JOAN FLAQUER
AND THE ENIGMA OF THE 400 CUPS
50 years of Menorcan archaeology (1910-1960)

Joan Flaquer Fàbregues (Maó, 1877 – Madrid, 1963), a comprehensive biography

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Joan Flaquer was one of the most important figures in Menorcan archaeology in the first half of the 20th century. As a collector, numismatist and archaeologist, he played an active role in the burgeoning cultural scene developing around Maó's Athenaeum at the time. He also published a series of articles about Menorcan archaeology, history and numismatics for the *Revista de Menorca*.

From the 1920s to the 1940s, this lawyer and autodidact in the world of archaeology was the commissioner in charge of preserving the island's historical and archaeological heritage. He performed this task alongside his work as a notary.

Despite spending an intense life dedicated to the preservation of his native island's cultural, historical and archaeological heritage, Flaquer remains somewhat unknown, or merely forgotten, in certain sections of Menorcan society and the scientific community. His important contribution to the field has not received the same praise or recognition as that of his teachers, Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz, for example.

Therefore, to accompany an exhibition and study of his collection, currently on display at the Museum of Menorca, we wish to tell people about his work, and its importance within Menorcan society in the first three quarters of the 20th century.

The man and the lawyer

Joan Flaquer was born into a middle class family in Maó on February 7th, 1877. He was the first child of Joan Flaquer Martínez and Francisca Fàbregues Maspoch. The couple had more children, but none of them survived to adulthood. They lived in a hamlet on the Camí des Castell which was bought by Joan Flaquer's grandfather, Master Joan Flaquer Colom, between 1852 and 1858.

Joan Flaquer's father, grandfather and uncles were shoemakers by trade, while his great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather were tailors. They all plied their trades in the town of Maó.

His mother, Francisca Fàbregues Maspoch, also came from a bourgeois family. Her father, Nicolau Fàbregues Sintes had a hat shop on the Plaça del Príncep Square in Maó. She had two brothers: Guillem, a confectioner, and Francesc, who ran the Fàbregues Printing Press.

Joan Flaquer lived through a series of historical events that had a profound effect on the lives of many Spaniards and Menorcans. In 1898, there was the loss of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico. The start of the 20th century was marked by military disasters in Morocco. He experienced the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the subsequent proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic, which would end in the bloody Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). These moments of upheaval were, on an international level, linked to two global conflicts: the World War I (1914-1918) and the World War II (1939-1945).

He spent his childhood and youth in Maó, where he was educated at the Institut de Segona Ensenyança de Maó[1], obtaining his *batxiller*[2] in 1893. His school was located in the former Convent de Jesús, the building that now houses the Museum of Menorca. It is likely that he developed an interest in archaeology after being taught by the priest Francesc Cardona i Orfila, who was a great intellectual, naturalist and lover of archaeology.

After school, he went to study in Barcelona, gaining a degree in Law from the University of Barcelona. In August, 1903, he was named substitute municipal judge of Maó for the two year period 1903-1905.

In 1905, he qualified as a notary and worked in the area of Sencelles (Mallorca), where he would remain until 1907 when he returned to Menorca and settled in Alaior.

In 1908, he married Joana Pons Riudavets (1884-1960), from Alaior, and she went on to bear him four children: Amadeu, who died as an infant; Albert, who died from a beating at a demonstration in Madrid in 1935; Joan, who died on January 2nd, 1939 in a military hospital in Manresa, after serving in the nº5 disciplinary battalion on the Ebro

1 Institute of Secondary Education.

2 Secondary school diploma.

front; and Francisca, the only one of the couple's children who outlived her parents.

It was during this time, in the first decade of the 20th century, that he further developed his passion for numismatics, history and archaeology. His fondness for these subjects led to his great admiration, respect and friendship with Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz, whom he considered his teachers. They were the role models for his autodidactic training as an archaeologist.

In May, 1910, he published the results of his excavations of the *naveta*[3] at Cotaina in the *Revista de Menorca* (Flaquer, 1910). In that same publication, Francesc Hernández-Sanz produced a study of all the *navetas* in Menorca and, when describing Joan Flaquer's work at Cotaina, he said: "[...] a detailed account of this monument was given by its discoverer, the notary Joan Flaquer, a diligent and intelligent researcher of Menorcan archaeology" (Hernández-Sanz, 1910). We can deduce from this that the respect and admiration between the student and his teachers was mutual.

He worked as a notary in the village of Alaior until 1927, when he took a vacancy in Maó and set up his home and office at number 17 Carrer Anuncivay. This is where the collection built up over a lifetime of research would remain for many years.

He had no known links to any political movement or activism, either before or after the Spanish Civil War. What we have found, in documents from after the Civil War, is that the unfortunate death of his son Joan, in Manresa in January 1939, affected him deeply and led to an understandable resentment of the Republic and the left wing, although he always kept this sentiment private and personal.

He worked under the new regime to protect the island's archaeological heritage, just as he had done continuously since 1922, but he did not take up any political position or carry out any reprisals against the defeated Republicans.

He worked as a notary until his retirement in February 1952, when he dedicated all of his time to being an archaeologist. In an obituary she wrote for the *Revista de Menorca* after his death, Maria Lluïsa Serra describes how a large party was held for his retirement and attended by a wide range of figures from Menorcan society.

Widowed and in failing health, he left Menorca at the start of the 1960s, moving with his daughter to Madrid, where he died on February 12th, 1963.

The archaeologist and researcher

In the cultural field, we think of Joan Flaquer as a man of his time, an heir of the encyclopaedic collection of objects and documents started in Menorca by the Ramis i Ramis brothers at the end of the 18th century. This spirit continued with Joan Pons Soler, a Menorcan intellectual who created a very important Menorcan archaeology collection during the 19th century. The legacy left by Joan Pons Soler was continued by figures such as Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz, Joan Flaquer's teachers in the world of archaeology and numismatics, as well as members of Menorca's learned elite in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Flaquer was the bridge between that old world of intellectuals, collectors and distinguished archaeologists, and the new generation of Menorcan researchers who would revolutionise and further our understanding of this island's prehistoric past. The first exponent of this new scientific world was his protégée and disciple Maria Lluïsa Serra Belabre.

Collecting, archaeology, numismatics and research in Menorca

Just like his teachers Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz, Joan Flaquer built up a collection that not only consisted of archaeological objects and coins, but also included documents and books about the history of Menorca.

Items came to form part of his collection in the following ways:

1) As gifts or donations from people on the island or abroad.

2) Objects or coins exchanged with people on the island or abroad.

3) Objects, coins and documents purchased from people in Menorca and other places around the world.

4) Materials and coins picked up at archaeological sites on the island.

5) Objects found at archaeological digs at various places around the island. (Remember that the law at the start of the 20th century gave ownership of any objects found at archaeological digs to the finder, as long as the excavation was not funded by the state.)

3 A ***naveta*** is a form of megalithic chamber tomb unique to the Balearic island of Menorca. They date to the early Bronze Age.

The whole point of the collection is not only aesthetic enjoyment and to enjoy looking at the object. Joan Flaquer goes deeper than that and understands the object as a historical document to know and explain the history of Menorca. In fact, such collections form the basis of a lot of that research.

His collection followed the Menorcan model created by the Ramis brothers at the end of the 18th century, the Pons Soler collection, and the archaeology collection of his old school master and priest Cardona Orfila. At the end of the 19th and start of the 20th century, his teacher, Antoni Vives Escudero, acquired part of the archaeology collection of the Ramis brothers and the priest Cardona i Orfila. Francesc Hernández-Sanz also developed his collection around this time. The Monjo brothers created a collection about the Roman necropolis in Maó at the end of the 19th century.

Parts of the Ramis, Pons Soler and Monjo collections were photographed by Diego Monjo, and Joan Flaquer had a set of these photographs which he surely would have used to help him catalogue the objects he acquired for his own collection.

In addition to archaeological artefacts, his collection was also full of items of numismatic interest. He acquired these coins through donations, purchases, exchanges or random finds he made when walking around the countryside on the island. He shared this love of coin collecting with his teacher and mentor Antoni Vives Escudero.

Joan Flaquer's collection grew over the course of his life and took on its own personality thanks to material that arrived from his prospecting, his first archaeological digs and exchanges with fellow collectors and peers.

The first archaeological excavations (1910-1920)

This period began in 1910, the year when Joan Flaquer published the results in the Revista de Menorca of his first archaeological expedition, the excavation of the *naveta* at Cotaina (Flaquer, 1910).

In the years prior to his first archaeological dig, Joan Flaquer established a relationship with Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz, who went on to become his teachers and mentors. When Flaquer interpreted the site, he followed the model established by Antoni Vives Escudero for prehistoric monuments in Menorca.

When talking about the *naveta* at Cotaina in his 1910 article about Menorcan *navetas*, Francesc Hernández-Sanz says that it was excavated by a diligent and intelligent archaeologist from Menorca. In another article, from 1912, he describes him as "a distinguished friend" (Hernández-Sanz, 1912).

In the Autumn of 1911, British palaeontologist Dorothea Bate visited Menorca in search of Pleistocene fossils. Joan Flaquer was her contact on the island. She had already described the *Myotragus balearicus* in Mallorca and Menorca. He provided her with information about various natural caves where she might find fossilised remains of Menorcan fauna from the Pleistocene epoch. One of the results of her prospecting was the discovery of a giant Menorcan tortoise.

Her articles were published in 1914, and we know that Dorothea Bate wanted to return to Menorca, as she mentions in a letter addressed to the Menorcan archaeologist, but the outbreak of the World War I prevented her from doing so. A few years later, Joan Flaquer published a translation of her article about the giant Menorcan tortoise in the *Revista de Menorca* (Flaquer, 1920).

As a numismatist, he wrote an article for the *Revista de Menorca* in 1914 about commemorative medals made for the British crown that had a connection with Menorca. He based his study on one such medal that was part of his numismatic collection.

Between 1915 and 1917, Joan Flaquer was involved in an intense period of archaeological activity, mostly working alongside Antoni Vives Escudero. In 1915, they excavated together the *naveta* at Biniach Oriental. Joan Flaquer discusses it in an article on intermediate type *navetas* published in the *Revista de Menorca* in 1916. When it comes to describing the monument, he says: "Last September, distinguished history professor from La Central,[4] Don Antonio Vives Escudero, led excavations at Biniach or Argentina and he has yet to complete his study, so I will abstain from any further comments."

Between 1916 and 1917, they excavated a series of caves from the Post-Talaiotic period which were: Sa Mola (Alaior), Salom (Addaia, Es Mercadal), and Cala Figuera (Maó).

In a letter sent in 1921, Antoni Vives Escudero informs Joan Flaquer that he has not returned to Menorca due to ill health but that he intends to do so soon. He asks Flaquer to kindly continue the work they started together at the Morlans site in Alaior, and he also says he hopes they will be able to find new rocky grounds to excavate together.

On June 28th, 1919 he was made correspondent for the Royal Academy of History. His appointment was endorsed

4 Universidad Central de Madrid, now the Madrid Complutense University

by Antoni Vives Escudero and José Ramón Melida, director of the National Archaeological Museum and close friend of Antoni Vives.

In 1922, following a proposal made to the board by Francesc Hernández-Sanz, Joan Flaquer was made an honorary member of the Athenaeum in Maó. He gave the inaugural lecture for the year 1923. It was a speech about numismatics in Menorca. Part of the lecture was based on his own coin collection and archives. That same year, Joan Flaquer published an article in the *Revista de Menorca* about a visit to the Son Catlar site (Ciutadella), in which he describes some of its structures and the various archaeological finds that were made there.

In 1922, the following names were selected to form the newly created Comissió Provincial de Monuments:[5] Francesc Hernández-Sanz, Sebastià Vives, Francesc Camps i Mercadal, Joan Flaquer and Josep Cotrina, all faculty members of the Royal Academy of History and members of the Athenaeum in Maó.

As they belong to the Comissió, a few months later, the Count of Romanones, director of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando, asked Francesc Hernández-Sanz and Joan Flaquer to send him a selection of traditional Menorcan attire and complementary objects. It was for a grand exhibition dedicated to "Regional Costumes of Spain" which opened in the spring of 1925.

Between 1922 and 1924, the archaeologist and teacher Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla spent long periods on Menorca studying the pre-history of the island. Flaquer gave Santa-Olalla in 1924 a large collection of materials found during excavations of the Sa Mola cave (Alaior). As seen in the letters, the two formed a friendship which would last until Joan Flaquer's death. In fact, he became Santa-Olalla's confidant in Menorca.

In 1923, Joan Flaquer was made a Corresponding Member of the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana de Palma de Mallorca. To show his gratitude, he donated three tall Menorcan vases of unknown origin and a handheld millstone from the Montefí site near Ciutadella.

That same year, he met British archaeologist Margaret Murray, who visits Menorca for the first time and with whom he later worked during the Cambridge University excavations at Trepucó and Torreta between 1931 and 1934.

In 1926, German sculptor and artist Waldemar Fenn arrived in Menorca, who was German Honorary Consul on the island. A lover of the archaeology and history of Menorca, he wrote several articles about the Menorcan *taula* sites in the *Revista de Menorca*. This multi-talented character and his wife developed a strong friendship with Joan Flaquer, which continued until his death in 1955. He also collaborated in the excavation tasks carried out by Margaret Murray and her team.

In 1928, Joan Flaquer was named curator of the Athenaeum museum in Maó. At that time, it consisted of collections from the old Municipal Museum of Maó and that institution's private collections. He held the position until 1931.

President of the Menorcan Monuments Sub-Committee (1930-1939)

In 1930, thanks to Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, General Commissioner of the Monuments Committee, Joan Flaquer was named president of the Menorcan Monuments Sub-Committee. This meant he was the inspector in charge of all the excavations at Trepucó and Sa Torreta led by Margaret Murray for the University of Cambridge. This new position allowed him to intercede to manage with Madrid the corresponding licenses so that Murray could excavate in Menorca.

The University of Cambridge made two archaeological expeditions to Menorca between 1931 and 1934. They examined the sites at Trepucó and Sa Torreta de Tramuntana. In the memoir she wrote about Trepucó, Murray thanks Flaquer for that support. "Without his assistance, shown at every turn with a generosity and kindness beyond all thanks, the work could not have progressed as it did." (Murray, 1932). Later, Flaquer wrote a translation of the first volume of Margaret Murray's memoir about Trepucó for the *Revista de Menorca* in 1933.

In 1932, Joan Flaquer was named vice-president of the Tourism Promotion Society of Menorca, which promoted tourism in Menorca until 1936 and included other prominent figures such as painter Vives Llull.

Between 1930 and 1936, under instructions from the General Commissioner for Monuments, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Joan Flaquer attempted to purchase the archaeological site of Torre d'en Galmés on behalf of the state. Unfortunately, he never reached a positive agreement with the landowner. Santa-Olalla was very interested in conducting archaeological digs at the site in order to complete his research into the prehistory of Menorca. Unable to purchase the land, they did manage to get the site registered as an Artistic-Historical Monument in 1930.

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War affected archaeological research all over the country. Everything was put

5 Commission for Provincial Monuments.

on hold and then, with the outbreak of the Second World War, foreign research teams stopped coming to Menorca because of the blockade affecting Europe and the resulting travel restrictions. Margaret Murray would not return to Menorca until the end of the 1940s, in the height of the post-war period.

Island Inspector of Archaeological Excavations and Chair of the Office of the Museum of Fine Arts

In 1941, under the new Francoist regime, Joan Flaquer became the island's Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations under the command of General Commissioner, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, head of the General Administration of Fine Arts. This new phase of his career, which he combined with being a notary, enabled him to take part in Menorcan archaeology. This new position allowed him to begin major excavations of the Talaiotic settlement of Torre d'en Galmés as general commissioner, an archaeological site in which Martínez Santa-Olalla, as already mentioned, had a great interest.

Between 1942 and 1943, he digs the settlement's *taula*[6] and hypostyle hall –today known as Flaquer's Site– as part of the *National Plan for Archaeological Excavations*, publishing the results, first in the *Revista de Menorca*, in 1942 and 1943, and then in the Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico[7] (Flaquer, 1953).

In 1943, two megalithic tombs were discovered at Alcaidús and Montpler, which Joan Flaquer identified at the time as *navetas*. The tomb at Montpler was included in the *National Plan for Archaeological Excavations* and was excavated in 1944.

Throughout the 1940s, Joan Flaquer was aided by local commissioners to protect the historical and cultural heritage of Menorca. In Ciutadella, the pharmacist Gabriel Martí i Bella, and in Maó, Joan Hernández Mora, son of Francesc Hernández-Sanz. Also beginning to help with the commission's work were Josep Mascaró Passarius and reverend Joan Gutiérrez, the archivist from the Maó library.

In 1943, Flaquer was awarded the Civil Order of Alfonso X the Wise in recognition of his research into the archaeology and history of the island. The *Revista de Menorca* that year described the ceremony where he received his medal. Besides, Joan Flaquer kept the distinctive title and, currently, this document is part of the Museum of Menorca deposit.

As commissioner of archaeological excavations in Menorca, Joan Flaquer was involved in the creation of the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts of Maó. The museum's board was formed in 1944 and Joan Flaquer was chosen to be its president. The Provincial Museum of Fine Arts was inaugurated on November 23rd, with its headquarters in Can Mercadal, in a building donated by the town council and señor Codina, mayor of Maó. Félix Durán Cañameras was made director and the renovation of the building began in 1945. The new Provincial Museum of Fine Arts at Can Mercadal opened officially on November 18th, 1948.

The Provincial Museum of Fine Arts absorbed the collections of the old Municipal Museum of Maó and the Athenaeum in Maó. Its archives were further swollen by contributions from the Monuments Subcommittee and the General Commission for Excavations. Joan Flaquer was in charge of compiling lists of materials which would be part of the museum's permanent collection. He was the ideal person for the job as he knew the collections that came from the Athenaeum (having been the curator there from 1928 to 1931), and, as president of the Monuments Subcommittee and commissioner of Excavations, he also knew about all the material found at the archaeological digs of the 1930s and 1940s.

Through his friendship with the Vives family, he contacted Guillermina Vives, daughter of Antoni Vives Escudero, and convinced the family to give the new museum what remained of Antoni Vives Escudero's Menorcan collection.

In 1948, Joan Flaquer gave the Barcelona City Council a collection of documents regarding the counterfeiting of *tresetes*[8]. He also published an article about this subject in the *Revista de Menorca* in 1950.

After 1953, the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts of Maó was run by his disciple, Maria Lluïsa Serra i Belabre, whom he supported in all of her projects.

The 1950s saw him continue the work he had started in the post-war years, staying on the board of directors for the Museum of Fine Arts and on June 15th, 1957, because of the reorganization by the Ministry of National Education, Joan Flaquer became a delegate of the National Archaeological Excavations Service, and more specifically, its delegation in Catalonia. In this institution, the archaeologist and

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6 *Taula* (meaning "table" in Catalan) is a stone monument of the Talaiotic culture which consists of a vertical pillar with a horizontal stone lying on it.

7 Spanish archaeological news publication.

8 Antique coins.

professor Lluís Pericot i García's responsibility also covered Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, who also excavated in Mallorca and Menorca (1958-1960), where he was also commissioner and later on director of the Archaeological Excavations Service of the Provincial Council of Barcelona (1959).

Documents deposited at the Museum of Menorca show that it was in the 1940s and 1950s that Joan Flaquer made contact with Mallorcan researchers such as Rafel Isassi (old director of the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana from 1936 to 1948), Father Gabriel Llompart and Father Cristòfol Veny Melià.

This was a time of great advances in Menorcan archaeology. On the one hand, for the new discoveries that occur in this time. On the other hand, thanks to the crucial archaeological interventions of Joan Flaquer's disciple, Maria Lluïsa Serra, director of the Provincial Museum and new local delegate of Maó. These breakthroughs included the excavation of the basilica at Son Bou, discovered by Joan Flaquer, but excavated by Father Martín. When interventions were made in archaeological excavations, such as in the basilica at Torelló, with the restoration of its mosaic (Sant Climent); in Cap des Port (Fornells); in the circle at Torelló d'en Sintes; or in the restoration and excavation of Es Tudons *naveta*; Maria Lluïsa Serra was at the head of this research. Progress is made in the study of Talaiotic culture with the excavations at Torrellafuda and the continued excavations led by Maria Lluïsa Serra of the circles at Sant Vicent d'Alcaidús, continuing the work of Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz in Biniaiet, the upper part of the same settlement.

Joan Flaquer died in Madrid February 12th, 1963. His faithful disciple and friend, Maria Lluïsa Serra, wrote a heartfelt homage to him in the *Revista de Menorca* as a man and a character and explained how much he brought to the study of archaeology and history on the island. The most remarkable part is when she explained how he was a modest individual and a discreet person who did not like to stand out (Serra, 1963):

> Juan Flaquer's modesty was quite extraordinary; going way beyond anything we normally associate with the word, without the slightest affectation, without even trying, without even realising that he possessed such a virtue. This was a man, consulted by scholars from all over the world who valued his opinion, but who had no problem, holding a coin or a pottery fragment in his hand and asking his questioner: 'And what do you think?'. Of all the lessons that Don Juan Flaquer has left us, this very simple one may be the hardest to learn (pg. 30).

Enigmas and curiosities of menorcan archaeology in the Flaquer collection

Joan C. de Nicolás Mascaró, archaeologist

Introduction

Cataloguing the Menorcan archaeology archive of the Joan Flaquer Fàbregues collection, recently donated to the Museum of Menorca by his family, has allowed us to make some observations ahead of the exhibition dedicated to Joan Flaquer and his personal collection.

The archive contains numerous literary and graphical documents related to his intellectual interests, his correspondence with scholars from Menorca, Spain and elsewhere about Menorcan archaeology, numismatics and his work as the island's commissioner of archaeological excavations. There is also his own research on numismatics and the excavations of the *naveta* de Cotaina, the *taula* enclosure and the hypostyle hall at Torre d'en Galmés in Alaior, plus some limited details of other minor excavations of megalithic tombs at Alcaidús, Alaior, and Montpler, Maó, the Son Catlar settlement, Ciutadella, the caves in Cala Figuera, Maó, and the Coves d'en Salom, Addaia necropolis, Es Mercadal. Some of the more significant objects found on those archaeological explorations are held in the Museum of Menorca and its permanent exhibition.

It therefore seems clear that sharing what we know about Joan Flaquer's character, cultural interests and his work as a notary and archaeologist should form the backbone of this exhibition. This information is mostly centred around his passion as a collector of coins, medals and other antiquities, particularly Menorcan ones, and an archive of documents from the period when he worked officially to safeguard Menorcan heritage and archaeology.

The other vital part of the exhibition is, without a doubt, the collection of artefacts itself and, in particular, the collection of Menorcan archaeological objects that are now with the Museum of Menorca and form part of its new permanent exhibition. All of this material encapsulates Flaquer's passion and a lifetime spent gathering information and evidence about the ancient history of his island.

The index of the Menorcan archaeology collection shows the great variety in typology and chronology of the pieces recovered and helps us to interpret, at least partially, where they came from. This is particularly important when we do not have original information from Flaquer himself.

Flaquer left a more or less complete record of how he found or acquired around 300 of the items, and these are catalogued with an inventory number. However, that is only approximately one fifth of the total number. We have been able to partially overcome this inconvenience by reading certain bibliographical details published around the time he assembled his collection or by analysing the condition and typology of the objects themselves.

If you had to explain in a few words how Joan Flaquer assembled his collection you could say it was the result of him visiting and surface prospecting a wide variety of Menorcan sites in the early 20th century, particularly those settlements closest to him, in and around Alaior or on the boundary between Alaior and Maó, (S'Androna, Binixems, Alcaidús, Biniaiet, Biniac...), as well as large Talaiotic settlements which he never tired of visiting (Torralba d'en Salort, Trepucó, Sa Torreta, So na Caçana or Torre d'en Galmés) (see figure 1). His personal collection of significant surface objects was further swollen by donations from friends and colleagues, purchases and, on some occasions, as the result of more radical actions which Flaquer never wrote about and which should now clearly be considered as the plundering of certain funeral sites, hypogea or natural caves. Possibly the most notable example of this was the case of the votive deposit from a hypogeum at Sa Mola, Alaior, excavated between 1917 and 1924, but frequented long before that. Roman burial sites were also excavated at or near the same hypogeum at Sa Mola.

In any case, we believe that Flaquer's personal Menorcan collection is of great interest and considerable scientific value, adding a number of unique pieces to Menorcan archaeology which, despite their lack of context, are very significant and provide valuable information about some little known Menorcan sites. It also provides one of the first and most complete accounts of archaeological prospecting in Menorca, particularly relating to the periods of Talaiotic culture, Pre-Roman monuments and the centuries of Romanisation.

Pre-Talaiotic lithic technology

The Pre-Talaiotic or naviforme period of Menorcan prehistory is not well represented in the Flaquer collection. This is because artefacts of any material (stone, clay or metal) from that time are not often found at superficial levels and even more rarely by chance or by surface prospecting, which was the source of most of his collection. In addition to several fragments of pottery clearly characteristic of the period, although almost always with no information about their origin, there are three very interesting stone artefacts, albeit in fragmented condition (see figure 2). They are, first of all, two knife fragments, made from long, flat slices of flint with a sharp edge produced by chipping away at a straight rear edge. These items, found by Flaquer near the *talaiot* at Cases des Morlans, Alaior, are not unique, but they are rarely found in Menorca and, it must be said, never with their context. They were immediately added to the permanent collection at the Museum of Menorca.

The third item is no less important as it also belongs in the category of the oldest artefacts from Menorcan prehistory. It is part of a grinding disc of the sort usually called archer's armbands and, in this case, we know that it was found near the *talaiot* at Biniarroca, Sant Lluís. The piece appears to be limestone with a clearly functional biconical perforation close to the preserved edge underneath the hole and three circular abrasions in a horizontal line which have no function. These characteristics are identical to other stone grinding discs found in Mallorca and Formentera (Guerrero, 2003, pg. 120-139). These kinds of artefacts have been found frequently in Mallorca, normally in funeral contexts, in megalithic tombs such as S'Aigua Dolça (Colònia de Sant Pere), in caves like Son Matge and cova des Moro and occasionally in *naviformes*. They have been dated to the late 2nd millennium and the first third of the 1st millennium. Joan Flaquer said he received his as a gift and he had heard that pieces of the same type were found at the Biniarrroca site. To date, there are only four known fragments of these pieces in Menorca, coming from Son Mercer de Baix, the megalithic tombs of Ses Roques Llises de Torre d'en Galmés and So n'Olivaret, Ciutadella, and the *naveta* at Binimaimut, Maó (Gornés, 2016, pg. 210-212).

Pre-Talaiotic and Talaiotic metallurgy: copper ingots

Unfortunately, there is no information about the origins of a group of 12 metal, probably copper, ingots shaped like long loaves. This makes it difficult to ascribe them to a specific chronology or culture. We do not know if they were found individually, in groups at different sites or all together in the same place, as seems likely, because finds like these are hardly common. (see figure 3, no. 135 *a* and *b*). There have been reports and isolated finds of ingots in Menorca, such as the loaf-shaped copper ingot from Son Mercer de Baix, Ferreries, and another two similar ingots of copper or bronze that were found at Son Gornesset, as reported by Cartailhac, but whose current whereabouts are unknown (Delibes and Fernández-Miranda, 1988, pg. 75 and 78). We also know that more than a dozen were found at Es Aljubs, Ciutadella (Montero *et al.*, 2005, pg. 298).

