McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS

Temple places

Excavating cultural sustainability in prehistoric Malta

By Caroline Malone, Reuben Grima, Rowan McLaughlin, Eóin W. Parkinson, Simon Stoddart & Nicholas Vella

Volume 2 of Fragility and Sustainability – Studies on Early Malta, the ERC-funded *FRAGSUS Project*

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With contributions by
Stephen Armstrong, Jennifer Bates, Jeremy Bennett, Anthony Bonanno, Sara Boyle, Catriona Brogan, Josef Caruana, Letizia Ceccerelli, Petros Chatzimpaloglou, Nathaniel Cutajar, Michelle Farrell, Katrin Fenech, Charles French, Christopher O. Hunt, Conor McAdams, Finbar McCormick, John Meneely, Jacob Morales Mateos, Paula Reimer, Alastair Ruffell, Ella Samut-Tagliaferro, Katya Stroud & Sean Taylor

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On the cover: *Digital scan of the Kordin III excavation in 2015, by John Meneely.*

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Dedication – in memoriam
John Davies Evans David Hilary Trump

Malta may be small in scale but it has had a rich and important archaeological past which has been explored and enjoyed by many past scholars. A visit to the Archaeology Museums of Malta and Gozo testifies to a long history of collecting, scholarship and passion dating back to the early to mid-nineteenth century. It is a heritage that is beloved by Malta and its visitors alike.

The editors of this volume wish to pay tribute to two remarkable 'visitors' to Malta, each of whom, in their own way, made great contributions to our present appreciation of the islands' ancient past and supported our early researches, teams and ideas. Now we want to record our debt as some of the continuing scholars of Maltese prehistory, since we cannot imagine where we could have begun our current quest to take the story onwards and deeper without their prior work.

On behalf of the whole *FRAGSUS* team, we wish to dedicate this volume to their enduring memory.

Professor John Davies Evans (OBE) (1925–2011) arrived in Malta in 1952 from Cambridge to commence the task of organizing the war-damaged museum collections in preparation for a synthesis of Maltese prehistory. His task was enormous, and involved a new assessment of the pottery and material culture sequence of Maltese prehistory. He prepared his now classic study *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands*, published in 1971, which has remained the primary compendium of reference to this day. Together with carefully targeted excavations, John Evans set in train the many questions that inspired not only David Trump, his successor, to explore and challenge the complex story of Malta's prehistoric past, but also ourselves over the last 35 years. John noted important aspects of sequence, material connectivity and, of course, the temples. These he recorded and described in such detail that his work remains vitally important today.

David Hilary Trump (OM) (1931–2016) succeeded John Evans, having already experienced Maltese prehistory in the field with him, and became the Curator of the Museum of Archaeology for five years until 1963. In that short time, he too made an enormous impression on the understanding of prehistoric Malta. His work at Skorba (as we discuss in Chapter 7) was inspired and informed, and it too set the direction for the future explorations of prehistory in the islands. David Trump maintained his interest in Malta throughout his career, leading regular study tours to the island and latterly, with ourselves, undertaking the sustained programme of fieldwork at the Xagħra Brochtorff Circle (1987–9). He wrote numerous books and papers on Malta's prehistory, popular and academic; and his contribution has been widely acknowledged through museum displays, the award of the Order of Merit of Malta and an Honorary Degree from the University of Malta for which he felt hugely honoured. But back in the United Kingdom, from whence both these scholars came, there has been less mention of their work on Malta. Evans moved eastwards to Crete in his research interests, and has been identified mainly with that work; whilst Trump, a retiring and extremely modest individual, did not promote his achievements on Malta during his teaching years at Cambridge, which was arguably too theoretical to fully appreciate his remarkable contribution.

