

ALMA MATER STUDIORUM - UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA



OCNUS

Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione
in Beni Archeologici

17
2009

ESTRATTO

Ante
Quem

Direttore Responsabile
Sandro De Maria

Comitato Scientifico
Sandro De Maria
Raffaella Farioli Campanati
Richard Hodges
Sergio Pernigotti
Giuseppe Sassatelli
Stephan Steingraber

Coordinamento
Maria Teresa Guaitoli
Simone Rambaldi

Editore e abbonamenti
Ante Quem soc. coop.
Via C. Ranzani 13/3, 40127 Bologna
tel. e fax + 39 051 4211109
www.antequem.it

Redazione
Valentina Gabusi

Traduzione degli abstracts
Marco Podini

Abbonamento
€ 40,00

Richiesta di cambi
Dipartimento di Archeologia
Piazza San Giovanni in Monte 2, 40124 Bologna
tel. +39 051 2097700; fax +39 051 2097701

Le sigle utilizzate per i titoli dei periodici sono quelle indicate nella «Archäologische Bibliografie» edita a cura del Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

Autorizzazione tribunale di Bologna n. 6803 del 17.4.1988

Senza adeguata autorizzazione scritta, è vietata la riproduzione della presente opera e di ogni sua parte, anche parziale, con qualsiasi mezzo effettuata, compresa la fotocopia, anche ad uso interno o didattico.

ISSN 1122-6315
ISBN 978-88-7849-038-3
© 2009 Ante Quem soc. coop.

INDICE

<i>Presentazione</i> di Sandro De Maria	9
--	---

ARTICOLI

Preistoria e protostoria

Lorenc Bejko <i>Life and Death in the periphery of the Mycenaean world: cultural processes in the Albanian late Bronze Age</i>	11
Nicola Bianca Fábry <i>Lo scarabeo della tomba 7 di Monterenzio Vecchio e le parures d'ambra delle necropoli etrusco-celtiche della valle dell'Idice</i>	23
Andrea Gaucci <i>Coppa da una tomba villanoviana di Vetulonia: fenicia o siriana?</i>	29
Franco Marzatico, Lorenza Endrizzi <i>Un nuovo cinturone villanoviano dai Campi Neri di Cles (Trentino)</i>	45

Culture della Grecia e di Roma

Cornelia Isler-Kerényi <i>Antefisse sileniche fra Grecia e Italia</i>	55
--	----

Archeologia tardoantica e medievale

Andrea Augenti, Andrea Fiorini, Massimiliano Montanari, Massimo Sericola, Alberto Urcia, Fabio Zaffagnini <i>Archeologia dell'architettura in Emilia-Romagna: primi passi verso un progetto organico</i>	65
Maria Teresa Guaitoli, Andrea Baroncioni, Massimo Zanfini <i>Lo scavo della chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore a Trento</i>	77

Archeologia orientale

Gabriele Bitelli, Marco Bittelli, Federica Boschi, Nicolò Marchetti, Paola Rossi, Luca Vittuari <i>An Integrated Approach for the Use of GPS and GPR in Archaeological Sites: a Case-Study at Tilmen Höyük in South-Eastern Turkey</i>	89
---	----

Gian Luca Bonora, Zholdasbek Kurmankulov
Nomadi e agricoltori nel delta del Syrdarya (Kazakistan) fra l'età del Bronzo e l'antica età del Ferro 101

Angelo Di Michele
L'architettura sacra nella Siria dell'età del Bronzo Antico 119

ARTICOLI-RECENSIONE

Lorenzo Mancini
Rituale e strutturazione del paesaggio sacro negli Asklepieia della Grecia 133

Luisa Mazzeo Saracino
Lo studio della ceramica archeologica e il manuale tecnico di Ninina Cuomo di Caprio 138

Simone Rambaldi
Qualche riflessione sulle mostre archeologiche degli ultimi anni in Italia 142

SCAVI DELLA SCUOLA E DEL DIPARTIMENTO DI ARCHEOLOGIA

Introduzione
di Sandro De Maria 149

Italia

Albinia (Grosseto)
Claudio Calastri, Daniele Vitali 151

Casacalenda (Campobasso)
Lorenzo Quilici 153

Classe (Ravenna), suburbio
Giuseppe Lepore, Giovanna Montevicchi 155

Corinaldo (Ancona), Chiesa di Santa Maria in Portuno
Giuseppe Lepore 158

Emilia-Romagna, scavi di archeologia medievale
Andrea Augenti, Mila Bondi, Enrico Cirelli, Nicola Mancassola, Giorgia Musina, Enrico Ravaioli 162

Ercolano (Napoli)
Antonella Coralini, Daniela Scagliarini Corlàita 180

Fondi e Itri (Latina)
Lorenzo Quilici 182

Galeata (Forlì-Cesena), Villa di Teoderico
Riccardo Villicich, Marialetizia Carra 184

<i>Marzabotto (Bologna)</i> Elisabetta Govi	189
<i>Monterenzio Vecchio (Bologna)</i> Lisa Guerra, Thierry Lejars, Vanessa Poli, Barbara Vaccari, Daniele Vitali	192
<i>Ostia (Roma)</i> Massimiliano David, Angelo Pellegrino, con la collaborazione di Giacomo Orofino e Marcello Turci	198
<i>Ostra (Ancona)</i> Michele Silani, Cristian Tassinari	203
<i>Povegliano (Verona)</i> Nicola Bianca Fábry, Dániel Szabó	206
<i>Roma, S. Paolo alla Regola</i> Lorenzo Quilici	209
<i>Suasa (Ancona)</i> Marco Destro, Enrico Giorgi	210
<i>Sutri (Viterbo)</i> Lorenzo Quilici	219
<i>Valle del Sinni (Matera e Potenza)</i> Lorenzo Quilici	220
	Albania
<i>Phoinike</i> Sandro De Maria	221
	Croazia
<i>Burnum</i> Enrico Giorgi	226
	Egitto
<i>Bakchias (Fayyum)</i> Sergio Pernigotti	231
	Francia
<i>Bibracte</i> Enrica Camurri, Rosa Roncador	234
	Grecia
<i>Gortyna (Creta)</i> Isabella Baldini Lippolis	239
<i>Kos</i> Isabella Baldini Lippolis	241

Siria

Bosra

Raffaella Farioli Campanati

244

Uzbekistan

Samarcanda

Amreddin Berdimuradov, Rita Dimartino, Dario Giorgetti, Simone Mantellini

246

LIFE AND DEATH IN THE PERIPHERY OF THE MYCENAEAN WORLD: CULTURAL PROCESSES IN THE ALBANIAN LATE BRONZE AGE

Lorenc Bejko

L'articolo analizza la presenza di oggetti di cultura micenea in Albania durante la tarda età del Bronzo: attraverso la loro distribuzione negli insediamenti e nelle sepolture è possibile cogliere le modalità dell'influenza micenea nelle diverse regioni dell'Albania e le interazioni con la cultura locale.

