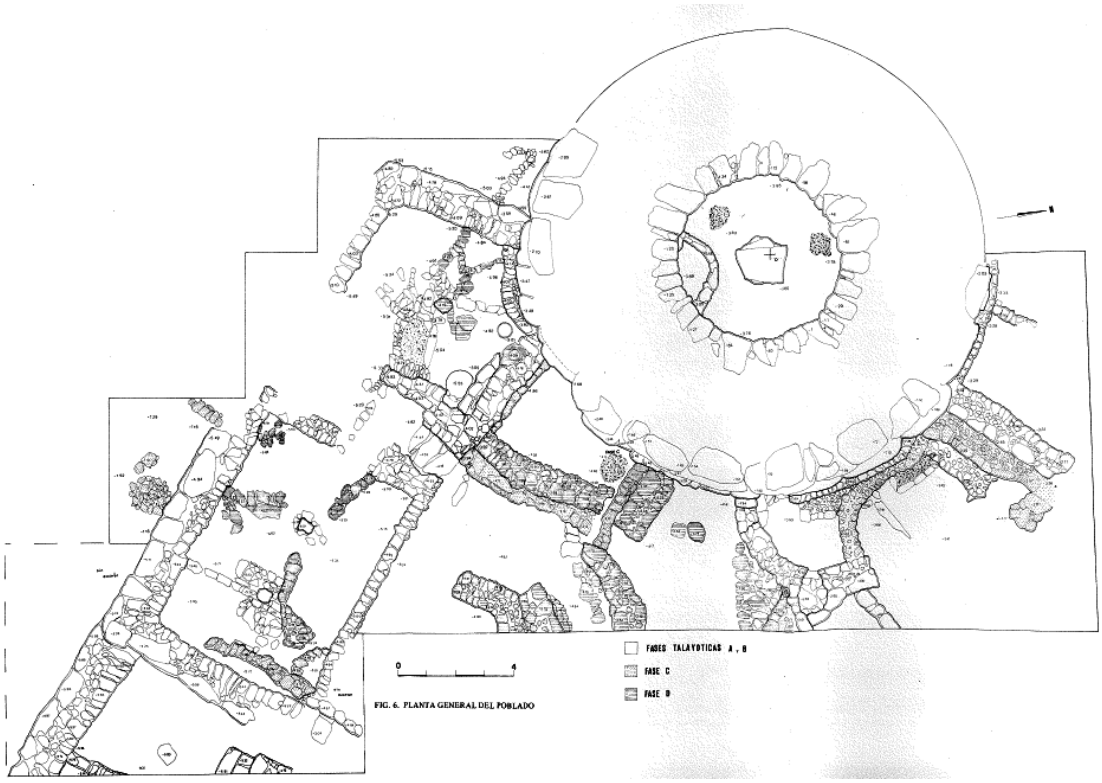


Figure 59: View of Son Fornés from Gasull et al.'s (1984: 13) publication. Phase C and D represent the two occupational episodes lasting roughly from the sixth century to the third century B.C.E. (C) and from the third century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. (D).

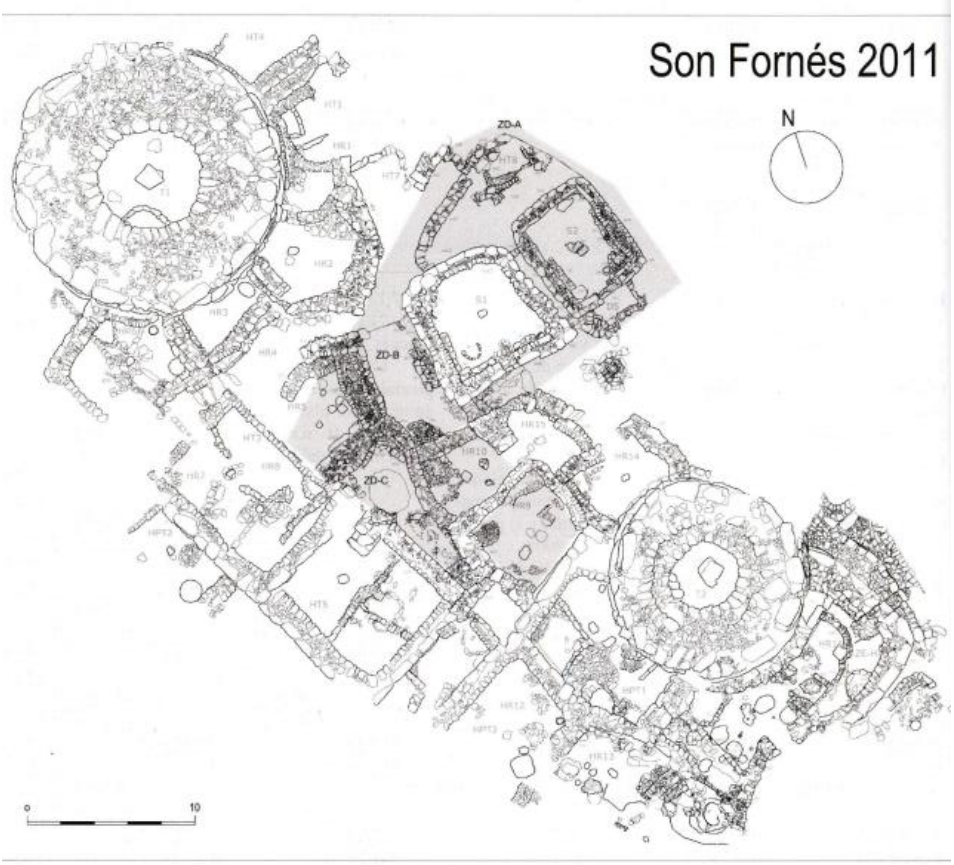


Figure 60: View of Son Fornés (Amengual et al. 2014: 102) (the third most recently excavated talayot is not included).

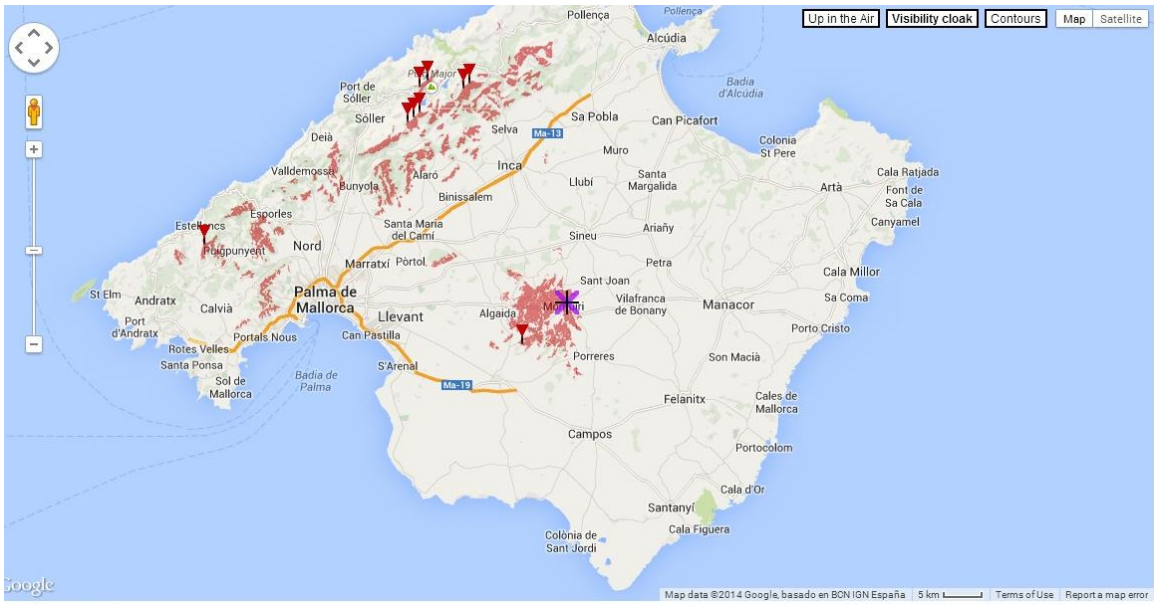


Figure 61: Viewshed of Son Fornés, with vantage point located at maximum elevation within 100 feet of the site and the height of observer offset by 5 feet. The pins indicate isolated, observable peaks. (Source: heywhatsthat.com)

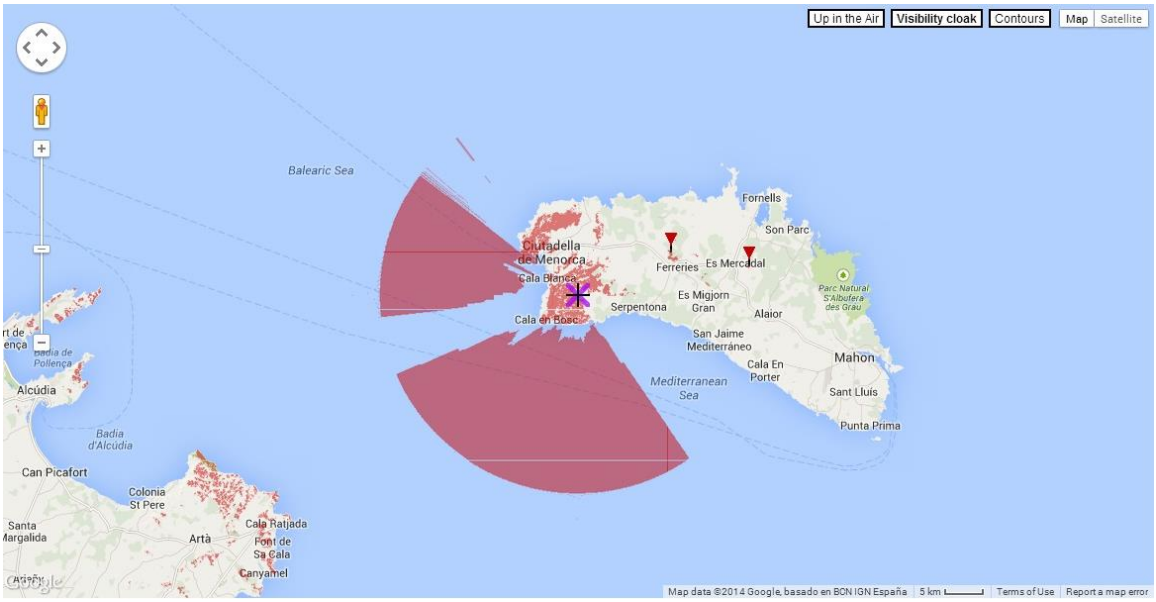


Figure 62: Viewshed of Son Catlar, with vantage point located at maximum elevation within 100 feet of the site and the height of observer offset by 5 feet. The pins indicate isolated, observable peaks. (Source: heywhatsthat.com)

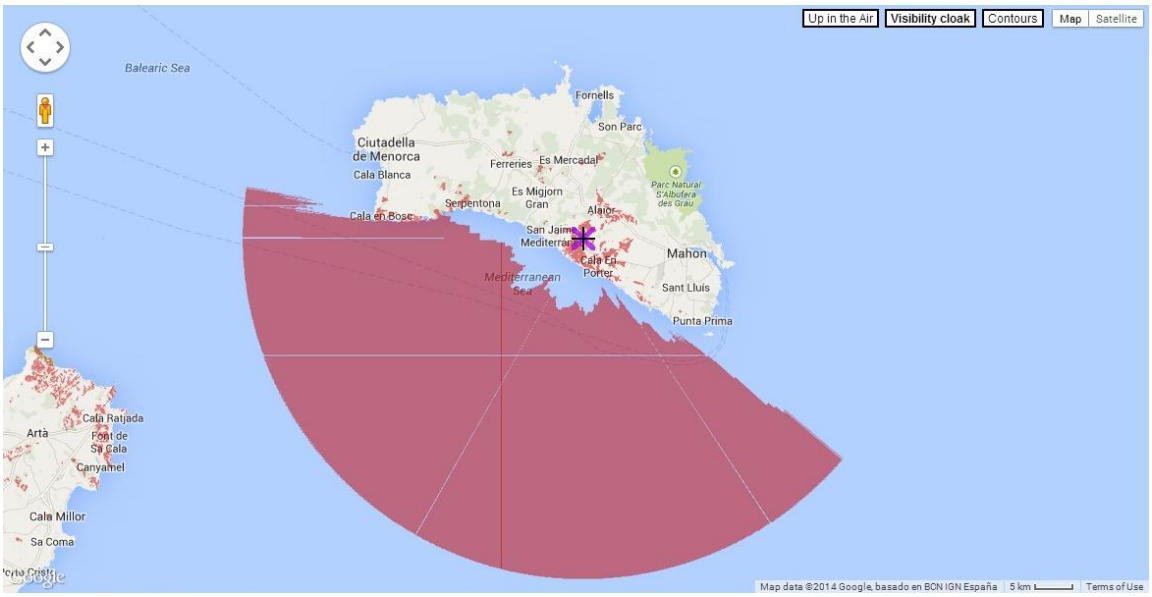


Figure 63: Viewshed of Torre d'en Galmés, with vantage point located at maximum elevation within 100 feet of the site and the height of observer offset by 5 feet. (Source: heywhatsthat.com)

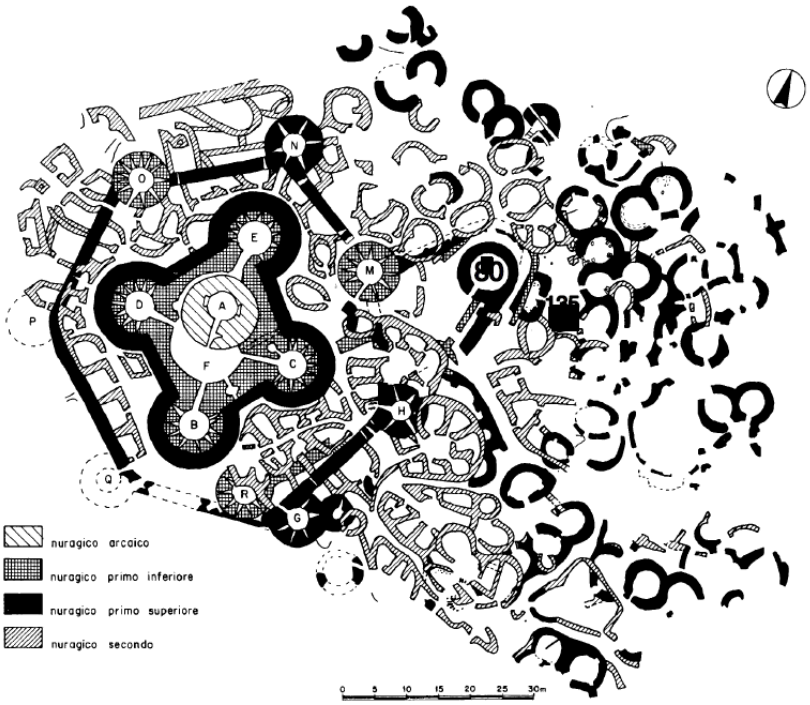


Figure 64: Barumini in West Central Sardinia, taken from Van Dommelen 1998: 77 (after Lilliu and Zucca 1988, Figure 29). The image below represents the phasing of Barumini, particularly the later, Iron Age structures that emerged surrounding the Nurage, labeled "nuragico – secondo."

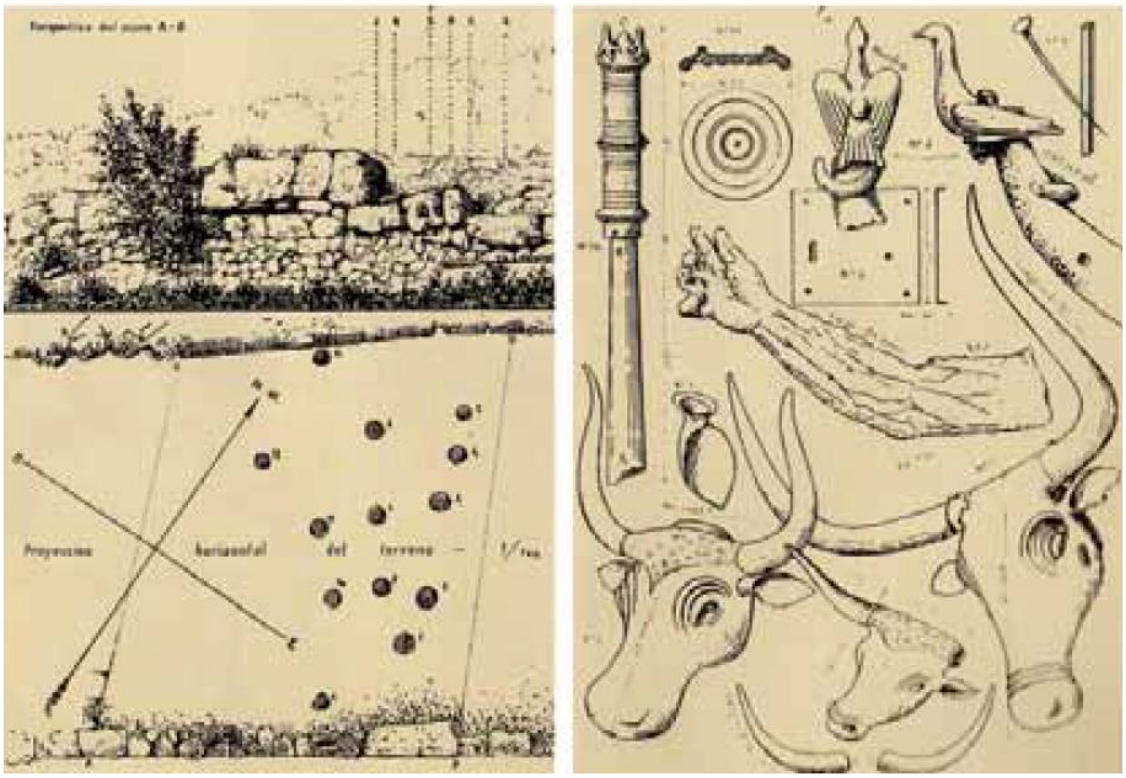


Figure 65: Plan of the sanctuary of Son Corró (central-western Mallorca), including some associated finds, taken from Guerrero et al. 2006: 150 after drawings by B. Ferrá. Son Corró, despite its amazing finds, remains an enigmatic archaeological site and one that is little documented. Today the site can be seen in the landscape used as a sheep pen. These images represent some of our only records of one of the richest sanctuaries on Mallorca.

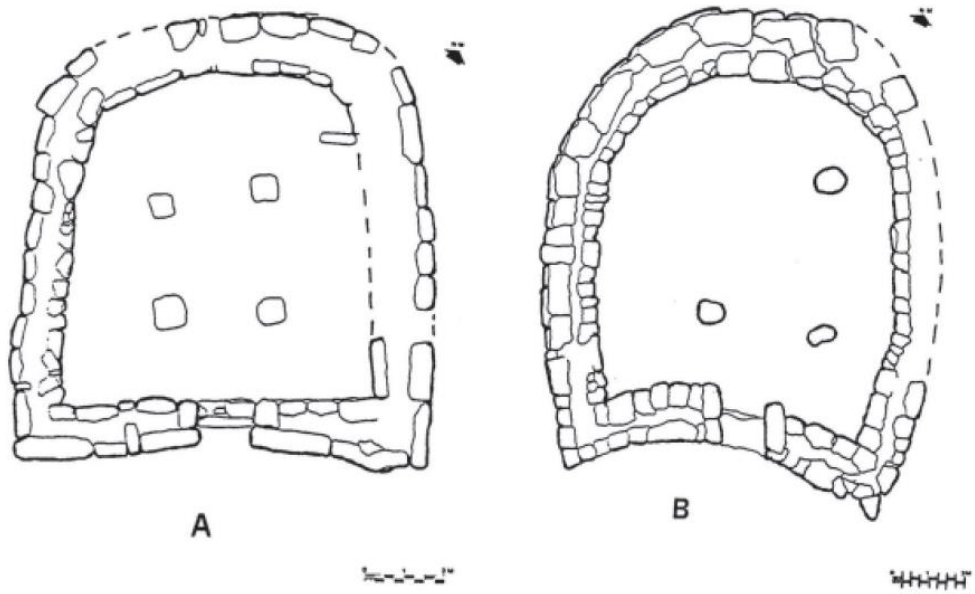


Figure 66: Plan of Son Marí (A) and Son Mas (B), taken from Guerrero et al. 2006: 154 (originally pubhlished in Plantalamor 1991 and Waldren 1995). Notice the semi-circular structure with a slightly concave wall where the entrance is located.

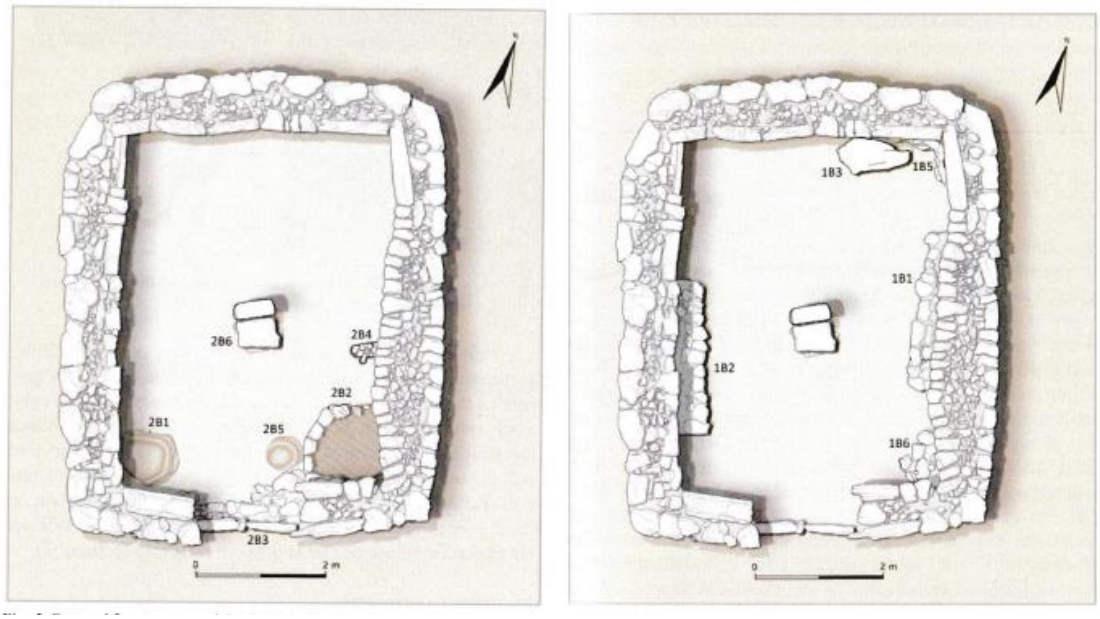


Figure 67: Plan of the most recently excavated sanctuary at Son Fornés (Sanctuary 2), in first phase of use (from Amengual et al. 2014: 104 and 107). Notice the square shape of the sanctuary, the single column, but also the addition of drinking benches in the second phase on the right.

Figure 68: Two types of artifact found in the sanctuary of Son Marí. Above: a pair of small Carthaginian vessels; below: an imitation of a similar vessel made by hand using talayotic techniques and resources. (Source: Both Images from the Rgional Museum of Artá website)

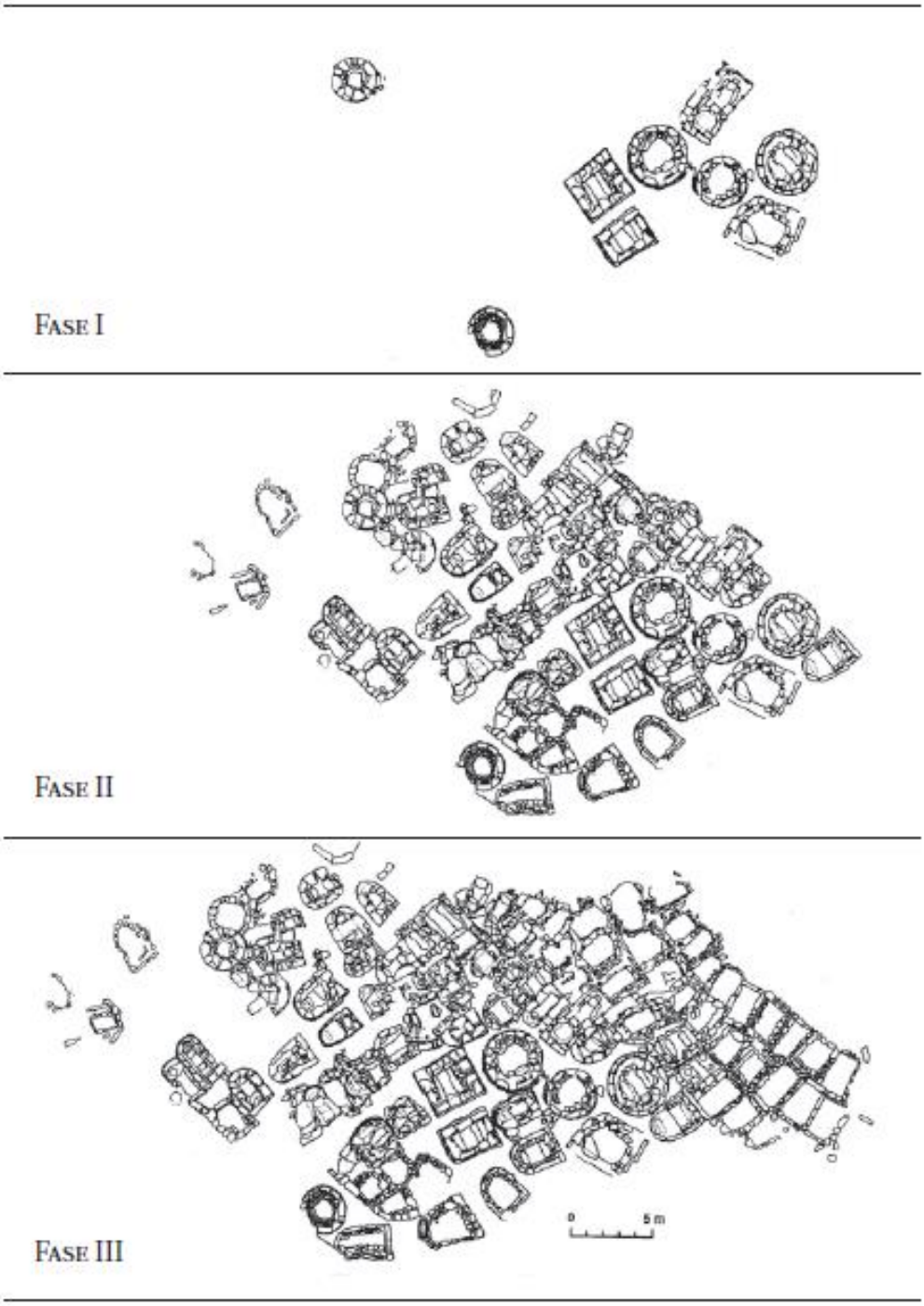


Figure 69: Progression of use of Son Real from Guerrero et al. 2006: 92 (after Tarradell and Hernández-Gasch 1998).

Figure 70: Plan of the S'Illot des Porros funerary area, from Hernández-Gasch et al. 1998: 83. Circles A, B and C are labeled.

Figure 71: Latin inscriptions at Cales Coves in 2014. (Photo by the author)

Figure 72: Tomb in Cala Morell with external pilaster in 2014. (Photo by the author)

Figure 73: Exterior of Tomb 9 from Cala Morell in 2014. (Photo by the author)

Figure 74: Interior of Tomb 10 from Cala Morell in 2014. (Photo by the author)

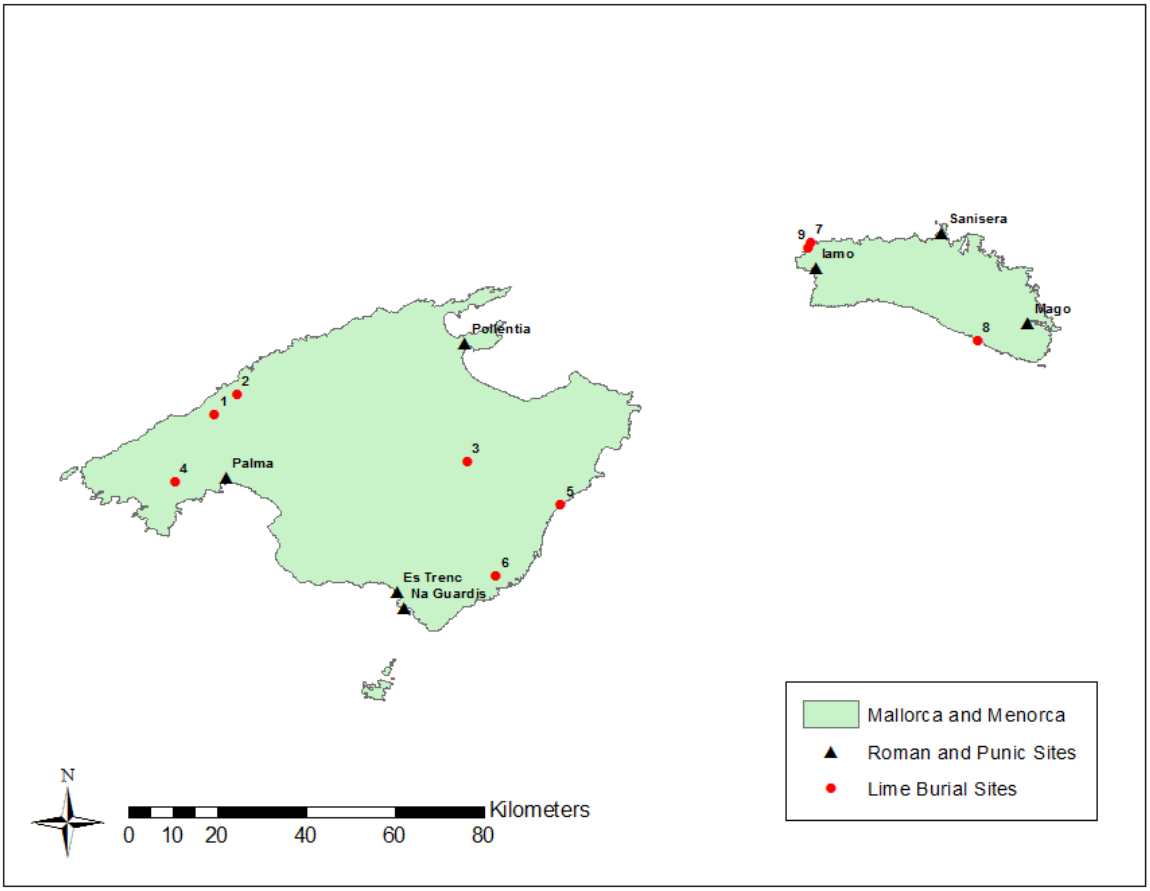


Figure 75: Distribution of lime burials as well as Roman and Punic sites on Mallorca and Menorca. Key: Son Matge (1), Muertos Gallard (2), Son Maimó (3), Son Boronat (4), Cova de Na Dent (5), Son Barçá (6), Punta de S'Escullar (7), Binigaus (8), and Sant Joan de Misa (9). (Image by the author)

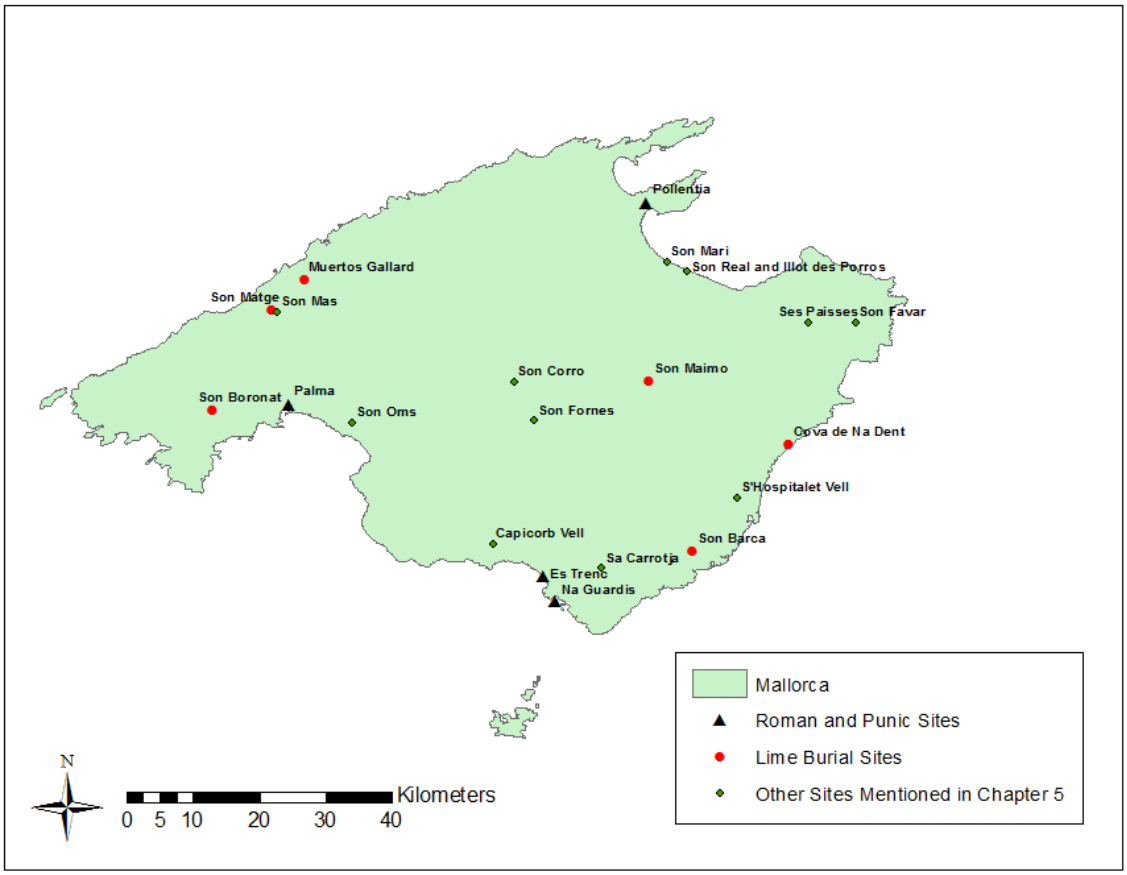


Figure 76: Major sites mentioned in Chapter 5 on Mallorca. (Image by the author)

