

# LA SICILIA PREISTORICA

*Dinamiche interne e relazioni esterne*



a cura di

Pietro Militello, Fabrizio Nicoletti, Rosalba Panvini



PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO E  
PAESAGGISTICO DI SIRACUSA,  
ELORO, VILLA DEL TELLARO  
E AKRAI



DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE UMANISTICHE

DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE DELLA FORMAZIONE

# LA SICILIA PREISTORICA

## *Dinamiche interne e relazioni esterne*

Atti del Convegno Internazionale  
Catania – Siracusa, 7-9 ottobre 2021

a cura di

Pietro Militello, Fabrizio Nicoletti, Rosalba Panvini



Regione Siciliana  
Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana

Palermo  
2021



Regione Siciliana  
Assessorato dei Beni Culturali  
e dell'Identità Siciliana



UNIVERSITÀ  
degli STUDI  
di CATANIA



PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO E  
PAESAGGISTICO DI SIRACUSA,  
ELORO, VILLA DEL TELLARO  
E AKRAI



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization



World Heritage  
Convention



Consorzio Universitario  
**Archimede**



EVOLVING ENERGIES



ingrosso abbigliamento  
Catania



Cultural route  
of the Council of Europe  
Itinéraire culturel  
du Conseil de l'Europe



Liceo Statale "G. Lombardo Radice" Catania



La Sicilia preistorica: dinamiche interne e relazioni esterne : atti del Convegno internazionale di studi : Catania-Siracusa 7-9 ottobre 2021 / a cura Pietro Militello, Fabrizio Nicoletti, Rosalba Panvini. - Palermo : Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e dell'identità siciliana, Dipartimento dei beni culturali e dell'identità siciliana, 2021.

ISBN 978-88-6164-533-2

1. Sicilia – Preistoria – Atti di congressi.

I. Militello, Pietro <1963->.

II. Nicoletti, Fabrizio <1963->.

III. Panvini, Rosalba <1953->.

937.8 CDD-23

SBN PAL0350754

## LA SICILIA PREISTORICA

### DINAMICHE INTERNE E RELAZIONI ESTERNE

a cura di

Pietro Militello, Fabrizio Nicoletti, Rosalba Panvini

Atti del Convegno Internazionale

Catania (ex Monastero dei Benedettini)

Siracusa (Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi)

7-9 ottobre 2021

#### Comitato organizzatore

Pietro Militello, Fabrizio Nicoletti, Rosalba Panvini

#### Comitato scientifico

Jean Guilaine, Domenica Gullì, Robert Leighton, Giuseppina Mamma, Pietro Militello, Fabrizio Nicoletti, Orazio Palio, Rosalba Panvini, Mauro Perra, Luca Sineo, Carlo Staffile, Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis, Simona Todaro, Maria Turco

#### Segreteria organizzativa:

Sede di Catania: Sebastiano Battiato, Giuseppe Cocimano, Serena D'Amico, Anna Maria De Luca, Francesca Florio, Fabrizio Lo Faro, Flavia Toscano, Aleandro Vaccaro

Liceo Statale "G. Lombardo Radice" di Catania, classe IV LG (professoressa Marcella Labruna)

Sede di Siracusa: Sebastiana Alota

## VOLUME

#### Progettazione e impaginazione

Fabrizio Nicoletti

#### In copertina

Scheletro di elefante nano siciliano (*Palaeoloxodon falconeri*) dalla Grotta di Spinagallo (SR) - Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" - Siracusa

#### Stampa

Grafica Saturnia, via Pachino 22, Siracusa

© Regione Siciliana

Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana

Università degli Studi di Catania

Volume fuori commercio, vietata la vendita e la riproduzione anche parziale a scopo di lucro

## ABBREVIAZIONI

Le abbreviazioni bibliografiche sono quelle dell'*Année Philologique online*, all'indirizzo: [http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles\\_fr.pdf](http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf)

I simboli delle misure sono quelli del *Système international d'unités*.

Le principali abbreviazioni usate nel testo sono le seguenti:

Aa. Vv. = autori vari	it. = italiano/a
a.C. = avanti Cristo	larg. = larghezza
AD = Anno Domini	lung. = lunghezza
BC = Before Christ	max. = massimo/a
BP = Before Present	med. = medio/a
bibl. = bibliografia	mill. = millennio
c., cc. = colonna colonne	min. = minimo/a
ca. = circa	N = nord
cal. = calibrata	n./nn. = numero/i
cap./pp. = capanna/e	n.s. = nuova serie
cd. = cosiddetto/a	p./pp. = pagina/e
c.da = contrada	prec. = precedente
cds = in corso di stampa	S = sud
cfr. = confronta	sec. = secolo
d.C. = dopo Cristo	ser. = serie
diam. = diametro	sgg. = seguenti
dis. = disegno	s.l.m. = sul livello del mare
E = est	spess. = spessore
Ead. = Eadem	suppl. = supplemento
ed./s. = editor/s	t./tt. = tomba/e
es. = esempio	tav./vv. = tavola/e
H/h = altezza	tg./gg. = taglio/i
Ibid. = Ibidem	trad. = traduzione
Id. = Idem	v. = vedi
i.e. = id est	vol./voll. = volume/i
inv. = inventario	W = ovest



## INDICE

PIETRO MILITELLO FABRIZIO NICOLETTI ROSALBA PANVINI	<i>Prefazione</i> .....	13
ALESSANDRO GUIDI	<i>La Sicilia preistorica e il Mediterraneo. La vicenda degli studi</i> .....	15
CAROLINA DI PATTI	<i>Le faune del Quaternario di Sicilia</i> .....	21
SALVATORE PASTA CLAUDIA SPECIALE	<i>Comunità umane e piante in Sicilia: una lunga (pre)storia</i> .....	31
DOMENICO LO VETRO FABIO MARTINI	<i>Nuovi dati sul Paleolitico superiore e il Mesolitico in Sicilia: uomo, culture e ambienti</i> .....	43
GIULIO CATALANO- ALESSANDRA MODI GIUSEPPE D'AMORE MARTINA LARI DAVID CARAMELLI LUCA SINEO	<i>Analisi paleogenetica dei cacciatori-raccoglitori della Sicilia: nuovi dati sul primo popolamento dell'isola</i> .....	61
PIER FRANCESCO FABBRI DOMENICO LO VETRO	<i>Sepulture e resti umani da contesti paleolitici e mesolitici in Sicilia: bilancio e prospettive</i> .....	71
GERLANDO VITA VITTORIA SCHIMMENTI LUCA SINEO	<i>Studio preliminare su composizione e provenienza di ocra dalla sepoltura epigravettiana di Grotta d'Oriente A, Favignana (Egadi, Sicilia)</i> .....	91
ALBERTO SCUDERI GIOVANNA ILARIA PRINCIPATO ROSSANA SCUDERI	<i>Nuove raffigurazioni rupestri dalla Grotta Sticca (Palermo)</i> .....	101
GIACOMO BIONDI	<i>Le incisioni rupestri di Pietraperciata al margine occidentale della Piana di Catania</i> .....	109
ANTONINO FILIPPI ENZO GIUSEPPE MUNNA PIERO RICCHIARDI DARIO SEGLIE	<i>Nuovi dati sulle pitture rupestri preistoriche in provincia di Trapani: la Grotta dei Cavalli (S. Vito lo Capo) e il Riparo di Polifemo (Erice)</i> .....	121
SIMONA V. TODARO AGATA DI STEFANO	<i>Lo tsunami perduto dell'Etna e il suo impatto sulle prime comunità agricole della Sicilia orientale? Nuove prospettive dalla collina di Montevergine (Catania)</i> .....	131
FILIPPO IANNÌ STEFANO VASSALLO MONICA CHIOVARO	<i>Il sito di Castellaccio di Fiaccati/Le Rocche e il Neolitico medio in Sicilia occidentale</i> .....	143

MARIA TERESA MAGRO FRANCESCO M. GALASSI ERICA PLATANIA PAOLO SFERRAZZA IVANA VACIRCA ELENA VAROTTO	<i>Analisi multidisciplinari dei ritrovamenti di età neolitica di contrada Molona di Caltagirone (Catania): nuovi risultati e considerazioni</i> .....	153
ENRICA DE MELIO FRANCESCO TOMASELLO	<i>L'abitato neolitico di Punta Arenella (SR). Nuove ricognizioni di superficie per una prospettiva di ricerca</i> .....	163
FILIPPO MANTIA NUNZIA LAROSA GIUSEPPINA BATTAGLIA CLAUDIA SPECIALE	<i>Piano dei Cardoni, Ustica (Neolitico medio/recente): per una tipologia dell'industria litica pesante</i> .....	177
ERICA PLATANIA	<i>Gli esordi della pastorizia nella Sicilia preistorica. Il contributo dell'archeozoologia alla comprensione dei mutamenti nel sistema di sfruttamento delle risorse animali dal Neolitico all'età del Bronzo nella Sicilia sud-orientale</i> .....	187
RODOLFO BRANCATO	<i>Interazione uomo-ambiente in area etnea (Sicilia orientale): sistemi insediativi e paesaggio tra Neolitico e Bronzo antico</i> .....	197
EÓIN W. PARKINSON T. ROWAN McLAUGHLIN SIMON F.K. STODDART CAROLINE A.T. MALONE	<i>Islands compared: the absolute and relative chronology of Neolithic Malta and Sicily</i> .....	207
DOMENICA GULLÌ	<i>Sant'Angelo Muxaro nella preistoria</i> .....	217
SARA PARRINELLO	<i>L'industria fittile di Grotta del Cavallo sul Monte Inici, Castellammare del Golfo (TP), nel panorama dell'Eneolitico siciliano</i> .....	231
JEAN GUILAINE	<i>Le Campaniforme et la Méditerranée centrale</i> .....	243
FRANCESCO PRIVITERA	<i>Frammenti campaniformi da Mezzebbi (Caltanissetta, Sicilia): una rilettura</i> ....	263
DARIO PUGLISI SAVERIO SCERRA GIUSEPPE TERRANOVA	<i>Dinamiche interne e relazioni esterne a Calaforno: le nuove indagini nell'area dell'ingresso all'Ipogeo</i> .....	275
ELENA VAROTTO FRANCESCO M. GALASSI	<i>Paleopatologia dei resti umani commisti provenienti dall'Ipogeo preistorico di Calaforno (Ragusa, Sicilia)</i> .....	295
MAURO PERRA FULVIA LO SCHIAVO	<i>Così vicine eppure così lontane. Sicilia e Sardegna fra Eneolitico ed età del Bronzo</i>	303
ORAZIO PALIO MARIA TURCO DARIO CALDERONE	<i>Il megalitismo della regione etnea e le sue relazioni con il Mediterraneo centrale e l'Europa</i> .....	319



