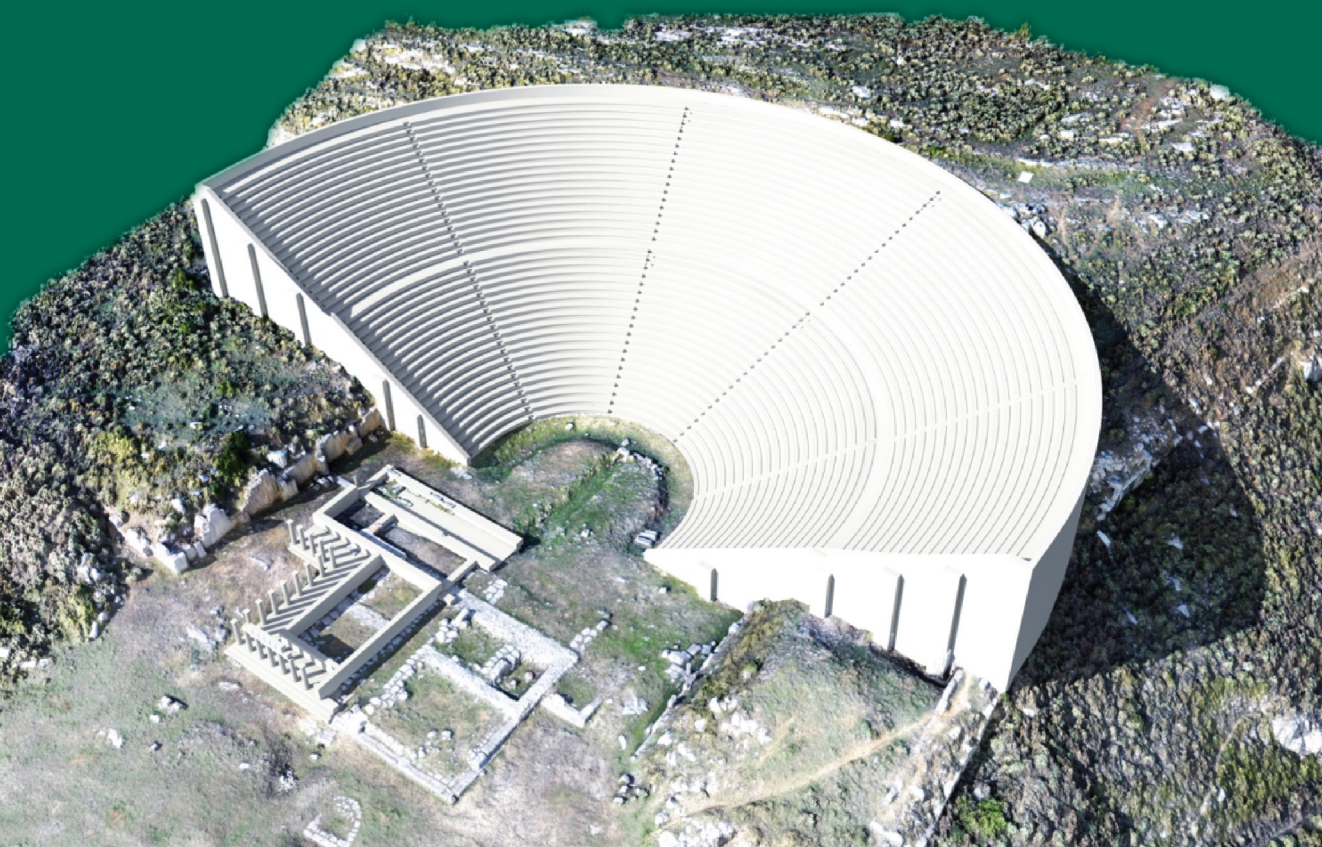


Academy for Albanian Studies
Institute of Archeology

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

**NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES
IN THE ALBANIAN REGIONS**

I



ACADEMY FOR ALBANIAN STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF ARCHEOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

**NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES
IN THE ALBANIAN REGIONS**

30 - 31 JANUARY, TIRANA 2017

VOLUME I

Botimet Albanologjike

Tiranë 2017

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

IN THE ALBANIAN REGIONS

I

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ISBN:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Thomas C. HAUCK, Rudenc RUKA, Ilir GJIPALI, Jürgen RICHTER
Neziri cave (Mati district, Albania): first results of archaeological research by
the “German Albanian Palaeolithic” programme (GAP) 13
2. Rudenc RUKA, Zlatko PERHOČ
Potential prehistoric sources of chert in the western lowland of Albania 33
3. Adem BUNGURI
Models and ways of the Neolithization of Albania 67
4. Ilir GJIPALI
Radiocarbon dating of the Early Neolithic settlements in Albania and their
interpretation 105
5. Edlira ANDONI, Ergys HASA, Ilir GJIPALI
Neolithic settlements on the western bank of Lake Ohrid: Pogradec and Lin 3 123
6. Ergys HASA
The morphological and stylistic features of Eneolithic pottery of Maliq II 141

7. Lorenc BEJKO	
Regional trends of cultural development during the Bronze Age in Albania	165
8. Shafi GASHI	
The culture of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Kosovo	183
9. Rovena KURTI	
On some aspects of the Late Bronze Age burial costume from north Albania	207
10. Skënder ALIU	
The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age jewellery from Kolonja region	253
11. Mixhaid POLOZHANI	
The typology of Illyrian helmets in the territory of Macedonia – FYROM	275
12. Muhamet BELA	
Some characteristics of north-eastern Albania during the VI-V centuries B.C.	295
13. Shpresa GJONGECAJ, Giuseppe LEPORE	
Scavi recenti nella città di Phoinike	309
14. Belisa MUKA, Enrico GIORGI,	
Le nuove ricerche della collaborazione Italo - Albanese a Butrinto	
2015-2016)	329
15. Dhimitër ÇONDI	
The Antigonea koinon of Chaonians: the administrative organization of its	
territory in Antiquity	337
16. Roberto PERNA, Dhimitër ÇONDI	
Urban formation processes in the Drino valley in the late Classical	
and Hellenistic periods	353
17. Piotr DYCZEK	
Rhizon/Risinium de novo in lucem proditus	375

Rovena KURTI

ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE BURIAL COSTUME FROM NORTH ALBANIA

Introduction

This paper aims to offer an outline of the main elements of the Late Bronze Age burial costume from north Albania, focusing more specifically on the dress and body ornaments. The study is based on the funerary evidence from previous publications of the different necropoleis excavated in the area, which consist exclusively of tumuli. In the context of a rich and updated literature from the neighboring regions, we have tried to reexamine the dating of some of the costume components from this part of the Albania, which appears inconsistent in the Albanian literature. Furthermore, the direct observations of the ornaments helped for a better understanding of their morphological features, and together with a closer analysis of the respective grave assemblages, they were all essential for a closer chronological framing. On one hand, these investigations revealed the presence of a modest, but still, an important corpus of Late Bronze Age ornaments, which allow tracking some of the main characteristics of the burial costume of this period. In a wider context, they offer important clues for the small- and large-scale inter-regional relations and how these are reflected in the burial costume of this period. However, on the other hand, we should stress from the beginning, that the available fragmentary data does not allow us to develop a full discussion on all the types of costumes present, or on the social identities expressed through them in the funerary ritual. Among the obstacles, it should be noted the total lack of

anthropological data, some inconsistencies in the methods of documentation of the excavated tumuli, and particularly the fact that the tumuli of Çinamak, from the north-east corner of Albania, and to which belongs the most important part of the ornaments, remain still unpublished systematically.

The Late Bronze Age in Albania, which after the local chronology corresponds generally to the middle 16th-12th/early 11th centuries B.C.¹ (Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age in Central Europe and Central Balkans), is the period of intense multidirectional exchanges and cultural influences, particularly along the north-south routes. They are very well expressed in the grave contexts of this period, from the extreme north to the south of the country, where various categories of objects of different origin or influence were found together. Dress and body ornaments provide important evidence in this respect, but as it concerns particularly the LBA period, they have remained peripheral in the discussions.

The previous studies provide a much better knowledge on the burial costume of the Iron Age when compared with the LBA. In the various syntheses on the Bronze Age Albania or dealing particularly with LBA exchange, special reference has been made to the ceramics and the weapons and tools². This is primarily due to the fact that the most important corpus of the LBA ornaments from southeast Albania was discovered after most of these syntheses were published, whereas the systematic publications of the respective tumuli date even later³. Moreover, the comprehensive publications of the old excavations of the tumuli in the north appeared only recently, and some of them, such as the tumuli of Çinamak mentioned above, are still in the process of publication⁴. Secondly, in the previous research, it has been noted a tendency to attribute to the first phase of the Iron Age (or to the 11th-9th centuries B.C.) elements of the burial costume which appear or date to the LBA. For example, dress fasteners such as the pins were seen as markers of the onset of the Iron Age⁵. As it concerns the north of Albania, this was also influenced by the need to fill an unexplained chronological gap, that corresponds to a very poor representation of the first phase of the Iron Age in the tumuli, and which is in strong contrast with the intense use of the tumuli of this phase in the south. This contradiction represents still a subject of study that remains unexplored in the literature. Finally, the limited systematic typological and chronological studies of the various categories of dress and body ornaments, and especially the lack of absolute dates, have also contributed in this regard. As a good example, it could be mentioned the results of the recent excavations of Lofkënd tumulus, in southwest Albania, which should serve as a point of reflection for future studies on the burial costume, and particularly on pins of LBA and the beginning of Iron Age. The absolute AMS ¹⁴C dates and the meticulous methods of excavation and documentation applied,

confirmed that certain types of pins attributed traditionally in Albanian studies to the first phase of the Iron Age, belonged to the earliest phases of the use of Lofkënd tumulus (14-12th centuries B.C.), or to the Late Bronze Age⁶.

Some general considerations on LBA costume elements from south Albania

In the actual state of research, the Late Bronze Age constitutes the first important period in the Albanian late prehistory for the representation of the burial costume ornaments. Even though a comprehensive study on the LBA costume from southern Albania is still lacking, the systematic publications of the tumuli of Kolonja plateau in southeast Albania by S. Aliu, and the recent excavations of Lofkënd

tumulus and the tumulus 9 of Apollonia, in the western part, help to outline the main aspects of the burial costumes in this area (Fig. 1)⁷. As it concerns the burial data from the particularly rich area of southeastern Albania, the correspondence and seriation analysis undertaken by L. Bejko provide an insight on the main types of burial costumes and on the probable social identities represented⁸. However, special reference has been made in these analyses to the functional categories rather than to specific types of ornaments, whereas the tighter typo-chronological characteristics of the various combinations of ornaments in the time span of five centuries are not considered specifically.



Figure 1. Distribution map of LBA and EIA excavated necropoleis in Albania. The bigger circles show the sites that have provided LBA ornaments; the two rectangles correspond to the settlements of Maliq and Sovjan.

The fastening of clothes with pins (mainly one and two) appears common in southern Albania during the LBA, and this category of dress ornaments remains dominant until the beginning of the Iron Age. However, an earlier appearance of pins as dress fasteners, or since the Middle Bronze Age, cannot be excluded. F. Prendi mentions the presence of a bronze ring-head pin from the MBA layer of the settlement of Maliq, in the southeast region⁹. The pin of Maliq belongs to a type that in Central Europe and north Italy is more frequent during the first half of the second millennium B.C.¹⁰. Even though generally ring-head pins have a long currency, in the Aegean dating mostly to the late Archaic and early Classical period¹¹, the MBA pin from Maliq finds particularly close parallels among the EBA specimens from north Italy. In addition, considering also the absence of contemporary similar pins in the central Balkans, its introduction in Albania from the west or from the Adriatic coast cannot be ruled out. Even though the data on exchanges with the opposite side of the Adriatic during the MBA are not frequent, still they are not totally absent. At the end of this period dates the bronze dagger of the type so-called 'Montemerano', from grave 14 of the tumulus of Vajza in southwest Albania, a type which is best represented in the central Adriatic Italy¹².