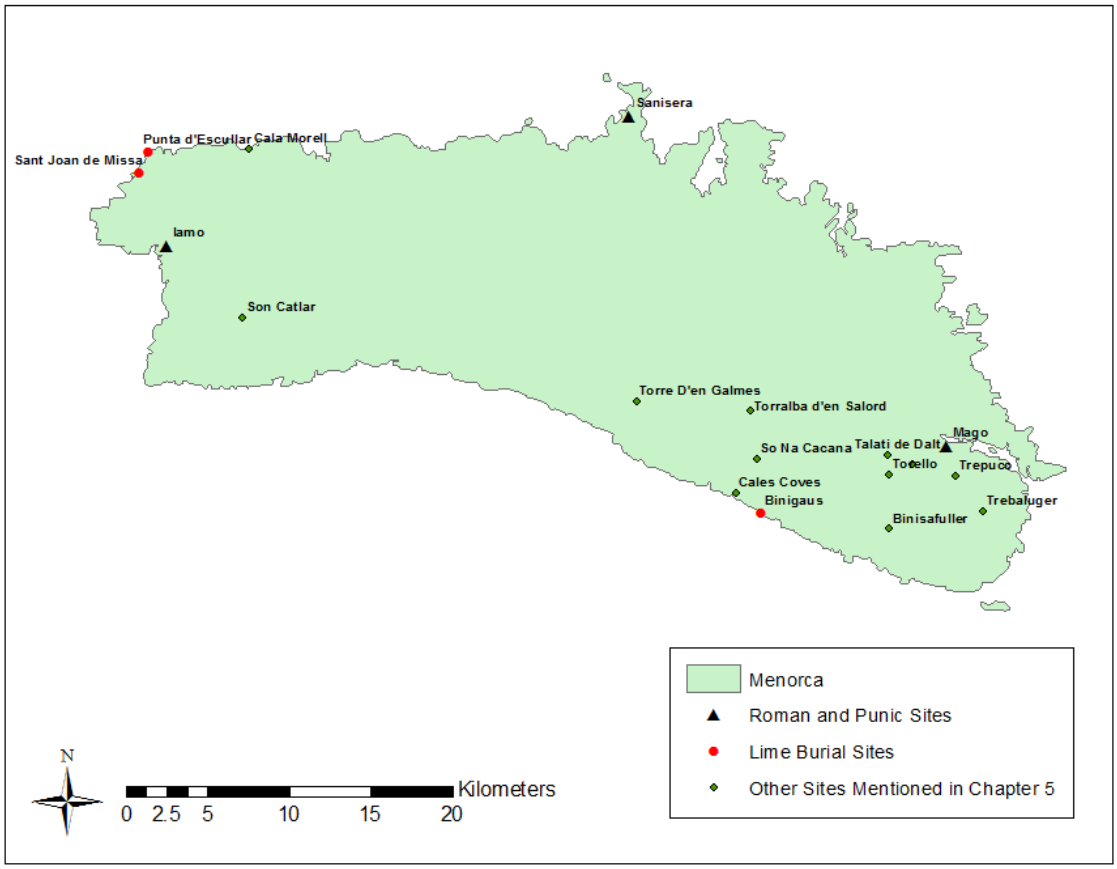


Figure 77: Major sites mentioned in Chapter 5 on Menorca. (Image by the author)

Chapter 6: Underwater Archaeology and Commerce on Menorca and Mallorca

What can underwater archaeology offer the general themes outlined in this dissertation regarding interaction, indigeneity, hybridity and conquest? Unlike the previous chapters, underwater archaeology deals almost exclusively with archaeological sites and remains of foreign peoples. Indigenous seafaring is enigmatic, though not quite invisible. Yet underwater archaeological studies of shipwrecks and associated finds offer us a glimpse into the economies of Mallorca and Menorca, as least as they were operating with foreign merchants. In this chapter, shipwrecks will be used as a rough metric to understand changing patterns and volumes of trade throughout the Late Talayotic and Roman periods. Looking at economic interactions with foreign merchants can offer some idea of cultural interaction, or the possibility for the spread of different, foreign customs and cultural ideas on Menorca and Mallorca. In other words, this chapter will show that the two islands were not entirely isolated, but active participants in the emerging economies surrounding their shores.

A Brief History of Underwater Archaeology in the Balearics

It is first necessary to discuss the peculiar scholarly trajectory of underwater archaeology in the Balearic Islands. Essentially, like most data related to the Balearics, there are two histories of underwater archaeology for Mallorca and Menorca. Beginning with Mallorca, a few authors have commented on the unconventional history of underwater investigations there.[89] Munar and Sastre divide the history of underwater archaeology in Mallorca into four major time periods. The first constitutes the clandestine activities of hobbyists and looters for sale, decoration or prestige beginning in the late 1940's (Munar and Sastre 2010: 267). The popularity of underwater exploration in the region really emerged during the 1950's and early 1960's, as part of tourism campaigns to draw in Northern Europeans on holiday (Veny 1970:

[89] See Veny 1970 and Munar and Sastre 2010.

191). Exploration of these islands' coasts was seen as another draw to visiting the islands for amateur dives or museum display. The continued clandestine investigation of underwater sites seems to have persisted, with few objects ending up in museums, fueled by a tourist-driven economy into the 1970's. The Balearic Islands have a long history of both tourism and archaeology and particularly the merging of the two, as present-day display of sites and monuments and the academic studies on the two islands firmly attest.

In addition to this there was an increased interest in academic underwater archaeology in the 1960's. Some early efforts to map the coast included work by J. Mascaró in his work "El tráfico maritime en Mallorca en la antiguedad clásica" published in 1961. What is considered the first scientific expedition for the sake of underwater archaeology was carried out by a German team in 1967 off the coast of Manacor (Frey 1970; Munar and Sastre 2010: 267). Beginning in the late 1970's a series of underwater investigations commenced around the coast of Mallorca after the establishment of the Patronato de Excavaciones Arqueológicas Submarinas de Baleares.[90] The first formal excavation of a ship off the coast of Mallorca was the fourth-century wreck of El Sec from 1970-1972, located near modern day Palma, and will be discussed in more detail below (Munar and Sastre 2010: 268).[91] With El Sec and subsequent excavation efforts, archaeologists working in Mallorca were adamant about producing archaeological data that was systematic in execution, and less dependent on individual objects recovered from wrecks. Compared to other traditions of archaeology on the islands, systematic underwater archaeology is a very recent addition to the archaeological methods employed on the Balearic Islands.

The third period of archaeological investigation on Mallorca concerned excavations surrounding the area of Colonia de Sant Jordi, located on the southeastern coast, during the late

[90] This group disintegrated by the 1980's.
[91] For a quick reference, see Arribas 1987; Cerdá 1986; Pallarés 1972; 1974; Roselló and Fuentes 1979.

1970's and early 1980's. These excavations, carried out by archaeologists from the University de les Illes Balears, were characterized by a reassessment of archaeological practices, incorporating ideas of ship-building techniques, associated onshore sites, and the surrounding subaquatic area as an archaeological site, as well as utilizing professional divers with archaeological training and expertise (Munar and Sastre 2010: 268-269). Excavations of multiple ships took place in the southeastern area of Colonia Sant Jordi,[92] granting archaeologists invaluable information on the Punic and Roman period economies and trade patterns on Mallorca. Yet, according to Munar and Sastre, from 1985-1995, underwater archaeological activity surrounding Mallorca ceased.

From 1995-2000, the Grup d'Arqueologia Subaquàtica de Mallorca revived subaquatic archaeology on Mallorca; it carried out six prospection missions, attempting to create a panorama of Mallorcan underwater archaeological resources (Munar and Sastre 2010: 270; Pons 2001). In 2000 the Centre d'Arqueologia Subaquàtica de Catalunya and the Consell de Mallorca made a joint agreement to work together in future endeavors surrounding the island, focusing their efforts on the bay of Sant Vincenç, where in the early 2000's they discovered a sixth century B.C.E. Greek ship, also described below (Munar and Sastre 2010: 270; Nieto and Santos 2008). Other related ventures include the Portocolom dredging, which saw the systematic recovery of materials associated with the port, and publication of the survey finds (Martín et al. 2008). Most recently, archaeological attention on Mallorca has been focused on trying to concentrate known information about shipwrecks in and around Mallorca into a larger subaquatic map of the coast (Munar and Sastre 2010). Much of the information below will be concerned with those operations. Overall, however, the subaquatic archaeological investigations are surprisingly sparse for Mallorca as a whole, especially when compared to Menorca.

[92] See Cerdá 1979; 1980, Guerrero 1982; and Colls 1987.

Menorca has quite a different trajectory of underwater archaeological investigation. Although arising at about the same time as Mallorcan underwater archaeology in the late 1950's and early 1960's, publications devoted simply to the subaquatic remains surrounding the small island exist as early as 1959 and 1962 (Mascaró 1959; 1962). In the 1970's, Nicolás became the most prolific underwater archaeologist, publishing on the museum collections of Mahón and Ciutadella (1974a; 1974b; 1974c), as well as broader syntheses of Menorcan underwater archaeological sites (1972).[93] Attention increased in the 1970's with the excavation of the fourth-century shipwreck of Binisafuller in southern Menorca (Fernández-Miranda and Belén 1977), as well as with Tejedor's broader work *Excavaciones Arqueológicas Submarinas de Menorca* (1978). Early attempts at a subaquatic map of Menorca can be seen with de Nicolás' continued work in the late 1970's around Menorca (1979).

Like Mallorca, Menorcan underwater archaeology went through a lull from the mid 1980's through the mid 1990's. In 1995, however, a large project began with the purpose of documenting all underwater sites around the coast of Menorca, spearheaded by Pons and Aguelo (Aguelo and Pons 2012; Pons 2005; 2009; Pons and Aguelo 2011). After almost 20 years, the project has done an excellent job in both documenting archaeological sites of all varieties, not simply shipwrecks, while creating an accessible map of all of these sites. Their maps and map updates have also been fairly well published, and present perhaps what the future holds for the young mapping project of Mallorca. I will be drawing heavily from this subaquatic map in the following sections.

Although Menorca does not have a history of scholarship as extensive as Mallorca's, the information available for the sites surrounding the island is much more accessible, though at

[93] Many other publications exist by Nicolás from the late 1970's and 1980's.

times rough and generally less focused on individual sites. This is in large part due to the efforts of Pons and Aguelo in both amassing survey-like data and disseminating it through multiple publications. Nevertheless, Mallorca has many specific shipwrecks and anchorage points that are important in their own right for understanding protohistory on the island. While Menorca has some specific shipwrecks that are well published and important to the history of the island, in the following sections I rely more heavily on general information regarding trends in volume from a diachronic perspective as reflected in Pons and Aguelo's data. As almost every other set of data from the two islands, Mallorca and Menorca's underwater data is difficult to compare, yet in many ways complimentary.

Trade, Contact and Ancient Economies in the First Millenium B.C.E. Mediterranean

The previous section attempted to outline some potential problems with approaching shipwrecks and the extant underwater data available from the islands. In this subsection, however, I briefly delve into some theoretical considerations regarding the data at hand. A factor to consider in underwater archaeological analyses is the different types of vessels that have been discovered surrounding the coasts. As a general trend, none of the vessels seem to be anything besides transport vessels used for commercial operations in the area. Size also factors into this discussion, as many wrecks surrounding the islands were of different sizes and dimensions, potentially indicative of different usages. Unfortunately, due to the nature of preservation, metrics regarding these ships are in large part non-existent. The different potential purposes and origins of these ships and the significance therein, even within the overall theme of cargo vessels, will be addressed below.

Before examining the data at hand, we may step back to consider the work of some Mediterranean archaeologists and historians who discuss ancient seafaring. Michael Dietler discusses shipwrecks surrounding the Gulf of Lyon in his book, *Archaeologies of Colonialism* (2010). Although not an expert in ancient seafaring, I use Dietler's work as a basic guide to understanding general trends that occur in the Mediterranean during the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. Dietler discusses a few concepts in basic terms that might prove helpful in understanding the shipwreck data for the Balearic Islands. Coming from a Western Mediterranean perspective and focusing on the indigenous interaction with larger Mediterranean forces in the Gulf of Lyon and surrounding areas of Southern France, Dietler offers both a contemporaneous as well as geographically relevant study to the analyses carried out below. Although his work does primarily deal with Greek and Etruscan shipwrecks, Dietler's examples nonethless include some of the shipwrecks discussed below, as the large wreck of El Sec off the coast of Mallorca is mentioned in his work (Dietler 2010: 136).

Dietler takes a relatively brief, yet detailed look at some shipwreck data around the Languedoc region to understand how goods were being distributed in the areas and what these methods and tendencies meant for the consuming populations. A primary distinction that exists in shipwrecks from the latter half of the first millennium B.C.E. involves the rise of Rome in the closing centuries. During the second and first centuries B.C.E., the number of shipwrecks in the coastal area surrounding the French coast almost triples, which Dietler understands as a metric for the increase in shipping as a whole in the area (2010: 138). Along with an increasing number of ships passing through the area comes an increasing cargo capacity. This is also a Mediterranean-wide pattern, described in works by Parker (1992).

Before the first century B.C.E., according to Dietler, average cargo capacities of Greek and Etruscan ships remain fairly small, usually below 5 metric tons (2010: 136). Average capacities increased dramatically during the Roman period, at times exceeding four hundred metric tons, which included the intensive trading of wine from the region in Roman Dressel 1 transport amphorae. While metrics for the size of ships surrounding the islands are not as accessible, similar themes can be seen in the number of ships in the region described in the next section.

Along with a seeming increase in both cargo capacity and number, the contents of the shipping vessels become less heterogeneous. Earlier vessels seem to contain many more varieties of transport amphorae and other potential merchandise than later ships of the Roman period. To reiterate, Dietler is approaching this data through the lens of Greek artifacts and mobility, not necessarily via Phoenician or Punic means. This fact, however, should lend further credence to the notion that interactions between places like Masallia and Menorca or Carthage and Menorca are not incomparable in the archaeological record, and indeed most likely shared similar traits in antiquity. The relative increase in homogeneity in the objects being transported might be an easy way to jump immediately to acculturation explanations revolving around the notion of Romanization. Perhaps, however, as is seemingly implied by Dietler, the resulting homogeneity is more a reflection of industrialization and increased, wholesale demand requiring both standardization and clearly defined voyages. In other words, going from port to port selling piecemeal wares might not have been enough for the needs of an increasingly connected Mediterranean world – connected politically and militarily for the first time by Rome itself with relative safety being ensured by the eradication of piracy in the first century B.C.E. An increase in specificity of items being shipped, including items like iron ingots, limestone blocks, and ceramic roof tiles, all found in the study area Dietler focuses on, seems further to emphasize

industrialization and standardization of production in an increasingly connected seascape (2011: 135-136)

Dietler's explanation for these phenomena is particularly informative to an understanding of the Balearic Islands. As he asserts, smaller capacities are, for the most part, indicative of interactions before direct Roman involvement, which focused more on the small-scale distribution and trade with local, indigenous populations (2010: 138). The heterogeneity of the cargo also attests to this trend, potentially evoking an emporion-like, marketplace character to these distributive vessels. In fact, Dietler uses the word "cabotage" to describe the practice (2010: 136). "Cabotage" is basically the process wherein merchants traded some of their goods at major redistributive centers, taking on new, different goods that could be targeted at other redistributive sites, basing their cargo on demand for different materials, rather than the factory-like industrial transport of a single product from one port to another. Of course, Dietler is not alone in describing the process of "cabotage," as Horden and Purcell describe the process in great detail as it pertains to Mediterranean economies (2001: 140). This type of redistributive framework is an intriguing concept to consider when looking at the Menorcan and Mallorcan data and will be reexamined below.

Nevertheless, it is clear that not all ancient ships predating the Roman conquest of the Western Mediterranean were heterogeneous in cargo. As Dietler argues, even within his small study area, homogeneity does appear to exist in the remains of certain wrecks that may contain many different transport amphorae from a variety of production locales, but all of which serve the same functional purpose (2011: 134-135). In other words, functional homogeneity does exist. With the data below, it is important not only to consider the potential origin of the materials uncovered in underwater excavations, but also to attempt to understand with what

types of markets these ships were trading. Were they redistributive in nature, containing heterogeneous materials? Or were the goods homogeneous in function, and how might that reflect upon the society consuming these items? Finally, how did the advent of Roman rule and influence alter these trends?

The Overall Picture: Shipwrecks near Mallorca and Menorca

While the previous section introduced some of the broader themes and goals of this chapter, I now turn to the raw data regarding shipwreck numbers and prevalence around the islands of Mallorca and Menorca. Although recent archaeological projects have begun creating detailed maps of these shipwrecks, as discussed above, the data can be piecemeal, particularly on Mallorca. Essentially, there are two types of information that can be gathered regarding these shipwrecks. On the one hand, with recent efforts to map archaeological shipwrecks systematically in and around the islands, broad general maps with very basic distinctions in chronology do exist (Aguelo and Pons 2012; Munar and Sastre 2010; Pons 2005; Pons and Aguelo 2011). These maps can tell us basic information regarding the positions of shipwrecks, and broad chronological gauges, sometimes broken down into such basic categories as Greek, Punic, Roman, Byzantine, etc. (Munar and Sastre 2010: 273). In certain cases, the publicly available information on these shipwrecks is simply location (Pons and Aguelo 2011). This might have as much to do with the prevention of clandestine diving and artifact collecting as a lack of a desire or motivation for public dissemination. Nevertheless, some inferences can be drawn from this rough, basic information.

There are a series of in-depth analyses of shipwrecks, stemming from Parker's work (1992), which sought to catalogue and categorize all known shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. Initiatives such as the Oxford Roman Economy Project has attempted to integrate Parker's data

systematically with more recent discoveries and previously overlooked sites, to create a much larger-scale understanding of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. Stemming from this, other projects, such as Harvard University's *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations*, have attempted to condense Parker's data as well. These two resources from Harvard and Oxford were systematically searched for references to Balearic shipwrecks based on place names, country designation, and sea designation, as well as latitude and longitude. The results do not represent a complete picture of shipwrecks surrounding the Balearics, but really only a portion, more than half for Mallorca and less for Menorca. This portion, however, represents some of the better published, analyzed and dated vessels, granting us access into much more concise chronological information particularly for Mallorca. I have also appended and corrected some of these entries, as well as tacked on a few notable sites that were not included.

From these more detailed analyses, a graph can be produced representing the relatively precise chronologies of shipwrecks. For Mallorca, I have relied here on the Oxford and Harvard resources mentioned above, primarily, while also looking at some of the more rough data provided by Munar and Sastre (2010). In Table 3, one can see the relative number of extant shipwrecks on Mallorca, reflected as a basic cultural designation (after Munar and Sastre 2010: 273). In terms of Mallorca's chronology, the "Greek" example is actually the wreck at Cala de Sant Vincenç, which is, in fact, the earliest shipwreck we have from the area. Although some Punic vessels were trading into the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. from Ibiza, they still generally represent earlier phases in Mallorca's history, as the Roman examples are almost exclusively from the first centuries B.C.E. and later. The sharp increase from 7 Punic vessels to 25 Roman vessels signals a very rapid change in practice, perhaps more indicative of imperial organization, external rule, and a much higher degree of economic integration with the broader Mediterranean.

Table 4 breaks the shipwreck data down into century-long increments to show a more detailed chronological framework less dependent on cultural designation, again using information taken from Parker (1992) and the Roman Economy Project. As Table 4 shows, in the first century C.E., there is a rise in prevalence of mostly Roman shipping. If we see the number of shipwrecks as a basic metric of the amount of commerce, the sharp increase from four shipwrecks in the first century B.C.E. to nine in the first century C.E. points to a much more heavily traversed area. One could also argue that this number is the result of vessels unfamiliar with the shipping area poorly navigating and wrecking their ships around the island. Yet even if that is the case, the number still serves as a metric of number of foreigners in the area, as indigenous ships have not been recovered. Like the first graph, the second graph for Mallorca reflects a fairly dramatic change in the way goods are moving in and around the island, as all of these ships are considered merchant vessels.

Menorca offers a slightly different scenario. Unfortunately, the works of Oxford, Harvard and Parker (1992) are comparatively poor for Menorca. Although an alternative as yet does not exist in accessible form for Mallorca, one does indeed exist for Menorca. Octavi Pons of the Museum of Menorca has been amassing an island-wide, detailed map of shipwrecks, anchorages, and chance finds since 1996 (Aguelo and Pons 2012; Pons 2005; 2009; Pons and Aguelo 2011). In his 2009 publication on the state of the mapping project, Pons provides a graph similar to what we have for Mallorca, representing the number of shipwrecks based on two-century increments (see Table 5; Pons 2009: 407). In this graph, it is clear that again we have a sharp increase in Roman involvement starting in the second century B.C.E. and reaching its peak between the first and second centuries C.E. Nevertheless, Pons' 2005 and Pons and Aguelo's 2012 articles on the underwater mapping project provide precise lists of shipwreck chronologies, along with anchorages and isolated finds. Table 6 is based on information

gathered from Pons' 2005 work and Pons and Aguelo's 2012 work. This table is undoubtedly missing some information that was included in Pons' 2009 article, based on sheer numbers, potentially owing to a lack of publication to avoid clandestine operations. Nevertheless, using the detailed notes of the 2005 and 2012 articles, Menorcan shipwrecks can be broken down by individual century. What is immediately clear from this is a more detailed view of the progression of shipping. The fourth century is almost devoid of shipwrecks, and it is really only in the third century that they start to appear in significant numbers on Menorca. Secondly, the increase from the second to first centuries B.C.E. is significant (33%), but the following rise in the first century C.E. is 300%. Essentially, shipwrecks rise gradually from the third to first centuries B.C.E. and then triple in the first century C.E. From there, the numbers steadily decline into the medieval period.

By reorganizing these century designations from two- to one-century increments, a much more nuanced picture develops. The two-century increments break down quite nicely when discussing the data from a historical perspective, as the fourth to third centuries B.C.E more or less correspond to Punic interaction on the islands, followed by post-Second Punic War Roman interactions from the second to first centuries B.C.E.; the advent of imperial rule is represented from the first to second centuries C.E. Instead, when breaking the numbers down by individual century, it is clear that these shipwrecks do not really begin until the third century, after which trade increases steadily until the first century C.E. when it explodes, much like trends indicated in the Mallorcan data. Other data from the islands support this century as one of dramatic change in the indigenous communities on both islands, in many ways representing the end of indigenous life on Mallorca and Menorca, as highlighted in previous chapters. The shipwreck data seem to support a final major shift or intense integration into a Roman, Mediterranean economy in the first century C.E. Nevertheless, by the second century C.E.,

perhaps due to imperial attention and economic strategy shifting east, Mallorca and Menorca increasingly become a peripheral area for trade, as the numbers fall exponentially into the Byzantine period.

Pons and Aguelo's articles are also most useful for data comprised not of shipwrecks, but anchorages and isolated finds. For Pons and Aguelo, ther term anchorage denotes a collection of artifacts and maritime installations indicative of an area where ancient vessels dropped anchor. In both the works (Aguelo and Pons 2012; Pons 2005), shipwrecks, isolated finds, and anchorages are all treated the same way, and also given chronologies. From this data, a more complete picture of seafaring from the sixth century B.C.E. until the medieval period can be amassed. Table 7 below, generated from these two articles, represents every ancient shipwreck, anchorage and isolated find described. From this picture, it becomes a bit clearer that seafaring was perhaps not as punctuated as the shipwreck data might suggest. In other words, the Table 7 shows a steady increase in identifiable activity and commerce. Although the first century C.E. spike is still quite pronounced, the lead up to this spike is very gradual, beginning in the fifth century B.C.E. After the first century C.E., the second century reflects the exact same numbers, but subsequent centuries see a swifter drop, ending in the seventh century C.E.

Although the shipwreck data from Menorca show only a small, consistent trend of shipwrecks from the third to first centuries B.C.E., the overall data point to seafaring activities growing steadily from the fourth to first centuries B.C.E., only doubling with the first century C.E., not tripling. Afterwards, the second century C.E. statistically remains relatively constant, again reflecting about half of the amount of activity as in the first century C.E. The inclusion of anchorages and isolated finds reveals that seafaring and trade were actually a significant part of

the ancient economy before the imperial period, despite there not being as many shipwrecks. This suggests that the shipwrecks of the first and second centuries C.E. represent a direct trade between the island and Roman merchant vessels. While some direct involvement must have existed in the fourth through first centuries B.C.E., the preponderance of materials related to trade and seafaring points to potentially smaller-scale, local seafaring, stemming from Mallorca or Ibiza. One could imagine that smaller vessels making the shorter trips between islands might leave enigmatic or non-existent archaeological signatures, while at the same time they were captained by local people from the islands and perhaps would have better avoided wrecking. As Table 8 shows, when disaggregated from the totals, anchorages also reflect a curve of heavy involvement in seafaring starting in the fourth century B.C.E. and persisting well into the third century C.E. The consistency of anchorages versus shipwrecks appears to point to a lack of larger, foreign ships in the earlier centuries, rather than a lack of seafaring in general.

In many ways, the preponderance of sea vessels signals a significant shift in trade and economic practices in the Balearic Islands, probably most significantly felt by the indigenous populations. This trend begins in the first century B.C.E., with the influx of Roman ships, but reaches its apex in the first century C.E., signaling the influx of Roman goods and direct integration into a Roman-based trade network and Mediterranean economy. It may be no coincidence then that this is exactly when many sites on Menorca are abandoned for the final time. From the basic numbers for Mallorca, it seems the same shift happens on the larger island as well, though we do not have the level of detailed information that is available for Menorca. But the first century C.E. in many ways emphatically marks the end of previous trade practices, and though the island returns to being a relative backwater by the third century C.E., the effects of Imperial Roman rule have changed much of indigenous culture into an archaeologically unrecognizable form.

In terms of the origin of the actual ships, some basic information can be mentioned. Of course, the wreck of Sant Vincenç was Greek, something I will return to below, but by and large, the vast majority of ships from the fifth, fourth and third centuries around both islands appear to be Punic. Two exceptions would be the third century B.C.E. wreck of Na Macaret off of Menorca, whose cargo held Greco-Italian wares, as well as the similar second century B.C.E. Lazareto shipwreck in the Port of Mahón, both of which might be understood as coming from areas under the economic and political influence of Rome (Pons 2005: 447). Most of the vessels from the second century B.C.E. appear to be Roman, or at least were carrying a predominantly Italian goods, though Punic wares, specifically from Ibiza also are found in association with wrecks as late as the first century B.C.E.

Beyond sheer numbers, however, the location of these shipwrecks is useful for understanding the changing trade patterns occurring from the fourth century on. Of course, the data for Mallorca with chronological detail is slight, and the island is much bigger, so any analysis of this sort is nearly impossible for this island. Nevertheless, Figures 78 - 84 show the relative positions of shipwrecks separated by century on Mallorca from the sixth century B.C.E. through the second century C.E. As is immediately obvious, many of these shipwrecks are concentrated in specific areas on the island, such as Alcúdia, Colonia Sant Jordi, and the Calviá area. This is more an artifact of archaeological involvement and chance preservation. Of course these port areas were important, and indeed the survival of a shipwreck is good evidence that perhaps they did serve important functions; it is nevertheless impossible to say whether these

were the only sites that exhibit such high concentrations of these shipwrecks or if this is simply an artificial picture provided by current archaeological research.[94]

Yet the data for Menorca are quite different, evoking a potential change in seafaring practices occurring sometime in the second century B.C.E. As one can see in Figures 85 and 86, fourth- and third-century wrecks on Menorca are almost exclusively concentrated on the southeast side of the island. That is except for two shipwrecks in the third century, the site of Na Macaret and the Lazareto described above. Again, all the ships during the fourth and third centuries recovered on Menorca were Punic, except for the cargo associated with Na Macaret and Lazareto, which appear to be primarily Greco-Italian. Na Macaret is also the earliest shipwreck found on the north coast of Menorca, and the Lazareto is the first shipwreck associated with the Port of Mahón. Beginning in the second century B.C.E. (Figure 87), there is a continued use of the northern and southern coasts. In the first century B.C.E. (Figure 88), however, it appears that the majority of shipwrecks (ca. 66%) are actually occurring on the northern side of the island. This small shift might be very significant, signaling the incorporation of the more dangerous northern coast of Menorca, and increased used of trade routes stemming from the northeastern coast of Spain and Gulf of Lyon rather than from their southern neighbors on Mallorca.

The first century C.E. (Figure 89) further attests to this trend as shipwrecks appear all over the island, yet the number of shipwrecks on the north and west coasts[95] of the island remains quite high (72%), again potentially representing trade routes being utilized by the Romans from mainland Spain and southern France instead of through Mallorca. The prevalence of shipwrecks around the entire island is a good indication of consistent and widespread

[94] This lack of archaeological engagement in a systematic, island wide fashion is commented on by Munar and Sastre 2010.
[95] Potentially stemming from the Roman city of Iamo, modern day Ciutadella.

contacts with the island without territorial differentiation. The second century C.E. (Figure 90) reflects a similar landscape, without significant clusters, but still with a lesser number of shipwrecks than the first century C.E.

Yet when assessing the anchorage sites, broken down spatially and chronology, it is clear that the shipwrecks are a valid reflection of trade around Menorca, but not the whole story. Similar to the shipwrecks, in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. anchorage sites (Figures 91 and 92) are concentrated around the southeast of the island, with the notable exception of Sa Galera near modern-day Ciutadella on the west coast of the island. In the second century (Figure 93), however, the establishment of two ports on the northern coast might point toward differential trade practices, and roughly correspond to Rome's conquest of the region. In this manner, the anchorages might reflect the actual establishment of increased trade from the north in the second century, continuing into the first century B.C.E. with an additional anchorage site (Figure 94). In the first century C.E. (Figure 95), the existence of four anchorage points on the north and the concentration associated with the Roman colony of Sanisera displays the full extent of this transition. The subsequent second century C.E. (Figure 96) sees the use of only one of the previous four northern ports, but the continued use of the southern ports, perhaps indicating more local trade activity with Mallorca. The anchorage points again provide a supportive trend, as the existence of economic activity from the north can be traced back to the second century B.C.E., but sees its apex in the first century C.E., just like the shipwreck data. In this sense, the shipwrecks provide clues to concentrations and volume of shipping to certain areas, while anchorages provide basic geographic knowledge of when and where these items were being distributed.

Indigenous Seafaring? The Overlooked Mode of Transportation and Exchange

What is missing from all of these discussions, however, is indigenous involvement. Indigenous seafaring is one of the least discussed entities in Balearic archaeology. This statement, of course, comes with a few caveats. Ancient indigenous seafaring is often implied in many popular discussions of the Balearic Islands in prehistory. The first discussion of this is the initial human colonization of the islands, though scholars tend to focus more on the presence rather than the means of arriving on the islands (Gómez 1995; Guerrero 1996). The second discussion is during the infamous Roman conquest of the islands in the second century B.C.E., as the purpose and justification for the military venture was to quell indigenous piracy. Of course, in order to be a pirate, one must have a boat.

Nevertheless, there remain no identifiable indigenous vessels recovered near Mallorca or Menorca. In fact, even the consumption of fish, mollusks and other marine fauna is fairly low in the prehistoric and protohistoric periods on the island.[96] Without sufficient evidence to comment on indigenous seafaring, Guerrero, in an article from 2006, points to both textual sources and iconographic sources found within cave shelters on Menorca. Beginning with the literary sources, Florus mentions the piratical ways of the Balearic Islanders as a particular excuse for their conquest, while at once commenting on their ridiculous attempts to attack Roman vessels (Florus, *Epitome,*I.43; Guerrero 2006: 36).[97] The other potential reference to indigenous transport is a passage from Livy, in which he describes a group of people from the Balearic Islands seeking a pact of peace in 217 from Scipio in mainland Spain (Livy, *History,*

[96] See Hernández-Gasch et al. 2011 and Chapter 4 for more information on these patterns
[97] For further discussion of Florus, see Chapter 2.

XXII.20). As Guerrero describes, to meet Scipio in Spain the mission from the Balearic Islands must have had boats.[98] Still, archaeological evidence is lacking.