ALFIO BONANNO

SANTINO ALESSANDRO CUGNO	<i>Le necropoli dell'età del Bronzo antico dell'entroterra siracusano: tipologie architettoniche, distribuzione e dinamiche insediative</i> .....	329
ROSAMARIA LOPEZ FRANCESCA TRAPANI	<i>La necropoli a grotticelle dell'età del Bronzo antico in contrada Cugni di Calafarina: tipologie sepolcrali e dinamiche insediative</i> .....	339
FABRIZIO NICOLETTI	<i>La necropoli dell'antica età del Bronzo di Manfria, presso Gela (scavi 1997)</i> ....	351
ANNA MARIA GUELI FABRIZIO NICOLETTI STEFANIA PASQUALE GIUSEPPE STELLA GIUSEPPE POLITI	<i>Studio archeometrico dei minerali rinvenuti nella necropoli preistorica di Manfria (Sicilia): risultati preliminari</i> .....	365
VALENTINA COPAT	<i>Destinazione funzionale e uso dello spazio nell'insediamento dell'antica età del Bronzo di Manfria: una riconsiderazione</i> .....	371
THEA MESSINA	<i>Le pratiche di cottura nella Sicilia del II millennio a.C. Il caso di Calaforno (RG)</i>	383
ILARIA MATARESE	<i>Oggetti d'ornamento nella Sicilia e nelle Eolie durante l'età del Bronzo: gusto locale e influssi mediterranei</i> .....	391
MARCO BETTELLI VALENTINA CANNAVÒ ANDREA DI RENZONI SARA TIZIANA LEVI	<i>Stromboli e Isole Eolie nel periodo di Capo Graziano: le decorazioni incise</i> .....	403
ALBERTO CAZZELLA GIULIA RECCHIA GRAZIA SEMERARO	<i>Sicily and Malta: interactions and oppositions between the Early Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age</i> .....	411
ROSALBA PANVINI	<i>Fenomeni insediativi, economici e sociali nell'area della Sicilia centro-meridionale tra il Bronzo antico ed il Bronzo finale. Alcune riflessioni per lo studio delle comunità indigene e le loro relazioni con le genti allogene</i> .....	427
MARIA TERESA MAGRO FLAVIA GIACOPPO	<i>Studio delle ceramiche dagli scavi del 2011 presso il sito di Monte S. Paolillo (Catania)</i> .....	439
ELISABETTA BORGNA	<i>Il ripostiglio di Lipari nel quadro della circolazione e delle pratiche di deposizione del metallo tra Italia ed Egeo alla fine dell'età del Bronzo: alcune osservazioni</i> ...	449
GIACOMO CAVILLIER	<i>Il Progetto Shekelesh: prospettive di ricerca tra Egitto e Sicilia orientale nella tarda età del Bronzo</i> .....	461
GIUSEPPINA MAMMINA MARIA PAMELA TOTI	<i>Una donna di nome Mozia. Testimonianze archeologiche di Eracle/Melqart a Mozia</i> .....	471

MARIA AMALIA MASTELLONI	<i>La toponimia di alcuni insediamenti sicelioti tra influssi e prestiti delle realtà pre-protostoriche e del mondo indigeno. Brevi note</i> .....	479
----------------------------	--	-----

#### POSTER

GIOVANNI SILVIO CASSARINO	<i>Vecchi ritrovamenti di elefanti nani in territorio ibleo</i> .....	497
------------------------------	---	-----

GERLANDO VITA VITTORIO GARILLI CLAUDIA SPECIALE GIUSEPPE BAZAN ALESSANDRA SCOPELLITI LUCA SINEO	<i>Nuovi dati sulla paleoecologia del sito pleistocenico di San Teodoro (Acquedolci, Messina)</i> .....	501
--	---	-----

FRANCESCO CARDINALE ANNA MARIA SAMMITO SAVERIO SCERRA	<i>Le fosse neolitiche nella contrada San Nicola Giglia nel territorio di Chiaramonte Gulfi (Ragusa)</i> .....	505
---	--	-----

ANDREA ORLANDO ELIZABETH RIORDEN	<i>Archaeoastronomy in Sicilian prehistory: from the pioneering studies of Sebastiano Tusa to the Muculufa "skyscape archaeology" project</i> .....	509
-------------------------------------	---	-----

MARIA CONIGLIONE	<i>L'industria litica levigata siciliana tra il Neolitico e l'età del Bronzo. Funzione, diffusione e confronti con il Mediterraneo centrale</i> .....	513
------------------	---	-----

FLAVIA TOSCANO	<i>Rappresentazione figurativa delle statuette in Sicilia nel II millennio: un confronto con Cipro</i> .....	517
----------------	--	-----

DIEGO BARUCCO GIUSEPPE LIBRA CARLO VECA	<i>"Un cantiere grandioso abbandonato". La nuova tomba monumentale a pilastri dalla necropoli del Bronzo antico di Castelluccio di Noto (SR)</i> .....	521
---	--	-----

SEBASTIANO BATTIATO	<i>Deposizioni funerarie nella prima età del Bronzo: analisi bioarcheologiche della tomba 80 di Calicantone</i> .....	525
---------------------	---	-----

ROSAMARIA LOPEZ FRANCESCA MARIA	<i>La necropoli dell'età del Bronzo di Monte Serravalle (Lentini, SR)</i> .....	527
------------------------------------	---	-----

CARLO VECA ALESSANDRA MAGRÌ	<i>"Four stones make a tomb". Funerary models between Malta and Sicily during the Early Bronze Age</i> .....	531
--------------------------------	--	-----

PAOLO SCALORA	<i>Nuove acquisizioni dal Plemmirio (Siracusa)</i> .....	535
---------------	--	-----

ANGELO VINTALORO	<i>Le dinamiche preistoriche dell'entroterra della Sicilia occidentale legate al Mediterraneo</i> .....	539
------------------	---	-----

#### CONCLUSIONI

PIETRO MARIA MILITELLO	<i>La Sicilia nella Preistoria. Linee e tendenze della ricerca all'inizio degli anni '20</i> .....	545
---------------------------	--	-----

ALBERTO CAZZELLA<sup>(1)</sup> - GIULIA RECCHIA<sup>(1)</sup> - GRAZIA SEMERARO<sup>(2)</sup>

## **Sicily and Malta: interactions and oppositions between the Early Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age**

RIASSUNTO - Il tema non è nuovo, ma via via ulteriori dati si aggiungono a quelli già noti per comprendere meglio il tipo di interrelazioni che si stabilirono tra le due sfere culturali prese in esame. In particolare ci sembra utile porre in evidenza non solo gli elementi di affinità legati a contatti culturali, scambi, spostamenti di piccoli gruppi di individui tra di esse, ma anche quelli che segnano contrapposizioni, soprattutto dal punto di vista delle probabili forme di organizzazione sociale. A Malta, pur essendo conclusa all'inizio dell'età del Bronzo l'esperienza della costruzione dei santuari megalitici ed essendo stata abbandonata la sfera ideologica a questi connessa, sembrano aver avuto effetto nuovi apporti culturali, probabilmente veicolati da piccoli gruppi di origine egea, che tenevano tuttavia conto anche delle tradizioni locali. Il risultato fu una nuova apertura a relazioni esterne con le aree adiacenti, a cominciare dalla Sicilia, ma anche il persistere di aspetti come il legame con alcuni dei luoghi in cui sorgevano i "templi" megalitici. Questa condizione, che aveva alla base una situazione sociale complessa, anche se non necessariamente la struttura del *chiefdom*, potrebbe aver favorito un precoce sviluppo di forme di gerarchizzazione interna (indiziato soprattutto dai corredi della necropoli di Tarxien), mentre in Sicilia, nonostante alcuni indizi di diversificazione interna connessi con le tombe castellucciane, un fenomeno di incipiente stratificazione sociale potrebbe aversi in alcuni siti solo dopo la metà del II millennio a.C. Un'accelerazione del processo sembra verificarsi in Sicilia tra la fine del II e i primi secoli del I millennio a.C., quando l'isola maggiore divenne anche fonte di esportazione di manufatti o modelli verso Malta.

SUMMARY - SICILY AND MALTA: INTERACTIONS AND OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN THE EARLY BRONZE AGE AND THE EARLY IRON AGE - The topic of interactions between Sicily and Malta during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC has been widely discussed in scholarly debate. New data though makes it worth revisiting as our understanding of the patterns of interactions between these two cultural spheres is now much enhanced. In particular, it is important to take into account not only the elements of similarity underlying cultural contacts, exchange and movements of small human groups between these two spheres, but also those aspects marking differences and "oppositions", especially as regards the patterns of social organisation. In the Maltese Islands at the dawn of the Bronze Age the phenomenon of megalithic "temples" building and the ideology that had inspired it was over. New cross-cultural contacts, which were probably conveyed by small groups of Aegean origin, then appear to have strongly influenced the archipelago's communities. This resulted in a reopening of the archipelago towards external connections with the adjacent regions: Sicily in the first place. Nonetheless traditional aspects endured, such as a profound link with "ancestral" places, namely some of the old megalithic complexes. The complex social dimension underlying the temple building and use, although not of a chiefdom type, might have favoured the early development of social inequality in the Early Bronze Age, as indicated by the grave goods at the cemetery of Tarxien. On the other hand, it was not before the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC that a phenomenon of incipient social stratification emerged in Sicily, although the Castelluccio tombs hint at some social differentiations. This process of social inequality dramatically accelerated in Sicily between the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC, when this larger island became the source of both inspiration models and exports that were conveyed to the Maltese archipelago.

(1) Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, Sapienza Università di Roma, via dei Volsci 122, 00185 Roma; e-mail: alberto.cazzella@unroma1.it; giulia.recchia@uniroma1.it.

(2) Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Università del Salento, via Dalmazio Birago 64, 73100 Lecce; e-mail: grazia.semeraro@unisalento.it.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of patterns of interactions and historical trajectories of a central area (and not merely in geographical terms) of the Mediterranean between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC. For the sake of exposition, it is divided into two parts. In the first recent proposals by

various scholars as regards interactions between Sicily and the Maltese Islands during the period under scrutiny are discussed, while in the second part we shall attempt to define similarities and differences in socio-cultural developments between the two regions, also considering internal cultural articulations.