Figure 0.1. *David Trump and John Evans together at the Deya Conference, Mallorca* (c. *1983) (reproduced with permission of Judith Conway, niece of John Evans).*

Acknowledgements

Firstly, the *FRAGSUS Project* is the result of a very generous research grant from the European Research Council (Advanced Grant no. 323727), without which this and two partner volumes and the research undertaken could not have taken place. We heartily thank the ERC for its award and the many administrators in Brussels who monitored our use of the grant. The research team also wants to record our indebtedness to the administrators of the grant within our own institutions, since this work required detailed and dedicated attention. In particular we thank Rory Jordan in the Research Support Office (Queen's University Belfast – QUB), Laura Cousens (Cambridge University – UoC), Glen Farrugia and Cora Magri (University of Malta – UM), the Curatorial, Finance and Designs & Exhibitions Departments in Heritage Malta (HM) and Stephen Borg at the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage (SCH).

All archaeological excavations described in this volume were carried out using standard methods, in accordance with the policies of the SCH, in particular the guidance given in the document *Operating Procedures and Standards for Archaeology Services – February 2013*. Permits to enable excavation, survey, sampling and study were granted through the SCH and we are especially grateful to Anthony Pace and Nathaniel Cutajar for their unstinting efforts to ensure fieldwork was enabled.

Taċ-Ċawla

The Taċ-Ċawla excavations were directed by Prof. Caroline Malone, and the crew consisted primarily of students and staff from UoC, UM and QUB, supervised by Stephen Armstrong, Jeremy Bennett and Conor McAdams, with additional supervision from Dr Simon Stoddart, Dr Sara Boyle and Dr Emily Murray. We are also very grateful for Dr George Azzopardi who sought out accommodation for the project, assisted on site, and with his colleagues in HM enabled access to space for storage, environmental sampling and finds processing in Rabat. John Cremona and his colleagues in the Ministry for Gozo also played an important role in enabling site clearance and facilities at Taċ-Ċawla, and in securing the site following our work, with the long-promised surrounding wall. We also acknowledge a great number of local Gozitan businesses, hardware stockists, JCB drivers and cafe and restaurant owners, who supported our work in so many ways.

Santa Verna

The Santa Verna excavations were directed by Prof. Caroline Malone, assisted by Dr Simon Stoddart and Dr Rowan McLaughlin. The crew consisted primarily of a number of students and staff from UoC, QUB and UM, supervised by Stephen Armstrong, Jeremy Bennett, Dr Catriona Brogan and Eóin Parkinson. Dr Evan Hill wet-sieved the soil samples using flotation and the site was sampled for soil micromorphology and geochemistry by Prof. Charles French, Dr Sean Taylor and Conor McAdams. During the excavation, our understanding of the extant megalithic structure was improved by the superb plan produced by Stephen Ashley. Tiomoid Foley conducted a condition survey of the megalithic remains, the results of which were incorporated into an MSc project. Rupert Barker made a short film of the excavations – *A Day on a Dig* (https://youtu.be/cGNOGpq746I). Digital laser scanning was undertaken by John Meneely. Individuals whose efforts are warmly acknowledged include Stephen Armstrong, Dr Catriona Brogan, Dr Bela Dimova, Dr Paola Filippucci, Dr Reuben Grima, Laura James, Lottie Stoddart and Dr Sean Taylor, who supervised trenches, organized field assistants and gave logistical support to the running of the project. At Santa Verna, we particularly thank Dr George Azzopardi (HM) for his invaluable logistical

help at the start of the excavations and insightful comments made throughout, and Ella Samut-Tagliaferro, Cristian Mifsud, Mevrik Spiteri and Daphne M Sant Caruana, who accommodated the wet-sieving and flotation operations at the Ġgantija World Heritage site visitor centre. This was facilitated by Prof. Nick Vella and Chris Gemmell (UM), who organized and set up the sieving system. We acknowledge the interest taken in our work by other organizations including Xagħra parish council, Wirt Għawdex, and the staff and pupils at Gozo College. Indeed, the *FRAGSUS* team was delighted by the level of interest in the excavations shown by local residents and other visitors to the site. We particularly acknowledge the help, understanding and patience of the residents who offered us the use of their garage to store tools and equipment overnight, and the local farmer who provided gifts of bananas and kindly offered the use of his pumphouse as a tool shed. We especially thank Joseph Attard Tabone for his interest in and support of all our work, especially at Santa Verna.