Another mode of evidence that Guerrero discusses in his 2006 work is the iconographic representations of ships found in cave areas near the sea, ranging from complex drawings to very simple representations of boats. For more information see Figures 97 and 98. The earliest example of a series of incised boats was found at Torre del Ram in a Bronze age hypogeum, according to Guerrero (2006: 9-11), depicting boats that fit the general nature of Villanovan or Nuragic vessels of the Bronze and Iron Ages (2006: 17). Examples from N'Abella and Macarella also depict Iron Age vessels, potentially a Roman-era merchant vessel in the case of Macarella (Guerrero 2006: 17-21). But the corpus is way too small to make any substantive claims related to indigenous seafaring and the types of vessels they were using. Evidence from Guerrero's article shows six iconographic examples from four sites spanning all of Balearic prehistory and protohistory, and they are all examples from Menorca.

Guerrero also mentions two other forms of evidence that may in fact represent seafaring capabilities and inclinations in Balearic culture. One is bronze bull horns and heads often found associated with Mallorcan sanctuaries.[99] These bull horns are large, votive objects, but as Guerrero argues based on Luzón's observations (1988), perhaps they were intended for ship prows, of which Guerrero provides comparanda from the Greek and Nuragic worlds for ships with bull-horned prow heads or *akroteria* (2006: 31-33). For an example of this comparison, see Figures 99 and 100. A final line of evidence described by Guerrero pertains to the funerary world. As mentioned in Chapter 5, a Late Talayotic iteration of protohistoric burial

[98] It is also worth pointing out that the Balearic Islands, as they are referred to in the text (*ex Balearibus*), were considered to be only from Mallorca and Menorca at the time of Livy's writing. Ibiza and Formentera were the Pityusses.

[99] A bronze bull was also found at Torralba d'en Salord on Menorca, yet it was much smaller and obviously a figurine, as opposed to the bulls described by Guerrero 2006.

practices incorporated the carving out of a tree trunk or the creation of a wooden box. Guerrero cites the nails and technology to seal these boxes as derivative of Mediterranean boat production practices, involving the use of a pegged mortise and tenon joint (Guerrero 2006: 27).[100] Finally, metal nails used for the construction of ships were also found at Puig de Sa Morisca, where Guerrero suggests they were being stored, possibly taken from ships from the nearby port in the Late Talayotic period (Guerrero 2006: 29). Still, the evidence remains paltry, constituting just a few vague indications from very different areas on Mallorca and Menorca. Guerrero argues that this evidence suggests the ancient indigenous people had the the capabilities to build ships, possibly even the know-how, though we do not know for certain if they did (Guerrero 2006: 29). The indigenous role in the ancient economy and shipping therein remains a mystery but should not be entirely overlooked, as the indigenous people surely played some role in inter or intra-island trade, if not contacts with mainland Europe itself.

Beyond the Numbers: Material Trends in Ports and Shipwrecks

Although there is a relative wealth of shipwrecks in the area, these wrecks represent different punctuated periods of time, representing specific trade ventures in particular areas of each island. They also have been differentially published. Still, there is a fairly decent representative sample of shipwrecks surrounding the islands, ranging from the sixth century Greek wreck off Cala Sant Vincenç, near Pollentia on Mallorca, to the Roman Imperial shipwreck found off the coast of Colonia Sant Jordi on Mallorca as well. The following sections will take a chronological approach to understanding the actual cargoes and influences of these ships on

[100] Examples of these exist on both islands, including Son Maimó (Mallorca), Son Baronat (Mallorca), Sa Punta (Mallorca), and Cales Coves (Menorca) (Guerrero 2006: 26).

Mallorcan and Menorcan economies. Much of what has been discussed regarding Dietler's work will be echoed in the pages below, but with a particular, Balearic twist.

Early Mallorcan Evidence: A Phocean and Phoenician Dialogue?

While the sheer number of shipwrecks on Mallorca cannot tell us nearly as much as those from Menorca, the few that have been excavated in detail, particularly from the earlier end of the spectrum, give us a picture of island trade and interaction that is somewhat complicated. The oldest shipwreck recovered to date on any of the Balearic Islands is the wreck of Cala Sant Vincenç B, discovered in the late 2000's off northern Mallorca. This wreck dates to the last third of the sixth century B.C.E. and is Phocaean, based on the ship design and contents (Nieto and Santos 2008: 169). Immediately this discovery is arresting. There are no other Greek ships recovered off the coast of Mallorca or Menorca for the rest of antiquity. This is, of course, compounded with the fact that only in the fourth century B.C.E. do we see more examples of shipwrecks from the region. These fourth-century examples from both Mallorca and Menorca are Punic. Considering the relative scarcity of vessels in the fourth century B.C.E. and the large quantities of imported items from this period recovered at indigenous sites, a lack of shipwrecks does not necessarily indicate a complete lack of interaction or exchange.

The shipwreck of Cala Sant Vincenç has been a topic of debate in recent years with regard to the trading activities in the final years of the Talayotic and the beginning of the Late Talayotic periods. Although only a singular example, some authors point to the vessel's existence as signifying open trade relations with not only Ibiza and Phoenician or Punic neighbors to the south, but also with the Greeks of Massalia and Ampurias (Hernández-Gasch 2010). Others point to the wreck of Cala Sant Vincenç as a simple fluke, a ship blown off course during a winter storm in the sixth century from the northeastern coast of Iberia (Guerrero

2010). When looking at a simple rendition of current patterns and predominant winds in the Western Mediterranean surrounding the Balearics, it does indeed seem feasible that a ship could be blown off course (see Figure 101). Yet this explanation remains relatively hollow in some ways, as indeed that ship was carrying contents to be traded in the "cabotage"-like pattern of finds, described by Dietler (2010: 136). Also, if currents, wind patterns, and storms could have such an effect on Greek ships in the Gulf of Leon, would we not see more shipwrecks from the Greek period around Mallorca, or even Menorca which occupies an even more direct path south from the Gulf of Leon? Although Guerrero in his article (2010) argues for the feasibility of such an accidental engagement with Mallorca through currents and wind patterns, it should also be understood that the models he is using for currents and winds are very simplified, ignoring to some degree the various circular current patterns that exist above Mallorca and Menorca. The complexity of current and wind systems around the Balearic Islands both helps and hinders Guerrero's argument, as trade is particularly difficult from the north based on currents, yet there is no clear current path that leads to Cala Sant Vincenç either, pointing to a degree of intentionality. Guerrero also asserts that the only Massalian amphorae that are recovered from Mallorca are from the southern areas, from Phoenician or Punic emporia thereabouts (2010: 141).

Instead of arguing the potential influence of the Greek ship based on currents and accidental landings, Hernández-Gasch focuses on the archaeological data itself from indigenous sites on both Mallorca and Menorca to discuss the potential for Greek trading during the beginning of the Late Talayotic. Instead of simply amphorae, Hernández-Gasch focuses on metal objects and prestige objects as well. Figure 102 is taken from Hernández-Gasch's 2010 article and shows the various appearances of Greek, Punic, and Iberian imports in and around Mallorca and Menorca from 550-450 B.C.E. (2010: 129). Hernández-Gasch identifies two corridors of

interaction on Mallorca: Punic exchange in the south and Phocaean exchange in the north. Nevertheless, Menorca sees a more nebulous array of imports during this period, reflecting potential Punic and Phocaean interactions, but also potentially the result of redistributive trade practices from Mallorca.

Obviously, despite Hernández-Gasch's care toward constructing an archaeological argument based on finds at indigenous sites, there are still some major problems with his argument. Essentially, Hernández-Gasch is searching for vectors of trade and exchange, or really areas of economic influence of one specific culture (be it Greek or Punic). Yet, despite the arguments of some archaeologists, Mallorca and Menorca were not colonized until the second century B.C.E. by the Romans, and a controlled vector of trade and exchange assumes a degree of control that echoes colonization. In other words, whether consciously or not, Hernández-Gasch is arguing for a colonial partition of trade rights on Mallorca and Menorca, saying that Greek ships controlled the routes to the north and Punic ships the south. In reality, it was probably more complicated than that, and without trading colonies or more abundant shipwrecks, it is almost impossible to convincingly argue for control of trading. Influence can easily be argued, but control like that seen during the Roman period is likely non-existent.

Yet Guerrero also makes these assumptions, as his claim that the ship was blown off course is in many ways an attempt to defend Mallorca and Menorca as solely interacting with Punic traders during the early portion of the Late Talayotic. According to Guerrero, Greek and Iberian artifacts made it to Mallorca and Menorca solely through the means of Punic traders (Guerrero 2010). Guerrero's arguments allow for no complexity at all, and moreover reflect an attempt to define Mallorca and Menorca as an economic colonial outlet for a nebulous Carthaginian empire. His views are overly simplistic and do not disaggregate commercial

interactions and colonialism properly. While commerce is a fundamental aspect of colonialism, it is not the single defining feature of a colonial relationship. Emphasis is often placed on consumption within colonial interactions (Dietler 1990; 2010), yet this is really a metric for understanding interactions surrounding colonies, be they physical or economic entities. When discussing colonialism, one must ask whether the relationships of exchange between the Balearic Islanders in the protohistoric period and the Carthaginians were unequal or controlled. Cala Sant Vincenç B and later Greco-Italian shipwrecks from Menorca contradict this assertion. Complexity of trade relations points toward autonomy and mutually beneficial exchange. In essence then, Guerrero is arguing for a colonial control of Mallorca and Menorca by Ibiza and Carthage, though not explicitly stating his opinion as such, while Hernández-Gasch is attempting to add complexity to the picture, showing the potential for multiple trade routes and contact communities, arguing against any direct control of the islands by an external force.

While this debate is interesting in its own right, what we are more concerned with here is the effect of potential zones of interaction on the indigenous populations. Of course it would be presumptuous to assume that foreign influence dictated cultural change on Mallorca or Menorca, and indeed this dissertation hopes to go beyond simple models of contact, exchange and adoption of foreign influences. Nevertheless, understanding the prevalence of Greek or Punic traders and their role in providing materials from outside the Balearics is still important. Notably, Hernández-Gasch is also known for his work at the sites of Son Real and Puig des Mollins in Northern Mallorca, detailed in Chapter 5 (Hernández-Gasch 1998; Hernández-Gasch et al. 2005; Tarradell and Hernández-Gasch 1998). From his explorations of the materials and the unique manifestation of funerary remains on the northern coast, it appears that the communities of Northern Mallorca differed in many ways from the communities to the south. If trade and interaction with foreign traders have anything to do with these manifestations, it is

significant that only a small Greek presence and relative lack of direct Punic engagement is evident on the northern coast. This is not to say that trade dictated indigenous culture on Mallorca, but perhaps a relative isolation from Punic trading influences allowed the northern communities to develop unique cultural manifestations that entailed a degree of idiosyncrasy not seen in the south. This early period is still fraught with assumptions and open questions, as the data is so sparse and even non-existent for Menorca. What is clear, however, is that goods from around the Western Mediterranean and even the Greek world were making their way to the Balearic Islands, though most likely in small numbers akin to that of previous centuries during the Talayotic period.

The Role of Punic Merchants During the Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.E.

Beyond the debates that have arisen regarding Phocaean and Punic trade, it is necessary to comment exclusively on the role of Punic trade on Mallorca and Menorca. As the data above highlights regarding the chronology of shipwrecks surrounding the two islands, Punic shipwrecks are synonymous with the fourth century, and save for a few examples in Menorca, the third century as well. In Balearic archaeology today, it is more or less assumed that most, if not all imported goods went through Phoenician and then later Punic channels. As the above section highlights, arguing the exact nature of this exchange is difficult and fraught with generalizations stemming from assumptions made about the predominance of Phoenician and Punic trading in the Western Mediterranean during the mid-first millennium B.C.E. Nevertheless, the evidence for trading ports and exchange is there, particularly on the southern coast of Mallorca. Other authors have detailed the nature of Phoenician and Punic involvement in the Balearic Islands in

detail,[101] but here I would like to highlight briefly the nature of this trade and its effect on the indigenous inhabitants.

A few areas weigh heavily into debates regarding the relative impact of Punic trading ventures in Mallorca specifically. These areas are the offshore island of Na Gaurdis, the coastal site of Es Trenc, and the recently discovered site on the offshore island of Na Galera. The site of Na Galera is located on a remote, tiny island, slightly off the southern coast near Palma. Although intriguing for its potential significance to the study of Punic interactions on the island, the publication record is still quite small, given its recent addition to the corpus of known sites on the island.

The site of Na Guardis in many ways represents an extension of the island of Ibiza to the coastline of Mallorca itself. The site exhibits material culture traces that date as early as the sixth century B.C.E., with structures and a preponderance of material indicating permanent settlement in the fourth century B.C.E. (Guerrero 2000: 1539). According to Guerrero, the site was occupied until the late second century B.C.E., when it was abandoned peacefully around the time of the Roman invasion of the Balearics in 123 B.C.E. (Guerrero et al. 2007a: 80). The islet is very small, just offshore of the modern settlement of Colonia de Sant Jordi. After its abandonment in the second century B.C.E., the islet evidently did not see permanent subsequent occupation, even in the modern era.

Turning to the history of excavations of the site, interpretations of Na Guardis are greatly enhanced by the circumstances of the site's history. With no subsequent occupation, the small islet has provided a relative ease of access to ancient materials that are otherwise very difficult to obtain in contemporaneous parts of the Balearic Islands. Although mentioned in

[101] For a few works regarding these exchanges, see Guerrero 1997; 2010; Guerrero and Quintana 2000; and Guerrero et al. 2007.

passing within publications from the 1950's on, the site was not excavated until the late 1970's (Guerrero 1984: 17-19). In 1978, the Universitat de les Illes Baleares began a program of excavation to uncover the known site on this tiny offshore islet. In 1978-1979, an underwater survey and excavation took place to the immediate north of the island which resulted in the systematic excavation of four ten by ten meter underwater units situated close to what would have been a northern port of the small islet (Guerrero 1984: 21). The finds consist primarily of Ibizan amphora remains, but also contained deposits of Terra Sigillata, Campanian, Iberian, as well as common and indigenous wares originating from Mallorca. Many of these finds date to the latter half of the second century B.C.E., while others are even later (Guerrero 1984: 32-33)

Also in 1979, the remains of two house structures were unearthed on the topographic high point on the central eastern portion of the island (see Figure 103). Between the two structures, three hearths were uncovered, along with numerous pieces of iron, bronze, bone and a multitude of ceramics (Guerrero 1984: 101-143). The metal artifacts include fibulae, spear heads, and common objects such as nails. From the 1984 excavation report, both structures seem to exhibit a level of occupation roughly correlating to the second century B.C.E. based on ceramic evidence. House 1, on the other hand, contained one "superficial" find of a fourth century B.C.E. amphora (Guerrero 1984: 144). Otherwise, the material culture is fairly consistent in its date range reflecting the latter half of the second century B.C.E. Unlike House 1, House 2 was entirely excavated, revealing rectilinear walls with a north/south axis. Finally, House 2 actually produced enough textual material, primarily from Punic amphorae, to allow a separate publication of inscriptional evidence excavated at this household (Guerrero and Fuentes 1984).

In 1980, Guerrero returned to the site and began excavating a structural complex in the southeastern part of the islet. Upon detailed excavation and analysis, Guerrero and his team

were able to ascertain that the structure was a metallurgical complex (see Figure 104). The excavations revealed not only the organization of the structure, but also evidence of a furnace, complete with tuyère placements. Based on the description and plan provided of the area (Guerrero 1984: 186-187, 199-200), it seems that this structure constitutes an iron-smelting furnace, given the excavated examples of iron nodules in the adjacent room just south of the furnace itself. Guerrero has argued for the potential use of magnetite or hematite with this furnace, though he does not mention in any publication where this metal might be coming from (1984: 199; 1997: 93). While there are not many metallic resources on Mallorca and Menorca, iron ore does exist to the north of the island, potentially fueling iron production on a coastal site such as Na Guardis. Guerrero uses this industrial area to refer to the entire islet of Na Guardis as a Punic production facility (2000).

Continuing with work completed in the 1980 season, the area between the metal production facility and the two houses excavated in 1979 was explored. Excavations in this area of the islet comprise most of the subsequent operations at the site extending into the mid-1980's. After the 1980 season, the chronology of excavation is not as clearly delineated in the available publications by Guerrero, but it is apparent that a series of intensive excavations took place after 1980, resulting in the discovery of a number of structures. The area between the domestic structures and metallurgical complex is composed of many particularly enigmatic structures. Just to the south of Habitation 2, a thick outer wall (Defensive Wall 1) surrounds a group of buildings. The first of these to the south of Habitation 2 is Building 7-14-15, composed of a long, somewhat narrow room with a small partition (see Figure 104). Although the function of the room is not certain, the finds from within the room date the use of the space to the late third to second centuries B.C.E. (Guerrero 1997: 79)

To the south of Building 7-14-15 are two narrow rooms, built into the aforementioned defensive wall (see Figure 104). These two rooms are respectively labeled Building A and B from north to south. These buildings are notably built into the southwest corner of the large defensive wall, and contain one smaller architectural enclosure within each of them (Enclosures 3 and 4). It seems as though the exact function of these buildings is unclear, though they are quite large in scale, each measuring eighteen by six meters in plan. Based on material traces in these edifices, they appear to date to at least the third century B.C.E. (Guerrero 1997: 56-63). Finally, to the east of these two buildings there is a long wall abutting the large defensive wall's southeast corner. To the west of this relatively thin wall are two small enclosures, labeled Enclosures 1 and 2 from north to south (see Figure 104). Based on archaeological finds, Guerrero dates Enclosure 1 to the fourth century B.C.E. and Enclosure 2 to the third century B.C.E. (1997: 45-49).

Moving to the southern part of the island and excavations carried out to the east of the production facility, Guerrero points to the existence of a series of walls that further constitute a defensive system for the site. Within this wall system, Guerrero has identified two access gates; one to the east and one to the south (see Figure 104). The southern gate also exhibits unknown auxiliary structures just within the boundaries of the wall (1997: 108). There are four walls surrounding the southern gate, all of which prove particularly enigmatic in form and function. Materials found adjacent to the structures indicate that they were made in the first half of the second century B.C.E. (Guerrero 1997: 108). Although the details of the excavation are carefully described, Guerrero tries, throughout his various works, to emphasize the importance of these defensive facilities as an indication of relations with the indigenous peoples of Mallorca. In other words, the defensive walls represent an entrenched territorial claim as well as an expression of the necessity to protect goods and people against potentially hostile inhabitants. Still, the size of

the colony and the relative lack of coherence of the outer defensive walls seem not to argue in favor of a fortified settlement as much as for a series of domestic and industrial enclosures. Finally, the team from the Universitat de las Illes Baleares has also done a fair amount of archaeological research into potential ports around the islet. As mentioned above, the 1978-79 underwater seasons served to understand deposits nearby in a known northern anchorage of Na Guardis. The team also investigated two points of anchorage to the west and east of the island that notably were in use well into the first century B.C.E. (1997: 118; see Figure 103).

In sum, it is clear that a number of domestic, industrial, and potentially defensive structures exist on Na Guardis. Although the function of every building is not clear and the chronology of the site is piecemeal, the preponderance of Punic materials from Ibiza does seem to suggest a Punic population inhabiting the islet. There seems to be an absence of burials on the islet itself. This is perhaps not surprising given Phoenician and Punic burial practices which often took place off of the inhabited islands (Frendo et al. 2005). Still, there is no indication of a nearby, off-island burial site. Because of this lack of funerary data, potential windows into the construction of identity and the demography of the settlement are absent.

Beyond the islet itself, there are numerous pre-Roman, indigenous settlement remains nearby. Guerrero cursorily mentions four indigenous, Talayotic sites that were most likely in contact with the site of Na Guardis. These include Es Mirabons, Els Antigors, Es Torrent, and Mitja Gran (Guerrero 1997: 25-26). All four of these sites seem to exhibit occupations which are contemporaneous with the Punic occupation of Na Guardis, yet Guerrero only briefly mentions their existence without any archaeological details. It appears that his intent in mentioning these sites is really to suggest an economic dominance over the hinterland without a detailed analysis of material culture correlates at these sites. Na Guardis represents the best preserved, best

published, and most convincing evidence of a Punic, permanent presence on Mallorca. As the last section has described, the site exhibits both production and storage spaces, facilitating trade with local islanders.

Similarly, Es Trenc is a small coastal settlement located nearby. It was excavated by Guerrero in the early 1980's, and the site consists primarily of a small building with storage facilities (Guerrero 1997). Today the site is located on a popular tourist beach, obfuscating much of what could be said concerning the surrounding area. Es Trenc is not nearly as well preserved as Na Guardis, nor does it exhibit the degree of complexity in constructed production areas or storage facilities. Nevertheless, based on Guerrero's excavations, it appears the site is in fact Ibizan and located within proximity of the Colonia Sant Jordi area (Guerrero 1997). Along with these two sites, a series of shipwrecks have been discovered in the waters surrounding Na Guardis and Colonia Sant Jordi, including three different anchorage points located off Na Guardis itself.

In the eyes of Guerrero and others under his tutelage, the site of Na Guardis is a powerful argument for the Punic colonization of Mallorca. Guerrero, in many of his works, has used the small islet as evidence of an economic dominance of the Balearic Islands, building a narrative of the steady integration of Punic culture particularly on Mallorca (1997; Guerrero et al. 2007a). Although it is difficult to argue against an economic influence or even dominance on the island, the manner in which Guerrero has argued for the importance of Na Guardis and Es Trenc implies a territorial dominance by default. In other words, if the economy of Mallorca is in control of Ibiza and the Carthaginians, the territory, for all intents and purposes, is as well. This viewpoint, however, in many ways places excessive weight on a small amount of evidence, implying to some degree a teleological progression of complex cultures on the island of Mallorca

from indigenous, to Punic and then to Roman. Along with implications of evolutionary trajectories, such assertions also in many ways ignore the importance of local economies, cultural practices, and different community groups within the island itself. Although hybrid practices do develop, there is no indication of hybrid groups or transplant populations that normally come with colonialism. One might see the adoption of Punic goods as appropriation by indigenous peoples rather than cultural control by the Carthaginians via an economic proxy. Not all archaeologists working on the Balearics agree with Guerrero's assertions. For example, in 1997 Fernández-Miranda pointed out that material culture equates to trade relations, but not necessarily colonization (1997: 67). The Balearic Slingers enter these debates as a proxy for control, as some authors see their inclusion in the Carthaginian Army as obligatory instead of voluntary as mercenaries (Zucca 1998).

The recent addition of Na Galera into the discussion shows a larger picture of Punic investment on Mallorca. Although also located on the southern coast, Na Galera has been shown to be a site on par with the complexity of Na Guardis. One could make the argument that Na Galera may represent one in a series of other, as yet undiscovered contact points for Punic emporia on Mallorca, further propelling an argument of economic colonialism. Still, the evidence does not, as of now, exist. Arguing for the economic dominance of a 3600 sq. kilometer island, exhibiting multiple community groups with differing cultural practices, with a pair of tiny islands and a few small coastal remains seems unwarranted.[102] The islands themselves are not even big enough to allow for the volume of trade that would be required to control the economy of Mallorca.

[102] Na Galera is approximately 0.28 hectares, or 0.0028 sq. km. Na Guardis is approximately 3 hectares or 0.03 sq. km of which only about 1 hectare (0.01 sq. kilometer) was used in antiquity as an area of construction.

Moving to underwater data, the shipwreck of El Sec, located on southeast coast of Mallorca, near the modern coastline of Palma, is the best shipwreck for an understanding of Punic trade in this period. As has been discussed above, it was one of the first underwater excavations on Mallorca and represents a fourth century B.C.E. shipwreck stemming most likely from Ibiza. The cargo of the ship was a mix of Punic and Greek amphorae coming primarily from the Greek islands and mainland Italy, as well as a large amount of Attic red figure and black gloss finewares (Arribas 1987: 411). For a table of types of amphorae found, see Table 9. The ship, in many ways, characterizes Punic and more generally Western Mediterranean commercial interactions during the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., trading in a small amount of prestige or luxury goods, with a larger cargo of transport vessels containing wine, oil and other foodstuffs. The cargo of the vessel was hardly Punic, fitting into the "cabotage" model described above, and ultimately evoking less a sense of colonial influence as much as economic exchange. This also calls into question the multiple vectors of trade proposed by Hernández-Gasch, as Punic ships seem to be carrying a large number of Greek items. It is possible that, by this time, Punic merchant ships had monopolized trade to and from the Balearic Islands, yet they were still trading in goods that were not Punic. In essence, then, it does not really matter whether there were "vectors," as goods from multiple cultures were being consumed by the inhabitants of Mallorca with or without direct Greek interaction. Punic merchants seemed to have served as brokers for goods throughout the Mediterranean, not simply of Punic production. Other shipwrecks from the Punic world do have more exclusively Punic contents as will be seen in Menorca, yet trade was evidently extremely variable, not so much reflecting a colonial situation as one of mutual economic benefit.

On Menorca, evidence of Punic trade relations stems primarily from a few choice shipwrecks and anchorage points located on the island. Unlike Mallorcan scholarship, that of

Menorca is much less concerned with defining colonialism or the degree of colonial interactions on the small island, despite Guerrero's insistence on applying a Punic model of colonialism to both islands. For the most part, it is assumed that the Punic interactions were symptomatic of expanding trade networks, rather than territorial or even economic control. This is probably due to the institutions on Menorca that actually excavate and publish data, for instance the Museum of Menorca. The University of the Balearic Islands is much less of an archaeological force on Menorca, and indeed it is from this university and Guerrero's leadership therein that much of the colonialism debate on Mallorca has originated.

The shipwreck of Binisafuller, located within the ancient anchorage point of the same name on Menorca, is one of the most important indicators of economic exchange between Menorca and the Punic world as well as material culture from Iberia. This wreck has seen some archaeological attention (Fernandez and Belen 1977, Tejedor 1978, Guerrero et al. 1991), particularly with a recent excavation in 2006 by a team from the Museum of Menorca and the underwater recovery group Arqueolític TERRA-SUB (Aguelo et al. 2007). Simply put, the ship was a fourth century B.C.E. transport vessel that was discovered in the 1960's, studied intensively in the 1970's, then reexamined in the 1980's (Fernández-Miranda and Belén 1977; Guerrero et al. 1991; Aguelo et al. 2007; 2011). The cargo contains Iberian and Carthaginian, Ebusitano transport amphorae, as well as imitation Greek and black gloss fineware, originating from Iberia and the Italian peninsula. Guerrero sees this shipwreck as continued evidence of Punic intervention in the commercial sphere of Menorca in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. (Guerrero et al. 1991, 2000). Until recent archaeological work, the date of the shipwreck was generally thought to be approximately third century B.C.E. based on ceramic typologies regarding Punic amphora remains found during the excavation of the site (Aguelo et al. 2007: 206). The 2006 re-assessment and excavation of the site brought up some intriguing questions

pertaining to the actual chronology of the ship itself. According to Aguelo et al., the ship's construction is more indicative of a Hellenistic style of ship building, dating to approximately the fourth century B.C.E. (Aguelo et al. 2007: 207). This would place the ship in the same relative chronology as the El Sec shipwreck, off the coast of Palma. The authors go on to state that the Punic and Italic materials originally associated with the shipwreck, namely amphora type PE-14, PE-15 and PE-16, or Punico-Ebusitano sherds, all transport amphorae from the third century B.C.E., as well as a single small vessel of black gloss, Italic fine ware (Lamboglia 21) do not fit the primarily fourth-century cargo of both Iberian and Punic ceramics found with the ship (Aguelo et al. 2007: 205). They suggest, instead, that perhaps those finds are the product of another nearby shipwreck, or were otherwise incorporated into the assemblage associated with the shipwreck through coincidence rather than as part of the ship's cargo upon its sinking in the area (Aguelo et al. 2007: 207). In this manner, it may then be the case that this merchant vessel was indeed a fourth-century vessel, either passing through or carrying wares to the island of Menorca. Discussion of chronology aside, Binisafuller represents a similar shipwreck to El Sec, but with more local goods, primarily Ibizan and Iberian varieties of amphorae and fineware. Unfortunately, the sample set of shipwrecks from Menorca is quite low, so it is impossible to say whether this was a trend for trade practices on Menorca, or whether this was simply part of a broader phenomenon on both islands. Still, the prevalence of Greek imports on Menorca as compared to Mallorca is comparatively low, perhaps indicating less of an integration into the larger trade-networks operating out of Mallorca.[103] Also, Menorca is much smaller than Mallorca, with an inherently smaller market, possibly preventing economic investment from Punic merchants, beyond more local goods.

[103] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of bronze figurines from the Greek and Punic worlds on Menorca and Mallorca.

Beyond Binisafuller, Cales Coves is a celebrated funerary and port site on the island of Menorca, and was discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Along with the site of Cala Morell, Cales Coves represents some of our best evidence of approximately fourth to second century coastal cave burials on the island of Menorca. The site also provides a famous Roman inscription, still in situ, discussing the activities of this port area. From the fourth to second centuries B.C.E., the anchorage spot served as a seeming hub for Punic trade to nearby indigenous sites concentrated in the southeastern corner of Menorca. The anchorage has provided evidence of a multitude of amphorae stemming from Ibiza and North Africa primarily,[104] with finewares from Campania, local Iberian contexts, Ampurias, Megara (Sicily) and Ibiza itself (Belen and Fernández-Miranda 1979). Cales Coves, through its diversity of goods, reflects a large degree of indigenous choice in foreign goods, but also a seemingly lesser emphasis on Greek finewares or large amounts of diverse amphorae as seen with the wreck of El Sec.

It appears that the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. were a period of significant Punic trade on both islands, characterized by a large diversity in offered goods. Although this is more prevalent on Mallorca than Menorca, it seems that Punic merchants were attempting to meet the economic needs of the indigenous population, rather than imposing any sort of colonial control. The small sites of Na Guardis, Na Galera and Es Trenc provide some evidence of permanent Punic settlement, but for the purposes of facilitating trade, rather than territorial expansion. Finally, evidence for shipwrecks around both islands is relatively limited, and given the degree of particularly Ibizan amphorae on both islands, smaller, regional networks of ships were probably operating much more commonly than larger merchant vessels seen with El Sec

[104] As well as Iberia, Italy and the Greek colonies (Belen and Fernández-Miranda 1979).

and Binisafuller, leaving less of an archaeological presence, yet effectively facilitating the dispersal of goods throughout both islands.[105]

Roman Influences and Change from the third century B.C.E. to the second century B.C.E.

Starting in the third century B.C.E., Republican Roman goods and shipwrecks began to appear in the archaeological record of Mallorca and Menorca. At this time elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean, Rome steadily gained economic and naval strength, culminating in the First and Second Punic Wars during the last seven decades of the third century B.C.E. Roman influence appeared on both islands in seemingly different ways, and indeed products from the Italian peninsula had been making their way to the island chain beforehand. Still, the period from the third to first centuries B.C.E. was a transitional period in the exchanges seen on Mallorca and Menorca, paving the way for significant changes in the subsequent centuries. Despite the Punic Wars and the shift of power in the Western Mediterranean and Iberian coast in Rome's favor, Ibiza continued to operate as a ceramic production center, escaping the wars relatively unscathed. Ibizan production continues with minor interruptions into the first century C.E., and trade amongst the Balearic Islands continues.

On Mallorca, Colonia Sant Jordi again provides a fairly exceptional case study, as the area is actually home to evidence of five different shipwrecks. These shipwrecks include a group of shipwrecks just off the coast of the Punic site of Na Guardis: one wreck roughly dating to the third century B.C.E., one Republican shipwreck dating to the second century B.C.E., one ship with a cargo of lead ingots from the Flavian period (or approximately 70's or 80's C.E.), one wreck dating from approximately the third century C.E., and one unidentified wreck (Cerda 1980: 13). It is clear from the temporal scope of shipwrecks that the Colonia Sant Jordi offers

[105] For example, Cales Coves, despite being a very active port in the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. does not have a discernable shipwreck.

that this place was evidently a bustling trade outpost from approximately the fourth century B.C.E. until the third century C.E. The temporal scope may have much to do with the safe harbor the area offers or resources nearby, such as the salt flats located near modern day Ses Salines. It is clear, however, that despite a significant shift in the external, global powers operating in the Western Mediterranean at the time, Colonia Sant Jordi retained its relevance for merchant vessels. Guerrero mentions these shipwrecks in his work surrounding Colonia Sant Jordi and gives an impression of a diachronic cultural landscape (1997). The area was used during the Roman period despite Na Guardis' decline and abandonment at the end of the second century B.C.E. There are also two necropoleis near Na Guardis. One of these is located off the south coast of the Colonia de Sant Jordi on an islet much smaller than Na Guardis. The other is located north of the Colonia, but both seemingly date to the Late Republican period (Guerrero 1997). Although there are Roman remains extending into the early imperial period, there is no discussion of Roman occupation of the hinterland surrounding the Colonia de Sant Jordi or the mainland adjacent to Na Guardis.