These ingots are thought to be very typical of metallurgic activity at the end of Pre-Talaiotic era and the start of Talaiotic culture, although they have never been found in context. Some of the ingots from the Flaquer collection have visible perforations where samples have been extracted for analysis.

Talaiotic bronzes. Symbolic or actual weapons

Talaiotic weaponry is one of the least known chapters of Menorca's Talaiotic culture for a variety of reasons including scarcity of evidence and lack of context. In the Flaquer collection, apart from some spearhead fragments which, judging by their condition, look like they came from a looted Menorcan burial site, what really stands out is a small collection of prehistoric weapons. There are seven pieces in all but we are not sure if they were actual weapons or just symbols of prestige because of their value and original design. These pieces are extraordinary and, in some cases, unique in an island setting such as Menorca (see figure 3, no. 104-117). Although we might suspect that these exceptional artefacts were not found in Menorca, Flaquer confirms their origin in one of the few notes he left, albeit in a simple and non-specific manner. We know the magnificent halberd or short sword, number. 107, (35.5 cm and 278 g), came from El Toro. It has five rivets to hold what was probably a perpendicular handle, and can be compared to pieces of Argaric metallurgy from the late Chalcolithic or early Bronze Age. The other exceptional piece is number 111, the heavy axe (996 g) which also had a perpendicular handle. It was purchased by Flaquer in 1930 and found at the Sant Llorenç *talaiot* (Llucalari, Alaior) which was dismantled by the government. Joan Flaquer wrote that it bore comparison with weapons from Sardinia, and this should be confirmed by an accurate study of these exceptional and clearly imported objects.

Also notable are three examples of copper or bronze axes, in two different styles (see figure 3, no. 108, 109 and 113). In this case, we cannot prove they were made in Menorca, but it is possible, as we have found a mould which would allow for the smelting of one of these two models (De Nicolás and Sánchez,1985; Delibes and Fernández-Miranda, 1988, pg. 76-81). Flaquer tells us that these axes were found at Alcaidús, at a previous excavation by Vives Escudero and, at Camp Verd de Santa Marianna, Alaior, and in the Sant Joan gorge, Es Castell, in Binissaida.

Two more pieces complete the Talaiotic panoply of the Flaquer collection: a spearhead of around 20 cm and a small javelin tip, both with tubular shafts (see figure 3, no. 117 and 104) and both Menorcan, from Calescoves and Alcaidús, Alaior.

Talaiotic personal ornaments: biconical pendants and bracelets

The Joan Flaquer collection contains a considerable number of some of the most characteristic bronze artefacts from Menorcan Talaiotic burials at *navetas*, caves closed with a Cyclopean wall and the hypogea of the island's coastal outcrops and gorges. Among the artefacts are pendants or biconical beads (see figure 3, no. 65 and 470) and bracelets and rings of varying size and weight (see figure 3, no. 477, 479 and 485). The large necropolis at Calescoves is a typical site in terms of these objects (Veny, 1983). None of the pieces are easily interpreted, even after the addition of new objects without their context, like the ones in this collection. The pendants or biconical beads are unique to Menorca and without parallel. They are technologically interesting in terms of their production and, although their purpose is still uncertain, it is thought they were used as personal ornaments hung around the neck or from clothing. Even their name shows how we are unsure about what they were used for. As for the bracelets, although they have been found at caves or *navetas, in-situ* alongside human radial or ulna bones, giving us an idea of what they were, there are still many doubts, given their internal diameter and considerable weight, whether the majority of these objects could have adorned the wrists of these men and women, or at least from what moment in their lives they wore them.

It is unlikely all of these objects, over 60 in total and of indeterminate origins, came from Flaquer's few systematic excavations of *navetas* in the east of the island. Some probably came from alternative sources: donations from colleagues and from prospecting after the "cleaning" of sediment from certain caves. The caves En Salom have shown signs of Talaiotic activity and could be linked to these items. As usual, nothing is known about their context.

Talaiotic ceramics and miniatures

The pottery in the collection that can be considered purely Talaiotic can be divided into two distinct groups according to origin, despite the lack of information available, once again. There is a series of whole or almost whole cups, providing a good sample of some of the most significant shapes. There are, for example, truncated conical cups with a perpendicular handle which developed a clearly different shape between the *naviform* period and the later stages of the late Talaiotic period and some clay pots with a turned-out rim very characteristic of funeral sites and especially *navetas* (see figure 4). These complete pieces could be from the excavation of a burial plot, a *naveta* or a natural cave but, unfortunately, Joan Flaquer does not say which. There are a few broken rims and handles or decorative elements from large or small receptacles, often with circular indentations, zig-zag incisions or herringbone patterns. Such items are rarely found whole at excavations as they have focussed on domestic settings from the final stages of the late Talaiotic period, ignoring their precedents. Fragments from this second group are sometimes seen on the surface at major Talaiotic settlements in Menorca and we

must assume they were even more visible when Flaquer was there in the first half of the last century. We can sometimes tell where fragments came from because it is written in pencil on the piece: Biniguarda, Binixems, Biniac, Torre d'en Penjat, Trepucó, Torralba, etc.

The Talaiotic ceramic miniatures are basically small conical cups with a small side handle and triangular section, decorated with rows of imprinted dots at the union between the handle and the rim of the cup that often imitates larger pieces. We do not know the precise chronology and purpose of these small cups, but they could be from domestic or funerary contexts, where they would have made suitable containers for symbolic offerings. If they were from domestic setting, they may have been toys. They are thought to be from the later part of Talaiotic culture (900-600 BCE) but it is possible a very small minority come from the late Talaiotic period (see figure 4, no. 1069-1110). We have no specific information about the origin of these objects which are hard to connect to each other. The most likely scenario is that they came from repeated prospecting at various Talaiotic dwellings or burial sites. We might think such a large number of pots would confirm the existence of a pottery kiln, similar to the one found but not yet studied at Talaia de Torrepetxina, Ciutadella. In the case of the miniatures in the Flaquer Collection, there is no evidence of imperfections that would provide information about a specific pottery production.

Bronzes and other metals from the Late Talaiotic

A modest sample of bronze and lead objects from the Late Talaiotic period, possibly produced on the island, are also included in the Flaquer Collection and it must be said they have enhanced the Museum's collection of exhibits and its permanent exhibition (see figure 5). The Binicalaf Warrior (see figure 5, no. 22) with his mutilated head, arms and feet, well known in Menorca (Orfila, 1983, pg. 118), is now joined by the second warrior from Son Gall, taken in by the Museum a few years ago. They are now the only two Menorcan warriors on display to the public in Menorca. Other important pieces from this category are now in collections abroad or in private collections on the island. There is a fragment of an arm and left hand from Rafal del Toro (see figure 5, no. 128) which could be another warrior yet to be identified. It is hard to say for sure, given the unorthodox position of the left arm and hand which are positioned to hold a spear, whereas the other Balearic warriors found are all throwing their spears with their right hand, leaving the left to hold a shield.

Also very interesting are the bronze double-bitted axes (*labrys*), possibly the smallest of all Menorcan double-bladed axes, which were found by Flaquer at S'Androna, almost inside the town of Alaior (see figure 5, no. 115 *a* and *b*). There are also two small bronze bells, from Addaia, Es Mercadal and Torelló, Maó (see figure 5, no. 114 *a* and *b*), and the horn-shaped lead pectorals (see figure 5, no. 32 and 31) found in an individual tomb at Biniatap, Es Castell and in the fascinating votive deposit at Sa Mola, Alaior. The *labrys*, bells and "corniform" lead pectorals add to what we know about typical ritual objects from the Late Talaiotic period in Menorca and Mallorca, where there are notable similarities (De Nicolás, 2017c). Only the small bells are not exclusive to domestic and funeral contexts on the two islands, as they were also widely used symbolically by Carthaginians and Romans.

We can see how the Flaquer Collection helps us to better understand certain sites or deposits that were practically unknown and are now opening new research perspectives, thanks to some of the objects mentioned above and others to be discussed later, such as the little fish from Trepucó and the little bronze bull from Es Morlans, (see figure 5, no. 151, 12 and 697).

Ceramics from the Late Talaiotic period. Deep-bottomed cups

The deep-bottomed cups (hereafter DBCs), also sometimes erroneously called "double bottomed cups", get their name from a peculiar artisan production process that produced quite tall cups with a very small capacity due to the bottom being incomprehensibly high. They are the jewels of Late Talaiotic Menorcan pottery. These beakers have been found in Mallorca and Eivissa, and there are examples in Mallorcan museums and a few isolated pieces from the Puig des Molins necropolis, in the Museum of Eivissa and Formentera, but we know that these were also produced in Menorca. There is almost unanimous agreement that DBCs imitate the peculiar local shape of Hellenistic and Punic censers, made in a mould with the figure of the goddess Demeter or maybe Tanit and used between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE across the whole of the central and western Mediterranean to burn aromatic plants or psychotropic resins (Prados Torreira, 1983, and Sastre, 1985). However, in Menorca, this use has still not been proven, even for actual Hellenistic or Punic censers with a feminine figure which have also been found on the island, at Torralba, sa Torreta, Sanitja, Biniparratx Petit, etc., (De Nicolás, 2015b, pg. 276-278). In addition to the unproven hypothesis mentioned above, they could also have been used for funeral rites or in worship to present small volumes of valuable offerings to divinities, or perhaps before some productive activity. These DBCs were usually found in shrines, close to the *taulas*, in funerary caves, or more rarely in Talaiotic dwellings, but the most interesting and spectacular aspect of their presence in the Flaquer Collection is their

sheer number and magnificent state of preservation, which throws up all sorts of questions and enigmas, as mentioned in the title of this article and which shall be discussed further in the conclusions.

The reason for this digression into the question of the DBCs is that these proto-historic cups are the crown jewels of the Flaquer Collection, with 269 complete or almost complete examples and many fragments (see figures 6 and 7). It is an unprecedented number and there is apparently almost no information about where they all came from. We will return to this question in another chapter of this catalogue, for now, let us just say that the collection of DBCs is interesting because of their good condition, the formal differences between the beakers and the variety of decorations. These are always engravings of geometric combinations, with vertical or oblique palm leaves or herringbone motifs, or horizontal, parallel or combined lines, sometimes with engraved triangles, stripes, rows of dots and circular snail-shaped impressions interspersed with perpendicular marks or simple empty spaces inside a raised frame. These decorations, mostly concentrated on the front, occupying a trapezoidal or oval plaque, are often flanked by nipple-like protrusions on each side of the design on the side close to the simple rim, which is a slight lip running around the container. Let us not forget the eponymous high bottom which is a sort of membrane stuck on to the truncated conical body of the vessel, forming the bottom of the container, limiting the interior space and joining it the supporting base which is formed by another protruding ring of clay (see figure 8).

There are various hypotheses about the evolution of the DBCs shape and geometric iconographic designs, but we are still not sure whether the larger pieces appeared first, with the higher base and more beautiful elaborate decorations the result of greater decadence in shape and appearance, or if the phenomenon occurred the other way around, with a progressive increase in the total size, height of bottom and decorative engravings. The debate arises from the lack of chronological information about the different models and sites, and the large group of cups from the Flaquer Collection is a good example of this, especially if we accept, as seems probable, that the majority came from the same archaeological deposit. It is worth noting that more evolved DBCs and less evolved DBCs were found together at the excavation of a hypogeum outside Sant Joan de Missa, Ciutadella (Sastre, 1985, pg. 13). However, archaeologists are almost unanimous in placing the generic chronology of the DBCs between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE, and even up to the 1st century AD. To date, we are still lacking the publication of more precise data for specific cups that would help refine the current data to see any possible evolution, if there was any, which seems likely. Figures 6 and 7 show 42 of the 269 DBCs, just under 15% of the total. The selection process was not completely arbitrary. On the one hand, there are the smallest pieces with the most formal variations and on the other, the largest DBCs, which have the highest bottoms and are perhaps the most beautiful in terms of decoration.

Among Joan Flaquer's papers there are no direct references to this extraordinary collection of beakers, but it clearly would have been difficult to find such a large number spread across different sites or without a well-planned archaeological excavation. Also, the majority of the DBCs in this group are still encrusted with calcium carbonate or limescale which was not cleaned off when they were found. This leads us to believe that they were all found at the same site. That site could only be the possible votive deposit at Sa Mola, Alaior, which Flaquer mentions in brief handwritten notes when it was excavated between 1917 and 1924.

In Madrid, in 1935, Joan Flaquer's friend, archaeologist and professor Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who became National Commissioner for Excavations after the Spanish Civil War, wrote an article about Menorcan archaeology for a nationally circulated scientific review in which he discussed the discovery of 400 earthenware pots at Sa Mola, 85% of which were DBCs heavily encrusted with limescale. We will discuss this subject in more detail in another article of this catalogue, as the enigma of Sa Mola is worth returning to.

Other Late Talaiotic ceramics: censers, pateras or "omphalos" bowls, truncated conical pots, pitchers with handles and other forms

When we look at other clearly locally produced ceramics from the Late Talaiotic period, they clearly complement the large number of DBCs from Sa Mola, Alaior. These vessels, which can be grouped into as many as five different categories, plus a few unique forms, also often coexisted with the DBCs and are also copied in local pottery, often with forms very characteristic of Greek, Hellenistic and Punic industrial wheel-thrown pottery.

There are more than 100 pieces or shards and almost all of them must be classified as "origin unknown" because Joan Flaquer did not leave any specific information about these objects. A lot of the pottery in the five formal groups, much of it broken, although some still intact and very interesting, is encrusted with limescale like the majority of the DBCs. This means it can likely be attributed to the extraordinary and no doubt religious deposit from the hypogeum tomb at Sa Mola, where, according to Martínez Santa-Olalla, several local imitations of classical models were among the 400 vessels found, which were excavated by Flaquer. However, we must also remember that some of the fragments from this collection of pottery from the Late Talaiotic period made their way into the collection as the result of surface prospecting at various sites.

The most frequently documented imitations of classical models (Plantalamor and Rita, 1986 and 1995) are nine censers, made up of two parts: a small circular or elliptical bowl and a conical lid, with small, vertical, perforated handles on each side allowing suspension from a cord. These censers were used for burning aromatic or psychotropic resins at funeral rituals. There are also seven pateras with omphalos or "belly-button" indentations, which are all spherical plates or bowls, ideal containers for organic offerings, with an omphalos (belly-button) or dome shaped element in the centre underside. There is one exception, a single simple spherical bowl, without any omphalos. There are 53 pieces of truncated conical beakers with button, disk or simple nipple-shaped handles, almost all just isolated handles selected from broken shards of this type of vessel. There are round or pear-shaped pitchers with ring handle positioned vertically extending from the rim, 12 in total, including loose handles and bodies that have lost their handles. There are two ceramic lamps of very different types that are copies of Punic style ceramic lamps. One of these pieces, a *unicum* type lamp, has the form of a horizontal tube, on a flat circular base, with one end blackened by soot and another broken end which probably had a ring shaped handle. This and other original and unparalleled pieces from the group merit a more detailed study which would enrich the catalogue of Late Talaiotic Menorcan pottery (see figure 9).

Finally, we come to a cooking pot of the Late Talaiotic period, number 992 (see figure 10), decorated with a relief double-bitted axe or *labrys* and many indentation marks. In the collection, there are five or six fragments of cooking pots with partially preserved decorations like this, but the piece with the whole labrys still has a large part of the rim of the pot and its dimensions (roughly 19 x 16 cm) make it the best preserved Menorcan piece of its kind. So much so, that this single fragment allows us to imagine for the first time what shape these decorated pots might have had. Previously, they had only been found in smaller shards at sites almost all over the island such as Biniparratx Petit, Torre d'en Galmés, Trepucó, *Mago*, Sa Torreta and Ses Talaies de n'Alzina. This model of pot with a labrys in relief has not been found outside of Menorca, although several miniature bronze labrys have been found in Mallorca and Menorca in funerary and cultural contexts (De Nicolás, 2017c, pg. 436-455).

Joan Flaquer does not mention in any of the documents connected to his collection where this very special pot came from. This originally led us to believe that, like the other pieces with limescale encrustations, it might have come from the deposit at Sa Mola, but we then found out that Flaquer did a sketch of the piece in question and noted that he found the fragment in his youth near a *talaiot* that was being demolished at Biniac Nou, Alaior (Flaquer, 1953, pg. 109, Figure 45, 2; De Nicolás, 2017c, number 19, pg. 454-455).

Stone balls from the Late Talaiotic

The Flaquer collection contains an impressive collection of small limestone balls 20-30 mm in diameter and between 20 and 50 grams in weight. 106 to be precise, one of the largest collections anywhere, comparable only to the 50 balls found during excavations at Talatí, Maó (Juan and Pons, 2005, pg. 45-46, assumes they were sling bullets) and the 142 found at Ses Talaies de n'Alzina, Ciutadella, (Navarro, 2004, pg. 73 also suggests the "spheres" had a bellicose purpose or a possible use as a domestic tool). More balls were found at sites with excavated domestic buildings such as Trepucó, Torelló, Torre d'en Galmés, Torralba etc. These small round balls are very common at Talaiotic settlements and especially when excavating *cercles,* domestic buildings from the Late Talaiotic (4th-1st centuries BCE), where they often appear in concentrations of 3-4 or as many as 10-12 units, as if the pouch or receptacle containing them has rotted away. Commonly referred to as "sling bullets" in exhibitions and publications, they were thought to be ammunition used by Balearic slingers in their confrontations with the Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans. This hypothetical use has never been confirmed. In fact, it now seems anachronistic and barely logical given that we know Balearic slingers actually used aerodynamic lead bullets which were pointed at both ends and almost twice as heavy as these small stone balls. It has also been speculated that they could have been toys, but their exact function remains unknown due to a lack of specific evidence.

Joan Flaquer probably collected these stone balls over years of repeated visits and prospecting at Menorcan sites, or was given them by friends and colleagues. Unfortunately, he left no information about where they came from. They could be from one single site or collected at dozens of locations, we will probably never know.

Being able to show Flaquer's collection of small stone balls in this exhibition could provide an opportunity to unravel certain topics and tell visitors how these objects are commonly found in Menorca, but not in Mallorca or Eivissa, thus casting doubt on the theory that they were used in warfare. It is hard to believe that this form of ammunition was only used by Menorcan slingers. Neither should we assume that Talaiotic Menorcans used skill and energy to produce such beautiful, perfectly round objects to fire at goats, spreading the balls around the fields where they would be found years later by Joan Flaquer and others. In short, the balls are here and they are abundant, but more research is needed to ascertain their significance and function.

Figure 11 contains 40 of the stone balls owned by Flaquer along with two *glandes plumbae* or "leaden acorns", authentic moulded lead sling bullets with one or two points that came from Talaiotic settlements at Son Catlar, Ciutadella, and Trepucó, Maó.

Weaving tools: spindle whorls and loom weights

Spindle whorls are disk-shaped counterweights with a central hole that fit onto a wooden, bone or ivory spindle. They were used in the production of textiles to make threads of yarn by spinning organic, plant or animal fibres. Spindle whorls were found at almost all Menorcan archaeological excavations of domestic dwellings from the Late Talaiotic (5th-2nd century BCE). They were also sometimes found during surface prospecting of Talaiotic settlements, although always in smaller numbers than the much more common loom weights, especially those made from recycled, broken handles from Punic-Eivissan amphorae and, less commonly, Iberian amphorae, all with the broken edges filed and smoothed down to avoid damaging the fibres used in the weaving process (see figure 12).

There are 24 spindle whorls in the collection made from local pottery, six of which are now part of the museum's permanent collection and one made of blue glass, shaped like a truncated cone, found by Flaquer himself at Trepucó, in an area that Margaret Murray thought might have been a workshop for the production of glass paste beads, as stated by Flaquer in his publications and in a handwritten note that accompanies quite piece. The clay spindle whorls are very varied in shape. They are truncated cones, cylindrical, biconvex and lentil-shaped, and there is even one in shaped like a mushroom and another modelled on the shape of a jug. In just a few cases, their origin is given with a place name but no further details: Biniarroca, Trebalúger, Tornaltí, Calescoves, Biniaiet or Biniac, so we assume they came from Joan Flaquer's own surface prospecting or were donated to him by friends and colleagues. This lack of context also makes it impossible to determine their chronology. All we can say is that they are probably from the Late Talaiotic like the ones found during excavations of dwellings in the Talaiotic settlements of Talatí de Dalt, Ses Talaies de n'Alzina and Torre d'en Galmés (Navarro, 2004, slide 11; Ferrer i Riudavets, 2015). We have the same problem with the loom weights in terms of ascertaining their origin and chronology.

Loom weights, at least in the Western Mediterranean, in Pre-Roman and Roman times, were prism-shaped, truncated pyramid or lentil-shaped, with one or two transversal perforations where the vertical weaving yarn was from ceramics workshops pull it straight. These objects, often made from leftovers at potteries producing amphorae and building materials such as bricks and tiles, were transported and sold with such objects, and because they were made from the same clay, it is usually possible to determine where they were mades. There is a lens-shaped weight in the Flaquer collection that was found at Biniatap, es Castell, and prism-shaped ones from Sanitja, Talatí de Dalt and Trepucó, some of which are made with the same clay as Roman amphorae from Hispania Tarraconensis. The most abundant weights are those mentioned above, made from the handles of recycled Punic amphorae from Eivissa or Iberia which can be dated to between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE. There are 14 in total, all found at unknown locations. They could have been surface finds from any Talaiotic settlement as they are very common. At Talaies de n'Alzina alone, archaeologists found 286 loom weights made from Punic-Eivissan amphorae handles and identified 987 handles (Navarro, 2004, pg. 36). These loom weights made from old Punic amphora handles are almost unique to Menorcan archaeology as this practice has not been detected anywhere else along the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula, where there is an abundance of Punic amphorae from Eivissa and other Phoenician style amphorae with similar handles. Neither are they found in Mallorca, where Punic amphorae from Eivissa were also widespread. There is only one case of similar loom weights being found at the Phoenician settlement of Sa Caleta, in the south of Eivissa, with amphorae surely much older than those which reached Menorca. But not even in Eivissa did this interesting form of recycling take off as much as in Menorca (De Nicolás, 2015a, pg. 182-191; 2016, pg. 52-54).

Pre-Roman and Roman bronzes

Bronze figures of Roman gods as well as attachments for jugs and other metallic containers with mythological depictions can be added to the already long list of figures from lararia (domestic shines) and the luxurious ornamental vases, used in certain wealthy Roman households (Moreno, 2012), that are already in public and private collections. Sadly, once again, there is very little information about the specific origin of these objects as they are old finds with few references and few bibliographical details. When so little is known about their origin, we might assume that these objects were found outside of Menorca and made their way into Flaquer's collection as the result of purchases, exchanges or donations. In any case, in the absence of information that would certify their origin, we can say from the type and nature of the more interesting objects that it would not have been unusual to find them at sites on the island.

Far less problematic is the category archaeologists call "small finds", fragments of larger pieces which were often part of domestic, funerary or ritual decorations, small accessories to clothing or military equipment for people and animals, jewellery and other things that were easily lost in daily use, such as low value coins. These casual surface findings at Menorcan settlements were the main source of the objects in Flaquer's collection.

This category includes 21 Pre-Roman and Roman objects (see figure 13). Among those that stand out are figures of the gods Mercury and Fortuna, which join other depictions

of the same gods already present in Menorcan archaeology, indicating some of the cults with the most believers. We must also mention the figure of a Roman legionary in a defensive pose behind his rectangular shield, although missing the *gladius*, the standard issue sword. This was probably an ornamental attachment from a large container, considering the cylindrical metal protrusion on the back of the piece. There are also typical metal handles from jugs used for serving wine, including one with a simple handle and a double ram's head attachment and various attachments with a theatrical mask and two depictions of the mythical Gorgon, surely intended to deter evil spirits. These were found at Santa Marianna, at Rafal Nou and at Torre d'en Galmés, Alaior, respectively. Finally, it is worth mentioning a small attachment, possibly for an urn, that has a female head and came from Santa Creu, and some more day-to-day items such as a tray from some scales and a silver-surfaced mirror found with Roman ceramic lamps and other objects at the possible Roman tomb at Trebalúger, Es Castell (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924d), as well as a pyramid shaped bell, a base for a domestic container in the form of a shield (Tassinari, 1975, pg. 31), from Rafal del Toro, Es Mercadal, and a mysterious anthropomorphic pendant decorated with concentric circles that dates back to late Antiquity and came from Binimassó, Ferreries.

Medical instruments, needles and nails

Up to 24 simple pieces of bronze have been identified as examples of basic surgical instruments, simple domestic tools such as sewing needles, a hook for weaving, and nails or studs used in the construction and reparation of boats and other carpentry work. These pieces were found during excavations and prospecting of archaeological sites which were occupied for a long time during the Roman period and perhaps even in medieval times, as they were common in domestic contexts in the Ancient world and the Middle Ages. It is hard to determine their exact purpose and define their precise chronology when they are not connected to a specific context. They have often existed over a long period of time without any changes to their shape or appearance. We also cannot say precisely where each of the objects came from. There are only general references from Flaquer himself about their connection to certain sites such as Torre d'en Galmés and Addaia, among others. We can assume, therefore, that they are the products of his prospecting at various sites in the first half of the last century.

Iberian, Attic, Punic and Campanian crockery

The collection features a selection of grey Iberian ceramics, mostly regular-sized jugs made at the large settlements along the Catalan coast and the eastern Iberian Peninsula between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE. This kind of crockery was used as tableware, but also for libations and as offerings in funerary rituals, among other things. In this case, they were part of the exceptional deposit at Sa Mola that is so important to the Flaquer collection. This would seem likely given the encrustations of limescale found on at least three of the pitchers (see figure 14, no. 990, 433 and 989), although it is not mentioned explicitly in Flaquer's personal papers. The other complete pitchers come from Addaia, Es Mercadal, another possible funerary deposit, and one other, number 247, is from Trepucó (see figure 14).

Painted Iberian ceramics are often found at Menorcan sites, but especially in the settlements, both on the surface and as the result of excavations, as well as among offerings presented at some hypogea, particularly the famous *kalathoi,* truncated cylindrical containers, shaped like a top hat, which made ideal cinerary urns (Roman necropolis in Maó, Hypogeum at S'Albufera, Ciutadella, Roman necropolis *Iamo*, Ciutadella, Torre d'en Galmés and the hypogeum at the Son Vell necropolis.). But this was almost certainly a secondary function; it is thought they were initially produced as containers for transporting some valuable product, possibly honey, which was distributed around the central and western Mediterranean, including the Balearic islands and especially to Menorca, as we know (De Nicolás and Conde, 1993). The Joan Flaquer collection contains a range of *kalathoi* made in kilns along the peninsula's north east coast. Also remarkable are the deep plates typical of the Fontscaldes kiln, in Hispania Tarraconensis, which made good tableware. These pieces are fragments with typical geometric painted patterns and were all collected from unnamed sites.

The amount of Greek, essentially Attic, pottery in Flaquer's collection can be seen as representative of how much of this pottery was brought to the island, or at least, how much has been found to date. As a result, there is only a very small sample of this luxurious black varnished pottery which usually dates from the 4th century BCE. It is very fragmented, coming from occasional finds made on the surface, and Flaquer left almost no information about these few pieces (see figure 15, no. 221, 693 and 694), except exhibit 221, which he says he found on the surface at the Talaiotic site at Biniac, Alaior, in 1915. It is very likely that pottery shard 694 came from the deposit at Sa Mola because when Flaquer writes about a Greek jug from Eivissa (see figure 15, no. 158) he mentions that similar pieces were found at Sa Mola.