Despite this probable earlier appearance of pins as dress fasteners, the type of dress resembling the Homeric *peplos*¹³, or consisting of a cloth folded around the body and fixed with pins, appears frequent in the funerary record of southern Albania only from the end of the 15th/ 14th century B.C., and the evidence from southeast Albania is particularly rich in this respect. The northern influence of this fashion is well supported by most of the types of pins employed, while those with a disc-head and a perforated swelling on the upper shank or with a conical head and similarly perforated swollen upper part, called otherwise in literature type *Paarstadt*, are the most frequent in the southeast region¹⁴. The development of these northern types in south Albania and western Macedonia seems to correspond to their last period of use in Central Europe, where most of them appear characteristic for the MBA, or from the 16-14th centuries B.C.¹⁵. The Aegean-imported ceramic vessel from the central grave of the tumulus of Rehova in the Kolonja region, dated to the second half of the 15th century B.C.¹⁶, provides a good *terminus post quem* for the largest group of the LBA pins from southeast Albania, which comes from this tumulus. Moreover, the use of this category of dress ornament around the same period is well supported by the discovery of LBA bone pins from the settlement of Sovjan in the southeast (the earliest dated to the late 15th century B.C.), and by the recent excavations at the tumulus of Lofkënd in the southwest¹⁷. At both sites, this is corroborated by the application of AMS ¹⁴C dating. In the neighboring communities of western Greek Macedonia, the northern *peplos* fixed with pins

appears similarly common from the 14th century B.C., and the analogous types of pins with the southeast Albania support their production in regional manufacturing centers¹⁸.

As it concerns the distribution of this northern fashion during this period, two main communication routes can be proposed. Firstly, the inner north-south Balkan routes, along river valleys and mountain passes, and secondly, the Adriatic route. The latter is not excluded if we consider that several types of pins from LBA Albania (and not only those from the southwest region) find parallels in north Adriatic or in north Italy. However, the actual evidence supports an important role played in this regard by the inner Balkan communication routes. In this context, it should be noted the largest concentration of the various types of pins in the interior of the country or in southeast Albania, the presence of local variants and their close analogies with the contemporary examples from the sites of Ano Komi, Aiani, Siatista and Chromion, in the western Greek Macedonia, and the presence of similar types further north in the Vardar valley and the Central Balkans¹⁹. Together with the data from north Albania that will be discussed below, these are all good evidence to suggest that the valleys of Drina and Morava in the Central Balkans, and the valley of Vardar further south, were important communication and exchange routes for the spreading of these new types of metal objects from Central Europe or the Pannonian Plain towards the south.

The participation of southeast Albania in the north-south exchanges along this inner Balkan route linking the Aegean world with central Balkans and further is well evidenced in the most distinct LBA grave contexts, particularly from the Kolonja region. Together with the northern type of pins, in the same grave assemblages, appear also prestige items of southern Mycenaean influence, such as the necklaces of carnelian, or of carnelian and amber beads, and pairs of gold appliqués, probably related to the same influence²⁰. Other categories of body ornaments are rare during this period in southern Albania, but the greater variety belongs again to the southeastern region. They include bronze rings with spiral ends, gold hair spirals, or few other exotic beads.

Burial costume elements from north Albania

The evidence on the Late Bronze Age burial costume ornaments from north Albania comes from three different main areas of excavated tumuli in this part of the country (Fig. 1). However, the main region in terms of their representation is the north-east corner, at the confluences of the two rivers Drini i Bardhë and Drini i Zi, near the actual political border with Kosovo. The data are modest from the other two areas: the Middle Mati valley, in the interior of the country, and at the limit

between north and central Albania; and the Plain of Shtoj, in the opposite north-western corner, near the actual political border with Montenegro.

I will focus particularly on the northeast region because the evidence from this area allows us to reach some conclusions on the small and large-scale features of the LBA burial costume. Around 70 tumuli were excavated in this part of the country. They were organized in necropoleis of tumuli, distributed on the various river terraces of the Kukësi basin, the most important basin of Upper Drini Valley, at an altitude of 300-400m above sea level²¹. The most extensive use of the tumuli belongs to the developed phase of Iron Age (7th-6th centuries).

The LBA costume ornaments belong to graves of the earliest phase of the respective tumuli, either from the central graves or from a very limited number of graves per tumulus belonging to this period (Fig. 2). In a general context, and compared to the southern region, there is more variety here in the categories of ornaments of northern origin or influence. As it is evident through our analysis, very often they show local morphological features suggesting their manufacture in local production centers, a fact that has also influenced the inconsistencies that exist in Albanian literature about their dating. The development of local types or variants, supports also the close cultural connections with the adjacent territory of Kosovo and the other regions further north, particularly along the Morava valley.

Similarly to the south, **the pins** are one of the earliest and also the dominant category of dress ornaments during LBA. However, most of the pins from the northeast do not find parallels in the southern region, and the same can be said for the other categories such as the belts hooks and bracelets. In most of the cases, the various types are represented by only one example, which makes their dating even more difficult. The earliest specimens date around a final phase of the MBA or the very beginning of LBA.

One of the earliest types, called in Albanian literature the 'snake-head' pins, is characterized by the head made of a sheet of bronze in the shape of a lozenge, the upper sides of which are rolled behind, forming a cylindrical cone at the very top (Fig. 3: 1-3). The shank of the pin is also flattened in a rectangular section. The three specimens belonging to this type, which come from three different grave contexts of three different tumuli, show also differences from one another. The two first pins, from grave 22 of tumulus 1 of Bardhoc and from grave 8 of tumulus 22 of Çinamak, are both characterized by a head of smaller dimensions (Fig. 3: 1-2)²². However, they differ by the decoration applied. The first is decorated with dots in *repoussé* on the surface of the sheet head, whereas the other is ornamented with incisions. Moreover, the later is also distinguished by a twisted shank. More distinct is the third pin, from grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak (Fig. 3: 3). It has

a sharper shape of the lozenge which is also of larger dimensions. The head is also ornamented with incised patterns but of a different design.

The dating of the first pin in *repoussé* decoration (Fig. 3: 1) in the advanced LBA by the author of the excavation A. Hoti²³, was later revised by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, who pushed it back to the MBA²⁴. The associated Aegean type knife that belongs to Branigan Va type, finds close parallels in the MBA layer of the settlement of Maliq and in other tumuli of Albania and dates at an advanced phase of Middle Helladic and the beginning of LH²⁵. Based on these parallels, the pin of Bardhoc can be included in a final phase of MBA and the beginning of LBA in Albania, or in terms of absolute chronology to the 16th/15th centuries B.C.

This earlier date for the pin is also supported by the development of similar pins further north. Flat head pins of different shapes have a clear ancestry in Central Europe since the beginning of the second millennium B.C. By the general morphology, the pins from northeast Albania are close to the series of pins so-called in literature '*Hülsenkopfnadel*', which extends from Hungary to the Middle Danube valley²⁶. The Serbian pins, which all have a plain head and mainly a twisted shank, are considered by R. Vasić as belonging to the latest phase of the development of this type further north and are generally dated to the 16-15th centuries B.C.²⁷. However, the decoration applied on the pins from northeast Albania, in *repoussé* or incision, is not attested in any of the northern pins of '*Hülsenkopfnadel*' type. On the contrary, both types of decorations are very frequent in other types of flattened head pins, present from Central Europe to North Italy and the Middle Danube valley (disk-shaped, oval, hour-glass shaped, etc.), but whose top is different as it is rolled downwards and not sideways, ending in a horizontal roll²⁸. They are among the earliest European pins, dating mainly to the first centuries of the first half of the millennium B.C., but flat head pins with rich incised decoration persist until the end of the Middle Bronze Age or the 15/14th centuries. In the Central Balkans, these other types of flat head pins are rare. Only two examples of sheet bronze disc head pins were included in the systematic study of R. Vasic, of which only one is decorated with dots in *repoussé*²⁹.

From the large group of sheet bronze head pins, it should also be noted the presence of some pins with the head in the shape of an elongated lozenge, which are also largely distributed from Switzerland, North Italy to Rumania³⁰. Nevertheless, they differ when compared to our examples, by a narrower head and the horizontal roll at the top. Some specimens from Rumania are closer to the third pin of northeast Albania, from grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak (Fig. 3: 3), as it concerns particularly the shape of the lozenge, its dimensions and the presence of decoration³¹. However, they were ornamented in *repoussé* instead of incision applied

Grave/tumulus	Dress ornaments		Other body ornaments	Tools/ weapons	Pottery	Figure/reference
1. T. 22(central grave)/Bardhoc 1	1 pin			1 knife (type Branigan Va)		Fig. 6; Hoti 1982, p. 43, tab. VIII.
2. T. 8/Çinamak 22	1 pin				body sherd	Fig. 3: 2; Jubani 1990, tab. CXXXVII.
3. T. 10/Çinamak 16	1 pin		stone pendant/amulet	1 knife (Sandars Ia)		Fig. 6; Jubani 1974, p. 43-44, tab. I. 1.
4. T. 3/Çinamak 22	2 pins				body sherd	Fig. 6; Jubani 1990, tab. CXXXVII.
5. T. 14 (central grave)/Myç-Has 3			1 bracelet (D-section)	1 Aegean type knife (Sandars Ia?); tweezers		Fig. 6; Bela 1990, p. 129, Tab. XI: 164-166.
6. T. 12/Myç-Has 3	1 pin		1 bracelet (D-section); 1 bronze spiral			Fig. 6; Bela 1990, p. 130, Tab. XII: 200-202.
7. T. 19/Çinamak 16	2 pins	belt hook	3 bracelet (D-section); 1 pair of bronze spirals; 14 amber beads;	1 pin or sewing needle		Fig. 4.
8. T. 47/Çinamak 1		belt hook	6 bronze discs			Fig. 5; Jubani 1990, tab. VII.
9. T. 3/Kënetë 5		belt hook	1 bronze disc			Fig. 5; Hoti 1986, p. 43, tab. III.
10. T. 23/Çinamak 1		belt hook				Fig. 5; Jubani 1990, tab. IV.

11. T. 1 (central grave)/Krumë 1	1 pin ?		1 bronze disc	3? bracelets (2 D-section; 1 spiral); 25 amber beads; 2 glass beads		Jubani 1982.p. 149, 185, tab. III: 1-5.
12. T. 3/Krumë 1			1 bronze disc ?			Jubani 1982.p. 150.
13. T. 2 (central grave)/Krumë 7			4 bronze discs	spiral bracelet (fragmented)		Fig. 5; Jubani 1982.p. 162, 190, tab. VIII: 58-60.
14. T. 2/Kënetë 4				2 ribbed bracelets; 1 bronze spiral	cantharos	Fig. 6; Jubani 1983, p. 129, tab. IX: 113-116.
15. T. 13 (central grave)/Çinamak 12			1 bronze disc			Fig. 5.
16. T. 41 (central grave)/Çinamak 6				1 pin or sewing needle		Fig. 3: 5.
17. T. 8 (central grave)/Çinamak 21				1 bronze spiral	1 bowl; fragments	Jubani 1990, tab. CXXXIII.
The middle Mati valley						
18. T. 1 (central grave)/Rrethe-Bazje 11			6 bronze discs	amber beads; gold spirals	base	Fig. 7; Islami 2013, p. 182, tab. XXI: 1-4.
19. T. 9/Shtogj 2	1 pin			1 Aegean type sword; 2 knives?; 2 leaf-shape spearheads		Fig. 7; Islami 2013, p. 217, tab. LVI: 1-8.

Fig. 2. LBA grave assemblages with dress and body ornaments from north Albania.

on the pin from Çinamak, and their top is turned downwards and not sideways.

In this context and at the present state of research, it can be confirmed that the pins from the northeast corner of Albania represent the southernmost limit of the distribution of *'Hülsenkopfnadel'* type pins in the southwest Balkans. They show a mixture of various morphological features that can be encountered in other types of flat head pins from Central Europe, whereas the absence of identical parallels supports their local development around the latest stage of their use further north, or during the 16-14th centuries B.C. The interval between the 14th – early 13th century, seems more probable for the pin with a larger lozenge head with rich incised decoration from the grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak (Fig. 3: 3), whose distinct assemblage will be discussed in more detail below.

