

# ORIGINI

*PREISTORIA E PROTOSTORIA  
DELLE CIVILTÀ ANTICHE*

*Direttore:*  
SALVATORE M. PUGLISI



ROMA 1969  
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI ROMA  
ISTITUTO DI PALETOLOGIA - MUSEO DELLE ORIGINI

*Direzione e Amministrazione:* Istituto di Paleontologia. Facoltà di Lettere, Città Universitaria, Roma. - *Direttore Responsabile:* Salvatore M. Puglisi - *Redattori:* Barbara E. Barich, Luigi Cardini, Editta Castaldi, Gianluigi Carancini, Selene Cassano, Luigi Causo, M. Susanna Curti, Mirella Cipolloni, Delia Lollini, Alessandra Manfredini, Fabrizio Mori, Renato Peroni, Flaminia Quoqani, Antonio M. Radmilli, Adolfo Tamburello, Mariella Taschini. - *Segretaria:* Alba Palmieri.

## SOMMARIO

ALBA PALMIERI:

RECENTI DATI SULLA STRATIGRAFIA DI ARSLAN-  
TEPE . . . . . 7

LAWRENCE H. BARFIELD:

TWO ITALIAN HALBERDS AND THE QUESTION OF  
THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN HALBERDS . . . . . 67

Олимпиада шапошникова:

КАТАКОМБНАЯ КУЛЬТУРНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ  
ОБЛАСТЬ . . . . . 85

EDITTA CASTALDI:

TOMBE DI GIGANTI NEL SASSARESE . . . . . 119

AMÁLIA MOZSOLICS:

LA STRATIGRAPHIE, BASE DE LA CHRONOLOGIE  
DE L'ÂGE DU BRONZE DE LA HONGRIE . . . . . 275

CHIARA SILVI ANTONINI:

NOTE SULLA CERAMICA DELLA CULTURA DI ĆUST  
(FERGHANA) . . . . . 295

ITALO BIDDITTO - SELENE M. CASSANO:

RINVENIMENTI DI ETA' DEL FERRO NEL TERRI-  
TORIO DI FROSINONE . . . . . 311

RECENSIONI, a cura di:

E. CASTALDI, L. CAUSO, M. CIPOLLONI, A. ROMUALDI, M. TA-  
SCHINI, M. TOSI . . . . . 365



## TWO ITALIAN HALBERDS AND THE QUESTION OF THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN HALBERDS

---

*Lawrence H. BARFIELD - Birmingham*

Among many prehistoric objects of Italian origin preserved in museums in Britain are two metal halberds which are worthy of special attention. These are of interest not only on their own account, as rather unique objects, but also because of the information they reveal relative to the study of halberds in Italy and elsewhere in Europe<sup>1</sup>.

SANTA FIORA - *Monte Amiata, province of Grosseto* (fig. 1).  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. No. 1927, 1420.

This object formed part of the collection left to the Ashmolean Museum by Sir Arthur Evans and the museum catalogue records that it was originally brought from 'Mr. Strozzi'<sup>2</sup>.

It is perhaps best described as a shaft-hole halberd as it combines in an unusual way the blade of a halberd — in the current archaeological sense — with the shaft-hole centre and butt of a knobbed battle axe.

It is 17.3 cm. long and the maximum width of the blade is 2.7 cm. The blade is extremely thick and has in addition a broad thick mid-rib

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Ashmolean Museum and the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing me to publish the two objects and for providing me with photographs. It is worth noting here two less spectacular halberds in British collections; one in the British Museum from Frosinone (p. 178) (O'Riordain 1937 fig. 67, Italy 3), and another in Cambridge from 'Etruria' (p. 182) (O'Riordain 1937 fig. 67, Italy 5).

<sup>2</sup> This probably refers to the Count Strozzi who formed an important archaeological collection during the 19th century.

along both sides. The central part is swollen to take a cylindrical shaft-hole, 1.5 cm. in diameter. The axis of this hole is set slightly obliquely to the blade. The butt is formed by a small mushroom-shaped knob set at the end of a narrow cylindrical neck and the butt and the neck are at a higher level than the blade.

The metal, to judge from the red colour, is probably pure copper. The casting is clumsy and the central swelling for example is lopsided. The extreme thickness of the blade implies that the mid-rib could hardly have been functional and thus must be purely a skeuomorphic representation of a more usual type of halberd blade which would have been cast in a different way.

The tip of the blade has been filed down in recent times to sharpen the cutting edge.

