

11. Cultural contacts and mobility between the south central Mediterranean and the Aegean during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC

ALBERTO CAZZELLA, ANTHONY PACE AND GIULIA RECCHIA

Abstract

One of the effects of the reconfiguration of world prehistoric chronologies as a result of radiocarbon dating has been the questioning of hitherto established frameworks of connectivity and the movement of people, materials and ideas in prehistory. This contribution revisits issues of connectivity between the south-central Mediterranean region and the Aegean during the Early Bronze Age. This short study highlights the need for scholars to re-examine connectivity using, as an example, diagnostic archaeological evidence of intra-regional links between South Italy, Sicily and Malta and the Aegean, that was not affected by carbon dating. The paper suggests that while broader regional patterns of connectivity may have benefited from revised chronologies of world prehistory, micro-regional cultural links may require new explanations of crossings and the evident movement of commodities by land and by sea.

Radiocarbon dating and the re-examination of diffusionist thinking during the post World War II decades raised several questions concerning the nature of cultural contact across the Mediterranean during late prehistory. Seminal work by Colin Renfrew (1973) on the effects of new chronologies, served to emphasise the discordant cultural links that older dating frameworks had suggested. Hitherto established theories of human mobility involving extensive geographic areas, as well as links between small communities of the Mediterranean, also came under close

scrutiny and, in many cases, were abandoned altogether. As a result, meaningful contacts between seemingly unconnected regions fell out of favour. Recently, this theme has been dealt with again by authors such as J. Maran (1998). He analysed in detail the data supporting relationships in the central and eastern Mediterranean during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. We are now aiming at a better understanding of the historical processes linked to those relationships.

Several well-known material culture elements, such as *askoi* jugs and bottle-vases used in Italy and adjacent islands (but not in Malta) known from the 4th and the first half of the 3rd millennium BC, may have been inspired by Aegean or Balkan cultures (Cazzella 2003: 548-552). The origins or prototypes of such elements have still not been recognised. The story is different for the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. Identification of typological similarities across diverse geographic regions seems to be more possible (Cazzella 1999). This phenomenon leads us to think that the relationships between some specific areas within the Central and Eastern Mediterranean may have either been more direct or, in any case, if indirect, faster or more frequent. If this was indeed the case, the contrast between the communication of the 4th millennium/first half of the 3rd millennium BC, and that of the second half requires closer examination. One can, for instance, envisage a period where communication and related links may have been relatively infrequent over many centuries, and that it was after about the middle of the 3rd millennium BC that inter-regional interaction developed to encompass many Mediterranean areas (Figure 1). The apparent contrast may have resulted from a fuller understanding of the way that the sea could be used as a means of broader communication. In addition, the growing evidence of nautical activity from this juncture, as well as advances in the study of ancient navigation and the construction of sea craft, also suggest advances in maritime technology that would have enabled more extensive interaction across the Mediterranean (Basch 1987; Medas 2004; McGrail 2004). Clearly, the material culture of the 2nd millennium BC suggests interaction on a wider scale, in which long distance travel may have played an important role.