Grave 19 from tumulus 16 of Çinamak represents the most distinguished LBA assemblage from northeast Albania, not only in terms of quantity of ornaments but also of the variety of the categories present. The grave includes a pair of pins and a sewing needle; a belt hook and around 6 disc-plate ornaments; three bracelets; a pair of bronze hair spirals; and a necklace of 14 amber beads (Fig. 4). The review of the dating of some of the ornaments present in this grave is essential, as it gives a better insight on the LBA costume elements, which in other graves of this region were found in more modest combinations. Specific ornaments of this grave analyzed by the author of excavations B. Jubani, were at times attributed to a developed phase of the Iron Age, then to the first phase of Iron Age and in a more recent revision, the assemblage was included in the final phase of Bronze Age or the 12-11th centuries B.C.³²

The dating of this grave at an earlier phase of LBA is not only supported by the presence of the flat lozenge head analyzed above but also by the other **pin** which has a considerable length of 30.5 cm (Fig. 3: 8). The head of the pin consists of an extended conical thorn, followed by three discs or flat biconical swellings, the one in the middle is of a slightly larger diameter. The upper shank is rectangular in cross-section, decorated with short horizontal grooves at the corners. The perimeters of the discs are also decorated with vertical grooves. Even though we could not find an identical parallel, this pin is clearly integrated into another large group of pins with similar profiled upper part, that are distributed from north Hungary to north-western and central Balkans, dated mainly from the end of MBA and the early Urnfield or Late Bronze Age³³. Some of these pins, or probably the earliest, have one disc and the top thorn, some have two, of which the upper is of bigger dimensions, and others have a third smaller biconical swelling. As it is shown in note 33, several different names are used in literature for these various types of thorn

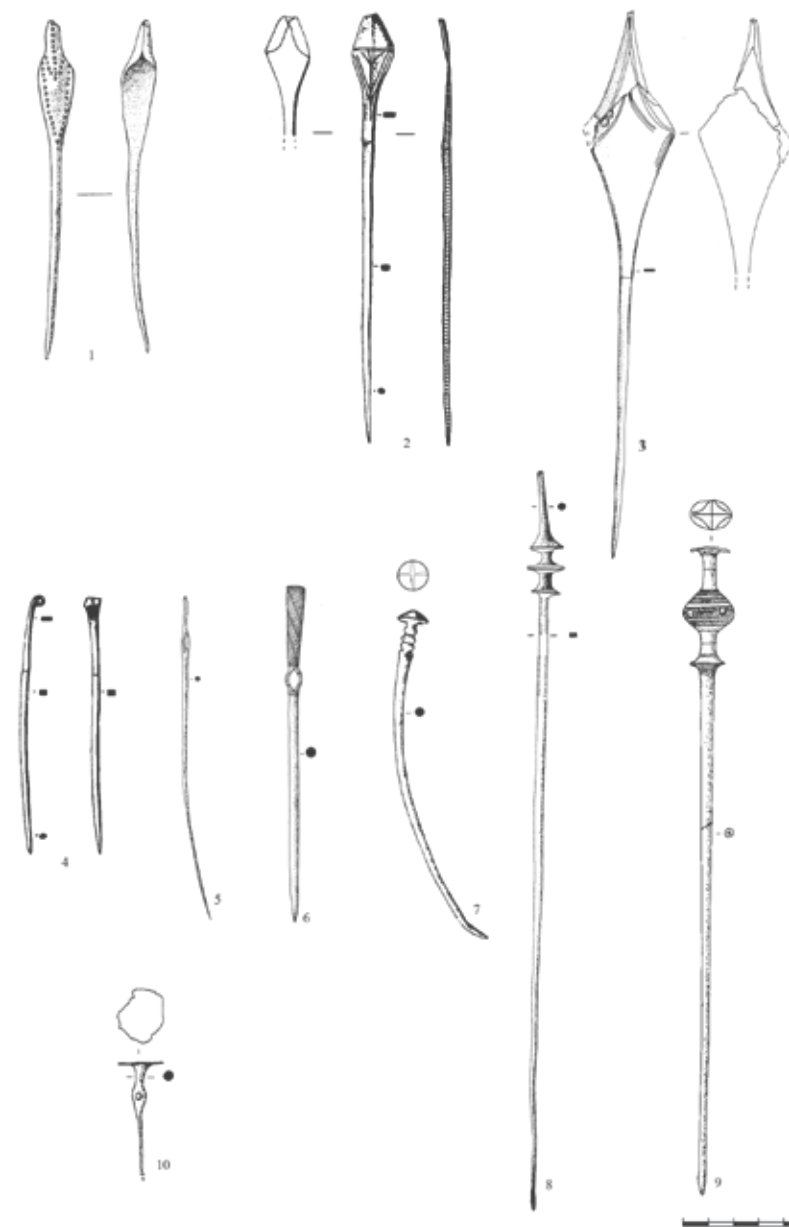
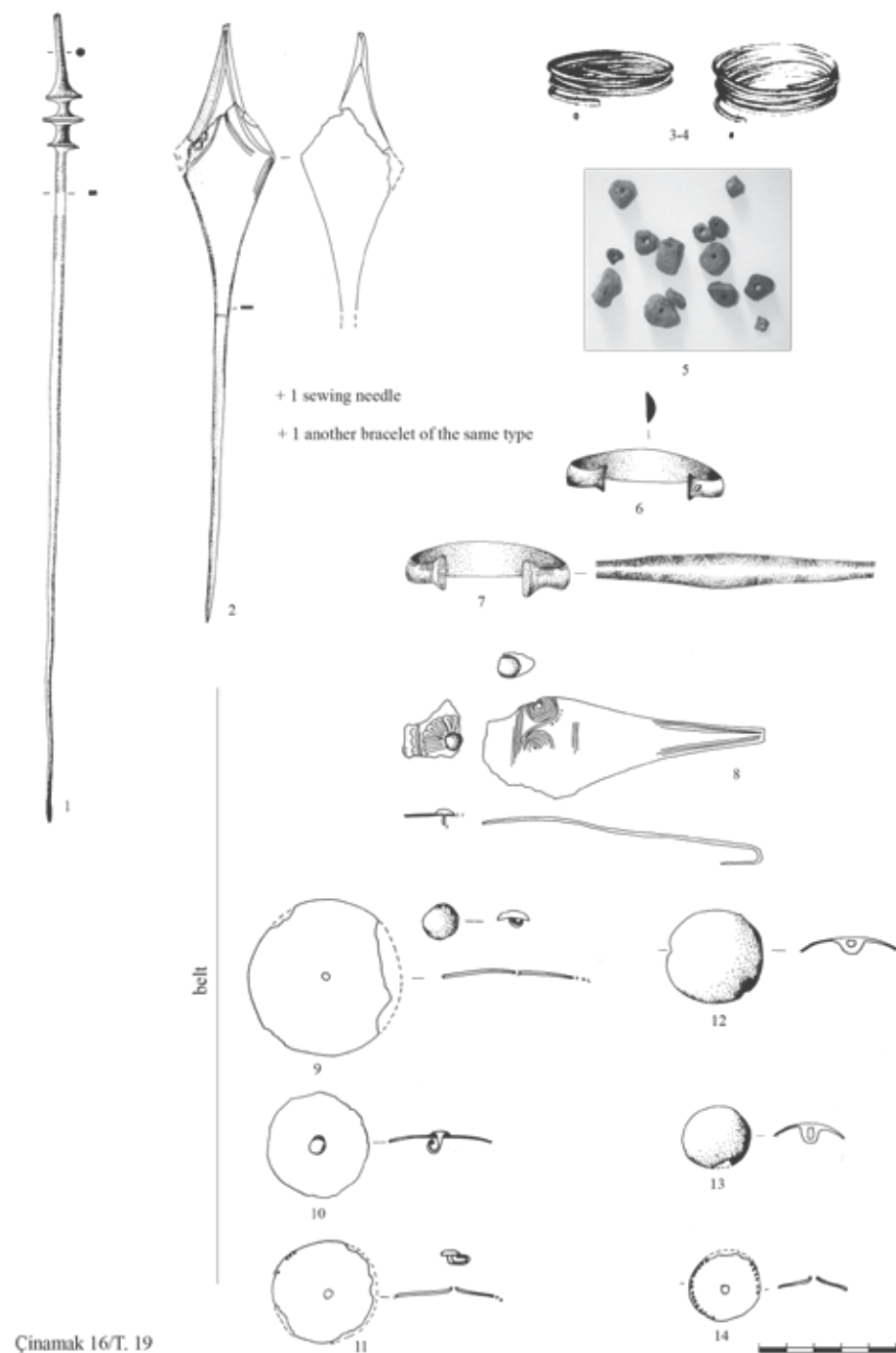


Figure 3. LBA pins from north Albania (drawings in 1:2 scale).

Nos. 1-9: northeast region. 1: Bardhoc 1/T. 22 (after Hoti 1982, p. 43, tab. VIII); 2: Çinamak 22/T. 8 (after Jubani 1990, Tab. CXXXVII, 10); 4, 7: Çinamak 22/T. 8 (after Jubani 1990, Tab. CXXXVII, 2, 5); 3, 8: Çinamak 16/T. 19; 5: Çinamak 6/T. 41; 6: Çinamak 10/T. 16; 9: Myç-

Has 3:T. 12 (nos. 3, 5-6, 8-9, drawn by author).

No. 10: middle Mati valley, Shtogj 2/T.9 (drawn by author).



Çinamak 16/T. 19

Figure 4. Grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak (drawings in 1:2 scale, drawn by author).

head pins. Our example stands between the two groups of Serbian pins as defined by R. Vasić: those with two discs and a top thorn called otherwise *‘plattenkopfnadeln mit mitteldorn’* (flat-head pins with a middle thorn), which come from grave contexts of western Serbia and eastern Bosnia and dating to the 14-13th century, and those with a third biconical swelling at the limit of the neck, otherwise called type *‘Petervasara’*, which come from hoards and are dated to the 13-12th centuries B.C.³⁴. However, the pin from Çinamak is distinguished by the elongated thorn, by the presence of three almost similar discs, and the upper shank of rectangular cross-section with short horizontal grooves around the corners. It is closer to the earliest Serbian examples of the first group, as for example the pin from the necropolis of Belotić in west Serbia, which similarly has an important length and is associated with a similar type of massif bracelet³⁵. Moreover, the grooves on the upper shank in rectangular cross-section of the pin from Çinamak seem to represent an older morphological feature. They are also encountered in a group of pins with profiled neck and conical or thorn head from the necropolis of Iglarevo in Kosovo and from south Serbia, dated to MBA or around the 15-14th century B.C.³⁶. In this context, the pin from northeast Albania represents again the southernmost example of this group of pins in the southwest Balkans, and its morphological particularities support its local production. By the abovementioned parallels and its context, it seems convenient to date it no later than the 13th century B.C.

The third **pin** from this grave context, whose function as a tool/sewing needle rather than a dress pin is possible, belongs to a type that occurs over a long time span and is widely distributed. It is made of a simple shank in round section, slightly thinner at the top and tapering toward the tip. A vertical eyelet perforation is on the upper shank, at a short distance from the top. Two other similar specimens were found in the northeast Albania. One comes from the central grave of tumulus 6 of Çinamak (Fig. 3: 5), whereas the other was found out of context, in the tumulus 4 of Kënetë³⁷. Judging by the flexed position of the skeleton, very typical for LBA graves of this area, but also in a larger context, it is very probable that the pin from the central grave of tumulus 6 of Çinamak belongs also to this period. This dating is supported by another identical parallel from the LBA layer of the settlement of Zagorë, in northwest Albania³⁸. Even though rare, in Albania this type persists during the first phase of the Iron Age³⁹. In a broader context, the LBA pins/needles from north Albania fall into the second group of sewing needles from Central Balkans and Slovakia, as defined by R. Vasić and M. Novotná⁴⁰. They are generally considered by the two authors as older specimens or more related with the Bronze Age, although their persistence in the successive period has also been attested. In

the Central Balkans, the same as in the other regions of Central Europe, they are present throughout the Bronze Age⁴¹.

The most distinctive dress ornament from grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak is the **bronze plate belt hook**, which together with the 6 disc plates from of the same context seem to have formed a complex ornament of the belt (Fig. 4: 8-14). The association of the two categories has also been attested in grave 47 of tumulus 1 of Çinamak, in grave 3 of tumulus 5 of Kënetë (Fig. 5), both in NE Albania and in grave 23 of tumulus 14 of the necropolis of Boka e Përçevës, in the adjacent regions of present Kosovo⁴². The latter context includes a similar type of bracelet, and has been generally dated to the 14/13th centuries B.C. This distinct type of belt plate, represented by four pieces from northeast Albania and one from Kosovo, has a triangular general shape. It is elongated and tapers toward one extremity, which is turned on the backside to form the hook, whereas towards the other extremity there is a narrowing of the plate, followed by a circular disc end. It was fixed to the leather or textile belt by two studs on each extremity of its maximum enlargement, whereas a third stud is in the center of the disc-shaped end. Besides the differences in composition, the belts hooks are ornamented by a rich incised decoration of bands of lines, hatched bands, continuous semicircles with a dot in the center, floral motive, and continuous or 'running spirals' consisting of several incised waved lines which are embellished by a series of dots in *pointillé*.

