

THE NORTH-SOUTH TRENCH:
CENTRAL SECTOR



The third and central sector of the North-South trench lay in squares CDE 6-7. The area in question, destined to be the point at which the trench was intersected by the East-West trench, was a cutting of irregular shape measuring, at its greatest extent, 32m from West to East and 20m from North to South. Encompassing a slight spur to the South of the mound's summit, its surface here ran down from c.39.50m to c.38.00m A.T.

Schliemann dug here for four weeks in July and August 1872 and again over a period nearly as long in April and May 1873. In the central part of the area and on the west and east sides excavation was stopped by the 'Tower' - Dörpfeld's citadel walls IIb and IIc. To the North of this, excavation may have reached down to nearly 25m A.T., to a point where the floor of the trench joined with that of the northern sector at c.24.67m A.T. On the south side of the 'Tower' Schliemann dug down to c.27m A.T., excavating a ditch along the face of Wall IIb with the eventual aim of carrying off rainwater. The western terrace of the southern sector, at c.34.15m A.T., was continued. A view of the trench is given in Atlas Taf.110, Troy and Its Remains plate VIII and Ilios fig.3.

The mound structure revealed here is quite simple (see Fig.IV.45). To the South of a fortification wall of Troy I (IW) accumulated some deposits attributable to Late Troy I. Three successive fortification-walls of Troy II - IIId, c and b - expanded the citadel progressively southwards. Above these the deposits of Troy II-V accumulated in more or less regular, horizontal layers. There is once again some evidence that Troy VI was dug down into deposits of IV and V, but much of VI and VII was apparently removed during the building operations of Troy VIII or IX. Beyond the Troy II fortification walls, all the overlying deposits sloped down to the South.

The stratification in this area is largely unrecorded, although objects attributable to the trench are quite plentiful and can give some guidance. The divisions used here have, however, largely been extrapolated from those of immediately neighbouring areas.

Foundations of a 'house' in squares E 6-7 are the only architectural remains recorded from Troy IX. These were found immediately below the

surface and may well have been a part of the row of shops(?) found by Blegen behind the west stoa. Other remains of Troy VIII-IX descended in places to a depth of 2m, elsewhere only to 1m (Area i, Deposits 1,2).

Some marble blocks in Area i, Deposit (3) may derive from the fallen masonry of Troy VI: there is no indication that they formed part of an intact structure. Also dateable to Troy VI is Treasure 'P', found at a depth of 1m, which included three curved sickles, two flat axes and a double axe with shafthole.

Troy V, IV and III produced no architectural remains in this area - or none that were observed; but a large number of objects can be attributed to these phases. From Troy II derives the so-called 'Tower', actually Dörpfeld's citadel walls IIb and IIc; a thick stratum of burnt debris overlying it (Areas i,ii, Deposit 8); and a "mass of loose stones" which may have included Dörpfeld's Wall IID, otherwise not noticed, though clearly dug through, by Schliemann (Area ii, Deposit 15). To the North of Wall IID the presence of a stone drainage-channel at c.28m A.T. and of Troy II pottery to the same depth suggests the presence of buildings of Troy II dug into the Troy I deposits South of Wall IW (Area i, Deposit 11).

To Troy I we may assign the "house" found in Area i, Deposit (10): its size and position allow us to equate it plausibly with Blegen's Wall IW. Among the deposits heaped up against its south side Schliemann noted a stratum of white, "calcareous" earth (Area i, Deposit 12) which seems to correspond to a similar stratum found by Blegen to the South of his IW. From the same accumulation of diagonal strata laid down during later periods of Troy I comes the skeleton that was found in a nearly upright position "but slightly inclined backward"; presumably it represents an earlier burial within the citadel disturbed and thrown out during levelling operations (Area i, Deposit 14). Near it were found some gold beads and a ring, but probably not Treasure 'R'. From a deep stratum that may have lain below Wall IW and the white calcareous deposit, come a number of objects assignable to Troy I (Area i, Deposit 13).

This central sector of the North-South trench may be considered in three 'areas'. These correspond to the parts excavated by Schliemann during the three relevant periods discussed in Chapter III and depicted in

Figs.III.8, 9 and 17. Each 'area' is discussed individually in the following reports.

AREA i: DE 6-7

Figs.III.8; IV.44,45,46,47.

During the period 13th July-4th August 1872, Schliemann dug in four areas around the "Tower" which by 4th August all joined to form one, open trench of irregular shape. These four areas have been defined in Chapter III and consist of the southernmost end of the north trench, the northernmost end of the south trench, and two areas to East and West of the point where north and south trenches met. It would perhaps have been possible to attempt a separate treatment of the individual areas within DE 6-7. But Schliemann himself maintained no very precise demarcation between either the areas of excavation or the finds; so any such separate treatment could only have carried many uncertainties. For this reason the four areas are here treated as one, and the objects are catalogued in one list. The list is, however, subdivided on occasions when a tentative allocation of individual finds to individual areas seems possible.

The north trench, which had been dug in from the North Platform, had a width here of 12 or 13m. It may have reached to a depth as low as c.24.67m A.T., but probably sloped upwards to the South. Its southernmost limit is marked by the north face of the "Tower", that is, the north face of Dörpfeld's Wall IIc in D6. The south trench, which had been dug in from the South Platform, appears to have been roughly 16m wide at the surface but with a deeper channel 10m wide within its eastern side. The western terrace was cut down to only c.34.15m A.T., rising towards the North; the 10m-wide eastern cut was excavated on a slope and descended to c.27m A.T. At this point, just on the south side of the "Tower", i.e. immediately to the South of Dörpfeld's Wall IIb in D7, Schliemann cut deeper, to c.24m A.T. This cut must have been extended across the 10m width of the trench, and perhaps beyond it to the West, in the hope of creating a run-off channel for rainwater which might flow down the slope of the south trench. On the east side of the "Tower" Schliemann dug down to a depth of at least 4m, i.e. to c.34.50m A.T., over an area that at its greatest extent may have had a width, from North to South, of 20m. On the west side of the "Tower" a similar operation was carried down to at least 8m deep, where the surface of Walls IIb and IIc lay, over a rather narrower area that was perhaps 14m wide.

Deposit (1). In the area to the East of the "Tower", just to the South of the pillar in E6 which later remained unexcavated, Schliemann found Roman remains immediately below the surface. These were foundations of a large building which he described as a house. He gives no detailed information about them, but it seems very likely that they are a continuation of the structure behind the West Stoa of Troy IX of which Dörpfeld recorded a section in E6. The American expedition, which also investigated this area, described the building in E6 as one of a row of shops, with its floor at c.37.40m A.T. I have reconstructed the walls in Fig.IV.44 on the assumption that they continued the series, and they take the number Wall 31+.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.482,485; TI p.214, Taf. VII; Troy III p.172, fig.507)

Deposit (2). According to Trojanische Alterthümer, the remains of the "Greek" period descended in this area to a depth of 2m, although earlier deposits were sometimes found at a depth of only 1m. The "Greek" period we may here take to denote Troy VIII and IX. Judging from the objects found, preclassical deposits were encountered at c.36.50m in north, south and west trenches. In the east trench they may have reached up to 37.50m or even higher, as Blegen found, to c.38m A.T. These figures provide a rough lower limit for deposit (2), and a limit which is consistent with Schliemann's statement.

(TA p.164; Troy II fig.262; III p.172f)

OBJECTS FOUND

POLISHED STONE

- * 72-1565 Oblong block of stone(?) with holes at each end on the side and in the end. Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RIA | * 72-1405 | (2m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240. |
| RVIAb | * 72-1411 | (2m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 6-173. |
| GIB | * 72-1497 | (2m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 11-352. |
| RIB | 72-1568 | (30cm) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-4, <u>TR</u> No.318, <u>Ilios</u> No.1818. |
| RIA | * 72-1765 | ($\frac{1}{2}$ m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246. |
| RIVB | * 72-1768 | (0m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 6-173. |

FIGURINE

Headless statue (of terracotta?) (Tgb 1872 p.485)

Deposit (3). Below the foundations of the Roman building mentioned under Deposit (1), Schliemann found marble blocks which he took to

derive from earlier buildings. These he does not describe. There is no suggestion that they formed any kind of intact remains of a recognizable structure, and their date is uncertain. Judging from Blegen's sequence in E6, it is possible that they derived from buildings of Troy VI; but marble really suggests something later.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.485; Troy III p.172f, fig.507)

Deposit (4). In the east area of the excavation, "pre-hellenic" strata were preserved at a height of only 1m below the surface, i.e. to c.37.50m A.T., and even to c.38m A.T. in E6 according to Blegen. Judging from the stratification in E6 and in D 7-8, these uppermost, pre-classical deposits must probably be assigned to Troy VI. In the rest of the area there is little evidence for the character of deposits between 37.50 and 36.50m A.T.

(TA p.164; Troy II fig.262; III p.172f)

OBJECTS FOUND

"Tower" Trench East

METALWORK - TREASURE 'P'

Treasure 'P' appears to be correctly reported by Schliemann, and is described and drawn under the diary entry for 31st July 1872. It was found at a depth of 1m. See further Antiquity 58 (1984) p.202.

- 72-1816 Curved bronze sickle. Atlas 34-854? Ilios No.1419? SS 6137; Fig.V.38.
- 72-1817 Curved copper sickle. Atlas 34-850? Ilios No.1420? SS 6457; Fig.V.38.
- 72-1818 Curved bronze sickle. Atlas 34-837? Fig.V.38.
- 72-1822 Fragment of copper knife-blade. Atlas 34-849, cf. TI fig.268b; Fig.V.38.
- 72-1819 Copper flat axe. Atlas 34-861, SS 6136; Fig.V.38.
- 72-1820 Copper flat axe. Atlas 34-862; Fig.V.38.
- 72-1821 Bronze double axe with shafthole. Atlas 34-865, Ilios No.1429-30, SS 6135; Fig.V.38.

SEAL

- 72-1811 Conical terracotta stamp-seal (1m). Atlas 19-546, TR No.116, Ilios No.1337, SS 8857; Fig.V.46.

WHORLS

- RIA 72-1780 (1m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIC 72-1800 (1m)
- GIXC 72-1806 (1m)

Area Unspecified

WHORLS

- RVIIAa 72-1812 (1m)
- RIIIB 72-1813 (1m)
- GIA 72-1814 (1½m) Atlas 4-111.
- RIA 72-1815 (1½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.

Deposit (5). To Troy V may be assigned the material found at a depth of 3m throughout the area. In the south trench, and in the areas to West and East of the Tower, where the surface lay lower than in the north trench, the deposits of Troy V may have reached up to 2m.

OBJECTS FOUND

Area East of the 'Tower'

POTTERY

- A45 72-1874 Grey polished depas (2½m). Atlas 32-788? (2m), TR No. 135? SS 2125? Fig.V.30.
D13 72-1832 Face-lid (2m). Fig.V.30.

Area Unspecified

POTTERY

- A33 * 72-1663 Cup with rounded base, widened rim and large handle from rim to base of body (3m). Atlas 36-922? Fig.V.30.
A33 * 72-1668 Similar (3m). Atlas 36-920? Fig.V.30.
A45 * 72-1401 Depas (2m). Atlas 32-787? TR No.134; Fig.V.30.
B210 * 72-1841 Ovoid flask with splayed base and cylindrical neck (restored). Two vertically-perforated lugs on opposing sides of body (2m). Atlas 32-761, SS 2591; Fig.V.30.
B220 * 72-1836 Jar with ovoid body, flaring base, tall cylindrical neck, and two large handles from rim to shoulder. Decorated with two horizontal lines around join of neck to body (2½m). Fig.V.30.
C8 * 72-1835 Conical jar with rounded base, short straight neck, two lugs on opposing side of body, and three knobs on the body (2½m). Atlas 32-782, TR No.136, Ilios No. 1299, SS 1847; Fig.V.30.
C204 * 72-1578 Small globular jar with rounded base, short straight neck leading to hole mouth; spout, knob, or broken handle protruding from shoulder. Decorated with incised vertical lines between two horizontal lines which run around upper body (3m). Fig.V.30.
C208 * 72-1842 Yellow slipped and burnished ovoid bottle with flat base, narrow neck and everted rim (2½m). Atlas 32-783? SS 1491? Fig.V.30.
D31 * 72-1843 Globular jar with rounded base, flaring neck; apparently broken away from multiple vessel (2½m). Atlas 34-856; Fig.V.30.
D213 * 72-1837/ Miniature, hemispherical bowl with flat lid, found in
8 a group of twelve (2m). Atlas 33-833; Fig.V.30.

METALWORK

- * 72-1873 Spike(?), said to be of iron (2m). Atlas 99-2112e? (3m, copper); Fig.V.37.

WHORLS

- RIIA * 72-1404 (3m)
RIC * 72-1409 (3m) Atlas 4-104.
RIIIB * 72-1496 (3m) cf. Atlas 6-187.
RIIA * 72-1498 (3m)
RIIA * 72-1576 (3m) cf. Atlas 5-135.
RIVB * 72-1585 (3m)
RIIIA * 72-1621 (3m)
RIVA * 72-1622 (3m)
RIIIA * 72-1627 (3m)

RIVA * 72-1629 (3m)
 RIIIA * 72-1631 (3m)
 RIIIA * 72-1632 (3m) cf. Atlas 5-150, SS 4641.
 RIVA * 72-1633 (3m) Atlas 3-81?
 RIIIA * 72-1637 (3m)
 RIVA * 72-1642 (3m)
 GX * 72-1830(?) (2m)
 GIA * 72-1833 (2m)
 RIA * 72-1834

FIGURINES

3H * 72-1661 Marble figurine (3m). Atlas 99-2174; Fig.V.45.
 2G * 72-1845 Marble figurine with triangular head (2½m). Atlas 99-2178, 20-574, SS 7515; Fig.V.45.
 3G * 72-1877 Marble figurine (2½m). Atlas 99-2176b? (3m); Fig.V.45.

Deposit (6). For this deposit, as for Deposit (5), there is no explicit description by Schliemann. But the nature of the finds which may be attributed to the stratum between c.35.67 and c.33.67m A.T. allows us to suppose that he here encountered deposits of Troy IV as he had done in D 4-6. To this stratum we may assign the objects found at 4 and 5m deep in the north trench, and at 3 and 4m deep in the south trench and in the east and west sectors of the "Tower" trench.

OBJECTS FOUND

Area East of the "Tower"

A204 72-1557 Tripod dish with incised top (3m). Atlas 16-472, TR No.484, Ilios Nos.1219,1984, SS 9686; Fig.V.28.

Area West of the "Tower"

A45 72-1655 Tall, yellow slipped and burnished, two-handled goblet with body divided into three rounded sections, one on top of the other. Two large loop-handles from shoulder to lowest section (4m). Atlas 41-994, TR No. 125, Ilios No.1083, SS 1455; Fig.V.28.

Area Unspecified

POTTERY

A33 * 72-1662 Rounded cup with flaring neck and large handle from rim to lower body (4m). Atlas 36-908? Fig.V.28.
 A33(?) * 72-1470 Round cup with flattened base, slightly out-turned rim and handle from neck to body (3m). Fig.V.28.
 A39 * 72-1477 Tankard with broken handle (4m). Atlas 36-900? Fig. V.28.
 A45 * 72-1476 Depas (4m). Atlas 41-997; Fig.V.28.
 A45 72-1495 Depas (4m). Atlas 40-980; Fig.V.28.
 A45 * 72-1660 Depas (4m). Atlas 37-929? Fig.V.28.
 A224 * 72-1658/ 9 Red globular cup with out-turned rim, two large handles from neck to lower body, and three curled

- feet (4m). Atlas 41-992, Ilios No.1108; Fig.V.28.
- A229 * 72-1581 Conical tankard or jar with flattened base, slightly out-turned rim, and two vertical handles on body (4m). Fig.V.28.
- B9 * 72-1656 Ovoid wheelmade jar with rounded base, slightly flaring neck, and short tubular spout projecting from shoulder (4m). Atlas 42-1010 (5m), Ilios No.1126 (16 ft). Fig.V.28.
- B207 * 72-1506 Piriform jar with narrow, cylindrical neck and three short feet (5½m). Fig.V.29.
- C19 * 72-1448 Globular jar with rounded base, wide mouth with slightly out-turned rim, and two handles from neck to body (4m). Fig.V.29.
- C28 * 72-1469 Globular jar with flat base, cylindrical neck with perforations in rim, and two lugs on opposing shoulders (4m). Atlas 40-987; Fig.V.29.
- C28 * 72-1580 Globular jar with rounded base, short wide neck, and two vertical lugs on opposing sides of the body (5m). Fig.V.29.
- C28 * 72-1858 Globular jar with flat base, short straight neck and two lugs on opposing sides of body (3½m). Cf. Atlas 40-987 (4m). Fig.V.29.
- C28 * 72-1862 Small globular jar with slightly flattened base, short concave neck and two horizontally perforated lugs on opposing sides of body (3m). Fig.V.29.
- C203 72-1494 Ovoid jar with flat base, hole mouth, two horizontally perforated lugs on opposing shoulders, and short, tubular spout from lower half of body (4m). Fig.V.29.
- C205 * 72-1876 Conical pyxis(?) (3m). Fig.V.28.
- D13 * 72-1853 Face-lid (3m). Atlas 35-874, TR No.132? Ilios No. 1295? Fig.V.29.
- D14 * 72-1839 Flat circular lid with central tab-handle perforated (3m). Fig.V.29.
- D200 * 72-1697 Flat lid with two holes (5m). Fig.V.29.

CHIPPED STONE

- 72-1665 Blade (5m)
 72-1666 Blade (5m)
 72-1694 Blade (5m)
 72-1695 Blade (5m)
 72-1696 Blade (5m)
 * 72-1846 Blade (3m)
 * 72-1859 Blade (3½m)

WHORLS

- RIA * 72-1402 (4m)
 RVIAb * 72-1412 (4m)
 RIA * 72-1422 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
 RIA * 72-1428 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
 GIB * 72-1432 (5m)
 RIA * 72-1433 (5m)
 RIB * 72-1434 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-3.
 RIIA * 72-1435 (5m) cf. Atlas 5-135.

GVI	72-1440	(4m)	<u>Atlas</u> 9-299, <u>TR</u> No.379, <u>Ilios</u> No.1879, <u>SS</u> 5244.
GIA	* 72-1457	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 11-350.
RIIA	* 72-1458	(3m)	
RIVA	* 72-1459	(3½m)	
RIB	* 72-1460	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-2.
RIID	* 72-1461	(4m)	<u>Atlas</u> 3-76, <u>SS</u> 4631; Fig.V.49.
RVB	* 72-1462	(4m)	<u>Atlas</u> 12-409.
RIIC	* 72-1463	(4m)	
RIIIA	* 72-1465	(4m)	
RIIA	* 72-1483	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-135.
GVI	72-1484	(4m)	<u>Atlas</u> 8-242, <u>TR</u> No.490, <u>Ilios</u> No.1990, <u>SS</u> 5283.
RIA	* 72-1486	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
GIA	* 72-1487	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 11-350.
RIIA	* 72-1488	(4m)	
GVB	* 72-1500	(5m)	<u>Atlas</u> 9-280, <u>SS</u> 5273 (3266).
RIIA	* 72-1508	(4m)	
RIIIA	* 72-1514	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 3-72.
RIB	* 72-1523	(4m)	
RIB	* 72-1524	(3m)	
GIB	* 72-1526	(4m)	
RIIA	* 72-1530	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-269.
RIC	* 72-1531	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 4-115.
GIXD	* 72-1534	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 7-218, <u>SS</u> 4547.
GIB	* 72-1535	(4m)	
GIA	* 72-1543	(4m)	
RIIA	* 72-1554	(4m)	
RIA	* 72-1567	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
RIIA	* 72-1569	(4m)	
RIIIA	* 72-1573	(4m)	
RIA	* 72-1574	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-248.
RIID	* 72-1575	(5m)	
GIII	72-1584	(5m)	
GID	* 72-1586	(5m)	
RIVB	* 72-1588	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-33, <u>SS</u> 4724.
RIIA	* 72-1589	(5m)	
RIB	* 72-1591	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-4, <u>TR</u> No.318, <u>Ilios</u> No.1818.
RIIA	* 72-1592	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-135.
RIB	* 72-1618	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-5.
RIB	* 72-1630	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-2.
RIVA	* 72-1634	(4m)	
GID	* 72-1635	(5m)	<u>Atlas</u> 11-343, <u>SS</u> 5130.
RIB	* 72-1636	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-4, <u>TR</u> No.318, <u>Ilios</u> No.1818.
GIXC	* 72-1638	(4m)	
RIVA	* 72-1639	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 3-86.
GVA	* 72-1640	(4m)	<u>Atlas</u> 8-259, <u>TR</u> No.483, <u>Ilios</u> No.1983, <u>SS</u> 5249.
RIVA	* 72-1641	(4m)	
RVIAb	* 72-1643	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 6-173.
RIVB	* 72-1646	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 6-173.
RIIIB	* 72-1654	(5m)	
RIA	* 72-1671	(5m)	
RIIB	* 72-1684	(5m)	<u>Atlas</u> 4-105, <u>TR</u> No.437, <u>Ilios</u> No.1937, <u>SS</u> 4611.
RIA	* 72-1685	(5m)	
RIIIA	* 72-1687	(5m)	
RIIB	* 72-1698	(5m)	
RIA	* 72-1784	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIIIC	* 72-1840	(3m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-26.
RIA	* 72-1850	(3m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIA	* 72-1852	(3m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIVA	* 72-1856	(3½m)	

GVA * 72-1857 (3½m) Atlas 2-36, TR No.382, Ilios No.1882, SS 5237.
 GIXC * 72-1860 (3½m) cf. Atlas 6-180.
 RIIIA * 72-1861 (3½m)
 RIVA * 72-1871 (4m)
 GIA * 72-1872 (3m)

WEIGHTS

* 72-1670 Loomweight(?) or whetstone (4m). Fig.V.47.
 * 72-1878 Loomweight or whetstone (3m). Fig.V.47.

FIGURINE

3b * 72-1844 Marble(?) figurine (3m). Atlas 99-2176; Fig.V.45.

MISCELLANEOUS

* 72-1701 Rectangular terracotta plate with row of six holes, each with a slit to edge of the plate (5m). Atlas 100-2204, Ilios No.1210, SS 7701; Fig.V.48.

Deposit (7). Once again, this deposit is not explicitly described by Schliemann. But the objects which may be assigned to the strata between c.33.67 and c.32.17m A.T. appear to be dateable to Troy III. So we may presume that there was here a continuation of the Troy III deposit noted in Deposit (5) of D 4-6. To this stratum, then, are allocated objects found at a depth of 5-6m. But the deposit is likely to have sloped down to a greater depth on the south side of the Troy II citadel wall (see reconstruction in Fig.IV.45). Schliemann must have encountered this deeper, thicker deposit in the days before 16th July. There are therefore some additions from depths of 7-10m from the relevant days.

OBJECTS FOUND

Area East of the "Tower"

WHORLS

RIA * 72-1764 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
 * 72-1766 (5m) cf. Atlas 10-335.

Area Unspecified

POTTERY

A212 * 72-1826 Shallow cup with rounded base, incurving sides, and one large loop handle on body (6m). Fig.V.24.
 A222 * 72-1879 Squat cup with rounded base, everted rim and two large, rising handles from rim to body (5m). Atlas 46-1105; Fig.V.24.
 A226 * 72-1778 Coarse buff globular jar on pedestal base, slightly flaring rim, and two loop-handles on opposing sides of body. Atlas shows grooves around lower half of body (5m). Atlas 44-1051, SS 1557; Fig.V.24.
 B3 * 72-1774 Piriform jug with rounded base, tall straight neck, and loop-handle from neck to body (6m). Atlas 83-1751(?) (9m!). Fig.V.25.
 B3 * 72-1775 Piriform jug with flat base, short neck and single loop-handle from neck to body (6m). Atlas 53-1260? Fig.V.25.
 B6 * 72-1559 Lentoid(?) flask with flat base, tall straight neck

- and two loop-handles from neck to shoulder (6m).
Ilios No.1115(?); Fig.V.26.
- B20? * 72-1776 Globular jug with rounded base, short neck with rising spout, and handle from neck to body (5m). Atlas 42-1012; Fig.V.25.
- B200 * 72-1516 Piriform flask with flattened base and tall, conical neck. Height 19cm (6m). Atlas 83-1753 (9m); Fig.V.25.
- C22 * 72-1604 Coarse red conical mixing bowl with flat base. Four vertical loop-handles set half way down body. Height 41cm; width 51cm (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ m). Atlas 55-1289 (7m), Ilios No. 438, SS 2510; Fig.V.26.
- C28 * 72-1608 Piriform jar with rounded base, tall straight neck, and two lugs set vertically on opposing shoulders (6m). Atlas 50-1218? Fig.V.26.
- C30? * 72-1777 Ovoid jar with flattened base, two loop handles on opposing sides of body, and 'bucrania' decoration on one side (5m). Atlas 75-1630?? (8m) assuming uncertain restoration as face-vase. Fig.V.26.
- C39 - Pithos (Tgb 1872 p.455) (9m).
- C204 * 72-1790 Globular vessel with rounded base, narrower neck, and spout or broken handle protruding from body (6m). Fig. V.25.
- C218 72-1823 Globular grey-brown jar with tripod base, short cylindrical neck, and two volute handles on shoulder. Body decorated with a single horizontal register of incised zigzags between two horizontal lines, around middle of body (5m). Atlas 43-1029, Ilios No.1018, SS 2328; Fig.V.26.
- C219 * 72-1400 Bulbous jar with everted base and wide flaring neck (7m). Fig.V.24.
- C220 * 72-1507 Tall, ovoid jar 60cm high, with flat base, slightly out-turned rim, and two loop-handles from neck to shoulder (6m). Atlas 60-1357; Fig.V.27.
- D7 * 72-1866 Cylindrical lid with three superposed bands joining at centre (6m). Atlas 51-1231? Fig.V.27.
- D29 72-1562 Buff, unslipped askos with three feet (6m). Atlas 49-1205, SS 1481; Fig.V.26.
- D33 72-1430 Funnel (8m). Fig.V.26.
- D- * 72-1789 Coarseware, sub-rectangular box (6m). Atlas 50-1222?

METALWORK

- * 72-1880 Halberd with hooked butt, and blade divided into three points (6m). Fig.V.37.
- * 72-1791 Pin, 16cm long; cf. TI fig.290a,g (5m). Fig.V.39.

CHIPPED STONE

- * 72-1560 Blade (5m)
- * 72-1770 Blade (5m)
- * 72-1863 Blade (6m)

POLISHED STONE

- * 72-1394 "Diorite" ball with hole: hammer - or mace-head (9m). Atlas 83-1745; Fig.V.42.
- * 72-1657 Axe head (6m). Atlas 48-1166? Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- RIA * 72-1395 (8m) Atlas 5-151.
- GIC * 72-1396 (8m)
- RIB * 72-1397 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.
- RIIIA * 72-1398 (7m) Atlas 3-91.

RIA	*	72-1399	(7m)	
RIIA	*	72-1408	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-238.
RIA	*	72-1419	(9m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIIA	*	72-1420	(8m)	
RIIIA	*	72-1421	(9m)	
RIA	*	72-1423	(6m)	
RIA	*	72-1424	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIIA	*	72-1425	(9m)	
GIB	*	72-1426	(10m)	<u>Atlas</u> 4-109? (9m)
RIB	*	72-1427	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-2.
RIA	*	72-1429	(4m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
GVII	*	72-1455	(5m)	<u>Atlas</u> 9-278, <u>SS</u> 5313.
RIIIA	*	72-1464	(5m)	
RIA	*	72-1512	(6m)	
RIIC	*	72-1513	(6m)	
RIIIC	*	72-1517	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-26.
RIB	*	72-1518	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 2-43.
GID	*	72-1521	(5m)	
RIB	*	72-1522	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-4, <u>TR</u> No.318, <u>Ilios</u> No.1818.
RIA	*	72-1525	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIA	*	72-1528	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIID	*	72-1529	(5m)	<u>Atlas</u> 10-334, <u>SS</u> 5158.
RIIC	*	72-1532	(5m)	
GIXD	*	72-1533	(6m)	<u>Atlas</u> 6-194.
RIIC	*	72-1537	(5m)	
RIIA	*	72-1538	(6m)	
RIA	*	72-1541	(5m)	
RIA	*	72-1542	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIC	*	72-1546	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 4-115.
RIIIC	*	72-1547	(5m)	
RIIIA	*	72-1550	(5m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 3-72.
RID	*	72-1551	(6m)	
GIA	*	72-1555	(5m)	
GID	*	72-1566	(6m)	
RIIA	*	72-1571	(6m)	
GIA	*	72-1572	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 10-336, <u>SS</u> 5093.
GIB	*	72-1590	(6m)	
GIXD	*	72-1595	(6m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 13-425.
RIIA	*	72-1596	(6m)	
RIIIA	*	72-1600	(6m)	
GIXD	*	72-1617	(6m)	
RIIIA	*	72-1652	(6m)	
RIIIB	*	72-1779	(5m)	
GIA	*	72-1867	(6m)	
RIIIA	*	72-1868	(6m)	
RIVA	*	72-1870	(6m)	

FIGURINE

3D * 72-1674 Marble(?) figurine (6m). Atlas 99-2153; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (8). Schliemann records that on 17th July at a depth of 7-10m in the south trench he encountered colossal masses of burnt debris with "Trojan" pottery. This stratum must have underlain Deposit (7) and overlain the "Tower"; we may assume that it was a destruction deposit which

extended across the surface of the "Tower" and joined Deposit (6) of D 4-6. The objects attributable to it are consistent with a Troy II date. To Deposit (8), then, may be assigned objects found at 7-8m and, from the last few days of work in the south trench, those from a greater depth as well.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.461)

OBJECTS FOUND

Area East of the "Tower"

POTTERY

- C10 * 72-1772 Ovoid jar with narrow flaring neck and two vertical loop-handles on body. Height 70cm (11m). Atlas 101-2272i(?); Fig.V.20.
- C11 * 72-1773 Globular jar with flat base, narrow neck and everted rim. Two loop-handles on opposing sides of body. Width 52cm (11m). Atlas 92-1909? Fig.V.21.
- C21 * 72-1771 Squat conical mixing bowl of coarse red fabric. Two loop-handles are set vertically on opposing sides of the body. Height 14cm (10m). Atlas 88-1834, Ilios No. 437, SS 281; Fig.V.19.

CHIPPED STONE

- * 72-1769 Blade (10m).

Area Unspecified

POTTERY

- A2 * 72-1501 Shallow bowl with flattish base and sides curving up to wide, simple mouth (7m). Atlas 56-1309? Fig.V.22.
- A39 * 72-1825 Tankard with flattened base, slightly rising spout, and handle from neck to body (7m). Atlas 65-1443? Fig.V.22.
- A39 * 72-1828 Brown slipped and burnished tankard with flat base, out-turned rim, and handle from rim to body (8m). Atlas 76-1633? SS 1198; Fig.V.17.
- A39 * 72-1579 Piriform tankard with flattened base, short neck and spout or broken handle projecting from body (8m). Atlas 70-1559? Fig.V.17.
- B6 * 72-1689b Deep coarse flask with rounded base, cylindrical neck, and two handles from neck to shoulder. Height 29cm (7m). Fig.V.23.
- B18 * 72-1809 Deep, piriform jug with flat base, slightly rising spout and loop handle from rear of spout to upper part of body (8m). Atlas 102-2289? Fig.V.17.
- C6 * 72-1810 Buff slipped and burnished ovoid jar with flattened base, chimney neck (restored) and three strap handles from shoulder to body, each(?) with a 'rivet' at lower end. Height 24cm (8m). Atlas 77-1656? SS 1382? Fig.V.18.
- C25 * 72-1675 Globular jar with flat base, hole mouth and two vertical lugs on opposing sides of body (7m). Fig.V.22.
- C30 * 72-1443 Jar with flat base, cylindrical neck and slight rim around mouth. Two large, pointed wings rise from either side; the neck is decorated with plastic face and ears; three knobs adorn the front of the body (7m). Atlas 64-1427; Fig.V.23.
- C35? * 72-1468 Globular jar with tripod base, tall tapering neck, two

- lugs and a spout(?) on body. A plastic band and row of dots encircles the base of the neck (8m). Fig.V.19.
- C215 * 72-1558 Globular jar with tripod base and hole mouth. Two vertically perforated lugs are placed on opposing sides. Body is decorated with dots and lines in three registers on upper half; the lower half is decorated with dots (8m). Fig.V.18.

METALWORK

- * 72-1414 Pin with spherical head, 14cm long (7m). Fig.V.39.
- * 72-1692 Toggle pin, 7cm long (7m). Cf. TI fig.295; Fig.V.39.

CHIPPED STONE

- * 72-1417 Blade (7m)
- * 72-1561 Blade (7m)
- * 72-1564 Blade (13m)
- * 72-1602 Blade (8m)
- * 72-1664 Blade (7m)
- * 72-1667 Blade (8m)

POLISHED STONE

- * 72-1788 Hammer-axe with shafthole (10m). Fig.V.41.
- * 72-1875 Hammer with shafthole (8m). Fig.V.41.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- 72-1691 Comb (7m). Atlas 99-2182, 100-2199, Ilios No.558; Fig.V.43

WHORLS

- RIA * 72-1403 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIIA * 72-1406 (7m) Atlas 5-165?
- RIVB * 72-1407 (8m)
- RIVA * 72-1415 (7m) cf. Atlas 3-86.
- GIB * 72-1431 (8m)
- GIA * 72-1438 (8m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.
- RIA * 72-1439 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- GVA * 72-1442 (7m) Atlas 8-245, TR No. 384, Ilios No.1884, SS 5234.
- RIA * 72-1445 (8m)
- RVA * 72-1456 (8m)
- RIA * 72-1466 (7m)
- RIIA * 72-1467 (9m)
- RIA * 72-1471 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RVA * 72-1485 (9m)
- RVIAb * 72-1489 (7m)
- GIA * 72-1490 (9m)
- RIIC * 72-1491 (8m)
- RIA * 72-1492 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- GIB * 72-1493 (8m) Atlas 12-388.
- GIC * 72-1499 (7m) Atlas 11-364.
- GIC * 72-1504 (8m)
- RVB * 72-1527 (7m)
- RIB * 72-1536 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-3.
- GVII * 72-1539 (8m) Atlas 3-94; Fig.V.50.
- RIA * 72-1540 (7m) cf. Atlas 3-85.
- GVII * 72-1544 (10m) cf. Atlas 6-173.
- RIA * 72-1545 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIIB * 72-1548 (7m)
- RIC * 72-1549 (8m)
- RIIIA * 72-1552 (8m) cf. Atlas 3-91.

RIC	* 72-1553	(7m)	
RIIC	* 72-1556	(7m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-24.
RIIC	* 72-1563	(9m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-24.
RIIID	* 72-1587	(7m)	
GIA	* 72-1594	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 2-53, <u>TR</u> No.329, <u>Ilios</u> No.1829.
GIA	* 72-1598	(8m)	
RVB	* 72-1599	(7m)	
GVA	* 72-1605	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 9-286, <u>SS</u> 5270.
RIIA	* 72-1623	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-135.
RIVA	* 72-1628	(8m)	Fig.V.49.
GID	* 72-1645	(7m)	
RVIIC	* 72-1648	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 12-392; Fig.V.49.
RIB	* 72-1673	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-2.
GIXD	* 72-1683	(7m)	<u>Atlas</u> 10-337, <u>TR</u> No.458, <u>Ilios</u> No.1958, <u>SS</u> 5431.
RIIA	* 72-1688	(7m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-135.
RIIIC	* 72-1763	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 12-379, <u>SS</u> 4695.
GIB	* 72-1767	(10m)	
GIA	* 72-1781	(8m)	
RIIA	* 72-1783	(10m)	
RIA	* 72-1785	(11m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
GIA	* 72-1786	(14m)	
RIIA	* 72-1787	(12m)	
GVI	* 72-1869	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 9-291? <u>SS</u> 5295 (2782).
RIVB	* 72-1881	(7m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-33, <u>SS</u> 4724.
RIIIC	* 72-1882	(7m)	
RIIA	* 72-1883	(7m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-135.

TERRACOTTA BALLS

	72-1511	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 14-456, <u>SS</u> 8895; Fig.V.46.
*	72-1644	(7m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 15-468; Fig.V.46.
*	72-1650	(7m)	<u>Atlas</u> 15-466; Fig.V.46.

WEIGHTS

*	72-1502	Pendent weight or whetstone (8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 98-2063; Fig.V.47.
*	72-1582	Pendent weight or whetstone (8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 98-2063; Fig.V.47.
*	72-1614	Pendent weight or whetstone (8m);	Fig.V.47.

FIGURINES

3C(?)	* 72-1699	Alabaster figurine (7m).	Fig.V.44.
2C(?)	* 72-1583	Incised marble figurine (8m).	<u>Atlas</u> 98-2058b, <u>TR</u> No. 20, <u>Ilios</u> No.215, <u>SS</u> 7344; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (9). By this deposit-number is designated the "Tower" which Schliemann brought to light on 19th July at a depth of 8m in the south trench. The northern limit was exposed after 1st August in the north trench. The south face of the "Tower" he described as built of small, hewn stones, or alternatively of limestone blocks, joined with mortar and rising at an angle of 75° . In the north face only the top 1m was proper masonry, the rest being a loose accumulation of large stones. On the south side the "Tower" was founded on limestone at 13½m or 14m deep. The whole structure was 12m wide. From the shape and position of the

"Tower" shown in Atlas Taf.214 there can be no doubt that it represents the walls later numbered IIb and c by Dörpfeld. IIId is not included, and indeed is automatically ruled out by the width of 12m which Schliemann quotes. Dörpfeld's plan shows that it was dug away by Schliemann. Schliemann himself later recognized that two walls were involved in the "Tower", as did Dörpfeld. A full description of the walls can be found in Troja und Ilion, and sections are published both in Ilios and in the Cincinnati report.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.462,464,468; TA p.159; Ilios p.265 and Plan III; TI pp.6,6lff, Taf.III; Troy I fig.437)

Deposit (10). In his diary-entry for 16th July Schliemann reports that on the previous day, at 9-10m, he had found a "house". The same feature reappears in the entry for 3rd August where we hear of a "huge, two-metre high house about 20m from the Tower". In Ilios, where it is assigned to City II (i.e. to a stratum 10-13½m below the summit), the house is said to have been built of stone and to have lain North of the Tower. All this allows us to equate the "house" fairly certainly with Blegen's Wall IW. What Schliemann saw was simply one, substantial wall; the rest of the "house" was inferred.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.460,478,485; TA p. 167ff; Ilios pp.270-2)

Deposit (11). The "house" mentioned in the previous deposit always appeared to Schliemann to have been burnt, and from Ilios we learn that it was filled to a depth of 6 or 7 feet with yellow or brown wood-ash. This presumably comprehends the deposits at 9-11m deep (c.30-28m A.T.) and the "lowest levels of the ancient Trojans" reached on 18th July from which he records a "large mass of terracottas". The material - if it really comes from this area - appears to be of solidly Troy II date. No equation is therefore possible between this deposit and any of those found by Blegen in a similar position South of Wall IW in square E6, where there was nothing later than Troy I. One must assume some cutting-down or intrusion in our area; or else the objects were found elsewhere on the site. But the firm statement that to the North of the Tower at 11m deep Schliemann found a small drainage-channel of large stones does imply the presence here of some structures dug down from Troy II.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.459,461,484; TA p.167; Ilios p.270; Troy I pp.176,245; fig.437)

OBJECTS FOUND

At 9m

POTTERY

- A2 * 72-1677 Bowl or plate with curving sides, flattened base and plain rim. Atlas 79-1694? Fig.V.16.
- B216 * 72-1680 Ovoid jug with flat base, short neck, beak spout (restored) and handle from base of neck to body. Atlas 81-1725? Fig.V.16.
- C25 * 72-1681 Globular jar with rounded base, narrow hole mouth, and two vertical lugs on opposing sides of the body. Fig. V.16.
- C28 * 72-1413 Globular jar with rounded base, cylindrical neck, two pointed wings or lugs set on opposing sides of the body, and a spout or third wing, perforated, also on the body. Perforation is also shown on the rim. Fig. V.16.

METALWORK

- * 72-1831 Bronze or copper chisel. Atlas 93-1926a (10m), Ilios No.817, SS 5825; Fig.V.35.

WHORLS

- RIVA * 72-1416 (9m)
- GIA * 72-1436 (9m)
- RIB * 72-1437 (9m) cf. Atlas 1-5.
- RIB * 72-1570 (9m) cf. Atlas 1-8.
- RIIIA * 72-1606 (9m)
- GIA * 72-1626 (9m)
- GIA * 72-1651 (9m)
- GIVA * 72-1829 (9m) Atlas 10-321.
- RIB * 72-1854 (9m) cf. Atlas 1-3.