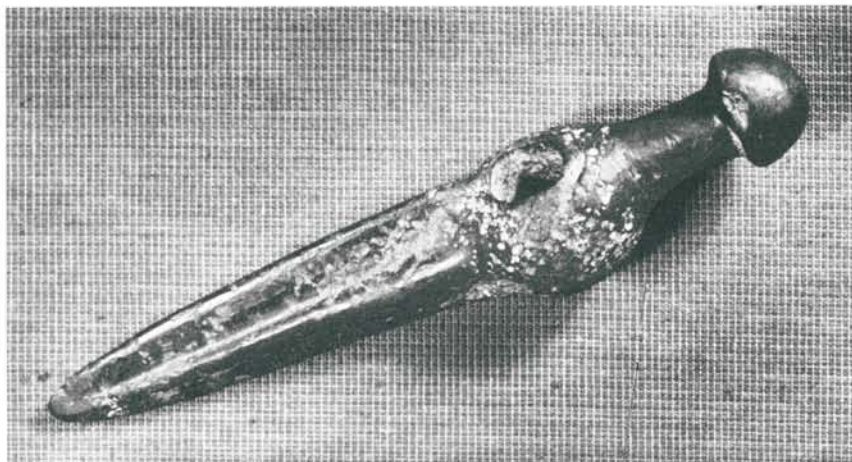
This implement is so far unique in Italy, but it can, all the same, be fairly certainly attributed to the Rinaldone culture for the following reasons. Firstly the socket and the butt can be closely paralleled among the stone shaft-hole axes found in Rinaldone cemeteries. The mid-rib blade set in a halberd position, together with the fact that it is made of copper, would suggest also that it is of Copper Age date. Furthermore its find spot lies in the heart of Rinaldone territory, since the main concentration of sites so far known belonging to this culture is in the Fiora Valley, (Minto 1938, Rittatore 1942, 1951 and 1962).

There is plenty of evidence from burials to suggest that both the knobbed stone battle-axe and the metal halberd were used by the Rinaldone people so it is interesting to see how the two ideas have been combined in this one implement.

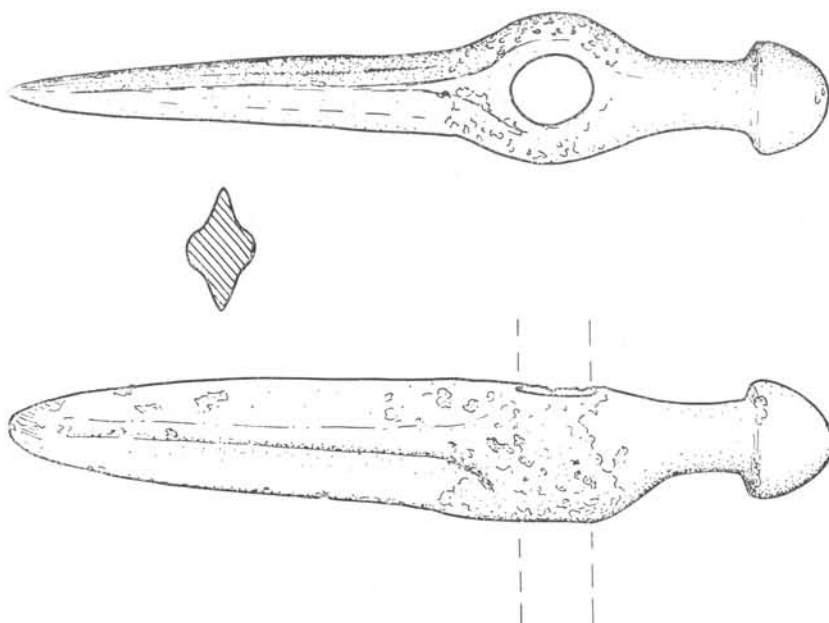
CALVATONE, *province of Cremona* (fig. 2).  
British Museum, London. No. 188, 1214.

A halberd blade, 28.8 cm. long and 8.7 cm. wide at the heel. The sides of the blade are straight while the heel and the tip are rounded. It is strengthened by a low narrow parallel-sided mid-rib which is flanked by two slight grooves. The heel is provided with three square rivet holes, the centre one of which has been torn out. The two lateral rivet holes hold two massive cylindrical rivets with flat domed heads.

The mark of the edge of the haft is clearly visible on the surface of the blade. This runs in a straight line to just above the midrib



a



b

Fig. 1-a: Santa Fiora; shaft-hole halberd (photograph by Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); b: Santa Fiora; shaft-hole halberd (lunghezza 17,3 cm.).

but beyond this point it curves outwards on to the blade. This outline was further intentionally marked by a line of short overlapping incised strokes.

Early analyses showed the blade to have been made of copper with traces of tin.

This halberd was first mentioned by J. Evans (1881 p. 480)<sup>3</sup>, and was illustrated by Montelius (1895 pl. 33 [7]) and later by O'Riordain (1937 fig. 67 Italy [2]). Neither of these last two however showed the decoration at the edge of the haft.

Doubts were cast on its provenance by Pigorini (1882) but there seems in fact to be little basis for his scepticism.

Typologically we can ascribe it an Early Bronze Age date as it is comparable to the general type of the great majority of halberds of this date from Central and North Western Europe, and it is not without parallels in Italy (p. 182). Two details however are unique among European halberds. One is the use of square rivet holes which have clearly been punched through the thickness of the metal and the other is the forward sweep of the haft above the central mid rib<sup>4</sup>.