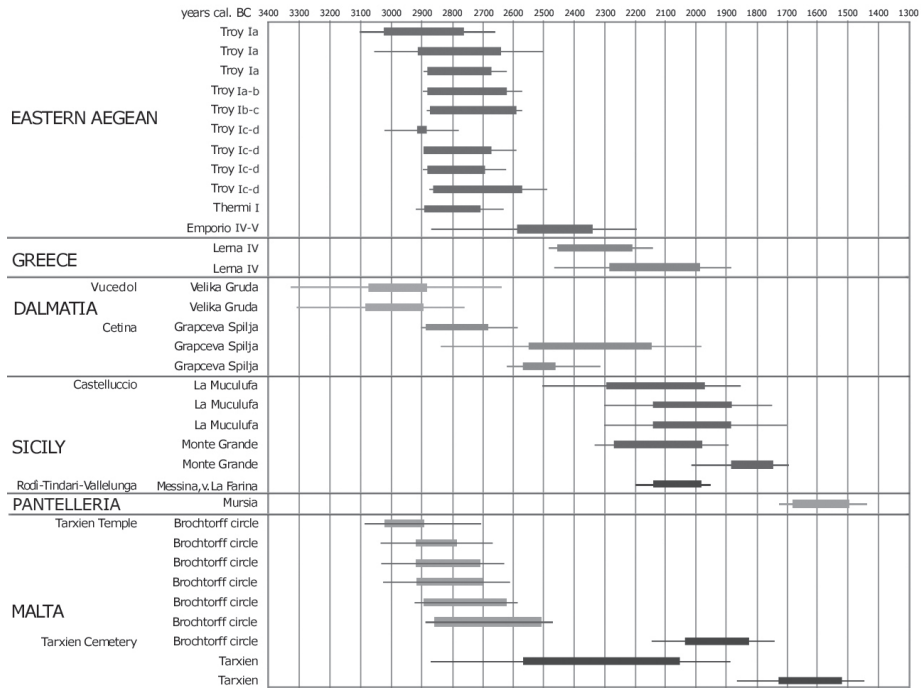


Figure 1. Radiocarbon dates from late 4th to early 2nd millennium BC of contexts.

The 3rd millennium connection between the South Central Mediterranean and the Aegean

One example of indirect contact with southern Italy and outlying islands involves the north-eastern Aegean. This part of the Aegean had for centuries experienced interaction with the south-eastern Balkans during the early 3rd millennium BC – that is, the end of the Aegean Early Bronze Age I. The well-known item that spread westwards from this area was the form of internally thickened rim bowl with incised decorations (Figure 2) many examples of which are known from Troy 1, Thermi, on the islands of Lesbos, and other islands of the eastern Aegean (Blegen *et al.* 1950: 58-59, shape A6; Hood 1982: 82, type 12; Lamb 1936: 88, class B, forms 5 and 6). During this phase, we can find this type of bowl farther away to the west in Macedonia, for instance in Sitagroi V and Dikili Tash IIIb (Seferiades 1985: 225; Sherratt 1986: 438). During the first half of the 3rd millennium other material culture elements, such as apsidal huts,



Figure 2. Internally thickened rim bowls and bossed-bone plaques and the areas of interaction in the Mediterranean during the 3rd millennium BC.

hammer-axes, stone anthropomorphic representations, suggest connections between the Balkan peninsula and Troy (Howell 1973: 87, 91-92; Seferiades 1985: 252-254). For this period, material culture from the Cyclades as well as central and southern Greece seem to reflect contacts

with western Anatolia, but less so with northern regions (Renfrew 1972: 161-185; Broodbank 2000: 318, fig. 106). The Cyclades could very well have been the original area from where the typical design of alternating triangles stamped decoration later spread to mainland Greece and the western Balkans (Dörpfeld 1927: 66; Barber 1987: 85-90; Tasic 1995: 88-91; Primas 1996: 63-64).

The picture changes in the second half of the 3rd millennium. Discoveries throughout Dalmatia show that the thickened rim bowl with incised decoration was circulating in this area (Kaiser and Forenbaher 1999). From there, this type of vessel may have made an appearance in the Peloponnese along with other design elements, such as the use of handles surrounded by incised decorations and the pots with pierced walls. However, the presence of this material throughout the Peloponnese appears to have been infrequent. Aspects of this material have been unearthed in sites with apsidal huts discovered at some Greek sites (Lerna IV, Olympia, see Koumouzelis 1980: 166-171; Rutter 1995: 3-10, 627-632). Balkan material, which partly inspired the ceramic production of the eastern Italian peninsula during this period, was arriving at inland sites as well (Cazzella 1999: 402). In addition, we cannot rule out that some Apulian sites were also directly connected to the Peloponnese. Other distinctive elements of material culture were circulating across regions comprising the northern Aegean, the Peloponnese and the Central Mediterranean, even if as marginal commodities in a broad exchange network. This is attested to by the well-known geographical distribution of the bossed-bone plaques and clay anchors (Adamo 1989; Coppola 2001-02, fig. 13; Evans 1956a; Hood 1973: 62). In this regard, we do not have sufficient data about Calabria and Basilicata (Marino and Pacciarelli 1996: 148-150; Lo Porto 1998: n. 331, 332), although these regions could have also formed part of this exchange system, as is strongly suggested by local ceramic productions. In some sites of eastern Sicily, the Aeolian Islands and Malta, we find elements that are more directly related to the Aegean. These elements reflect local differences that may have partly been the result of localised developments or chronological variations. Some years ago Koumouzelis (1980: 223-226) suggested the existence of two phases, basing herself on excavations at Olympia. The finds from the New Museum area, including the incised thickened rim bowl, may have belonged to an earlier phase than those coming from the Altis area, where handles