At 10-11m

POTTERY

- A1? * 72-1808 Shallow bowl or plate (11m). Atlas 102-2290/1, TR No. 73, Ilios Nos.461-8; see Fig.V.17.
- A39 * 72-1515 Broad tankard with flat base, short neck and level rim, handle from neck to lower part of body (11m). Atlas 102-2287; see Fig.V.17.
- A45 * 72-1865 Black polished depas (10m). Atlas 92-1908? See Fig.V.17.
- B200 * 72-1678 Ovoid flask with rounded base, cylindrical neck and level rim. Three or four vertically perforated lugs are set on the body, and there seem to be related perforations on the rim. Two horizontal lines are incised around base of neck; body is decorated from base to neck with chevrons (11m). Atlas 96-2018; Fig.V.19.
- C25 * 72-1700 Globular jar with hole mouth, and one knob or spout rising from body. Body is encircled with decoration of vertical lines contained between two horizontal lines (10m). Fig.V.18.
- C30 * 72-1679 Globular jar with rounded base, cylindrical neck bearing plastic face, body decorated with two knobs but no wings (11m). Fig.V.18.
- C30 * 72-1611 Fragment of face-jar.
- C201 * 72-1690 Conical jar with flat base, hole mouth and spout or handle rising from body. Body is decorated with horizontal lines from rim to base. Height 10cm (11m). Fig.V.18.

- C216 * 72-1824 Globular jar with low base, narrow hole mouth and two strips of plastic decoration curving down in hook-form from the mouth (11m). Fig.V.19.
- D29 72-1609 Brown polished askos on four feet with fine horizontal lines incised from neck to tail (10m). Atlas 91-1893, TR No.151, Ilios No.336, SS 2433. Fig.V.18.
- D29 * 72-1802 Brown slipped and polished askos on tripod base, with tail shaped like the head of an animal, possibly a pig (11m). Atlas 104-2299 (14m), TR No.152, Ilios No.160, SS 607; Fig.V.18.
- D46(?) * 72-1801/ Object of uncertain material and use: possibly an
3 animal-head handle intrusive from Troy VI (10m). Fig.V.32.

METALWORK

- * 72-1807 Curved knife blade (11m). Fig.V.35.

CHIPPED STONE

- * 72-1603, *-1613: Blades (10m).

WHORLS

- RIA * 72-1597 (10m) Atlas 8-256, SS 4518.
- RIB * 72-1616 (10m) cf. Atlas 1-8; Fig.V.49.
- GIA(?) * 72-1647 (10m)
- RIB * 72-1672 (10m) cf. Atlas 1-2.
- GIA * 72-1676 (10m)
- RIVB * 72-1827 (10m) cf. Atlas 1-33, SS 4724.
- RIA * 72-1847 (10m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- GVA * 72-1848 (10m) Fig.V.50.
- RVIAb * 72-1849 (10m)
- RVIAb * 72-1851 (10m) cf. Atlas 10-335.
- RIIA * 72-1624 (11m) cf. Atlas 5-135.
- RIIIC * 72-1682 (11m) cf. Atlas 1-26.

SEAL

- * 72-1620 Flat clay stamp seal (11m). Atlas 19-558; Fig.V.46.

FIGURINES

- 3C(?) * 72-1577 Figurine of bone or stone (10m). Fig.V.45.
- 3D * 72-1615 Ditto (11m). Fig.V.45.

MISCELLANEOUS

- * 72-1669 Square object of unknown material and use (10m).

Deposit (12). Stratified below Deposit (11) Schliemann found a stratum of white, or "calcareous", earth containing little or no domestic refuse. According to Trojanische Alterthümer this deposit was 20m wide and leaned against the north face of the "Tower". From the diary we learn that he believed it to have been tipped into the huge, two-metre-high house which lay 20m away from the "Tower". The depth of deposit he took initially to be over 1m, but in Trojanische Alterthümer the figure is given as 5m.

The deposit can probably be identified with one found by Blegen in the east scarp of the North-South trench, in E 5-6-7 (see Troy I fig.437). Here stratum 10 was a thick deposit of stone chips and yellowish-white, decomposed, soft rock which yielded only 21 sherds. The deposit lay up against Wall IW, where it reached up to c.29.50m A.T., and sloped away to the South. Schliemann's observation that his deposit had been tipped into the "house" may reflect the position of this deposit between Wall IW and the "Tower" - Blegen's IIb fortification wall. His suggestion that the deposit was a spoil-heap from the excavation of a foundation-trench for the "Tower" may reflect its slope up to the North, away from the "Tower".

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.459f,485; TA p.159;
Troy I p.182f, fig.437)

Deposit (13). No information is explicitly given about the lowest strata which may have underlain Deposits (11) and (12), but a number of objects can be assigned to them.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A- * 72-1446 Black sherd with band of incised and white filled chevrons, probably rim of an open bowl (14m). Atlas 27-741 (15m); see Fig.V.16.
- A12 * 72-1519 Open bowl with flat base, wide slightly curving sides, and perforated horizontal(?) lug on one side at rim (14m). Atlas 102-2284; see Fig.V.16.
- B1 * 72-1805 Deep jug with spreading flat base, slightly everted rim and handle from neck to body (14m). Atlas 104-2303; see Fig.V.16.
- C25 * 72-1610 Globular jar with rounded base, hole mouth, three or four vertically perforated lugs set around body, and corresponding perforations in the rim (14m). See Fig.V.16.
- C28 * 72-1607 Fragment from chimney-neck of jar, with four perforations around rim (14m); see Fig.V.16.
- C30 72-1804 Fragment of face vase (14m). See Fig.V.16.

METALWORK

- Piece of iron (Tgb 1872 p.466).

CHIPPED STONE

- * 72-1520, *-1612: Blades (13m,14m).

DISC

- * 72-1855 Disc of clay or stone, with central hole (14m). Fig. V.48.

FIGURINE(?)

5C(?) * 72-1693 Sub-triangular marble object (14m). Atlas 21-582?
Fig.V.44.

Deposit (14). Within the "house" - i.e. to the South of Wall IW - Schliemann records the discovery of a skeleton which he judged from its size to be that of a woman. The notes of its depth vary from 9-10m (diary, 16th July) to 15m (draft despatch, 1st August - over an earlier figure, perhaps 13m) and 13m (TA). Some of the confusion may be accounted for by Schliemann's belief that it had been burnt in the house; this could explain its attraction upwards, in Schliemann's mind, to 9-10m deep. If so, the deeper findspots may be the more accurate. The note in Ilios that "the body was found nearly standing, and but slightly inclined backward" tends to confirm this, for comparison with Blegen's neighbouring section from E6 would place the skeleton among the diagonal strata which accumulated over the face Wall IW and Ramp IX etc, and which clearly derive from successive levelling operations within the citadel. Perhaps an earlier burial was disturbed. Some small items of jewellery were found near the skeleton.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.460,478; TA p.168;
Ilios p.270; Troy I fig.437)

METALWORK

- Several beads, hold (TA p.168).
- Thin oval ring (gold?) (TA p.168), Atlas 17-521; Fig. V.38.

HUMAN REMAINS

- Skeleton said to have been found in nearly upright position; studied in detail by Virchow. (Tgb 1872 p.460; TA p.167ff; Ilios pp.270-2). The association of this skeleton with Treasure 'R', as reported in TA p.167f and Ilios p.272, is false - see Antiquity 58 (1984) pp.200-1.

AREA ii: CDE 6-7(a)

Figs.III.9; IV.45,48,49.

This area was excavated during the period 5th-9th August 1872, and was chiefly an extension to West and East of the "Tower" trench DE 6-7 until the total length from West to East became c.32m. In the central section, where the trench crossed the North-South trench, its width was c.20m. At the west end this narrowed to c.12m, and at the east end it narrowed to c.18m. Excavation was carried down to the surface of the "Tower", and to 11m deep on the north side of the "Tower". Depths are measured down from the surface which lay at c.38m A.T.

Within the trench, excavation in fact took place in three distinct areas: the western arm of the trench in CD 6; the eastern arm in E 6-7; and the north side in D6. Most objects recorded in the notebook appear to have been found in the eastern area: a list appears in TA pp.172-4. But in practice it has proved impossible to allocate individual objects to their find-spots, and the finds are catalogued here in one list.

Apart from the rather inadequate evidence of the objects themselves, there is little information from which to reconstruct the stratigraphy of the excavated areas - at least for the deposits lying higher than c.30m A.T. In the following description and catalogue I have therefore simply extrapolated the stratigraphy already proposed for DE 6-7, for the most part assigning objects to strata purely on the basis of depth. The same numbering is used.

Deposits (1)-(4). For these strata Schliemann has recorded neither stratigraphic information nor objects.

Deposit (5). No stratigraphic information.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

D213 72-1916 Miniature hemispherical bowl and separate flat lid with slightly convex upper surface (2m).
Atlas 33-821; Fig.V.30.

WHORLS

RIA 72-1911 (2m) Atlas 8-243.
 RIIIA 72-1913 (2m)

RIIB	72-1914	(2m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-13.
RIA	72-1915	(2m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIIA	72-1917	(2m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-238.
RIIA	72-1918	(2m)

Deposit (6). No stratigraphic information.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A39	72-1910	Tankard or jug with rounded base, wide horizontal mouth and handle from rim to body (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 40-973? Fig.V.28.
D33	72-1899	Funnel (4m). Fig.V.29.

METALWORK(?)

	72-1921	Fragment of blade(?) (3m).
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WHORLS

RIVA	72-1884	(3m)
RIA	72-1885	(3m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIA	72-1886	(3m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
RIA	72-1887	(3m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
RVIAb	72-1888	(3m)
RIIIC	72-1889	(4m) <u>Atlas</u> 7-219, <u>SS</u> 5424.
RIIIB	72-1890	(4m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-19.
RIA	72-1891	(3m)
RIIB	72-1893	(4m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-13.
RIIA	72-1894	(3m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-238.
RIB	72-1903	(4m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-4, <u>TR</u> No.318, <u>Ilios</u> No.1818.
RIIIA	72-1904	(4m)
RIIB	72-1906	(4m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-13.
RIVB	72-1907	(4m)
GIA	72-1909	(4m)
RIC	72-1920	(4m)

FIGURINE

2C(?)	72-1895	Broken terracotta figurine with incised features (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 20-578,99-2172, <u>SS</u> 7696; Fig.V.45.
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Deposit (7). No stratigraphic information.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A45	72-1953	Depas, brown slipped and burnished (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 49-1208, <u>SS</u> 595; Fig.V.24.
A211	72-1949	Globular cup with short, vertical neck, open horizontal mouth, and handle from neck to body (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 47-1129; Fig.V.24.
C217	72-1946	Ovoid jar with low base, hole mouth, and

two vertically perforated lugs on opposing sides (5m).
Fig.V.26.

- D7 72-1958 Cylindrical (grey-brown burnished?) lid with three
superposed strap-handles surmounted by a central knob
(6m). Atlas 51-1230, SS 1550; Fig.V.27.

CHIPPED STONE

- 72-1896-8 Blades (6m).
72-1954-6 Baldes (5m).

POLISHED STONE(?)

- 72-1948 Macehead(?) (5m) - or possibly a wide-shouldered jar.
Fig.V.42. Identification very uncertain.

WHORLS

- | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RIIIB | 72-1892 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-19. |
| RIIIA | 72-1908 | (6m) |
| RIB | 72-1929 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-4, <u>TR</u> No.318, <u>Ilios</u> No.1818. |
| RVIAb | 72-1930 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 6-177. |
| GVII | 72-1931 | (5m) <u>Atlas</u> 8-255. |
| RIIIB | 72-1932 | (6m) |
| GVI | 72-1934 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-142. |
| GID | 72-1935 | (5m) |
| GIA | 72-1936 | (5m) |
| GIXD | 72-1937 | (5m) <u>Atlas</u> 5-164? <u>SS</u> 5436. |
| RIA | 72-1939 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240. |
| RVC | 72-1940 | (5m?) |
| RIB | 72-1941 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-3. |
| RIIB | 72-1942 | (5m) <u>Atlas</u> 6-207, <u>SS</u> 4959. |
| RIA | 72-1943 | (5m) cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246. |
| RIVC | 72-1959 | (6m) |

Deposit (8). To the description of this stratum Schliemann adds nothing more, except to repeat that it showed signs of destruction by fire. His comment on the strata surrounding his work at the south end of the north trench, that they were of red ashes and calcined stones, may also apply to this deposit. He does, however, list a number of objects - mostly found in the eastern area of the trench - which must be assigned to this stratum. These lists occur both in the diary (where there is some internal duplication) and in Trojanische Alterthümer. The objects are incorporated in the following catalogue.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.491-2; TA pp.172-4)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2 | 72-1987 | Wheelmade plate or bowl. <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.492 mentions 20 plates; <u>TA</u> p.174 mentions 25 (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 102-2290/1, <u>TR</u> No.73, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.461-8; Fig.V.17. |
| A39 | 72-1985 | Red ovoid tankard with flat base, slightly flaring neck, |

- horizontal mouth and handle from neck to body (8m). Atlas 88-1841; Fig.V.17.
- B15 72-1900 Light brown slipped and burnished globular jug with rounded base, neck bent back, cut-away spout (restored) and handle from neck to top of body. According to TA p.173 the jug was red and stood over 25cm high (8m). Atlas 82-1738 (9m), Ilios No.364, SS 636; Fig.V.18.
- C1 72-1901 Ovoid jar with flattened base, simple rim and two handles from below rim to body (8m). Atlas 78-1667; Fig.V.17.
- C27 72-1947 Globular jar with rounded base, short straight neck, and two vertically perforated lugs on opposing sides of body. (TA p.174 refers to small vessels with lugs.) (8m) Fig.V.18.
- D29? 72-1945 Light brown polished askos on tripod base with tail in form of animal head. Spout and handle restored. TA p.173 adds a note of the length, 15cm, and describes the animal as a mole (8m). Atlas 114-2317, TR No.156, Ilios No.338, SS 2166.
- D208 72-1902 Black polished hemispherical lid with curved central coif (8m). Atlas 73-1598, Ilios No.989, SS 345; Fig. V.21.

Tgb 1872 pp.491f refer also to a broken, double beaker, a large black vessel, and various sherds. The large black vessel may be one of the items listed above. TA p.172 mentions masses of fragments of black and red pottery.

METALWORK

- 72-1952 Bronze or copper knife blade (8m). Atlas 69-1538, TR No.45d, Ilios No.961; Fig.V.35.
- 72-1975-7 Three punches, 3-5cm long. (Tgb 1872 p.491 lists 5 arrowheads) (8m). Atlas 98-2039e,f,j(?); Fig.V.35.
- 72-1978 Silver pin with round head (8m). Fig.V.38.
- 72-1979 Silver pin with hammer-head (8m). Fig.V.38.
- 72-1980-1 Two copper pins with round heads (8m). Fig.V.38.

MOULD

- 72-1951 Stone or terracotta mould for three flat axes or similar objects. Not certainly from this deposit (8m?). Fig.V.40.

CHIPPED STONE

- 72-1972 Two-edged blade (8m).
- 72-1974 Two-edged blade, 6½cm long (8m).

POLISHED STONE

- 72-1986 Egg-shaped object of alabaster (8m). Fig.V.41.
- 72-1984 Alabaster "phallus" (8m). Atlas 22-604; Fig.V.41.

WHORLS

- GVI 72-1905 (8m) Atlas 11-361; Fig.V.50.
- RIC 72-1923 (8m) cf. Atlas 4-115; Fig.V.49.
- RIB 72-1924 (8m) Atlas 1-20, TR No.320, Ilios No.1820, SS 4533.
- RIB 72-1925 (8m)
- GIC 72-1926 (8m) Fig.V.49.
- GIA 72-1927 (8m)
- GIB 72-1928 (8m) Fig.V.49.
- RIVB 72-1933 (8m) Fig.V.49.
- RIIA 72-1938 (8m) cf. Atlas 5-135; Fig.V.49.

GIB	72-1944	(8m)	
RVB	72-1950	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 6-179; Fig.V.49.
GID	72-1961	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 5-134, <u>TR</u> No.430, <u>Ilios</u> No.1930, <u>SS</u> 5491.
RIIIA	72-1962	(8m)	
RVIAb	72-1963	(8m)	
RIIA	72-1964	(7m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 5-135.
RIIIC	72-1965	(7m)	
RIA	72-1966	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
GIA	72-1967	(8m)	
RIC	72-1968	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 4-97.
RIA	72-1982	(8m)	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIA	72-1983	(8m)	<u>Atlas</u> 3-77.

FIGURINE

2J 72-1957 Bone or marble figurine (7m). Fig.V.44.

HUMAN REMAINS

A mass of human bones (Tgb 1872 p.491; TA p.172).

Deposit (9). Further investigation of the surface of the "Tower" appeared to reveal a superstructure of three or four steps in the eastern area. They are shown in Atlas Taf.214, and may perhaps be related to a large mass of hewn and unhewn stones which Schliemann found to overlie the top of the "Tower", again in the same area. It seems possible that these are relics of a later re-use of Dörpfeld's Wall IIb, perhaps late in Troy II or in Troy III. Also exposed in the surface of the "Tower", a little further West, was a depression. This later proved to be the gap between Dörpfeld's Walls IIb and IIc. In the western area of the trench there came to light on 5th August a very thick wall running towards the Northwest ("North" in TA). This appears to have been the continuation of Wall IIb beyond the buttress cb towards Gate FM, which was not yet exposed.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.487,490,491,492; TA pp.171-2)

Deposit (10). No stratigraphic information.

OBJECT FOUND

WHORL

GIC 72-1969 (10m)

Deposits (11)-(12). No information.

Deposit (13). No stratigraphic information.

OBJECT FOUND

WHORL

GIB 72-1912 (14m)

Deposit (14). This deposit is defined as the material excavated by Schliemann from the depression between Dörpfeld's Walls IIb and IIc. There is no information about the character of the deposit.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

C5 72-1960 Globular jar with flattened base, slightly tapering cylindrical neck, two loop handles on opposing sides of body, and plastic decoration of two 'bucrania' devices. TA p.172f adds that the jar was red and stood nearly 25cm high. It contained fishbones. Three similar jars are noted as well (9m). Atlas 94-1986; Fig.V.20.

METALWORK

72-1971 Broken copper flat axe(?) or blade (9m). Atlas 99-2114; Fig.V.35.

FIGURINE(?)

B1 72-1973 Lead figurine (9m) - or possibly a damaged blade. Fig.V.44.

ANIMAL REMAINS

Fishbones found in jar 72-1960 (TA p.172).

Deposit (15). Schliemann notes that on the north side, the "Tower" was founded not on bedrock but on a mass of loose stones. These he described as forming a hillock rising up to the top of the "Tower" from the North. This deposit may correspond to parts of Blegen's Wall IIa (=Dörpfeld's Wall IIId), the unexcavated material shown below it in Blegen's section, and the stone fill that lay against its south face.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.488; Troy I fig.437)

AREA iii: CDE 6-7(b)

Figs.III.17; IV.44,45,47,
48,49.

During the period 17th April-10th May 1873 Schliemann took up again some work which had been left almost completed at the end of the 1872 season. This was the complete exposure of the top of the "Tower" in CDE 6-7, and the excavation of the depression between its two walls. The depression is now stated to be 13.80m long x $2\frac{1}{2}$ - $4\frac{1}{2}$ m wide and 90cm deep. The "Tower" itself is 40m long - this measurement being the distance between Gate FM and Gate FN. Its width is 9-12m and its height 6m. The features which, in 1872, he had taken to be the remains of an upper storey (Fig.IV.44 dep.9) are now described as three benches, arranged one behind another like steps, built of stones and mud. In all of this there is little new; and no objects are attributable to the work in this area.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.208,210,223; TA p.284;
AAZ Beilage zu Nr.164, 13th June 1873
p.2510)

3

THE SOUTHEAST TRENCH

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The Southeast Trench lay in squares GHJ 7-8, at the southeast corner of the Bronze Age mound where the surface descended from c.36.50m A.T. to c.34.00m A.T. in a gentle slope steepening slightly at the edge of the mound in HJ 8. Some earlier work may have been done in this area by John Brunton in 1855-6, and a trench was certainly dug here by Frank Calvert in 1863. His shallow cutting had probably revealed parts of Theatre B of Troy IX, uncovering fluted columns, friezes, a capital and an inscription. Schliemann seems to have taken Calvert's old trench as his starting-point.

Schliemann dug here in February and March 1873, with a few extra days' work in April 1873. The overall size of the trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.214. It was about 35m long when finished, 21m wide at the mouth and 10-12m wide in the body of the trench, widening somewhat at the north end. Within this there was a deep, central cutting 5m wide which sloped down to the North till it reached c.29.90m A.T. at a point in square H7. To its West and East shallower terraces were left at c.33.47m A.T. To its North the trench was dug down to c.32.66m A.T., except that a hole in square G7 was excavated to c.30m A.T. and may have been extended into square H7 to meet the north end of the deep, central cutting.

The Early and Middle Bronze Age deposits in this part of the mound show, so far as can be deduced from the available information, a regular accumulation in more or less horizontal layers. Some sloping down of the deposits to the Southeast is to be expected in view of their crossing over the top of a probable Troy IV circuit wall, but this is not revealed by the records. What does seem to be revealed is a dramatic incision by House VII deep into the strata of Troy IV and V. North of VII there is no evidence for any objects dateable to Troy VI from any depth lower than 34.50m A.T. (Area ii, Deposit 5; Area iii, Deposit 5). Within VII, however, it seems that mycenaean pottery was still coming to light at c.30.50m A.T.; and indeed the walls of VII were sunk to this depth or deeper. It is likely that the strata of Troy VII descended in a series of at least two terraces, including a rebuilding of House VII. In this they must have been following a pattern established in Troy VI, although the positive evidence for this is lacking. A pavement was laid out across much of the northern part of the area in Troy IX, and the northern wall of Theatre B cut into underlying strata of the Late Bronze Age.

A wall in square H8, found only 30cm below the surface, is clearly of a late date. It was built from pieces of reused masonry, bits of Corinthian pillars and an inscription. It seems to cut into the underlying Theatre B. As Blegen found evidence of Byzantine disturbance in square G8, it may be that this wall, Wall 33, should be assigned to the same period (Area i, Deposit 1).

Several features of Troy IX came to light in the trench. The "Wall of Lysimachus" in Atlas Taf.214 can be identified as the north wall of Theatre B, Wall 34. It was built of large, drafted limestone blocks, one with masons' marks apparently, and was exposed to a height of about two metres (Area i, Deposit 3). Walls 35 and 36, also visible in Atlas Taf.214, appear to be parts of the north wall of the stoa and the south wall respectively, and to have been incorrectly drawn in the Atlas where it looks as though they form one wall. The western part of Wall 35 and the eastern part of Wall 36 must have been broken away by workmen or robbers as they are missing from the plan. Both walls rested on a double layer of flat, limestone blocks (Area ii, Deposit 3). A similar foundation is attested for a large pavement of marble flagstones, although the pavement's location is uncertain: it may have been confined to the stoa, or it may have continued within the precincts of the Athena Temple (Area ii, Deposit 2). Terracotta pipes were found near the north wall of Theatre B at 2m deep; so were various fragments of Corinthian and Doric columns and pieces of sculpted marble (Area i, Deposit 2; Area ii, Deposit 4).

Troy VIII has left no identifiable remains in this trench, but there are several indications that Schliemann came upon deposits of Troy VII. Pithoi were found below Wall 33, in House VIG, and again in the northernmost part of the trench (Area i, Deposit 5; Area ii, Deposit 6; Area iii, Deposit 5). All three groups may derive from Troy VIIa. Several small walls found North of Wall 34 but not recorded in detail are likely to have been walls of VII (Area i, Deposit 4). Some more may have underlain the stoa IXG. What certainly does seem to have been found is the rebuilding in Troy VIIa of Dörpfeld's House VIG. On top of the earlier, more massive walls Schliemann found walls of small stones and mud mortar 1.30m and 1.75m wide (Area i, Deposit 4; Area ii, Deposit 8; Area iii, Deposit 2). They were preserved to c.33.50m A.T. and seem to have had a height of 1m. It is fairly certain that the northwest wall and the south-

west internal wall were found; the southeast wall may also have been discovered.

Of Troy VI the most important remains in this trench derived from House VII. Walls 37b and 41 are the monumental, stone-built southwest and northwest walls of this structure which had been dug deep into the strata of Troy IV-V. The former may have been 1.60m wide, and the latter was recorded as 3.0m wide - perhaps because Dörpfeld's wall V was included in the measurement. The northwest wall was preserved to c.32.50m A.T. and had a height of at least 2m. It is visible in Atlas Taf.214; but the southwest wall, Wall 37b, must have been obscured or broken away before that plan was made (Area ii, Deposit 8; Area iii, Deposit 3).

There are no features recorded from Troy V. E.B.-M.B. objects are recorded from as high as 2m (34.50m A.T.) and probably came from a 2½m-thick deposit of yellow ash and stones which underlay the foundations of the Troy IX stoa. This may well have been a stratum of Troy V material (Area ii, Deposit 9; Area iii, Deposit 6).

From Troy IV may derive a stratum of damp, black debris which lay below House VII and to the South of Wall 44 (Area iii, Deposit 7). This latter, a mass of stones with a battered face, traced to c.26.50m A.T. and preserved to c.30m A.T., was at first taken by Schliemann to be an eastern extension of the "Tower" in squares D 6-7. But it may well be related to a massive structure noted by Blegen in the east scarp of this southeast trench. If so, it is likely to be a part of a fortification wall of Troy IV of which three sections are attested in HJ 6-7, FY 8 and CDE 7-8 (Area ii, Deposit 11; Area iv). In fact Schliemann himself came to see it as a circuit wall, and in Atlas Taf.214 it has helped to define the course of the Outer Wall of Troy. Two other features may belong to Troy IV: Walls 42 and 43, found in the pit dug down to c.30m A.T. in square H7 and shown in Atlas Taf.214 as walls of 'Trojan houses'. There is no further information about them.

Work in the Southeast Trench may be divided into four 'areas'. These correspond, as usual, to the areas dug by Schliemann during four relevant periods distinguished in Chapter III. The work in each area is described individually in what follows.

AREA 1: HJ 8

Figs.III.10; IV.50,51.

Excavation in this area was begun on 10th February 1873 and continued until 23rd February. At its southeast entry the trench may have had a maximum width of c.21m, but further into the mound the width diminished to c.10m. The depth to which excavation was carried during this period is uncertain. Schliemann's aim was to cut the trench floor at a slope of 12° to the horizontal, so as to reach the 30m level in H7. None of the finds attributable to this area comes from a depth greater than 1½m; and Wall 34 is described as "more than 2m high" - which, if we bear in mind that its top was found close to the surface, may suggest an excavated depth of not more than 2½m. Certainly the depth of 5m was only reached at a later stage. These depths are likely to have been measured down from a datum of c.36.00m A.T. Similarly, the length attained by 23rd February can only be guessed at, but the area opened to the North of Wall 34 is not likely to have been very extensive.

Deposit (1). Schliemann records that immediately on opening the trench, at 30cm below the surface, he found a wall. This is here called Wall 33 and is taken as Deposit (1). It was apparently built from large bits of Corinthian pillars and other re-used pieces of masonry, all cemented together. Included in the fabric was an inscription* seemingly intact (TA p.192; Ilios p.633; TI p.471 No.68; SS 9662). The wall can be seen in Atlas Taf.214, where it is marked with the figure 19. Schliemann says that it was 3m wide; but if Laurent's plan is correct it must have been nearer 1½m wide. It reached to a depth of less than 2m. Its date is uncertain. It must, however, have been built very considerably later than the underlying Theatre B, into which it cuts. Theatre B's construction-date was placed by Dörpfeld no later than the reign of Augustus (TI p.234); while the inscription built into Wall 33 not only mentions Caius Caesar, who was proconsul of Asia in 1BC, but has been re-used, having originally served as a statue-base (SS 9662). Blegen found that the neighbouring square G8 had been much disturbed in Late Roman or Byzantine times; Wall 33 should perhaps be assigned to the same period. Schliemann spoke of it loosely as "mediaeval" or "Turkish".

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.11,18,22f; TA p.191-3; Atlas Taf.214; Troy IV pp.85,87,183,288, 296 and figs.322,323)

* 73-98 = 73-128

Deposit (2). There is little information about the deposit surrounding Walls 33 and 34. Schliemann apparently found here various fragments of Corinthian and Doric columns and pieces of sculpted marble. For reasons explained under deposit (5) I have supposed this stratum to have gone no deeper than c.34m A.T. and to be no earlier than Troy VIIb. But it may have been quite mixed. To it may be assigned most of the objects found in this area.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.15,17; Ilios p.28)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

D215? * 73-77 Small globular jar with flat base. Atlas 120-2351; Fig.V.33.

POLISHED STONE(?)

* 73-76 Waisted knob, possibly of stone, flat at one end and round at the other. Flat end has a central hole ($\frac{1}{2}$ m). Atlas 120-2350; Fig.V.42.

WHORL

GVIIIIC * 73-62 (1m) Atlas 121-2405.

SCULPTURES

* 73-63 Male head from marble relief ($\frac{1}{2}$ m). Atlas 119-2345, SS 9590.

* 73-64 Fragment of torso from draped marble statue (1m). Atlas 119-2343, SS 9598.

73-110 Fragment of marble statue showing hand holding disc ($1\frac{1}{2}$ m). Atlas 120-2365.

Deposit (3). Just to the North of Wall 33 Schliemann found a feature which he identified as a part of the Wall of Lysimachus. It appears on Atlas Taf.214 about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m away from Wall 33, not "joining it" as Schliemann describes. It lay close under the surface and measured 3 metres across. This measurement may be accurate if we suppose that it was made diagonally across the wall. It must have been exposed to a height of about 2m, for Schliemann notes that it was more than 2m high. Presumably he saw that it continued down below the floor of the trench. It was built of large, drafted limestone blocks ("sandstone" according to Tagebuch 1873 p.22; but "limestone" in TA p.192), with no cement. Masons' marks were apparently found on one stone, although the original entry recording their discovery reads as though the stone was found loose and not actually in the wall.

Dörpfeld rightly saw that this wall, here called Wall 34, must have been a part of the north wall of Theatre B. The dimensions, position, altitude and building material are all consistent with this identification.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.11,15,18,22,24; TA p. 192; Atlas Taf.214; TI pp.9,233)

Deposit (4). Once he had broken through Wall 34 towards the North, Schliemann found several smaller walls in the remainder of the trench. There is little information about these walls, except that one was built of stones measuring 84 x 66 x 21cm. For the most part the walls cannot be numbered or located, and are therefore grouped here as a single deposit to be located among Deposit (2). Their altitude and position makes it likely that they were walls of Troy VII, related perhaps to VIIi or to House 784. One of them, however, is likely to have been the rebuilding in Troy VIIa of the southeast wall of Dörpfeld's Building VIg. A fragment of the wall is shown in Atlas Taf.214 on the east side of the trench immediately to the North of Wall 34. Here it will be known as Wall 38.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.24,38; TI Taf.III; Troy IV figs.338,339,353)

Deposit (5). Blegen's excavations in the neighbouring area HJ 7-8 revealed deposits of Troy VIIa between the depths of c.33.80m and c.34.20m A.T. I have assumed that such deposits were present in this trench also; and Schliemann's discovery of the tops of two pithoi below Wall 33 may confirm this, for the burial of pithoi in floors and up to their necks was found to be a characteristic feature of Blegen's Troy VIIa. These pithoi may indeed have belonged to building VIIk. Otherwise, however, the division is imported from later work and there are no objects which might be assigned to the deposit.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.23; TI Taf.III; Troy IV p.88, figs.338,341,353)

AREA ii: H 7-8

Figs.III.11; IV.52,53

This area, which was excavated during the period 26th February-6th March 1873, is an extension of Schliemann's southeast trench. In practice it merges into the East-West trench EFG 6-7, and even in the notes and reports it is not always easy to distinguish with confidence which features were found in which of the two areas. Much can, however, be clarified by the later reports of Dörpfeld and Blegen, both of whom examined neighbouring areas of the site. The trench may be taken to have been c.10-20m wide, and c.30m long on its eastern side. It reached a maximum depth of 5m, which was probably measured down from a datum of c.36.50m A.T.

Deposit (1). Schliemann found a surface-deposit 30cm-1.0m thick consisting of "vegetable soil".

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.45-6,62; Ilios p.29)

Deposit (2). Stratified below Deposit (1), at 30cm-1m below the mound surface, Schliemann found a floor consisting of large marble flags laid on a bed of two courses of limestone blocks. The location of the pavement is uncertain, but it seems likely to have been either in the Roman Stoa (IXG) or to its North, within the precincts of the Athena Temple.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.62; Ilios p.29)

Deposits (3a) and (3b). Schliemann says that, again stratified below Deposit (1), he found the walls of the "modern Temple of Lysimachus". He describes a wall oriented East by East-South-East which was over 80cm long. Atlas Taf.214 shows that he had in mind the north wall of the Roman building IXB, which came to light in the East-West Trench; also the south wall of the stoa IXG, just to the East of Propylon IXD; and the north wall of the stoa towards the east side of square H7. These last two walls are wrongly supposed in the Atlas plan to join directly. Their alignment has been falsified. When compared with the contour-plan, Dörpfeld's benchmarks for the tops of these three walls are consistent with the depth at which the "temple wall" is supposed to have been found: 37.46, 36.40 (not 37.40, for reasons explained in Ch.I) and 35.98m A.T. In this trench, then, Deposit (3a) denotes the north wall of the stoa IXG, Wall 35, and Deposit (3b) denotes the south wall of the

stoa, Wall 36. Why Schliemann should have found only the east end of Wall 35 and only a more westerly piece of Wall 36 is not clear. Possibly both walls were in any case only preserved fragmentarily from stone-robbers; or possibly Schliemann's workmen broke them away without realising it. According to Schliemann's description they were built of small stones set together with a hard cement, resting on a double layer of large, flat, well-hewn limestone blocks. The preserved parts were 1m thick and not more than 2m in height. Dörpfeld shows a photograph of the south wall of the south stoa (TI Beilage 19, p.128), but it is difficult to judge from that the height to which the wall stood - certainly 2m or more.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.45-6; TA p.200; Atlas Taf.214; Ilios p.29; TI p.214 and plates 19,30)

Deposit (4). We must assume the presence of a deposit containing material from Troy VIIb-IX to the South of Wall 36, underlying Deposit (1) and overlying Deposit (6), a deposit of VIIa material in House VIg. It will correspond to Deposit (2) of HJ 8; and Blegen found more of the deposit, which was badly mixed. It may have been here that Schliemann found the two terracotta pipes at 2m deep near the "Wall of Lysimachus" (Wall 34). Similar pipes are shown in one of Dörpfeld's photographs close to IXE.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.40; TA p.200; TI Beilage 18; Troy IV pp.219,284)

Deposit (5). A deposit of Troy VI-VII material, perhaps 50cm deep, might be expected to underlie the pavement of Troy IX. There is one object which may be dateable to Troy VI-VII and which comes from a depth of 2m - although it is not certain that it comes from this trench.

OBJECT FOUND

METALWORK

- * - Copper sickle (2m). Atlas 124-2489, SS 6138; cf. TI fig.379; Fig.V.38.

Deposits (6), (7a) and (7b). It will be suggested below, in the discussion concerning Deposit (8), that Schliemann is likely to have encountered more walls of Dörpfeld's House VIg. If so, we must suppose

that he also dug through some of the deposits accumulated within it. He himself has little to say about them, but the necessary detail can be supplied from Blegen's report. The deposits of VIIa lay at c.33.50-34m A.T. (here called Deposit (6)); those of Late VI between c.32.20m and 33.50m A.T. (here Deposit (7a)); and deposits from earlier in Troy VI reached down for a total depth of nearly 5m (of which our deposit (7b) forms a part). Blegen records that there were many pithoi of Troy VIIa which had been sunk into the underlying levels. Schliemann, too, records that he found many pithoi which were 1-2m tall. Neither their location nor their depth is specified; but Deposit (6) in House VIG is a very likely spot for them to have been found. One other jug may be attributable to Deposit (6). Otherwise these deposits appear to have produced no finds.

(TA p.200; Troy III pp.198,256,262; IV p.96)

OBJECTS FOUND

<u>Deposit (6)</u>		POTTERY
B30(?)	* 73-199	Jug with flat base, slightly widened rising mouth, and large handle from rim to body, rising slightly above level of rim (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2474; Fig.V.33.
C39	-	Many pithoi 1-2m tall. <u>TA</u> p.200.

Deposit (8). Directly below the walls of the 'Temple of Minerva' - that is, below the stoa of Troy IX - Schliemann found some walls of a much earlier building at a depth of 3m. According to the diary this earlier building was oriented exactly to the East; according to Trojanische Alterthümer one of the walls lay directly below a part of the "west wall" of the Minerva Temple and pointed East by East-South-East. The west wall in question must be the stoa wall preserved on the west side of the southeast trench: Wall 36. The wall found below it oriented in (almost) exactly the same direction must have been the internal dividing-wall of House VIG correctly reconstructed by Dörpfeld in TI Taf.III, for VIG was here preserved to an altitude of c.33.50m A.T. - 3m below our datum of c.36.50m A.T. This wall, which we shall call Wall 37, had a superstructure (Wall 37a) 1.30m thick consisting of stones bonded with earth. This rested on "foundations" (Wall 37b) of larger, unhewn stones 1-1½m long lying, it seems, across the wall at right angles to the direction taken by the stones of the superstructure. It may be the

"foundations" which had the width of 1.60m recorded in Trojanische Alterthümer. It is likely that Wall 37a represents a rebuilding in Troy VIIa and Wall 37b the earlier building of Troy VI. What is not clear is how many other walls of the same kind were found, for whereas the diary refers to 'walls' in the plural, Trojanische Alterthümer has details of only one wall. It is possible that the west wall of VIG, Dörpfeld's VIH, was found; but this is quite uncertain and not confirmed by Atlas Taf.214. That same plan shows that Wall 37 must have been demolished in excavation. Wall 37 and any other walls found here descended to a depth of 5m, the limit to which excavation had penetrated.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.62; TA p.214; TI pp.161-2 and Taf.III; Troy III pp.255-62, figs. 473,477)

Deposit (9). There are a number of objects which are of Early or Middle Bronze Age date which are said to have been found at depths of 2 and 3m. These may be attributable to this deposit, which is assumed to be of Troy V date in Blegen's terms.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B20 | * | - | Tall, elongated spout from a narrow-necked jug. Neck and upper part of handle, from neck, remain (2m). <u>Atlas 124-2490</u> , <u>Ilios</u> No.1307, <u>SS</u> 1304; Fig.V.30. |
| C35 | * | - | Globular jar with three short fat, narrow legs, upright neck and everted splayed rim. Two lugs on shoulder of body (2m). <u>Atlas 124-2488</u> ; Fig.V.30. |

POLISHED STONE

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73-197 | | Diorite celt with pointed butt. <u>Tagebuch 1873</u> p.63 records two others as well (3m). <u>Atlas 124-2491</u> ; Fig.V.42. |
|--------|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

WHORL

- | | | | |
|-------|---|--------|------------------------------|
| RVIAb | * | 73-196 | (2m) <u>Atlas 126-2559</u> . |
|-------|---|--------|------------------------------|

LOOMWEIGHT(?)

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73-198 | | Perforated sub-triangular object of terracotta (3m). <u>Atlas 124-2475</u> . |
|--------|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

AREA iii: GHJ 7-8

Figs.III.12; IV.54,55.

There was more excavation in this area from 7th March 1873 until the trench was abandoned on 14th March 1873. The central cut of the trench was deepened until it reached c.29.90m A.T. at a point in square H7. Further to the North, and in square G7, the trench-bottom lay only at c.32.66m A.T., apart from a pit c.10m x 7m, visible in Atlas Taf.214, which was taken down to c.30.24m A.T. and which exposed the remains of some supposedly "Trojan" buildings. On the west side of the trench, to the South of Wall 36, was a terrace which was excavated only to c.33.47m A.T. Depths were probably measured down from a datum of c.36.50m A.T.

Deposit (1). Schliemann records that on 7th March, although he had already reached a depth of 6m (=c.30.50m A.T.), he was still finding "Greek" sherds in the soil around the Wall here numbered Wall 41. The "Greek" sherds are, as often, to be taken as mycenaean, and the deposit is to be assigned to the deposits of Troy VI which were located within House VIG. They are unlikely to have lain further to the North, for there the E.B.-M.B. deposits seem to have been preserved up to c.34.50m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.74,75)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

"Greek" (i.e. mycenaean?) sherds, Tgb 1873 pp.74,75.