Ġgantija

The Ġgantija excavations in 2015 were directed by Prof. Charles French, Dr Simon Stoddart, Dr Sean Taylor and David Redhouse, assisted by Stephen Armstrong, Jeremy Bennett, Dr Catriona Brogan, Conor McAdams, Aran McMahon, Eóin Parkinson, Jacob Pockney and Mariele Valci. Flotation of soil samples was undertaken by Dr Evan Hill. Digital laser scanning was undertaken by John Meneely. The field researchers comprised the geophysical survey team in 2014 under the supervision of David Redhouse and Dr Alistair Ruffell with assistance from Jeremy Bennett. Dr Sara Boyle and Jeremy Bennett undertook initial survey of the WC section area in 2014.

We thank especially HM and its staff on Gozo, who enabled access and provided much assistance at this busy World Heritage Site (the most visited ancient site in the islands), namely George Azzopardi, Daphne M Sant Caruana and Nicolene Sagona.

Kordin III

The excavations were directed jointly by Prof. Caroline Malone and Prof. Nicholas Vella, assisted by Dr Reuben Grima, Dr Rowan McLaughlin, Ella Samut-Tagliaferro and Dr Simon Stoddart. The crew consisted mainly of students from UM, who participated as part of their annual training excavation. They were supervised by Jeremy Bennett, Dr Catriona Brogan, Rebecca Farrugia, Dr Reuben Grima, Tore Lumsdalen and Eóin Parkinson. Flotation of soil samples was undertaken by Dr Evan Hill. Digital laser scanning was undertaken by John Meneely and Jeremy Bennett. We also acknowledge the kind assistance of Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna, the Malta Heritage Trust, who granted access to the site.

Skorba

The excavations were directed by Prof. Caroline Malone and Dr Rowan McLaughlin, who were assisted by Stephen Armstrong, Jeremy Bennett, Dr Catriona Brogan, Emma Hannah and Eóin Parkinson. OSL profiling and geoarchaeological sampling was performed by Prof. Charles French, Dr Timothy Kinnaird (University of St Andrews), Dr Simon Stoddart and Dr Sean Taylor. The site was laser scanned by Jeremy Bennett. We thank HM for enabling access to the site and Dr Josef Caruana and Katya Stroud for supporting the work.

In-Nuffara

The excavations were directed by Dr Simon Stoddart and Dr Rowan McLaughlin, who were assisted by Stephen Armstrong, Stephen Ashley, Robert Barratt, Donald Horne, Katie Hutton, Christina O'Regan and Leslie Torwie. Many thanks to Dr George Azzopardi (HM) and Ella Samut-Tagliaferro (SCH) for their logistical support. John Meneely laser scanned the silos and analysed the volumetric data. We thank Dr Anthony Pace and Nathaniel Cutajar and their staff from the SCH for enabling access to the site.

Post-excavation

The Department of Classics and Archaeology, UM, kindly offered storage space during the project and accommodated the post-excavation team in the sunny courtyard where pottery and finds were studied. We thank Chris Gemmell in particular for his invaluable help throughout the project, but especially in enabling storage of material and access to it for the project team and the logistics on various sites and for his skilled assistance in setting up the flotation processing. In Belfast, Emma Hannah undertook data entry, sample sorting and volume indexing, and Georgia Vince assisted with data entry and logistics and produced many of the excavation plans and section drawings used throughout this volume. She also archived and scanned the project records along with the original Cambridge Gozo Project, and these are now housed in the National Museum of Archaeology, Valletta. In Malta, pottery was studied by Stephen Armstrong, Stephen Ashley, Prof. Anthony Bonanno, Dr Catriona Brogan, Prof. Caroline Malone, Lisa Coyle McClung,