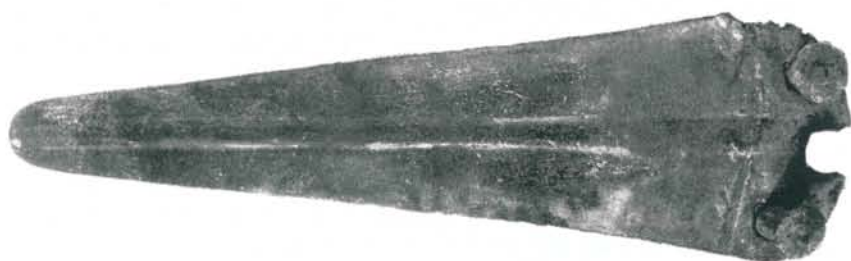
### *The Halberd in Italy*

Although Italy has often been mentioned in connection with the origin and the development of the halberd in Europe, no general survey of Italian halberds has been undertaken. O'Riordain in his classic study of European halberds illustrated the examples known to him but failed to put the Italian material into its proper perspective (O'Riordain 1937). More recently the question of the origin of halberds in Europe has been raised again more than once (Butler 1963: Case 1966) so that the time is ripe to look at the Italian evidence in slightly more detail.

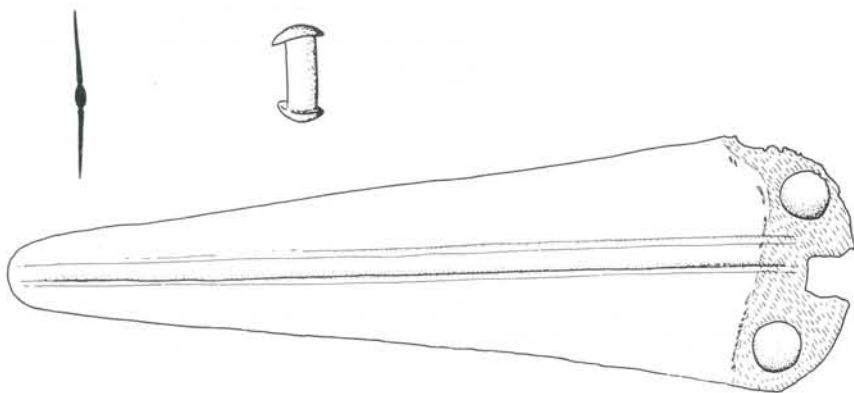
It seems clear that in Italy we are dealing with two main periods when halberds were in use. Firstly during the Copper Age in the Rinaldone, Remedello and the Gaudio complexes and later, in the

<sup>3</sup> Wrongly described by Evans as coming from the province of Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> Analogies with rock engravings (p. 182) would suggest that the bulge is at the top of the blade. However the angle between the mid-rib and the rivet alignment would point to the blade being the other way up.



a



b

Fig. 2-a: Calvatone; halberd blade (photograph by British Museum, London);  
b: Calvatone; halberd blade (lunghezza 28,8 cm.).

Early Bronze Age when the main Italian metal-working tradition formed part of a wider 'common-market' of bronze technology centred on the Unetice culture to the north of the Alps.

A large number of metal blades of different types are known from the Copper Age, most come from cemeteries and most from Central and Northern Italy. One of the main problems in analysing these is the difficulty of telling in many cases whether they were hafted as a dagger or as a halberd.

On the one hand we have the certain daggers, which are blades with a rounded, trapezoid or triangular, rivetted heel, usually without a mid-rib, and showing the mark of a hilt with an omega-shaped opening at its base. The triangular-heeled type is exemplified in the blade

from Guardistallo (Schiff-Giorgini 1915 pl. 1) (fig. 4-A) and the trapezoid heel on blades like the one from Rinaldone (Rittatore 1962 pl. XXIII 10) (fig. 4-B).

On the other hand we have blades which were certainly designed as halberds. These have a straight rivetted heel, a mid-rib and one straight and one sinuous edge with the angle between the alignment of the rivets and the mid-rib exceeding  $90^{\circ}$ . There are only three certain examples of this type from Italy; the Gambara halberd (Brescia) (O'Riordain 1937 fig. 67 Italy 4), a sporadic find, but not far from Remedello, in an area very rich in Copper Age finds (fig. 4-G). Another blade was found at the other end of the peninsula at Roggiano Gravina in Northern Calabria where it was associated with a tanged copper dagger and two pressure-flaked flint daggers (de Franciscis 1956). A third example of the unknown provenance is in Pigorini Museum in Rome (Museum No. W 85278). A very damaged blade from Spesso (Padua), which has a haft and rivet alignment very oblique to the mid-rib alignment, may have been of this type as well (Battaglia 1958-59 fig. 84). It is proposed to call this type after the site of Gambara.

In between these two identifiable groups we find a range of blades which cannot always be certainly called halberds or daggers. These mostly have a mid-rib and show evidence of a straight hafting across their heel plates. In some examples the angle between the rivet, haft alignment and that of the mid-rib is markedly oblique, indicating hafting as a halberd. In other cases this angle shows only a slight deviation from  $90^{\circ}$  which makes identification less certain. In a number of instances the recorded position of the blade in the burial is an indication of whether it had been mounted as a halberd or a dagger.