The identification and description of the Mycenaean type objects found in the late Bronze Age contexts of Albanian sites has been object of several previous publications¹, including my own². As objects that stand out from the characteristic types of the local cultures, the finds of Mycenaean types have received particular attention. They have served extensively in the establishment of the late Bronze Age, early Iron Age chronologies as well as in the characterization of some form of contacts between the Aegean and Albanian territories in the later prehistory. Their presence in many burial contexts has been very important in making general assessments on social differentiation within communities of late Bronze Age in Albania. The exploration of the patterns of distribution of these objects in the country has been particularly important. The discussion, however has been enriched when the trends of the Mycenaean presence in Albania has been compared to the contemporary developments of neighboring regions, such as Macedonia, Epirus, or southern Italy. Wallerstein's study of the world systems (Wallerstein 1974) and the core-periphery model applied in explanation of the relationships between the Mycenaean palatial systems with their northern neighboring areas, have put the earlier observations not only

in a wider context, but also within a working theoretical framework. I will revisit here some of these data, with a view from within the "periphery" and try to evaluate the forms and degrees of interactions as well as their role in the cultural processes observed during the Albanian late Bronze Age.

Patterns of distribution and context of the Mycenaean type objects

Since the descriptions and illustrations of this category of finds are provided extensively elsewhere³, for the benefit of the discussion here, I will focus only on the patterns of their spatial distribution.

During the pre- and early Mycenaean period (late middle Helladic – late Helladic IIA, 1650-1460 B.C.), numerous objects of Aegean and Mycenaean inspiration find their way to the Albanian territory. As the map in figure 1 shows, the majority of these finds comes from sites located close to the sea shores (Çukë, Dukat), or along the main river valleys with easy access to sea (Vajzë, Pazhok, Mat). On the other hand, interesting evidence comes from inland sites located on the communication routes linking Albania with Epirus (Vodhinë), western Macedonia and Thessaly (Maliq), and the central Balkans (Çinamak, Kukës). All the early Mycenaean material, as well as most of

¹ Prendi 1977-78; 1982a; 1982b; Korkuti 1970; Andrea 1985; Aliu 2006; Bodinaku 1995; Kilian 1985; 1986; 1988; Harding 1984; Soueref 1989; Wardle 1972; 1977; 1993.

² Bejko 1993; 1994; 2002a.

³ Prendi 1982b; Korkuti 1970; Bodinaku 1995; Andrea 1985; Bejko 1993; Bejko 2002a.

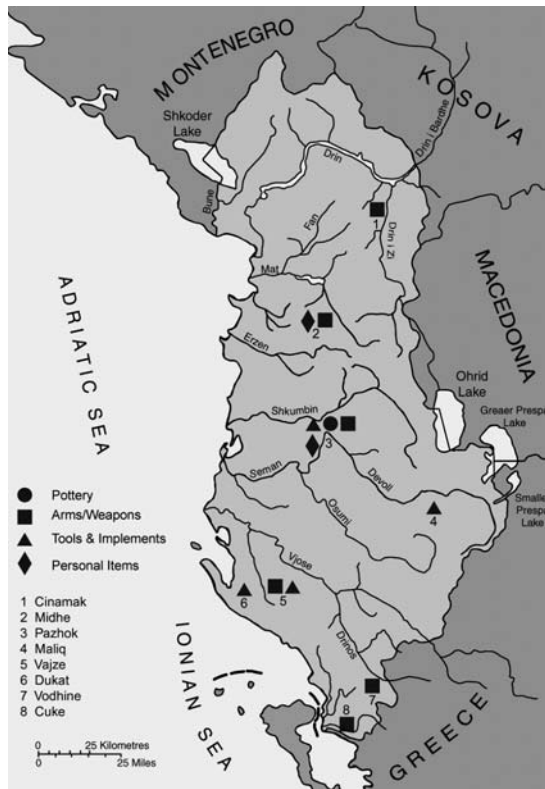


Fig. 1. Map showing the distribution of the pre- and early Mycenaean finds from Albania.



Fig. 2. Vapheio cup from tumulus 1 at Pazhok.

that of the MH date, comes from burial contexts. The only exception is made for the MH type knife from middle Bronze Age level at Maliq, which however, belongs to the period considered here as pre-Mycenaean. The imported early Mycenaean pottery is limited to the one example of type III vapheio cup from Pazhok (fig. 2). The bulk of the material is made up by bronze weapons (long swords, dag-

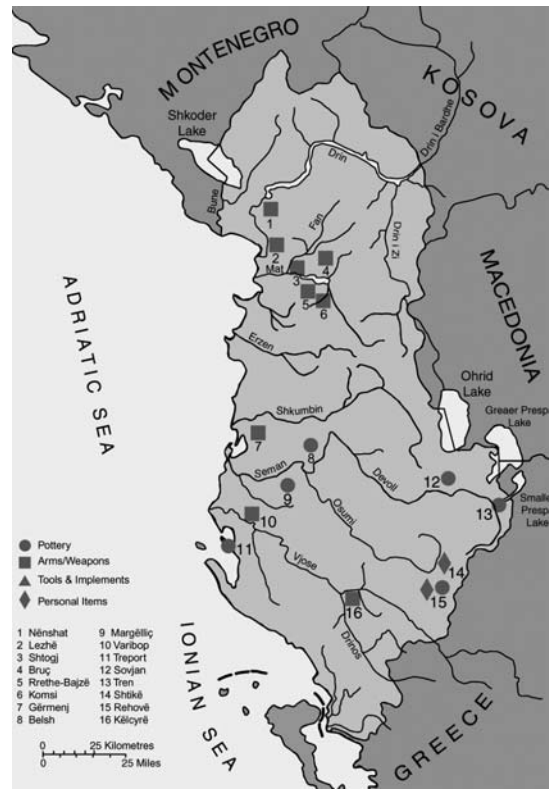


Fig. 3. Map showing the distribution of finds from the Mycenaean palatial period in Albania.

gers, spearheads), followed by the bronze tools (knives), and a few personal golden items (body ornaments) of uncertain date, but probably of MH origin and with parallels from the period of Shaft Graves. Eight sites are included in my distribution map as belonging to this first period. Only three of them, however, have yielded material of early Mycenaean date, and the number of objects in discussion is not more than ten.