surrounded by incised decoration on ceramic vessels prevail. This very interesting hypothesis, which unfortunately was not confirmed by the Lerna IV sequence, will surely benefit from a re-examination of existing evidence as well as from new discoveries (Rambach 2001). The Aeolian Capo Graziano pottery, as M. Cavalier (1960) suggested many years ago, seems to be better related to the Altis finds. Following Koumouzelis's model, this Aeolian material could be typologically and chronologically later than Sicilian finds from Ognina. At Ognina, we in fact find the bowls from the earlier phase (Bernabò Brea 1966). Once again, one unfortunate aspect of the Ognina settlement is the lack of a secure stratigraphic sequence, so that the possibility of much longer sequences and chronology cannot be ruled out.

As regards Malta, links involving the circulation of the so-called Thermi ware may have predated the end of the Tarxien Phase of the Maltese Later Neolithic (2500 BC). J. Evans (1956b: 97, 1971: 221) and D. Trump (1966: 46) suggested many years ago that this ware (even if, as already mentioned, its origins may have been closer in time and space than original Thermi ware), may have begun to arrive in Malta well before the Tarxien Cemetery phase (2500-1500 BC). Indeed, the presence of this ware has been noted at Skorba by Trump (1966: 46), and a fully intact pedestal bowl of similar manufacture was unearthed from a secure context located behind the spiral altar found in the Tarxien temples (Evans 1971: 221). More data are necessary. The likely distinction between the two phases, following Koumouzelis's suggested sequence of the Peloponnese material (Figure 3), as well as the differences between this (Peloponnese material) and the Calabrian pottery, lead us to think that the connections between this Greek region and Sicily (and from there, the Aeolian islands and Malta) may have been direct or via southern Apulia (an area which is still relatively unknown). This connection is also supported by the presence of dolmens that are closely related in character and construction, known from both Apulia and Malta (Evans 1956b: 86-93; Pace: 2004a). The recent discovery of clay anchors in a secure Tarxien Cemetery Phase context at the Xaghra Stone Circle on Gozo (Malta), again provides another important source of evidence for links involving Malta and the Greek mainland (Pace: 2004b).