Tentatively we can identify three main types of these blades<sup>5</sup>:

1. Round-heeled or more rarely trapezoid-heeled blades with two or more rivets and a narrow central mid-rib (fig. 4-C). The haft mark

<sup>5</sup> In 1901 Colini classified Copper Age blades into three main types:

- I) Unrivetted tanged flat daggers, which includes the Ciempozuelos type.
- II) Triangular mid-rib blades with either rivetted tang or straight rivetted heel plate.
- III) Flat blades with rounded or angular rivetted heels.

The groups proposed and discussed here can be fitted into the latter two categories.

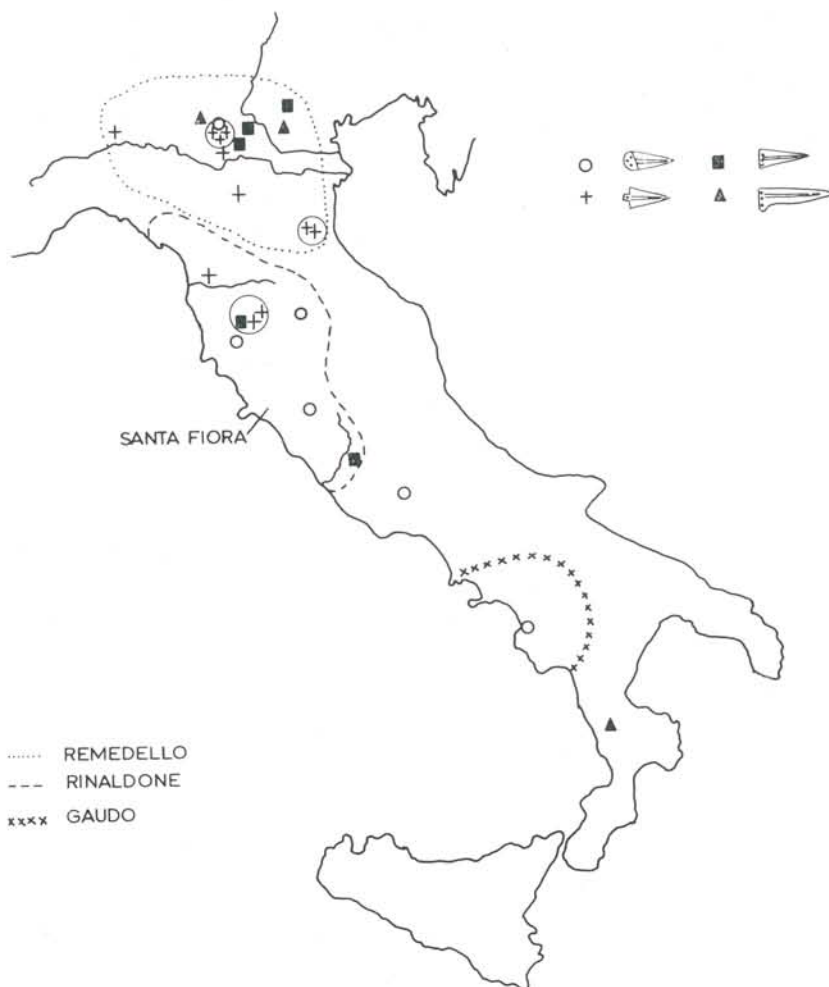


Fig. 3 - Distribution of halberd and halberd-related blades in Italy.

on these is often straight. In some cases the haft mark and rivet are set very obliquely to the axis of the blade clearly indicating mounting as a halberd. In other examples this is not so marked.

There seems to be a tendency for the blades which are clearly halberds to have mid-ribs whereas the daggers described on p. 71 are usually flat. There are examples too, however, where a flat blade

is associated with a straight haft mark and so may have been mounted as a halberd.

Examples of this type are known from Pomerance (Trump 1966 fig. 23); Rinaldone (tomb 3) (Colini 1903 fig. 7); from grave 106 at Remedello (Junghans etc. 1960 no. 641), and the blade from Gaudio (Sestieri 1947-48). The blade from Frosinone (O'Riordain 1937 fig. 67 Italy 5) without a mid-rib can perhaps be associated with this group, if it is indeed a halberd. It is proposed here to call this group after Pomerance.

A trapezoid heeled blade from Fojano (Arezzo) with a mid-rib and trapezoid rivet setting shows asymmetry between rib and heel (fig. 4-D) (Montelius 1904 pl. 124 [17]).

2. Triangular blades with a straight heel, small, straight aligned rivets and central mid-rib (fig. 4-E). Some of these show a very slight asymmetry between the rivet alignment and the mid-rib, while in the Villafranca burial a blade of this type was lying across the chest of the dead man suggesting that it had been hafted as a halberd. The available evidence thus points to at least some of these being used as halberds. In shape this type is closely related to the Gambara halberd.

Examples are known from Monte Bradoni (Colini 1902) (fig. 4-E), Montecchio Maggiore (Battaglia 1958-59 p. 250), Villafranca Veronese (Ghislanzoni 1932), and Colli di S. Stefano (Tivoli) (Rellini 1926 fig. 1), while the blade from a tomb at Fontanella (Acanfora 1956 fig. 1-i) with a damaged heel may also belong to this or to the Pomerance group. The latter was described as lying in the grave, pointing away from the body. Their contexts are all Copper Age and it is proposed to call this type after Villafranca.