During the Mycenaean expansion period (late Helladic IIB – late Helladic IIIB2, 1460-1200 B.C.) the picture becomes more complex (fig. 3). Many more sites are reported to have produced objects of LHIIB-LHIIIB2 date. From almost 17 sites, five (or about 30%) of them are settlements, while the others represent cemeteries or isolated burials. This represents one of the major breaks from the pattern seen in the former period. The finds seem to be clustered in the western part of the country and in the Korçë-Kolonjë region in the Southeast. Mat river valley is well represented by a number of type C and D Aegean swords, which appear also in a number of sites along or very

close to the Adriatic coast (Nënshat, Lezhë, Gërmenj, Varibop). Pottery is also more frequently found in this period compared to the previous one. Imported complete vessels and sherds (about 12 pieces) make up almost 40% of the objects designated to this period. They come both from settlement and burial contexts and, at least in one case (Margëlliç), they are present in a fortified hill-top site. Other than pottery and type C, D swords, there is little to report from this period. Some golden head ornaments, normally found in pairs in some rich burials at Rehovë and Shtikë (southeastern Albania), may probably represent another category of imported object of this period (Aliu 1996, p. 73, Pl. I 8-9).

The late Mycenaean period (late Helladic IIC Early – SubMycenaean, 1200-1050/20 B.C.) is even more extensively represented in the country, not much for the number of sites as for the number of objects assigned to it (fig. 4). Pottery comes totally from burial contexts. The tumuli cemetery at Barç is of particular interest because here for the first time pottery appears in a substantial quantity (7% of the total but, when only LBA burials are considered as a unit, this figure becomes much bigger). The same is true for the only Mycenaean G type sword from Barç. Clearly, the Mycenaean swords are drastically reduced because of the wide appearance of the so-called European type II swords in this period. On the contrary, tools are quite numerous, represented by one edged knives (of MH tradition but characterized as typical ‘Epirote’ objects), and double axes of Kilindir, Hermones/Kierion, and Epirote types.

Contexts and significance of Mycenaean finds in Albania

Any discussion of the Mycenaean presence and/or influence in the country should necessarily consider the period immediately preceding it, namely the MBA (MH in terms of Aegean chronology). There is sufficient evidence from Albania to contradict the idea that “there is no reliable evidence for contact further north or west than Leukas before the Mycenaean period” (Dickinson 1986, p. 274). The wide distribution of the gray-fabric pottery in southern Albania, along with the appearance of many

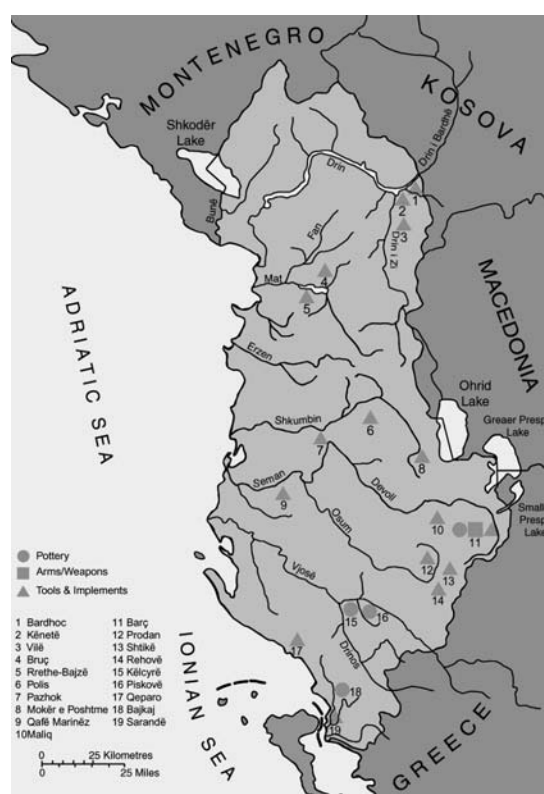


Fig. 4. Map showing the distribution of finds from the Mycenaean disintegration period in Albania.

types of bronze swords, daggers, spearheads, one edged knives, tweezers, chisels, and possibly body ornaments, show clearly that, during the late period of the middle Bronze Age, Albania was part of the MH cultural area. The situation, at least in the southern part of the country, is not different from what it appears in Thessaly, Epirus, or Ionian Islands. On these basis, Klaus Kilian has suggested some degree of Aegean acculturation for the late MBA Albanian cultures (Kilian 1985, p. 179; 1986, p. 287). A brief analyses of the data seems to support Kilian’s thesis, even if the definition of this ‘acculturation’ process remains problematic. A distinction should be made here between the situation in the southern part of the country with that in central and northern Albania. In these later geographical areas, finds of pre- and early Mycenaean date are limited to prestigious bronze objects from burial contexts, which are at all probabilities used to indicate social status. The bulk of the local material cultures does not feel this influence, which suggests only occasional contacts and a free exchange pattern with the Aegean. This picture of the late MBA

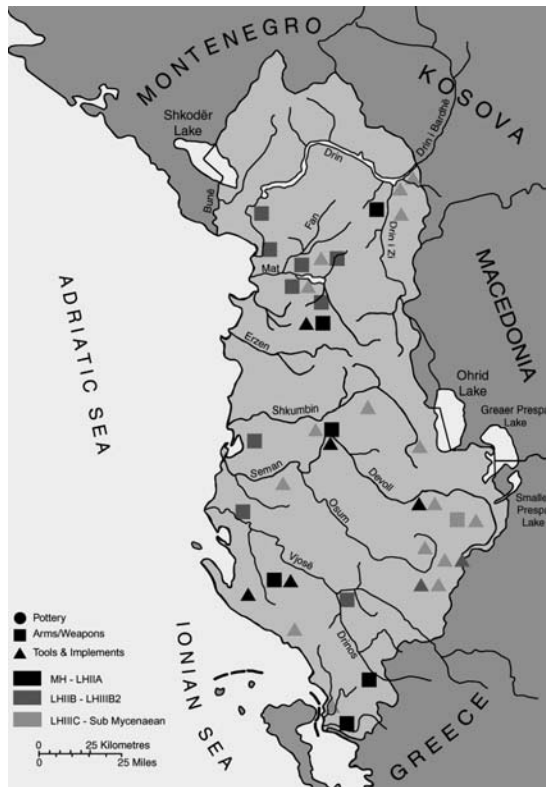


Fig. 5.1. Map showing the distribution of bronzes of Mycenaean type in Albania.

in the country provides a background for the early Mycenaean contacts. There are only few early Mycenaean objects reported until now from the country, mostly bronze finds, only one pottery example, and all coming from burial contexts. Again, this situation is not different from that in the contemporary Epirus, Ionian Islands, and Macedonia. It is also true, however, that the early Mycenaean materials are quite limited out of the core Mycenaean area.