At the same time, it is hard to understand why there are only six fragments of Punic and Ebusitan (Eivissan) crockery when, unlike Attic pottery, it has often been found at Menorcan sites, and particularly at excavations of houses from the Late Talaiotic. To explain its scarcity here, we

should remember that the Eivissan crockery that dominated the Balearic market between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE was not as striking as Attic crockery because it lacked the black varnish and printed decoration, especially when broken up and spread over the surface. This is probably why it did not catch Flaquer's eye during his searches, apart from a few shards of mortars and Eivissan fish plates.

More significant in the Flaquer collection are pieces of what we call Campanian crockery, also varnished black and with prints of palms and rosettes, an imitation of the Greek pottery initially produced in the kilns of the Roman Republic in Italy and then taken all over the central and western Mediterranean, mostly in the form of amphorae for the wine trade. There are also some pieces from the later period known as Campanian B and some pieces known as "ink pots" due to their shape (see figure 15, no. 214). But perhaps the most interesting items in this category are the fragments which have *sgraffiti*, one with Iberian hallmarks, found at So na Caçana, Alaior, and another two, with Latin letters, from Binicalaf, Maó, and a cave at Santa Clara, Es Migjorn Gran. These pieces will be discussed later in more detail in the section on epigraphic inscriptions.

The circumstances surrounding Flaquer's discovery of these Iberian ceramics, both the painted and the grey variety, known as "Emporitan" (from Empúries on the Catalan coast), are essentially the same as for the other imported artisan pottery mentioned above.

Fine wares and fusiform unguent bowls from the Roman Republic

The term fine wares refers to a wide range of Roman earthenware which is characterised by its small size, great diversity of forms and very fragile nature, due to the pieces' extremely thin walls. All of these characteristics are the result of Roman potters attempting to imitate the shapes of more expensive cups, pots and jugs made of silver, bronze or glass, which most people at the time could not afford. It resulted in the production of large numbers of cheaper ceramic versions which became very popular during the Roman Republic, reaching the height of their success at the start of the Empire in Italy, southern Gaul and Hispania. From the very beginning, the most popular objects were traded together with other products and often reproduced in other locations around the Mediterranean. Ceramic fine ware often complemented the tableware in people's houses but, more importantly, it also became an almost essential part of many rituals and funerary offerings, along with other little glass or clay bottles, unguent bowls or ceramic lamps, which also imitated earlier metal objects and also appear in the collection.

The dozen or so pieces of Roman fine ware collected by Joan Flaquer come from partially documented isolated tombs or rural necropolises, such as Trebalúger, Es Castell (see figure 15, no. 177, 178 and 179), (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924d), and urban sites, such as the *magontana* necropolis by the Església del Carme church, Carrer Anuncivay and the Plaça del Príncep Square, Maó. The latter is a Roman necropolis that was excavated at the start of the 20th century and produced the Vives Escudero archaeology collection that was partially sold to the National Archaeology Museum. This meant that twenty or so fine walled cups found in Maó were kept in Madrid and discussed in a famous guide to this kind of pottery (Mayet, 1975). The forms and type of clay used in Joan Flaquer's pieces can mostly be roughly categorised as imitations made in Hispania Baetica (now Andalusia) and more frequently Eivissa, where workshops producing Punic crockery and amphorae also began making fine ware imitations to sell in their sphere of influence, and that obviously included Mallorca and Menorca.

The collection contains typical materials recovered from Roman necropolises including two pieces of light *terra sigillata* form North Africa. These are remarkable because it is rare to find them in such good condition. The jug of light *terra sigillata* A, number 176, was found in 1904 during the building of a house in Carrer de la Infanta, in Maó, and is no doubt connected to the Roman necropolis. Technically, its form is known as Hayes 151, which is not that common in the Roman world, but two other pieces like it were found in Menorca, at the urban necropolis *Iamo*, Ciutadella and the possible rural necropolis at Son Camps (De Nicolás, 2017d). The other notable piece is the well-preserved light *terra sigillata* bowl C, Hayes number 73A, which came from Es Migjorn Gran and was given to Joan Flaquer by Doctor Camps' family. The most interesting thing about it is how well preserved it is, as the shape itself, in a very fragmented state, is common at almost all sites from late antiquity, such as Sanitja and many long standing Talaiotic sites (see figure 15, no. 159 and 176).

The collection contains several fusiform (spindle-shaped) and piriform (pear-shaped) unguent bowls, especially the former which are slightly older. The circumstances surrounding their production, reproduction, distribution and function are very similar to those of the fine ware pottery so it does not require further discussion here. The complete unguent bowl, number 171, was found in a Hellenistic or Roman tomb at Biniatap, Es Castell, with other objects and a small horn-shaped lead pectoral, an interesting association that requires further study. The special deposit at Sa Mola also included fusiform clay unguent bowls or fragments of this type, and just like the deep-bottomed cups and other Late Talaiotic pottery from the site, they were also encrusted with limescale (see figure 16).

Beads and other small glass objects

In addition to several glass unguent bowls, including one particularly well-preserved example (see figure 15, no. 210) which came from the Son Orfila necropolis, Sant Lluís, and a fragment of a small unguent amphora (no. 181), found by Flaquer in 1943 among the remains of a Roman burial site at Torralba Gran, Alaior (no. 181 and 210), the collection also contains many more glass objects, such as a spindle whorl, a small stick of white and blue glass and what is possibly a transparent ring. However, what really grabs our attention is the large number of glass or glass paste beads, probably from necklaces or bracelets, none of which have been preserved whole. They are mostly listed in the archaeological register as being from funeral sites, such as the necropolis at Calescoves, and very occasionally from sites that were family dwellings.

We have counted almost 280 beads of glass or glass paste in all the most common colours: black, white, blue, green, brown, gold, silver, yellow, orange and even multi-coloured. Some have eyes inset along their perimeter in single lines or in rows of double eyes placed vertically. They are basically made from concentric layers of white and dark-blue glass. There are also beads without eyes, made of clear or opaque glass, as well as beads that are spherical, cylindrical, biconical or segmented. All have a whole through the middle so they could be threaded onto an iron or bronze wire that held the "pearls" together, but almost no remains of these metal cords have been preserved.

Unfortunately, Flaquer does not say where the beads came from and he kept them in modern glass tubes containing 5, 6, 10, 12 or more, so we cannot even be sure that these groupings are valid given the diversity and characteristics of the sets. We know from a well-known text by Martínez Santa-Olalla that Flaquer found, among other things, multi-coloured glass paste beads when he excavated the deposit at Sa Mola. It is therefore fairly safe to assume these are among the beads in Flaquer's collection, although we may never know which specific pieces came from that site. Other beads could have come from sites at Santa Ponça, Addaia, and other caves and hypogea explored by Joan Flaquer and his colleagues.

At a glance, it is often hard to differentiate beads from late antiquity tombs from those found at Germanic villages from the 4th, 5th or 6th centuries AD, or beads from Sanitja, for example, and beads commonly found in Punic areas of the central and western Mediterranean, which we know were brought to Menorca in large quantities between the 4th and 2nd centuries BCE through Ebusitan trade and also probably made it into Flaquer's collection.

Roman ceramic lamps & more information about urban and rural necropolises

There is an interesting little group of Roman ceramic lamps and significant decorative disk fragments in the Flaquer collection. They are the result of casual finds either from urban building sites in Maó, in the area adjacent to the main Roman necropolis, around Església del Carme, Plaça del Príncep Square and Carrer Anuncivay street (8 complete ceramic lamps from a total of 12) or from agricultural work uncovering individual isolated tombs or rural necropolises (Binirramet, Binicalaf and Son Orfila) (see figure 17). All twelve pieces have depictions of figures in relief on the back which are typical of such artefacts: a walking horse, an allegory to Jupiter with an eagle, an amphora with a garland, the mask of Silenus, scenes from mythology such as the Rape of Europa, etc., but most interesting of all are the six stamps that half of the ceramic lamps have printed on the bottom. In some cases, it is the first time these epigraphs (SYRTEPI, PVF/PVF, CIVNBIT) have been recorded in Menorca and, together with the form of the ceramic lamp, they tell us which part of the Roman Empire they were produced in. This was mostly in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa. Two of the ceramic lamps carry the same signature: GABINIA, an Italian pottery with a subsidiary in North Africa, widespread across the Roman Empire and the most abundant on Menorca, where six examples were found at a single rural acropolis, Trebalúger, Es Castell (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924d). Clearly, the Flaquer collection sheds new light on the commercial distribution and production of ceramic lamps during the early Roman Empire and adds to the list of Latin inscriptions that arrived in Menorca.

This group of early Roman Empire lamps includes various fragments of Paleochristian lamps produced in North Africa between the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Again, Flaquer does not say where these were found. Finally, there is an exceptional object which appears to have been made in Menorca by imitating Paleochristian lamps similar to those mentioned above: a fragment of a mould, with a cross engraved on the back (no. 194) which, judging by the type of clay it is made from, appears to have been imported from Eivissa.

As well as the complete lamps, there are also as many as seven disc fragments from other lamps with typical decorations in relief: animals, scenes from the coliseum (see figure 18), mythology, etc. Almost all of these fragments come from two early Roman Empire tombs, located and excavated by Flaquer at the same hypogeum at Sa Mola where he found the funerary deposit with hundreds of ceramic cups.

Inscriptions on Campanian pottery, amphorae and *terra sigillata*

Another remarkable part of Joan Flaquer's Menorcan archaeology collection are the inscriptions on various ceramic artefacts, Roman crockery, amphora fragments and a bronze *signaculum* or name stamp (see figure 19).

We have already discussed the engravings on fragments of Campanian pottery of types A and B. But the most interesting inscription of all is on a small type A fragment, of indeterminate shape and with what are thought to be Iberian letters on each side. One side carries the inscription *baise* (no. 682), which can be interpreted as a person's name, although possibly incomplete. All we can say for sure about the other side is that the stamp is Iberian. This fragment was found on the surface by Joan Flaquer at So na Caçana, Alaior. The other two inscriptions, on the bottom of Campanian B "ink well pots", are much clearer and read: COR (no. 212), also probably a person's name, found at Binicalaf, Maó, in 1940, and PAM (no. 216), probably part of a longer name, found in a cave at Santa Clara, Es Migjorn Gran and given to Joan Flaquer by Francesc d'Albranca in 1924. Similar Iberian and Latin engravings frequently appear on Campanian pottery on the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula. It was the second time an inscription in this language had been found on the island, the first being an engraving around the rim of a calathus from Biniatram, Ciutadella (De Nicolás and Conde, 1993, pg. 60).

The bronze *signaculum* was used to mark objects, food or other soft materials that would retain the indentation of a metal stamp. It carries the inscription M. ANTON, ADVENTI, written backwards so that it reads the right way round once printed (no. 59). Flaquer says he found it at Torre d'en Galmés, Alaior, but gives no further details. Interestingly, the signature stamp was already known from a modern imprint on pottery in the Museum of Ciutadella. It was assumed the original stamp had been found in Ciutadella but its whereabouts were unknown (De Nicolás, 1979a, pg. 76).

The collection also contains a small number of amphora fragments featuring the imprinted seals of the workshops where they were produced. One has two Punic letters (no. 564) and comes from the neck of an amphora made near Carthage in the 2nd century BCE, another has three Latin letters and an allegorical symbol: M triskel CL (no. 565), on the handle of an amphora of Italian wine from Campania or perhaps Sicily, where amphoras just like it have been found. The third is a fragment of an amphorae from Hispania Tarraconensis that reads AEMVLI (no. 566) and which has been linked to the Catalan town of Calella, (Maresme, Barcelona) where a 1st century winemaker used such amphorae to store his wine in. Unfortunately, Flaquer does not say how he obtained these fragments of stamped amphorae.

Archaeological prospecting and excavations of Menorcan sites, especially those that remained active in the Late Talaiotic period and later centuries of the Roman Empire, late Classical Antiquity, the arrival of the Vandals and the Byzantine occupation, usually provide, among other remnants, fragments of the most typical Roman crockery from each period. Among these is *terra sigillata*, pottery with a bright red glaze, often with geometric patterns, plants or other figures in relief, made in a mould, or imprints from a roller or stamp, and which, in the earliest potteries carried the name of the workshop owners or their slaves, and in later versions, from the Low Roman Empire and centuries after Christianity, a large variety of geometric and plant motifs. By looking at the shapes, decoration and type of clay and glaze used, it is also possible to determine where in the Roman world they were made. This was mostly the centre and north of Italy (Arezzo and Pisa in Tuscany and the Po valley), southern Gaul (la Graufesenque, Millau, Banaçac and other), and some workshops in Hispania (*Tritium Magallum*, Tricio, La Rioja) and in North Africa in what is now Tunisia.

The lack of large Roman settlements and the scarcity of excavations are the main reasons that it is rare to find whole pieces of this Roman crockery, like numbers 159 and 176, both North African and undecorated, found at Es Migjorn Gran and the necropolis in Maó, respectively, and which are currently in the museum's permanent exhibition. It is much more common to find fragments of this delicate pottery. The scarcity of complete pieces is made up for by the amount of information the fragments give us about the chronology and commercial distribution of products created in such diverse locations around the central and western Mediterranean, although the lack of context of all these broken artefacts is an additional problem.

In short, the Flaquer collection contains almost one hundred pieces of terra sigillata. It includes 42 fragments with relief decoration from Italy, southern Gaul and Hispania, 18 pieces from North Africa, Paleochristian Gaul, both smooth, decorated and printed pottery, and perhaps the most interesting group of all: the 38 pieces of terra sigillata from Italy or southern Gaul which have stamps or engravings (see figure 20), with a good sample of the main producers in this strange world such as ATEIVS, VMBRICIUS, SERTORIVS, VIBIENVS, VOLVSVS, GELLIVS, AVILLIVS, CAMVRIUS, PERENNIVS and the much less common SOLIMARVS.

Another outstanding piece, which is unique due to its excellent condition and printed marks, is the plate fragment stamped by A. SESTIVS which also has the name of his Greek slave PHILOGENES (no. 598). It was found, according to Flaquer, in 1937 in the niches under the main altar of the church of Santa Eulàlia, Alaior. Luckily, a few brief notes about the stamps and engravings have survived so we know they came from Torralba (11 pieces), Cotaina, Al-

caidús, S'Androna and Biniac Nou (2 pieces) and Biniatap, Malbúger, Torrellafuda and Son Catlar (1 piece).

Small finds of day-to-day objects

No local archaeology collection such as Joan Flaquer's would be complete without what we call "small finds", a whole category of very specialised archaeological elements, particularly but not exclusively from the Roman world (*Artefacts, Instruments*, etc.), which hundreds of researchers have studied and written about. Obviously, the aim of all of this is to further our understanding of past worlds by putting the emphasis on people's daily lives and the great many artefacts they would have used. Among the small finds in the Joan Flaquer collection there things like jewellery (rings, earrings, bracelets…), objects linked to clothing, such as belt buckles, clasps and fastenings from footwear, bags and purses, as well as, peculiar objects used to hold pieces of leather or cloth together. These "T-shaped brooches" are from the same family as the *fibula* which was used to fasten tunics, capes and other garments. All of these objects evolved over time as the result of preferences and fashions, and not only in terms of their design and appearance, but also in terms of the quality and value of the materials, in this case the metals, they were made from. A ring or earring made from gold was not the same as one made from bronze, which was cheaper, more common and more abundant. This is probably why the Flaquer collection contains no large or small objects made from the so-called precious metals. Even the bronze and copper items are mostly simpler objects that would have been affordable to the common classes. These are also precisely the kinds of objects that were easily lost because people did not take such good care of them, making them more likely to be found by archaeologists.

It is strange that this collection of Menorcan small finds does not include fibulas that were typical during the Roman Empire for fastening cloth garments. There are, however, half a dozen "T-shaped brooches" or "Ibero-Roman brooches" (Palol, 1955-56), a sort of fibula that was nearly exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula in Pre-Roman times and, in some cases, until the period of the Roman Empire (Villaverde, 1993). According to Flaquer, the Menorcan examples came from unnamed sites around Alaior and Ferreries, and the more specific locations of Rafal del Toro, Es Mercadal, Sargossam, Maó, and the Camp Reial de Son Albertí, Alaior (see figure 21, no. 40-45).

Among the belt buckles, there is a good range of post-medieval examples, but it is worth highlighting a few remarkable pieces from the period of the Low Roman Empire (number 46 and 537) and the time of the Vandal invasion. Buckle 529 is part of a group of seven buckles of the same type found in Menorca (found at Milocar de Santa Anna, Ciutadella, Sanitja and Sa Torre Nova, Es Castell), that have parallels in Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean, as well as Carthage, and which can be dated to around the late 4th century and the early 5th century AD. (Eger, 2012, pg. 138-142; De Nicolás, in prep.). Similarly, the buckle with a shield-shaped needle (number 536) was a model widely used in the Merovingian kingdoms and also by the Visigoths from Iberia, with some parallels in Mallorca, in the castle at Santueri and especially in Menorca where more than a dozen needles of this kind have been found at different sites, especially at Sanitja. These objects help us to understand the distribution of the models and the people wearing them, often spreading from one end of the Mediterranean to the other.

Among the small group of personal ornaments there are two simple earrings, of a type well-known from the excavations at the Sanitja necropolis (no. 83 and 88), and a pair of triangular pendants, possibly also used as earrings, found, according to Flaquer, at a tomb at Sanitja alongside some late antiquity glass paste beads (no. 63 *a* and *b*).

Of the twenty or so rings Flaquer collected, we have selected the only stone ring, probably a grey agate of uncertain origin, oval in shape and engraved with the head of a goddess or royal figure with a crown (number 1431). It is Roman, possibly from the Late Empire. The rest are fragmented or deteriorated Punic or Roman bronze rings. Some have plates engraved with animal figures and others have isolated letters that can be interpreted as abbreviations of their owners' names and are often in the form of monograms. Some of the rings have a known origin: S'Androna, Binixems, Alcaidús Nou, Biniac Nou, Biniaiet, Sanitja and a *sitjot* at Binicodrell (no. 100 e-s). Another thing to mention about the rings is the absence of a reliable chronology for the majority of the most common models which existed for long periods of time without changing very much.

Some enigmas and curiosities: Biniatap, Trepucó, Es Morlans and Sa Mola

When Joan Flaquer leaves brief handwritten or typed notes with details about the finds in his Menorcan archaeology collection, it is as if the objects in question are reborn. What follows is a little taste of the marvels that have enriched the Museum of Menorca collection and an initial description of some of the curiosities and enigmas they present.

The horn-shaped pectoral from Biniatap and a peculiar burial

Among the objects discovered at Sa Mola, in addition to hundreds of ceramic pots, including the special deep-bot-

tomed cups, coins and fragments of glass objects, there was also a horn-shaped lead pectoral, which Flaquer called "escapularis", decorated with relief dimples and herring-bone patterns like most of the DBCs. So this piece even has a parallel in his own collection (see figure 5, no. 32). Flaquer states that he found the pectoral in a tomb at Biniatap, Mercadalet, Es Castell, in a fence on the left of the track, to the north of the entrance to the estate, along with Hellenistic cups (this was the term Joan Flaquer used for the ceramic spindle-shaped unguent bowls), one complete unguent bowl (no. 171, figure 16) and other similar fragments beside the bones of a male individual "of very advanced age judging from the skull and closed alveoli in the jaw".

Although only brief, the information Flaquer provides about the tomb at Biniatap is of great interest to us for various reasons. It describes a unique and unknown site which also turns out to be a tomb, possibly a burial in the purest Roman style, with associated archaeological pieces that shed more light on the date of these intriguing horn shaped-pectorals. It also seems that the specific type of the unguent bowl, as well as having a generic form traditionally considered as Iberian or Late Roman, could be Etruscan, easily as early as 100 BC, with parallels from various religious and burial sites on the Mediterranean coast of Hispania in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE (Elche, Valencia and *Libisosa*/Lezuza). It could even date from the start of the Empire (Uroz, 2012, pg. 18-181, fig. 140), as confirmed by another unique burial in Menorca, that of the tomb from the rural necropolis of Rafal des Capità, Ciutadella, where a similar horn-shaped pectoral was found next to lamps, fine ware pottery and glass unguent bowls from halfway through the 1st century AD (De Nicolás, 1988, pg. 33, fig. 10).

The little fish or pearl razorfish from Trepucó

Another strange and enigmatic object from the collection is the little fish found at Trepucó. Flaquer himself rightly declared it a "fairly decent" work of art. It is a very nicely made realistic little sculpture of a fish, measuring 68 x 24 x 12 mm and weighing 18 g, carved in a piece of bone or ivory with a double hole on the back enabling it to hang like a pendant or, more likely, be supported on a base, as Flaquer presented it (see figure 5, no. 151). In a typed note, Flaquer says it was found at Trepucó with a Punic cup and biconical jug which we think must have been Iberian grey pottery as there were many such pieces in his collection and among the finds from Sa Mola. He is also of the opinion that it was Carthaginian, probably because it resembled other objects found at the Eivissan necropolis of Puig dels Molins. At first glance, and without any specific information about its discovery, it seems like it might have been a Punic votive offering for a tomb, religious setting or domestic shrine, like those found in various houses in Talaiotic settlements. We will probably never know. We can only appreciate the beauty of the object itself, the little fish which we have even dared to identify subjectively as a pearl razorfish, *Xyrichthys novacula,* still a much-loved fish, even today, in the Balearic Islands.

Deposit with bronze ox at Es Morlans

Joan Flaquer mentions another new site around Es Morlans, close to Alaior, a deposit of archaeological materials which he found personally and about which he wrote this typed account:

> ... part of a deposit containing a small bronze dagger, a rod of iron topped by a small bronze bull, flints, iron knives, many swine tusks and bull horns, bone needles and several hammers […]. All found in good condition and, upon inspection of the objects, I observed no deliberate damage to the set.

This final observation refers to one of the objects identified, an animal figure (see figure 5, no. 12) which has the long body of a mammal, a bovine or goat which "in the opinion of various people consulted" has lost its head and four legs. Flaquer continued: "I believe the piece is complete... it seems to be finished at both ends with bovine heads" and he points to the presence of a patina and the fact that, being so small, it would have been easy to preserve intact. This seems plausible given the erosion of the piece and in the absence of more thorough analysis.

Clearer, but still not definitive, is the figure of what could be a bronze ox soldered onto a horizontal strip of iron (no. 597; Figure 5. 127 x 17 x 22 mm, 108 g). In this case, the quadruped appears complete, with ears, a long tail, standing with its front and back legs together on a small iron bar, although no horns, which confirms its identification as an ox. In any case, both pieces are very special and of great interest. This group of objects from the Es Morlans deposit remains somewhat mysterious, throwing up many questions like this. Without more precise details about the circumstances of the find, it will remain one of the enigmas of the Flaquer collection.

Sa Mola, an exceptional site

The mother of all the enigmas and curiosities of the Flaquer collection is the ritual deposit of Sa Mola, just outside Alaior. So much so that the site and its contents described previously in this text merit particular attention. For this reason, there is a separate section in this book in which three Menorcan archaeologists give their interpretation of

everything learned to date from the excavation of the Sa Mola deposit in the first half of the 20th century, conscious that this enigma requires further investigation.

The Sa Mola deposit: The enigma of the 400 cups

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In June 2017, Juan Luis Ydoate Flaquer left the private collection of his grandfather, notary public Joan Flaquer Fàbregues, with the Museum of Menorca. For the museum, this donation meant the addition to its collection of more than 3,000 objects. It was a fairly heterogeneous set, primarily of coins, archaeological objects – the majority from Menorcan prehistory – and his collection of documents: books, photographs, letters, along with his files and notes.

The presence of 269 deep-bottomed cups – a type of protohistoric cup unique and exclusive to Menorca – attracted the attention of the researchers who accessed the collection. Despite the importance of this collection of ceramics, Flaquer left very few written references. However, research has enabled us to discover their provenance: it is a set of cups recovered in a deposit found in a cave in Sa Mola (Alaior) during the excavations carried out there between 1915 and 1916 by Flaquer and his teacher Vives Escudero.

The curious fact is that Joan Flaquer never personally published the discovery of this exceptional deposit. In fact, all of the news referring to the Sa Mola hypogeum and the objects that were exhumed, were published by other researchers to whom he gave access to his collection and provided with all the information for their studies. This is the case of the work by Joan Hernández Mora (1922; 1923a and 1923b), Josep Colominas Roca (1926) and Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (1924 and 1935).

The exceptional set of cups was the starting point of the archaeological research, started by the Museum of Menorca, at the Sa Mola site, resuming the work begun at the beginning of the twentieth century by Flaquer, with the techniques and archaeological methodology of the 21st century.

The reason for this article is to review and analyse this scientific problem based on the study of the Flaquer collection, the bibliography on Sa Mola and the data provided by the archaeological intervention carried out in 2019 at the archaeological site.

Description and location of the site

It is an artificial cave, partially collapsed, located in Sa Mola, some 2.5 km southwest of Alaior. It is part of a necropolis of six hypogea – or artificial caves – dug into the walls of a small ravine called Es Coster des Passatget, very near the so-called S'Era Vella. The site is not very well conserved and some of the hypogea were modified for use in farming and for stabling animals belonging to the estate.

The Sa Mola hypogeum is inventoried in the Catalogue of the Island Council of Menorca and the Municipal Catalogue of Alaior. It has an irregular layout with at least two pillars that divided the interior space. The cave has two dry stone walls from the modern or contemporary era that form a small animal pen, making the most of the part of the conserved ceiling of the hypogeum as eaves that would serve to shelter the estate's animals. The entrance to the cave has not been identified, although it is almost certainly facing southeast, where the rock has undergone an artificial lowering of some 150 centimetres. In fact, this would be the front courtyard – a ditch dug into the rock in front of the entrance to a hypogeum. To the east of the site, running north to south, is a modern-contemporary dry stone wall with a small doorway leading to a ramp.

Background and news of the Sa Mola site

Documentary sources from the time have enabled us to connect the Sa Mola hypogeum, the discovery of the deposit and the objects, from the same site, conserved in the Flaquer collection.

For Joan Flaquer, the archaeological setting of Sa Mola would have been a place he knew and visited. He visited and surveyed it with some degree of frequency between 1910 and 1925, and it is possible that he had already carried out some interventions during these years. As a result of these visits, he would already have added a Talaiotic ceramic lamp to his private collection, which he recovered at Sa Mola in 1912. Of indigenous manufacture, it would probably be a local imitation of a classical oil ceramic lamp, made between the 4th and 1st centuries BC. He inventoried the object himself on a collection file card under number 195. This would be the oldest news referring to Sa Mola in the Flaquer collection.

The first clear reference to the excavation at the Sa Mola cave is a letter written by Flaquer to Vives Escudero (Flaquer to Vives Escudero, 17-02-1917). Although the letter does not explain exactly when the excavation of the deposit took place, it appears that it happened between 1915 and 1916, when the more than 400 cups, including other objects, would have been exhumed, joined to each other with lime. It is worth noting that these years coincide with the time that Antoni Vives Escudero left the archaeological digs at the Punic necropolis of Puig des Molins (Eivissa) and returned to dig in Menorca. One example of these years of significant archaeological activity is the excavation of the western naveta, or stone barrow, at Biniac (Alaior), carried out jointly by Vives Escudero and Flaquer. Another intervention of this period is that of the village of Biniaiet (Alaior), where Flaquer collaborated, although he was not a member of the management team comprised of Antoni Vives Escudero and Francesc Hernández-Sanz.