Here I would like to focus on the Republican shipwreck of Colonia Sant Jordi, dating to the second century and published in detail by Cerda (1980). The Republican shipwreck, located between Na Guardis and the mainland and current city site of the Colonia de Sant Jordi, was excavated in 1977 under a team lead by Damia Cerda Juan. Like previous shipwrecks in the area, the Republican-era shipwreck offers a range of different types of finewares and amphorae. Nevertheless, the finewares are mostly Megaran (Sicily) and black gloss, coming from Italy or parts relatively under the control of Rome during the second century B.C.E. The amphora assemblage reflects small amounts of Punic and Greek amphora in the sample (7.4% total), yet primarily Dressel 1 or Lamboglia amphora types (68.53 and 20.37% respectively) (Cerda 1980:

84).[106] Although not entirely homogenous, the assemblage reflects a more standardized cargo and goods coming from areas under the control of the Roman Republic at this time. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say if the shipwreck occurred before or after the conquest of the island in 123 B.C.E., though it is very much around the time of conquest. Roman republican vessels from this period are still relatively rare, and evidence of Roman colonies, beyond some evidence of a fort from Son Espases, is lacking before the middle of the first century B.C.E. at Pollentia. With this shipwreck, it becomes clear that continuity in access points to trade is continuing in the second century B.C.E., and based on archaeological evidence, the rate of appearance of large-scale merchant vessels continues to be relatively low, despite Roman control of the region and conquest late in the second century B.C.E.

Moving to evidence from Menorca, during the third and second centuries B.C.E., there seems to be a slight increase in maritime activity, including the appearance of two republican shipwrecks in the northeast of the island in the third and second centuries B.C.E. At the same time, Cales Coves goes through a seeming drop in usage after the second century B.C.E., while the Port of Mahón and the area around modern day Ciutadella become increasingly active areas of trade. The best example of a well published shipwreck dating to this time period is the so-called Lazareto shipwreck, located near the entrance of the Port of Mahón (Nicolás 1979; 1983; Sanmartí and Principal 1998). The ship is dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E., predating the wreck of Colonia Sant Jordi by approximately half a century (Nicolás 1983: 231). The contents of the ship include a large selection of amphorae from various locations throughout the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, including examples from Knidos, Kos, Rhodes in small numbers, with the majority of amphorae and finewares coming from the Italian

[106] There is also 3.7% Republican amphorae (Cerda 1980: 84).

peninsula (Nicolás 1983: 231). In many ways, the assemblage seems similar to that of the Republican wreck of Colonia Sant Jordi, though slightly more diverse.

It seems that in the third and second centuries B.C.E., the tradition of cabotage, or the trade and exchange of multiple different types of materials, was maintained in the Balearic Islands even amongst Roman ships, though slightly more constricted to Roman-controlled areas. The archaeological prevalence of Roman goods and ships is not altogether surprising; however, far from heralding a complete shift in trade practices, Roman trade during this period was very much integrated into previous practices on Mallorca in terms of locality. On Menorca, use of the Port of Mahón and the northern coast indicated a shift in previous practices and an increased direct engagement with merchant vessels coming from the Italian Peninsula. Still, the needs of the indigenous populations appear to have been similar, and though this general demand for finewares and foodstuffs does not necessarily change in subsequent centuries, the manner in which these items reach the islands in many ways does. The evidence of Republican Roman shipwrecks begins to hint at an imperial control of trade and exchange with the islands around thre time of conquest, yet cargoes still seem relatively modest in size and contain multiple varieties of vessel form and goods.

Imperial Shipwrecks: Mallorcan Interactions and Menorcan Direct Engagement

The situation changes dramatically beginning in the first century B.C.E. with a marked increase in the trade traffic travelling to and from both islands, as described in previous sections. This trend reaches its apex in the first century C.E. The volume of shipwrecks in and around the islands increases during this period, most likely owing to Rome's territorial dominance of the Mediterranean in the second and first centuries C.E., as well as the establishment of the principate in the late first century B.C.E. Piracy was to some extent eliminated by Pompey and

Roman Proconsuls of the sea in the first century B.C.E., and the Mediterranean's capacity for trade expanded under the proto-industrialism of Roman production and distribution networks.

These trends may have had a significant effect on the economies of Mallorca and Menorca, as well as the nature of Roman occupation and interactions on the two islands. Unfortunately, however, despite an influx of Roman shipwrecks in the region during this period, these ships are generally not given as much attention as earlier wrecks in archaeological literature or publications. The evidence we have must be gleaned not from individual publications, but more general syntheses of the island. Turning to Mallorca first, I focus again on the area around Colonia Sant Jordi which remained an important area of trade into the third century C.E. according to extant shipwreck remains. One wreck dating to the first century C.E., does not have as rigorous or as recent a bibliography as the Republican shipwreck described above but will be used here. The ship was discovered in 1960 and the best known work on the wreck is Cristobal Veny's 1969 work "Diecisiete Ingotes de Plomo de una Nave Romana de Ses Salines," published in *Ampurias*. In this article, Veny focuses primarily on the inscriptions found on these lead ingots, which give indications that the shipwreck was from approximately the first century C.E., with possible references to Vespasian on some of the ingots' inscriptions. This data was further aligned with the amphora fragments found in association with the wreck, Dressel 7 and Dressel 20 type amphorae that roughly place the shipwreck in the first or second century C.E. (Veny 1969: 219).

In the article, the ship itself is not discussed in detail, and indeed the actual events leading to the recovery of the ingots and materials from the site are vague. The excavation of this ship in the early 1960's predates the systematic excavations that began with El Sec in the 1970's, so it is difficult to say to what extent the ingots and very few amphora pieces were

removed from the wreck methodically or with some mapping or documentation process. It is hard to criticize Veny's article, considering its publication in the early years of Balearic underwater archaeology, and Veny's own interest in inscriptions in the Balearic Islands, his most famous piece being the *Corpus de Inscripciones baleáricas hasta la dominación árabe* from 1965. Nevertheless, the work focuses primarily on the lead ingots found in association with the shipwreck and their inscriptions, for the most apart avoiding the larger questions of where these pieces were going and what exactly they were doing at the harbor of Colonia de Sant Jordi.

With respect to the ingots, lead does exist on the islands, but was not mined extensively on either Menorca or Mallorca during the Roman period, so most likely these were ingots being transported across the Mediterranean, using Colonia de Sant Jordi as a safe harbor. Lead ingots were also used as ballast that could be turned around and sold in larger merchant vessels of this period, perhaps headed toward Rome or another larger regional center on the southern coast of Europe or the Italian Peninsula (Pons 2007: 159). It is also possible that the lead ingots were intended for sale on the islands of Mallorca, or at least redistribution therein. The remnants of this wreck in many ways correspond to the later stages of commerce in the region, as the Balearics were in fact used as stopping points for goods travelling between Iberia and the central Mediterranean, particularly during the first century C.E. The use of these ports as anchorages along the way also most likely accounts for much of the increase in traffic, and therefore shipwrecks, occurring off the coast of Mallorca and Menorca during this period. These bits of information from Colonia Sant Jordi hint at these larger trade networks, using the islands as stopping points, rather than destinations, which is undocumented in previous periods. Finally, the cargo of the ship reflects just a few amphora types and large lead ingots,suggesting the specific and regular cargos of the Imperial Roman period, as defined by Dietler (2010: 137-138),

moving away from the cabotage model in favor of more large-scale transportation of mass-produced goods.

On Menorca, this type of first century, large-scale trade and harbor activity is best exemplified by the anchorages of Cales Coves,[107] Alcafar, El Bol de S'Alga and Sa Galera, as well as the appearance of large amounts of Imperial items from throughout the Western and Central Mediterranean in indigenous sites like Torre d'en Galmés and Son Catlar (Pons 2007: 159-160). According to Pons, it is around this period, particularly in the first century C.E., that we have sufficient evidence to say that Menorca becomes a destination for merchant vessels, rather than a stopover (Pons 2007: 159). Cargo begins to reflect imperial production processes in Baetica, North Africa and the Italian Peninsula, resulting in large-scale cargo ships with mass-produced items of consumption (Pons 2007: 160). Unfortunately, evidence from archaeological analysis of some of these later shipwrecks is lacking. The numbers are recorded yet a substantive analysis of the wrecks themselves is not, again pointing to the inherent differences between Mallorcan and Menorcan underwater archaeological data.

Although this section is quite brief due to a relative lack of information on imperial shipping around Menorca and Mallorca, it is still evocative of a significant change in the way indigenous societies were interacting with the Romans. Suddenly cargos are much bigger and more frequently visiting the islands, either as destinations individually or as stopovers in larger imperial trade networks. In many ways, this marks a dramatic increase in economic and cultural exposure to indigenous societies, as well as full-scale integration into larger imperial trade networks. It seems that these commercial increases coincide with a decline of large-scale indigenous sites in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., despite having existed under Roman rule

[107] Which is re-used starting in the first century B.C.E.

since the end of the second century B.C.E. This may be in some ways related to increasing wealth in the ports and coastal towns, possibly drawing indigenous inhabitants from inland sites. The archaeological record, however, loses track of these people once they leave the indigenous sites, so there is no way of confirming or denying this correlation. By the second century C.E., trade was already beginning to decline on Mallorca and Menorca, owing, most-likely, to a shift in focus to the Eastern Roman Empire.

Conclusion: The Ship, The Merchant, The Exchange and The Native

There are a number of key themes this chapter addresses regarding trade and exchange, as well as issues with data collection and extant publications. It seems clear that while there is a sharp increase in shipwrecks during the second and first centuries B.C.E., culminating in the first century C.E. for both islands, upon analyzing anchorage data from Menorca, it seems that goods were being exchanged even without the archaeological presence of cargo vessels into the second or first centuries B.C.E. These exchanges could be understood as indigenous networks, and while our understanding of indigenous seafaring on Mallorca and Menorca is piecemeal, some small-scale regional trade networks must have facilitated inter- and intra-island exchange for both Mallorca and Menorca. In other words, the people of the Late Talayotic period were probably not as isolated from economic networks of trade and exchange as the shipwreck data would imply. Also, suggesting an indigenous element to the dispersion of goods also prevents assumptions of indigenous dependency on Ibizan or Punic cargo vessels for dispersal of foreign items, as some authors would imply. Perhaps these people were not so isolated after all, and their idiosyncratic cultural practices were a result of community building and identity construction alongside the appropriation of foreign goods.

By the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., however, things begin to change. Suddenly ships are much more common on both islands, both in using ports as anchorage for longer journeys, as well as dealing directly with island inhabitants. The increased volume of trade and widespread archaeological dispersal of Roman shipwrecks possibly obviated many regional networks on the islands, as well as introduced an increasing amount of wealth in the ports. Of course, this process was slow, with evidence of continuity of cabotage practices in the second century B.C.E., as well as the consistent use of anchorages on both islands well into the Imperial period. In many ways then, the shipwreck data supports the notion that perhaps Mallorca and Menorca were not really integrated into the Roman Empire until the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., when it appears indigenous peoples beging moving to Roman port towns, slowly abandoning their ancestral settlements, ritual centers, and funerary complexes. In this manner, protohistory extends well beyond Roman Conquest, casting doubt on the term "Roman period," as usually defined on both islands beginning in 123 B.C.E. In fact, the Roman period arguably exists alongside the Late Talayotic, temporally overlapping with contemporaneous sites. The creation of what we might call "Roman Islands," as the shipwreck data suggests, does not seem to occur until the first century C.E.

Chapter 6 Images and Tables

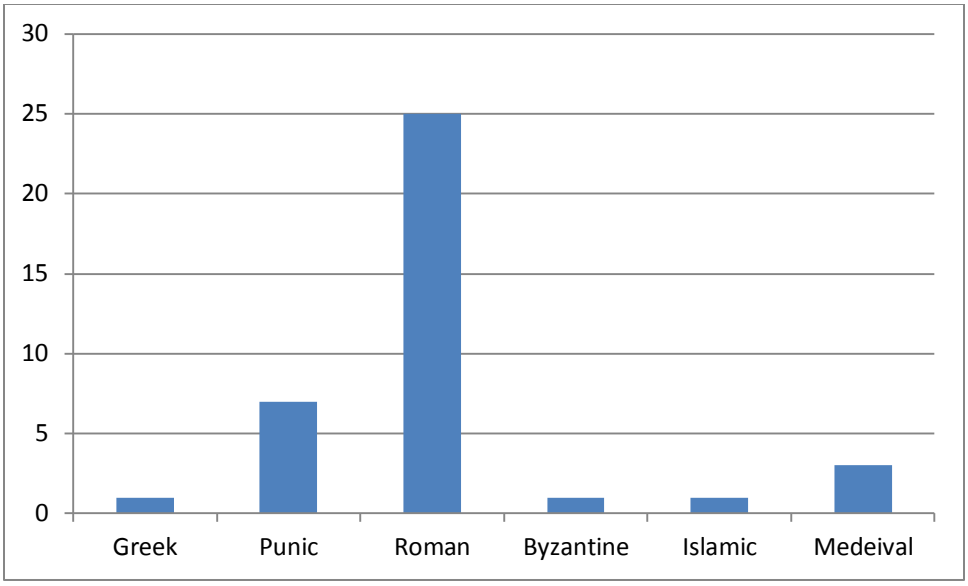


Table 3: Shipwrecks off Mallorca differentiated by culture. Data taken from Munar and Sastre 2010. (Table by the author)

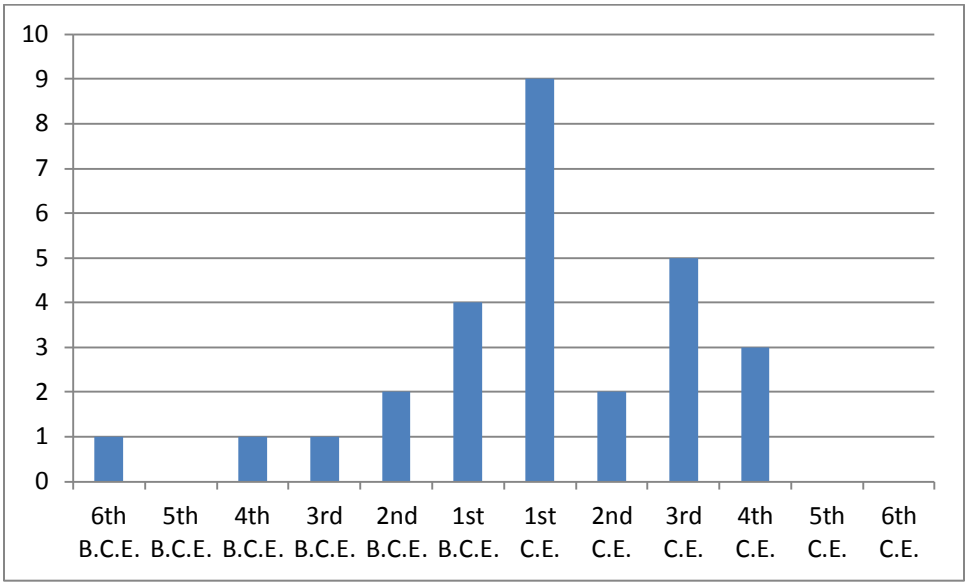


Table 4: Shipwrecks off Mallorca differentiated by century. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Table by the author)

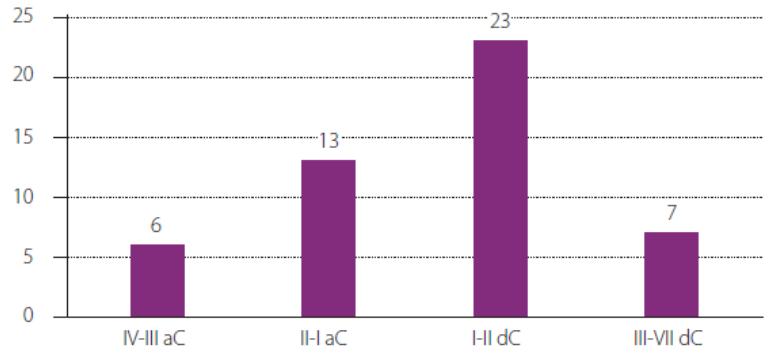


Table 5: Shipwrecks off Menorca differentiated by two-century increments. (Pons 2009: 407)

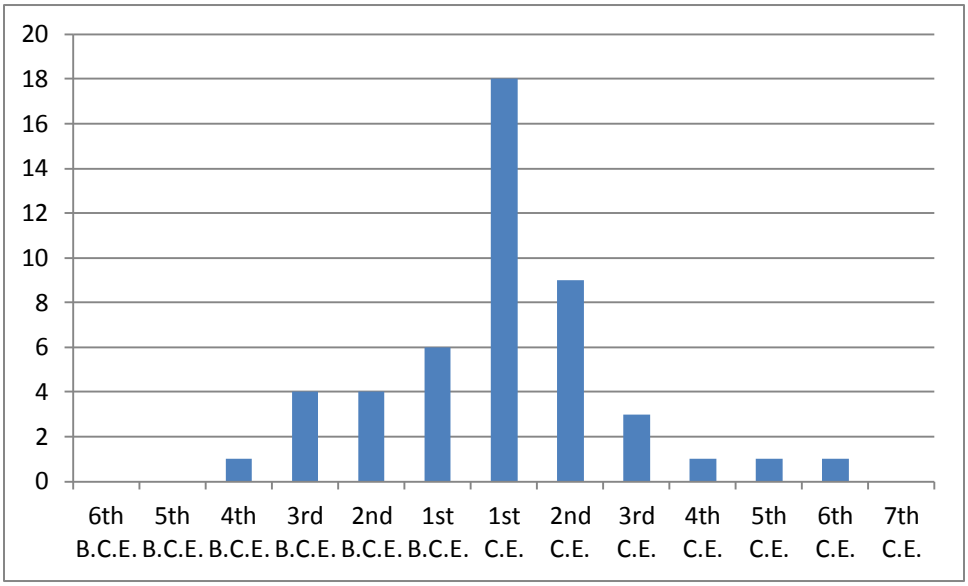


Table 6: Shipwrecks off Menorca differentiated by century. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Table by the author)

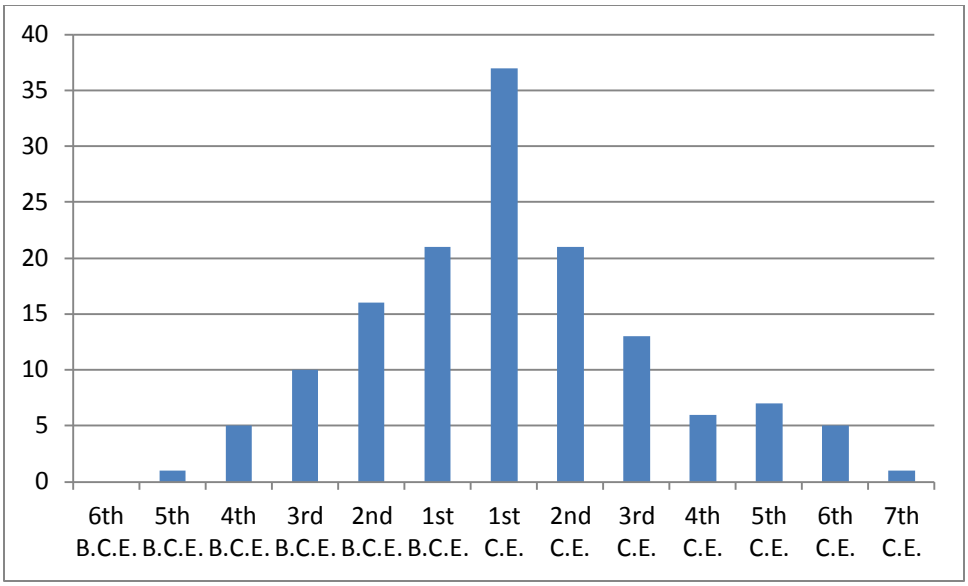


Table 7: All underwater sites located off Menorca differentiated by century. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Table by the author)

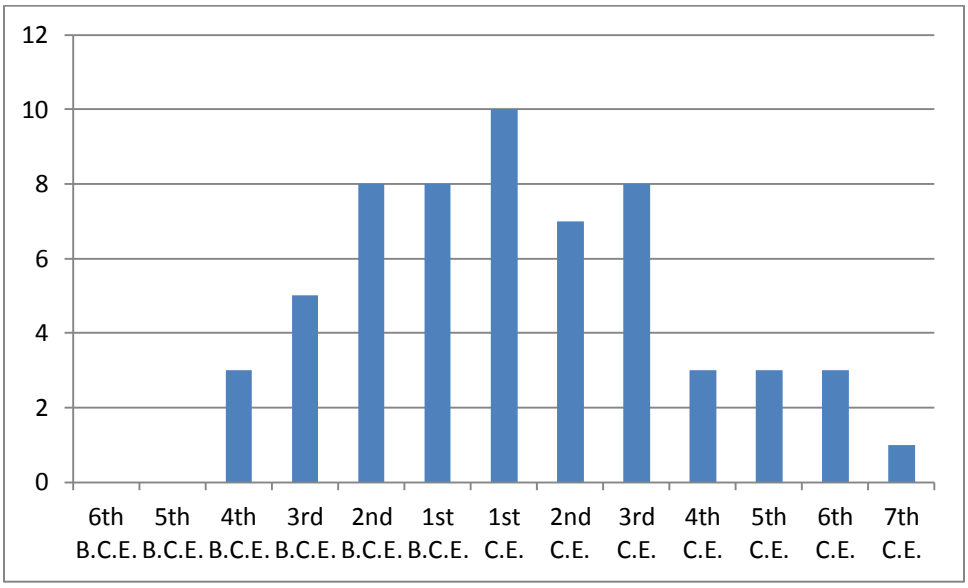


Table 8: All anchorage sites located off Menorca differentiated by century. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Table by the author)

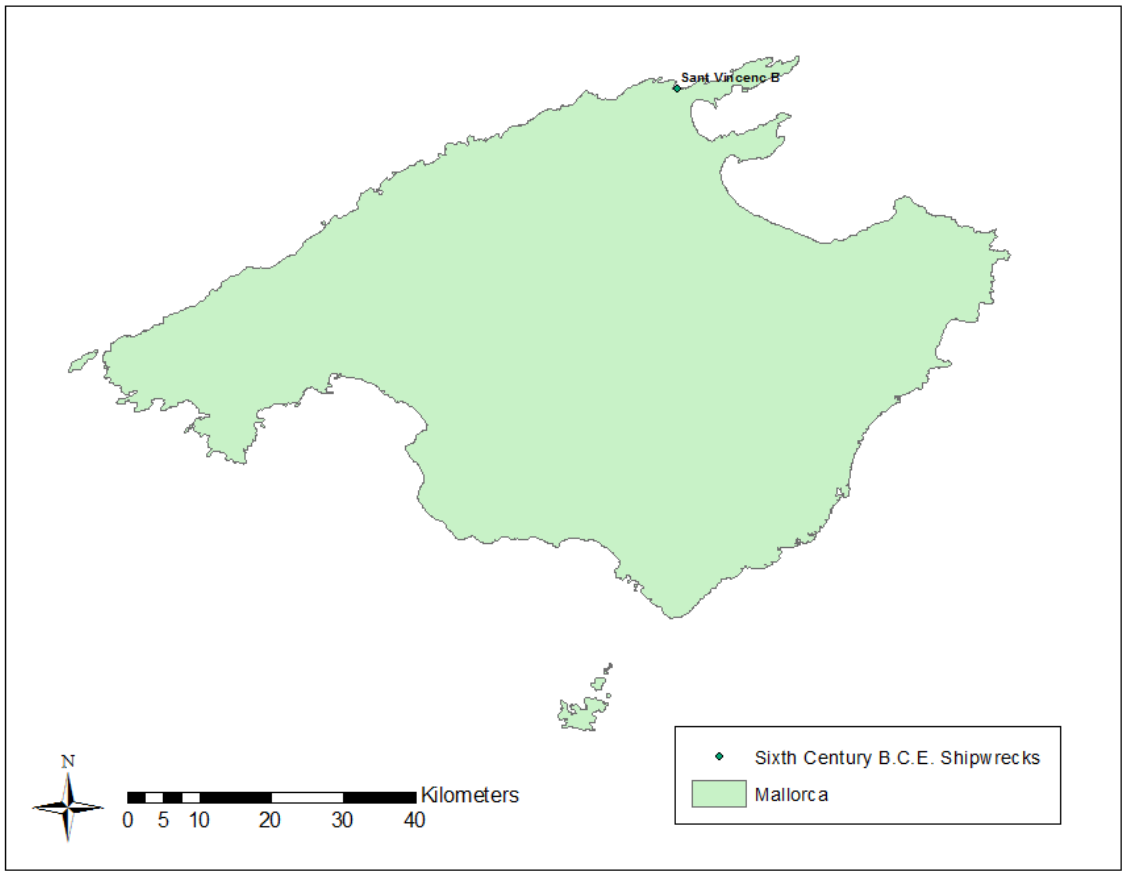


Figure 78: Mallorcan shipwrecks in the sixth century B.C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

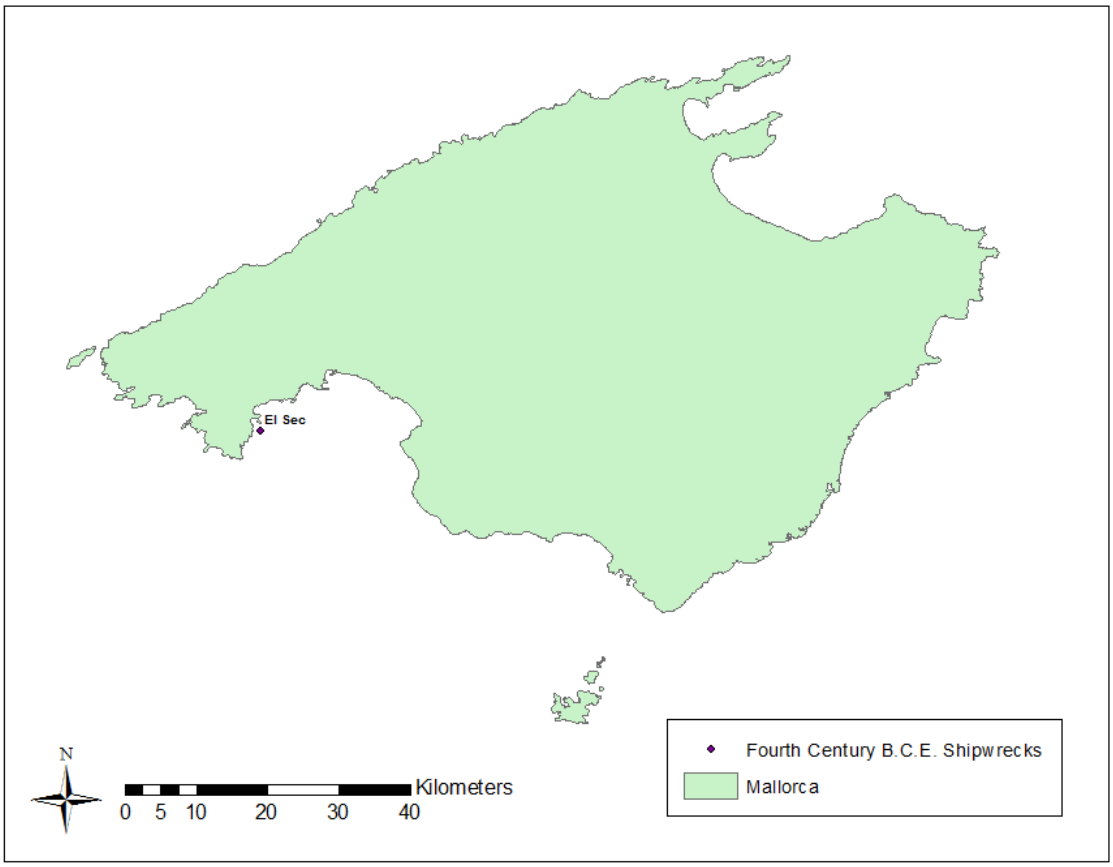


Figure 79: Mallorcan shipwrecks in the fourth century B.C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

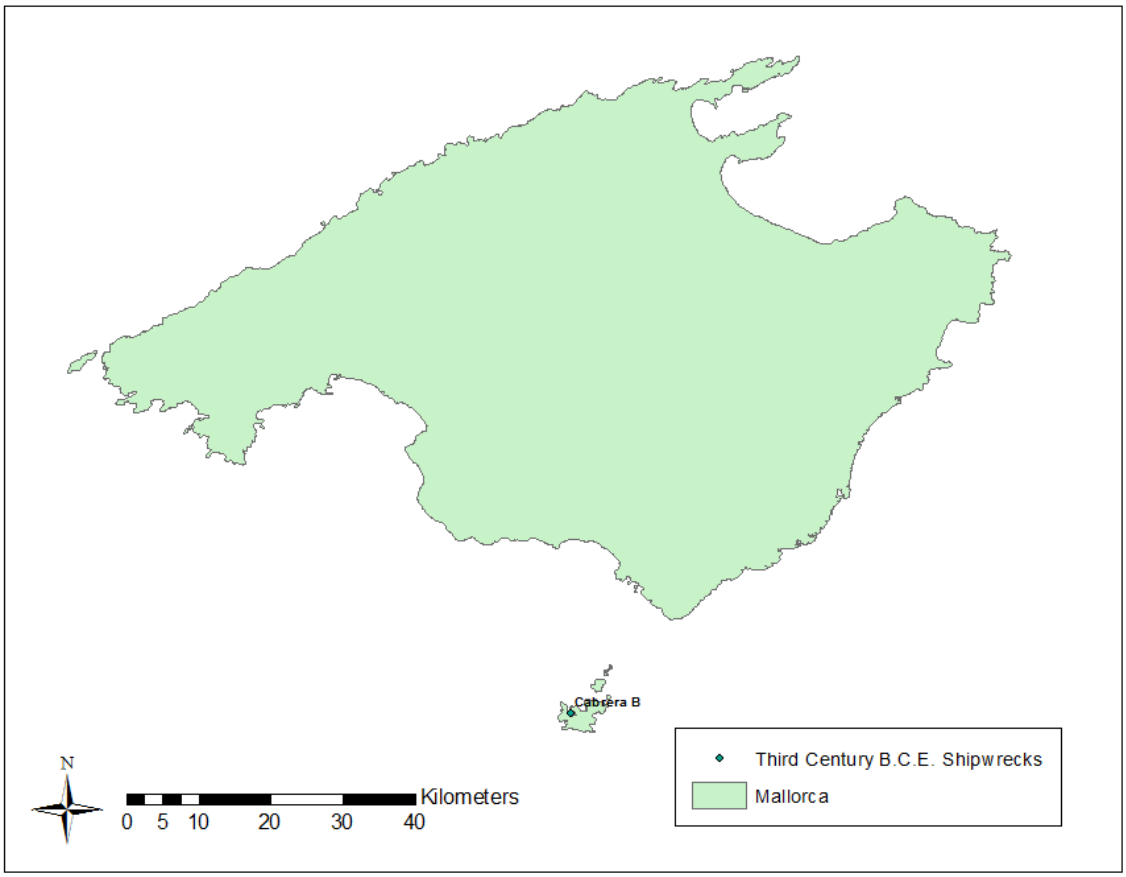


Figure 80: Mallorcan shipwrecks in the third century B.C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

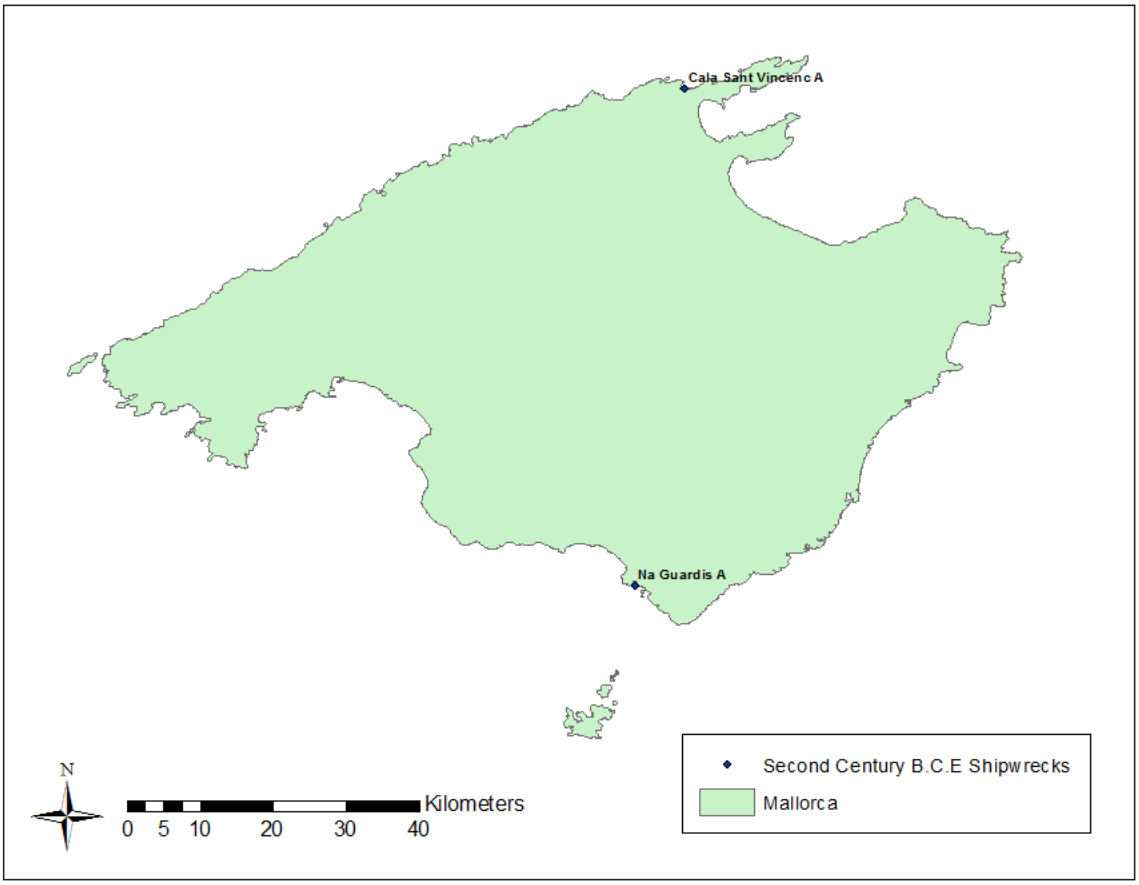


Figure 81: Mallorcan shipwrecks in the second century B.C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