## 1. EVIDENCE OF INTERACTIONS: A REAPPRAISAL

In the last decades various scholars have dealt with the subject of relationships between Sicily and Malta during the Bronze Age (fig. 1), identifying the elements testifying to these interactions and proposing interpretations for both their chronology and their meaning. New contributions to this topic were published between 2020 and 2022. One is represented by the two first volumes presenting the results of the ERC-FRAGSUS project, focusing on the Maltese prehistory (French *et Alii* 2020; Malone *et Alii* 2020): despite not addressing the theme under discussion specifically, they pose some problems indirectly relevant to it. Somewhat similar in character is the more recent paper by Groucutt and colleagues (2022), specifically dealing with the possible link between the presumed 4.2 ka BP climatic crisis in the Mediterranean and the hypothetical “desertification” of the Maltese archipelago that would have followed this event.

A further, more specific contribution is given by D. Tanasi (2020a, b, c): we largely agree with the elements considered by Tanasi, yet less so with some of his interpretations, even though appreciating his work.

### *Early Bronze Age (ca. 2250-1500 BC)*

As regards the Early Bronze Age in Malta<sup>1</sup> one point of concern is the chronological/demographical picture proposed by Malone *et Alii* (2020) in the framework of the ERC-FRAGSUS project. In agreement with D. Trump’s hypothesis (Trump 2002, pp. 238-241), these authors, also on the basis of new data, believe that the Maltese archipelago became deserted in the last two centuries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, and thus that the Tarxien Cemetery culture emerged later still, in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.

<sup>1</sup> Early Bronze Age in Malta possibly began before 2250 BC, if one includes within this period also the first emergence in the Archipelago of Thermi Ware, which can be dated to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Following this view, we suggested a date around the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC for the beginning of the Maltese Early Bronze Age (Recchia and Cazzella 2017; Cazzella *et Alii* 2020, p. 191); Malone *et Alii* (2020, p. 14, tab. 1.3) also put its beginning around 2400 BC.

A similar proposal was recently put forward by Groucutt *et Alii* (2022), albeit more cautiously, leaving more room for doubts. They hypothesise that the consequences of the 4.2 ka climatic crisis after the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC could have been coupled with the effects of an epidemic, causing a two centuries gap in the occupation of the archipelago between the phase characterised by the Thermi Ware (4.4-4.2 ka BP) and the Tarxien Cemetery one; notwithstanding, the authors themselves recognise evidence of continuity between pottery productions across the two phases.

The assumption of an occupation gap in Malta in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC conflicts with L. Bernabò Brea’s proposal (1985) that the beginning of the Tarxien Cemetery culture paralleled that of the Capo Graziano culture in the Aeolian Islands, as both would have been related to the same phenomenon of movements of small human groups from the Peloponnese to these archipelagos taking place exactly in those centuries. Bernabò Brea’s hypothesis is further confirmed in the Aeolian Islands by the earliest <sup>14</sup>C dates recently obtained from Filicudi and Stromboli (Martinelli *et Alii* 2010; Bettelli *et Alii* 2016). As for Malta, research at Tas-Silġ indicates no gap in the occupation of the site in that period (Cazzella and Recchia 2012, p. 29), making the FRAGSUS team’s suggestion not utterly convincing: it is possible that some centres were abandoned at that time, but not the entire archipelago. Unfortunately, pieces of evidence indicating Early Bronze Age interactions between Sicily, Malta and the Aegean - even those more recently acknowledged - are not always well chronologically defined. Nonetheless, evidence related to an early phase of these contacts is given by the so-called clay anchors, occurring in the Aegean in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, which are to be found both in the Tarxien Cemetery levels at Xagħra (Malone *et Alii* 2009, p. 241) and in the Capo Graziano culture layers at Lipari (Bernabò Brea 1985, pp. 109-112). For a later phase of this period, in addition to the occurrence of a possible cylindrical lead weight from the cemetery at Tarxien (Zammit 1930) and of scale beams from Castelluccio, Cava Secchiera di Melilli and Fiumedinisi (Tanasi 2020c), we can mention the recent identification of scale weights from the Aeolian Islands, Mursia (Ialongo 2018) and Castelluccio tomb 22 (Crispino and Cultraro 2015; Tanasi 2020c, tab. 2),

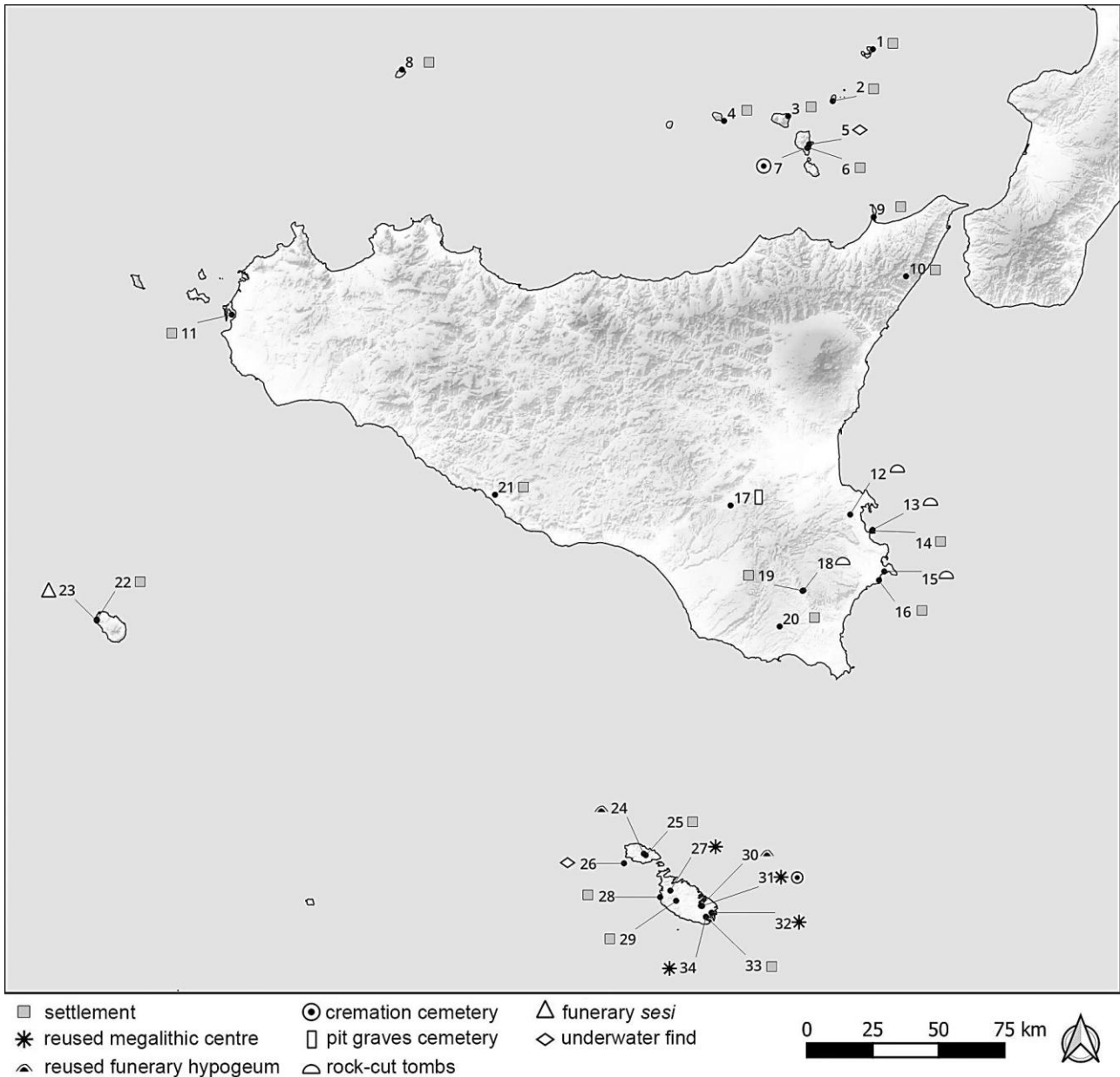


Fig. 1 - Map of the islands in the study showing all sites mentioned in the text: 1. San Vincenzo - Stromboli; 2. Punta Milazzese - Panarea; 3. Portella - Salina; 4. Capo Graziano - Filicudi; 5. Pignataro - Lipari; 6. Lipari - Acropoli; 7. Contrada Diana - Lipari; 8. Faraglioni - Ustica; 9. Milazzo; 10. Fiumedinisi; 11. Mozia; 12. Cava Secchiera; 13. Thapsos, cemetery; 14. Thapsos; 15. Matrensa; 16. Ognina; 17. Madonna del Piano; 18. Castelluccio, cemetery; 19. Castelluccio; 20. Calicantone; 21. Cannatello; 22. Mursia, cemetery - Pantelleria; 23. Mursia - Pantelleria; 24. Xaghra - Gozo; 25. In-Nuffara - Gozo; 26. Xlendi - Gozo; 27. Skorba - Malta; 28. Bahrija - Malta; 29. Mdina - Malta; 30. Hal Saflieni - Malta; 31. Tarxien - Malta; 32. Tas-Silġ - Malta; 33. Borġ in-Nadur, settlement - Malta; 34 - Borġ in-Nadur, megalithic centre - Malta (E. Lucci).

which suggest a parallel affirmation of metrological techniques perhaps of Aegean-Mycenaean origin<sup>2</sup>.

As regards the Early Bronze Age in Sicily, the main point upon which we disagree with D. Ta-

nasi is the hypothesis of “*the arrival [in Sicily] of Maltese people, among which specialised craftsmen, concurrently with the climate of instability that followed the end of the Temple period [...]*”<sup>3</sup> (Tanasi 2020a, p. 335), as he implicitly agrees with the FRAGSUS team’s

<sup>2</sup> Although this does not mean that analogous weight systems were adopted across a vast area.

<sup>3</sup> “[...] *l’arrivo di genti maltesi e tra di essi artigiani specializzati in concomitanza con il clima di instabilità seguito alla fine dei templi [...]*”.

postulation mentioned above. According to Tanasi, evidence sustaining this hypothesis would be the occurrence in Sicily of Tarxien Cemetery pottery, fragments of clay disc-shaped idols and dolmens. First, these elements do not necessarily entail the presence of specialized craftsmen. Second, although it cannot be absolutely ruled out that small human groups<sup>4</sup> did move from Malta to Sicily, we disagree with a desertification of the Maltese Islands scenario.

Thus, we are not convinced that “a climate of instability” in Malta would have caused the diaspora of those small groups. Rather, the crisis at the end of the Temple period, probably more ideological than economic in nature, possibly even favoured a wider opening-up of the archipelago towards Mediterranean interactions and the welcoming in the archipelago of small human groups directly or indirectly originating from the Peloponnese/Ionian Islands.

