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Approved by:

Jack L. Davis

Archie J. Christopherson

C. Brian Rose
THE EARLIEST URBANIZED SETTLEMENTS IN THE HINTERLAND OF
APOLLONIA (ALBANIA): 7th – MID 5th CENTURY B.C.

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Ols Lafe

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Committee Chair: Jack L. Davis
Archie J. Christopherson
C. Brian Rose
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the earliest inhabited settlements of the hinterland of the Greek colony at Apollonia during the Protourban period (ca. 700 - 450 B.C). The areas of Myzeqe and Mallakastra are the geographical focus of this detailed analysis. The first chapter concentrates on the discussion of the physical landscape of these areas, and the history of archaeological research. The second chapter consists of the list of sites that are discussed in this thesis. Their fortifications, domestic architecture, and pottery are analyzed. In the third chapter a discussion of the inter-settlement and intra-settlement levels is made. The lack of burials near the native sites of this period is noted. Trade in the hinterland of Apollonia, and appearances of imported pottery, namely Corinthian and Ionian but also from other regions of Greece, are discussed.

The fourth chapter is a survey of burial rites at Apollonia and the factors that may have influenced the Greeks to adopt the rite of tumulus burial. A history of excavation and research conducted in the main Apollonian necropolis is provided, and for the first time all the excavated tumuli burials are described and figures on the types of graves are discussed. The use of pithoi and sarcophagi at Apollonia and Epidamnos/Dyrrachium received particular attention. At the Greek colony of Epidamn♥us/Dyrrachium there were no sarcophagi in use before the Roman period, while Apollonia had used them for some time during the Archaic and early Classical period. Then, a survey of the limestone quarries in the vicinity of Apollonia is made, that investigates the various ways that limestone could have been brought to Apollonia; methods used for extracting the limestone and the presence near the quarries of shipwrecks carrying limestone blocks suggested that the sea was the preferred method of transportation.
Prindërve të mi Pavli e Margarita,

Emit, dhe Ilirit të vogël…
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INTRODUCTION

After having worked for five years as a field walker for The Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project (MRAP) near the ancient Greek *apoikia* of Apollonia in central-west Albania (Fig. 1), the idea came to me to write this thesis about the hinterland of Apollonia (Fig. 2), covering areas that MRAP examined, and also more importantly other areas further inland, especially to the north, east and southeast, that it was not possible to study during fieldwork.¹

The chronological range of the present thesis is the Protourban period in the hinterland of Apollonia: i.e., the period that starts before the Greek colonization of the Adriatic coast and that comes to an end by the mid 5th century B.C. The scope of this thesis comprises settlement patterns in light of current evidence in the area. This was a period of continuous change marked finally by the establishment of Greek settlements on the south-eastern Adriatic coastline, one of which was the ancient city of Apollonia itself. The interesting changes that were already taking place in Southern Illyria before, during, and after the establishment of the Greek settlement of Apollonia are the main focus for this study (see Fig. 3).²

By the end of the second millennium and the first half of the first millennium B.C., the south Illyrian tribes had established some of their settlements on hilltops³ and had gradually fortified some of them, such as the sites of Gajtān (Shkodra district) (Fig. 4), Tren (Korça

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¹ For more information on MRAP see Korkuti et al. 1998; see also *MRAP* 2002.
² Müller seems to be the first scholar to support Plutarch’s suggestion for a foundation date of Apollonia in the first year of the 48th Olympiad (see Müller 1853, p. 18, followed by van Compernolle 1953, pp. 50-54, the latter concluding by supporting Beaumont’s idea (below); Ceka, H. 1965, p. 15; Wilkes 1992, p. 112); many foundation dates have been suggested for Apollonia in subsequent modern scholarship. Rey (1932, p. 27) gave the date 588 B.C.; Beaumont (1936, p. 168) says: “some time early in the sixth or late in the seventh century”; Salmon (1984, p. 211) has agreed with a late 7th to early 6th century B.C. date; Ceka (1998, p. 124) has supported a date at the end of the 7th century B.C. based on a cultural stratum belonging to that period near the fortification wall; for more on the recent scholarship see Myrto 1998, p. 18.
district) and Kalivo (Saranda district).\(^4\) Generally, during the Iron Age in most areas of southern Illyria small villages were the typical settlements with some fortified hilltop settlements.\(^5\) These fortified settlements are attested in areas where tumuli burials have been found as indicated by excavations in the vicinity of the tumuli burials. In the Mat area in central Albania most of the tumuli of the Iron Age I-III period are organized in clusters, positioned on small terraces and in low land along valleys.\(^6\) Similar situations to the Mat area have been attested in the areas of Kukës, Korça (Fig. 5) and the Drino valley.\(^7\) Also the villages that have been identified along the Vjosa valley (Fig. 6), a principal region examined in this study, display roughly the same patterns as the areas mentioned above.\(^8\) In almost all instances near the Vjosa valley, these are small settlements situated around arable land, a situation that in Ceka’s opinion indicates an agricultural economy.\(^9\)

Southern Illyria's\(^10\) involvement in the wider socio-economic development of the Mediterranean brought a rapid development in the hinterland of Apollonia soon after the 7\(^{th}\) century B.C. Undoubtedly a key factor in this development in Southern Illyria was its early relationship with the Greek world and in particular the process of urbanization that quickly

\(^6\) Korkuti 1974, pp. 81-82; Kurti 1977-78, p. 157; 1987, p. 85; 1999; see also Wilkes (1992, p. 45) for burial types and objects found associated with tumuli burials.
\(^7\) Kukës: Andrea 1984, p. 105; 1991-92, p. 75; Korkuti and Petruso 1993, pp. 719-720; Korçë: Andrea 1976; 1985, p.10; Aliu 1994, pp. 5-6, fig.1; Drino valley: Adhami 1958, pp. 28-29, fig. 11.
\(^8\) Anamali 1949; Korkuti 1981a.
\(^9\) Ceka 1990a, p. 147.
\(^10\) South Illyria was situated roughly where Albania is today. The area examined in this thesis is at the southernmost edge of Southern Illyria’s territory bordering Epirus. Although the term ‘Illyria’ is a later usage, it will be used throughout the thesis for a better understanding of the area under study, see also Fig. 63.
evolved after the foundation of Greek settlements along the south-eastern Adriatic seashore (Fig. 7).11

Since 1998, part of the hinterland of Apollonia has been the object of a detailed study by MRAP, a joint Albanian-American project (Fig. 8) a regional and intensive surface survey, which is concerned (among other things) with “the interaction between native Illyrians and Greek colonists - a matter of great significance not only specifically for the early history and archaeology of Albania, but more generally to our understanding of the processes and impact of colonialism itself”.12 MRAP has provided data on settlements and landscape use in this period, part of which is already available in the form of preliminary reports on the project’s website.

Before discussing the structural outline of this thesis it is important to discuss the nature of Albanian archaeology as reconstructed prior to 1990.13 The strategy of the totalitarian state in Albania, clearly based on a strong Marxist ideological background,14 was to focus its archaeological projects in three main directions: 1) the ethnogenesis of the Illyrians and their autochthony, 2) their cultural, economic, and social development in antiquity, and 3) the

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11 Ceka 1995; I doubt Wilkes’ (1992, pp. 40-41) statement: “…the Greeks had little impact on the material culture of the southern Illyrians until the expansion of Macedonia in the fourth century”. It is quite clear though that Greek influence is visible in the material culture; Wilkes himself has admitted it few pages later, see pp. 47; see also Stipčević 1977, 108-110.
12 MRAP 1998.
13 Islami 1985, p. 6 said: “The methodological lessons of comrade Enver Hoxha have also led Albanian archaeology in the study of key issues of our ancient history (my translation)”. On the other hand “Hoxha has urged scholars to study these issues being based on the Marxist-Leninist methodology… (my translation)”. Hoxha (1985, p. 39) said: “Although excavations (in Albania) must uncover equal portions of every period… more archaeological research has to be focused on the discovery of Illyrian monuments…(my translation)”.
14 Before 1991, Albanian archaeology consequently developed into a conservative archaeology (Korkuti 1981b, pp. 5-9; Prendi 1988, p. 9); see also Gheorghiu 2003, p. 171. Gheorghiu’s examples do not include the Albanian ‘case’ but Albania was part of the Eastern socialist block for over 40 years and consequently its archaeology was influenced by Marxist ideology; the Institute of Archaeology in Albania had to abandon its relative isolation soon after the communist system in the country collapsed and it started seeking foreign collaboration for the many projects underway. It has been successful in establishing major long-run joint projects at several ancient sites. For Apollonia: Myrto 1998, p. 37; Korkuti et al 1998; Andrea 2000, pp. 153-155; Davis 2001; Butrint: Andrea 2000, pp. 157-159; Bylis: Andrea 2000, p. 154; Konispol: Korkuti and Petruso (1993, pp. 703-705, 715); Andrea 2000, p. 155.
transitional period from the Illyrians to the early medieval Albanians. In addition, important work has been conducted in prehistoric settlements and at sites of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The rich data that have been yielded through the study of the Protourban period, establishing this period as a predecessor to ‘proper’ Illyrian cities, and especially work conducted in the hinterland of Apollonia, have been published almost exclusively in the journal Iliria, issued by the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana.

The Protourban period, that is the period before the first urban centers were built in Southern Illyria, has been designated as the Iron Age III period with dates that differ slightly within Albanian scholarship. The Protourban period is not only an Illyrian phenomenon, as acknowledged by the Albanian archaeologist Neritan Ceka, but it is part of a process that was already taking place in other regions of the Mediterranean, having close affinities with Southern Italy, especially the Salento region.

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18 In addition to the Iliria publications there have been four major conferences since WWII, beginning in 1969, which discussed the origin of the Illyrians and Albanians (see Les Illyriens 1971), two more conferences during the 70s and 80s dealing respectively with the Illyrians and the early Albanians, (see Andrea 1984, p. 102, Wilkes 1995, pp. 10-11, Korkuti and Petruso 1993, p. 707), and finally the conference entitled “Fifty Years of Albanian Archaeology”, see Iliria 1998/1-2. Recently another work on the Illyrians and their relationship to modern Albanians was published (see Korkuti 2003).
19 Suggestions concerning the absolute chronology of the period, vary from Ceka (1985b, p. 121: middle of 7th century B.C. to second half of 5th century B.C.), Korkuti and Petruso (1993, fig. 2: between 650-450 B.C.), to Korkuti and Ceka (1993, p. 63), where the Iron Age III period is dated to the 6th – 5th centuries B.C. Ceka (1998, p. 122) has suggested that the Iron Age III settlements “developed from the end of the 7th century B.C. to the middle of the 5th century B.C.”. See also Ceka (2000, p. 33), where he has mentioned 450 B.C. as representing the end of Iron Age III period in Southern Illyria; Prendi (1974b, p. 107) in his chronological classification has dated the Iron Age III period to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.
20 D’Andria 1979; Arias et al. 1979; Ceka 1985b, p. 123; Herring 2000, p. 57. See also Fig. 45.
The Iron Age III period (i.e., Protourban) in Southern Illyria is considered to be a transitional period, clearly distinguished from the preceding Iron Age II and the following more monumental Urban period, standing between the Gajtan II type settlements and those sites that evolve into cities by the middle of the 5th century B.C.\textsuperscript{22}

Although a few reconstructions of the social-economic structure of these settlements in the Protourban period have been attempted, most notably by Ceka, generally scholars have followed Marxist constructs in their interpretations of the archaeological material.\textsuperscript{23} Harding has

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Period	\
\hline
2100 B.C. & Early Bronze Age	\
1800 B.C. & Middle Bronze Age	\
1500 B.C. & Late Bronze Age	\
1100 B.C. & Iron Age I\textsuperscript{21}	\
800 B.C. & Iron Age II	\
650 B.C. & Iron Age III / Protourban	\
450 B.C. & Urban	\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{The Albanian Chronology.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{21} According to Prendi (1985, p. 65), Iron Age I begins in the Albanian territory in the 11th century B.C., when the first locally produced Iron objects appear in southern Albania.
\textsuperscript{22} See Korkuti and Petruso 1993, fig. 2, for Albanian chronology; for Gajtan see Islami 1984, p. 6; Ceka 1985b, p. 121. Ceka (1990a, p. 148) has expressed his doubts about the prevailing opinion that Gajtan’s fortification is typical for the Iron Age I-II period in Albania as previously thought. Prendi (1998, p. 96) has concluded that the Gajtan II fortification belongs to the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age transition in Albania (11th – 10th centuries B.C.).
\textsuperscript{23} See Korkuti and Petruso 1993, pp. 705-706 for a discussion of Marxism.
also looked at the effects on the socio-economic and material culture of the social units in Illyria, from the early Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. He has suggested the creation of proto-states in the Early Iron Age, and sites with territories larger than 20 km in diameter, without specifying his calculation methods, the particular area that was examined, or the sites involved.  

This study aims to present information gathered from archaeological research on all sites from the hinterland of Apollonia that have yielded evidence of a Protourban occupation. This will be made in order to create a framework for future interpretation of the socio-economic changes that were taking place in the hinterland of Apollonia prior to the commencement of Greek colonization as well as the development of these native settlements during and after the process of colonization had taken place.

The structure of this thesis has taken the following shape. In the first chapter, the geography of the hinterland of Apollonia, specifically the area between the lower reaches of the rivers Aoos and Apsos is described. There is a lack of information from both ancient sources and modern research regarding the size and extent of Apollonia’s hora, and this has imposed limitations to our study. Furthermore, suggestions as to how far this hora extended are attempted, but there will always be a high degree of speculation. An historical outline of archaeological research conducted concerning Illyrian settlements inland follows. One valuable source of information is MRAP, which is the only systematic intensive surface survey that has been conducted in this region. The corpus of archaeological data in this area has been enhanced by

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24 See Harding 1992, pp. 25-26, pl.1, regarding his reconstruction of the social and economic structure in Illyria.
25 For the purposes of this study, the hinterland of Apollonia in ancient times is considered the area that the modern districts of Fier and Mallakastra cover today (see Fig. 1). The total area of these two districts today is approximately 1,175 km² (see The World Gazetteer; see also below note 31).
26 MRAP was the first large-scale systematic intensive survey organized in Albania (see Korkuti et al. 1998 and Galaty et al. 2002). The Department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati also organized a survey of the hinterland of Epidamnos/Dyrrachium in 2001 (see Davis et al. 2003). Other smaller scale
reports of trial excavations and chance findings that make contributions to the reconstruction of settlement patterns in the region.

The second chapter is an inventory of all the Protourban sites that have been uncovered so far in the hinterland of Apollonia. Their location, size, and geographical features are discussed in terms of archaeological research, including, when possible, survey data from MRAP. We should note here that in most of these sites the trial excavations by their very nature, have been unable to yield the kind of evidence that could help to reconstruct life in these settlements. In addition, the pottery recovered from these sites is described when possible, and a division in terms of provenance of origin is applied.27

The third chapter, a natural continuation of the second chapter, discusses the evidence for social organization; it also deals with the intra-settlement and inter-settlement data: types of settlements, whether fortified or open; the chronology of such settlements;28 and the evidence for trade between Apollonia, its hinterland, and lands beyond.29 We lack substantial architectural features from native sites, whether hilltops or open air sites on the plains, although all architecture dated to the period under study, regardless how exiguous, is considered. At the inter-settlement level a short discussion of settlement density is based on the archaeological evidence. Also the issues of trade during the Protourban period will be discussed, as will too the appearance of Corinthian Type A and Type B amphoras at the hilltop site of Margëlliç.

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27 Since in virtually all the native sites both local and imported pottery has been reported, a consistent organization of the data is used throughout the thesis. The pottery will be divided into two main groups according to provenance and then into sub-groups based on texture and ware when possible.

28 Dating these settlements has proven to be difficult. According to S. I. Dakaris 1987, p. 69: “Il est très difficile de dater une forteresse ancienne”. See also Islami 1987, p. 69.

29 See Davis 2001, p. 420 on Apollonia.
Furthermore, the war of Apollonia with the city of Thronium has received special attention as it may have been an important step in the Apollonian expansionist policy.

The fourth chapter studies tumuli burials and their typology in Apollonia and graves in Epidamnos/Dyrrachium, from the first phases of the colonizing process until the late Archaic period. It is important to discuss the developments that took place at Apollonia, considering both the various ways that these developments may have influenced the native settlements of the hinterland and that the native settlements may have influenced Apollonia.

Ceka’s suggestion that these tumuli burials might be associated with “the heritage of the colonists families” rather than with any Illyrian practice, requires further examination in light of new excavations. An important fact is the lack of sarcophagi in Durrës (Epidamnos/Dyrrachium) prior to the Roman period, although a significant number of pre-Roman sarcophagi have been found farther south in the Greek settlement of Apollonia. Does the absence of sarcophagi in Epidamnos indicate that the settlers had ceased practicing their Corinthian rite of burial in sarcophagi? For this question Ian Morris’ suggestion that another rite was being used in Epidamnos, namely pithoi burials, is further analyzed by taking recent archaeological data into account. On the other hand, other settlers arriving in Apollonia toward the end of the 7th century B.C. preserved Corinthian burial rites as evidenced by the presence of sarcophagi...
limestone sarcophagi from excavations in Apollonia’s main necropolis. Thus we should try to
determine as closely as possible the origin of the colonists, to the extent that the ancient sources
and the archaeological data allow us.

A thorough review of the scholarship concerning the tumuli burials that have been
excavated to date in the area is included (Fig. 9).35 Also, in light of excavations in Tumulus 9 in
Apollonia, and in advance of its pending preliminary publication, I hope to be able to throw more
light on the debate concerning the earliest settlers of Apollonia and their interaction with the
local population.36

It will be important to examine as closely as possible those instances of interaction of the
local population with newcomers. Ceka, who is aware of both native and Greek influences, has
argued that: “…It was not the foundation of Greek colonies that encouraged the creation of
Protourban settlements inland. Based on archaeological investigation, these Protourban centers
had been established several decades before the foundation of the colonies (my translation)”.37

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35 Dimo and Fenet 1996 have provided an article on the history of the excavated tumuli at Apollonia.
36 On the question of settlers and their interaction with the local population see Mano 1971; 1986a; 1986b;
1998, see especially p. 132; Amore 2002.
CHAPTER I

THE LANDSCAPE OF THE MALLAKASTRA AND MYZEQE AREAS

It is necessary to discuss the physical terrain in order to understand the hinterland of Apollonia. Then it will be possible to proceed to the discussion about the available archaeological data. Albania is situated in the western part of the Balkans with access to both the Adriatic and Ionian seas (Figs. 2, 10) and covers an area of 28,748 km$^2$. The Albanic folded-mountain ranges have a general trend south-southeast to north-northwest. This position of the country influences its climate, characterized by cold winters and hot summers with good rainfall in the north but dry summers in the south.