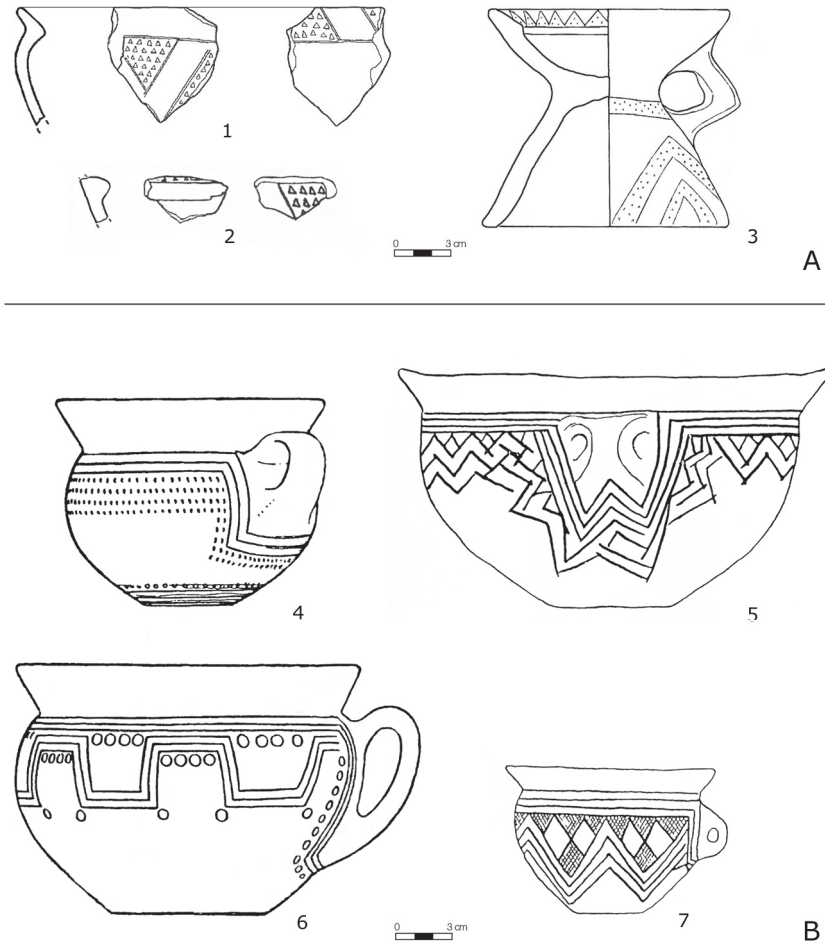


Figure 3. Hypothesis of two phases (A, B) of Greece – central Mediterranean contacts during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. 1, 2: Olympia, New Museum; 3: Thermi Ware from Tarxien; 4, 6: Olympia, Altis; 5, 7: Tarxien Cemetery.

Looking for a model of cultural interaction

It is still very difficult to say whether such links in the material culture of these seemingly disparate regions is a reflection of regular connections. A major problem in conceptualising maritime activity during much of

prehistory up to the end of the Early Bronze Age concerns our ability to understand the frequency, volume and maritime technology involved in such activity. The problem is not whether such activity was happening at all, as has been shown, for instance, by the circulation of island-sourced obsidian and other raw materials during Mesolithic and Neolithic times (Renfrew and Cann 1964). Indeed, the material culture of the period under study suggests that a class of very distinct objects travelled directly or indirectly along exchange routes that required great skill in navigation (Medas 2004). Whether this diagnostic material implies regular trade between the Aegean and the Central Mediterranean is still difficult to establish. Movement of goods need not necessarily be equated to direct trade or exchange, or to trading colonies of the type known from more recent historical periods. Indeed, prehistoric colonisation and movement of people may have had cultural implications that may not conform to traditional explanatory models. The small communities that were brave enough to master sea voyages and penetrate the Central Mediterranean may not have organised periodical return journeys over very long distances, opting instead to settle in some sites far from their homeland, carrying out local exchange activities. Thus, while the material culture linking the regions under study is not at all homogenous, reflecting possible localised developments, it does, however, contain enough distinctive diagnostic material that provides elements of intra-regional links. In fact, it can be argued that while some elements of material culture are limited to the Central Mediterranean, others are limited to the Aegean. Geographically, the Ionian Sea represents a maritime expanse that may have been a natural border area that distinguished the Greek and the Aegean world from the Central Mediterranean. Here, crossings across safe distances may have been critical. Island hopping and coastal navigation would have ensured secure links. Hence, in conceptualising links between the North East Aegean and the Central Mediterranean, the importance of the Peloponnese, strategic islands such as Lefkas, the coast of Dalmatia, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily are important geographic factors that have to be taken into consideration. These lands may have provided critical staging posts that facilitated crossings around the expanse of the Ionian Sea, which serves as a natural and historical distinguishing factor that defines the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean. Indeed, the importance of such crossing and

control points were to distinguish much of the early modern history of the Mediterranean (Braudel: 1949). Such geographic realities would have had a filtering effect on cultural and exchange activities, thus accounting for the often eclectic repertoire of archaeological remains that appear to reflect intra-regional interaction during this period. Indeed, intra-regional exchange of goods and ideas, as well as the crossing of peoples, need not be conceptualised as a homogenous phenomenon. It may have been for this reason, for instance, that trading activity and the exchange of certain culture elements (such as dolmens) were localised to south Italy and Malta, while other components (such as the bossed-bone plaques, clay anchors and the thickened rim bowls) had a wider circulation.

