

DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE SWORDS AND DAGGERS WITH AEGEAN ANALOGIES IN NORTHERN GREECE, ALBANIA, NORTH MACEDONIA, KOSOVO AND SERBIA *

J A R O S Ł A W W Ó J C I K

The northern and northwestern peripheries of Mycenaean culture, including areas in northern Greece, Albania, and to lesser extent North Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia, present a complex and diverse archaeological landscape. This diversity arises primarily from three factors: the local cultural distinctions of middle and late Bronze Age societies in this region, the extent of interaction with Aegean cultures in specific areas, and the varying levels and scope of archaeological research undertaken there. This article seeks to detail the distribution and features of Aegean swords and daggers found in mentioned regions. These artefacts will be examined within the wider context of Aegean, especially Mycenaean, influence in this area. It will help demonstrate trends in different parts of the designated research area, related to local responses to Aegean influences.

Keywords: Balkans, Aegean, Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Swords, Daggers.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the impact of Aegean cultures, especially Mycenaean, to the north has a long tradition in archaeological research. One of the main themes in this field has been the diffusion of Aegean weapons and their imitations into the northern peripheral/marginal zones. It has been approximately 30 years since the major contributions in the *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* series (Harding 1995; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; Papadopoulos 1998) which gathered information on daggers and swords from this area. Our understanding of interactions between the Aegean world and its peripheries has been expanded. Significant new finds from sites such as Liatovouni and Kato Konitsa in Epirus, Aiani in Western Macedonia, burial sites unearthed in Pieria, singular finds from the northern part of the area under study, supplement the insights provided by the most influential works of K. Kilian (1976), A. F. Harding (1984), J. Bouzek (1985), K. Wardle (1993), Th. F. Tartaron (2005) and other authors. The aim of this study is to integrate old and new data about the weapon finds into the existing framework of connections of the Aegean cultures with their northern neighbours.

In the following study, swords and daggers with Aegean analogies (both imports and imitations) found in Epirus, Western and Central Macedonia in Greece, Albania, and a few examples from North Macedonia, Kosovo, and Serbia are discussed. The chronological range of these artefacts spans the periods MM/MH I–LM/LH IIIC in Aegean chronology.

In the studied area, a varied degree of Aegean influence is observable. The earliest Aegean interactions, likely through maritime routes and on a limited scale, are evident along the Chalkidiki Peninsula and in the southern part of Thessaloniki Plain. This is indicated by discoveries of Middle Helladic True Gray Minyan, matt-painted, and Late Helladic II pottery in coastal sites such as Agios Mamas, Molyvopyrgos, Torone, and Toumba Thessaloniki (Horejs 2007; Jung 2010, 659; Pavúk 2012, 24). The first ceramic imports also appear in Pieria, encompassing Minyan pottery in Valtos Leptokarya and LH IIB at the Pighi Artemidos site, where land contact with Thessaly is likely (Koulidou 2021, 429). Similar early influences are noted on the opposite side of the Balkan Peninsula, manifested in Albania by the appearance of pottery interpreted as imitations of MH Minyan pottery (pseudo-Minyan), the first Late Helladic ceramic imports (Vapheio cup from Pazhok, LH IIA), and the first Cycladic, Minoan, and Mycenaean metal artefacts, notably daggers, swords, spearheads, and straight-back knives (Jung 2010, 665; Onnis 2008, 14–17). The early phase of contact likely also included the southern part of Serbia, as evidenced by the discovery of a dagger in the Minoan tradition at the Lipovacko Gradiste site (Filipović/Milojević 2015, 16).

During the Palatial period (LH IIIA–B), Mycenaean contacts intensified and expanded into previously unreached areas in Macedonia. Mycenaean-type artefacts spread along major rivers – the Vardar, Struma, and Halicamon, and from Thessaly across traversable mountain passes. This phase is

* The paper was supported by the VEGA grant project 2/0017/24.

characterized by imports from the core Mycenaean area, as well as the production of local imitations of Helladic pottery, indicating regional preferences for selected Helladic forms, and also the production of matt-painted pottery (*Andreou/Psaraki 2007, 416*). In Western Macedonia, Aegean type figurines and a fragment of pottery with Linear script also appear (*Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 127*). Pieria, the southwestern part of Central Macedonia, shows a high concentration of Mycenaean-type artefacts in cemeteries (Agios Dimitrios-Spathes, Rema Xydias, Trimpina, Voulkani-Leivithra), including pottery, swords, seals, axe-razors, and glass beads, displaying Thessalian influences. However, there is no evidence of Mycenaean most characteristic tomb types – tholoi and chamber tombs with dromos in this area (*Koulidou 2021, 429, 430; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 45–62*). To the north, Mycenaean influences are visible in the area along the middle and upper Vardar, evidenced by finds of local imitations of Mycenaean pottery, singular sword and double axe of Aegean type, occurring in the so-called Vardar or Ulançi Group in North Macedonia (*Mitrevski 2022, 64–78*). The finds of swords from the northern border of the studied area – from Kosovo and Serbia – possibly should be dated to this period or a bit earlier, to the LH/LM IIB (*Filipović/Milanović/Milojević 2015, 17; Harding 1995, 22*).

In Epirus, the strongest Mycenaean influences during the palatial period are visible in its southwestern part, near the mouth of Acheron River and in the vicinity of Ambracian Gulf. A small-scale migration of people from provincial Mycenaean areas, such as Aitolokarnania or the Ionian Islands, is suggested by the emergence of a tholos tomb in Kiperi and a settlement with cyclopean walls on Xylokastró hill (Ephyra). The Mycenaean influence in the Epirote interior and the northern part of the coast is significantly weaker, in the settlements, a relatively small quantity of Mycenaean pottery appears; single ceramic vessels, swords, daggers and spearheads in the Aegean tradition are also found in a few cist graves. Tools with Mycenaean analogies also appear, mainly double axes and straight-back knives (*Tartaron 2004, 145, 154, 155*).

In Albania, during the LH IIIA–B period, there is a notable discrepancy in the quantity of Mycenaean ceramics compared to Mycenaean metal artefacts like double-edged axes, straight-back knives, Aegean swords, and spearheads. Metal artefacts with Aegean analogies are found in abundance during this period, mainly in the valleys of the Devoll, Drin, and along the middle course of the Mat River, in central Albania. However, ceramic finds from this period are very rare, confirmed only at the sites of Margëllic and Sovjan (*Onnis 2008, 18*).

The post-palatial period (LH IIIC) initially brings a significant increase in imitations of Helladic pottery in Central Macedonian tells, followed by their disappearance (Assiros) or gradual integration of proto-geometric elements (in Kastanas; *Wardle 1993, 134, 135*). This chronological phase is poorly recognized in Western Macedonia and Pieria, with only a few artefacts found in Rema Xydias, Trimpina, and Treis Elies (*Horejs 2012, 135, 136; Koulidou 2021, 417; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 64–67*). A decrease in the quantity and quality of Aegean-style pottery and the emergence of the first hand-made imitations are recorded in Epirus. In terms of pottery, there is a preference for Mycenaean kylixes. At the same time, bronze objects are mainly represented by Type F swords and spearheads, some of which have Late Helladic analogies. They are dated to the LH IIIB–C period. This period also marks the end of settlement in Ephyra, where burial mounds appear in the settlement area (*Onnis 2008, 26*). In Albania, the largest quantity of ceramics with Mycenaean analogies is dated to this period (about 15 complete vessels and a small number of fragments), with most found in cemeteries, especially in Tumulus I in Barç, and a few fragments in the Sovjan settlement and in Tren cave (*Tsonos 2017, 329*). However, their distribution is limited only to the southern and southeastern parts of the country (Aos valley and Korçë plain), while the quantity of metal artefacts with Aegean analogies significantly decreases. In terms of swords and daggers, one sword from Barç may be derived from Aegean Type G, and a Type D sword from Këlcyrë, was found alongside a lekythos dated to this period (*Onnis 2008, 21*).

DAGGERS AND SWORDS WITH AEGEAN ANALOGIES

In various archaeological typologies, the distinction between swords and daggers was usually defined by the criterion of length – blades reaching a length below a certain limit were considered daggers, while longer ones were classified as swords. Different authors, however, defined this boundary value differently, with most works placing it in the range of 25–35 cm (*Taracha 2004, 8*). In archaeological typologies, however, the shape of the shoulders and the hilt often has greater significance than length, as is the case with Aegean swords and daggers. Therefore, within the same archaeological types, there are specimens that are classified as swords from a functional point of view, as well as specimens that can be classified as daggers. This led to a situation where some of the described items from the working area were included in the series Prähis-

torische Bronzefunde in publications concerning both of these groups of artefacts (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; Papadopoulos 1998). In this work, the boundary value distinguishing swords from daggers was set at 30 cm (following Harding 1995, 6), but the finds were organized according to a typology based primarily on the shape of the shoulders and the tang or, in the absence of it (tangless daggers), based on the shape of the end part of the blade and the placement of the rivets.

Additionally, the concept of the 'rapier' exists in Aegean archaeology, referring to swords of considerable length and narrow blade, equipped with a pronounced midrib (Harding 1995, 20). Specimens of weapons that can be described as 'rapier' appear within types A (nearly 80% of swords of this type are over 70 cm in length, although shorter specimens also occur), Ci, and single specimens of type D (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61; Molloy 2010, 404; Taracha 2004, 17).

Tangless Daggers

Perhaps the earliest artefact that can be classified in this group are daggers assigned to Type IIb in Branigan's typology (so-called 'heart-shaped triangular daggers') with most of the examples found on Crete and Southern Cyclades and dated to EM III–MM I. Two daggers of this type were uncovered in the area under study. The dagger from Vodhinë (Tab. 1: 49) in Albania was discovered in the tumulus, in grave 16, which was likely a cremation grave, accompanied by ceramic artefacts. According to A. Harding, this burial should be dated much later, to the LH IIIC period, suggesting that the dagger was an heirloom passed down through generations for about 500 years (Harding 1984, 170). Second dagger is a single find from Lipovacko Gradiste (Tab. 1: 31) in Serbia. Another example from Serbia, found in Klicevac may be connected to this type, but it differs in shape, the butt of the blade is not as wide as in the other daggers of this type (Filipović/Milojević 2015, 18–21). Further artefact with Aegean analogies in this group appear in Albania during the MH III–LH I/II period. These are tangless daggers in Th. J. Papadopoulos' (1998) typology, characterized by a relatively short (about 20 cm), wide, tapering or ogival blade. There are two variants, differentiated by the presence or absence of a midrib. The closest to Aegean examples is the dagger from Pazhok (Tab. 1: 40), found in Tumulus I. In the study area, three more similar daggers have been discovered in Epirus, in Dodona (Tab. 1: 12–14).

For the finds from Dodona, the exact context is not known; they likely originate from a prehistoric

settlement (Papadopoulos 1998, 5; Soueref 1986, pl. 51: IIa, IIb, IIc; Tsonos 2015, tab. 16). These specimens, like most illustrated by Th. J. Papadopoulos (1998), have three rivets securing the organic part of the handle, positioned in a straight, horizontal line. Two of them feature very wide blades with rounded tips. One of the daggers is quite unique – it has only notches for rivets at the end, rather than holes as in the other examples. C. Kleitsas dates them from the end of the Middle Helladic to the end of the Late Helladic period. The Middle Helladic and LH I–II periods in Dodona and more broadly, in all of Epirus, are poorly attested archaeologically, possibly first Aegean influences should be dated here to LH IIIA period (Kleitsas 2021, 80, 81).

This group of artefacts also includes, according to some authors, daggers with a triangular grip-plate and three triangularly positioned, massive rivets, appearing in Albania (Tsonos 2015, tab. 15). According to A. Harding, this type has no Aegean analogies, but rather originates from central and northern Italy (Harding 1984, 170).

Type A

One of the earliest indications of Aegean influence in the studied area is the presence of Karo's Type A swords or similar variants. These swords are characterized by a long (typically 70–100 cm), narrow blade with a distinct midrib. The shoulders of the sword are rounded, featuring an underdeveloped, narrow tang. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier identifies three variants of Type A based on the number and arrangement of rivets on the tang. These swords emerged in Aegean cultures during the MM/MH II–LH IIIA1 period, though examples predating MM/MH III are rare. The most significant concentrations are found in central and eastern Crete and in the Peloponnese; the type is also widespread, with similar examples discovered in Romania and Bulgaria (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 28; Molloy 2010, 404, 405).

In the region discussed in the article, three Type A swords have been discovered, all in Albania, at the sites of Midhë, Pazhok, Vajzë (Fig. 1; Pl. I). The sword from Vajzë (Tab. 1: 47), classified as variant 3 ('*Schwerter mit drei nicht sehr kräftigen Pflocknieten in der langen Griffzunge und zwei dünneren Nieten in der Schultern*') according to I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology (1993, 18), is closely aligned with Aegean examples. It was found in cremation grave 12, in tumulus I, and is believed to be an import from Crete, dating back to MH III. The grave's further contents – a shoe-shaped spearhead, a spearhead with two oval openings in the blade (Cycladic type), a knife, and a kantharos with high handles – also exhibit Aegean analogies (Onnis 2008, 16). The sword from Pazhok

Tab. 1. Catalogue of finds of Aegean swords, daggers, pommels and fragments of sword sheaths in the area of Epirus, Macedonia, Albania, North Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia.