The areas of Mallakastra and Myzeqe are situated in western Albania, defined to the south by the Vjosa river (Aoos) and to the north by the Seman river (Apsos). The area of Myzeqe is bounded on the west by the Adriatic Sea; the Mallakastra area is bounded to the east by the Osum river and to the south-east by Mt. Çarrishtë, Mt. Trebeshinë, and Mt. Shëndëlli.

The Myzeqe area, situated to the northwest and southwest of Apollonia, links the Fier area with central and north Albania. Today it is one of the most agriculturally productive regions of Albania. On the other hand, the Mallakastra area is important with regard to land routes. It

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38 The hinterland of Apollonia is in this thesis the area that is included today in the modern districts of Fier and Mallakastra (see INSTAT p. 15, map 1.1). Most of the area today named Mallakastra was a territory controlled by the Koimon of the Bylliones, starting in the 4th century B.C. Most of the sites that this thesis takes under consideration were included in this koine. Later on during the Illyro-Roman wars we find this region called Atintania, this time including territories on both sides of the Vjosa river and reaching the Drino valley to the south. For further discussion see Ceka 1987b, notes 18-21 and 1990c.
39 FJALORI 1985, p. 1038.
41 Naval Intelligence Division 1945, p. 6, p. 84; FJALORI 1985, p. 1039.
43 Fasolo 2003, note 60 and note 76.
44 This is the extreme eastern boundary of the Mallakastra district.
links the area of the western lowlands with the interior of Albania and further south with Greece; it also links the southern coastal regions with central and northern Albania. During the Roman period one of the major communications arteries in the western Balkans was the Via Egnatia, a continuation of the Via Appia in the Balkans that connected Epidamnos/Dyrrachium and Apollonia with Thessaloniki in modern Greece, ending in a later stage in Istanbul in modern Turkey.45

In my opinion, geographically Apollonia influenced, controlled, and had access to a wide area to the north, east, and south. The extent can be explained by the fact that there were no geographical obstacles (i.e., high mountains) to the north of the colony until the banks of the Seman river. For that reason this river has been considered as a logical boundary to the north. On the east, the hilly formations of Mallakastra may have restricted access to certain routes that could be easily controlled by the local population. For example, the hilltop of Margëlliç may have played a special role in the conduct of trade, because of the reluctance of Greek traders to penetrate too far into native territory.

Thus I tentatively suggest that Apollonia may directly have controlled a smaller area but, indirectly, its influence and traded goods may have reached deeper inland, as it is demonstrated in Chapter 2. To the south, the vicinity of the Vjosa river may again have constituted a plausible boundary, and as is demonstrated in Chapter 3, attempts may have been made to change this boundary. Nevertheless, despite all efforts it is hard to know the exact extent of the hora of Apollonia from the early moments of its establishment. It is likely that further research conducted in the field will yield new evidence for discussion.

THE ADRIATIC COASTLINE AND THE EASTERN MOUNTAIN FORMATIONS

The western part of the area under study is bordered by the Adriatic sea, more specifically the coastal zone between the Seman (Apsos) river in the north and the Vjosa (Aoos) river in the south, which flow almost parallel until they enter the Adriatic sea. The area between these two rivers called Myzeqe; it is about 10 km wide and is composed of fluvial sedimentation including also a range of hills. This range of hills reaches heights of less than 800 m above sea level and is formed from Cenozoic sediments, ending with the hill where the ancient site of Apollonia is situated. A small part of the area between the Adriatic sea and Apollonia (see Figs. 11:a-b), which has recently been under study by MRAP, is mainly composed of lowlands of Tertiary sands, clays, and marls. This area, prior to WWII, was a marsh which was gradually drained by the communist government of Albania during the second half of the twentieth century.

The eastern part of the area under study (the modern districts of Fier and Mallakastra) comprises a mountain ridge in southern Albania that rises from the Myzeqe plain in the west to high peaks to the east and south-east. The highest peaks are in Mt. Shpirag (1197 m) located to the east, Mt. Shëndëlli (1766 m) and Mt. Trebeshinë (1923 m) on the south.

The eastern boundary of the area under study runs roughly northwest-southeast, starting at the Seman river and continuing along the western slopes of Mt. Shpirag. Further south, after it meets with the Gjerbës river, the district border turns northeast-southwest and meets the Vjosa

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46 Fasolo 2003, p. 31.
48 Naval Intelligence Division 1945, p. 21 and fig. 5.
49 Fasolo 2003, p. 29, note 37; FJALORI 1985, p. 738. The last swamp that was drained near Apollonia was that of Hoxharë, between 1962-1976; Myzeqe is subsiding due to neotectonic activity, see Fouache et al. 2001, p. 794; Fouache 2002, p. 7. See also Fig. 12.
50 Naval Intelligence Division 1945, pp. 24-25.
river near the village of Çorrush. Some smaller mountains along the western slopes of Mt. Shpirag include Mt. Cftir (655 m), Mt. Shëndëlli (714 m), and Mt. Magull (498 m). There are several passes and access routes in this area, the most important being the route that follows the Gjanica river until it reaches the modern city of Ballsh, then turns southeast along the hills between Mt. Shëndëlli and Mt. Magull, and then follows the Përroi i Krahësit until it approaches the Vjosa river. This route links the area of Mallakastra with the region of Tepelenë and with the city of Gjirokastra further to the south.\textsuperscript{52} This is also an important roadway that links central and southern Albania to Northern Greece through the border crossing at Kakavia.\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{THE MAIN VALLEYS}

All of the main valley systems are situated between the Seman and Vjosa rivers and for the most part run parallel to the rivers. Starting from the north, the main valleys south of the Seman include the smaller river/stream valleys of Kurjan, Zharsë, Gjanicë, Korie e Madhe, and Povel.\textsuperscript{54}

The Seman river combines the waters of the Devoll and Osum rivers.\textsuperscript{55} The Seman afterwards meanders first southwest and then northwest\textsuperscript{56} through the hilly country of Mallakastra and then the plain of Myzeqe until it reaches the Adriatic sea in the west. The

\textsuperscript{52} Some important passes to the east of Mallakastra are the Tërpan pass, south of Mt. Plashnik (972 m) and the Gllavë pass at Mt. Zhabokikë (1160 m); see Hammond 1966 for detailed descriptions of these passes, especially the Gllavë pass.

\textsuperscript{53} Hammond (1967, pp. 33-34) offered a good description of the Vjosa valley and its importance in linking southern Albania and northern Greece; see also Hibbert 1991, pp. 5-6; Winnifrith 2002, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{54} Patsch 1904, p. 118.

\textsuperscript{55} FJALORI 1985, p. 1039; Fasolo 2003, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{56} Naval Intelligence Division 1945, p. 74.
Seman’s lower flow changed its riverbed sometime during the late 15th and the early 16th century A.D (see Fig. 12).57

The Vjosa, the longest river in southwestern Albania and the third longest in the country (272 km), rises at Mt. Smolika and in the Sarandaporos basin of northern Greece before crossing into Albania.58 It then cuts through a narrow limestone range in a southeast-northwesterly direction at Këlcyërë (Fig. 13), between Mt. Trebeshinë (1922 m), and Mt. Brezhan (1280 m),59 Mt. Shëndëlli (1766 m), and Mt. Lek (1615 m), where it is joined by three other tributaries, the Drino, the Zagori, and the Bënçë,60 before reaching the Mallakastra area at Klos, where it is joined to the south by the Shushicë tributary shortly before it enters the Adriatic sea.61

One of the most important valleys of Mallakastra is that of the Gjanica river, situated about half-way between the Seman and Vjosa rivers62. The valley has an east-west direction and a length of ca. 59 km, while its greatest width reaches a distance of 2 km.63 The Gjanica valley (Fig. 14) is the approximate center of the hinterland of Apollonia and exhibits an increase in settlements and tumuli burials during the late Bronze and Early Iron Age.64

57 See Fig. 12. According to Fouache et al. 2001, p. 793, the riverbed change is substantial and the river today flows in some places up to 20 km south of its 15th century A.D. course.
58 Naval Intelligence Division 1945, p. 74; Hammond (1967, p. 12): the plateau that stretches from Milea to Zygos is also important since it serves as a source for other rivers that enter the Adriatic sea, the Ionian sea, etc; see also Hammond 1966, p. 44, fig. 3, map. II.
59 Almagià 1929, p. 99; see also Hammond 1966, p. 41, fig. 5, map IV, and the detailed description the Aoi Stena, which became the battlefield of the wars against Philip V of Macedon from 200 to 198 B.C; Hammond 1967, pp. 218-220.
61 Naval Intelligence Division 1945, p. 19; Hammond (1967, p. 14 and map 2) noted that the direction of the river system in northern Epirus (southern Albania) converges into the Vjosa river and is then directed into the Adriatic sea, north of the gulf of Vlora. Other subsidiaries of the Vjosa river after Tepelena are Luftinjë, Krahës, Pavlë, and Korije e Madhe.
63 Muçaj 1977-78, p. 331.
64 Ceka 1990a, p. 137;
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE STUDY REGION: PRE-WWII

This section summarizes the most important archaeological research conducted in the area, as well as the earlier foreign travelers and archaeologists who visited the sites before WWII.\(^{65}\) In order to give a fuller picture of the historical development of some of the most important sites, material belonging to earlier periods is mentioned. More specifically the Iron Age I and II periods are discussed, in order to elucidate the chronology of the Illyrian hilltop settlements and villages and to provide evidence of continuity and of change during the Iron Age III period.\(^{66}\)

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE: A BRITISH TRAVELLER IN SOUTHERN ALBANIA

William Martin Leake, a lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Artillery, traveled in Southern Albania and is the first foreigner who explored the hinterland of Apollonia to any degree. He published many volumes of his travels; of importance to the Mallakastra area is the first volume.\(^{67}\) While he was traveling from the modern city of Berat to Apollonia he was curious to see the place mentioned in antiquity, the so-called “Nymphaion”, where asphalt and water had created some sort of a fountain.\(^{68}\) Leake did not have the chance to visit the ruins of Byllis and Klos but he was given a description of their walls and landscape features by a local priest whom he met. He also saw the Myzeqe plain, noticing that cultivation was confined to “only few

\(^{65}\) Leon Rey’s excavations will be discussed below together with the recent Albanian-French excavations at Apollonia.


\(^{67}\) Leake 1835, vol.1, chapter 8.

\(^{68}\) Leake 1835, pp. 364-365. The location remains unknown.
patches of maize near the villages". He approached Apollonia from the east and traveled through the village of Radostina (Fig. 15). There he saw many column fragments and “fragments of good times of antiquity,” as he calls them. He also provided useful information about the site of Apollonia, offering interesting insights into the monuments that still stand or sculptures and other architectonic elements that could be found on the monastery grounds.

**THE AUSTRIAN OCCUPATION**

In April 1900, the Austrian archaeologist Carl Patsch enrolled in the Austrian army and after having left the city of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), arrived in Albania. His research was focused on the area of Central Albania in the city of Berat and the surrounding territories. Patsch was the first to discover the ancient Illyrian city of Amantia and to publish a detailed report about several other ancient sites in southern Albania. His archaeological reports were published in a book, which is a mixture of archaeology, architecture and descriptions of the local population and economy; it proved to be extremely useful in directing research by Albanian scholars in the area after WWII.

During WWI, the Austrian archaeologists Camillo Praschniker and Arnold Schober also while enrolled in the Austrian army, started their research in Montenegro and then crossed into

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69 Leake 1835, p. 367. He also notes that the area near the villages he saw was well-wooded.
70 Leake 1835, p. 368.
71 Leake 1835, pp. 368-379.
72 Hibbert 1991, p. 7; Vickers 1995, p. 90; Fischer 1999, p.1; indeed Albania was occupied for a short period of time by six occupying armies, including the Austro-Hungarian forces during WWI. During this time, several Austrian archaeologists enrolled in the Austro-Hungarian army conducted trial excavations at sites in the temporarily occupied territories.
73 Patsch 1904; Ceka 2000, p. 8.
North Albania where they continued south, focusing mainly on the monuments of Illyrian cities. They paid special attention to the Shkodra (Scodra) Castle, Lezha (Lissos), and Zgërdhesh (Albanopolis?), and provided useful topographic data about Durrës (Epidamnos/Dyrrachium).

The Greek colony of Apollonia was one of the subjects of their research, while in the hinterland of the colony they concentrated their research on the Illyrian hilltop of Margëlliç (Fig. 20), and gave a description of the first construction period of its fortifications (now lost due to agriculture and erosion). They also drew a plan of the site and gave a brief description of the pottery they found. Their research was limited and they did not conduct any excavations to clarify the stratigraphy at the site, although they suggested that such action should be taken for a better understanding of the history of Margëlliç.

N. G. L. HAMMOND IN SOUTHERN ALBANIA

Nicholas Hammond (1907-2001) visited parts of the Mallakastra and Myzeqe areas during his travels in Northern Greece starting in 1929. He continued his research even after WWII, on both sides of the Albanian-Greek border, and was once detained by the Albanian police when visiting an ancient site. He recalled: “I had trouble with some Albanian policemen...”

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74 Praschniker and Schober 1919, pp. III-V.
75 Praschniker and Schober 2003. See also Figs. 16-19.
76 Praschniker and Schober 1919, p. 69.
77 Praschniker and Schober 2003, pp. 76-78; Ceka 1986a, pp. 51-52.
78 Praschniker and Schober 2003, pp. 77.
and had to move on without inspecting that part of the wall…”.\footnote{Hammond 1967, p. 99.} Hammond was especially interested in tracing remains of the Roman Via Egnatia but he also visited many other ancient settlements, identifying several of them using ancient literary evidence and attempting to identify others. He paid particular attention to the lower valley of Vjosa river where most of the sites studied in this thesis are situated.\footnote{Hammond 1967, pp. 218-237.} He described in great detail all the places he walked, the ruins he saw, and the people he met; these detailed descriptions make his book on Epirus, published in 1967, a marvelous account of his research and one that is still extremely useful in assessing the extent of the changes in the landscape, accessibility, and preservation of these settlements, that have occurred since his visits.\footnote{Hammond 1983, has a strong ethnographic approach mixed with his archaeological observations.}

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE REGION: POST-WWII**

After WWII archaeological research in Albania and especially in Apollonia and its hinterland increased.\footnote{Andrea 1984, p. 102; Ceka 2000, pp. 13-15.} A strengthening of the archaeological service in the country occurred in 1976 when the Center for Archaeological Research was established in the capital of Albania, Tirana.\footnote{Andrea 1984, p. 102.} This center was renamed\footnote{Korkuti and Petrusso 1993, p. 705.} the Institute of Archaeology in 1992 and it then conducted excavations in various places across the country including some in the hinterland of Apollonia, several of which will be discussed below, such as Klos, Margëlliç and Mashkjezë. Scholars from the Institute of Archaeology, whose research has contributed to the understanding of the
Protourban period of the Mallakastra and Myzeqe areas include Skënder Anamali, Burhan Dautaj and Perikli Çuko.

THE SETTLEMENT OF KLOS

The Albanian archaeologist Lazër Papajani, conducted excavations between 1971-1975 on the Illyrian hilltop of Klos in the Mallakastra area (Fig. 21), near the modern town of the same name.\(^86\) His excavations revealed an earlier stratum dating to the 6\(^{th}\) - 5\(^{th}\) centuries B.C., with an increase in habitation between the 5\(^{th}\) - 2\(^{nd}\) centuries B.C.\(^87\) This excavation has been considered to be the first in which Albanian archaeologists found traces of a Protourban settlement in the area of Mallakastra.\(^88\)

PATOS TUMULUS

Before WWII, no tumuli burials had been systematically excavated anywhere in Albanian territory, but soon after the National Liberation in 1944, tumuli burials covering all periods (especially those of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age) were intensively and systematically excavated throughout the country. At a later stage, after archaeological survey had been conducted in the area of Patos (situated roughly 20 km to the east of Apollonia) and had

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\(^{86}\) Papajani 1976a, p. 259; we should note here that archaeological research concerning the Protourban period did not start until the mid-1970s.


identified a large tumulus burial, the decision to excavate the burial was taken, due to the threat of increasing agricultural activity.

The tumulus was divided by the excavator Muzafer Korkuti into four sectors defined by north-south and east-west axes. The sectors, numbered from 1-4, were excavated consecutively\(^{89}\) yielding a total of 76 graves, 62 dating from the 13\(^{\text{th}}\) to the 8\(^{\text{th}}\) centuries B.C., the rest belonging to a medieval reuse of the tumulus grounds.\(^{90}\) According to Korkuti forty-six of the graves were simple pits, thirteen were made of clay and the remaining six were built of stone.\(^{91}\)

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**THE HILLTOP OF MARGËLLIÇ**

Previously visited by Patsch, and then by the other two Austrians, Praschniker and Schober,\(^{92}\) the site of Margëlliç was finally excavated by the Albanian archaeologist Neritan Ceka, who conducted extensive research throughout the territory of Albania; he paid close attention to the Protourban settlements in the Mallakastra area, which have been a long-term focus of his research.\(^{93}\) Consecutive excavations revealed the existence of a Late Bronze age phase at Margëlliç accompanied by pottery and remains of a fortification wall.\(^{94}\) Furthermore, the excavations yielded a Protourban stratum, with imported pottery dating from the second half of the 7\(^{\text{th}}\) century B.C.\(^{95}\) This pottery is comprised of Orientalizing Greek fragments, Chioté

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\(^{89}\) Korkuti 1981a, p. 7. The north-south diameter was 15 m., east-west diameter 13.5 m., and the relative height 2.20 m.
\(^{90}\) Korkuti 1981a, p. 31.
\(^{91}\) Korkuti 1981a, p. 9.
\(^{92}\) Praschniker and Schober 1919, pp. 75-77.
\(^{93}\) Patsch 1904; Praschniker and Schober 1919, p. 76; Ceka 1977-1978; Ceka 1990a, pp. 137-141.
amphoras, Samian kraters, and locally produced wares. In the course of the 4th-2nd centuries B.C. Margëlliç became a flourishing urban center. It seems that inhabitants abandoned Margëlliç after a violent destruction around the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. and the site was then only reoccupied during the late antique period (see Fig. 22).