According to the FRAGSUS team’s proposal, between the 1700 and 1500 BC approximately, the Maltese archipelago experienced a further gap in human occupation (Malone *et Alii* 2020, pp. 33-34, 475, tab. 13.2). This period corresponds to the *floruit* of both the Aeolian Islands (Bettelli 2002) and Pantelleria (Marazzi 2016), which became the main points of reference, respectively, for the Aegean-Mycenaean sailors in the southern Tyrrhenian and the “Levantine” ones in the Sicilian Channel. Although Malta appears to lack such a significant involvement in international networks, it remains highly doubtful both that the archipelago was depopulated once more and that it was completely cut off from the local exchange network with Sicily, the Aeolian Islands and Pantelleria. As mentioned above imports and/or imitations (which do not imply the presence of specialised craftsmen) of Tarxien Cemetery pottery do occur in both Sicily and Pantelleria (Cazzella and Recchia 2015a): these are often difficult to date precisely, but it seems unlikely that none belong to this highpoint in maritime networking. According to the fresh <sup>14</sup>C dates for the level of abandonment of the Calicantone site (taking the highest ones, that overlap each other; Militello *et Alii* 2018), the Tarxien Cemetery ves-

sel found there dates shortly before the 1654-1597 cal. BC.

#### *Middle and Recent Bronze Age (ca. 1500-1050 BC)*

Starting from the Middle Bronze Age and in the following Recent Bronze Age (adopting the Sicilian chronological terminology) interactions between Sicily and the Maltese archipelago appear to intensify, based on the increasing occurrence of Maltese-type pottery in Sicily, especially in the Middle Bronze Age. As for the Recent Bronze Age, Tanasi has pointed out the occurrence at Bahrija of some strainer spouted jars of Pantalica Nord type, which were likely produced in Malta (Tanasi *et Alii* 2019; Tanasi 2020a).

Archaeometrical analyses on pottery, particularly those achieved by Tanasi, provide the main sources of fresh information and advance. These have helped by downsizing the hypothesis of Thapsos pottery-type imports in Malta and, on the other hand, have highlighted the local production in Sicily of Borg in-Nadur type pottery (Matrensa tomb 6 and Ognina: Raneri *et Alii* 2015)<sup>5</sup>. In any case, despite their non-specialised technological levels of manufacture, Maltese pottery productions enjoyed some prestige in Middle Bronze Age Sicily, as is indicated by their use as grave-goods, often along with Aegean-Mycenaean pottery (Alberti 2006; Tanasi and Veca 2019, pp. 133-140).

A further problematic matter is the suggestion, based on the results of recent portable-XRF analyses, that the scanty Aegean-Mycenaean type fragments from Malta were locally produced (Tanasi 2020c, tab. 3): this claim raises reasonable doubts as to its possibility, as Malta lacks a local tradition of wheel-thrown pottery in the Bronze Age. Here, the FRAGSUS team’s hypothesis that some Borg in-Nadur pottery is wheel-thrown (Malone *et Alii* 2020, p. 261) should be more carefully verified, as it is based only on macroscopic observation and not scientific analysis.

As for the exotic elements occurring both in Malta and in Sicilian and Aeolian contexts, one can mention the ox-hide ingots fragments (Lo

<sup>4</sup> We would rather avoid the term *genti* - thus peoples in English - for prehistoric contexts.

<sup>5</sup> Although the analytical technique used (portable XRF, which operates only on the surface) leaves room for some doubts on the results.

Schiavo *et Alii* 2009; Tanasi 2020c, tab. 4)<sup>6</sup> that can be correlated with the weights from Thapsos tombs 14 and 48, Mozia and Lipari, all possibly linked with metallurgical activities (Nigro 2016; Ialongo 2018; Tanasi 2020c, tab. 4).

A still unresolved problem, in our opinion, remains that of the chronology of the Thapsos settlement phase with rectangular buildings. We are sceptical about Alberti's (2007) and Tanasi's (2020d) hypothesis that it belongs to the Middle Bronze Age and that there was then a gap in its occupation of almost two centuries, until being reoccupied in the Final Bronze Age the same long abandoned buildings were reused.

#### *Final Bronze Age - 1<sup>st</sup> Iron Age (ca. 1050-700 BC)*

As regards the Maltese later prehistoric periods, we disagree with both the chronological terminology and the dating proposed by Tanasi. With the terminology, we dispute Tanasi's complicated division made between "culture" and "period": the latter term is anomalously used by the author - together with D. Cardona - to indicate chronological distinctions within a culture<sup>7</sup>. Nor do Tanasi and Cardona explicitly explain why Borg in-Nadur should be considered as a "culture" representing "the main product of the Maltese indigenous communities throughout the Middle/Late Bronze Age and Iron Age", while Bahrija would be a "period", that is an "internal chronological stage characterized by specific pottery productions, identifiable on the basis of typological and stylistic indicators" (Tanasi and Cardona 2020a, p. 1). The terminological weakness and contradiction of this proposal also emerges in Tanasi's definition of the chronological sequence, with the three first periods of the so-called Borg in-Nadur culture labelled as Borg in-Nadur stages (Early, Classic, Late) and the last two periods as Borg in-Nadur/Bahrija transition phase and Mature Bahrija (Tanasi 2020b, p. 67).

We are inclined instead to consider Borg in-Nadur and Bahrija as two distinct chronological periods rather than just indicative of different stylistic ceramic features; we therefore adopt a less complicated terminology, also considering the Maltese Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age sequence as parallel to the Sicilian one (Cazzella and Recchia 2020).

As for the chronology, some <sup>14</sup>C dates from Maltese contexts are now available, yet their association with a given phase and/or pottery assemblage is not straightforward and should be carefully evaluated, taking into account the nature, depositional processes and stratigraphical reliability of the deposits from which the dated sample is taken. Some of the samples come from old excavations (i.e. those at Bahrija), whose stratigraphical distinction is far from solid. Further concerns that need considering are the endurance of stylistic traits across different phases, coupled with the recurring residual presence of earlier sherds in later layers, especially in long-lived in contexts such as the settlements under scrutiny.

With this in mind, we now briefly examine the available dates. Some have been provided by the FRAGSUS project from a pit at In-Nuffara (Malone *et Alii* 2020, pp. 253-262). Here the level at the bottom of the pit's stratigraphical sequence (SU44) has given a date of 1110-895 cal. 2 sigma BC. The filling layers above have instead generally produced higher dates, starting from around 1400 cal. BC: it is thus safe to assume that these layers resulted from discarding activities that included material of diverse periods. Thus, the first date (SU44) provides evidence for the construction of the pit, which falls into the Final Bronze Age (Bahrija period, in our opinion), while none of the other ones are of any use in dating the materials from the filling deposits.

Two more <sup>14</sup>C dates have been provided by Tanasi, one from level 2 at the Borg in-Nadur settlement (or rather from hut 2 following Trump's terminology: Trump 1961), falling between 939-837 cal. 2 sigma BC, and one from Bahrija, trench D, pre-*torba* floor of 860-807 cal. 2 sigma BC. In Tanasi's view these can be placed in the "transitional phase" Borg in-Nadur/Bahrija (Tanasi 2020b, p. 67, Tanasi and Tykot 2020). Yet, the "Hut 2" at Borg in-Nadur has yielded at

<sup>6</sup> Whereas the occurrence of an ox-hide ingots at Ognina has been recently rejected: Cultraro and Crispino 2014.

<sup>7</sup> The terminological contrast between "cultures" and "phases" was introduced long ago by M. Pallottino (1965); the reference to R. Peroni (1998, p. 10) made by Tanasi and Cardona (2020a, p. 1) does not appear well-founded, and, in any case, Peroni's view on this point is not unanimously acknowledged by scholars.

least two vessels with typical excised Bahrija decoration. Thus in our opinion the  $^{14}\text{C}$  date can be safely considered as a chronological reference point for the Bahrija period, perhaps to a late phase. On the other hand, the stratigraphy at the Bahrija settlement is scarcely reliable and new stratigraphical tests are needed: the association between the dated sample, falling in the Sicilian Early Iron Age, and the pottery from the same level is not viable. The date acquired is again pointing to a Bahrija occupation of the site.

The excised decoration emerging in a late Bahrija phase could have been conveyed to Malta from Sicily, particularly from its western side (Cazzella and Recchia 2020 with references therein). Deposits belonging to this phase at Tas-Silġ (*Idd.* 2012) have yielded a serpentine fibula (*fibula ad arco serpeggiante*) and plumed-ware sherds (*ceramica piumata; Ibid.*). Both at Tas-Silġ and Bahrija geometric painted pottery occurs. While Tanasi considers this type of pottery as stemming from the local Maltese tradition of “dribbled ware” (Tanasi 2020a, p. 339), it is indeed possible that this one too originated from Sicily (or imitated Sicilian productions).

Alongside the details of the terminological and chronological debate, what differs is the historical interpretation. Tanasi proposes a model of residential bidirectionality, especially of pottery artisans, and long-lasting commercial partnership, suggesting that this phenomenon was ongoing from the mid-second millennium BC (Tanasi 2020a, p. 341). We favour instead the hypothesis of exchange relationships and cultural contacts stretching over a long period, starting from the Early Bronze Age, and involving in turn different Sicilian regions. We argue that this occurred without a systematic organisation and without any, or with but limited, reciprocal movements of individuals from one island to the other (*G. Recchia*).

## 2. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONG MALTA, SICILY, THE AEOLIAN ISLANDS AND PANTELLERIA

### A. Early Bronze Age (ca. 2250-1500 BC)

An articulated social organisation could have developed in Malta already in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC: in this new society both a local component and one of Aegean origin were merged (Cazzella and Recchia 2015b). The pre-existing social base, although not being necessarily organized in chiefdoms, was a complex one that was capable of erecting megalithic “temples”.