The letter by Flaquer offers some details of his intervention inside the hypogeum:

> ... The [...] Sa Mola site was in an *ad hoc* place, as the eastern part of the slope has a strong retaining wall measuring some 0.30 metres high, as in the attached sketch. It was a pity that you did not have a few more hours, although apart from a pair of cups, some glass fragments and a sort of broken stump also of glass, nothing more appeared. The as coins, numbering four, correspond to Augustus [...] Caligula [...] Vespasian or Titus [...]

At the end of the letter, Flaquer attached a sketch of the cave where the deposit was found. He also adds its orientation, with the cardinal points, and the approximate measurements of some architectural elements that he would have considered relevant to identify the different parts of the site. The sketch has helped us to identify the Sa Mola cave, and the place where Flaquer carried out the excavation, right in front of the hypogeum. It is worth noting that this document is one of the few handwritten references by Joan Flaquer in relation to the archaeological excavation of the Sa Mola hypogeum.

As we mentioned, the bibliographical references on the Sa Mola archaeological site were published by other authors who knew the excavations and who were able to access them in the Flaquer collection, from the exceptional Sa Mola deposit.

The first to publish some of the materials from Sa Mola was Joan Hernández Mora in *Menorca Prehistórica*, where there were drawings of some stone, metal and ceramic objects deposited in the Flaquer collection. Notable among these are two Late Talaiotic ceramics: a globular jug with a vertical handle, an imitation of a classical form, and a bowl with a cone-shaped body with two handles (Hernández Mora, 1923b, fig. 82 IV and IX). It also described a horn-shaped lead panel (Hernández Mora, 1923b and 1948).

The following references have to be looked for in the handwritten note book, conserved at the National Archaeology Museum, "Libro de entrada del Museo y Biblioteca. Diario año MCMXXIV" by Martínez Santa-Olalla, where it describes his private collection located in a number of rooms in his own house (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924e). It is gleaned from this note book that the excavation work was carried out jointly by Joan Flaquer and Antoni Vives Escudero. In this review, Martínez Santa-Olalla describes the Sa Mola cave and the finds made by its excavators:

> This extremely interesting archaeological site was excavated some years ago by Antoni Vives Escudero and Joan Flaquer. It consists of a magnificent arched rock shelter of some fifteen metres in length, its width is some nine metres and the height of the ceiling is up to four metres. In front of the shelter, and in a natural excavation of the rock with some human work, and forming a right angle of some two to two and a half metres sideways, with one of these closed by a masonry wall that forms an open box in the front, is where most of the archaeological remains were found. These are primarily hugely varied deep-bottomed cups, some with beautiful decorations, cups or small hemispheric bowls and some cups of a different shape [...].
>
> Not far from this shelter, that although it has rather manifest signs of human work, it does not have any of habitation, there are two artificial caves, one in large part and with the carvings called '*capades de moro*' in Menorcan, numbering four, and another natural one with human work and that doubtless served as a dwelling for prehistoric man that accumulated so many cups in front of the Sa Mola shelter.
>
> For me, the Sa Mola shelter is a sacred place, where they worshipped an unknown divinity to whom prehistoric men offered the cone-shaped and deep-bottomed cups, which were deposited in the shelter and when this was unable to contain the offerings, the cups that were devoted to the deity were deposited in the stone box described in strict order of antiquity.
>
> This may explain the near absence of remains in the shelter and their abundance in front…

In this same note book, Santa-Olalla made three different entries of materials exhumed at the Sa Mola site. Two are of materials gathered by the same researcher at the site. The third is a donation made to him by Flaquer of materials from his collection from the Sa Mola excavation.

The first entry is for the recovery of three deep-bottomed cups at the Sa Mola site between 1922 and the summer of 1923, numbers 29 to 31 of his inventory.

The second entry is for 7 February 1924 and is for entries 889 to 893, which corresponds to a complete deep-bottomed cup and to four side fragments with decorated console from other cups of the same type.

The third entry is for 11 February 1924. The objects go from 993 to 1102, a total of 109 objects, which correspond to 92 deep-bottomed cups, 6 hemispheric bowls, 1 drinking vessel, 4 cups, 1 pot, 3 pots decorated with double axe handles, 1 cup base, 2 handles, 1 Campanian plate and 3 Roman unguentaria.

The publications by the archaeologists Josep Colominas (1926) and Martínez Santa-Olalla (1935) describe the contents of the deposit excavated by Flaquer.

Colominas published an article devoted to the Menorcan deep-bottomed cup, using an example from Sa Mola as a reference for his analysis. The author concluded that it was a votive cup exclusive to Menorca, introduced by the slingers, influenced by the Punics, with these cups being imitations of Hellenistic censers. To complete this study, Joan Flaquer gave Colominas access to the archaeological materials that he had recovered from three necropolises deposited in his private collection: the En Salom caves (Addaia, Es Mercadal), the Calascoves necropolis (Alaior) and the Sa Mola cave (Alaior).

Consequently, Colominas mentioned that the following materials were recovered at the Sa Mola site:

a) Three bronze bracelets

b) Three bronze Roman coins, one of the emperor Augustus, one of Caligula and the third of Domitian

c) Various iron knives

d) A lead incised panel

e) Hand-made cups with discoid handle and deep-bottomed cups

f) Various enamelled necklace beads and some fragments of enamelled glass paste beakers

Martínez Santa-Olalla later published his doctoral thesis *Elementos para un estudio de la cultura de los talayots en Menorca* (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1935). In this work, he devoted a chapter to studying and interpreting the deep-bottomed cup. The data provided by Joan Flaquer regarding the circumstances of the find at the Sa Mola site allowed him to offer many details of what the deposit was like, as well as its contents, while maintaining the interpretation of the symbolic and votive value of the archaeological complex:

Some five metres in front of the Sa Mola shelter the deposit of ceramics was found, the largest in number in Menorca. This appeared in a sort of box of approximately one and a half metres squared and a height of 60 to 80 centimetres. Two sides were formed by the natural rock, carefully worked, the other two by a wall made with perfectly cut ashlar. This box was filled to the top with small cups, all joined with plaster, whereby, many of them with incised decoration, it appears as though they were embedded with white paste.

Fairly near this deposit two Roman burial tombs were found.

The finds at the deposit are made up of ceramics, bronzes, coins, glass and lead and iron objects.

The clay cups contained therein would exceed four hundred, with the majority of them being of indigenous production. Some 85% of the deposit is made up of deep-bottomed cups, some 10%, at least, are Menorcan cups in the form of a censer, which is typical, together with the bottomed cup, small hemispheric bowls with sunken bottoms, cone-shaped cups with handle, plates and kilyx reproducing Hellenistic models, apart from other forms of lesser importance. The majority of the deep-bottomed cups are richly decorated.

In terms of imported ceramics there are quite a lot of fragments that would make up 5% of the whole. Predominant among the imported ceramics are Hellenistic ceramics, and there are also fragments of Punic cups in whitish and yellowish clay, as well as various clay unguentaria.

Martínez Santa-Olalla added that Sa Mola "was a place of worship, a shrine where votive offerings were made in the form of the small cups, hundreds of which appeared there".

This same publication also provided the news that a similar deposit had been found in Santa Ponça, very near the Sa Mola site, that the farmer had cleared. The presence of deep-bottomed cups in this second deposit was recorded.

The last conserved reference to Sa Mola dates from 1960, written by Flaquer. It is a handwritten annotation, using the end of a draft of a letter addressed to Margaret Murray:

> Sa Mola = Although the find of the coins is not absolute evidence to determine the date of the entry, on occasion they are needed and for evaluation, in this case it is to be taken into account, not only due to the almost identity of dates of the finds but also due to the appear-

ance of other funeral objects = so that we are certain of the date of the burials – what is harder to determine is that of the cups and other objects in the well.

The Sa Mola site disappears from archaeological literature until the 1980s, when it is shown on the archaeological maps of the municipality of Alaior published in volume III of *Geografia e Historia de Menorca* coordinated by J. Mascaró Passarius. The archaeological information provided is what was already provided by Colominas and Martínez Santa-Olalla in the 1920s and 1930s (Mascaró Passarius, 1982).

Parallel to this, Professor Lourdes Prados Torreira carried out a study of some Menorcan materials conserved at the National Archaeology Museum, which included around a hundred pieces from Sa Mola, representative of the deposit. The materials came from the private collection of Martínez Santa-Olalla and were published with other deep-bottomed cups from the Archaeology Museum of Catalonia and from various Menorcan collections as a partial abstract of her degree dissertation (Prados Torreira, 1983).

Two years later, a second dossier was also published on the Menorcan deep-bottomed cup type, in this case by researcher Jaume Sastre Moll. This study refers to around a hundred examples from Menorcan museums and collections while offering a typological suggestion of the cup (Sastre, 1985).

The arrival of the Flaquer collection at the Museum

Consequently, until the Flaquer collection was deposited at the Museum of Menorca in 2017, only a few published references and some brief notes that were disperse and inconsistent were conserved about a supposed votive deposit at Sa Mola. The cataloguing and research work carried out at the Museum of Menorca enabled us to know that part of the set of protohistoric materials in the Flaquer collection – a total of 269 deep-bottomed cups, bowls with navel, jugs, ceramic lamps, censers, horn-shaped lead panel, etc. – could be related to the written documents of Flaquer and the descriptions published on the Sa Mola site and its deposit. In addition, the lime adherences to which the authors of the time (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1935) referred, and that are still conserved on these objects, reinforced the collection's connection with their original context. These adherences are also present in some of the imported ceramics. Although the publications of Colominas (1926) and Martínez Santa-Olalla (1935) also referred to them, Flaquer himself had already hinted, in his own notes, at this connection with Sa Mola, referring to the fusiform unguentaria and other classical ceramics, such as the Iberian grey paste jugs and the Attic ceramics. The presence is also mentioned of fragments of glass containers at Sa Mola, and in the collection there is effectively a representative sample of fragments of polychrome glass from Punic unguentaria. Similarly, some of the monochrome and polychrome glass paste beads from Punic necklaces would also be from this collection, although they have not been identified. Finally, the inventory cards of the Joan Flaquer collection have provided details of eight objects from Sa Mola: Number 24 refers to a Roman key; 31 describes the horn-shaped lead panel; 169 belongs to a fusiform cup or unguentarium; 231 is a bone amulet; and 195 refers to the Talaiotic ceramic lamp. Finally, numbers 250 to 253 are records devoted to Roman ceramic lamps.

Preliminary note on the archaeological intervention at Sa Mola

In October 2019, the team of archaeologists from the Museum of Menorca carried out an intervention at the Sa Mola hypogeum to resume the research started by Flaquer in the early 20th century. The starting point for the research on site were the information provided by the 1917 sketch, the data in the Alaior Heritage Catalogue and the bibliographical descriptions of the site. On a visit to the Sa Mola hypogea necropolis, we were able to compare the references on site, which allowed us to conclude that the place in question to which the different documents referred was the front courtyard of cave 6.

The decision was taken to carry out an archaeological intervention project (authorised by the CIMe Heritage Service), which consisted of:

The clearing of the cave area to document the present physiognomy of the hypogeum, using photogrammetry. The photogrammetrical exhumation of the hypogeum enabled us to create a 3D model and be able to consider a possible reconstruction of the original shape of the cave. An archaeological intervention was also carried out, which consisted of a survey at the site where the sketch placed the deposit. The trench made measured 1.70 x 1.50 metres and was demarcated by the jagged parent rock that formed the angle in front of the cave.

The stratigraphy of the survey enabled us to document a lowering of the ground that would have been refilled intentionally with earth and stones from the environs of the site, where archaeological materials of a different nature were, in turn, mixed. The interpretation was that this intervention would have been done by Joan Flaquer and Vives Escudero in the early 20th century. In addition, the present archaeological survey enabled us to obtain the recording of the stratigraphic sequence of the place where Flaquer discovered the archaeological deposit, in a sector that had not been affected by the old excavation.

Consequently, below the surface levels, we documented a stratigraphic unit of ash-coloured earth with some human bones with no anatomical connection and some locally-made and imported ceramic materials. The chronology of this material was fairly wide, from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD. The interpretation was that it was the result of an emptying of the funeral deposit from the inside of the hypogeum done after the 1st century AD. Below this level, we found a new stratigraphic unit of loose brown earth, where there were still anthropological remains mixed with ceramic remains as the result of another older outflow from the interior of the cave. The oldest levels emerged below these outflows, where we documented an exceptional series of more than 50 cups intertwined in lime, in a very good state of conservation, together with remains of animal bones. It was a primary deposit laid out on a bed of lime, of some 4 or 5 cm that covered the parent rock, forming a fairly regular surface. From the exceptional series exhumed, we were able to make a preliminary approximation of the ceramic types recovered, where some 95% would be local productions: the most represented shape was the deep-bottomed cup, but there were also some local imitations of imported ceramics – cups, bowls with navel, bowls imitating Campanian A type ceramics – combined with some fragments of imported ceramics, such as the remains of a Campanian A bowl. The set of cups could date from between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The study of the materials recovered, and the samples taken during the archaeological excavation, are in the study phase and will surely provide new data on the Sa Mola hypogeum.

Some conclusions on the Sa Mola cave and the deposit of cups

From the start, the descriptions of the exceptional Sa Mola deposit postulated that the find was something extraordinary in Menorcan archaeology because we did not have clear parallels in Menorca with which to compare them. Besides this, the information about the site, the location of the deposit and the details of the Flaquer and Vives Escudero excavation was scant and disperse. In addition, until now, we had no empirical data that enabled us to verify the interpretations of the authors of the time. In this sense, the Sa Mola archaeological research project, led by the Museum of Menorca, has provided new data that have enabled us to reinterpret the site.

On the basis of the information available today, various questions can be deduced:

In terms of the location of the cave and of the deposit, we started with the descriptions by Martínez Santa-Olalla, which referred to the find in front of the Sa Mola cave, following Flaquer's indications (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924e and 1935). Besides this, we had the information provided in Flaquer's letter of 1917, which included the sketch with the position of the deposit in relation to a half-collapsed cave. Similarly, the information from the Alaior Heritage Catalogue enabled the cave to be located. The comparison of all of these data enabled us to know the exact location of the hypogeum and the deposit, verifying with the present archaeological survey that part of the front courtyard of the cave had been excavated in the early 20th century. With regard to the use of the cave, Martínez Santa-Olalla postulated that the exceptional deposit should be related to worship of some sort of unknown divinity, and that for this reason, the Sa Mola cave should be interpreted as a shrine. This interpretation was strange due to the type of space where the deposit was located, a hypogeum, a space that would, due to its formal characteristics, be a funeral space. In this sense, the data generated by the present survey are clear, in documenting the outflow of anthropological remains with remains of lime from the interior of the hypogeum. In addition, it can be deduced from the types of material recovered that one of the funeral rituals used in the hypogeum was cremation in lime, a type of ritual typical of the Late Talaiotic for burying the dead. Similarly, before the present survey, the chronological question about the archaeological setting of the deposit remained open because both the local and the imported ceramic that was in the collection had a very extensive chronology, between the 4th century BC and the 1st century AD. Although the archaeological survey offers a partial vision of the archaeological record of the site, we could attempt to answer the chronological problem. It should be remembered that Flaquer considered the find of the exceptional deposit of cups as a single event, not differentiating the different chronological stages that a stratigraphic search does allow us to document. Thanks to the present survey, we have been able to differentiate the following chronological phases: On the one hand, different outflows from the cave's funeral deposit have been noted, where the chronology is placed between the 2nd century BC to well into the 1st century AD. The discovery of Roman materials in these contexts leads us to consider a continuous reuse of the cave up until the Early Roman Empire, as is borne out by the remains of ceramic lamps, pyriform censers and other associated materials typical of funeral sites of this period. In any event, this outflow would have happened at a time later than the 1st century AD.

On the other hand, the set of more than 50 cups, among other archaeological remains, would have been deposited in the front courtyard at the time when the cave was in use as a funeral space. Based on the ceramic types recovered, the whole should be placed between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Besides the finds made in the front courtyard of the Sa Mola hypogeum, Joan Flaquer excavated individual tombs from the Roman period inside the Sa Mola hypogeum or its environs. As well as this, the presence of remains

of Roman ceramic lamps from the 1st century AD and of three bronze Roman coins of Augustus, Caligula and Domitian, which Martínez Santa-Olalla mentioned as being found in the Sa Mola hypogeum (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1935), would indicate the use of the cave until the second half of the 1st century AD. The brief bibliographical news do not allow the interpretations to be refined more.

There are no clear references in the scientific literature to be able to compare the Sa Mola deposit of cups recovered by Flaquer. One of the few data from the time that speak of similar archaeological facts is the case of Santa Ponça, a deposit related to a cavity, which would, supposedly, concern a votive deposit similar to the Sa Mola one (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1935). In this sense, the present survey has enabled us to reinterpret the Sa Mola deposit on the basis of the set of cups, located with other remains, such as domestic animal bones. This accumulation of material could be related to a type of social practice connected with the presentation and consumption of food and drink in honour of the deceased, i.e. an act of communal eating. The front courtyard of the cave would have been the place chosen to abandon the material remains produced by the ritual. Until now, this type of manifestation has never been documented in Menorca in a front courtyard of a hypogeum. Here it is relevant to mention a case in Mallorca that has some similarities with the Sa Mola deposit. This is a votive deposit located in the natural well situated in front of the entrance to the Sa Punta rock shelter (Pollença). This rock shelter is located under a rock crag where there is a sort of platform with steps, a possible shrine, and a few metres away is the so-called Sa Punta chasm, a famous funeral cave where wooden coffins with bull's heads cut into their lids were found as well as ceramic and metal offerings (Guerrero, 1987; Aramburu-Zabala, 2007; Encinas, 2014). A deposit of archaeological materials without precedent in Mallorca was found in the natural well, with a large quantity of fragments of Greek ceramics from the 4th century BC among other objects (Cerdà, 2002) and more than 300 bases of Talaiotic cups of different types, cone-shaped cups and crested cups – the Mallorcan votive cup – equivalent to the Menorcan deep-bottomed cup (Encinas, 2014; Pons, 2002). The sites at Sa Mola and the Sa Punta chasm have no formal similarity and, in addition, it appears that there are certain chronological differences of the materials, but they do coincide in the sense of the deposit, i.e. the cups were found left in a well or ditch once they had been used. Whereas in Sa Punta the cups were broken, in Sa Mola they were left, the majority intact and intertwined with lime. If we look at the place of the deposit, the front courtyard of a hypogeum, this could be related to other structures found in other necropolises in Menorca. This is the case of Calescoves (Alaior), where we know of some exterior courtyards in various caves, although there is barely any information about their use. The archaeological excavations in the courtyards of hypogea 9 and 10 of the Cala Morell necropolis (Ciutadella) documented some material remains *in situ* of a votive nature, with a chronology that went no later than the 2nd century AD (Juan, 1998; 1999). The excavation of the front courtyard of cave 7 at Cap de Forma (Es Canutells, Maó) enabled us to relate this space with the funeral rituals practised inside the cave (Plantalamor *et al*., 2007).

Certain parallels in the context of the ancient Mediterranean could be established for Sa Mola, as had been considered with the Sa Punta chasm, with the so-called *bothroi* – in Greek – or *favissae* – in Latin – understood as natural or artificial cavities related to sacred spaces, shrines or funeral spaces where the votive remains used in the rituals were laid out. Possibly the Sa Punta *bothros* was more closely related to the Talaiotic shrine that it had above it and was a sacred *bothros* like the one provided by the extraordinary series of terracotta of S'Illa Plana islet in the bay of Eivissa, to mention a closer example, or the hundreds of *bothroi* near the temples and shrines of Magna Graecia and Sicily (Ferrara, 2008). In this sense, the courtyard at Sa Mola would have served as a place to encapsulate the material remains that had been offered at the hypogeum, as occurs with the numerous *favissae* or votive deposits that are found near Iberian shrines or necropolises (Moneo, 2003).

In any event, the Sa Mola deposit would, once again, be highlighting the transculturation of the Menorcan communities of the Late Talaiotic towards new imported social and cultural practices, integrating new customs and rituals into their own.

Joan Flaquer Fàbregues the numismatist

Octavio Pons Machado
Museum of Menorca
Exhibition curator

The notary Joan Flaquer Fàbregues is known for his intensive activity in the world of Menorcan archaeology and for his extensive and interesting archaeology collection.

But he is also remembered for his other great passion: numismatics.

Within his impressive archaeology collection there is a section dedicated to coins, trade tokens, seals, weights and medals from prehistory to the contemporary era.

Joan Flaquer wrote a series of articles for the scientific community, mostly in the *Revista de Menorca*, which examined different aspects of numismatics in Menorca's history.

The purpose of this article is to study and evaluate his numismatic collection now held by the Museum of Menorca.

The formation and composition of the numismatics collection

Joan Flaquer was an autodidact in the world of archaeology and numismatics because he studied law after graduating from secondary school. His thirst for a greater knowledge of Menorcan history and prehistory brought him into contact with Francesc Hernández-Sanz and Antoni Vives Escudero. These two men taught him a lot and later recommended him to institutions such as the Athenaeum for Science and Literature in Maó and the Royal Academy of History.

Flaquer learned about numismatics from Antoni Vives Escudero, an expert in the field, and the pair maintained a close professional and personal relationship after working together on various archaeology projects, such as the excavations at Biniac, Argentina and Sa Mola. The two men also exchanged archaeological and numismatic objects from their collections.

In a letter dated February 17th, 1917, Joan Flaquer thanks Antoni Vives Escudero for sending him a copy of his book *Las Medallas de Palacio* and asks if he still has any copies of *Las Monedas de las Dinastias Arabigo Españolas*, as it is the only one of Vives Escudero's works he does not have: «I would be much obliged if you would keep a copy for me, as it is the only one of your works that I do not possess; please forgive the directness.» (Extract of a letter from Flaquer to Vives Escudero, 17-02-1917).

In order to organise and catalogue his numismatics collection, Joan Flaquer produced index cards which contained basic information about the coins he was classifying. Unfortunately he provided no details about where the objects were found or how they came to be in his collection, information he often did provide for archaeological artefacts in his collection. Looking at the documents found with his archaeological and numismatics collection, we can see that the objects reached him in one of the following ways:

a) Surface finds from his visits to archaeological sites on the island.

b) Purchases, either from Menorca or other parts of Spain.

c) Exchanges with other collectors from the island or from abroad.

d) Donations of objects found by other people at various locations on the island.

In June 2017, we were given access to the numismatics collection that he kept at his house on Carrer Anuncivay street. Next to the office that he used for his work as a notary public was a small room with a little cupboard specially designed to hold his coin collection.

A preliminary inventory of the collection revealed 1,963 objects and some 203 matchboxes containing one or more coins. We also found 85 small envelopes, some of them empty, which had contained denarii from the Roman Republic. Once a full inventory had been completed, the total number of items in the collection was over 2,000.

Preliminary study of the collection

The numismatics collection is still being studied and we have not yet examined it in its entirety. At the time of writing, 1,564 items have been catalogued, a third of the total number of objects in his collection. The pieces we have examined so far are the commemorative medals, trade tokens and coins.

Flaquer ordered his coin collection by starting with the oldest pieces, firstly coins struck in Iberia, then those from the Roman Republic. Then coins from the Early Roman Empire, the Late Roman Empire, medieval times, and finally, modern and contemporary pieces. From the medieval and modern era coins onwards, he also ordered the coins by country.

Bronze ingots and axes used as currency

The oldest pieces in the collection are a small oval-shaped bronze ingot, probably from between 1400 and 1200 BC, found at Sant Vicent d'Alaior, and a bronze axe with a double blade and three supports, from 1000 to 800 BC, which was recovered from the Talaiotic settlement of Biniaiet d'Alaior. There is a simple explanation for why he kept these two items with his numismatics objects. Flaquer supported the thesis put forward by Vives Escudero (1903) in his article *«La Moneda en la Edad del Bronce»*, which claimed that such items were used like money: «...For some time now, we have been of the idea that bronze axes, so common in museums and collections, must have served some monetary purpose...». He raised this subject in his 1923 inaugural lecture at the Athenaeum in Maó, using the two bronze ingots found at Es Banyuls (Maó) and the bronze axe from his collection to illustrate his point: «This Museum has two ingots that were used as money (a sort of *Aes Rude*, they

were found next to each other close to Es Banyul during the construction of the road to Fornells [...] Shaped like an axe, I have found on this island a rare and interesting example with relief in the form of a tripod...».

Coins from Hispania

Following the order of his coin drawers, the first group we come to is coins from the region the Romans called Hispania. This group is made up of bronze pieces, units and fractions prior to Augustus and *asses* and *semis* produced in provinces of the Roman Empire. Mints from the Punic tradition produced the *challkous* and its fractions. So far, we have been able to catalogue a total of 197 coins, 13 of which are illegible. The table below shows the mints where the coins were struck:

Mint	Total Coins	Date
ARKETURKI (Segre or Ebro river basin)	1	206-133 BC
ARSE (Sagunto)	3	100 BC-14 AD
BAITULO (Badalona)	2	133 BC-14 AD
BILBILIS (Cerro de Bambola)	4	105 BC-14 AD
BOLSKAN (Huesca)	1	133-29 BC
COLONIA CAESAR AVGVSTA (Zaragoza)	2	14-37 AD
CALAGURRIS (Calahorra)	3	29 BC-37 AD
CARMO (Carmona)	1	150 BC-14 AD
CARTAGO NOVA (Cartagena)	19	225 BC-14 AD
CARTEIA (San Roque, Cádiz)	7	29 BC-37 AD
CASCANTUM (Cascante)	1	14-37 AD
CÀSTULO/KASTILO (Linares, Jaén)	40	100 BC-14 AD
COLONIA CLUNICA SULPICIA (Clunia)	1	14-27 AD
COLONIA IVLIA EMERITA AVGVSTA (Mérida)	4	27 BC-37 AD
COLONIA IVLIA GEMELLA BCCI (Guadix)	2	29 BC-14 AD
COLONIA IVLIA ILLICI AVGVSTA (Alcudia, Elche)	6	30 BC-37 AD
COLONIA IVLIA ROMVLA HISPALIS (Seville)	2	14-37 AD
COLONIA PATRICIA CORDUBA (Córdoba)	8	80 BC-14 AD
COLONIA VICTRIX IVLIA CELSA (Velilla de Ebro)	6	180 BC-14 AD
EBUSUS (Eivissa)	19	214 BC-41 AD
EMPORITON (Ampurias)	2	45 BC-14 AD
GADES (Cádiz)	8	237-45 BC
GRACCURRIS (Alfaro)	1	14-37 AD
IKALESKEN (Iniesta, Cuenca)	1	105 BC-14 AD
ILERDA/ILTIRTA (Lleida)	3	206 BC-14 AD
ILTURO (Burriac, Cabrera de Mar)	4	133 BC-14 AD
IRIPPO (Gandul, Alcalá de Guadaíra)	1	29 BC-14 AD
IVLIA TRADVCTA (Algeciras)	2	29 BC-14 AD
KESE/TARRACO (Tarragona)	5	133 BC-14 AD
KONTERBIA KARBIKA (Villasviejas, Huete)	1	100 BC-14 AD
MALAKA (Málaga)	4	200-100 BC
OBULCO (Porcuna, Jaén)	5	150 BC-14 AD
OROSI (Caminreal, Teruel)	1	133-82 BC
OSET (San Juan de Aznalfarache, Seville)	1	29 BC-14 AD
SAITI (Játiva)	1	140-30 BC
SEKAISA (Segeda, Zaragoza)	1	133 BC-14 AD
SEKIA (Eixea, Zaragoza)	1	105 BC-14 AD
SEKOBIRIKES (Segóbriga, Saelices, Cuenca)	1	105-30 BC
SETEISKEN (Sástago, Zaragoza)	1	105 BC-14 AD
SEXI (Almuñécar, Granada)	2	100 BC-0
TAMANIU (unknown)	2	105 BC-14 AD
TITIAKOS (Tricio, La Rioja)	1	133 BC-14 AD
TURIASO (Tarazona, Zaragoza)	2	14-37 AD
VALENTIA (Valencia)	1	30 BC-14 AD

As well as these coins struck in Hispania there is a group of coins that come from other points around the Mediterranean, dating from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. There are four Egyptian coins from the Ptolemaic dynasty, five Punic coins from Carthage, one from Syracuse, one from Sardinia, from the Second Punic War, one from Mauritania Tingitana, one from Epirus and one from the island of Chios.