No.	Site	Country, region	Context	Type	Chronology	Literature
1	Agios Dimitrios-Spathes	Greece, Central Macedonia, Pieria regional unit	cist grave	type C in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1a2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology; horned dagger, variant B in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Eder 2008; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 44; Papadopoulos 1998, 17; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 60; Touchais 2002, 214</i>
2	Agios Dimitrios-Spathes	Greece, Central Macedonia, Pieria regional unit	cist grave no. 8	type Gi in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 2a2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIB	<i>Eder 2008; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 48; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 58, 59; Touchais 2002, 214</i>
3	Aiani	Greece, Western Macedonia, Kozani regional unit	cemetery	type Di in Sandars' typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123</i>
4	Aiani	Greece, Western Macedonia, Kozani regional unit	inhumation grave	type C in Sandars' typology; type 1a or 1b in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Jung 2018, 243; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123</i>
5	Barç	Albania, Korçë County	burial mound I, grave 162	type G in Sandars' typology; similar to Hörnerschwert 3b in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIC	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 50; Onnis 2008, 22; Touchais 2002, 212</i>
6	Bruç	Albania, Dibra County	unknown	type Di in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 1e in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15; Wardle 1993, 126</i>
7	Burrel	Albania, Dibra County	tumulus cemetery	type C in Sandars' typology	LH IIIA	<i>Andrea 1983–1984, 106, 107; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15</i>
8	Burrel	Albania, Dibra County	tumulus cemetery	type C in Sandars' typology	LH IIIA	<i>Andrea 1983–1984, 106, 107; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15</i>
9	Dodona	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	unknown	type Ci in Sandars' typology; type Hörnerschwert 1b2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 47; Onnis 2008, 23; Touchais 2002, 213; Wardle 1993, 125</i>
10	Dodona	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	settlement	type Fii in Sandars' typology; type F2C2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 85; Onnis 2008, 25; Touchais 2002, 213</i>
11	Dodona	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	unknown or from the area of later Temple of Zeus	type Fii in Sandars' typology; type F2C2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 85; Onnis 2008, 25; Papadopoulos 1998, 25, 26; Touchais 2002, 213</i>
12	Dodona	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	unknown	tangless dagger, type I, variant A in Papadopoulos' typology	MH (III?)–LH III	<i>Kleitsas 2021, 79, 80; Papadopoulos 1998, 5; Soueref 1986, pl. 51: lii; Touchais 2002, 213</i>
13	Dodona	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	unknown	tangless dagger, type I in Papadopoulos' typology	MH (III?)–LH III	<i>Kleitsas 2021, 79, 80; Soueref 1986, pl. 51: lia; Touchais 2002, 213</i>
14	Dodona	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	unknown	tangless dagger, type I in Papadopoulos' typology	MH (III?)–LH III	<i>Kleitsas 2021, 79, 80; Soueref 1986, pl. 51: lib; Touchais 2002, 213</i>
15	Elaphotopos-Kalivia (erroneously listed as Kalbaki in <i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998</i>)	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	unknown	type Fii in Sandars' typology; probably variant F2C2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology; cruciform, variant D in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 85; Papadopoulos 1998, 26; Papaioannou 2004; Touchais 2002, 213; Wardle 1993, 128</i>
16	Gërmenj	Albania, Fier County	unknown, possibly grave	type D in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 1e in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Andrea 1981, 224, 225; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61; Onnis 2008, 18, 23; Touchais 2002, 212; Wardle 1993, 126</i>
17	Gërmenj	Albania, Fier County	unknown, possibly grave	type Ci in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1b2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA	<i>Andrea 1981, 224, 225; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 45; Onnis 2008, 18; Touchais 2002, 212; Wardle 1993</i>
18	Grevena	Greece, Western Macedonia, Grevena regional unit	unknown	type D in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 1e in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61; Touchais 2002, 214; Wardle 1993, 126</i>
19	Grevena	Greece, Western Macedonia, Grevena regional unit	unknown	type C in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1a4 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 45; Touchais 2002, 214; Wardle 1993, 125</i>

Tab. 1. Continuation.

No.	Site	Country, region	Context	Type	Chronology	Literature
20	Guvnishtë	Serbia, Braničevo District	single find	type C in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert similar to 1a or 1b in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Filipović/Milanovic/Milojević 2015</i> , 10, 11; <i>Jung 2018</i> , 243
21	Iglarevo	Kosovo, Mitrovica District	inhumation grave	type C in Sandars' typology; type Hörnerschwert in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH II B–III A2	<i>Harding 1995</i> , 21; <i>Jung 2018</i> , 243, 244
22	Iglarevo	Kosovo, Mitrovica District	inhumation grave	unknown type	LH II B–III A2	<i>Harding 1995</i> , 21; <i>Jung 2018</i> , 243, 244; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 212
23	Kalbaki	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	cist grave A	type Fii in Sandars' typology; type F2C1 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology; cruciform, variant D in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 85; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 25; <i>Papadopoulos 1998</i> , 26; <i>Papaioannou 2004</i> ; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 130
24	Kastritsa	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	cist grave	type Fii in Sandars' typology; type F2A2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology; cruciform, variant D in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Dakaris 1968</i> , 34; <i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 83; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 25; <i>Papadopoulos 1998</i> , 26; <i>Papaioannou 2004</i> ; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 213; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 128
25	Katakali	Greece, Western Macedonia, Grevena regional unit	cist grave	type G in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 2a1 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIC–sub-mycenaean	<i>Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013</i> , 119; <i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 48
26	Kato Konitsa	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	probably grave	type Dii in Sandars' typology; type Kreuzschwert 2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA2–B	<i>Kleitsas 2017</i> , 252, 253
27	Këlcyrë	Albania, Gjirokastrë County	cist grave in destroyed burial mound	type Dii in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 2a in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Bodinaku 1988</i> , 35, 36; <i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 63; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 18; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 212; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 130
28	Komsi	Albania, Dibra County	unknown, possibly from a tumulus	type Cii in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1a4 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIB–IIIA1	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 45; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 212; <i>Tsonos 2015</i> , tab. 15; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 125
29	Liatovouni	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	cemetery, from a disturbed grave	type D in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Douzougli 1996</i> , 56; <i>Douzougli/Papadopoulos 2010</i> , 22; <i>Kleitsas 2017</i> , 255; <i>Papaioannou 2004</i> , pl. 16e
30	Liatovouni	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	cemetery, inhumation grave 59	type Fii in Sandars' typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Douzougli/Papadopoulos 2010</i> , 23; <i>Papaioannou 2004</i> , pl. 16b
31	Lipovacko Gradiste	Serbia, Braničevo District	single find	tangless dagger, type IIb in Brannigann's typology	EH III–MH I	<i>Filipović/Milojević 2015</i> , 16–20
32	Mazaraki	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	cist grave	type D in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 1f in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology; cruciform, variant E in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 62; <i>Kleitsas 2017</i> , 257, 258; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 25; <i>Papadopoulos 1998</i> , 27; <i>Papaioannou 2004</i> ; <i>Vokotopoulou 1969</i> , 192, 193; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 126
33	Mesogephyra	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	possibly from disturbed grave	type Ci in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1b2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 47; <i>Kleitsas 2017</i> , 256; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 23; <i>Papaioannou 2004</i> ; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 213
34	Mesogephyra	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	possibly from disturbed grave	type C in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1b1 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 46; <i>Kleitsas 2017</i> , 256; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 23; <i>Wardle 1993</i>
35	Mesogephyra	Greece, Epirus, Preveza regional unit	unknown	type Fii in Sandars' typology; type F2B2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology; cruciform, variant D in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 84; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 25; <i>Papadopoulos 1998</i> , 26; <i>Tartaron 2004</i> ; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 214
36	Midhë	Albania, Dibra County	tumulus	similar to type A in Sandars' typology; typ A, Sonderform in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH I–II	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 19; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 16, 17; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 212; <i>Tsonos 2015</i> , tab. 15; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 125
37	Nënshat	Albania, Shkodër County	cemetery	type Di in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 1e in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993</i> , 61; <i>Onnis 2008</i> , 18; <i>Touchais 2002</i> , 212; <i>Wardle 1993</i> , 126

Tab. 1. Continuation.

No.	Site	Country, region	Context	Type	Chronology	Literature
38	Paramythia	Greece, Epirus, Thesprotia regional unit	cist grave	type Eii in Sandars' typology; cruciform, variant C in Papadopoulos' typology	LH IIIB	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; Onnis 2008, 25; Papadopoulos 1998, 22, 23; Touchais 2002, 214; Wardle 1993, 130</i>
39	Pazhok	Albania, Elbasan County	inhumation grave no. 7 in tumulus I	similar to type A in Sandars' typology; typ A, Sonderform in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIA	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 19; Onnis 2008, 16, 17; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15; Wardle 1993, 125</i>
40	Pazhok	Albania, Elbasan County	tumulus I	tangless dagger, type I, variant A in Papadopoulos' typology	MH III–LH II	<i>Harding 1984, 170–172; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, pl. 16</i>
41	Pedini	Greece, Epirus, Ioannina regional unit	cist grave	type Fii in Sandars' typology; type F2 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIB–C	<i>Kleitsas 2017, 254; Papaioannou 2004</i>
42	Rrethe Bazje	Albania, Dibra County	cemetery, found in the burial mound	type Di in Sandars' typology; Kreuzschwert 1e in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15; Wardle 1993, 126</i>
43	Shtogj	Albania, Dibra County	tumulus 2, grave 9	type C in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 3a in Killian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 49; Kurti 2017, 215, 229, 231; Onnis 2008, 18; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15; Wardle 1993, 126</i>
44	Tetovo	North Macedonia, Polog statistical region	single find, possibly grave	type C in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1b in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIB–IIIA2	<i>Harding 1995, 21; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 47; Mitrevski 2022, 95; Touchais 2002, 214; Wardle 1993, 125</i>
45	Trimpina	Greece, Central Macedonia, Pieria regional unit	inhumation grave no. 16	type Cii in Sandars' typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Koulidou 2021; Koulidou et al. 2012, 221, 222</i>
46	unknown (Mount Olympus)	Greece, Central Macedonia	unknown	type Cii in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1a4 in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIIA–B	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 45; Koulidou et al. 2012; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 60; Wardle 1993, 125</i>
47	Vajzë	Albania, Vlorë County	cremation grave no. 12 in tumulus I	type A, variant 3 in Sandars' typology; typ A in Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology	MH III–LH IIA	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 18; Onnis 2008, 16, 17; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15; Wardle 1993, 125</i>
48	Varibop	Albania, Gjirokastrë County	grave in damaged tumulus	type Ci in Sandars' typology; Hörnerschwert 1b2 in Killian-Dirlmeier's typology	LH IIB–IIIA1	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 47; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15; Wardle 1993, 125</i>
49	Vodhinë	Albania, Fier County	cremation grave no. 16	type IIb in Branigan's typology	EH III–MH I	<i>Harding 1984, 172; Touchais 2002, 212; Tsonos 2015, pl. 16</i>
50	Agios Dimitrios-Spathes	Greece, Central Macedonia, Pieria regional unit	grave	pommel	unknown	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 74</i>
51	Aiani	Greece, Western Macedonia, Kozani regional unit	grave	chape of a sword's sheath	LH IIIA–B	<i>Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123</i>
52	Ano Komi	Greece, Western Macedonia, Kozani regional unit	grave	chape of a sword's sheath	LH IIIA–B	<i>Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123</i>
53	Assiros	Greece, Central Macedonia, Thessaloniki regional unit	tell settlement, phase 7	pommel, marble	LH IIIC	<i>Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 74; Wardle 1993, 218</i>
54	Iglarevo	Kosovo, Mitrovica District	inhumation grave	chape of a sword's sheath	LH II B–III A2	<i>Harding 1995, 21; Jung 2018, 243, 244</i>
55	Markova Sušica	North Macedonia, Skopje statistical region	inhumation burial, cistgrave	pommel, marble	unknown	<i>Mitrevski 1998, 451; 2022, 95</i>
56	Thessaloniki (Toumba)	Greece, Central Macedonia, Thessaloniki regional unit	settlement find	pommel, marble	unknown	<i>Jung 2018, 244</i>
57	Thessaloniki (Toumba)	Greece, Central Macedonia, Thessaloniki regional unit	settlement find	pommel, marble	unknown	<i>Jung 2018, 244</i>

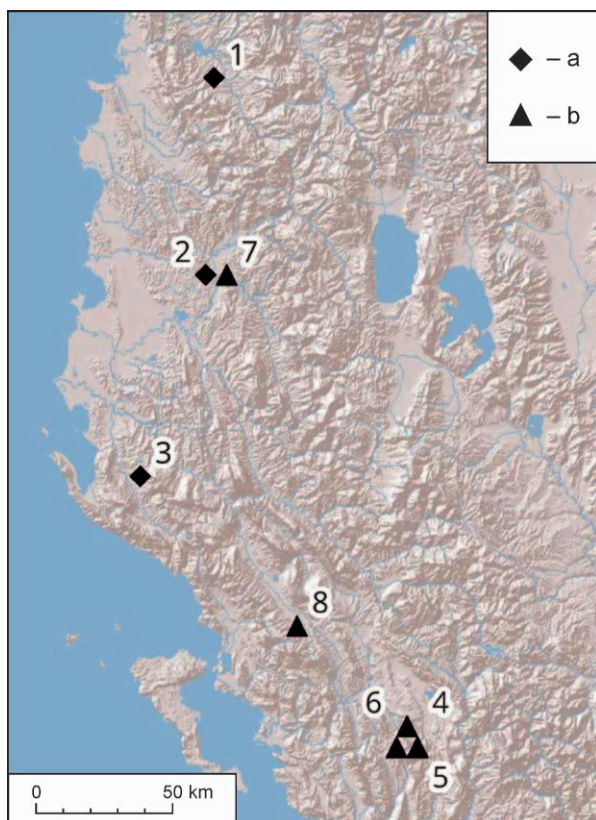


Fig. 1. Distribution map. 1 – Midhë; 2 – Pazhok; 3 – Vajzë; 4–6 – Dodona; 7 – Pazhok; 8 – Vodhinë. Legend: a – type A swords; b – tangless daggers. Author J. Wójcik.

(Tab. 1: 39) was found in Tumulus I in grave 7 in an inhumation burial, accompanied by seven flint arrowheads, a knife, two gold spiral rings, a bulbous amphora, and a Vapheio cup. Notably, the Vapheio cup, variant III, is characteristic for Mycenaean culture and dates to the LH IIA period (Tsonos 2017, 328). Further details about the exact find context of the sword from Midhë (Tab. 1: 36), also unearthed in a grave, remain unknown (Tsonos 2015, tab. 15).

Swords from Midhë and Pazhok are classified by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier as unique variants, diverging from the standard Type A primarily in their wider tang and increased number of rivets securing the organic handle. According to reconstructions by F. Prendi, the organic part of the handle was shaped into horns, resembling Type C swords (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 252). J. Bouzek (1985, 30) proposes closer similarities for these two swords with long examples found in Bulgaria and Romania, referred to as ‘Transylvanian rapiers’. A. Harding considers them to be closer to the ‘rapiers’ from Sicily (Harding 1984, 155). In terms of the form of the tang, or more precisely, the trapezoidal grip-plate, another Aegean analogy can be identified in the sword from Nichoria in Messenia, dated to LH IIIA.