3. Triangular blades with a mid-rib and a short squared-off tang (fig. 4-F). The tang is provided with one or, more rarely, two rivet holes for attachment. In the past these have usually been described as daggers but Aberg regarded them as halberds, while O'Riordain (1937) writes « while they may be justly regarded as tanged daggers the breadth of the base of some suggests their having been hafted as halberds ». Other evidence which would support their claim to be halberds is the slight asymmetry in a few cases between the base and the mid-rib alignment, as for example in the blade from Sabbione (Patroni 1906 Pl. V 8) (fig. 4-F), also a blade of this type was found at Cumarola pointing away from the body in the same position as the blade from

Fontanella, white at the same site Cavedoni described the remains of a massive wooden butt associated with such a blade. Again at Remedello large copper studs are found near the heel of the three blades of this type (Colini 1901)<sup>6</sup>. The decorative use of similar studs on halberds as well as massive butts is attested on the engravings of halberds at Monte Bego. In addition to this, one of the same blades from Remedello (grave 83) bears the impression of cloth on the corroded surface (Acanfora 1956). This indicates that, firstly the blade was not provided with a sheath at the time of burial, contrary to what one might expect in the case of a dagger, and secondly it is strikingly paralleled in the Early Bronze Age halberd from Montmerano (p. 182) which had been in direct contact with cloth in the same way.

In apparent contradiction to this rather circumstantial evidence we have the engraved triangular blades on rock surfaces in the Val Camonica and on statue-menhirs from both here, the Bolzano region, and, more recently, at Sion on the Upper Rhône (Bocksberger 1964). These are clearly dagger blades but with their distinctive narrow mid-ribs, look very like this third type of blade.

From this discussion it is probably safest to conclude that these tanged blades were hafted both as daggers as well as halberds.

Blades of this type are known from Borgo Rivola (p. Ravenna) (Junghans etc. 1960 No. 577 and 578) two examples; Monte Bradoni (Montelius 1904 pl. 128 [11]) two examples; Cumarola (Modena) several examples (Colini 1901), Remedello (Brescia) three examples, Sabbione (p. Pavia), (Patroni 1906 pl. V (8) and Grotta Vecchiano (p. Pisa) (Montelius 1904 pl. 129 [22]). A tanged dagger with a single rivet hole from Roggiano Gravina may be attributable to the same group (de Franciscis 1956). This type should be called after the site of Remedello<sup>7</sup>.

### *Discussion*

The distribution map (fig. 3) shows that the Pomerance blades are more characteristic of the Rinaldone area and the Remedello blades of the Remedello area, although the latter are at home in Northern Tuscany as well.

<sup>6</sup> This would fall into Colini's group 3, together with the non-mid-rib daggers discussed on p. 00.

<sup>7</sup> The Villafranca and Remedello blades constitute Colini's group 2.

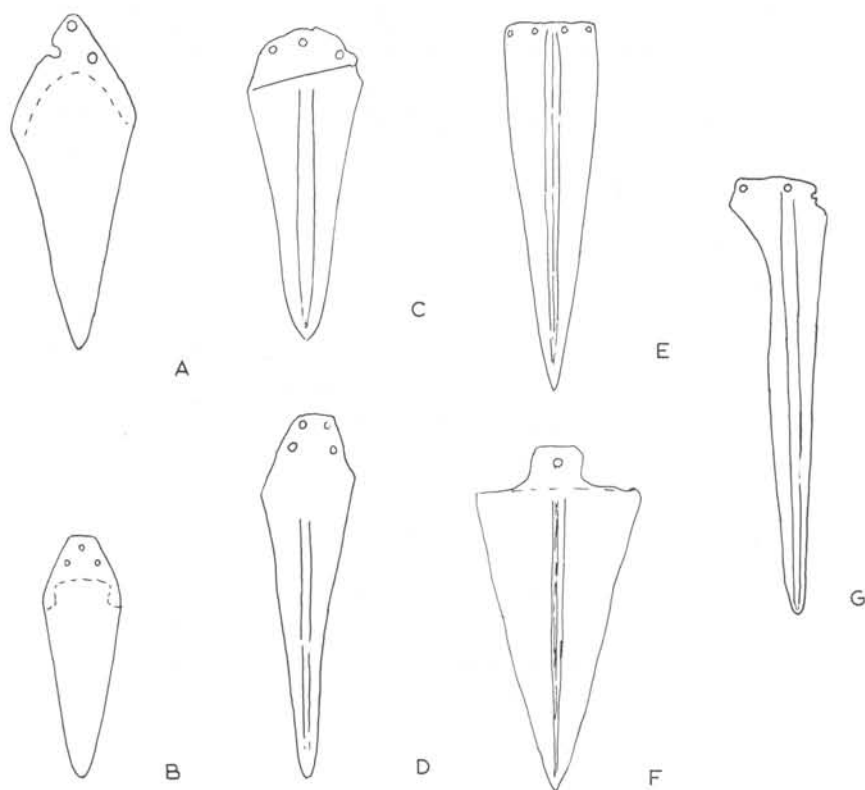


Fig. 4 - Varieties of Copper Age blades. *A*: Guardistallo; *B*: Rinaldone; *C*: Pomerance (Pomerance type); *D*: Fojano; *E*: Monte Bradoni (Villafranca type); *F*: Sabbione (Remedello type); *G*: Gambara (Gambara type).