MASHKJEZË

The site of Mashkjezë was first visited by Anamali in 1949 and then revisited and excavated by Ceka in 1977-1978, but also in 1983. Situated near the modern village of Cakran, the fortified settlement of Mashkjezë has fortification walls of the Protourban phases dating to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The circuit wall is made of two rows of stones of rectangular form with a fill of smaller stones between them, illustrating a new phase in the development of Illyrian fortifications. There was a considerable quantity of imported pottery from the early Protourban phase (c. 600-550 B.C.) at the site, notably of Corinthian and Ionian origin. After the middle of the 6th century B.C., imported Attic pottery is recorded in significantly higher

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98 See also Muçaj 1979-1980, p. 287, fig. 10.
100 Ceka 1986a, pp. 49-51, figs. 2-6.
101 Ceka 1983c, p. 158.
102 Ceka 1990b, pl. 30.1.
103 Andrea 1984, p. 110. Ionian pottery will be mentioned throughout the thesis and caution ought to be exercised in its identification. After consulting with Dr. Kathleen Lynch about several fragments of Ionian pottery included in this thesis, I have come to the conclusion that a hands-on experience is necessary for a secure identification of this pottery. At his stage of the study this is impossible but future research will certainly benefit from recent studies of pottery produced in Ionian workshops.
amounts than the Ionian and Corinthian pottery. By the 4th century B.C. Mashkjezë had become an ‘outer suburb’ of the nearby hillfort of Gurëzezë.104

THE ALBANIAN-FRENCH EXCAVATIONS AT APOLLONIA

After the radical changes that ensued in 1990-1991 in Albania’s political system, an Albanian-French team, consisting of archaeologists from the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana and their colleagues from the French school in Athens started work in Apollonia105 where the French archaeologist Rey had excavated over 75 years earlier (Figs. 23-24).106 In 1996 the joint project excavated a tumulus burial in Apollonia’s main necropolis, bringing to eight the number of the excavated tumuli in Apollonia.107 The tumulus provided the archaeologists with a total of fourteen graves, but, except for a short article mentioning the excavation, there has been no published study of the pottery or the skeletal remains found.

MRAP - MALLAKASTRA REGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

The Mallakastra district includes a wide range of settlements, dating from the Prehistoric to the Medieval periods. Albanian archaeologists have conducted excavations at a number of

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104 Andrea 1984, p. 110.
105 Cabanes 1994, p. 521. The Albanian-French project began work in 1993 and has since conducted research in and around the agora of Apollonia, the fortification walls, and the tumulus necropolis (see Amore et al. 1995; Cabanes et al. 1997, 1999, 2000).
106 Cabanes 1994, p. 522. Rey started his excavations in 1923 and had to leave the country in 1939 because of the Italian invasion of Albania.
107 Dimo and Fenet 1996; Cabanes et al. 1997, p. 855, figs. 5-6.
settlements and have also often extensively surveyed in the area, defining the locations of new sites and collecting datable material from these sites. MRAP has applied the latest methods in intensive surface survey for the first time in Albania, methods that have had a wide use over the last 25 years elsewhere in the Mediterranean (Fig. 26). MRAP has surveyed a total area ca. 36 km². Included in the surveyed area is the site of Margëllëç which was the focus of the 2002 field season. This site, numbered by MRAP as S041, produced Iron Age and Archaic material among finds from other periods. It should be noted that the area around Margëllëç has produced more artifacts of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age than any other area surveyed between 1998-2002 by MRAP. This could perhaps suggest that a larger population was living in and around Margëllëç at this time compared to areas closer to Apollonia.

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108 See MRAP 1998; e.g., at the site of Kraps (MRAP: S038, Fig. 25) where pottery was randomly collected on the surface; a very brief mention of it was made in Ceka 1990a, pp. 142-143.
109 See MRAP 2002, fig. 8.
110 Further speculation about whether or not people preferred living on hilltops at this particular time, would perhaps be misleading, since there is not yet a final publication of the finds from MRAP. There is at least one small site (fitting better the description of an open-air settlement), near the Illyrian hilltop of Gurzezë, where excavation has brought to light pottery fragments from the Iron Age I phase, and also a mid-seventh century B.C. base fragment of local ware (see Ceka 1977-1978, p. 251). This site demonstrates that during the middle of the 7th century B.C. habitation can also be attested in low elevations (see Chapter 2, site 15).
CHAPTER 2

This chapter introduces the list of the sites that are analyzed further in this thesis and provides basic data about each site. Based mainly on Ceka’s earlier work on Protourban settlements and village clusters, but also on other reports, I provide here detailed information on site size, altitude above sea level, position in the landscape, and bibliography of the previous research conducted regarding these sites.\textsuperscript{111} This system for the presentation of the data is modeled after that of the \textit{Adriatic Islands Project} publications, volumes 1 and 2.\textsuperscript{112} Thus the sites included in this thesis receive an identification number in order to facilitate the efforts of the reader in the process of locating them. The majority of these sites have not been excavated for more than one season, while other sites have come to light only through extensive survey and agricultural work. In many instances agricultural work has proved helpful in locating sites. On the other hand many finds and the information they could have provided has been lost irreparably during massive irrigation works, terracing and other projects financed by the state before 1990.

Under ‘Identification type’ is listed the way that the site was found, whether by excavation or survey (either extensive or intensive, or agricultural activity); none of the sites included in this study has been found by means of intensive survey methods, although for at least one of them, the hilltop of Margëlliç, there are now more data provided by MRAP. The ‘Geographical position’ has been listed so that the relationship of the site to the surrounding environment can be understood and so that this site can be related to others of the same period. ‘Site size’ is another important feature which is provided wherever the data are available. Several

\textsuperscript{112} Gaffney \textit{et al.} 1997; Stančič \textit{et al.} 1999.
of the sites present striking similarities in layout; in this respect the site size becomes a very important element in their analysis. An average ‘Altitude’ above sea level facilitates the study of the site’s relationship to the landscape. Under ‘Bibliographical references’ are listed all the works from which the information pertinent to the site during the Protourban period was retrieved. ‘Description’ is the field in which the information gathered about each site will be discussed.

Before we proceed with the discussion of each site, it is imperative to add some information concerning the Protourban fortifications in the wider area of modern Albania and Greece. I consider important the fact that we see these fortifications mostly in the area of our study and in Epirus, while outside this relatively small area they develop only a century after the first settlements are established in the Vjosa valley and Epirus.¹¹³ In the south of Albania there are two securely dated Protourban settlements (Butrint and Kalivo) that have at the same time provided archaeologists with tracts of their fortification walls of the same period.¹¹⁴

Further south, few settlements seem to demonstrate some Protourban features, such as the roughly-worked blocks and the absence of towers.¹¹⁵ Near Ioannina, the site of Ierolimni has features of a Protourban settlement.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, to the north of our study area, Ceka believes that common features are demonstrated in Protourban settlements from central Albania

¹¹³ Ceka 1986a, p. 49, fig. 1. In all cases the fortification walls of these settlements have been dated after 550 B.C.
¹¹⁴ Ceka 1986a, p. 53, fig. 11, 13. The Butrint I phase has been dated to the second half of the 7th century B.C. while the Kalivo walls have been dated to about 500 B.C.
¹¹⁵ Hammond 1967, pp. 52, 80-81.
¹¹⁶ Hammond 1967, p. 91. Ierolimni has an elliptical plan and roughly-worked blocks.
to Montenegro. Two of these features are the use of roughly-worked blocks and the introduction of “new fortification schemes”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site number</th>
<th>Site name</th>
<th>Site size (ha)</th>
<th>Altitude (meters)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Aranitas</td>
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<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Babunja e Re</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Belishovë</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dimal</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Drenovë</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Gurzezë</td>
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<td>Kalivaç</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Strum</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. List of sites mentioned in text

1. Aranitas

Identification type: extensive survey

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117 Ceka 1986a. Some of the features mentioned by Ceka are the good use of the physical features for the construction of the walls and the use of obtuse and straight angles in the curtain.

118 Ceka 1986a, p. 56. “New fortification schemes” are to be understood as different layouts of sites compared to preceding periods.

119 These are the names with which these sites have appeared in the archaeological literature published in Albania and abroad. The only exception is site no. 15 that will be mentioned in this thesis as Mashkjezë B based on its vicinity to the main site of Mashkjezë.
Geographical position: valley

Site size: not published

Altitude: 425 masl

Bibliographical references: Ceka 1990a.

Description: The site is situated in the upper valley of the Gjanicë river, on the east side of the river (Fig. 2). Ceka mentions that prehistoric pottery was found on the surface. Large vessel fragments predominate amongst the finds. Their clay is brown with a mixture of small inclusions that show in the fracture.

2. Babunja e Re

Identification type: extensive survey/excavation

Geographical position: hill

Site size: 1 ha

Altitude: 4 masl


Description: On the southeastern corner of the hill-range of Karatoprak which separates the plain of Lushnjë from the coastal region, is situated the hill of Liman. The hill is located on the western side of the ancient flow of the Seman river. Eric Fouache’s maps122 show that Babunja e Re was positioned in the hinterland of Apollonia (Fig. 12; 27), since the Seman river flowed closer to the site during the Protourban period than it does today. Geological

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120 See Ceka 1990a, p. 136, fig. 1. Ceka describes the east side of the river as the ‘right side’.
121 Ceka 1990a, p. 142. It is not clear whether this pottery includes any Protourban pottery or Greek imports.
122 Fouache 2002, fig. 3, p. 8, 12.
investigation has revealed that by the late 15th and early 16th century B.C. the Seman river started flowing southwards, having radically changed its riverbed.\textsuperscript{123}

I am convinced that Babunja e Re was part of Apollonia’s hora during the Archaic and Classical periods. This native site could have been easily accessed by traveling from Apollonia along the foot-hills of Ardenica. The place chosen as most suitable for inhabitation seems to have been the eastern slope of the hill, which descends in the form of terraces and which connects this hill to the main range.\textsuperscript{124} All over the hill’s surface of about 1 ha were found pottery fragments that belong to a period from the 6th century to the 1st century B.C.\textsuperscript{125} There are no walls preserved on the surface of the hill, and only one foundation ditch on the northern and eastern part indicates the possible presence of a wall foundation.\textsuperscript{126}

According to Ceka, the imported Greek pottery fragments that were found at the site belong to a Protourban level of the settlement.\textsuperscript{127} Ceka has pointed out a fragment of a Corinthian Type B transport amphora,\textsuperscript{128} Ionian lekanides with bands,\textsuperscript{129} Corinthian kotylai\textsuperscript{130} and their Apollonian imitations.\textsuperscript{131} A skyphos rim\textsuperscript{132} similar to the skyphoi of Margëlliç dating to the 5th – 4th centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{133} was also found, and with that a krater rim of the Chalcidian type.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{123} Fig. 12. Fouache 2002, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{124} Ceka 1977-1978, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{125} Ceka 1977-1978, p. 254. The excavations conducted in 1956 that revealed the Protourban material have never been published.
\textsuperscript{126} Çuko 1988, 254-255.
\textsuperscript{127} Fig. 29:6-8.
\textsuperscript{128} Fig. 29:1.
\textsuperscript{129} Fig. 29:2, 3.
\textsuperscript{130} Fig. 29:4.
\textsuperscript{131} Fig. 29:5.
\textsuperscript{132} Fig. 29:6.
\textsuperscript{133} Attic imports, consisting of table amphoras and skyphoi, increase in quantity during the 5th century B.C. at Babunja e Re (see Ceka 1985a, pp. 119-120).
\textsuperscript{134} Fig. 29:7.
3. Belishovë

Identification type: extensive survey/excavation

Geographical position: hill

Site size: 0.52 ha

Altitude: 508 masl


Description: The fortified settlement of Belishovë has the same rectangular plan as the fortification of Mashkjezë. Situated 3 km to the west of the modern town of Ballsh, Belishovë has a size of ca. 0.52 ha, and a fortification wall measuring 280 m in length. The pseudisosodomic technique (at Belishovë the outer faces of the wall are partially worked) links Belishovë with the Mashkjezë II phase, dating to the first half of the 5th century B.C.

The only entrance to the site is situated 9.80 m distant from the eastern right-angled corner of the fortification. The entrance is aligned with the line of the preserved section of the fortification wall with a square corridor 3.50 x 3.50 m. The excavator has concluded that the inhabited area lies inside the fortification wall, perhaps indicating a limited population. The pottery found at the site consists of Apollonian imports including amphoras and hydria, and Attic imports.

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135 Ceka 1990a, p. 142.
136 Ceka 1990c, p. 139.
137 Ceka 1983c, pl. V:b; Ceka 1990c, pp. 138-139, fig. 33.
138 Ceka 1983c, pl. V:c.
139 Ceka 1983c, p. 159, note 88.
140 See Ceka 1983a, p. 208. Margëlliç’s population seems to have been living inside the fortification wall during the same time.
141 Fig. 35:1, 2.
142 Fig. 35:3.
4. Dimal

*Identification type:* excavation extensive survey/excavation

*Geographical position:* hill

*Site size:* 1.5 ha

*Altitude:* 444 masl


*Description:* The Austrian archaeologist Praschniker was the first to identify the ancient site of Dimal as the modern place Kalaja e Krotinës during his visits in southern Albania while enrolled in the Austrian army.143 Research resumed only in 1962, when the first Albanian archaeological team lead by Dautaj conducted a brief survey and then excavated at several locations at the site.144

The settlement lies on a limestone hill, whose surface on the summit is ca. 1.5 ha.,145 situated to the west of Mt. Shpirag and not more than 20 km distant from the site of Apollonia.146 The hill is bounded to the east by Mt. Shpirag and has a wide view of the plain of Myzeqe to the north.147 To the west and south it is surrounded by low hills, which in their turn favor the development of various agricultural products and animal herding.148 There are other settlements

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143 Praschniker 1920.
147 Dautaj 1974, p. 475.
in the wider area such as Mbjeshovë, Cfir and Margëlliç as well as smaller village-size settlements.\textsuperscript{149}

The excavator has dated the material to cultural levels from the 5\textsuperscript{th}-4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D.,\textsuperscript{150} dividing it into four major habitation periods. No architectural elements belonging to the first stratum of the 5\textsuperscript{th}-4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. date have been found so far.\textsuperscript{151} The presence of Corinthian pottery appearing alongside local pottery, mentioned by Praschniker, indicates trade with the coastal settlements.\textsuperscript{152}

5. Drenovë

\textit{Identification type:} agricultural activity/excavation

\textit{Geographical position:} hill

\textit{Site size:} 1 ha

\textit{Altitude:} 555 masl


\textit{Description:} The site of Drenovë is situated on a hill west of the homonymous modern village of Drenovë and about 2 km to the west of the modern city of Ballsh (Fig. 2).\textsuperscript{153} There is a large quantity of pottery on the surface attesting that the site was inhabited continuously during the Early Iron Age. The physical landscape shows clearly that the site used natural cliffs for

\textsuperscript{149} According to Dautaj 1973, pp. 87-88, the traces of these ancient sites, such as pottery and various tools have been spotted in various villages including Pobrat, Danofros, Cukalat. He has not given a date for the materials that have been found in these sites nor has he mentioned their size, but he is almost certainly referring to Iron Age materials, since no mention of other periods has been made.
\textsuperscript{150} Dautaj 1971, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{151} Dautaj 1971, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{152} Praschniker 1920, col. 103 v.
\textsuperscript{153} Ceka 1990a, p. 141.
defensive purposes and was not further fortified.\textsuperscript{154} Near the village of Drenovë, during railway construction in 1975, a grave and four vessels of the Bronze Age period were found.\textsuperscript{155} This area later proved to be a flat necropolis of the Late Bronze Age period.\textsuperscript{156}

Three groups of pottery have been found at the site: 1) Late Bronze Age pottery, 2) Early and Middle Iron Age pottery, and 3) a group of pottery that dates to the Protourban period (clay brown in ochre, roughly slipped), sometimes coated with bitumen on the interior in order to provide insulation but not decorated on the exterior.\textsuperscript{157} This pottery is clearly different from the imported pottery from Apollonia and dates to the end of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century and the beginning of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{158}

6. Gurzezë

\textit{Identification type}: extensive survey/excavation

\textit{Geographical position}: hill

\textit{Site size}: 0.7 ha

\textit{Altitude}: 508 masl

\textit{Bibliographical references}: Anamali 1949; Ceka 1983c, 1985a, 1990c; Praschniker 1924.

\textsuperscript{154} Ceka had earlier suggested that Drenovë was a fortified site of the Protourban period but offered no evidence for this claim. See Ceka 1985a, p. 119; see also Ceka 1990a, p. 141.

\textsuperscript{155} Ceka 1976, p. 366, pl. XXXII. The author has not specified whether these objects are of the Early, Middle or Late Bronze Age, although the vessels seem to date to the Late Bronze Age.

\textsuperscript{156} Ceka 1990a, p. 141. Ceka has suggested that this necropolis is related to an open-air settlement nearby, separate from the later hilltop settlement of Drenovë.

\textsuperscript{157} See Ceka 1985a, p. 119; Ceka (1990a, p. 141), has provided a detailed description of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age I-II period in his catalogue, p. 151 and pl. III-IV. He has not included any drawings or detailed descriptions of the pottery classified as the third type in his article.

\textsuperscript{158} Ceka 1985a, p. 119; Ceka 1990a, p. 142;
Description: Its strategic position near the Cakran plain and the middle valley of Gjanica characterizes the site of Gurzezë (Fig. 58). In the crossroad of the traffic routes leading from Apollonia to the south and from the Gjanica valley to the Vjosa valley, Gurzezë seems to have had a privileged position. The hill on which the settlement is situated extends to 35 m. in length on its highest peak.

Praschniker was the first archaeologist to have identified Gurzezë during his research in the Mallakastra area. After him, Anamali visited the site and located the urban center on the southwestern slope of the hill. Ceka conducted most of the research at Gurzezë and identified three main phases of the fortification system. The first phase belongs to the Protourban period, the second phase to the Urban period and the third phase of the Late Antique period.