Roman Republic coins

From the period of the Roman Republic there are 198 denarii, 3 victories, 1 quinarius, 24 asses, 2 chalkoi, 2 dupondii, 1 quadrans, 1 semis, 1 sextans and 2 triens. The following is a list of the denarii we have catalogued so far:

Issued by	Type	Chronology	Total coins
C ABVRIVS GEMINVS	RRC 244/1	134 BC	1
MARCIVS ABVRIVS M. F.	RRC 250/1	132 BC	2
MANLIVS BCILIVS GLABRIO	RRC 442/1a	49 BC	2
MARCVS BCILIVS MARCI F.	RRC 255/1	130 BC	3
P. AELIVS PAETVS	RRC 233/1	138 BC	1
MANLIVS AEMILIVS LEPIDVS	RRC 291/1	114-113 BC	3
ANONYMOUS	RRC 53/2	212 BC	1

Issued by	Type	Chronology	Total coins
ANONYMOUS	RRC 114/1	206-195 BC	1
ANONYMOUS	RRC 106/3	208 BC	1
ANONYMOUS	RRC 57/2	207 BC	2
ANONYMOUS	RRC 197/1	157-156 BC	2
ANONYMOUS	RRC 222/1	143 BC	1
ANONYMOUS	RRC 287/1	115-114 BC	1
ANONYMOUS	RRC 350/a2	86 BC	1
CAIVS ANTESTIVS	RRC 219/1e	146 BC	1
L. ANTESTIVS GRAGVLVS	RRC 238/1	136 BC	1
MARCUS ANTONIUS	RRC 289/1	32-31 BC	1
MARCUS ANTONIUS	RRC 544/21	32-31 BC	1
M. ATILIVS SARANVS	RRC 214/1b	138aC	1
ANNIVS RVFVS	RRC 221/1	144 BC	1
M. AVRELIVS SCARVS	RRC 282/1	118 BC	1
MARCIVS BAEBIVS Q. F.	RRC 236/1	137 BC	4
Q. CAECILIVS METELLVS	RRC 256/1	130 BC	1
L CAECILIVS METELLVS PIVS	RRC 262/1	128 BC	2
Q. CAECILIVS METELLVS PIVS	RRC 374/1	81 BC	1
Q. CAECILIVS METELLVS PIVS SCIPIO	RRC 459/1	47-46 BC	1
MARCIVS CALIDIVS	RRC 284/1[a]	117-116 BC	3
L. CALPVRNIVS FRVGI	RRC 340/1	90 BC	1
T. CARISIVS	RRC 464/3[a]	46 BC	1
C. CASSIVS	RRC 266/1	126 BC	3
M. CIPIVS M. F.	RRC 289/1	115-114 BC	5
APIVS CLAVDIVS PVLCHER/ T. MANLIVS MANCINVS/ QVINTVS VRBINIVS	RRC 299/1[a]	111-110 BC	2
CAIVS CLAVDIVS PVLCHER	RRC 300/1	110-109 BC	1
L. SAVFEIVS	RRC 494/23	42 BC	1
T. CLOELIVS	RRC 260/1	128 BC	2
C. COELIVS CALDVS	RRC 318/1a	104 BC	1
C. CONSIDIVS PAETVS	RRC 465/2[a]	46 BC	1
CNAEVS CORNELIVS BLASIO	RRC 296/1h	112-111 BC	2
CNAEVS CORNELIVS LENTVLVS P.F. MARCELLINVS	RRC 345/1	88 BC	1
P CORNELIVS SVLA	RRC 205/1	151 BC	2
PVBLIVS CORNELIVS LENTVLVS MARCELLINVS	RRC 328/1c	100 BC	1
L CUPIENNIVS	RRC 218/1	147 BC	1
CAIVS CVRIATVS TRIGEMINVS	RRC 223/1	142 BC	1
QVINTVS CVRTIVS	RRC 285/2	116-115 BC	2
CNAEVS DOMITIVS AHENOBARBVS	RRC 285/1	116-115 BC	2
CNAEVS DOMITIVS	RRC 261/1	128 BC	2
C. EGNATVLEI	RRC 333/1	97 BC	1

Issued by	Type	Chronology	Total coins
C. FABIVS C.F. HADRIANVS	RRC 322/1[a]	102 BC	1
NVMERIVS FABIVS PICTOR	RRC 268/1b	126 BC	1
QVINTVS FABIVS LABEO	RRC 273/1	124 BC	6
MARCIVS FANNIVS C.F.	RRC 275/1	123 BC	5
LVCIVS FLAMINIVS CILO	RRC 302/1	109-108 BC	7
C FONTEIVS	RRC 290/1	114-113 BC	2
L. FVRIVS PVRPVREO	RRC 187/1	169-158 BC	1
M. FVRIVS L.F. PHILVS	RRC 281/1	119 BC	1
CNAEVS GELLIVS	RRC 232/1	138 BC	2
MARCVS HERENNIVS	RRC 308/1[a]	108-107 BC	1
C. HOSIDIVS C.F. GETA	RRC 407/1	68 BC	1
JULIUS CAESAR	RRC 468/1	46-45 BC	1
JULIUS CAESAR	RRC 458/1	47-46 BC	1
L. IVLIVS	RRC 224/1	124 BC	1
C. IVNIVS C.F.	RRC 210/1	149 BC	2
M. IVNIVS SILANVS	RRC 220/1	145 BC	1
C. LICINIVS MACER	RRC 354/1	84 BC	1
PVBLIVS LICINIVS NERVA	RRC 292/1	113-112 BC	2
CNAEVS LVCRETIVS TRIO	RRC 237/1	136 BC	2
Q. LVTATIVS CERCO	RRC 305/1	109-108 BC	1
PVBLIVS MAENIVS ANTIATICVS	RRC 249/1	132 BC	3
C. MAIANIVS	RRC 203/1a	153 BC	2
L. MARCIVS CENSORINVS	RRC 363/1d	82 BC	1
M. MARCIVS	RRC 245/1	134 BC	2
Q. MARCIVS PHILIPPOS	RRC 259/1	129 BC	1
Q. MARCIVS, C. FABIVS, L. ROSCVS	RRC 283/1a	118-117 BC	1
L. MEMMIVS	RRC 304/1	109-108 BC	1
C. MINVCIVS AVGVNINVS	RRC 242/1	135 BC	1
L. MINVCIVS THERMVS	RRC 248/1	133 BC	2
Q. MINVCIVS RVFVS	RRC 277/1	122 BC	2
Q MINVCIVS THERMVS M.F.	RRC 319/1	103 BC	1
TI. MINVCIVS AVGVRINVS	RRC 243/1	134 BC	2
C. NAEVIVS BALBVS	RRC 382/1b	79 BC	1
L. OPIMIVS	RRC 253/1	134 BC	1
M. OPIMIVS	RRC 254/1	131 BC	1
MARCIVS PAPIRIVS CARBO	RRC 122/1	122 BC	2
PAPIRIVS CARBO	RRC 279/1	121 BC	3
PINARIVS NATTA	RRC 200/1	155 BC	2
PINARIVS NATTA	RRC 208/1	149 BC	1
C. PLAVTIVS PLANCVS	RRC 453/1a	47 BC	1
P. PLAVTIVS HYPSAEVS	RRC 420/2a	60 BC	1
C. PLVTIVS	RRC 278/1	121 BC	2
C POBLICIVS MALLEOLVS C.F.	RRC 282/3	118 BC	1
CAIVS POBLICIVS MALLEOLVS	RRC 335/3b	96 BC	1

Issued by	Type	Chronology	Total coins
SEXTVS POMPEIVS FOSTVLVS	RRC 235/1a	137 BC	2
C PORCIVS CATO	RRC 274/1	123 BC	4
M. CATO	RRC 343/2a	89 BC	1
M. CATO	RRC 423/1	47-46 BC	1
MARCIVS PORCIVS LAECA	RRC 270/1	125 BC	3
AVLVS POSTVMIVS ALBINVS	RRC 335/9	96 BC	1
C. POSTVMIVS	RRC 394/1a	74 BC	2
L. PROCILIVS	RRC 379/1	80 BC	1
T. QVINCTIVS	RRC 297/1	112-111 BC	1
T. QVINCTIVS FLAMINIVS	RRC 267/1	126 BC	1
C. RENIVS	RRC 231/1	138 BC	6
L. RVBRIVS DOSSENVS	RRC 348/1	87 BC	3
L. SAVFEIVS	RRC 204/1	152 BC	2
C. SCRIBONIVS CVRIO	RRC 201/1	154 BC	1
L. SCRIBONIVS LIBO	RRC 416/1b	62 BC	1
L. SEMPRONIVS PITIO	RRC 216/1	148 BC	1
C. SERVILIVS	RRC 423/1	57 BC	1
C. SERVILIVS M.F. AVGVR	RRC 239/1	136 BC	1
CAIVS SERVILIVS	RRC 264/1	127 BC	1
P. SERVILIVS M.F. RVLLVS	RRC 328/1	100 BC	1
C. TERENTIVS LVCANVS	RRC 217/1	147 BC	2
L. THORIVS BALBVS	RRC 316/1	105 BC	1
Q. TITIVS	RRC 341/2	90 BC	1
L. TITVRIVS L.F. SABINVS	RRC 344/3	89 BC	1
L. TITVRIVS L.F. SABINVS	RRC 344/1b	89 BC	1
M. TVLLIVS	RRC 280/1	120 BC	2
C. VALERIVS FLACCVS	RRC 228/2	140 BC	1
C. VIBIVS C.F. PANSA	RRC 342/5b	90 BC	1
C. VIBIVS VARVS	RRC 494/36	152 BC	1

The following is a list of the Roman Republican asses we have been able to read and catalogue:

Issued by	Type	Chronology	Total coins
ANSA	RRC 195/1	169-158 BC	3
META	RRC 124/3	206-195 BC	1
ESTRELLA	RRC 196/1	169-158 BC	1
MATIENVS	RRC 162/3	179-170 BC	2
A CAECILIVS	RRC 174/1	169-158 BC	1
A TERENTIVS VARRO	RRC 185/1	169-158 BC	1
P CORNELIVS P.F. BLASIO	RRC 189/1	169-158 BC	1
AFRANIVS	RRC 206/2	150 BC	1
M ATILIVS SERRANVS	RRC 214/2[a]	148 BC	1
C ANTESTIVS	RRC 219/2	146 BC	1
C VIBIVS C.C. PANSA	RRC 342/7	90 BC	1

The denarii were very likely purchased outside of Menorca, but some of the asses could have been found in Menorca. The chronology of the bronzes is from late 3rd century BC to early 1st century AD.

The collection also contains a small sample of provincial coins that were struck in Gaul in the time of Augustus: 2 dupondii from *Colonia Ivlia Viennensis* and 17 dupondii from *Nemausus Colonia*, now Nîmes in the south of France. In an article from 1923, Flaquer says finds of coins from *Nemausus* were quite frequent in Menorca.

From Augustus to the crisis of the 3rd century AD

Coinage from the Early Roman Empire is represented by denarii, antoniniani, asses, dupondii and sestertii. Ordered chronologically by dynasty and emperor the coins we have catalogued are as follows:

Emperor	Total coins	Chronology
AUGUSTUS	22	30 BC-14 AD
TIBERIUS	9	14-37 AD
CALIGULA	2	37-41 AD
CLAUDIUS	10	41-54 AD
NERO	4	54-68 AD
GALBA	2	69 AD
VITELLIUS	5	69 AD
VESPASIAN	13	69-79 AD
TITUS FLAVIUS	6	79-81 AD
DOMITIAN	9	81-96 AD
NERVA	3	96-98 AD
TRAJAN	17	98-117 AD
HADRIAN	24	117-138 AD
VIBIA SABINA, wife of Hadrian	2	117-138 AD
ANTONINUS PIUS	23	138-161 AD
FAUSTINA I, wife of Antoninus Pius	3	138-161 AD
MARCUS AURELIUS	29	161-180 AD
FAUSTINA II, wife of Marcus Aurelius	9	161-180 AD
LUCIUS VERUS	9	161-169 AD
LUCILLA, wife of Lucius Verus	6	164-169 AD
COMMODUS	10	180-192 AD
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS	7	193-211 AD
JULIA DOMNA, wife of Septimius Severus	1	193-211 AD
CARACALLA	5	198-211 AD
PLAUTILLA, wife of Caracalla	1	198-211 AD
GETA	2	209-211 AD
ELAGABALUS	1	218-222 AD

Emperor	Total coins	Chronology
SEVERUS ALEXANDER	20	222-235 AD
JULIA MAMAEA, mother of Severus Alexander	5	222-235 AD
MAXIMINUS THRAX	7	235-238 AD
BALBINUS	1	238 AD
GORDIAN III	22	238-244 AD
MARCUS JULIUS PHILIPPUS (PHILIP THE ARAB)	20	244-249 AD
MARCIA OTACILIA SEVERA, wife of Philip the Arab	2	244-249 AD
PHILIP II, son of Philip the Arab	1	244-249 AD
TRAJAN DECIUS	5	249-251 AD
TREBONIANUS GALLUS	7	251-253 AD
VOLUSIANUS	1	251-253 AD
AEMILIANUS	1	253 AD
VALERIAN	11	253-260 AD
MACRIANUS MINOR	2	260-261 AD
GALLIENUS	51	253-268 AD
CORNELIA SALONINA, wife of Gallienus	7	253-268 AD
SALONINUS, son of Gallienus	1	256-260
POSTUMUS I	2	260-268 AD
VICTORINUS	1	269-271 AD
TETRICUS I	1	271-274 AD
TETRICUS II, son of Tetricus	1	273-274 AD
CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS	11	268-270 AD
QUINTILLUS	2	270 AD
AURELIAN	5	270-275 AD
ULPIA SEVERINA, wife of Aurelian	1	274-275 AD
TACITUS	2	275-276 AD
FLORIANUS	1	276 AD
PROBUS	11	276-282 AD
CARUS	1	282-283 AD
CARINUS	1	283-285 AD
NUMERIAN	1	283-284 AD

The coins from the Early Roman Empire range chronologically from 30 BC, when Augustus consolidated his power, to the imperial reforms brought by the emperor Diocletian in the late 3rd century AD.

The Late Roman Empire

The coins from this period range from the end of the 3rd century AD to the end of the 4th century AD. They are made up of different size bronzes which correspond to the following monetary values: follis, centenionalis, radiate fractions, AE2, AE3 and AE4. So far, we have catalogued 235 coins under the following dates and emperors:

Emperor	Total coins	Chronology
DIOCLETIAN	9	284-305
MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS	10	285-305, 307-308, 310
CARAUSIUS, Provincia Britannia	1	286-293
CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS	9	305-306
THEODORA, second wife of Constantius I	1	305-306
GALERIUS	6	305-311
MAXENTIUS	4	306-312
VALERIUS ROMULUS, son of Maxentius	1	306-312
SEVERUS II	1	306-307
CONSTANTINE THE GREAT	57	307-337
HELENA, Saint Helena, mother of Constantine the Great	2	307-337
FAUSTA, second wife of Constantine I	1	307-337
CRISPUS	10	317-326
CONSTANTINOPOLIS	5	330-337
VRBS ROMA	8	330-337
LICINIUS I	4	307-324
LICINIUS II	3	317-324
MARTINIAN	1	321-324
CONSTANTINE II	19	337-340
CONSTANTIUS II	27	337-361
CONSTANS	15	337-350
MAGNENTIUS	7	350-353
DECENTIUS	1	353
CONSTANTIUS GALLUS	4	351-354
JULIAN THE APOSTATE	3	361-363
VALENTINIAN I	7	364-375
GRATIAN	4	367-383
MAGNUS MAXIMUS	2	383-388
THEODOSIUS THE GREAT	5	388-395
HONORIUS	3	395-423
VALENTINIAN III, Eastern Emperor	2	364-378
ARCADIUS, Eastern Emperor	4	383-395

The largest group is made up of coins made under Constantine the Great and his descendants.

During the Early Empire the issuing of money was centred around the city of Rome. By the time of the Late Empire there were mints striking coins at various other locations spread around the territories controlled by Rome. The Late Empire period mints we have documented so far are listed below:

· Unknown mints, 15 coins.

· Alexandria (Egypt), 9 coins.

· Antioch (Syria), 12 coins

· Aquileia (Italy), 8 coins.

· Arles (France), 34 coins.

· Carthage (Tunisia), 8 coins.

· Cyzicus (Turkey), 12 coins.

· Constantinople (Turkey), 16 coins.

· Heraclea (Turkey), 4 coins

· London (Great Britain), 4 coins.

· Lyon (France), 16 coins.

· Nicomedia (Turkey), 8 coins.

· Ostia (Italy), 5 coins

· Rome (Italy), 33 coins.

· Sisak (Croatia), 14 coins.

· Thessalonica (Greece), 9 coins.

· Ticinum (Italy), 7 coins.

· Trier (Germany), 20 coins.

· Tripoli (Lebanon), 1 coin.

Medieval coins

So far, we have managed to catalogue 36 Ferdinand I of Portugal vellons (1369-1371), one Mallorcan *doblero* of Alfonso V of Aragon and 19 «Menorcan new coins», minted in Ciutadella between 1454 and 1458 in the name of Alfonso V.

Joan Flaquer spoke about these Menorcan coins in his inaugural lecture at the Athenaeum in 1923. In 1955, he presented a paper entitled *«El "diner" menorquín de Alfonso V el Magnánimo»* at the 4th History of the Crown of Aragon convention held in Palma (Flaquer, 1970). In it, he described the coin's morphology and explained what historical details were known about why Alfonso V granted the *Universidad de Menorca* the privilege of minting the coin.

The front of the *diner* features a crowned bust right of the king inside a border of dots and the legend ALFONSUS REX in gothic script. This legend can have the variants ALONSUS or ALOSUS. The reverse carries the king's coat of arms, three bars inside a lobed border and the legend MINORICARUM in gothic script. There can be variants of the legend MINORCHARUM or MINORICHARUM. These variations in the inscriptions would suggest that between 1454 and 1458 different stamps were used to strike the coins.

An article published in the *El Bien Público* newspaper on April 29th 1911 speaks about a hoard of coins found on the Rafalet estate. Hidden inside a jug were 407 Alfonso V *dineros*, a Mallorcan *doblero* and a coin from Sardinia. The coins that made up this find showed no signs of wear and tear, suggesting they had not been in circulation very much before they were hidden. It would also suggest they were hidden shortly after they were minted, possibly during the reign of King Joan II, which was a fairly unstable period.

Modern and contemporary Spanish coins

In the category of modern and contemporary Spanish coins we have catalogued a large number of copper *dineros* and *dobleros* from the mint in Mallorca, which were struck during the reigns of Carles II and Felip V. Mallorcan *dineros* and *dobleros* were used in Menorca until well into the 19th century, which explains why they are very worn and, in some cases, it is difficult to know which of the two monarchs they should be attributed to. For Carles II, we have 37 *dineros*, one *doblero* and one *sueldo* from Eivissa. For Felip V, we have one *croat* from Barcelona, 6 *dineros*, 3 *dobleros* and 12 *tresetas*, all from the mint in Mallorca.

The *treseta* was a copper coin minted for Felip V in Mallorca between 1722 and 1724. It was the equivalent of 3 *dobleros*, 6 *dineros* or half a *sueldo*. In an article published in the *Revista de Menorca* in 1950, Joan Flaquer mentions a workshop that produced counterfeit tresetas in Maó in 1818. He transcribes three edicts that were issued by the governor of Menorca between June and November that year as a consequence of this illegal activity. It is interesting to note that these *tresetas*, which were not produced after 1724, were still in circulation at the start of the 19th century, in sufficient number and quality to make it worth counterfeiting them. In 1948, Flaquer donated all three of these original edicts to the Barcelona city council.

For Carles IV, we have catalogued 4 copper coins struck at the mint in Segovia. There is one coin of 8 *maravedís*, two of 4 *maravedís* and one of 2 *maravedís*. Along with these coins we have 8 commemorative medals, 6 silver and 2 copper, minted by the *Universitat de Maó* for the coronation of Carles IV on February 22nd, 1789.

Two different versions were struck and they were designed by Maó silversmith Josep Graser Rosselló. The first type was only struck in silver and was about 28 mm in diameter. The obverse has the legend CAROL IV HISP REX PROCLAM MAGONE, in the centre, a bust right of Carles IV, underneath the bust, XXII FEB. On the reverse we find the inscription BALEARIS MINOR/ MDCCLXXXIX, in the centre, an allegory of Menorca with the sun on the horizon flanked by two boats, one with a triangular lateen sail and the other with a square sail. There are two examples of this type in the inventory.

The second type, about 18 mm across, was struck in silver and copper. On the obverse we find the legend CAROL IV D G HIP R. In the centre there is a laureate bust right of Carles IV. Underneath the date: 1789. On the reverse we find the coat of arms of Maó. We catalogued two copper and four silver medals of this type.

In two of his books, Joan Ramis i Ramis describes the medals made for Carles IV by the town hall of Maó. Accompanying these descriptions are pictures that show the medals. The plates that were used to make these prints are part of the Flaquer collection archive.

From the Peninsular War (1808-1814), we have a coin of two *cuartos* minted in Barcelona in the year 1809.

From the reign of Ferdinand VII, we have catalogued 14 pieces, they are a silver coin of 10 *reals* from the mint in Madrid, one of 4 *maravedís* and another of 2 *maravedís* from the mint at Segovia, and the rest, 11 examples, are pieces of copper worth 12 *dineros*, coined in Mallorca in 1812.

The 12 Ferdinand VII *dineros* were minted in Mallorca because French troops were exerting such pressure on the Spanish mainland that it was decided to move the mint from Catalonia to another territory. The location chosen was Palma, in Mallorca, and the building used was the Estudi General Lul·lià. As a result, silver and copper Ferdinand VII coins were produced in Mallorca during the Peninsular War.

From the reign of Isabella II, we have catalogued 39 coins, 7 of which predate the decimal system. They are 4 coins of 8 *maravedís*, one from the mint at Jubia and 3 from Segovia, one coin of 4 *maravedís*, one of 2 *maravedís* and one of 1 *maravedí*, all struck at the Segovia mint.

We have 13 coins which correspond to the decimal system established by the Royal Decree of April 15th, 1848 which substituted the old monetary system of *maravedís*. They are all from the mint at Segovia and they include one coin worth half a *real* or five *décimos*, seven 10 *céntimos* and five *décimos*.

The Royal Decree of 26th of June 1864 established a new decimal system which replaced the old one from 1848. We have 16 coins which correspond to these new editions and they were all minted in Barcelona by *Oeschger Mesdach & Cía*. We have 3 coins of 5 *céntimos*, one of 2.5 *céntimos*, three of 1 *céntimo* and 12 half *céntimos*.

For the coronation of Queen Isabella II of Spain in 1833, thetown hall of Maó requested a commemorative medal to be minted. It is a small piece of silver made by Maó silversmith Francesc Hernández Carreras, grandfather of the archivist and historian Francesc Hernández-Sanz and the painter and pianist Francesc Hernández Monjo.

On the front of the medal we find the coat of arms of Maó and the legend ELISABETH II HISP ET IND REGINA. The reverse side has a four line inscription which reads: MAGONTANA/ BCLAMATIO/ XXII DEC7 MDCCCXXXIII.

Also in the collection is a commemorative medal minted by the city of Valencia for the 600th anniversary of the conquest of the city by King James I of Aragon on 28th September, 1238. It is made from lead and has the city's coat of arms on the front and the legend VALENCIA/ EN/ EL SIGLO VI/ DE SU RESTAURACIÓN/ POR/ Dº JAYME I on the back.

We have catalogued 87 coins from the period of the Provisional Government (1868-1870). All of these were minted in Barcelona. They are all made of copper and there are 20 one *céntimo* coins and 67 two *céntimo* coins. The design on the obverse is by Lluís Marchionni, an engraver who worked for the Madrid mint between the end of Isabella II's reign and the beginning of Alfonso XII's. The coins were struck by *Oeschger Mesdach & Cía* in Barcelona.

From the Spanish Civil War period, we have catalogued a group of coins minted in 1937 in Ciutadella. They are coins from the municipal councils of Menorca. The councils decided to produce their own coins because the lack of small change in circulation on the island was disrupting everyday transactions.

Coins of the following denominations were produced: 2.5 pesetas, 1 peseta, 25 cents, 10 cents and 5 cents. They are brass coins with the coat of arms of Menorca inside a pearled border and the legend CONSEJOS MUNICIPALES DE MENORCA-1937 on the obverse. The reverse features an olive branch in the left field. In the centre: VALE/ POR and the value of the coin, on top of a five-pointed star. In the right field, the legend REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA.

The design on the coins is by Francesc Hernández-Sanz and they were struck in the Joan Torrent jewellery factory in Ciutadella. This particular workshop was chosen as it had all the raw materials necessary to make the coins. It held a stock of brass for the production of materials for the war.

The minting of these coins stopped at the beginning of 1938 when each municipal council on the island put the coins into circulation.

We have managed to inventory 49 coins which came from this emission: eight 2.5 peseta coins, twenty-two 1 peseta coins, sixteen 25 cents, two 10 cents and one 5 cents.

From Spain, we have catalogued 5 coins: two 50 cent coins, one from 1952 and the other from 1964, one 5 peseta coin from 1970, one 25 peseta coin from 1966 and one 50 peseta coin from 1960. Coins that date from after 1963 were added to the coin collection after Joan Flaquer's death.

The foreign coins

As well as collecting Spanish coins and medals, particularly ones minted in the Balearic Islands, Flaquer also kept coins from other European countries. It was quite normal to see foreign coins from the 18th and 19th century in circulation in the port of Maó, as Joan Flaquer points out in an article he wrote in 1923: «The continuous contact with foreigners as a result of the location of this port and the Lazareto military hospital in times of epidemics means that it is common to find modern coins here, as well as gold, silver and copper coins from every nation, even the most remote ones».

We have catalogued coins from the following countries in the coin collection:

Portugal

Three coins: one medieval coin of Ferdinand I of Portugal, struck in Lisbon between 1369 and 1371, with a value of 36 *dineros*. From the modern era, we have a Luis I of 20 *reis* from 1884 and a Carlos I 20 *reis* from 1891, both minted in Lisbon.

Gibraltar

We have a total of 17 trade tokens from between 1802 and 1842. Facing a lack of fractional coins in the British colony, several local traders issued copper tokens which could be used for basic commercial transactions in their establishments. The first such "coins of necessity" or "scrips" as an alternative to legal tender were made by Robert Keeling in 1802 when he issued trade tokens worth 2 *quarts* and 1 *quart*. On their obverse, these copper pieces have a view of Gibraltar from the sea and the legend PAYABLE AT R. KEELING'S- GIBRALTAR. On the reverse is a castle with the legend stating the value of the piece and the year. We have catalogued 4 coins from this emission, three 1 *quart* and one 2 *quarts*.