Prototypes for both the Remedello and the Villafranca blades were already recognised by Colini (1898-1902) (1900) in the Aegean and the East Mediterranean. The Remedello blade is more specifically paralleled in the early metal using cultures of the Levantine Coast, for example, at Byblos (Schaeffer 1948 fig. 61 P) where the single rivetted tang is recorded, while a blade with a double rivetted tang is known from Jericho (Schaeffer 1948, fig. 117 [43]). Similar blades were also popular during the Anatolian Early Bronze Age II phase when both the single and the double rivetted tanged types were known (Stronach 1957, fig. 1). Examples are also known from Cyprus (Brannigan 1966 a).

The Villafranca blade on the other hand can be matched in Early Minoan Crete and similar types are characteristic of the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades and on mainland Greece. The main difference between the Aegean and the Italian blades is that the former are provided with two pairs of rivet holes, one pair at the heel and the other advanced somewhat down the blade, whereas the Italian examples have the rivets aligned along the edge of the heel only. Renfrew shows that this blade form, his type IVa, is common on Early Cycladic II sites in the islands and on Early Helladic II sites on the mainland (Renfrew 1967 p. 11)<sup>8</sup>.

In the East Mediterranean these blades are generally accepted as being dagger blades and there is no evidence to suggest that they might have in some cases been mounted as halberds.

The dating of these types in the east Mediterranean is fairly close, the Anatolian Early Bronze II covers the period 2500-2200 B.C. while the Early Cycladic and Helladic II is currently estimated at c. 2500-2100. These archaeological dates compare well with the two c. 14 dates that we so far have for the Italian Copper Age (Grotta Romita di Asciano;  $2298 \pm 115$  B.C. and Grotta Piccioni (Bolognano);  $2356 \pm 105$  B.C.).

Apart from their East Mediterranean parallels these blades are peculiarly Italian. There is one blade from the Corded Ware site of Vinelz on Lake Neuchâtel which is very like a Villafranca blade, with, curiously enough, a rivet system of Aegean type (see above) (Munroe 1890 fig. 7 [26]). Another blade which has sometimes been cited as a parallel for the Remedello type was found at the site of St. Blaise also on Lake Neuchâtel (Munroe 1890 fig. 8 [9]). This is however not very similar, having a rounded shoulder and lacking a mid-rib.

#### *Later Italian Halberds*

As already mentioned, the Calvatone halberd is typologically Early Bronze Age in character. In contrast to the rest of Central, Northern and North Western Europe actual finds of halberds are scarce during this period in Italy, but so indeed is Early Bronze Age metalwork as a whole in Italy. We have evidence, however, in the presence of a

<sup>8</sup> Branigan's suggestion that these blades came from Italy would appear unlikely if only on the grounds that the rivetting system is different (Branigan 1966 b).

local Italian variety of the solid hilted dagger (Uenze 1938) of an independent school of metal working existing at this time in Northern and Central Italy closely linked to the Central European Unetice tradition.

The halberds in question do not differ greatly from the usual European Early Bronze Age halberd type, apart from the unique details

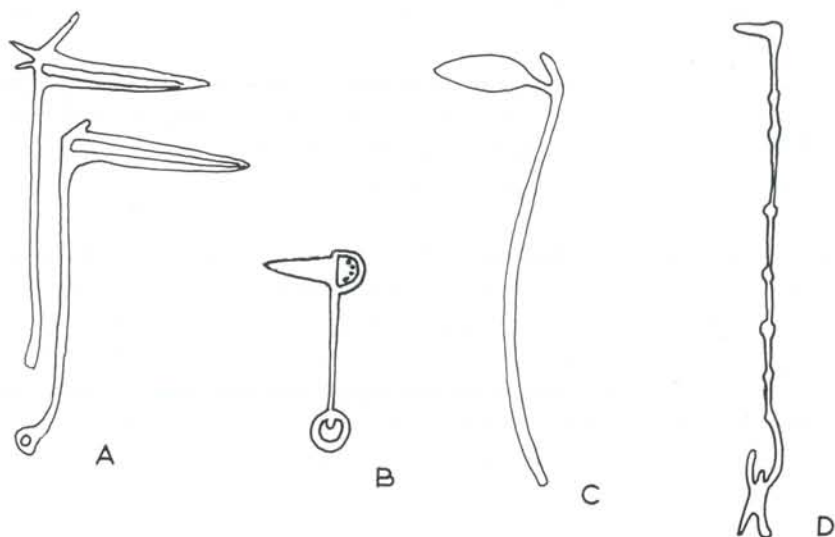


Fig. 5 - Halberds on rock engravings. A: Roccia dei Corni Fresci; B: Monte Bego; C: Capitello dei due pini, Paspardo; D: Val Fontanalba (A and C after Anati, B after Issel, D after Bicknell).

of the Calvatone halberd. Their main features, the round heel and the mid-rib, would suggest a direct derivation from the Copper Age halberds of Pomerance type from which they are only distinguishable in the composition of the metal and the greater size of the rivets. Besides the example from Calvatone, one halberd is known from the Early Bronze Age hoard of Montemerano (Milani 1907 fig. 3); there is a blade from 'Etruria' (O'Riordain 1937, fig. 67 [Italy] 3), which has a wider flatter mid-rib than the others, and a blade from Varese has clearly asymmetrical rivet holes and mid-rib (Montelius 1895 pl. 3 [12]).