Remains of the Protourban period have been preserved in the form of a 30 m long tract of the town wall on the southwestern side of the site. The wall has been preserved in one or two courses and its width is 1,60 m. Based on the trace of the Late Antique wall (which follows more or less the line of the Protourban wall), Ceka reconstructs that plan of the site in a rectangular form (240 x 35 m). Ceka mentions one kind of local oinochoe found at Gurzezë as similar to those found at the settlement of Mashkjezë.

159 Ceka 1990c, p. 130.
160 Ceka 1990c, p. 130.
161 Praschniker 1924, pp. 64-68.
162 Anamali 1949, p. 4.
163 Ceka 1990c, pp. 131-132.
164 Ceka 1990c, p. 132. Earlier Ceka had located this wall as being just to the south of the site (see Ceka 1983c, p. 159).
165 Ceka 1983c, p. 159, note 90. Some of the recorded dimensions of the blocks are 0,63 x 0,42 m.; 0,85 x 0,48 m.
166 Ceka 1983c, p. 159.
167 Fig. 30:1.
7. Kalivaç

Identification type: extensive survey/excavation

Geographical position: hill

Site size: 1 ha

Altitude: 190 masl

Bibliographical references: Anamali 1949; Ceka 1990c.

Description: Near the site of Kalivaç, the Vjosa river forms a narrow canyon approximately 500 m wide named Gryka e Ylynecit. Through this strategic valley on the pass of Kalivaç, the natural road passes from Byllis to the Vjosa (Aoos) straits and Antigonea. It seems that this small settlement was at some point in its existence under the control of the settlement of Klos. A fortification wall surrounds the site, covering an area of ca. 1 ha and having a perimeter of 540 m. There are no towers; straight lines are common, as are obtuse angles. Ceka has proposed a 4th century B.C. date based on the entrance type, created by the parallel positioning of the fortification wall, although he stressed that this is not secure without information from excavation. The wall itself is made of stone slabs that seem to have been easily accessed local material. The pottery found on top of the hill inside the fortification wall is local and there is a total absence of imported pottery.

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168 Geographical proximity alone suggests that Klos exercised its influence on this smaller settlement.
169 Ceka 1990c, p. 140.
170 See Ceka 1990c, p. 140, fig. 35.
171 Ceka 1990c, p. 141. The settlement may not be Protourban, but the excavator leans toward a Protourban character with some hesitation.
172 Anamali 1949, p. 58.
8. Klos

*Identification type:* extensive survey/excavation

*Geographical position:* hill

*Site size:* 2 ha

*Altitude:* 355 masl


*Description:* Traces of a Protourban settlement were first uncovered in the Mallakastra area in 1973 at the site of Klos.\(^\text{173}\) The settlement is situated on a hill (Fig. 21), part of the southernmost range of Mallakastra, positioned between the valleys of Marusha to the east, Povel to the south, and of the Vjosa to the southwest.\(^\text{174}\) The settlement during the sixth and fifth century B.C. covered a limited area, as the excavations conducted on top of the hill have shown.\(^\text{175}\)

The fortification wall, which was first seen and described by Praschniker and was later re-assessed by Papajani, is represented by two distinctive phases: a) a 5\(^{\text{th}}\) century B.C. phase and b) a 4\(^{\text{th}}\) century B.C. phase.\(^\text{176}\) There is no indication so far of any earlier Protourban walls at Klos.\(^\text{177}\)

On top of the hill, inside the line formed by the 5\(^{\text{th}}\) and 4\(^{\text{th}}\) century B.C. fortification walls, there is a Protourban cultural stratum. This stratum is dated to the end of the 6\(^{\text{th}}\) century B.C. and the beginning of the 5\(^{\text{th}}\), based on the presence of imported Greek pottery that will be described below. The local pottery is hand made, using clay mixed with stone inclusions; the


\(^{174}\) Ceka 1990c, p. 126. See also Papajani 1976b, p. 418, fig. 11.

\(^{175}\) Ceka 1983c, p. 157, note 86.

\(^{176}\) Ceka 1990c, p. 126. See Fig. 57 for a plan of Klos.

\(^{177}\) Similar to the situation at Dimal, despite the presence of Protourban pottery there are no traces of Protourban architecture.
vessels are not slipped and their interior surface is coated with bitumen. Brown matt-painted decoration is common. The typical shapes are the short cylindrical-necked jug and the steep-necked oinochoe.

The excavated trenches were situated on the eastern side of the hill, where the terrain is less steep and slightly terraced. The excavation covered an area of ca. 400 m², divided into three sectors, although the first two were only test trenches. Sectors A and B were situated on the terraces close to the hill summit while sector C was at the southeastern corner of the settlement.

In quadrant II of sector A two fragments of Corinthian pottery were found, with dark-brown glaze with metallic reflexes, similar to some fragments from the site of Belsh. Sector B revealed fragments of Corinthian pottery in quadrant VIII and an amphora rim; similar fragments were also found in sector A. According to the excavator examples of these types of amphoras have been found in the Black Sea region, and date to the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century B.C.

9. Kutë

*Identification type*: agricultural activity

*Geographical position*: plain

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178 Ceka 1985a, p. 117.
179 See Papajani 1974, p. 457 and pl. I:4, 5, 7; see also Ceka 1985a, p. 117, note 46.
180 Papajani 1974, p. 455. Unfortunately there is no plan that shows exactly where the sectors are situated in relation to the 5th and 4th century B.C. walls.
181 Papajani 1974, p. 456; see also Ceka 1985a, pp. 117-118 for more details on the respective shapes found in Klos.
Site size: not published

Altitude: 97 masl


Description: The site is situated on the homonymous plain of Kutë. Early Iron Age pottery was found in the middle of the plain at a place called Frashër during agricultural activity for the opening of an irrigation canal. The canal that was opened measured about 100 m in length and revealed a stratum of habitation 1 m. thick all along its length, indicating the presence of an intensively inhabited settlement. The pottery was hand made with brown clay and stone inclusions, without a slip. Similar materials have been found in another irrigation canal in a location called Lorica, to the southeast of the plain of Kutë.

Other traces of habitation, also cut by an irrigation canal, were found to the east of the plain of Kutë, situated by a spring. The pottery there was hand-made, dating to the 6th century B.C., and was very similar in form and fracture to the pottery from the settlements of Strum and Marinëz, but in its entirety this settlement differs from Strum and Marinëz because of the presence of painted and imported Greek pottery. Two of the fragments that were excavated were respectively a Corinthian brown glazed skyphos base and an amphora neck painted on the interior with brown glaze and with bands of the same glaze on the exterior.

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187 To facilitate the study of the material and subsequent description, this particular area was included under the site of Kutë. Further study is needed to define its relationship to Kutë.
189 Ceka 1977-1978, p. 253. See also Ceka 1985a, p. 120, note 82.
10. Lalar

Identification type: extensive survey

Geographical position: not published

Site size: hill

Altitude: 192 masl

Bibliographical references: Ceka 1983a, 1985a.

Description: The archaic village of Lalar is situated to the west of Margëlliç, to the east of Kraps and south of Strum, positioned in the same hill range as the latter. The imported Corinthian pottery from the site dates to the middle of the 5th century B.C.

11. Luar

Identification type: extensive survey

Geographical position: not published

Site size: hill

Altitude: 168 masl

Bibliographical references: Ceka 1983a.

Description: The site has been described by Ceka as an archaic village. Situated between the settlements of Margëlliç and Strum, the village is one of the several similar sites that have been found in the Mallakastra area.

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191 See Ceka 1983a, p. 206; Ceka 1985a, p. 120.
192 Fig. 30:2.
193 See Ceka 1983a, p. 206; on Ceka’s map (see p. 206) the site of Luar has been defined as “villagio arcaico”.
12. **Margëlliç**

*Identification type:* extensive survey/excavation

*Geographical position:* hill

*Site size:* 3.8 ha\(^{194}\)

*Altitude:* 316 masl


*Description:* A hill, known to the locals by the name of the “Margëlliç Castle” (Kalaja e Margëlliçit), rises on the ridge that separates the Thana plain from the Gjanica valley.\(^ {195}\) The northern side of the hill falls away abruptly (Fig. 28), thus providing a natural protection to the settlement, while on the other sides it descends smoothly to meet the plain (Fig. 39). The site of Margëlliç is about 18 km distant from Apollonia.\(^ {196}\)

Three phases can be distinguished in the development of the fortification system at the site of Margëlliç. They are: a) the phase that marks the creation of the settlement in the Late Bronze Age, b) the phase of the urban development in the 7\(^{th}\) to 2\(^{nd}\) century B.C., and c) the selection of the hill’s highest peak for the foundation of a Late Antique fortification in the 4\(^{th}\) to the 6\(^{th}\) century A.D.\(^ {197}\)

\(^{194}\) Ceka 1983c (p. 157, note 86) increased his estimate of the area of the Protourban settlement to 4.5 ha.

\(^{195}\) Ceka 1977-1978, p. 252.

\(^{196}\) Praschniker and Schober 2003, p. 77 give the figure of 18 km as the straight line distance between the sites; Ceka 1986b, p. 71 and 1995, p. 455 has suggested that the distance between Margëlliç and Apollonia is 25 km., but does not mention whether that is the distance in a straight line between the sites.

\(^{197}\) Ceka 1987a, p. 6.
The whole area of the site (about 3.8 ha) was covered by a rich cultural stratum starting from the second half of the 7th century B.C. The first deposit contained finds of the 7th and of the 6th century B.C. The second deposit included the whole of the 5th century B.C. Both deposits were represented near the fortification wall that Praschniker had found preserved in a very good condition during his visit at the site. Extensive destruction during WWII has left only a fragment of the wall belonging to the Protourban period on the northern side of the fortification, with additions of the urban period.

On the most northwestern point of the plateau, Praschniker had observed a wall made of large limestone blocks reaching a length of about 2 m, with roughly worked blocks that followed the edge of the hill’s lowest terrace, turning twice at right angles, a typical feature for the Protourban period. Ceka found this construction technique used in a wall parallel to that with rectangular blocks situated on the uppermost part of the hill, suggesting that the urban and Protourban fortifications encircled the same area. The three building techniques that Praschniker and Schober had identified in the fortification curtain match with the three cultural levels defined by the excavations of Ceka in 1982.

The northern part of the fortification wall, cleaned during the excavations of the 1982 season, was partially rebuilt with sandy stones. This part of the wall has a horizontal alignment of these blocks, similar to the second type of fortification observed by Praschniker and Schober.

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198 Ceka 1987a, p. 7.  
199 Ceka 1987a, p. 7.  
200 Praschniker and Schober 2003, pp. 76-77.  
201 Ceka 1987a, p. 8.  
202 Praschniker and Schober 2003, p. 76.  
203 Ceka 1987a, p. 8.  
204 Ceka 1983c, p. 160.  
205 Praschniker and Schober 2003, pp. 76-77.
during their research in Margëlliç. Part of this wall was constructed during the urban period, reaching a width of 3.50 m. The cultural stratum found against the wall is dated from the local pottery to the 5th century B.C. On the other hand this date corresponds with the second period of the Protourban fortifications in the sites of Mashkjezë and Triport (Figs. 40), with which Margëlliç shares the same building technique.

Imports begin in Margëlliç with a Mycenaean pyxis, dated to the late 14th and early 13th century B.C. These imports are followed during the Archaic period by Type A transport amphorases (see below for discussion) or even earlier by a conical oinochoe or pointed arybalos. The majority of Corinthian finds belong to the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. and consist mainly of kotylai. Attic products make their appearance during the 6th century B.C. but are commonly found in the 5th century levels.

Imported pottery comprises the majority of the finds from this site. Several imported pottery fragments deserve separate description. One is a kylix fragment, similar to the ones found during the excavations of Tumulus 1 at Apollonia by Mano, dating to the late 6th to early 5th century B.C. The other is a kalpis shoulder fragment, with a preserved part of an incised bird wing painted in black glaze. Samian kraters are represented by two different examples.

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206 Praschniker and Schober 2003, p. 77.
207 For Mashkjezë, see Ceka 1983c, p. 158, fig. 11; The site of Trepor (see Bereti 1985; 1996, p. 181, fig. 1) is situated on a low hill, 85 masl, on the shore of the Adriatic sea, south of Apollonia. Excavations conducted on the site have revealed material ranging from the Late Bronze Age to the 1st century A.D., with a significant presence of Protourban material, dating from the middle of the 7th to the 5th century B.C. See Bereti 1985, especially pp. 314-315, pl. II:b.
208 Ceka 1990a, p. 139. The pyxis was found in a grave situated on the knoll that extends to the west from the site of Margëlliç.
209 Fig. 31:1.
210 Fig. 31:2-4.
211 Ceka 1985a, p. 116, note 36. See also Fig. 31:5-6.
212 Ceka 1985a, p. 115-116. Especially during the 6th century B.C. there is more imported pottery than local.
Ionic hydriae and B1 cups are among the material retrieved; kotylai and lekanides/bowls are also common.

The common pottery type of Protourban form consists of hand-made vessel fragments, many of which are coated on the interior with bitumen, similar to the ones that occur at other sites in the Mallakastra area. Moreover, there are three types of pottery with painted decorations, including the cylindrical neck oinochoe, bowls with a horizontal handle on the rim, and bowls with an S-shaped profile. There are only a few fragments representing wheel-made pottery that are not imported and that may belong to local workshops.

The common motifs in the decoration of the vessels, generally in brown matt paint, are filled triangles, a frieze of rhombuses filled with paint or a net-like pattern of lines, or vertical bands with lines attached to a sequence of rhombuses.

Transport amphoras were found in the excavations of 1982; these fragments have been published in a catalogue. The catalogue shows that Corinthian production dominates the Protourban period with Type A amphoras, with types characteristic of dates from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century B.C. Furthermore, during the second half of the 6th

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215 Fig. 31:7-9.
216 Fig. 31:10-12. See also Fig. 32:13.
217 Fig. 32:14-15.
218 Fig. 32:16-17.
219 Fig. 32:18-21.
220 Fig. 33:25-30.
221 Fig. 34:31.
222 Fig. 34:32.
223 Fig. 34:33.
224 Fig. 34:34-35.
225 Fig. 35:36.
226 Fig. 35:37.
227 Fig. 35:38.
228 Ceka 1986b. Included in the catalogue are 93 amphora pieces, although 7 pieces in the plates are missing; these are respectively nos. 9, 20, 21, 32, 33, 65 and 93.
229 Ceka 1986b, p. 86. Among the finds there are also some Ionian amphoras, B2 type Ionian drinking vessels and Samian kraters.
century B.C. the Corinthian Type B amphoras\textsuperscript{230} emphasize the importance of Corinth in the trade of wine and olive oil.\textsuperscript{231} In the 5\textsuperscript{th} and 4\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C., Type A and B amphoras continue to circulate and are present among Margëlliç’s imported goods although in reduced numbers.\textsuperscript{232} The rest of the market is taken over by Apollonian local production\textsuperscript{233} of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., mainly of Type B amphoras, and in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. by the Apulian products of Greek-Italic type.\textsuperscript{234}

13. Marinëz

\textit{Identification type}: agricultural activity/excavation

\textit{Geographical position}: hillock

\textit{Site size}: not published

\textit{Altitude}: 13 masl

\textit{Bibliographical references}: Ceka 1983a, 1983c, 1985a.

\textit{Description}: Marinëz is another Archaic village according to Ceka, situated just to the west of the Strum (Fig. 2) and manifesting similarities in pottery types with it.\textsuperscript{235} The excavated finds include local painted pottery as well as Corinthian and Ionian imports of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{236} Ceka also indicates that there have been foundations of houses made of stone found

\textsuperscript{230} Ceka 1986b.
\textsuperscript{231} Ceka 1986b, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{232} Ceka 1986b, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{233} Ceka 1986b, p. 86. Ceka does not seem to have scientific evidence (i.e., clay analysis) to support his suggestion for Apollonian products occupying most of the market in the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. This conclusion is based rather on his long experience with the material.
\textsuperscript{234} Ceka 1986b, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{235} Ceka 1983a, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{236} See Ceka 1985a, p. 120, pl. V: 22-24.
during excavations at Marinëz.\textsuperscript{237} These houses are similar to the houses found at the settlement of Strum.\textsuperscript{238}

### 14. Mashkjezë

*Identification type:* extensive survey/excavation

*Geographical position:* hill

*Site size:* 0.21 ha

*Altitude:* not published

*Bibliographical references:* Ceka 1977-1978, 1983b, 1983c

*Description:* Mashkjezë is a typical fortified settlement of the Protourban period, positioned to the north of the fertile plain of Cakran, in a natural passage that links the plain to the Gjanica valley.\textsuperscript{239}

The hill where the site is situated rises steeply over two valleys formed by ravines; a single narrow strip of land stretching out from south to north gives the only access to the small flat area on top.\textsuperscript{240} The fortification wall surrounds all the flat area (0.21 ha) and has an almost rectangular plan, 65 x 30 m.\textsuperscript{241} The course of the wall follows straight lines for long distances with right or obtuse angles. An opening, suggesting the presence of an entrance was positioned on the southwestern edge of the fortification, and was aligned with the wall.\textsuperscript{242}

\textsuperscript{237} Ceka 1983c, p. 169, note 123.
\textsuperscript{238} Ceka 1983c, p. 169, note 123. See also below Strum, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{239} Ceka 1983c, p. 157, note 87. See also Fig. 56.
\textsuperscript{240} Ceka 1983c, p. 158, fig. 9.
\textsuperscript{241} Ceka 1983c, p. 158, pl. V:a.
\textsuperscript{242} Ceka 1983c, p. 158.
On the western part of the settlement a tract of the fortification wall has been preserved to a length of ca. 57 m, with a maximum width of 2.20 m; it is built with two faces of large and medium size stones and filled with rubble.\textsuperscript{243} The outer face rises above a row of unworked foundation stones that project 0.10 m. The excavator has suggested that the original height of the wall must have been at least 3.50 m.\textsuperscript{244} A cultural level that started in the 7\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., and became denser in the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., is associated with this wall.\textsuperscript{245} Starting in the first half of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., part of the settlement extended also on the northern side beyond the fortification wall, where huts were constructed on a slope of 30 degrees.\textsuperscript{246} Another group of dwellings was positioned to the west outside the fortified area, reaching close to the nearest ravine.\textsuperscript{247}

