

Anejos de Veleia

Series Minor 39

NOEMÍ MONCUNILL MARTÍ
MANUEL RAMÍREZ-SÁNCHEZ
(EDS.)

Aprender la escritura, olvidar la escritura

Nuevas perspectivas sobre
la historia de la escritura
en el Occidente romano

eman ta zabal zazu



Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea

ANEJOS DE VELEIA

SERIES MAIOR (27 × 20,5 cm.)

1. *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae*, ed. JOSÉ L. MELENA, 1985. 2 vols. [edición en tela y en cartón].
2. M.^a CRUZ GONZÁLEZ, *Las unidades organizativas indígenas del área indoeuropea de Hispania*, 1986.
3. PILAR CIPRÉS, *Terra sigillata hispánica de Arcaya (Alava). Estudio de las formas lisas y decoradas*, 1987.
4. JOSÉ M.^a EGEA, *Gramática de la Crónica de Morea*, 1988.
5. M.^a DOLORES DOPICO, *La Tabula Lougeiorum. Estudios sobre la implantación romana en Hispania*, 1988.
6. A. SÁENZ DE BURUAGA, *El paleolítico superior de la cueva de Gatzarria (Zuberoa, País Vasco)*, 1991.
7. VITALINO VALCÁRCCEL, *Sancti Braulionis, Episcopi Caesaraugustani, epistularum concordantia et index formarum a tergo ordinatarum*, 1991.
8. HELENA GIMENO y ARMIN U. STYLOW. *Juan Pérez Holguín y la epigrafía trujillana*, 1994.
9. ALFONSO ALDAY RUIZ, *El entramado campaniforme en el País Vasco: los datos y el desarrollo del proceso histórico*, 1996.
10. IGNACIO BARANDIARÁN y ANA CAVA, *Cazadores - recolectores en el Pirineo Navarro: El sitio de Aizpea entre 8000 y 6000 antes de ahora*, 2001.
11. JOAQUÍN GORROCHATEGUI y PATRIZIA DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (eds.), *Die Kelten und ihre Religion im Spiegel der epigraphischen Quellen - Los Celtas y su Religión a través de la epigrafía*, 2004.
12. KOLDO LARRAÑAGA, *El hecho colonial romano en el área circumpirenaica occidental*, 2007.
13. IGNACIO BARANDIARÁN, ANA CAVA y MIKEL AGUIRRE, *El taller de sílex de Mugarduia sur. Una ocupación de Urbasa (Navarra) durante el Gravetiense*, 2013.

SERIES MINOR (24 × 17 cm.)

1. MILAGROS QUIJADA, *La composición de la tragedia tardía de Eurípides. Ifigenia entre los Tauros, Helena y Orestes*, 1991.
2. P. BADENAS, J. M.^a EGEA y J. A. OCHOA (eds.), *Oriente y Occidente en la Edad Media. Influjos bizantinos en la Cultura Occidental (VIII Jornadas sobre Bizancio)*, 1993.
3. PILAR CIPRÉS, *Guerra y sociedad en la Hispania Indoeuropea*, 1993.
4. IÑIGO RUIZ ARZALLUZ, *El hexámetro de Petrarca*, 1993.
5. ROSA MENTXAKA, *El senado municipal en la Bética Hispana a la luz de la Lex Imitana*, 1993.
6. ANTONIO DUPLÁ y A. EMBORUJO (eds.), *Estudios sobre historia antigua y la historiografía moderna*, 1994.
7. M.^a T. MUÑOZ GARCÍA DE ITURROSPE, *Tradición formular y literaria en los epitafios latinos de la Hispania cristiana*, 1995.
8. JESÚS BARTOLOMÉ GÓMEZ, *Los relatos bélicos en la obra de Tito Livio*, 1995.
9. PILAR RODRÍGUEZ, *Gens: una forma de agrupación antigua mal conocida*, 1996.
10. M.^a CRUZ GONZÁLEZ, *Los astures y los cántabros vadinienses. Problemas y perspectivas de análisis de las sociedades indígenas de la Hispania indoeuropea*, 1997 [2006, 2.^a ed.]
11. ALBERTO QUINTANILLA, *Estudios de fonología ibérica*, 1997.
12. GUADALUPE LOPETEGUI, *Estudio lingüístico de la documentación latina de la Cancillería de Sancho VI de Navarra*, 1999.
13. M.^a ISABEL PANOSA, *La escritura ibérica en Cataluña y su contexto socioeconómico (siglos V-I a. C.)*, 1999.
14. VALERIANO YARZA URKIOLA, *Potamio de Lisboa: Estudio, edición crítica y traducción de sus obras*, 1999.
15. ESTÉBALIZ ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Las comunidades hispanas y el derecho latino. Observaciones sobre los procesos de integración local en la práctica político-administrativa al modo romano*, 2000.
16. CARLOS GARCÍA CASTILLERO, *La formación del tema de presente osco-umbro*, 2000.
17. M.^a JOSÉ GARCÍA SOLER (ed.), *TIMHΞ XAPIN. Homenaje al prof. Pedro A. Gainzarain*, 2002.
18. ENRIQUE GARCÍA RIAZA, *Celtíberos y lusitanos frente a Roma: diplomacia y derecho de guerra*, 2002.
19. JUAN L. GARCÍA ALONSO, *La Península Ibérica en la Geografía de Claudio Ptolomeo*, 2003.
20. JOSÉ IGNACIO SAN VICENTE, *Moneda y propaganda política: de Diocleciano a Constantino*, 2002.
21. IGNACIO BARANDIARÁN, *Grupos homoespecíficos en el imaginario mobiliario magdalenense. Retratos de familia y cuadros de género*, 2003.
22. JESÚS RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, *Análisis de epigrafía ibera*, 2004.
23. JOSÉ M.^a VALLEJO RUIZ, *Antroponimia indígena de la Lusitania Romana*, 2005.
24. JOSÉ ÁNGEL TAMAYO ERRAZQUIN, Libertis Libertabusque. *El fideicomiso de alimentos en beneficio de libertos en Digesta y Responsa de Q. Cervidius Scaevola*, 2007.
25. ELENA MACUA MARTÍNEZ, *Técnicas de caracterización en Menandro (Samia, Perikeiromene y Epitrepontes)*, 2008.
26. VITALINO VALCÁRCCEL MARTÍNEZ (ed.), *Las biografías griega y latina como género literario: De la Antigüedad al Renacimiento. Algunas calas*, 2009.
27. ESTEBAN MORENO RESANO, *La política legislativa de los sucesores de Constantino sobre los cultos tradicionales. Constantino II, Constante, Constancio II (337-361)*, 2010.
28. JAVIER MORALES, *El armamento y la táctica militar de los galos. Fuentes literarias, iconográficas y arqueológicas*, 2011.
29. ÓSCAR NÚÑEZ GARCÍA, *Prisciliano, priscilianismos y competencia religiosa en la antigüedad*, 2011.
30. ALEJANDRO MARTÍNEZ SOBRINO, *Estudio y edición crítica de los comentarios de Iodocus Badius Ascensius al poeta satírico Persio*, 2013.
31. ENARA SAN JUAN MANSO, *El Commentum Monacense a las comedias de Terencio (München, BSB, Clm 14420, ff. 79-144)* 2015.
32. IÑIGO RUIZ ARZALLUZ (coord.), ALEJANDRO MARTÍNEZ SOBRINO, M.^a TERESA MUÑOZ GARCÍA DE ITURROSPE, IÑAKI ORTIGOSA EGIRAUN y ENARA SAN JUAN MANSO (eds.), *Estudios de filología e historia en honor del profesor Vitalino Valcárcel*, 2014.
33. ELENA REDONDO-MOYANO y MARÍA JOSÉ GARCÍA SOLER (eds.), *Nuevas interpretaciones del Mundo Antiguo. Papers in Honor of Professor José Luis Melena on the Occasion of his Retirement*, 2016.
34. ENRIQUE HERNÁNDEZ PRIETO, *Hispania y los tratados romano-púnicos*, 2017.
35. JOSÉ M. VALLEJO, IVÁN IGARTUA, CARLOS GARCÍA CASTILLERO (eds.), *Studia Philologica et Diachronica in Honorem Joaquín Gorrochategui*. Indoeuropaea et Palaeohispanica, 2018.
36. M.^a CRUZ GONZÁLEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, PILAR CIPRÉS, ESTÉBALIZ ORTIZ-DE-URBINA y GONZALO CRUZ-ANDREOTTI (eds.), *A Verbis ad Scripta. Studia epigraphica et historica*. Homenaje a Juan Santos Yanguas, 2019.
37. JAVIER HERRERA RANDO, *Cultura epigráfica y romanización en la Hispania meridional. La epigrafía pública entre la República y el Imperio*, 2020.
38. ELENA TORREGARAY PAGOLA y JOKIN LANZ BETELU (eds.), *Algunas sombras en la diplomacia romana*, 2020.
39. NOEMÍ MONCUNILL MARTÍ y MANUEL RAMÍREZ-SÁNCHEZ (eds.), *Aprender la escritura, olvidar la escritura*, 2021.