Deposit (2). On 7th March Schliemann found, and broke through, a house-wall built of small stones and earth. It was found barring the trench, several metres further into the mound than Wall 37 but not parallel to it. It lay at 1m below the "Wall of Lysimachus" (Wall 34), with its top therefore at c.33.50-34m A.T., and 20m further into the mound. It was 1.75m wide. Although initially described as an ancient circuit-wall, the wall, here called Wall 40, can be identified with confidence as the Troy VIIa rebuilding of the northwest wall of House VIG, and may be seen in Atlas Taf.214.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.74,76,78)

Deposit (3). Below Wall 40 was found another wall, Wall 41, on which

Wall 40 had been built. This was a more imposing affair, built of large, unhewn limestone blocks without mortar. Schliemann describes the masonry as cyclopean. This wall was preserved up to 4m below the mound-surface and had a height of 2m. There is, again, no doubt about the identification of this wall: it was the original, Troy VI wall on the northwest side of House VIG. It is presumably this lower part of the wall to which Schliemann, in Trojanische Alterthümer, gives a width of 3m. If so, he must be including Dörpfeld's Wall Ve, visible in TI Taf. III. The wall ran from Southwest to Northeast. By an error this is given in the diary as SE to NW, although the manuscript has been altered.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.76,78,79,84; TA p.214)

Deposit (4). Other walls, perhaps of Troy VII, seem to have been found below the Troy IX pavement and stoa, for Schliemann observes that the walls of small stones and mud mortar below "the modern temple" did not go very deep. The sherds around them were "hellenic" - mycenaean, we may suppose. The walls cannot be drawn in detail as there is no further information about them.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.75)

Deposit (5). A number of objects found at 1-2m deep seem to derive from Troy VI or VII. These may come from areas where Schliemann had not previously penetrated far below the foundations of the Troy IX complex.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------------------|
| C39 | - | Many pithoi, <u>TA</u> p.215. |
| - | - | 'Hellenic' sherds, <u>Tgb 1873</u> p.75. |

METALWORK

- | | |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73-238 | Bronze arrowhead. <u>Atlas</u> 125-2517, <u>Ilios</u> No.1423, cf. <u>Troy</u> III fig.297, no.35-480; Fig.V.38. |
| 73-239 | Bronze sickle. <u>Atlas</u> 125-2526, cf. <u>TI</u> figs.379, 383; Fig.V.38. |

WHORLS

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| - | With and without decoration, at 1m and 2m, <u>Tgb 1873</u> p.79. |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|

Deposit (6). Below the walls of Troy VII and below the complex of Troy IX (Schliemann's "modern temple") deposits of yellow 'wood-ash' mixed with stones were found to a depth of 4½m, the limit of excavation at the

north end of the trench. The deposits may derive from Troy V, but into them were dug the pithoi of Deposit (5).

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.75,84; TA p.215)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- B18 * 73-260 Black jug with rounded base, narrow upright neck cut away without a rim into a diagonal mouth. Handle from neck to body; two pointed knobs, one on each side of the neck (4m). Atlas 131-2587; Fig.V.30.

POLISHED STONE

- Many roughly-made 'diorite' hammers at 2-3m. Tgb 1873 p.79.
* 73-201 Slender whetstone with flat, square head (4m).
Atlas 124-2477; Fig.V.42.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- 73-203 Part of perforated antler pickaxe(?) decorated with incised dots (3m).
Atlas 124-2480, SS 9028; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- GIA * 73-213 and other decorated and undecorated whorls at 3m.
Tgb p.79, Atlas 125-2500.

FIGURINE

- 73-226 Marble figurine (3m). Atlas 125-2510, SS 7574, cf. TI fig.346b. Fig.V.45.

Deposit (7). Below Wall 41 was a stratum where the debris was "as firm as stone". The soil was black and damp with few sherds but many mussel-shells. The same kind of deposit was found in front of - i.e. to the South of - the "Tower", Wall 44. There the debris is said to have been 6m deep, but this is based on observations in 1872 of the height of the "Tower" in CD 6-7 rather than on excavation to that depth in 1873. To what height the deposit extended is uncertain, but it cannot have reached higher than the depth of 4½m to which Deposit (4) was found. The few finds attributable to it appear to be most consistent with a dating to Troy IV, or possibly V, in Blegen's terms.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.84; TA p.215)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- C30 73-254 Fragment of jar (or possibly lid) with plastic face-decoration showing eyebrows, nose and two eyes (5m); Fig.V.29.

- D13 73-259 Bell-shaped face-lid with small coil as handle in centre of the top. Plastic decoration, confined to a narrow band near the top of the lid, shows eyebrows, nose and eyes. Red ware (5m). Atlas 131-2586; Fig.V.29.
- - Sherds of red and black polished wares. TA p.215.

ANIMAL REMAINS

Many mussel-shells and bones. Tgb p.84; TA p.215.

Deposit (8). Schliemann says that at a depth of 7-8m, below Deposit (7), he encountered a deposit containing brilliant black "trojan" sherds. The spot-height recorded for the deepest area of the trench in Atlas Taf.214, 23.60 (=c.29.90m A.T.), suggests that the trench was never in fact dug to a depth of 8m below the datum-point of c.36.50m A.T. - although it is possible that the trench may have become slightly silted up before Laurent drew his plan at the end of the season. It is also possible either that the figure for a depth of 7-8m is taken from some other datum on the mound, or that Schliemann made no more than a brief probe into the deposit.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.84)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- Brilliant black "trojan" (i.e. E.B.) sherds.

Deposits (9) and (10). The plan in Atlas Taf.214 informs us of the presence in the deeper pit in square G7 of the walls ascribed to "trojan buildings". Their discovery appears to have gone unrecorded in both diary and Trojanische Alterthümer, so little is known about them. To judge from the general stratigraphy of the trench and from Blegen's findings in squares in HJK 6-7 and F 7-8-9 they may have belonged to Troy IV. They are here numbered as Walls 42 and 43.

(Atlas Taf.214; Troy III figs.453,482)

Deposit (11). Shortly before abandoning excavation in this trench, Schliemann found a mass of stones and earth with a face which lay at an angle of 50° or 60°. This mass of stones, of which he inadvertently removed the first course, he took to be the continuation of the "Tower" for which he had been looking, and he exposed it over an area 4m wide.

The implication of his account in Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xvii seems to be that it lay at 34m from the southern entry to the trench. It must therefore be represented in Atlas Taf.214 by the dotted line showing the course of the "Outer Wall of Troy". The same wall may be shown in Blegen's drawing of the east scarp of this trench. It appears just to the left of the figure "4" in Troy II fig.141, and is a massive structure over 6m thick with its top at c.30m A.T. and its bottom at c.26.50m A.T. It is backed by deposits of Troy III and overlain by deposits of Troy IV, in Blegen's terms. The size and position of this wall, Wall 44, suggest an identification as part of a fortification-wall of Troy III or Troy IV. As there is no other evidence for an independent circuit-wall of Troy III, and as the location is roughly consistent with the remains of a Troy IV circuit-wall found in HJ 6-7, FY 8 and now in CDE 7-8, a provisional attribution to Troy IV (in Blegen's terms) is perhaps the most likely.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.86; TA p.213f; Atlas Taf.214; Troy II fig.141 and pp.97,214, 291 also pp.5,102, figs.309,312,314)

AREA iv: GH 6-7

Figs.III.16; IV.54,55

There seems to have been little work in this area during the period 7th-16th April 1873. What work is recorded took place at the northern end of the deepest part of the southeast trench cut at the beginning of the season. Excavation will have taken place at c.31.50m A.T., and reached down probably to c.30m A.T. Schliemann explicitly says that nothing of interest was found; and indeed there are no objects which clearly derive from this trench.

Wall 44. The only discovery mentioned from the excavations in this trench relates to Wall 44. Schliemann says that the wall which he had taken for a continuation of the "Tower" had turned out in fact to be

part of an early circuit wall. The wall may be seen in Figs.IV.54,55, and is the "Outer Wall of Troy" dotted in on Atlas Taf.214 (=TR Plan 2). Its top lay, as we have already seen, at c.30m A.T. and its bottom at c.26.50m A.T. It was overlain by deposits of Troy IV and V (in Blegen's terms) and perhaps other E.B.-M.B. material and may tentatively be identified as part of a fortification wall of Troy III or IV. Exactly what Schliemann dug in this area is not clear. The implication of his remark may be that he had exposed the wall's width by removing the remaining block of earth which overlay it. This is the supposition on which I have based the summary of his work in the previous paragraph. But it has to be admitted that Atlas Taf.214, drawn at the end of the 1873 season, does not show the width of the wall exposed. It is even possible that the remark is a piece of pure deduction based on the belief that, since there were houses in EF 6-7, the "Tower" stretched no further East than the feature we now call Gate FN. If so, then there may have been little or no excavation in the eastern sector of the East-West trench at all.

(TA p.258)

THE EAST-WEST TRENCH

Across the south side of the plateau of the mound Schliemann dug his East-West trench in order to expose more of the "Tower" he had found in 1872. The trench was laid out across squares EFGH 6-7, where the mound surface dropped gently from c.38m A.T. in the West to c.36.50m A.T. in the East over a distance of nearly 60 metres. The final state of the trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.214 (= Troy and Its Remains Plan 2), which shows that it had a width of about 20 metres if we discount two small areas of exploration in squares E6 and G6, on the north side of the trench. At its west end it joined up with the North-South Trench; at its east end it joined the Southeast Trench. Views of the trench are given in Atlas Taf.153,156,157,170; Troy and Its Remains plates V, IX, XIA, XIB; and Ilios figs.5,7,8 and 21B.

Schliemann dug here from the end of February to the end of April in 1873, in an area where there had been no previous work, so far as we know, by Brunton or Calvert. In his first two periods of work he excavated most of the trench to a depth of 4m, with the deliberate exception of an earth ramp left in squares FG 6-7 to allow access to the trench-bottom. In the next two phases he concentrated his efforts on deepening the north-western sector of the trench, to the West of the ramp, until he reached c.30m A.T. This was followed by a similar deepening of the southwestern quarter. At the beginning of April Schliemann began to work in a restricted area just to the East of the ramp. This he deepened from c.34m A.T. to mostly c.31.50m A.T., although he went down further, to c.30m A.T., in the spot where he believed he had found an altar. In the remainder of April he contented himself with clearing the western half of the trench fully to a depth of 30m A.T., with digging two deeper pits to c.26m A.T. in squares E6 and F6, and with clearing out the interior of Propylon IXD.

The mound structure which confronted Schliemann in this area appears to have been fairly straightforward. Most of the area lay over structures of Troy II and was conditioned by the Troy II platform lying at c.30m A.T. The points where Schliemann penetrated to lower levels and found structures of Troy I or Early Troy II are, of course, an exception. The later phases of Early and Middle Bronze Age occupation seem to have left behind a more or less regular accumulation of horizontal deposits which built up to c.35m A.T. or higher. There seems, once again, to be evidence that second millennium building operations cut into the upper M.B. deposits;

but little of Troy VI or VII in fact remained for Schliemann to find. This was presumably because of levelling during Troy VIII or IX, the construction of the Troy IX stoa, and the laying of the monumental Troy IX pavement which seems to have run through at least a part of this trench.

As in the Southeast Trench, this pavement was found at a depth of 30cm to 1m below the surface. It was built of large, marble flagstones laid on a double bed of stone blocks. In Area i their location is not specified (Deposit 2), but they seem to have been attested definitely at the west end of the trench (Area ii, Deposit 2) where there were also sculpted architectural pieces of the Corinthian order, all in large numbers (cf. Area v, Deposit 1). There is no direct evidence that the continuation to the West of the stoa walls was found anywhere in this trench. Certainly they are not shown in Atlas Taf.214. This tends to confirm the supposition, already mentioned in connection with the Southeast Trench, that they had been disturbed before Schliemann ever reached the site (see Area i, Deposits 4,5). A possible exception may be the two walls 45, 46, shown at No. 11 in Atlas Taf.214. These could be small parts of the stoa in square E6 (Area ii, Deposits 6,7). But Propylon IXD was found intact, though preserved to an altitude of only 34.10m A.T. Schliemann describes the foundations of the north, west and east walls of which he found three courses of limestone blocks preserved. The north wall had a width of 2.46m; the west and east walls were 1.60m wide. All had a height of c.1.30m, although they were not fully exposed at the time. Schliemann did not know that it was a propylon that he was dealing with, and refers to the feature as a "reservoir" or "cistern" (Area ii, Deposit 5; Area ix). The other, principal feature of Troy IX found by Schliemann was the north wall of Dörpfeld's Building IXB, here called Wall 39. A long stretch of it was found along the southern edge of the trench in squares EF 7, and was taken by Schliemann to be the south wall of a temple complex built by Lysimachus. He describes the wall as having been built of large blocks of white limestone with a superstructure of small stones bonded with cement. It was preserved to varying heights of 1.65m and 2m and may have been as little as 1m wide (Area i, Deposit 3; Area v, Deposit 2). Two other walls may belong to Troy IX: those shown in a small, northward extension of the trench in square G 6-7. Here they are referred to as Walls 47 and 48. Unfortunately there is too little information to permit even a tentative

interpretation of these fragments. (Area ii, Deposits 8,9). A statue and two inscriptions were found in the western half of the trench (Area vii).

Once again, no remains of Troy VIII can be identified among Schliemann's findings in this trench. From the Late Bronze Age, however, there are a few items.. Some walls of small stones and mortar, associated with 'hellenic' (i.e. mycenaean) sherds may derive from Troy VII (Area ii Deposit 3a). A limestone pit or silo, with lime plaster facing, built into the southwest quarter of the trench may date to Troy VI or VII and appears to have been filled up with a deposit including pottery of VI or VII (Area v, Deposit 3). It had a diameter of 1.13m and was 80cm deep. In Area ii material from Troy VI-VII is definitely attested, and some pithoi may belong to Troy VI. But the division between the strata of VI and VII can only be made by reference to Blegen's findings in square F8 (Area ii, Deposit 3b).

To Troy V, or perhaps more probably to Troy IV, we may attribute the strata of yellow "wood-ash" at 2-4m deep in Area ii and of "wood-ash" at 2-3m deep in Area iii (Area ii, Deposit 4; Area iii, Deposit 1). Similarly the possible stratum of burnt mudbrick and other debris at c.33.50-34.50 in the southwest quarter of the trench will have belonged to Troy IV (Area v, Deposit 5). In the northwest quarter there is evidence of walls built of small stones bonded with mud (Area iii, Deposit 2), although there is no plan or detailed record.

Deposits of Troy III were encountered in the western half of the trench (Area iii Deposit 3; Area v, Deposit 6), also in the eastern half overlying the altar in square G7 (Area vi, Deposit 1). Mudbrick debris with red and yellow ash was a notable feature of these strata. In the southwest quarter of the trench was found a complex of Troy III walls preserved to heights of 2m, 3m and even of 3.20m, founded at c.31-32m A.T. These structures were built of small stones and mud, but also had traces of mud plaster painted yellow or white showing that they were not simply foundations (although they may have been footings). Many of these walls showed signs of burning, and in some cases the burning of timber components had left black bands along their lower edges. The walls were of varying widths, from 50cm to 1.30m. Doorways were found at more than one level, and a pavement of unhewn stones was found at one point. There was one instance of a semi-circular wall which may, perhaps,

have belonged to an apsidal building. What plan this complex of buildings had is uncertain. If any plan can be assigned to them it will be that of Building 2 in Fig.IV.61, derived from Atlas Taf.214, No.8. But it must be admitted that this plan could equally well depict walls of a late phase of Troy II. At all events, the walls shown in it must overlies those of Building 3, visible in the same figure (Area v, Deposit 7).

Building 3 (in Fig.IV.61) we know from Atlas Taf.214 to have underlain Building 2. Again it is not clear to what period it should be assigned; but it must be to a late phase of Troy II or to an early phase of Troy III because it clearly follows the outline of a late phase of Gate FN over which it was built. This brackets it within Dörpfeld's II.3 - Blegen's III, after which the fortifications of Troy II were probably obscured.

Clearly attributable to Troy II, however, was the complex of walls founded at c.30m A.T. and preserved to 1 or 2m high in the western half of the trench (Area v, Deposit 9). This may or may not have included Building 3. Also dating to Troy II were the various parts of Gate FN which Schliemann found but was at that time unable to identify. A two-metre length of the west wall was traced, leading off to the South of the Tower. This, Wall 53, must have been Dörpfeld's western wall IIb from his Troy II.3 (Area vii, Deposit 4). Short stretches of the earlier western walls of Dörpfeld's Troy II.1 and Troy II.2 may have been found in a deep cutting made in square E6. Here Schliemann seems to have exposed the facing sides of two parallel walls 3m high preserved to c.30m A.T. (Area vii, Deposits 6,7). Both rested on bedrock and had patches of plaster still preserved. The space between them was filled with red ash and stones (Area viii, Deposit 5). The entire discovery is curious, for Dörpfeld's plan shows this area as filled by solid masonry of Troy II.2. Presumably Dörpfeld is here offering us a reconstruction. The Troy II.2 addition to the east side of Gate FN, Wall 56, was found as well (Area vii, Deposit 9). Only its east side was exposed. It was 3½m high and was founded on half a metre of soil over bedrock. It is portrayed at No.27 on Atlas Taf.214. The surface of parts of Gate FN, and of the citadel walls IIb, IIc and IId (in Dörpfeld's terms) to the East of it, may have been exposed (Area iii, Deposit 5). Overlying Gate FN, unrecognised as that was, stood a massive mudbrick wall 8m wide and preserved to a height of 3m (Area vii, Deposit 3). Whether or not this was as solid as

Schliemann implies it was, it is very likely to have been a part of the superstructure of Gate FN. The 8m width agrees so well with the II.3 dimensions of the western side of the gate, that it is difficult to avoid the supposition that this structure, Wall 52, was built at a date when Gate FN was still in use and was still divided by its central passageway. On the other hand its preservation to a height of 3m is remarkable and implies that the feature was not demolished at the end of Troy II but survived into Troy III as a part of the fortifications. Many other walls were noted among the Troy II deposits, some of which may have lain over Gate FN (Area vii, Deposit 2). All showed signs of fierce burning, a feature noted on several occasions. Nine pithoi found among the red ash deposits of Troy II run in a line across the whole of Gate FN and are likely to derive from a period after it fell into disuse and was blocked. But they appear to underlie Building 2 (Area vii, Deposit 1). Further East, in square G7, was the horned altar. It consisted of a stone upright cut into horned shape, and a horizontal stone block on a mudbrick pedestal that had been covered with lime plaster and painted yellow. Below it to the West lay a small drain. The altar and drain must be placed in the structure of Late Troy II which was built just to the East of the enlarged Gate FO. This suggests that the building was a gatehouse shrine and a precursor of the later shrine suggested for Tower VII (Area vi, Deposits 3,5). The altar was surrounded by mudbrick debris with red and yellow ash (Area vi, Deposits 2,4). Among the debris of Troy II lay Treasures S1 and S2, the first associated with a human mandible and the second with a human skull. It is conceivable that these might have been the remains of earlier burials disturbed by levelling late in Troy II (Area v, Deposit 8).

Dating to Troy I or to an early phase of Troy II is Wall 57, a wall founded at c.26.50m A.T. and running parallel to the east wall of Gate FN but with a height of only 60cm (Area vii, Deposit 10). No other features of Troy I were encountered.

Schliemann's work in the East-West Trench has been divided into nine 'areas' the findings in which are presented separately in the following reports. As before, these 'areas' correspond to the areas tackled by Schliemann in nine of the periods of work distinguished in Chapter III and represented in Figs.III.11-17.

AREA 1: EFGH 6-7(a)

Figs.III.11; IV.53,56.

This trench, Schliemann's East-West Trench, was opened on 26th February 1873 in order to expose more of the "Tower" discovered in 1872. Its length from East to West was c.60m if the widths of the old "Tower" trench and the new Southeast Trench are not included. Its width from North to South, by 6th March, was c.20m. In most of its length it was excavated to an average depth of only 1½m; but it seems that towards its east end it must have been dug down to a rather greater depth in the area where it joined the Southeast Trench, H 7-8. The two trenches are, in fact, intimately connected. Schliemann makes no clear distinction between them in his records, and the features he found can only be distributed between them under the guidance of the reports of the later excavators. It is very doubtful whether any finds other than three inscriptions can be assigned to EFGH 6-7 in this period. As to Schliemann's datum-point, the slope of the mound surface in this area was so very slight (if we may judge from the contour-plan) that Schliemann may well have ignored it. If so, his measurement of depth will at all points have been taken directly from the overlying mound-surface.

Deposit (1). Schliemann records a deposit of topsoil which was 30cm-1.0m thick and which overlay the walls of what he took to be Lysimachus's Temple of Athena. This deposit is the same as Deposit (1) of H 7-8.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.45-6,62; Ilios p.29)

OBJECTS FOUND

INSCRIPTIONS

- 73-194 TA pp.201-9, TR pp.240-7, Ilios pp.627-32, TI p.468 No.45, SS 9653.
- 73-200 TA pp.209-10, TR p.247, Ilios p.632, TI p.468 No.43, SS 9655.
 One other inscription, not described (Tgb pp.41,45; TA p.200).

Deposit (2). At a depth of 30cm-1.0m, that is, stratified below Deposit (1), Schliemann found here and in H 7-8 a pavement which he took to be the floor of the Temple. It was built of large marble flagstones laid on a double bed of limestone blocks. Its location is uncertain. I

have taken it to have been a floor of the south stoa and of the interior of the precinct of the Athena Temple, but have assumed that it did not continue through Propylon IXD.

(Tagebuch p.62; Ilios p.29)

Deposit (3). A diary-entry for 27th February, only one day after the trench was opened with an average width of 1½m, records the discovery of a wall 30cm below the surface and having a length of 80m or more. This, as we know from the résumé in Trojanische Alterthümer, was taken by Schliemann to be the south wall of a temple complex built by Lysimachus. While the eastern parts of the "wall", discussed in the analysis of H 7-8, can be identified as parts of the north and south walls of the stoa IXG in squares GH 7, it is clear from Atlas Taf.214 that the western part, with which we are now dealing, must have been the north wall of building IXB. A benchmark shown by Dörpfeld in square E7 of Troja und Ilion Taf.III records that this wall was preserved to a height of 37.46m A.T. at its western end. The figure is roughly consistent with the figure to be expected from the altitude of the reconstructed mound-surface and from Schliemann's information about the walls' depth. According to Dörpfeld, the foundations of IXB were built of blocks of soft poros. Schliemann's general account of what he took to be the one, continuous, south wall of the Temple complex refers to a stratum of small stones bonded together with a hard cement, resting on a double layer of large, flat limestone blocks which had been well hewn. The wall is said to have extended to a depth of no more than 2m and to have been 1m wide. It is doubtful whether this north wall of IXB, here called Wall 39, was fully exposed.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.45-6,62; TA p.200; Atlas Taf.214; Ilios p.29; TI p.234; Taf.III)

Deposits (4) and (5). These are, respectively, Walls 36 and 35 - the south and north walls of the south stoa, IXG. They are discussed under Deposits (3a) and (3b) of H 7-8. Their inclusion in trench EFGH 6-7 is uncertain as there is no direct evidence that Schliemann found their westward extensions beyond the confines of the southeast trench. They are not shown in Atlas Taf.214. They may have been either dug away unrecorded or robbed out before excavations began.

Deposits (6) and (7). These are the deposits underlying Deposits (1) and (2) and surrounding all features below c.36m A.T. Schliemann gives no information about them, and as no objects can be assigned to them there is nothing to be gained from extrapolating into them the divisions noted or assumed in neighbouring areas.

AREA ii: EFGH 6-7(b)

Figs.III.12; IV.55,57,58.

This is the portion of the East-West trench that was excavated during the period 7th-15th March 1873. For the most part the horizontal dimensions of the trench remain as they were in EFGH 6-7(a). But Atlas Taf.214 shows that in two places, in squares E6 and G6, there was some exploration just beyond the northern fringe of the trench. Some walls were exposed in these two spots, and Schliemann took them to be parts of the outer wall of the "Temple" which he supposed himself to be excavating in this area. The ramp in squares FG 6-7 must have been left intact, to provide access to the trench-bottom. On either side of it excavation was carried to a depth of 4m below the mound-surface. Depths may have been measured from a datum of c.38.50m A.T., or more probably from various points on the adjoining mound-surface which must have appeared nearly horizontal but which in fact varied between c.36.50m A.T. and c.38.50m A.T.

A number of finds can be attributed to this area. Analysis of their likely dates and of the depths at which they were found suggests at first some confusion. Objects of Middle Bronze Age date were found at 2m deep, but so was an item deriving from Troy VIII; objects dateable to Troy VI or VII were found as deep as 4m and as high as only 1m deep. These apparent contradictions could theoretically have been caused either by sloping strata in conjunction with a stable datum, or by horizontal strata in conjunction with a varying datum. In fact, however,

it is likely that both strata and datum rose and fell in rough uniformity throughout the length of the trench. This certainly seems to apply to the strata, for Troy V (for example) is likely to have lain at c.2m below the surface both in D7 (Fig.IV.42) and in H7 (Fig.IV.54), even though the altitude of the surface varied between the two by nearly 1½m. It may also apply to the datum. In H 7-8(b) the attested depth of deposit (4), to 4½m, does coincide, at least approximately, with the depth to which the terrace "over" the Tower was excavated below the surface. Had the related datum, of c.36.50m A.T., been applied in E7 and F7 as well, Schliemann ought to have been reporting E.B. material from a depth of only 1m; but there is none from higher than 2m. The apparent contradictions are therefore better explained by reference to such possible phenomena as later foundation-trenches cutting into earlier deposits. It will be seen from the ensuing discussion that, to achieve this, there is no need to resort to hypotheses that go beyond the evidence already available.

Deposit (1). The discussion relating to Deposit (5) will show that Dörpfeld's Propylon IXD came to light during this period, and that it was preserved up to only c.34.10m A.T. It was founded c.1.60m deeper. A foundation-trench must have been cut for its construction. This may explain the presence at a depth of 2m of a vessel which appears to derive from Troy VIII. There is otherwise no information about the contents of the foundation-trench, which constitutes this deposit.

OBJECT FOUND

POTTERY

No.25 * 73-222 Pointed alabastron with no rim (2m). Atlas 124-2493; Fig.V.34.

Deposit (2). Some finds are recorded from a depth of 0-1m, so it seems that excavation was not everywhere carried down to 1½m in the preceding period. A possible location for this remaining deposit at the higher level is suggested in Fig.IV.58, but is in reality quite uncertain. Schliemann complains that at the west end of the trench he had had to remove many large marble blocks in order to reach a depth of 2m. These, we learn from Trojanische Alterthümer, were sculpted in the Corinthian style. Some were as much as 2m long. At the same time he complains of

huge numbers of well-hewn limestone blocks which, he says, were "in the same layer" as the limestone flags. In Trojanische Alterthümer he explains that the blocks formed a foundation for the flagstones, which can be identified as a part of the Troy IX pavement. The blocks, the flagstones and the material overlying may be taken then, as a deposit of solidly Troy IX material. There are, however, very few finds.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.74-5; TA p.212)

OBJECTS FOUND

COINS

Copper coins of Ilium and of Alexandria Troas. Roman coins spanning the period of Augustus-Constantine the Great (0-1m). TA p.217.

Deposit (3). Below the depth of 1m and above 2m, where M.B. material began, Schliemann found some walls of small stones and mud mortar, not preserved to a great height and clearly underlying "the modern temple". These may derive from Troy VII or VIII, and Schliemann does note the presence of "Hellenic" sherds. But there must also have been a deposit containing material dateable to Troy VI-VII. A few objects of this period are recorded, assigned to depths of 1m, 1½m and 2m; and indeed Schliemann's epithet "Hellenic" could, as elsewhere, mean "mycenaean". Such a depth for deposits of this date is to be expected from Blegen's section of F8, in Troy III fig.453, an outline of which has been transposed onto Fig.IV.58. As so often, the results extracted from Schliemann's crude information agree with the results of the later and better excavations. Emboldened by this, we may extrapolate from Blegen's section the dividing line between Troy VI and Troy VII. We can then assign finds by depth to an upper stratum (3a), perhaps of Troy VII date, and to a lower stratum (3b), perhaps of Troy VI date. There is no other information about the character of the deposit.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.75)

OBJECTS FOUND

Deposit (3a)

POTTERY

A74	73-204	Plain bowl with flat base, straight splayed sides and simple rim (1½m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2481; Fig.V.33.
B35	73-224	Jug with flat base, pinched mouth, handle from rim to body with flattening at the top for the thumb. A small spout or lug on the side (1m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2494; Fig.V.33.

WHORLS

RVIIDc 73-211 (4m) Atlas 125-2496.
Also other whorls, exclusively conical, all
undecorated. TA p.216.

Deposit 3(b)

C39 -

POTTERY

Many large pithoi sunk into the underlying deposits at
2-4m deep, especially at the east end of the trench.
Tgb p.84; TA p.215.

Deposit (4). Schliemann notes that below the "Temple", i.e. below the
Troy IX buildings, and below the walls underlying it, he found at a
depth of 2-4m a stratum of yellow wood-ash mixed with many stones. He
particularly noted, on several occasions, the appearance at 2m and below
of stone tools. Most of the finds attributable to this deposit suggest
a date in the Early or Middle Bronze Age. The strata in the neigh-
bouring areas of D6 (Fig.IV.35), F8 (Fig.IV.58), and H7 (Fig.IV.54)
point to a date of Troy IV-V as a possibility.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.74,75,83; TA p.215)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A44	73-209	Squat, two-handled tankard with gently concave body and button-base (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2484; Fig.V.38.
A201	* 73-263	Small, deep bowl with rounded base and slightly incurving sides. Plain rim, and two handles or lugs set on upper part of body (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2584; Fig.V.29.
A228	* 73-241	Black polished two-handled tankard (handles restored) with flaring rim, narrow waist and rounded body and base (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2580; Fig.V.28.
B24	* 73-255	Yellow jug with low base, narrow neck and trefoil mouth (restored). Handle from mouth to body (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2581; Fig.V.28.
C35	73-208	Piriform jar with three short feet, slightly flaring neck and two vertically-perforated tubular lugs set on the body. Three incised(?) lines surround the neck. The body is divided into several vertical fields. Three are visible - one plain, the others filled with short, vertical incised(?) lines (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2487; Fig.V.29.
C205	* 73-225	Conical jar with wide, rounded base and short, narrower, vertical neck (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2495; Fig.V.28.
D15	* 73-223	Circular or elliptical piece of terracotta, apparently a flat lid, with pinched-up handle across the upper side and four perforations, possibly being two holes through the handle (2½m). <u>Atlas</u> 124-2492; Fig.V.29.
D15	* 73-250	Flat terracotta pot-lid(?) with a hole at either side, and criss-cross incisions on top (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 125-2525; Fig.V.29.

METALWORK AND MOULDS

- * 73-217 Conical copper disc, with bar riveted across the centre of the underside (2m). Atlas 125-2506, TI p.406 fig. 409, SS 6487; Fig.V.37.
- 73-207 Mica-schist mould for pin or awl, with holes at two corners (3m). Atlas 124-2485, Ilios No.603, SS 6775; Fig.V.40.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-202 Shafthole adze of green stone (2m). Atlas 124-2476; Fig.V.42.
- Shafthole hammer of diorite, Tgb p.74.
Three diorite axes, Tgb p.77.
Granite weights, Tgb p.75.
Slate slingstones, Tgb p.75.
- * 73-206 Oblong block of stone, perhaps a polisher (2m). TA p.217, Atlas 124-2482; Fig.V.42.

CHIPPED STONE

- Axe of white flint, Tgb p.77.

2m

WHORLS

- RVIIBb * 73-212 Atlas 125-2498, SS 5050.
- RVIIDc * 73-214 Atlas 125-2499, SS 5053.
- GIB * 72-215 Atlas 125-2502.
- GIXD * 73-216 Atlas 125-2501, SS 5059.
- RIIA * 73-221 Atlas 125-2507.
- GIXC * 73-244 Atlas 125-2523, SS 5421.

3m

- RVIAb * 73-218 Atlas 125-2503, SS 4800.
- GIID * 73-219 Atlas 125-2508, SS 5273.
- RVIAb * 73-220 Atlas 125-2509.
- RVIIAa? * 73-242 Atlas 125-2518.
- RVIIAa? * 73-243 Atlas 125-2519.
- RIIIC * 73-245 Atlas 125-2527.
- GVI * 73-246 Atlas 125-2528.
- GIVB * 73-247 Atlas 125-2530.
- GIXD * 73-248 Atlas 132-2601.
- RIIC * 73-251 Atlas 125-2524, SS 5422.
- GIID * 73-252 Atlas 125-2529.
- RVIAb * 73-261 Atlas 132-2603.

4m

- RIIA * 73-249 Atlas 132-2602, SS 5501.

According to TA p.216 there were both conical and biconical, decorated and undecorated whorls.

LOOMWEIGHT

- 73-205 Of stone or terracotta (2m). Atlas 124-2483; Fig.V.47.

TERRACOTTA DISCS

- Small perforated terracotta discs (2m). Tgb p.75.

FIGURINE

- 3E 73-227 Figurine, presumably of stone, with incised eyes, eyebrows, nose, and four lines and a row of dots around neck (3½m). Atlas 125-2505, SS 7360; Fig.V.45.

Deposit (5). Schliemann records that towards the east end of the trench he found a reservoir. This "reservoir" is shown on Atlas Taf.214 at No.15 from which it is clear that the structure in question is Dörpfeld's Propylon IXD. TI Taf.III shows that it was preserved up to only 34.10m A.T., which was at least 2½m below the surface. This explains why the building was only discovered in this second period of excavation in the East-West trench, when digging penetrated deeper than 2m below the surface. The first trace came to light on 13th March, when a "platform" measuring 8.55 x 2.46m was exposed. Three courses of hewn limestone blocks were observed. At the west end of this platform was a second, similar structure which apparently cut across the "Temple" area, presumably from North to South. These two features are likely to have been the north and west walls of the propylon. By the time the draft of Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xvii was written, on 15th March, more had been discovered. Schliemann now describes the "reservoir" as measuring 8.43 x 8.00m, with one wall (presumably the north wall again) 2.46m wide and two others 1.60m wide. It was built of large, well-hewn limestone blocks without mortar. Its foundations appeared to go "very deep" - meaning, no doubt, below the limit of excavation. A later note by Schliemann records that the walls were in fact preserved to a height of 1.30m. The structure can be seen in Plan IVa of Ilios where it is described as a "quadrangular Hellenic substruction in form of a tower". Here again the masonry stands to a height of approximately 1½m. It must therefore have descended to c.32.80m A.T. Atlas Taf.214 shows that the southernmost wall of the propylon was not uncovered. Schliemann states that four water-channels led into the "reservoir". He may here be recalling the terracotta pipes which he had previously found, perhaps in H 7-8(a) Deposit (4). The note smacks more of inference than of observation.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.83,91; TA pp.212,216, 246; Ilios Plan IVa)

Deposits (6), (7), (8) and (9). Schliemann notes, on 9th March, that he found the "other wall" of the "Temple", just under the mound surface. The discovery enabled him to say that the "Temple" was 21.80m wide, implying that this second wall lay 21.80m away from Wall 39, of Building IXB. The new discovery must have been of one or more of the walls shown at Nos.11 and 18 in Atlas Taf.214, and referred to in Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xvii as the north wall of the "Temple". Atlas Taf.214 shows four fragments of walls to have been involved. They are here

numbered Walls 45, 46, 47 and 48. Walls 45 and 46, at the west end, appear to belong to the Roman stoa. Walls 47 and 48, in square G6, do not and, in their fragmentary state, defy interpretation.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.76; Atlas Taf.214; TA p.212)

AREA iii: EF 6-7(a)

Figs.III.13; IV.59.

Work in this area was carried out during the period 17th-22nd March 1873. The area is situated in the northern half of the East-West trench, but only in the western end - that is, presumably, to the West of the earthen access-ramp left in F 6-7. The area must have measured c.30m x c.10m. The trench had already reached a depth of 4½m in some places. Excavation now consolidated this result (for there is evidence of work still only at 3m), and deepened the trench till, at several points, it reached a depth of 8m. Depths were probably measured down from a datum varying between 36.50 and 38.50m A.T.

Schliemann has recorded practically no stratigraphic information, but there are quite a number of objects which can be assigned to this trench. Almost all of them are dateable to the Early Bronze Age. Comparison with Blegen's typological sequence suggests that most of them belong to Troy II and III in Blegen's terms. The top of Troy III seems to lie at around 4m deep, and a division between Troy III and Troy II is needed at around 6m deep. These results coincide fairly well with the stratigraphy deduced for square D6 and observed in E6 by Blegen. They imply a continued rise in the strata from F8 up to their position in F7, corresponding to their position over the edge of the underlying Troy II citadel walls and gate.

Deposit (1). Schliemann does observe, once again, that from a depth of

2m there were usually deposits of "pure" wood-ash mixed with a few stones. This deposit may be taken to descend only as far as 3m, where some new characteristics appear. There are no finds and no specific features which can be assigned to the deposit, and the note may be largely a recapitulation of what was already known.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.105)

Deposit (2). The strata of wood-ash and stones continued to a depth of 4m, but Schliemann noted that a number of walls built of small stones bonded with mud came to light first at 3m. These may suggest that a different stratum is to be distinguished at 3-4m deep. As it overlies a deposit which most probably dates from Troy III, Deposit (2) may tentatively be assigned to Troy IV.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.105)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- * 73-330 Bridged spout, with knob on each side (4m). Atlas 130-2575; Fig.V.28.

METALWORK

- * 73-304 Pin with rolled top (3m). Atlas 133-2650, cf. TI figs. 294f; Fig.V.39.
- "Copper" pins are attested. Tgb p.106.

WHORLS

- Whorls are said to be mostly undecorated. Tgb p.106.

Deposit (3). Schliemann seems to have noticed a change in the strata at a depth of 4m; for on the one hand he speaks of the deposits of ash which began at 2m reaching down to this depth, and on the other hand he notes that mussel-shells and other debris containing more pottery began at 4m. There are, indeed, many more finds which seem to have come from the lower strata in this trench. Examination of the pottery suggests that there were deposits of Troy III from 4m deep to 6m deep, and deposits of Troy II below that. The beaked spouts of 73-339 (4m) and 73-278 (6m) are characteristic of Troy III, and so are the A16 bowls. This, taken together with an observation which seems to imply another soil-change at 6m deep, does suggest that the deposit extended to that depth. The result is consistent with that found for squares D6 and E6 (Fig.IV.35), and is not out of line with the stratigraphy found in F8

(Troy III fig.453).

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.104,105; TA p.227)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | | |
|------|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A16 | * 73-285 | Red-polished, shallow bowl with flattened base, slightly curving lower sides, and vertical or slightly concave sides above a carination (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2758, <u>SS</u> 1904; Fig.V.24. |
| A16 | * 73-328 | Red bowl with wide, shallow body, flat base, slightly incurving upper half, and single loop-handle rising from rim and fixed to body (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2563; Fig. V.24. |
| A214 | * 73-284 | Bowl with rounded base and curving sides to form a hemisphere; plain rim. Restored in <u>Atlas</u> 139-2756 as a cup (4m). <u>SS</u> 2747; Fig.V.24. |
| B3 | 73-288 | Large ovoid jug with narrow flat base and shortish neck ending in horizontal mouth. Handle from neck to shoulder (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2763; Fig.V.25. |
| B4 | 73-281 | Tall ovoid jug, flat base and horizontal, plain mouth. Handle from neck to body (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2754; Fig. V.25. |
| B5 | 73-341 | Red, ovoid bottle with rounded base, narrow neck and bevelled rim (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2576, <u>Ilios</u> No.1124, <u>SS</u> 1492; Fig.V.25. |
| B20 | * 73-339 | Neck and spout from red-polished jug. Remains of the handle are attached to rear of spout. The spout is elongated and pinched towards the point (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2573; Fig.V.25. |
| B206 | 73-326 | Red flask narrowing slightly towards a flat base. Cylindrical neck with slightly flaring rim; at least three conical knobs set around the shoulder (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2562; Fig.V.25. |
| B216 | 73-278 | Black piriform jug with rounded base, and narrow neck drawn up to an elongated beak spout. Handle from neck to shoulder (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2592; Fig.V.25. |
| C10 | 73-286 | Large black-polished jar, also similar to type B6. Ovoid body, flat base, shortish flaring neck ending in horizontal mouth. Two loop-handles on the middle of the body, and two larger loop-handles from neck to shoulder (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2755, <u>TR</u> No.178, <u>Ilios</u> No. 430, <u>SS</u> 757; Fig.V.26. |
| C35 | 73-280 | Ovoid jar set on three short feet and with plain cylindrical neck. Two wing-like lugs, perforated, set on the body (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2753; Fig.V.26. |
| C35 | * 73-336 | Black ovoid jar with tripod base, everted rim on cylindrical neck, and two pointed, vertically-perforated lugs on the body (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2565; Fig. V.26. |
| D2 | * - | Pot-lid with incised(?) decoration of wavy lines on the top and straight, vertical lines around the side (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 132-2616; Fig.V.27. |
| D7 | * 73-338 | Black, slightly flaring cylindrical lid surmounted by three or four straps joined under a central knob (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2572; Fig.V.27. |

- D212 * 73-331 Miniature shallow red bowl with incurving rim(?) and rounded base (4m). Atlas 130-2574; Fig.V.24.
 D- * 73-283 Bowl from a terracotta spoon (4m). Atlas 139-2757; Fig.V.26.