This community of traders produced a second emission of tokens in 1810, also with the value of one or two *quarts*. On the obverse is a lion, which represents Great Britain, seated left, it is holding in its front paws the key to the fortress of Gibraltar. The inscription reads PAYABLE AT ROBERT KEELING & SONS- GIBRALTAR. On the reverse is a castle with three towers and the year 1810 below it. The inscriptions refer to the value of the trade tokens. We have catalogued nine examples so far, five 2 *quarts* and four 1 *quart*.

In 1820, the trader James Spittle also issued trade tokens worth two *quarts* and one *quart*. On the obverse of these tokens we find the legend PAYABLE AT JAMES SPITTLE'S-GIBRALTAR. In the centre, a lion, which represents Great Britain, seated left, it is holding in its front paws the key to the fortress of Gibraltar. On the reverse, the Moorish Castle and the year 1820 below it and an inscription with the value of the piece. The collection has two such coins of two *quarts*.

From 1842 onwards, the local mint in Gibraltar began to produce official currency. The coins had values of one *quart* and half a *quart*. On the obverse we find a bust of Queen Victoria facing left and the legend VICTORIA D: G: BRITANNIA R: REGINA: F:D;-1842. On the reverse is a castle with three towers with the keys of Gibraltar below it. It carried the inscription GIBRALTAR followed by the value of the trade token.

Great Britain

We have catalogued 22 pieces minted in Great Britain. 18 are coins and 4 are trade tokens. They were produced between 1793 and 1952.

The first group are heavy George III copper coins struck at the Soho mint in Birmingham in 1797. In total we have 5 coins, 2 pennies and 3 twopences. These emissions coincide with the last British occupation of Menorca.

The second group consists of 2 pennies minted in London for Queen Victoria in 1896 and 1897.

The third group contains George V coins. They were all struck at the Royal Mint in London. There is a 1929 florin, two halfpennies, minted in 1916, and 5 pennies emitted between 1912 and 1921.

The final group consists of three George VI coins, produced at the mint in London. There is a shilling from 1949 and two threepences, one from 1941 and the other from 1952.

So far, we have catalogued four British trade tokens from the late 18th and early 19th century, although there are more in the collection that we have yet to study.

Two of these tokens were from Buck's Society of Middlesex, London. They had a value of half a penny. They were minted in 1796 and 1797. The legends and motifs on the Buck's Society tokens are social and political.

The first of the other two trade tokens was issued by John Williams of Cornwall, who owned several mines. Between 1811 and 1812, faced with a lack of official fractional coins, Williams produced his own coins in order to be able to pay his employees.

The second trade token was issued by John Wilkinson in 1793. Wilkinson was an industrialist who pioneered the manufacture of cast iron. The interesting thing about his tokens is that his bust appears on the obverse. Before this, the only effigy to appear on coins was that of the monarch. By doing this, Wilkinson was comparing himself to the king. He was the only private producer of trade tokens from the late 18th century to put his own face on his coins.

France

We have catalogued 28 examples, 21 coins, 4 commemorative medals and 3 trade tokens. They cover the time period 1791 to 1951.

The oldest coin is Louis 16th 12 *denier* coin minted in Perpignan.

From the First French Republic we have one 1 *sou* coin from 1793 minted in Marseilles and one 5 centimes coin minted during the Directorate in Strasbourg in 1799, before the Coup of 18 Brumaire brought Napoleon Bonaparte to power.

From the (French) Consulate period, we have a silver 5 franc coin with Napoleon as First Consul, minted in Narbonne in 1803.

From the Second French Republic, we have three coins. Two are silver 5 francs, both from the mint in Paris. The first, from 1849, is of the Hercules type and features the allegory of *Liberté*, *Égalité* and *Fraternité*. The second, produced in 1851, features the head of the goddess Ceres.

The third coin is a one centime from 1848, struck at the Paris mint.

We have three coins from the Third Republic (1870-1940). One 5 centimes from 1880, one 10 centimes from 1881 and one 50 centimes from 1924. All of these were struck at the mint in Paris.

From the Fourth Republic (1946-1958), we have 11 coins, all minted in Paris. We have two 2 franc coins from 1951 and five aluminium 5 franc coins from 1949.

Among this group of coins from the Fourth Republic there are four coins that were minted in Paris for use in the then French colony of Algeria. There are three 20 franc coins and one 50 franc coin from 1949. These coins could have made their way into his collection when Flaquer travelled to Algeria to visit relatives who were living in the French colony.

Among the trade tokens, we have catalogued a trust token issued by the Parisian "Monneron frères negociants" worth the equivalent of 10 *sous*. This trade token was struck at the Soho mint in Birmingham in 1791. The aim of the token was to facilitate commercial transactions at a time when there was a lack of fractional coins in Revolutionary France.

King Louis XVIII also emitted scrips from Antwerp in 1814 to alleviate the lack of coinage. The piece we have catalogued has a value of 5 centimes.

We have a jeton, probably a counter from a game of the time. It has a left facing bust of Napoleon and the legend NAPOLEON EMPERAUR-L on its obverse, and on the reverse, the laureate legend SPIEL/MARKEN.

Among the commemorative medals we have a medal of Napoleon from 14 *Frimaire* in year XIII of the French Republican calendar, commemorating a presentation of flags to the army.

There is a medal which King Louis Philippe I dedicated to his son, the Duke of Orléans, on 13th July 1842.

There is also a medal from the Second French Republic commemorating a presentation of flags to the army of the Republic on April 20th, 1848.

The last medal was dedicated to emperor Napoleon III on October 16th, 1852.

Italy

From Italy, we have catalogued a total of 30 objects, 20 of which are coins and 10 are medals, all from the regime of Fascist Italy, except for one which was produced at the Vatican. These objects date from 1797 to 1942.

The oldest coin is a Ferdinand IV, made in the Kingdom of Naples in 1797. It is a 5 *tornesi* coin from the mint in Naples.

From the State of the Presidi, we have a Ferdinand VI coin minted in Naples. It is a *quattrino* from 1798.

From the Kingdom of Etruria, we have one half a *soldo* coin from the mint in Florence. It was minted between 1803 and 1807 under the reign of Charles Louis II, Duke of Parma. The Kingdom of Etruria was created by Napoleon, who

ceded it to the Duke of Parma. The kingdom existed until the fall of the French emperor.

From the Kingdom of Sicily, we have two Ferdinand III coins struck at the mint in Palermo. They are one 5 *grani* and one 2 *grani*, emitted in 1814.

We have catalogued a silver Francisco I *thaler* struck in Milan in 1820. This coin was emitted in Italian territories occupied by the Austrian Empire.

From the House of Savoy, we have one Charles Felix 3 cents coin emitted in 1826 by the mint in Genoa. Charles Felix was king of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy.

From the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1816-1860), we have three Ferdinand II coins minted in Naples. There are two 5 *tornesi coins*, one from 1831 and the other from 1832, and one 2 *tornesi* coin from 1858.

We have also inventoried four coins from the Papal States. The oldest is a *baiocco* of Pope Pius VIII minted in 1829 in Rome. For Gregory XVI, we have a *quattrino* from the mint of Bologna from 1844. For Pius IX, we have two coins minted in Rome in 1849. The first is worth half a *baiocco* and the second is a 5 *baiocchi* coin.

The coins from the Kingdom of Italy after the unification are all Victor Emmanuel III and were struck at the mint in Rome. The oldest is a 5 cent coin from 1918. From the interwar period, we have one 5 cent coin from 1922 and one 50 cent coin from 1921. From the Italian Empire (1936-1943), we have one 5 cent coin from 1942 and one 50 cent coin from 1940.

So far, our inventory contains a total of 10 medals: one religious, one sporting, one political and the rest military.

The religious medal was minted in Rome at the time of Pope Leo XIII. It was issued to commemorate the opening of the Holy Door for the Jubilee of 1900. This medallion was given to pilgrims who visited Rome during the jubilee that year.

The rest of the medals were minted during the period of Fascist Italy and have a variety of themes.

We have a sporting medal from the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro,* Fascist Italy's National Recreation Club. It has no year of issue and no clues as to where or why the competition was held. On the obverse there is a discobulus motif. On the back of the medal we find a *fasces*, a Roman bundle, over oak leaves and the legend UFFICIO CENTRALE DEL DOPOLAVORO.

We have a medal from a Fascist agriculture syndicate, issued in 1932, to mark the tenth anniversary of the March on Rome. The obverse features a bust of Mussolini.

The seven remaining medals are all military. One is dedicated to Ivrea, home of the 1st battalion of the 53rd infantry regiment, who, in 1935, took part in the Abyssinia campaign.

The rest are commemorative medals from the Italian navy. One marks the 50th anniversary of the creation of torpedo boats, another is dedicated to Admiral Andrea Dòria and the rest are medals for various war ships: the destroyer Caesare Battisti, the reconnaissance ship Taranto, the light cruiser Attilio Regolo and the destroyer Fuciliere.

These last two ships were part of a small squadron that took refuge in the port of Maó after a German attack on the battleship Roma following Italy's surrender to the Allied Forces in 1943. The ships remained in the port of Maó until the end of the Second World War and their officers and enlisted sailors developed close ties with the inhabitants of Maó. It is very likely that all of these Italian medals were given to Joan Flaquer by Italians who were confined to Menorca.

Greece

One 10 *lepta* George I coin minted in Paris in 1882.

Electorate of Bavaria

One silver *thaler,* Maximillian III, from 1775.

Belgium

One King Baudouin *franc from 1951*.

Austria, First Republic

2 *groschen* coins minted in Vienna, 1929.

Sarawak

One cent minted in 1879 for Charles Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, Malaysia.

Sierra Leone

One cent from 1796 issued by the Sierra Leone Company. This company founded the second British colony in Africa with formerly enslaved Africans from the United States.

Sweden

One Charles XIV John of Sweden, minted in Stockholm in 1837, with a value of 2 *skilling banco*.

Denmark

One King Christian V coin from 1677 with a value of 2 *skill dans*.

Russia

We have 6 copper coins with values of 2, 3 and 5 *kopeks*. We have one 2 *kopek* coin, Empress Elizabeth I struck in the mint at Yekaterinburg in 1758.

From 1767, we have an Empress Catherine II 2 *kopek* coin.

From Tsar Alexander we have three pieces, two 5 *kopeks* from 1802 and 1804 from the Yekaterinburg mint and one 2 *kopek* coin from 1812.

We have a 3 *kopek* Tsar Nikolai II struck by the mint at St Petersburg in 1912.

A first evaluation of the numismatics collection

Joan Flaquer assembled a large and very diverse numismatics collection, but it is not dissimilar to other numismatics collections from the same period already held by the Museum of Menorca.

The numismatics collection given to the museum by the family of Antoni Vives Escudero consists essentially of coins from ancient Hispania, Roman Republican coins and coins from the Early and Late Roman Empire, followed by medieval Islamic and Christian coins, where we find pieces from the Taifa of Mallorca and the Kingdom of Mallorca. Flaquer structured and organised his collection in the same way as Vives his teacher.

As for foreign coins, the Pons de Travessi archive and coin collection in the museum has a good range of coins from France, Italy, Russia, Great Britain and other European and American countries. These coin collections, which are also referenced in the Flaquer collection, are the result of intense maritime traffic in the port of Maó due to British and French domination of the island in the 18th century and the existence of the Lazareto military hospital in the 19th century.

Flaquer tries to make an ordered collection of the coins which might have circulated on the island from Antiquity to the 20th century, paying special attention to coins and medals struck in Menorca and, by extension, the Balearic Islands.

We do not know precisely which Hispanic and Roman coins were found by him on his visits to sites on the island, but we can easily imagine that some of the bronzes must have come from the island. However, we know the Roman Republic *denarii*, and some of the coins made in Iberia, especially at mints far from the coast, reached his collection through exchanges with other collectors, or were purchased from fellow numismatists. We also know from reading his personal documents that he exchanged and bought coins from various collectors.

The coins, medals and tokens in his collection provided the basis for his articles on numismatics. One English medal from the reign of Queen Anne commemorates the British occupation of Menorca and Sardinia and is dated 1708. It provided the basis for his 1914 article on English medals which refer to the island of Menorca. His inaugural lecture at the Athenaeum also made reference to items in his collection.

At the time of writing, we have managed to catalogue three quarters of the collection. We still need to study the collection of Islamic and Christian medieval coins, which according to Flaquer's notes come from the Taifa of Mallorca and the Kingdom of Mallorca. Similarly, there are still coins to catalogue from the United States, Great Britain and other countries, as well as a handful of religious medals and some British and Spanish seals.

For the moment, it is difficult to evaluate the contents of the match boxes which contain small bronze coins which date from Classical Antiquity to the contemporary era.

But we do not think that these remaining elements will radically change the composition of the collection we have catalogued so far.

The Ramis archives from the Flaquer Collection

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The 494 documents belonging to the Ramis archives of the Flaquer collection provide a vivid and dialogic account of the archival, historical, archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic research on the island of Menorca in the late 18th and early 19th century. These archives, made up of documents produced by Joan Ramis i Ramis (Maó, 1746-1819) and, principally, by his intellectual heir and disciple, broth-

er and son-in-law, Antoni Ramis i Ramis (Maó, 1771-1840). This is a vivid and dialogic account because the majority of the archive is made up of the two brothers' correspondence with the great intellectuals of their time, the accumulation of all manner of data and a historiographical record of the huge task of researching and scouring sources of information. There are many documents full of historical and administrative notices which, as they are unsigned, cannot be clearly attributed to either brother. Sometimes, a piece of research was started by Joan and completed by Antoni. Only the handwriting and the dates can help tell us who the author was, although it is not always possible. Most of all, this archive shows the diverse interests of these two brothers without whom our historical knowledge of Menorca would not be what it is today, even though they lived almost two centuries before us. Furthermore, all of these documents show us how, either side of the turn of the 18th century, they created a veritable information network through their epistolary contacts, the comings and goings of local and foreign sailors and the study of monuments and local finds they valued so highly.

Manuscripts with works by Joan Ramis

Alongside numerous pages of historical data and notices about Menorca collected from far and wide, this archive contains various manuscripts with works by Joan Ramis. The most interesting of these are two manuscripts entitled "Usos y costumbres antiguos y modernos de los habitantes de Menorca"[9] and "Leyes y privilegios de la Isla"[10] which are chapters of the *Resumen topográfico e histórico de Menorca*[11], a manuscript sent to the Real Academia de la Historia in 1787 (and published by that same institution in 1989). Among Antoni Ramis's correspondence with Juan Bautista Barthe is a request by the former for a copy of his brother Joan's manuscript because he did not have one at his disposal in 1834. It is therefore highly probable that both sealed letters with the respective chapters so elegantly copied were originally part of the copy he was sent by the academy in Madrid. On the other hand, there are also some noteworthy synopses and short unpublished essays by Ramis which no doubt provided the basis for the *Descripcion del monetario del difunto Dr. D. Juan Ramis y Ramis*[12], published by Antoni Ramis in 1824, and subsequent studies in the form of articles by Joan Flaquer himself (there is, in fact, a study entitled *Hallazgos de moneda hispánica en Menorca*[13], as well as various other more random notes). The studies by Joan Ramis are *Descripcion del monetario del difunto Dr. D. Juan Ramis y Ramis* (undated) and *Recherches sur les Medailles, et statues anciennes trouvees a Minorque*[14] (also undated). Also, of interest is an unpublished prologue to *Historia Civil, Política y natural de la isla de Menorca*[15] (photograph 1). This collection offers us a fine sample of intellectual concerns from the latter years of this illustrious Menorcan's life, some of which were only published posthumously.

Much more abundant are the works of his brother, Antoni Ramis, many of which were continuations of previous works, notably his 8th book of *Noticias relativas á la Isla de Menorca*[16] (1838, still unpublished). Also dedicated to Menorca are a huge number of short notes and observations just a few pages long which fill several notebooks with all kinds of historical and administrative information: child adoptions, former names, navigation, prohibited games and weapons, etc. However, just as in his letters, numismatics and descriptions of commemorative medals are also prominent. In fact, there is one notebook which contains a kind of general manual for the study of ancient epigraphy and numismatics, without specific references to Menorca. Other comments point in this direction, and maybe these collections could be seen as the author being educational and informative rather than investigative. These works are presented in volumes, probably compiled after they were written (possibly by Nicolau Orfila). Also written by Antoni are several letters listing the people who received works from himself and his brother Joan. These documents were no doubt key to establishing where those works were sent and form a sort of catalogue of local and foreign dignitaries. One of the letters is called: *Exemplars que se anirán repartint de las obras del Dr. Juan Ramis y Ramis y també de las mias*[17].

Apart from the works by the Ramis brothers, there are also

9 Old and Modern Traditions and Customs of the Inhabitants of Menorca.

10 Laws and Rights on the Island of Menorca.

11 Topographical and Historical Summary of Menorca.

12 Description of the Coin Collection belonging to the late Dr. D. Juan Ramis y Ramis.

13 Finds of Hispanic coins in Menorca.

14 A Study of Medals and Ancient Statues Found in Menorca.

15 A Political, Social and Natural History of the Island of Menorca.

16 Notices relating to the Island of Menorca.

17 List of works by myself and Dr. Juan Ramis i Ramis that will be shared around.

some first-class, unseen historical documents. Of these, the most relevant is the manuscript *Le Voyage du second Bataillon du Regiment du Prince Ernst de Celle à l'île Minorque en forme de Journal*[18] signed with the initials J. C. F. S. and dated 1775 (photograph 2).

The letters

In terms of their sheer number (287 of 494 documents) and relevance, these epistolary relationships form the bulk of the Flaquer Collection archive. Leaving aside copies of older letters, the correspondence from this archive begins with the figure of Joan Ramis. In actual fact, the earliest letters are those written by his tutor, the Franciscan friar Llorenç Company, and addressed to his father, Bartomeu Ramis i Serra, to inform him of his son's excellent results at school in 1762 and 1763. However, as both receiver and sender of the correspondence, this archive begins in the 1780 (the majority of the documents being from the first two decades of the 19th century) and ends with Joan Ramis's death in 1819. There are a few letters from Antoni Roig Reixart (1750 – 1808), with whom Joan Ramis discusses Joan Francesc de Masdéu i de Montero's collection of Latin inscriptions in *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española*[19] (1783 – 1805) as well as some of Ramis's own works. We also find correspondence exchanged with other important people from their time, such as the Count of Cifuentes (also about collecting antiques) and the bishops Antoni Vila (who he wrote to with old news from Menorca before his pontificate) and Jaume Creus (to whom he sent a number of his works). It is also worth mentioning the presence of letters written to him in 1814 by Jaume Villanueva (1803 – 1852), author of *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*[20], and by Castilian writer José de Vargas Ponce (1760 – 1821). Other people Ramis corresponded with include Nicolau Orfila (asking him to send books from Barcelona) and Joan Taltavull (about an inscription from the burial ground in Ciutadella). However, the most consistent correspondence in this archive is that Ramis maintained with archivist Lluís de Vilafranca (Joan Mestre Oliver, secular, 1770 – 1847), with whom he discussed many historic events regarding Menorca that were recorded in the archives of Mallorca, as well as archaeological and numismatic developments and biographical data and research (which later provided the basis for Ramis's ambitious work *Varones ilustres de Menorca y noticia de los apellidos que mas se han distinguido en ella*[21], 1817).

As a matter of fact, this correspondence with Lluís de Vilafranca was made clearer in the work Antoni Ramis continued after his brother's death, given that the Mallorcan friar expresses his intention to continue their productive epistolary relationship (a total of 77 letters were exchanged, the largest number in the entire archive). The subjects discussed with Antoni Ramis were just as varied as with his brother Joan. Once again, they mention historical and contemporary affairs, archaeological finds (especially in the Balearic and Pityusic Islands) and a discussion on how to interpret certain matters, such as the Arabic and Hebrew inscriptions on the islands. The task was complicated by a lack of experts capable of translating them scientifically for the islands' intellectuals. This was the case, for example, with the 16th-17th century Hebrew inscription which arrived on the island from Tunisia, having been used as ballast in a boat which Antoni Ramis bought from some sailors. Following a request from its owner, Lluís de Vilafranca (in a letter dated 20th April, 1831) asked Arabic scholar Joan Josep Artigues to decipher the text for him, although his interpretation bears little resemblance to the translation we have today. In a letter dated 15th November, 1831, (photograph 3) he tells Ramis of this expert's assessment and the report, which is still kept by the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH, CAIIB/9/3930/5 [2 and 3]).

Also, from Mallorca, we find the letters he exchanged with the intellectual Joaquim Maria Bover (1810 – 1865). This correspondence was already of interest to Gabriel Llabrés, who published the letters sent by Antoni Ramis in the Revista de Menorca[22] in 1907. Now, however, researchers are in the unusual position of being able to examine all of their correspondence, with letters from both sides. The subjects covered are once again quite varied, although our attention is drawn to the exchange of historical and biographical information which would later make up the fundamentally important *Biblioteca de escritores baleares*[23] (1868). Sometimes, reports about the discovery of objects and ancient inscriptions were illustrated with sketches by Bover himself, as with some of the inscriptions from Sa Carrotja (*CIL* II 3674) and the patera handle from Son Corró (Campanet; photograph 4). The correspondence also ends with the well-documented argument between Bover and Antoni Furió i Sastre (1798 – 1853), chronicler of the Kingdom of

18 Second Battalion of Prince Ernst Regiment's journey from Celle to Menorca in diary form.

19 Critical History of Spain and Spanish Culture.

20 A Literary Journey around the Churches of Spain.

21 The Illustrious Sons Most Distinguished Surnames in Menorca.

22 The Menorca Review.

23 Library of Balearic Writers.

Mallorca. Ramis wrote to the latter to hear his version of the quarrel. Needless to say, Lluís de Vilafranca's response was to once again speak badly of Antoni Furió Sastre.

Other interesting letters are those sent by Juan Bautista Barthe (1790 – 1853), from 1834 up until Antoni Ramis's death in 1840. The subject of the correspondence with this member of the Royal Academy of History concentrates on the works of Joan Ramis, Antoni's own works, the exchange of books and, in particular, information about coins and commemorative medals, such as those minted by various cities (including Maó) for the coronation of Isabel II, about which Barthe wrote a monograph, *Medallas de proclamación de S.M. la Reina Doña Isabel II*[24] (1841). He even sent some pages of it to Antoni Ramis to read before it was published. Also, of interest is the fact that the archive contains a handwritten copy of letters sent by Antoni Ramis to Juan Bautista Barthe. The last letter from this academic, dated March 30th, 1840, was sent to Nicolau Orfila, to offer his condolences following Antoni Ramis's death.

Another personality of the time Antoni Ramis wrote to was the apothecary and naturalist from Olot, Francesc Xavier de Bolòs Germà (1773 – 1844). Their correspondence, which was not very extensive and lasted just two years (1834 – 1835), was initiated by the Menorcan, who had learned that de Bolòs possessed an extensive coin collection. At the start of this epistolary relationship, the Catalan town of Olot was still suffering the consequences of the First Carlist War. In his first letters de Bolòs says that the current circumstances make it impossible for him to meet Ramis's requests. In actual fact, he provides a vivid description of the situation and how he is forced to move to Barcelona for a time without knowing what will happen to his family and his possessions.

Other people Antoni Ramis wrote to briefly were Pere J. Rodríguez Riola from Maó (1802 – 1838), whom he tells about his journey from Gibraltar to the United States of America; Daniel Turner, the captain of an American schooner, with whom he spent an evening in Maó and exchanged coins and books; Charles Folsom (1794 –1872), a Harvard classicist and librarian who was sent works by both the Ramis brothers (still held in the library of that prestigious university); Abdón Pinazo, canon of Segorbe, whom he consulted about an Iberian coin and Semitic etymology; Murcian writer Diego Clemencín Viñas (1765 – 1834) and Mallorcans Ignasi and Jaume Pujol from the Sociedad Mallorquina de Amigos del País[25].

In all of these exchanges, the recurrent theme is numismatics. Antoni Ramis, in particular, is trying to resolve problems with the classification of coins and medals, although there is also a constant exchange of pieces. All of this correspondence paints a vivid picture of how collecting became more popular with the Renaissance. However, as a whole, it also shows how the coin itself was the only thing of interest, because neither the context nor the origin of the coins is stated and, very probably, was not known either. In these exchanges, objects pass from hand to hand and end up far from where they were found. In all of this correspondence there is only one reference to a find of coins in Menorca, specifically at Binicodrell (Es Migjorn Gran), but it does not say exactly which coins appeared there. It essentially shows how meticulous one needs to be when working with private coin collections, as the collection is unlikely to be from a single find, let alone local, depriving one of useful information about the circulation of money in the past. The most frequently mentioned coins are from the period of the Roman Empire, although there are many references to medieval coins and contemporary commemorative coins and medals, even from the other side of the Atlantic.

Consulting and searching through archives outside of Menorca is also a constant concern in Ramis's letters. Another thing that stands out is the work of the Mallorcans Joaquim Maria Bover, Lluís de Vilafranca and, to a lesser extent, Antoni de Furió in providing historic notices pertaining to Menorca, particularly from the medieval period, but also from the modern age.

The exchange and acquisition of books is another regular activity that is mentioned in the letters. There are many requests for books from Spain and, especially, France. Similarly, we can see how the Ramis brothers worked hard to send their books to the intellectual and administrative authorities of the time, not only at a local level, but internationally as well. This was especially true of both brothers' books on history, epigraphy and numismatics, but also their literary works. In fact, the letters contain some very interesting comments about the tragedies and elegy written by Joan Ramis. They also sent books and notices about books by their peers, such as Joaquim Pons Cardona, author of *Principis de la lectura menorquina*[26] (1804), Vicent Albertí, author and translator of theatrical plays and the first volume of the *Diccionario etimológico-analítico de voces sagradas*[27], (1828, the absence of the second volume is constantly lamented) or Francesc Pons Carreras, author of the *Compendio de las excelencias del Puerto de Mahón*[28] (1819).

24 Commemorative Medals from the Coronation of H.M. Queen Isabel II.

25 Mallorcan Society of Friends of the Country.

26 The Beginnings of Menorcan Reading.

27 Etymological and Analytical dictionary of the Holy Voices.

28 Compendium of the excellent qualities of the Port of de Maó.

Sometimes, however, the two Ramis brothers settled for having others consult certain specific information for them in books they did not have on hand. This was the case with Antoni Vila, who, following a request from Joan Ramis, reported back to him that the quotation from Lycophron did not contain as much information as Ramis had thought. Ramis must have been quite an insistent and forceful person because Antoni Vila made him a copy of the original Greek text with a translation so that he could check he was telling the truth. Also related to the world of books, there are numerous references to developments in printing and the problems facing printers. We see how Lluís de Vilafranca often tells Antoni Ramis of his reservations regarding the Guasp printing press for being less than diligent and sometimes selfish. As a result, he requested short pamphlets be printed, through Antoni Ramis, in Maó because it was cheaper and faster.

There are also some very interesting comments and notices about Latin inscriptions. The Ramis brothers were a real authority on the subject at the time and they answered several questions. In exchange, they always sought interpretations and clarifications of Arabic and Hebrew epigraphy from specialists (even though they did not get a convincing response at first), and, as reflected in various publications, about the possible Phoenician etymology of some of the island's place-names. Sometimes their intuitions were confirmed by these experts, as with Francesc Pérez Bayer and the name *Mago*, although it was not always the case. An interesting case in point is the name Addaia (Alaior), which Ramis thought was Phoenician, but which is clearly Arabic. Furthermore, there are several references to unusual finds, such as the small bronze figure from Campanet (photograph 4) or the famous winged boar from Torelló, which were part of the Ramis collection and are now, like many other pieces, kept in the Hispanic Society of America, New York.