APRENDER LA ESCRITURA,
OLVIDAR LA ESCRITURA

Nuevas perspectivas sobre la historia de la escritura
en el Occidente romano

VELEIA

REVISTA DE PREHISTORIA, HISTORIA ANTIGUA, ARQUEOLOGÍA
Y FILOLOGÍA CLÁSICAS

ANEJOS SERIES MINOR 39

Idazkaritza / Consejo de Redacción / Board

Maurizio CAMPANELLI (*Università di Roma – La Sapienza, Italia*) –

Jonathan EDMONDSON (*University of York, Canadá*) –

Carlos GARCÍA CASTILLERO (*UPV/EHU*) –

M.^a José GARCÍA SOLER (*UPV/EHU*) –

M.^a José IRIARTE CHIAPUSO (*UPV/EHU*) –

Guadalupe LOPETEGI SENPERENA (*UPV/EHU*) –

Esperanza OSABA GARCÍA (*UPV/EHU*)

Zuzendaria / Directora / Editora

PILAR CIPRÉS TORRES

Saileko zuzendariak/Directores de Sección/Section Directors

M.^a J. GARCÍA SOLER – A. MARTÍNEZ SOBRINO – E. TORREGARAY



Torso *thoracatus* hallado en
Iruña, Álava, la
antigua
Veleia

NOEMÍ MONCUNILL MARTÍ
MANUEL RAMÍREZ-SÁNCHEZ
(eds.)

APRENDER LA ESCRITURA, OLVIDAR LA ESCRITURA

Nuevas perspectivas sobre la historia de la escritura
en el Occidente romano

eman ta zabal zazu



Universidad del País Vasco Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

VITORIA

2021

GASTEIZ

Biblioteca Universitaria

Aprender la escritura, olvidar la escritura: nuevas perspectivas sobre la historia de la escritura en el Occidente romano / Noemí Moncunill Martí, Manuel Ramírez-Sánchez (eds.). – Vitoria-Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Argitalpen Zerbitzua = Servicio Editorial, 2021. – 461 p. : il. ; 24 cm. – (Anejos de Veleia. Series Minor ; 39)

Incluye referencias bibliográficas.

Textos en español, inglés e italiano.

D.L.: BI-00482-2021. — ISBN: 978-84-1319-317-5.

1. Escritura – Historia. 2. Inscripciones – España. 3. Epigrafía. I. Moncunill Martí, Noemí, ed.
II. Ramírez Sánchez, Manuel, ed.

930.272

003.071



SEEC

Fundación **BBVA**



UPV/EHUren Argitalpen Zerbitzuaren Veleiako eranskinak (Series Minor) sailak Academic Publishing Quality (CEA-APQ) edizio akademikoen kalitatezko zigiluaren aipua jaso du.

La serie Anejos de Veleia (Series Minor) del Servicio Editorial de la UPV/EHU ha sido distinguida con el Sello de Calidad en Edición Académica - Academic Publishing Quality (CEA-APQ).

© Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko Argitalpen Zerbitzua

ISBN: 978-84-1319-317-5

ÍNDICE

Noemí MONCUNILL MARTÍ, Manuel RAMÍREZ-SÁNCHEZ, <i>Introducción</i>	9
1. Norte de África y Canarias	
Renata Ana SPRINGER BUNK, «La investigación de las inscripciones líbico-bereberes canarias: un siglo y medio de estudios»	17
Irma MORA AGUIAR, «La dispersión de la escritura líbico-bereber desde Numidia hasta Canarias»	39
2. Península ibérica	
Joan FERRER I JANÉ, «La escritura turdetana en el contexto de las escrituras paleohispánicas».	67
Ignacio SIMÓN CORNAGO, «El sureste ibérico: un ejemplo de diversidad de escrituras (siglos V-I a.C.)».	95
Javier HERRERA RANDO, «Epigrafía pública y latinización en el sur de Hispania» . .	119
José María VALLEJO, «La adquisición de la escritura en el Occidente romano: el caso lusitano».	147
Noemí MONCUNILL MARTÍ, «Social and material aspects of writing in ancient Iberia: the evolution of the local scripts under the influence of Rome».	161
3. Península itálica y Sicilia	
Corinna SALOMON, «On the relationship and emergence of the Raetic alphabets» . .	187
Enrico BENELLI, «Sharing graphemes. Unusual choices in Sabellian writing systems»	213
Nicholas ZAIR, «An acute problem: glides, diphthongs and vowels in the Oscan alphabet»	225
Giulia SARULLO, «Some remarks on the rendering of velars in the archaic Latin inscriptions».	241
Simona MARCHESINI, «Literacy in Pre-roman Apulia. Theoretical framework and evidence»	263

Cristina GIRARDI, «Fenomeni di contatto culturale e linguistico nei santuari di altura della <i>Regio X</i> »	279
Víctor SABATÉ VIDAL, «Come maledire un siceliota: alfabeti ed espedienti grafici nelle <i>defixiones</i> greche della Sicilia».	303
4. Provincias noroccidentales	
Milagros NAVARRO CABALLERO, Nathalie PRÉVÔT, Coline RUIZ DARASSE, «The appearance and disappearance of writing in Roman Aquitaine (with an appendix based on PETRAE data)».	333
Alex MULLEN, «Socio-literacy: an interdisciplinary approach to understanding literacy in the Roman North-West».	357
Tineke LOOIJENGA, «How the runes were lost and won...».	381
5. Estudios de conjunto	
María José ESTARÁN TOLOSA, «Learning the Latin alphabet. Alphabet-switching and graphemic adaptation in the western Mediterranean (first century BCE to first century CE)».	401
Gabriela DE TORD BASTERRA, «Writing as an agent of change in local religions: a new way of communicating with the gods... Or with the people?».	423
Manuel RAMÍREZ-SÁNCHEZ, «Bancos de imágenes digitales para la investigación epigráfica: cambios y oportunidades ante el reto de la ciencia abierta»	443

SOCIAL AND MATERIAL ASPECTS OF WRITING IN ANCIENT IBERIA: THE EVOLUTION OF THE LOCAL SCRIPTS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ROME*

Noemí Moncunill Martí
ORCID: 0000-0002-5568-3377
University of Barcelona

Received: 2019/12/15

Accepted: 2020/9/24

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to identify and analyse the main palaeographic changes that the Palaeohispanic scripts underwent after the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Some of these changes can be directly related to the influence of the Latin alphabet on the epichoric scripts, thus entailing a certain familiarity of the local population with Latin writing; other innovations, on the other hand, are better explained by a profound change in written culture, related to a greater spread of literacy, together with the introduction of new writing practices and implements and the monumentalization of epigraphic texts. These different factors seem to have contributed to the creation and consolidation of a new graphic style, which would become paradigmatic of the Roman era. The study ultimately reflects on the interplay between the social and material aspects of writing in Hispania.

Keywords: Palaeohispanic scripts, palaeography, Latinization, epigraphy, Hispania.

* This work has been supported by the following research projects and institutions: LIT-TERA Group, University of Barcelona; Leonardo Grant for Researchers and Cultural Creators 2017, BBVA Foundation (HMS-FIL-0097); Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities, through grant RYC-2017-22355; ERC Starting grant LatinNow (No 715626), European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme; «Estudio paleográfico, lingüístico y funcional del corpus epigráfico ibérico» (PID2019-106606GB-C33), MICINN. I am grateful to Joan Ferrer i Jané for his helpful comments.

Aspectos sociales y materiales de la escritura en la antigua Iberia: la evolución de las escrituras locales bajo el influjo de Roma

Resumen: En este trabajo se identifican y analizan los principales cambios paleográficos que se produjeron en las escrituras paleohispánicas tras la conquista romana de la península ibérica. Algunos de estos cambios son atribuibles a una influencia directa del alfabeto latino en las escrituras epicóricas, y acusan de este modo una cierta familiarización de la población local con la escritura latina; otras innovaciones, en cambio, se explican mejor por un cambio profundo en la cultura escrita, en relación con una mayor propagación de la práctica de la escritura, con la introducción de nuevos hábitos escriturarios y la monumentalización de los textos epigráficos. Estos factores podrían haber contribuido a la creación y consolidación de un nuevo estilo gráfico paradigmático de la época romana. El estudio reflexiona en última instancia sobre la interacción entre los aspectos sociales y materiales de la escritura en Hispania.

Palabras clave: escrituras paleohispánicas, paleografía, latinización, epigrafía, Hispania.

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been significant advances in our understanding of the Palaeohispanic scripts' evolution making it clear that these systems are not internally uniform but show meaningful diachronic as well as geographical variation¹. In this paper the most significant contributions on this topic will be synthesized, focusing on the palaeographic changes that occurred as a consequence of, or coinciding with the Roman domination of Hispania: is it indeed possible to distinguish a pre-Roman style from a trend typical of Roman times in the Palaeohispanic scripts? The answer to this question has a certain impact in two respects: firstly, it allows us to understand the first steps in the Latinization process of Hispania in more detail. Despite the fact that the local popula-

¹ The Palaeohispanic script family comprises the different epichoric scripts used to write some of the indigenous languages in the Iberian Peninsula between the 5th century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD: the Tartessian or south-western script, the Espanca alphabet, the south-eastern Iberian script, the north-eastern Iberian script and the Celtiberian script. Among them, the best understood and the one that allows diachronic study is the north-eastern Iberian script, of which the Celtiberian one is a direct adaptation, with minimal modifications. This article focuses specifically on this variant, although occasional comments will also be made on its contemporary scripts, which, due to the smaller number of available documents, do not allow diachronic observations to be made so clearly.

tion continued to write in their own languages for at least two centuries after the conquest, it is obvious that the abandonment of the local languages in favour of Latin must have occurred gradually, starting in the earliest days of the Roman presence in Iberia. It is worth wondering, therefore, to what extent the very evolution of the epichoric scripts already shows the influence of Latin written practices or even an incipient literacy in this language among the local population.