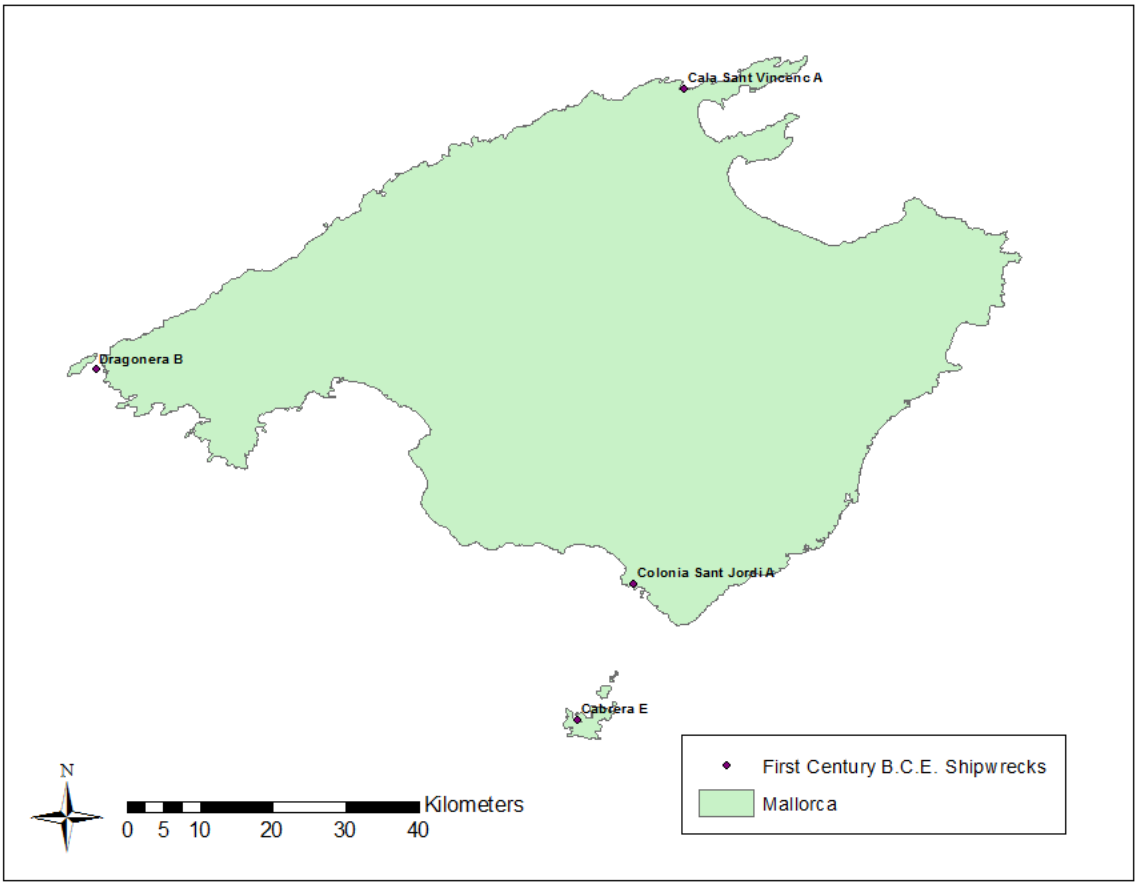


Figure 82: Mallorcan shipwrecks in the first century B.C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

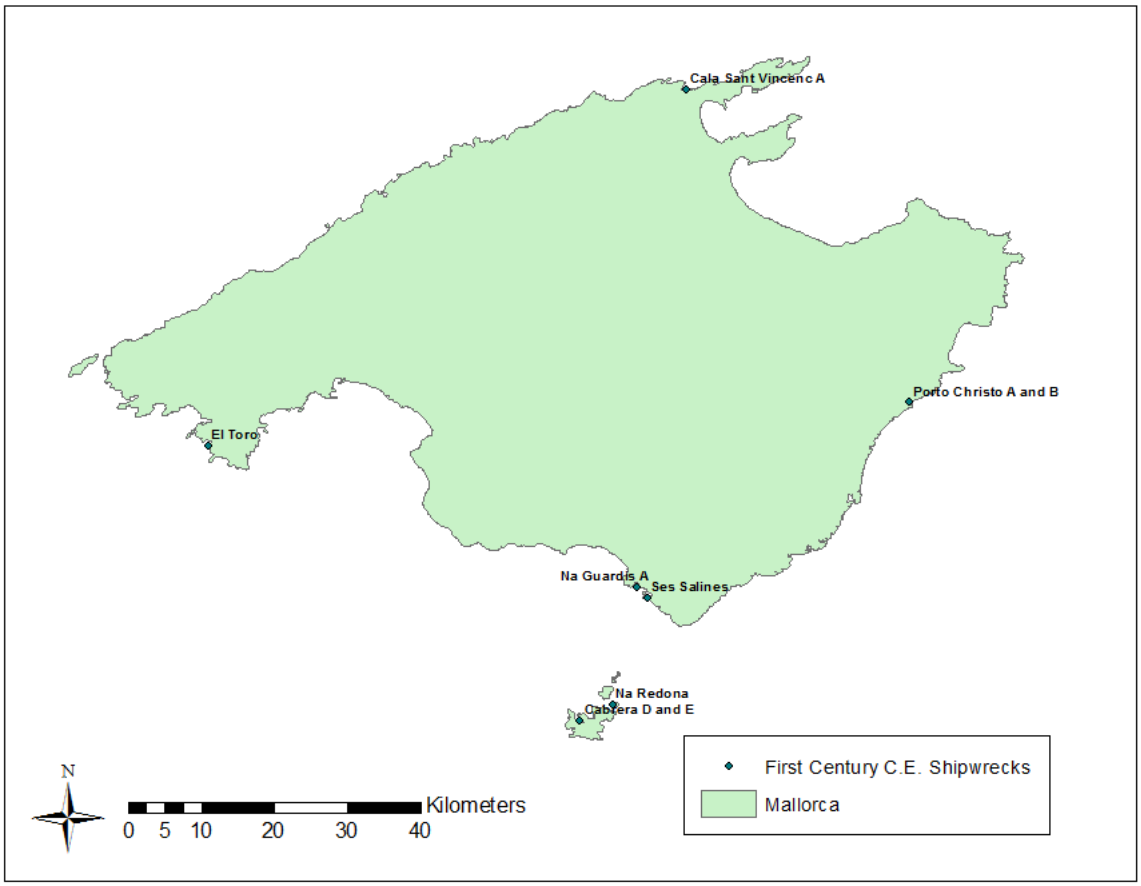


Figure 83: Mallorcan shipwrecks from the first century C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

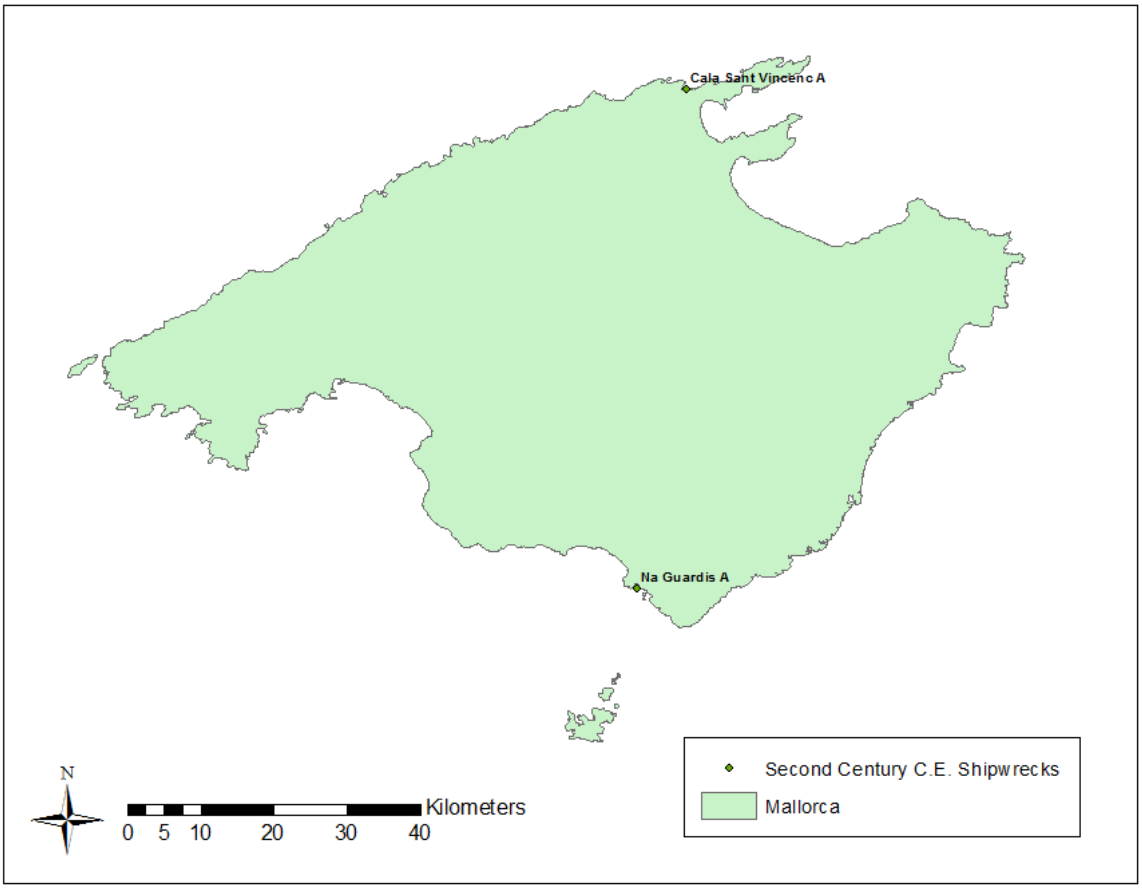


Figure 84: Mallorcan shipwrecks from the second century C.E. Data taken from Parker 1992 and Oxford's Roman Economy Project. (Image by the author)

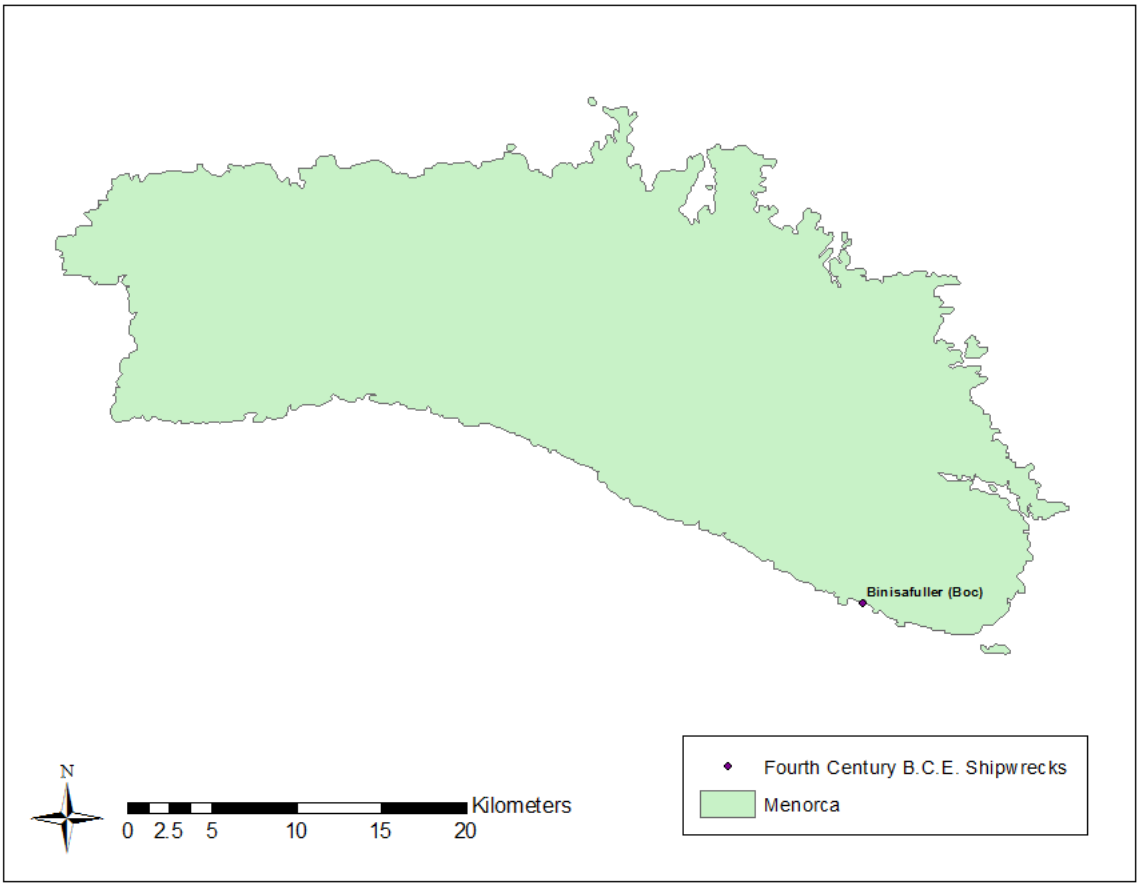


Figure 85: Menorcan shipwrecks from the fourth century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

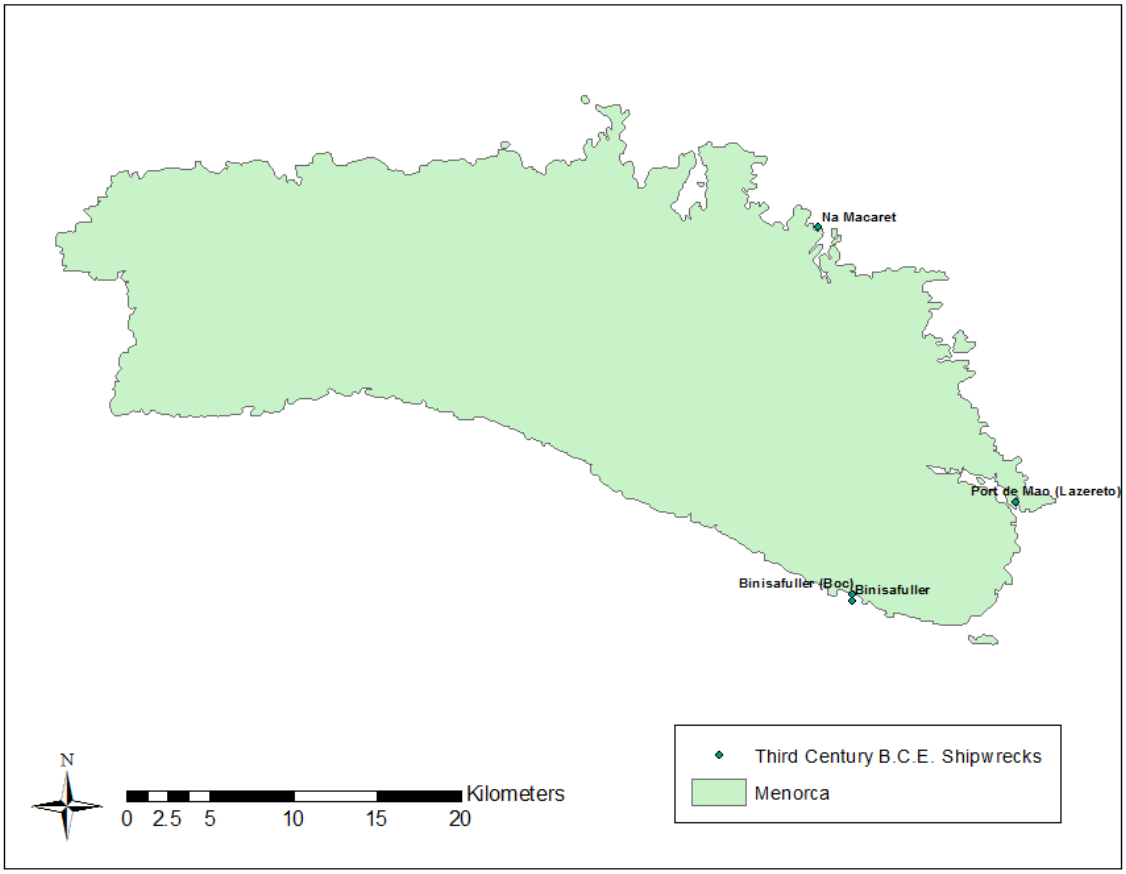


Figure 86: Menorcan shipwrecks from the third century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

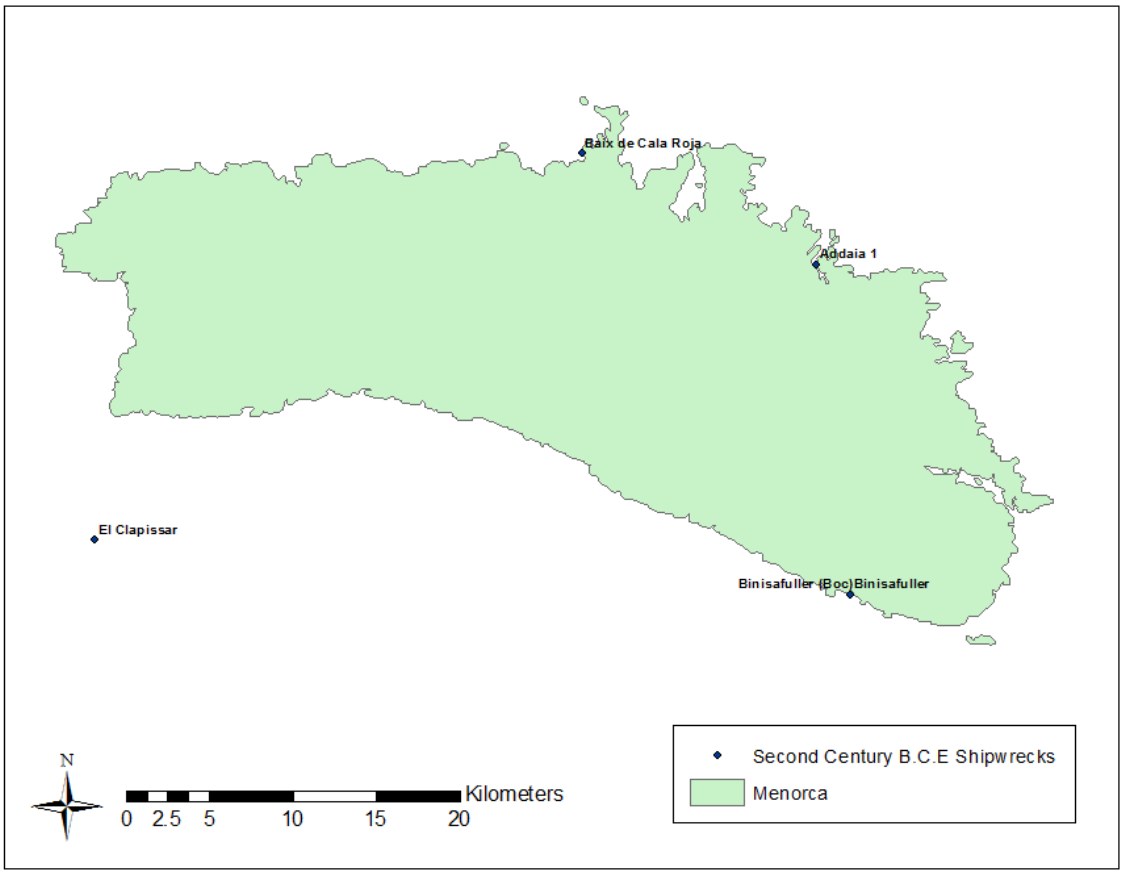


Figure 87: Menorcan shipwrecks from the second century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

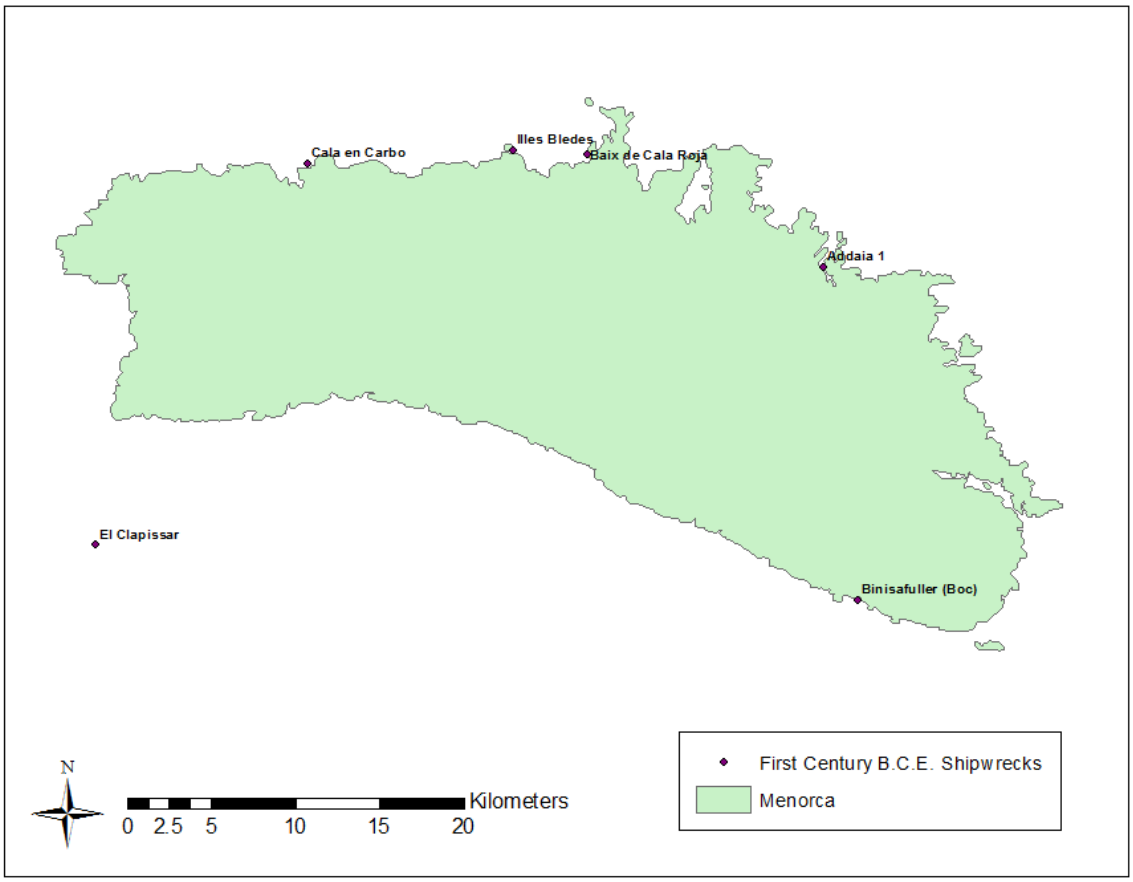


Figure 88: Menorcan shipwrecks from the first century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

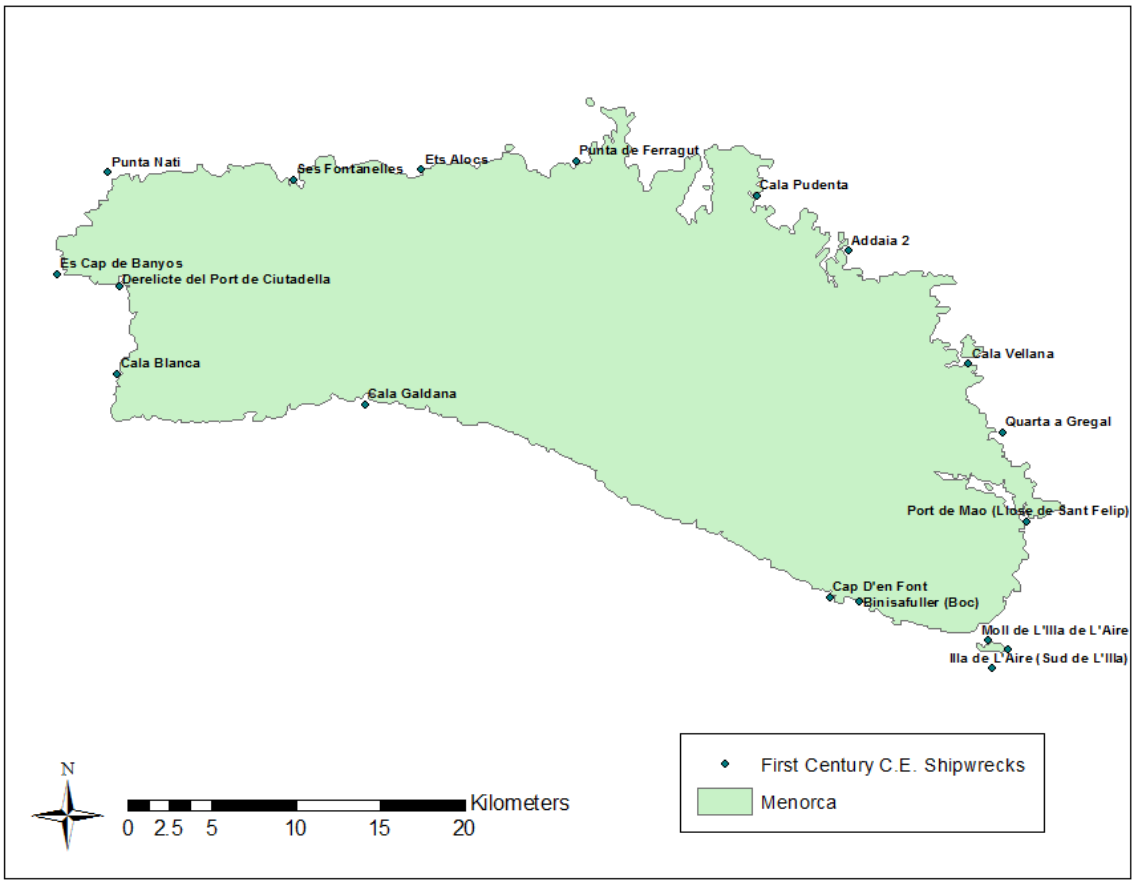


Figure 89: Menorcan shipwrecks from the first century C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

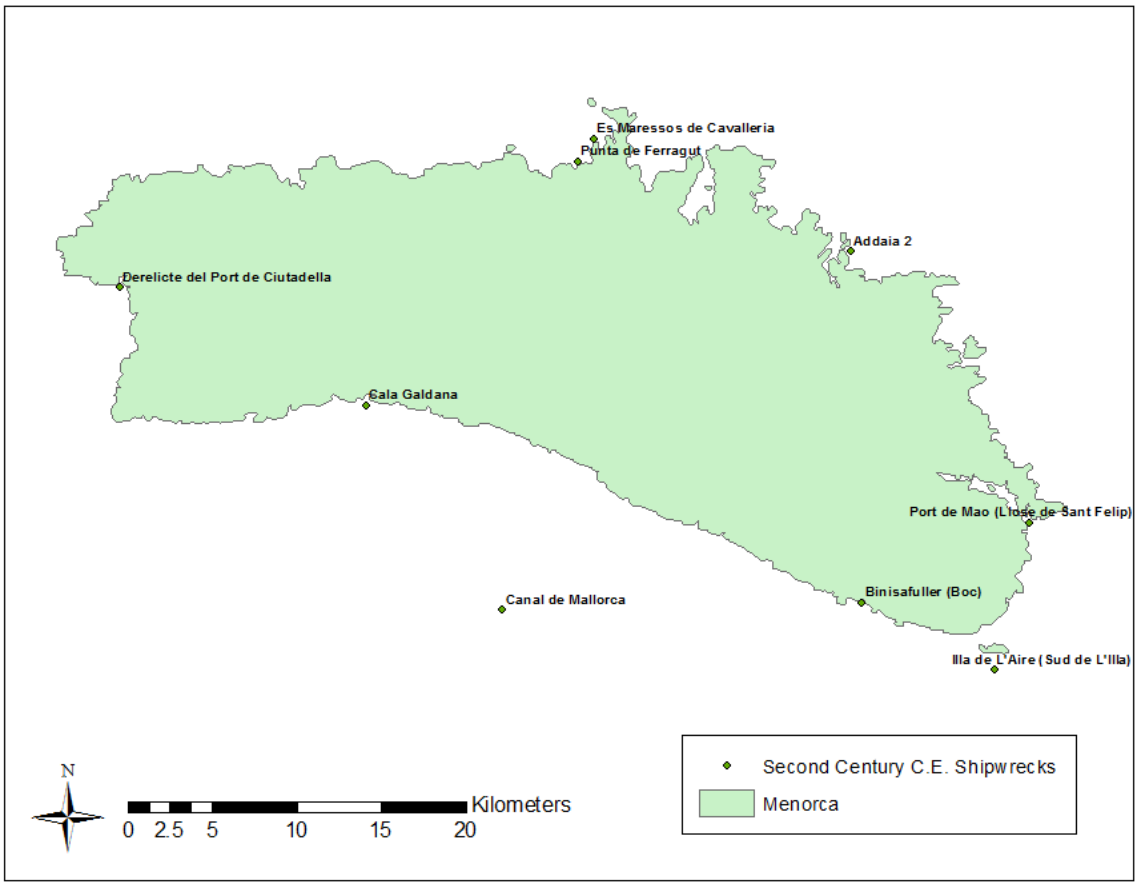


Figure 90: Menorcan shipwrecks from the second century C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

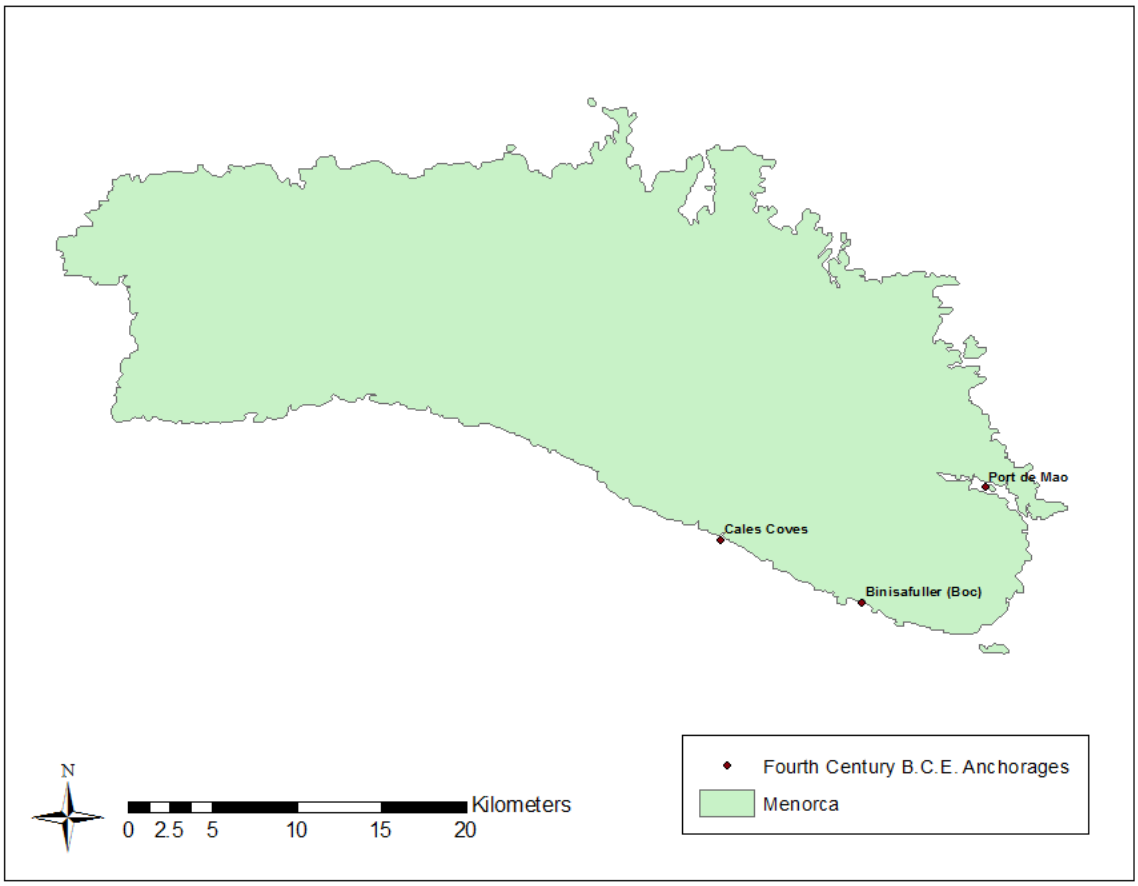


Figure 91: Menorcan anchorages from the fourth century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