METALWORK

- 73-315 Curved bronze knife with two rivet-holes (5m). Atlas 133-2645, Ilios No.1230, SS 6189; Fig.V.37.
 * 73-325 Curved bronze knife with clear remains of one rivet hole (4m). Atlas 132-2627; Fig.V.37.
 * 73-319 "Copper" pin, with pointed knob corroded, or possibly having four facets (4m). Atlas 132-2619, Ilios No. 1238(?); Fig.V.39.

CHIPPED STONE

- Flint saws and knives are attested. Tgb p.106.

WHORLS

- GVB * 73-307 (4m) Atlas 132-2614.
 RIA * 73-310 (4m) Atlas 132-2618.
 RIIC 73-311 (5m) Atlas 132-2628.
 RIIA 73-312 (5m) Atlas 132-2630.
 RVIAb * 73-316 (4m) Atlas 132-2622.
 RVB 73-317 (5m) Atlas 132-2623.
 GID * 73-318 (4m) Atlas 132-2615, TR No.473, Ilios No.1973.
 RIA * 73-324 (4m) Atlas 132-2609.
 * 73-373 Terracotta disc with two central holes (4m). Atlas 133-2659b; Fig.V.48.

TERRACOTTA BALL

- * 73-357 (4m) Atlas 135-2699, TR No.300, Ilios Nos.1225-7, SS 8878; Fig.V.46.

FIGURINES

- 2(?) 73-299 Marble figurine with pointed head, curved indentations on the sides, and ovoid body (5m). Atlas 133-2634; Fig.V.44.
 3B 73-351 Green schist figurine decorated with two circles for eyes, three circles on the body and two horizontal lines across neck (4m). Atlas 135-2705, Ilios No.995, SS 7364; Fig.V.44.
 3E * 73-320 Marble figurine (4m). Atlas 132-2620; Fig.V.44.
 3E * 73-321 Marble figurine (4m). Atlas 132-2621; Fig.V.44.
 * 73-364 Marble figurine (4m) but Atlas 135-2692 (6m); Fig.V.44.

ANIMAL REMAINS

- Mussel-shells were noted throughout the deposit, Tgb p.104.

Deposit (4). There is one small piece of evidence which suggests that Schliemann noted a soil-change at the depth of 6m. In Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xviii he remarks that levels containing (household) debris, mussel shells and pottery began mostly at 4m deep, but sometimes also at 6m. To this we may add what evidence has already been adduced

concerning the date of the pottery above the 6m mark. The deposits below 6m and reaching to the bottom of the trench seem likely to derive from Troy II in Blegen's terms.

(TA p.227)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A2	-	Many platters are attested at 7-8m deep, usually plain but occasionally red polished, <u>TA</u> p.228.
A30	73-273	Simple bowl with flat base, curving sides and slightly incurved mouth (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2594; Fig.V.22.
A45	-	Brilliant red depata are attested at 6-8m deep, <u>Tgb</u> p.117, <u>TA</u> p.228.
A213	73-347	Ovoid cup with rounded base, convex sides, incurving rim and loop-handle rising from rim and attached to body (6½m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2744; Fig.V.22.
A223	73-274	Ovoid cup with rounded base, convex sides, incurving rim and two loop-handles rising from rim and attached at the widest part of the body (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2596; Fig.V.22.
B3	73-287	Jug with flat base, and neck rising to slightly flaring, horizontal mouth. Handle from neck to body. Brown fabric (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2760; Fig.V.22.
B18?	-	Brown jug with rounded base and tall, very narrow neck. Handle from neck to shoulder (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2761, <u>Ilios</u> No.1138(?); Fig.V.22.
B203	-	Neck of jar with vertical triangular lugs at rim (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2595; Fig.V.23.
C7	73-342	Ovoid jar with flat base, two loop-handles on the sides and two conical knobs on the body. Stubs of two wings join the sides above the handles. The top is entirely broken away. Black polished (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2578; Fig.V.19.
C11	73-346	Ovoid jar with rounded base and slightly flaring neck. Two thick strap-handles set vertically on sides of body (6½m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2765, <u>Ilios</u> No.1118(?); Fig.V.23.
C201	* -	Deep conical jar with wide, rounded base and narrow, plain neck ending in hole mouth with two perforations in rim (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 136-2724; Fig.V.18.
C214	73-282	Small jar with curved sides, flat base and hole mouth; reconstructed basket-handle rising from rim on each side (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2759; Fig.V.22.
-	73-289	Sherd painted with small cross, four dots and some other shapes. Too small for the general pattern to be clear (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 133-2642; Fig.V.34. Probably intrusive from VIII.
-	-	Red-polished and black-polished sherds are attested at 8m. <u>TA</u> p.225.

METALWORK

73-333	"Copper" pin with spherical head (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2570; Fig.V.39.
73-334	"Copper" pin with spherical head (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2571; Fig.V.39.
73-335	"Copper" pin with furled head (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2567;

Fig.V.39.

- 73-372 "Copper" dagger-blade (8m). Atlas 133-2660, cf. TI fig.262h; Fig.V.35.

MOULD

- 73-349 Mica-schist mould (about half the mould present) for objects including flat axe, bar, dagger-blade and disc (8m). Atlas 138-2741, TR No.82, Ilios No.60, SS 6727; Fig.V.40.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-292 Diorite polisher (6m). Atlas 133-2648, Ilios No. 647(?); Fig.V.41.
- 73-293 Diorite polisher (6m). Atlas 133-2649, Ilios No. 646(?); Fig.V.41.
- 73-313 Chisel of transparent green stone (8m). Atlas 132-2625; Fig.V.41.
- 73-306 Lozenge-shaped diorite polisher, with bevelled edges (6m). Atlas 133-2651, SS 8766; Fig.V.41.
- 73-337 Cuboid spit-rest, mica-schist, with deep groove across one side and hole through the middle (6m). Atlas 130-2577, TR No.177, Ilios No.607, SS 6803; Fig.V.41.
- 73-371 Flat, oblong object of diorite. Possibly a rough-out for an axe (6m). Atlas 133-2659a; Fig.V.41.
- 73-295 Hexagon of crystal with six surfaces coming to a point at one end (7m). Atlas 133-2647; Fig.V.41.
- 73-294 "Priaps" of black and white striped marble (7m). Atlas 133-2646; Fig.V.41.
- Magnetite ellipsoid weight (7m). Atlas 133-2635; Fig. V.37.
- 73-291 Pommel of crystal, one end carved as a lion's head (8m). Atlas 133-2639, 133-2654, TR No.174, Ilios No. 547, SS 7879; Fig.V.41.
- 73-367 Pyramidal object of green stone flecked with white. In the centre a vertical hole is filled with lead (8m). Atlas 133-2656, Ilios No.652, SS 7971; Fig.V.41.

CHIPPED STONE

- Flint saws and knives are attested. Tgb p.106.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- 73-296 Flat bone object, rectangular with two sides slightly cut in towards the middle. Three holes bored at one end, one at the other (6m). Atlas 133-2655, Ilios No. 1257, SS 7698; Fig.V.43.
- 73-290 Piece of bone cut to form a flat ring, squashed out of the circular shape. Exterior surface is decorated with diagonal incised lines. Maybe cut from a long bone (7m). Atlas 133-2643; Fig.V.43.
- 73-360 Pin with two encircling grooves near a pointed head (6m). Atlas 135-2696; Fig.V.43.
- Tubular object with a central hole, also a hole on one side towards the end. Surrounded by three bands of incised geometric decoration (8m). Atlas 133-2638, TR No.180, Ilios No.524, SS 7959; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- RIIIB 73-297 (6m) Atlas 133-2631.
- GID 73-298 (7m) Atlas 133-2636.
- GVII 73-301 (7m) Atlas 133-2637.

RIVA	73-302	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2640, <u>SS</u> 5049.
	73-303	(6m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2641, undecorated.
GX	73-305	(7m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2653.
GIVA	73-356	(6m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2695.
RIB	73-362	(6½m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2657.
GID	73-365	(7m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2661, <u>SS</u> 5134.
GIXD	73-369	(6m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2662, <u>TR</u> No.202, <u>Ilios</u> No.505, <u>SS</u> 5412.

Whorls are said to be mostly undecorated, Tgb p.106.

TERRACOTTA BALLS

73-279	(6m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2633, <u>TR</u> No.179, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.1228-9; Fig. V.46.
73-300	(6m) <u>Atlas</u> 133-2632; Fig.V.46.

FIGURINES

3B(?)	73-355	Roughly-made mica-schist figurine, with only slight indentations on the sides (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2743; Fig. V.44.
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ANIMAL REMAINS

- Mussel shells are attested throughout the deposit, Tgb p.104, TA p.227.

Deposit (5). Schliemann says that at several places at the bottom of the trench he exposed the continuation of the "Tower". By this he must mean the surface of parts of Dörpfeld's Gate FN and of the citadel walls IIb, IIc and IId immediately to the East of it. It is possible also that the west side of Gate FO may have been touched. The precise spots cannot now be determined.

(TA p.224)

AREA iv: EF 6-7(b)

Figs.III.14; IV.59.

The work discussed in this section took place during 24th-29th March 1873. To judge from the records and from the finds, most work took place at a depth of 7-8m. The datum may have varied between c.37.50 and 38.50m A.T., although the latter figure seems most consistent with the

excavation results. The finds seem all to have come from the same stratum as Deposit (4) of F6-7(a), which, we now learn, consisted in part of yellow ash.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.130)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A43	73-375	Tankard with rounded base and body, narrowing neck and short, slightly widened rim. Two handles from neck to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2749; see Fig.V.17.
A206	-	Conical tumbler with low base, convex sides and flaring rim (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 136-2728; Fig.V.22.
B4	-	Ovoid jug with flat base, collar neck, handle from rim to shoulder, and two (or more) conical studs around the neck (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2747; Fig.V.22.
B4	73-348	Slender, ovoid jug with flat base and plain, horizontal rim. Handle from neck to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2742; see Fig.V.17.
B8	73-353	Lentoid black-polished flask with rounded base, tall narrow neck and out-turned rim, horizontal mouth. Large strap-handle from neck to shoulder and two loop-handles on the sides (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2745, <u>Ilios</u> No. 433, <u>SS</u> 2105; Fig.V.20.
B9	73-344	Globular jug with rounded base, short straight neck, rising spout, handle from neck to body, and tubular nozzle projecting from front of body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2762; Fig.V.18.
C1	73-343	Jar with flat base, cylindrical neck and two handles from neck to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 139-2764; see Fig.V.17.
C7	73-383	Large, black-polished ovoid jar with narrow flat base, cylindrical neck, two vertical loop-handles on body. Above the handles rise two long, pointed vertical wings; from below, two curling appliqué strips(?) converge towards centre of jar. Two conical knobs and a single rounded knob adorn centre of body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 136-2729, <u>Ilios</u> No.240; Fig.V.19.
C13	73-377	Open red jar with narrow, flat base, convex sides, slightly constricted neck and wide, slightly flaring mouth. Two horizontal loop-handles set at widest point of body (8m); Fig.V.19. <u>Atlas</u> 138-2748, <u>Ilios</u> No.426, <u>SS</u> 2514(?).
C19	73-379	Hemispherical bowl with incurving rim and three (or more) vertical strap-handles set on body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2750; see Fig.V.17.
C30	73-406	Black, piriform jar with low neck and rounded base. A plastic face - of eyebrows-cum-nose and two eyes - adorns the rim and neck. Two vertical, pointed wings are restored by Schliemann. Two conical knobs and one flat knob are set on the body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 140-2767; Fig.V.19.
C204	-	Ovoid jar with rounded base, short wide neck and mouth. Spout or vertical lug set on body; a horizontal line and row of dots around neck (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 136-2727; Fig.V.22.

- C220 73-387 Tall red jar with narrow base and long body, wide funnel neck with out-turned rim. Two small loop-handles are set vertically on the shoulder (8m). Atlas 137-2731; Fig.V.21.
- D7 73-350 Red, cylindrical lid with flange top, surmounted by "coronet" of three straps and a central knob (7m). Atlas 138-2746, TR No.63, Ilios No.330. Fig.V.24.
- D13 73-384 Red polished cylindrical lid with flange top surmounted by knob. Body of the lid is decorated with plastic face (eyebrows, nose, eyes, mouth) and two ears (8m). Atlas 136-2723, SS 320(?); Fig.V.21.
- D31 73-345 One part of a triple vessel: small cup with rounded base, single curved foot, slightly flaring neck, and traces of two attachments to others vessels (8m). Atlas 139-2766; Fig.V.19.

METALWORK AND MOULD

- 73-378 Flat leaf-shaped piece of gold with a hole at the "stalk" end (8m). Atlas 135-2707, TR No.186, Ilios No.902, SS 6433; Fig.V.38.
- 73-361 "Copper" pin with furled head (8m). Atlas 135-2701; Fig.V.38.
- Mica-schist mould for twelve objects, including 3 flat axes, 2 knives and 1 disc or bun ingot (8m). Atlas 136-2722, TR No.175, Ilios No.599, SS 6726, TI p.368, Beilage 45, No.V; Fig.V.40.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-382 Green stone celt (8m). Atlas 135-2711, Ilios No.677(?); Fig.V.41.

CHIPPED STONE

- 73-376 Two-edged flint blade (8m). Atlas 135-2712.

BONE ARTEFACT

- 73-386 Incised bone tube with three panels of geometric ornamentation (8m). Atlas 135-2706, TR No.187, Ilios Nos.522-3, SS 7929; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- GID 73-352 (8m) Atlas 135-2697, SS 4692.
- RIVA 73-354 (7m) Atlas 135-2693.
- RIA 73-358 (8m) Atlas 135-2704.
- GIII 73-359 (7m) Atlas 135-2694, TR No.404, Ilios No.1904, SS 5271.
- RIIIA 73-380 (8m) Atlas 135-2702.
- RIIIA 73-381 (7m) Atlas 135-2703, SS 4769.
- Stone disc with three holes (8m). Atlas 135-2698; Fig.V.41.

HUMAN REMAINS

- 73-385 Skull, said to have been found in a pot with some bones (8m), cf. Tgb p.130; Atlas 136-2726, Ilios Nos. 969-72.

AREA v: EF 7

Figs.III.15; IV.60,61.

We now come to the work carried out during the period 31st March-5th April 1873. Schliemann was working in the southwest quadrant of the East-West trench. His main task was to deepen the area to the level of the "Tower" surface, which meant removing another 3½ metres of deposit. Most finds, therefore, now come from depths of 5-8m. But a few come from higher levels. These, and other factors, show that the trench must have been slightly widened to the South, with the result that more deposits at 1-4m were removed. Although there may be some irregularity in the measurement of depths, particularly for the higher strata, it is likely that the datum mostly used was that of c.38.50m.

Deposit (1). Although there is no information about this deposit, we must assume from the occurrence of three pieces of sculpted marble at 1m deep that a shallow stratum of topsoil overlay parts of Deposit (2), the north wall of IXB. From a slightly lower level comes the Roman vessel 73-484.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- 73-484 Black-polished perfume-bottle (2m). Atlas 142-2809, SS 4004; Fig.V.34.

SCULPTURE

- 73-403 Sculpted wreath-ornament from a capital (1m).
Atlas 137-2735, SS 9640.
73-404 Sculpted sima fragment with foliate design (1m).
Atlas 137-2737, SS 9622b.
73-405 Sculpted antefix with foliate design (1m). Atlas
137-2732, SS 9625.

FIGURINE

- 73-472 Female herm (1m). Atlas 142-2794.

Deposit (2). Schliemann found that the north wall of Building IXB, which he calls the south wall of the Temple of Minerva, was preserved to a height of 1.65m. It was built of large blocks of white limestone.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.166; TA p.245f)

Deposit (3). Stratified below deposit (2) and above the remaining layers (4)-(6) Schliemann found a circular feature 1.13m in diameter and 80cm deep. It was built of limestone and lime plaster, the inner surface having been polished. Schliemann calls it a cellar; it may have been a silo. He records that it was filled with sherds of "Greek" or "archaic" pottery, and contained six almost undamaged vases. Probably they include the ones listed in the following catalogue. The pottery indicates that the silo was filled up in Troy VI-VIIa - perhaps VIIa if 73-456 is of LHIIIc type - and that seems to be consistent with the stratigraphy of the area as a whole.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.166; TA p.246)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A-	73-458	Kylix (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 140-2773; Fig.V.33.
B25(?)	73 462	Ovoid jug with low base and a protuberance (broken handle?) rising from one shoulder. The neck appears to be broken off (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 141-2779; Fig.V.32.
C52	73-498	Squat alabastron with two loop-handles on shoulder. No rim on the neck (3m). Fig.V.33.
C52/53	73-456	Squat alabastron with two loop-handles on shoulder and painted band around shoulder. Neck ends without a rim (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 141-2785; Fig.V.33.
C-	73-455	Grey jug widened in the middle. Flat base, neck broken off, fragment of handle or spout remains on shoulder. Upper half is decorated with six horizontal ribs or lines (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 140-2774, <u>SS</u> 2104; Fig.V.32.

Deposit (4). Schliemann gives no information on other deposits which may have underlain Deposit (1) or on deposits which may have surrounded the silo at c.34.50-35.50m A.T. A few objects are recorded from these depths but it is not clear whether these come from inside or outside the silo.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

D200	-	Circular object with two holes, probably a lid (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 143-2825; Fig.V.29.
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MOULD

73-502	Fragment of mould of mica-schist, possibly for ribbed sword or dagger (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 142-2812, <u>Ilios</u> No.1267, <u>SS</u> 6776; Fig.V.40.
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CHIPPED STONE

- Unspecified number of flint "saws". TA p.250.

WHORL

RIC 73-485 (2m) Atlas 143-2842.

Deposit (5). Below Deposits (3) and (4), but above the strata of Troy III first encountered at 5-6m deep (=32.50-33.50m A.T.), lies a stratum about which little is known. It seems that this deposit, like those below, may have contained a stratum of burnt mudbrick and, underneath, a stratum of occupation debris. The relative thicknesses of these deposits are not known, but a rough division can be made, as in Fig.IV.60, and they can be distinguished as Deposit (5a) - the destruction deposit, and Deposit (5b), the occupation deposit.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.163)

OBJECTS FOUND

Deposit (5a)

POLISHED STONE

73-460

Fragment of grooved mica-schist lid of two-piece mould with central hole (4m). Atlas 141-2788, TI Fig.444, SS 7912; Fig.V.40.

CHIPPED STONE

- Unspecified number of flint "saws", TA p.250.

Deposit (5b)

POTTERY

C39

-

A number of pithoi 7-8ft. tall, which were encountered in underlying deposits, may have been dug into the floor of this deposit. Tgb p.163; TA p.244.

Deposits (6)-(9). Schliemann records that in this area, at a depth of 7-8m and on the "Tower", he found a complex of walls which he recognised to belong to more than one period. As some of these walls stood 3m high and the trench went no deeper than 8½m, the depth of 7-8m which Schliemann quotes must be the depth at which the walls were founded. Some walls were founded immediately on the "Tower"; others were founded 20cm, ½m or 1m above it. They stood to heights of 1m, 2m, 3m and even 3.20m. It is clear that those resting immediately on the "Tower" or only just above it are likely to have been a part of the superstructure of the fortifications of Troy II. The stratification in adjacent areas, shown in Fig.IV.60, suggests that the deposits of II (in Blegen's terms)

were not preserved here to any greater depth than 1-1½m. This means that walls preserved to heights of 2m or more must have belonged to Troy III. A rough division is therefore possible. To an upper stratum (dated to III) may belong the taller walls founded at the higher levels (although some may have been dug into the debris of II); to a lower stratum may belong the shorter walls founded at the lower levels. Those of the upper stratum will be discussed under Deposit (7); those of the lower stratum will be referred to under Deposit (9). Around and among the walls were alternating strata of burnt debris and black occupation deposits. Although Schliemann records no depths for these, it is clear that the lowest deposit, a stratum of burnt debris which surrounded the lowest walls and underlay the higher ones, is likely to derive from the destruction of Troy II. The higher deposits - uncertain in number - are here grouped together as Deposit (6), dated to Troy III in Blegen's terms.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.152,157-8,162-3; TA pp. 243-4)

Deposit (6). The upper and lower limits of this deposit, as shown in Fig.IV.60, have been extrapolated from the stratigraphy of the adjoining areas. Both limits seem to be consistent with the altitudes of the walls allocated to the higher levels. Within Deposit (6) there must have been at least two discernible strata: a lower one of black occupation-material, including animal bones, fish-bones, mussel-shells and other refuse; and an upper one of burnt mudbrick debris with red and yellow ash. This sequence may have been repeated more than once, but that is not certain. We can at any rate assume that the uppermost stratum represents the destruction of Blegen's Troy III, and that the lowest stratum represents its first occupation. A rough division is possible between the finds: some derive from 5m deep, and others from 6m deep. But as this division cannot be related to any secure stratigraphy the finds are here treated en bloc.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.157,163; TA pp.243-4)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | | |
|------|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2? | - | Many platters (6m). <u>TA</u> p.250. |
| A224 | (*) 73-448 | Wide, squat cup with three short, pointed feet, short concave neck and two loop-handles rising from rim and joining shoulder (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 143-2831; Fig.V.24. |
| A227 | 73-500 | Red hemispherical cup on hollow pedestal base, with two small vertical loop-handles set below rim (6m). |

Atlas 141-2787, Ilios No.1186, SS No.272; Fig.V.24.

METALWORK AND MOULD

- (*) 73-417 Copper pin with large, spherical head (6m). Atlas 134-2666, Ilios No.950(?); Fig.V.39.
 73-402 Flat clay mould for 8 bars (6m). Atlas 137-2736; Fig.V.40.

POLISHED STONE

- (*) 73-440 Wedge-shaped mica-schist spit-rest, with groove along upper surface and hole through body (6m). Atlas 143-2818; Fig.V.42.

CHIPPED STONE

Unspecified number of flint "saws" at 5m and 6m, TA p.250.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- 73-401 Head of antler hammer-axe, with notches for haft (6m). Atlas 137-2733, SS 9030; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- RIIIC? * 73-391 (5m) Atlas 135-2714, SS 4697.
 RIIA * 73-432 (5m) Atlas 134-2678.

TERRACOTTA BALL

- * 73-433 (5m) Atlas 134-2686; Fig.V.46.

Deposit (7). Under this heading are included all the walls surrounded by Deposit (6) and dateable, in Blegen's terms, to Troy III. It is mostly not possible to disentangle the information about these walls from that relating to the underlying walls of Troy II, apart from drawing a distinction - as above - between the upper, taller walls and the lower, shorter walls. Schliemann gives only a general account covering the two periods. The walls were built of small stones joined with mud. In several cases he found traces of mud plaster painted yellow or white. This shows that we are not dealing simply with foundations. Walls were found in varying widths: 50cm, 65cm and 1.30m. Many showed clear signs of burning; timber components had left black bands along the lower edges. One structure founded at 1m above the "Tower" had a semi-circular wall. There was evidence for doorways at more than one level. In one area there was a pavement built of unhewn stones whose flat sides had been turned uppermost. Some of the walls which belong to Deposit (7) may make up the building shown in Atlas Taf.214, No.8, and described as "Trojan structures built over old Trojan houses." This complex may be called Building 2 (see Fig.IV.61). But it must be admitted that Building 2 could also derive from a late phase of Troy II. The walls shown in Fig.

IV.60 are purely schematic and are intended only to indicate the relative heights and altitudes of walls discussed here.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.157,162-3,166; TA pp. 243-4)

Deposit (8). Schliemann records that below the walls of Deposit (7), and in amongst them, was a stratum up to 1m thick of burnt mudbrick rubble and red and yellow ash. This deposit lay directly on the "Tower" and may represent the destroyed superstructure of the fortifications of Troy II. To this stratum may be assigned a large number of objects - all of those found at 8m, and probably most of those found at 7m deep. It is possible that some of the objects marked as having been found at 7m deep may derive from the overlying Deposit (6), of Troy III; but it has proved impossible to isolate these from the bulk of those which must belong to Deposit (8). They are all included in the following catalogue.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.163; TA pp.243-4)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A2	-	Many platters, at both 7m and 8m, <u>Tgb</u> p.151.
A37	73-464	Globular cup with short pedestal base, everted mouth on very short neck, and two large, rising handles from rim to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 141-2782, <u>TR</u> No.194, <u>Ilios</u> No. 417; Fig.V.17.
A39	73-397	Tankard with flattened base, wide neck and flaring mouth. Handle from neck to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 138-2752; Fig.V.17.
A39	73-398	Narrow tankard with wider, rounded base, narrower neck and slightly flaring mouth. Handle from neck to body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 137-2739(?); Fig.V.22.
A45	73-407	Depas, red polished ware (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 140-2768, <u>TR</u> No. 52, <u>Ilios</u> No.323; Fig.V.17.
A202	(*)73-447	Shallow dish with three pointed, out-turned feet and rising loop-handle attached to rim (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 143-2829, <u>Ilios</u> No.414, <u>SS</u> 1578; Fig.V.22.
A211	73-445	Globular cup with round base, slightly everted rim and handle from rim to body. Lip apparently painted (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 143-2833; Fig.V.17.
A221	(*)73-436	Conical cup with narrow base, incurving rim and two loop-handles from upper part of body to lower part (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 135-2719; Fig.V.22.
B3	73-399	Jug with rounded body and base, cylindrical neck and horizontal rim. Handle from neck to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 137-2738; Fig.V.17.
B3	73-400	Broken jug with globular body, narrower neck, widened mouth, and handle from neck to body (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 137-2734 (6m); Fig.V.22.
B4	73-409	Narrow jug with flat base, narrow neck ending in slanted mouth, handle from neck to body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 140-2771; Fig.V.22.

- B18 73-465 Jug with flat base, short neck bent back and ending in slanted, slightly trefoil, mouth; twisted handle from neck to body; "rivet" on the neck, short pointed wings on side of body and knob on front (7m). Atlas 141-2786, Ilios No.379, SS 871; Fig.V.22.
- B203 73-454 Globular bottle with concave neck and slightly flared lip (8m). Fig.V.18.
- C1 73-396 Ovoid jar with horizontal mouth, two short handles from neck to shoulder (8m). Atlas 138-2751; Fig.V.17.
- C5 73-410 Red jar with rounded base, tapering neck, two vertical loop-handles on shoulder. Decorated with elongated plastic bucrania-design on body (8m). Atlas 140-2772; Fig.V.20.
- C10 73-453 Ovoid jar with narrow neck ending in slightly out-turned rim. Two small, vertical loop-handles set on body (8m); Fig.V.20.
- C10 73-412 Ditto (8m). Atlas 140-2777, Ilios No.419(?); Fig.V.20.
- C13 73-411 Red globular jar with flat base, short neck ending in plain, wide mouth; horizontal loop-handles set on body (8m). Atlas 140-2775, Ilios No.1103, SS 437; Fig.V.19.
- C28 73-416 Squat jar with rounded base, short concave neck ending in narrow, horizontal mouth. Two lugs on shoulder (8m). Atlas 140-2770, SS 2568; Fig.V.18.
- C28 73-442 Globular jar with rounded base, neck missing. Two vertically-perforated lugs on shoulder, and incised(?) wavy line around shoulder (8m). Atlas 143-2821; Fig.V.18.
- C32? 73-443 Ovoid jar with short pedestal base, short neck and flaring rim, two volute-handles on either side of body (8m). Atlas 143-2824; Fig.V.19.
- C34 - Red polished jar, globular, with three short feet, narrow cylindrical neck, and two large upright wings. Wings and mouth are perforated. Small crescent handles set low on body. Decorated with incised vertical lines of branch-design, zigzags, etc. (8m). Atlas 134-2664, TR No.193, Ilios Nos.257,353, SS 2450; Fig.V.19.
- C35 73-418 Piriform jar with three short feet, cylindrical neck ending in plain mouth, two lugs set low on body. Perforations in lugs and mouth (8m). Atlas 134-2665; Fig.V.19.
- C202 73-425 Ovoid jar with rounded base, hole mouth and two pointed, perforated lugs set on shoulder (7m). Atlas 134-2677; Fig.V.22.
- C220 73-461 Tall jar with narrow, flat base, tallish neck, squared rim, and handles from neck to shoulder (8m). Atlas 141-2778, TR No.36, Ilios No.423; Fig.V.21.
- D2 73-497 Flat, flanged lid decorated with incised cross, triangles, and cross of dots (8m). Atlas 141-2780, TR No.197, Ilios No.481, SS 2359; Fig.V.21.
- D13 73-421 Red conical face-lid, found in a red urn (8m). Atlas 134-2673-4, TR No.195, Ilios No.236, SS 1835; Fig.V.21.
- D14 73-439 Flat lid, red polished, with two holes and small square central handle (8m). Atlas 134-2663; Fig.V.21.
- D24 73-499 Globular jar on tall tripod, with short neck and slightly out-turned mouth, handle from rim to body, two crescent lugs set horizontally on upper part of body (7m). Atlas 141-2784, TR No.199, Ilios No.442, SS 2809; Fig.V.23.

- D33 73-423 Black polished funnel (7m). Atlas 134-2680; Fig. V.23.
- D34 73-408 Crucible with traces of copper (7m). Atlas 140-2769, TR No.196, Ilios No.469, SS 6818; Fig.V.23.
- D- 73-424 Flat, circular object with seven holes in upper surface (7m). Atlas 134-2676; Fig.V.48.
- 73-459 Sherd with grooved or ribbed decoration (7m). Atlas 141-2781.
- - Decorated sherd with incised design of lines, dots and chevrons (8m). Atlas 143-2820, Ilios No.310, SS 2394; Fig.V.21.
- - Sherd with incised(?) decoration (8m). Atlas 142-2793; Fig.V.21.

METALWORK - TREASURE 'S'

Treasure 'S', associated by Schliemann with remains of two human skeletons and believed by him to represent the accoutrements of two fallen warriors, is in fact a series of uncertainly-related finds (see Antiquity 58 (1984) pp.197-204). There may have been two groups of material, both of them conceivably from burials.

TREASURE 'S1'

- Probably found with a human mandible on 31st March and 1st April, and wrongly associated in Atlas p.35 with the skull 136-2726 which was found elsewhere on 26th March in an urn, with a copper pin (Tagebuch 1873 p.130, TA p.232).
- 73-437 Stirrup-handle attachment and spout from bronze teapot (8m). Atlas 134-2682 (7m); Fig.V.36.
- Stirrup-handle attachment from bronze teapot (7m). Atlas 142-2791, TR No.191, Ilios No.979, SS 6147. According to Tgb p.156 this attachment was not found with the spout shown in the illustrations. Analysis in Gale 1984 p.39. Fig.V.36.
- 73-438 Bronze ring from base of bronze teapot (8m). Atlas 134-2683 (7m), TR No.192, Ilios No.980, SS 6147; Fig. V.36.
- 73-394 Ribbed and tanged dagger-blade with two rivet holes in tang (7m). Atlas 135-2721, TR No.189, Ilios No.968, SS 6146; Fig.V.36.

TREASURE 'S2'

- A skull was found on 4th April (Tgb p.163), but there is no immediate mention in the diary of any accompanying metal objects. Atlas p.37 and TA p.247 claim that with it was found the "helmet"-piece Atlas 142-2791 and a bronze base ring like 73-438. This may have been to create a parallel with Treasure 'S1'. The stirrup-handle attachment part of 142-2791, at least, does not belong.
- Spout from bronze teapot (7m). Atlas 142-2791, TR No. 191, Ilios No.979, SS 6147; Fig.V.36.
- Bronze ring from base of bronze teapot. Atlas p.37, TA p.247. Not illustrated, and not recorded in the diary: possibly an invention.

OTHER ITEMS

- 73-420 Copper punch (8m). Atlas 134-2667; Fig.V.35.

- Four copper pins 6-13cm long (8m). TA p.250.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-435 Diorite shaft-hole axe (7m). Atlas 134-2688; Fig.V.41.
- 73-426 Marble axe (broken ?) (8m). Atlas 134-2681; Fig.V.41.
- 73-474 Diorite polisher (8m). Atlas 142-2800; Fig.V.41.
- Porphyry hammer with two depressions, Tgb p.156.

CHIPPED STONE

- Unspecified number of flint saws at 7m and 8m, TA p.250.
- 6 obsidian blades (8m). TA p.250.
- Flint blade (8m). Atlas 134-2690.
- Flint blade (8m). Atlas 134-2691.
- 73-422 Flint scraper (8m). Atlas 134-2679.
- 73-480 Flint blade (8m). Atlas 142-2808.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- 13 bone pins } at 3-8m. TA p.250.
- 16 antler-awls }
- 73-444 Fragment of bone, possibly a scraper (8m). Atlas 143-2822; Fig.V.43.
- Flat piece of bone, rectangular, with two holes at each end (8m). Atlas 134-2689, Ilios No.537, SS 6903, TI fig.310; Fig.V.43.
- Octagonal piece of bone, tube-shaped, decorated with engraved circles and dots (8m). Atlas 142-2817, Ilios No.529, SS 7958; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- | | | |
|--------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| RVIIDe | 73-388 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2709, <u>SS</u> 5021; Fig.V.49. |
| RIA | 73-389 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2710. |
| GIA | 73-390 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2715. |
| GIVA | 73-393 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2717. |
| RIIIA | 73-413 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2720. |
| GID | 73-414 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2716. |
| RIIB | 73-415 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 135-2718. |
| RIIIB | 73-428 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 134-2669, <u>SS</u> 5504; Fig.V.49. |
| GID | 73-429 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 134-2670. |
| RIIID | 73-430 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 134-2675. |
| GX | 73-449 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 143-2830. |
| GVI | 73-450 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 143-2836. |
| RVIIAd | 73-468 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 142-2801, <u>SS</u> 4888; Fig.V.49. |
| RVIIDe | 73-469 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 142-2796, <u>SS</u> 5032. |
| RIA | 73-470 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 142-2797. |
| GIXD | 73-483 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 142-2813, <u>SS</u> 5420; Fig.V.50. |
| GIB | 73-486 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 143-2837. |
| RIIIA | 73-488 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 143-2838. |
| RID | - | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 134-2685. |
| RVIIDd | - | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 142-2815, <u>TR</u> No.422, <u>SS</u> 5014. |

WEIGHTS

- 73-446 Weight of granite schist with three grooves and one hole (8m). Atlas 143-2823, SS 8368, TI Fig.446; Fig.V.47.
- 73-477 Terracotta weight (8m). Atlas 142-2803, TR No.198, Ilios No.479; Fig.V.47.

73-427 Stone weight(?) with two holes (8m). Atlas 134-2671; Fig.V.47.

FIGURINES

1A (*) 73-395 Mica-schist figurine (7m). Atlas 135-2713; Fig.V.44.
 2D 73-419 Marble figurine (8m). Atlas 134-2668; Fig.V.44.
 3- 73-431 Bone figurine showing pointed "arms" (7m); Fig.V.45.
Atlas 134-2672, Ilios No.199, SS 7615.
 3E 73-479 Mica-schist figurine (8m). Atlas 142-2805; Fig.V.44.

HUMAN REMAINS

(See discussion of Treasures 'S1' and 'S2', above and in Antiquity 58 (1984) 197-204.)

73-543 Complete skull (7m). Atlas 146-2850, TR No.190, Ilios Nos.973-6.

- Human mandible (8m). Tgb p.152.

Deposit (9). In the lowest stratum above the "Tower", among the debris of Deposit (8), we must place a complex of walls none of which is likely to have been preserved to a height of more than 1m. A general description covering all the walls in Deposits (7) and (9) has been given in the account of Deposit (7); there is no independent information dealing only with those of Deposit (9). There is, however, a plan of part of a structure, described as "Trojan houses", at No.13 in Atlas Taf. 214. These walls seem to link up with the lines of the mudbrick superstructure of Gate FN shown by Dörpfeld in TI Taf.III and may - on account of both that and the dating given in Atlas Taf.214 - be assigned to this lowest stratum of buildings. The complex may be called Building 3 (see Fig.IV.61). Schliemann records that it was the lowest buildings which showed the most signs of having been burnt.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.157,162f,166; TA pp. 243f; AAZ 13th June 1873 p.2509)

AREA vi: G 7(a)

Figs.III.15; IV.61,62.

Schliemann dug in this area during the short period 31st March-5th April

1873. The precise extent of the work is not known; it seems to have been concentrated in the patch to the East of the access-ramp and West and North of Propylon IXD. The trench had already been excavated to a level of c.34m A.T. It was now taken down, in this area, mostly to c.31.50m A.T. It was at this level that at one point the upright, horned stone of an altar came to light. This discovery prompted Schliemann to dig deeper in a restricted area round the stone. Here he went down to c.30m A.T. The datum here seems to have been the altitude of the mound-surface immediately above the trench, which must have lain at c.36.75m A.T.

Deposits (1), (2), (4). In theory it should be possible to distinguish between the deposits which lay over the altar, those which lay around it, and those which lay below it. The top of the altar, at c.31.55m A.T., is likely to have coincided approximately with the top of the Troy II destruction deposits, and the overlying material ought to belong to Troy III (in Blegen's terms). In practice, however, no clear distinction can be made. Schliemann records that all the surrounding material consisted of mudbrick debris with red and yellow ash. It covered the altar to a height of 3m, it surrounded it, and lay below it to a depth of 1m. The finds which may have come from these deposits are in some cases known only from some rather general statements; where specific depths are not recorded they may belong to either Troy II or Troy III in Blegen's terms.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.162,166; TA p.245)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- C10 (*)73-496 Tall, slender ovoid jar with rounded base, narrowing neck and simple rim, two vertical loop-handles set on the shoulder (5m). Atlas 141-2789; Fig.V.26.
- C30 - "Owl-face" vase with breasts, navel and two hands. Tgb p.166.

METALWORK

Small piece of gold. Tgb p.163.

CHIPPED STONE

Flint blades
Obsidian blades. Tgb p.166.

POLISHED STONE

- (*)73-473 Diorite polisher (4m). Atlas 142-2795; Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

Many are attested. Tgb p.166.
 RVD (*) 73-451 (4m) Atlas 143-2841; Fig.V.49.
 GX (*) - (4m) Atlas 142-2811, SS 5512.
 GIXC (*) - (4m) Atlas 142-2816.
 RVIIBd(*) 73-452 (4½m) Atlas 143-2840, SS 4950; Fig.V.49.

FIGURINES

1B (*) 73-441 Figurine of granite schist, with two dots for eyes and incised line for nose (4m). Atlas 143-2819; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (3). The "altar" already referred to came to light first at c.31.50m, when its upright stone was exposed in the bottom of the trench. A pit dug around it revealed a horizontal granite block 1.63 x 1.65m at 5m below the surface, resting (Schliemann believed) on a mudbrick pedestal 1m high. At one end of the slab was a granite upright 53cm thick and 55cm tall, cut away at the top to form two horns. The illustration at TR Fig.188 shows the upright stone to be broken and incomplete. According to Schliemann's original diary-note the "altar" was oriented NNW, but in all later texts this becomes WNW. It is impossible now to say which might be correct. Equally one cannot now be sure whether his observation of a pedestal was accurate, although it is supported by his note that the pedestal was covered with lime plaster painted yellow. The interpretation of the feature as a ritual one remains surprisingly convincing.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.162; TA pp.244-5; AAZ 13th June, 1873 p.2509)

Deposit (5). At 1.20m below the altar-slab, that is at c.30.55m A.T. and clearly in the same pit as the altar, Schliemann found a channel or drain of flat stones. He describes it as being of green schist, but it is likely that the colour came from staining through use. The drain is dotted in on Atlas Taf.215, which shows it to have turned a right-angle. Schliemann speculated that its purpose was to carry off sacrificial blood from the altar. It is still a possibility.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.166; TA p.245; Atlas Taf.215)

AREA vii:EF 6-7(c)

Figs.III.16; IV.63,64.

We now turn to Schliemann's excavations during the period 7th-16th April 1873 in the western sector of the East-West trench. Much of the trench had already been excavated to the surface of the "Tower" at c.30m A.T.; but some areas, it seems, particularly on the north and south sides, had not yet been cleared quite to that depth. This is where work was now concentrated. At the same time a greater depth, of c.26m A.T., was attained in two places on either side of Gate FN. The datum is probably still 38-38.50m A.T. According to Trojanische Alterthümer p.258 there was "practically nothing interesting" in the finds from this trench; certainly there are very few objects which are clearly attributable to any of the deposits.