Secondly, the identification of the specific characteristics of indigenous scripts in Roman times has a methodological and functional value, since it allows us to better understand a phenomenon in which research has recently shown great interest: the spread and intensification of written culture after the arrival of the Romans, not only in Latin, but, as has been mentioned, also in local languages. Of course, in order to fully understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to differentiate between the part of the corpus dating from pre-Roman times and that corresponding to the Roman period. To this end, and when archaeological information is not explicit enough, palaeographic analysis has become a fundamental tool. However, in order to avoid circular argumentation, the real possibilities of a palaeographic dating of the Palaeohispanic corpus need to be examined, which is why the present work will also inquire into the methodological approach and limitations of this kind of studies.



FIGURE 1

Left Iberian inscription on stone from Ensérune, 3rd century BC (*BDH HER.02.374*);
right Iberian inscription on stone from Empúries, 1st century BC (*MLH C.1.1*)

The impact of Latin epigraphy on local written practices can be assessed at a glance through some illustrative examples. If we take a look at the two Iberian inscriptions on stone in fig. 1, both of them written in the north-eastern variant

of the Iberian script, it will be possible to easily appreciate some remarkable differences. The image on the left corresponds to one of the few extant instances of a pre-Roman Iberian inscription on stone: although not found *in situ*, it is probably written on an ashlar from the walls of Ensérune; it has been dated to the 3rd century BC (*BDH* HER.02.374). The second one, on the other hand, found in the Roman city of *Emporiae*, is without a doubt an inscription from the Roman period – in the third line, an individual bearing a Latin *nomen*, *Cornelius* is even recorded; this inscription has been dated to the 1st century BC (*MLH* C.1.1).

As can be observed, from a technical point of view the differences are very striking: the former is essentially a graffito, whereas the later shows a clear influence of the Roman epigraphic habit, to the extent that it could be regarded as the work of the same epigraphic workshop where the contemporary Latin inscriptions were produced (Mayer & Velaza 1993, 667-668; Velaza 2002, 59-60). But not only that; closer examination of the two inscriptions shows that the differences concern not just the technical execution of the text but also the palaeography, the specific shape of every character: for instance, the vowel E displays 3 bars in the older inscription (E) and only 2 in the later one (F); the same happens with the syllabogram ti, which has more strokes in the first case (T) than in the second one (Y); the syllabogram te, on the other hand, has different shapes: it is round in the older inscription (⊕ / ⊖) and square in the later one (◇), and there may also be more strokes in the pre-Roman piece; finally, even the word separators are different: three vertical dots in the first text, and a single square in the second one. Generally speaking, it is therefore possible to observe a trend towards the simplification of letters.

As we shall see, a cross-corpus study confirms that these palaeographic differences are due to a diachronic evolution. To what extent, however, coexistence with Latin literacy was the cause of these changes, and why, is another question whose answer is not so evident. Another important aspect to bear in mind is that some of these changes in the design of letters are not just formal —due to the mere emulation of shapes and fashions—, but structural, entailing a profound transformation in the internal organization of the Palaeohispanic graphic system.

The series of Iberian legends issued in *Kese* (*MLH* A.12; *ACIP*, 1104-1115), the indigenous settlement that was absorbed into Roman *Tarraco*, provides a good example of how spelling conventions changed over time (see fig. 2). In general terms, and with very few exceptions, the practice of minting coinage by indigenous peoples is a consequence of the Romanization process of Hispania²;

² For the dating of the first Iberian coin legends, see the recently published Sinner & Ripollès 2019, 368-369, and 386-387, for the particular workshop of *kese*.

however, in some cities, such as *Kese*, the first issues date back to the late 3rd century BC, which is why some instances still present certain archaic features that were gradually to be lost: for instance, in some of the older issues, the distinction is made between voiced and voiceless plosives – this is the function of the upper stroke in the syllabogram *ke* (𐌑𐌔); but in the following instances, dating to the 2nd century BC, it is no longer intended to specify whether the initial plosive is voiced or unvoiced (𐌑𐌔); and finally, in the ones dating to the late 2nd century BC, a particular redundant use of the signary can also be observed: the syllabic sign is followed by the vowel intrinsically associated with this same syllabogram, as if the indigenous semi-syllabic system were used here as an alphabet, perhaps imitating the legends in Latin (𐌑𐌔𐌔𐌔)³.



FIGURE 2

**Iberian legends from the workshop of *kese* showing the evolution
in the use of the Palaeohispanic syllabary: from dual to non-dual and, finally,
to non-dual with redundancy
(*BDH* Mon.12, *MLH* A.12; *Moneda Hispánica*)**

The different examples mentioned above clearly show that Iberian writing did undergo a series of major changes after the Roman conquest, despite the fact that they did not always take place in a linear way or in the same direction and at the same speed in all areas. On the other hand, it is difficult to tell, as we shall see, which changes are due to an internal evolution of the system, coinciding with the Roman era but not strictly motivated by this fact, and which changes are properly due to a direct impact of Latin literacy on the local scripts, thus implying a certain process of cultural transformation under the influence of Rome.

³ Note however that this evolution is not absolutely straightforward: for instance, some of the issues from the late 3rd century BC (*keseśalir* and *keseku*; *ACIP* 1104 and 1105) already display the unmarked variant of the syllabogram.

2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND PREVIOUS LITERATURE

One of the main limitations that needs to be faced when studying the diachronic evolution of Iberian writing is the dating of inscriptions —we must indeed bear in mind that for a large number of finds we do not have precise archaeological information. For this reason, alternative or complementary criteria have been used, such as the specific study of certain sites whose moment of abandonment or destruction is known, thus providing a clear *terminus ante quem* for the evidence: Pech Maho, for instance, was abandoned during the Second Punic War, so that its materials should have little influence of Latin epigraphy; in contrast, written culture develops in some places only from the Roman era onwards, as would be the case of Cabezo de Alcalá (Azaila). A comparative study of the writing habits of certain regions whose chronological horizons can be well established can provide relevant diachronic information, although the possibility that the graphic differences may be due to other causes, such as geographical variation, must also be taken into account. Another alternative or complementary method of palaeographic dating is that of studying the text in relation to the epigraphic medium. In fact, some of the most relevant studies on this topic have analysed palaeographic variation in relation to the material or objects on which inscriptions are found, which also give us, of course, relevant chronological information.

This is precisely the method of analysis used by J. Maluquer de Motes (1968) in a pioneering work on the palaeographic dating of Palaeohispanic inscriptions. His proposal was to identify the most archaic letters on Attic pottery (Maluquer 1968, 56-57), which he dated to the 4th century BC, although we now know that the oldest instances (e.g. *BDH* GI.15.34 and GI.08.09) can be dated back to the late 5th century BC (figs. 3, A and B)⁴. He also analysed the particularities of the painted ceramics from Lliria (fig. 3, C), of the Campanian A vases and the first monetary legends on silver dating to the end of the 3rd century (Maluquer 1968, 61-64); and finally, he identified the most recent glyphs in bronze coin legends (fig. 3, D), dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (Maluquer 1968, 64-66)⁵. Maluquer rightly observed that this «monetary style» matches the palaeography found in lapidary epigraphy and on bronze plates bearing Celtiberian inscriptions (1968, 66-68); following his proposal, as a consequence, the inscriptions on coins, stone and bronze can be considered as paradigmatic of what we could call the Ibero-Roman graphic style.

⁴ Ferrer 2005, 968; Ferrer *et al.* 2014-2016.

⁵ For the evolution of palaeography in monetary legends see also Villaronga 1958.



FIGURE 3

Above (figs. 3, A and B), graffiti on Attic poetry from Ullastret (*MLH* C.2.16 and C.2.22); in the middle (fig. 3, C), painted pottery from Lliria (*MLH* F.13.24; Museu de Prehistòria de València); below (fig. 3, D), bronze coin legends (*MLH* A.6.9 and A.18.6; *Moneda Hispánica*)

Another major step for the palaeographic analysis of Iberian writing was the publication of the corpus of Palaeohispanic inscriptions by J. Untermann (1975-1997), which also comprises some sections on palaeography; of special interest are a series of tables compiling the main variants of each character⁶. In them, Untermann identified the most representative allographs by giving them a correlative number according to their frequency: the most used variants tend

⁶ See *MLH* II, 49-64; III.1, 245-257.

to occupy the first positions, while the least common ones are listed at the end. Untermann does not propose a chronology for the different allographs, but simply organizes the glyphs according to their frequency rate; interestingly, however, the most common ones match those that Maluquer had identified in inscriptions on coins, bronze and stone, implying that, as a general rule, glyphs with low identification numbers according to Untermann's classification tend to correspond with modern variants, while those in the last positions tend to correspond with archaic forms —this distinction, however, is not, as has been pointed out, made explicit by Untermann. The fact that modern allographs are better recorded is indirect evidence of a question that will be commented on in more detail later in this paper: not only are documents more abundant in Roman times, but they are also less subject to graphic variability.