During the palatial period, is evident a change in the pattern of contacts and exchange of the Mycenaean centers with the neighboring areas. While the exchange and influence over the local cultures in Macedonia and southern Italy become much more intensive than earlier, the picture from Albania is quite different. The reason of this process is far from clear, but the number of finds here is much more limited compared to the earlier areas. The variety of C and D type swords reported from central and northern Albania (Mat river valley, Lezhë, Shkodër), and their provenience from burial contexts, confirm the free exchange pattern with the Mycenaean centers of this part of the

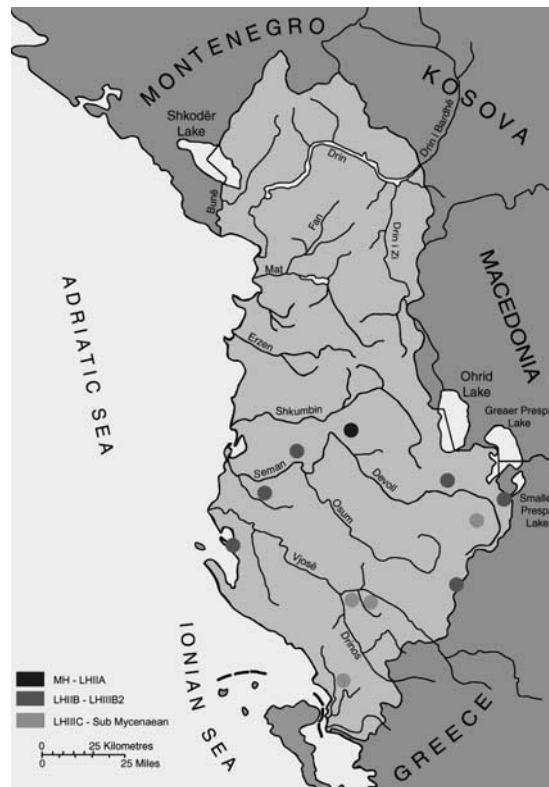


Fig. 5.2. Map showing the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Albania.

country, as in the early Mycenaean period (fig. 5.1). Probably the presence of copper pushed the Mycenaean here, but their interest and activity remained limited. All we can suggest now is that the exchange of the Mycenaean goods was very selective and probably exclusively concentrated around the status symbol objects, like the Mycenaean type swords. These were dedicated to people who controlled the access to the natural resources of the area, and were probably used to distinguish and help them maintain this privileged position.

From the southern part of the country are reported not only C and D type swords, but also some Mycenaean decorated pottery. These later finds come from both burial and settlement contexts. As much as five settlement sites have produced at least one Mycenaean sherd from their LBA levels (fig. 5.2). The one from Margëlliç (not to be confused with the complete alabastron, which comes from a burial), represents the only certain case when Mycenaean pottery is found in a hill-top site enclosed with defensive walls. Thirteenth century is, however, the period during which other

fortified hill-top sites appear almost all over southern and western Albania (Ceka 1983, pp. 146-150), but none of them has given any Mycenaean object. On the other hand, the percentage of the Mycenaean pottery from the sites where it occurs is extremely low. Consequently, the pattern that can be suggested for the southern Albania is that of a limited diffusion of Mycenaean objects. This situation contrasts that of the contemporary Macedonia, southern Epirus, and southern Italy. Not only there is indication for Mycenaean settlements in these later areas in the form of 'colonies', but there is also evident a strong Mycenaean impact on the respective local material cultures. Apparently, for reasons not clear to us, the early Mycenaean interest on exchange with Albanian territories has shifted with the advent of the palatial period towards Macedonia and southern Italy.

With the collapse of the palatial system in almost all of the Mycenaean core area, the situation changes again. The secondary centers, whose economic activity is not coordinated any more by the palace authorities, seem to renew their interest for the Albanian territories. Consequently their objects, now resulting from a much less standardized production process, are diffused extensively in the country. In addition, Mycenaean pottery, for instance, becomes more present also in quantitative terms within single sites, as the case of Barç demonstrates. As far as bronzes are concerned, there is little evidence for imports in this period. Instead, the local production of Mycenaean types (such as one-edged knives and double axes) is more evident. On the other hand, bronzes of 'northern' and 'italic' types become now more frequent, and it is not easy to establish the role of each of these influences on the Albanian late LBA cultures.

Settlement and burial in the late Bronze Age: a view from southeastern Albania

In order to explore the level of interaction between the Mycenaean secondary centers and the local communities within the territories of Albania, as well as the patterns of consumption of the Mycenaean imports from the later, we

will focus on southeastern area of the country, which offers some detailed recent studies.

The environment and settlement patterns

Excavations and interdisciplinary studies of the site at Sovjan has provided not only the most reliable stratigraphic evidence for cultural sequence, but also the main paleo-environmental data for the wider area (Lera, Prendi, Touchais 1996, pp. 995-1026; 1997, pp. 871-879). Sediment and pollen cores from Lake Maliq have been particularly important for environmental reconstructions⁴. These show that at the beginning of the LBA, ca. 1450-1150 B.C., oak, sedges and reeds become more abundant, and may suggest a period of lake recession and a return to warmer conditions. On the other hand, on-site cores from Sovjan indicate the presence of some episodes of flooding and erosion on the western edge of the basin at the end of the LBA and beginning of the Iron Age. These may have been important reasons, even if not the only ones, for the eventual abandonment of the site.

The most important development, however, is the shift towards the hill-top sites during the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. About ten such sites are identified in the Korçë basin and a similar number in the Kolonjë plateau. Not only are these new sites located in naturally protected locations, but were also meant to control the main communication routes, such as that east-west across the Wolf's Pass (fig. 6). The recent surface survey in the upper Devoll valley has revealed several other Bronze Age sites along the edges and higher positions near the river. The chronological development of these sites is still in process, however, only one sherd of Mycenaean pottery is reported to come from the bottom of Trajan hill-top site. The social engagement and the important investment of local communities toward the new type of settlements is a process that requires investigation from other sources of information. One such important field of investigation is certainly the study of the mortuary customs and rituals, which is dominated by the wide appear-

⁴ Fouache 2002, pp. 22-42; Allen 2002, pp. 61-72.



Fig. 6. Hill-fort sites around the Wolf's Pass in the Little Prespa region.

rance in the late Bronze Age of the tumuli burials. Through the end of the Iron Age, tumuli become not only the place of the dead and of memory, but also a recurrent feature of the social and physical landscape. More than 40 tumuli are identified in the region, but only 11 of them have been systematically excavated. Elsewhere, I have published the results of the analysis from five tumuli containing late Bronze Age graves from Korçë–Kolonjë area (Bejko 2002b).