Type C

Another category of Aegean weaponry found in the study area includes Type C swords in N. Sandars’ typology. These are characterized by a hilt formed in the shape of horns, sharply angled from the blade. Within Type C, two further groups are identified: Ci and Cii. The primary differences between these two lie in the details of the tang and hilt. Type Ci typically has 2–3 rivet holes at the hilt and 3 on the tang, with a tang extension used to secure the sword’s pommel. In contrast, Type Cii lacks rivet holes on the tang and the aforementioned blade extension. Another distinction is in the flanges on the tang and shoulders; in Cii, they are higher and bent inward for better securing of the organic handle part, explaining the absence of rivet holes in the tang (Sandars 1963, 122). In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier’s typology, these swords belong to the Hörnerschwerter types 1a and 1b – swords with obliquely raised horns. The variants are differentiated based on the hilt covering shape – straight-ended in variant 1a, and rounded with a central notch in 1b. Further classification is based on the number and form of rivets securing the handle (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 42). In Bulgaria and Romania, there is a unique group of Type C swords – variant Ciii. These are typically very long swords with a narrower blade than standard Type C. The horns forming the hilt are longer, more massive, and entirely metallic, without space for organic materials, angling more from the handle than in the other two variants (Driessen/Macdonald 1984, 58). In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier’s typology, they are referred to as Hörnerschwerter Typ 3b. She additionally identifies variant 3a for a singular example from Shtogj, described below (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 42, 43, 50). The characteristic hilt form of Type C originates from the Shaft Graves period, as suggested by the arrangement of gold elements originally found on the organic parts of the handles of swords from Grave V in the Shaft Grave Circle A at Mycenae. According to B. Molloy, these swords are dated to LH I–IIIB. They are widespread in the Aegean, with the largest concentrations found in cemeteries in the Argolid and Crete (Molloy 2010, 405–407).

In the region under study, 17 examples of Type C swords and daggers have been discovered, originating from 13 sites, with one specimen from an unspecified location near Mount Olympus (Fig. 2; Pl. II). In Central Macedonia, this type of weapon is represented by finds from Pieria: in Agios Dimitrios-Spathes (Tab. 1: 1), Trimpina (Tab. 1: 45), and the area around Mount Olympus (Tab. 1: 46). The dagger from Spathes and the sword from Trimpina were found in cemeteries showing strong Mycenaean influences. The first was recovered from a plundered

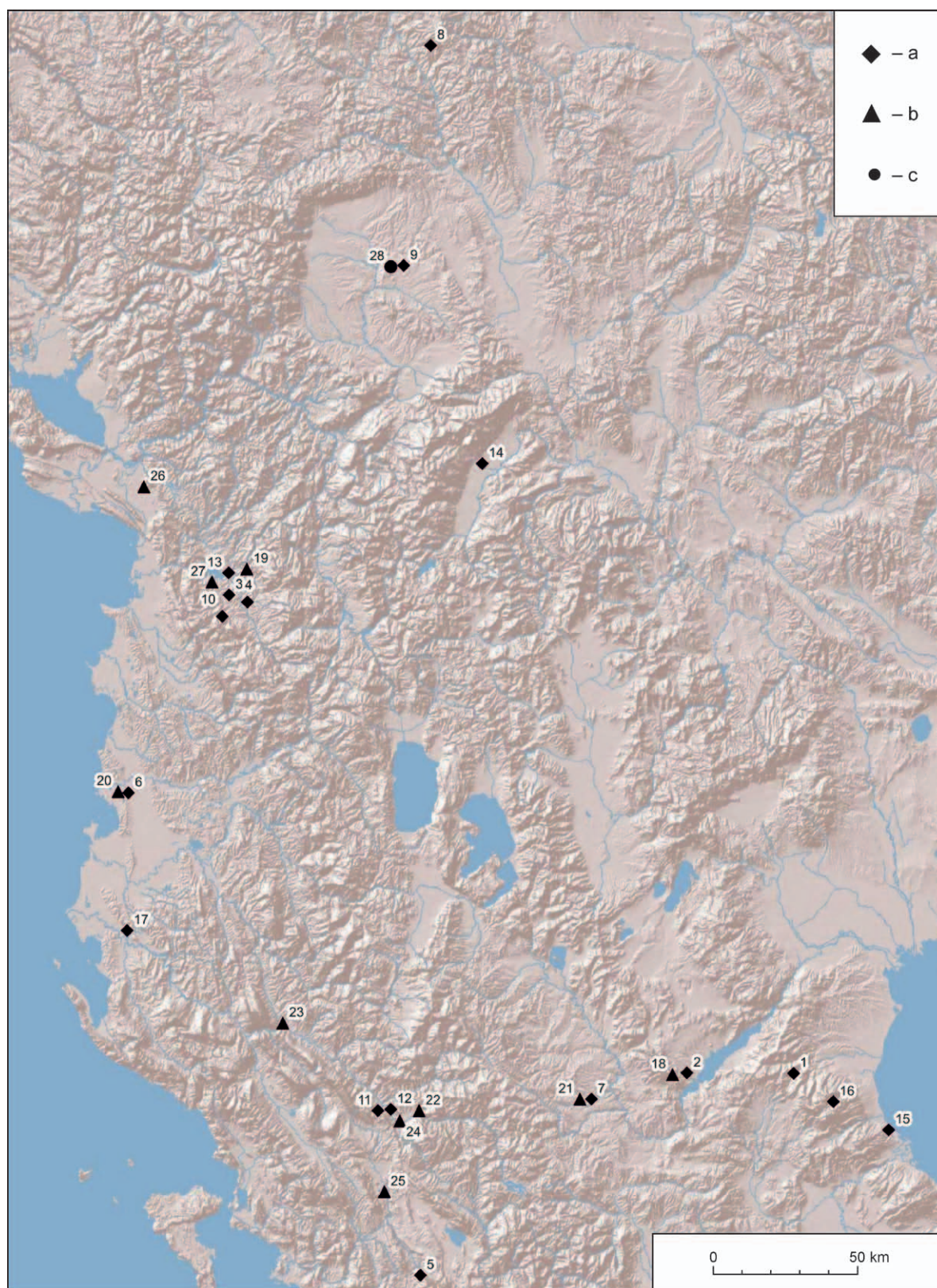


Fig. 2. Distribution map. 1 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 2 – Aiani; 3, 4 – Burrel; 5 – Dodona; 6 – Gërmenj; 7 – Grevena; 8 – Guvnishtë; 9 – Iglarevo; 10 – Komsj; 11, 12 – Mesogephyra; 13 – Shtogj; 14 – Tetovo; 15 – Trimpina; 16 – 'Mount Olympus'; 17 – Varibop; 18 – Aiani; 19 – Bruç; 20 – Gërmenj; 21 – Grevena; 22 – Kato Konitsa; 23 – Këlcyrë; 24 – Liatovouni; 25 – Mazaraki; 26 – Nënshat; 27 – Rrethe Bazje; 28 – Iglarevo. Legend: a – type C daggers and swords; b – type D daggers and swords; c – unknown type sword. Author J. Wójcik.

grave (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 60). The latter, uncovered in skeletal grave 16, was accompanied by three bronze pins, a straight-back knife, a spearhead and spear butt, as well as bronze and alabaster beads (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 58, 59).

Two specimens were found in Western Macedonia. First one was discovered in a cemetery in Aiani (Tab. 1: 4), in male skeletal grave 22. It was partially inserted into a bronze chape, which was conical in shape with a spherical end. Other artefacts from grave 22 include a leaf-shaped spearhead, a bronze pin, amber and glass beads, two Mycenaean alabaster, a Mycenaean piriform jar, and one undecorated, hand-made vessel (Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123). The second sword (Tab. 1: 19) was found in Grevena, but the context of the find is unknown (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 45).

From Epirus, three specimens are known: one from an uncertain context, likely from the settlement in Dodona (Tab. 1: 9), and two from the Mesogephyra site (Tab. 1: 33, 34), presumably from destroyed graves. Six examples originate from Albania. The sword from Varibop (Tab. 1: 48) was found in a damaged tumulus, believed to be from a destroyed grave. Alongside the sword, the grave also contained a spearhead with a geometric pattern and pottery fragments (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 47). The sword from Shtogj (Tab. 1: 43) was unearthed in grave 9 of tumulus 2, accompanied by two leaf-shaped spearheads, a pin, two knives, four amber beads, and two gold spirals (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 49; Kurti 2017, 215). A specimen from Gërmenj (Tab. 1: 17) was discovered in a cemetery (Andrea 1981, 224; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61). The sword from Komsj (Tab. 1: 28), as suggested by A. Tsonos (2015, tab. 15), likely originated from a destroyed grave, though I. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1993, 45) indicates that the context of this find remains unknown. Two swords were found at a site in Burrel (Tab. 1: 7, 8) within a tumulus cemetery (Andrea 1983–1984, 106, 107; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15). The sole Type C sword find from North Macedonia, found in Tetovo (Tab. 1: 44), as per A. F. Harding (1995, 21), was likely unearthed in a grave, though D. Mitrevski (1998, 450) describes it as a single find. The sword from Iglarevo (Tab. 1: 21) in Kosovo was discovered in a skeletal grave, alongside a spearhead, a flanged axe, a knife, and a whetstone (Harding 1995, 21). This group also includes the only known example of a sword with Mycenaean analogies from Serbia, found at the Guvnishtë (Tab. 1: 20) site, which is a single find (Filipović/Milanović/Milojević 2015, 10, 11).

Most of these swords likely did not originate from the major Mycenaean and Minoan centres, as they display certain differences, especially in the number and placement of rivets, indicating a local or peripheral

character of these weapons. The swords from Shtogj, Guvnishtë, and the dagger from Spathes are the most distinct from the Mycenaean Type C. In the Shtogj example, the horns end straight rather than being rounded or sharply terminated as in other variants. It has additional small rivet holes at the ends of the horns and an extra thickening perpendicular to the blade within the shoulders, features not present in typical variants of Type C swords. In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's classification, it is the only representative of the Hörnerschwert type 3a (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 49). The Guvnishtë sword's flanges continue across the blade, also delineating the lower part of the organic handle section. The Spathes dagger is notable for its short length, with the preserved part measuring only 24 cm (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 44). It finds its closest analogy in the dagger from Agrelia in Thessaly (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 60). The sword from Iglarevo also exhibits specific, local characteristics. A feature it shares with the Shtogj sword is the straight ending of the horns forming the guard. It differs from other Type C examples mainly in the quantity and arrangement of rivets within the sword's shoulders: there are 12, closely spaced and arranged semi-circularly along the horns. The sword from Tetovo is unique for its decoration with two symmetrically positioned semicircular motifs within the shoulders, a feature without analogy in other Type C swords (Harding 1995, pl. 4: 24). While other examples from the studied area strongly resemble the hilt shape of swords from the core Aegean cultural regions, a specific feature for some is the placement of rivets within the hilt in two pairs, located in the upper and lower parts of the shoulders (Onnis 2008, 28). This rivet arrangement appears in the swords from Dodona, Varibop, Gërmenj, Tetovo, Guvnishtë, and Shtogj (excluding the additional small holes for rivets at the ends of the horns in the latter). Among the Type C swords from the core Mycenaean cultural area illustrated by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1993), only the sword found in Athens, cat. no. 80, shows this feature. The closest to the examples from Aegean centres seem to be the sword from the vicinity of Mount Olympus, Komsj, Grevena, and a damaged specimen from Mesogephyra.

Type D

In Type D swords, the guard is formed by two rounded elements that extend at a right angle from the blade. These swords are generally shorter than Type C swords. Two variants, Di and Dii, are distinguished. Di dates from the LH II to LH IIIB, and Dii from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIC. In both variants, there is a flange along the shoulders and tang, up to three rivets in the tang, and up to two at the

hilt. Early examples typically have a relatively flat blade cross-section with a subtly defined midrib, while later swords may lack the midrib and have a lens-shaped cross-section. There is a trend toward shorter lengths in later examples: Di ranges from 35 to 65 cm, and Dii from 35 to 45 cm. One of the most distinctive differences between the two variants is the design of the tang's end. In variant Dii, there is no plate for mounting the sword's pommel; instead, the tang widens significantly, forming a T-shaped end. The majority of Type Di swords are found around Dendra and Mycenae on the Greek mainland and in Knossos and Chania in Crete, while variant Dii is more widely distributed in the Aegean (Molloy 2010, 407, 408). In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology, they belong to the Kreuzschwerter group, divided similarly as in N. Sandars' typology – type 1 includes swords with a pommel mounted on a special plate or with a tang that ends straight, while type 2 features a T-shaped (originally described as crescent-shaped – *sichelförmige*) tang. In type 1, further variants are distinguished based on the number and characteristics of rivets in the tang and the shoulders of the sword, as well as based on blade decorations; in type 2, distinctions are made based on the presence or absence of a midrib and blade decorations (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 58–63).

In the study area, 10 Type D swords have been discovered, each at a different site. Two specimens were found in Western Macedonia (Fig. 2; Pl. III). The sword from Aiani (Tab. 1: 3) was uncovered in a cemetery, in a male grave 3, accompanied by a leaf-shaped spearhead with three central ribs, a bronze pin, glass beads, a Mycenaean alabastron, and a matt-painted vessel (Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123). The sword from Grevena (Tab. 1: 18) originates from an unknown context (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61).

In Epirus, Type D swords and daggers are known from three sites. The sword from Mazaraki (Tab. 1: 32) was found in a cist grave that held the remains of three individuals. The grave's contents included three spearheads (one flame-shaped and two leaf-shaped), a dagger, two knives, a whetstone, wire spirals, clay beads, a Mycenaean stirrup jar, a local imitation of a Mycenaean alabastron, and three one-handled cups. Additionally, fragments of Mycenaean-style kylixes were discovered in the fill of the grave. The dating of the grave has been determined to be from the LH IIIB–C period (Kleitsas 2017, 257, 258; Vokotopoulou 1969, 192, 193). The dagger from Kato Konitsa (Tab. 1: 26) was likely found in a grave. This dagger, along with a bronze split-socketed spearhead, was delivered to a museum. Subsequent investigation at the site

where these items were discovered revealed two cist graves: one undisturbed and intact, and the other disturbed and empty. However, in the soil removed from the disturbed grave, two bronze buttons were found (Kleitsas 2017, 252, 253). The sword from Liatovouni (Tab. 1: 29) was discovered in an area of a cemetery, likely originating from a destroyed grave. It is earlier than the oldest grave T. 59 at the site, which is dated to the LH IIIC period (Douzougli 1996, 56; Douzougli/Papadopoulos 2010, 22; Kleitsas 2017, 255).