Another scholar who has dealt with the chrono-palaeography of Iberian inscriptions is J. Rodríguez Ramos, who has written several works specifically aimed at a palaeographic dating of the Iberian corpus⁷. This author focuses on the evolution of some specific characters, the most significant from a diachronic point of view; among them, the one with the most informative variation is the syllabogram **be**. Following this method of analysis, the categorization proposed by Rodríguez Ramos becomes much more detailed and complex than that of Maluquer, differentiating between very tight chronological ranges, as can be seen in the following scheme (Rodríguez Ramos 1997, 21-24):

1. Palaeo-Iberian:
 - 1.1. Palaeo-Iberian 1: 425-300 BC
 - 1.1. Palaeo-Iberian 2: 300-250 BC
2. Neo-Iberian
 - 2.1. Neo-Iberian 1: 250-200 BC
 - 2.2. Neo-Iberian 2: 210-150 BC
 - 2.3. Ibero-Roman 1: 190-50 BC
 - 2.4. Ibero-Roman 2: 150-50 BC

From a descriptive point of view, this is a very interesting proposal, since it makes it possible to distinguish, for a good number of characters, between ancient, medial, transitional, modern and also classical forms; however, its application as a method for dating the inscriptions with such precision can be problematic: the main obstacle is that the inscriptions available with precise archaeological dating are scarce, so that the sample under study might not be representative enough in order to draw general conclusions that can be automatically extrapolated to new finds. Be that as it may, what this study does enable

⁷ Mainly Rodríguez Ramos 1997; 2000. See also 2004, 103-230.

us to do is to identify some general trends in the evolution of Iberian writing over time.

Finally, another line of research that has produced outstanding results is J. Ferrer's work on the so-called «dual» variants of Palaeohispanic scripts⁸. This scholar has corroborated that a significant number of inscriptions in the corpus are written in a graphic modality allowing, by means of a complex system of diacritical marks, sounds with close phonetic values to be distinguished from one another. The clearest example is that of the marked and unmarked characters in the series of plosives, used to differentiate between voiced and voiceless sounds (fig. 4); it is likely, however, that the system had originally been more complex, involving continuous consonants and vowels as well (Ferrer 2010; 2015), although what kind of phonetic opposition this might have hidden remains obscure. Similarly, it is still under discussion (Ferrer & Moncunill 2019, 89) whether the original dual system could also have included, at least for some specific characters, a three-element variation and not just two (Ferrer 2017).

	k	g	b	t	d				
a	Ⓟ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ
e	Ⓟ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ
l	Ⓟ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ
o	Ⓟ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ
u	Ⓟ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ

			k	g	b	t	d		?		?	
á	Ⓟ	a	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ
é	Ⓟ	e	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ
í	Ⓟ	i	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ			Ⓛ
ó	Ⓟ	o	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ			Ⓛ
ú	Ⓟ	u	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ	Ⓛ			Ⓛ

FIGURE 4

The dual variants of the north-eastern Iberian script according to J. Ferrer's proposals: on the left, the «standard dual» variant, where the diacritical marks concern just the plosives (Ferrer 2005); on the right, the «dual extended» version, where dualities would also affect vowels and continuous consonants (Ferrer 2017)

The origin and development of these dual variants, together with their relationship with the non-dual ones, is of great importance to explain the genealogy of the various Palaeohispanic scripts⁹, but the aspect that most interests us here

⁸ See Ferrer 2005, 2010, 2013, 2015. This author follows and provides a stronger basis for some previous works on this question: Maluquer 1968, de Hoz 1985, Correa 1992, Quintanilla 1992.

⁹ «Duality» has become a significant feature when drawing the stemma, the family tree of the Palaeohispanic scripts, since it is assumed that this characteristic could not have been created separately in two distinct places and that, consequently, all the scripts possessing it must share, in principle, a common origin. Whether the original system must have been dual (as proposed by Ferrer 2010, 265; 2017) or non-dual (as had been traditionally considered; see Ferrer & Moncunill 2019, 106-108) is however a more disputed question.

at this juncture concerns the chronology of these texts. The dual system seems to be that of the oldest inscriptions, that is, broadly speaking, of texts dating from late 5th to the late 3rd centuries BC (Ferrer 2005, 967-969); from this moment onwards, and probably coinciding with the beginning of the Roman era, the system began to fall into disuse in most Iberian lands (Ferrer 2005, 971-973), although it could have remained alive in a small set of texts written in the south-eastern variant of the Iberian script¹⁰ and also in some Celtiberian inscriptions¹¹. The time the system was abandoned therefore seems to vary slightly depending on the territory—it should also be borne in mind that Roman expansion did not occur at the same time or with the same intensity everywhere—, although the great majority of inscriptions from the Roman period are no longer dual. The loss of the dual system has thus become, along with the identification of the monetary alphabet style, one of the most commonly used palaeographic dating criteria.

3. THE MAIN FEATURES OF IBERIAN WRITING IN ROMAN TIMES

Taking into account the most significant contributions on Iberian palaeography, in the following sections, the main characteristics that can be used to define the Ibero-Roman script will be listed and discussed through concrete examples.

3.1. THE TENDENCY TO GEOMETRIZATION AND ANGULARIZATION

One of the most obvious characteristics is a marked tendency towards the geometrization of characters: forms become more regular, with a greater consistency of proportion and spacing, and, above all, they also become more angular; in most inscriptions curvilinear outlines were abandoned in favour of straight lines (*cf.* again fig. 1).

¹⁰ See Ferrer 2010; Ferrer & Moncunill 2019, 82. However, it should be recalled that there are few inscriptions written in the south-eastern Iberian script (about 80, in contrast to the *ca.* 2.000 in the north-eastern script).

¹¹ Celtiberian epigraphy was traditionally considered a direct result of the Roman conquest. However, the realization that at least a small group of Celtiberian inscriptions are written in the dual system (Ferrer 2005, 973-975; Jordán 2005; 2007) has pushed back the date of adoption of writing in this territory. Due to the scarcity of Celtiberian documents in dual script it is not possible to establish the date of abandonment of this system in Celtiberia precisely, although the fact that some dual inscriptions are also redundant—a characteristic traditionally associated with the influence of the Latin alphabet— could lead one to suppose that in some areas its use could have been prolonged until well into the Roman era.

This is the kind of lettering that can be clearly identified in most inscriptions on stone, bronze coinage, and also bronze plaques containing legal texts which are typical of Celtiberia (fig. 5). All these epigraphic types were adopted in the Peninsula after the conquest, through the direct influence of Roman epigraphic culture. The incorporation of these new epigraphic media must of course be related to the emergence of a public and official epigraphy, for which a more formal and monumental kind of writing was needed. The emulation of Latin inscriptions must indeed have played a crucial role in the lettering and layout of the new Palaeohispanic monumental texts, and probably the predilection for rectilinear over curvilinear was to a great extent related to the imitation of Latin square capitals. However, considering that curved lines were completely abandoned —and not so in the Roman capitals, where some characters remain rounded— we should not rule out the possibility that this choice also had to do with the technical imperatives of new writing implements and surfaces: obviously, on hard materials curved lines are harder to draw than straight ones.

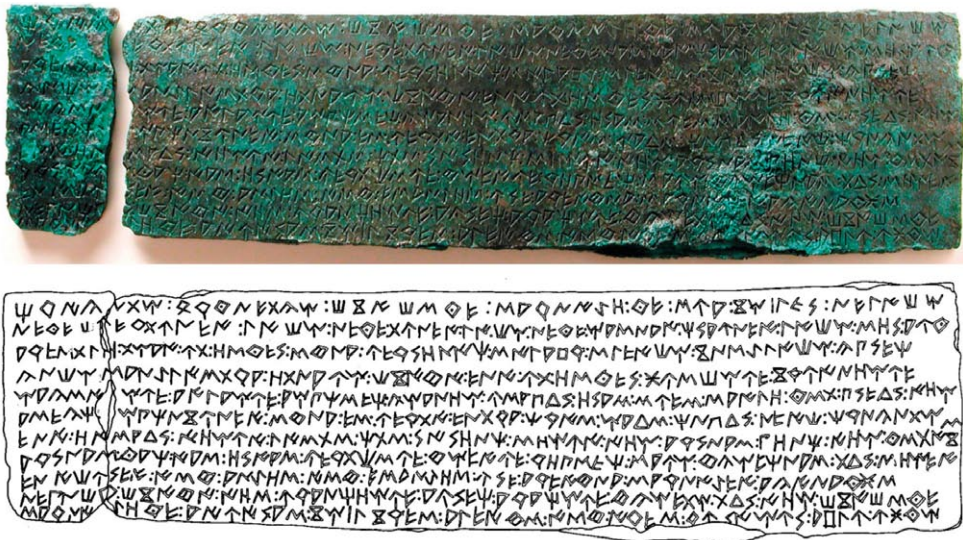


FIGURE 5

Celtiberian bronze plaque from Botorrita (*MLH K.1.1*) written in the Palaeohispanic rectilinear characters typical of the Roman period (Museo de Zaragoza)

We can thus assume that the birth of public epigraphy, motivated by the Roman presence, had a decisive influence on the consolidation of these more geometric letter designs, and on the development of a more formal and standardized type of writing. Perhaps this new graphic style, which for the first time

was publicly displayed in cities and circulated throughout the territory thanks to monetary epigraphy, was gradually taken as the model and adopted in a generalized manner in all types of supports.