Troy IX Deposits. There was no deliberate excavation of the upper stratum in this area, but Schliemann does in two places mention that he was now cutting the walls of his trenches vertically. It may be this straightening of the sections which was responsible for the discovery at only 1m deep of the statue and inscription listed below.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.189; TA pp.254,264-7)

OBJECTS FOUND

SCULPTURE

- Human statue, feet and head missing, 1.20m high, of white marble; found together with inscribed pedestal. TA p.264, Atlas 155-3056, SS 9597.
- 73-603 Fragment of long inscription on marble slab. TA pp. 265-7, Ilios p.635, TI p.469 No.50.

Deposit (1). Very little information is given about the character of the soil which Schliemann was clearing at the bottom of the trench. We are told only that the deposits surrounding the features here were of red ash, with no more than the occasional pot-sherd. These deposits may derive from the destruction of Troy II.

(TA p.256)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- C39 - Nine pithoi of various forms, but all with four

handles, up to 1.75m high and 1.48m in diameter. They were found in two rows to the West of Building 3 and are shown in Atlas Taf.156,214,215, TR plate XIB. They appear either to cut into or underlie the south wall of Building 2. As they were discovered only after the exposure of that Building, the latter possibility is the more likely. In that case they may derive from late in Troy II. (Tgb p.188f; TA p.258).

Deposit (2). In amongst the red ash of Deposit (1), and especially in the northern part of the area, Schliemann exposed many walls, all with signs of fierce burning. They were of all sizes and thicknesses. There is insufficient information to place them on a plan of the area; since Schliemann had already done extensive work in this area and portrays his present activity as one of "cleaning" the surface of the "Tower", we may tentatively assign these walls to the buildings constructed immediately over FN. Schliemann does, in speaking of them, refer to two strata of housewalls; but this seems to be by way of recapitulating his earlier findings. There may be only one period involved.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.176,188; TA p.256f)

Deposit (3). Schliemann records that, on the south side of the pithoi described under Deposit (1), he found a massive mudbrick wall 8m wide and 3m high, which showed signs of burning. He says that he cut it away as far as the line of the overlying "foundations of the Temple of Minerva", - that is, as far as the line of the north wall of Dörpfeld's Building IXB. The implication is that the mudbrick wall extended below IXB as well. This being the case, the measurement of width - a firm figure of 8m - must be a measurement from West to East and not from North to South, where the width will have remained unknown. The wall is shown as Wall 52 in Fig.IV.63, where I have assumed it to overlie exactly the western half of Gate FN. The height of 3m is startling, but is in line with the height to which some other walls in the area were preserved (see Deposits (6-9) in EF 6-7(b)). It implies that the structure was not razed in the destruction at the end of Blegen's Troy II. Either it survived from Troy II and was re-used in Troy III, or it originated in Blegen's Troy III and was dug down into Troy II.

(TA p.258)

Deposit (4). At a distance of 40m from the paved ramp leading up to

Gate FM, Schliemann found a wall which, he says, led off to the South from the "Tower". He exposed only a 2m length, so as to avoid removing the overlying Building IXA. The wall lay at 8m deep, i.e. at c.30m A.T. It can be firmly identified as the west wall of Gate FN, belonging to the remodelling associated with Dörpfeld's Wall IIb, of his third phase of Troy II. In Fig.IV.63 it is shown as Wall 53.

(TA p.256)

Deposits (5), (6), (7). Schliemann records, without much detail, that he found a "room" 3m high and 3.45m wide and of unknown length. It was "the deepest room yet excavated". The description applies almost certainly to the feature shown at No.12 in Atlas Taf.214. Here there are two parallel walls which stand apart by roughly the correct width. The bench-mark for the excavated ground between them is 20.12. With the normal correction of +6.30, this provides an altitude of 26.42m A.T. - roughly the right depth if Schliemann had found the tops of the walls 3m higher when clearing the surface of the "Tower" at c.30m A.T. To what structure do these walls belong? There is no evading the fact that they lie in a difficult spot: just South of the unexcavated pillar in square E6, and just West of the earliest components of Gate FN. This is an area shown by Dörpfeld (in TI Taf.III) as a supposedly solid block of masonry dating from Troy II.2. One can only suppose that Dörpfeld is here giving us a faulty reconstruction. The walls could conceivably be the remains of some outlying buildings of Troy I or Early Troy II. But it may be significant that Schliemann records no widths for the walls themselves. Perhaps he found only their inner faces. If so, the implication is that the walls were quite substantial and that he here uncovered either a sally-port for Gate FN (in its earliest phase), or a gap between the original west wall of FN and the rebuilding in Dörpfeld's phase II.2. As Gate FN itself shows no evidence of a side-entrance into a sally-port, the latter is the more likely possibility. The walls are shown as Wall 54 and Wall 55 in Figs.IV.61,62. Wall 55 is taken to be a part of the original FN structure; Wall 54 is taken to be a part of the II.2 addition. Of Deposit (5), the material which lay between the two walls, nothing whatever is yet recorded. There are no objects clearly attributable to it.

(TA p.257; Atlas Taf.214; TI Taf.III)

Deposits (8), (9). A wall described as a fortification-wall came to light in this period. According to Schliemann it was preserved to a

height of 3½m and was battered on both sides. Its width at the top was 1.85m, and at the bottom 3.70m. Below it lay ½m of soil, and then bedrock. The wall is undoubtedly that shown at No.27 in Atlas Taf.214, a wall which must be the eastern addition from phase II.2 to Gate FN - associated with Dörpfeld's Wall IIc. Schliemann would have found its top while clearing the "Tower" surface. Although in TR p.290 the orientation is given as WNW-ESE, this seems to be a wrong correction of the error in TA p.257: WNW-SSE. The TA orientation is presumably an error for NNW-SSE. The error is also found in the rough draft in Tgb p.198. As Dörpfeld shows this wall to lie immediately to the East of the original Gate FN, we must presume that Schliemann did not in fact uncover the west side of the wall - although he may perhaps have exposed a few inches at the top of the west face and noticed something which looked like a batter. But for the most part it seems that he simply dug a hole to one side of the wall. The width of 3.70m given for the bottom of the wall must in any case be a crude extrapolation from what was exposed on the east side. The wall is shown as Wall 56 on Figs.IV.63,64. There is unfortunately no information about Deposit (8), the material which must have accumulated against it.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.188; TA p.257; Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (10). Parallel to Wall 56, and only 68cm away, Schliemann found another wall, built of stones and earth. It was founded at the same depth - that is, at 3½m below the "Tower"-surface and at ½m above bedrock: c.26.50m A.T. This wall, however, stood to a height of only 60cm. It is shown on Figs.IV.63,64 as Wall 57. No firm decisions are possible on its date or character. It could be the remains of some domestic outbuilding of Troy I or II.

(TA p.257)

Deposit (11). Stratified below Wall 56, and presumably below Wall 57, was a stratum of soil half a metre thick. It overlay bedrock, which must have been found here at c.26m A.T.

(TA p.257)

OBJECT FOUND

POLISHED STONE

73-640 Small chisel of green stone (13m). Atlas 149-2953; Fig.V.41.

AREA viii: E6

Figs.III.17; IV.63,64.

A note in the diary-entry for 24th April 1873 shows that work continued, in at least a small way, around Walls 54 and 55. Schliemann says that he was digging further in "the large room at the foot of the house below the Temple of Minerva". A few additional details appear in an article in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung published on 13th June 1873. The numbering of deposits below is taken from Fig.IV.64.

Deposit (5). Schliemann notes that the "room" was filled with red ash and stones. It contained "not even a sherd".

(Tagebuch 1873 p.205; AAZ, Beilage zu Nr.164, Friday 13th June 1873 p.2509)

Deposits (6),(7). Walls 54 and 55 appeared to Schliemann to rest on bed-rock and to be stratified below the buildings found on the "Tower". On the walls patches of plaster were still visible in many places.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.205; AAZ Beilage zu Nr.164, Friday 13th June 1873 p.2509)

AREA ix: G 7(b)

Fig.III.17.

Schliemann briefly notes on 29th April 1873 that he was clearing out the "cistern", i.e. Propylon IXD. He gives us no information about the character of the deposits within the building or of the depth to which he dug. There is one object which seems to derive from this work.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.208)

OBJECT FOUND

- Sima-fragment with floral design, found in the "Minerva Temple" (4m). Atlas 167-3264.

THE NORTHWEST TRENCH

At the northwest corner of the mound Schliemann placed a trench running from the plateau on top of the mound to the sharp drop at its edge. On the plateau, in squares B 4-5, the mound-surface sloped down fairly gently from c.38.50 in the Southeast to c.37.50 in the Northwest. But in AB 4 it fell from c.37.50m A.T. to c.32.50m A.T. within a space of 15m, making a slope of roughly 1:3. The trench cut into this.

When Schliemann began here in April 1870 there had been no previous work in the area. The season of 1870 was, however, very short, and much of our information about the trench comes from two periods of work in May 1873. The eventual dimensions of the cut may be seen in Atlas Taf.214 and in Fig.III.18 of the present work. It attained a length of c.43m and a width of 10-17m. It was dug to a more or less uniform depth of c.30m A.T., with a lower step at the northwest end reaching down to c.28.50m A.T.

Initially the trench was only 19m long, but even within the 1870 season it was extended to 30m, with a width of 5m. Apart from a small area in square B5 which was excavated only to c.36.50m A.T., it reached a depth of c.30m A.T. in this first season. In 1873 the trench was broadened and lengthened to its final size. This was done partly by means of four terraces or "galleries" concerning which we have little information. It seems likely, however, that they were dug at an altitude of c.35.50m A.T., and that they followed the three sides around the southeast end of the trench (see Fig.IV.67). While the old trench floor remained at c.30m A.T., these were the first stage in the trench's widening and lengthening. In the second half of May 1873 these terraces must have been dug away, bringing the greater width and length down to the bottom of the trench. One higher terrace must have been left: an area to the Southwest of the Roman Wall 82 - the northeast wall of Building IXA - where Schliemann cannot have penetrated below c.36m A.T. A view of the excavations may be seen in Atlas Taf.212, Troy and Its Remains plate XIII and Ilios fig.10.

This trench ran across the line of the Troy II citadel wall and as a result shows a sharp stepping-down of deposits towards the northwest. While towards the northwest end of the trench a Roman circuit wall was preserved to c.33m A.T., further Southeast there were E.B.-M.B. deposits preserved up to c.35m A.T. The Roman circuit-wall rested on an earlier

circuit wall of Troy VI, it seems, but was preserved only to the height of what may be a structure of VIIa immediately adjoining it. Obviously the upper part of the buildings and deposits of IX on the edge of the mound had eroded away and been robbed out. The stepping-down may have been exaggerated by the tendency of the builders of Troy VI to cut their foundations well into the underlying M.B. strata. Cut to the even deeper level of c.31m A.T. was a Troy IX wall crossing the southeast end of the trench.

The two main features of Troy IX found in this trench have already been mentioned: a part of Building IXA, and the circuit wall marked RM in Dörpfeld's Taf.III. It was the northeast wall of IXA that was exposed: a short section in 1870 (Area i, Deposit 3), and a longer section in 1873 (Area iii, Deposit 2). It was built of dressed stones and was preserved up to c.37m A.T., having a total height of over 6m and a width of 5ft. In Area i I have numbered it Wall 3 and in Area iii Wall 82, but it is all one wall. It was dug deep into deposits of the Second Millennium and of the Early Bronze Age, descending almost to the buried surface of the old Troy II citadel wall. Wall RM, here called Wall 78, is referred to by Schliemann as "the circuit wall of Lysimachus". It was found towards the mouth of the trench in the lower platform cut at c.28m A.T. Built of large, hewn blocks of limestone it had a height of 4m and a width of 3m and is clearly marked in Atlas Taf.214. It must have been broken through without record in 1870 and only noticed when the trench-mouth was widened in 1873 (Area ii, Deposit 2; Area iii, Deposit 5). Overlying the northeast wall of Building IXA were two other walls built at right-angles to one another and shown in Atlas Taf.116. These are Walls 1 and 2, founded at c.37.30m A.T. and preserved up to c.38.16m A.T. Their upper courses are said to have been built of well-dressed stones with no mortar, and their lower courses of irregular stones. What structure they belonged to is unknown, except that it must have post-dated IXA (Area i, Deposit 1). Material of VIII-IX was found mostly at a depth of 1-2m (Area i, Deposit 4; Area ii, Deposit 1; Area iii, Deposit 1). But Schliemann does also mention that "hellenic debris" went very deep. If this does not simply refer to mycenaean remains from Troy VI-VII, it may reflect the low altitude at which Wall RM and accompanying deposits were placed.

"Hellenic" housewalls found at 1-2m deep in 1873 and left in situ may be walls of Troy VII and VIII shown by Dörpfeld in square B5 to the south-

west of the Northeast wall of IXA (Area iii, Deposit 1). Deposits of VIIb may have lain at c.33.50-35.50m A.T., but are not directly attested with the possible, but most uncertain, exception of one object: an unprepossessing clay figurine of a lion (Area i, Deposit 4; Area ii, Deposit 3; Area iii, Deposit 3).

To Troy VIIa we may in all probability assign Wall 4, an L-shaped wall 2m thick and, apparently, 25m long found first in 1870. It was built of limestone blocks and was preserved up to c.33.50m A.T., but directly overlay what must be the northeast end of Dörpfeld's Megaron VIB, at c.31m A.T. In parts it therefore had the substantial height of c.2.50m, although 2.08m is the figure recorded for its height in 1873 (Area ii, Deposit 4). It may be seen skirting the north side of the trench in Atlas Taf.116, where it also turns a corner at the southeast end of the trench (Area i, Deposit 5). It was further exposed at the end of May 1873 (Area iii, Deposit 4).

The strata of Troy VI produced two major features. One was a rather obscure mass of large stones found near the northwest end of the trench in 1870. It lay at c.31m A.T. and its lower limit was not determined. Possibly a further piece of the same deposit was found by the Americans in 1933 and 1935 who believed it to have a possible association with a stratum containing some Troy VI pottery. The obscurity of the feature is caused by Schliemann's statements that it lay parallel to Wall 5 and that the stones ran in an oblique direction. This description is discussed below (in Area i, Deposit 7), but I believe the most likely solution lies in identifying the feature as a wall - Wall 99 - with a battered northwest face. It is in the right position, and at the right altitude, to have formed a part of the Troy VI circuit wall. The other feature consists of three walls forming what Schliemann believed to be three sides of a "hellenic tower". Actually it is quite clear that the three walls shown at No.36 in Atlas Taf.214 form the northeast end of Dörpfeld's Megaron VIB. Of these the northwest wall, Wall 79, was found in 1873. It was 1.80m wide and had a height when found of 2.70m. Later in May 1873 it was cut through, and this is how it is shown in the final plan (Area ii, Deposit 5; Area iii, Deposit 5). The northeast wall was the first to be found, its discovery dating to April 1870 when it was found directly below Wall 4 at c.31m A.T. Schliemann says that this wall - Wall 5 - had a height of 1.80m and was built of limestone blocks. It was definitely attached to Wall 79 and may itself have turned a corner

at its southeast end (Area i, Deposit 6; Area ii, Deposits 5,6). But the southeast wall, Wall 80, was separately described in 1873. This was 2m thick and went off at right angles from Wall 5. Schliemann calls it the "third" wall of his hellenic Tower (Area iii, Deposit 5).

Objects from the Middle Bronze Age were found at a depth of only 3-5m on the galleries on the northeast and southeast sides of the trench, where they had not been dug into by the builders of Megaron VIB (Area ii, Deposit 7). But outside that building E.B. deposits descended to the bottom of the trench where, at the southeast end, Schliemann unearthed Treasure "B". This seems to have been found in the debris overlying the circuit-wall of Middle Troy II, and must have lain very close to the subsequently discovered Treasure "A". It is quite possible, indeed, that a single hoard was separated into the two treasures in excavation. (Area iii, Deposit 6). A part of the Troy II circuit-wall was itself exposed (Wall 81) at c.31m A.T. We are told that the superposed Walls 4 and 5, of Troy VI and VIIa, "leaned against it". These walls we may calculate from their heights to have descended to c.29.20m A.T. At this depth they would have come close not to the surface of the Troy II wall which was some distance away, but to its batter descending to the Southwest. The exposed section of the Troy II citadel wall may be seen in Atlas Taf. 214.

Schliemann's work in the Northwest Trench may be divided into three "areas" depicted in Figs.III.1,17 and 18, being the areas defined in the three relevant periods of work discussed in Chapter III. Here as usual the three areas and their contents are described separately.

AREA 1: AB 4-5(a)

Figs.III.1; IV.65,66.

This trench, which was excavated in April 1870 and eventually attained the dimensions 5m x 30m, was initially only 19m long. The full extent of the trench, with the structures found in it, is shown in Laurent's plan of 1872 in Atlas Taf.116. The depths which Schliemann assigns to the features found here are probably taken from the highest point on the edge of the trench. The datum would thus have been c.38.50m A.T.

Deposit (1). Consists of two walls, Walls 1 and 2. Wall 1 was found at 19m from the original end of the trench. It must be the wall shown at the innermost end in Atlas Taf.116, for Wall 2 adjoined it at right angles and it was to expose the underlying Wall 3 that the west trench was opened. The tops of Walls 1 and 2 reached to c.38.16m (=0.34m deep) and they were founded at c.37.30m (=1.20m deep). The upper courses were of well dressed stone and without mortar. The lower courses, presumably the foundations, were irregularly cut. Since Wall 2 overlay Wall 3 (see Deposit 3 below), Walls 1 and 2 probably derive from a date later than Dörpfeld's Building IXA.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.71; Bfw I p.165f)

Deposit (2). The corner-area between Walls 1 and 2, to their East, (Area 1) was excavated to a depth of only 2m. Here Schliemann records burnt debris and many stones.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.88; Bfw I p.166)

Deposit (3). Underlying Walls 1 and 2 at c.37.00m (=1.50m deep) was Wall 3, again of dressed stones. It was not aligned with either of the two overlying walls and its precise location is unrecorded. It must have extended into the West Trench, AB 5-6, since that trench was dug to expose more of it. Schliemann should in this area have uncovered the northeast wall of Dörpfeld's Building IXA, at this depth or a little deeper; and an identification of Wall 3 with this is likely.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.71; Bfw I p.166)

Deposit (4). Throughout all the trench, apart from Area i, from the surface to c.33.50m (=5m deep), Schliemann found "22 strata of burnt matter, interleaved with strata from plant-decay and dung". (The

description sounds far more exact than it probably was.) Within this there was apparently a mass of stones and some large storage-jars at c.36.00m A.T. (=2½m deep). The objects found in this area show that deposits of VIII and IX, at least, were present; it is also likely that VIIB was represented in that the stratum overlies a structure which should probably be assigned to Troy VIIa. But no exact division can be made. That shown in Fig.IV.66 is, like the storage jars and mass of stones, placed at c.36.00m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.86f; Bfw I p.167)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

Large urns filled with ash
Lamps
Unspecified vases

METALWORK

1 copper ring
"Nails", probably pins
"Molten iron and copper", probably slag

CHIPPED STONE

1 or 2 stone "arrowheads"

WEIGHTS

Many lentoid terracotta weights with two holes

FIGURINE

Terracotta bust of a female figure ("Helen").
Ilios No.1454? = veiled head, Atlas 168-3283?

ANIMAL REMAINS

Many bones, including some identified as "wild boars' teeth"

Deposit (5). At c.33.50m (=5m deep), and therefore underlying deposit No.4, was Wall 4: a wall said to be 2m thick and 25m long, of limestone blocks. It is shown in Atlas Taf.116, where it skirts the north side of the trench. At its northwest end it must have lain immediately under the mound-surface. At its southeast end it turned a right-angle to the southwest. It overlay Wall 5 whose top was found at c.31.00m (=7.50m deep). If Wall 5 is correctly identified as a part of Megaron VIB (see below), and Walls 3,6,7 and 9 as parts of IXA, then Wall 4, stratified between them and far too long to be any part of the superstructure of VIB, should belong to Troy VII or VIII. The most likely possibility,

taking into account the sequence in other parts of the site, is that Wall 4 represents a rebuilding during Troy VIIa on the remains of Troy VI, using the old VI wall as a foundation.

(Tagebuch 1870 pp.87f,90; Bfw I p.167)

Deposit (6). Wall 5 was found at a depth of 7.50m, i.e. at c31m A.T., where it directly underlay Wall 4. It may, however, have been wider for it projected 80cm further into the trench, Schliemann tells us. The depth of its foundation is not recorded, but this may well have been because the wall disappeared into the floor of the trench and its base was not yet found. Its construction was similar to that of Wall 4. There is a mystifying statement that it ran "parallel" to some other walls (cf. Deposit 7) which lay in an "oblique" direction towards the end of the trench. The character, location and altitude of Wall 5 favour its identification as the northeast wall of Megaron VIB. If Schliemann was also including with it a part of the southeast wall, underlying the right-angle of Wall 5, the mystery attaching to its parallel character might be explained. On this see Deposit (7), below.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.90; Bfw I p.167)
Atlas Taf.116 calls this wall Roman, Atlas Taf.117 says Hellenic. TA p.2 describes it as a part of a bastion of the time of Lysimachus. It is visible in Atlas Taf.212 = TR Plate XIII, where it is noted as a Greek Tower. On Atlas Taf.214 it is shown as No.36. Ilios calls it a tower of the Macedonian epoch (p.20); in Selbstbiographie p.54 it is simply "late Greek". TI p.2 calls it Roman. Meyer, in Bfw I p.328 n.243, suggests that it was later robbed out by peasants. It is no longer visible in Burnouf's plan (1879) or in TI Taf.III.

Deposit (7). At the same depth as Wall 5, that is at c.31m A.T., was a stratum of immense stones running "in an oblique direction" near the edge of the trench and reaching almost to its "west" (i.e. northwest) end. Excavation stopped at c.30.50m A.T., and the stones continued to at least this depth. It was evidently not clear to Schliemann, and cannot be clear to us, whether an intact feature was involved. If the "oblique direction" means that the stratum of stones sloped down to the Northwest, then what Schliemann encountered will most probably have been a section of the Troy VI citadel wall with its battered outer face: the altitude and position would be about right for that. In that case the "parallel" Wall 5 could perhaps be the southeast

wall of Megaron VIB, as I have suggested above. This seems to me the most convincing solution, and the deposit is here called Wall 99. But it is also quite possible that what Schliemann found was some of the tumbled masonry of Troy VI - although if this were the case it would be difficult to see the meaning of the "oblique direction". At all events, the stones cannot be a part of Dörpfeld's Wall RM of Troy IX, which was preserved to a much greater altitude: c.33.70m A.T. according to TI Taf.III. Deposit (7) may well have been observed by the American excavators in 1933 and 1935 when, at a "very high point on the easterly side of the trench", they recorded a similar deposit of stones possibly (but not certainly) in association with a stratum containing Troy VI pottery. Blegen tentatively identifies his mass of stones with Schliemann's Greek Tower (properly: Megaron VIB). But the location of the trench, together with the description, points rather to our Deposit (7).

(Tagebuch 1870 p.90; Bfw I p.167; Troy IV p.133, fig.320)

AREA ii: AB 4-5(b)

Figs.III.17; IV.67,68,69,70

The work described in this section was carried out in the northwestern trench between 2nd and 10th May 1873. It amounts to a broadening and lengthening of the earlier trench, dug in 1870, which had been 5m wide and 30m long. The extended version was to be 10m wide and 43m long. The plan was put into effect by means of four "terraces". The first, a "lower platform", was cut into the face of the mound, at the mouth of the trench, at a depth of 10½m below datum. As the datum lay at c.38.50m A.T. and the old trench-bottom at c.30.50m A.T., this will have entailed a deepening of the centre of the trench by approximately 2m; presumably, too, the mouth of the trench was widened by c.2½m on each side, with excavation reaching from the surface to the same depth of 10½m. The second area of work, Schliemann's "first gallery", may have lain at the

height of the top of Wall 4, c.35.50m A.T., in the northeast side of the trench. The gallery may have been 2½m wide. A similar, "second", gallery is likely to have been dug on the southwest side. The fourth area of work, a third "gallery", was presumably intended to extend the floor of the trench further to the Southeast, at the same depth again. We may estimate that in this period the trench was extended perhaps another 6m in this direction.

Schliemann gives no information on the character of the soil, or its stratification, in these deposits except to say that it was soft and easily shifted (TA p.282). Blegen's findings in square A 3-4 (Troy IV p.133f, fig.354) lead one to expect sloping strata on the mound face; and Schliemann does note that the "hellenic debris" went "very deep" (TA p.283). But it is difficult to link up Blegen's section with our area as it is not quite clear where exactly the section drawn in Troy IV Fig. 354 lay. In practice Schliemann's work in this area produced objects from Troy VIII-IX to a depth of 2m but not below. From 3m downwards the objects appear - few as they are - to be consistently of EB or MB date. It seems, then, that in this area the structures of Troy VI-VII and Troy IX must have been dug down into deposits of Middle Bronze Age material.

Deposit (1). Schliemann will have encountered material at depths of 0-3m on either side of the trench in the two galleries, and also at the southeast end. There is no information about its character, but a number of objects come from these depths. Those from 0-2m appear to be of Troy VIII-IX date.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>Atlas</u> 168-3279 | Large yellow pointed amphora (2m). <u>SS</u> 4018; Fig.V.34. |
| (*) <u>Atlas</u> 165-3205 | Decorated sherd with relief of palm-branch etc. (½m). <u>SS</u> 3998. |
| (*) <u>Atlas</u> 165-3207 | Decorated sherd with relief (½m). <u>SS</u> 3999. |
| <u>Atlas</u> 165-3211 | Terracotta lamp (1m). Fig.V.34. |

METALWORK

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73-780 | Detached lid from bronze oil-lamp, showing a Medusa head in relief.
<u>Atlas</u> 163-3157 (½m); Fig.V.38. |
| (*) <u>Atlas</u> 164-3202 | Small copper object consisting of a stirrup with smaller ring or screw attached (1½m); Fig.V.38. |
| <u>Atlas</u> 164-3178 | Lead weight in shape of rectangular plate with relief of pig's head (2m). <u>Ilios</u> No.1474, <u>SS</u> 6557; Fig.V.38. |

WEIGHTS

- 35 lentoid terracotta weights (Tgb 1873 p.225).

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

- (*)Atlas 168-3286 The cucullatus: see Troy SM3 p.65 n.17.
 (*)Atlas 168-3287 Draped and seated hierodoulos (1½m).
 (*)Atlas 165-3208 Part of nude standing female dancer (1m).
 (*)Atlas 164-3198 Torso of male gladiator (?) (1m).
 (*)Atlas 164-3199 Left leg and foot from Child Eros (1m).
 (*)Atlas 164-3180 Waist, legs and plinth of Venus Anadyomene (2m).
Atlas 165-3215-6, -3220-3, *-3227 Female heads (1m).
Atlas 168-3280, -3283 Female heads (1½m).
Atlas 164-3181, -3183-6, -3191-2, -3196-7 Heads, mostly female (2m).
 (Atlas No.165-3222 = SS No.9523)

TERRACOTTA PLAQUES

- Atlas 164-3171 (2m) TR p.xxv left; Ilios No.1459, SS 9564.
Atlas 164-3172 (1m) TR p.xxv, right; Ilios No.1461.
Atlas 164-3173 (2m) TR p.xxv centre; Ilios No.1460, SS 9560.
Atlas 164-3174 (2m) TR p.xxxiii right; Ilios No.1464, SS 9570.
Atlas 164-3175 (2m) TR p.xxxiii left; Ilios No.1462, SS 9567.
Atlas 164-3176 (2m) Similar to 164-3173.
Atlas 164-3177 (2m) TR p.xxxiii centre; Ilios No.1463, SS 9568.
Atlas 164-3179 (2m) Similar to 164-3171.
 (*)Atlas 164-3182 Circular terracotta(?) plaque with star relief (2m).
Atlas 164-3200 (1m) Fragment depicting horse and rider.
Atlas 165-3214 (?) Rectangular plaque depicting woman, SS 9558.

SCULPTURE

- (*)73-690 Fragment showing draped torso with hand, palm upwards (½m). Atlas 158-3060.
 (*)Atlas 165-3212 Eros's wing moulded in terracotta (½m).

Deposit (2). Schliemann records that in the "lower platform" he came upon the "circuit-wall of Lysimachus", Wall 78. It was 4m high and 3m thick, built of large, hewn blocks of limestone without mortar. It is clearly marked in Atlas Taf.214 (= TR Plan 2), and can be fairly certainly identified as Dörpfeld's Wall RM, which according to TI Taf.III was preserved to an altitude of 33.70m A.T. As it must have overlain Wall 99, which may have been the citadel wall of Troy VI preserved to c.31m A.T., the question arises why this wall was not noticed in 1870. In 1873 Schliemann admits that he had already broken through it completely, so it may simply have been dug away without remark in 1870. If so, its discovery in 1873 would have arisen from the widening of the "lower platform" to right and left, exposing broken stubs of the wall on either side.

(TA p.283; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (3). This is a deposit whose existence it seems necessary to infer, but which is in reality unattested. Schliemann must have dug through deposits which had accumulated over Dörpfeld's Building VIB and over its VIIa reconstruction, but which were earlier than the Troy IX deposits associated with Building IXA. They may be assigned to Troy VIIa-VIIb-VIII, but cannot be subdivided. There is, however, nothing to attest to their date. They should presumably have lain on the southwest side of the trench and in the area at the southeast end, there being evidence of M.B. deposits elsewhere at the same altitude into which VIB must have been dug.

Deposits (4), (5), (6). Immediately behind Wall RM Schliemann found what he described as an "older wall" of large, hewn stones bonded with earth (Wall 79). It was 2.70m high and 1.80m wide. In turn behind this lay the wall of large, hewn stones exposed three years earlier and regarded at the time as part of a bastion. This wall is said to have been built at two different periods, having an upper part 2.08m high and a projecting lower part 1.80m high. The wall with two parts consisted undoubtedly of Walls 4 and 5, discovered in 1870. It has already been suggested that Wall 5 was the northeast end of Megaron VIB. The first, and "older", wall (Wall 79) - which, being "older", presumably lay at a level lower than Wall RM - is said in Ilios to have been attached to the "bastion" wall and with it to have formed two sides of a quadrangular tower (shown at No.36 in Atlas Taf.214). Almost certainly, then, it was the northwest wall of Dörpfeld's Megaron VIB. The height of Wall 79, 2.70m, does compare closely with the height of 2.58m deducible from TI Taf.III for the northwest wall of VIB. There is, however, a discrepancy in the widths of this wall: Schliemann records 1.80m, while Dörpfeld gives 2.10m for the foundations.

(TA p.283; AAZ 14th June 1873, Beilage zu Nr.165, p.2528; Ilios p.40; TI pp.153-5, Taf.III)

Deposit (7). From depths of 3-5m come a number of objects which seem to be of M.B. date. This implies that in this area the buildings of VI-IX must have cut deeply into the earlier strata. Consequently the remaining, undisturbed deposits of M.B. material can only have been found along the northeast side of the trench on the "first gallery" and at the southeast end, on the "third gallery". There is no information about the character of the soil.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- C- - Many jars with two handles (3-5m). Tgb 1873 p.242.
- C- - Vases with three feet and two tubular lugs (3-5m).
Tgb 1873 p.242.

POLISHED STONE

- Magnetite "slingstones", i.e. ellipsoid weights (3-5m).
Tgb 1873 p.242.

CHIPPED STONE

- 40 small flint "saws" (3-5m). Tgb 1873 p.242.

AREA iii: AB 4-5(c)

Figs.III.18;IV.71,72,73,74.

During the period 10th-24th May 1873 the Northwest Trench was extended c.8m Southwards. It seems that the terraces were dug away, and the trench dug down to a more or less uniform depth of 30m A.T. There may have been some work directed at widening it on the southwest side, which will have brought at least the northeast face of Wall 82 to light and, to its Southwest, perhaps some walls of Troy VII and VIII. The datum presumably remained at c.38.50m A.T. No finds are recorded from depths of 3-6m and, with one possible exception, there are no objects attributable to Troy VI-VII. The other finds appear all to date from either Troy VIII-IX or the Early Bronze Age. The latter group includes Treasure "B".

Deposit (1). Schliemann found a number of objects belonging to Troy VIII-IX at depths of 1-2m, but gives us no clear description of the deposits in which they were found. He does, however, mention that he encountered a number of "hellenic" housewalls which, as they were not in the way, he allowed to remain in situ. These could conceivably be some of the walls of Troy VII-VIII shown by Dörpfeld in square B5, to the southwest of the outer wall of Building IXA.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.266)

OBJECTS FOUND

WEIGHTS

- (*)Atlas 173-3352 Stamped rhomboid clay weight with impression of female head (2m). Fig.V.47.
- (*)Atlas 173-3353 Stamped ovoid clay weight with impression of (?) bird (2m). Fig.V.47.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

- (*)Atlas 172-3329 Draped female figure, standing (2m). SS 9511.
- (*)Atlas 172-3332 Draped female figure, standing (2m).
- (*)Atlas 172-3326 Female head with wreath (1m).
- (*)Atlas 172-3330 Female head with wreath (2m).
- (*)Atlas 172-3334 Female head with stephane (2m).
- (*)Atlas 172-3335 Head of Kybele seated with lion (2m).
- (*)Atlas 173-3346 Fragment of female head (2m).
- (*)Atlas 173-3363 Head of Kybele with high, crenellated polos (2m).

Deposit (2). Schliemann records that there was a huge "fortification-wall" built of large and small stones (or: of large stones and earth) which ran below his wooden house in square C6 and was oriented to the northwest from the "Scaean" Gate - Gate FM. The wall appeared to be over 6m high and, according to Ilios, was 5ft wide. This wall, here called Wall 82, can only have been the northeast wall of Building IXA. Schliemann confesses that he had already dug much of it away without realising.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.268; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (3). There is practically no hint of the deposits of Troy VI-VII which presumably lay in this area. Some would have been disturbed, of course, by the building of IXA. But there is a single object, from a depth of 2m, which may possibly derive from Troy VI-VII; a crude figure of a lion in yellow stone or terracotta. The altitude, 2m, seems at first unexpectedly high. But towards the southeast end of the trench the strata of all periods later than Troy I may have risen over the edge of the Troy II citadel wall.

OBJECT FOUND

FIGURINE

- 73-869 Figure of lion, said to be in yellow stone (2m). Atlas 172-3337. This may be the same item as Ilios No.1449, said to be of terracotta. Fig.V.45.

Deposit (4). More of Wall 4, overlying Wall 5, was brought to light. We are told that Walls 4 and 5 together stood to a height of 4m.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.251,266)

Deposit (5). Schliemann noted that, after he had cut through the "Wall of Lysimachus" (RM), he then cut through two more walls, each 2m thick, forming a "tower" which measured 10m x 10m. The first of these remaining two walls was Wall 79; the second must have been the southeast wall of Megaron VIB. It will be the wall which the diary describes as going off at a right-angle from Wall 5 and which in Ilios is called the "third" wall of the Hellenic Tower. The wall is here called Wall 80.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.264; AAZ Beilage zu Nr. 165, 14th June 1873, p.2528; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (6). There is no information about the character of the deposits of E.B. material here. It must have been among them, however, at a depth of 8m (=c.30.50m A.T.) that Schliemann found Treasure "B". It was discovered on Friday 23rd May very close to Schliemann's wooden house. This suffices to locate it at the southeasternmost end of the trench, to the Northeast of Wall 82. Its exact position relative to the circuit wall of Troy II is uncertain. But as the circuit wall was first encountered several days before Treasure "B", it is possible that the treasure lay over the wall rather than beyond its western edge. At all events it will have been among the Troy II debris which overlay the wall. Its position, however, is closely similar to that of Treasure "A", found some days later; and there are points of contact among their contents too. It may be that both belonged to a single hoard which was separated in excavation. There is a case for supposing that Treasure "A" was a deposit from a cist or cist-grave sunk down into the underlying strata during Late Troy II or Troy III. The same may then apply to Treasure "B".

(Tagebuch 1873 p.268; AAZ Beilage zu Nr. 165, 14th June 1873 p.2528; D.F. Easton, "Priam's Treasure", Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.165-7)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A45 (*) Atlas 174-3372 Red two-handled tankard (7m). Fig.V.22
- C30 (*) Atlas 174-3375(a) Neck broken away from face-jar (7m). Fig.V.23.
- D- (*) Atlas 174-3375(b) Lid found with previous item - probably cylindrical lid with flange, and bent central knob (7m). Fig.V.23.

D29 Atlas 174-3380 Red theriomorphic vessel with four legs stuck to body. Handle and spout broken away from top of vessel (7m). TR No.288; Ilios No.339, SS 2431; Fig.V.22.

METALWORK - TREASURE "B"

- Silver jar with concave base. Atlas 176-3401, 197-3586; TR No.271, Ilios No.793, SS 5973; Fig.V.36.
- 73-845 Silver conical cup, wrongly said by Schliemann to be of electrum. Atlas 171-3303, 197-3585; TR No.270, Ilios No.794, SS 5974; Fig.V.35.
- Two bronze volute handle-attachments, from a teapot. Atlas 171-3304-5, 194-3497; TR Nos.274-5(?), Ilios Nos.797-8(?), SS 6147; Fig.V.36.
- 73-842 Bronze spout from teapot. Atlas 171-3306, 194-3496, TR No.273, Ilios No.796, SS 5975. Analysis in Gale 1984, p.39. Fig.V.36.
- 73-843 Curved bronze stirrup-handle, from teapot. Atlas 171-3308, 194-3498, SS 5975. Analysis in Gale 1984, p.39. Fig.V.36.

Deposit (7). Schliemann records that Walls 4 and 5 overlay, or "leaned against" the "Trojan circuit wall". This implies that the circuit-wall of Troy II was exposed at the southeast end of the trench. That part of it which may have been exposed, at 30.25-31.05m A.T. according to Dörpfeld, constitutes Deposit (7). It is here called Wall 81.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.251,266; TI Taf.III)

THE WEST TRENCH

This trench was laid out at the southwest corner of the Bronze Age citadel mound. The mound-surface here, in squares AB 5-6, had a gentle slope down at an incline of 1:20 over a space of nearly 20m; but dropped away steeply at the edge of the mound, falling from c.37.50m A.T. to c.32.50m A.T. within 25 metres. The trench was cut down into the plateau of the mound, and into its side.

There had been no previous work here when Schliemann began to dig in April 1870. After this initial foray, he did not resume excavation in this trench until the second half of May 1873.

His aim in opening the trench in 1870 was to expose more of Wall 3 which had come to light in the adjoining Northwest Trench. To do this he cut a simple, slit trench 2½m wide and 4m deep over a length of 30m. On returning to this part of the mound in May 1873 he opened a new trench running more directly from West to East, crossing and partly incorporating the earlier cut in its eastern half which widened and ran into the southern half of the Northwest Trench (see Figs.III.18; IV.76). The new trench was 2-4m wide and 32m long. At its deepest it may have descended to c.30.50m A.T. in its east end; at the west end, however, it must have been dug so shallow that it skimmed over most of the features one might have expected it to reveal. Atlas Taf.214, which shows the final state of the trench, shows that at least one terrace survived at the southeast end, thus casting a little light on Schliemann's method of excavation. The architectural and stratigraphic record is very incomplete, and little can be said about the structure of the mound in this area.

The dominant feature of Troy IX in this trench appears to have been the building shown as IXA in squares ABC 5-6 in Dörpfeld's Troja und Ilion Taf.III. The surviving walls of the building were surrounded at their tops by a 2m-thick deposit containing objects dateable to Troy VIII-IX (Area i, Deposit 4). The southwest wall was found at the edge of the mound summit and consisted, when found, of two courses of dressed stones on a footing of smaller stones (Wall 6: Area i, Deposit 5). The long, central wall was encountered in 1870 and again in 1873. This too was built of dressed stones and boulders; the 1873 excavations showed it to have a total height of 4m and a width of 3m. It appears in Atlas Taf. 214 as the "Wall of Lysimachus". (Area i, Deposit 7; Area 2, Deposit 1). The northeast wall of the building has already been encountered as Wall 3

in the Northwest Trench. More was exposed in 1873 when it was found to be over 6m high, 1½m thick, and built of large stones and earth (Wall 82: Area ii, Deposit 6). What may have been a central crosswall, likewise built of large, dressed stones, was found running along the south side of the trench in 1870. The northeastern half of it was fully exposed in 1873 and is shown at No.34 in Atlas Taf.214. Schliemann in 1873 spoke of it as a 'fortification' wall (Wall 7: Area i, Deposit 6; Area ii, Deposit 3). All these walls of IXA were preserved to an altitude of c.37m A.T. Perhaps associated with them was what Schliemann describes as a mosaic floor at c.37m A.T. Immediately overlying it was a lime floor (Area i, Deposits 2,3).