At the present state of research, we have not been able to find any other direct parallel for this type of belt hooks. However, it should be noted their close resemblances with a group of decorative plates from hoards of Central Europe, particularly from Bohemia, dated to the Early Bronze Age or the first centuries of the 2nd millennium⁴³. They are similar to our belt hooks as it concerns the general shape, with a triangular plate, a narrowing in the middle, and the presence of bronze studs close to the center. However, they differ by the short triangular part, the morphology of the other extremity, and above all, by the absence of a hook. Their incised decoration lacks also the spiraliform design present on our plates. In a general context, belt hooks are a rare component of the burial costume during the first half of the second millennium in Central Europe and the Middle Danube valley⁴⁴. They appear more common since the beginning of the Urnfield period, and as it concern the narrow extension rolled to form the hook, our specimens fit better in this second group⁴⁵. However, the latter consist mainly of a disc plate.

An important feature of the belt hooks in question is the rich incised decoration, and more particularly the spiraliform design of 'running or continuous spirals' which is widely distributed in the first part of the 2nd millennium, from Central Europe to the Aegean and the Orient, and applied on various materials⁴⁶.

However, taking also into account the assemblage of grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak, the design applied on our belts seems more related to the northern tradition, encountered from the Carpathian Basin to the northwest Balkans and the Middle Danube valley, particularly during the 17-15 centuries B.C.⁴⁷. Similar motifs, such as the continuous semicircles with a dot in the center, or the continuous spirals embellished by dots in *pointillé*, are encountered in these regions in various classes of metals, weapons, and jewelry. They have been also applied in a belt hook of a different morphology from the Carpathian basin, dated around the 17/16th centuries B.C.⁴⁸, and on almost contemporary belt plates of type Sieding-Szeged, distributed from Hungary to central Serbia⁴⁹. In the central Balkans, in north and west Serbia or east Bosnia, these motifs are also attested in other categories of jewelry belonging to the end of MBA and beginning of LBA, such as bracelets and torques dated to the 15-13th centuries B.C.⁵⁰. Finally, based on the very general morphology, the ornamentation, the parallel from Kosovo and particularly on the associated pins analyzed above, the interval between the 14th-13th century B.C. seems plausible for this distinct type of belt hook, developed in this restricted area of northeast Albania and southwest Kosovo.

The 6 **disc plate ornaments** from the same grave context are characterized by a simple morphology (Fig. 4: 9-14). Domed disc ornaments are widely distributed during Bronze and Iron Ages, from north Europe to Anatolia, used as decorative elements on different parts of the dress, on a bonnet or a veil, but very often were also found in connection to the belt or in association to a belt plate⁵¹. Two main types are attested in grave 19 from tumulus 16 of Çinamak. The first consists of a domed disc with a loop for fastening on the inside (Fig. 4: 12-13), and it is a widespread type and with a very long chronology. In the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans, it is particularly frequent during the second half of the 2nd millennium but persists also later⁵². In Albania, this type is more frequent during the Iron Age⁵³, whereas the examples from the context we are dealing from Çinamak seem to represent their oldest presence. The second type consists of a flatter disc of slightly larger dimensions, more similar to the so-called 'phalerae' in Central Europe (see note 51) (Fig. 4: 9-11, 14; Fig. 5). It is pierced in the center for the small stud that served to fix it to the belt. The stud consists of a small flat strip of bronze with a domed head. Most of these discs are not decorated, even though it should be noted their poor state of preservation. In some rare cases, a single row of *repoussé* dots is applied around the edge of the disc, or incised lines on the surface. The second type is more frequent in LBA burial contexts in northeast Albania, and as B. Jubani has already pointed it, it is specifically characteristic of this region and in the neighboring Kosovo⁵⁴. We could count around 18 pieces from the various

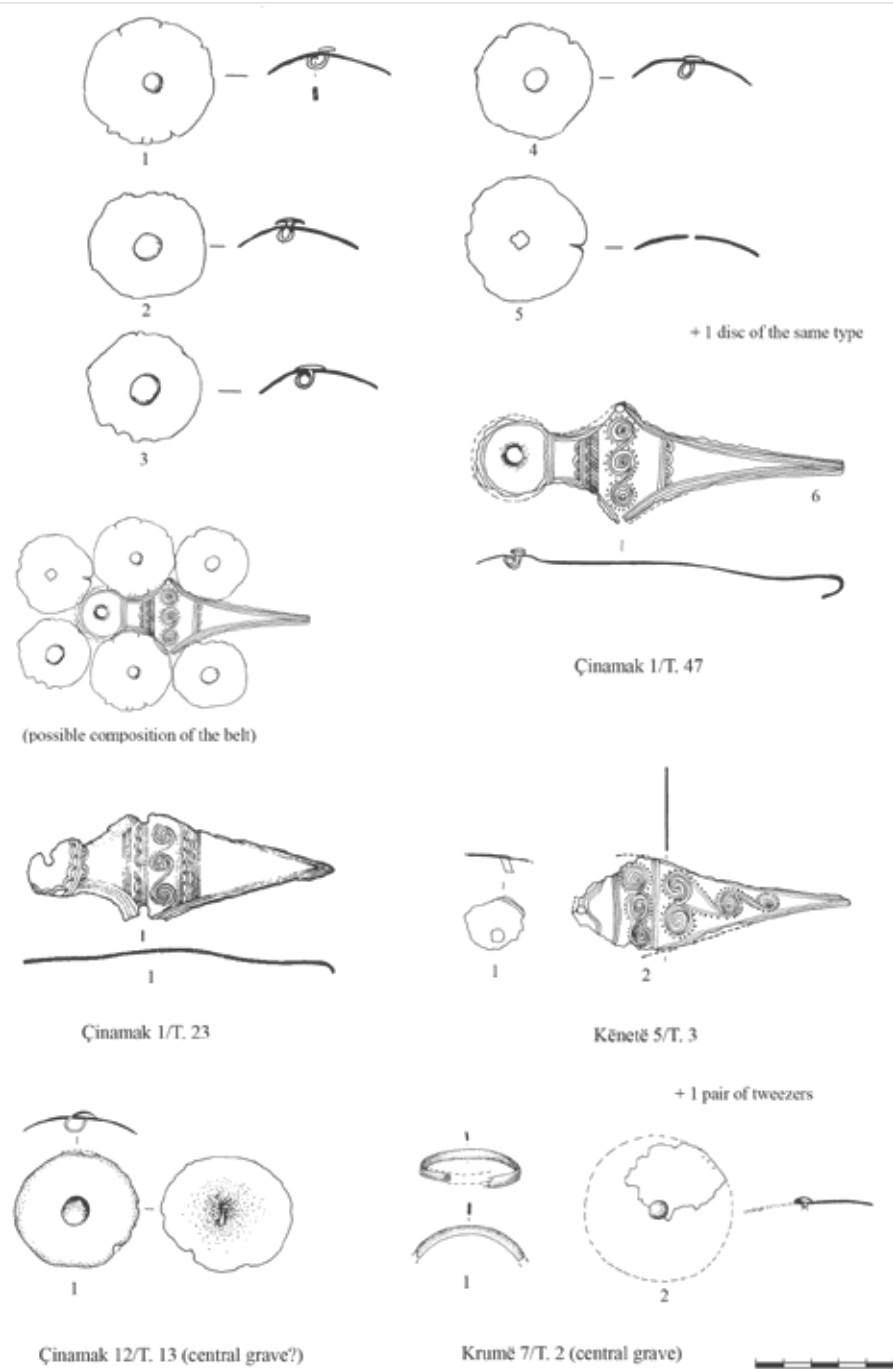


Figure 5. LBA grave assemblages from northeast Albania (drawings in 1:2 scale).
All drawn by author except Çinamak1/T. 23, after Jubani 1990.

tumuli of northeast Albania. In the southwestern region, similarly pierced discs but of considerably smaller dimensions were found in the grave 8 of tumulus 1 of Vajza, dating at a final phase of LBA⁵⁵. Contrary to the first type, the second type occurs rarely in other Balkans regions⁵⁶ where there are dominant other types of disc bosses, such as those with parallel holes on each side of the disc, sometimes similarly decorated with a line of repoussé dots, or those with a scalable disc.

The close association of the discs with the belt hooks as mentioned above, and the similar studs applied on both categories, suggests that in cases where they were found together, they very probably formed a complex ornament for the belt (Fig. 5). A possible reconstruction of this type of composite belt is given in Fig. 5, even though, based on some evidence provided by the author of the excavations for grave 47 of tumulus 1 of Çinamak, their arrangement in a single row seems also very probable. Based on the fixation method, we might also suppose a different position of the two types of disc ornaments analyzed above. However, as shown in the table provided above (Fig. 2), there are also cases when the disc plates are not accompanied by a belt hook, which suggests that they could have been worn in different ways, as there is also one case when the belt hook has been found isolated, such as in grave 23 of tumulus 1 of Çinamak (Fig. 5).

The distinct character of the assemblage of grave 19 is also supported by the **necklace of 14 amber beads**, an exotic and prestige item for the period (Fig. 4: 5). The beads have small dimensions and are generally flat but of irregular shape. Another necklace of 25 similar amber beads, belonging very probably to the same period, was found in the central grave of tumulus 1 of Kruma, which represents another distinct assemblage of this period, even though the objects were badly preserved⁵⁷. The same as in grave 19, this context included two glass beads, D-section massif bracelets, two sheet bronze discs and a fragmented pin of unknown type. These are the only two LBA grave contexts with amber from northeast Albania, whereas the material appears in abundant quantity in the developed Iron Age, or during the 7-5th centuries B.C. As we have discussed it in more detail in two previous publications, the necklaces from the northeast region are among the earliest occurrences of this exotic material in the present territory of Albania, which correspond roughly at the same time of its appearance in SE Albania, in the neighboring territory of Kosovo and in the Central Balkans⁵⁸. In none of the necklaces from the NE region is present the disc shaped bead of a tapering section and of larger dimensions found in the southeast region. We have argued that at least for the case of SE Albania, the frequent recurrence of few amber beads with carnelian beads, forming composite necklaces with one or few amber beads as central elements, might suggest the introduction of both materials

from the Aegean during the 14-13th centuries⁵⁹. A. Palavestra has also suggested the same possible derivation for amber beads during this period in Kosovo, based on the presence of other objects of Mycenaean influence⁶⁰. However, the presence in NE Albania of other categories of metal objects of Aegean influence, such as the knives, and the dominance of ornaments of northern origin or influence analyzed above makes it more complex the provenance of amber in this part of the country. In this case, it is not excluded that its presence here might also be related to the contemporary circulation of the material in the Central Balkans, along the Morava and Drina rivers valleys.

The pair of **hair or temple spirals** from grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak, consists of a single wire in circular section, coiled into 5 spirals (Fig. 4: 3-4). The decoration of the temples is characteristic for the most distinctive grave assemblages of LBA, for which, in the valley of Mat or in southeast Albania, a high-value material such as gold has been used⁶¹. The use of pairs of spirals made of single or double wire persists in Albania throughout the Iron Age⁶². Even though single wire spirals are not easily distinguished geographically or chronologically, the LBA temple rings from northeast Albania have some common features such as the relatively important diameter, of roughly 3.5 cm, and the regular shape of the tight coils. Another pair of similar spirals from grave 8 of tumulus 21 of Çinamak, was found in association with an Aegean type knife, very similar to that of grave 22 of tumulus 1 of Bardhoc mentioned above, which belongs to type Branigan Va⁶³ and suggests their use probably since the end of MBA.