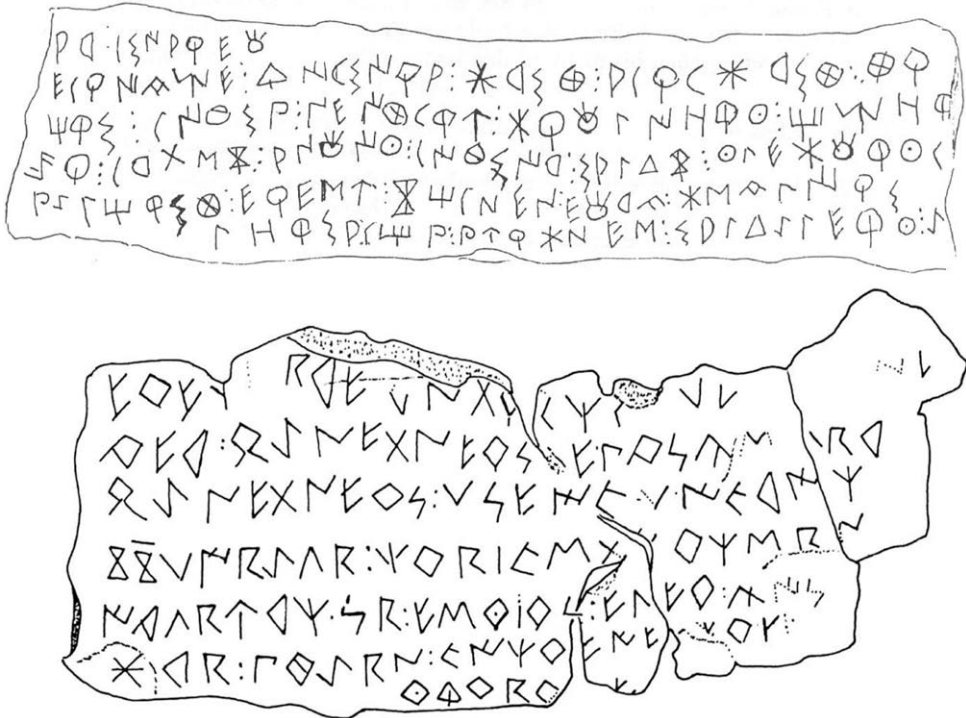


FIGURE 6

Above, lead tablet from Ullastret dating from the pre-Roman period (MLH C.2.3);
below, lead tablet from Gruissan (BDH AUD.04.03; Solier & Barbouteau 1988),
1st century BC

Indeed, it should be noted that this calligraphy was not exclusive to public and official epigraphy but was eventually adopted in all kinds of media, including lead tablets, graffiti on pottery or even painted inscriptions. Some illustrative examples can be seen in figs. 6 and 7: in fig. 6 it is possible to compare the letters on the lead tablet found in Gruissan (BDH AUD.04.03), in southern France, dating to the 1st century BC, with the earlier lettering of the one from Ullastret (MLH C.2.3). In the second example, many characters have rounded shapes, whereas in the first one, all the characters are square. Fig. 7 shows a similar evolution in graffiti on pottery: although the incision on the so-called «Joncosa jar» (BDH B.26.01, fig. 7, A) is made here *ante coctionem*—that is on a relatively soft material—the lettering looks very much like that found in pub-

lic epigraphy, and contrasts with that found in older graffiti, where, again, some of the characters have rounded shapes, although scratched on a relatively hard surface (*cf.* fig. 2). Fig. 7, B shows, in turn, a similar tendency in *tituli picti*: on the painted amphorae from Vieille Toulouse, some of which even bear Latin names, the strokes are also square and angular, and contrast with the fluency of the brush-painted outlines found in the earlier inscriptions from Sant Miquel de Lliria (*cf.* fig. 3, C).



FIGURE 7

Left (fig. 7, A), grey ceramic jar from La Joncosa, Jorba (Barcelona) (*BDH B.26.1*; Ferrer 2005); right (fig. 7, B), *tituli picti* on amphorae from Vieille Toulouse (*BDH HGA.1.24* and *BDH HGA.1.23*; Musée Saint-Raymond). All of them are written in the same type of writing found in lapidary, coin and bronze epigraphy

3.2. STYLIZATION AND SIMPLIFICATION OF CHARACTERS

A second feature of Ibero-Roman writing is the simplification of the number of strokes that make up the letters: for instance, the E of two strokes will become the most common one, to the detriment of the forms with 3 or even 4 strokes, which were typical of the oldest tradition; the S also tends to become more schematic, with 3 strokes (fig. 8). This principle even affects the evolution of the word separators: whereas the oldest epigraphic tradition tended to use three or more vertical dots, the number of points progressively decreased, to the point that in the most recent inscriptions the use of an isolated dot is frequent, imitating the Roman style¹².

¹² For the word separators, see Simón 2011.

This simplification is not always due to a mere calligraphic and aesthetic choice but goes hand in hand with a profound change in the orthographic conventions, that is to say with the abandonment of the dual system. The opposition between marked and unmarked characters, which was, at least for some characters, graphematic in the older inscriptions, would be lost and only the unmarked glyphs, the most schematic ones, would be used from then onwards. This leads us to the following feature that can be observed, probably the most important one: the structural simplification of the graphic system.

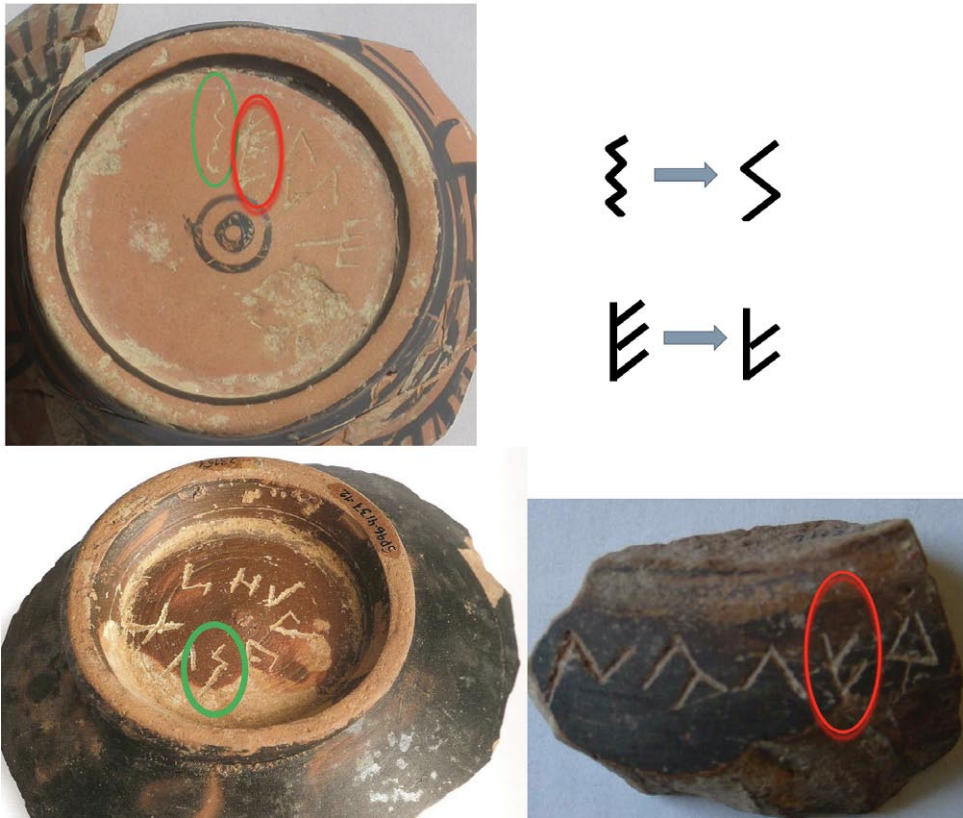


FIGURE 8

Graffiti showing the simplification of Iberian letters; above, *MLH C.2.20* (4th-3rd century BC), below *BDH B.13.3* (Museu de Terrassa) and *MLH D.4.3* (2nd century BC)

3.3. STRUCTURAL SIMPLIFICATION OF THE SYSTEM

One of the main characteristics of Iberian writing in Roman times is therefore the structural simplification of the system. It is difficult to explain the ultimate cause of this change; it is not even possible to assert that this phenomenon is a direct or indirect result of contact with Latin literacy, and not an internal evolution of the system itself that happened to coincide with the Roman era but without being strictly a consequence of it. In fact, there is some evidence pointing to this last possibility: first of all, there are a few inscriptions dating to the 3rd century BC which are already not dual¹³; secondly, following Ferrer's proposals (2015; 2017) on the so-called «secondary dualities» and a three-element variation, it is likely that the system was originally more complex, so that the dual script as documented in most of the inscriptions of the 4th and 3rd centuries would already have been the result of an internal simplification; and, thirdly, in some dual inscriptions dating to the late 3rd century it is already possible to detect an inconsistent use of the system, sometimes even within the same inscription¹⁴.