Effects of the interaction on the local communities: the case of Malta

What did such developments mean to earlier communities? The relationships with the established communities need not imply extermination and subjugation or a complete cultural assimilation, as traditionally thought in pioneering theories of world prehistory. The capacity of the exogenous groups to transform or leave an impact on local cultures may have been greatly aided by innovative technologies and know-how. In this regard, the impact of knowledge related to long traditions of organised exchange systems, technological innovations involving arboriculture, seafaring, craft activities, such as the production of vitreous materials and metallurgy, should not be underestimated. In the case of the Maltese islands, for example, contacts with the world of metallurgy were to lead to dramatic changes that saw the abandonment of the archipelago's megalithic culture. Available evidence from Tarxien and Skorba indicate that contacts with the metal-using communities were not unusual, and may have started as early as the closing centuries of the Late Neolithic Tarxien phase (3000–2500 BC), but they probably did not use metal artefacts in that period. The most conspicuous development was the introduction of new customs that transformed an entire way of life that had persisted in the archipelago for a number of centuries. The remarkable achievements of the temple period, with the impressive repertoire of art and architectural masterpieces, were not

enough to hold back change (Figure 4). The use of the older megaliths changed; some were used as cremation cemeteries. The old large-scale communal projects of temple construction were no longer fashionable. Now a much smaller monument, the dolmen, held more significance. Communal inhumations gave way to an alien rite in which the dead were cremated and their ashes buried along with new items of prestige: metal daggers and axes now marked new values. Throughout the archipelago, many of the monuments, cemeteries and settlements that had long been established show evidence of some form of use. Ceramic shard counts from almost all the known prehistoric sites of the archipelago show a continuation in the settlement occupation patterning. (Pace 2004a)

One example of this phenomenon is the temple of tas-Silg. This tem-

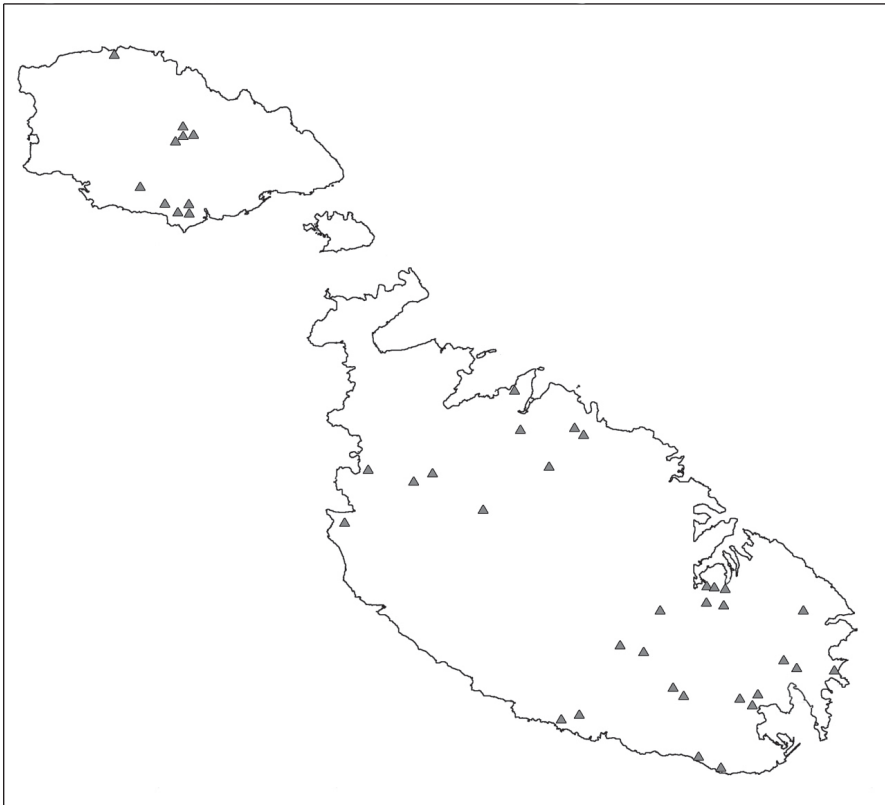


Figure 4. *Tarxien Cemetery sites in the Maltese Archipelago.*

ple complex, which is mostly renowned for its Phoenician and Punic sanctuaries, had a longer past that stretched back to the temple period (Bonello *et al.* 1964; Cagiano de Azevedo *et al.* 1965, 1966). In fact, a prominent part of the site still comprises the foundations of a Neolithic temple apse that had been incorporated in successive buildings. The site continued to be used, with one sanctuary after another being built over a number of centuries. The site is located on a hill not far from Marsaxlokk Bay, the best landing place of the Maltese eastern coast. The port is well endowed with sheltered spots, so that it has remained one of the island's best anchorages. The port was, in fact, one of the few that received a mention in Classical texts, and it was here that Middle Bronze Age settlers constructed a fortified town, and still later, the Phoenicians landed.