The three open massif **bracelets** in D-section (exact number remains uncertain) from grave 19, constitute another distinct category of the burial costume in northeast Albania (Fig. 4: 6-7). This type has not been attested so far in other regions of the north or in the south. Only one similar open bracelet, but of a triangular section, has been reported from the tumulus of Çepunë, in southwest Albania. However, this bracelet has not been related to a specific burial context⁶⁴. In the northeast region, this type seems more related to distinctive female assemblages of LBA. It has been found in few other burial contexts such as the graves 12 and 14 (central grave) of tumulus 3 of Myç-Hasi (Fig. 6), and fragments of two others from the other distinguished assemblage of the central grave of tumulus 1 of Kruma mentioned above⁶⁵. The D-section bracelets have their extremities slightly thickened or expanded, in one case with more pronounced terminals. In one of the bracelets from grave 19 is preserved the incised decoration of bands of lines in a zigzag pattern, divided by bands of vertical lines. The contradiction that exists in the Albanian literature on their dating is also due to the rare presence of this category in Albania during LBA, but also to the fact that sometimes they were

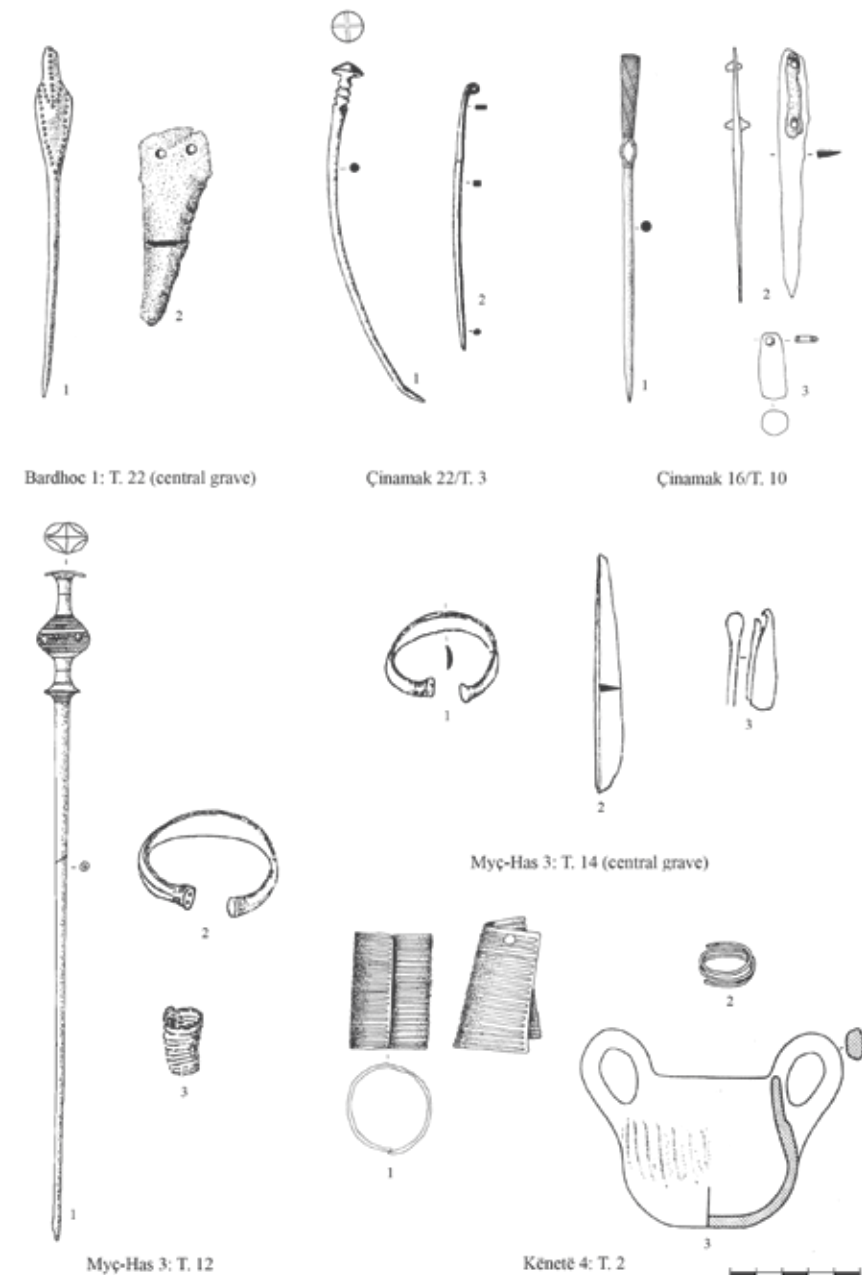


Figure 6. LBA grave assemblages from northeast Albania (drawings in 1:2 scale). (Bardhoc 1/T. 22: after Hoti 1982, p. 43, tab. VIII; Çinamak 22/T. 3, after Jubani 1990; Myç-Has 3/T. 12, 14, after Bela 1990, except for pin drawn by author; Kënetë 4/T. 2, after Jubani 1983, except for the pair of bracelets drawn by author)

related to the series of massive bracelets of the developed phase of Iron Age from southeast Albania, that make their first appearance at the end of the 8th century B.C.⁶⁶. However, firstly, the presence of this type of D-section bracelets in northeast Albania as early as the 14th century B.C. is well supported by the above analysis of the associated finds from grave 19. Secondly, in favor of such an early dating is also the association of this type of bracelet with an Aegean type knife in grave 12 of tumulus 3 of Myç-Has (Fig. 6). After the drawing provided by the author of the excavations, his description and the parallels he provided, it is not very clear if the knife belongs to Branigan type V or Sandars Ia type⁶⁷. Nevertheless, even the second younger series does not go far behind the 12th century B.C. in Albania. Additionally, from their morphological features, the bracelets from grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak fit better with the group of D-section bracelets present further north in Central Europe and Central Balkans during MBA and LBA, rather than with the younger group of massive bracelets of southeast Albania and Macedonia. In the Carpathian basin, massive bracelets with triangular to D-section and with rich incised decoration are particularly characteristic for the Middle Bronze Age⁶⁸. In several of them, the same design patterns with our specimens are encountered, whereas, in others, it is very frequent the design of continuous semicircles with a dot in the center, applied on the pin and belt hook from the context in question. This type of bracelet has been also attested in contemporary grave contexts from Kosovo⁶⁹. However, in the Balkans, this type has a particular development in the territory of Bosnia. In the tumuli of Glasinac plateau, in southeast Bosnia, D-section bracelets, mainly of rich incised decoration, constitute an important component of female burial costume during MBA, whereas some specimens persist also in the early LBA (13th century B.C.)⁷⁰.

As it concerns this particular category of body ornaments, the presence of other types has been noticed in the LBA grave assemblages from northeast Albania. **Spiral bracelets** made of a flat and narrow sheet of bronze or in rectangular cross-section has been mentioned in two other contexts, such as the central graves of tumuli 1 and 7 of Krumë (Fig. 5)⁷¹. However, their fragmented and poorly preserved state of preservation does not allow a full reconstruction of this type.

More certain is the presence of another type of bracelet of northern origin from grave 2 of tumulus 4 of Kënetë, where a pair of **ribbed bracelets** was found (Fig. 6: 1)⁷². The bracelets, classified as temple ornaments by the author of the excavations because of their small diameter (diam. 3.1 cm; height 4.1 cm), were produced from a high and solid sheet of bronze whose outer surface is covered by longitudinal ribs. The terminals are simple and parallel, or slightly overlapping. They are unique examples of this type in Albania, whereas ribbed bracelets with

different morphological features reappear in the latter phase of Iron Age in the southeast region. Horizontally multi-ribbed bracelets represent another type of clear ancestry in Central Europe, since the Early Bronze Age. Variants of such bracelets were encountered in a wide area, stretching from southeast Rumania to Denmark, from the Carpathian Basin to Central Germany and even to southeast England⁷³. Our pair of bracelets belongs to a type that in Central Europe appears also by the end of the EBA (called otherwise arm cuffs or in German ‘*armmanschetten*’), but are more frequent during the Middle Bronze Age⁷⁴. They were in close relation to female burial costumes, mainly as part of rich assemblages, and very often found in the position of the forearms. The distribution of ribbed bracelets in the Balkans dates since their first appearance in Central Europe. They have a long currency here, whereas a variant with rolled ends persists in the Dalmatian coast until the end of LBA⁷⁵. However, the bracelets of a high sheet of bronze and of simple parallel terminals like our examples, in the necropoleis of Glasinac plateau, in Bosnia, are more characteristic for MBA and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, or until phase IIIa (up to the 13th century B.C.)⁷⁶. Based on the development of this type in the north, it seems plausible to date the ribbed bracelets from northeast Albania in the LBA, rather than to the EIA as it has been proposed. In grave 2 of tumulus 4 of Kënetë, the pair of ribbed bracelets is associated by a small *kantharos* with channeled decoration (otherwise called *kanellure* decoration) consisting of widely spaced vertical or slightly oblique grooves or ribbings, which can be considered as one of the earliest appearances of this type of decoration in LBA Albania. In the Lofkënd tumulus one one-handle vessel, with a similar round base and with the same type of widely spaced grooves was dated to the 12-11th centuries B.C.⁷⁷ At around the same dates, this decoration appears in central and southeast Albania⁷⁸. Considering also the northern origin proposed for this type of decoration in LBA Albania, the dating of our pair of ribbed bracelets around the last phase of their development in the Glasinac plateau, or in the 13th century, should not be excluded.

The last part of my analysis on the Late Bronze Age burial costume ornaments from the northeast region concerns few other types of pins. **Another distinct type** from this region was found in grave 16 of tumulus 10 of Çinamak and was initially dated to the first phase of Iron Age (Fig. 3:6; Fig. 6)⁷⁹. It was found in association with an Aegean type knife that belongs to type Ia as defined by Sandars, and with a small stone pendant or amulet. The head of the pin is simply flat and not profiled. The upper shank tapers toward the tip and is decorated with incised diagonal hatched bands, divided by simple incised lines. An eyelet-shaped perforation divides this part from the plain shank. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier was right to suggest an earlier date for this pin and to consider it as a production of the

Central Balkans⁸⁰. Based on the general morphology, only two close parallels of our pin come from a damaged urn necropolis in the middle Danube valley, in north Serbia⁸¹. The distinct combination of various morphological features locates these three pins of Central Balkans between two widely distributed groups of pins of Central European origin. On one hand, the perforation on the neck relates them with the large group of MBA European and Balkan pins with upper perforated shank, particularly those with a needle-shaped head⁸². However, on the other hand, the morphology of the upper shank and the decoration design relates them also to a younger group of not perforated pins, that are widely distributed from Central Europe to Central Balkans (the Drina and Morava valleys) and the Iron Gates, during the Early Urnfield period, or the 13-12th centuries B.C.⁸³. In this context, the decoration design on the pin from Çinamak is similar to a nail head from Belotic, in western Serbia, but which has a straight upper shank with a very small piercing⁸⁴. The pin was dated to the Middle Bronze Age or around the 15th century B.C. In the younger group of non-perforated pins, the best parallels in terms of decoration design are also to be found in north Serbia⁸⁵. The perforation of the three pins of the type we are analyzing here is also similar to the eyelet pins or sewing needles discussed above. Particularly interesting in this respect is a group of eyelet pins from north Italy dated to the LBA (mainly 13th century B.C.), with conical or flat tapering head, the later closer to our example⁸⁶. As R. Vasić has pointed it, it seems more plausible to integrate these pins of northeast Albania and Serbia to the beginning of the development of the second group of non-perforated pins, or around the 14-13th centuries B.C. This date is also supported by the Sandars Ia type knife associating our example, which is attested in various LBA grave contexts, from north to south Albania⁸⁷.

The two pins from grave 3 of tumulus 22 of Çinamak are also unique examples in the northeast region (Fig. 3: 4, 7; Fig. 5). One has a flattened and rolled-up top and belongs to the type named ‘*Rollenkopfnadel*’ or ‘*rollennadel*’. The upper shank is rectangular in section, whereas the lower part is in round section. It represents the earliest evidence of this type in Albania, which persists throughout the Iron Age, with a higher concentration in southern Albania during the last period⁸⁸. However, a pin of the same type from the recently excavated tumulus of Lofkënd was also attributed to a final phase of Bronze Age⁸⁹. This type has a wider distribution, from Central Europe to the Near East, and a very long currency, from the beginning of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, without important morphological differences⁹⁰. Additionally, it is not easy to distinguish any chronological or regional characteristics of its development. In north and central Balkans this type is particularly frequent