From Albania, five examples of Type D swords and daggers are known. The sword from Këlcyre (Tab. 1: 27) was found in a damaged tumulus, in one of two cist graves (grave 1). Other finds from this context include a leaf-shaped spearhead, local pottery, and a lekythos, which should possibly be dated to LH IIIC (Bodinaku 1988, 35, 36; Wardle 1993, 130). The sword from Gërmenj (Tab. 1: 16), as per A. Tsonos (2015, tab. 15), might have originated from a grave, but I. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1993, 61) indicates that the context of the find is unknown. The specimen from Rrethe Bazje (Tab. 1: 42) was discovered in a tumulus, but further details are not provided (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61). The examples from Bruç (Tab. 1: 6) and Nënshat (Tab. 1: 37) are from unknown contexts (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 61; Tsonos 2015, tab. 15).

Similar to Type C swords and daggers, certain Type D examples also exhibit local features. The specimen from Kato Konitsa has a tang that is flanged on only one side. Additionally, it has extra holes for rivets in the projecting rounded quillons, a feature that connects it with swords from Këlcyre and Nënshat, but is not present in other Type D sword and dagger examples illustrated by A. Papadopoulos and I. Kilian-Dirlmeier. The sword from Nënshat is exceptionally long – over 100 cm – making it the longest known example of this type (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 57). The specimen from Aiani is decorated with a double row of running spirals. In the Aegean, this type of decoration on Type D swords appears in Crete, in those illustrated by I. Kilian Dirlmeier, particularly in examples from Knossos (Zapher Papoura and Sellopoulo; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 60).

Type E

Type E, in N. Sandars' typology, is a dagger that appears infrequently in Aegean cultures. This type comprises two variants: Ei and Eii, both having a maximum length of about 40 cm. Variant Ei is dated to the Middle Minoan II period (with most specimens originating from Crete), while variant Eii emerges in the LH IIIA–B periods. Both variants are characterized by a flanged hilt and a short, wide, flat

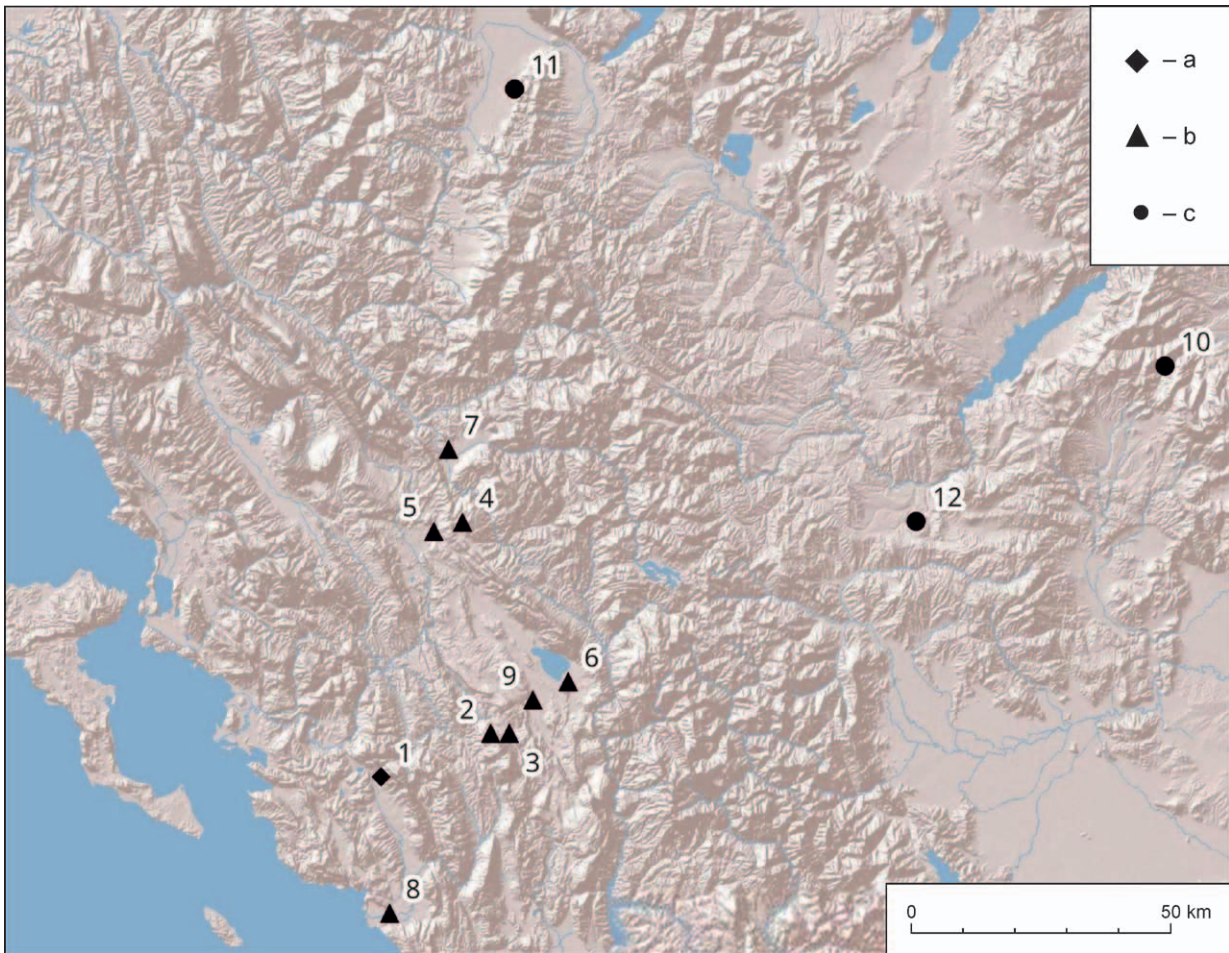


Fig. 3. Distribution map. 1 – Paramythia; 2, 3 – Dodona; 4 – Elaphotopos-Kalivia; 5 – Kalbaki; 6 – Kastritsa; 7 – Liatovouni; 8 – Mesopotamos; 9 – Pedini; 10 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 11 – Barç; 12 – Katakali. Legend: a – type E dagger; b – type F daggers and swords; c – type G daggers and swords. Author J. Wójcik.

blade with a rounded tip. However, they differ in the design of the tang's end: in variant Eii, it is T-shaped, while in Ei, it is either straight or comes with a plate for mounting the pommel (Sandars 1963, 132, 133).

In the region under discussion, only one specimen of this type has been identified, which was found in Paramythia (Tab. 1: 38) in Epirus (Fig. 3). It was discovered in a cist grave alongside a leaf-shaped spearhead. Notably, the tang of this dagger is flanged on only one side (Kleitsas 2017, 258).

Type F

Type F represents another variety of Mycenaean weaponry, distributed in the described area. The earliest examples are dated to the LH IIIA2, but they are most commonly found in the LH IIIB and IIIC periods (Molloy 2010, 408, 409). Specimens of this type continue to appear into the Submycenaean period (Stavropoulou-Gatsi/Jung/Mehofer 2012, 256). Type F is regarded as a development of Types E and

Dii, sharing characteristics such as a lens-shaped cross-section of the blade without a midrib and a relatively short length. The cutting edges of the blade are parallel for most of its length, with the tip being more rounded than in Type D. The classification into Fi and Fii variants follows similar principles as in Types D and E: variant Fii features a T-shaped tang, while Fi has a straight end or includes a plate for mounting the pommel. The sword's shoulders form an angle close to right, and there is no guard. During the LH IIIB period, these swords typically measure 40 to 45 cm in length, while in the LH IIIC period few examples exceed 50 cm. The tang usually has two to four rivet holes, and up to two rivet holes are situated at the shoulders. This type is widely distributed, with most specimens found in central and eastern Crete, Mycenae, and Epirus (Molloy 2010, 408, 409). In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's classification, the division into types is based on a similar principle as in N. Sandars' typology – F1 has a straight tang ending or an additional plate for mounting the pommel,

whereas F2 features a T-shaped tang. Further variants of type F2 are distinguished based on the presence or absence of additional plates securing the organic part of the handle at the level of the sword's shoulders (respectively variants a and b), or flanges on one side only (variant c; *Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 81–85).

In the studied area, eight Type F swords/daggers have been identified, distributed across seven sites, all situated in Epirus (Fig. 3; Pl. IV). The Mesopotamos (Tab. 1: 35) specimen was found approximately 100 m south of the Hellenistic Nekromanteion site, but its exact context remains unidentified (*Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 84; *Papadopoulos* 1998, 26; *Tartaron* 2004). Two short examples were unearthed in Dodona (Tab. 1: 10, 11). One was located within a prehistoric settlement area, and the other is presumed to have originated also from this settlement (*Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 85). The dagger from Pedini (Tab. 1: 41) was discovered in a pit grave, accompanied by a flame-shaped spearhead, a wheel-made LH IIIC cup, and a clay spindle whorl. Nearby, a bronze straight-back knife was also found (*Kleitsas* 2017, 254). The Kastritsa (Tab. 1: 24) specimen was excavated from a cist grave, no other finds were reported (*Dakaris* 1968, 34; *Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 83; *Papadopoulos* 1998, 26). A sword from Liatovouni (Tab. 1: 30) was retrieved from skeletal pit grave 59, which was likely beneath a leveled tumulus, and the burial included, in addition to this sword, another from the Naue II family, two spearheads, two rock crystal beads, and various bronze elements believed to be parts of armour, primarily composed of organic materials: 11 bosses, buttons, two rivets, and five nails (*Douzougli/Papadopoulos* 2010, 23). The dagger from Kalbaki (Tab. 1: 23) was found in cist grave A, alongside a flame-shaped spearhead, a curved knife, and a ceramic vessel. The Elaphotopos-Kalivia (Tab. 1: 15) specimen is a single find (*Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 85; *Papadopoulos* 1998, 26). Most of the examples are dated to LH IIIB–C periods, swords from Liatovouni and Pedini possibly should be assigned to LH IIIC (*Douzougli/Papadopoulos* 2010, 22; *Onnis* 2008, 26).

The swords from Elaphotopos-Kalivia, Kalbaki, Mesopotamos, and one of the specimens from Dodona are characterized by being flanged on only one side (*Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 84, 85). This feature is distinctive for the specimens from Epirus and is not observed in daggers and swords from the core area of Mycenaean and Minoan cultures. Additionally, this feature appears on other daggers from Epirus, from Paramythia (Type E) and Kato Konitsa (Type D). The reason for its development is challenging to explain, as it resulted in one grip scale being less securely attached than the other, consequently reducing the handle's durability.

Undoubtedly, the most remarkable specimen is the one from Liatovouni. It has rich spiral decoration along the centre of the blade and the sides of the flanges. This is the only representative of Type F adorned in this manner, although such decoration appears in other types of Aegean swords, as seen in the Type D sword from Aiani within the study area (*Douzougli/Papadopoulos* 2010, 23; *Karamitrou-Mentessidi* 2013, 113–123).

Type G

Type G swords exhibit a wide range of lengths, spanning from 40 to over 100 cm. Type Gi, an evolution of Type C, features a relatively narrow midrib, a broader blade, and slightly curved horns that form the hilt, extending perpendicularly from the blade. The tang is flanged and typically includes up to three rivet holes, with an additional one or two holes near the sword shoulders. Notably, many specimens of this type have a T-shaped tang. The blade cross-section is generally flat. This sword type dates to the LH IIIA2–LH IIIB periods. The most significant concentrations of Gi swords have been noted in Mycenae on the Greek mainland, as well as in Simi and around Knossos in Crete. Type Gii, while less common, has a broader distribution and significant morphological variation. It is typically characterized by a T-shaped and flanged tang, one to four rivets in the tang and up to two at the level of the sword shoulders. The hilt is formed by right-angled curved horns, with ends directed towards the sword tip. Blades are generally relatively flat, with an oval cross-section and no midrib, though some specimens may exhibit ribbing along the blade. The shortest examples measure about 35 cm in length, with the longest reaching 57.5 cm. This type is attributed to the LH IIIC period (*Driessen/Macdonald* 1984, 61–63; *Molloy* 2010, 409; *Sandars* 1963, 139, 140). In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's typology, these swords are categorized as Hörnerschwerter group 2, featuring 'hanging horns' (*hängende Hörner*). Types 2a and 2b are differentiated based on the form of the flanges – 2a has folded flanges, while 2b features massive flanges. Further variants are distinguished based on the form of the tang's end, which may be straight, have an additional plate, or possess a T-shaped form (*Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993, 43).

From the discussed area, three Type G examples are known, each originating from a different site (Fig. 3; Pl. V). One specimen from Central Macedonia was discovered in the cemetery at Agios Dimitrios-Spathes (Tab. 1: 2). It was found in grave 8, the richest in the cemetery, including two individuals. Along with the aforementioned sword, a spearhead, beads (primarily made of amber), four seals of the Main-

land Popular Group, a bronze pin, several stone objects (possibly spindles, buttons, or weights), and Mycenaean pottery including two alabastra and a pilgrim flask were found (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 48; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 58). Another sword from Western Macedonia was found at Katakali (Tab. 1: 25), in a cist grave. Associated with the same context are a spearhead, a finger ring, and four *phalerae* (Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 119; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 48; Rhomiopoulou 1969, 14, 15). The only Type G sword found in Albania was unearthed in grave 162 in Tumulus I at Barç (Tab. 1: 5), accompanied by a spearhead and a two-handled cup with matt-painted decoration (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 50; Onnis 2008, 22).

The sword from Barç, despite its heavily damaged tang, is the most divergent from the standard Type G. The Spathes sword is a typical representative of the Gi variant, it has pronounced midrib without ribbing, a feature also found in Gi and Gii specimens from Crete. The Katakali sword's closest analogies are with a specimen illustrated by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier from Sklavoi in Crete (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 48).

Unknown type

The second sword from Iglarevo (Tab. 1: 22) in Kosovo has not been classified into any specific type within the typologies of N. Sandars and I. Kilian-Dirlmeier (Fig. 2). A. Harding (1995, 21) categorizes it as a 'Mycenaean-type rapier'. R. Jung (2018, 243, 244) classifies it as a Mycenaean sword of type A, noting that it was later modified with the addition of a new hilt. The hilt of this sword is significantly damaged. While the length and shape of the blade might suggest an affiliation with type A, blades with these characteristics also appear in type C and D swords from the studied area. It was found in a grave, alongside a tanged knife, a dagger, and a metal socket, possibly belonging to the sheath (Harding 1995, 21, 104).