### *Halberds on rock engravings*

No discussion of halberds in Italy would be complete without mention of the numerous halberds represented on rock engravings in Liguria and the Val Camonica. Here we see that halberds were very definitely an important weapon in prehistoric Italy with, in addition, a symbolic or religious significance.

At Monte Bego two halberds flank a demon figure (Bicknell 1913, Pl. XL, 2) and other drawings show people brandishing halberds of enormous size—up to five and a half times the size of the bearer. These may admittedly represent some artistic licence but the six or more nodes spaced along the length of the shaft do rather suggest the binding together of several poles end to end (fig. 5-D).

On engravings at 'Foppe di Nadro' in Val Camonica (Anati 1960, fig. 31) we find blades of Gambara type represented.

We can learn more about the hafting of the halberds too from other engravings, notably the group on the Rocchia dei Corni Freschi at Montecchio in the Val Camonica. Here the helve has a slightly sinuous profile with the end of the shaft being projected above and outwards from the top of the blade in the manner suggested by the marking on the Calvatone halberd. At the bottom of the shaft this curve is balanced by a bend in the opposite direction (fig. 5-A). The helves also have ring shaped loops at the bottom. A similar loop is also shown on a Monte Bego halberd (Issel 1901 [15]), where it has the appearance of a rope passing through a hole at the end of the shaft (fig. 5-B).

### *Italian halberds and their relationship to other European halberds*

There has been much discussion as to where halberds were first developed in Europe with, at one time or another, Spain, Italy, Ireland and Central Europe all having champions for this honour<sup>9</sup>. Forssander however in 1936, and indeed Colini before him, had clearly shown that the Italian halberds of Remedello and Rinaldone belonged to

<sup>9</sup> The state of these theories up to 1937 was summarised by O'Riordain (1937) who was in favour of an Irish origin. Butler (1963 p. 11-15) has brought the discussion further up to date and shows that Central Europe or Italy are the only plausible sources.

the second half of the third millennium B.C., while there is no indication of halberds of a comparable date elsewhere in Europe. Coghlan and Case (1957) in discussing the origin of the Saale metal working tradition suggested that halberds and the use of sulphide ores arrived there from Italy<sup>10</sup>.

We have no evidence that the halberd idea was introduced from the East Mediterranean into Italy, and the prototype blades found in that area would appear to be ordinary daggers. It is tempting to see the halberd as an Italian development, perhaps in the Rinaldone area. We know that the stone shaft-hole battle axe was a characteristic weapon and perhaps a status symbol of the Rinaldone people, and on the introduction of metal blades from the East Mediterranean their prestige value led to them being mounted on shafts in the same way as the battle axe. The Santa Fiora shaft hole halberd certainly demonstrates the combination of these two ideas most cogently<sup>11</sup>.

*Department of Ancient History and Archaeology  
of the University of Birmingham*

<sup>10</sup> Case 1966 p. 153, however, suggested a Central European origin for halberds again.