As mentioned earlier, daily life, although appearing only in the background, also features in the correspondence. Important facts such as illnesses or the deaths of Joan and Antoni Ramis were written about, as were extreme weather phenomena, the earthquakes of 1831 and 1835, the quality of the harvests, etc. It is worth highlighting, however, the aforementioned chronicle of the Carlist War by Francesc Xavier de Bolòs and the exclaustration of Lluís de Vilafranca (1823). Also related to daily life but vitally important to the correspondence was finding the people who carried it for them and the constant need to find trustworthy patrons.

Administrative documents

A large part of the archive is made up of documents concerning administration or accounting. These include certificates for Antoni Ramis's academic, social and professional achievements, kept together in a single volume labelled *Relacion de los meritos, y egercicios literarios del doctor en ambos derechos Don Antonio Ramis y Ramis abogado*[29]. This volume includes school certificates from the Franciscan convent in Palma, the diplomas in civil and canonical law he earned along with his brother Joan, various nominations as a lawyer and member of the Royal Academy of History or the Royal Society of Friends of the Country of the Kingdom of Mallorca, nominations as advisor to the court of Maó, etc. While there is a lot for Antoni, there is very little in this section for Joan Ramis, with the noteworthy exception of his diploma in both civil and canonical law from the Papal University of Avignon (1767; photograph 5). Other interesting documents are the lists of books which Antoni Ramis sent to various important people (*Exemplars que se anirán repartint de las obras del Dr. Juan Ramis y Ramis y també de las mias*)[30]. There are also corresponding documents for the coins, such as the document entitled *Monedas remitidas al Dr. Dn. Francisco de Bolós en Olot*[31].

The other administrative documents found in this archive are very diverse. There are all sorts of things: orders from the island's governors, local government mandates, rulings on dowries (one of which is from the Montanyés, the family of Joan Ramis's wife), concessions of land for building the first houses in Georgetown (now Es Castell), royal proclamations, losses at Castell de Sant Felip, price changes of different products on the island's markets, etc.

Historical documents and short notes

The remainder of the documentation from the Flaquer archive consists of documents, often copies, and notes on all manner of subjects that interested the Ramis brothers. The subjects analysed in most detail deal with the early years of the latest and current period of Spanish sovereignty. Therefore, there are a lot of documents relating to things we have learned since then: the famous publication by pioneering historian Andreu Murillo Tudurí and the Menorcan Revolution of 1810. There is also an almost contemporary copy of the administrative battle and the appeals of Jaume Pelegrí, the priest of Es Castell charged with being an English sympathiser for not having sung *Te Deum* on Saint Charles's Day in honour of Carlos the Spanish king. Also present are

29 Account of the successes and literary works of doctor under both canon and civil law Don Antonio Ramis y Ramis.

30 Examples of books by Dr. Juan Ramis y Ramis and myself that have been sent.

31 Coins sent to Dr. Don Francisco de Bolós in Olot.

many documents listing various injustices suffered by the Menorcans under the pontificate of Bishop Pedro Antonio Juano (180-1814) and Governor Ramírez (1803-1808).

The rest of the archive is all short notes, often written on re-used paper, about historical issues from all over the place. These are often notes written by the Ramis brothers with observations on current affairs, the economy and the arrival of illustrious visitors to Maó.

The languages used in the Ramis Archive

Castilian Spanish makes up the absolute majority of this archive, in fact, 415 of the 494 documents are written in it (84%). Correspondence between intellectuals, although most were also Catalan speakers from the rest of the Catalan speaking lands, was in Spanish, as were the writings that resulted from their research, a large number of the notes and isolated details and the vast majority of the administrative documentation and academic and professional certificates. The presbyters Antoni Roig and (still) Antoni Vila Camps wrote to Joan Ramis in Castilian Spanish, unlike the secular Menorcans, a highly significant detail of the role of the Church at the time in this affair. There is an intriguing letter, dated April 10th, 1799, from the first bishop of the diocese, Antoni Vila, who, after receiving some of Ramis's works, considered that his Spanish needed correcting.

Catalan is the second most used language in the archive, although still far behind Castilian Spanish: only 43 documents representing 8.7% of the total. This fact is clear proof of the diglossia which began to prevail in Menorcan society in the early 19th century: while there is no shortage of public documents from the time of the British administration in Catalan (such as the announcement by James Johnston, which he signed as Jaume in 1766, and a decree by James Murray from 1781), notarised deeds (especially contracts of marriage from the early 19th century) and other materials, the presence of Catalan is mostly restricted to family and private matters, correspondence with close acquaintances (like Nicolau Orfila and Nicolau Pons), personal accounting, short notes with historiographical data and much older documents. Either way, these letters are particularly interesting from a linguistic point of view because they provide information about the informal language of Maó's bourgeois society, especially in terms of vocabulary.

There are 12 documents written in English, half of which are letters to Antoni Ramis, although there is also administrative documentation (land deeds for the building of Georgetown) and some historical notes. An interesting observation here is that a lot of these documents were translated into Spanish at a later date, which suggests that Antoni Ramis (or his immediate heirs) did not read English. Less varied is the material in French: basically, historical notes, four letters to the Ramis brothers and a port certificate. Only two documents are written in Italian and both of these are administrative.

The documents in Latin, of which there are eleven, are either copies of older documents, administrative texts and academic certificates such as Joan Ramis's doctorate and Antoni Ramis's school leaving certificate. Added to all this are a few notes and copies of documents in Hebrew, Punic, Arabic and Greek. These short notes and copies are interesting because the island's printing presses at the time did not have type blocks for non-Latin script and so some of the information received by the Ramis brothers was never published.

The epistolary relationship between Dr. Margaret Murray and Joan Flaquer in the period from 1923 to 1960

Cristina Bravo Asensio
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NURARQ SC, archaeologists

In 1923, renowned Egyptologist Margaret A. Murray (1863-1963) made a trip to Menorca during which she met the notary Joan Flaquer Fàbregues (1877-1963). It was the start of a friendship that would last for forty years, and one that would prove very fruitful to the study of Menorca's pre-history in general, and furthering the study of Talaiotic *taula*[32] sites in particular.

Reading the letters that Mr. Flaquer received from the archaeologist, we can see how this relationship went beyond the limits of a purely professional context and became a solid friendship between two colleagues who, quite by coincidence, both died in 1963, she at the age of 100 and he at 86.

32 A *taula* (meaning 'table' in Catalan) is a Stonehenge-esque stone monument found on the Balearic island of Menorca.

Margaret Alice Murray

Margaret Alice Murray was born in Calcutta, on July 13th, 1863, during the British rule of India. She came from a wealthy middle-class family. Her father was a businessman and her mother a nurse.

She was raised under the Victorian principle that a woman should not just spend her time working for money but be a woman of character. Aged 30, following the death of her father and against the wishes of her family, she moved to London. There, she began to study under the tutelage of one of the great Egyptologists of the time, Sir Flinders Petrie.

She enjoyed an illustrious professional career, as a pioneer of modern archaeological research techniques which she learned from her mentor at various archaeological sites, not only in Egypt, but also Malta and Menorca. Following her first visit to Menorca in the 1920s, she returned with Louis Clarke, curator of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology from 1922 to 1937, to excavate the Talaiotic sites of Trepucó and Torreta de Tramuntana in 1930 and 1931. These were the first really scientific archaeological projects on the island and the first excavations of these emblematic edifices from Menorca's Talaiotic past.

In addition to her work in the field, Murray also wrote extensively on the subject of archaeology, as well as other disciplines, such as religion and folklore. Also worth mentioning are her studies of witchcraft and historical subjects pertaining to Great Britain which never ended up being published.

Although she officially retired as a professor at University College London in 1935, it never curtailed her prolific literary and scientific output. So much so that, having reached the age of 100, just before she died, she published an autobiography entitled *My first hundred years*.

The letters (1923 – 1960)

The letters written by Dr. Murray and kept by Flaquer reveal a close relationship based on friendship and cooperation spanning almost 40 years, from 1923 to 1960. We are talking about a total of 37 letters, received by Flaquer, in which we can discern the friendly and professional relationship between the pair. All of these documents, despite being of varying nature and serving different purposes (some are just Christmas cards or messages asking after the Flaquer family), in many cases they give us a glimpse of their work as archaeologists and of the bureaucracy and rivalries around archaeological excavations in Spain in the thirties. The letters also reveal how important Flaquer was in resolving these types of problems and the intense and active professional life of Dr. Murray who, right up to her final years, continued publishing wide-ranging articles and books about archaeology and history. Although their epistolary relationship was at its most intense in the years she travelled to Menorca to excavate Trepucó and Sa Torreta de Tramuntana, both before her arrival and during her stay on the island (Flaquer received seven letters in 1930 and five in 1931), they kept in touch for decades afterwards to discuss archaeology in Menorca or to ask each other personal questions.

Joan Flaquer: a mainstay for Dr. Murray in Menorca

April 13, 1923

Dear Mr. Flaquer,

This is just a little line to thank you for all your kindness to us all during our very pleasant visit to Menorca and for all the trouble you took in showing us the antiquities. What you have shown and told me will be of the greatest use to me in my work in Malta, and I am most grateful to you.

I enclose a few stamps for your little boy, which I hope he will find interesting.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Murray

Just reading this first letter from the collection, we can see the beginnings of a productive partnership between Dr. Murray and Flaquer. This was because, in Flaquer, Dr. Murray had found a key figure to work with during her research projects in Menorca. He could offer her and her team invaluable logistical support, deal with the bureaucracy of obtaining excavation permits and share his considerable local knowledge.

In a letter Dr. Murray sent in 1929, she informs him that the curator of the Cambridge Ethnology Museum, Louis Clarke, is keen for her to go to Menorca to carry out archaeological excavations. In this letter, she asks for information about the procedure for obtaining permits, the cost of labour and his advice on selecting a site to excavate, mentioning one with a taula and a gallery that she had seen on her last visit to Menorca but which she could not remember the name of. Flaquer was not only useful when it came to helping her with permits and Spanish bureaucracy, Dr. Murray also valued his opinion and his knowledge of the sites in Menorca. In one of the letters from 1930 she explains that she will be excavating at Trepucó and asks for Flaquer's help with the paperwork regarding permits and for logistical help with finding accommodation on the island.

Flaquer's involvement increased further still when he was made inspector of Dr. Murray's 1931 excavations and, although they made no more excavations after that year, he continued to offer her and her colleagues considerable support with their research, answering any questions they had about finds and sites on the island.

The fact that these and other questions of an archaeological or anthropological nature were sent to Flaquer by Dr. Murray and other English scholars showed the high regard they had for him as a fellow expert. Flaquer also performed the important task of sending archaeological materials and photographs from Menorca so that Dr. Murray could write her books about the two excavations she had led on the island.

Another key moment in their professional relationship was his translation of the first volume of Murray's book *Cambridge excavations in Minorca. Trapucó I*, which was published in issue 32 of the *Revista de Menorca* in 1933. This translation, which was Flaquer's idea, was well received by Dr. Murray, who thanked him for sending several copies to her, Dr. Guest and Louis Clarke.

The affection and respect for Flaquer is also clear in letters received from other archaeologists associated with Dr. Murray, such as Louis Clarke, who sent him a series of letters about obtaining excavation permits, being responsible for Dr. Murray starting excavations in Menorca, and to thank Flaquer for all of his help and for the translation of the first volume about the excavations at Trepucó:

> *Nov 2, 1932,*
>
> *Dear Don Flaquer,*
>
> *Miss Murray tells me you have translated her book and that you want to publish it in the Revista de Menorca. I hope you will do so and we waive any rights in the publication which we may have in your favour.*
>
> *I hope you and your family are well.*
>
> *Yours sincerely,*
>
> *Louis C.G. Clarke*

Publishing a Spanish translation of the first volume of her book about the excavations at Trepucó in the Revista de Menorca shows how much Flaquer wanted Dr. Murray's scientific work to be known in Menorca. It also shows his total commitment to continuing that work and understanding more about the pre-history of the island.

Evolution of a friendship over time

This professional collaboration, particularly during the years just before and during Dr. Murray's excavations in Menorca, went on to become a genuine friendship which lasted until the end of their lives. In the 37 letters, there are repeated expressions of affection and respect towards him and his family and gratitude from Dr. Murray for everything Flaquer had done and continued to do for her in Menorca.

After the mid-1930s and over the following decades, although they still contain references to archaeology, Dr. Murray's letters have a more personal tone and discuss situations that resulted from two historic events which affected both of their lives: The Spanish Civil War and the Second World War. She asks after Flaquer and his family, offering her condolences for the loss of his two sons, and tells him it is impossible for her to travel to Menorca at such a turbulent time. Dr. Murray's concern is clear when she does not receive any news from Flaquer after the start of the Civil War. She did not receive a reply until that conflict was over:

> *Your letter arrived today, the first communication I have had from you since the outbreak of the Civil War. I wrote to you at the very beginning of the war but as I received no answer I was rather afraid to write again. I was not sure whether it was advisable for you to have letters from a foreign country at that time. But though I did not write I thought often of you and all your family, and hoped that the war might leave your family untouched.*
>
> (extract from a letter dated January 10th, 1940).

Later, during the Second World War, her letters are few and far between, but she still writes to explain her situation in England and enquire about the state of the archaeological sites in Menorca after the Civil War:

> *In these days of war one is glad to know that one's friends are still alive.*
>
> *Like all towns of England we have "alerts" and occasional bombs, but otherwise our lives go on as in peace time. In some ways war has had a good effect for me personally, for London University has sent the members of some of its colleges here, and I meet a lot of my old colleagues and friends in this hotel and sometimes in the streets, and we (all exiles from our dear London) are so glad to meet each other.*
>
> *Please tell me whether the bombs on Minorca did any damage to the Trapucó taula or any other megalithic monuments. I do hope that, when the war is over, I shall be able to come to Mahon again.*
>
> (extracts of a letter written from the Garden House Hotel, Belle Vue, Cambridge, March 14th, 1941).

During the post-war period, despite Dr. Murray's desire to return to the island, the possibility of her doing so was reduced by the *Exchange Control Act* of 1947, a law which prevented the English from taking large sums of money out of the country. One letter written on April 17th, 1948 mentions this situation:

> *If it were not for the restrictions on currency I should come again to Mahón and see all those very interesting places again; but it is very difficult for us English to go abroad now as we are allowed to take so little money with us that we cannot go far or stay any length of time. Still, I hope the restrictions will be removed before I am too old to travel*.

Her desire to return was fulfilled one year later, when Dr. Murray travelled to Menorca for the last time, as she wrote in a letter at the end of that year:

> *I feel so glad that I was able at last to visit Minorca again and to see you all. It was the greatest pleasure to me, and I hope that one day I may have that pleasure again.*
>
> (extract of a letter dated December 21st, 1949).

From her last visit to Menorca and up until June, 1960, the letters sent by Dr. Murray concentrated on telling Flaquer about preparations for various publications, lectures and the state of her health, and, as always, wishing him and his family well. All of these documents testify to a strong friendship and mutual admiration. In a prologue to his translation of her book about Trepucó, which was published in the *Revista de Menorca*, Flaquer wrote the following:

> *I would like to finish by thanking Mr. Clarke, curator of the Museum in Cambridge, and the author for the deference they have shown me and the complimentary words, although undeserved, that the latter has deigned to write about me [...]* (Flaquer, 1933: 171).

These lines not only show the admiration and respect on both sides, but also the modesty of Flaquer, who, according to Maria Lluïsa Serra, another pioneering voice in Menorcan archaeology at the time, was blessed with the virtue of humility:

> *[...] lawyer, notary, numismatist, archaeologist... And floating above all of these professional and scientific qualifications, as if shrouding them in a halo of spirituality, is his total and unconditional commitment to each one, his understanding, his ability to work and, above all, his modesty*. (Serra, 1963: 30).

His virtue and passion for archaeology in Menorca were determining factors in the relationship he maintained with D.r Murray over forty years and were also expressed by Murray's colleagues in letters they wrote to Flaquer, full of gratitude for his help, hospitality and generosity.

The skills involved in archaeological research in the 30s and the logistics of Dr. Murray's work in the field and the laboratory.

Margaret Murray's letters give us a lot of information about how archaeological excavations were carried out in the first decades of the 20th century. We can see how Dr. Murray asks Flaquer's advice about which administrative body she needs to contact for an excavation permit in Menorca, and if this is even necessary if the site they are interested in, in this case Trepucó, is on private land.

We do not know exactly what Flaquer answered because we only have the letters that he received from her, but we can assume that, given the national heritage laws in place at that time, they would have had to ask permission from the government, as Mr. Clarke did through the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April, 1930. Obtaining this permission was not simple, and Dr. Murray wrote to Flaquer to see if he would ask Sr. Hernández to intercede and resolve the Spanish administrative delays. In the end, they decided to start excavations at Trepucó in the summer of 1930, although the definitive permit from the Spanish Government did not reach them until January 1931:

> *Just a few hurried lines to say that this morning I had a letter from our Foreign Office saying they had received a telegram from the British Embassy in Madrid to the effect that permission has now been granted by the Spanish Government.*
>
> (extract of a letter dated January 29th, 1931)

These letters are also a mine of information about the procedures and logistics surrounding archaeological excavations. Dr. Murray delegates to Flaquer certain preparations that must be made before she arrives in Menorca. These include finding accommodation for the team and hiring workers, which meant choosing a group of efficient labourers to do the actual digging. We know that the leader of this work team was called Miquel and they made the following arrangement:

> *Could you arrange with Michel to have five men & himself ready to begin? The wages, as arranged, were six pesetas each a day for the five men, & ten pesetas for Michel; they are to work eight hours a day, & six days a week.*
>
> (extract from a letter dated April 28th, 1930).

Interestingly, in a letter to Flaquer about the Museum of Cambridge making excavations led by Dr. Murray in Menorca, Mr. Clarke enquires about the cost of manual labour in Spain, commenting that it must be much cheaper than in England.

Another requirement for all archaeological projects was the appointment of a site inspector. For the excavations at Trepucó and Sa Torreta de Tramuntana, the English asked for that inspector to be Flaquer himself, and their request was granted in March, 1931.

Dr. Murray surrounded herself with a multi-disciplinary team of professionals including experts like Dr. Guest, Dr. Fraser and some of their students, such as Mr. Vernon and Mrs. Campion and Mr. Nayar, who also exchanged letters with Flaquer.

Dr. Murray had learned modern archaeology techniques which she applied at the sites in order to extract as much information as possible. However, it was still a surprise to see how quickly the work progressed at Trepucó and Sa Torreta de Tramuntana. Work commenced at Trepucó with a couple of months of excavations in the summer of 1930, then, in 1931 both sites were excavated more or less simultaneously, with the work shared between Dr. Murray and Dr. Guest. In 1932, due to financial problems, it was not possible to conduct a third phase of excavations. Dr. Murray was unable to complete all the work she had planned, especially at Trepucó, although she did leave the structures much completed.

Once the field work was over, the excavation permits allowed the English to take some of the materials they had found out of the country, as long they were returned once they had been examined. Back in London, and after a long delay, Dr. Murray eventually received the crates containing the archaeological materials from her Menorcan excavations, confirming in various notes that she would return them to Menorca once they had been studied and documented.

What was known about taula sites in the 1930s and the contributions of Dr. Murray

After her work at the taula sites at Trepucó and Sa Torreta de Tramuntana, Dr. Murray completed an exhaustive study of the objects she had found there, producing a three-volume memoir entitled *Cambridge Excavations in Minorca*. Although the taula sites had already attracted interest from many archaeology scholars and experts, only Margaret Murray's excavations were meticulous enough to allow her to extract valid scientific data from the results.

We must point out that dating techniques in the 1930s were nowhere near as precise as current radiocarbon dating and the method commonly used for dating finds was one that Dr. Murray learned from her mentor Sir Flinders Petrie. It consisted of comparing objects from different places to find similarities in shape and form. It was assumed an object that was morphologically similar to another would probably be from the same period, something which we now know is not always the case.

Using this premise, Dr. Murray analysed the ceramics, metal objects and other materials found at the sites to reach what she considered to be quite clear conclusions. She sent these to Flaquer in a letter dated September 18th, 1930. Her theory placed the construction of the Menorcan taulas in the late Neolithic age or, at the very latest, the early Bronze Age. This would also fit, in her opinion, with the type of stonemasonry marks observed on the taula itself. In addition, she rejected the hypothesis that the taulas were used for human sacrifices by using X-rays to examine a suspicious bone from Trepucó which turned out to be from a horse.

According to Dr. Murray, the taula sites would have been in use throughout the Bronze Age and were abandoned at the start of the Iron Age, when a new wave of people established themselves on the island, exterminating the previous inhabitants and bringing with them a new religion. The vast majority of the objects excavated at the sites date from this period, which coincides with the La Tène I and II period, because they were used as dumping grounds.

By the time the Romans arrived, the sites were so full of rubbish that they could no longer be used as dumps. This explains why only a few artefacts from this period and later periods were found and why they were mostly closer to the surface and not especially relevant.

This theory put forward by Dr. Murray has now been improved upon, and it is thought that the taula sites appeared during the Iron Age, were used from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC and, in some cases, also during Roman times. In any case, suggesting a first relative timeline for the taula sites was a very valuable contribution as it established a solid starting point for all subsequent research in this field.

An intriguing letter: warning about an impostor

There is one letter from Dr. Murray to Flaquer which remains something of a curiosity. It shows Dr. Murray's genuine concern about archaeologists being meticulous and always applying the highest level of scientific discipline.

It was probably also why, on December 2nd, 1932, Dr. Murray wrote a short letter to warn Flaquer that he might receive a visit from a woman she had never met and whose name she did not know, but who intended to go to Menorca and excavate on her behalf:

This is just a hurried letter to warn you that an English lady may arrive & may use my name, claiming to be an archaeologist.

I know nothing about her & have never seen her.

(Extract of a letter dated December 2nd, 1932)

She explains that the woman came to her office one day when she was out, asking to be introduced to all of her Menorcan colleagues. Dr. Murray asks Flaquer to ignore her, even if she is very persuasive, as she does not know the woman at all and would not want her damaging any sites through a total lack of discipline and training in this field.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Joan Flaquer and the prehistory of Menorca (1922–1957)

Alfredo Mederos Martín*

Introduction

In 1922, notary and archaeologist Joan Flaquer was 45 when he met 17-year-old Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla as he visited archaeological sites in Menorca. Despite the 28-year age difference between them, the pair developed a lifelong friendship. In 1940, Martínez Santa-Olalla made Flaquer Island Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations in Menorca and the intensive professional relationship continued until the end of the Torre d'en Galmés excavations in 1943.

Martínez Santa-Olalla's time in Menorca

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was living in Maó (Menorca) in 1922, when he joined the *Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria* aged just 17. He did not start his degree until 1923-24, in Madrid, where he met Hugo Obermaier. Then, because his father, the future General José Martínez Herrera was transferred to Barcelona, Julio completed his second year of university in the Catalan capital in 1924-25, studying under Pedro Bosch Gimpera. His father was transferred again, and his son Julio completed the third and final year of his degree at Valladolid University in 1925-26.

We know he was living in Menorca in 1921-22 because he writes about prospecting at Trepucó during the winter of 1921-22 and finding Iberian painted pottery (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924a, p.124). He was still on the island in August of 1922 when he found more Iberian pottery in Cales Coves (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924a, p.125) and, probably also in 1922, when he mentions prospecting at Trebalúger in "the last days of July and first days of August" (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924c, pg.185).

As far as we know, Martínez Santa-Olalla and Flaquer began writing to each other in 1925. By then living in Valladolid, Julio reminisced about *"my beloved Menorca, which feels almost like my home"*. He also wrote *"I often think of you and the memorable and enlightening trips around your area"* (Flaquer, 1910 and 1916), and *"our companion on those excursions your oldest son"*. In one letter, he twice mentions Obermaier, *"my master"*, and refers to himself as *"his disciple"*. He also mentions the recent visit of Bosch Gimpera *"to discuss the prehistory of Burgos"* (ASO, MSO to Flaquer, 21-12-1925). He thanks Flaquer in his first article about Menorca for *"the many pieces of prehistoric pottery he gave to me when I visited Alayor and for giving up his time"* (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924a, pg.126 n. 2, 127), to show him numerous sites.

While still in his second year of university, Julio began publishing articles about pieces of Menorcan prehistory such as a trephined skull from Sínia de n'Andreu. The cave contained over 20 burials that revealed 10 skulls and a vertebra pierced by a bronze arrowhead (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924b, pg.147-148). Through Bosch Gimpera, he sent the skulls to Barcelona so they could be examined by anthropology professor Telesforo de Aranzadi (ASO, Bosch Gimpera to MSO, 30-3-1924). Other articles discussed the finds of roman pottery at Trebalúger (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924c), or an evaluation of the western naveta at Biniac that was discovered by Flaquer in 1914 and excavated by Vives, with Flaquer's help, in 1915 (Flaquer, 1916, pg.163-164; Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1924d, pg.196). Years later, the eastern naveta was also studied (Serra, 1965). Some of these projects were apparently not very popular with local archaeologists who considered them an intrusion into the archaeology of the island. Julio sensed *"some hostility towards my articles about Menorca, where, as I now realise, I have no greater friend than you."* (MSO to Flaquer, 17-8-1927).

The project to excavate Torre d'en Galmés

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla did not receive a grant from the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas that would have allowed him to go and study in France in 1926-27. However, after he graduated, he was recommended by Obermaier to Moldenhauer and by Bosch Gimpera to Meyer-Lübke and he was given a Span-

ish lectureship at the University of Bonn: *"We both agreed that you were the right man […] and this would resolve all your problems in one fell swoop"* (ASO, Bosch Gimpera to MSO, 11-4-1927). He moved to Bonn on April 1st, 1927, and taught there from May 12th 1927 to July 1931. At the same time, he received a grant of 2,000 pesetas per year from the Junta de Relaciones Culturales (AGA 31/01539).

In the summer of 1927, Martínez Santa-Olalla sent Flaquer a postcard from Austria, mentioning that he was going to conferences in Cologne and Mainz before classes started again in early November (MSO to Flaquer, 17-8-1927). Although he planned to return to Spain between March and April of 1928, it seems he did not write again until two years later when, after speaking to Bosch Gimpera, Obermaier and probably the High Commission for Excavations and Antiquities, he suggested excavating what he considered *"indisputably the island's finest site"* Torre d'en Galmés, a large settlement discovered at the end of the 19th century (Cartailhac, 1892, pg. 21 fig. 15, pg. 22 fig. 16) covering 3 hectares, with a perimeter wall, 3 *talaiots*, a *taula* and *naveta*. In the letter, he asks Flaquer to contact the landowner, Leopoldo Victory, brother of Antonio Victory and president of the Athenaeum of Science Literature and Arts in Maó, to offer him 100,000 pesetas for the olive grove that contained the ancient site. This included 44,000 pesetas for the *"megalithic monuments as he has no right to sell them (he only owns the land, not what lies beneath it)"*. The owner could also be threatened with *"forced expropriation"* which *"could be executed very quickly"*, while they awaited the *"imminent"* declaration of the site as a historical monument. Julio also announced that he would try to obtain money to excavate in 1930 from the High Commission for Excavations, telling them to *"support my work"* (MSO to Flaquer, 31-10-1929). In November, Flaquer wrote back to say that Victory was refusing the 44,000 pesetas for the megalithic monument (Flaquer to MSO, 12-11-1929).