New activities are introduced in the archipelago in the period under scrutiny, such as (probably) metallurgy and the organisation of seaborne exchange. The Aegean component of the Maltese communities, which could have utilised the cremation cemetery at Tarxien, displays a certain economic capacity by including artisanal and exotic artefacts among the grave goods (i.e. artefacts made of metal, vitreous materials, ostrich eggshells, precious stones and also entailing complex craftsmanship, such as the stone bead with gold inlay: Pace 2004). Several megalithic centres were occupied over the Tarxien Cemetery period, possibly still with a symbolic - yet diverse - purpose (Cazzella and Recchia 2015a). By exerting control over the “old” megalithic temples, this component of the population might have also reinforced its hegemonic socio-political role, thus contributing to the final dissolution of the traditional religious ideology of the Temple period. This last had already become undermined, as is illustrated by the absence of maintenance at megalithic centres and lack of repair of collapsed architectures (*Idd.* 2012). The large hypogea of Hal Saflieni and Xagħra have also yielded traces of occupation related to the Tarxien Cemetery period (Pace 2000, p. 21; Malone *et Alii* 2009), that at Xagħra at least are definitely not funerary in nature.  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates from these levels fall into a later phase of this period, which fact is interpreted by the authors of the excavations as a late re-occupation of the site following a moment of abandonment. Yet, the absence of older  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates does not necessarily imply a gap in the occupation of the site. Among the elements indicating an ideological discontinuity, there is the use of



anthropomorphic clay figurines highly differing in typology from the previous Late Neolithic ones. These have been found in a funerary context (the cremation cemetery at Tarxien: Pace 2004), in some “reutilised” temples such as Skorba (fig. 2. 2, 6; Trump 1966) and Tas-Silġ (excavations 2003-2011; fig. 2.4, 7), and even at Xagħra in the deposits formed after the use of the hypogeum (fig. 2.1, 3, 5; Malone *et Alii* 2009). Tools and elements intended for practical activities also occur at some of these contexts, such as the above mentioned clay anchors related to weaving found at Xagħra (*Ibid.*) and the clay hearths brought to light at Tas-Silġ (Cazzella and Recchia 2012, p. 31). It remains difficult to say whether daily mundane activities and/or cultic/religious ones were performed at these contexts or whether the seemingly practical activities were performed within the dimension of ritual practices. This latter hypothesis seems to us more feasible, considering how the Tas-Silġ complex was later turned into a sanctuary - hence a place with a notable religious purpose - in the Phoenician period.

Recently C. Broodbank and G. Lucarini (2019) have revisited the hypothesis that the funerary use of dolmens, emerging in Early Bronze Age Malta, could be related with a pattern attested in coastal northern Africa. This may suggest that northern Africa perhaps constitutes a third component in the socio-ideological transformation taking place in Malta, and that it was not only a partner in the exchange contacts that are indicated by the occurrence of ostrich eggshell beads from the cemetery at Tarxien. However, more refined chronological data for the north African contexts is needed to support this hypothesis.

Both the arrival of small groups of Aegean origin and the introduction of the cremation ritual are attested in the Aeolian Islands, concurrently with Malta. However, in the cemetery at contrada Diana grave goods are almost non-existing (Martinelli 2020, p. 89). This may result from the intentional disguise of existing social differences, yet it cannot be ruled out that in the Aeolian Islands, where - unlike in Malta - a society of some complexity had been lacking in the previous period, a process of internal social diversification towards hierarchy had yet to be started. At pre-

sent, indications there for the emergence of social differentiations are poor, since the “*silo*” on the Lipari Acropolis may in fact be a cistern and the large structure delta IV at the same site was possibly a place for communal meetings rather than the “chief” residence (Pacciarelli 1991-92; Albore Livadie *et Alii* 2002). This situation, nonetheless, did not prevent the development of exchange activities and perhaps of craftsmanship activities, although evidence for the latter is chiefly related to metallurgy, peaking around the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. Uncertain clues for ceramic production on a non-domestic scale remain to be deciphered: apart from the controversial so-called shipwreck of Pignataro, M.C. Martinelli (2020, p. 94) has recently called attention to the “group of at least 50 vases found in the contrada Diana village and considered as the product of a kiln discard”. Be all that as it may, the Aeolian Islands did become early involved in the Aegean-Mycenaean exchange network in the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC, possibly owing to their geographical location, besides the role that this archipelago had been already playing in local networks. In this respect then this archipelago differed from the Maltese Islands that remained marginal to the Mycenaean connection. Nonetheless, as said above, it remains difficult to understand what effect this early involvement did or did not have on the emergence of internal social stratification in the Aeolian Islands.

The island of Pantelleria appears to have missed out on the phenomenon of the arrival of small groups of Aegean seafarers at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. The initiation there of local exchange networks and artisanal activities, such as metallurgy, in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC probably stemmed from the autonomous initiative of the local communities linked with Sicily, possibly replicating the exchange activities that had been already launched by the Maltese and the Aeolian Islands. Like the Aeolian Islands, Pantelleria became early involved in the exchange organized by eastern Mediterranean seafarers, in this case Levantine rather than Mycenaean (Marazzi 2016). Data on both the grave goods and the chronology of the local funerary structures, the *sevi*, is scarce, yet some traces of precious artefacts accompanying the burials exist (Nicoletti and Tusa 2012). These objects are at times com-

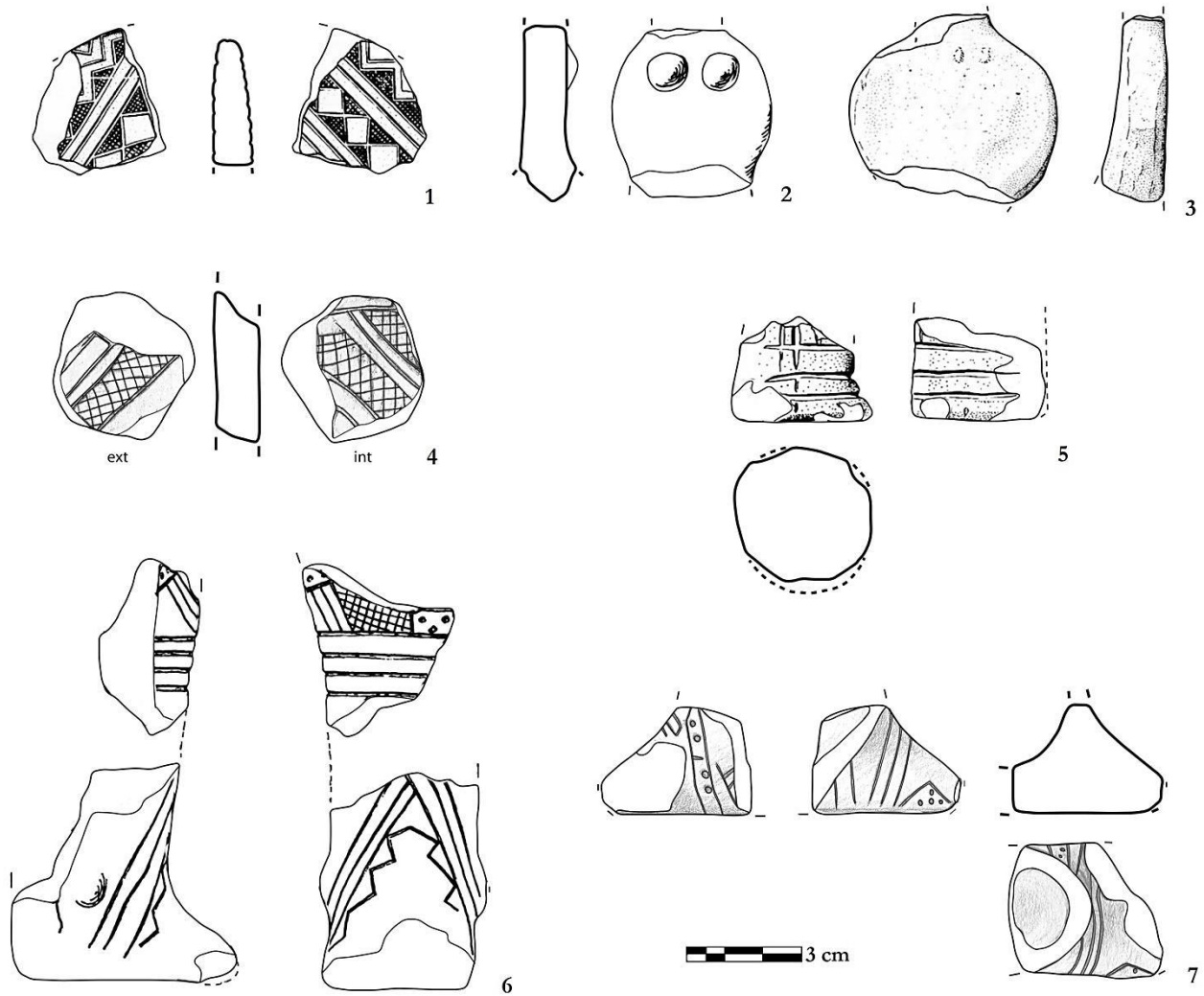
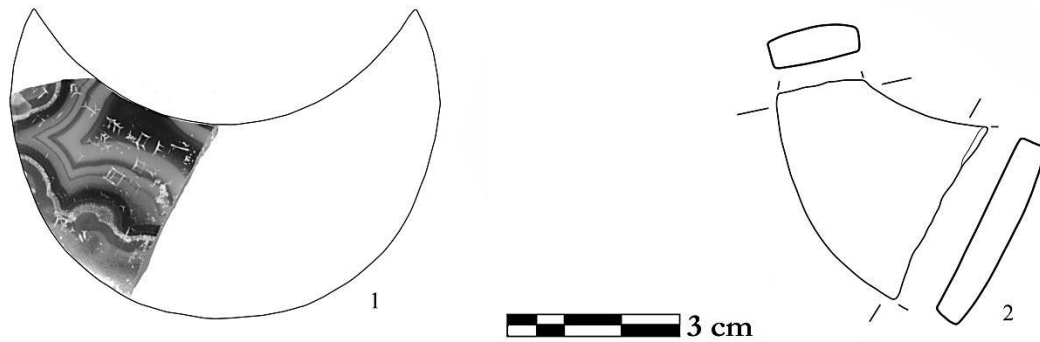


Fig. 2 - Anthropomorphic clay figurines from the Maltese archipelago belonging to the Tarxien Cemetery period: 1, 3, 5. From Xaghra; 2, 6. From Skorba; 4, 7. Form Tas-Silġ (1, 3, 5: adapted from Malone et Alii 2009; 2, 6: adapted from Trump 1966; 4, 7: drawing C. Ruggini).

parable to the exotic artefacts occurring in the neighbouring settlement of Mursia. Again as with the Aeolian Islands, the settlement fabric at Mursia lacks features pointing to internal social stratification: these could have been emerging, but without yet reaching their full affirmation. However, the role of Pantelleria in the maritime networks appears to decline in the following Milazese period, a timespan to which most of the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates from Tozzi's excavations at Mursia seem to belong (Tozzi 1978; Nicoletti 2014).