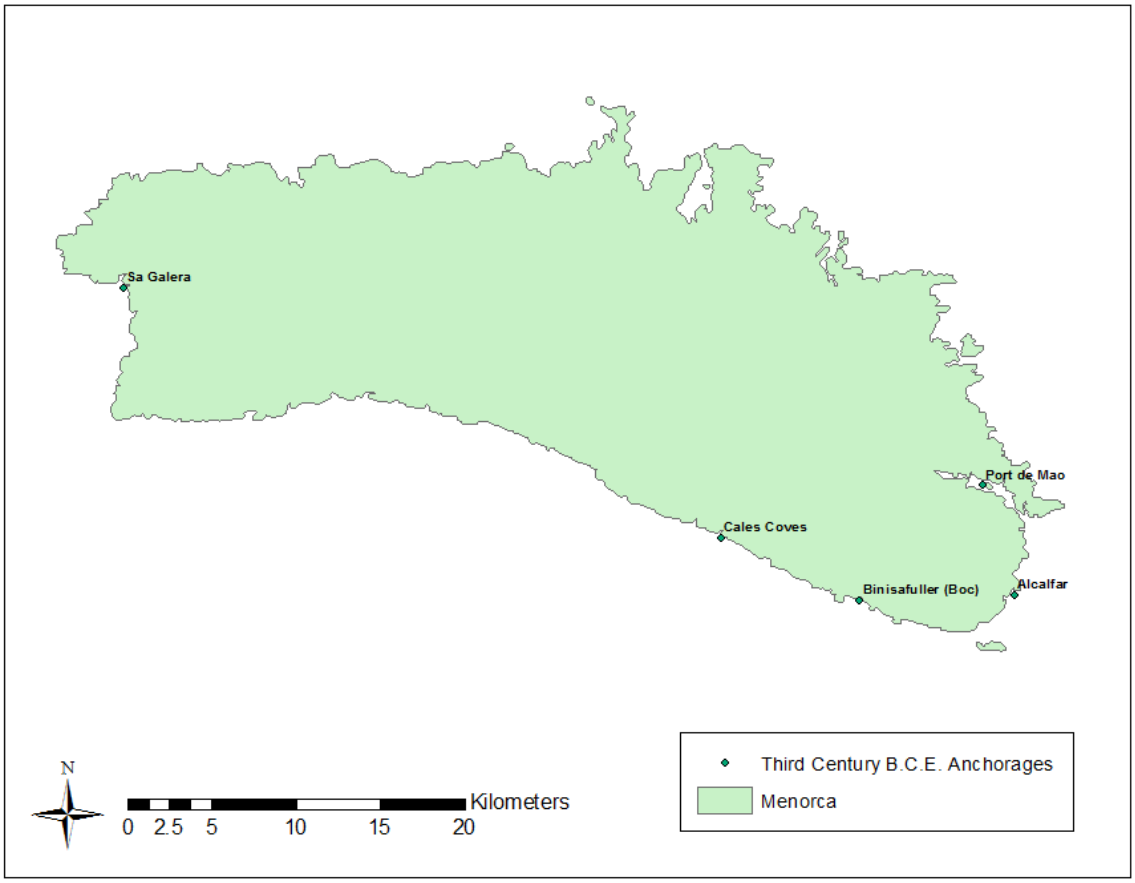


Figure 92: Menorcan anchorages from the third century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

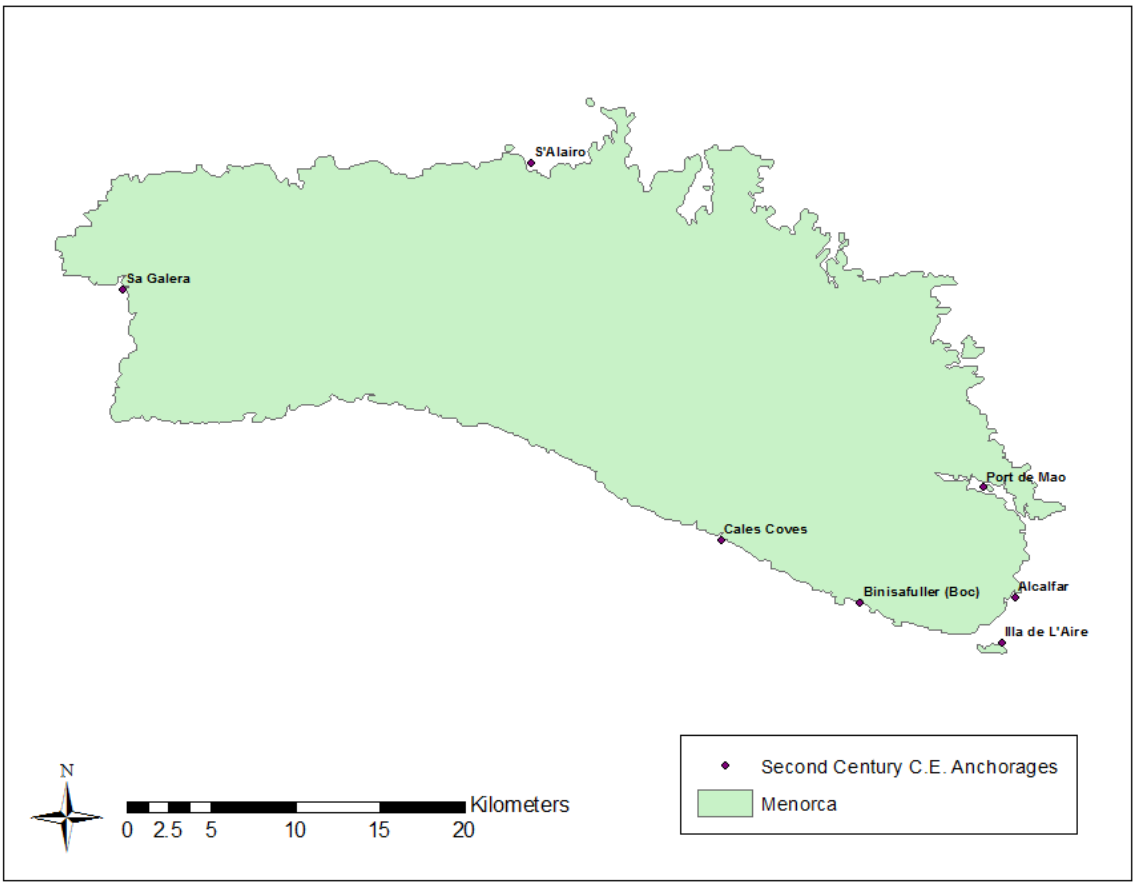


Figure 93: Menorcan anchorages from the second century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

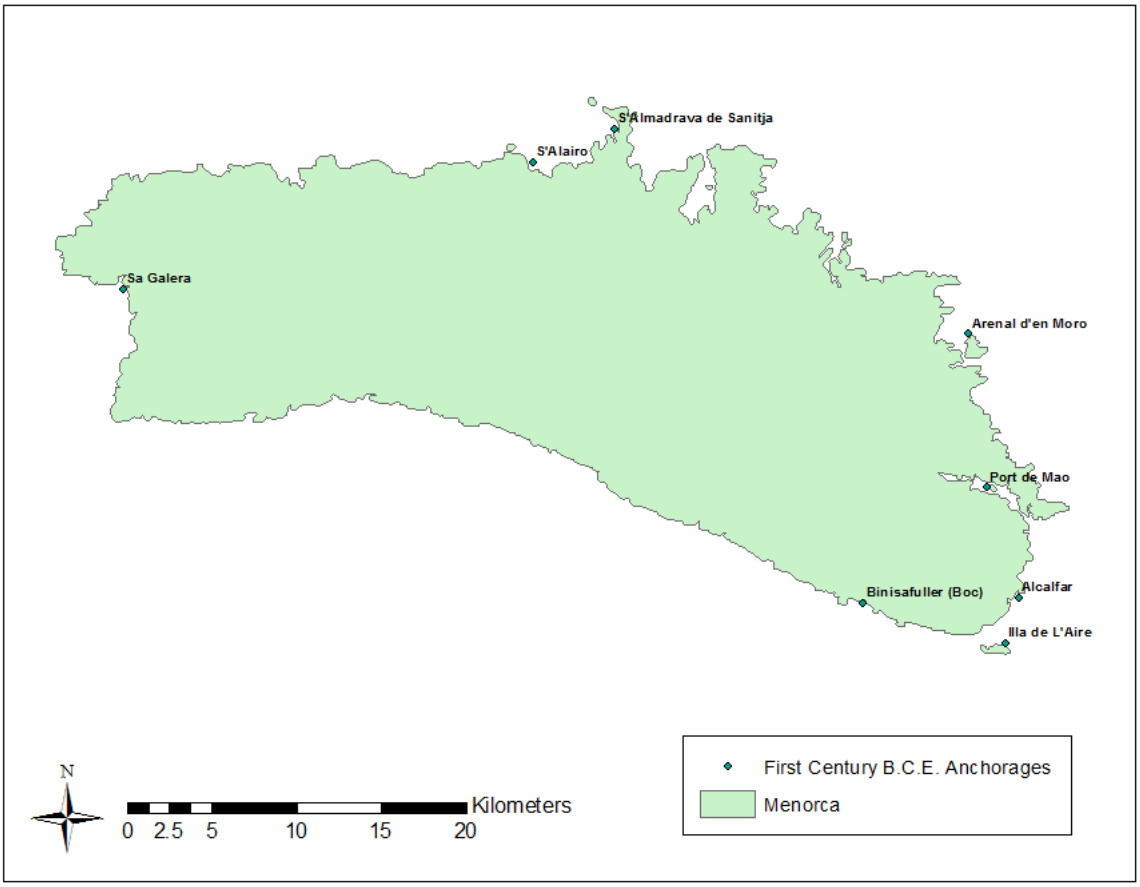


Figure 94: Menorcan anchorages from the first century B.C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

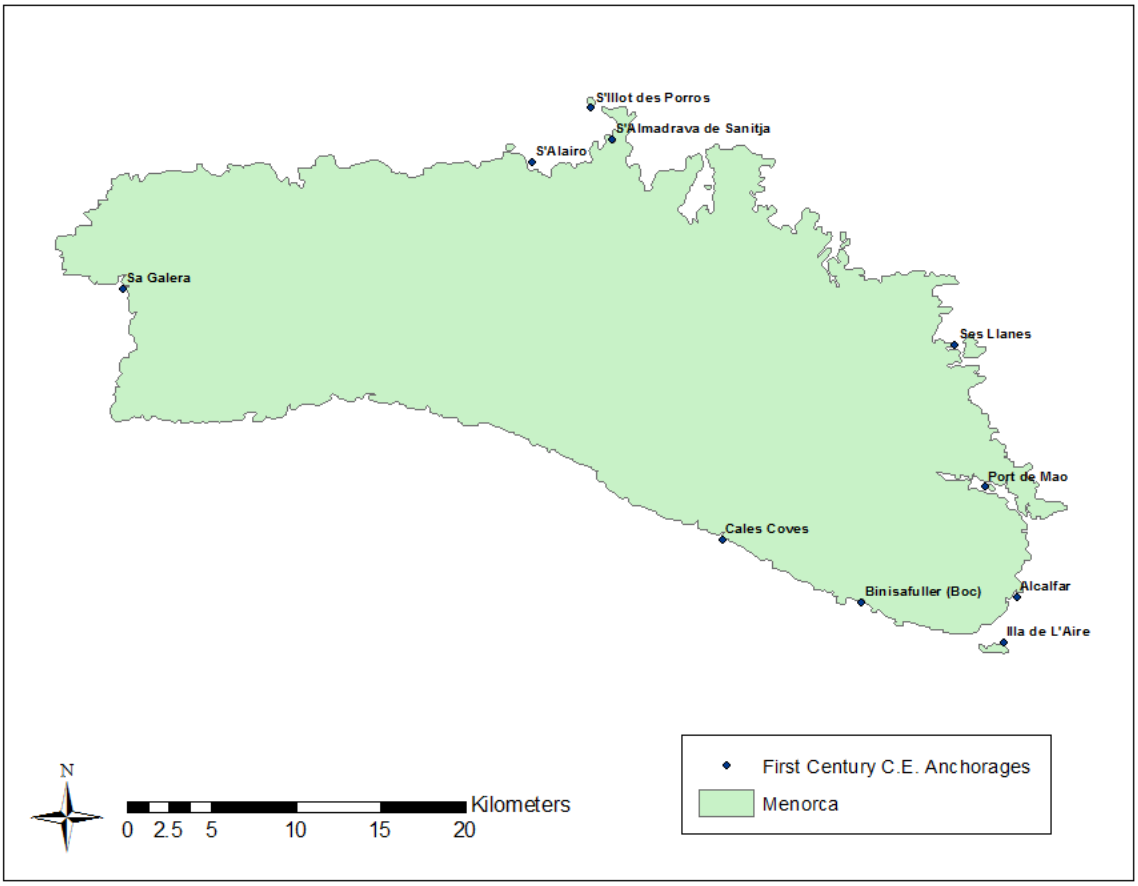


Figure 95: Menrocan anchorages from the first century C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

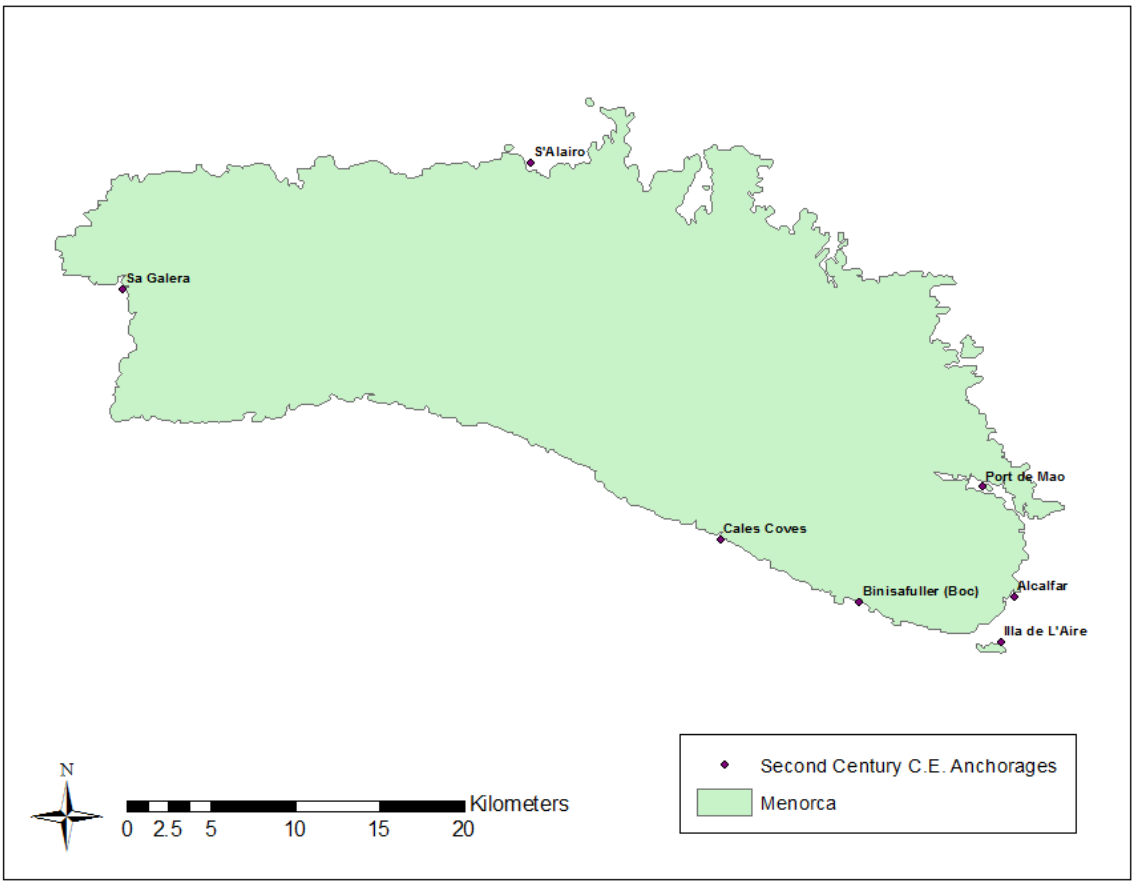


Figure 96: Menorcan anchorages from the second century C.E. Data taken from Aguelo and Pons 2012 and Pons 2005. (Image by the author)

Figure 97: Representation of boat inscribed on stone found at Macarella, Menorca. (Guerrero 2006: 19)

Figure 98: Representations of boats inscribed on stone found at Macarella (1 and 2) and La Trinidad (3). (Guerrero 2006: 21)

Figure 99: Bronze bull from Son Corró approximately 40 cm in height and a potential *akroterion.* (Guerrero 2006: 32)

Figure 100: Bronze figurine of a Nuragic ship of the Bronze Age, complete with bull's head *akroterion* from the National Museum in Cagliari. (Guerrero 2006: 32)

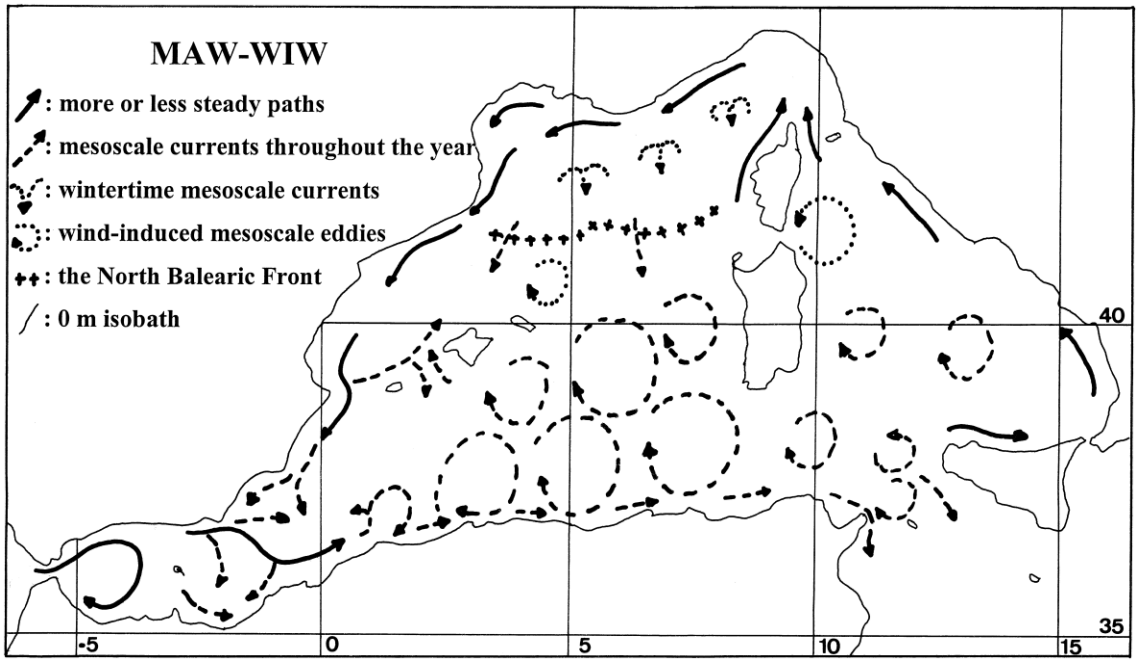


Figure 101: Currents in the Western Mediterranean sea, broadly reproduced. (Millot 1999)

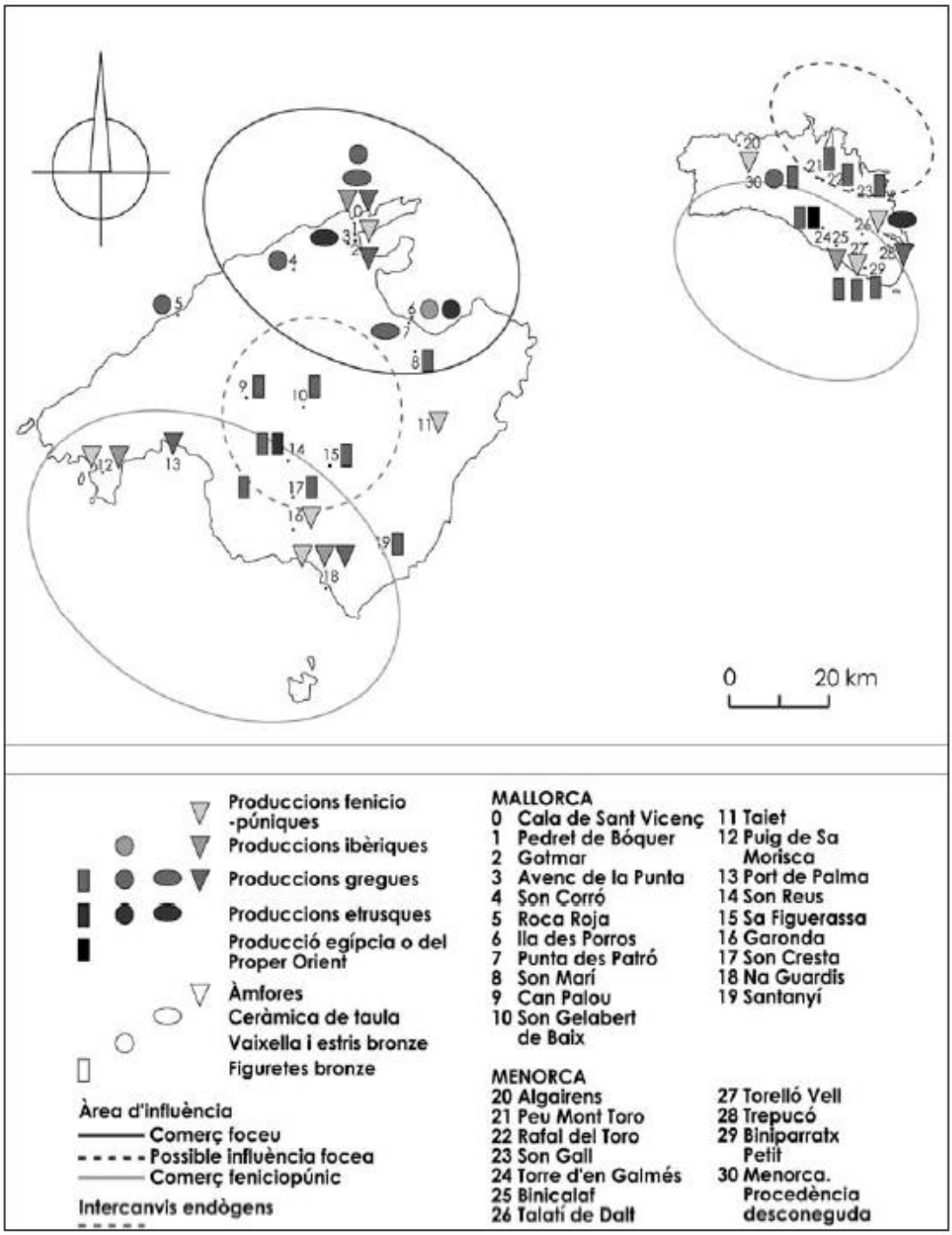


Figure 102: Vectors of trade for Punic and Greek traders from 550-450 B.C.E. on Mallorca and Menorca. (Hernández-Gasch 2010: 129)

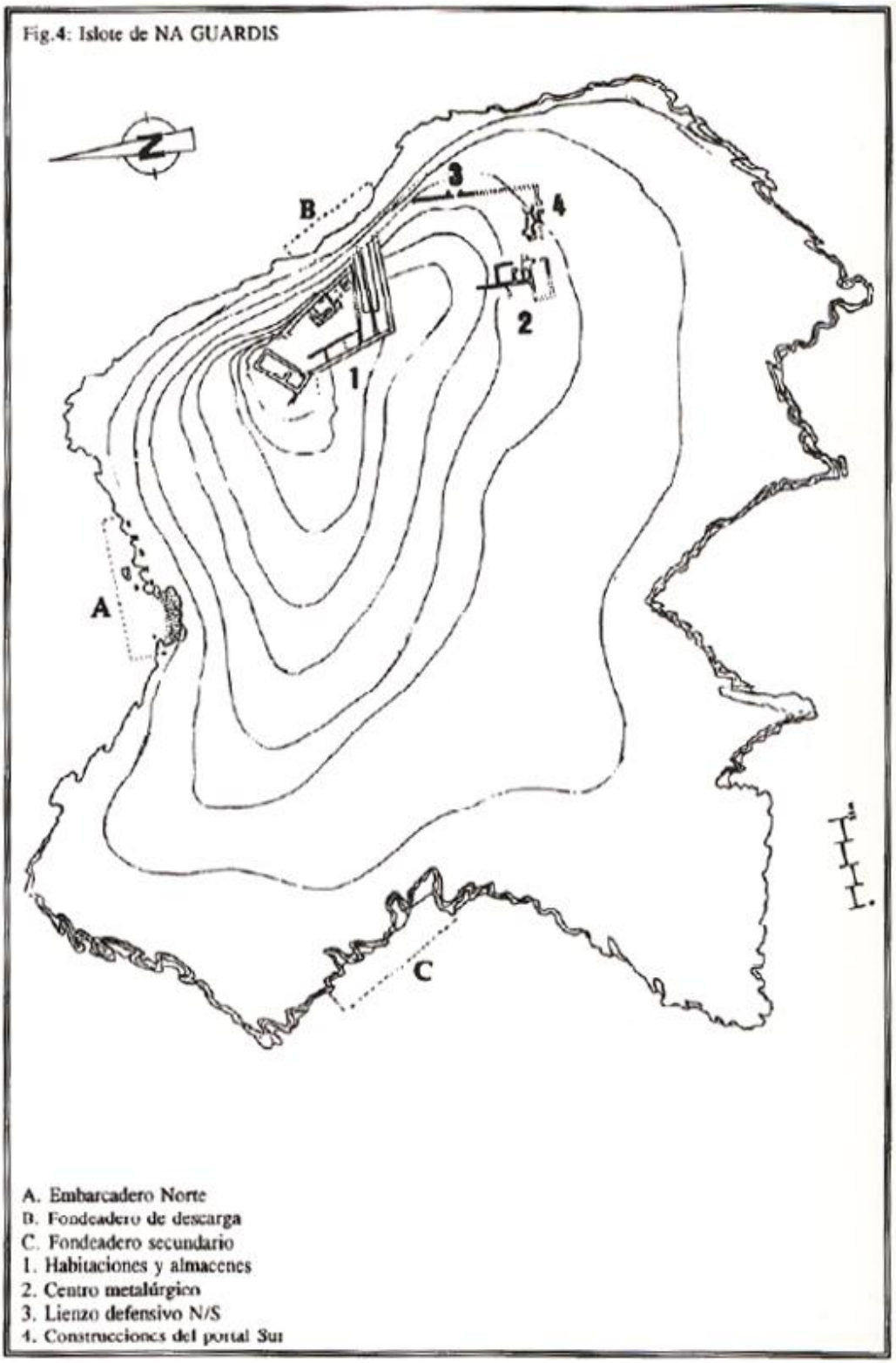


Figure 103: Na Guardis island, complete with excavation areas and anchorages. (Guerrero 1997: 347)

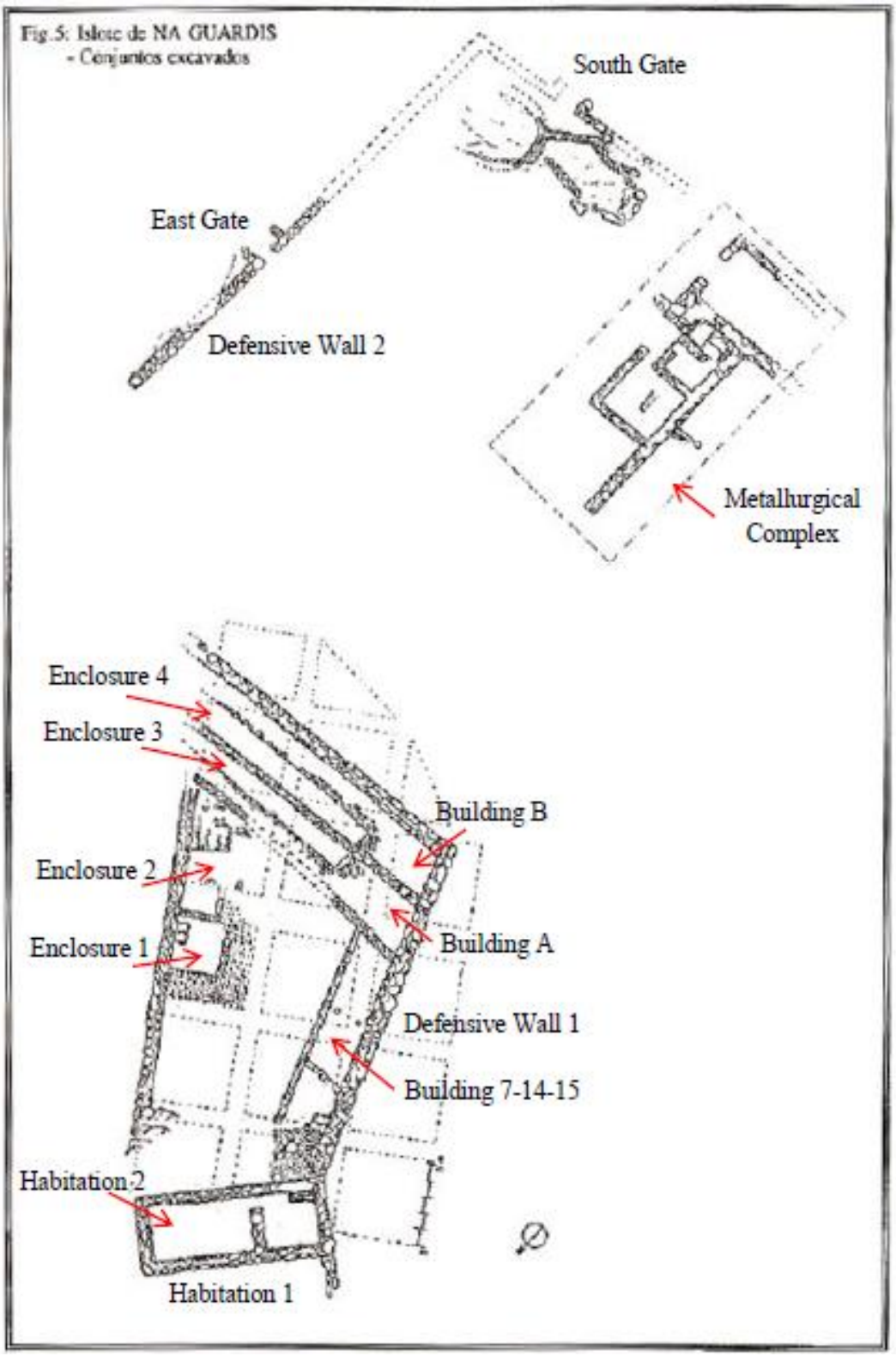


Figure 104: Na Guardis excavation areas with added labels. (Guerrero 1997: 348)

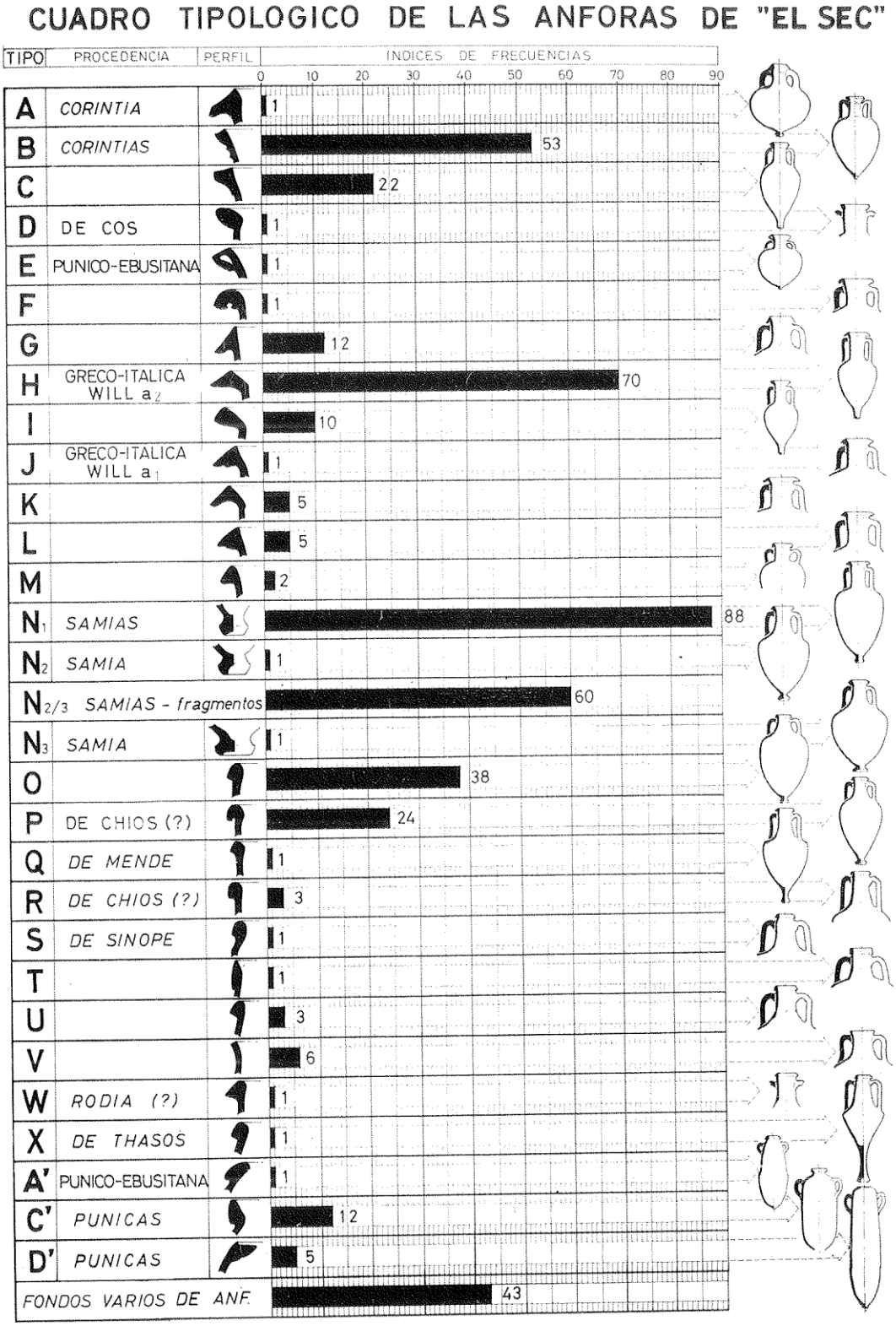


Table 9: Table representing the 27 different varieties of amphorae found at El Sec. (Arribas et al. 1987: 411)

Chapter 7: Tying the Theoretical Knot(s)

Thus far, this dissertation has gathered evidence from at times disparate sources to recreate indigenous lifeways in the Balearics from the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. It is an admittedly motley collection of resources and evidence, but it highlights the considerable complexity of the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods on Mallorca and Menorca. The following sections serve to further ground this data in aspects of postcolonial theory and cross-cultural comparison, amassing a patchwork of pertinent archaeological approaches and theoretical assumptions to shore up current understandings of these dynamic periods in Balearic history. Postcolonial theory will first be approached as a broader subject, followed by aspects of indigeneity and historicity, and finally providing explanations and applications to each island.