Cemeteries and mortuary customs

Correspondence, seriation and social status analysis have demonstrated that most of the differences in the treatment of the dead run along the gender axis. In almost all cases, there is a larger number of items of the material culture used to mark female identity than those occurring in male graves. Responsible for this skewed distribution of gender markers seem to be the items of female attire and more generally, the non-pottery artifacts. At tumulus 1 of Barç (in the Korçë basin), in the late Bronze Age (fig. 7) female graves were associated with amber and glass-paste beads, golden spirals

used as head ornaments, bronze ring, tweezers, bone pins and surprisingly bronze knives. Pottery artifacts are limited in number and represented from closed shapes imported from Mycenaean regional centers (of LHIIIC Late date)⁵ or made locally. Men graves are typically associated with bronze sword/dagger, spearhead and several kinds of pottery items. Imported Mycenaean pottery include one cup, one kylix and an amphoriskos example, while the locally made pottery is represented by two-handled cups and squat jugs.

At tumulus 2 in Barç, late Bronze Age female graves had typically stone beads and bronze pins together with imported late Mycenaean amphoriskos and two-handled cups of local pottery. Male graves on the other hand, were mostly characterized by the presence of bronze spearheads and knives, tweezers as well as one particular local pottery shape (one-handled jar) known as Rehovë type.

From the area of Kolonjë plateau three tumuli were investigated, namely those of Rehovë, Prodan and Shtikë. At Rehovë tumu-

⁵ Bejko 1994, pp. 105-126; Bejko 2002a, pp. 9-24.

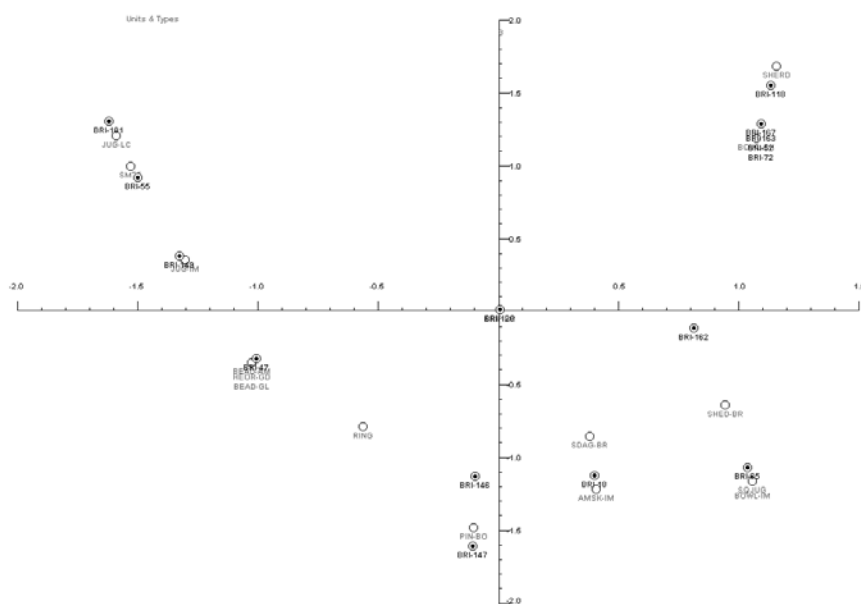


Fig. 7. Scattergram of the correspondance analyses for the late Bronze Age graves at Barç 1.

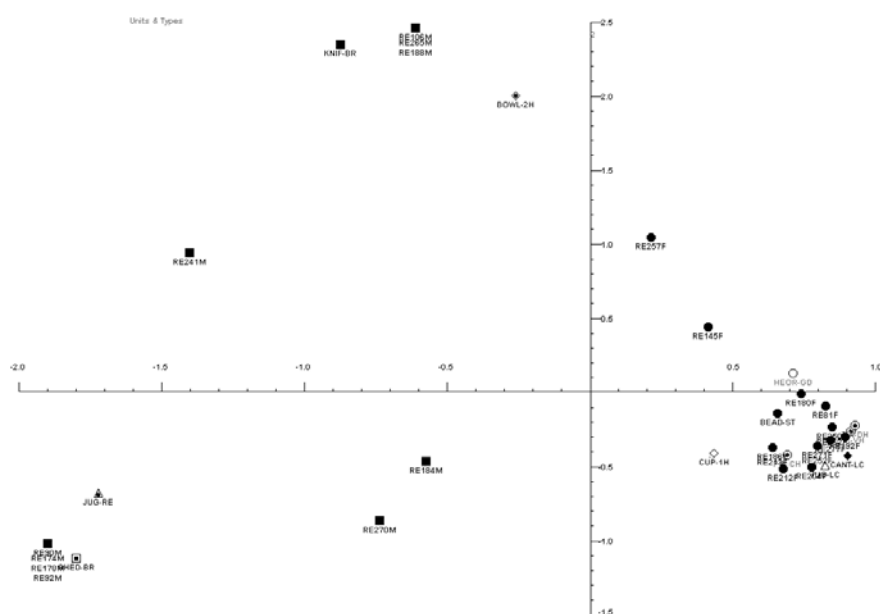


Fig. 8. Scattergram of the correspondance analyses for the late Bronze Age graves at Rebovë tumulus.

lus, in the late Bronze Age female burials were typically associated with different kind of stone, amber, bone and clay beads, golden spirals used as head ornaments, bronze rings and pins (fig. 8). Pottery items were only represented by locally made kantharoi and one-handed jugs. Male graves on the other hand had bronze objects such as spearheads, knives and pins, as well as one, already mentioned as particular one-handed jar of Rebovë type.