Due to space constraints, the various socio-economic situations documented for Early Bronze Age Sicily cannot to be fully discussed in this paper. The general impression, however, is one of diversified scenarios. Ognina (Cultraro and Crispino 2014) and Milazzo (Levi et Alii

2009), on the base of pottery evidence, show links with the Maltese and the Aeolian Islands respectively. Data on social organisation is completely lacking for Ognina, but in the case of Milazzo it points to a situation like that observed for the Aeolian Islands. The Castelluccio tombs, which continued a modified version of the local funerary tradition, reveal some evidence of both external ostentation (moulded façades and carved doors: see for instance Lanteri 2012) and precious grave goods (artefacts made of metal and vitreous materials). These occurrences speak in favour of a tendency towards social stratification, yet it does not provide an unequivocal picture of a steady partition between a small elite and a wide subordinate population. Relationships with the Mycenaean, which are not testified to by imported pottery but by other elements, might have



- 1) [tam]-šil<sub>4</sub> ḏSîn(30) bēl(EN) agē(AG[A]) e[ʔ-li ...
- 2) MIN ḏAḥu(SES)-da/ta-[...]
- 3) MIN ḏLig-deš-šir [...]
- 4) ḏIa-mu arad(IR) [ekalli(Ē.GAL) ...
- 5) ḏI-din-ḏŠamaš(UTU) (?) ḏŠil-[li-ND ...
- 6) a-na ḏal-la-[le-e ilī(DINGIR.MEŠ) rabūti(GAL.MEŠ) ḏNin-urta?]
- 7) [k-ru-bu-ma ...

- 1) [An im]age of Sîn, lord of the crown, the pu[re, ..... NP ...]
- 2) 2 Aḥu-da[...]
- 3) 2 Ligdeššir [...]
- 4) Jāmu, “servant-[of-the-palace”, ...
- 5) Iddin-Šamaš, Šil[ī-ND ...
- 6) to the strong[er of the great gods, Ninurta.]
- 7) have de[dedicated and deposited in the temple such (?).]

Fig. 3 - Agate lunar crescent with cuneiform inscription from Tas-Silġ (Malta) (*transcription and translation from F. W. Mayer 2012. Archives of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Malta.*)

favoured forms of internal social stratification, yet their impact is not clearly recognisable in the archaeological record (La Rosa 2005). Data on the internal organisation of the Castelluccio settlements is still poor (Copat, in this volume). In any case, the few settlements with man-made fortifications, probably coeval to those in southern Italy and thus slightly antedating the contacts with Aegean-Mycenaean seafarers, do not suffice to argue for the existence of established elitist groups organising the work of other individuals (see also Cazzella and Recchia 2013). The Rodi-Tindari-Vallelunga contexts probably fall into an even less articulated socio-economic scenario (Ardesia and Cattani 2012): the comparison with some interesting funerary contexts belonging to the same *facies* in southern Calabria (Pacciarelli 2001) requires a discussion outside the scope of this paper.

#### *B. Middle and Recent Bronze Age (ca. 1500-1050 BC)*

The social organisation in the Maltese archipelago between the mid and late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC is hardly definable. The general impression is that the level of internal hierarchy did not increase: if anything, the situation became more similar to that of the adjacent regions under scrutiny. Funerary sites are virtually unknown, and settlements are but limitedly documented. The artificial fortification line at the Borg in-Nadur settlement (Pace 2004) appears as a new phenomenon in Malta, but as seen above these had already emerged in both Pantelleria and Sicily. As such, the establishment of fortified sites in Malta may mirror what was going on at Ustica, an island that was only apparently marginal. But unlike in Malta, the need for a defensive system at

Ustica possibly indicates that this island was involved in intense maritime activities in which legitimate exchange and piracy were closely intertwined (Spatafora 2016). Evidence of the continuity in the occupation of megalithic “temples” is known from only a few sites, among which are the neighbouring former megalithic centres of Tas-Silġ and Borġ in-Nadur, which yielded traces of intense occupation in this period (Tanasi and Vella 2015; Cazzella *et Alii* 2016). We are inclined to think that this occupation was not domestic in nature (the coeval settlement of Borġ in-Nadur is close to the re-occupied megalithic site) and that a symbolic/ritual purpose was still attached to the site, something which at Tas-Silġ continued on even later. Precious artefacts come from these two sites, such as the reportedly gold-plated bracelets from Borġ in-Nadur and the decorated bone necklace-spacer and (probably) the agate lunar crescent with cuneiform inscription from Tas-Silġ (fig. 3; Cazzella *et Alii* 2011; Cazzella and Recchia 2012; Mayer 2012; Tanasi 2020c).

All in all, such precious artefacts appear to be closer linked to contexts characterised by a notable symbolic purpose (the reutilised megalithic centres) rather than to distinct individuals or small groups displaying and so enhancing their socially differentiated role. Thus, the main clues about the socio-economic structure derive from the evidence of both a still noteworthy capability to organise exchange to convey actual Maltese products to Sicily (or at least inspired their imitation in Sicily) and of the willingness to seek and acquire exotic raw material and/or goods (or, in turn, to locally imitate foreign artefacts). For the later phase of the period, corresponding with the Sicilian Recent Bronze Age (1250-1050 BC), Tanasi (2020a) reaffirmed that the influx of Maltese products in Sicily was now limited to the Cannatello settlement, since Thapsos would have been deserted at that time. As we have pointed out (Cazzella and Recchia 2020), we think instead that Thapsos was still settled and was still importing Maltese pottery/goods (fig. 4). Yet, it is only with the publication of the long-needed final report of the investigations at Thapsos that this divergence of opinions can be resolved.

As is well known, archaeological traces indicate that in this period the Aeolian Islands lost their position as the fulcrum of exchange activi-

ties in the lower Tyrrhenian Sea. The Milazzese pottery appears to be derived from the Sicilian Thapsos pottery, while peninsular Apennine-type vessels are now being imported and/or locally imitated (Martinelli 2020, pp. 119-143). Settlement patterns change, but without any detectable increase in social complexity (Alberti 2012). One of the newly occupied sites is that of Punta Milazzese on the island of Panarea, located on a naturally defended promontory. Its internal fabric is quite homogeneous, and its overall extension does not appear particularly large, even considering that marine erosion might have eaten away at the original size. The site at Portella on the island of Salina (Martinelli 2005) appears to differ in character from the typical dwelling settlement, but its true nature remains hard to grasp. In the Ausonio I period (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980) the Aeolian archipelago either experienced an actual invasion by a group from the Italian peninsula or simply all the settlements - except from the Acropolis at Lipari - were spontaneously abandoned. Whatever the case, its role in the maritime network became less and less relevant. The import of Mycenaean pottery (and other goods of Aegean origin) continued, yet at a progressively decreasing level.

Some socio-economic transformations were underway in Sicily, at least in some contexts. In the Middle Bronze Age, Aegean-Mycenaean imports reached their peak in some areas (south-eastern region of the island and in the present-day Agrigento province) and imports of Cypriot origin started. In the following Pantalica Nord period, imitations of the techniques and pottery-types of Mycenaean origin were locally developed, while imports of precious artefacts made of metal and other materials continued. The social dimension changed, but on a local scale. Settlements such as Thapsos (Voza 1972, 1973a, b) and Cannatello (Vanzetti *et Alii*, in this volume) became hotspots for exchange activities. The chronology of the series of rectangular buildings at Thapsos (possibly inspired by Cypriot models and yielding Cypriot-type pottery), as mentioned above, is still being debated among scholars (see also Cultraro 2021). Yet, there is no doubt on the long-lasting occupation at Cannatello, which, however, is a rather anomalous settlement. On the other hand, P. Militello's recent work (2018)

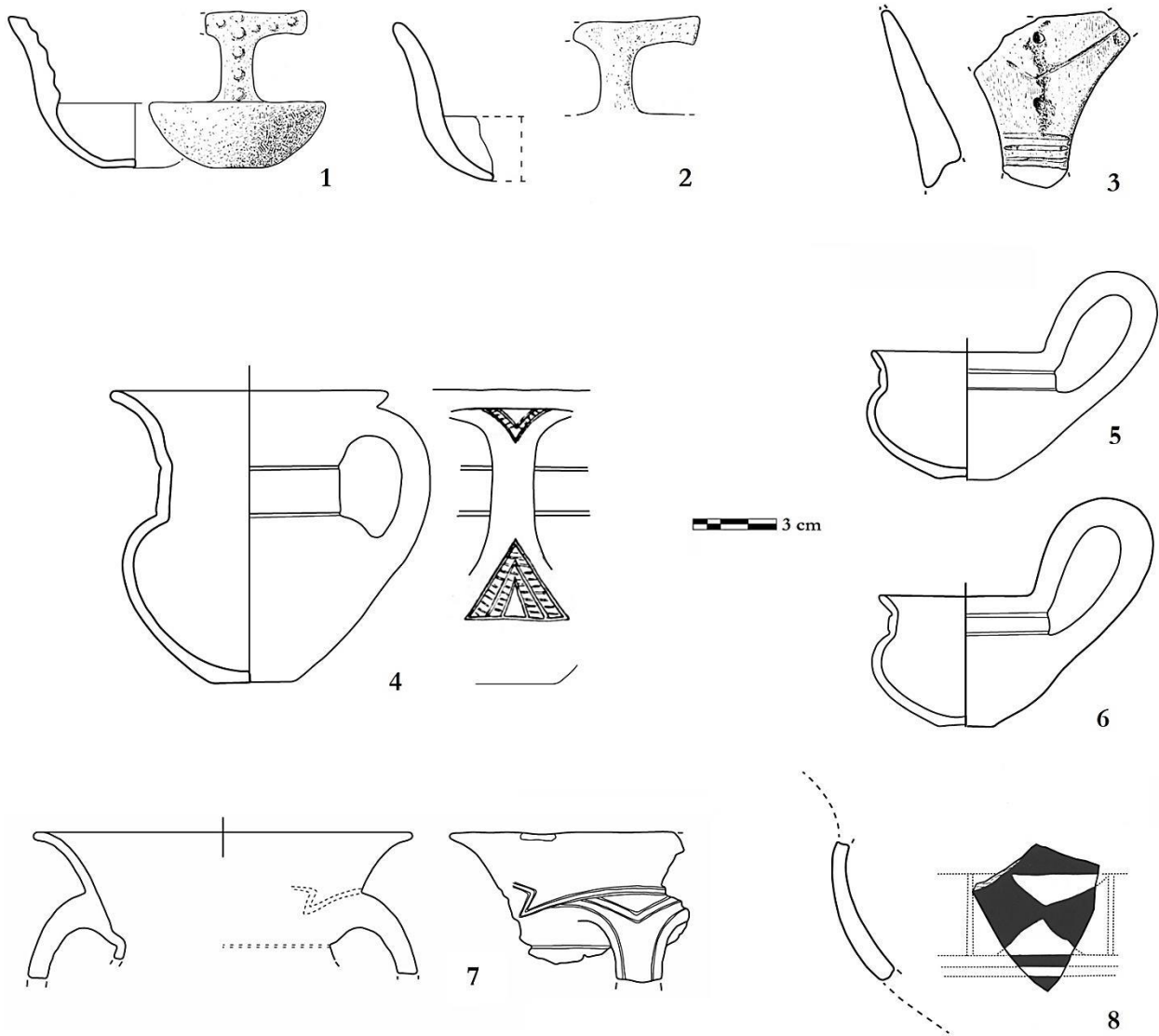


Fig. 4 - Maltese-type pottery from Thapsos (1-7) and matt-painted pottery from Mdina, Malta. 1-3. Borg in-Nadur-type pottery; 4-7. Bahrija-type pottery; 8. Matt-painted small jug (1-7: adapted from *Voza 1973b*; 8: adapted from *Semeraro 2002*).

definitely clarified the nature of the Pantalica *anaktoron* as a significantly distinct building. Moreover, some cemeteries displaying precious grave goods including gold and ivory items point to the existence of emerging social stratification inside some Recent Bronze Age communities (Albanese Procelli 2012; Albanese Procelli and Chilardi 2005; Panvini 2005) (*A. Cazzella*).