OTHER FINDS

In the study area, ancillary elements associated with swords, such as marble sword pommels and scabbard chapes, have been identified (Fig. 4). Marble pommels have been found at three sites in Central Macedonia: two at the tell settlement at Thessaloniki (Tab. 1: 56, 57), one in the tell at Assiros (phase 7; Tab. 1: 53), and another in the cemetery at Agios Dimitrios-Spathes (Tab. 1: 50; Jung 2018, 244; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 74). Additionally, a similar artefact was unearthed in Northern Macedonia – in a skeletal grave at the site of Markova Sušica (Tab. 1: 55; Mitrevski 1998, 451; 2022, 95). Three scabbard

chapes were also found within the study area. Two of these were located in Western Macedonia: the aforementioned one found with the Type C sword from Aiani (Tab. 1: 51) and another, of the same type, from a looted grave at the nearby cemetery in Ano Komi (Tab. 1: 52). The third was discovered in Iglarevo (Tab. 1: 54) in Kosovo, context of this find was described in the previous section (Harding 1995, 104; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 119).

CONCLUSIONS

Most finds of Aegean swords and daggers have been unearthed in graves, but this is not a universal rule for other metal artefacts with Aegean analogies. Aegean-style spearheads (Sesklo type and split-socketed) are found in both graves and hoards. Double axes, belonging to categories III and IV in H. G. Buchholz's typology, are typically found in hoards or as single finds, and are absent from graves (Buchholz 1959, 21–30; Bunguri 2012, 34; Kleitsas/Mehofer/Jung 2018, 79, 80). Aegean-like pottery in this region has been discovered in both settlements and cemeteries, though its presence varies across different areas. The distribution Aegean swords and daggers compared with distribution of Helladic pottery is depicted in Figure 4.

A comprehensive analysis reveals regional variations in the occurrence of Aegean swords and daggers. The earliest examples, dating back to the Middle Helladic and LH I–II periods, are found far north of the major Mycenaean and Minoan centres, specifically in Albania and one instance in Serbia. Swords from Pazhok and Vajzë were discovered alongside Aegean-style pottery. The combination of a sword, knife, and spearhead at these sites mirrors similar assemblages in Aegean cultures of these periods (Onnis 2008, 16). However, Epirus and North Macedonia, lying on potential overland routes to Albania and Serbia, lack similarly early artefacts. Some researchers, though, identify pseudo-minyan pottery in Epirus (KII/III Minyan Subset). It is likely that these regions were not engaged in contact with Aegean cultures in this early period. The hypothesis of a maritime route leading to Albania is suggested, with several sites near the coast containing Aegean material from the pre- and early Mycenaean phase of interaction (Bejko 2009, 12; Mitrevski 2022, 82–84).

During the palatial period (LH IIIA–B), the distribution of Mycenaean swords and daggers reach as far as Serbia in the north. Most of the finds in Albania date to this period. However, none have been found in contexts with Aegean pottery. The Mat River valley in Albania is unique in this regard,

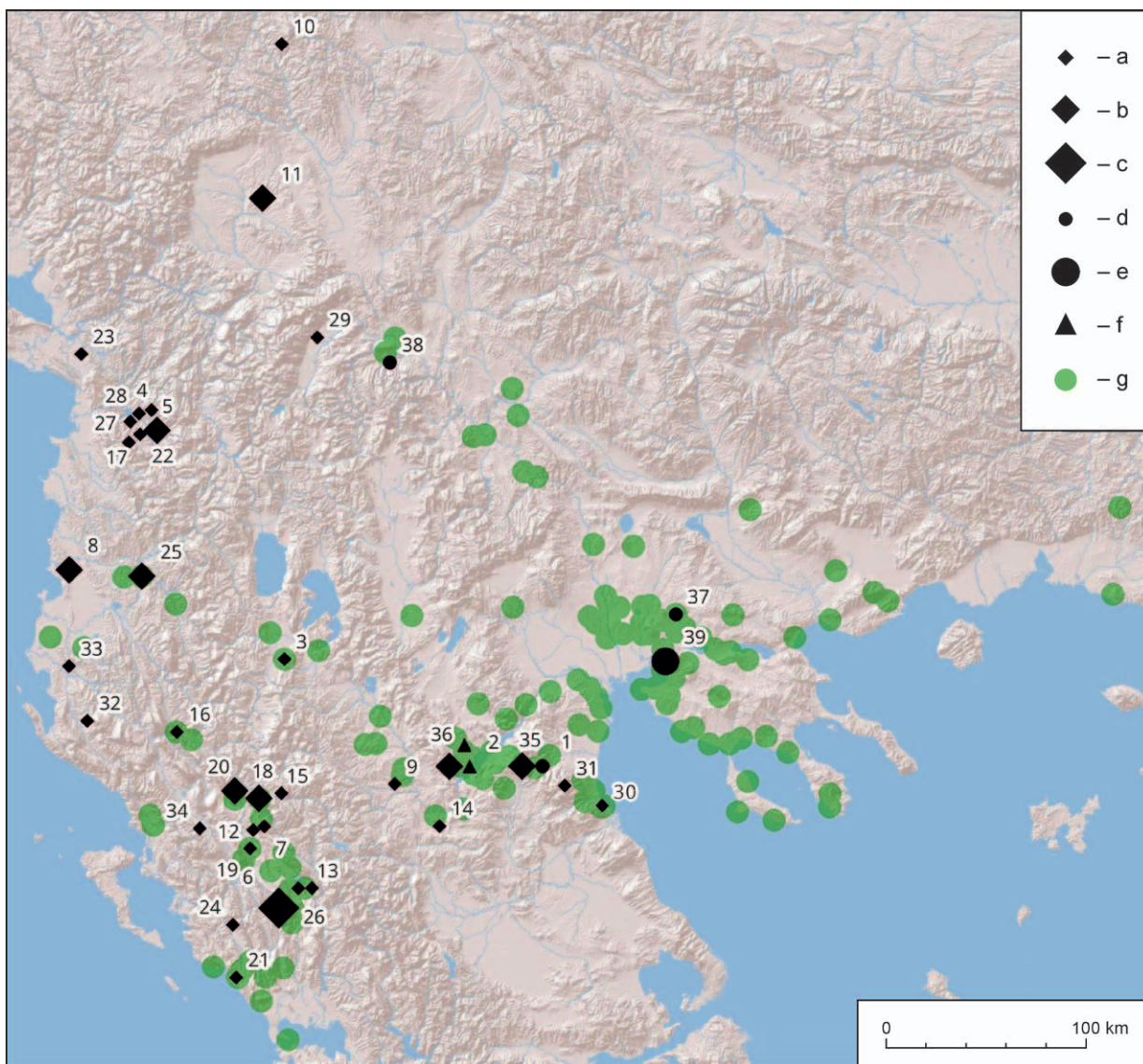


Fig. 4. Distribution of Aegean daggers, swords, pommels and chapes in the area of the study compared with the distribution of LH I-III pottery and its imitations. 1 – Agios Dimitrio-Spathes; 2 – Aiani; 3 – Barç; 4 – Bruç; 5 – Burrel; 6 – Dodona; 7 – Elaphotopos-Kalivia; 8 – Gërmenj; 9 – Grevena; 10 – Guvnishtë; 11 – Iglarevo; 12 – Kalbaki; 13 – Kastritsa; 14 – Katakali; 15 – Kato Konitsa; 16 – Këlcyrë; 17 – Komsj; 18 – Liatovouni; 19 – Mazaraki; 20 – Mesogephyra; 21 – Mesopotamos; 22 – Midhë; 23 – Nënshat; 24 – Paramythia; 25 – Pazhok; 26 – Pedini; 27 – Rrethe Bazje; 28 – Shtogj; 29 – Tetovo; 30 – Trimpina; 31 – ‘Mount Olympus’; 32 – Vajzë; 33 – Varibop; 34 – Vodhinë; 35 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 36 – Ano Komi; 37 – Assiros; 38 – Markova-Sušica; 39 – Thessaloniki (Toumba). Legend: a – one dagger/sword; b – two daggers/swords; c – six daggers/swords; d – one pommel; e – two pommels; f – one chape of a sword’s sheath; g – pottery. Author J. Wójcik.

with seven swords showing Aegean parallels, dated from LH I to LH IIIB, found in the absence of contemporary Aegean pottery from this area. A distinctive feature in Albania is that during the peak development and expansion of Mycenaean culture, Helladic pottery appears in minimal quantities, while metal artefacts predominate. Additionally, metal artefacts are found much further north than the Late Helladic IIIA–B pottery (Bejko 2009, 12, 13).

Only two daggers dated to the LH IIIC period were found in Albania, both together with Helladic

pottery. The reduction in quantity of late swords and daggers deriving from Aegean types is linked to the import and local production of swords from the Naue II family (Bejko 2009, 13). Most of the bronze examples of this type are known from the study area from Albania, some of them showing local features that may reference older Aegean forms. For some specimens, the composition of the alloy used in production (high tin content, over 10%) indicates their local or Aegean provenance (Molloy 2018, 88, 91). Similarly, in the areas of North Macedonia and

Serbia, no Aegean swords and daggers younger than LH IIIB have been found.

In Epirus, Aegean swords and daggers appear in the LH IIIA–B period mainly in the interior, where Aegean influences seem weaker than on the south-west coast. Only in the case of the Mazaraki grave there is confirmed occurrence of both a sword and Helladic pottery in one context. However, in several other instances, Mycenaean pottery does appear at the same sites (Dodona) or, in cases of some graves, at settlements in the vicinity (Kastritsa, Liatovouni, Mesopotamos). The regional grouping of Type F swords (LH IIIB–C) in Epirus is quite unique, as they do not appear in neighbouring Albania and Macedonia. Additionally, many of them were probably locally produced (Onnis 2008, 26). The appearance of Naue II swords (only two bronze examples, distributed in northern part) did not bring as significant change as in Albania; Aegean Type F continued to be used (Kleitsas 2017, 259). The grave T. 59 in Liatovouni is particularly noteworthy for featuring swords from both Aegean and Naue II traditions in a single burial, a practice also observed only in Kouvarás in Acarnania, in a grave dated to the Submycenaean-Early Protogeometric periods (Stavropoulou-Gatsi/Jung/Mehofer 2012, 256).

In Western Macedonia and the southwestern part of Central Macedonia (Pieria), most Aegean-type swords and daggers are dated to the LH IIIA–B period. Both examples from Aiani were found in contexts with Late Helladic pottery. In Pieria, the Type G sword from Spathes was discovered in a grave accompanied by Mycenaean pottery and seals in the Mainland Popular Group style, which frequently occur in Thessaly. In these two regions, Aegean swords and daggers are part of a broader spectrum of Aegean influences. Cemeteries where they are found also feature Aegean pottery, and in the case of Pieria, a wide set of other Mycenaean items (Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013, 113–123; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 45–62).

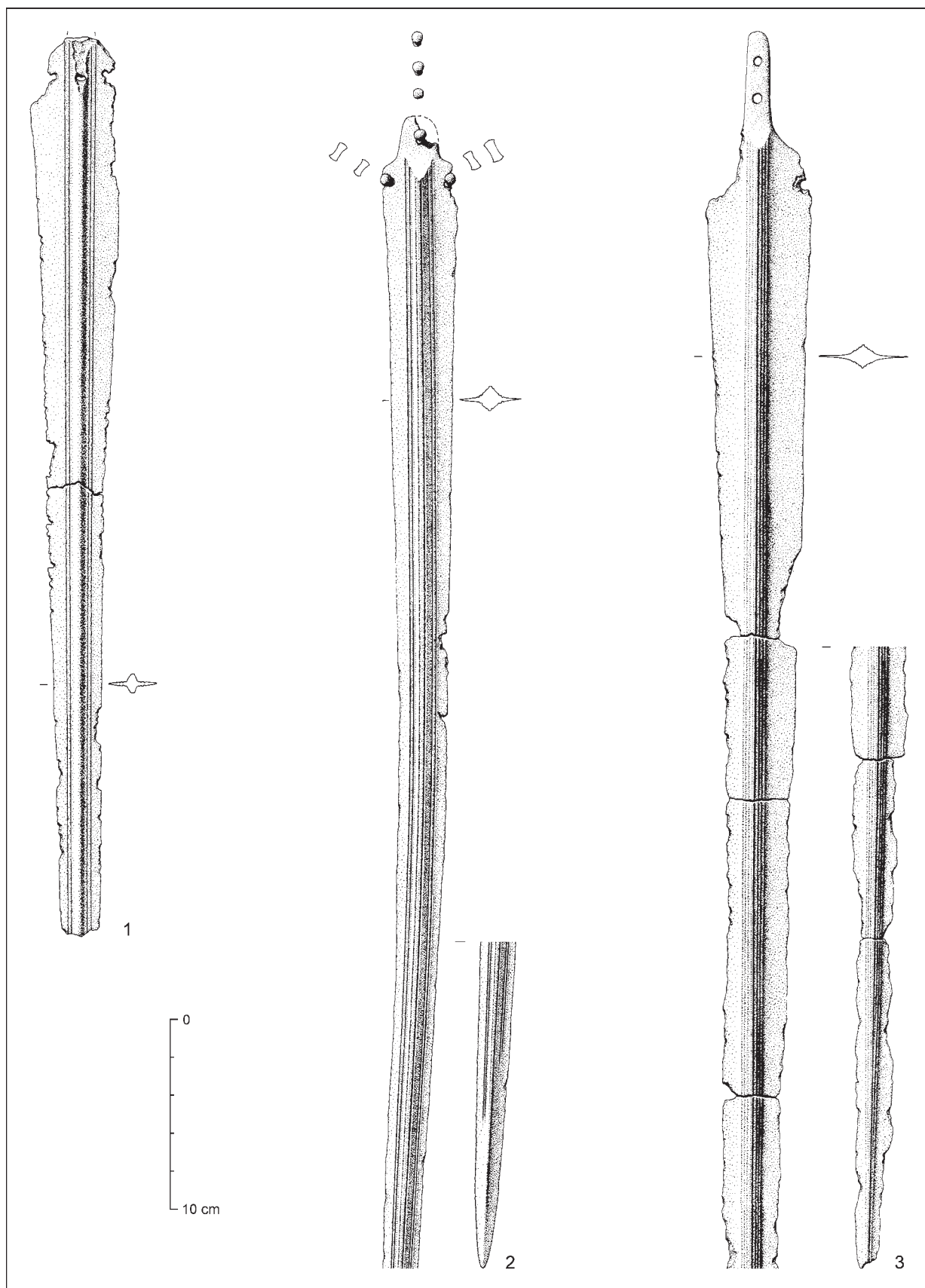
The scarcity of dagger and sword finds in the rest of Central Macedonia, despite a relatively common presence of Helladic pottery in tell settlements, is likely linked to the very few burials in this area. As mentioned earlier, most weapons of this type were discovered in funeral contexts in neighbouring regions. However, the finds of pommels in tells indicate that Aegean weapons were also used in this region. Conversely, swords and daggers are absent from sites with Helladic-style pottery along the middle Vardar, where cemeteries are present (Mitrevski 2022, 95; Wardle 1993, 134, 135).