Two other walls, Walls 8 and 10, were found among the remains of IXA preserved to the same altitude. Their date is uncertain, but they could be remnants of Troy VIII buildings dug into by the foundations of Troy IX. (Area i, Deposits 8,9). Some "hellenic housewalls" found to the East of Wall 9 may have belonged to the buildings of VII and VIII shown by Dörpfeld in square B5 (Area ii, Deposit 2).

One wall deriving from Troy VI may have been found in this trench in 1870. This is Wall 11, found underlying Wall 7 preserved to an altitude no higher than c.35.50m A.T. It consisted of large, dressed stones, which were apparently found in a confused and tumbled state. This is consistent with the state of Troy VI structures found elsewhere on the site; and as the building is clearly earlier than Troy IX but of the right altitude and construction for a feature of VI, we may conjecture the presence here of a building on the second terrace of Troy VI, like Buildings VIF, VIE, VIC and VIO (see TI Taf.III). Curiously there is no further record of the building or of its tumbled masonry from the work of 1873 (Area i, Deposit 11).

Dating to the Early Bronze Age is Wall 83, found at a distance of 21m from the edge of the mound with its top at c.32m A.T. It stood 1½m high, was built of stones and earth, and had what Schliemann took to be a "projecting battlement". He was quite clear that this wall was not attached to the Troy II citadel wall, but stood further to the South and was of a later date. In this he was undoubtedly right. If he was also correct in identifying the "projecting battlement", then it is quite possible that Wall 83 was the westward extension of the II.3 citadel

walls with buttresses, or towers, shown by Dörpfeld in squares GH 4-6 (TI Taf.III). But it could also be a wall from a later phase of the Early Bronze Age (Area ii, Deposit 4). Behind it, and apparently associated with it, was a pavement of stone flags and roughly-hewn stones. There are no details of its exact position or extent (Area ii, Deposit 5).

The West Trench has been divided into two areas which correspond to the areas excavated by Schliemann in the two relevant periods discussed in Chapter III. The areas of work are represented in Figs.III.1,18, and the findings within them are discussed under the two separate headings in the following pages.

AREA 1: AB 5-6 (a)

Figs.III.1; IV.65,75.

The trench was opened on 12th April 1870 in order to trace further Wall 3 of trench AB 4-5. It was 2½m wide and 30m long. Excavation stopped at a depth of 4m. As in the case of the Northwest Trench, AB 4-5, the depths are probably taken from the highest point of the mound-surface adjoining the trench. In this case the datum will have lain at c.38.50m A.T. The location of the trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.116.

Deposit (1). Throughout the trench a stratum of burnt household debris was found to a depth of 1½m (38.50-37.00m). It contained no bricks or hewn stones.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.71)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

"Artistically painted sherds"

METALWORK

Many iron nails

Deposit (2). A lime floor, underlying Deposit (1) and overlying Deposit (3), therefore at c.37.00m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.73)

Deposit (3). Schliemann records a mosaic floor which immediately underlay Deposit (2). Although there is no specific information on the point, this may have been a floor belonging to Walls 3,6,7 and 9 and therefore to Building IXA.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.73)

Deposit (4). There is no information about the character of this deposit whose existence has to be inferred. It consists of the material that lay under the mosaic floor and around the remains of Walls 6,7,8,9 and 10. Schliemann does, however, record a number of finds from this stratum. These indicate a date of Troy VIII-IX for the deposit.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.74)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

Miniature lamp with 2 holes
 Vase filled with ash
 2 pots
 1 cup

METALWORK

1 copper ring

COINS

2 rusted copper coins

CLAY FIGURINES

2 statuettes, no details

Deposit (5). At c.37.00m (=1½m deep) at the edge of the summit of the mound Wall 6 came to light. It was built of two courses of dressed stones laid on a footing of small stones. The remains may represent only the foundations of the wall. The depth of its lowest course is not recorded. It is described as "a sort of parapet" and can be seen at the outer end of the trench in Atlas Taf.116. It must have lain immediately under the surface, if we may judge from the reconstructed contour plan. It is probably the same feature as the "circuit wall" which Schliemann mentions in the same entries in his diary. Its position seems to coincide closely with that of the southwest wall of Building IXA, to which it is likely to belong.

(Tagebuch 1870 pp.71,77)

Deposit (6). Wall 7 is also shown in Atlas Taf.116. It lay at 37.00 to 35.50m and ran along the "south" (i.e. southeast) side of the trench, jutting out 34cm into it. It stood 1½m high and was built of large, dressed stones founded on boulders without cement. Although the date of this wall cannot be determined with certainty, it is well suited by position and altitude to have formed a cross-wall within Dörpfeld's Building IXA.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.73; Bfw I p.166)

Deposits (7), (8), (9). Atlas Taf.116 shows three additional walls crossing the trench. These are Walls 8,9 and 10. All three were preserved up to c.37.00m A.T. and consisted of 4-6ft of dressed stone on a footing of small boulders. Their relationship to the mosaic floor, Deposit (3), is

not clear. The position of Wall 9 (=Deposit 7) appears to coincide roughly with that of the central wall of Dörpfeld's Building IXA, with which it may well be identical. Walls 8 and 10 (=Deposits 8 and 9) may either postdate IXA, having been dug into it; or - which is more likely - antedate it. They may derive from Troy VIII, but a firm identification is not possible.

(Tagebuch 1870 pp.71,73,76-7; Bfw I p.166)

Deposit (10). Below Deposits (7)-(9), and so at a depth of c.35.50m A.T., Schliemann found strata of burnt debris containing ash, bones and shells. He noted six subdivisions within the deposit, largely meaningless for our purposes. Presumably this deposit continued to the limit of excavation, at c.34.50m A.T. While the finds from this deposit include terracotta weights typical of Troy VIII-IX, the "very crude sherds" could derive from Troy VIIb or earlier.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.77f; Bfw I p.166)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- Very crude sherds

METALWORK

- Much molten metal - iron and perhaps silver (=slag?)

WEIGHTS

- Many lentoid clay weights with two holes

ANIMAL REMAINS

- Many bones including some identified as wild boars' teeth.
- Small shells

Deposit (11). Underlying Wall 7, and therefore at no greater height than c.35.50m A.T., was Wall 11. It consisted of large, dressed stones, apparently found in a confused mass - a circumstance which Schliemann attributed to an earthquake. The precise orientation of the wall is not recorded. In depth it extended at least to 34.50m A.T., where digging stopped. Little of the wall was exposed. The altitude, location, method of construction and confused state of the remains combine to suggest that this wall belonged to a building of Troy VI. It will have had to be on the second terrace of the set of concentric terraces which occupied the citadel mound in the second millennium. Fig.IV.65 gives a

hypothetical indication of the sort of position such a building might have occupied.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.77; Bfw I pp.166,326
n.225)

AREA ii: AB 5-6(b)

Figs.III.18; IV.76,77.

This trench, which crosses and partly incorporates trench AB 5-6(a) from 1870, was begun on 15th May 1873. The findings discussed here are from the period from then until 24th May 1873. The trench was 32m long and 2-4m wide, widening at its east end where it crossed the old trench from 1870 and where it ran into the northwest trench. Notionally it was 6m deeper than the 1870 trench; in fact it reached at its deepest to c.30.50m A.T. Its west end, however, failed to expose any remains of Troy VI or VII and so can have reached little deeper than c.31.50m A.T. Atlas Taf. 214 may supply evidence for some remnants of a terrace-system within the east end of the trench. The datum must have lain at c.38m A.T.

The record for this area is lamentably incomplete. The diary and the Atlas contain many drawings of objects found during this period, but of all these only one can be assigned with any certainty to this trench. Perhaps this should come as no surprise, for Schliemann twice complains of the paucity of finds here (Tagebuch 1873 pp.246,250). But the architectural record, too, seems to be incomplete. One should have expected him to encounter the southwest wall of Dörpfeld's Building IXA; also some more of the tumbled masonry, possibly of Troy VI, found in 1870 (Wall 11). Neither is recorded this time. Nor is there any information about the character of the soil. In short, there is no stratigraphy: only a number of features.

Deposit (1). Schliemann records that his trench cut obliquely through

the "Wall of Lysimachus", which he found to be 4m high and 3m thick. The wall is shown in Atlas Taf.214 where its continuation is marked with a line of dots and dashes. It corresponds almost certainly to the middle wall of Dörpfeld's Building IXA, and to Wall 9 excavated in 1870.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.271; TA p.288; Atlas Taf.214; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (2). Having cut through Wall 9, Schliemann found himself among a complex of "hellenic housewalls" which he resolved to break away as they were blocking his path. The probability is that these were walls of the small buildings of Troy VII and VIII some of whose remains are shown by Dörpfeld in this area; but we have no further details.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.266)

Deposit (3). Schliemann alludes, too, to a "labyrinth of fortification-walls" which he encountered after Wall 9. One of these will be the wall running Northeast-Southwest along the northwest side of the trench, shown in Atlas Taf.214 where it is numbered "34". This wall seems to correspond to Wall 7, exposed in 1870, and may be a part of Building IXA.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.268-9; Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (4). At a distance of 21m from the edge of the mound, and at a depth of 6m, Schliemann found a wall 1½m high, built of stones and earth. It must have been a fairly substantial wall, for he took it to be an early, though "post-trojan", fortification. He also remarks on the fact that it had a "projecting battlement". The wall was apparently not attached to the circuit-wall of Troy II. It is likely to be that shown as No.35 in Atlas Taf.214, although no projecting battlement is depicted there. We may call it Wall 83. With its top at c.32m A.T. the wall is unlikely to belong to any part of the Troy VI building intimated by the presence of Wall 11, which in any case showed signs of destruction "by earthquake". Wall 83 is more probably of E.B. date, and, if it was indeed a fortification-wall, must date from a period when Gate FL had been blocked and could be built over.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.271-2; TA pp.288-9; Atlas Taf.214; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (5). Behind Wall 83 Schliemann found a pavement of large stone flags and of roughly hewn stones. No altitude is given, but it seems likely that Schliemann intended us to infer that the pavement was

associated with Wall 83. It may have been the top of Gate FL.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.272; TA p.289; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (6). Further into the trench again, and overlying the pavement of Deposit (5), was a "fortification-wall" which seemed to be over 6m high and 1½m thick, built of large stones and earth. This is Wall 82 again: the northeast wall of Building IXA, shown as No.33 in Atlas Taf. 214. Schliemann records that the wall reached down only to 2m above the circuit-wall (i.e. to c.32.50m A.T.). This suggests that, if it was consistently 6m high, its top here reached to the surface of the mound.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.268,272; TA p.289; Ilios p.40)

Deposit (7). Schliemann gives us no information about the deposits surrounding all the above features, but he does record one object.

OBJECT FOUND

FIGURINE

- * 73-887 Crude sub-triangular figurine of white marble, with incised line and two dots to indicate nose and eyes (6m). Atlas 173-3359; Fig.V.44.

THE WESTERN AREA

An area of irregular shape was excavated on the western half of the summit of the mound, in squares BCD 5-6. Here the mound surface rose a little to the East but sloped away gently to the South and West, descending from c.39.50m A.T. to c.38.00m A.T. over a distance of nearly 30 metres.

Neither Brunton nor Calvert had dug on this spot before, and it was Sophie Schliemann who laid out the first, small trench here on 7th June 1872. The extent of her work seems to have been very limited, though, and excavation in this area did not begin in earnest until March of the following year. It continued, with some intervals, throughout April and May to the end of the season on 14th June 1873.

The overall dimensions attained by the trench were roughly 37m from Northwest to Southeast and 28m from Northeast to Southwest. An indication of the area concerned may be gained if Figs.III.16 and 19 are viewed together. Essentially it was the area left between the North-South Trench, and the West and Northwest Trenches. It is the area which, in Atlas Taf.214, includes the "Scaean Gate" and "Priam's Palace".

Work began with Sophie's trench which, to judge from Atlas Taf.117, was a slit trench measuring about 10m by 2½m, placed close to the summit in square C5. In March 1873 an area to the South of this, in square C6, was opened up to form an extension Northwestwards from the central sector of the North-South Trench. This new area was approximately 14 metres square and was dug down gradually to a depth of c.30m A.T. In April it was extended to the Northeast so as to remove the upstanding block of earth which now separated it from the northern sector of the North-South trench. The entire area was dug down to the same depth: c.30m A.T. Towards the end of the season, in late May and June, the area was extended again, this time to the West. The removal of a block of earth in squares BC 5-6 joined the open, central area to the West and Northwest trenches. Schliemann's object now was to expose more of what he believed to be Priam's Palace. Excavation seems to have gone down to c.31.09m A.T. on the north side of the Troy II citadel wall, and to c.29.78m A.T. to its South. There are views of the excavation in Atlas Taf.169,211,212; Troy and Its Remains plates X,XII,XIII; and Ilios figs.9,10 and 13.

The manner in which deposits accumulated in this part of the mound was determined by the fact that, for the most part, the area lay over the level platform of the citadel of Troy II. This resulted in a series of horizontal depositions throughout the later part of the Early and Middle Bronze Age. But the area also overlapped beyond the edge of the Troy II fortifications, so that there was a tendency here for all subsequent occupants to leave a stepping-down or terrassing of deposits to the South and West.

Throughout most of the trench the E.B. and M.B. deposits were found preserved up to 35m or 35.50m A.T. Judging from the stratification in squares CD 5-6 they are unlikely to have included much material from Troy V, which must largely have been removed by the builders of Troy VI. But in Areas v and vi M.B. deposits were found at the greater altitude of 36.50 and perhaps even c.37m A.T., and these are likely to have derived from Troy V. As to the lower deposits, Schliemann seems to have noticed a stratigraphic change at c.33.25m A.T. (Area vi, Deposit 4), which may represent the division between Troy III and Troy IV; and he refers on a number of occasions to a bottom-most deposit of 2-3m thick over Gate FM, which must have reached to c.32m A.T. This point may represent the division between the strata of Troy II and III. But these identifications are arrived at chiefly by comparison with the neighbouring areas that have been excavated.

As elsewhere on the mound, the deposits of the Late Bronze Age seem to have cut into those of earlier periods. Objects dateable to Troy VI-VII were found as deep as c.34.50m A.T. in Areas ii, iv and v and at c.35.50m A.T. in Area iii; and walls of Troy VI seem to have been founded at least as deep as c.35m A.T. All these must have cut into the deposits of Troy V and even Troy IV. If Wall 58 is correctly ascribed to Troy VI its foundation at c.32.70m A.T. could indicate that the edge of the second terrace of Troy VI ran diagonally across square C6, with the building to which Wall 58 belonged lying on the first and lower terrace. On the second terrace there may be evidence of rebuilding during Troy VII over the remains of Troy VI.

The overlying deposits of Troy VIII and IX cut down in several places to a depth of 2m, thus penetrating the Late Bronze Age deposits. And Wall 82, the northeast wall of Building IXA, penetrated to a depth of 6

or 7m into the mound, thus being founded among the deposits of Troy II or III (Area vi, Deposit 2).

To summarize now the features of each period attested in this trench, Building IXA, already mentioned, is the principal one attributable to Troy IX. It is perhaps surprising that no mention is made of the south-east wall of this building, and it is not shown, either, in Atlas Taf. 214. The only other architectural feature which may derive from Troy IX is the "very elegant house" which lay to the southeast of IXA but whose plan was not recorded (Area ii, Deposit 2). Its walls and foundations were of large, hewn blocks of limestone, and its claim to elegance seems to have lain in a floor of red, polished flagstones. Its dating to Troy IX is plausible though not positively evidenced. From the same depths, at 02-m, sometimes 0-1m, come terracotta figurines, lentoid weights, glass buttons, coins and an inscription (Area ii, Deposit 3; Area iii, Deposit 1; Area iv, Deposit 1; Area vi, Deposit 1).

The presence of objects attributable to Troy VIIa at a depth of 2m (Area iii, Deposit 2) may allow us to date some walls at least one of which descended to a depth of 34.50m A.T. These walls, Walls 49 and 50, although preserved nearly to the surface of the mound in square C6, are unlikely to derive from Troy IX since they were built of stones and earth. An attribution to Troy VIII is equally unlikely in view of the 3½m-height to which Wall 49 was preserved. The most likely analysis is that they had originally belonged to a structure of VI and been built on again in Troy VIIa. This would explain the depth of foundation, the height to which they were preserved and the character of the masonry. Walls 49 and 50 met at a right-angle and are likely to have formed the southeast corner of some rectangular building (Area iii, Deposits 3,4; Area iv, Deposit 3). Possibly belonging to the same building is Wall 51 (Area iii, Deposit 5) found in squares CD 5 and mentioned, it seems, in some connection with the former walls. Wall 51 was likewise built of small stones joined with earth mortar and was preserved to an altitude of 37.67m A.T. or 38m A.T. It is noticeable, however, that further excavation in squares C 5-6 (Area v, Fig.III.17) produced no more (recorded) evidence of the building, and this must place a question mark against the reconstruction I have suggested in Fig.IV.80. Other evidence of the presence of Troy VII deposits may be found in Area iv, Deposit 2 (the cup of type A107).

To Troy VI we may assign the presumed earlier phases of Walls 49, 50 and 51 which, as in VIIa, may possibly all have belonged to a single building (Area iii, Deposits 3, 4, 5; Area iv, Deposit 3). In square C6 the 2m-high Wall 58, at c.32.70-34.70m A.T., may have belonged to the same period if it lay on a lower terrace of Troy VI. But its structure - of small stones bonded with earth mortar - sounds more compatible with an origin in the Middle Bronze Age (Area iv, Deposit 7). In Area C6 objects dateable to Troy VI-VII are attested to a depth of at least 3m, c.35.50m A.T. (Area ii, Deposit 4; Area iii, Deposit 2). A similar situation obtains in squares CD 5-6(a), although here some additional pieces apparently come from depths of 4, 5 and 6m (i.e. to c.32.50m A.T.) (Area iv, Deposit 2).

No buildings of Troy V came to light in this area, the builders of Troy VI having removed most of the upper M.B. deposits. But the occasional M.B. object found at a high level, among the remains of Troy VI, testifies to their one-time presence here. In squares BC 5-6 Schliemann may even have noticed the top of the Troy V deposits at c.36.25m A.T. (Area vi, Deposit 3). Elsewhere there is evidence that M.B. material, perhaps in some cases of Troy V, still reached up to c.36m A.T. (Area v, Deposit 2) and to 35m or 35.50m A.T. (Area iii, Deposit 6; Area iv, Deposit 6).

Of the deposits of Troy IV we have no clear description, although it seems likely they were encountered, and objects from them recovered, at c.33.25/33.50-35.50m A.T. in squares CD 5-6 and BC 5-6 (Area iv, Deposit 6; Area v, Deposit 3; Area vi, Deposit 4). Only one recorded feature may derive from this period, and that is Wall 58 - already mentioned as a possible (if less likely) structure of Troy VI. Its altitude and mode of construction suit it well to the period if the possibility of Troy VI terrassing at this point is set aside. Little can be said of the wall.

Deposits of Troy III may have been found at c.32-33.25m A.T. in squares BC 5-6 (Area vi, Deposit 5), although they are not described. In CD 5-6(b), however, they seem to have formed an upper stratum within a thick layer, found at 6-9m deep, of black, red and yellow ash and other charred debris which overlay Gate FM (Area v, Deposit 4). In CD 5-6(a) the deposit may be assumed to have reached to a depth of perhaps 30m A.T., supposing the underlying deposits of Troy II to have sloped down

to the South of the citadel wall and over the paved ramp leading away from Gate FM (Area iv, Deposit 6). To Troy III we may probably assign a wall of small stones and earth preserved to an altitude of c.32.70m A.T. in squares C 5-6 (Area iv, Deposit 8). This wall, Wall 59, is said to have run parallel to the Troy II street in Gate FM, but is of unrecorded dimensions. It is quite possible, however, that its continuation appears in Atlas Taf.214 on the northwest side of Gate FM (Area v, Deposit 6: Wall 70). Schliemann's shading of this wall in the Atlas plan attributes it to Troy II, and this is still a possible date for Walls 59 + 70. But the altitude to which Wall 59 was preserved does suggest that a slightly later date is to be preferred. More certainly of Troy III date, possibly even of Troy IV, is Building 4 (Area v, Deposit 5), a complex of rectangular rooms built on top of 2 or 3m of debris covering Gate FM. Schliemann's account of their altitudes and heights is very confused, but the walls seem to have been preserved to at least 33 or 33.50m A.T. and to have descended, in places at any rate, to c.32m A.T. They were built of stones joined with earth, and were of various thicknesses. Traces of severe burning were noticed. A stone-lined cist dug into the debris overlying the Middle Troy II citadel wall in square B5 may have been dug down either by the inhabitants of Troy III or by those of Late Troy II. The cist contained the famous Treasure 'A', and perhaps Treasure 'B' as well (Area vi, Deposit 6). If the "stone benches" visible on the citadel wall in Atlas Taf.215 are the remains of another cist, they too may derive from the same period (Area vi, Deposit 7).

From Troy II there are some substantial architectural remains in this trench. The southwestern corner of a citadel wall, Wall 81, was exposed in squares BC 5-6 (Area vi, Deposit 11) - its outer face with a batter, its inner face vertical, and its upper surface preserved to c.30.25m A.T. A 'Trojan pavement' remarked by Schliemann may have been the surface of the wall. Gate FM, too, was brought to light (Area iv, Deposit 9; Area v, Deposit 8), although the northeasternmost part remained unexcavated. Its walls were preserved to a height of up to 1m, and what may have been a pivot-stone was found in the gateway. The paved ramp was likewise uncovered, initially in the outer chamber of Gate FM but later along a 10m length sloping down to the Southwest. The whole was paved with flags of hard limestone. Schliemann's dimensions for the ramp agree with those later given by Dörpfeld and require no special

comment (Area iv, Deposit 10). To East and West of Gate FM lay a number of walls and complexes, shown in lighter shading in Atlas Taf.214, which must derive from Troy II. These include Building 5 (Area v, Deposit 9), a fragmentary complex with small, rectangular rooms; the possibly related Walls 72,73 and 74; the unrelated Walls 75-76 and 71, no doubt from a different subperiod; and a room 6m square possibly represented by Walls 99-100 (Area vi, Deposit 9). These features collectively were regarded by Schliemann as the remnants of Priam's Palace. All were built of stones bonded with mud, and all showed signs of burning. All were overlaid by thick deposits of ash and burnt debris reaching to at least c.32m A.T. (Area v, Deposit 7; Area vi, Deposit 8) - deposits which also overlay the citadel wall and which, outside it, must have reached down to c.27m A.T. over the paved ramp (Area iv, Deposit 6). All these ashy deposits yielded large numbers of objects making Schliemann's Troy II finds among his richest.

Schliemann's work in this area may be considered in six 'areas' which correspond to the areas excavated in the six relevant periods described in Chapter III and illustrated in Figs.III.6,12,13,16,17 and 19. The findings within each area are discussed separately in the following pages.

AREA i: C5

Fig.III.6.

This is the trench begun by Sophie Schliemann on 7th June 1872 and shown in Atlas Taf.117 where it is marked "Z". There is no information about either the soil or the finds except that spindle-whorls with the usual "sun" designs were found quite close to the surface.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.379; TA p.126)

AREA ii: C 6(a)

Figs.III.12; IV.78.

Excavation in this area was begun in earnest only on 10th March 1873 and, in this period, lasted until 15th March. The trench was probably cut so as to form an extension northwestwards of the old "Tower" trench in CDE 6-7, dug in 1872. It was virtually square, measuring 14.30 x 14.40m. It was excavated to a depth of 4m, at least in parts. Depths may have been measured down from the mound-surface which lay at c.38.00-38.50m A.T. There is very little information about the findings within this trench.

Deposit (1). An overlying deposit at 0-1m deep must be assumed, but there is no information as to its character.

Deposit (2). At a depth of 1m, and descending to 2m, Schliemann found the remains of a building which he describes as a "very elegant house". The walls and foundations were built of large, hewn blocks of good limestone, and there was a floor of polished red flagstones. Unfortunately there are no means of reconstructing its plan, even tentatively, and the date of the building is uncertain. From the little information given, a date in Troy IX seems plausible. It must have lain to the Southeast of Dörpfeld's Building IXA.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.77; TA p.219)

Deposit (3). There is no information about the deposits associated with the house in Deposit (2) - that is, the foundation, occupation- and destruction-deposits; but the following objects may perhaps be attributed to them.

OBJECTS FOUND

POLISHED STONE

- * 73-236 Object consisting of two stone balls joined together; perhaps a mastoid weight (2m). Atlas 125-2522; Fig. V.42.

GLASS

- 73-234 Mushroom-shaped bead or button of blue glass with yellow symmetrical feathered decoration on top (2m). Atlas 125-2520, Ilios No.549, SS 7749.
- 73-235 Drop-shaped bead or button of blue glass with yellow symmetrical decoration of loops on surface (2m). Atlas 125-2512, Ilios No.550, SS 7750.

FIGURINES

- 73-228 Head from terracotta statuette, showing a veiled female head, cf. Thompson's No.183 (1m). Atlas 124-2472.
- * 73-233 Head of terracotta statuette of Kybele, with tall polos (1m). Atlas 125-2511.

Deposit (4). There is, again, no description of the other deposits which surrounded the "house" up to 1m and which underlay it to a depth of at least 4m. There are, however, a few objects. These suggest that material of Troy VI-VII could be found as high as only 1m below the surface, implying that the building was dug down into earlier levels. A lid may derive from the Middle Bronze Age.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- B25 * 73-256 Yellow jug with flat base, narrow neck, horizontal mouth with bevelled rim, and handle from rim to body (3m). Atlas 131-2585 (2m); Fig.V.32.
- B26(?) * 73-240 Black ovoid jug with flat base, short neck, horizontal mouth with bevelled rim, handle from neck to body (3m). Atlas 131-2579; Fig.V.32.
- B32 * 73-257 Jug with tall body. Narrow flat base, narrow neck on wide shoulders. Neck, mouth and handle broken off, but stub of one handle remains on the shoulder (3m). Atlas 131-2582; Fig.V.32.
- D15 73-262) Conical lid with perforated central knob (missing).
73-264) Exterior decoration is incised and white filled. The two drawings appear both to be of one object (3m). Probably M.B. Atlas 131-2589,2590, SS 2459; Fig.V.31.

D46 * 73-237 Pot-handle shaped like head and neck of bull(?) (1m).
Atlas 125-2521, SS 3267; Fig.V.32.

WHORLS

Many conical and biconical whorls, both decorated and undecorated, at 3-4m deep. TA p.265.
 GIXD * 73-253 (1m) Atlas 132-2600.
 GIXD 73-265 (3m) Atlas 132-2613, TR No.172, Ilios No.1290, TA p.220.

AREA iii: C 6(b)

Figs.III.13; IV.79,80.

There was work in this area during the period 17th-22nd March 1873. The horizontal dimensions of the trench remained the same, but excavation was carried to a deeper level. The maximum depth at this stage reached an uncertain figure between 4m and 8m. But there is also evidence of work at such shallow depths as 30cm and 1m, suggesting that in the previous period the trench had not been excavated to a uniform depth. The evidence indicates that these shallower depths occurred at the most westerly side of the trench, close to Schliemann's wooden house ("A" in Atlas Taf.117). Depths were probably measured down mostly from a datum of c.38.50m A.T. Apart from references to three (or four) walls, little specific information can be gained about the strata. Approximate divisions between Troy VII and VIII and between V and VI have been made in Fig.IV.79 on the basis of the character of the finds. But Fig.IV.79 is highly schematic: the walls cannot be located and are drawn in with no more than the intention of illustrating the relative depths of the deposits.

Deposit (1). As in C 6(a), we have to assume the presence of an uppermost deposit of Troy VIII-IX. There are several objects which must be assigned to the stratum and which oblige us to posit a depth of 1m or more for this top layer.

OBJECTS FOUND

WEIGHT

- 73-368 Diorite lentoid weight with two holes, nearly spherical (1m). Atlas 133-2652; Fig.V.47.

FIGURINES

- 73-322 Head from terracotta statuette wearing stephane (1m). Atlas 132-2629.
 * 73-363 Female head with Knidian(?) coiffure (1m). Atlas 135-2700.

INSCRIPTION

- 73-374 (=73-1) Inscription said to have been found below Schliemann's wooden house in C6 (1m). TA p.316f, TR p.355, Ilios p.639, TI p.466 No.39. But 73-1 shows that it must come from below his stone house in square C4-5.

Deposit (2). Objects dateable to Troy VIII-IX are not found below a depth of 1m. At 2m and 3m however, we have objects (73-275, 73-332) of a type otherwise known from Troy VIIa. Yet also from 3m come objects which seem to be of M.B. date (73-276, 73-327, 73-329). This suggests that deposits of Troy VI-VII were encountered at 1-3m deep (=c.37.50-35.50m A.T.), and that there were deposits of M.B. material below that. There may have been a similar situation in parts of C 6(a). The putative stratum of Troy VI-VII material has been here separated off to form Deposit (2).

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A99 73-340 Black polished stemmed dish with open body, carination below rim, and two loop-handles rising from rim (3m). Atlas 130-2569; Fig.V.32.
 B27 73-275 Yellow jug with ring base, narrow neck and trefoil mouth; handle from rim to shoulder. Two pairs of wavy lines (incised?) surround the body (2m). Atlas 131-2588; Fig.V.32.
 C43 * 73-332 Red globular jar with ring base and short collar neck; two large loop-handles set horizontally on the shoulder (3m). Atlas 130-2564; Fig.V.33.

METALWORK

- * 73-272 Bronze object of unknown use, shaped like a double meat-hook (3m). Atlas 130-2561, TR No.176, Ilios No. 1426, SS 6581, TI Fig.413; Fig.V.38.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-277 Sub-rectangular piece of grey stone with cross cut as a groove on both sides (2m). Atlas 131-2593; Fig.V.32.
 * 73-323 Diorite hammer-axe (3m). Atlas 132-2626; Fig.V.42.
 * 73-370 Diorite flat axe (3½m). Atlas 133-2658; Fig.V.42.

CHIPPED STONE

- * 73-314 Flint blade (3m). Atlas 132-2624.

BONE ARTEFACT

- 73-366 Knife (2m). Atlas 133-2644; Fig.V.43.

Deposits (3), (4). Schliemann records that at a depth of only 30cm (=c.38.20m A.T.) he came upon two walls built of stones joined with earth. He describes them as prehellenic. Each was 2m thick, and the two walls joined, forming a corner. They were situated just in front of his house, which is marked "1" in Atlas Taf.116 and "A" in Atlas Taf. 117 - that is, at the west end of the C6 trench. Their bottom was not exposed, but the walls appeared to descend "very deep". These two walls, Walls 49 and 50, cannot be located precisely. But since at a later date, in mid-April, it was the width of (as it seems) one of these walls that was still visible in the north west side of the trench, it must have been a wall running roughly NW-SE which entered the trench from that side. The second wall, which formed the corner, must have run roughly SW-NE and have lain in the body of the trench. The style of construction probably rules out an attribution to Troy IX, and the depth of foundation appears to exclude an attribution to Troy VIII. But in view of the probable date of Deposit (2), which presumably surrounded them, these walls may have received their final form in Troy VII. Other walls of Troy VII were found preserved to a similar depth below the surface elsewhere on the site. Their very great depth would in this case suggest that they had been built onto earlier walls remaining from Troy VI.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.114; TA pp.229,255)

Deposit (5). Schliemann also reports that there was a third, similar wall which lay immediately below the foundations of the building which had been excavated in 1871. By this he means Building 1 in CD 5. The wall in question must therefore have been preserved up to c.38m A.T., and is likely to have been noticed in the section-face on the southwest side of the trench in CD 5. Its orientation is unknown. It is possibly to be equated with a wall briefly mentioned in the diary on 19th March,

a wall of small stones and earth found at a depth of 2m. In this area the depth of 2m below the surface would have been at c.37.67m A.T. Again, an attribution to Troy VII would be quite plausible (see Fig.IV.35). This wall, which may be called Wall 51, cannot be precisely located. But it is conceivable that behind Schliemann's mention of it in connection with Walls 49 and 50 lies some observation, or speculation, that all three belonged to the same building. The possible implications can be seen in the plan in Fig.IV.80, where a very hypothetical outline of a building of Troy VI-VII has been reconstructed.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.105, 114)

Deposit (6). In the discussion of Deposit (2) it has already been suggested that the finds indicate that M.B. strata were encountered at c.3m deep. This is a not dissimilar result from that in C 6(a), where M.B. objects may have lain alongside those from VI-VII. Deposit (6), then, represents the M.B. strata found at c.35.50m A.T. and below. There is no further information about the deposit, and the depth to which it was excavated is not known.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- | | | |
|------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A20 | * 73-327 | Wide, shallow red-polished bowl with flat base, carinated body and low collar-neck (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2566; Fig.V.31. |
| A216 | (*) - | Conical cup with flat base, plain rim, and handle from rim to lower part of body (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2597; Fig.V.28. |
| B204 | (*) 73-276 | Piriform flask with rounded base, slightly flaring neck, and two vertically perforated tubular lugs set on body (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2591; Fig.V.29. |
| C21 | (*) 73-329 | Deep conical bowl with flat base, slightly convex sides, plain rim, and two vertical loop-handles set on the upper part of the body (3½m). <u>Atlas</u> 130-2568; Fig.V.29. |

METALWORK

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (*) | - | Curved "copper" sickle (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2598; Fig.V.38. |
| (*) | - | Straight "copper" knife (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 131-2599; Fig.V.38. |
| | - | "Copper" pin, found stuck through a piece of bone, <u>Tgb</u> p.104. |

WHORLS

- | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------------------------|
| RVA | (*) 73-308 | (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 132-2610. |
| GVI | (*) 73-309 | (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 132-2617. |

AREA iv: CD 5-6(a)

Figs.III.16; IV.80,81,82,83.

This area was dug by Schliemann during the period 7th-16th April 1873. Although it has to be treated as a single trench when one considers the objects found here, in reality it consisted of three distinct areas. The first of these (Area A) is the area already excavated down to perhaps c.7m deep in square C6. The trench here was deepened to c.9m deep and, on the south side, to as much as 11m deep, and Gate FM was partly exposed. But there may have been work at higher altitudes as well, for Schliemann had now resolved to cut his sections as near vertically as possible and there is a new account of the stratification in the north-west side of this area. The second and third areas were broached on 10th April and thereafter. Together they represented the entire block of material between the trench in C6 and the deep, North-South trench of 1872, over a width of c.24m. The northeastern segment of this block had already been partly excavated in 1871, and we can assume that at its eastern edge it had reached the full depth of the North-South trench as it was in 1871: c.30m A.T. On the west side, however, it must have risen gradually to meet the mound surface. This partly excavated area is labelled "Area C" in Figs.IV.81,83. The remaining "Area B" had not previously been excavated at all. Schliemann says he attacked these two areas simultaneously from top and bottom, in an attempt to extend the area excavated to the depth of 10m. The datum was probably at c.38.50m A.T., so his object was evidently to join up Gate FM with the 10m-terrace dug in 1871. In saying that he dug from both top and bottom, therefore, he presumably means that he extended the 30m-platform in Area C, dug down from the mound-surface in Area B, and perhaps tried to bite into Area B from the northeast side of Area A. Unfortunately there is no clear information about his progress in Areas B and C, and one cannot say how far he got in this task.

A large number of finds can be assigned to the trench in CD 5-6, some of them certainly, many of them provisionally. This is clearly the area in which, during this period, Schliemann was most keenly interested. It is also the one area in which he is likely to have excavated at all depths from 0m to 11m. These two considerations, together with the statement that practically nothing of interest was found in the East-West trench, are responsible for attracting most of the less certainly provenanced

objects into the following catalogues. All objects of uncertain origin are nevertheless, as usual, distinguished by an asterisk. One group that can be assigned with certainty to Area C is Treasure "C", the hoard stolen by workmen. The catalogues also include material excavated from this trench during the immediately preceding period, 31st March-5th April 1873.

From the finds it seems that deposits of Troy VIII-IX reached a depth of as much as 2m (=c.36.50m A.T.). Deposits of Troy VI-VII seem to have reached as high as 1m (=c.37.50m A.T.) and as deep as 4m (=c.34.50m A.T.). Earlier material cannot be reliably differentiated into periods, but seems to reach as high as 2m (=c.36.50m A.T.). These figures show a considerable degree of overlap and may indicate that VI was cut into the M.B. deposits (of Troy IV or V) and that VIII-IX were cut into the deposits of VI-VII. This agrees very well with the picture deduced for C6 (see Fig.IV.79). Even so there are some anomalies. The painted sherd 73-629 which seems to be East Greek, and so of Troy VIII date, was found at 3m deep. The jug 73-666, in shape B31 which should be of Troy VIIa date, was found at 5m deep. A pedestal goblet, 73-536, which looks like a Troy VII product similar to A96, was found as deep as 6m. We must add to these the classical lentoid weights 73-586, 73-622, 73-623, found at 6m deep and 8m deep and clearly out of context. It may be that, with the new, vertical trimming of the sections, these objects fell out of the sides of the trenches and were picked up at a greater depth. It is also possible (and it is a possibility that has some attractions), that in this trench Schliemann came across the edge of a Troy VI terrace; and that foundations of Troy IX had penetrated to a depth of 6 or 8m. The jar-fragment 155-3052 in shape C30, found at 1m, is presumably a throw-up from the E.B. deposits.

Since the depths of the deposits from VI-VII and VIII-IX can be fairly well defined (even if the location of the cuttings-in cannot), and since they coincide well with the results from the analysis of the earlier work in square C6, I have re-used the same numbering for the deposits as was used for C6 (see Fig.IV.79). There are, of course, some additional features; and I have not found it possible to subdivide the M.B. deposits which are consequently treated together under Deposit (6). I have, however, dotted in to Figs.IV.82,83 the approximate lines where the strata of II, III and IV might be divided on the basis of what is

known from neighbouring trenches.

Deposit (1). This deposit, apparently reaching to c.36.50m A.T. or below, includes all the material deriving from Troy VIII-IX and not obviously out of context. The "Greek house" mentioned in Ilios p.33 had been removed, or largely removed, in the previous operations in this area. But a number of objects were recovered.

(Ilios p.33)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A- 73-590 Fragment from bottom of bowl, impressed with depiction of a young pair kissing (2m). Atlas 147-2881, Ilios No.1457, SS 9576.
- A- (*)73-550 Sharply profiled bowl on low pedestal, flaring towards simple rim (2m). Atlas 145-2844, SS 4025; Fig.V.34.
- A- (*)73-598 Sharply profiled red bowl on low pedestal, with flaring flat rim (2m). Atlas 152-3029, SS 4026; Fig. V.34.
- C- (*)73-552 Spindle-shaped perfume-bottle (2m). Atlas 145-2843; Fig.V.34.
- D- 73-553 Red lamp on tall pedestal (2m). Atlas 145-2839, TR No. 204, Ilios No.1473, SS 4060; Fig.V.34.
- 73-625 Painted sherd (2m). Atlas 150-2977, TR No.203, Ilios No.1465; Fig.V.34.
- 73-626 Painted sherd (3m). Atlas 150-2976; Fig.V.34.
- 73-629 Painted sherd (3m). Atlas 150-2979; Fig.V.34.

FIGURINE

- 73-522 Comic mask or mime-head (1/2m). Atlas 148-2918.

WEIGHT

- 73-524 Terracotta lentoid weight with two holes and stamped with female head (2m). Atlas 148-2915; Fig.V.47.

Deposit (2). Schliemann gives no new information about the deposits of material from Troy VI-VII; but a number of objects found at 1-4m deep may derive from this period. So too may four objects from 5 and 6m deep, however their presence at that depth is to be explained.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A87(?) (*)73-535 Red cup with slightly rounded base, concave sides and wide mouth; handle from rim to base (6m). Atlas 146-2851; cf. SS No.3177; Fig.V.33.

- (cf. A96) (*)73-536 Cup on pedestal base, carinated, with concave rim (6m). Atlas 146-2852, SS 660; Fig.V.33.
- A107 (*) - Shallow cup with rounded base, ribbed body and two large, pointed loop-handles (2m). Atlas 155-3059, SS 3566, TI fig.215; Fig.V.33.
- A- (*)73-675 Incurving cup with pedestal base, one horizontal loop-handle and one vertical loop-handle, both set below rim. A line of impressed(?) dots below rim (5m). Atlas 151-3018, Ilios No.1121(?), SS 273; Fig.V.33.
- B29 (*)73-594 Jug with rounded base, horizontal mouth with squared rim, and handle from rim to body (3m). Atlas 152-3024; Fig.V.33.
- B31(?) (*)73-666 Jug with flattened base, widened mouth and handle from neck to body. Rim missing (5m). Atlas 151-3009; Fig.V.33.
- B32 (*)73-596 Deep, narrow jug with narrow base and sharp shoulders. Broken off at neck, but a fragment of handle rises from one shoulder (5m). Atlas 152-3025; Fig.V.32.
- B36 (*)73-539 Jug with flattened base, narrow neck and slightly rising, pinched spout. Handle from rim to body (1m). Atlas 146-2854, Ilios No.1389(?), SS 3003; Fig.V.32.
- C53? (*)73-546 Globular bottle with rounded base, slightly spreading mouth, and two small strap handles set horizontally on the shoulder (2m). Atlas 145-2837; Fig.V.33.
- C55 (*) - Squat grey pyxis on low base, with two small lugs. Decorated with five horizontal grooves (4m). Atlas 155-3058, Ilios No.1390, SS 3241, TI Beilage 39 No.IV; Fig.V.32.
- D46 73-624 Fragment of animal-head handle (3m). Atlas 150-2981, TR No.205, Ilios No.1399, SS 3264; Fig.V.32.