<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to note that no extensive attempt was made to cast copies of stone battle axes in copper. Examples of these, however, can be cited from Sweden (Forssander 1936 pl. III [1]) and from Bavaria (Maier 1965, fig. 57). O'Riordain's search for prototypes for halberds among stone tools was not particularly convincing.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACANFORA M.O., 1956. *Fontanella Mantovana e la cultura di Remedello*. BPI, vol. 65, p. 321 ff.
- ANATI E., 1960. *La civilisation du Val Camonica* (Paris).
- BATTAGLIA R., 1958-59. *Preistoria del Veneto e della Venezia Giulia*. BPI (supplem.).
- BICKNELL C., 1913. *A guide to the prehistoric rock engravings in the Maritime Alps* (Bordighera).
- BOCKENBERGER O.J., 1964. *Site préhistorique avec dalles à gravures anthropomorphiques et cistes du Petit - Chasseur à Sion*. Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte, p. 29.
- BRANIGAN K., 1966 a. *Byblite daggers in Cyprus and Crete*. Annals of the British School at Athens, p. 123.
- BRANIGAN K., 1966 b. *Prehistoric relations between Italy and the Aegean*. BPI, vol. 75, p. 97.
- BUTLER J.J., 1963. *Bronze Age connections across the North Sea*. Palaeohistoria, vol. 9, p. 1.
- CASE H.J., 1966. *Were Beaker — people the first metallurgists in Ireland?* Palaeohistoria, vol. 12, p. 141.
- COGHLIN H.H. - CASE H., 1957. *Early metallurgy of copper in Ireland and Britain*. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, vol. XXIII, p. 91.
- COLINI G.A., 1898-1902. *Il sepolcreto di Remedello Sotto nel Bresciano ed il periodo eneolitico in Italia*. BPI, vols. XXIV-XVIII.
- COLINI G.A., 1903. *Tombe eneolitiche del Viterbese*. BPI, vol. XXIX, p. 150.
- DE FRANCISCIS A., 1956. *Scoperte preistoriche in Calabria*. BPI, vol. 65, p. 213.
- EVANS J., 1881. *The Ancient bronze implements, weapons and ornaments of Great Britain* (London).
- FORSANDER J.E., 1936. *Der Ostskandinavische Norden während der ältesten Metalzeit Europas* (Lund).
- GHISLANZONI E., 1932. *La tomba eneolitica di Villafranca Veronese*. BPI, vol. LII, p. 9.
- ISSEL A., 1901. *Le rupi scolpite nell'alte valli delle Alpi Marittime*. BPI, vol. XVII, p. 217.
- JUNGHANS S. - SANGMEISTER E. - SCHRÖDER M., 1960. *Metallanalysen Kupferzeitlicher und Frühbronzezeitlicher Bodenfunde aus Europa* (Berlin).
- MAIER R.A., 1965. *Die jüngere Steinzeit in Bayern*. Jahresbericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege, vol. 5.
- MILANI L.A., 1907. *Castiglione d'Orcia*. Notizie degli Scavi, p. 665 ff.

- MINTO A., 1938. *Trovamenti preistorici nel territorio a sud dell'Amiata*. BPI, N.S. II, p. 29.
- MONTELIUS O., 1895 and 1904. *La civilisation primitive en Italie* (Stockholm), vol. I (1895) vol. II (1904).
- MUNROE R., 1890. *The lake dwellings of Europe* (London).
- O'RIORDAIN S.P., 1937. *The halberd in Bronze Age Europe: A study in prehistoric origins, evolution, distribution and chronology*. *Archaeologia*, vol. LXXXVI, p. 195.
- PATRONI G., 1906. *Oggetti di rame e di bronzo della Lomellina*. BPI, vol. 32, p. 55.
- PIGORINI L., 1882. *Calvatone. Notizie Diverse*. BPI, vol. VIII, p. 171.
- RELLINI U., 1926. *Per lo studio delle spade di bronzo*. BPI, vol. XLVI, p. 64.
- RENFREW C., 1967. *Cycladic metallurgy and the Aegean Early Bronze Age*. *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 71, p. 1.
- RITTATORE F., 1942. *Necropoli eneolitica presso il Ponte San Pietro*. « Studi Etruschi », vol. XVI, p. 557.
- RITTATORE F., 1951. *Scoperte di età eneolitica e del bronzo nella Maremma Tosco-Laziale*. *Riv. Scienze Preist.*, VI, p. 3.
- RITTATORE F., 1962. *La cultura di Rinaldone*, in *Piccola Guida della Preistoria Italiana* (Firenze).
- SCHAEFFER C.F.A., 1948. *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale (IIIe. et IIe. millènaire)* (Oxford).
- SCHIEFF-GIORGINI R., 1915. *Di una tomba eneolitica rinvenuta a Guardistallo presso Cecina (Pisa)*. BPI, vol. XLI.
- SESTIERI P.C., 1946-48. *Primi risultati degli scavi nella necropoli preistorica di Paestum*. *Rend. Acc. Arch. e Belle Lettere Napoli*, vol. XXIII.
- STRONACH D., 1957. *The development and diffusion of metal types in Early Bronze Age Anatolia*. *Anatolian Studies*, vol. VII, p. 89.
- TRUMP D.H., 1966. *Southern Italy before Rome* (London).
- UENZE O., 1938. *Die frühbronzezeitlichen triangularen Vollgriffdolche* (Berlin).

## RIASSUNTO

L'articolo illustra due alabarde metalliche presenti in collezioni inglesi. L'alabarda di Santa Fiora rappresenta un esemplare unico, in quanto riunisce gli elementi di un'alabarda metallica e quelli propri di un'ascia-martello perforata, ed è assegnabile alla cultura di Rinaldone di età del Rame. L'alabarda di Calvatone è un grande esemplare della prima età del Bronzo. L'articolo prosegue analizzando i vari tipi di alabarde in uso durante l'età del Rame in Italia e suggerisce l'ipotesi che la tradizione europea delle alabarde possa aver avuto quivi origine in seguito all'immanicazione a mo' di alabarda delle lame di pugnale di tipo mediterraneo orientale.

## SUMMARY

The article illustrates two metal halberds in British collections. The Santa Fiora halberd is a unique specimen, as it combines the elements of a metal halberd with a shaft-hole axe, and is attributable to the Copper Age Rinaldone culture. The Calvatone halberd is a large Early Bronze Age specimen. The article goes on to discuss the various types of halberds in use during the Copper Age in Italy and suggests that the European tradition of halberds may have originated in Italy by the mounting of East Mediterranean type dagger blades as halberds.