The excavations carried out at the site in 2003-2005 (Recchia, in press) focused on an area located just outside the rear perimeter of the megalithic temple apse. The excavation led to the unearthing of a series of levels characterised by the presence of Thermi and Tarxien Cemetery pottery (Figure 5). The study of the materials is currently in progress, and we are hoping to be able to refine the phasing of the layers. These levels overlap a short ramp, securely dated to the Tarxien period, which leads to the back door of the temple. The threshold of this access point was slightly modified during the Thermi/Tarxien Cemetery phase, with the addition of some stones. This detail leads us to think that the temple's rear access, and probably a large part of the rest of the temple, were still in use during the Early Bronze Age, even if the ideology of the worshippers had changed. During the 1960s, a trench excavated inside the temple unearthed a number of Thermi/Tarxien Cemetery shards, supporting the hypothesis of a continuous use of the temple.

There is, in addition, good archaeological evidence of an Early Bronze Age presence in the whole Late Neolithic sacred area. A distributional analysis of the finds dating back to this period suggests that the nuclear zone of the principal megalithic temple may still have served as a main focus point of activity (Cazzella and Moscoloni, in press). According to a tentative reconstruction by A. Ciasca (1976-77), the old Neolithic temple building may have still survived to a significant height in the 8th century, when it was converted into the cell of a Phoenician sanctuary. The apparent respect for a place of worship near a successful landing point after many centuries may well have been a coincidence. But one