Assessing Chronological Slippage

Before delving into theoretical analyses, a couple of technical matters should be mentioned beforehand. As this dissertation has shown, the degree of chronological slippage between Mallorca and Menorca regarding site florescence, monumental constructions, and interactions with foreign influences suggest two separate chronologies for the islands. Based on data regarding the size of settlements discussed in Chapter 3, as well as the ascendance of elites and control of production space within households, described in Chapter 4, it appears that Mallorca went through a relative flux of elite households, site expansion, and megalithic site enclosures to demarcate communities as a sign of territorial prestige early in the Late Talayotic period (roughly the sixth through fourth centuries B.C.E.). Similar transitions occur on Menorca, but in the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. These timelines suggest two entirely different community structures and economies operating on the respective islands. In fact, on Mallorca, the picture is not as clear, as some sites see relative abandonment during the later stages of the

Late Talayotic, while others see expansion, suggesting different communal structures operating simultaneously on Mallorca. This will be further discussed below.

Along with separate chronologies for the islands, the Roman period must also be called into question. As Chapter 6 highlights, Mallorca and Menorca see a dramatic increase in trade via shipwreck evidence beginning not in 123 B.C.E., but in the first century B.C.E., reaching its height in the first century C.E. Of course, shipwrecks do not exactly equate to sea-based mercantilism, as our understanding of indigenous seafaring is almost non-existent. Still, after considering evidence from anchorage points in Menorca, it is clear that there must have been a degree of local seafaring given the relative chronological stability of anchorages, reflecting consistent trade from as early as the fourth century B.C.E. The first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. saw the transition from cabotage trade of goods to the standardization and large-scale movement of Roman goods in and around the ports of Menorca and Mallorca. Yet these dates are quite late, suggesting that Menorca and Mallorca fully entered the Roman economic structure only one or two centuries after conquest. Archaeological evidence for the abandonment of most indigenous sites around the first or second century C.E. seems to support a more consistent integration into Roman economic structures and ultimately lifeways, leading to the seeming end of indigenous customs by the second century C.E. With these reevaluations of the chronology of late-indigenous survival on the Balearics in mind, I will turn to theoretical analyses of the islands considering the data from Chapters 2 through 6.

Insularity and Islands

Any responsible theoretical engagement with the Balearic Island group should incorporate some acknowledgement of issues and theories regarding insularity and island archaeology. The island group has long been considered distinctive in a number of respects,

including the manifestation of culture among the Talayotic and Late Talayotic peoples, the relationships forged with Carthage, the interplay of Iberian, Greek and Punic material culture on all of the islands, and finally the island group's resilience to full-scale Roman conquest until late in the 2nd century B.C.E. Many of these factors have often been implicitly regarded as the natural consequences of the geography of the area. In other words, the areas are relatively remote islands. While the purpose of this overview is not really to refute this assertion, its theoretical ramifications must first be unpacked and understood.

To understand the geography of the island group, it might first be helpful to compare just how remote the Balearics are with regard to most of their east Mediterranean counterparts.[108] Ibiza, the closest of the four main islands to the Iberian Peninsula, is about 87 km off the coast of mainland Spain. Still, Mallorca is about 82 km away from Ibiza itself, and about 170km off the coast of the Iberian Peninsula (closest to Barcelona). Menorca is relatively close to Mallorca, only around 37 km away. To put this in perspective, Mallorca is just a little bit closer to the Iberian Peninsula at its closest point than Sardinia is to the Italian Peninsula. Taking into consideration Mark Patton's use of Target/Distance Ratio calculation (1996: 47-48), a measure of the angle at which an island's surface subtends on the horizon as viewed from a colonization staging ground divided by the distance away from the island, the Balearic Islands as a group display the third lowest ratio for the Mediterranean, just behind the Maltese Islands and Pantelleria. What this means in Patton's interpretive scheme is that logically, these islands would have been some of the last to be colonized in initial episodes of human settlement, a fact which is corroborated by late settlement dates on Mallorca of the third millennium B.C.E. and evidence extending no earlier than the early second millennium B.C.E. on the other three islands (Lull et al. 2013; Patton 1995: 53). Nevertheless, the ratio itself is fairly arbitrary, not taking into

[108] For further insight into this, see Gómez's discussion of the initial colonization of Ibiza (1995) and Lull et al.'s updated version (2013).

consideration wind or sea currents that could adversely affect the capability of navigating to these islands. While these factors might not affect the visibility of the island or island group, they surely would affect accessibility and the potential for colonization or culture contact. Still, the model is an intriguing heuristic tool and perhaps could be applied in some capacity to historical time periods as well.

From the numbers presented above, it is clear that these islands are a substantial distance apart from the mainland. Adding an extra caveat to this discussion, it seems that Ibiza and Formentera, whose separation is about 6 km with connecting islands between, are spatially isolated between the mainland and the northern two Balearic Islands. There is no land in any direction from Ibiza and Formentera for over 80km. This has led to explanations of Punic colonization and interaction on the two southern islands as a seafaring outpost (Aubet 1994: 338; van Dommelen 2003: 131), as well as a cultural barrier between the iberian mainland and the Late Talayotic culture (Guerrero et al. 2007a: 71). What should also be noted is the Balearic's seeming isolation with the rest of the Mediterranean, particularly emphasized in the well-cited model created by Schüle in 1980 regarding the inter-visibility of landmasses throughout the Mediterranean. From Figure 105, it seems a distinct barrier of visibility exists between the Balearics and the rest of the Western Mediterranean, though this map is not entirely accurate as certain atmospheric conditions can lead to visibility of Mallorca from Iberia. While some credence may be given to these arguments, it is first important to point out how these assumptions may be fundamentally problematic.

The theme of island isolation is one that recent scholarship has placed significant focus upon refuting. The idea that seascapes provided a means of connection and not isolation is an important development in theoretical engagements with insularity evident in the works of many scholars (Broodbank 2000; Cherry 2004; Fitzpatrick 2004; Rainbird 2007). In this manner, the

island breaks free from the constrictive bounds of pure isolation. Still, as Fitzpatrick has noted (2004: 7), by virtue of its limited area, resources and ecological conditions, an island offers some level of isolation, allowing for selective interaction with non-islanders. This argument is situated between that of pure isolation and inherent connectivity, a stance which seems both pragmatic and theoretically fruitful. The Balearics then can be seen either through its individual islands or as an island group constituting notions of connectivity and isolation simultaneously, in ways that no doubt played an important role in the construction of Talayotic, Phoenician, Punic, and even Roman colonial culture on the island. Although the study of islands may never offer us an underlying, irrefutable truth concerning the human condition, I disagree with Conolly and Campbell's assertion that islands are not "privileged places for building an understanding of the human past" (2008: iii) in that they allow for the consistent concentrated study of ancient populations and cultural processes in a conceptually well-defined geographic area. The ramifications for studying an island society or group of islands as in the case of the Cyclades (Broodbank 2000) may extend beyond the island itself, especially in the case of colonial interaction with a broader foreign body, such as the Carthaginians or Roman Empire.

It is difficult here to apply the theories Broodbank espoused in his influential work, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (2000), to the Balearic Islands for a few key reasons. The Western Mediterranean, unlike the Aegean, does not consist of a patchwork seascape or islandscape in the same sense of the word. Even among the Balearics themselves, the distance between Mallorca and Ibiza alone is about the distance from Crete to Kythera. This is abundantly clear from Broodbank's figure reproduced here depicting 5km distance gradients radiating out from individual islands as compared to the same model produced for the Balearics (2000: 75; see Figure 106 and 107). If this model were to connect Ibiza and Mallorca, it would necessitate 8 gradations of 5 km from each island. The island group is quite fragmented when

compared to the islandscape of the Cyclades. Still, the notion that islands with the surrounding seas and adjacent lands both make and are made by island inhabitants is a key theme in addressing the Balearics (Broodbank 2000: 22).

Still, even within a conceptual middle ground as mentioned above, it is nevertheless a debatable issue as to how exactly the nature of an island should be incorporated into a research paradigm. Essentially, the issues boil down to how important the island is in understanding the cultures situated therein. Van Dommelen's response to Rainbird's article, "Islands out of Time" (1999), implies that using the idea of insularity and the island as the theoretical starting block for analyses of island cultures is troublesome (Van Dommelen 1999: 248). Cherry cites this attitude as considering the island geography an inconvenience (2004: 244). Still, Van Dommelen is correct in saying that immediately assuming certain specific cultural variables for an island culture may be theoretically deterministic. Still, this does not necessarily preclude comparative studies of island cultures across space and time. Assuming these cultures will be the same is presumptive, yet looking for the similarities and differences may actually point to a better understanding of each island's cultural inhabitants in context. This focus on individual islands seems particularly important concerning ideas of colonialism and imperial island subjects.

An Island Postcolonialism?

Although much literature exists on initial island colonization, particularly in the Mediterranean (Alcover 2008; Calvo et al. 2002; Cherry 1981, 1990; Dawson 2014; Gómez 1995; Guerrero 2001), analyses regarding the secondary or tertiary colonization of islands by imperial forces are seemingly absent. This is not to say that postcolonial analyses of island areas do not exist, as the next section will explicitly deal with some of these sources. These theoretical paradigms have particularly resonated in the study and understanding of depictions and conceptualizations of island populations as culturally backward (Rainbird 1999; 2007). While this

is indeed a critical epistemological matter, island archaeologists have seemingly not engaged with postcolonialism on a level of colonizer and colonized. It seems that much has been said about the similarities and differences of island cultures in prehistory; so why can we not extend such an approach into later periods? This question is particularly pertinent in the Western Mediterranean, given the Iron Age cultures that were colonized by Greeks and Phoenicians, or even saw conquest by Carthage or the Roman Empire.

Beyond some historical works regarding the conquest of the island (Morgan 1969), as well as other publications, primarily by local or Spanish archaeologists, concerning the manifestation of Roman military camps and towns in the Roman Balearics (Arribas 1983; Cau 2004; Contreras 1998; 2006; Doenges 2005; Estarellas et al. 2014; Genestar et al. 2006; Guerrero et al. 2007a; Orfila et al. 2008; Woods 1970; Zucca 1998), no explicit attention has been given to assessing the Roman conquest and the situations therein with a particular eye toward modern theories concerning insularity. Still, negative perceptions of the nature and state of the prehistoric populations on Mallorca and Menorca in particular are clearly evident in some mid-twentieth century literature regarding Roman Spain. Sutherland for example wrote, "…the Baleares remained comparatively untouched, and even savage and uncivilized, until their conquest by Metellus…" (1939: 21). In this passage there is a clear inclination to view the Balearic Islands, here referring to Mallorca and Menorca, as primitive, isolated peoples of a forgotten island, much akin to similar literary representations expressed by Rainbird (1999; 2007). The Spanish archaeologist Lluis Pericót, in his analysis of the Balearic Islands notably does not fall into this trap (1972). Still, the harsh treatment of island peoples and lack of theoretical engagement does not seem necessarily to be a phenomenon particularly relegated to the Roman period at all, or even the Mediterranean. When attempting to expand this island purview to colonial encounters in other parts of the world, as will be more explicitly carried out in

succeeding sections, island archaeology as a concept seems very much to exist in the realm of prehistoric studies. With that said, I believe that the theories and practices of island archaeology can be utilized to approach cultural and colonial interaction with historical societies and represent a theoretical caveat which Carthaginian and Roman archaeologists in particular have not yet adequately approached.

Perhaps the one exception to this lack of engagement with historical time periods is the work of Christy Constantakopoulou with her book *The Dance of the Islands* (2007), briefly touched on in Chapter 2. In this effort, Constantakopoulou attempts to relate theoretical ideas concerning insularity with historical episodes surrounding the formation of the Delian league and the island empire Athens amassed in the fifth century B.C.E. Perhaps it is a bit easier to approach notions of insularity and geography with respect to a peoples and power base spread across a series of interconnected islands, namely the Aegean. Still, what Constantakopoulou has done for the study of Athens and the east could perhaps be applied similarly to the Phoenicians and Carthaginians in the west as well as the somewhat more terrestrial Romans. Although this might be difficult for Carthaginian evidence, approaching the Roman concept of an island, as Constantakopoulou has done with fifth-century Athenians, is perhaps a Herculean yet worthwhile exercise to tease out what, culturally and linguistically, an island meant to the Romans. The cultural meaning of insularity and islands during the Late Talayotic and Roman periods may be better understood as an expression of group experience, of indigenous inhabitants and perhaps even of Roman colonizers, ultimately bound to geographic locality and cultural interfaces. Insularity obviously plays a key role in the case of islands, island communities, and island cultures. Chapter 2 began this discussion, which should continue in future scholarship concerning the islands. Along with these notions, postcolonial assertions

regarding locality, entanglement and hybridity are key to this model of interaction, and are further described below.

Aspects of Postcolonial Theory

Having briefly dealt with theories in island archaeology and insularity, it is also important to approach another theoretical pillar on which the previous analyses of the archaeological record of the Balearic Islands were based. Although the scope of different time periods assessed using postcolonial theory has expanded in recent years, it is an interesting phenomenon that much recent work regarding these explicitly postcolonial epistemological frameworks originates in the Western Mediterranean, with the notable exception of Alcock's work such as *Graecia Capta* and *Archaeologies of the Greek Past* (1993; 2002), as well as Papadopoulos and Lyon's work (2002). This chapter will particularly focus on the works of scholars dealing with the primarily pre-Roman periods to couch current applications of colonial frameworks in the Western Mediterranean. This is not to say the other works by prominent Romanists of the Western Mediterranean are not equally advanced, such as Nicola Terrenato, Rob Witcher or Greg Woolf (Terrenato 1998; van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007; Witcher 2005; Witcher et al. 2010; Woolf 1998; 2012). Still, it seems Greek and Punic colonization both allow for some theoretical wiggle room, potentially owing to a lesser emphasis on textual resources, at least in the West, to allow for such engagements. Also, many of these scholars are very anthropologically oriented. This is a trend that is also symptomatic of island archaeologists. In the end, these scholars serve to influence the following analyses of the Balearic Islands in the era of Carthaginian and Roman contact.

Before delving into the scholarship of pre-Roman interactions in the Western Mediterranean, it is necessary to mention the work of two archaeologists who focus on the

Roman period, colonization, and postcolonial interpretations of cultural interaction. As an emerging scholar from Spain, Alicia Jiménez's application of hybridity to Iberian and Roman interactions in southern Spain is a fresh step forward for the Spanish Western Mediterranean. Her work will be discussed further at the conclusion of this section. The other scholar who necessitates further focus is Nicola Terrenato. His work pertaining to cultural *bricolage* as an alternative to concepts of acculturation in Etruria is exceptional in its attempt to circumvent meta-narratives created by direct-historical sources (Terrenato 1998; 2001: 64). It seems that Terrenato sees Romanization as a process of Roman strategy and indigenous response to what would appear to be a vast mosaic of cultural attributes that can be associated with "Romanized" areas. Local responses to a Roman presence is key to uncovering the multitude of manifestations such a process of culture contact and political control can have on specific cultures within a colonial network (Terrenato 2001: 64).

Moving to the scholars who have taken extended look at colonialism and postcolonial theory in the pre-Roman Western Mediterranean, a few notable scholars immediately come to light. For the purposes of this review, the works of Michael Dietler and Peter van Dommelen will be primarily focused upon. Still, it is important first to mention two other prominent scholars who are advocating postcolonial theoretical perspectives with regard to indigenous Bronze and Iron Age cultures in the Central and Western Mediterranean. Margarita Díaz-Andreu is a particularly theoretically inclined archaeologist coming out of Spain. Her work regarding the Bronze Age cultures of the Cuenca region in Spain have spurred her to publish on aspects of Iberian identity formation and gender in the prehistoric world (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005). Her other work has also focused on the reflexive engagement with the historiography of Spain and the theoretical legacy of the early twentieth century and the Fascist period (1993; 2002). Tamar Hodos is another particularly important, emerging scholar for the study of the Central

Mediterranean. Her recent book, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron-Age Mediterranean* (2006), attempts to supplant broad theoretical engagements that favor the colonizer over the colonized, particularly with regard to Greek and Phoenician colonialism. She does this by arguing against World Systems Theory and interpretive models that ascribes labels of core and periphery to areas of interaction. Instead, the locality of interaction is emphasized, stressing the importance of consumption and the strategic selection of cultural traits by indigenous cultures (Hodos 2006: 23).[109] Much of the arguments regarding the Balearic Islands in the following sections will use this argument implicitly to advocate for indigenous complexity.

Moving to Michael Dietler, his work concerning consumption and the differential forces that influence consumptive patterns in colonization episodes is important here for trying to understand the manner in which material culture interactions manifest themselves in colonial situations. His work regarding alcohol and Greek cultural interaction along the Northeastern coast of Spain and southern coast of France serves not only as excellent *comparanda*, but also as a fresh perspective on the interplay of colonizer and colonial subject in the Western Mediterranean (Dietler 1990; 1997; 2010; Dietler and López Ruiz 2009). Dietler's recent book, *Archaeologies of Colonialism* (2010) is perhaps the best resource for accessing his theoretical approach, explicitly taking a definitional approach to anthropological terms regarding colonialism. These include ideas concerning hybridization, entanglement and creoloization. Although hybridization, stemming from linguistic models derived from Bakhtin (1981) and studies of modern colonial cultural interaction by Bhaba (1994), concerns the active and self-aware interplay of social practices, creolization primarily concerns the more natural, less intentional adoption of cultural practices or materials. Creolization, however, technically refers to the creation of culture among Afro-Caribbean peoples, and represents a process that is

[109] Another good example of Hodos' recent work regarding the locality of colonial interaction and descriptions thereof is her article "Colonial Interactions in the Global Mediterranean Iron Age," (2009).

perhaps too culturally, geographically and temporally specific to be applied in places and times like the late-Iron Age Western Mediterranean (Palmíé 2006: 435).

In multiple publications, Dietler has asserted that the Western Mediterranean is really a central area for the understanding of modern, western perceptions of colonialism (2010; Dietler and López Ruiz 2009). This includes the emblematic Cup of Gyptis, a tale that describes the pacification and Hellenization of the Gauls in Massalia (Dietler 2010: 1). The importance of this perspective is relevant to the study of the Balearics but with some particular nuances. First, the Balearics are indeed part of the Western Mediterranean, nestled in a broader colonial chronology of not only the Roman Empire, but Greek and Phoenician interactions as well. Second, the fact that the colonization of the Western Mediterranean should be considered so fundamental to modern understandings of the processes of colonialism is significant in that the Balearics are geographically fairly distinct. In other words, although the Balearic Islands are not by any means the only islands in the Western Mediterranean, they occupy a geographic middle ground in that they are much smaller than Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily but are still capable of sustaining substantial populations, particularly on Mallorca.

One might even understand the island communities of the Balearics and smaller Western Mediterranean islands as constituting different imagined communities (Anderson 1983: 7). Being bound by visible barriers of inhabitation, or water, and with territorial fragmentation only evident on Mallorca as discussed throughout this dissertation, one can understand Menorca, for instance, as the staging ground for the creation of an imagined, island community. This designation implies that all the islanders are not intimately known to one another, but a discrete, tangible community develops. This is not as likely to occur on islands many thousands of square kilometers in surface area like Mallorca, or other examples such as Sardinia, Corsica or Sicily. So, taking Dietler's emphasis on the importance of a Western

Mediterranean perception of colonization a step further, the Balearic Islands, and specifically Menorca, are important in this larger narrative of colonialism in the Western Mediterranean, coming from an explicitly insular perspective.

This thought process then leads to work regarding Punic interactions and colonization by Peter van Dommelen. Having published pieces concerning Sardinia, Ibiza, and Sicily, van Dommelen can be understood as an archaeologist intimately engaged with understanding island communities in the Western Mediterranean basin (1998; 2003; 2007). His work on Sardinia concerning local interactions with Punic and Roman colonial forces heavily emphasizes notions of hybridization and identity formation (2003; 2007). Van Dommelen understands hybridization as the organic use of cultural building blocks to create a cultural identity, utilizing cultural traditions from both colonizer and colonized (2003: 137). These interactions or building blocks fuse to create a new hybrid culture and identity. The forged identity could be otherwise extrapolated and approached as a shared cultural identity or could even be extended to be interpreted as an imagined community. This is extremely pertinent in the case of the Balearics.

The creation of identities and past practices based on cultural communities has been approached quite successfully in other parts of the Mediterranean, particularly in the case of Roman Greece (Alcock 1993; 2002) with many theoretically fruitful avenues of inquiry. Nevertheless, the hybridity model to some extent assumes that interaction occurs with two relatively distinct groups. This is obviously problematic on a theoretical, as well as a practical level concerning the Balearic Islands. Theoretically speaking, cultural identity is an intangible and slippery notion that entails many scales of association that range from the individual to the supranational or imperial group. Although I have argued for different imagined communities on Mallorca and Menorca, and multiple groups on Mallorca throughout this dissertation, it is at times difficult to see when intra-island communities are hybridized with external entities, or

entering into a material culture conversation with many different intra- and extra-island groups. To assume that interaction can occur between one defined group and another only works in certain cases, and clearly on Mallorca and Menorca, the range of material culture on both islands, differing island domestic and ritual practices, along with differential exposure to extra-island cultural forces complicates the picture immensely. Drawing the line to define one group from the next culturally is in many ways impossible, even in the Balearic Islands.

This proves a major practical problem. As Chapter 6 outlined, trade in the Balearic Islands during the Late Talayotic was dominated by Punic merchants, but not altogether so, especially closer to the Roman period. Interactions were piecemeal and did not imply a simply Punic/Native dialogue of material culture, but instead the cabotage cargo and exchange of material culture from throughout the Mediterranean even on Punic ships. Traders were also differentially interacting with various parts of both islands, and, in the end, Mallorca's cultural landscape appears fragmented in the Late Talayotic, while Menorca is more coherent, yet wholly separate from Mallorca. Moving to ideas of Romanization, the successive inclusion and domination of Mediterranean groups invites not only the creation of a distinct Roman/non-Roman division, but, by means of the historical record, arbitrary distinctions between indigenous groups both territorially and culturally. From the data presented in this dissertation, it is clear that the Late Talayotic peoples were not at all culturally united as a distinct and identifiable community across Mallorca and Menorca, or even within Mallorca itself. Yet from the picture Roman historical sources offer, this group has been contextualized as one distinct cultural-historical body. Even so, one has to question what it meant to be Roman in 123 B.C.E. The formal imperial period of the Augustan Principate was a century away. Roman soldiers came from all parts of Italy and presumably parts of Spain, Mediterranean France and even the Eastern Mediterranean. Still, citizenship was contained to the city of Rome and surrounding area

and would not change until the Social War. In this manner, the "Romans" represented many different cultural groups, differentially associated with an imperial force. Coming to grips with such varying cultural distinctions is seemingly impossible.

Not all is lost, however. As an interpretive paradigm, the hybridity model has many advantages for approaching aspects of Balearic interactions. For example, it includes the colonized or indigenous group as active agents in the construction of identity. Secondly, understanding a dialogue of colonizer and colonized or even proximal communities still maintains a level of interpretive pragmatism and value. It does not seem out of the question that, when faced with incoming colonial power, local communities might have perceived of themselves as a discrete cultural entity and vice versa. Although the communities involved may be variable, colonial interaction may lead to further insights as to both parties' consumptive choices and perceived identities. It is here that reference to ideas of insularity may prove immensely valuable. With the creation of an imagined community in an insular environment, the manifestation of culture may approach a level of perceptible congruence from which an active dialogue with an imperial power could be formed. I argue in the preceding sections that Menorca achieved such an island-wide imagined community, while Mallorca seemingly retained many, yet in both islands, the indigenous inhabitants were dynamic and independent forces of cultural exchange with both Punic and Roman contacts.

Postcolonial Theories and Romanization

Before moving to comparisons with historical archaeology, one current successful application of the hybridity model to Roman period materials, as well a potential failure, are worthwhile to mention. These two case studies in many ways formed the inspiration for this theoretical engagement with Mallorca and Menorca. Taking an example of these theories applied in the Western Mediterranean with a certain degree of success, Alicia Jiménez's article

“Pure Hybridism” (2011) seeks to apply notions of cultural contact and hybrid identities to sanctuary statuary from the Iberian Peninsula during the second and first centuries B.C.E. Describing the use of Italianate dress, both Latin and Iberian script representations, and the use of local resources, Jiménez presents these seemingly “transitional” pieces of statuary as hybrid dialectical engagements. She explains that using the hybridity model is not pure, separating “Roman” and “Iberian” but rather evokes a sense of the local appropriation of different symbols through media and techniques that were local in origin (Jiménez 2011: 117). In many ways, the graves of Sa Carrotja in Mallorca, discussed in Chapter 5, with Roman-type burials exhibiting indigenous names, as well as the oddly above-ground burials of Son Real, again in Mallorca, reflecting indigenous household constructions, in many ways reflect the notion of local appropriation of external traits with varying emphasis on local origins.

Jiménez provides a good example of postcolonial engagement with the Romans in the Western Mediterranean. Moving to another example of postcolonial engagement in the Roman West, Guerrero et al.’s article, “Insularity and the indigenous world on the periphery of the system” (2007a) present an example of theoretical application that falls short. Included in an volume edited by Van Dommelen and Terrenato titled *Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity Under the Expanding Roman Republic* (2007), Guerrero et al.’s article primarily concerns the islands of Mallorca and Menorca between the 6th and 1st centuries B.C.E. With a title including the terms “insularity” and “indigenous world,” this article became an inspiration for this dissertation. The article fails on numerous levels as, for instance, it never actually discusses theoretical concepts regarding insularity in the Balearic cases, nor does it present postcolonial arguments regarding the actual indigenous inhabitants. Instead, it simply assumes that by default these indigenous cultures are insular and local. Although the edited volume is particularly interested in the Roman Republic and issues of colonial contact therein, this article

proceeds to describe the nature of Punic and Phoenician interaction for the majority of the piece, leaving an explanation of the cultural impacts of Rome's conquest to the last page (2007a: 80). Admittedly, this dissertation does precisely that, as the Roman conquest can only be understood when the Punic and even Phoenician interactions that preceded 123 B.C.E. are taken into consideration.

Still, while providing good information concerning material culture trends on the islands after 123 B.C.E., the article nevertheless ignores how the incoming Carthaginians, Romans and indigenous peoples interacted, instead isolating the indigenous culture and changes therein in a quasi-teleological manner. Theories regarding hybrid objects or assemblages are not approached, nor are any substantive theoretical concepts introduced to explain changing patterns in material culture. Instead, change is simply implied via material culture trends. Basically, this article is very valuable for its attempt to expose pre-colonial and colonial interactions with the Romans in the Balearics, a trend that is almost completely absent from other studies of the island. Yet, in the end, it is theoretically lacking, just as a large amount of literature surrounding the Late Talayotic and Roman periods on the Balearic Islands. Hopefully it is clear through these examples of how a theoretical engagement with archaeological data concedrning the Romans can be accomplished in a responsible manner in the Western Mediterranean, while at the same time displaying the dearth of current theoretical engagement with the Late Talayotic and Roman interaction on the Balearic Islands.

On the Cusp of History: Approaching Indigeneity on the Balearic Islands

When the Romans conquered the Balearic Islands in 123 B.C.E., a transformation took place. This was not simply the colonization episode, but the transition from the modern conceptualization of a pre- or protohistoric culture to a historic culture on the islands (see Chapter 2). In other words the interactions with Carthaginians and the Romans lead many

scholars to label the Late Talayotic period protohistoric, followed by the historic Roman period. Of course it is only with hindsight that scholars can recognize this shift, as ancient populations could have had no way of knowing that the script and histories of the Carthaginian and Roman peoples would have such long afterlives. Nor can a responsible scholar assume that everything changed in the northern two Balearic Islands after the sixth century or even 123 B.C.E. on account of a "historical" culture coming into contact with an area where an indigenous script did not exist. People do not live through historical time periods. The idea of a historical period is a modern, academic construct reflecting our extant evidence, especially during this period in Mediterranean (pre)history.

Yet, as simplistic as the previous statements seem, these interactions with heavily historical cultures have many ramifications for the study of the Balearic Islands. Although American historical archaeologists are generally part of Anthropology Departments across the United States today, a similar problem has constantly plagued their discipline concerning contact period sites. In 1970, Robert Schuyler asked, "When is a North American Indian site a historic site?" (1970: 85). What this statement implies is a fundamental separation between the skills and practices of prehistoric archaeologists and those that deal with historic periods. Although this article is from the early 1970's, Orser writes in 2001 that questions such as these still persist in the realm of anthropological archaeology (2001: 624). Considering how, in general, historical archaeologists define themselves in the United States as scholars who study the manifestation of culture and contact with European peoples (paraphrased from Harrington 1955: 1121), it is clear how such dilemmas might exist in the labeling of specifically contact period sites as "historic" or "prehistoric."

So then how does Mediterranean archaeology enter into this debate? Surely differences exist between the methods of colonization and contact that existed during the American

colonial and the Late Iron Age Mediterranean. In many ways, however, the archaeology of the Western Mediterranean uses Eastern colonization as the breaking point in discussions of protohistory, history and the end of prehistory. If not Phoenicians, Greeks or Carthaginians, the Romans end prehistory in the Mediterranean. Classical and Near Eastern scholars operating west of the Adriatic, like historical archaeologists, study the manifestations of Eastern Mediterranean cultures in new territories, as well as the manifestations of cultural contact amongst indigenous societies. In this manner, the utility of historical archaeological paradigms for understanding contact, colonialism and imperialism fit nicely in the epistemological structure of modern academic Classical archaeologies.

Still, there is something to be said about the way arbitrary divisions are created in modern scholarship to propagate what might be understood as antiquated concepts regarding the levels of cultural sophistication. One might find immediate fault in conflating "Carthaginian" or even "Roman" with "historical." It is true that even Roman history is not all-encompassing, nor does it approach the breadth and accuracy of the sources often available to historical archaeologists. When faced with the question of how to label a site, however, a Classical archaeologist would consult ancient literature which might give a clue as to when a place or peoples were brought under Carthaginian or Roman dominion. The fact that such specific dates as 654 B.C.E. or 123 B.C.E. exists for the Balearic Islands, for instance, attests to a level of detail some historical sources offer, especially concerning chronologies for conquest and colonization. Such chronological resolution is not only tempting in its usefulness, but also presents a level of temporal specificity that archaeological sites rarely achieve barring extremely fortunate circumstances. Still, the historical sources for ancient Rome are by any standard subjective and potentially wrong, a problem with which any Roman archaeologist must consistently contend with. In many ways, however, historical archaeology in the United States is constantly second-

guessing often multitudinous written records, searching for meaning within dates and written accounts, using archaeology to support claims of subaltern, indigenous, or even alternative histories of lifeways that are often not represented in the textual record. Classical archaeologists are still attempting to use material evidence to connect the historical dots, though recent scholarship has begun second guessing these monumental dates. In this manner, after 123 B.C.E., it becomes important to find archaeological traces of Roman colonization on Menorca and Mallorca, yet the persistent indigenous sites are neglected despite our knowledge of their continual settlement. The same could be said of Carthaginian contact evidence on indigenous sites starting in the sixth century B.C.E.