Rowan McLaughlin, Eóin Parkinson and Dr Simon Stoddart. We thank Prof. Nicki Whitehouse for her enthusiastic support and advice on environmental matters. Thin section slides were produced by Dr Tonko Rajkovača of the McBurney Laboratory, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge. We are very grateful to Sharon Sultana (Curator) of the Museum of Archaeology for not only housing the study material but also providing access to it in 2017. Stephen Ashley and Prof. Caroline Malone illustrated the pottery and small finds. Dr Catriona Brogan assisted in the production and editing of this volume. We also wish to thank Ben Plumridge, Production Editor, for seeing this and the two companion volumes through the arduous process of publication. Thanks too, to Jason Hawkes (copy editing), Olivia Shelton (references) and Emma Hannah (indexing) for their careful work on the volume.

Permits and access

The *FRAGSUS* team is very grateful to the heritage bodies of Malta, namely HM and the SCH and their officers, who enabled access to sites and provided the permissions and opportunities to study the buried archaeology. It cannot be over-emphasized just how privileged the *Project* has been in having access to excavate and examine the exceptional sites of prehistoric Malta. Not only is the entire category 'Maltese Temple' protected, but most sites are also inscribed within the UNESCO World Heritage Site listing for Malta. Some readers may wonder why very small trenches and sondages were permitted at all, whilst others may query the value of small investigations. This volume presents a range of scales of study from the small to the large across prehistoric sites and assesses the value of particular data sets that have been collected. Together with Volume 1, which examines the wider landscapes and environments of early Malta, and Volume 3, which examines the bones and lives of the ancient individuals, this volume fills the middle ground – the sites themselves, and we thank all our collaborators and volunteers in this venture. In particular, we thank the willing site assistants, volunteers, surveyors, cooks and illustrators who gave their time and energy to the archaeological work, and we list them below:

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Foreword

Joseph Magro Conti

Consider, 5000 years ago you are on one of the smallest islands in the Mediterranean, which has no water sources, dependent on brief winter rain showers, shallow soil patches, with only stone, clay and salt as natural resources, perhaps a few trees and shrubs. How would you live in such environment? This second volume of the *FRAGSUS Project* (2013–18) provides readers with fresh information achieved through high quality scientific research on palaeoenvironmental analysis, radiocarbon dating, human and faunal bone studies as well as on ceramics, lithics, domestic contexts and monuments, fully addressing five main questions targeted by the project. The support of the European Research Council has been transformative in making this new knowledge about Maltese prehistory more understandable and accessible, as a reader will discover throughout this and the other two volumes.

The coming of *FRAGSUS* was a long journey. Twenty-seven years passed since I first met the main protagonists of this project, Prof. Caroline Malone and Dr Simon Stoddart. They left a long-lasting positive impression on me. I was an archaeology undergraduate at the University of Malta in 1993, under the academic guidance of Prof. Anthony Bonanno, with colleagues Nicholas Vella (now Professor, and former Head of the Archaeology Department at the University of Malta) and Dr Anthony Pace (my predecessor as Superintendent of Cultural Heritage). I was on my first archaeological research excavation by an Anglo-Maltese mission at the unique Neolithic mass burial site of the Xagħra Brochtorff Circle in Malta's sister island of Gozo. A couple of decades later I had the opportunity to participate on other research digs in Malta with Malone-Stoddart, this time as part of *FRAGSUS* at Kordin III Neolithic temples in Malta, a site about which I had long endeavoured to raise awareness for its better understanding and management.

The Temple Period is renowned for the monumental megalithic structures (presumed temples) and the associated underground mass burial places, which offer an aura about the Neolithic mindset, belief system, organisation, ritual and physical capabilities in engineering and art. But what should be further intriguing to the reader is another aspect of human life – how the early people lived? What evidence is there for this aspect from the Temple Period? Previously, such questions were largely without much evidence except sporadic discoveries of typical deposits and material culture, but which were very lacking in data to advance site prediction and environmental data collection. The very few huts so far discovered and interpreted as domestic were ephemeral and thus prone to unrecorded destruction during building construction. I was pleased to contribute my knowledge of domestic sites to the publication of the Gozo study in 2009, and delighted to write this Foreword. This work records the next stages of discovery of the inhabitation record of the Maltese islands, most notably at Taċ-Ċawla, a site preserved from development by the action of the Superintendence.