In the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. the fortification was rebuilt following the same plan for the walls and the entrance, but with greater care in construction. The use of chisels gave a rectangular form to the blocks, which were therefore more tightly fitted.\textsuperscript{248} During the 7\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} century, and continuing into the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., the entrance was aligned to the wall situated on the southwestern edge of the fortification and there were no bastions or towers.\textsuperscript{249}

Phase I (end of the 7\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.) and Phase II (5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.) forms and techniques were different from the forms and techniques used on the Early Iron Age

\textsuperscript{243} Ceka 1983b, p. 251. The length of the blocks ranges from 0.30 – 1 m; Ceka 1983c, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{244} Ceka 1983c, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{245} The cultural stratum associated with this wall was 1.22 m thick and contained abundant pottery (Corinthian A and B transport amphoras, Samian kraters, local painted and plain pottery) and the ruins of a stone-made house with Archaic tiles. See Ceka 1983b, pp. 251-252. The dating of this wall (based on the imported Greek pottery) well before 550 B.C. makes it one of the earliest examples of local fortifications in the area of Mallakastra (Phase I, see below).
\textsuperscript{246} Ceka 1983c, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{247} The ravine has not been identified by name by the excavator.
\textsuperscript{248} Ceka 1983c, fig. 11. Ceka has described neither the marks on the surface of the stone nor the type of chisel.
\textsuperscript{249} Ceka 1983c, p. 158.
fortifications.\textsuperscript{250} This can be seen in the use of right angles in the fortification, in the positioning of the entrance in one corner of the fortifications, in the tendency for horizontal coursing of the blocks, and in the use of the first course as a foundation for the wall.\textsuperscript{251}

These characteristics can be seen also in early phases of fortifications of other settlements outside the area of this thesis, such as Butrint I, Kalivo, Dorëz I, Zgërdhesh I, and Lis II; they are, in fact, the main characteristics of Protourban fortifications of the 7\textsuperscript{th} to 5\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{252}

The pottery of the Protourban period can be divided in three different groups: a) end of 7\textsuperscript{th} to mid 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., b) second half of 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. and c) 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{253} a) The association of local products with imported Ionian and Corinthian pottery is typical. Local pottery is made of brown clay with many inclusions.\textsuperscript{254} The main shapes are large vessels with a wide conical neck and semi-spherical cups.\textsuperscript{255} Chestnut colored paint is relatively rare; motifs include a frieze of triangles and rectangles filled with parallel lines on the shoulders of the vessels, semi-circles on the rim and sinusoidal lines near the neck.\textsuperscript{256} The imported pottery consists of a few Corinthian A amphoras,\textsuperscript{257} hydria\textsuperscript{258}, Samian kraters,\textsuperscript{259} Ionian B\textsubscript{1} and B\textsubscript{2} cups\textsuperscript{260} and wide band cups.\textsuperscript{261} b) The local pottery of the second group preserves the forms and painted motifs of the first group but decreases in quantity. Import patterns change: the Corinthian kotylai and aryballoi increase,
Ionian imports are limited to B₂ cups, and at the same time Laconian imports appear in the form of kraters; cover tiles and pantiles first appear among the excavated material.

c) In the 5ᵗʰ century B.C. the decrease in local production is followed by an increase of imported wares, consisting mainly of Apollonian products: Type B amphoras, hydriae with bands, and skyphoi.

15. Mashkjezë B

*Identification type:* extensive survey

*Geographical position:* valley

*Site size:* not published

*Altitude:* not published

*Bibliographical references:* Ceka 1977-1978.

*Description:* Near the ravine of Mashkjezë, pottery on the surface indicates the presence of a Protourban settlement.²⁶² The pottery was dispersed over several terraces oriented towards the south. Mashkjezë B is situated not more than 200 m from the site of Mashkjezë.

Pottery, including both local and imported wares, is abundant on the surface, and some fragments are well dated. The local pottery mainly consists of large vessels, both painted and plain.²⁶³ Imported pottery is also visible on the surface, with several Apollonian and Corinthian fragments of skyphoi, kraters, and kylikes.²⁶⁴

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²⁶³ Fig. 38:1-2.
²⁶⁴ Fig. 38:3-8.
16. Strum

Identification type: agricultural activity/excavation

Geographical position: valley

Site size: 0.5 ha

Altitude: 55 masl


Description: To the west of the Kurjan reservoir (Fig. 2), in a location near the village of Strum, there have been discovered by chance foundations of buildings made of stone and mud. These remains were scattered in an area of 0.5 ha, and were grouped in distinct clusters. It is quite clear that during agricultural activity the stratum of the Protourban phase had been disturbed.

Equal amounts of imported and local pottery have been found on the site. The local pottery includes at least one example of a cup with a semi-spherical shape, a very common shape for the Protourban period, as well as other shapes. Unglazed pots comprise most of the imported pottery. The most important example is a kalpis, with an elliptical body, short vertical rim, and elliptical horizontal handles, which Ceka has dated between the 6th and the 5th centuries B.C. Several metal objects were found during the excavation; the majority were spearheads, the longest having a preserved length of 29 cm.

Also, to the northeast of the Roskovec plain, near the village of Strum, traces of three tumuli, badly damaged from agricultural activity, have been preserved. A fourth tumulus is

\[\text{References:}\]


Ceka 1983a, p. 206, classified Strum as an Archaic village.

Fig. 30:5.

Fig. 30:5. For comparison see Mano 1971, p. 165, pl. XVIII:7-8; the only difference is that the specimens from Apollonia have vertical handles instead of horizontal ones.

Among other finds there was a spearhead, in a leaf-shaped form see Fig. 30:4.

situated on the other side of the hill that separates the plain from the valley, in which the Kurjan reservoir has been created.\textsuperscript{270}

\textsuperscript{270} This plain had been previously a swampy area; now the soil is rich with humus making the arable land very good for agriculture.
CHAPTER 3

This chapter discusses and analyses the information that was laid out in the previous chapter. This analysis of the individual sites is conducted on two levels: a) the intra-settlement level and b) the inter-settlement level. First the manner in which the sites included in this work came to light is discussed in a greater depth; for this purpose an analytical chart is provided. Also the position of Apollonia as an intermediary in the trade and exchange that took place during the Archaic period in the region is considered. The large quantity of Apollonian-made pottery found at Protourban sites points once more to the importance that Apollonia had obtained during and after the 5th century B.C. This growth is reflected in a move by Apollonia to extend its power to the south of the Vjosa river, and its subsequent sack (ca. 470 B.C.) of the city of Thronium.271

Another objective is to examine the life and development of the Protourban settlements in the area of Mallakastra from a broader perspective, using the archaeological record to the greatest extent possible to draw comparisons with other regions around the Mediterranean where the Protourban process took place.272 This process provides a better understanding of this period, its material life, and ultimately the transformation of some of these Protourban centers into cities by the second half of the 5th century B.C.

271 Apollonia’s war with Thronium is discussed in this chapter, since it is necessary for a discussion of the possible boundaries of the colony before and after this war.
272 Southern Italy provides the best comparative material for the Protourban process, because it seems to have developed in a way similar to the Protourban period in Albania.
EXCAVATION, SURVEY OR AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY?

A comprehensive table is provided (see below Table 3:a-b), of the various methods by which the sites included in this study have been identified (Fig. 63). This table provides the methods through which a site has been identified; e.g. if a site was first identified by extensive survey and then excavated, then they are respectively mentioned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method of Identification</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extensive survey/excavation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extensive survey</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural activity/excavation</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural activity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3:a-b: Histogram and table listing the method of identification for sites

Table 3:a-b indicates clearly that extensive survey/excavation have been the main method of identifying settlements, accounting for 37.5 percent of the total. Extensive survey has revealed 25 percent of the sites. Sites identified by means of agricultural activity/excavation make up 18.75 percent of the total, while the sites for which the method of identification was only agricultural activity (one case) are the remaining 6.25 percent. The dating of a Protourban level
in these sites is generally based on pottery, but in several cases solely on the style of the fortification. The sites with a secure Protourban level make up the majority of the sites under study; only for a few of them do the excavators have doubts, which I share, regarding their earliest date.\textsuperscript{273}

\section*{EVIDENCE FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION}

Although it is not in the scope of this thesis to provide a thorough analysis of social organization during the Protourban period, the lack of burials pertaining to the Protourban period (ca. 650-450 B.C.) is particularly striking; without such mortuary evidence reconstruction of social organization would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. In one case, a mention of damaged tumulus burials near Strum was made by Ceka but no further information was provided.\textsuperscript{274} It is highly plausible that the burial grounds\textsuperscript{275} used by the respective population of these centers have not been yet identified. Further research in the area may yield more information on possible remains of mortuary practices.

At the intra-settlement level there is very little information regarding residential structures, which would have allowed analysis of their nature and function, as well as comparison with other structures within the same site. As discussed below, only the site of Mashkjezë has provided archaeologists with securely dated archaic structures, although they are

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{273} See also Strum in Chapter 2.
\textsuperscript{274} Ceka 1977-1978, p. 254. See also the discussion of the site of Strum in Chapter 2.
\textsuperscript{275} Tumuli burials in southern Albania during the 6\textsuperscript{th}-5\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C. are replaced by flat cemeteries (see Prendi 1985, p. 82).
only mentioned and are unfortunately not fully published. We also know that foundations made of stone and clay have been uncovered at the settlements of Strum and Marinëz. Other data as to exactly what were the sizes of the stones used or any indications of the plans of these constructions are simply missing.

The situation is better at the inter-settlement level, in regard to preserved or reconstructed plans and site sizes of the Protourban phase of these settlements. Most of the site plans were generated after excavation or extensive survey, providing a clear view of the setting of the sites in the landscape, although in several instances a sketch plan is the only record available for study.

THE INTRA-SETTLEMENT DATA

This section discusses the architectural features of those sites where information exists. These are few in number; nevertheless they provide valuable information concerning fortifications and some facts about domestic/residential space.

Only the hilltop site of Mashkjezë provides evidence for both a fortification wall and residential structures; the latter are huts positioned around its steep slopes. Outside the fortification, archaic huts seem to have been located on the west and southeast slope of the hill. The existence of a stratum with abundant local pottery dating to the Archaic period indicates, according to the excavator, the presence of a hut. This hut, found about 50 m from the fortification wall, was found on an open terrace, with a 50 degree slope. It was constructed with

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276 Access to these unpublished materials may become possible only by obtaining permission from the excavator to publish them.
277 In many cases the quantity of domestic architecture is far less than the preserved fortification walls.
wooden material and covered an area of 3 x 5.50 m.\textsuperscript{279} Near this hut, on the upper terrace, another hut was partially excavated.\textsuperscript{280}

In contrast there are four sites at which only remains of their fortification walls have been found: Belishovë, Kalivaç, Margëlliç and Gurzezë.\textsuperscript{281} Unfortunately, little remains visible at the site of Margëlliç, due to erosion, neglect, and illegal building activity (see Fig. 41).\textsuperscript{282}

![Presence/absence of architectural features](image)

**Table 4: Site histogram showing presence/absence of architectural features**

The largest group of sites (six in total, see Table 4)\textsuperscript{283} offers no information whatsoever about any architectural features during the Protourban period. Sites that have yielded architectural features of the Protourban period are Kalivaç, Belishovë, Margëlliç, Mashkjezë,

\textsuperscript{279} The total area that the hut covered would be 16.5 m\textsuperscript{2}. This size could be compared with house 50,20 at Megara Hyblaia although they differ in date (see De Angelis 2002, p. 304, note 13).

\textsuperscript{280} Ceka 1983b, p. 252. Unfortunately in all cases, there are no plans of these Archaic structures, nor photos of their locations.

\textsuperscript{281} In one case, a wall foundation ditch has been found at Babunja e Re, presumably of the Protourban period.

\textsuperscript{282} On top of the site a large house has been built, supposedly with permission of the Institute of Monuments. During the time I was surveying on behalf of MRAP around the hill in 2002, I met a relative of the owner of that illegal house. From the conversation that ensued I understood that the house was built illegally and that the rest of the family had fallen out with the owner because of this fact. Various modern constructions seem to exist in several other hilltops in the Mallakastra area.

\textsuperscript{283} No architectural elements of the Protourban period have been found to date at Aranitas, Dimal, Kutë, Lalar, Luar and Mashkjezë B.
Gurzezë, Marinëz and Strum. Of these sites, Marinëz and Strum have revealed only residential architecture in the form of stone and mudbrick built houses while the settlement of Mashkjezë has provided both a fortification and remains of houses. For the sites of Babunja e Re and Drenovë only a possible presence of Protourban fortifications has been suggested.

**THE INTER-SETTLEMENT DATA**

The excavations that have taken place before MRAP in the Mallakastra area have revealed a relatively dense site distribution. The map of the Mallakastra area confirms this conclusion. The survey organized by MRAP covered a substantial area of ca. 36 km² in the region of Mallakastra and around the site of Margëlliç. Although intensive in nature, MRAP covered in its survey only the site of Margëlliç, among all the sites discussed in this work. Nevertheless, the fact that there will be more data on the inter-settlement level available to the archaeological community after the appearance of the final publication makes the prospect of future work more likely to take place.

Most sites in the Protourban period were concentrated in the river valleys of the Gjanica and the Vjosa. The Gjanica valley (Fig. 14) contained the settlements of Margëlliç, Drenovë, Belishovë and Aranitas, while in the Vjosa valley were the settlements of Klos, Kalivaç and Kutë. The remaining sites are further away from these valleys but still have access to important routes leading in and out of the region. The majority of these sites (as we see from their

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284 See Ceka 1990a, p. 138, fig. 1.
286 Ceka 1983c, p. 156.
respective altitudes) was built in prominent locations that facilitated visual control over the surrounding countryside and control over smaller settlements.\textsuperscript{287}

During the 8\textsuperscript{th} and 7\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C. in the Gjanica and Vjosa valleys the settlements were not fortified;\textsuperscript{288} instead they are even closer to the river valleys than in preceding periods. Thus we can consider this a relatively quiet period, and a time when the differentiation of the family land from the common land may have been taking place.\textsuperscript{289} There are two conclusions suggested by the settlement distribution: the inhabitants of these settlements may have become more agriculturally oriented during Iron Age III period with the resulting occupation of the lower areas of the plains and secondly, this descent into areas of lower altitude may have brought access to the routes of communication.\textsuperscript{290} Ceka has supported his suggestion about the ‘rise’ of agriculture and trade around 650 B.C, on an increase in iron use.\textsuperscript{291} On the other hand, he has suggested that the typical settlements of Iron Age I-II period are to be found at altitudes between

\textsuperscript{287} See below for further discussion on site intervisibility.
\textsuperscript{288} Ceka 1983c, p. 154. According to Ceka: “the fortified settlement was not the main form of habitation during the Iron Age II period, so for that reason we see people living in open-air settlements”. Only in the case of Mashkjezë the fortification wall may date before 600 B.C. based on the pottery found adjacent to it. Ceka does not suggest an Iron Age II date for the fortification wall, thus we are inclined to accept an Iron Age III date (650-550 B.C. for Phase I); see above in Chapter 2 the discussion provided for the site of Mashkjezë.
\textsuperscript{289} Ceka (1983c, p 154), argues that there was a change in the social structure during the 8\textsuperscript{th} and 7\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C. It is regrettable that the evidence is insufficient for such conclusions, and that analysis must remain hypothetical. See also Mano 1986b, p. 10 on the changes in social structure.
\textsuperscript{290} The Vjosa and Gjanica valleys were important for the trade between the inland areas and the coast; thus the sites situated nearby would have been able to control the possible strategic routes. Agriculture and trade are often suggested by Albanian scholars as the possible reasons for the observed site shift. No one seems to have ever considered the fact that these settlements may have been forced to move for some other reason (i.e., other then agricultural or access to trade routes). Any speculation in the current state of research may be misleading.
\textsuperscript{291} Ceka 1983c, p. 154. While introducing his suggestion regarding the increase of iron use during the Iron Age III period, Ceka has hinted at a possible influence of an aristocracy in these settlement shifts. According to Ceka, more available iron made the aristocracy stronger and in turn this enabled the aristocracy to control the settlements. Islami has also hinted at the emergence of ‘military leaders’ during the late 7\textsuperscript{th} and early 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. (see Islami 1981, 45).
600-800 masl and that this supports a pastoral orientation of these settlements.\(^{292}\) This profile of these settlements seems unsuitable in the later Iron Age III period when we see the changes in settlement patterns.\(^{293}\)

These new unfortified settlements have been shown archaeologically to have had the same material culture as the fortified settlements.\(^{294}\) According to Ceka the form of the settlements, and the means of production indicate the existence of a qualitatively new society, no longer based on clan relations but on a hierarchical ranking.\(^{295}\) Ceka has correctly pointed out the change in the nature of settlement, and has further analyzed changes in the social structure of the native population. His classification system separates settlements into three major groups, illustrated below in Table 5. Excavation results show clearly that Klos, Margëlliç and Mashkjezë were settlements created \textit{ex novo}\(^{296}\), although Margëlliç was established on top of an earlier multi-phase settlement.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Phase} & \textbf{Settlements} \\
\hline
\textit{Phase I} & LBA \hspace{1cm} Badhër-Trajan \\
\textit{Phase II} & EIA \hspace{1cm} Tren-Gajtan \\
\textit{Phase III} & Protourban \hspace{1cm} Kalivo-Mashkjezë \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Fortified sites in Albania divided by phases (Ceka 1983c, p. 145.)}
\end{table}

The few characteristics that distinguish Phases I, and II could be summarized as follows. The Phase I settlements have walls that range between 2-3 m. in width with the area between the

\(^{292}\) Ceka 1983a, p. 207.
\(^{293}\) Ceka 1983c, p. 156.
\(^{294}\) Ceka 1983c, p. 172.
\(^{295}\) Ceka 1983c, p. 172.
\(^{296}\) Ceka 1983c, p. 155.
two faces not filled with rubble.\textsuperscript{297} There is little evidence for life inside the fortification walls of these sites and it has been suggested that they have functioned as protection and storage areas for the communities while inhabitants lived outside the fortification.\textsuperscript{298} 2) Phase II fortifications have a width of about 3.50 m. and the space between the two faces is filled with rubble.\textsuperscript{299} These settlements have revealed more pottery inside their fortification walls, sometime even kilns, indicating that inhabitants live inside them.\textsuperscript{300} Open-air non fortified settlements that may be classified as villages\textsuperscript{301} appear during Phase II in various regions of Southern Illyria and continue to appear during Phase III (i.e., Protourban period).