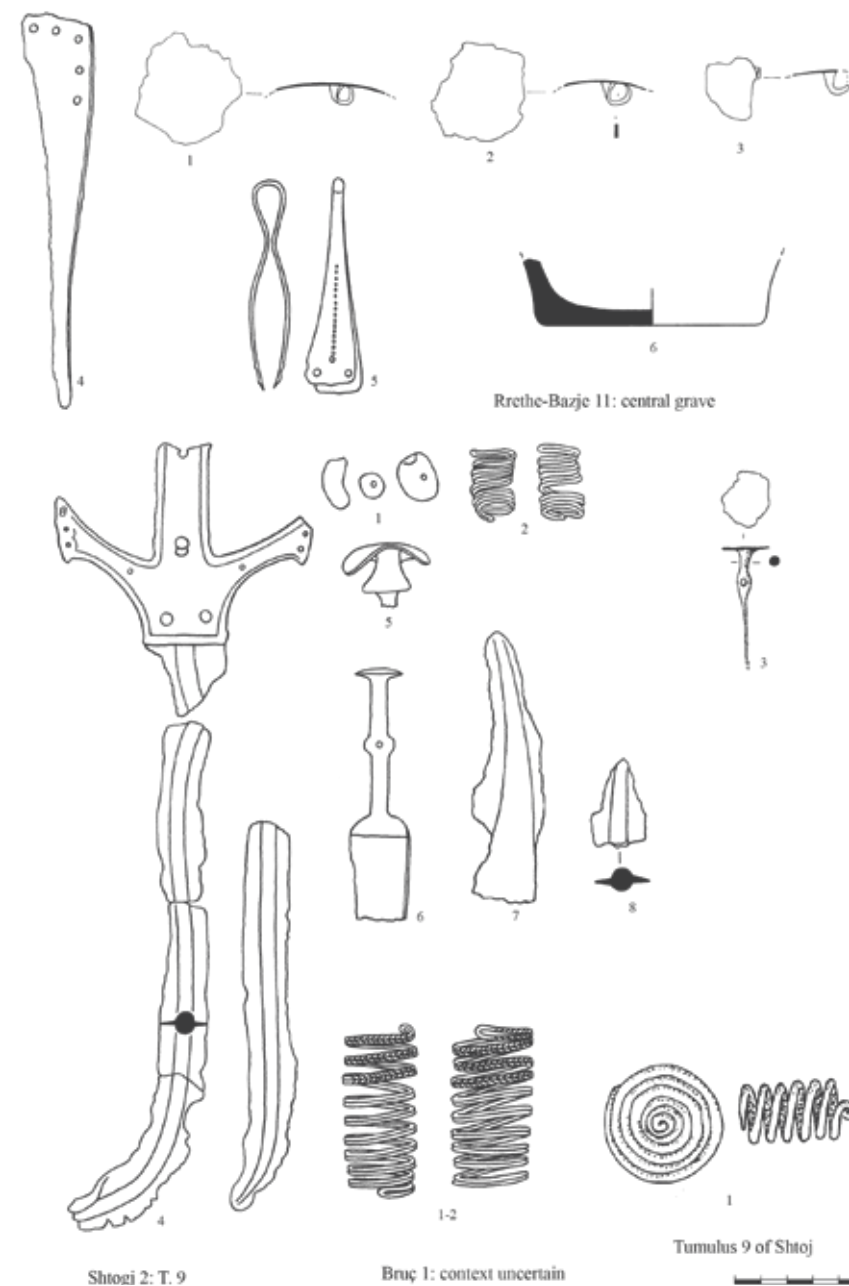


Figure 7. LBA grave assemblages from the Mati valley (drawings in 1:2 scale). Tumulus 9 of Shtoj, after Koka 2012; all the others after Islami 2013, except for the pin and the discs drawn by author

during the final MBA and LBA⁹¹.

The second pin from this grave has a flat conical head and a profiled neck consisting of three biconical swellings (Fig. 3: 7). We have not been able to observe the pin directly, but after the description of the author of the excavations, B. Jubani, the head was ornamented with sets of double lines that meet in the center forming a cross-shaped pattern. No direct parallels were identified for this pin. However, by the morphology of the neck, the head and the decoration applied to it, this pin seems to fit well in a group of similar profiled neck pins developed in the neighboring territory of Kosovo, particularly in the necropolis of Iglarevo (or Gllareva in Albanian), which are in general dated by R. Vasić to the 15-13th centuries B.C.⁹². Contemporary pins, with similarly profiled neck but with a spherical head, are also present in southeast Albania (see also Aliu in this volume).

The last type of pin, which is another unique specimen for Albania and its date disputable, comes from another grave context of the northeast region, the grave 12 of tumulus 3 of Myç-Has (Fig. 3: 9; Fig. 5)⁹³. Its upper part consists of a flat disc head, followed in a short distance by an important spherical to biconical swelling with four small holes around the maximum perimeter. Below, at almost the same distance, there is a smaller flat and sharp biconical bead, resembling a disc. The shank is fragmented in two, and it seems that it is hollow cast. The upper shank, between the beads, is decorated with horizontal incisions, whereas the big bulge is decorated by narrow hatched bands of diagonal and vertical lines divided by horizontal incisions. The disc of the head is also decorated with incisions. The only two direct parallels from south Serbia, called otherwise by R. Vasić as type 'Stari Glog', are stray finds and do not help much for the dating⁹⁴. These three similar pins with no direct parallels elsewhere have been generally seen in relation with a very small group of pins developed at the turn of the millennium in southeast Albania and in FYRO Macedonia. Two examples of type 'Fortuna' as distinguished by R. Vasić, come from FYROM and date at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.⁹⁵. However, their elongated swelling and the decoration applied to it are very different from our example. Based on the general morphology of the upper part, the type we are dealing here has also been related with two pins from tumulus 2 of Barç in southeast Albania, which are again very different in terms of the shape of the swelling and the total lack of decoration⁹⁶. The later were dated to the end of LBA.

The pin from Myç-Has and its parallels from Serbia show the presence of another distinct type developed between these two areas from the interior of the Balkans. However, specific morphological features of this type find several other parallels in earlier types of pins developed in the Balkans and the Central Europe.

For example, as it concerns the general shape of the upper part, similarities can also be found within a small group of pins with flat disc-head and a globular to biconical swelling below, which are attested in Kosovo and north Serbia where they are dated around the early Urnfield period⁹⁷. As it concerns the rich incised decoration, almost identical patterns can also be found on various globe-headed pins of Central Balkans, dated around 14-12th centuries B.C.⁹⁸. Nevertheless, the same patterns seem to persist in the Central Balkans and the Carpathian Basin until the end of the second millennium and the first centuries of the following millennium applied on vase-headed pins of a smaller globular swelling⁹⁹. As it concerns the holes around the maximum perimeter of the bulge of our pin, a very close parallel can be found in the flattened globular pin from grave 23 of tumulus 14 of the necropolis of Boka e Përçevës in the neighboring Kosovo, mentioned above, which is dated around 14-13th B.C.¹⁰⁰. Furthermore, after the description of the author of the excavation of the tumulus 3 of Myç-Has, the pin was associated by a massive bracelet in D-section with slightly profiled ends, of the same type as the one described above from the grave 19 of tumulus 16 of Çinamak. In the central grave of the same tumulus of Myç-Has, the same type of bracelet was found with an Aegean type bronze knife, which as mentioned above in the analysis of the bracelet, is not certain if belongs to Branigan V series or Sandars Ia type (Fig. 5). Nevertheless, both types are limited to the LBA and do not go beyond the 12th century B.C. In this context, we would propose that it should not be excluded a dating of this distinct type of pin around the end of LBA in Albania, or around the 13-12th centuries B.C.

The Middle valley of Mat and the northwest region

As already noted, the evidence on dress and body ornaments from the other two regions of north Albania is very limited. From a large number of excavated tumuli in the middle Mati valley (around 53 in total), only a few were used during the Late Bronze Age¹⁰¹. We could count no more than two LBA grave contexts with ornaments, which represent elite burials of the period. In the central grave of tumulus 11 of Rrethe-Bazje, three disc-plate ornaments were found in association with a pair of tweezers and one Aegean type knife that falls into Branigan Vb type (Fig. 7: 1-3)¹⁰². Morphologically they stand between the two types of bronze discs from the NE region analyzed above (Fig. 4: 9-14). The assemblage of the central grave of tumulus 11 of Rrethe-Bazje supports again an earlier date for this type of ornaments in north Albania, dating probably since the end of MBA and the beginning of LBA.

The use of pins as dress fasteners since the 14-13th century B.C. is attested in the second assemblage from grave 9 of tumulus 2 of Shtogj (Fig. 7: 3)¹⁰³. The

disc-head pin initially interpreted as a handle of a knife, has a slight biconical and symmetrical swelling, perforated in the center. This type finds several parallels in the tumuli of the Kolonja plateau, in southeast Albania, dating around the same period¹⁰⁴. It belongs to a widely distributed type of central European origin that during the 16th-15th centuries is encountered in north Italy, in north-east Adriatic, central Balkans, Albania, and only sporadically in the Aegean¹⁰⁵. The close morphological similarities of the disc-head pin from the valley Mat with the examples from southeast Albania might suggest their production in regional manufacturing centers at this last stage of the use of the type elsewhere.

The multidirectional influences at this period of late prehistory in Albania are very well expressed in this elite burial from the valley of Mat (Fig. 7). After the notes of the author of the excavation, in the same context was also found a distinct and probably a local variant of an Aegean type C sword dating circa LHIIIA/early IIIB and another weapon of northern origin or influence such as the two leaf-shape spearheads¹⁰⁶. The four **amber beads** from the grave suggest an almost contemporaneous appearance of the material with the northeast and southeast Albania. The grave included also a pair of **hair or temple gold spirals**, produced by a double wire of gold with round section throughout, forming a loop at both extremities. Another pair of gold spirals but with twisted ends has been found also in the valley of Mat, in tumulus 1 of Bruç, but their context and consequently close date remains uncertain¹⁰⁷. This type of ornament of Central European ancestry and probably origin is widely distributed during the second part of the second millennium as far south as south Italy and the Aegean¹⁰⁸. This rare prestigious item has been found among the most distinct burial contexts of LBA Albania, and as the case of grave 9 of tumulus 2 of Shtogj, in close connection with other objects of Aegean derivation or influence¹⁰⁹. So once more, the question of the origin of these body ornaments made of two prestigious exotic materials appears quite complex. They either suggest the involvement of local elites in the complex network of exchange, getting these goods from both directions, either a redistribution of these status markers from the south through the same mechanisms of exchange.

From the northwest corner of Albania, only one fragmented spectacle spiral pendant has been found in an unreliable context from the disturbed tumulus 9 of the necropolis of Shtoj (Fig. 7), whose main use belong to Late Iron Age. The pendant probably belongs to the type consisting of two spiral discs connected by a coiled wire. A complete silver specimen of this type has been found in the fill of tumulus of Rehovë, in southeast Albania¹¹⁰. It is another ornament of ancient ancestry in Central Europe. In the Balkans, this type is particularly frequent along

the Dalmatian coast and further inland in the tumuli of Glasinac plateau, in southeast Bosnia, where it has been attested throughout the Middle and early Late Bronze Age¹¹¹.

Conclusions

The comprehensive and systematic typological and chronological studies of burial costume elements of the Albanian protohistory are indispensable for a tighter chronological sequence of the specific necropoleis, and also essential for the general chronology and the cultural development. These types of studies remain still very limited in Albania. At the present state of international research, and thanks particularly to the systematic studies on burial costume elements from northern Europe to the Aegean, published in the various numbers of the series *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, we are now much better informed on the chronological development and the geographical distribution of the various categories of dress and body ornaments, as well as of weapons and tools. In this context, the review of some of the burial costume ornaments from north Albania presented in this paper was essential for the definition of a small but still important corpus related to LBA, and for a finer chronological framework of the assemblages. The largest part of this corpus which comes from the northeast region seems to better integrate into the first part of the LBA, or the 15-13th centuries B.C, rather than the final phase or the EIA, as was often noted in the previous publications.

A tighter chronological setting of the LBA assemblages with ornaments provides also essential evidence on aspects of the use of the tumuli but also on the general picture of social and political organization forms during this period. Most of the assemblages from the north where burial costume ornaments are present (Fig. 2), but also the other distinct assemblages equipped only with weapons and tools not analyzed specifically in this paper, come from the central graves of the tumuli, or from a very limited number of graves per tumulus belonging to LBA. This suggests that during this period in the north the burial under a tumulus was mainly related to the emerging social elites which are now more evident in the funerary record. The distribution of these graves in a larger number of small tumuli also suggests the presence of more fragmented forms of political organization in the north compared to the south, such as clan based forms or family clans whose main figure, a warrior chief and sometimes members of his family, were buried under a tumulus¹¹².

As it is clearly visible throughout the late prehistory of Albania, compared with weapons and tools, the dress and body ornaments are more closely associated with the regional identities and thus provide very valuable information in terms of

cultural relations and exchanges. The emergence of pins in the funerary record since probably the end of the MBA, and their particularly frequent occurrence from the end of 15th century in north and south Albania, is part of a generally shared trend or fashion with an ancestry in the Central Europe, and encountered during this period in Italy, Central Balkans, the Aegean and as far as Near East. However, the earliest pins in Albania and most of the types developed during the 14th-13th centuries have a clear ancestry in Central Europe, a fact that supports a northern influence for the emergence of this fashion. The actual evidence supports stronger communication lines along the inner Balkan routes, such as the Drina and Morava river valleys, or the Vardar valley further south. On the other hand, there is also strong evidence to suggest a local development of these 'northern' types of pins in Albania, which corresponds to the last stage of their use further north. Furthermore, the development of distinct types between the northeast and the southeast, suggests the presence of different manufacturing centers in these two regions of the country where copper mines are also present. It also implies the presence of closer regional preferences as it concerns the burial costume, which are depended on the cultural orientations of the two regions. The southern region more closely related to the western Macedonian territory, whereas the northeast region more oriented towards the neighboring Kosovo and the regions further north in the Central Balkans, along the Morava river valley. It is also important to note that both areas, northeast Albania and southeast Albania/western Macedonia represent a frontier zone, as each corresponds to the southernmost limit of the development of the respective types of pins of 'northern origin', few of which are encountered only sporadically further south in the Aegean.