In spite of the fact that there are symptoms of decadence in the dual system already in pre-Roman times, it is equally possible that the profound transformation that affected Hispania after the colonization contributed to and even accelerated this process of graphic simplification, encouraging the emergence of a more unitary and codified writing system. It is also interesting to note how in some regions where the Roman conquest took place later, as is the case of the Narbonensis¹⁵ or Celtiberia¹⁶, the dual system also seems to have survived for longer.

Whatever the case, it is important to point out that this simplification is strictly graphic and does not affect the phonological system of the language, since in the Latin transcriptions of Iberian names, a coherent distinction continued to be made between voiced and voiceless consonants.

As mentioned above, it must be remembered that it is largely thanks to the identification of an Ibero-Roman graphic style that we can now affirm that

¹³ For instance, the inscribed lead tablets found in the Orlell necropolis (*MLH* F.9.5, F.9.6 and F.9.7). Although the Attic materials associated with them date back to the second half of the 4th century BC, the lead tablets themselves could belong to the 3rd century BC (Rodríguez Ramos 2000, 55). In any case, considering their early chronology they would have been expected to be written in the dual system. For the identification of an intermediate phase between the dual and non-dual texts, see Ferrer 2005, note 56.

¹⁴ This can be observed, for instance, in the lead tablets from Castelló (*MLH* F.6.1) and Enguera (*MLH* F.21.1) or in some of the painted inscriptions from Lliria.

¹⁵ In this area, the use of complex characters that fit with a dual reading is still common in the 2nd century BC (e.g. *MLH* B.8.1, B.9.11, B.1.33).

¹⁶ See above note 11.

most of the Palaeohispanic corpus dates to the Roman period; after the conquest, therefore, the number of people able to read and write in the Palaeohispanic syllabary might have increased considerably, a fact that could indeed have led to the simplification of the scripts, and to making them less subject to territorial variation and to the different scribal schools. It is not impossible that this process went hand in hand with a certain institutionalization of the practice of writing, perhaps with the development of a more organized system to guarantee the transmission of this knowledge, although we must admit that, beyond the evolution of the epigraphic practices, there is no other external evidence to confirm this.

3.4. THE REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF ALLOGRAPHS

This unification of Iberian writing could also explain another characteristic feature: the reduction in the number of variants, as well as the disappearance of some epichoric glyphs, that is to say of locally restricted or rare variants.

The syllabogram **be**, for instance, shows great variability over time, but in the Roman period the number of possible shapes is greatly reduced (see Rodríguez Ramos 1997, 14-15 and fig. 1). Additionally, most regional allographs—as could be the variant of A in the shape of a Latin R (𐌷), mainly recorded in inscriptions from *Narbonensis*; the so-called B-oid sign (Ⓒ), a local variant of the trill r (Ferrer & Sánchez 2017); or the sign similar to a herringbone with two, ⚓, or three strokes, ⚓⚓ whose phonetic value is uncertain (Ferrer *et al.* 2015, 238)—were also to fall into disuse, and would never be used in public epigraphy. Interestingly, some of these characters did reappear later on issues by the so-called Vasconic mints (Beltrán & Velaza 2009, Velaza 2009), but possibly with a different phonetic value from the one they originally had in Iberian, which could somehow be related to the fact that they had become obsolete characters at this time.

In conclusion, the graphic variation and the heterogeneity of the allographs diminished substantially during the 2nd and 1st centuries, and in general terms writing became more homogeneous and unitary.

3.5. CHANGE OF WRITING DIRECTION IN SOUTHERN INSCRIPTIONS

Parallel with these general phenomena, there are other more restricted changes which could indicate a direct influence of the Latin alphabet. One of them is the change of writing direction in the southern area: most of the *ca.* 80 south-eastern inscriptions are written from right to left, probably following their Phoenician antecedent, but about 20 of them are written from left to

right (fig. 9); considering that almost all of them date to the Roman period, it is likely that this change is due to a direct influence of the Latin alphabet.

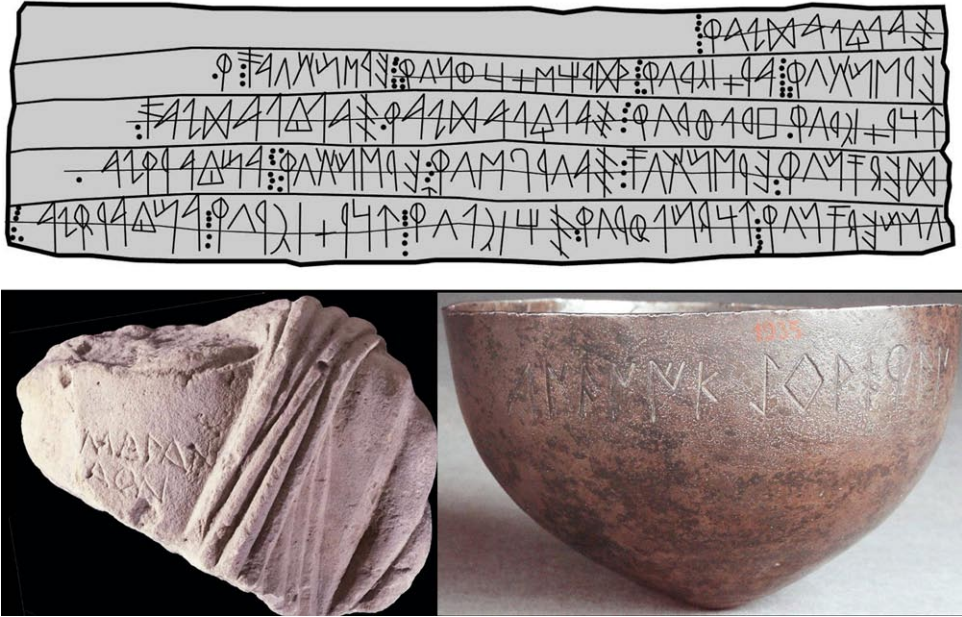


FIGURE 9

Inscriptions in the south-eastern variant of the Iberian script: above, lead tablet from La Bastida de les Alcusses (4th century BC) bearing a text written from right to left (*MLH G.7.5*; drawing by Joan Ferrer i Jané); below, left-to-right oriented inscriptions dating to the Roman period (*MLH G.14.2* and *H.5.1*)

Some remarkable examples of this phenomenon are the inscriptions on statues from Cerro de los Santos, or some silver vessels bearing, again, elegant geometric letters (e.g. *MLH H.5.1* in fig. 9). In addition, writing on coins underwent this change of orientation; some issues are still right-to-left oriented, even if coexisting with Latin legends: this is the case, for example, of the bilingual legends issued in *OBVLCO* / *ibolka*, where the indigenous legends continue to follow the traditional orientation (e.g. *MLH A.100.1* or *A.100.2*) —curiously, there is even an issue in which the Latin toponym *Obulco* is written from right to left (*A.101.3*), showing the hesitation caused by the coexistence of the two systems. On the other hand, most of the legends from the *CASTVLO* / *kaštilo* workshop (*MLH A.97*) are already written from left to right, and only the first issues are oriented the other way round (*MLH Mon.100*; Estarán *et al.* 2015, 175), in what seems to be an archaic feature.

3.6. REDUNDANCY OF VOWELS

Finally, another structural change that is worth mentioning since it has been considered a direct consequence of an incipient literacy in Latin is the redundant use of the Iberian syllabary. This phenomenon can be observed in some Iberian ownership graffiti dating to the late period (*MLH* D.4.6 and G.10.3) and, as mentioned above, in some Iberian monetary legends (*keesse*, A.102-2, A.100-13, A.46, see also fig. 2). One of the issues from Obulco (A.100-13) is particularly interesting, as the name of the mint is recorded on the obverse in Latin whereas the names of the magistrates are recorded on the reverse in the indigenous script, *sikaai* and *otagiis*, in both cases with redundancy in at least some of the syllabograms, probably because of interference from the Latin alphabet.

However, where this phenomenon is most evident —because it is found in longer texts in which all the syllabograms systematically appear with vowel support— is in a relatively small group of Celtiberian inscriptions (fig. 10)¹⁷. The traditional interpretation of this phenomenon is that it is the result of an improper use of the syllabary due to the influence of the Latin alphabetic system. And, in fact, the chronology of all of them, both the Celtiberian and the Iberian ones, is compatible with this explanation. However, there is a feature concerning the Celtiberian set that is surprising: most Celtiberian inscriptions with redundancy seem to distinguish between voiced and voiceless plosives, that is they match the dual system, the archaic version of the Iberian script. Consequently, it would be difficult to explain why an archaic feature (the dual marks) coexisted with an innovation (redundancy).

Faced with this apparent paradox, two different explanations seem to be possible: that in a few places in the Celtiberian area the dual system must have been kept alive for longer, as a residual use, or, alternatively, that redundancy should not necessarily be understood everywhere as an innovation due to contact with Latin, but simply as an anomalous use of the syllabic system, maybe linked to the process of learning how to write in some specific schools of scribes but not a phenomenon necessarily linked to Latinization —remember that the oldest Palaeohispanic inscriptions, the south-western stelae, dating back to the 5th century BC, are also redundant (Ferrer & Moncunill 2019, 91). In all events, this question remains open.