Prodan is another cemetery of Kolonjë plateau with a good sample of graves dated to the late Bronze Age, but with very few grave goods, which make reliable analyses difficult to achieve. Female objects, for instance, include only local amphoriskoi and two-handed jugs. Male items can count on bronze sword/daggers, knives and squat jugs and cups of local production. At Shtikë only late Bronze Age graves are excavated and even if

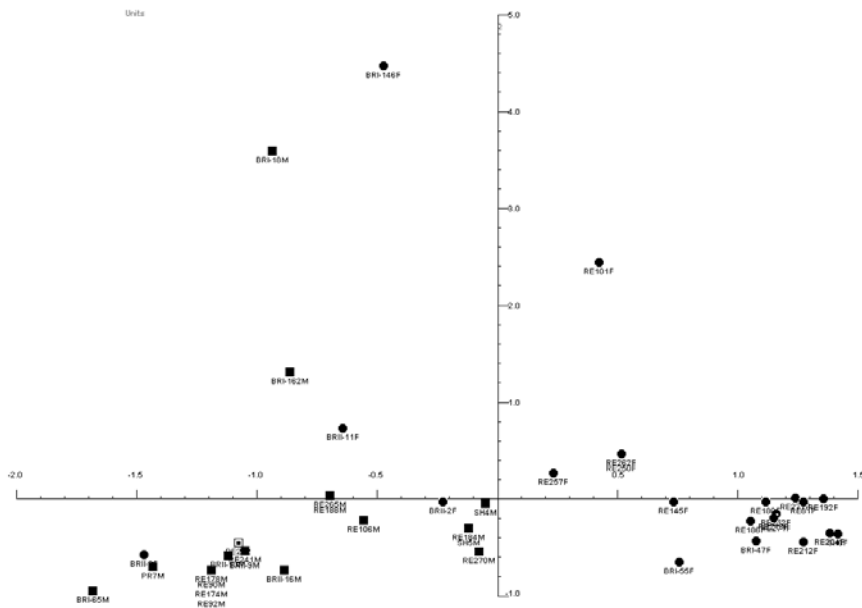


Fig. 9. Scattergram of the correspondance analyses for the late Bronze Age burials from southeastern Albania.

few in number they show quite an impressive variation of grave goods. Typically female objects here include golden head ornament, bronze pins of different kinds (conical head or discoid head with perforation on the neck), as well as local one-handed jugs and two-handled cups. Male objects instead are represented by bronze knives, pins (with no head) and Rehovë type jars.

Another important domain through which some elements of gender identities are expressed is that of the type of graves used for the deceased. Throughout the region, three main types of graves occur: simple pits, graves which pits are lined with mid-size stones and urns. At Barç 1 for instance, in the late Bronze Age almost 75% of male graves are simple pits while stone lined graves and urns are each represented by 12.5%. Quite different appears the situation for female graves, where simple pits are still the majority of grave types (57%), but there is a substantial increase in stone lined graves compared to male group (about 43% of all female graves). No urns are used for females, so the few ones dated to LBA might have been used for male individuals only. At Barç 2 also simple pits represent the absolute majority of grave types. Only one grave of the late Bronze Age is of stone lined type and no urns are reported whatsoever. At Rehovë in the late Bronze Age the distribution of grave types between

female and male burials seems to be exactly the opposite of that at Barç 1; no urns for male individuals at all, equilibrated distribution of simple pits and stone lined graves, even if with a slight majority of the first (55% simple pits against 45% of stone lined graves). On the other hand, all urns belong to female individuals (6.5% of them), while the dominant form of grave is simple pit (73.5% of all female burials) with stone lined graves represented only by 20% of cases. At Prodan also, a general trend is observed where females were most commonly found in stone lined graves, while simple pits were the most favorite grave type for men.

Beyond single grave analysis, the study of these tumuli has revealed important information for vertical differentiations of individuals and groups. At tumulus 1 of Barç male burials (as defined by correspondence analyses) show a clear articulation of the whole group into sub-groups based on the different combination of grave goods associated with the skeleton (fig. 9). The first sub-group (graves 18, 65 and 162) is characterized by the combination of bronze weapons with imported Mycenaean pottery. Graves of the second sub-group instead (52, 72, 163, 167 and 118) have several forms of local pottery and particularly the cup with two raised handles. Female graves show less clear articulations, however, a tendency of distinguis-

hing graves associated with pottery items versus others with ornaments (golden head ornaments, rings and beads) can be sustained. It is worth reminding here that females were generally placed in stone lined graves, while males in simple pits. Exploring further the data, some interesting results were acquired through the application of Social Status Analyses⁶. They confirm that there is a separation of graves within the same gender group, based on the wealth of grave goods types (expressed through the sum of type indexes). Particularly for male graves, the later groupings coincide with those produced by correspondence analyses. For female graves a similar pattern is observed, however, the coincidence with the CA groupings is not as evident as in the case of male graves. At tumulus 2 of Barç, late Bronze Age female graves are also differentiated on the basis of their preferences for bronze pins without heads versus the bronze pins with vase shape heads. Male graves seem to make a more coherent group, gathered around the most preferred pottery type, namely the Rehovë type jar.

At Rehovë in the late Bronze Age, correspondence analysis shows a clear separation of male graves in two sub-groups: one of these groups (where graves 90, 92, 174 and 178 belong) is characterized by the same combination of grave goods, namely the bronze spearhead and the Rehovë type jar. Graves of the second group (106, 188 and 265) have typically bronze knives and local kantharoi. Female graves, on the other hand, do not show any clear breaking into sub-groups. As indicated earlier, they were normally associated with simple pits, while males with stone lined grave types. Plotting of features and types in the general plan of the late Bronze Age at Rehovë shows probably the existence of two grave clusters: one northeastern cluster and another one occupying the southwestern part of the tumulus. These two clusters might represent two social groups, spatially distinct, but probably with the same demographic or social arrangements (family groups?). This observation is probably confirmed also by the

social status analysis, which seems to arrange graves on the basis of sex only, with no internal articulation of graves of the same gender.

What does all this tell us about the wider region of southeastern Albania? Well, the symbolic use of material culture, as expression of individual and group identities is an important means of exploring similarities and differences between communities of the area. Even if most of the communities share the same components of the material culture, the way that they are used as social markers (being that gender, age, status and other) differ significantly. Distant communities such as Barç 1 in Korçë basin and Prodan in Kolonjë plateau, show a similar pattern of associating female burials with stone lined graves and males with simple pits. At Rehovë however, at a short distance from Prodan (in the Kolonjë plateau), females are mostly associated with simple pits and males with stone lined graves. Along similar lines, Rehovë in Kolonjë plateau and Barç 2 in Korçë basin share an impressively similar combination of grave goods for a particular group of male graves: bronze spearheads and knives with Rehovë type jars. Shtikë tumulus in the northern end of Kolonjë plateau can also be added to this group, with the exception that there is no spearheads found in the LBA graves at all. On the other hand, Prodan (between Rehovë and Shtikë in Kolonjë plateau) male graves combine grave goods in a way more similar to Barç 1 in Korçë basin, where swords/daggers go along with squat jugs of local pottery. Barç 1 however stands out of the rest of the LBA tumuli for two main reasons: *first*, because unlike any other cemetery in the region, some of the LBA graves here contain many imported pottery from the late Mycenaean secondary centers, which underlies the importance of this community as part of the long distance exchange networks in the wider area. Late Mycenaean type swords, jewelry and pottery⁷ not only reflect the accumulation of wealth by a particular segment of the community, but also the need for its display as a means of affirmation of the privileged position of control over exchange networks. *Second*, women seem to have pla-

⁶ For details of the method and its application with the Albanian tumuli data see Bejko 2001, pp. 121-122.