In the past fifty years, the Maltese Islands have undergone successive building booms, each significantly endangering Malta's historic environment. In my quest as an applied archaeologist/heritage manager for over two decades at the Planning Authority and for the past two years as Superintendent of Cultural Heritage, I have endeavoured to collaborate with disparate stakeholders to save or mitigate impacts on the fragile remains of the past, and to raise awareness. The findings from *FRAGSUS* will be an especially useful source of information for policy makers, heritage managers, regulatory agencies and conservation scientists in their quest to preserve and understand Malta's past. The study enables them to make informed decisions about future human impacts on the archaeological heritage, mainly caused by

Figure 0.2. *Joseph Magro Conti at Kordin.*

building development on the small island environment and its island society and economy.

This volume is a seminal interdisciplinary study, not only for Maltese prehistory but also a milestone in world prehistory more generally. As prehistory pre-dates the invention of writing, the approach of *FRAGSUS*'s research agenda turns archaeo-environmental data into 'words' by digging deep into the embryonic matrix of garden soils on which the temples builders sustained themselves. The project can now explain queries about this sustainability, a theme that is still relevant to modern generations. With the use of multidisciplinary and multinational teams of specialists, the study placed innovative scientific approaches at the fore, and addressed silent aspects that go beyond the traditional art-historical basics of Grand Traditions. The investigations into the core essence of life five millennia ago belong to new scientific approaches.

The *FRAGSUS Project* has addressed lacunae and used unconventional approaches in theory and method to obtain robust scientifically-backed results that have filled in significant gaps in the research agenda of Maltese prehistory and beyond. Equally, the results have surely raised many questions for future research agendas. I look forward to further collaboration, and I am eager to see more collaborative projects between Maltese veterans and upcoming academics and our overseas colleagues.

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Temple places

The ERC-funded *FRAGSUS Project* (*Fragility and sustainability in small island environments: adaptation, culture change and collapse in prehistory, 2013–18*) led by Caroline Malone (Queen's University Belfast) has focused on the unique Temple Culture of Neolithic Malta, and its antecedents and successors through investigation of archaeological sites and monuments. This, the second volume of three, presents the results of excavations at four temple sites and two settlements, together with analysis of chronology, economy and material culture.

The project focused on the integration of three key strands of Malta's early human history (environmental change, human settlement and population) set against a series of questions that interrogated how human activity impacted on the changing natural environment and resources, which in turn impacted on the Neolithic populations. The evidence from early sites together with the human story preserved in burial remains reveals a dynamic and creative response over millennia. The scenario that emerges implies settlement from at least the mid-sixth millennium BC, with extended breaks in occupation, depopulation and environmental stress coupled with episodes of recolonization in response to changing economic, social and environmental opportunities.

Excavation at the temple site of Santa Verna (Gozo) revealed an occupation earlier than any previously dated site on the islands, whilst geophysical and geoarchaeological study at the nearby temple of Ġgantija revealed a close relationship with a spring, Neolithic soil management, and evidence for domestic and economic activities within the temple area. A targeted excavation at the temple of Skorba (Malta) revisited the chronological questions that were first revealed at the site over 50 years ago, with additional OSL and AMS sampling. The temple site of Kordin III (Malta) was explored to identify the major phases of occupation and to establish the chronology, a century after excavations first revealed the site. Settlement archaeology has long been problematic in Malta, overshadowed by the megalithic temples, but new work at the site of Taċ-Ċawla (Gozo) has gathered significant economic and structural evidence revealing how subsistence strategies supported agricultural communities in early Malta. A study of the second millennium BC Bronze Age site of In-Nuffara (Gozo) likewise has yielded significant economic and chronological information that charts the declining and changing environment of Malta in late prehistory.

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