In this thesis I have avoided distinguishing rigidly between villages and larger centers, since frequently the necessary information for such divisions is not available. Excavation data, however, have provided some information about the sizes of more than half of the settlements: these range from 0.5 ha to 3.8 ha.\textsuperscript{302} It has also been possible to obtain the altitude above the sea level for most of the sites. Thus from this information some conclusions can be drawn on the importance of location for these sites. It is possible to group the sites into three categories, as illustrated in Fig. 43: a) sites above 400 masl (Belishovë, Drenovë, Gurzezë, Dimal and Aranitas), b) sites situated between 200 and 400 masl (Klos and Margëlliç) and c) sites under 200 masl (Babunja e Re, Kalivaç, Kutë, Lalar, Luar, Marinëz, Strum, Mashkjezë and Mashkjezë B).\textsuperscript{303} Nevertheless, it is hard to see correlations between the site size and position in the landscape. It does not seem that low altitude sites covered larger or smaller areas compared to

\textsuperscript{297} Ceka 1983c, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{298} Ceka 1983c, p. 148-150.
\textsuperscript{299} Ceka 1983c, p. 150-154.
\textsuperscript{300} Ceka 1983c, p. 150. Kilns have been found at the site of Gajtan (Shkodra district).
\textsuperscript{301} Ceka 1983c, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{302} See above Table 2.
\textsuperscript{303} Ceka has interpreted the positioning of the new settlements below 200 masl as a reflection of a preference for agriculture and for easier access to trade routes. See Ceka 1983c, p. 156.
sites in higher altitudes.\textsuperscript{304} On the other hand it can be noticed that the pattern of sites being established at low altitudes is not only an Albanian phenomenon. The same patterns have been observed in Northwest Greece by the mid 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{305}

A good example of a favorable position in the landscape is the site of Margëlliç, which has control over the surrounding countryside. From the site it is possible to observe most of the plain that opens to the west of Margëlliç as well areas to the south, east and north. Studies need to be conducted in order to establish the visual distances that can be covered from Margëlliç within its surrounding hinterland.\textsuperscript{306} Further discussion on site intervisibility\textsuperscript{307} for the other hilltop settlements in the Mallakastra area is difficult at the current state of research in Albania.

The information discussed above indicates clearly that the area of Mallakastra was indeed relatively densely inhabited during the Protourban period.\textsuperscript{308} This dense distribution, in its turn, results in shorter distances between sites, and this fact together with the presence of the same (in many cases) kinds of local and imported pottery,\textsuperscript{309} indicates the existence of a local network of contacts both for exchange and trade. Undoubtedly this network incorporated goods, archaeologically visible in the form of imported pottery, arriving from the coastal regions (i.e., the emporia and later Greek colonies, especially Apollonia). This resulted in an increase in urbanization, and subsequently in the creation of a number of larger cities after the second half of

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{304} Possible reasons for moving to low altitudes may have been the accessibility to water sources. There is no mention of water sources pertinent to the sites of low and high altitude in this study. In a few occasions mention of ravines occur, not necessarily meaning that they can provide water for the sites nearby. Perhaps a study of the location of possible water sources for the sites in this thesis may be necessary to be conducted.
\footnote{305} Winter 1971, p. 33.
\footnote{306} See Fig. 42, 44 for visibility at Margëlliç.
\footnote{307} See Wheatley 1995 for a discussion on site intervisibility.
\footnote{308} D’Andria 1987, p. 37. According to D’Andria the presence of Corinthian transport amphoras in excavated sites such as Margëlliç, dating as far back as the middle of the 7\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., indicates: “a new attitude of these centers toward the Greek world, and mark a ‘pre-colonial’ phase that corresponds to the expansion of Corfu northwards” (after the 664 B.C. war between Corfu and Corinth). See also Braccesi 1977, p. 94 on the above mentioned war.
\end{footnotes}
the 4th century B.C. It seems certain in the case of Apollonia that interaction and Greek influence, played a major role in the changes witnessed historically and archaeologically in the region. As in numerous cases across the Mediterranean: “…the colonies had far-reaching effects on the indigenous populations”.\(^{310}\)

**TRADE IN THE PROTOURBAN PERIOD: NATIVE POPULATION VS. GREEKS**

The second chapter has discussed the character and origin of many fragments of pottery, both local and imported, that have been uncovered in the Protourban sites. This section is intended to provide a brief overview of trade and exchange during the Archaic period in the region and also of the conflicts that ensued.\(^{311}\)

It has long been claimed that it was the richness of the region that attracted colonists to what was to become southern Illyria.\(^{312}\) Aleksandra Mano has discussed the problem of economic and political ties between the Greeks and Illyrians in the region and has concluded that: “the continuous contact with the natives was the cause of a faster change of the local

\(^{310}\) Morris 1999, p. 66.

\(^{311}\) Many Albanian and foreign scholars have attempted to reconstruct the process of colonization and the economic situation in the hinterland of Apollonia during the Archaic period and the implications for Apollonian politics at the end of the Archaic period (e.g., the Apollonian war against Thronium). See Mano 1983, 1986a, 1986b, 1998; Ceka 1995; D’Andria 1987; van Compernolle 1953; Beaumont 1936.

\(^{312}\) The attractive richness of the area may have included large quantities of timber and silver which might have been sought by the Greek merchants from Corcyra and other cities; there are, however, no reports of silver in Albania, so the argument above remains tentative. Silver coins were minted at Damastion (location unknown) starting in the 5th century B.C. (see Beaumont 1936, p. 166; May 1939; Hammond 1967); Braccesi 1977, p. 102 arrives at the point of suggesting a ‘via dell’argento’ in Southern Illyria; D’Andria (1984, p. 355) has suggested silver, bitumen, and _iris laudattissima_ (the latter used in the production of Corinthian perfumes); for an update on the use of _iris_ see Rossignoli 2000.
communities”. Obviously increased contact with culturally aware Greeks would have given an impetus for a further growth in native cultural identity and, in particular, a growth in its material expression. On the opposite side of the Otranto Strait (Fig. 45), less then 50 miles from Albania, in the Salento region in Southern Italy, there are imports of Matt-Painted Devoll style pottery, coming from areas deep inland in Southern Illyria. Thus, Southern Illyria was not only a region changing as a result of Greek influence but it was influencing, in its turn, other regions of the Mediterranean. Southern Illyria heavily influenced the Salento Middle Geometric ware, which acquired from Albania new motives, decorative schemes, and vase forms.

Herring has suggested that the social elite may have controlled the influx of imported products into native settlements in Southern Italy. Mano has deduced the same phenomenon in the relationship between the natives and Greeks in Southern Illyria. In the case of Salento, Herring has suggested that the consequence of this phenomenon may have resulted in the distribution of the bulk of imported products exclusively among the upper echelons of society. It is plausible that the same sequence may have occurred among the native Illyrians during their first contacts with the Greeks.

313 Mano 1986a, p. 155. Before the establishment of Apollonia and even before the establishment of Epidamnos, considerable quantities of Corinthian and Ionian pottery are attested in several Protourban sites (e.g., see Ceka 1986b, p. 86 and Andrea 1984, p. 109, there is also Rhodian-Ionian pottery at Apollonia, dated at the 6th-5th centuries B.C. see Mano 1971, p. 199). On the other hand, some fragments of pottery that have been classified as local have been found at Apollonia (see Anamali 1956, pp. 8-9, fig. 2; Anamali 1964, pp. 131-133, figs. 5, 7; Anamali 1971, p. 126). These finds have sparked the debate about whether natives inhabited the site prior to the Greek colonization. So far there has been no consensus.

314 Snodgrass 2000, p. 175 has cited the figure of 50 miles as the distance between the Albanian coast and the closest point on the Italian coast.

315 See Herring 2000, pp. 57-59 on the discussion of Matt-Painted Devoll ware motives.

316 Herring 2000, p. 57.

317 Mano 1986b, p. 9.

318 Herring 2000, p. 57.
In Southern Illyria, especially in the lower valley of the Vjosa river, Corinthian products\textsuperscript{319} have been found, from the end of 7\textsuperscript{th} through the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.; excavations in Protourban centers have revealed many Type A and B transport amphoras, especially at the site of Margëlliç. Corinthian trade occupied the first place in the economic arena of the region under study, reaching its height by the second half of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. Around this time Apollonia started to produce its wares in large quantities, slowly replacing imports from abroad.\textsuperscript{320}

Mano has pointed out that the Greek economic sphere seems to have been larger in the area around Apollonia than in the area of the other large colony at Epidamnos\textsuperscript{321}. According to her there seem to be two reasons for this unequal development: 1) the different socio-economic development and 2) the different geographical and natural setting in each zone. At Apollonia she has suggested that the struggles with the natives were much less intense than at Epidamnos or even non-existent for extended periods of time, and that there was generally a friendly interaction between colonists and natives.\textsuperscript{322} Mano seems to have underestimated the Apollonia-Thronium war, perhaps considering it a war among ‘Greeks’, so that it would not have influenced the relationship of the colony with its Illyrian neighbors. Nevertheless, her suggestion, that there was a different socio-economic development is hard to defend, since the area of Epidamnos differs only slightly from that of Apollonia. The area near Epidamnos is largely lowland (Fig. 46); meanwhile Apollonia’s arable land was restricted to the plain because

\textsuperscript{319} D’Andria 1984, p. 365. A large quantity of Greek vases have been found in the Protourban sites of Mallakastra.
\textsuperscript{320} Mano 1986a, p. 156. Apollonian pottery is visible not only within and outside the colony itself but also in the archaeological record of native settlements of the hinterland such as Dimal and Margëlliç.
\textsuperscript{321} Mano 1986a, p. 156. What was the impact of colonization on the native settlements near Apollonia? Most of the Iron Age pottery that the MRAP survey has identified comes from the Kraps area (see MRAP 2002, fig. 8); it appears either that there were no native settlements close to Apollonia to begin with, or that they were assimilated into the colony, or were driven away. Illyrian settlements can be easily identified further in the hinterland, though at a sufficient distance to suggest a ‘security line’ between them and the colony.
\textsuperscript{322} See Mano 1986a, p. 156; Anamali 1956, p. 10.
the coast was closer to Apollonia than it is today, and is more available in the hills to the east and southeast of the colony (Fig. 47).

Greek imports dating to the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century B.C., have been found in large quantities in Southern Illyria. There are two main sources of imported Greek pottery in this area, and they are Corinth and Athens. During this period Corinthian imports lost ground, and Attic products appeared in large quantities following a Mediterranean-wide pattern. On the other hand, the city of Apollonia continued to develop, establishing itself as a strong coastal and inland communication point, focusing on trade with the natives. Furthermore, in agriculture Apollonia must have been both internally and externally oriented, importing goods but also producing other important ones such as wine, olive oil, bitumen, and cereals that passed from the hands of the native population into the colony and vice-versa. These factors as well as other less visible ones, promoted the prosperity of the colony in the first centuries of its existence.

Another factor was the position of the colony itself, neither too close nor too far from the sea. Situated on top of the first hills rising over the Myzeqe plain and with a good view of the bay of Vlora and the Adriatic (Fig. 47), it also had access to the Vjosa river that at the time flowed closer to the city, perhaps a kilometer or so distant from the hill where the Shtyllas

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323 Fouache 2002, p. 18. According to Fouache the coast was about 5 km distant from Apollonia in the 7th century B.C.
324 For the presence of Attic pottery in Tumulus 1 at Apollonia see Mano 1971, p. 199; also Dimo 1991, pp. 68-70; Andrea 1984, p. 110; Ceka 1986b, p. 86; Ceka 1995, p. 455.
326 Claims for wine production have been often suggested in the scholarship. The apparent lack of wine presses and amphora kilns in Southern Illyria may be explained by the lack of excavation at rural sites, where such evidence might be expected (see Blagg 1992, p. 342).
327 Today the Vjosa flows further south; this change may have caused most of the inhabitants at the site of Apollonia to flee during the Late Antique period. The position of Vjosa’s old riverbed was close to the modern village of Sop, see Fouache et al. 2001, Fouache 2002.
temple was situated (see Fig. 48). At that time the lower reaches of the Vjosa served as a natural boundary for the Apollonians and kept them protected from the native tribes inhabiting the areas to the south of the river. Herodotus’ account of the area around Apollonia implies that Apollonia possessed at least some good quality pasture land.

Toward the end of the Archaic period and the beginning of the classical period the Apollonians were first involved in a full-scale war with the city of Thronium. Apollonia was apparently seeking to benefit from the availability of land south of the lower reaches of the Vjosa river; but in order to do that it had to overcome the city of Thronium, which also had the possibility of controlling these territories. This enterprise ended with victory for the Apollonians, in consequence of which they may have obtained control of the lands south of the Vjosa river. Afterwards, it is quite possible that the Apollonians could have exercised a stronger influence on the other smaller Greek colony of Oricum in the bay of Vlora (see Fig. 49) or may even have controlled it. Most of the good quality limestone used in Apollonia for the construction of

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328 The Shtyllas temple is situated on the westernmost end of the Mallakastra range at an altitude of 62 m. above sea level (see Quantin 1996, p. 229, note 3).
329 It is difficult to assess who controlled the area south of the Vjosa river in later periods. Suggestions have been made that the cities of Byllis or Amantia may have been controlling the area (see Cabanes 1996, pp. 379-391).
330 Herodotus (IX:93), while talking about Euenius, a famous man of Apollonia, described the area around Apollonia in the following way: “There is at the aforesaid Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the day-time is pastured beside river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Lacmon through the lands of Apollonia and issues into the sea by the harbor of Oricos”.
331 The exact location of Thronium is not yet known, although there have been many attempts to identify it; the scholars who have dealt with this issue have all sought Thronium south of the Vjosa river. See Hammond 1967, pp. 495-496 for a thorough discussion about the location of Thronium (possibly modern Kanina in the Vlora district?) and the outcome of the war between Thronium and Apollonia; Anamali 1971, p. 129; see also Prendi 1974a, p. 110. Beaumont (1952, p. 66) concludes that “Thronium can be either Kanina, Klos, or Amantia”, illustrating how uncertain this identification remains.
332 The foundation date of Oricum is disputed. Claims that Oricum was an Euboian foundation have not been proven archaeologically, since the earliest deposits found during excavations on the site do not date earlier than the early 6th century B.C. This suggests that Oricum was founded some time later than Apollonia (see Budina 1976, p. 260).
333 There has been no analysis to date of the limestone specimens from the various monuments at the site of Apollonia. Ceka attempted this work, but the results have never been published (Vangjel Dimo,
its main monuments seems to have originated from the quarries on the Karaburun peninsula, a very short distance from Oricum.334

The analysis of the various native reactions to colonial influence would be one possible way to investigate the levels of complexity of the social, political, and economic structures of the local population, but more evidence would be needed. It is certain that the emerging pattern in Southern Illyria is one of a colony (i.e., Apollonia) in intense communication (direct or indirect), with people who trade in, and travel to, the outside world; this colony acted as a link between its hinterland and the wider Greek world.

Apollonia Museum, pers. comm. July 2003). Nevertheless, Ceka has claimed that the stone was quarried in Karaburun (Ceka 1982, p. 35, 38). The Karaburun quarries and their relationship to Oricum and Apollonia will be examined in the fourth chapter.

334 Sarcophagi were used during the Archaic period as well (see Mano 1971; Amore 2002). It seems that the Apollonian extension to the south of the Vjosa did not last long (Anamali 1971, p. 129), and direct access to the quarries after the Archaic period was perhaps impossible (thus reducing the quantity of limestone available for sarcophagi); see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the sarcophagi and their possible production places.
CHAPTER 4

This chapter discusses most of the published information regarding research and excavation in the necropolis of Apollonia. There are several issues that need to be discussed in order to understand the nature of the burials at Apollonia during the Archaic period.\(^{335}\) Whether there is there a link between these tumuli burials and the contemporary ones in other regions of Albania, is one of the issues that will be explored in this thesis. The origin of the colonists who founded Apollonia requires a separate discussion. The literature, both ancient and modern, is by no means unanimous on the question on the origin of the colonists; the divergent views are summarized in this chapter.

Several questions concern the direction of influence between the colonists and the native population; did the native population change its burial rituals under Greek influence, or did the opposite happen?\(^{336}\) How do we see this influence expressed in the burial record? Did this interaction leave any other detectable traces in the archaeological record?

The last sections in this chapter examine the tumuli burials excavated at Apollonia seeking patterns that might help clarify interaction but also trade patterns. Also, in order to explain the use of limestone for the manufacture of sarcophagi, a discussion is necessary of the smaller colony of Oricum, south of Apollonia, and the limestone quarries on the Karaburun peninsula. Finally, the current state of archaeological research in Albania especially concerning the interaction of the colonists with the native population is discussed and suggestions for future field projects are provided.

\(^{335}\) See above pp. 16-18 in this thesis.
\(^{336}\) According to Anamali 1956, p. 19, it is difficult to see the presence of native elements in the necropolis of Apollonia.
“Before reaching Italy we must first look at Corcyra”, rather like the Euboians and the Corinthians of the 8th century B.C. This discussion thus begins at Corcyra and then proceeds to the Apollonians and Apollonia. Luca Antonelli’s impressive analysis of the *fonti letterarie* in *Kerkyriaka* elaborates on the history of Corcyra between the first mention of Greek contact and the fall of the Cypselidian dynasty offering useful information.

Corcyra was founded by Corinth in 734/733 B.C; the founder was Chersicrates, a Bacchiad, and the colony was made up mainly of settlers from the Corinthia. One account from Plutarch (Mor. 293 A-B), states that the first Corinthian colonists at Corcyra expelled Eretrians from the island. Other ancient authors, followed by modern scholars, detect an Euboian presence at Corcyra. It was from Corcyra a century after its own foundation that colonists were sent who established Epidamnos on the Adriatic coast of Albania. The founder is said to have been a Corinthian, sent there by request of the Corcyreans obeying the “old law”.