⁷ Bejko 1994, pp. 105-126; Bejko 2002a, pp. 9-24.

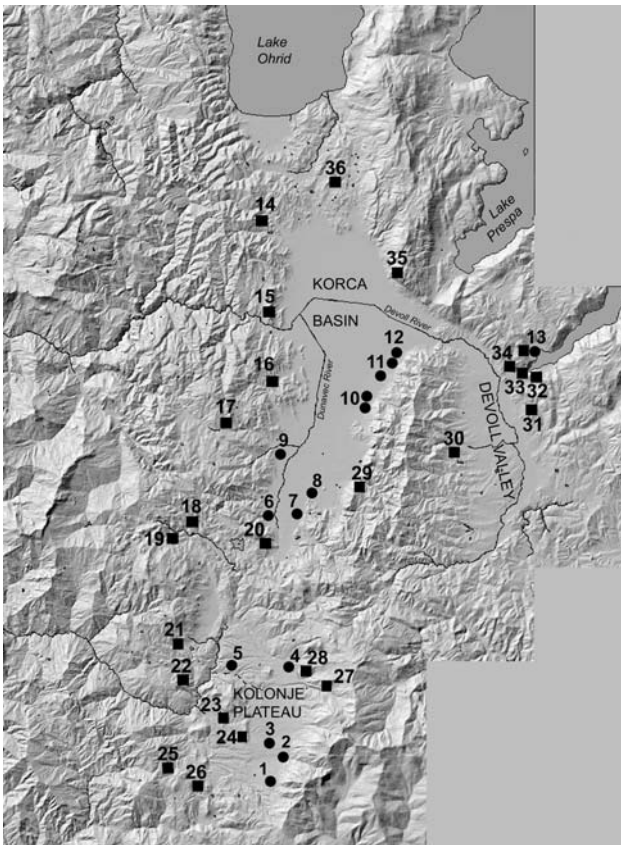


Fig. 10. Map of the late Bronze Age - early Iron Age settlements and tumuli from southeastern Albania.

yed a more important role within this community, compared to others in the region. Not only there is at least one positively identified case of association of a Mycenaean bronze dagger with a female burial, but also in contrast with all other tumuli, bronze knives here are typically a female object. Further observations show that the main body of the local pottery forms is used as social markers in a different way from the communities of the region. Males of Barç 1 and Prodan in the LBA, for instance, focus on the use of two-handled cups and kantharoi, while they are used as typically female objects at Rehovë, Barç 2 and Shtikë.

If the social dynamics of the region of southeastern Albania is to be explored, two important elements of it need to be established first. One of them is the spread of location of social communities in the landscape and the second is the understanding of the social dynamics within each of them. As we have tried to make some progress on this second issue, let's see how is the territory of the

Korçë–Kolonjë region was divided and organized. The map in fig. 10 shows the distribution of the known tumuli and settlements of the later prehistory in the Korçë–Kolonjë area. The picture it gives, however, is far from complete, not only because it misses many other settlements and burial sites due to the fact that the area hasn't been systematically and intensively surveyed, but also because of the missing detailed chronological framework for most of the known settlements. However incomplete, the map gives an impression that later prehistoric communities occupied the edges of the Korça basin, Kolonjë plateau and Devoll river valley. Settlements were either located around lake Maliq in the northern part of Korça basin, or on the naturally defended heights of first range of hills around the main basins. Most of the tumuli, on the other hand, seem to have been placed on the first terraces on the edges of the basins, even if location of some of them in the middle of the subscribed flat arable areas is not to be totally excluded. How can this model of spatial distribution of sites and tumuli in southeastern Albanian landscape be explained? It seems appealing to suggest that tumuli were placed on the edges of the arable land and with their height and visual significance in the landscape may have served as important territorial markers of the area. In social terms, this might mean that in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages it was important for the communities to express their territorial rights by stressing ancestral linkage.

To sum up the data from the region of southeastern Albania, we observe a number of important changes in the environmental setting, land use, settlement pattern, burial customs, trade networks, and not least in the realm of the social organization of the local communities. This is too neat a picture to be mere coincidence. Instead, this indicates that substantial, related transformations of the social and physical landscape are marking the cultural process in the LBA here. Interactions with the periphery of the Mycenaean world certainly play a role in this context, as the positive relationship between the quantity of Mycenaean-type objects and social complexity at Barç 1 shows.