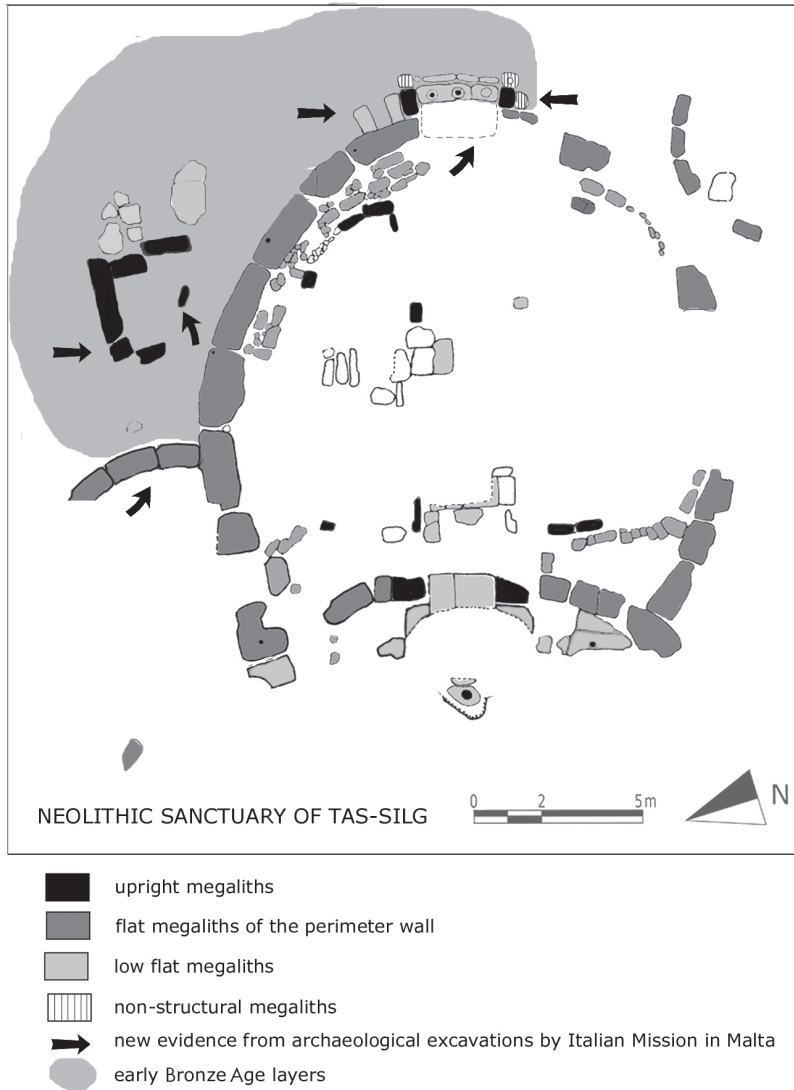


Figure 5. *Neolithic tas-Silg sanctuary and the Early Bronze Age layers.*

cannot rule out the possibility that the Late Neolithic structures might have preserved a certain symbolic function, or a strong sense of place, without necessarily implying a continuity of the same cultic beliefs.

Concluding remarks

To conclude, we think the small communities of Late Neolithic Malta came into contact with the rapidly expanding world of metal-using people. Bronze Age technologies, especially the use of metallurgy, marked by the arrival of advanced developments, were to have a dramatic impact on the archipelago. The Bronze Age is marked by the arrival of new rituals and a broader circulation of materials that may in turn have reflected intra-regional contacts and mobility. Small groups of seafarers arriving directly from the Aegean or, better, as regards Malta, via eastern Sicily, may not have necessarily led to the elimination of the temple builders. However, such a mobility may have had significant effects on economic systems, exchange activities and cultural contacts between adjacent regions. Intra-regional contacts and cross-cultural interaction would have contributed to social and ideological changes. Values associated with the world of metals may have therefore been powerful enough to supplant older ones. In such circumstances, it would have been natural for the old temple building culture to experience dramatic changes. On the other hand, external changes may not have been strong enough to totally eliminate long-established religious beliefs which, although transformed by time, would have exerted some influence on newcomers. Change cannot be ascribed to a single cause. It is also not uni-directional. Furthermore, the relationship between long-term continuity and change, the underlying forces of human history as once promoted by Braudel (1949), still present formidable challenges to prehistorians. In the case of prehistoric Malta, we believe that at least some Late Neolithic megalithic buildings may have been re-used for ideological aims. The challenge is for researchers to understand this phenomenon not in terms of traditional explanatory models, but as a process that must be understood within the context of broader intra-regional mobility and cross cultural interaction.

REFERENCES

Adamo, O.

1989 Pendagli e amuleti della facies di Castelluccio in Sicilia. *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale* 85: 7-68.

Barber, R.L.N.

1987 *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age*. London: Duckworth.

Basch, L.

1987 *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*. Athens: Institut Hellenique pour la préservation de la tradition nautique.

Bernabò Brea, L.

1966 Abitato neolitico e insediamento maltese dell'età del Bronzo nell'isola di Ognina (Siracusa) e i rapporti fra la Sicilia e Malta fra XVI e XIII sec. a.C. *Kokalos* 12: 40-69.

Blegen, C.W, J.L. Caskey, M. Rawson and J. Sperlberg

1950 *Troy I*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bonello, V., V. Borg, M. Cagiano de Azevedo *et al.*

1964 *Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1963*. Roma: Università 'La Sapienza'.

Braudel F.

1949 *Le Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Broodbank C.

2000 *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cagiano de Azevedo, M., C. Caprino, A. Ciasca *et al.*

1965 *Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1964*. Roma: Università 'La Sapienza'.

Cagianò de Azevedo, M., C. Caprino, A. Ciasca *et al.*

1966 *Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1965*. Roma: Università 'La Sapienza'.

Cavalier, M.

1960 Les cultures préhistoriques des îles éoliennes et leur rapport avec le monde égéen. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* LXXX-IV: 319-346.

Cazzella, A.

1999 *L'Egeo e il Mediterraneo centrale fra III e II millennio: una riconsiderazione*. In V. La Rosa, D. Palermo, L. Vagnetti (eds), *Atti del Simposio Italiano di Studi Egei*: 397-404. Roma: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.

2003 Conelle di Arcevia nel panorama culturale della preistoria del Mediterraneo centro-orientale e della penisola balcanica tra quarto e terzo millennio. In A. Cazzella, M. Moscoloni and G. Recchia (eds.), *Conelle di Arcevia II. Tecnologia e contatti culturali*: 541-68. Roma: Casa Editrice Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza'.