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337 Van Compernolle 1953, offers an excellent overview of the foundation of Apollonia.
339 Antonelli 2000. Antonelli’s account of the early Corcyran history is lucid and authoritative, despite failing to list in its bibliography the works of S. Morris and J. Papadopoulos which downplay to a certain extent the role of the Euboians in the Mediterranean (see Papadopoulos 1996 and 1997). Morris 1992, p.141 has even expressed serious reservations concerning what she describes as “the modern tendency to identify “Euboians” in Syria, Cyprus, Crete, Ischia, and even Euboia itself…”.
341 Salmon 1984, p. 66.
344 Antonelli 2000, p. 85.
Van Compernolle\textsuperscript{345} provides one of the most complete discussions about the origin of the colonists at Apollonia, encompassing a large body of ancient literature that mentions Apollonia,\textsuperscript{346} its colonization, its history, and its wars. The majority of the sources are ‘pro-Corinthian”,\textsuperscript{347} although other sources report that Apollonia was a Corinthian-Corcyrean colony or only a Corcyrean colony. Another wave of colonists which arrived toward the end of the first quarter of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. from the northwestern Peloponnese seems to have increased the numbers of inhabitants in both Apollonia and Epidamnos, but at the same time mixed them ethnically.\textsuperscript{348}

There is also a wealth of modern scholarship concerning the issue of Apollonia’s colonization and its foundation date, as well as the issue of the possible Corcyrean contribution.\textsuperscript{349} Most of this scholarship was based upon the ancient texts; during the mid-1920’s the first results from the excavations started to support certain dates and to disprove other ones.\textsuperscript{350} The course of events that seems most probable to me for the foundation of Apollonia thus would have followed these general lines: the city was a foundation enterprise primarily of Corinth, with participation also from Corcyra and perhaps from Epidamnos, with a Corinthian founder leading the settlers.\textsuperscript{351}

\textsuperscript{345} Van Compernolle 1953 offers an excellent account of the ancient sources that mention Apollonia with regard to the colonization process.
\textsuperscript{346} The foundation myths regarding Apollonia have not been included in this thesis (concerning these see Beaumont 1936, p. 163 ff; Malkin 2001; Antonelli 2000).
\textsuperscript{347} Bakhuizen 1987, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{348} Beaumont 1936, p. 167; Malkin 2001, p. 190.
\textsuperscript{349} Salmon 1984, p. 217.
\textsuperscript{350} See above note 2; See also Mano 1998 for a discussion on the origin of the colonists at Apollonia.
\textsuperscript{351} The founder of Apollonia was named Gylax and he arrived followed by 200 settlers, see Salmon 1984, p. 212.
HISTORY OF EXCAVATION AND RESEARCH AT THE MAIN NECROPOLIS OF APOLLONIA

Grave stelai and urns were mentioned by many travelers who visited Apollonia, prior to the beginning of the 20th century when the first excavations took place. The French traveler Pouqueville during his travels in the Balkans in the 1820’s passed by Apollonia and mentioned several grave markers.352 Leake described the burial grounds of the village of Radostina, to the east of Apollonia, as “full of pieces of fluted columns and other fragments of the good times of antiquity”.353 Heuzey and Daumet followed up in the late 1870’s with the publication of several inscriptions from Apollonia but they did not mention the main necropolis.354

In the early 20th century the Austrian archaeologist Patsch, published drawings, photographs and descriptions of many stelai and urns from Apollonia.355 Few years later, Praschniker visited Apollonia during the Balkan Wars and conducted archaeological research in and around the site.356 Praschniker also provided the first archaeological map of the immediate hinterland of Apollonia, and indicated the location of temple remains at the village of Kryegjata, where the main necropolis is situated.357

352 Pouqueville 1826, pp. 354-360.
353 Leake 1835, p. 368.
354 Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pp. 402-403. A few more travelers visited Apollonia before the end of the 19th century, but said nothing new about the necropolis.
355 Patsch 1904.
356 Praschniker 1919.
357 For the tombs in Kryegjata see Praschniker 1924, pp. 51-53.
Praschniker conducted the first excavation of a tumulus burial (20 graves) and he further clarified the position of the tumulus necropolis. For unknown reasons this information received little subsequent academic attention, since in Albanian scholarship after WWII, this excavation was dismissed as “some research conducted on the main necropolis by Praschniker.” Praschniker’s discoveries generally agree with later excavations in the same necropolis, having produced sarcophagi, tile graves, and pithoi graves.

Soon after the end of WWI, a French team led by Leon Rey started a large excavation project at the site of Apollonia. While excavating inside the city (Figs. 23-24), Rey decided also to conduct some research at the main necropolis (1930-1931). He defined three types of graves in the necropolis: pithoi graves (the earliest in date), tile graves, and urn graves.

After WWII, Albanian archaeologists extended the excavations in and around Apollonia. In 1948 and again in 1950-1951 the main necropolis was a focal point of research. In 1956, 358 Praschniker 1924, pp. 51-53; one of the sarcophagi that Praschniker found had the following dimensions: 2.30 x 1.09 m. This is the longest sarcophagus found so far in Apollonia. Tumulus 9 has provided a specimen 2.24 m long (currently outside the dig-house in Apollonia-July 2002), while Mano 1971, p.118 says that most of the sarcophagi found in Tumulus 1, range in length between 1.90 – 2.25 m. 359 Mano 1959; 1971. Praschniker’s tumulus is not the only one that has been ‘forgotten’. Three tumuli excavated by H. Ceka in 1951 have never been integrated in the total count of the excavated tumuli. 360 Praschniker 1924, p. 51-53. Although he discussed in detail the grave types, he did not publish the numbers in each category. This limits the possibilities for a statistical study of the grave types in the tumulus necropolis at Apollonia.

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361 See also p. 30 in this thesis.

362 Rey 1932, pp. 7-27.

363 Rey 1932, p. 7; only two pithoi were found, each containing many objects, respectively twelve in pithos I and four in pithos II. Rey unfortunately did not specify how many tile graves or urns were found.

364 The reports of these excavations are unpublished and may be found in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana (see Mano 1959, p. 212, note 1). Anamali (1956, p. 20) recalled three tumuli excavated by Hasan Ceka in 1951. Four more tumuli were excavated in 1956, (see Mano 1959, p. 212). One excavated in 1958-1959 was numbered “Tumulus 1”, and consequently the previously excavated four must have been renumbered 2-5 (not including the previous three tumuli excavated by Ceka). Tumuli 6 and 7 were excavated by Dimo in the 1980’s (the author numbers them 2 and 3 clearly starting his numbering after Tumulus 1 excavated by Mano). Tumulus 8 was excavated by the Albanian-French project in Apollonia and Tumulus 9 by the International Center for Albanian Archaeology in 2002.
Mano excavated four tumuli burials to the east of the ancient city.\textsuperscript{365} These tumuli burials were situated to the northeast of the village of Kryegjata, on the side of the road that leads to Radostina, 600-700 m distant from the ancient city’s acropolis.\textsuperscript{366} A total of 17 graves was uncovered from the excavations of these four tumuli burials, seven of which were limestone sarcophagi; other grave types were pithoi, tile graves, and urns.\textsuperscript{367}

The other tumulus that Mano excavated near Apollonia was situated northeast of the ancient city, about 1200 m from the acropolis. It had a diameter of about 20 m and measured 3.90 m in height.\textsuperscript{368} This tumulus burial provided a total of 136 graves, and is one of the largest that has been excavated in Apollonia.\textsuperscript{369}

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<th>Sarcophagus</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pithos/amphora inhumation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit graves</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora-urn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudbrick</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cenotaph</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6: 6th - 5th century B.C. grave types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tile graves</th>
<th>26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pit graves</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudbrick</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No construction (cremation)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick graves</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora-urn</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7: 4th - 2nd century B.C. grave types**

Mano has analyzed in depth the tumulus its graves and grave goods, but there are some discrepancies regarding the total number of graves found during the excavation. Although officially the number of graves is 136, not all of them are listed correctly in the respective

\textsuperscript{365} Mano 1959.
\textsuperscript{366} Mano (1959, fig. 1) provides a map of the area and the location of these tumuli.
\textsuperscript{367} See Mano 1959.
\textsuperscript{368} Mano 1978, p. 60 and fig. 1, for the location of Tumulus 1 with respect to the acropolis and the previously excavated tumuli.
\textsuperscript{369} Consult tables provided in Mano 1977-1978, pp. 59-70. See also Tables 6 and 7 where total counts of the excavated graves have been provided. These numbers have facilitated my discussion on the presence of sarcophagi at Apollonia later in the chapter.
chronological tables; it is thus difficult to allocate the graves to specific time periods.\textsuperscript{370} Furthermore, there is an almost complete absence of burials belonging to the middle of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. at tumulus 1.\textsuperscript{371}

Two decades after the excavation of Tumulus 1 at Apollonia, Dimo excavated two more tumuli in the main tumulus necropolis at Apollonia, numbered consecutively 6 and 7.\textsuperscript{372} Tumulus 6 was situated 250 m. to the southwest of Tumulus 1 excavated by Mano, and 500 m. east of Apollonia’s fortification wall. It had a diameter of ca. 18 m. and a maximum height of 3.50 m.\textsuperscript{373} Seventy one graves were uncovered, among which urns were the predominant rite.\textsuperscript{374}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Grave types & Count \\
\hline
Urn graves & 20 \\
Pit graves & 14 \\
Mud-brick & 10 \\
Tile graves & 9 \\
Sarcophagus & 8 \\
Brick graves & 6 \\
Pithos inhumation & 4 \\
\hline
Total & 71 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 9: Table of grave types – Tumulus 6}
\end{table}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Grave types - Tumulus 6 & \\
\hline
Urn graves & \\
Pit graves & \\
Mud-brick & \\
Tile graves & \\
Sarcophagi & \\
Brick graves & \\
Pithos inhumation & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 8: Histogram of grave types - Tumulus 6}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{370} Graves no. 46 and 109 are missing from the inventory provided by Mano 1971, p. 139. Mano had previously classified in her article Grave 46 as Type 5A (6\textsuperscript{th} – 5\textsuperscript{th} BC) (see Mano 1971, p. 113) and Grave 109 as Type 6B (4\textsuperscript{th} – 2\textsuperscript{nd} BC) (Mano 1971, p. 133).
\textsuperscript{371} Mano 1971, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{372} See above note 319 and Dimo 1987, 1988.
\textsuperscript{373} Dimo 1990, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{374} Dimo 1990, pp. 10-13.
Tumulus 7 was situated to the southeast of tumulus 6; its average diameter was ca. 14-20 m and it had a maximum height of 2 m. Tumulus 7 contained 31 graves, with again a predominance of cremation over inhumation. Many Corinthian vessels were unearthed in Tumulus 7, thus providing some of the earliest pieces found to that date. Dimo has suggested that Tumuli 6 and 7 belonged to the same native tribe since during the gap in use at Tumulus 7, Tumulus 6 attests an increase in the number of burials. One of the major differences between Tumuli 6 and 7 is the absence of sarcophagi from Tumulus 7.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urn graves</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick graves</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile graves</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No construction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pithos inhumation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Grave types - Tumulus 7

Tumulus 8 was excavated by the Albanian-French archaeological mission at Apollonia during two consecutive field seasons in 1995-1996. It was situated in Apollonia’s main necropolis but its position and distance relative to other tumuli has not been published.

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375 The distance between the centers of tumulus 6 and 7 was 17 m (see Dimo 1990, p. 15).
376 Dimo 1990, p. 15.
377 Dimo 1990, p. 15. It seems that Dimo’s records contradict each other; earlier he claims to have found only 30 graves in tumulus 7, but from the individual figures he provides there appear to be 31 graves, see Table 10.
379 See Dimo 1990, p. 140. His conclusion about the use of both tumuli by the same native tribe leaves room for discussion.
380 Dimo 1990, p. 17; Dimo and Fenet 1996, p. 221.
381 Dimo and Fenet (1996, p. 219, fig.1) provide only the position of Tumulus 8 in relation to Apollonia.
skeletal material for this tumulus is under study.\textsuperscript{382} Fourteen graves were excavated at this tumulus, of which the construction type is unclear. Most of the objects date to the end of the Classical period and the Hellenistic period.\textsuperscript{383}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarcophagus</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick / tile graves</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit graves</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Table 11: Grave types - Tumulus 8}

From February to mid-March 2002 the Albanian Rescue Archaeology Unit\textsuperscript{384}, in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana, carried out an excavation in one of the numerous tumuli burials of the necropolis of Apollonia, the ninth excavated to date. The tumulus is situated close to the modern village of Radostina, on the periphery of the necropolis of the ancient city. Sixty six graves were found, including sarcophagi, simple pits, mudbrick, pithoi, amphora burials and brick.\textsuperscript{385} Three main chronological periods of use of the tumulus were identified by the excavators. The first period included the whole 6\textsuperscript{th} and the early 5\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C. The second period started in the second quarter of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century and continued until the

\textsuperscript{382} Dimo and Fenet 1996, p. 222. Also, the excavators of tumulus 9 are examining the skeletal material following the excavation of their tumulus (see Amore 2002). Skeletal material from all other tumuli excavated earlier has not been studied or published.

\textsuperscript{383} Dimo and Fenet 1996, p. 221.

\textsuperscript{384} Amore 2002.

\textsuperscript{385} See Tables 12-13. The percentages of burial types provided by the excavators are subject to change as the study process proceeds; thus the figures given represent only preliminary observations. At least we can see the predominance of pit graves in the tumulus, followed by pithoi and then sarcophagi.
third quarter of the 4th century B.C. The last period included graves until the end of the 4th century B.C.\textsuperscript{386}

During the Hellenistic period pit graves comprise most of the burials. A similar pattern was observed at Apollonia by Praschniker nearly a century earlier. The information collected from all nine tumuli allows us to reconstruct partially the nature of these burials and to examine their associated grave goods. The recent excavation and study of Tumulus 9 may further clarify the burial rites used at Apollonia; nevertheless, it is difficult to assess what is local material in these

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Grave types & Tumulus 9 \\
\hline
Pit graves & 28 \\
Pithos/amphora & 16 \\
Sarcophagus & 8 \\
Mud-brick graves & 7 \\
Unknown & 6 \\
Brick graves & 1 \\
\hline
Total & 66 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 13: Grave types – Tumulus 9}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{386} Amore 2002.
\textsuperscript{387} Amore 2002; See also Mano 1971 and Dimo 1990 for the earliest graves found in the tumulus necropolis at Apollonia.
tumuli burials, since only few finds may belong to the natives, while the rest of the finds are entirely imported.\textsuperscript{388}

**BURIAL RITES AT APOLLONIA AND EPIDAMNOS IN THE ARCHAIC/CLASSICAL PERIOD**

The material culture associated with burials of the period of colonization can contribute to the discussion about the origin of the colonists at Apollonia. In the previous section the types of graves at Apollonia were examined for each of the nine excavated tumuli. This section uses that data in a more detailed examination of the pithoi and limestone sarcophagi burials that usually belong to the earliest period of tumulus construction. For comparative purposes the Epidamnos burial rites during the Archaic period are also briefly discussed.

Mano confidently asserted that “Apollonia, during the first phase of its existence, in the 6\textsuperscript{th} - 5\textsuperscript{th} centuries B.C., had close ties with its metropolis, Corinth”.\textsuperscript{389} On the other hand, Mano also emphasized that “during the late 6\textsuperscript{th} and early 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. there is only a slight presence of Corinthian pottery unveiled from the excavations at Tumulus 1”, which appears to contradict

\textsuperscript{388} The discovery of the grave of an adult female in Tumulus 9 at Apollonia, containing iron spectacle fibulae, bronze bracelets typical for the Mat-Glasinac cultures (similar to examples that are found in the Iron Age tumulus of Kamenica [Korça district], and associated with imported Corinthian skyphoi is very important. Immediately we may think of intermarriages, but I would wait for the final results of the team that excavated the tumulus (see Amore 2002; MRAP 1998, has reported the discovery of a fragment of Protourban pottery in Apollonia’s main necropolis).

\textsuperscript{389} Mano 1971, p. 199.
the previous assertion that Apollonia was ‘very close’ to Corinth,\textsuperscript{390} if political and economic relations are assumed to be coincident.

It is often assumed in the archaeological scholarship that the inhabitants of Apollonia adopted the native rite of tumuli burials for their dead after the establishment of the colony, while colonial burial customs are generally assumed to have duplicated those of the mother-city;\textsuperscript{391} Mano has further suggested that those buried in the tumuli belonged to the native elite.\textsuperscript{392} Anamali also supported a native origin for the tumuli despite the overwhelming presence of imported material.\textsuperscript{393} He concluded that the tumulus rite was either adopted by part of the colonists, or used by members of the local aristocracy who lived in the city.\textsuperscript{394}

Ceka has rejected both Mano’s and Anamali’s conclusions, citing the fact that the native population in the hinterland of Apollonia had abandoned the rite of tumulus burial at least a century before the arrival of the colonists.\textsuperscript{395} Ceka, on the contrary, suggested that this practice was related to the ethnic background of the families of Apollonia’s founders. If Ceka has excluded entirely a native contribution then the tumuli would be a foreign practice. The Corinthians, at that time of the colonization of Apollonia, however, did not use tumuli burials.\textsuperscript{396}

\textsuperscript{390} Mano 1971, p. 199. According to Mano, this minor presence of Corinthian pottery at Tumulus 1 is the result of the strengthening of trade of Attic pottery, which coincides with the time that Tumulus 1 has been used more extensively; see also Beaumont 1952, p. 65. He has suggested a close “connexion of Corinth and her colony at Apollonia”. According to Mano (1986a, p. 157), diminished presence of Corinthian pottery during the late 6th and 5th century B.C. has been observed in Epidamnos and Protourban settlements in Southern Illyria; see also Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{391} Snodgrass 1971, pp. 173-176. If burial rites are generally considered to have been conservative against any alterations, then a fully Corinthian rite would be expected at Apollonia; this however is not the case.

\textsuperscript{392} Mano 1959, pp. 237-239; see also Mano 1971, p. 199.

\textsuperscript{393} Anamali 1956, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{394} Anamali 1956, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{395} Ceka 1998, pp. 124-125.

\textsuperscript{396} See Corinth XIII.
nor did the Corcyreans; instead the latter mainly used pithoi burials, according to Morris,\textsuperscript{397} having radically changed their practices from those of the colonizing Corinthians.