This cultural orientation of the northeast region is also supported by the presence of other distinct categories of dress and body ornaments, which are important regional markers as it concerns the LBA burial costume. We should distinguish in particular the composite belt ornaments consisting of a belt hook and disc ornaments, whose only direct parallels come from southwest Kosovo, or the massive open bracelets in D-section and the ribbed bracelets, which have a wider distribution from Central Europe to Central Balkans. These categories are present in the most distinct grave assemblages of the region which were mainly related to female burial costumes. As in the southern region, amber beads and gold spirals are important social status markers and remain rare during LBA in north Albania.

Besides these small-scale regional differences, in a broader context, we can also say that during LBA the present territory of Albania was a contact zone where different cultural influences meet. In addition to its geographical position, it has also been stressed in literature that the presence of copper ores in the northeast, in Mati

area and also in the southeast region¹¹³, was another driving force for the complex LBA exchange nets, particularly along the north-south routes. On one hand, at the end of MBA and the beginning of LBA, Mycenaean type weapons and tools are dominant from south to north of the country, whereas on the other hand, starting from this period, ornaments of northern origin or influence have an important place in the mortuary contexts, and sometimes found with the Aegean types of weapons and tools in the same grave assemblages. These ornaments of northern origin precede the spread of other categories of metal objects from Central Europe towards the south, regrouped in the literature under the name of 'metallurgical koinè' or otherwise the 'urnfield koinè'¹¹⁴. The most studied categories of metal objects of this koinè in Albania belong to weapons, such as the Naue II swords and various types of daggers and spearheads, which will substitute the Aegean type weapons and are more frequent in the funerary record from the end of 13th/beginning of the 12th century¹¹⁵. As it concerns the ornaments, other types of long pins are developed at the last stage of this koinè in south Albania, or during the 11th century, when stronger contacts with the other side of the Adriatic are particularly evident in the southwest of the country. However, further comprehensive and systematic studies are needed, including weaponry and tools but also ceramics, for a better comprehension of the complex LBA exchange nets, but also of the nature and the social aspects of these contacts, during tighter chronological settings of the second part of the 2nd millennium B.C.

NOTES

- 1 PRENDI 1978, p. 34; for more recent data and discussions on the chronology see LERA *et al.* 2009; Damiata *et al.* 2009; Papadopoulos *et alii* 2014, p. 118-121.
- 2 PRENDI 1978; *Idem*, 1982; Korkuti 1985; Bodinaku 1995; Bejko 1994; *Idem*, 2002b.
- 3 ALIU 1984; *Idem*, 1996; 2004; 2012.
- 4 KOKA 2012; ISLAMI 2013; the excavations of the tumuli of Çinamak were carried out in 1960s and 1970s and were the subject of the doctoral studies of the author, B. Jubani. See Jubani 1990. His PhD thesis is in process of publication by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology.
- 5 KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 72, see note 20; Papadopoulos *et alii* 2014, p. 120, 340.
- 6 PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, p. 340, 1017, Fig. 10.14: 10/27, 10/28, 10/29, p. 350, p. 1019, Fig. 10.21 : 10/53, 10/54.
- 7 For the southeast region see ALIU 1984; *Idem*, 1996; 2004; 2007; 2012; and ALIU in this volume; for the southwest region see Amore 2010; Papadopoulos *et alii* 2014.
- 8 BEJKO 2000; *Idem*, 2001; 2002a ; 2007.
- 9 For the pin from Maliq see PRENDI 1966, p. 266, Tab. XX; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 71, 100, Tab. 1: 1, see also note 7; for another similar but not identical example from the tumulus of Rehovë see ALIU 2012, p. 193, 392, Tab. XLIV: 461.
- 10 CARANCINI 1975, p. 138-140, Taf. 22, most similar are nos. 676, 681, 690; MÜLLER-KARPE 1980, Taf. 298: F2, Taf. 353: A3, B2, G1; MOUCHA 2007, p. 429, taf. 135: 2; see also KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 71, note 7, p. 100, Tab. 1: 1.
- 11 KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984b, p. 284, Taf. 113: 4904-4913; see also AUDOUZE-COURTOIS 1970, p. 39, pl. 11: 297-301.
- 12 PRENDI 1957, p. 89-90, Fig. 15.a; *Idem*, 1982, p. 213-214, Abb. 6.6; PERONI 1985, p. 202, 205, Fig. 2.4; BEJKO 1994, p. 115, Fig. 5.6.
- 13 LEE 2005, p. 55-57, Fig. 5.2; VAN WEES 2005, p. 43-47; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984c; JACOBSTHAL 1956, p. 92.
- 14 ALIU 2007, Tab. LXIIa; *Idem*, 2012, p. 193-199; and Aliu in this volume; on discussions about the origin of pins and of this type of dress in Greece see particularly BOUZEK 1985, p. 161-167; *Idem*, 1997, p. 117; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984b, p. 2-8; *Eadem*, 1984c; LEMOS 2002, p. 103-104; PABST 2013, p. 155-157; PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, p. 340-341.
- 15 See the discussion of S. Pabst on the distribution of type Paarstald in western Greek Macedonia and southeast Albania, PABST 2013, p. 155-157, Abb. 1; see also ALIU 2012, p. 193-199.
- 16 ALIU 2012, p. 184, 377, Tab. XXIX: 367; BEJKO 1993, p. 109, 120, Fig. 2b; *Idem*, 2002, p. 11; BODINAKU 1995, p. 259-260, Fig. 1: 3.
- 17 PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, p. 340-341; for Sovjan see TOUCHAIS – LERA 2007, p. 147, pl. 30: g.
- 18 PABST 2013, p. 155-158, Abb. 1.
- 19 PABST 2013, p. 155-158, Abb. 1, and note 3 for the references on pins of western Greek Macedonia; see also KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 105, Tab. VI: 1-2; *Eadem*, 1984c, p. 283, Abb. 2: 1-4; DONDER 1999; for the Vardar valley and central Balkans see VIDESKI 2007, p. 112, Fig. LV/b; VASIĆ 2003, p. 29-31, Taf. 10: 143-151.
- 20 ALIU 2012, p. 350, Tab. II/v. 81, p. 363, Tab. XV/v. 186, p. 364, Tab. XVI/v. 192, p. 367, Tab. XIX/v. 213, p. 374, Tab. XXVI/v. 250, p. 375, Tab. XXXVII/v. 257; see also Aliu in this volume; Kurti (forthcoming).
- 21 BELA 2012, p. 111, 114, Fig. 62, p. 122, Fig. 69, p. 186, Fig. 102.
- 22 HOTI 1982, p. 27, 31, 43, Tab. VIII; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 72, 100, Tab. I: 3.
- 23 HOTI 1982, p. 27, 31, 43, Tab. VIII.
- 24 KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 72.
- 25 BEJKO 1994, p. 115-117, Fig. 5: 7-9; PRENDI 1966, Tab. XX; *Idem*, 1978, p. 10, 52, Tab. VII : 7-10; 1982, p. 213, Abb. 6: 7-10; a chronological table of the Aegean type of knives in Albania has been recently produced by E. Onnis, see ONNIS 2011, p. 498, Fig. 4. 14.
- 26 VASIĆ 2003, p. 14-16, Taf. 3: 29-46, Taf. 51, Taf. 70: 81-82; NOVOTNA 1980, p. 17-20, Taf. 1: 28-57, Taf. 66: 30, 53; HÄNSEL 1968, Taf. 12: 5-6, Taf. 15: 3, Beilage 4; MÜLLER-KARPE 1980, Taf. 297: B2; MOUCHA 2007, p. 349, Taf. 55: 3.
- 27 VASIĆ 2003, p. 16, Taf. 3: 29-46, Taf. 51, Taf. 70: 81-82.
- 28 NOVOTNA 1980, p. 20-28, Taf. 1: 58, Taf. 2: 59-72, Taf. 66; LAUX 1976, Taf. 63: 200-214; VASIĆ 2003, p. 16-17, Taf. 4: 48-49, Taf. 70: 48; for north Italy see CARANCINI 1975, Taf. 1-4; RAPI 2011, p. 186, Fig. 13; MÜLLER-KARPE 1980, Taf. 266: 10-14, 268: B9-10, 297: A16, 298: F6; 309: A1-5, 314: A7-13; see also HÄNSEL 1968, Taf. 8: 2, MOUCHA 2007, p. 390, Taf. 96: 3-5.
- 29 VASIĆ 2003, p. 16-17, Taf. 4: 48-49, Taf. 70: 48.
- 30 MÜLLER-KARPE 1980, Taf. 314: A8-13, B4-5; for Rumania see PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1977, p. 180, Pl. 20: 8, p. 208, Pl. 75: 1; for Italy see CARANCINI 1975, p. 97, type *spilloni a losanga*, Taf. 4.