Months earlier, the secretary of the High Commission for Excavations and Antiquities, Francisco Álvarez-Ossorio, told Martínez Santa-Olalla that the commission had realised the need for excavations and *"approved of such works being carried out"*. However, he also warned that *"certain gentlemen from Menorca seem to wish to conduct the excavations themselves"* (ASO, 19-7-1929). At that time, Martínez Santa-Olalla still considered Torre d'en Galmés to be *"the most grandiose site of the entire culture […] on the island of Menorca"* (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1929, pg. 361).

One of his objectives, a Royal Order declaring Torre d'en Galmés a protected monument of special historical and artistic interest, was finally issued on July 16th 1930, with Álvarez-Ossorio telling Martínez Santa-Olalla that *"the excavation rights […] are reserved by the state and the work will be carried out when the government sees fit"* but *"the funding will depend on whether money is available"*. His final objective was in regard to the purchase of the land *"so that, if the landowner is not receptive or demands too much, we can proceed with a forced expropriation"* (ASO, FAO to MSO, 23-7-1930).

However, the expropriation did not go ahead and Martínez Santa-Olalla informed Flaquer that for various *"work and personal reasons"* he only had two weeks in October 1930 for the planned excavation so it would have to be pushed back to Spring 1931 (MSO to Flaquer, 18-3-1930).

Other archaeological projects had begun on the island in 1930 and, during that summer, Martínez Santa-Olalla enquired about an excavation by *"Americans and Germans"* at Trepucó and named a Spanish co-director (MSO to Flaquer, 13-8-1930). This was a project authorised by the High Commission for Excavations in May 1930, led by L.C. Clarke and Margaret Alice Murray to excavate Trepucó and Sa Torreta. Part of the published record of the dig (Murray, 1933) was translated into Spanish by Flaquer and critically acclaimed by Martínez Santa-Olalla (1933).

However, when Martínez Santa-Olalla came to request funding from the High Commission for Excavations, he favoured Burgos, the province of his and his parents' birth. On March 2nd, 1931 he was granted 3,000 pesetas for work at Poza de la Sal, the upper fort at Trulla in Rublacedos, the Visigoth necropolis at Hinojar del Rey and, in the province of Palencia, the Visigoth necropolis of Herrera del Río Pisuerga (ASO, 2-3-1931). Of all of these sites, he chose to continue excavations at Herrera del Río Pisuerga in 1932 and 1933.

Martínez Santa-Olalla's doctoral thesis on the prehistory of Menorca

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla continued to research the prehistory of Menorca while he was living in Bonn. When he came back to Madrid, he defended his thesis *Elementos para un estudio de la Cultura de los Talayots en Menorca*, on April 9th, 1932. The thesis was supervised by Obermaier and went before a committee headed by Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez, with Luis de Sosa as secretary and Hugo Obermaier, José Ferrandis and Antonio García y Bellido as spokesmen. They gave the thesis a grade of "outstanding" (AGA 31/01539). Julio defended his thesis right after signing a contract as a temporary assistant at the University of Madrid on March 24th, 1932, because he needed to be a doctor to be proposed for the position. The committee decided on May 21st, 1932, he was appointed on May 27th and started work on June 6th, giving lectures on two subjects, Primitive History of Man and Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy (AGA 31/01539).

He was awarded the Premio Extraordinario for his thesis, which he later published as an extensive article (Martínez

Santa-Olalla, 1935), along with other shorter related works (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1937 and 1948). What is noticeable is his proposal that the *talaiots* be interpreted as fortified dwellings which had burials in their lower sections (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1935, p.84).

He had not lost interest in Menorca's prehistory, which he described as *"a predilection which receives all my enthusiasm"*. He hoped, in the future, to write *"a book about the Balearic Islands which will later be published in Germany"*, but he thought that *"this should be preceded by a long trip around the Mediterranean and North Africa, a 'conditio sine qua non'…"*, just like the one year grants issued by the German Archaeology Institute broadened learning. He even intended to make another request to excavate Torre d'en Galmés in February or March of 1933, although there is no record of him finally doing so (MSO to LVV, 2-2-1933). Even after the Spanish Civil War, he described himself as *"an adopted son of Menorca"* (MSO to Flaquer, 8-2-1940).

Two months later, a letter sent to the president of the Menorca Tourism Board, Juan Gomila Borrás, named the most important sites to excavate as Torre d'en Galmés, Son Catlar and Talatí de Dalt. It said the first site was *"of exceptional interest and great international importance and extremely valuable to tourism"*. It also advocated the creation of a Menorcan museum. *"By going to dig in Menorca myself, it was my intention that absolutely nothing should leave the island and that a (strictly archaeological) museum might be created there, given that Ibiza already has its own and the Museum of Palma cannot be a museum of Balearic Archaeology due to its already heterogeneous collection."* (MSO to JGB, 2-4-1933).

Martínez Santa-Olalla wrote to Flaquer again in 1934, partly for personal reasons, as Flaquer's son wanted to go to Madrid and meet Martínez Santa-Olalla (MSO to Flaquer, 9-6-1934). The next letter was also personal, when Martínez Santa-Olalla heard about the death of Flaquer's eldest son from the president of the Athenaeum, Josep Cotrina Ferrer. He describes *"fond memories of the excursions we went on with your poor son who was just a boy at the time"* (MSO to Flaquer, 27-9-1935).

Joan Flaquer, Island Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations and the transfer of the headquarters of the Museum of Menorca

On January 3rd, 1940, Martínez Santa-Olalla wrote to Flaquer to tell him about the creation of a new General Commission for Excavations from April 3rd, 1939, and to request an archaeological report from the island during the period of the Civil War (MSO to Flaquer, 3-1-1939). Before even receiving a reply, the long-standing friendship between the two men led Martínez Santa-Olalla to make Flaquer, aged 62, Island Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations in Menorca, as we can see in the letter from the Civil Government for the Balearic Islands dated January 17th, 1940.

Very soon afterwards, Flaquer replied describing how the *talaiot* at Malbúger Vell and other adjacent constructions had been destroyed when a field was flattened to make an airstrip (Flaquer to MSO, 21-1-1940; 13-1-1952). In that letter, Flaquer tells his friend how his second son, Juan, a lawyer and second lieutenant who was mobilised in a penal battalion in Catalonia, had died on January 2nd, 1939, leaving his daughter Paquita as his only surviving child (Flaquer to MSO, 21-1-1940).

When asked about the possible incompatibility of the new role and Flaquer's work as a notary public (Flaquer to MSO, 21-1-1940), Martínez Santa-Olalla reassured him that there is none as *"it is scientific work which you have performed enthusiastically until now without any official support"*. He also insisted on the need to consider *"Menorca having a History Museum with an archaeology section"*, suggesting that Flaquer *"could start plans for a Menorcan Museum"* (MSO to Flaquer, 8-2-1940).

In March that year, they wrote to each other again after Martínez Santa-Olalla's mother had a serious medical condition (Flaquer to MSO, 31-3-1940). Flaquer's arrangements for a museum quickly brought results because, by May, he was writing that *"our noble mayor Sr. Codina has personally approved the acquisition of Sr. Mercadal's house, which you will remember we visited together. The deeds […] will be signed tomorrow (D.M.). Once Sr. Codina is the owner of the house, he will donate it to the town so it can house the new Museum"*. Flaquer asks that *"once it is official, he should be given credit"* (Flaquer to MSO, 20-5-1940), and he was in July, 1940.

He had possibly already carried out some prospecting at Torre d'en Galmés that year, as a letter from May, 23rd mentions sending *"a few days ago now, my standard report of the last year"*. He also said he would soon be sending a report about Torre d'en Galmés but there was a delay with the sketches. He says how difficult it is to reach the site *"mostly due to the ravine that you must follow"* and suggests other possible excavations such as Torralba d'en Salort or Binimaimut. In the event of continuing at Torre d'en Galmés, he suggests excavating "around the outside of the cave near the Taula; the large hypostyle hall, adjacent to the Naveta" (Flaquer to MSO, 23-5-1940).

Martínez Santa-Olalla was away for a long time in San Sebastián and he must not have received some of the correspondence that was sent to him in Madrid because he did not reply to this letter until September 10th. When he did, he announced the awarding of a grant of 5,000 pesetas for the excavation at Torre d'en Galmés *"which I hope will arrive soon"* (MSO to Flaquer, 10-9-1940), although it has also been suggested it was 3,625 pesetas for Es Tudons *naveta* (Gracia, 2009: 266).

A few days later, Martínez Santa-Olalla asked all commissioners for the provinces and islands to send a report of their excavations, explorations and finds (MSO to Flaquer, 19-9-1940). Flaquer sent his from Maó on November 18th (Flaquer to MSO, 18-11-1941).

After holding the post of Island Commissioner for over a year, Flaquer received a letter from Martínez Santa-Olalla telling him that he was to be made Director General of Fine Arts (MSO to Flaquer, 23-5-1941), a role he started on May 28th (Flaquer to DGFA, 31-5-1941).

Flaquer's excavations of Torre d'en Galmés

Responding to an earlier enquiry from Martínez Santa-Olalla, Joan Flaquer compiled a report in 1941 of possible future excavations. In his opinion *"without a doubt the most remarkable site is Torre d'en Galmés"*, but *"also of interest[…] Cotayna de Carreras, where there is a fairly small collapsed taula whose upper stone could be put back into position in its corresponding circle [although] it is far from the road"*. Also *"Talatí de Dalt is a very advisable site, but perhaps even better is Torralba d'en Salord where the taula enclosure could be excavated at little cost and, as well having a hypostyle hall right next to the road, a former Roman road, just three kilometres from Alayor"* (Flaquer to MSO, 5-1941).

It seems Martínez Santa-Olalla managed to visit the island between the end of 1940 and the summer of 1941, as he writes in a letter: *"I spoke to him when I was in Menorca[…]"* (MSO to Flaquer, 30-7-1941). Upon Flaquer's advice, he arranged for The Civil Order of Alfonso X the Wise to be awarded to José Codina Villalonga, entrepreneur and mayor of Maó (1939-1941), for donating Can Mercadal, a building he owned, to the future Museum of Menorca (MSO to Flaquer, 30-7-1941).

There was no contact that summer due to the death of Flaquer's mother and his subsequent holiday in Mallorca, where he was in contact with Rafael Isasi, Island Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations in Mallorca. Flaquer heard from the owner of Torre d'en Galmés, Leopoldo Victory, who was no doubt informed by Martínez Santa-Olalla, that in the budget for 1941 there was an allocation of 6,000 pesetas for excavations at Torre d'en Galmés, although *"I imagine that all of this will be for next summer"* (Flaquer to MSO, 15-9-1941). This figure was confirmed by Martínez Santa-Olalla. *"I have indeed granted a figure of 6,000 pesetas for the excavations at Torre de Galmés, which I hope will be carried out soon"*. The two men treated each other as friends as we can see from the end of the letter in which Martínez Santa-Olalla sends his condolences on the death of Flaquer's mother: *"As always, with great affection, your good friend and colleague…"* (MSO to Flaquer, 19-9-1941).

This pause in correspondence continued for the following months. The next letter reads: *"The winter here has been very harsh and unsuitable for any kind of archaeological activity"*, and forwards an article about the Cycladic cup from Menorca, which he was already working on in September 1941 (MSO to Flaquer, 19-9-1941). He adds *"if you think it is worth it, you may publish it wherever you like."* (Flaquer to MSO, 25-2-1942). Apparently, it was not entirely to Martínez Santa-Olalla's satisfaction because he politely replies *"I would suggest, if I may […]a few small alterations…"* (MSO to Flaquer, 9-3-1942). The article was finally published two years later (Flaquer, 1944a; Mederos, 1996).

The new Museum of Menorca was designed by the architect Claret in 1941, and the Mercadal building was donated to the State by the City Hall of Maó in 1942 so that construction work could begin (Merino, 1949, p.107 and 110). Martínez Santa-Olalla wanted to reward Flaquer for his work in overseeing the creation of the Museum of Menorca, suggesting the Director General of Fine Arts should be awarded the Civil Order of Alfonso X, the Wise. He wrote *"The Commissioner for Menorca D. Juan Flaquer y Fábregues deserves great credit for convincing the mayor of Mahón, D. José Codina, to donate Casa Mercadal, valued at 240,000 pesetas, to the new Menorcan Museum"* (MSO to Flaquer, 17-3-1942). His proposal was approved by the Assistant Minister for National Education (MSO to Flaquer, 1-5-1942).

Negotiations continued with the landowner at Torre d'en Galmés. In May, Flaquer wrote *"I was pleasantly impressed and he said what a nice reception he was given in Madrid, especially by you."* (Flaquer to MSO, 10-5-1942).

Funding for the excavation was finally announced in July 1942. *"We have finally done it, after four years, we will have some money"*. A sum of 7,000 pesetas, once the minister had signed the order. (MSO to Flaquer, 15-7-1942). It was received by Flaquer days later, who pointed out that they would need help from the Military Government with the logistics, *"which is our biggest concern given the current state of road transport and the difficulty in finding suitable labourers."* (Flaquer to MSO, 24-7-1942). A surveyor was sent from Madrid. Felipe de Mateo García occasionally worked with the Commissioner General to provide *"the very best topographical basis for the excavations"* (MSO to Flaquer, 27-7-1942). It was also suggested Flaquer employ a *"battalion of workers possibly provided by the military authorities as had occurred at other sites"* because that way *"you could carry out unprecedented excavations at Torre de Galmés […] as we would be able to rebuild many structures and walls that are currently knocked down"* and the money could be spent on *"better food in the mess or some other incentive rather than on day labourers."* (MSO to Flaquer, 3-8-1942). He is told that, as of August 4th, he could ask for money to be sent (MSO to Flaquer, 4-8-1942), but it seems he had still not done so by the end of that month. He then received a letter reminding him to do

this as soon as possible *"given the slowness of deliveries"* (MSO to Flaquer, 29-8-1942). After receiving Flaquer's letter of August 14th, Martínez Santa-Olalla laments the absence of a battalion of workers and informs him that he cannot help him with the *"gasoline problem",* because in Madrid *"there is no gasoline"* (MSO to Flaquer, 28-8-1942).

Flaquer finally sent the request for the money on the 1st of September. At the end of that month he had still not received it, though he had managed to get the Military Government to promise he could *"use the military automobile which drives to nearby batteries"*. Two problems had caused this delay: his wife being ill and the fact the surveyor had requested 3,500 or 4,000 pesetas of the 7,000 allocated for the 90 days of work, plus an assistant for 30 days, something Flaquer refused (Flaquer to MSO, 21-9-1942). This decision was supported by Martínez Santa-Olalla who deemed it "inadmissible" and announced the next money delivery (MSO to Flaquer, 28-9-1942). When his request for more money or an advance on his wages was denied, the surveyor disappeared, while Flaquer asked about a possible postponement (Flaquer a MSO, 8-10-1942), even though the excavation began soon afterwards.

By the end of December, the excavations were stopped due to poor weather and the departure of labourers who had been called up. Having started his report of the excavation, Flaquer wrote: *"The taula which was half knocked down is now vertical […] The taula enclosure is now ready and I am studying the materials"* (Flaquer to MSO, 23-12-1942). The work was centred around what is known as the sacred enclosure or *'temenos'* (Flaquer, 1943, pp.132-134, p.131 fig.1) and he forwards photos and states his intention to continue digging *"as soon as the weather allows"* (Flaquer to MSO, 8-1-1943). Meanwhile, Martínez Santa-Olalla tells him that the landowner *"has promised to provide labourers"* (MSO to Flaquer, 20-1-1943). The report from the excavation had still not been sent by May and Martínez Santa-Olalla requests *"that it contains as much detail as possible for publication"* saying that this could justify continuing the funding (MSO to Flaquer, 12-5-1943). The delay in sending the report was because *"the editors from the Revista de Menorca held onto it for too long"* (Flaquer to MSO, 28-10-1943; Flaquer, 1943). Once Flaquer had finished grieving the loss of his mother, he was reprimanded for this and told *"That is not how it works"* by Martínez Santa-Olalla because he should not have given the report to anyone other than the General Commission (MSO to Flaquer, 29-11-1943). Flaquer claimed two of his friends at the magazine, the priest Juan Gutiérrez and the doctor Francisco Aristoy Santo, told him *"they would not publish the whole report"* (Flaquer to MSO, 9-12-1943), but they did.

Funding for a second campaign was granted on March 24th 1943, again for the amount of 7,000 pesetas, and the money would take *"a month and a half to two months"* to be delivered once requested (MSO to Flaquer, 25 and 27-5-1943). Martínez Santa-Olalla told him that the digging *"must continue at Torre"* but *"it would not be a problem […] if a small amount of the money is used to excavate some intact or partially damaged burial caves in order to build up a large collection of finds for the future museum"* (MSO to Flaquer, 5-6-1943). Having planned to recommence excavations in mid-August, Flaquer requested the money in mid-June (Flaquer to CAR, 12-6-1943) (**Table 1**).

The campaign only began at the start of September when the summer heat abated, but heavy rains forced work to be halted in October. They used the water to reduce the compactness of the earth and planned to start digging again on November 3rd, *"as there is still enough money"*. However, Flaquer gave more importance to the discovery of two new navetas "*inside the municipal boundaries of Alayor and Mahón*" (Flaquer to MSO, 28-10-1943). He also asked the Military Governor to assign him four soldiers to help with the work *"for which they will receive payment from the civil sector"* (Flaquer to Military Governor, 28-10-1943). These men were sent to him on November 10th, according to a letter from the Military Governor to Martínez Santa-Olalla. The latter requested a report from the excavations, including the find of the two navetas, soon afterwards (MSO to Flaquer, 29-11-1943). The dig continued, despite Flaquer not being there in December because his daughter Paquita had just got married. The workers at the site had to deal with *"rain every day for a month and a half"* in order to *"remove large rocks, and when the rain stops, continue lifting out earth"* (Flaquer to MSO, 9-12-1943).

He also planned to excavate *"a burial cave in the northern sector, which was partly desecrated by 'the commies' during the occupation of the coast. […]some corners of it are still intact. In addition to skeletons, it seems a lot of metals have been found there."* (Flaquer to MSO, 9-12-1943). Months later, he mentions the find of *"a really interesting bronze axe"* (Flaquer to MSO, 3-3-1944).

The Commissioner General suggests Gabriel Martí Bella for Local Commissioner of Ciutadella (MSO to Flaquer, 19-2-1944), with prior approval from Flaquer, who had already recommended him as a Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History so he could be part of the Monuments Subcommittee (Flaquer to MSO, 3-3-1944). He was appointed on April 4th (MSO to Flaquer, 4-4-1944).

Excavations ceased at Torre d'en Galmés when José de Olives Ponsich, 6th Count of Torre Saura offered 4,000 or 5,000 pesetas to finance new excavations at the Es Tudons *naveta* site which he owned (Flaquer to MSO, 3-3-1944). The Es Tudons *naveta* became known in the early 19th century thanks to the work of Joan Ramis who considered it a Celtic construction (1818: 3, 45, 115, 117). The offer was received favourably by Martínez Santa-Olalla when he returned from a trip to Portugal: *"When I visited the Es Tudons naveta a few*

Subsidies (in pesetas) given to Balearic Islands for Archaeological Excavations					
Year	**Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla**	**Juan Llabrés and Rafael Isasi Alcúdia, Mallorca**	**Joan Flaquer Torre d'en Galmés Menorca**	**José Mª. Mañá Eivissa**	**National total % Balearic Islands**
1940	-	Alcudia 5.000 (2,56%)	Es Tudons 3.625 (1,86%) Torre d'en Galmés 5.000	-	194.625 (4,4%) Not given
1941	10.000 (4,3%)	Llabrés 5.000 (2,15%)	6.000 (2,58%)	-	232.000 (4,7%) Not given
1942	-	5.000 (3,42%)	7.000 (4,79%)	-	146.000 (8,2%)
1943	7.000 (4%)	5.000 (2,51%)	7.000 (3,52%)	-	199.000 (6%)
1944	20.000 (11%)	-	-	-	180.000
1945	17.000 (9%)	-	-	-	180.000
1946	30.000 (25%)	-	-	-	121.500
1947	28.500 (23%)	-	-	-	121.500
1948	30.000 (27%)	-	-	-	110.500
1949	20.000 (20%)	-	-	-	100.000
1950	30.000 (47%)	-	-	-	64.000
1951	10.000 (16%)	-	-	3.000 (4,84%)	62.000 (4,84%)
1952	65.000 (15%)	Ruiz Argilés- Enseñat 15.000 (3,5%)	-	-	427.000 (3,5%)
1953	125.000 (36%)	Ruiz Argilés 5.000 (1,45%)	-	Mañá-Astruc 7.000 (2%)	343.000 (3,5%)
1954	85.000 (24%)	-	-	Mañá-Astruc 15.000 (4,2%)	353.000 (4,2%)
1955	75.000 (22%)	Ruiz Argilés- Enseñat 15.000 (4,4%)	-	-	343.000 (4,4%)

Table 1. Subsidies received by the Island Commissioners for Archaeological Excavations in the Balearic Islands in relation to regional and national totals. Source: Gracia (2009: 266, 268, 274, 280, 386, 389, 393, 395, 397).

years ago I was appalled to see how much it had been destroyed since I last saw it as a student" (MSO to Flaquer, 5-5-1944). Months later, Flaquer informs him that *"excavations could begin soon"* (Flaquer to MSO, 19-12-1944).

However, Flaquer is also asked to send the report from the 1943 campaign at Torre d'en Galmés (MSO to Flaquer, 10-5-1944), which he promises to do in 15 days, due to problems with the photographer's developing materials (Flaquer to MSO, 19-6-1944). Having still not received the report, MSO requested it again in July (MSO to Flaquer, 29-7-1944). He finally received it in September, but the problem with the photographs had not been solved. He says that Flaquer should send the negatives to Madrid so they could be enlarged and the sketches should be reproduced in ink (MSO to Flaquer, 25-9-1944). The negatives were sent in December (Flaquer to MSO, 19-12-1944) and received in Madrid in January (CAR to Flaquer, 25-1-45), but, in the end, the campaign was not published by the General Commission.

The amount of correspondence decreases considerably after 1945. In 1946, the most significant letter is a request by Flaquer for the Island Commission to appoint Juan Gutiérrez y Pons. This priest, director of the *Revista de Menorca*, secretary of the board of directors at the Museo Provincial and graduate of Philosophy and Literature is described by Flaquer as being *"a young and active person […] who is also very cultured"* (Flaquer to MSO, 30-9-1946). Flaquer says this younger man could help him with his work, as he is now 69 years old. The suggestion was quickly approved by Martínez Santa-Olalla (MSO to Flaquer, 21-10-1946).

The inauguration of the Museum of Menorca

There were only brief exchanges in 1947, but in 1948 Martínez Santa-Olalla was interested in attending the 4th Conference on South-eastern Spanish Archaeology, which was to be held in Elche from the 16th to the 19th of May (MSO to Flaquer, 9-4-1948). Also, very important that year was the inauguration of the Museum of Menorca on November 17th, which Martínez Santa-Olalla was unable to attend because *"we never have a single cent for travel and expenses and I have already made too many trips in the past year"* (MSO to Flaquer, 2-10-1948). Nevertheless, his

contribution to getting the museum opened was brought up in Flaquer's speech at the inauguration (Flaquer to MSO, 22-11-1948): *"You and I, [are] this baby's parents"* (MSO to Flaquer, 2-10-1948). Flaquer became president of the museum's board of directors, although there was no mention of this by the first director, Félix Merino (1949). Another person who played an important role in dating and installing the archaeological materials prior to the opening was José María Mañá de Angulo, Director of the Archaeology Museum of Eivissa from 1944 (Flaquer to MSO, 28-9-1948).

Almost a year after the inauguration of the museum, the Vives family donated the Menorcan Cycladic cup from the Vives Escudero Collection, as they feared it could have been sold to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. At the same time, there was a new publication by Martínez Santa-Olalla (1948; Flaquer to MSO, 10-1949) including a study of this object which complemented previous work by Flaquer (1944a).

The General Commission for Excavations becomes the National Archaeological Excavation Service

In later years, the working relationship between Flaquer and Josep Mascaró Passarius (born in Alaior in 1923) started to become more important, as Mascaró Passarius became interested in prehistoric monuments, such as Biniguarda Vell (Alaior) (Flaquer to MSO, 21-11-1952; 4-12-1952), and in underwater archaeology, albeit with excessive media coverage (Flaquer to MSO, 10, 13 and 14-9-1954), leading Martínez Santa-Olalla to ask that *"Sr. Mascaró rein in his publicity endeavours"* (MSO to Flaquer, 8-6-1955). However, both Josep Mascaró and Juan Hernández Mora had been on the Island Commission since early 1955 (MSO to Flaquer, 9-1-1956).

There was conflict between the General Commission and a group of seven Prehistory and Archaeology professors, led by Lluís Pericot, when a letter was sent to the National Ministry of Education on January 31st, 1955. It was resolved on the 2nd of December (BOE, 2-1-1956) with the creation of a National Archaeological Excavations Service and the promotion of Martínez Santa-Olalla to the post of Inspector General, Head of Archaeological Excavations (MSO to Flaquer, 21-7-1956; Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez, 2001, pg. 340-341). This meant that many of his functions were taken over by an advisory board presided over by the Director General for Fine Arts. Flaquer did not reply until early September, although he does say he received the letter *"on the 3rd of the month"*, and that Martínez Santa-Olalla was *"an extremely worthy and irreplaceable boss"* (Flaquer to MSO, 9-9-1956). We get a sense of these new times from a letter sent by Luis Pericot, the new area delegate and a professor from the University of Barcelona. He says that Maria Luisa Serra, director of the Museum of Maó Mahón since 1955, will report on the state of the principal archaeological monuments in Menorca, with Flaquer's assistance and advice, as it had not yet been possible for him [Pericot] to visit the island. (Pericot to Flaquer, 12-3-1957). Flaquer was offered the post of Menorcan delegate for the National Archaeological Excavations Service (DGBA to Flaquer, 15-6-1957), a new role which he accepted the very same day, aged 80 (Flaquer to DGBA, 15-6-1957).

Conclusions

The friendship between Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla and Joan Flaquer began around 1922, when the former, still in secondary school, was living in Menorca. Once he had graduated from university, Julio became a lecturer at the University of Bonn, and from 1929 planned excavations at Torre d'en Galmés, the first phase of which saw the site declared a Historical Monument in 1930. However, when Martínez Santa-Olalla began to have access to funding from the High Commission for Excavations, from 1931 onwards, he chose to prioritise work on the Visigoth necropolis Herrera del Río Pisuerga (Palencia). His research into Menorca's prehistory culminated in his doctoral thesis about *talaiots* in Menorca in 1932. After the Spanish Civil War, when Martínez Santa-Olalla was given the new post of General Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations, he chose Flaquer to be the Island Commissioner for Menorca from January 1940, whilst also encouraging him to create an archaeological museum on the island. These negotiations bore fruit in May 1940 when, the industrialist and mayor, José Codina donated a premise for the future museum, which finally opened in November 1948. Martínez Santa-Olalla's plan to excavate Torre d'en Galmés between 1929 and 1933 was passed to Flaquer and granted funding from 1941. The money never materialised that year, but it was available in 1942 and 1943. Work at the site was halted after Count de Torre Saura offered to pay for a new excavation of the Es Tudons *naveta* in 1944.

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