It has also been observed by Morris that further north at the Greek colony of Epidamnos, pithoi cremations similar to those used at Corcyra are common.\textsuperscript{398} Furthermore, Hava Hidri has suggested that the presence of the two common rites (inhumation and cremation) at Epidamnos reflected the colony’s “direct connections” with Corinth and Corcyra.\textsuperscript{399} Unfortunately, Epidamnos has not produced any sarcophagi of any kind. The earliest graves date to the end of the 7th century B.C. and are mostly inhumations, but have not produced evidence concerning the ethnicity of their occupants.\textsuperscript{400} After an initial period of inhumations, during the 6th century B.C. urn cremations become widespread at Epidamnos, and Hidri attributed this to the colonists.\textsuperscript{401} Following Hidri’s conclusion, Ceka has defended the notion of foreign influence in the burial rites by suggesting that the pithoi used at Epidamnos and Apollonia during the 6th century B.C. had a Corcyrean origin.\textsuperscript{402} Ceka, however has not offered any analysis of the clay of these pithoi.\textsuperscript{403} The lack of information weakens his claim, and further studies are needed.

It is clear that Epidamnos did not use limestone sarcophagi, as Apollonia did during the Archaic and early Classical period, nor have any tumuli burials been found associated with the

\textsuperscript{397} Morris 1998, p. 41. See also Fig. 59.
\textsuperscript{399} Hidri 1996, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{400} Hidri 1996, pp. 141-142.
\textsuperscript{401} Hidri 1996, p. 142; this situation would also justify Morris’ suggestion for a Corcyrean influence at Epidamnos, see Morris 1998, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{402} Ceka 1995, p. 455. See also above note 32; Farnsworth et al 1977 have done a neutron analysis of pottery from both Corfu and Corinth; Koehler 1978, provided results of clay analysis from Corinth. Perhaps these studies should be extended to pottery used at Apollonia and the Protourban centers.
\textsuperscript{403} Ceka 1995, p. 455. Ceka has suggested that “essi vengono dallo stesso centro di produzione e hanno un’argilla molto simile alle anfore corinzie. Questi tipi di vasi si trovano anche a Corcira e non si può escludere anche un’ipotesi di produzione corcirese”.
cemetery at Epidamnos. Although limestone sources have been found in hinterland of ancient Epidamnos near the modern town of Maminas and the nearby village of Rubjekë they do not seem to have been widely used by the Greeks at Epidamnos. Myrto found a limestone quarry very close to the fortified hilltop of Karpën (Maminas) and according to him the blocks used on the site’s fortification wall came from that quarry. This picture is very different from that at Apollonia, where limestone was used for the manufacture of sarcophagi and monuments. In the next section the availability of limestone to Apollonia is discussed.

THE LIMESTONE QUARRIES AT KARABURUN

There are several ancient quarries located on the Karaburun peninsula approximately 40 km south of Apollonia. The Karaburun peninsula measures approximately 15 km in length and together with the island of Sazan (4.8 km distant) belong to the geological Sazani Zone. This zone features surface Cretaceous and Palaeogene carbonate formations and limestone.

404 The absence of tumuli at Epidamnos is another element that clearly distinguishes Epidamnos from Apollonia. This absence of tumuli is followed by the absence in the archaeological record of the sarcophagi that on the contrary appear at Apollonia. It is not currently clear whether there is a link between the two elements.
405 Myrto 1990, p. 10. In both quarries limestone blocks of rectangular shape have been found in situ.
406 This observation acknowledges the limited number of constructions belonging to the Greek period. Although some excavations and surveys conducted in and around the modern city of Durres have produced evidence for the use of limestone, no studies to date have been attempted to identify their provenance. The altar excavated by Myrto (1989, pp. 87-108, figs. 4a, 5a, b, c, d.) is the best example of limestone use in Epidamnos during the early periods of the colony; nevertheless Myrto failed to address the origin of the limestone blocks.
409 Zeqo 1987, p. 153. See Fig. 50.
410 Meco and Aliaj 2000, p. 22-27, fig. 10; this zone is the westernmost geological zone in Albania and spatially parallels the Preapulian or Paxos zone of the Hellenides.
411 Meco and Aliaj 2000, p. 23-27, figs. 5-7, 9.
The highest peak of the Karaburun peninsula is Koreta (826 masl), which can be clearly seen within the bay of Vlora, Apollonia, or from outside in the Ionian sea.

Limestone quarries ring the peninsula but they are concentrated on its eastern side, facing the bay of Vlora (Fig. 62). Only one quarry is located on the outer side, which is one of the largest quarries discovered in that area of the peninsula.\(^{412}\) The quarries have vertical drops, which range from a few meters to 130 m;\(^ {413}\) they are found on the sea shore in several cases partially or totally submerged (Figs. 51-52).\(^ {414}\) It remains difficult to assess the techniques used for the extraction of stones at Karaburun, and in general limestone quarries from the Greek world have received less attention in publication than marble quarries.\(^ {415}\)

In the Karaburun quarries the most common technique of extracting the limestone blocks (Fig. 53) seems to have been by cutting separation trenches on three sides of the block\(^{416}\) and then separating the block from beneath using iron bars.\(^{417}\) Scaffolding traces can be seen throughout the quarries (Fig.54-55), which are similar to those in other quarries in the Mediterranean.\(^ {418}\) The blocks seem to have been removed by lowering them down from the quarry to the transportation site, which in many cases was a small dock on the shore.\(^ {419}\)

Underwater research has indicated the presence of several ships and many rough-blocks of

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\(^{412}\) Zeqo 1987, p. 154, 157-158. The Grammata quarry is the largest; it has been estimated that 3 million m\(^3\) of limestone has been quarried there since the quarry started production. This quarry is also the only quarry where a large number of inscriptions (over 200) from the Hellenistic period and afterwards have been found (see Drini 1996).

\(^{413}\) Zeqo 1987, p. 155. The latter height was recorded on the Mermer (marble) quarry on the eastern side of Karaburun (see Drini 1996, p.121, fig. 1).

\(^{414}\) Ceka and Zeqo 1984, p. 130-134; Zeqo 1987.

\(^{415}\) Waelkens et al. 1988, p. 95, discuss the lack of substantial research on limestone quarries around the Mediterranean.

\(^{416}\) Zeqo 1987, p. 155. These trenches measure 12-25 cm in width.

\(^{417}\) Zeqo 1987, p. 155. Zeqo has not discussed the fact that wooden bars could also be used to extract the blocks in some examples.

\(^{418}\) Kozelj 1988, p. 53, fig. 8.

\(^{419}\) Most of the quarries are by the sea where traces of docks have been found, see Ceka and Zeqo 1984, p. 130, and, Zeqo 1987, p. 156.
various shapes lying now underwater near the peninsula and in various locations in the bay of Vlora. On the other hand no traces have been found so far of sarcophagi already roughed out in the Karaburun quarries; thus it appears that the limestone blocks were transported elsewhere after they were quarried, most probably to their final destination, to be carved into their final form.

Ceka and Zeqo have suggested that the Greek colony of Oricum, situated at the end of the bay (Fig. 49) and in close proximity to the quarries, might have controlled the quarries for an undetermined time. Zeqo has further suggested that, as a result of exercising control over the quarries and developing a ship-building industry, the site of Oricum reached its height of development during the 3rd – 1st centuries B.C. We have no literary evidence supporting this suggestion that Oricum controlled these quarries nor that it had a large-scale ship-building industry. If this were true, Oricum must have had an enormous population producing those ships in addition to people working in the quarries. The almost year-round nature of both quarrying and ship-building industries makes it unlikely that a city of the relatively small size of Oricum could have carried out this dual enterprise on the scale attested. Apollonia, on the other hand, at approximately the same time had a much larger population and as a result a larger workforce than Oricum.

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420 Ceka and Zeqo 1984, p. 130-131, fig. 4; Zeqo 1987, p. 156, fig. 7. So far we know that columns were carved in the Karaburun quarries, but no date has been given by the authors. More study of the several wrecks around the Karaburun peninsula might reveal information about their cargo. A reconstruction of these wrecks will pave the way for a study of their possible carrying capacity.


423 Ceka 1982, p. 133, has suggested for Apollonia a population of ca. 50,000-60,000 during the 4th-3rd century B.C. based on calculations of the city size and the inhabited area outside the city walls.
Apollonian involvement in the entire operation seems probable to me, from the extraction of the blocks to their transportation.\textsuperscript{424} It seems plausible that sea transportation was preferred to ground transportation, as evidenced by the docks. If ground transportation took place at all, it would have required both more time and more energy\textsuperscript{425} to reach any city in the vicinity of Karaburun.\textsuperscript{426} Nevertheless these quarries would have been profitable since the material could be loaded directly onto sea-going vessels and sent to their destinations.

In conclusion, the sarcophagi would have required a substantial expenditure by the colonists; although they account for only 1/6 of all the graves excavated so far in the tumulus necropolis of Apollonia,\textsuperscript{427} their presence is noticeable. The costs of cutting and transporting these massive sarcophagi from the quarries at Karaburun to Apollonia could have been a limiting factor, causing the decrease in their use, which has been observed during the excavations. Thus it may be suggested that they would have not been initially available to all echelons of the population,\textsuperscript{428} but only to those in Apollonian society economically capable of obtaining them.\textsuperscript{429} In later periods, other burial types, such as tile graves had a wider use; the sarcophagi declined in use until they ceased altogether. It is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate further into

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item We may never know who controlled the quarries, or who worked there. Research should be resumed in them. The first priority is producing accurate and complete plans, before the focus of the study can be expanded.
\item Dworakowska 1975, p. 94-97. Dworakowska’s suggestion that the “haulage of stone has always been, and still is, a most cumbersome and expensive business” further supports our idea that sea transportation must have been preferred at Karaburun.
\item The Karaburun peninsula has steep slopes and no traces of any ancient roads have been found so far. The modern road is largely constructed on rock and it remains still extremely difficult to travel; currently it is used only by the Albanian military since a large part of the Karaburun peninsula is within a naval base, as is the colony of Oricum (see Figs. 60-61).
\item Based on the numbers provided by the excavators in Tables 6-13, I have calculated that there were at least 330 graves excavated at Apollonia (main necropolis) that can be divided in different types; among them sarcophagi are the third most common after pit and tile graves.
\item Shepherd 1995, p. 62.
\item The sarcophagi also have a monumental character; some reach over 2 m in length.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the period when Apollonia became a Roman colony; that period raises other issues and would require a detailed study.
CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examined the archaeological and literary evidence pertaining to the hinterland of the Greek colony at Apollonia. I have attempted to estimate the size of the hora of Apollonia during the 7th – mid 5th century B.C., to recreate the locations of sites in the landscape, and to assess the interaction between native sites and between native sites and Apollonia. In the first chapter of this thesis the geographical setting of the areas of Myzeqe and Mallakastra was described. All the major and smaller rivers, mountains, and valleys were thoroughly examined. I have concluded that the hora of Apollonia extended as far north as the Aoos (Seman) river, as far west as the Adriatic sea, as far south as the Vjosa river, and as far east and southeast as Mt. Čarrishtë, Mt. Trebeshinë and Mt. Shëndëlli.

The survey of the geography of the area was followed by a detailed history of archaeological research. I divided my review of the scholarship into two main periods based on the date of the study: 1) before WWII and 2) after WWII. For the period before WWII the observations provided by Leake during his travels in Albania and the research conducted by Patsch, Praschniker and Schober, and Hammond were discussed. The summary on the scholarship concerning Protourban settlements that were discovered after WWII took the following form: first, the excavations conducted at the site of Klos were considered followed by the excavations of the other main hilltop settlements in the area, Margëllïç and Mashkjezë. The most recent archaeological research of the Albanian-French project at Apollonia and the survey organized by MRAP in part of Apollonia’s hinterland followed.

In the second chapter, with a view to reconstructing the settlement patterns in the area of Apollonia and the interaction between these sites, I discussed sixteen sites with reference to their
local Protourban and imported pottery, their position in the landscape, and the areas they occupied during the Protourban period. Pottery was divided between two major groups of local and imported wares, and was described when possible. Archaeological research in most of these settlements has been superficial and provides minimal information and thus restricting our interpretation of the intra-settlement complexity, and the inter-settlement relations. Nevertheless, it was clear that these sites manifested similarities regarding their fortifications and pottery. These elements were presented in detail in the third chapter in order to identify similarities between the sites.

The third chapter included a series of sections, the first of which outlined the methods by which the Protourban sites had been discovered and investigated. The results of this investigation were as follows: extensive survey/excavation have been the main method of identifying settlements, accounting for 37.5 percent of the total. Extensive survey alone has revealed 25 percent of the sites. Sites identified by means of agricultural activity/excavation make up 18.75 percent of the total, while the sites for which the method of identification was only agricultural activity (one case) are the remaining 6.25 percent.

In the second section of the third chapter I presented the available evidence concerning the social organization of the local population during the Protourban period. One of the key ways of identifying social organization is to analyze the mortuary evidence. In contrast to Apollonia’s main necropolis, the lack of burials associated with any Protourban settlements has prohibited me from reaching any secure conclusions regarding social organization. I have concluded that more archaeological research is needed to identify these burial grounds, and therefore allow us a more complete understanding of social organization.
The third section of the third chapter provided a comparison of archaeological evidence from all the settlements during the Protourban period. My analysis showed that of all sixteen sites only the settlement of Mashkjezë had revealed traces of both a fortification wall and residential structures, while at the sites of Marinëz and Strum remains of houses built of stones and mudbrick were found. Six sites revealed no fortification, four sites had fortifications, and two more sites had possible traces of a fortification wall.

The fourth section of this chapter consisted of a survey of the topographical location of these Protourban sites in an attempt to move towards an understanding of their geographical relationship to the landscape. It was possible to observe that the sites under study were positioned on, or very close to the respective valleys of Gjanica and Vjosa River. Several of these sites such as that of Margëlliç had been located in favorable positions with good visibility over the surrounding area. Margëlliç’s intervisibility with other sites was noted and it was suggested that in the future more work on intervisibility issues pertaining to Protourban sites should be done. My research showed that during the Protourban period (7th to mid 5th century B.C.) the hora of the Greek colony of Apollonia was intensively inhabited and the landscape was dotted with hilltops and open-air settlements.

The third chapter also dealt with trade during the Protourban period, for the purpose of providing a better insight into the connections between the Protourban settlements and the other areas of the Mediterranean. The appearances of imported pottery in the hora of Apollonia, namely Corinthian and Ionian but also from other regions of Greece, were investigated. Corinthian Type A and Type B amphoras started to appear in Protourban sites by the end of the 7th century B.C and continued for several centuries, as excavations have revealed. During the 5th
Attic pottery was also found in many Protourban sites. The local pottery showed common features that indicates that these settlements were in close contact with each other. Moreover, the presence of imported pottery from various production centers, such as Corinth, Ionia and Attica, in almost all settlements indicated that there was trade between Apollonia and these centers, which grew in scale towards the 5th century B.C. A more detailed analysis of the means by which this pottery was imported would give a clearer picture of the relationship between the Protourban settlements and the Greek world.

Having noticed a lack of burials pertaining to the Protourban period for the sites under study, which contrasts greatly the abundance of tumuli at Apollonia I deemed it necessary to discuss the burial rites at Apollonia and the factors that may have influenced the Greeks there to adopt the use of tumuli. This contrast is more striking when one considers that the use of tumuli was widespread in other regions of Southern Illyria. The use of tumuli in the hinterland of Apollonia is anomalous. Tumuli are used by natives throughout Southern Illyria, yet in Apollonia we see the archaeological evidence telling a different tale. In Apollonia’s main necropolis, the colonizing Greeks were using the tumuli while there is almost no evidence of any type of formal or informal mortuary sites for the natives. This has led to questions being asked about the origins of these colonists and their relationship with the native populations. In order to address these issues, I, first, investigated the origins of colonists of Apollonia. Both ancient sources and modern scholarship are divided as from where the colonists that established Apollonia came from. Suggestions of a Corinthian, Corinthian/Corcyrean or only Corcyrean origin were suggested. Then, in the second section, a history of excavation and research conducted on the main Apollonian necropolis was provided, the excavated tumuli burials were described, and figures on the types of graves were presented.
The third section focused on the burial rites of Apollonia and Epidamnos/Dyrrachium during the Archaic period. The presence of tumuli burials at Apollonia and their absence from Epidamnos was discussed. Also, there were opposing ideas in the scholarship regarding the issue of ethnicity of the occupants of the tumuli. Mano has suggested that those buried in the tumuli at Apollonia belonged to the native elite while Anamali has supported a native origin of the tumuli despite the overwhelming presence of imported material. Ceka has rejected both Mano’s and Anamali’s suggestions, defending the idea that this practice was related to the ethnic background of the families of Apollonia’s founders.

The use of pithoi and limestone sarcophagi received particular attention. At the Greek colony of Epidamnns/Dyrrachium there were no sarcophagi in use before the Roman period, while Apollonia had used them for some time during the Archaic and early Classical period. Morris has suggested a Corcyrean influence in the use of pithoi at Epidamnos, while Ceka extended the Corcyrean influence also at Apollonia, having not offered any conclusive evidence on the source of the clay used in the pithoi. I continued the examination of the sarcophagi at the last section of the fourth chapter, which was a survey of the limestone quarries in the vicinity of Apollonia and investigated the various ways that limestone could have been brought to Apollonia. Methods used for extracting the limestone and the presence of shipwrecks near the quarries carrying limestone blocks suggested that the sea was the preferred method of transportation.

Overall, I have concluded that the Protourban settlements dotting the landscape of Myzeqe and Mallakastra, were of a contemporary construction date and had similar patterns in their use of local and imported pottery indicating the existence of a trade network between them and the Mediterranean from the beginning of the Iron Age III/Protourban period. On the other
hand, the study of the burials at Apollonia and the evidence provided by them indicated the limited presence of native material. In contrast, the lack of burials associated to Protourban settlements convinced me that more work is needed in order to find and study them.

It remains to be said that more work using modern methods of archaeological investigation, such as intensive survey combined with limited excavations, can be, and must be initiated in the areas of Myzeqe and Mallakastra to investigate the Protourban settlements. The results of MRAP demonstrate that such work would be of immense value. By conducting more research in the area we would be able to obtain more data for a complete reconstruction of the landscape, life, and economy in antiquity. Furthermore, a reassessment of the imported pottery found in the Protourban settlements must be attempted. In addition, its clays should be analyzed in order to confirm their identification as Corinthian or Corcyrean, or as products of some other pottery production center in the Mediterranean.
ABBREVIATIONS


http://river.blg.uc.edu/MRAP.html


http://river.blg.uc.edu/MRAP.html
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