*C. Final Bronze Age - 1<sup>st</sup> Iron Age (ca. 1050-700 BC)*

Data on the Final Bronze Age-Early Iron Age in Malta is still limited. Scholars tend to adopt diverse terminologies in defying its phase sequence:

D. Tanasi (2020b, pp. 74-77), as seen above, is inclined to distinguish between a transitional phase Borg in-Nadur/Bahrija and then a subsequent phase labelled as “Mature Bahrija”. We prefer, instead, to define the whole period as Bahrija, subdividing it into an Early and a Late phase (Cazzella and Recchia 2020). In our opinion, Maltese imports belonging to this entire period occur at Thapsos, whereas the view of some other authors is that this settlement experienced a gap in occupation, and that commercial relations with the outside world did not recommence until two centuries had passed. Not only did the explorations at Bahrija not provide a clear stratigraphical sequence, but, most of all, they did not

provide any evidence on the internal planning of the settlement, whose only distinct feature known as yet is its naturally defended location (Tanasi and Cardona 2020b). Further traces related to this period have been found at former megalithic sites occupied over the Bronze Age, such as Borg in-Nadur (Tanasi 2020b) and Tas-Silġ. The latter in particular was occupied for the whole period under scrutiny, until it was turned into the Phoenician sanctuary dedicated to Astarte (Semeraro 2002, 2004-05).

In the Aeolian Islands only the Acropolis on Lipari continued to be occupied (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980), yet this also was either abandoned before the end of the period under scrutiny or had become less and less relevant. The metal hoard found at the Acropolis (Borgna, in this volume) would suggest that at the beginning of the Ausonio II (assuming this is its actual dating) this site still played a role in the circulation of prestige goods. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that this role was now more piratical than based on an organised exchange network.

The debate on the social complexity of groups belonging to the Final Bronze Age/Early Iron Age in Sicily is still in process (Leighton 1999; Tusa 1999; Albanese Procelli 2003; Panvini, in this volume). Evidence of social differentiation is recognisable in the grave goods of some cemeteries, such as, for example, that at Madonna del Piano (Albanese Procelli *et Alii* 2014-15). Yet, in our opinion, the data in this regard coming from settlements is not clearly so.

As regards the relationship with Malta, there is an increase of the elements of Sicilian origin that were either imported or stimulated local imitations in the archipelago, for instance: the proto-geometric and geometric painted pottery, the decorative style of the impasto pottery belonging to the later Bahrija phase, the abovementioned occurrence at Tas-Silġ of plumed ware (*ceramica piumata*) and a serpentine fibula.

Artefacts belonging to indigenous productions of eastern Sicily, such as the matt-painted small jug from Mdina (fig. 4.8; Semeraro 2002, pp. 506-507, fig. 12.b) and some long-known sherds from Bahrija (Evans 1953, p. 75; Semeraro 2002, p. 507, n. 49, fig. 12.c) can be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> centu-

ry BC. Despite being not abundant, these elements clearly testify to the persistence of the relationships with Sicily during this, one of the less archaeologically documented periods in the history of the archipelago. This is indeed the moment when Malta became involved in the wider phenomenon of the Phoenician expansion, so entering a network of interconnections and exchange also encompassing Sicily, Tyrrhenian Italy and the entire of the western Mediterranean (see Semeraro 2002). An exceptional contribution here has been given by the discovery of the Phoenician shipwreck at Xlendi. The latest data on its cargo indicates how this vessel was fully integrated into the early-mid 7<sup>th</sup> century BC central Mediterranean network (Gambin *et Alii* 2021). The first arrival in Malta of Greek pottery, typologically akin to that circulating in the Sicilian centres, can be assigned to this very network (G. Semeraro).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AA. VV. 2012, *Dai Ciclopi agli Ecisti: società e territorio nella Sicilia preistorica e protostorica*, Atti della XLI Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria, San Cipirello 16-19 novembre 2006, Firenze.
- ALBANESE PROCELLI R.M. 2003, *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi. Forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione*, Milano.
- ALBANESE PROCELLI R.M. 2012, *La Sicilia centro-orientale dal Bronzo recente alla prima età del Ferro*, in AA. VV. 2012, pp. 185-205.
- ALBANESE PROCELLI R.M., CHILARDI S. 2005, *Materiali in avorio da contesti protostorici della Sicilia*, in VAGNETTI ET ALII 2005, pp. 95-103.
- ALBANESE PROCELLI R.M., CHILARDI S., LA PIANA S., FRAGNOLI P., GIUFFRÉ E., GIUM-LIA-MAIR A., LEVI S.T., LO SCHIAVO F. 2014-15, *Grammichele (Catania), Necropoli in contrada Madonna del Piano. Campagne di scavo 1970-1971*, NSA, pp. 69-725.
- ALBERTI G. 2006, *Per una "gerarchia sociale" a Thapsos: analisi contestuale delle evidenze funerarie e segni di stratificazione*, Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche 56, pp. 369-427.

- ALBERTI G. 2007, *Minima thapsiana. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'abitato di Thapsos*, Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche 57, pp. 363-376.
- ALBERTI G. 2012, *Organizzazione sociale e pratiche comunitarie. Analisi per una ricostruzione del quadro sociale delle comunità eoliane nella media età del Bronzo*, Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Udine, XXIV Ciclo.
- ALBORE LIVADIE C., CAZZELLA A., MARZOCHELLA A., PACCIARELLI M. 2002, *La struttura degli abitati del Bronzo antico e medio nelle Eolie e nell'Italia Meridionale*, Atti della XXXV Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria, Firenze, pp. 113-238.
- ARDESIA V., CATTANI M. 2012, *Tipologia ceramica e caratteristiche culturali della facies RTV*, in AA. VV. 2012, pp. 775-790.
- BERNABÒ BREA L. 1985, *Gli Eoli e l'inizio dell'età del Bronzo nelle Isole Eolie e nell'Italia meridionale*, AION 2, Napoli.
- BERNABÒ BREA L., CAVALIER M. 1980, *Meligunìs-Lipàra IV. L'Acropoli di Lipari nella preistoria*, Palermo.
- BETTELLI M. 2002, *Italia meridionale e mondo miceneo*, Grandi contesti e problemi della Protostoria italiana 5, Firenze.
- BETTELLI M., CANNAVÒ V., DI RENZONI A., FERRANTI F., LEVI S.T., MARTINELLI M.C. 2016, *L'età del Bronzo a Stromboli: il villaggio terrazzato di San Vincenzo come avamposto nord-orientale dell'arcipelago eoliano*, Scienze dell'Antichità 22, 2, pp. 297-313.
- BROODBANK C., LUCARINI G. 2019, *The Dynamics of Mediterranean Africa, ca. 9600-1000 BC: An Interpretative Synthesis of Knowns and Unknowns*, Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology 32.2, pp. 195-267.
- CAZZELLA A., GORI M., PACCIARELLI M., RECCHIA G. 2020, *2500-2000 BC: connectivity phenomena between the Balkans, Greece, Southern Italy, Eastern Sicily, the Aeolian Islands and Malta*, Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche 70, S.1, pp. 181-197.
- CAZZELLA A., PACE A., RECCHIA G. 2011, *The late second millennium B.C. agate artefact with cuneiform inscription from the Tas-Silġ sanctuary in Malta: an archaeological framework*, Scienze dell'Antichità 17, pp. 599-609.
- CAZZELLA A., RECCHIA G. 2012, *Tas-Silġ: the Late Neolithic megalithic sanctuary and its re-use during the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age*, Scienze dell'Antichità 18, pp. 15-38.
- CAZZELLA A., RECCHIA G. 2013, *Bronze Age fortified settlements in southern Italy and Sicily*, Scienze dell'Antichità 19, 2-3, pp. 45-64.
- CAZZELLA A., RECCHIA G. 2015a, *The Early Bronze Age in the Maltese Islands*, in TANASI D., VELLA N.C., eds., *The late prehistory of Malta: essays on Borg in-Nadur and other sites*, Oxford, pp. 139-159.
- CAZZELLA A., RECCHIA G. 2015b, *Chiefdom Societies in Prehistoric Malta?*, Origini 38, 2, pp. 87-110.
- CAZZELLA A., RECCHIA G. 2020, *The Tas-Silġ sanctuary between the late 2nd and the early 1st millennia BC*, in TANASI AND CARDONA 2020b, pp. 203-228.
- CAZZELLA A., RECCHIA G., SEMERARO G. 2016, *Le ricerche a Tas-Silġ Nord e la sequenza culturale di Malta dal Neolitico tardo alla prima età del Ferro*, Scienze dell'Antichità 22.2, pp. 417-427.
- CRISPINO A., CULTRARO M. 2015, *Creating Boundaries: Elaborate Tombs and Trade Goods in the Early Bronze Age Necropolis at Castelluccio (Sicily, Italy)*, in MILITELLO P.M., ÖNIZ H., eds., *SOMA 2011. Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, BAR International Series 2695, Oxford, pp. 211-216.
- CULTRARO M. 2021, *Exploring the western periphery of the Mycenaean world: glimpses of Sicily*, in KARANTZALI E., ed., *The Periphery of the Mycenaean World*, Athens, pp. 615-624.
- CULTRARO M., CRISPINO A. 2014, *Ognina (Ognina, Prov. di Catania)*, Notiziario di Preistoria e Protostoria 1.IV, pp. 115-117.
- EVANS J. D. 1953, *The Prehistoric Culture-Sequence in the Maltese Archipelago*, Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society 19, pp. 41-94.
- FRENCH C., HUNT C.O., GRIMA R., MCLAUGHLIN R., STODDART S., MALONE C. 2020, *Temple Landscapes: fragility, change and resilience of Holocene environments in the Maltese Islands*, Cambridge.
- GAMBIN T., SOURISSEAU J.-CHR., ANASTASI M. 2021, *The Cargo of the Phoenician Shipwreck Off Xlendi Bay, Gozo: Analysis of the Objects Recovered Between 2014-2017 and their Historical Contexts*, International Journal of Nautical Archaeology, Doi: 10.1080/10572414.2021.1943403.
- GROUCUTT H.S., CARLETON W.C., FENECH K., GAUCI R., GRIMA R., SCERRI E.M.L., STEWART M., VELLA N.C. 2022, *The 4.2 ka event and the end of the Maltese "Temple Period"*, Frontiers in Earth Science 9, 771683.