The presumed accuracy of the historical sources, however, is only part of the theoretical complexity that a historical culture entails. When compared to the historical archaeology example above, although issues of practice and methodology very much exist concerning the historical and prehistoric archaeologists in the United States, Classical archaeology has the marked disadvantage of being explicitly separated by department in academic institutions throughout the United States and Britain. The Classical archaeologist, often based in either Classical Studies or even Art History departments, is systemically separated from Anthropology Departments. This separation, created by centuries of Classical Studies and scholarship explicitly dealing with Greek and Roman cultures, has created a parallel path for Classical archaeologists and a barrier to theoretical innovation. It has only been in fairly recent decades that Classical archaeologists have begun to engage with anthropological theory regarding colonialism (or post-colonialism), specifically at first among Greek and Phoenician or Punic archaeologists and more recently with Roman archaeologists (Alcock 1993; Gosden 2004; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Renfrew 1980; Terrenato 1998; Van Dommlen 1998; Woolf 1998).

Theoretical stagnation aside, what this separation represents for the study of the Balearics specifically is a decisive bifurcation of the islands' respective chronologies. After the well-known date of 123 B.C.E., the island generally becomes the territory of the Roman archaeologist, based in a Classical Studies or similar department. Even before that date, the Late Talayotic period is often considered protohistory, and out of the purview of the typical prehistoric archaeologist. Continuity or a discussion of the longue dureé in this system is impossible. This division is clear when assessing the type of work that has been carried out in the Balearics over the past three decades. As a general trend, the cultures that precede Carthaginian and Roman interaction on Mallorca and Menorca tend to be approached with a high level of theoretical engagement. This includes notions of initial colonization, ecological theory, insularity, as well as other theoretical approaches to the data (Alcover 2008; Calvo et al. 2011; Micó 2005b; Castro-Martínez et al. 2003). The Romans are treated as a historical culture with a historical record, often relied upon solely to create an archaeological discussion (Contreras 1998; Contreras et al. 2006; Zucca 1998). Yet even in the protohistory of the islands, issues no longer concern insularity, postcolonialism, or even other post-processual theoretical engagements, but really issues of imperialism and acculturation (Guerrero et al. 2007a; Fernández-Miranda 1997). Silliman, who will be discussed below, refers to this model as the *short pureé* (2012). This is potentially why this liminal zone between the domain of anthropological prehistorians and Classical archaeologists has not been previously explored in depth on the Balearics, as it presents a necessity for interdisciplinarity in the methodology of engagement. Because of this, a term like Romanization, stemming from the vantage point of the Romans as the dominant cultural system, is regularly used to describe these interactions without theoretical disentanglement. Even the term protohistory implies an inferior version of the previous indigenous inhabitants, fundamentally changed by their exposure to literate

cultures. In many ways this is true, yet the cultures remained indigenous, non-literate to our knowledge and many connections to their past customs. This leads to two important discussions regarding the archaeological data at hand: the idea of indigeneity on the Balearic Islands, and the perception of colonialism and the loss of indigeneity with exposure to Eastern societies.

The idea of indigeneity in the Western Mediterranean is not new, nor is it uncommon. The term indigenous is often used in theoretical works regarding the Iberian Peninsula (Jiménez 2008), Southern France (Dietler 2010), Sardinia (Van Dommelen 1998), and even mainland Italy (Attema et al. 2010). The indigenous peoples of these landscapes are the inhabitants that first interacted with Phoenician, Greek, Punic or even Roman traders in the Central and Western Mediterranean. Indigeneity is not quite the same as indigeneity, however. As Jace Weaver notes, indigeneity is a term adopted by Native Americans to imply place of indigenous groups, rather than culture (2000: 221). Here, however, I will be using indigeneity which is a cultural self-awareness that results from an acting colonial control or affecting force that threatens the way of life of inhabitants who consider themselves autochthonous. In other words, if there were no territorial or cultural threats in the world, self-identified autochthonous cultures would still exist, but ideas of indigeneity would not. Indigeneity is community and the social construction of difference. With this idea in mind, one could even say that the Greek city-states fighting during the Persian Wars were not only defending their freedom from imperial rule, but were also a self-aware, imagined indigenous community, fighting against a threat to their political and cultural survival. Yet this idea can operate on a scalar spectrum, from the very local, to the imperial conquest of entire continents. What remains true of all instances of indigeneity, however, is a connection to an ancestral landscape. Instead of being a modern construct of nation-state colonialism from the fifteenth-century to the present, however, I believe that the concept of indigenous connections and the binding force of indigeneity existed in antiquity in the face of

threatening colonial powers or empires. This threat should not be solely understood as martial, territorial, or even exclusively negative, but a mark of foreignness and significant cultural difference that very much existed amongst the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world.

In other words, foreign interactions result in self-reflection by both the foreigner and the native. In both cases, this self-reflection can be a creative force, further differentiating cultural traits, spurring hybridization, or both responses simultaneously. Contact is an important factor in cultural change or solidification. Neither culture is ever static. In the past, colonies and colonists have been the focus of archaeological attention, particularly for the Greek and Roman worlds, for understanding the coherence of colonial, Classical communities in places like the Western Mediterranean. Here I propose that although indigeneity is a product of colonialism, it is just as cohesive and culturally creative as the act of colonizing. Indigenous cultures are not static or monolithic, and when faced with a foreign community, they can change internally as well, not necessarily through cultural adoption or explicit resistance, but changing perceptions of themselves, their cultural memory, and their connections to the landscape. Indigeneity also served to create imagined communities of varying scale in antiquity. As I argue below, Mallorca and Menorca differentially reflect the creation of imagined communities in the interactions with larger global powers, stemming from ties of indigeneity.

Silliman's Longue Dureé and Short Pureé: Understanding Analyses of Indigeneity

Stephen Silliman, in his 2012 work "Between the Longue Dureé and the Short Pureé: Postcolonial Archaeologies of Indigenous History in North America" can provide an important addition to the discussion of the application of the term indigenous to Mediterranean archaeology. He breaks down Postcolonial understandings of indigenous history into two camps. The first, the "short pureé" model, emphasizes colonial contact as a critical "inflection point" for the study of indigenous histories (Silliman 2012: 114). He equates this notion to the "fatal

impact" idea that at the point of contact or colonialism, indigenous society is immediately and fundamentally altered by European presence, becoming unrecognizable as indigenous (Silliman 2012: 114). The "longue dureé" model, used frequently in Mediterranean studies, emphasizes deep chronologies and the diachronisity of indigenous cultures in understanding the long-term trajectory of indigenous society (Silliman 2012: 117). The implication therein, however, is a relative monolithic nature of indigenous societies, at times obfuscating meaningful interactions with the ancestral memory and subtle social changes. The longue dureé can be too large and too generalizing to approach meaningful changes in indigenous lifeways during periods in or around interactions with colonial or foreign elements.

Instead of proposing a mesoscale substitute, Silliman maintains that understanding an indigenous society's reaction is a matter of understanding that society's connections to traditions that define the community, through landscapes, daily practices, built structures, and ultimately social memory (2012: 127). The appearance of foreign materials in archaeological assemblages should not be understood as the "Cultural Pureé" nor should connections to "traditional" or "local" material culture or places be exclusively couched in the "longue dureé" (Silliman 2012: 127). Instead they must be understood in the context of an ever-changing indigeneous culture to truly interpret understandings of tradition or change.

In this respect, these ideas are very applicable to Balearic archaeology. In Chapters 3 and 5, I discuss the potential meaning of consistent and persistent settlements surrounding talayots, well into the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. These settlements should be seen as reflecting social memory in the creation of settlements, households and worshipping areas in the Balearic indigenous world. They should not be understood as simply continuations of settlement, but important markers of indigenous community self-identification, with the talayot

being a source of ancestral, social memory. At the same time, as I discussed again in Chapter 5, artifacts incorporated into Mallorcan sanctuaries or Menorcan taula precincts from the Punic, Greek or Roman worlds should not be assumed to be a fundamental change in practice as a direct result of cultural contact, as the "Cultural Pureé" model would imply. These traits, along with the construction of households, the partitioning of space, the use of differing funerary establishments, and the change in settlement patterns are all part of the Mallorcan and Menorcan indigenous communities' connections to the past and cultural proliferation in their present. They should not be seen as directly reflective of either cultural contact or tradition, but a dynamic, living society that incorporated elements from both to define their lived communities in an archaeologically visible way.

Approaching Balearic Evidence from the Outside

Having established that in some basic way, historical archaeology and Classical archaeology share a common interpretive and epistemological dilemma, if differently manifested, it may be useful to draw on the advanced theoretical corpus of historical archaeological studies to inform the case of the Romans in the Balearics. Large portions of the succeeding sections draw from historical works concerning the archaeology of colonialism. These include the works of Kent Lightfoot, Barbara Voss, Kathleen Deagan and José Cruxent. While writing on many diverse subjects concerning archaeologies in different parts of the new world, all of these scholars have dealt in some way with the ideas of culture contact of indigenous American Indians and different European powers. For the purposes of this chapter, the ideas of these archaeologists will be only briefly synthesized to allow the exploration of further applications to Late Talayotic and early Roman periods of the Balearic Islands.

Hybrid Interactions, Locality and Connectivity on Mallorca and Menorca

To begin with Kent Lightfoot, his work concerning the material culture practices of California contact communities in a comparative context is important for situating the evidence from Mallorca. Discussing Lightfoot's 2006 work, *Indians, Missionaries and Merchants*, his work highlights the impact which various types of engagement with native populations for both economic and ideological reasons can have on the material culture of contact communities. The book also provides a glimpse into the manifestation of contact between two colonizing forces, Russia and Mexico (2006). While Russian traders established mercantile communities on the Northern California coast, incorporating American Indians into labor practices, the Hispanic padres established missions in which native populations were gathered and subjected to ideological change and labor exploitation. What this division also constitutes is the use of programs of enculturation, to change the lifestyle of the native populations (2006: 182). In Lightfoot's example, while the Russians did not directly involve themselves in such matters, the Franciscan padres indeed actively sought to change the native culture to reflect Euro-Hispanic ideals.

Accepting that the Carthaginians and Romans, in their interactions with the Balearic Islands, did not seemingly seek an active ideological or cultural indoctrination of the locals, looking at Lightfoot's evidence regarding Russian involvement seems advantageous. Although, as Lightfoot states, the material culture traces of the native peoples surrounding both the Russian fort and Spanish missions are remarkably similar in many respects (2006: 196), the primary differences are the resultant identities and connections to the landscape. In this manner, the forced relocation of native Californians to missions constituted a break from ancestral lands and to some extent cultures, while at the same time promoting new broadly defined "Indian" identities within the mission communities themselves (Lightfoot 2006: 183). In

this case identities were forged and recreated from a diverse set of ancient traditions. The native populations surrounding the Russian Fort did, at certain times, live in proximity to the Russian area of occupation, but also maintained communities tied to the ancestral homeland in the surrounding woodlands. In this manner, the native Californians surrounding the Russian fort could return to their ancestral landscape at will, reconnecting to their cultural history (Lightfoot 2006: 184). The implications for this concerning the Roman example are far reaching. Could the Mallorcan or Menorcan islanders, even without an active impinging ideological force, form such a native identity? Or, taking the other perspective, could the native islanders have maintained connections to their landscapes, while only occasionally coming into contact with Carthaginian trading posts or Roman colonial and military establishments on Mallorca? The main issue here, especially in terms of the Balearics, is the interplay of landscape and identity in the construction of colonial interactions, for which ethnographic evidence forms some of our best comparative examples (Basso 1996).

As Chapters 3 and 5 outlined, the indigenous connection to the ancient landscape was very strong throughout the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. Evidence exists for sites on Mallorca of indigenous origin continuing into the Byzantine period (Cau and Mas 2013). Settlement patterns persisted strongest in areas that were quasi-coastal, within a short distance to the island's ports where Carthaginian or Roman coastal settlements were established, much like the nearby Russian sites Lightfoot describes. In fact, as I argued in Chapter 3, on Mallorca in particular, proximity to the coastline and trading routes actually assisted in the persistence of indigenous lifeways, rather than resulting in distortion or disintegration of indigenous culture. Trade, interaction, commerce and even mercenary involvement were part of the economic atmosphere, but not as caustic as Mediterranean archaeologists might assume with the increased involvement of global powers.

At the same time, at the core of most of these settlements were the megalithic talayots, persisting from the Talayotic period of the ninth through seventh centuries B.C.E. Although their initial function appears to fade in the Late Talayotic, they remained the epicenters of indigenous settlements well into the Roman period on both islands. As I discussed in Chapter 5, this is evidence of an indigenous social memory that retained these remnants of an ancestral past as the focal points for indigenous life. Though many of the talayots occupied areas of strategic importance, why were they not disassembled in antiquity? Why were other megalithic structures erected near or next to these monuments, particularly on Menorca? If these monuments were no longer used in the same capacity nor continued to be built, their relevance for the Late Talayotic and Roman periods lies in their role as markers of social memory and ancestral place.

Ethnogeneses on Menorca and Mallorca

Moving to the related work of Barbara Voss, she has produced a particularly convincing study concerning ethnogenesis, or the creation of ethnic identity in 18th- and 19th-century California. Her recent monograph, *Archaeology of Ethnogenesis* (2008) has taken a detailed look at the material manifestations of a particular colonial culture, the Californio, who inhabited the San Francisco Area before California's annexation by the United States. The Californio community studied by Voss was a group of military settlers that inhabited the fort of El Presidio near San Francisco, under excavation from 1993 to 2006 (2008: 12). What is particularly significant about the community of the Spanish *criollo* community who settled at El Presidio was their rejection of Spanish caste laws and an embrace of a common Californio, colonial identity (Voss 2008: 11). Voss goes on to discuss the material culture manifestation of this identity in El Presidio among both sexes, specifically focusing on landscape, architecture, ceramics, foodways, and clothing (2008). Based on findings concerning ceramics and foodways, Voss is able to show

that a certain level of homogeneity and conservatism is displayed among the Californio population, as they specifically produce traditional, Spanish wares and rely heavily on foods that are not part of the native environment or indigenous diet (Voss 2008: 291). In this way, the Californios differentiated themselves from the indigenous population, while at once affirming their own identity as a discrete colonial population.

These interpretations are not only intriguing, but tempting for the application to Balearic studies. The creation of a colonial identity is particularly exciting, especially since such military establishments were presumably still connected to the colonial Spanish and then Mexican states. They distinguished themselves by self-consciously creating their own identity in direct contrast to Californian indigenous lifeways. Yet they themselves were composed of different *mestizo* and *criollo* cultures, whose influences combined with Spanish customs to create a distinct cultural entity. As discussed in Chapter 4, the use of ethnogenesis to describe the architecture of the Pueblo Revolt as an indigenous form of cohesion and connection to a shared ancestry places this idea on the other side of the colonial coin (Preucel 2000).

The potential parallels to Balearic cultural contact and engagement seem obvious. Understanding that indigenous cultures could generate new forms of cultural manifestations based on a shared bond of indigeneity, Balearic examples are rampant during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. The most striking example is the construction of taulas on Menorca in the seventh century B.C.E. and their continued use in the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. As detailed in Chapter 5, these monuments are not only located at the center of indigenous settlements, but provide a uniquely Menorcan example of cult worship during the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. Mallorca sees a degree of this type of cultic, indigenous centers in the sanctuaries also discussed in Chapter 5. The Mallorcan sanctuary examples, such as those at Son Fornés, represent a lesser degree of communal labor involved in

the construction of the precincts as well as large amounts of material culture that reflect a growing dialogue with Punic and eventually Roman interactions. Yet they are still indigenous forms of worship and feasting, again attesting to the generative power of indigenous identity.

Turning again to Menorca, the circular houses of the Late Talayotic provide another idiosyncratic cultural trait that is at once consistent throughout the island, as well as unique to the island itself. The construction of houses, discussed in Chapter 4, represents another piece of evidence linking Menorca to indigenous self-identification and a Menorcan imagined community. Finally, the consistency of burials on Menorca during this period in the form of complex cave systems located in cliff faces at ports and port entries, discussed in Chapter 3 and 5, again attest to a self-identified community. With these factors in mind, I propose that the Late Talayotic on Menorca saw the ethnogenesis of an indigenous, island community. The evidence from Mallorca does not support a coherent, island community in the same capacity, but with further study and an eye toward regional differentiation, these traits may become evident in the form of multiple, self-identified indigenous communities on Mallorca, potentially undergoing similar aspects of ethnogenesis during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods.

The Future of Contact-Period Balearic Studies

From the two historical case studies given above, it is clear that the work of historical scholars might be able to guide comparative and possibly fruitful methods of approaching the Balearic Islands during the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. Still, although these sources, coincidentally both situated in California, provide useful comparative potential, the future lies in tying issues of landscape and identity to the inherent notions of both connectivity and isolation that accompany the insular environment. In this respect, the work of Kathleen Deagan and José Cruxent provides another comparative angle, specifically within island contexts. Although Deagan and Cruxent do not explicitly deal with notions of insularity in their text, they have

conducted archaeological analyses on La Isabela, Columbus' famous Spanish settlement on Hispaniola, in the modern day Dominican Republic (2002a; 2002b).

What is most striking about the work Deagan and Cruxent have done on Hispaniola and at La Isabela is their method of trying to incorporate an understanding of cultures in flux, and the particular manifestations of culture that result in such states. In other words, the Taíno Indians of the Caribbean islands engaged in social dialogue with Spanish settlers through intermarriage and material exchange, resulting in a Spanish-American culture distinct from Spain itself (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 226). This also included the incorporation of African customs and intermarriage as well. What resulted was the transformation of culture presumably based on the manifestations of culture for the Taíno on Hispaniola. In this sense, the culture of the Taíno became extinct by the end of the 16th century, yet, as Deagan and Cruxent argue, so did the Spanish cultural practices on the island (2002a: 227). In this manner, a new Spanish-American identity or material manifestation is ushered into existence as a locally situated entity, displaying the potential to reflect issues of island identity and differentiation of material culture manifestations. Although such a study has not been carried out with these theoretical goals made explicit, it may be fruitful nevertheless to apply these notions to the Balearic case. The underlying question is how a colonial force and a colonized populace can combine to form a new locally situated identity in an insular environment. Deagan and Cruxent provide an example of what Deagan has previously referred to as creolization (1983), or really the confluence of culture and identity as the result of contact. Although I avoid the term creolization, the conceptual ground provided by Deagan and Cruxent concerning identity formation I believe could be applied to the Romans and the native peoples of the Balearic Islands.

It is, of course, false to assume that any easy comparison exists between such temporally and geographically disparate cultures, peoples, and events. The previous section did

not provide any direct cultural correlates to the Roman case, as information of this sort is not as common or as available in Balearic archaeology. The comparanda were provided more as a theoretical exercise than any easy answer to the problem at hand of how to interpret Roman colonial interactions on the Balearics. In my opinion, this is an extremely fruitful avenue of future research. As of now, it is difficult or even impossible to understand the "extinction" of Late Talayotic culture on Mallorca and Menorca. Deagan and Cruxent were presented here as a potential way forward, seeing the eventual Roman use of the islands during the first and second centuries C.E. as the beginning of the construction of a new, island community that is at once both indigenous and colonial, Late Talayotic and Roman. A new island identity seems to take shape during these centuries. Yet, as of now, we cannot say much more. Roman sites on Mallorca and Menorca are generally considered for their Roman traits, rather than their indigenous connections. Although this is changing slowly, the potential for the future is great. Knowing that such strong indigenous ties were maintained to varying degrees on both islands sets the stage for the dynamic process of cultural cohesion that occurs in the Imperial Roman period. With that said, in order to make those fruitful theoretical potentials a reality, indigenous sites, such as Puig de Sa Morisca and Son Catlar, must be approached with an increasingly diachronic vantage point, not favoring Talayotic or even Late Talayotic period evidence, but we must also critically look at the Roman-period evidence. At the same time, archaeologists at Roman sites, such as Pollentia and Sanisera, must search for the indigenous connections critical to understanding the construction of later, Balearic-Roman communities.

Chapter 7 Images

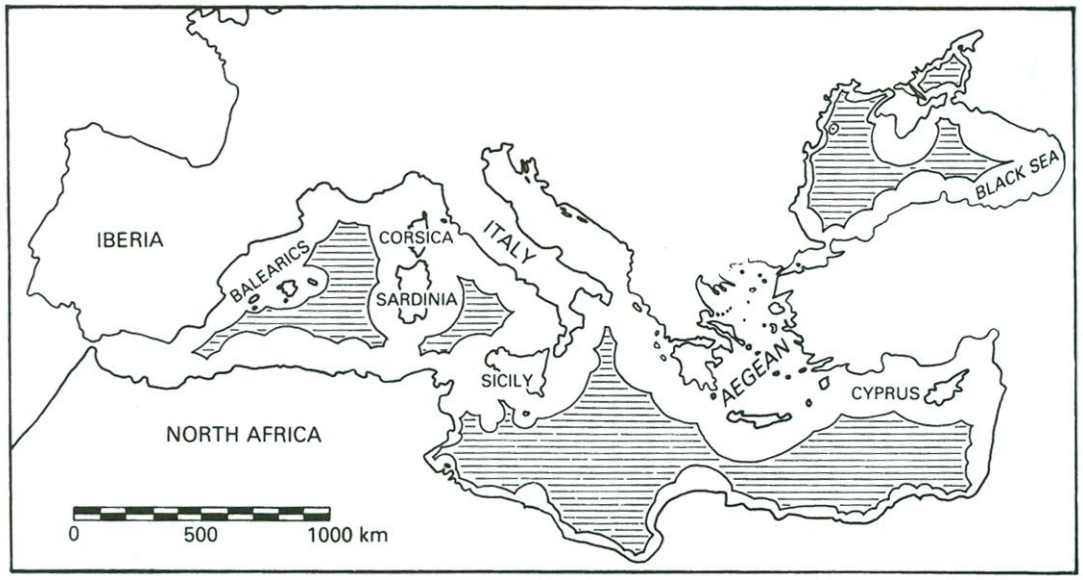


Figure 105: A visibility map of the Mediterranean Sea, with areas not visible from land in the shaded regions. This map was originally published by Schüle in 1980 but is reproduced here from Chapman 1990. (Chapman 1990: 262)

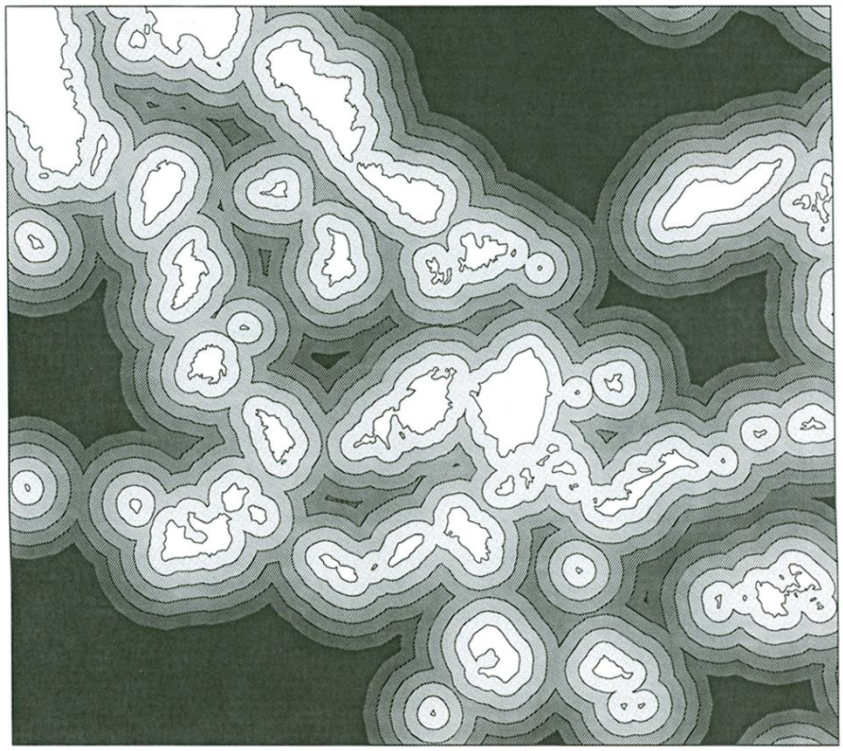


Figure 106: **5km incremental buffers for the Cyclades, displaying the relative proximity of the islands to one another. (Broodbank 2000: 75)**

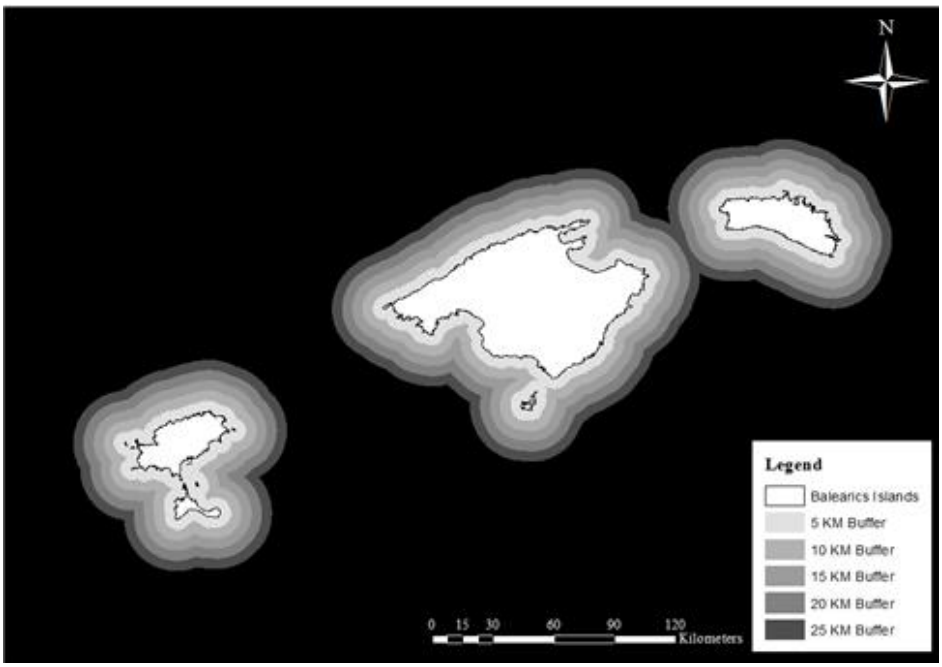


Figure 107: The Balearic Islands with 5km incremental buffers, recreating Broodbank's map above in the Western Mediterranean. (Image by the author)

Chapter 8: The Next Step

This dissertation has merely scratched the surface of the potential of the Balearic Islands not only for Mediterranean scholarship, but for broader understandings of islands, colonialism, imperialism, indigeneity, and the construction of communities. Admittedly, all of these chapters rightly deserve a dissertation unto themselves. A work of this scope, incorporating evidence from settlement patterns, domestic structures, funerary sites, ritual sites and underwater sites, has never been attempted for the Late Talayotic, and certainly not for the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. In many ways, these chapters represent just part of the picture. Yet this dissertation was also necessary. Many of the broader themes, such as households or underwater archaeology, are analyzed by a select few scholars who are aware of one another, but generally operate in isolation. There are many experts in the Balearics on specific types of evidence, yet these topics have rarely been brought together to present a coherent, synthetic whole where large-scale, theoretical questions can be posed.[110] While this dissertation does not assume to be that whole, it is a start.

This messy period of pseudo-colonialism, intense commercial interaction, and even uninterested imperialism has so much more to tell us. Mallorca and Menorca were not sought-after territories in the Mediterranean. Comercial interactions certainly occurred throughout the Late Talayotic on both islands, yet the island group remained autonomous into the second century B.C.E. Even when the Romans conquered the island, it was not to claim the territory, the people, or the islands' resources, but merely to quell piracy. Yet the peripheral nature of the Balearic Islands allowed Mallorca and Menorca to remain politically independent, despite being

[110] Two exceptions to this are Guerrero et al.'s 2006a and 2006b work on the entire pre- and protohistory of the Balearic Islands, as well as arguably Pericót's 1973 volume. Yet neither of these works exclusively deal with the Late Talayotic, nor do they present theoretical approaches to understanding these broader syntheses of these cultures.

surrounded by larger Mediterranean super-powers. Mallorca and Menorca existed as indigenously controlled territories throughout the critical second half of the first millennium B.C.E., as Eastern Mediterranean colonists and traders began occupying the Mediterranean coast and the powers of Rome and Carthage emerged. In this capacity, the islands should be treated as exceptional cases in the broader trajectory of the Western Mediterranean, representing cultures that can connect to anthropological comparisons from the New World, as I hope to have shown above. At the same time, they also present broader implications for the anthropological study of colonialism and the persistence of indigenous identity, calling into question notions of Mediterranean indigeneity, imagined communities, as well as the concept of locality in the Mediterranean Late Iron Age.

The preceding chapters showcased the immense complexity in understanding the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods from the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. on Mallorca and Menorca. Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to take a critical vantage point in assessing chronologies, evidence of contact, and theoretical interpretations of indigenous Balearic communities. I have highlighted the immense differences between Mallorca and Menorca during this time period. In retrospect, these islands deserve separate treatments, yet by comparing them throughout this work, I was able to point to differences, often glossed over or ignored, that define the Late Iron Age communities of these islands. In fact, one of the goals of this dissertation is to show that the Balearic Islands are not simply some nebulous locality, defined first by the Romans and perpetuated by scholarship surrounding the Talayotic and Late Talayotic inhabitants. The indigenous inhabitants of Mallorca and Menorca comprised many different communities representing complex landscapes on both islands.

In the end, Menorca shows strong evidence of the emergence of a self-identified, indigenous community that shared domestic, funerary and monumental habits across the island. These are best illustrated in the continued use of taula precincts, showcasing a distinctly Menorcan ritual tradition that persisted well into Roman occupation. During the same time as the construction and use of these precincts, circular, megalithic houses are constructed throughout the island, again conforming to no known predecessor from Menorca, or any contemporaneous form in the surrounding Mediterranean region. To make matters more transparent, complex, multi-chambered tombs also become prevalent throughout Menorca during the Late Talayotic. Yet the fourth, third and second centuries see the steady rise of archaeological evidence pertaining to seafaring. Menorca was not isolated, yet the people of the island developed impressively consistent, island-wide cultural manifestations. In this manner, Menorca's Late Talayotic should not be considered some remnant of Talayotic culture as the name might imply, but a time period that saw the emergence of a distinctively Menorcan indigenous self-representation and potentially an island imagined community.

Mallorca, on the other hand, is far more fragmented, showing signs of cultural cohesion in the Talayotic period, but hints at differing indigenous cultural communities operating simultaneously in the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. The complexity of funeral rites and rituals, as well as domestic architectural forms do not paint a picture of island-wide cultural cohesion, but many, separate communities operating simultaneously. There are some overarching similarities in Mallorcan sanctuaries that are island-wide, yet Mallorca's Late Talayotic period is difficult to define coherently, and perhaps that would be irresponsible. Mallorca deserves regionally specific analyses of settlements, funerary sites, and ritual complexes, preferably through landscape survey, to better approach the ancient cultures that inhabited the large island. This dissertation does not succeed in defining a Late Talayotic culture

on Mallorca, and indeed that was never quite the goal. Instead, the above chapters nuance the picture, showing the true face of Mallorcan indigenous complexity during a dynamic period in Western Mediterranean history.

Both islands show degrees of material culture hybridity, tenacity of ancestral landscapes, and imbued social memory in the centrality of abandoned megalithic monuments. Instead of privileging colonial or foreign elements of interaction, however, this dissertation has focused on indigenous responses and the construction of indigenous communities. These are the most fruitful avenues for understanding the Balearic Islands in the Late Talayotic and early Roman periods. While taking a post-colonial theoretical perspective, the previous chapters were not simply an attempt to understand Late Talayotic culture from the historically silent, indigenous perspective. Rather Mallorca and Menorca are used throughout this dissertation in order to begin asking questions about what it means to be indigenous in the Mediterranean world, and how we define indigeneity in an Old World context. The islands exemplify how complex such an engagement can be, even with known dates of conquest and some, piecemeal historical descriptions of the indigenous societies.

Yet Mallorca and Menorca are not alone in these conversations, particularly in the Western Mediterranean, and approaching these islands in such a manner allows them to speak to other archaeologies of colonialism, contact, and indigeneity around the world. Mediterranean archaeology can learn a lot from engagement with historical archaeologies specifically, ultimately increasing our understanding of the ancient world and the often forgotten Mediterranean indigenous communities. In the face of growing Mediterranean powers in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E., Mallorca and Menorca never remained static, but looked inward to themselves, their interactions, and their ancestral customs to construct

multiple indigenous identities, generate new, indigenous cultural traits, and retain a sense of connection to a landscape slowly being subsumed by colonial and imperial forces.

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