Cazzella, A. and M. Moscoloni

in press Gli sviluppi culturali del III e II millennio a.C. a Tas-Silg: analisi preliminare dei materiali dagli scavi 1963-70 e della loro distribuzione spaziale. *Scienze dell'Antichità* 12.

Ciasca, A.

1976-77 Il tempio fenicio di Tas-Silg: una proposta di ricostruzione. *Kokalos* 22-23: 162-172.

Coppola, D.

2001-02 Dal Neolitico all'Età dei metalli in Italia sud-orientale: nuovi ritrovamenti nel Salento. *Atti della Società per la Preistoria e la Protostoria della Regione Friuli – Venezia Giulia* XIII: 111-135.

Dörpfeld, W.

1927 *Alt-Ithaka*. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller.

Evans, J.D.

1956a Bossed bone plaques of the second millennium. *Antiquity* XXX: 80-93.

1956b The 'Dolmens' of Malta and the origins of the Tarxien Cemetery culture. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 22: 85-101.

1971 *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands*. London: The Athlone Press.

Hood, S.

1973 Northern penetration of Greece at the end of EH and Balkan chronology. In R.A. Crossland and A. Birchall (eds.), *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*: 59-71. London: Duckworth.

1982 *Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala*. Oxford: The British School of Archaeology at Athens.

Howell, R.J.

1973 The origins of the Middle Helladic culture. In R.A. Crossland and A. Birchall (eds.), *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*: 73-106. London: Duckworth.

Kaiser, T. and S. Forenbaher

1999 Adriatic Sailors and Stone Knappers: Palagruza in the 3rd Millennium BC. *Antiquity* LXXIII: 313-324.

Koumouzelis, M.

1980 *The Early and Middle Helladic Period in Elis*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Brandeis University.

Lamb, W.

1936 *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lo Porto, F.G.

1998 *I villaggi di Murgia Timone e Murgecchia nel materano*. Roma: Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei, LVI.

Primas M.

1996 *Velika Gruda I*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

Maran, J.

1998 *Kulturwandel auf dem griechischen Festland und den Kykladen im späten 3 Jt. v. Chr.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

Marino, D. and M. Pacciarelli

1996 Articolazioni culturali e cronologiche. Calabria. In D. Cocchi Genick (ed.), *L'antica età del Bronzo in Italia*: 147-162. Firenze: Octavo.

Medas, S.

2004 *De Rebus Nauticis. L'Arte Della Navigazione nel Mondo Antico.* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

McGrail, S.

2004 *Boats of the World, from the Stone Age to Medieval Times,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pace, A.

2004a The Maltese Bronze Age. In D. Cilia (ed.), *Malta before History*: 210-227. Malta: Miranda Publishers.

2004b *The Early Bronze Age Deposits from Hal Tarxien and the Xaghra Circle.* Unpublished conference presentation, Gozo Project Seminar, 26 May 2004, The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge.

Rambach, J.

2001 Bemerkungen zur Zeitstellung der Apsidenhäuser in der Altis von Olympia. In R.M. Böhmer and J. Maran (eds), *Lux Orientis. Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa, Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann*: 332-333. Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH.

Recchia, G.

in press Il tempio e l'area sacra megalitica di Tas-Silg: le nuove scoperte dagli scavi nei livelli del III e II millennio a.C. *Scienze dell'Antichità* 12.

Renfrew, C.

1972 *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium BC.* London: Methuen.

- 1973 *Before Civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Renfrew, C. and J.R. Cann
1964 The characterization of obsidian and its application to the Mediterranean region. In *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 30: 111-33.
- Rutter, J.B.
1995 *Lerna. A Preclassical Site in the Argolid. III. The Pottery of Lerna IV*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Seferiades, M.
1985 *Troie I. Matériaux pour l'étude des sociétés du Nord-Est égéen au début du Bronze Ancien*. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, Cahier 15.
- Sherratt, A.
1986 The pottery of phases IV and V: the Early Bronze Age. In C. Renfrew, M. Gimbutas and E.S. Elster (eds.) *Excavations at Sitagroi*. 1: 429-476. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Tasic, N.
1995 *Eneolithic Cultures of Central and West Balkans*. Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies.
- Trump, D.
1966 *Skorba*. London: Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, XXII.