The most northerly finds, Type C swords from Iglarevo, Guvnishtë, and Tetovo, exhibit morphological differences compared to other examples of this

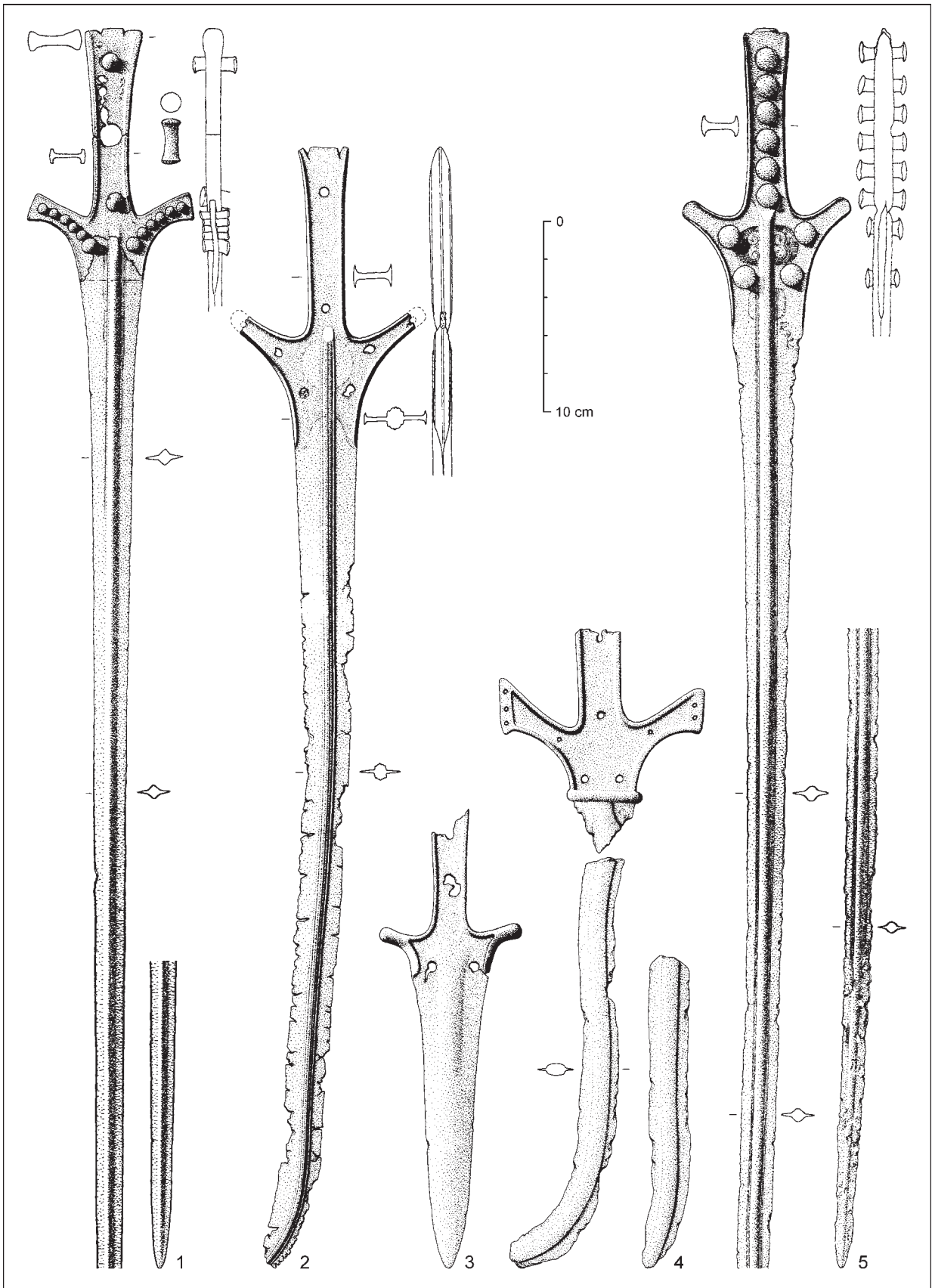
type. Chemical composition analysis of the alloy used to make the sword from Tetovo distinguishes it from other bronze objects from North Macedonia, dated to the Late Bronze Age. Further examination of the contents of lead isotopes revealed that the ore used for its production originated from Cyprus and is also similar to the isotopic compositions found in ingots from the Uluburun shipwreck. However, it is challenging to determine whether the sword was made locally from imported ore or produced in the Aegean region and then deposited far north (Gavranović/Papazovska/Mehofer 2021, 135, 141–143).

In the case of some specimens, their prestigious function can be indicated. Swords and daggers in the Aegean tradition appeared in the studied area in relatively rich graves (in Agios Dimitrios-Spathes, Aiani, Liatovouni, Mazaraki, Pazhok, Shtogj, Trimpina). Additionally, a relatively small percentage of the deceased were equipped with Aegean swords or daggers. In Albania, some burial mounds contain hundreds of burials (for example Barç I – over 180), but no site has been identified with more than two swords or daggers with Aegean analogies (Tsonos 2015, tab. 25). In the case of Western Macedonia and Pieria, if such weapons appear at cemeteries at all, they are found in only one or two out of dozens of burials (Aiani – 41 burials, Spathes – at least 52 burials, Trimpina – 26 burials). In Epirus, due to the small number of discovered, often looted graves, it is difficult, at least for now, to identify social differences, yet the quantity of Aegean weapons seems to be quite high. In the inner, northern part of Epirus (Zagoriou-Kalama region), out of 10 funeral sites – small cemeteries (with few burials) or isolated graves, six have yielded an Aegean sword or dagger (Vasileiou 2021, 626, 627).

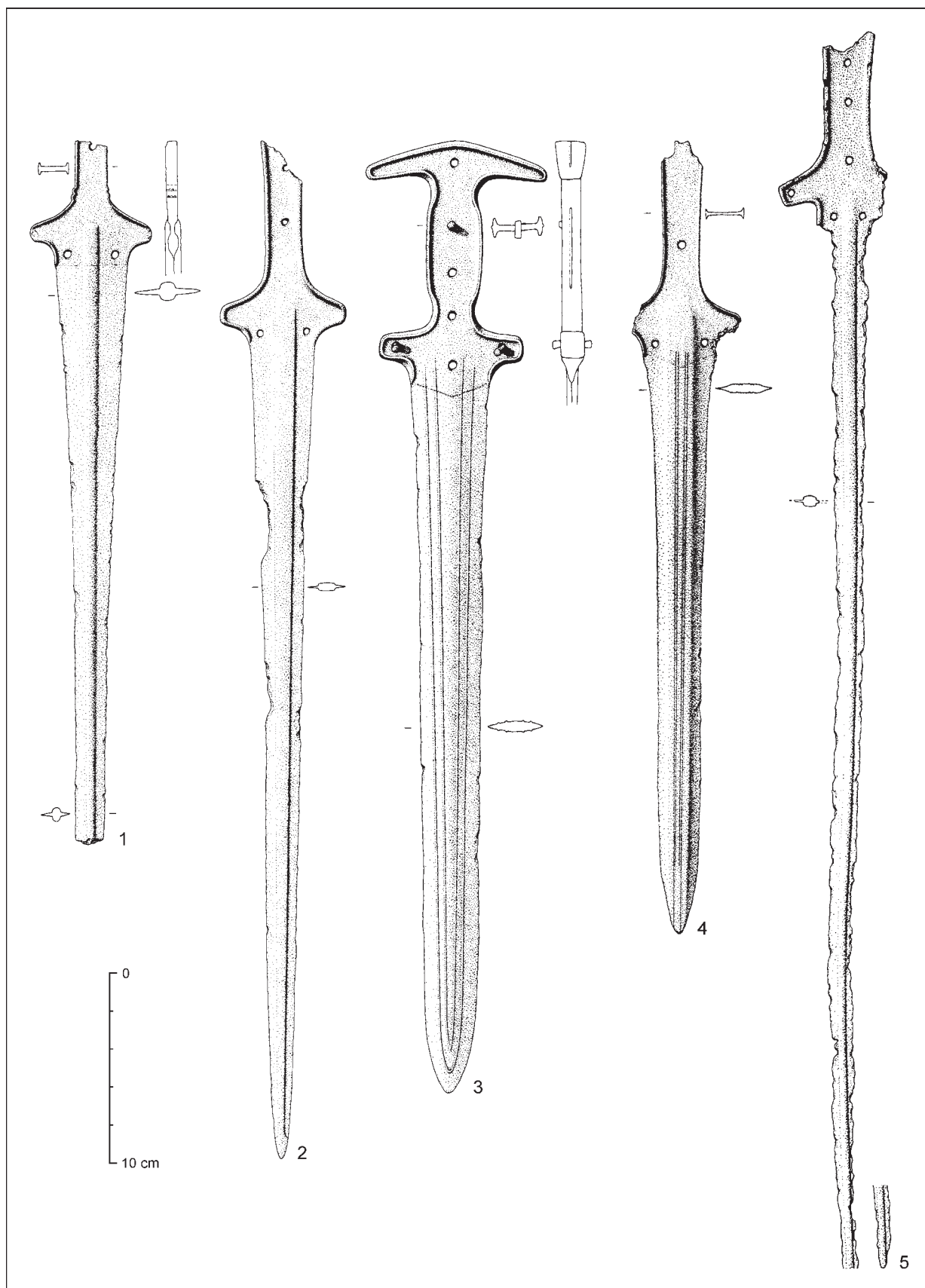
Summarizing the distribution of these types of artefacts, it is evident that there is a strong regional variation across the entire area. This variation is not unique to swords and daggers, as regional trends are observed in the distribution of various types of Aegean pottery, tools and their local imitations. This variation arises partly from the differences in chronology and the intensity of contacts in specific zones. Additionally, it is influenced by the choices of local communities. In certain areas, the presence of artefacts possibly correlates with local demand – predominantly metal objects in Albania and Epirus, and Aegean libation and perfumery pottery in Macedonia. These choices are also mirrored in how weapons were deposited. In reviewing the finds from the study area, it is also essential to consider the uneven extent of archaeological exploration across the region, with Central Macedonia being the most extensively studied and other areas considerably less explored.



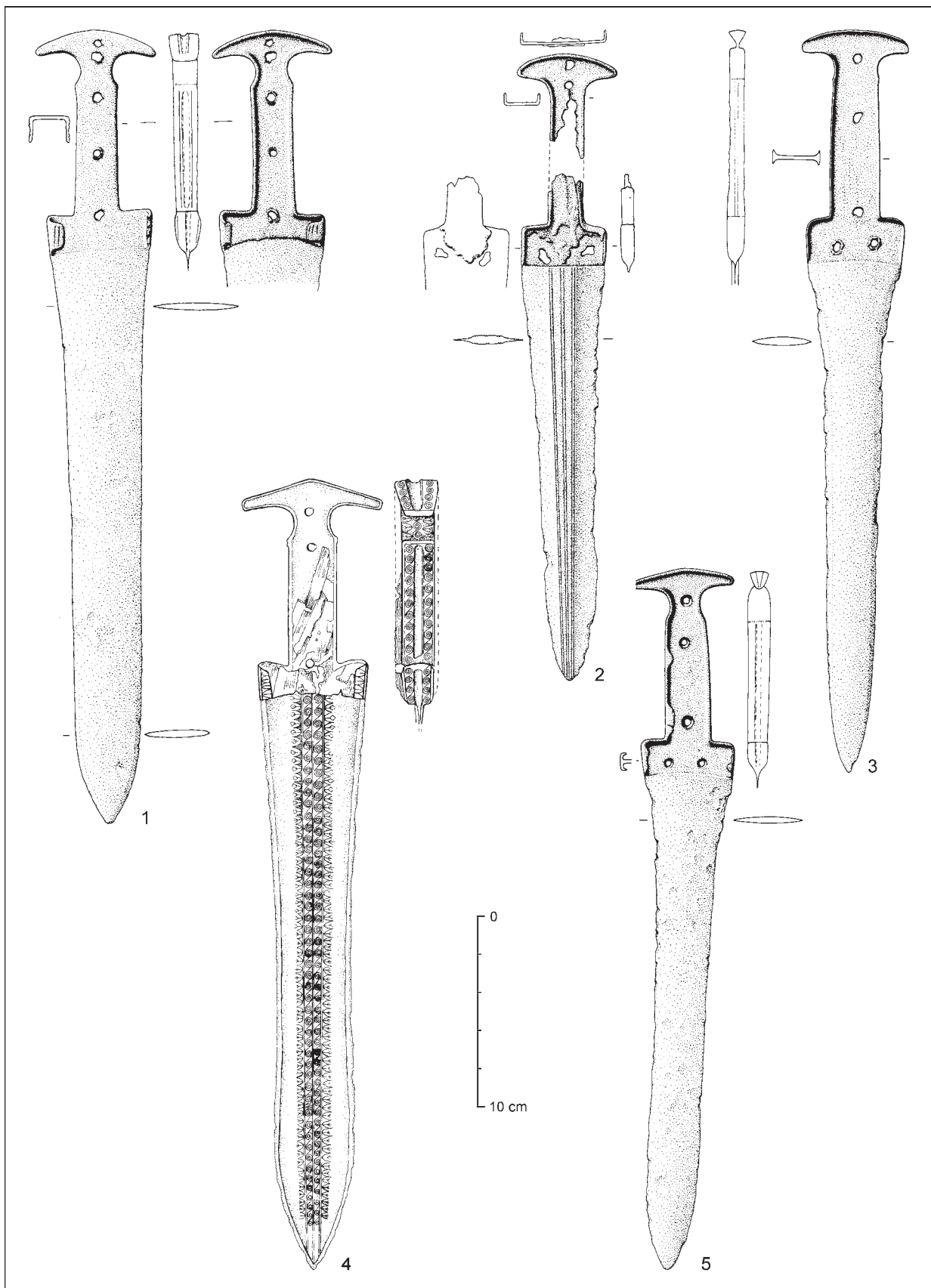
Pl. I. Examples of Type A swords. 1 – Midhë; 2 – Pazhok; 3 – Vajzë (after *Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993).