¹⁷ K.9.2, K.9.5, K.13.1, K.13.2, *BDH* BU.06.04, *BDH* BU.06.05, K.14.1, K.24.1 and maybe as well *BDH* P.05.01 and NA.07.02 (just partially redundant). All of them are given a late date (1st century BC), though in most cases precisely as a result of considering the phenomenon of vocalic redundancy. However, K.9.2 is datable by ceramic typology and K.13.1 also by iconographic criteria. For redundancy in Celtiberian, see Jordán 2017; Simón & Gorrochategui 2018, 62; Ferrer & Moncunill 2019, 91.



FIGURE 10

Celtiberian tessera from Sasamón (Burgos)

(*MLH K.14.1*; Museo Arqueológico Nacional) written in the western dual variant of the Celtiberian script with vocalic redundancy in the syllabograms.

It reads: Face A: *quirorekiiios : monituukoos : nemaios* Face B : *aletuures*

4. FINAL REMARKS

Taken as a whole, all these features provide us with sufficient elements of judgement to state that the Palaeohispanic scripts underwent a series of significant changes after the Roman conquest. Some of these innovations seem to be related to a direct influence of Latin writing on local scripts and could therefore reveal an incipient literacy in Latin among the indigenous population, or at least a certain degree of familiarity with the Latin alphabet. A further step in this process related to the Latinization of the local population would be the adoption of the Latin alphabet for writing the indigenous languages, just before the final abandonment of the local scripts, a phenomenon which is also well attested in Hispania, especially in the Celtiberian¹⁸ and Lusitanian regions.

¹⁸ See Simón 2014, Simón & Jordán 2018.

However, it should be noted that most palaeographic changes in the local scripts cannot be explained simply by a direct interference of the Latin alphabet, but rather by a profound transformation of the written culture under the influence of Rome. The main changes that can be identified as the cause of this cultural transformation are: firstly, the development of new epigraphic types, mainly in the public and official sphere, which probably encouraged the emergence of a monumental and formal writing system, which would become the graphic model eventually adopted in all kinds of support; and secondly, the geographical expansion of indigenous literacy towards the Iberian hinterland and Celtiberia, which, although it may have begun shortly before the conquest, seems to reach its peak precisely in Roman times.

This greater diffusion of indigenous writing, used in new social contexts and in new territories, could have encouraged this process of unification and standardization of the local scripts, avoiding, as we have seen, locally-restricted variants, and also simplifying the internal organization of the system with the abandonment of the so called «dual» variants, which, by the way, were also subject to geographical variation and to different scribal traditions. It is possible that this greater uniformity in the graphic conventions should also be related to changes in schooling or in the different systems to transmit knowledge of writing, but the truth is that we do not have any external evidence that might allow us to address this issue in more detail.

A different question we should bear in mind is that our appreciation of the vitality of local written culture can only be partial, since we have no knowledge of how writing practices evolved, in parallel, on perishable or soft materials. From a strictly palaeographic point of view, the Palaeohispanic script shows little tendency towards cursivity, and inscriptions dating to Roman times are in any case less cursive than the older ones, the angularization of forms being one of the most distinctive features of this period. This can be observed not only, as we have seen, on hard materials, but also in contexts that would, in principle, allow greater flexibility of traces, such as painted inscriptions, or graffiti *ante cocturam*. In any case, this does not necessarily imply that the indigenous people did not use perishable materials—which, on the other hand, seems to be confirmed by the presence of *styli* and seal-boxes in indigenous *oppida*—, but rather suggests that capital and monumental writing had exerted a strong influence in all kinds of texts.

In short, it is possible to conclude that the palaeographic changes in Palaeohispanic writing during the Roman period are mainly due to a profound transformation of the local written culture, rather than a simple process of imitation of the Latin alphabet. The main changes are due, on the one hand, to the adoption and adaptation of the Roman epigraphic habit and the emergence of public epigraphy, which was to become the graphic model in a generalized way; and, on the other hand, to a greater diffusion of the practice of writing, which

would probably go hand in hand with new systems for transmitting and teaching this technology and, with it, a greater standardization of orthography and graphic conventions.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACIP = L. VILLARONGA, J. BENAGES, 2011, *Ancient coinage of the Iberian Peninsula*, Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics.

BDH = *Banco de Datos Hesperia*, available at: <<http://hesperia.ucm.es/>>.

MLH = J. UNTERMANN, 1975-1997, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum I-VI*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BELTRÁN, F., J. VELAZA, 2009, «De etnias y monedas: las «cecas vasconas», una revisión crítica», in: J. A. Pintado (coord.), *Los vascones de las fuentes antiguas: en torno a una etnia de la antigüedad peninsular*, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 99-126.
- CORREA, J. A., 1992, «Representación gráfica de la oposición de sonoridad en las oclusivas ibéricas (semisilabario levantino)», *AION* 14, 253-292.
- DE HOZ, J., 1985, «El nuevo plomo inscrito de Castell y el problema de las oposiciones de sonoridad en ibérico», in: L. Melena (ed.), *Symbolae L. Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Instituto de Ciencias de la Antigüedad, Universidad del País Vasco, 443-453.
- ESTARÁN, M. J., F. BELTRÁN, D. BALBOA, V. SIMÓN, 2015, *Banco de Datos Hesperia de Lenguas Paleohispánicas (BDHESP). II. Numismática paleohispánica*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco.
- FERRER, J., 2005, «Novetats sobre el sistema dual de diferenciació gràfica de les oclusives sordes i sonores», in: F. Beltrán Lloris, C. Jordán Cólera, J. Velaza Frías (eds.), *Acta Palaeohispanica IX: Actas del IX Coloquio Internacional de Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (= Palaeohispanica 5)*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 957-982.
- , 2010, «El sistema dual de l'escriptura ibèrica sud-oriental», *Veleia* 27, 69-113.
- , 2013, «Els sistemes duals de les escriptures ibèriques», *Palaeohispanica* 13, 445-459.
- , 2015, «Las dualidades secundarias de la escritura ibérica nororiental», *Estudios de Lenguas y Epigrafía Antiguas* 14, 309-364.
- , 2017, «El origen dual de las escrituras paleohispánicas: un nuevo modelo genealógico», in: F. Beltrán, B. Díaz, M.^a J. Estarán, C. Jordán, A. Klöckner, T. Schattner (eds.), *Acta Palaeohispanica XII. Bild und Schrift. Medienkombinationen in den*

- eisenzeitlichen Kulturen Hispaniens. Kolloquium zu ehren von Jürgen Untermann (Giessen, 9-12 de abril de 2016) (= Palaeohispanica 17)*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 55-94.
- FERRER, J., D. ASENSIO, E. PONS, 2014-2016, «Novetats epigràfiques ibèriques dels segles V-IV a. C. del Mas Castellar (Pontós, Alt Empordà)», *Cypsela* 20, 117-139.
- FERRER, J., M. SÁNCHEZ, 2017, «L'enigma b'oida al descobert: kaštaum i baikar en sengles inscripcions ibèriques sobre una tortera i un vaset de Vilademuls», *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 27, 221-36.
- FERRER, J., N. MONCUNILL, 2019, «Palaeohispanic Writing Systems: Classification, Origin and Development», in: J. Velaza, A. G. Sinner (dirs.), *Palaeohispanic Languages and Epigraphies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 78-108.
- JORDÁN, C., 2005, «¿Sistema dual de escritura en celtibérico?», in: F. Beltrán Lloris, C. Jordán Cólera, J. Velaza Frías (eds.), *Acta Palaeohispanica IX: Actas del IX Coloquio Internacional de Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (= Palaeohispanica 5)*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1013-1030.
- , 2007, «Estudios sobre el sistema dual de escritura en epigrafía no monetar celtibérica», *Palaeohispanica* 7, 101-142.
- , 2017, «Sistema dual y redundante en celtibérico», *Palaeohispanica* 17, 315-327.
- MALUQUER, J., 1968, *Epigrafía prelatina de la península ibérica*, Barcelona: Instituto de Arqueología y Prehistoria, Universidad de Barcelona.
- MAYER, M., J. VELAZA, 1993, «Epigrafía ibérica sobre soportes típicamente romanos», in: F. Villar, J. Untermann (eds.), *Lengua y cultura en Hispania prerromana: actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas de la Península Ibérica: (Colonia 25-28 de noviembre de 1989)*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 667-682.
- QUINTANILLA, A., 1992, «Sobre la notación en la escritura ibérica del modo de articulación de las consonantes oclusivas», in: I. J. Adiego, J. Siles, J. Velaza (eds.), *Studia Palaeohispanica et Indogermánica J. Untermann ab Amicis Hispanicis Oblata*, Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 239-250.
- RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, J., 1997, «Primeras observaciones para una datación paleográfica de la escritura ibérica», *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 70, 13-30.
- , 2000, «Nuevas observaciones de crono-paleografía ibérica levantina», *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 73, 43-57.
- , 2004, *Análisis de epigrafía íbera*, Anejos de Veleia, Series Minor 22, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco.
- SIMÓN, I., 2011, «Interpunciones palaeohispanicae», *Epigraphica* LXXIII(1-2), 87-108.
- , 2014, «Inscripciones celtibéricas en alfabeto latino», in: F. Burillo, M. Chordá (eds.), *VII Simposio sobre celtiberos: nuevos hallazgos, nuevas interpretaciones*, Teruel: Centro est. celtibéricos Segeda, 493-500.
- SIMÓN, I., J. GORROCHATAGUI, 2018, «Estela con iconografía e inscripción celtibéricas procedente de Clunia», *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 91, 55-66.