- IALONGO N. 2018, *The Earliest Balance Weights in the West: Towards an Independent Metrology for Bronze Age Europe*, Cambridge Archaeological Journal, pp. 1-22.
- LA ROSA V. 2005, *Pour une réflexion sur le problème de la première présence égéenne en Sicile*, in LAFFINEUR R., GRECO E., eds., Emporia. *Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference, Athens 2004, *Aegaeum* 25, Liège, pp. 571-583.
- LANTERI R. 2012, *La necropoli di contrada Lotti (Gela) e l'architettura funeraria a pilastri e lesene in Sicilia nell'età del Bronzo antico*, in AA. VV. 2012, pp. 871-880.
- LEIGHTON R. 1999, *Sicily before History*, London.
- LEVI S.T., PROSDOCIMI B., VANZETTI A. 2009, *Facies Capo Graziano*, in TIGANO G., a cura di, *Mylai II. Scavi e ricerche nell'area urbana (1996-2005)*, Milazzo, pp. 32-77.
- LO SCHIAVO F., MUHLY J.D., MADDIN R., GIUMLIA MAIR A. 2009, eds., *Oxhide ingots in the central Mediterranean*, Biblioteca di Antichità Ciproite 8, Roma.
- MALONE C., GRIMA R., MCLAUGHLIN R., BROGAN C., PARKINSON E.W., STODDART S., VELLA N. 2020, *Fragility and Sustainability in prehistoric Malta 2, Temple Places. Excavating cultural Sustainability in prehistoric Malta*, Cambridge.
- MALONE C., STODDART S., BONANNO A., TRUMP D., GOUDER T., PACE A., eds., 2009, *Mortuary customs in prehistoric Malta: excavations at the Brocchtorff Circle at Xagħra (1987-94)*, Cambridge.
- MARAZZI M. 2016, *Connessioni transmarine: Vivara e Pantelleria, dinamiche e cronologie dei più antichi contatti con le aree egee e levantine*, Scienze dell'Antichità 22.1, pp. 131-147.
- MARTINELLI M.C. 2005, *Il villaggio dell'età del Bronzo medio di Portella a Salina nelle Isole Eolie*, Origines, Firenze.
- MARTINELLI M.C. 2020, *Isole vicine. L'arcipelago delle Isole Eolie e le comunità umane nella preistoria mediterranea*, Ragusa.
- MARTINELLI M.C., FIORENTINO G., PROSDOCIMI B., D'ORONZO C., LEVI S.T., MANGANO G., STELLATI A., WOLFF N. 2010, *Nuove ricerche nell'insediamento sull'istmo di Filo Braccio a Filicudi. Nota preliminare sugli scavi 2009*, Origini 32, pp. 285-314.
- MAYER W.R. 2012, *Un babilonese smarrito a Malta*, Scienze dell'Antichità 18, pp. 91-96.
- MILITELLO P.M. 2018, *Incorporating Architecture: LBA Sicily and the Aegean*, in BETTELLI M., DEL FREO M., VAN WIJNGAARDEN G.J., eds., *Mediterranea Itinera. Studies in Honour of Lucia Vagnetti*, Rome, pp. 33-50.
- MILITELLO P., SAMMITO A.M., BUSCEMI F., FIGUERA M., MESSINA T., PLATANIA E., SFERRAZZA P., SIRUGO S. 2018, *La capanna 1 di Calicantone: relazione preliminare sulle campagne di scavo 2012-2015*, Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche 68, pp. 255-304.
- NICOLETTI F. 2014, *La fortificazione preistorica di Mursia (Pantelleria)*, in LAMBERG-KARLOVSY C.C., GENITO B., eds., "My Life is like the Summer Rose". *Maurizio Tosi e l'archeologia come modo di vivere*, BAR Int. Ser. 2690, Oxford, pp. 567-579.
- NICOLETTI F., TUSA S. 2012, *Pantelleria. Scavo di un sese in proprietà Di Fresco e materiali da altri sesi scomparsi in contrada Mursia*, in AA. VV. 2012, pp. 817-826.
- NIGRO L. 2016, *Mozia nella preistoria e le rotte levantine: i prodromi della colonizzazione fenicia tra secondo e primo millennio a.C. nei recenti scavi della Sapienza*, Scienze dell'Antichità 22.2, pp. 339-362.
- PACCIARELLI M. 1991-92, *Considerazioni sulla struttura delle comunità del Bronzo medio dell'Italia centro-meridionale*, Rassegna di Archeologia 10, pp. 265-280.
- PACCIARELLI M. 2001, *Dal villaggio alla città. La svolta protourbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica*, Firenze.
- PACE A. 2000, *The prehistoric Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni*, in ID., ed., *The Hal Saflieni Hypogeum 4000 BC-2000 AD*, Malta, pp. 5-21.
- PACE A. 2004, *The Maltese Bronze Age*, in CILIA D., ed., *Malta before History*, Malta, pp. 211-219.
- PALLOTTINO M. 1965, *Proposta di una classificazione e di una terminologia delle fasi culturali del Bronzo e del Ferro in Italia*, Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Preistoriche e Protostoriche II, Roma, pp. 396-402.
- PANVINI R. 2005, *Due pugnaletti con manico d'avorio dalla necropoli protostorica di Dessueri*, in VAGNETTI ET ALII 2005, pp. 105-109.
- PERONI R. 1998, *Classificazione tipologica, seriazione cronologica, distribuzione geografica*, Aquileia Nostra 69, pp. 10-27.



- RANERI S., BARONE G., MAZZOLENI P., TANASI D., COSTA E. 2015, *Mobility of men versus mobility of goods: archaeometric characterization of Middle Bronze Age pottery in Malta and Sicily (15th-13th century BC)*, *Periodico di Mineralogia* 84.1, pp. 23-44.
- RECCHIA G., CAZZELLA A. 2017, *Permeable boundaries in the late 3rd millennium BC Central Mediterranean: contacts and mobility between the Balkans, Greece, southern Italy and Malta*, in VLACHOPOULOS A., LOLOS Y., LAFFINEUR R., FOTIDIAS M., eds., *Hesperos. The Aegean Seen from the West*, Proceedings of the 16th International Aegean Conference, University of Ioannina, 18-21 May 2016, *Aegaeum* 41, Peeters, Leuven, pp. 93-103.
- SEMERARO G. 2002, *Osservazioni sui materiali arcaici di importazione greca dall'arcipelago maltese*, in AMADASI GUZZO M.G., LIVERANI M., MATHIAE P., a cura di, *Da Pyrgi a Mozia, Studi sull'Archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di Antonia Ciasca*, Vicino Oriente, Quaderno 3, pp. 489-531.
- SEMERARO G. 2004-05, *Nuove ricerche nel santuario di Astarte a Tas-Silġ: l'area Nord*, *Scienze dell'Antichità* 12, pp. 311-324.
- SPATAFORA F. 2016, *Tra mare e terra: la preistoria di Ustica e il villaggio dei Faraglioni*, *Scienze dell'Antichità* 22.2, pp. 321-331.
- TANASI D. 2020a, *Scambi ed interazioni tra la Sicilia e l'arcipelago maltese tra Neolitico ed età del Bronzo: recenti ricerche e nuovi termini del problema*, *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* 70, S. 1, pp. 333-343.
- TANASI D. 2020b, *Bronze and Iron Age pottery from the 1909 and 1959 excavations at Babrija*, in TANASI AND CARDONA 2020b, pp. 33-77.
- TANASI D. 2020c, *Sicily before the Greeks. The interaction with Aegean and the Levant in the pre-colonial era*, *Open Archaeology* 6, pp. 172-205.
- TANASI D. 2020d, *A critical revision of the Late Borg in-Nadur/Babrija type pottery from Thapsos settlement (Sicily)*, in TANASI AND CARDONA 2020b, pp. 188-202.
- TANASI D., BRUNELLI D., CANNAVÒ V., LEVI S.T. 2019, *Archaeometric characterization of prehistoric pottery from Babrija, Malta*, *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 27, pp. 1-15.
- TANASI D., CARDONA D. 2020a, *Introduction*, in TANASI AND CARDONA 2020b, pp. 1-3.
- TANASI D., CARDONA D. 2020b, eds., *The Maltese Archipelago at the Dawn of History. Reassessment of the 1909 and 1959 excavations at Qlejgha tal-Babrija and other essays*, Oxford.
- TANASI D., TYKOT R. 2020, *New data on the absolute chronology of the Maltese Middle/Late Bronze Age*, in TANASI AND CARDONA 2020b, pp. 180-187.
- TANASI D., VECA C. 2019, eds., *Incontri e mobilità nel Mediterraneo preistorico. Le necropoli siciliane di Cozzo del Pantano e Matrensa*, BAR Int. Ser. 2950, Oxford.
- TANASI D., VELLA N. 2015, eds., *The late prehistory of Malta: essays on Borg in-Nadur and other sites*, Oxford.
- TOZZI C. 1978, *Nuovi dati sul villaggio dell'età del Bronzo di Mursia a Pantelleria*, *Quaderni de la Ricerca Scientifica* 100, pp. 149-157.
- TRUMP D.H. 1961, *The later prehistory of Malta*, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 27, pp. 253-262.
- TRUMP D.H. 1966, *Skorba. Excavations carried out on Behalf of the National Museum of Malta, 1961-1963*, Oxford.
- TRUMP D.H. 2002, *Malta. Prehistory and Temples*, Malta.
- TUSA S. 1999, *La Sicilia nella preistoria*, Palermo.
- VAGNETTI L., BETTELLI M., DAMIANI I. 2005, a cura di, *L'avorio in Italia nell'età del Bronzo*, Roma.
- VOZA G. 1972, *Thapsos, primi risultati delle più recenti ricerche*, *Atti della XIV Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria*, Firenze, pp. 175-205.
- VOZA G. 1973a, *Thapsos*, in PELAGATTI P., VOZA G., a cura di, *Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale*, Napoli, pp. 30-52.
- VOZA G. 1973b, *Thapsos: resoconto sulle campagne di scavo del 1970-71*, *Atti della XV Riunione scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria*, Firenze, pp. 133-157.
- ZAMMITT T. 1930, *Prehistoric Malta. The Tarxien Temples*, Oxford.





ISBN 978-88-6164-532-5



9 788861 645325