- 31 PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1977, p. 180, Pl. 20: 8, p. 208, Pl. 75: 1.
- 32 JUBANI 1974, p. 171; *Idem*, 1982, p. 164, 166; JUBANI 1990, p. 191.
- 33 NOVOTNA 1980, p. 99, 'Typ Pétervására', Taf. 24: 566, as it concerns the top thorn some similarities are also to be found with the types 'Drevenik' Taf. 17, or 'Spindelkopfnadeln' Taf. 18-19: 425-439; VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, Taf. 28: 28, Taf. 88: 4; KÖNIG 2004, p. 64, 'Scheibenkopfnadeln, or 'spindelnadeln' for the distribution see Taf. 87.A; VASIĆ 2003, p. 47 'plattenkopfnadeln mit mitteldorn', Taf. 17-18: 254-257, p. 49, 'Typ Pétervására', Taf. 18: 259-262, for their distribution see Taf. 56; GARAŠANIN 1983, p. 746, Taf. 102: 4; see also PERKIĆ-LOZNAK DIZDAR 2005, p. 67, 107, T. 6: 106.
- 34 VASIĆ 2003, p. 47 'plattenkopfnadeln mit mitteldorn', Taf. 17-18: 254-257, p. 49, 'Typ Pétervására', Taf. 18: 259-262.
- 35 VASIĆ 2003, p. 47-48, Taf. 17: 255; GARAŠANIN 1983, p. 746, Taf. 102: 4.
- 36 VASIĆ 2003, p. 65-67, see note 2, Taf. 24-25: 383-385, the same grooves were applied on no. 383.
- 37 JUBANI 1990, Tab. XXXVIII : 9; *Idem*, 1983, p. 107, 130, Tab. X: 130.
- 38 ANDREA 1996, p. 30, 47, Tab. VI : 6.
- 39 BODINAKU 1982, p. 81, 99, Tab. X: VI/10; ANDREA 1981, p. 226, Tab. II: 4; *Idem.*, 1996, p. 30.
- 40 NOVOTNA 1980, p. 166-168, Taf. 48: 1121-1127; VASIĆ 2003, p. 130-133, Taf. 48: 977-992.
- 41 NOVOTNA 1980, p. 166; VASIĆ 2003, p. 133; see also VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, Tab. 11: 4; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1977, p. 279, Pl. 213: 6.
- 42 For the belt hook of Kënetë see HOTI 1986, p. 43, tab. III; for Kosovo see LUCI 1998, p. 127, nos. cat. 145-146; for the pin of grave 23 of tumulus 14 of the necropolis of Boka e Përçevës see VASIĆ 2003, p. 54-56, Taf. 20: 289.
- 43 MOUCHA 2007, p. 53-55, from the hoard of Starý Bydžov, Taf. 86: 1, and from the hoard of Opolany, Taf. 60.
- 44 WOLFGANG 2002, p. 67; for the earliest belt hooks see KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1975, Taf. 70.
- 45 KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1975, Taf. 70.
- 46 DAVID 1997; *Idem*, 2007; see also SUCHOWSKA-DUCKE 2016, p. 67.
- 47 DAVID 2002, p. 67-68, Abb. 1: 1, Abb. 3; *Idem*, 2006, p. 219-220, Taf. 3-4, p. 223-224, Taf. 5-6.
- 48 DAVID 2002, p. 67.
- 49 KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1975, p. 100, Taf. 36-40, see particularly nos. 398-400, 405.
- 50 GARAŠANIN 1983, p. 729, T. CII: 9-9a, T. LXII: 1, T. LXXI.
- 51 Various terms are used in literature for the domed disc plates: those of smaller dimensions, are often called 'tutuli', 'buttons', 'bosses' or just 'appliqués', whereas those of bigger dimensions in Europe are also called 'phalerae'. For more discussion on their function and also distribution see BOUZEK 1985, p. 97; DOUZOUGLI – PAPADOPOULOS 2010, p. 31-33, Fig. 8-9; JÁNOS GÁBOR 2015, p. 91-95, Fig. 11-12; for the Balkans, NADBATH 2004, p. 74, see particularly note 342; KÖNIG 2004, p. 79-80; for Italy see CHIARTANO 1983, p. 51-52; PAPADOPOULOS 2003, p. 86, note 320. More specifically on the use of domed discs as belt ornaments ANDRONIKOS 1969, p. 237-238, Fig. 75-77; VIDESKI 1999, p. 104, T. V; KRISTIANSEN p. 758.
- 52 JÁNOS GÁBOR 2015, p. 91-95, Fig. 11-12; VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, Taf. 4: 16-17, Taf. 30: B/1-7, Tab. 49: 9-12, Tab. 57, Tab. 73, Taf. 86; NADBATH 2004, p. 74; KÖNIG 2004, p. 79-80, Pl. 4: 70-71, 20: 10-12, 22 : 8-439; BENAC – ČOVIĆ 1956, phase IIa, Tab. V: 2-15, VIII: 4-5, phase IIIb, Tab. IV: 27, 29, XXVI: 9-27, XXVII: 5-6, XXVIII: 3-22, XXX: 4-5, 8-11, XXXIII: 7-8, 12, phase IIIc, Tab. IV: 8-8b, XXII: 13, XXXIII: 14-18, XXXIV: 1-4, 6-8, 10-13, XXXX: 4-21, XXXXIV: 12-23.
- 53 KORKUTI 1981, Tab. V: v. 35, Tab. VI, Tab. VII: v. 59; ALIU 2004, p. 123, 187, Tab. VII: 96, p. 188, Tab. VIII: 113; ANDREA 1985, p. 97, 269, Tab. VIII: 3, p. 271, Tab. X: 5; ISLAMI 2013, p. 202, tab. XLI: 4.
- 54 JUBANI 1982, p. 166.
- 55 PRENDI 1957, p. 84-85, Fig. 10b.
- 56 VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, Tab. 28: 8, Tab. 45: 13; PERKIĆ-LOZNAK DIZDAR 2005, p. 73-74, 110, T. 9: 155; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1977, p. 311, Pl. 275: 3.
- 57 JUBANI 1982, p. 149, tab. III.
- 58 KURTI 2013, p. 75; Kurti (forthcoming); PALAVESTRA 1997, p. 34, 39; PALAVESTRA-KRSTIĆ 2007, p. 43, 49-50.
- 59 KURTI (forthcoming).
- 60 PALAVESTRA 1997, p. 34, 39.
- 61 KURTI (forthcoming).
- 62 PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, for comparanda from Albania and elsewhere see p. 358-359.
- 63 JUBANI 1990, Tab. CXXXIII: 14-15.
- 64 PRENDI – BUDINA 1972, p. 123, Pl. XVI: 13.
- 65 BELA 1990, p. 129, Tab. XI: 165, p. 130, Tab. XII: 201; JUBANI 1982, p. 149, Tab. III: 1.
- 66 JUBANI 1968, p. 19; *Idem*, 1974, p. 171; 1982, p. 164-166; BELA 1990, p. 114; *Idem*, 2012, p. 245; HOTI 1986, p. 56.

- 67 BELA 1990, p. 113-114, p. 129, Tab. XI: 164.
- 68 HÄNSEL 1968, p. 94-95, Taf. 14: 37, Taf. 15: 15, Taf. 21: 4, Taf. 23: 14, Taf. 30: 4, Taf. 33: 8-9, Taf. 37: 16, Taf. 55: 30, Karte 20, Beilage 4; MÜLLER-KARPE 1980, Taf. 334: E/1-3, found in association with the same type of sewing needles, Taf. 337: B/9-11, Taf. 338: E/6, Taf. 342: B/4-5, D/9-10, Taf. 343: D/8-9, Taf. 344: C/10-11, D/2-3, Taf. 350.
- 69 LUCI 1998, catalogue, no. 120.
- 70 DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1983, p. 261-262, T. XXXVIII: 5, 11, 13-13a, 14, T. XL: 11-12; ČOVIĆ 1983, p. 418, Tab. LXIII: 4-6; BENAC – ČOVIĆ 1956, phase IIa p. 63, Tab. V: 1, VI: 3, 10-11, VI: 1-3, 9-11, and phase IIb, p. 65, T. IX: 3, 5, 6, 8, X: 1-2, XIII: 8-9, XIV: 1, 6, T. XV: 1-2, phase IIIa, T. XVII: 3-7; for more discussion on the dating of some of the most recent specimens of this type from Glasinac see KÖNIG 2004, p. 84, Taf. 22 : B/1-2; HÄNSEL 1968, p. 94-95.
- 71 JUBANI 1982, p. 149, Tab. III, p. 162.
- 72 JUBANI 1983, p. 106, 129, Tab. IX: 114-115.
- 73 BUTTLER-STEEGSTRÄ 2008, p. 377-378, Fig. 2; MOUCHA 2007, p. 57-58, Taf. 74-75: 11, Taf. 177: 1-4, Taf. 189: 23-24, Taf. 162: 23-25, Taf. 174: 15-16, Taf. 178: 8-10; RICHTER 1970; for the Balkans and particularly Bosnia see KÖNIG 2004, p. 85; HÄNSEL 1968, p. 101-102.
- 74 MOUCHA 2007, bracelets similar to ours are those included in the first group, distinguished as high arm cuffs, p. 57-57, Taf. 74-75: 11, Taf. 177: 1-4, Taf. 189: 23-24; BUTTLER-STEEGSTRÄ 2008, p. 377.
- 75 KÖNIG 2004, p. 85, with the respective references; ČOVIĆ 1983, T. XLIV: 13-15, XLVIII: 17-18; HÄNSEL 1968, p. 101-102.
- 76 BENAC – ČOVIĆ 1956, since phase IIa (second part of 16th century) Tab. XIII: 1, for more similar specimens to our bracelets see Tab. XXVIII: 24, XXVII: 1-2, which were dated to phase IIIB in the original publication, but in a later publication were included in phase IIIa (corresponding to Bz D or the 13th century), see Čović 1983, p. 416-417, Sl. 28, T. LXII: 7, XXXIX: 3; Hänsel 1968, p. 101.
- 77 PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, p. 243-244, 961, Fig. 9.16/9.90.
- 78 For southeast see ANDREA 2009, p. 17-19; GORI-KRAPF 2015, p. 117, 119; further analysis on the channelled ware in Albania is provided by N. Bodinaku, referring also to its first appearance in the tumuli of Pazhok, in central Albania, since the 13th century B.C., see BODINAKU 1982, p. 72-73, 98, Tab. IX: v. 43; see also PRENDI 1978, p. 14-15.
- 79 JUBANI 1974, p. 43-44, Tab. I: 1.
- 80 KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984a, p. 73-74, 100, Tab. I: 2.
- 81 VASIĆ 2003, p. 35-36, Taf. 12: 173-174.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 31-32, Taf. 53, see particularly Taf. 11: 153-155.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 82-86, Taf. 31-34: nos. 536-630, based on the composition of the decoration nos. 536, 589 and 600, are particularly similar to the pin from Çinamak, see also Taf. 63A for the distribution; KÖNIG 2004, p. 67, Taf. 87B; NOVOTNA 1980, p. 139, Taf. 41-42: 898-939; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1977, Pl. 268: 36-41, 37-38; for Italy see CARANCINI 1975, p. 212-213,
- 84 VASIĆ 2003, p. 32, Taf. 11: 155; Garašanin 1983, p. 745, Taf. CII: 10.
- 85 VASIĆ 2003, p. 82, Taf. 31-33: 536, 589, 600.
- 86 CARANCINI 1975, p. 175-180, Taf. 38-39, see particularly nos. 1097-1102.
- 87 ONNIS 2011, p. 498, Fig. 4. 20-22; see also BODINAKU 1995, p. 262, Fig. 3: 10.
- 88 For a general analysis of this type in Albania see PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, p. 345-346; see also KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984b, p. 75-76, 102, Tab. III: 39-46.
- 89 PAPADOPOULOS *et alii* 2014, p. 342-344, Fig. 10.14: n° 10/29.
- 90 JACOBSTHAL 1956, p. 122-123, Fig. 350-51, 354-56, 360-61; VASIĆ 2003, p. 20-23; NOVOTNA 1980, p. 29 ; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984b, p. 75-76; CARANCINI 1975, p. 259, Taf. 4-13; BLEČIĆ KAVUR – MILIČEVIĆ-CAPEK 2011, p. 40.
- 91 VASIĆ 2003, p. 23, Taf. 7-8, Taf. 52.
- 92 *IBID.*, see particularly the examples named under ‘kugelkopfnadel mit kugeliger Halsverdickung’ in p. 65-67, Taf. 24: 369-383, and under ‘mehrkopfnadeln von typ Iglarevo’ in p. 67-68, Taf. 25: 387-390. Our example finds more similarities with nos. 383 and 387 from the necropolis of Iglarevo in Kosovo.
- 93 BELAJ 1990, p. 114-115, 130, Tab. XII: 200-202; *Idem*, 2012, p. 133, Tab. XXXIV.
- 94 VASIĆ 2003, p. 94, Taf. 36: 692-693.
- 95 *Ibid.*, p. 93-94, Taf. 36: 690-691; BELA 1990, p. 114-115.
- 96 ANDREA 1985, p. 279, Tab. XVIII: v. 11/3, p. 280, Tab. XIX: v. 12.
- 97 VASIĆ 2003, p. 68-69, Taf. 25: 391-393, see also p. 91, Taf. 36: 674-675.
- 98 *Ibid.*, p. Taf. 19-20: 275, 277, 282.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p. 92, Taf. 36: see particularly nos. 678 and 680; NOVOTNA 1980, p. 145-148, see particularly Taf. 43: 971-973.
- 100 VASIĆ 2003, Taf. 20: 289.
- 101 ISLAMI 2013, p. 120.
- 102 VASIĆ 2003, p. 182, tab. XXI: 1-4; ONNIS 2011, p. 498, Fig. 4. 11.
- 103 ISLAMI 2013, p. 116-117, 217, Tab. LVI: v. 9.
- 104 ALIU 2012, p. 193-194, 199, IIa; see also Aliu in this volume.
- 105 VASIĆ 2003, p. 33-34, Taf. 11: 161-167, particularly similar is no. 162, for the distribution see Taf. 53; for the northeast Adriatic or the southeast Alpine area see

- GABROVEC 1983, p. 42-43, Sl. 5: 1, T. 1: 7-8; HÄNSEL 1968, p. Taf. 17: 2; Taf. 22: 23-24; for similar pins from Italy, however not identical, see type 'Bor di Pacengo' in CARANCINI 1975, p. 259, Taf. 33-34.
- 106 PRENDI 1978, p. 37, 58, Tab. XIII: 6; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1985, p. 258; *Idem.*, 1993, p. 49-56; BEJKO 2002, p. 12, Fig. 2: 7.
- 107 ISLAMI 2013, p. 98, 219, Tab. LVIII: 8.
- 108 EDER-JUNG 2005, p. 488-489, Pl. CIX: a-b; HÄNSEL 2009, p. 25-29.
- 109 KURTI (forthcoming).
- 110 ALIU 2012, p. 209.
- 111 ČOVIĆ 1983, T. XXXIX : 11, T. XL : 9, 13, see also T. XLIII: 2, T. XLVII: 9-11; T. XLVIII: 13-14, 19; T. L: 11-12, T. LI: 1-2; T. LIII : 7-8.
- 112 See also GALATY 2007, p. 136.
- 113 GALATY 2007; GALATY *et al.* p. 166; BEJKO 1994, p. 105.
- 114 JUNG 2009, p. 129; BORGNA 2009, p. 289, see note 1; MOLLOY 2016, p. 348.
- 115 PRENDI 1982, p. 223-224; BODINAKU 1995, p. 264-267, Fig. 4-5; BEJKO 2002b, p. 19-21.