- SIMÓN, I., C. JORDÁN, 2018, «The Celtiberian S. A New Sign in (Paleo)Hispanic Epigraphy», *Tyche* 33, 183-205.
- SINNER, A. G., P. P. RIPOLLÈS, 2019, «Coin evidence for Palaeohispanic languages», in: J. Velaza, A. G. Sinner (dirs.), *Palaeohispanic Languages and Epigraphies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 365-395.
- UNTERMANN, U., 1975-1997, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, I: *Die Münzlegenden* (1975), II: *Die Inschriften in iberischer Schrift in Südfrankreich* (1980), III: *Die iberischen Inschriften aus Spanien* (1990), IV: *Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften* (1997), Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- VELAZA, J., 2002, «Et Palaeohispanica scripta manent: la epigrafía romana como modelo de las epigrafías paleohispánicas», in: R. Comes, I. Rodà (eds.), *Scripta manent. La memoria escrita de los romanos*, Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 52-65.
- , 2009, «Epigrafía y literacy paleohispánicas en territorio vascón: Notas para un balance provisional», *Palaeohispanica* 9, 61-622.
- VILLARONGA, L., 1958, «La evolución epigráfica en las leyendas monetales ibéricas», *Numisma* 30, 9-49.



Kalitatea adierazteko zigilu bat da **ehupress**. Label horren azpian argitaratzen diren jatorrizko guztiek kanpoko ebaluazio bat gainditu dute, gutxienez bi adituren eskutik gauzatuta, parekoen ebaluazio bikoitz itsua metodoa erabiliz.

El sello **ehupress** es un distintivo de calidad. Todos los originales publicados bajo este sello han superado una evaluación externa, llevada a cabo por, al menos, dos especialistas, mediante el sistema de revisión por pares doble ciego.

The **ehupress** seal is an assurance of quality. All original works published with this seal have been subjected to external evaluation, carried out by at least two experts, through the system of double-blind peer review.

Le sceau **ehupress** est un distinctif de qualité. Tous les originaux publiés sous ce label ont passé avec succès une évaluation externe, en double aveugle par les pairs, réalisée par au moins deux experts.

SERVICIO EDITORIAL DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DEL PAÍS VASCO
EUSKAL HERRIKO UNIBERTSITATEKO ARGITALPEN ZERBITZUA

ACTA (24 × 17 cm.)

1. M.^a CRUZ GONZÁLEZ y JUAN SANTOS (eds.), *Las estructuras sociales indígenas del Norte de la Península Ibérica* [Revisión de Historia antigua I], 1994 [agotado].
2. JESÚS BARTOLOMÉ et ALII (eds.), *Historia y métodos en la enseñanza de las lenguas clásicas*, 1996.
3. ESTÍBALIZ ORTIZ DE URBINA y JUAN SANTOS (eds.), *Teoría y práctica del ordenamiento municipal en Hispania* [Revisión de Historia antigua II], 1996 [agotado].
4. JUAN SANTOS, RAMÓN TEJA y ELENA TORREGARAY (eds.), *El cristianismo. Aspectos históricos de su origen y difusión en Hispania* [Revisión de Historia antigua III], 2000.
5. JUAN SANTOS y ELENA TORREGARAY (eds.), *Polibio y la Península Ibérica* [Revisión de Historia antigua IV], 2005.
6. ELENA TORREGARAY y JUAN SANTOS (eds.), *Diplomacia y autorrepresentación en la Roma Antigua*, 2005.
7. JUAN SANTOS y ELENA TORREGARAY (eds.), *Laudes provinciarum. Palabra e imagen en la representación del Imperio Romano* [Revisión de Historia antigua V], 2007.
8. JUAN SANTOS (ed.), *Los tiempos antiguos en los territorios pirenaicos*, 2009.
9. JUAN SANTOS y BORJA DÍAZ ARIÑO (eds.), *Los griegos y el mar* [Revisión de Historia antigua VI], 2011.
10. M.^a JOSÉ GARCÍA SOLER (ed.), *Expresiones del humor: desde la Antigüedad hasta nuestros días*, 2010.
11. ANTONIO DUPLÁ ANSUATEGUI (ed.), *El cine «de romanos» en el siglo XXI*, 2011.
12. JUAN SANTOS YANGUAS y GONZALO CRUZ ANDREOTTI (eds.), *Romanización, fronteras y etnias en la Roma antigua: el caso hispano* [Revisión de Historia antigua VII], 2012.
13. ESTÍBALIZ ORTIZ DE URBINA (ed.), *Magistrados locales de Hispania. Aspectos históricos, jurídicos, lingüísticos*, 2013.
14. PILAR CIPRÉS (ed.), *Plinio el Viejo y la construcción de Hispania ceterior*, 2017.
15. A. BALDA BARANDA y E. REDONDO-MOYANO (eds.), *Opera selecta. Estudios sobre el mundo clásico*, 2017.
16. E. ORTIZ-DE-URBINA y J. M. VALLEJO (eds.), *Métodos y técnicas en Ciencias de la Antigüedad: estudios sobre investigación y docencia*, 2018.

OTRAS PUBLICACIONES DE LA UPV NO INCLUIDAS EN LAS SERIES DE VELEIA

1. *Serie de la Cátedra «Luis Michelena» - «Koldo Mitxelena» Cátedra*

LUIS MICHELENA, *Languages and Protolanguages*, with a Preface by J. Gorrochategui, 1997.

ANTOINE MEILLET, *Metodo konparatzailela hizkuntzalaritza historikoan*, J. Gorrochategui hitzaurreekin, 2001.

JOAQUÍN GORROCHATEGUI (ed.), *Basque and (Paleo)Hispanic Studies in the wake of Michelena's work. Actas del I Congreso de la Cátedra Luis Michelena*, 2003.

JOSEBA A. LAKARRA, JOAQUÍN GORROCHATEGUI y BLANCA URGELL (eds./arg.), *2nd Conference of the Luis Michelena Chair / Koldo Mitxelena Katedraren II. Biltzarra / II Congreso de la Cátedra Luis Michelena*, 2011.

J. GORROCHATEGUI, J. LAKARRA y C. MOUNOLE (arg./eds.), *Koldo Mitxelena Katedraren III. Biltzarra / III Congreso de la Cátedra Luis Michelena / 3rd Conference of the Luis Michelena Chair*, 2016.

BLANCA URGELL y JOSÉ M. VALLEJO (curaverunt), *Opera selecta Joaquín Gorrochategui. I. Aquitanica / Akitaniera*, 2018.

JOSÉ M. VALLEJO y CARLOS GARCÍA CASTILLERO (curaverunt), *Opera selecta Joaquín Gorrochategui. II. Palaeohispanica. Indoeuropaea*, 2020.

2. *Otras publicaciones*

JOAQUÍN GORROCHATEGUI, *Onomástica indígena de Aquitania*, 1984.

JUAN SANTOS, *Comunidades indígenas y administración romana en el Noroeste hispánico*, 1985.

JAVIER FERNÁNDEZ ERASO, *Las culturas del Tardiglacial en Vizcaya*, 1985.

J. T. KILLEN, J.L. MELENA y J.-P. OLIVIER (eds.), *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek*, presented to JOHN CHADWICK, 1987.

ROSA MENTXAKA, *La pignoración de colectividades en el derecho romano clásico*, 1986.

J. M.^a EGEEA, *Documenta selecta ad historiam linguae graecae illustradam* I, 1988; II, 1990.

J.-P. OLIVIER y TH. G. PALAÏMA (eds.), *Texts, Tablets and Scribes. Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy* offered to EMMET L. BENNET JR., 1988.

J. T. KILLEN y J.-P. OLIVIER, *The Knossos Tablets*, 1989.

A. DUPLÁ y A. IRIARTE (eds.), *El Cine y el Mundo antiguo*, 1990.

G. FATÁS et al., *El manual del perfecto candidato. «Commentariolum petitionis» de Quinto T. Cicerón*. Introducción, traducción y estudio, 1990.

FCO. VILLAR (ed.), *Studia Indogermanica et Palaeohispanica in honorem A. Tovar et L. Michelena*, 1990.

J. L. MELENA y J.-P. OLIVIER (eds.), *TITHEMY. The Tablets and Nodules in Linear B from Tiryns, Thebes and Mycenae*, 1991.

J.L. MELENA, *Ex Oriente lux. La aportación de las filologías del Oriente Próximo y Medio antiguo a la comprensión de los primeros textos europeos*, 1984.

G. BILBAO TELLETXEA, C. Sallusti Crispi Bellum Iugurthinum. *Jugurtharen aurkako gerra*. Sarrera, edizioa, itzulpena eta oharrak, 1995.

I. RUIZ ARZALLUZ, P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica. *Bukolikak eta Georgikak*. Sarrera, itzulpena eta oharrak, 1997.

G. LOPETEGI, C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico. *Galietakoa guda*. Sarrera, itzulpena eta oharrak, 1999.

K. LARRAÑAGA, *Euskal Herria Antzinate berantiarrean eta lehen ertaroan*, 1993.

Para pedidos e intercambio:

SERVICIO EDITORIAL/ARGITALPEN ZERBITZUA
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
LEIOA - Bizkaia

SAILAK ETA BILDUMAK
SERIES Y COLECCIONES

www.ehu.eus/argitalpenak