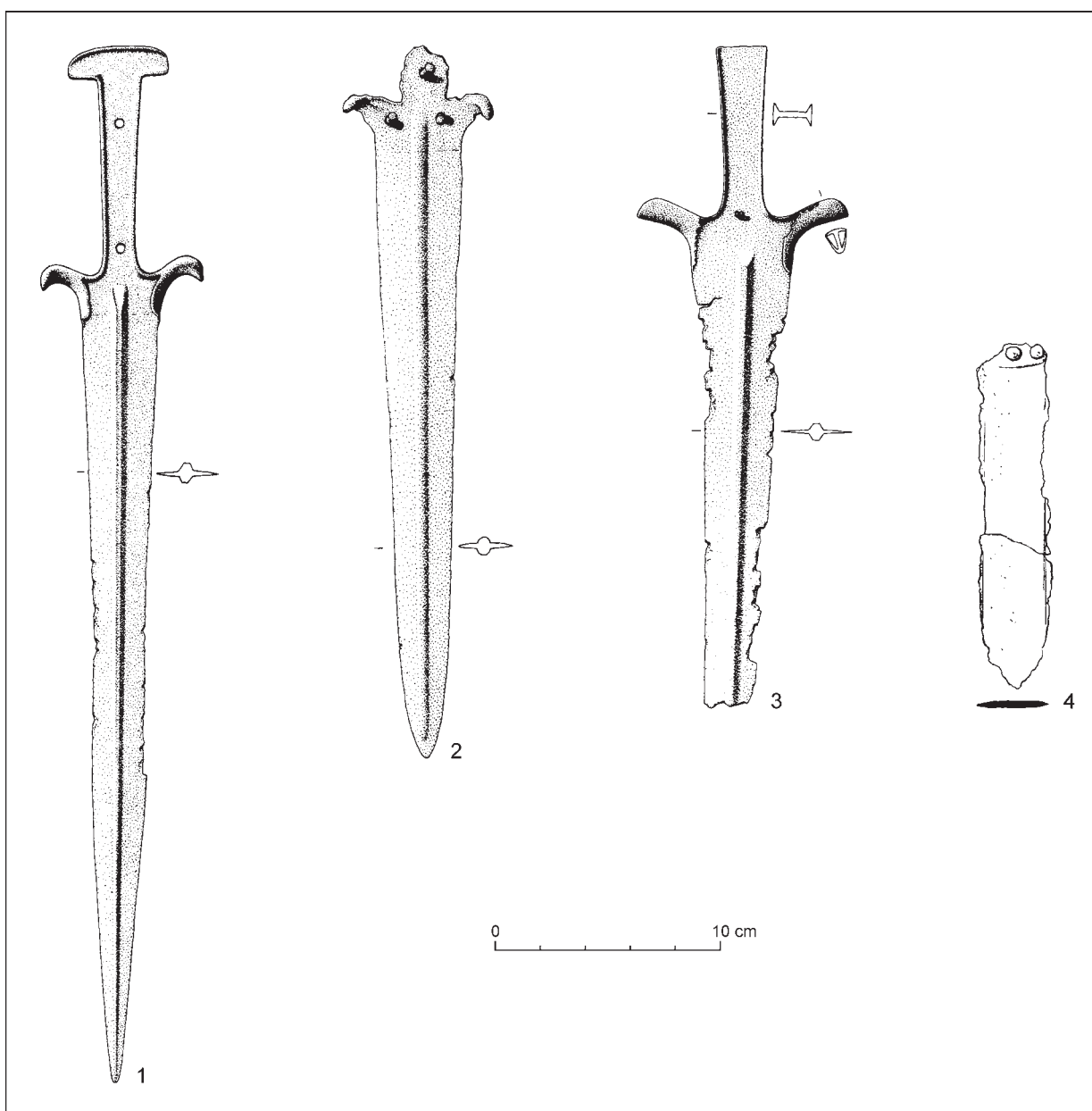
Pl. II. Examples of Type C swords and daggers. 1 – Iglarevo; 2 – Mesogephyra; 3 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 4 – Shtog; 5 – Tetovo (1, 5 after *Harding 1998*; 2–4 after *Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993*).



Pl. III. Examples of Type D swords. 1 – Grevena; 2 – Rrethe Bazje; 3 – Këlcyre; 4 – Mazaraki; 5 – Nënshat (after Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993).



Pl. IV. Examples of Type F swords. 1 – Dodona; 2 – Kalbaki; 3 – Kastritsa; 4 – Liatovouni; 5 – Mesopotamos (1–3, 5 after Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; 4 after Douzougli/Papadopoulos 2010).



Pl. V. Examples of Type G swords and tangless dagger. 1 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 2 – Barç; 3 – Katakali; 4 – Pazhok (1–3 after *Kilian-Dirlmeier* 1993; 4 after *Harding* 1984; not to scale).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrea 1981 – Z. Andrea: Një varrezë e dystë në fshatin Gërmenj (Rrethi i Lushnjës). *Iliria* 11, 1981, 219–226.
- Andrea 1983–1984 – Z. Andrea: Archaeology in Albania, 1973–83. *Archaeological Reports* 30, 1983–1984, 102–119.
- Andreou/Psaraki 2007 – S. Andreou/K. Psaraki: Tradition and Innovation in the Bronze Age Pottery of the Thessaloniki Toumba. Food and drink consumption and 'tableware' ceramics. In: H. Todorova/M. Stefanovich/G. Ivanov (eds.): *The Struma/Strymon River Valley in Prehistory. Proceedings of the International Symposium Strymon Praehistoricus. Kjustendil – Blagoevgrad (Bulgaria), Serres – Amphipolis (Greece)* 27. 09.–01. 10. 2004. In: *The Steps of James Harvey Gaul* 2. Sofia 2007, 397–420.
- Bejko 2009 – L. Bejko: Life and death in the periphery of the Mycenaean world: Cultural processes in the Albanian Late Bronze Age. *Ocnus* 17, 2009, 11–22.
- Bodinaku 1988 – N. Bodinaku: Dy armë bronzë nga Këlcyra. *Iliria* 18, 1988, 34–49.
- Bouzek 1985 – J. Bouzek: *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: cultural interrelations in the second millennium B.C.* Studies in Mediterranean archaeology 29. Göteborg 1985.
- Buchholz 1959 – H. G. Buchholz: *Zur Herkunft der kretischen Doppelaxt. Geschichte und auswärtige Beziehungen eines minoischen Kultsymbols.* München 1959.
- Bunguri 2012 – A. Bunguri: Sëpatat dyshe prej bronzë në Shqipëri. *Iliria* 36, 2012, 7–45.
- Dakaris 1968 – S. I. Dakaris: A Mycenaean IIIB Dagger from the Palaeolithic Site of Kastritsa in Epirus, Greece. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 33, 1968, 30–36. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0079497X0001402X>
- Douzougli 1996 – A. Douzougli: Ë Koilada tou Aouu: Archaïologikes martyries gia tēn anthrōpinē drasthriotēta apo tēn proïstorikē epochē ōs tēn hystera archaiotēta. In: G. Nitsiakos (ed.): *Ë Eparchia Konitsas ston Choro kai ton Chrono. Eisēgēseis Sto A Epistēmōniko Symposio.* (Konitsa 12, 13, 14 Maïou 1995). Konitsa 1996, 11–61.
- Douzougli/Papadopoulos 2010 – A. Douzougli/J. K. Papadopoulos: Liatovouni: A Molossian Cemetery and Settlement in Epirus. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 125, 2010, 1–87.
- Driessen/Macdonald 1984 – J. Driessen/C. Macdonald: Some Military Aspects of the Aegean in the Late Fifteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries B.C. *The Annual of the British School of Athens* 79, 1984, 49–74.
- Eder 2008 – B. Eder: The Northern Frontier of the Mycenaean World. In: B. Horejs/P. Pavúk (eds.): *Aegean and Balkan Prehistory*, 2008. Available at: http://www.aegeobalkanprehistory.net/index.php?p=article&id_art=11 [15. 10. 2023]
- Filipović/Milanojčić 2015 – V. Filipović/D. Milanojčić/P. Milanojčić: Mikenski mač iz okoline Aleksinca. *Vesnik Broj* 42, 2015, 9–17.
- Filipović/Milanojčić 2015 – V. Filipović/P. Milanojčić: A Minoan (?) Dagger from Lipovacko Gradiste (Central Balkans). *Karadžić* 7, 2015, 16–25.
- Gavranović/Papazovska/Mehofer 2021 – M. Gavranović/A. Papazovska/M. Mehofer: First Archeometallurgical Results of Bronze and Iron Age Objects from North Macedonia. *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 24, 2021, 133–150. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.55973/MAA2124133g>
- Harding 1984 – A. F. Harding: *The Mycenaeans and Europe.* London 1984.
- Harding 1995 – A. F. Harding: *Die Schwerter im ehemaligen Jugoslawien.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde IV/14. Stuttgart 1995.
- Horejs 2007 – B. Horejs: The Phenomenon of Matt-painted Pottery in the Northern Aegean. Introduction, Overview and Theories. In: B. Horejs/P. Pavúk (eds.): *Aegean and Balkan Prehistory*, 2007. Available at: http://www.aegeobalkanprehistory.net/index.php?p=article&id_art=8 [20. 10. 2023]
- Horejs 2012 – B. Horejs: Zur Keramik im spätbronzezeitlichen Nordgriechenland. In: Pavúk/Horejs 2012, 130–145.
- Jung 2010 – R. Jung: Der Charakter der Nordkontakte der minoischen und mykenischen Zivilisation um 1600 v. u. Z. In: H. Meller/F. Bertemes (Hrsg.): *Der Griff nach den Sternen – Wie Europas Eliten zu Macht und Reichtum kamen. Internationales Symposium in Halle (Saale)* 16.–21. Februar 2005. Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale) 5/II. Halle 2010, 657–674.
- Jung 2018 – R. Jung: Vòini i orāžija v Centralnite i Iztočnite Balkani – Warriors and Weapons on the Central and Eastern Balkans. In: St. Alexandrov/Y. Dimitrova/H. Popov/B. Horejs/K. Chukalev (eds.): *Zlato & bronz. Metali, tehnologii i međuregionalni kontakti na teritorijata na Iztočnite Balkani prez bronzovata epoha – Gold & Bronze. Metals, Technologies and Interregional Contacts in the Eastern Balkans during the Bronze Age.* Sofia 2018, 241–251.
- Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013 – G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi: The Royal Nekropolis of Aiani: research on 'mycenaean', archaic, classical and hellenistic burials. In: G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi (ed.): *To Arkhaiologiko Ergo Stin Ano Makedonia Aianh – Khaïdelveryi.* AEAM 2, 2011 – *The Archaeological Work in Upper Macedonia. Aiani – Heidelberg.* AEAM 2, 2011. Aianh – Aiani 2013, 84–153.
- Karantzali 2021 – E. Karantzali (ed.): *G' Diethnes Diepistimoniko Symposio I Periphēria Ti Mikinaïki Kosmi. Prōsphata evrīmata kai porismata tis ēreynas Lamia.* 18–21 Maïou 2018 – *Proceedings of the 3rd International Interdisciplinary Colloquium The Periphery of the Mycenaean World. Recent discoveries and research results.* 18–21 May, Lamia 2018. Athina – Athens 2021.
- Kilian 1976 – K. Kilian: Nordgrenze des ägäischen Kulturbereiches in mykenischer und nachmykenischer Zeit. *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt am Main* 1976, 112–129.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985 – I. Kilian-Dirlmeier: Schwerter ägäischen Typs in Albanien. *Iliria* 2, 1985, 251–264.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993 – I. Kilian-Dirlmeier: *Die Schwerter in Griechenland (ausserhalb der Peloponnes), Bulgarien und Albanien.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde IV/12. Stuttgart 1993.
- Kleitsas 2017 – Ch. N. Kleitsas: Dío néi táphi 'polemistón' tis Ísteris Khalkokratias apó tin Ípiro. In: *Spira. Epistimoniki Sinántisi pros Timín tis Angélikas Douzougli kai tou Konstantínou Zákhou, Ioánnina* 2012. Áthiná 2017, 251–264.
- Kleitsas 2021 – Ch. N. Kleitsas: *I Próimi Dodóni (1500–800 p. Kh.) – Ta Xálkina Tékhmerga – The Early Dodona (1500–800 B.C.) – The Bronze Artefacts.* Ioannina 2021.
- Kleitsas/Hofer/Jung 2018 – Ch. N. Kleitsas/M. Hofer/R. Jung: The Late Bronze Age Hoard of Stephani in Preveza, Epirus, NW Greece. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1, 2018, 73–107. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/b7k1-cla6>
- Koulidou 2021 – S. Koulidou: Mycenaean-type ceramic evidence from the lower slopes of Macedonian Olympus:

- The cases of the LBA cemeteries at 'Trimpina/Platamon Stop' and 'Rema Xydias'. In: *Karantzali* 2021, 417–432.
- Koulidou *et al.* 2012 – S. Koulidou/ E. Zagou/E. Mpatzikosta/K. Panteliadou/A. Tsianaka: Platamón Stop! «Mikinaikó» nekrotaphío kai ikismós tis ísteris epokhís khalkoú sti thési «Trimpína 2/Platamón Stop», ston Platamóna Pierías. *To Arkhaioloyikó Érgo sti Makedonía kai ti Thráki* 26, 2012, 213–224.
- Kurti 2017 – R. Kurti: On some aspects of the Late Bronze Age burial costume from north Albania. In: *Proceedings of the International Conference New Archaeological Discoveries in the Albanian Regions. 30–31 January, Tirana 2017. Volume 1. Tirane 2017*, 207–242.
- Mitrevski 1998 – D. Mitrevski: New Aspects of the Bronze Age Sites on the Northern Periphery of the Mycenaean World. In: B. Hänsel (Hrsg.): *Die Bronzezeit: das erste goldene Zeitalter Europas – The Bronze Age: the First Golden Age of Europe. Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas – Man and Environment in European Bronze Age*. Kiel 1998, 449–456.
- Mitrevski 2022 – D. Mitrevski: *North of the Aegean World*. Skopje 2022.
- Molloy 2010 – B. Molloy: Swords and Swordsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, 2010, 403–428.
- Molloy 2018 – B. Molloy: Bronze Weaponry and Cultural Mobility in Late Bronze Age Southeast Europe. In: Ch. Horn/K. Kristiansen (eds.): *Warfare in Bronze Age Society*. Cambridge 2018, 81–100.
- Omnis 2008 – E. Onnis: Modalità di scambio tra il mondo miceneo e i territori dell' Albania e dell' Epiro. *Siris* 9, 2008, 11–33.
- Papadopoulos 1998 – Th. J. Papadopoulos: *The Late Bronze Age Daggers of the Aegean I. The Greek Mainland*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde VI/11. Stuttgart 1998.
- Papaioannou 2004 – G. Papaioannou: *The late prehistory of the nomos of Ioannina, Greece: new approaches to the analysis of ceramic typology and site distribution*. PhD thesis. Department of Classics King's College London. London 2004. Available at: <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/studentTheses/the-late-prehistory-of-the-nomos-of-ioannina-greece-new-approache> [20. 10. 2023]
- Pavúk 2012 – P. Pavúk: Zur Entwicklung, Gliederung und Verbreitung der graumynischen Ware in Griechenland. In: *Pavúk/Horejs* 2012, 13–38.
- Pavúk/Horejs 2012 – P. Pavúk/ B. Horejs (Hrsg.): *Mittel- und Spätbronzezeitliche Keramik Griechenlands. Sammlung Fritz Schachermayer 3. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 439. Mykenische Studien 31*. Wien 2012.
- Poulaki-Pantermali 2013 – E. Poulaki-Pantermali: *Makedonikos Olympos. Mythos, Istoria, Archaeologia*. Thessaloniki 2013.
- Rhomiopoulou 1969 – K. Rhomiopoulou: Tikhaia eúrhmata èk tñs ID' Arkhaioloyikñs Periphereiás (Dit. Makedonia). *Arkhaioloyiki Ephimeris* 1969, 12–15.
- Sandars 1963 – N. K. Sandars: Later Aegean Bronze Swords. *American Journal of Archaeology* 67, 1963, 117–153.
- Stavropoulou-Gatsi/Jung/Mehofer 2012 – M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi/R. Jung/M. Mehofer: 'Táphos «Mikinaíou» Polemistí ston Kouvará Aitolokarnanías. Próti Parousíasi'. In: N. Ch. Stampolidis/A. Kanta/A. Giannikouri (eds.): *Athanasia. The Earthly, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age. International Archaeological Conference, Rhodes, 28–31 May, 2009*. Herakleion 2012, 247–264.
- Taracha 2004 – P. Taracha: From Dagger to Sword. Some Reflections on the Development of Early Swords in the Aegean, Anatolia and the Levant. *Archeologia* 55, 2004, 7–18.
- Tartaron 2004 – Th. F. Tartaron: *Bronze Age Landscape and Society in Southern Epirus, Greece*. BAR International Series 1290. Oxford 2004.
- Touchais 2002 – G. Touchais: Les rapports entre le monde mycénien et ses marges Nord-Ouest (Epire, Albanie, Macédoine). In: G. Touchais/J. Renard (éd.): *L'Albanie dans l'Europe préhistorique. Actes du Colloque International organisé par L'Ecole Française d'Athènes et l' Université de Bretagne-Sud Lorient, 8–10 juin 2000*. BCH Supplément 42. Recherches franco-albanaises 1. Athenes 2002, 199–215.
- Tsonos 2017 – A. Tsonos: Albania meets the Aegean: the West Mainland Koine revisited. In: M. Fotiadis/R. Laffineur/Y. Lolos/A. Vlachopoulos (eds.): *Esperos – Hesperos. The Aegean Seen from the West. Proceedings of the 16th International Aegean Conference, University of Ioannina, Department of History and Archaeology, Unit of Archaeology and Art History, 18–21 May 2016*. Aegaeum 41. Louven – Liège 2017, 327–338.
- Vasileiou 2021 – E. Vasileiou: Diamórphosi kinonikís taftótitas kai «díktio» kivotióskhimon táphon tis IEKh-PES stin endokhóra tis Ipiroú. In: *Karantzali* 2021, 625–634.
- Vokotopoulou 1969 – I. Vokotopoulou: Néi kivotióskhimi táphi tis IE III V-G períodou ex Ipiroú. *Archaiologiki Ephimerida* 1969, 179–207.
- Wardle 1993 – K. Wardle: Mycenaean Trade and Influence in Northern Greece. In: C. Zerner/P. Zerner/J. Winder (eds.): *Proceedings of the International Conference Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age. Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Athens, December 2–3, 1989*. Amsterdam 1993, 117–141.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- Soueref 1986 – K. Soueref: *Mikinaikés martiríes apó tin Ipiro*. PhD thesis. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki 1986.
- Tsonos 2015 – A. Tsonos: *Aiyaiakes Epidrasis Stin Alvania kai Sta ND Valkania Kata Ti Mesi Kai Isteri Epokhi Tou Khalkou*. PhD thesis. University of Ioannina. Ioannina 2015.

Manuscript accepted 30. 6. 2024

Súhrn preložil autor

Mgr. Jarosław Wójcik
Archeologický ústav SAV, v. v. i.
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
jaroslaw.wojcik@ukf.sk
<https://orcid.org/0009-0003-5222-9384>

Rozšírenie mečov a dýk s egejskými analógiami zo strednej a mladšej doby bronzovej v severnom Grécku, Albánsku, Severnom Macedónsku, Kosove a v Srbsku

Jarosław Wójcik

SÚHRN

Predložený príspevok sa zaoberá mečmi a dýkami s egejskými analógiami, ktoré sa našli v oblastiach Macedónska, Epiru, Albánska a v menšej miere v Severnom Macedónsku, Kosove a Srbsku. Vplyv egejskej kultúry v týchto oblastiach mal rôzny stupeň intenzity. Najstaršie príklady nálezov, datované do obdobia MM/MH I–LH IIB, sa nachádzajú ďaleko od hlavných egejských centier, najmä na pobreží stredného Macedónska, na polostrove Chalkidiki, v okolí Thessalonického zálivu a v Pierii. Včasné egejské artefakty sa objavujú aj v Albánsku a jedna dýka bola objavená v Srbsku.

V palácovom období (LH IIIA–B) dochádza k rozšíreniu kontaktov pozdĺž hlavných riek v Macedónsku, objavujú sa prvé isté importy v oblasti Epiru, značné množstvo kovových artefaktov s egejskými analógiami v Albánsku a ojedinelé nálezy v severnej časti regiónu vrátane Srbska, Kosova a Severného Macedónska.

V neskorej fáze kontaktov v postpalácovom období (LH IIIC) sa zvyšuje počet keramických imitácií v strednom Macedónsku, znižuje sa počet egejskej keramiky v západnom Macedónsku a Pierii a zvyšuje sa počet egejskej keramiky v Albánsku, hoci jej rozšírenie je obmedzené na jeho južnú a juhovýchodnú časť. Okrem toho sa v Albánsku znížil počet egejských mečov a dýk. Naopak, v Epire je väčšina zbraní z týchto kategórií datovaná do tohto obdobia.

Štúdia skúma distribúciu dýk bez jazyka, mečov a dýk typov A, C, D, E, F a G, ako aj hlavice mečov a fragmenty pošiev. Analyzované boli aj kontexty týchto nálezov. Zdôraznili sa aj miestne charakteristiky niektorých exemplárov. Štúdia odhalila, že najstaršie importy týchto typov zbraní sú značne rozšírené, zasahujú do severného Albánska

a južného Srbska, ale nenachádzajú sa na potenciálnych pozemných trasách vedúcich do týchto oblastí.

V prípade mečov a dýk z palácového obdobia je zaznamenané široké rozšírenie mečov typu C a D, ktoré zasahujú až do južného Srbska. Meče a dýky z tohto obdobia sa nachádzajú na celom skúmanom území s výnimkou dolného a stredného toku riek Vardar a Struma.

V postpalácovom období dochádza k regionálnej koncentrácii mečov typu F v Epire a k výraznému zníženiu počtu zbraní týchto kategórií v ostatných oblastiach. Tento pokles pravdepodobne súvisí s rozšírením mečov typu Naue II, čo naznačuje zmenu v preferenciách týkajúcich sa spôsobu boja a zvýšenie vplyvov zo severu v diskutovanom regióne.

Záverečná časť štúdie porovnáva distribúciu nálezov zbraní s inými egejskými artefaktmi a poukazuje na miestne rozdiely v akceptácii rôznych kategórií egejských predmetov. Vo všeobecnosti sa v západnej zóne, zahŕňajúcej Epirus a Albánsko, egejské kovové artefakty nachádzajú vo zvýšenom množstve, pričom jednotlivé predmety sa objavujú aj v Kosove a Srbsku. V Pierii a západnom Macedónsku sa pozoruje väčšia rozmanitosť artefaktov s mykénskymi analógiami, ale zbrane z daných kategórií sú menej časté.

V ostatných častiach regiónu stredného Macedónska je najrozšírenejšou kategóriou egejských artefaktov keramika. Pritomnosť mečov a dýk dokladajú len nálezy hlavíc na tellových sídliskách. Táto časť štúdie naznačuje výrazné regionálne rozdiely v typoch egejských artefaktov, ktoré boli prevzaté domácou populáciou. Rozdiely v spôsoboch distribúcie naznačujú rôzny stupeň kultúrneho vplyvu alebo obchodných vzťahov medzi týmito regiónmi a egejským svetom v rôznych obdobiach.

Obr. 1. Distribučná mapa. 1 – Midhë; 2 – Pazhok; 3 – Vajžë; 4–6 – Dodona; 7 – Pazhok; 8 – Vodhinë. Legenda: a – meče typu A; b – dýky bez jazyka. Autor J. Wójcik.

Obr. 2. Distribučná mapa. 1 – Agios Dimitrios; 2 – Aiani; 3, 4 – Burrel; 5 – Dodona; 6 – Gërmenj; 7 – Grevena; 8 – Guvnishtë; 9 – Iglarevo; 10 – Komsj; 11, 12 – Mesogephyra; 13 – Shtogj; 14 – Tetovo; 15 – Trimpina; 16 – „Mount Olympus“; 17 – Varibop; 18 – Aiani; 19 – Bruç; 20 – Gërmenj; 21 – Grevena; 22 – Kato Konitsa; 23 – Këlcyrë; 24 – Liatovouni; 25 – Mazaraki; 26 – Nënshat; 27 – Rrethe Bazje; 28 – Iglarevo. Legenda: a – dýky a meče typu C; b – dýky a meče typu D; c – neznámy typ meča. Autor J. Wójcik.

Obr. 3. Distribučná mapa. 1 – Paramythia; 2, 3 – Dodona; 4 – Elaphotopos-Kalivia; 5 – Kalbaki; 6 – Kastritsa; 7 – Liatovouni; 8 – Mesopotamos; 9 – Pedini; 10 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 11 – Barç; 12 – Katakali. Legenda:

a – dýka typu E; b – dýky a meče typu F; c – dýky a meče typu G. Autor J. Wójcik.

Obr. 4. Rozšírenie egejských dýk, mečov, hlavíc a fragmentov pošiev mečov v skúmanej oblasti v porovnaní s distribúciou keramiky LH I–III a jej imitácií. 1 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 2 – Aiani; 3 – Barç; 4 – Bruç; 5 – Burrel; 6 – Dodona; 7 – Elaphotopos-Kalivia; 8 – Gërmenj; 9 – Grevena; 10 – Guvnishtë; 11 – Iglarevo; 12 – Kalbaki; 13 – Kastritsa; 14 – Katakali; 15 – Kato Konitsa; 16 – Këlcyrë; 17 – Komsj; 18 – Liatovouni; 19 – Mazaraki; 20 – Mesogephyra; 21 – Mesopotamos; 22 – Midhë; 23 – Nënshat; 24 – Paramythia; 25 – Pazhok; 26 – Pedini; 27 – Rrethe Bazje; 28 – Shtogj; 29 – Tetovo; 30 – Trimpina; 31 – „Mount Olympus“; 32 – Vajžë; 33 – Varibop; 34 – Vodhinë; 35 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 36 – Ano Komi; 37 – Assiros; 38 – Markova-Sušica; 39 – Thessaloniki

(Toumba). Legenda: a – jedna dýka/jeden meč; b – dve dýky/dva meče; c – šesť dýk/mečov; d – jedna hlavica; e – dve hlavice; f – fragment pošvy meča; g – keramika. Autor J. Wójcik.

Tabela 1. Katalóg nálezov egejských mečov, dýk, hlavíc a fragmentov pošiev mečov v oblasti Epiru, Macedónska, Albánska, Severného Macedónska, Kosova a Srbska.

Tab. I. Príklady mečov typu A. 1 – Midhë; 2 – Pazhok; 3 – Vajzë (podľa *Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993*).

Tab. II. Príklady mečov typu C. 1 – Iglarevo; 2 – Mesogephyra; 3 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 4 – Shtogj;

5 – Tetovo (1, 5 podľa *Harding 1998*; 2–4 podľa *Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993*).

Tab. III. Príklady mečov typu D. 1 – Grevena; 2 – Rrethe Bazje; 3 – Këlcyrë; 4 – Mazaraki; 5 – Nënshat (podľa *Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993*).

Tab. IV. Príklady mečov typu F. 1 – Dodona; 2 – Kalbaki; 3 – Kastritsa; 4 – Liatovouni; 5 – Mesopotamos (1–3, 5 podľa *Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993*; 4 podľa *Douzougli/Papadopoulos 2010*).

Tab. V. Príklady mečov typu G a dýky bez jazyka. 1 – Agios Dimitrios-Spathes; 2 – Barç; 3 – Katakali; 4 – Pazhok (1–3 podľa *Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993*, 4 podľa *Harding 1984*, bez mierky).