Conclusions

If we consider the core-periphery model that Bryan Feuer describes for characterizing the cultural interaction processes in the periphery of the Mycenaean world⁸, we realize that it might work quite well in the Albanian situation. The distribution of Mycenaean type objects in Albania shows that the level of interaction has been different for different regions of the country. In most of the cases, we see them interacting (in the forms of limited exchange or diffusion) with the secondary centers of the border zones, rather than with the main palatial centers themselves. The appearance of the fortified hill-top sites controlling the trade routes of southeastern Albania with western Macedonia, for instance, supports this point. It is evident that the interaction process has worked in both directions (receiving and giving) as is suggested by the local characteristics of the C, D, and G type swords in Albania and Epirus, the wide distribution of characteristic one-edged bronze knives in these two areas, or the appearance of matt-painted pottery in Epirus following its development in southern Albania. There is quite a lot of interactions going on between different areas of the Mycenaean periphery, even if the forms of interactions cannot be fully appreciated based on the current state of analysis. The social consumption of the Mycenaean-type objects, however, is quite informative. Even if the core of Mycenaean material culture, identity, or social organization is not seen in the Albanian LBA communities, the pattern of using Mycenaean objects to affirm and maintain social status locally, reflects the interaction at the level of flows of information and knowledge, together with goods. This has not been strong enough to influence technologies or modes of production, funerary or domestic architecture, burial customs or the ideology of local communities, but has participated, even if in a modest way, in the cultural processes of the Albanian late Bronze Age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aliu 1996 = S. Aliu, *Tuma e Shtikës*, in "Iliria" 26 (1-2), 1996, pp. 57-78.
- Aliu 2006 = S. Aliu, *Recent prehistoric research in southeast Albania*, in L. Bejko, R. Hodges (eds.), *New Directions in Albanian Archaeology: studies presented to Muzafer Korkuti*, (International Centre for Albanian Archaeology Monograph Series No. 1), Tiranë 2006, pp. 43-55.
- Allen 2002 = S. Allen, *The Paleoethnobotany of Sovjan, Albania: preliminary results*, in G. Touchais, J. Renard (eds.) «L'Albanie dans l'Europe préhistorique (Actes du Colloque de Lorient 8-10 juin 2000)», *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement 42*», 2002, pp. 61-72.
- Andrea 1985 = Zh. Andrea, *Kultura ilire e tumave në pellgun e Korçës*, Qendra e Kërkimeve Arkeologjike, Tiranë 1985.
- Bejko 1993 = L. Bejko, *Mbi praninë e qeramikës mikene në Shqipërinë jugore dhe probleme lidhur me të*, in «Iliria» 23 (1-2), 1993, pp. 101-122.
- Bejko 1994 = L. Bejko, *Some problems of the Middle and Late Bronze Age in southern Albania*, in "Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology London" 31, 1994, pp. 105-126.
- Bejko 2001 = L. Bejko, *Të dbëna arkeologjike për kompleksitetin social në prehistorinë e vonë të Shqipërisë juglindore*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Institute of Archaeology, Tiranë 2001.
- Bejko 2002a = L. Bejko, *Mycenaean presence and influence in Albania*, in N. Cambi, S. Čače, B. Kirigin (eds.), «Greek Influence along the East Adriatic Coast (Proceedings of the International Conference, Split 24-26 September 1999)», Split 2002, pp. 9-24.
- Bejko 2002b = L. Bejko, *Mortuary customs in the late Bronze Age of southeastern Albania*, in G. Touchais, J. Renard (eds.), «L'Albanie dans l'Europe préhistorique (Actes du Colloque de Lorient 8-10 juin 2000)», *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement 42*», 2002, pp. 171-198.
- Bejko 2007 = L. Bejko, *Expressions of identities in the late Bronze and early Iron Age southeastern Albania*, in I. Galanaki, H. Tomas, Y. Galanaki, R. Laffineur (eds.), «Between the Aegean and the Baltic Seas: Prehistory across borders (Proceedings of the International Conference, Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb, 11-14 April 2005)», «*Aegeum* 27»», 2007, pp. 203-210.

⁸ Feuer 1999, pp. 7-14; Feuer 2003, pp. 15-24.

Bodinaku 1995 = N. Bodinaku, *The Late Bronze Age Culture of Albania and the Relations with the Balcanic and Aegean-Adriatic Areas*, in B. Hänsel (ed.) «Handel, Tausch und Verkehr im bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa (Seminar für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Freien Universität zu Berlin)», München-Berlin 1995, pp. 259-268.

Ceka 1983 = N. Ceka, *Lindja e jetës qytetare tek ilirët e jugut*, in «Iliria» 13 (2), 1983, pp. 135-192.

Dickinson 1986 = O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *Early Mycenaean Greece and the Mediterranean*, in «Traffici Micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica (Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11-12 maggio e 3-6 dicembre 1984)», Taranto 1986, pp. 271-277.

Feuer 1999 = B. Feuer, *The Mycenaean Periphery: some theoretical and methodological considerations*, in «The Periphery of the Mycenaean World (Proceedings of the First International Interdisciplinary Colloquium, Lamia 25-29 September 1994)», Lamia 1999, pp. 7-14.

Feuer 2003 = B. Feuer, *Cultural interaction processes in the Mycenaean periphery*, in «The Periphery of the Mycenaean World (Proceedings of the Second International Interdisciplinary Colloquium, Lamia 26-30 September 1999)», Athens 2003, pp. 15-24.

Fouache 2002 = E. Fouache, *Dynamiques paléo-environnementales en Albanie à l'Holocène*, in G. Touchais, J. Renard (eds.), «L'Albanie dans l'Europe préhistorique (Actes du Colloque de Lorient 8-10 juin 2000)», Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement 42», 2002, pp. 3-42.

Hammond 1967 = N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1967.

Harding 1984 = A. F. Harding, *The Mycenaean and Europe*. Academic Press, London 1984.

Kilian 1985 = K. Kilian, *Shqipëria jugore në epokën e bronzit të vonë*, in «Iliria» 15 (2), 1985, pp. 178-180.

Kilian 1986 = K. Kilian, *Il confine settentrionale della civiltà micenea nella tarda età del bronzo*, in «Traffici Micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica (Atti del Convegno di Palermo 11-12 maggio e 3-6 dicembre 1984)», Taranto 1986, pp. 283-301.

Kilian 1988 = K. Kilian, *Mycenaeans Up To Date, Trends and Changes in Recent Research*, in E. B. French, K. A. Wardle (eds.), «Problems in Greek Prehistory: Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester April 1986», Classical Press, Bristol 1988, pp. 115-152.

Korkuti 1970 = M. Korkuti, *Rapports de civilisation illyro-égéens a l'âge du Bronze et survivances de certains objets de type mycénien a l'âge du fer*, in «Studia Albanica» 2, 1970, pp. 43-90.

Lera, Prendi, Touchais 1996 = P. Lera, F. Prendi, G. Touchais, *Sovjan (Albanie)*, in «Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique» 120/II, 1996, pp. 995-1026.

Lera, Prendi, Touchais 1997 = P. Lera, F. Prendi, G. Touchais, *Sovjan (Albanie)*, in «Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique» 121/II, 1997, pp. 871-879.

Prendi 1977-1978 = F. Prendi, *Epoka e Bronzitet në Shqipëri*, in «Iliria» 7-8, 1977-78, pp. 5-58.

Prendi 1982a = F. Prendi, *The Prehistory in Albania*, in J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, E. Sollberger (eds.), «Prehistory of the Balkans; the Middle East and the Aegean World. Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.», 2nd edition, Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge, 3 (1), 1982, pp. 187-237.

Prendi 1982b = F. Prendi, *Die Bronzezeit und der Beginn der Eisenzeit in Albanien*, in B. Hänsel (ed.), «Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 V. Chr.», Band 1, Berlin 1982, pp. 203-233.

Soueref 1989 = C. Soueref, *Prania mikenase në Shqipëri dhe Epir Probleme dhe vëzhgime*, in «Iliria» 19 (2), 1989, pp. 79-86.

Wallerstein 1974 = I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, New York 1974.

Wardle 1972 = K. Wardle, *The Greek Bronze Age West of Pindus*, Phd dissertation, University of London, London 1972.

Wardle 1977 = K. Wardle, *Cultural Groups of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in North-West Greece*, in Godisnjak 13, Sarajevo 1977, pp. 153-199.

Wardle 1993 = K. Wardle, *Mycenaean Trade and Influence in Northern Greece*, in C. Zerner (ed.), «Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age», J.C. Gieben, Publisher, Amsterdam 1993, pp. 117-141.