POLISHED STONE

- * 73-392 Dagger pommel (3m). Atlas 135-2708, TR No.181, Ilios No.1409, SS 7898; Fig.V.42.
- * 73-476 Ovoid weight(?) of greenstone (3m). Atlas 142-2802; Fig.V.42.
- * 73-493 Diorite polisher (3m). Atlas 143-2843; Fig.V.42.

UNCLASSIFIED OBJECT OF STONE

- (*)73-541 Irregularly shaped piece of stone decorated with four incised lines - one longitudinally and three latitudinally (2m). Atlas 146-2855; Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- RIC * 73-471 (3m) Atlas 142-2798.
- Var.D3 * 73-481 (3m) Atlas 142-2810, undecorated.
- GVII * 73-607 (3m) Atlas 150-2970.
- RIVB * 73-610 (3m) Atlas 150-2987.
- GID * - (3m) Atlas 134-2684.

TERRACOTTA DISC

- (*)73-616 (2m) Atlas 150-2978; Fig.V.48.

TERRACOTTA BALL

- * 73-467 (3m) Atlas 142-2790; Fig.V.46.

FIGURINES

- 73-588 Terracotta figurine, cruciform, with incised eyebrows/nose, dots for eyes and incised lines on neck and

head (2m). Atlas 147-2889, 150-2973, TR No.27, Ilios No.1300, SS 7640; Fig.V.45.

- Eleven marble figurines with and without faces, found at 3-4m. TA p.260.

Deposit (3). Schliemann records that, in the section to the Northwest of Gate FM, there was visible a wall whose top lay at 50cm below the surface, with its bottom at 3½m below the surface. It was 1.50m thick and was built of small stones bonded together with earth mortar. The wall can probably be equated with Wall 49, already discussed under Deposit (4) of C 6(b). The wall appears to have been surrounded by deposits of Troy VI-VII and is therefore likely to have originated in that period. It may belong to a building of the sort tentatively reconstructed in Fig.IV.80.

(TA p.255)

Deposit (6). In this deposit is included all the material, other than architectural features, which lay below c.35m A.T. and which overlay Gate FM and the paved ramp leading up to it. It is likely to have represented at least Troy II, III and IV (in Blegen's terms), but the finds do not allow clear divisions to be made. Towards the top of the deposit will have lain the stratum of earth 30cm thick noticed by Schliemann in the section below Wall 49 (Deposit 6a). Towards the bottom of the deposit will have lain the immense masses of burnt mud-brick, yellow, red and black ash and the fragments of stones which were stratified over the paved street (Deposit 6b). A large number of objects can be assigned to Deposit (6). Also included are some E.B. pieces from higher deposits but probably out of context.

(TA p.255; Ilios p.33f)

OBJECTS FOUND

- | | | |
|------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1m) | | POTTERY |
| C30 | - | Upper part of face-vase (1½m: probably a throw-up). <u>Atlas</u> 155-3052, <u>SS</u> 1840, <u>TI</u> Beilage 33 No.VII; Fig. V.31. |
| (2m) | | |
| C29 | (*) - | Grey globular jar with flattened base and short collar-neck. Two curled handles on shoulder. Decorated with chevrons and grid designs. <u>Atlas</u> 155-3054, <u>SS</u> 2461, <u>Ilios</u> 1398; Fig.V.31. |

- (3m)
- D1 * 73-667 Plain cylindrical lid with flange. Atlas 151-3011; Fig.V.29.
- D204 * 73-478 Red polished cylindrical lid with two perforated lugs, decorated on top with a cross and four swastikas all contained in a circle. Incision around edge of lid. Atlas 142-2806, TR No.200, Ilios No.1218, SS 2365; Fig.V.29.
- (3½m)
- C28 (*)73-670 Globular jar with rounded base, short neck and bevelled rim. Two pointed lugs with vertical perforation set on mid-body. Atlas 151-3008; Fig.V.29.
- (4m)
- B20 * 73-673 Neck and spout of beakspouted jug. Handle from top to base of neck. Atlas 151-3017; Fig.V.28.
- C30 * - Jar said to be similar to 73-684 - jar with rounded base, short funnel-neck, two upright "wings", and plastic (face, ears) breasts and navel (4½m). Atlas 151-3020; Fig.V.29.
- (5m)
- A212 73-549 Cup or dipper with large loop-handle from rim to base (Atlas 145-2838), (7m). TR No.215, Ilios No.513; Fig.V.28.
- A221 (*)73-555 Two-handled red goblet on short pedestal base, with concave sides and slightly flaring rim; twelve small depressions around side of cup. Atlas 145-2849, Ilios No.1084, SS 451; Fig.V.28.
- B20 (*)73-554 Piriform jug with rounded base, elongated neck, rising spout and handle from neck to body. Atlas 145-2848, Ilios No.1159, SS 402; Fig.V.28.
- C13 (*)73-602 Open jar with rounded base, slightly flaring mouth and bevelled rim. Two lugs or crescent handles on the sides and plastic cone on front. Atlas 152-3032; Fig.V.29.
- C204 (*) - Jar with flattened base, ovoid body, short neck, one lug(?) and three incised crescents(?) on body. Atlas 155-3053; Fig.V.28.
- C206 (*)73-563 Conical jar with flattish, flanged top rising to central mouth (or broken base of neck). Two perforations on outer edge of the flange. Atlas 147-2866; Fig.V.29.
- (6m)
- A16 * 73-542 Red polished platter with incurving sides. Atlas 146-2857; Fig.V.24.
- A16? * 73-663 Platter or shallow bowl with incurving sides. Atlas 151-3007; Fig.V.24.
- A39 * 73-537 Tankard with narrow, flat base, wide neck, horizontal mouth and handle from neck to body. Atlas 146-2853; Fig.V.25.
- A45 * 73-593 Depas. Atlas 152-3022, SS 661; Fig.V.24.
- A45 * 73-668 Depas. Atlas 151-3013; Fig.V.24.
- B216 * 73-600 Neck and elongated, vertical, pinched spout from jug. Atlas 152-3030; Fig.V.25.
- B219 * 73-599 Piriform or lentoid flask with two large loop-handles from narrow, flaring neck to body. Atlas 152-3028;

- Fig.V.26.
- C27 73-580 Globular red jar with flat base, short vertical (broken) neck, two pointed lugs on body; body covered with incised decoration of vertical lines, zigzags and dotted circles. Atlas 147-2862, TR No.209, Ilios No. 1024; SS 2301; Fig.V.25.
- C30 73-601 Red polished face-jar. Atlas 152-3031; Fig.V.26.
- C30 * - Face-jar. Atlas 145-2846; Fig.V.26.
- C217 * - Ovoid jar on short, pedestal base, with hole mouth and two pointed lugs set on body. Atlas 149-2931; Fig.V.26.
- D46? 73-644 Black polished loop-handle with bull's head at apex. Atlas 149-2952, TR No.208, Ilios No.1405, SS 3268; Fig.V.26.
- * 73-523 Fragment of volute handle. Atlas 148-2914; Fig.V.27.
- * 73-638 Broken hollow cone with three holes in side. Atlas 150-3004; Fig.V.48.
- (7m)
- A203 73-525 Miniature open vessel on tripod-base, decorated with three plastic lugs or knobs - perhaps representing a face. Atlas 148-2917, Ilios No.1056(?), SS 2984; Fig.V.22.
- B205 (*) 73-591 Black flask with rounded base, cylindrical neck, slightly splayed rim, two large perforated wings rising from body. Body decorated with incised vertical lines grouped in twos. Atlas 152-3021; Fig.V.23.
- C215 (*) - Globular jar with hole mouth, three short feet and two lugs set on body. Atlas 149-2932; Fig.V.22.
- D13 73-589 Red face-lid. Atlas 147-2893; Fig.V.23.
- D34 (*) 73-631 Crucible. Atlas 150-2998, TR No.214, Ilios No.512, SS 6831; Fig.V.23.
- D210 (*) - Small circular box ("salt-cellar"), lower half hemispherical, upper half conical. Atlas 190-3477a; Fig.V.23.
- 73-634 Fragment said to come from cup-handle; includes a flat circular plate incised(?) with a cross and four dots. Atlas 150-2983; Fig.V.24.
- 73-672 Rim-sherd decorated with impressed designs in three bands: top and bottom are of irregular S-lines and chevrons; middle is of circles enclosing a cross. Atlas 151-3015, Ilios No.482, SS 2552; Fig.V.24.
- (8m)
- A16 (*) 73-660 Bowl with incurving rim and horizontal loop-handle set on rim. Atlas 152-3033; Fig.V.17.
- B5 (*) 73-661 Ovoid jar with short neck and bevelled rim. Atlas 152-3034; Fig.V.18.
- B17 (*) - Squat jug with rounded base, slightly rising pinched spout and thick loop-handle from neck to body. Atlas 151-3019, Ilios No.357; Fig.V.17.
- B201 (*) 73-551 Red piriform flask with rounded base and wide cylindrical neck. Atlas 145-2845 (5m); Fig.V.18.
- B216 (*) 73-662 Piriform jug with long, thin neck and cutaway spout. Handle set on shoulder. Atlas 152-3035; Fig.V.18.
- C10 (*) 73-544 Ovoid jar with tall slightly flaring neck, two small loop-handles set midway on body. Atlas 145-2835; Fig.V.20.
- C27 (*) 73-547 Globular jar with rounded base, short straight neck, two triangular lugs and plastic knob on body. Atlas 145-2840; Fig.V.18.
- C30 73-643 Red-polished vessel in two segments, but broken off from a lower part. Lower preserved part depicts a face

- with plastic features. On the head is balanced a globular open jar with widening rim and two handles on shoulders. Atlas 149-2951, TR No.213, Ilios No.228, SS 1756; Fig.V.17.
- C200 (*)73-548 Simple, globular jar with wide plain mouth and short neck. Atlas 145-2841; Fig.V.18.
- C206 - Wide, hemispherical jar with rounded base, shoulders rising to narrow hole mouth. Decorated with two or more incised ovals containing crosses. Atlas 149-2948; Fig.V.18.
- C208 (*)73-545 Ovoid bottle with flat base and short, cylindrical neck. Atlas 145-2836; Fig.V.18.
- C212 (*)73-540 Jar with rounded base, flaring rim and two large loop-handles from neck to body. Atlas 146-2856, Ilios No. 1090?; Fig.V.17.
- D205 73-531 Cylindrical lid with flange, rounded top and heavy loop-handle. Atlas 148-2921, TR No.216, Ilios No.514, SS 2774; Fig.V.21.
- 73-635 Red polished sherd with plastic decoration. Atlas 150-2993, SS 2055(?); Fig.V.21.
- (*)73-674 Sherd with impressed and incised decoration: straight band with zigzags and circles; curved band with circles. Atlas 151-3016, SS 2544; Fig.V.21.
- (9m)
- A221 73-538 Brown polished two-handled tankard with narrow pedestal base. Atlas 146-2858, Ilios No.324?, SS 594; Fig.V.17.
- B3 (*)73-671 Jug with slightly flattened base, narrow neck, horizontal mouth and handle from neck to body. Atlas 151-3014; Fig.V.17.
- B203 (*)73-669 Globular flask with rounded base, straight neck, slightly pinched spout, and two "rivets" below rim. Atlas 151-3012; Fig.V.18.
- B219 (*)73-665 Globular flask with rounded base, long thin neck, widened mouth and two large loop-handles from neck to body. Atlas 151-3006; Fig.V.20.
- C30 - Black piriform face-vase with broken wings. Ilios No. 232. Contained part of Treasure "C", Ilios p.485; Fig.V.19.
- D201 (*) - Lid with two rising, pointed lugs, both perforated, and central knob. Atlas 150-2968; Fig.V.21.
- (10m)
- A2 (*)73-664 Simple, open bowl with rounded base and plain rim. Atlas 151-3010; see Fig.V.17.
- B206 (*)73-582 Flask with wide, flat base, piriform body cut off at base, and flaring mouth. Atlas 147-2891; Fig.V.18.
- B208 (*) - Ovoid jar with flat base and short neck ending in slanting rim. Atlas 145-2842; Fig.V.21.
- C35 (*) - Jar with three short feet, two pointed lugs on body, and short cylindrical neck. Atlas 155-3055; Fig.V.19.
- (4m)
- METALWORK
- (*) - Curved piece of flat bronze with animal-head at one end (intrusive from IX?). Atlas 148-2902, Ilios No. 1357, SS 6703; Fig.V.38.
- * 73-576 Quadrangular nail with flat, circular head. Atlas 147-2871; Fig.V.38.
- (5m)
- (*)73-577 Pin with conical head. Atlas 147-2864; Fig.V.39.

- (*) - L-shaped golden mount or fitting. Atlas 150-2980; Fig. V.38.
- (6m)
- * - Copper ring. Atlas 149-2950; Fig.V.39.
 - * - Copper pin with furled head. Atlas 150-2972, Ilios No. 1234(?); Fig.V.39.
- (7m)
- 73-585 Fragment of copper knife. Atlas 147-2890; Fig.V.37.
 - 73-632 Copper chisel. Atlas 150-2989(?); Fig.V.37.
 - (*) - Flat copper chisel. Atlas 149-2963; Fig.V.37.
- (8m)
- (*) - Two interlinked copper rings. Atlas 149-2933; Fig.V.38.
 - (*) - Broad flat chisel of copper. Atlas 149-2959; Fig.V.35.
- (9m)
- 73-534 Tanged and ribbed copper long dagger. Atlas 148-2928. Ilios No.957, SS 6152(?); Fig.V.35.
 - (*) - Silver ring. Atlas 150-2994; Fig.V.38.

TREASURE "C"

Part of three groups of metalwork all found at the northwest end of Area 3 and stolen by workmen. Some of the items are said to have been found in the pot 73-232 (Ilios pp.485-8, SS p.237).

- Bar ingot of electrum. Ilios No.821; Fig.V.35.
- Lump of gold, with charcoal inclusions. Ilios No.827; Fig.V.35.
- Pair of gold basket earrings with pendant chains and leaves. Ilios No.822-3; Fig.V.38.
- Pair of gold earrings said to have been similar to Nos.822-3, Ilios p.488.
- Pair of gold shell earrings, with granulation. Ilios Nos.830-1; Fig.V.38.
- Pair of gold chain pendants with lozenges and "idol" attachments. Ilios Nos.832-3; Fig.V.38.
- Gold bracelet with engraved oval plate. Ilios No.829; Fig.V.38.
- Seventy quadrangular gold beads. Ilios No.824; Fig. V.38.
- Two biconical gold beads. Ilios Nos.825-6; Fig.V.38.
- A very large, round, gold plate said to have been engraved with "most curious signs", Ilios p.488.
- Bronze flat axe. Ilios No.828; Fig.V.35.
- Unspecified pieces of jewellery. Ilios p.488.

(4m)

POLISHED STONE

- 73-597 Flat, sub-rectangular object, possibly a weight, of polished diorite with projecting tab at one end, perforated with two holes. Atlas 152-3027, Ilios No. 655, SS 8364; Fig.V.47.

(5m)

- (*)73-528 Small adze of diorite, with shaft-hole. Atlas 148-2913, Ilios No.1270(?), SS 7238(?); Fig.V.42.
- (*)73-592 Pestle or whetstone of black schist. Atlas 152-3023; Fig.V.42.
- Ovoid object, possibly weight, surrounded longitu-

dinally by projecting rib. Atlas 147-2885; Fig.V.42.

- (6m) * 73-581 Marble cylinder, one end rounded. Atlas 147-2878; Fig.V.42.
- (7m) (*) 73-595 Pommel of marble. Atlas 152-3026, Ilios No.1410(?), SS 7896(?); Fig.V.41.
- (8m) (*) - Diorite polisher. Atlas 149-2962; Fig.V.42.
 - Eleven magnetite "slingstones" i.e. ellipsoid weights. Tgb p.186; TA p.263.
 (*) 73-641 Stone chisel. Atlas 149-2958; Fig.V.41.
- (9m) (*) 73-630 Cylindrical object with one end rounded off, of marble. Atlas 150-2996; Fig.V.41.
 73-636 Diorite shaft-hole axe, broken at shaft. Atlas 149-2929, SS 7199; Fig.V.41.
 (*) - Diorite shaft-hole axe. Atlas 149-2960; Fig.V.41.
- (10m) 73-530 Diorite flat axe. Atlas 148-2922; Fig.V.41.
 (*) 73-583 Ellipsoid weight of diorite. Atlas 147-2880; Fig.V.41.
- (11m) - Porphyry "slingstone" i.e. weight. Atlas 147-2884; Fig.V.41.
- (6m) CHIPPED STONE
 73-579 Flint blade. Atlas 147-2861.
- (8m) (*) 73-584 Flint blade. Atlas 147-2879.
- (4m) BONE ARTEFACTS
 * 73-533 Antler awl. Atlas 148-2927; Fig.V.43.
 * 73-568 Bone needle. Atlas 147-2886, SS 9048; Fig.V.43.
- (5m) 73-529 Bone pin carved at one end into series of ten knobs. Atlas 148-2903, SS 7855; Fig.V.43.
 - A number of "ivory" pins. TA p.260.
- (7m) 73-627 Bone tube with four bands of incised geometric decoration. Atlas 150-2988, TR No.212, Ilios No.525, SS 7928; Fig.V.43.
 (*) - Knife-shaped object, having square handle with central hole. Atlas 149-2944, Ilios No.580, SS 9052; Fig.V.43.
- (4m) WHORLS
 RIVA * 73-434 Atlas 134-2687.
 RIIIA * 73-561 Atlas 147-2870.
 GVI * 73-574 Atlas 147-2892, TR No.371, Ilios No.1871, SS 5295.
 RIIIA * 73-575 Atlas 147-2895.
 RIIA * 73-646 Atlas 149-2949.
 RIIIB * - Atlas 149-2966.

(5m)

GVII	(*) 73-505	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2898, <u>TR</u> No.439, <u>Ilios</u> No.1939.
RIIA	(*) 73-507	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2901.
RIA	(*) 73-508	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2904.
RIVA	(*) 73-509	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2910.
RID	(*) 73-510	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2905.
GIA	(*) 73-516	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2909.
GID	(*) 73-518	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2919.
-	(*) 73-521	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2925, undecorated.
GIB	(*) 73-559	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2868, <u>SS</u> 5105.
RIIID	(*) 73-560	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2869.
GVI	(*) 73-613	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2982, <u>SS</u> 5295.
RIVB	(*) -	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2956.

(6m)

RVIAb	* 73-506	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2900, <u>SS</u> 4792.
RIC	* 73-514	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2908.
RIB	* 73-515	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2911, <u>SS</u> 4560.
RIIID	* 73-517	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2916.
GID	* 73-519	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2926.
GX	* 73-520	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2923.
GVB	* 73-556	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2859.
GID	* 73-558	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2867.
GIA	* 73-562	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2872.
GID	* 73-609	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2995.
RIA	* 73-614	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2986.
GVII	* 73-615	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2991.
GX	* 73-659	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2940 (8m!).

(7m)

GVB	(*) 73-511	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2906, <u>SS</u> 5273.
RVIIDa	(*) 73-512	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2907, <u>SS</u> 4985; Fig.V.49.
GID	(*) 73-557	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2860, <u>SS</u> 5126.
RIVA	(*) 73-565	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2874.
RVIAb	(*) 73-570	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2876.
RVA	(*) 73-571	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2877.
RIVB	(*) 73-572	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2894.
GIXD	(*) 73-573	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2888.
GIXC	(*) 73-605	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2934.
GVI	(*) 73-608	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2971.
GVI	(*) 73-611	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2984, <u>TR</u> No.487, <u>Ilios</u> No.1987, <u>SS</u> 5307.
GX	(*) 73-612	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2985.
RIVA	(*) 73-617	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2999.
GID	(*) 73-620	<u>Atlas</u> 150-3000.
RID	(*) 73-642	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2946, <u>SS</u> 4557.

(8m)

RVIIBb	73-503	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2896.
RVIIBb	(*) 73-504	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2897.
GIA	(*) 73-513	<u>Atlas</u> 148-2920.
RIA	(*) 73-564	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2873.
RVB	(*) 73-566	<u>Atlas</u> 147-2875.
GIXD	(*) 73-606	<u>Atlas</u> 150-2967, <u>SS</u> 5267.
RIIC	(*) 73-647	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2957.
RVIB	(*) 73-649	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2935, <u>SS</u> 4825; Fig.V.49.

(9m)

GIVA	(*) 73-604	<u>Atlas</u> 149-2930 (see also 73-648).
GID	(*) 73-618	<u>Atlas</u> 150-3002, <u>SS</u> 5129.

GVI (*) - Atlas 149-2964, TR No.378, Ilios No.1878.
 RVIIDe(*) - Atlas 149-2965, SS 5035.
 RIB (*) - Atlas 150-2969.

(10m)

RVA (*) 73-619 Atlas 150-2990.
 GIXC (*) 73-621 Atlas 150-3001; Fig.V.50.
 RIIIC (*) 73-645 Atlas 149-2937.
 GIVA (*) 73-648 Atlas 149-2930 (9m!) (see also 73-604).
 GIVA (*) 73-654 Atlas 149-2939.

(11m)

RIB (*) 73-653 Atlas 149-2955.
 RVIIAe(*) 73-656 Atlas 149-2942, SS 4884; Fig.V.49.
 RVc (*) 73-657 Atlas 149-2943; Fig.V.49.

TERRACOTTA BALL

(*) 73-637 (10m) Atlas 150-3003 (appears to be a disc in Tgb).
 Fig.V.46.

WEIGHT

(*) 73-578 (7m) Atlas 147-2863; Fig.V.47.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS OF TERRACOTTA

73-527 Cylinder-seal(?), 4cm long, decorated with incised(?)
 geometric designs (5m). Atlas 148-2912, TR No.206,
Ilios Nos.500-1, SS 8869; Fig.V.46.
 * 73-633 Plain cylinder (6m). Atlas 150-2997; Fig.V.48.
 (*) - Terracotta disc with central hole (8m). Atlas 149-2947;
 Fig.V.48.
 73-532 Terracotta brush with hole (10m). Atlas 148-2924, TR
 No.217, Ilios No.488, cf. SS 8803; Fig.V.48.

FIGURINES

(4m)
 3G * - Marble figurine. Atlas 149-2938;
 Fig.V.45.
 8A - Marble figurine with eyebrows, eyes and 3 horizontal
 lines incised. Atlas 149-2961; Fig.V.45.

(6m)

3E * 73-567 Marble figurine. Atlas 147-2882; Fig.
 V.44.
 3- * 73-587 Part of flat bone figurine, similar to Type 3c but
 showing vestigial arms. Atlas 147-2887; Fig.V.45.

(7m)

3- (*) 73-569 Head of stone figurine. Atlas 147-2883; Fig.V.44.

(8m)

- Marble figurine with "owlface". TA p.262.

(9m)

3G (*) 73-639 Broken marble figurine. Atlas 150-3005; Fig.V.44.

LENTOID WEIGHTS

(all probably out of context)

73-586 Weight with two holes, stamped with scene of swan and
 antelope(?) (6m). Atlas 147-2865, TR No.210, Ilios No.

- 1466, SS 8329; Fig.V.47.
 (*)73-622 Plain ovoid weight with two holes, of polished stone.
Atlas 150-2974; Fig.V.47.
 73-623 Weight of black polished terracotta, with stamped
 depiction of man in helmet. Atlas 150-2975, TR No.211,
Ilios No.1468; Fig.V.47.

Deposit (7). Schliemann records that in the section to the Northwest of Gate FM he was able to see a wall stratified below the 30cm thick deposit of earth which underlay Wall 49. This wall - here called Wall 58 - is said to have had a height of 2m and to have been built of small stones bonded together with earth. It projected 30cm into the trench. No length or width is mentioned for this wall, so it is possible that it projected diagonally into the trench. The date of the wall is uncertain. To judge from the stratigraphy in Fig.IV.82 it could belong to Troy III or IV; but it could also belong to Troy VI if there were terracing at this point, and this possibility is shown in the schematic section in Fig.IV.83.

(TA p.255)

Deposit (8). A third wall, Wall 59, lay immediately below Wall 58. This wall, too, was built of small stones bonded with earth. It ran parallel to the paved street, but horizontally. The depth of the wall's base is not known. Its top must have lain at c.32.70m A.T. Again, neither the width nor the length is recorded.

(TA p.255f)

Deposit (9). To left and right of the paved street (Deposit 10), Schliemann found an "enclosure" measuring 0.73 x 3.40m. This will have been the outer chamber of Gate FM, 73cm being the width to which the pilasters for the outer gate projected from the side walls. The height of these walls is not yet recorded by Schliemann. Atlas Taf.211 shows the walls standing to 1m or less. But Troja p.69 records a height of 60cm; Troja und Ilion p.70 gives a figure of 65cm.

(TA p.253-4)

Deposit (10). The paved street, which constitutes this deposit, was first found by Schliemann at a depth of 9.20m below the surface (=29.30m A.T.), probably in the outer chamber of Gate FM. He exposed a length of 10m and found it sloped down to the Southwest, where it lay at a depth

of 11m (=c.27.50m A.T.). It was 5.20m wide, and was paved with flags of hard limestone measuring up to 1.50m x 1.34m. The dimensions for the street agree roughly with those given by Dörpfeld.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.176; TA p.253f; TI pp.68,70, Taf.III)

AREA v: CD 5-6(b)

Figs.III.17; IV.84,85,86.

We now turn to the deposits excavated in CD 5-6 during the period 23rd April-10th May 1873. The shape of the trench was not altered, but it is likely that Area C had already been largely cut down to the 30m-level and that not much work remained to be done there. There can have been little further work on Area A, although the presence of a few objects from 10m and 11m and definitely from this trench does show that clearance continued on or around the sloping road that led up to Gate FM. Most excavation, however, took place in Area B.

Here the datum probably lay at c.39.50m A.T. We do not know how deep Schliemann had dug in the preceding period. One object is recorded from 2m deep, but may be out of context. Otherwise there are no objects from higher than 4m deep. There are no allusions to any masonry which might belong to the Troy VI megaron tentatively reconstructed on the basis of Walls 49,50 and 51, although some items dateable to Troy VI-VII do occur among the objects found at 2-4m deep and could suggest the presence of a Troy VI structure dug into deposits of Troy IV. A number of buildings were brought to light at 6m deep (=c.33.50m) and may have been exposed to a depth of c.32.50m A.T. These are the buildings in the lighter shading among those marked "7" and "Palace" in Atlas Taf.214. To their southwest Gate FM was cleared further to the Northeast, far enough to expose the second set of piers but not the north ends of the side walls. Some structures were exposed on either side of the Gate. It was these which Schliemann dubbed "Priam's Palace". Excavation here went down to

c.30.04m A.T.

Deposit (1). Five objects dateable to Troy VI-VIIa may have been found at depths of 2-4m (=c.37.50-35.50m A.T.), overlapping with objects of M.B. date. There is no information about the character of the deposits at this depth. In Fig.IV.86 I have tentatively assumed that there was a Troy VI occupation deposit (or foundation-deposit) dug down to this depth, from which the objects might derive.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- B29? (*) 73-733 Globular jug with round base, narrow neck and widened, horizontal mouth. Handle from just below rim to shoulder (4m). Atlas 160-3075; Fig.V.32.
- B29? (*) - Globular jug with ring base, narrow neck and widened horizontal mouth. Handle rises from rim and joins body (2m). Atlas 168-3274; Fig.V.32.
- D46 (*) 73-689 Animal-head pot handle (4m). Atlas 154-3050, TR No. 169, Ilios No.1401, SS 3252; Fig.V.32.
- D46 (*) - Theriomorphic handle in form of goat's(?) head (4m). Atlas 168-3285; cf. Ilios No.1402, SS 3258; Fig.V.32.
- D- (*) - Conical vessel, probably a lamp, with two bridged spouts attached to the wider end (3m). Atlas 168-3276; Fig.V.32.

Deposit (2). From a depth of only 2½m comes an isolated E.B. or M.B. piece. It is possible that the piece may be out of context; it is also possible that it might come from a deposit of Troy IV/V at c.36.00m A.T. and that in this case the depth was measured from a datum of only c.38.50m A.T. In Fig.IV.86 I have tentatively assumed the latter possibility, and Deposit (2) is taken to be a stratum of M.B. material, probably of Troy V (in Blegen's terms) at c.36.50-c.35.50m A.T. There is, however, no information about the character of the soil and no more than the one object to attest its presence in this trench.

OBJECT FOUND

POTTERY

- A45 (*) 73-741 Depas amphikypellon (2½m). Atlas 160-3086; Fig.V.30.

Deposit (3). This deposit, for which Schliemann gives us no description, is taken to be the origin of all the remaining material found between

the depths of 4-6m, i.e. at c.35.50-33.50m A.T. The limit of 6m deep is provided by the walls and debris of the underlying Deposits (4) and (5). The material of Deposit (3) may belong to Troy IV in Blegen's terms.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

B7	73-718	Jug with rounded base and cylindrical neck. Handle from neck to body, and two vertical loop-handles on side of body (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3088, <u>TR</u> No.230 (6m), <u>Ilios</u> No.1146; Fig.V.28.
C30	73-684	Jar with globular body, rounded base and stubs of two vertical wings. Neck and wings broken away. Plastic decoration of one large disc and two cones on the body (4½m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3045; Fig.V.29.
C30	73-742	Neck and mouth of jar, showing plastic representation of nose and two eyes (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 160-3082; Fig.V.29.
C30	-	Globular jar with rounded base, cylindrical neck, two wings attached to body and two "ears" on sides of neck (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 167-3269; Fig.V.29.
C32	73-721	Globular jar on short pedestal base, with short cylindrical neck and three (or four) horizontal handles or lugs set on body. Upper half of body is decorated with surrounding band of incised crosses and dots between two lines (5½m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3092-3, <u>TR</u> No.33-4, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.1010-12, <u>SS</u> 2444; Fig.V.29.
C208	73-682	Globular bottle with flat base and short constricted neck (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3042; Fig.V.29.
C217	73-678	Deep ovoid jar with narrow pedestal base, hole mouth and two lugs or ledge-handles set midway on body (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3038; Fig.V.29.
D13	73-676	Lid with plastic representation of eyes, eyebrows and nose (4m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3036; Fig.V.29.

WHORLS

RIIB	73-711	(5m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3106.
RIA	-	(5m) <u>Atlas</u> 165-3225.

Deposit (4). The tops of the walls to be discussed under Deposit (5) were found, it seems, at 6 and 7m deep. In amongst these walls, and reaching down 3m deeper, as far as the street of Gate FM, was a thick deposit of black, red and yellow ash mixed with other charred debris. I have taken the upper layer of this, between c.33.50 and c.32.50m A.T., to derive from Troy III (in Blegen's terms). It is this upper layer to which I have assigned the designation "Deposit (4)". Schliemann records that many interesting objects came from these strata over the gate.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.208,209,210,224; TA p.270; AAZ Friday 13th June 1873, Beilage zu Nr.164, p.2510; Ilios pp.34,36)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A7	73-731	Fragment of pedestalled bowl; handle restored on rim (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 160-3072; Fig.V.24.
A203	73-819	Cup, or lid, with plain conical body and three out-turned feet (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 166-3250; Fig.V.24.
B3	73-723	Piriform jug with rounded base, tall narrow neck (partly broken away), and handle from neck to body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3097; Fig.V.25.
B4	73-735	Tall, ovoid jug with narrow body, flat base, neck and mouth broken away; remnants of loop handle from neck (?) to body (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 160-3076; Fig.V.25.
B205	73-688	Piriform bottle with rounded base, narrow neck leading to flaring mouth. Schliemann restored two pointed lugs on the shoulder (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3048; Fig.V.26.
C5	73-717	Ovoid jar with pointed base, short neck, two short loop-handles set vertically on body, and plastic bucrania decoration (restored by Schliemann) (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3087, <u>TR</u> No.228, <u>Ilios</u> No.1144; Fig.V.26.
C5	73-722	Globular jar with flat base and collar neck (restored), large vertical wings rising from body and two vertical loop-handles set on body. Body decorated all over with impressed(?) dots (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3094, <u>TR</u> No.224, <u>Ilios</u> No.352, <u>SS</u> 2447; Fig.V.26.
C6	73-738	Ovoid jar with flat base, tall narrow neck with slightly flared mouth and distinct rim. Two loop-handles set vertically on shoulder, and two on body. Schliemann's drawing shows the jar covered with a lid with anvil-shaped knob in centre (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 160-3084, <u>TR</u> No.229, <u>Ilios</u> No.1145; Fig.V.26.
C19	73-699	Deep open bowl with rounded base, incurving rim and hole mouth surrounded by row of finger-impressed dots. Two horizontal loop-handles set on upper part of body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 158-3069, <u>SS</u> 274; Fig.V.24.
C28	73-677	Globular jar with rounded base, short cylindrical neck, two perforated lugs set on shoulder and plastic cone set on front (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3037 (4m), <u>Ilios</u> No. 1006(?); Fig.V.25.
C28	73-680	Globular jar with rounded base, neck and mouth broken away. Two vertical lugs adorn the body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3040; Fig.V.25.
C28	73-724	Globular jar with rounded base, short cylindrical neck, two pointed lugs on body and two perforations in rim (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3098; Fig.V.26.
C35	73-687	Piriform jar with rounded base on three short feet, concave neck rising to everted mouth with perforations at rim; Schliemann restored two pointed lugs on shoulder. Decorated with eight horizontal lines incised(?) around neck and shoulder, and one zigzag line (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 154-3047, <u>Ilios</u> No.255, <u>SS</u> 2319; Fig.V.26.
C35	73-727	Ovoid jar with rounded base on three short feet, and short concave neck. Two vertically perforated lugs set on body. Decorated with five horizontal lines around neck, zigzags around shoulder, and a band of three lines and dashes around body (7½m). <u>Atlas</u> 161-3095, <u>TR</u> No.222, <u>Ilios</u> No.262; Fig.V.26.
C221	73-691	Ovoid jar with pointed, cut-off base, flaring mouth and two lugs on body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 158-3061; Fig.V.26.

- - Sherd(?) decorated with six lines as if part of a radial design (6m). Atlas 154-3046; Fig.V.27.
- 73-719 Object described by Schliemann as the pedestal of a cup, with a hole near the top. Possibly a lid (7m). Atlas 161-3090; Fig.V.27.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-702 Stone double-axe (7m). Atlas 162-3103; Fig.V.42.
- 73-703 Piriform piece of diorite (7m). Atlas 162-3104, Ilios No.556, SS 7669; Fig.V.42.
- 73-704 "Slingstone", i.e. ellipsoid weight (7m). Atlas 162-3107, Ilios No.611(?); Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- GID 73-712 (6m) Atlas 162-3108.
- RIIIA 73-750 (6m) Atlas 162-3119.
- GIVA 73-760 (6m) Atlas 162-3134, TR No.472, Ilios Nos.1972,1530, SS 5217.
- GIA 73-768 (6m) Atlas 163-3141.
- GIB 73-787 (6m) Atlas 163-3163.
- GX 73-804 (6m) Atlas 166-3242.
- RIIA 73-805 (6m) Atlas 166-3243, SS 4628.
- GID 73-812 (6m) Atlas 166-3254b.
- RID - (6m) Atlas 165-3206, SS 4564.
- GIXD - (7m) Atlas 165-3217.
- RID 73-716 (7m) Atlas 162-3113.
- GIA 73-747 (7m) Atlas 162-3116.
- RVIIBb 73-752 (7m) Atlas 162-3118, SS 4919.
- GIXD 73-767 (7m) Atlas 163-3140, SS 5430.
- RIIIB 73-770 (7m) Atlas 163-3145.
- RVIIAc 73-773 (7m) Atlas 163-3148, SS 4872; Fig.V.49.
- GIXD 73-776 (7m) Atlas 163-3150.
- RVIIDc 73-778 (7m) Atlas 163-3158, TR No.421, Ilios No.1921, SS 5006.
- GID 73-779 (7m) Atlas 163-3161.
- GIC 73-783 (7m) Atlas 163-3160.
- GX 73-784 (7m) Atlas 163-3165.
- RID 73-785 (7m) Atlas 163-3164.
- RIB 73-806 (7m) Atlas 166-3246, SS 4528.
- RID 73-809 (7m) Atlas 166-3245.
- GIXC 73-816 (7m) Atlas 166-3254a.

FIGURINES

- 8B 73-823 Flat marble figurine with eyebrows and eyes indicated (6m). Atlas 166-3255; Fig.V.44.
- 3C 73-813 Bone figurine without decoration (7m). Atlas 166-3234; Fig.V.45.
- 2J(?) 73-818 Flat figurine with incision showing hair (7 lines on head), eyebrows and eyes, and three lines around neck (7m). Atlas 166-3248, TR No.21, Ilios No.216, SS 7361; Fig.V.44.
- 2G 73-820 Marble figurine without decoration (7m). Atlas 166-3238, SS 7516; Fig.V.44.
- 3B - Marble figurine without decoration (7m). Atlas 166-3236; Fig.V.44.

LENTOID WEIGHT

- 73-821 Round terracotta weight, with two holes near top, flat

on one side with stamped decoration showing bird and antelope. Probably intrusive (7m). Atlas 166-3235, SS 8329ff; Fig.V.47.

Deposit (5). Schliemann distinguished two strata of building in the lower deposits of the trench, of which Deposit (5) is the upper and later. He refers to it as the "upper house", the "second house", or (in Ilios) the "large house". In a letter it is dignified as a newer palace (Bfw I p.245). It appears in darker shading in Atlas Taf.214: a complex of rectangular rooms on the northeast side of Gate FM. I have reproduced it in Fig.IV.84 where it is labelled "Building 4". It is difficult to be sure where to place the walls in the reconstructed sections in Figs.IV.85 and 86: Schliemann's statements about their depth are rather confusing and admit of more than one interpretation. We are told that the walls were only constructed when the road (of Gate FM) had been covered with 3m of debris. Since Schliemann did not observe foundation-trenches, we can assume that he means that the bottom of the walls lay at 3m above the road. But where on the road? - it sloped steeply down to the South. We are also told, in the diary, that the gates of FM were covered with 2 and 3m of burnt debris before Building 4 was constructed. Why 2 and 3m? Various explanations are possible - the walls were founded at varying depths; the measurement is taken both from the street and from the top of the sidewall of FM. But the diary also tells us (Tgb p.229) that the upper house was at 23ft (=7m) below the surface. The most likely explanation is that Schliemann meant to refer here to the bottoms of the walls and to the top of a horizontal stratum of debris lying at c.32m, and to say that the debris attained a thickness of 3m where the paved road of FM sloped down to the South. The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that in the parallel passage in Trojanische Alterthümer Schliemann has replaced "23ft" by "6-7m" (TA p.271). Whether he is here noting the altitude of the tops of the walls as well (at 6m), or whether the figure 6-7 in some way derives (perhaps mistakenly) from the variation implied in the 2-3m depth of debris, it is impossible to say. All calculations must in any case be set on one side in view of the evidence of Atlas Taf.169 (=TR plate X) which appears to show walls with tops preserved to a number of different altitudes and all standing to some height, with the brickwork showing and resting fairly directly, it seems, on the walls of the earlier structure.

Although this flatly contradicts Schliemann's own observations, there is at least some comfort to be gained from one passage where he says that the upper walls were often (but by implication not always) separated from the lower ones by the layer of burnt debris 2-3m thick. All one can do in the circumstances is to say that these upper walls were found at least as high as 33m or 33.50m and may have descended to various depths, possibly as far as the tops of the lower buildings (c.31m A.T.). It is likely that all derive from Troy III (in Blegen's terms), but they could come from a number of different subperiods.

The walls as described by Schliemann were built of stones joined with earth. They were of various thicknesses, but were generally thinner and weaker than those of the underlying structure, over which they were not aligned. They show traces of severe burning.

It was not in this complex but in the underlying one that Schliemann saw "Priam's Palace", to reveal which several of the overlying walls of Building 4 were broken away.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.209-10,224-5,229; TA pp.269-71; AAZ 13th June 1873, Beilage zu Nr.164, p.2510; Ilios pp.34-37)

Deposit (6). Atlas Taf.214 shows, in lighter shading, a wall on the northwest side of Gate FM and running parallel to it. There is no explicit information about this wall, which I have numbered Wall 70. It is, however, in a very good position to be the continuation of Wall 59; and I have tentatively supposed this to be the case.

(Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (7). Underlying the walls of Building 4, and surrounding and overlying Gate FM and the walls of the earlier structure, Schliemann found the thick deposit of burnt debris already referred to. The deposit included black, red and yellow ash, burnt mudbrick and bits of stone; there was also a deep accumulation of small stones at some point in or near the gate. The entire deposit was 2-3m thick; its top may have lain at c.32.00m A.T. Presumably it extended over the edge of the circuit-wall of Troy II and rested on the sloping surface of the paved street.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.224; TA p.270; AAZ 13th June 1873, Beilage zu Nr.164, p.2510; Ilios p.34)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- B9 - Spouted jar with rounded base and out-turned rim (8m). Atlas 167-3259, Ilios No.447, SS 1738; Fig.V.22.
- B13 73-743 Squat globular jug with rounded base, rising spout, and handle from rim to body. Atlas shows pointed knobs on the side (10m). Atlas 160-3083; Fig.V.17.
- B15 73-736 Ovoid jug in coarse ware with flattened base, cutaway spout and loop-handle from neck to body (8m). Atlas 160-3077, SS 1784; Fig.V.22.
- B24 - Brown polished globular jug with short neck bent back, and pinched rising spout. Handle from rim to shoulder. A "rivet" on each side of the neck (8m). Atlas 161-3089, TR No.54, Ilios No.367, SS 1710; Fig.V.22.
- B200 73-728 Black polished flask with piriform body, cylindrical neck, and two perforated lugs on body. Base broken away. Decorated, or pitted, with vertical rows of dots (8m). Atlas 161-3096, TR No.223, Ilios No.298, SS 2229; Fig.V.23.
- B203 73-732 Fragment of neck, with two vertically-perforated tubular lugs and horizontal rim (8m). Atlas 160-3073; Fig.V.23.
- B203 73-734 Globular bottle with rounded base and concave neck (8m). Atlas 160-3085; Fig.V.22.
- B205 73-698 Globular flask with rounded base, cylindrical neck (restored) and two handles in bucrania-style projecting from body (9m). Atlas 158-3068; Fig.V.19.
- B210 - Ovoid flask in whitish fabric, tall hollow pedestal, short cylindrical neck, two tubular lugs set on shoulder. Decorated with plastic bucrania on body (8m). Atlas 167-3266, Ilios No.306, SS 1726; Fig.V.23.
- B211 73-822 Small flask with pedestal base, flat square body placed vertically, surmounted by cup with open mouth. Two spouts on the shoulders of the vessel. Cup is decorated with incised eyes and nose, the body with horizontal lines, and a central raised ridge with dots (8m). Atlas 166-3249, TR No.31, Ilios Nos.238-9, SS 2440; Fig.V.23.
- B219 - Ovoid flask with long narrow neck, widened mouth, and two large loop-handles from neck to shoulders (8m). Atlas 167-3260; Fig.V.23.
- C5 73-695 Red polished jar with flat base, biconical body and cylindrical neck, with two vertical loop-handles set on body. Decorated with incised twig patterns around neck and body, and plastic bucrania on shoulders (9m). Atlas 158-3065, TR No.220, Ilios No.354; Fig.V.20.
- C5 73-696 Jar with rounded base and cylindrical neck; two vertical loop-handles and plastic bucrania set on body (9m). Atlas 158-3066; Fig.V.20.
- C5 73-697 Brown polished jar with flattened base, concave neck, two vertical loop-handles on body, and one or more crescentic lugs (9m). Atlas 158-3067; Fig.V.20.
- C7 - Globular jar with two vertical loop-handles and three plastic knobs on body. Neck missing (9m). Atlas 167-3262, SS No.2147; Fig.V.19.
- C10 73-720 Brown polished ovoid bottle with long neck and two vertical loop-handles on sides. Horizontal lug(?) broken away (11m). Atlas 161-3091; Fig.V.20.

- C25 73-679 Globular jar with hole mouth and two pointed lugs set on body (8m). Atlas 154-3039; Fig.V.22.
- C28 73-725 Grey polished ovoid jar with flat base, concave neck, out-turned rim and tubular lugs set vertically on shoulders (9m). Atlas 161-3099, Ilios No.297(?), SS 2074; Fig.V.18.
- C28 73-729 Globular jar with rounded base, cylindrical neck, out-turned rim, and vertically perforated tubular lugs set on body (9m). Atlas 160-3070 adds a low pedestal. Fig.V.18.
- C30 - Neck of face-jar, with eyebrows and nose, eyes, and mouth all shown (8m). Atlas 167-3271; Fig.V.23.
- C30 - Red ovoid jar with narrow, flat base, broad shoulders, short cylinder-neck and spreading rim. Two vertical loop-handles on the shoulders. Plastic decoration of eyebrows, nose and eyes on the neck; chain around base of neck; two conical breasts on body, and fringed sash diagonally around whole body, passing over left shoulder (8m). Atlas 191-3483, TR No.219, Ilios No. 235, SS 2233; Fig.V.23.
- C32 73-686 Brown globular vessel with low pedestal; neck and shoulders missing. Incised decoration of vertical lines and panels of dots above a band of dots around body. One lug survives on shoulder (8m). Atlas 154-3049, Ilios No.292, SS 2306; Fig.V.23.
- C32 - Light brown globular vessel with low pedestal, cylindrical neck with perforations at the mouth, two lugs on body. An incised band of signs surrounds upper part of body (8m). Atlas 168-3273, TR No.3, Ilios Nos.305, 1532, SS 2445; Fig.V.23.
- C213 73-730 Globular jar with rounded base, short neck and out-turned rim; two strap handles set on shoulder (9m). Atlas 160-3071, Ilios No.429, SS 550; Fig.V.19.
- D13 73-817 Face lid with rounded top and central knob (8m). Atlas 166-3253, SS 1853; Fig.V.23.
- D13 73-683 Brown-slipped face lid, with conical shape rising to curved knob (8m). Atlas 154-3043, SS 1836; Fig.V.23.
- D13 73-692 Face lid in yellow polished ware. Central knob restored (8m). Atlas 158-3062, SS 322; Fig.V.23.
- D46 - Theriomorphic handle in form of a snake. Grey. Probably intrusive from VI (8m). Atlas 164-3204, SS 3266; Fig.V.32.
- D206 73-681 Brown conical lid with flange top surmounted by plastic cross and central knob. Four rills around the body (8m). Atlas 154-3041, SS 2366; Fig.V.23.
- D209 73-737 Grey pyxis with squat cylindrical body, 3 feet, short vertical neck (partly broken away) and two tubular lugs (8m). Atlas 160-3078, SS 2051, TI Beilage 36 No.V; Fig.V.23.
- D209 73-740 Broad cylindrical lid with curved flange-top and central knob; two vertically pierced tubular lugs on the sides (8m). Atlas 160-3079, SS 2052, TI Beilage 36 No.V; Fig.V.23.
- D212 73-788 Miniature sub-rectangular box, or "canoe" (8m). Atlas 163-3142, Ilios No.473. Fig.V.22.
- D- 73-726 Clay lamp (8m). Atlas 161-3100, Ilios No.470(?); Fig.V.23.
- D- 73-794 Terracotta ladle, handle half broken off (8m). Atlas 163-3169, Ilios No.475(?), SS 8836ff; Fig.V.23.
- D- 73-744 Fragment of reddish brown, wheelmade animal vessel, showing head (9m). Atlas 160-3074, SS 2053; Fig.V.21.

- 73-685 Sherd from pithos, with incised decoration of S-lines, impressed circles, and stamped crosses in circles. Vertical strap-handle passes over a horizontal plastic band (8m). Atlas 154-3044, Ilios No.483, SS 2553; Fig.V.24.
- 73-745 Strap-handle with wavy-line decoration (10m). Atlas 160-3080; Fig.V.21.

METALWORK

- 73-708 "Copper" knife with one rivet-hole in haft (8m). Atlas 162-3135, cf. TI fig.268b; Fig.V.37.
- 73-825 Bronze knife with one rivet-hole in haft. Tip of blade broken away (8m). Atlas 166-3257, Ilios No.964(?), SS 6198, cf. TI fig.268c; Fig.V.37.
- 73-793 Fragment of flat "copper" blade (8m). Atlas 163-3155.
- 73-795 Fragment of flat "copper" blade (8m). Atlas 163-3170.
- 73-797 "Copper" flat axe or chisel (8m). Atlas 163-3167; Fig. V.37.
- Bronze(?) punch (8m). Atlas 166-3244, cf. TI fig.271c; Fig.V.37.
- 73-796 "Copper" loop with bent ends (8m). Atlas 163-3168; Fig.V.39.
- 73-798 Bunch of 5(?) copper pins corroded together (8m). Atlas 163-3166, TR No.225, Ilios No.981; Fig.V.39.
- Copper peg or spike in elongated pyramid-shape found in Gate FM (9½m). Atlas 165-3219, cf. TI fig.272a. Cf. Atlas 193-3495; Fig.V.35.
- "Copper" chisel (9½m), found in Gate FM. Atlas 165-3228, Ilios No.12. Cf. Atlas 193-3495a; Fig.V.35.

BONE ARTEFACT

- 73-824 Curved bone tube with diagonal lip at one end. Decorated with incised lines around the tube and in double zigzags (8m). Atlas 166-3258, TR No.7, Ilios No.526, SS 7961; Fig.V.43.

POLISHED STONE

- 73-705 "Diorite" celt (8m). Atlas 162-3129; Fig.V.41.
- 73-707 Magnetite ovoid weight (8m). Atlas 162-3136, Ilios No.613(?), cf. SS 6856ff; Fig.V.37.
- 73-693 Marble pestle (10m). Atlas 158-3064; Fig.V.41.

WHORLS

- | | | |
|--------|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RIB | 73-715 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3112. |
| RVIAb | 73-746 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3120, <u>SS</u> 5526. |
| RIIIc | 73-748 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3114. |
| RVA | 73-749 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3115, <u>SS</u> 4770. |
| RID | 73-756 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3128. |
| GVIIIC | 73-758 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3130, <u>SS</u> 5015. |
| RVIB | 73-759 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3125. |
| RID | 73-762 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3121, <u>SS</u> 5323. |
| RIA | 73-763 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3137. |
| GX | 73-764 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3138. |
| GIXC | 73-766 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3139. |
| GVA | 73-769 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3143, <u>TR</u> No.385, <u>Ilios</u> No.1885, <u>SS</u> 5273. |
| RIIIB | 73-771 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3147. |
| RVIAe | 73-772 | (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3144, <u>SS</u> 4883; Fig.V.49. |

RIC	73-774	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3149.
GIA	73-781	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3159, <u>SS</u> 5192.
GX	73-782	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3146.
GIXC	73-800	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3233, <u>TR</u> No.291, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.511A,B.
RIIB	73-801	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3230.
GIXD	73-803	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3239, <u>SS</u> 5453.
GID	73-807	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3247.
RVA	73-814	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3251.
GID	73-815	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3252, <u>TR</u> No.388, <u>Ilios</u> No.1888.
RVIAb	-	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3110.
GIVB	-	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 164-3193, <u>TR</u> No.227, <u>Ilios</u> No.511.
GIXC	-	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 165-3213.
GID	-	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 165-3218.
GIA	-	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 165-3226, <u>SS</u> 5084.
GX	73-751	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3117, <u>TR</u> No.464, <u>Ilios</u> No.1964, <u>SS</u> 5539; Fig.V.50.
RIIA	73-753	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3122.
GIXD	73-754	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3127.
RIC	73-755	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3126.
RVIIDc	73-757	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3124, <u>TR</u> No.448, <u>Ilios</u> No.1948, <u>SS</u> 5038.
RIA	73-761	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 162-3132.
RIA	73-786	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3162, <u>SS</u> 5565.
GID	73-810	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3231, <u>SS</u> 4683.
GVII	73-811	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3232.

TERRACOTTA BALLS

73-775	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 163-3151; Fig.V.46.
73-799	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 166-3229, <u>TR</u> No.497, <u>Ilios</u> No.1997, <u>SS</u> 8902; Fig.V.46.

WEIGHT

73-701	Stone weight with hole and three horizontal incisions (8m). <u>Atlas</u> No.162-3102, <u>SS</u> 8367; Fig.V.47.
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SEAL

73-709	Dark green stone cylinder-seal (9m). <u>Atlas</u> 162-3131, <u>TR</u> No.226, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.502-3, <u>SS</u> 8868; Fig.V.46.
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FIGURINES

3C(?)	73-790	Bone figurine showing vestigial arms, with incised eyebrows, nose and dots for eyes (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 163-3153; Fig.V.45.
3B	73-791	Bone figurine with incised eyes and nose. Lower part broken away (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 163-3154; Fig.V.45.
3E	73-792	Bone or stone figurine, plain (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 163-3156; Fig.V.44.
2A	73-826	Marble figurine with crudely incised eyebrows and dots for eyes (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 166-3237; Fig.V.44.
3G	73-789	Marble figurine with incised decoration of eyebrows, nose, eyes and hair(?) (9m). <u>Atlas</u> 163-3152, <u>SS</u> 7362, cf. <u>TI</u> Fig.348k; Fig.V.44.
3C(?)	-	Marble figurine with incised V for nose and two dots for eyes (depth uncertain, possibly 8m). <u>Atlas</u> 166-3256; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (8). At the bottom of the trench, at a depth of 9½m, Schliemann had now uncovered an extension of Gate FM towards the Northeast. The piers of the second doorway, and the sidewalls and street a further 1.33m to the Northeast, were laid bare. But the northeasternmost end of the gate still lay below unexcavated deposits. Schliemann records that the two doorways were 6.13m apart and 3.76m wide. The walls stood to a height of 60cm and 1m. The paving of stone flags on the sloping street ceased at the first gate, after which it was succeeded in the rest of the gateway by a rough paving of unhewn stones. Somewhere in the gateway Schliemann found a stone with a semicircular depression: it may have been a pivot-stone. A full account of the gate is given by Dörpfeld.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.224-5; TA pp.270-1; Atlas Taf.169,211,212,214,215,216; Ilios pp.33-4,36,265-6; TI pp.68-72)

Deposit (9). In this deposit I have included all the walls, other than those of Gate FM, which Schliemann attributed to his "earlier building", or "older house". These walls, shown in a lighter shading in Atlas Taf. 214, were found stratified below the burnt debris of Deposits (4) and (7) and at the same depth as Gate FM. Judging from the plan in Atlas Taf. 214, on which Fig.IV.84 is based, they seem to have included part of a complex with a number of small, rectangular rooms ("Building 5") to which some fragments of other walls (Walls 72,73,74) may have been related. Walls 75 and 76, apparently found at the same depth, are differently aligned and may derive from a different building-phase. Wall 71 may be a southeast wall of Schliemann's Building HS (Ilios Plan I).

It was undoubtedly these walls, and not the later "Building 4", which Schliemann in 1873 took to be the House of Priam. It is clear from Ilios p.36 that the walls which lay to left and right of the gate belonged to the "more ancient buildings". Equally, TA p.274 shows that it was the lower buildings which were identified as the House of Priam - for Schliemann says he could not bring all of the House of Priam to light without destroying the building stratified over it.

According to his descriptions, these walls were built of stones bonded with mud. They were thicker and more solid than those of the superimposed Building 4. Apart from those shown on the plan, there were more walls which "peeped out everywhere" below those of the later building. They all showed traces of burning, and were surrounded by Deposit (7) - a

deposit of ash and burnt rubble.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.209-10,225; TA pp.269-70,274; Atlas Taf.169,211,212,214,215,216; Ilios pp.36-8)

AREA vi: BC 5-6

Figs.III.19; IV.87,88,89.

This area was dug during the period 26th May-14th June 1873, at the end of the 1873 season. It includes the sections at the east ends of the west and northwest trenches, which Schliemann straightened during the last week of May. But it consists principally of an upstanding block of earth measuring c.7½m x 12½m, which had been left between Gate FM, the area in C5, and the west and northwest trenches. Schliemann's own house stood on the block and was dismantled for the purpose. His object in attacking this block of earth was to expose more of the complex he identified as "Priam's Palace", and, he hoped, to unearth more valuables like Treasure "A" which he found at the northwest edge of the block while straightening the section-face.

Atlas Taf.214 shows, when its spot-heights are corrected, that excavation reached down to the surface of the Troy II citadel wall and to c.31.09m A.T. on its north side. Outside the circuit-wall, in square B5 at the western end of the area, it went down a little deeper - to c.29.78m A.T. On the south side of the area, however, it seems that the mound was simply cut away to expose the continuation of Wall 82, the north wall of Dörpfeld's building IXA, which then effectively formed the south face of the trench.

The mound-surface in this part of the site lay at c.38.25m A.T. and depths must normally have been measured down from this altitude. The trench achieved a maximum depth of roughly 8½m. But Schliemann does on occasion distinguish between the "upper levels", the strata at "4-10m"

deep, and the strata at "7-10m" deep (Tagebuch 1873 pp.275,279). These figures must be based on the old assumption, dating back to 1871, that whatever buildings belonged to the "Trojan" stratum lay at 10m deep. If from the top of the circuit-wall at c.30.25m A.T. (but supposedly 10m deep) differences of soil were noticed at 3m and 6m higher, then there may have been observable stratigraphic divisions at c.36.25m and c.33.25m A.T. Such divisions would coincide quite well with the upper limits of the strata of Troy V and Troy III found in squares CD 5-6 and AB 4-5.

Most of the objects found during this period were drawn only in the Atlas and not in the diary. This makes their distribution between the North-South trench and BC 5-6 more than usually difficult; and explicit allocations in the diary and in Trojanische Alterthümer are given for only a few. All objects of uncertain provenance have here been assigned to BC 5-6, but have been marked with an asterisk. This is the area in which Schliemann was more interested, and I have assumed that he was himself present most of the time and insisted on the finds being collected; this might not have occurred in the North-South trench. The assumption is, of course, rather tenuous. But it does not greatly affect the stratigraphy of BC 5-6, since the E.B. and M.B. material is very homogeneous and not readily divisible. The divisions adopted in the following description are largely extrapolated from the neighbouring areas.

Deposit (1). A number of objects at 0-1m deep indicate the presence of deposits of Troy VIII-IX, but there is no information as to the character of the soil. Nor is it clear how deep the deposits went. The area produced no evidence of Troy VI-VII material or buildings, and it may be that it was all removed in later operations which penetrated as far as the top of the M.B. deposits at c.36.35m A.T.

OBJECTS FOUND

COINS

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>Atlas</u> 190-3475 | Copper coin from Ilium, with the names Julia Sebaste and Hector Ilieon ($\frac{1}{4}$ m). |
| <u>Atlas</u> 190-3476 | Copper coin from Ilium, with the names Julia Sebaste and Ilieon ($\frac{1}{4}$ m). |
| <u>Atlas</u> 190-3477b | Silver tetradrachm from Tenedos ($\frac{1}{4}$ m). |
| <u>Atlas</u> 190-3478 | Copper coin from Ophrynum ($\frac{1}{4}$ m). |
| - | 15 other copper coins and 1 silver coin. <u>TA</u> p.314f. |

WEIGHT

(*) Atlas 190-3465 Stamped terracotta lentoid weight.

SCULPTURE

(*) Atlas 189-3454 Decorated architectural fragment.

INSCRIPTION

- TR p.356, SS 9664, Ilios p.640, TI p.463 No.5.

Deposit (2). The continuation of Wall 82 was exposed throughout the area, and may be seen in Atlas Taf.214. The southeastern wall of Building IXA must also have been touched upon, although it is not shown there. As before the wall had a height of at least 6m, even of 7m according to one note. Schliemann repeatedly mentions that it immediately overlay a 1½-2m thick burnt stratum which itself overlay Gate FM, the citadel wall and Treasure "A". Wall 82 must therefore have reached very nearly to the mound-surface and, when built, had been cut deeply into even the Early Bronze Age deposits.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.272,303-4; Briefwechsel I pp.235,242; JHS 82(1962) p.83; Ilios pp.40-1)

Deposit (3). Schliemann may, as suggested, have noticed a change in the soil at c.36.25m A.T. Comparison with the findings in CD 5-6 suggests that he here noticed the top of what were later identified as the deposits of Troy V. There is no information about the stratum, and no indication of its depth. In CD 5-6 it seems to have descended to roughly 35.50m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.275)

OBJECT FOUND

MOULD

* Atlas 189-3460 Fragment of mica-schist mould with shapes for a bun incot and another item such as a flat axe (2m). Fig.V.40.

Deposit (4). The change which Schliemann noticed in the soil at c.33.25m A.T. marks the lower limit of this deposit which may, by comparison with CD 5-6, derive from Troy IV in Blegen's terms. Its upper limit is ill defined but may, by the same comparison, have lain at c.35.50m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.275,279)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A208 (*) Atlas 187-3436 Pedestalled goblet with short, thick stem, simple bowl with slightly curving sides, and plain rim (4m). Fig.V.28.
- A222 * Atlas 188-3449a Globular cup with flat base, everted rim, and two loop-handles from rim to body (3m); Fig.V.28.
- B9 (*) 73-891 Small basket-handled teapot or baby-feeder with flat base, carinated profile and short, horizontal spout (4m). Atlas 175-3386, Ilios No.1330, SS 3245; Fig.V.28.
- B17 * Atlas 188-3446 Jug with rounded base, straight neck, rising spout (restored) and handle from neck to body (3m). Fig.V.28.
- C12 * Atlas 190-3482 Jar with ovoid body, pointed base, and short concave neck. One vertical handle from neck to shoulder, and one horizontal loop-handle on the shoulder (3m). Fig.V.28.

METALWORK

- (*) Atlas 187-3409 Copper bracelet (4m). Fig.V.39.

WHORL

- GVIIIIB (*) Atlas 187-3410 (4m).

TERRACOTTA BALL

- (*) Atlas 187-3413 Incised terracotta ball (4m). SS 8901; Fig. V.46.

Deposit (5). The upper limit of this deposit is defined by the change of soil which Schliemann may have noticed at c.33.25m A.T. Its lower limit is defined by the top of the well-attested burnt stratum at c.32m A.T. But the character of Deposit (5) itself remains unknown, unless it was in this deposit that Schliemann found the "masses of stones" which seemed to him to indicate the presence of a very large Trojan house. Comparison with CD 5-6 suggests that the deposit should be dated to Troy III in Blegen's terms.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.275,279,290,303,304;
Briefwechsel I pp.235,242; Ilios pp.40-1)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- B1 * Atlas 188-3444 Jug with rounded base, wide neck, rising spout and handle from rim to body. Incised chevrons around the shoulder (5m). Fig.V.25.
- B3 (*) Atlas 189-3459 Plain wheelmade jug with flattened base, wide neck, horizontal mouth and restored loop-handle from neck to body (6m). Ilios No.1045;

- Fig.V.25.
- B13 (*)Atlas 188-3441 Jug with rounded base, narrowish neck and rising spout. Handle from rim to body and three plastic knobs on the body (6m). Fig.V.25.
- B15 * Atlas 189-3451 Red jug with squat, globular body, tall rather broad neck and cutaway spout. Handle from cutaway rim to shoulder (5m). SS 1792; Fig.V.25.
- B212 * Atlas 187-3423 Jug with cylindrical body, flattened base, straight neck and slightly pinched spout. Handle from rim to shoulder (6m). Fig.V.25.
- C30 (*)Atlas 188-3439 Red polished jar with flat base, cylindrical neck and everted rim. Two pointed wings rise from either side of the body; neck is decorated with plastic eyebrows-cum-nose and two eyes; body is decorated with two plastic cones and one plastic disc (6m). TR No.207, Ilios No.227 (28ft = 9m!); Fig.V.26.
- C30 (*)Atlas 190-3464 Fragment from neck of face-vase, showing plastic decoration of eyebrows, nose, and eyes like cowrie-shells (6m); Fig.V.26.
- C32 (*)Atlas 188-3448 Ovoid jar with low pedestal base and cylindrical neck ending in plain rim. Two vertically-perforated tubular lugs on the body (6m). Ilios 1005(?); Fig.V.26.
- D15 (*)Atlas 190-3473 Lid, apparently flat, with central stalk, two holes, and incised geometric decoration in four radiating bands (6m). Fig.V.27.
- D31 (*)Atlas 187-3424 Globular jar with one pointed foot shown, two small lugs on the body, broken collar-neck with string-holes (6m). Fig.V.26.
- D32 (*)Atlas 187-3422 Plain, cylindrical dipper with rounded base and simple, horizontal rim. One small loop-handle from rim to body, another restored (6m). Ilios No.1181 (13ft!), SS 2645; Fig.V.24.

POLISHED STONE

- * Atlas 190-3472 Green schist whetstone (5m). Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- RID * Atlas 187-3418 (5m).
 GIII (*)Atlas 187-3414 (6m).
 GIC (*)Atlas 187-3416 (6m).
 GIC (*)Atlas 187-3428 (6m).
 GIVB (*)Atlas 187-3433 (6m).

TERRACOTTA BALL

- * Atlas 187-3408 Incised ball (5m). Fig.V.46.

WEIGHT

- (*)Atlas 190-3471 Stamped terracotta pyramid with two holes through the top. Probably an intrusive weight from Troy IX, brought down by the foundation-trench of Building IXA (6m). Fig.V.47.

FIGURINES

- 2C (*)Atlas 187-3437 Elliptical marble figurine with a slight waist and incised eyebrows, eyes and two

- lines across the middle (6m). SS 7352; Fig. V.44.
- 3G (*) Atlas 190-3470 Marble figure-of-eight figurine with incised eyebrows and eyes (6m). Ilios No.210(?); Fig.V.44.
- 3- (*) Atlas 187-3421 Rectangular marble figurine with narrowed neck, incised line for the nose and two points for eyes (6m). Fig.V.44.
- 8- (*) Atlas 190-3467 Broad figurine in the shape of a simple celt, with incised line for the nose and two points for eyes (6m). Fig.V.44.

Deposit (6). At a depth of 8-9m (=c.29.50-30.50m A.T.) in the section-face below Wall 82 at the southwest end of the northwest trench Schliemann encountered what may have been a cist grave. It contained the rich collection (of grave-goods?) which have become known as "Priam's Treasure" or "Treasure A". The date and location of this find have been discussed in Chapter III, and the question of its contents and authenticity has been explored in Anatolian Studies 34 (1984). I have here assumed that Schliemann's account is fundamentally true.

The tomb-- if tomb it was - consisted, according to Yannakis' account, of "a little place built round with stones, and having flat stones to cover it". The treasure was found inside, but there is no record of any human remains. Possibly from the same cist are Treasure A2 (the three silver bowls found 1m deeper a few days later) and Treasure B which was found earlier and is discussed under AB 4-5(b).

The depth of the find, at c.30.50-29.50m A.T., suggests that it was indeed found to the outside of the citadel wall of Middle Troy II, for the wall's surface lay at c.30.25m A.T. according to Troja und Ilion Taf.III. This agrees with the situation shown in Atlas Taf.215 and with Yannakis' report to Borlase. It will, however, have rested "on" the citadel wall in the sense that it rested on its battered outer face: the distinction may not have been clear to Schliemann at this stage of the excavation, for the top of the wall lay in the floor of the trench. The cist appeared to be overlain by the burnt stratum to be described under Deposit (8); but its position can only be accounted for by assuming that it was dug down into that deposit at a later date.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.273-5, 300-14; TA pp. 289-303; Briefwechsel I pp.231-3, 233-5;

Briefe pp.133-7; JHS 82 (1962) p.83; Ilios pp.40-1,453-85; TI pp.326-31; SS pp.225-37; Fraser's Magazine 17 (Feb.1878) p.236; Antiquity 57 (1983) pp.181-6; 58 (1984) pp.197-204; Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.141-69)

OBJECTS FOUND

(For more detailed descriptions the reader is referred to Schmidt's catalogue)

METALWORK - TREASURE "A1"

VESSELS

- Atlas 202-3602 Conical gold cup with ring base and vertical fluting. TR No.238, Ilios No.776, SS 5865; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 202-3603a Globular gold bottle with short neck and out-turned rim. TR No.237, Ilios No.775, SS 5862; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 202-3603b) Gold sauceboat with flared mouth at either end and on
Atlas 203-3605) either side a large loop-handle from rim to base. TR
Atlas 203a) Nos.239-40, Ilios Nos.772-3, SS 5863; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 201-3600c Silver tankard with rounded base, wide flaring mouth and two loop-handles (one missing) from neck to body. TR No.249, Ilios No.779, SS 5873. The handle was found separately, Tgb 1873 p.311. Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 197-3586a Lugged silver jar with globular body, pedestal base, collar neck with out-turned rim, and vertically-perforated double tubular lugs on sides of body. TR No.236, Ilios No.782, SS 5861; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 200-3595 Silver jar with rounded base, globular body, and wide flaring neck. TR No.251, Ilios No.780, SS 5872; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 200-3596 Silver jar with globular body, pointed base and wide flaring neck. TR No.250, Ilios No.781, SS 5871; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 192-3490a Ovoid silver bottle with spreading pedestal base, collar neck, cylindrical lid and tubular lugs on lid and body. TR No.243, Ilios No.783, SS 5859; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 192-3490b Ovoid silver bottle, similar to 192-3490a but larger and with vertical fluting on body and neck of lid. TR No.244, Ilios No.784, SS 5860; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 192-3490d Conical silver cup with concave base and slightly flaring rim. TR No.246, Ilios No.785, SS 5866; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 192-3488 Fragments from a broad silver bowl. SS 5870; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 200-3596 Silver dish with concave base and flat rim, found adhering to the jar 200-3596. TR No.250, Ilios No.781, SS 5871; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 202-3603 Bell-shaped electrum cup with small pedestal base, slightly out-turned rim, and diagonal fluting around body. TR No.248, Ilios No.777, SS 5864; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 199-3588 Deep copper bowl with flat base, flaring sides and broad flat rim with two horizontal loop-handles on rim. TR No.235, Ilios No.800, SS 5818; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 199-3587 Shallow copper pan with omphalos and narrow rim spreading both outwards and inwards. TR No.234, Ilios No.799, SS 5817; Fig.V.36.

- Atlas 197-3586a Handle originally attached to the shallow pan 199-3587. TR No.236, Ilios No.782, SS 5822; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 201-3598 Fragments of bronze or copper bucket with flat base, ovoid body, out-turned rim, and horizontal ribbing around neck. Two vertically-perforated double tubular lugs below rim. SS 5819; Fig.V.36.
- Fragments of stirrup-handle of bronze or copper, originally a part of the bucket 201-3598; and other fragments of bronze sheet metal. SS 5820-1.

INGOTS

Six silver tongue-shaped ingots.

- Atlas 200-3589 TR No.242, Ilios No.787, SS 5967; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 200-3590 TR No.242, Ilios No.788, SS 5968.
- Atlas 200-3591 TR No.242, Ilios No.789, SS 5972; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 200-3592 TR No.242, Ilios No.790, SS 5971.
- Atlas 200-3593 TR No.242, Ilios No.791, SS 5969; Fig.V.35.
- Atlas 200-3594 TR No.242, Ilios No.792, SS 5970.

WEAPONS AND TOOLS

Eight tanged and slotted bronze spearheads.

- Atlas 192-3484 TR No.262, Ilios No.811, SS 5843; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 192-3485 TR No.264, Ilios No.813, SS 5844; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3499 TR No.263, Ilios No.814, SS 5846; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3501 SS 5845; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3504d SS 5848; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 201-3600 TR No.265, Ilios No.815, SS 5858; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 201-3600a TR No.266, Ilios No.812, SS 5842; Fig.V.36.
- SS 5847.

Eleven tanged bronze daggers.

- Atlas 192-3489 TR No.256, Ilios No.805, SS 5857; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3502 TR No.252, Ilios No.801, SS 5853; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3503 TR No.253, Ilios No.802, SS 5851; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3504g TR No.254, Ilios No.803, SS 5850; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 194-3504h TR No.255, Ilios No.804, SS 6146; Fig.V.36.
- Atlas 201-3600 TR No.265, Ilios No.815, SS 5858 (three daggers adhering together); Fig.V.36.
- SS 5852; Fig.V.36.
- SS 5854; Fig.V.36.
- SS 5855. Analysis in TI pp.421-3; Fig.V.36.

Fourteen bronze flat axes.

- Atlas 192-3489 TR No.256, Ilios No.805, SS 5857; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3491 SS 5833; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3492 TR No.257, Ilios No.806, SS 5830. Analysis in de Jesus. Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3493 TR No.258, Ilios No.807, SS 5838; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3494 SS 5837; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3495b SS 5834; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3495c SS 5828; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3495d TR No.259, Ilios No.808, SS 5832; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3495e TR No.260, Ilios No.809, SS 5827. Analysis in de Jesus. Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 193-3495f SS 5835; Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 194-3504c SS 6186(?); Fig.V.37.
- Atlas 201-3597 SS 5831. Analysis in Ilios p.477, TI pp.421-3. Fig.V.37.

- Atlas 201-3599 SS 5836. Analysis in Gale 1984, p.39. Fig.V.37.
Atlas 201-3600 TR No.265, Ilios No.815, SS 5858.
- Three bronze chisels.
- Atlas 201-3600b TR No.267, Ilios No.816, SS 5823. Analysis in TI pp.421-3. Fig.V.37.
Atlas 201-3600 TR No.265, Ilios No.815, SS 5858.
Atlas 193-3493 TR No.258, Ilios No.807, SS 5838.
- Other items of bronze or copper.
- Atlas 194-3504b Bronze or copper knife. SS 5826; Fig.V.37.
Atlas 194-3504e Fragment of bronze blade. SS 5856.
 - Bronze saw. SS 5849; Fig.V.37.
Atlas 193-3493 Unidentifiable piece adhering to flat axe. TR No.258, Ilios No.807, SS 5838.
Atlas 193-3495e Unidentifiable piece adhering to flat axe. TR No.260, Ilios No.809, SS 5827.
- JEWELLERY
- Atlas 195-3505 Gold bracelet consisting of a closed band made of four wires, each of the inner two twisted. SS 5939; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 195-3506 Plain gold bracelet consisting of a closed circle made of one thick wire. SS 5937; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 195-3507 Spiral gold bracelet consisting of a single, thick wire with four-faceted knobs at each end. Ilios No. 690, SS 5940; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 195-3508 Spiral gold bracelet of twisted square-profiled wire, drawn into a simple hook at each end. Ilios No.693, SS 5942; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 195-3509 Plain gold bracelet similar to 195-3506. Ilios No. 692, SS 5938; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 195-3510 Spiral gold bracelet consisting of a single, thick wire with mushroom-shaped knobs at each end. Ilios No.691, SS 5941; Fig.V.39.
- Atlas 209 Gold fillet decorated with impressed dots and running spirals. TR No.279, Ilios No.767, SS 5877; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 205 Gold head-dress consisting of a fine horizontal chain with 90 pendent chains, all covered with small gold leaves; the eight outer chains at each end are longer and end in a gold "idol" attachment; the seventy-four inner chains are shorter and end in bifurcated gold leaves. TR No.277, Ilios Nos.687-8, SS 5875; Fig.V.39.
Atlas 206 Gold head-dress consisting of a narrow horizontal fillet with 64 pendent chains in which gold rhomboid leaves are included. All end in gold "idol" attachments, the other seven on each side being longer and having larger attachments. TR No.276, Ilios Nos.685-6, SS 5876; Fig.V.39.
- Atlas 209 Gold basket-earring with five pendent chains covered with small, pear-shaped leaves and ending in gold "idol" attachments each embossed with four rosettes. TR No.280, Ilios No.770, SS 5878; Fig.V.39.
 " Gold basket-earring with five pendent chains similar to SS 5878 but with the chains having circular leaves and the "idol" attachments having no bosses. TR No. 280, Ilios No.771, SS 5879; Fig.V.39.

- Atlas 209 Gold basket-earring with six pendent chains including quadrangular tubes and rings and ending in gold "idol" attachments embossed with dotted lines and rosettes and cut in three curves at the bottom. TR No. 280, Ilios No.769, SS 5880.
- " The pair of SS 5880, but with one chain torn off and wrongly attached to its neighbour. TR No.280, Ilios No.768, SS 5881; Fig.V.39.
- Twelve plain gold shell-earrings with three segments.
- Atlas 196-3513 SS 5882.
- Atlas 196-3526 SS 5883.
- Atlas 196-3515 SS 5884-93.
- Atlas 196-3517 "
- Atlas 196-3518 "
- Atlas 196-3527 "
- Atlas 196-3530 "
- Atlas 196-3532 "
- Atlas 196-3538 "
- Atlas 196-3544 "
- Atlas 196-3545 "
- Atlas 196-3555 " , TR No.278, Ilios No.699; Fig.V.39.
- Seventeen plain gold shell-earrings with four segments.
- Atlas 196-3512 SS 5894-5910; Fig.V.39.
- Atlas 196-3514 "
- Atlas 196-3519 "
- Atlas 196-3521 "
- Atlas 196-3524 "
- Atlas 196-3525 "
- Atlas 196-3528 "
- Atlas 196-3529 "
- Atlas 196-3536 "
- Atlas 196-3539 "
- Atlas 196-3541 "
- Atlas 196-3547 "
- Atlas 196-3548 "
- Atlas 196-3552 "
- Atlas 196-3554 "
- Atlas 196-3559 "
- Atlas 196-3566 "
- Atlas 196-3540 Plain gold shell-earring with six segments; Fig.V.39.
- Two gold shell-earrings with four segments and seven ornamental studs.
- Atlas 196-3560 TR No.278, Ilios No.702, SS 5911; Fig.V.39.
- Atlas 196-3561 SS 5912.
- Eighteen gold shell-earrings with six segments and sixteen ornamental studs.
- Atlas 196-3516 SS 5913-28.
- Atlas 196-3520 "
- Atlas 196-3522 "
- Atlas 196-3523 "
- Atlas 196-3531 "
- Atlas 196-3533 "
- Atlas 196-3534 "

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3535	<u>SS</u> 5913-28.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3537	"
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3546	"
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3549	"
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3550	" , <u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.698; Fig.V.39.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3551	"
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3553	"
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3556	" , <u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.700.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3557	" , <u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.701.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3558	-
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3568	-

Two gold shell-earrings with two segments, decorated lengthwise with rows of granulation.

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3563	<u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.703, <u>SS</u> 5929; Fig.V.39.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3567	<u>SS</u> 5930.

Two gold shell-earrings with two segments, decorated with rows of granulation which run both along and across the segments.

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3564	<u>SS</u> 5931; Fig.V.39.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3569	<u>SS</u> 5932.

Two gold shell-earrings with three segments, decorated with rows of granulation which run the length of the segments.

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3562	
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3565	<u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.704; Fig.V.39.

Gold double studs.

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3570	<u>SS</u> 5933-36.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3571	" , <u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.705.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3573)	" , <u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.707,708; Fig.V.39.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3574)	
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3575	" , <u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> No.706.

Three conical gold sequins

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3572	<u>TR</u> No.278, <u>Ilios</u> Nos.709-11; Fig.V.39.
	Forty-one others are attested. <u>SS</u> 5966. Cf. <u>Atlas</u> p.52.

Two perforated gold bars.

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3542	<u>Ilios</u> Nos.696,765; Fig.V.39.
<u>Atlas</u> 196-3543	<u>Ilios</u> Nos.697,766.

8700 gold beads arranged by Schliemann into 25 strings. Atlas Taf.207,208, SS 5943-66. A selection of 27 types is shown in:

<u>Atlas</u> 196-3576-84	<u>Ilios</u> Nos.712-38; Fig.V.39.
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TREASURE "A2"

VESSELS

<u>Atlas</u> 192-3487	Broad, conical silver cup reconstructed from many fragments. <u>SS</u> 5867; Fig.V.35.
<u>Atlas</u> 192-3490c)	Shallow silver omphalos-bowl with ring-base and out-
<u>Atlas</u> 189-3458)	turned rim. <u>TR</u> No.245, <u>Ilios</u> No.786, <u>SS</u> 5868; Fig. V.35.
-	Hemispherical silver bowl with rounded base and out-turned rim. <u>SS</u> 5869; Fig.V.35.

Deposit (7). Atlas Taf.214 and 215 show a small, three-sided rectangular feature on the Troy II citadel wall in the southwest corner of square C5. It has been reproduced in Fig.IV.87. Atlas Taf.215 describes it as "stone benches". Its interpretation is uncertain: it seems too small to have served as a room. The suggestion here is that this, too, may have been the remains of a cist-grave sunk into the deposits of Middle Troy II during Late Troy II or later.

(Atlas Taf.214,215; Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.148-9)

Deposit (8). Schliemann records in a number of places that over Treasure A and under Wall 82 there was a stratum of red ash and calcined debris. It is variously estimated at 1½ to 1¾ or 2m thick. Schliemann realised that it belonged to a stratum of burning which extended across much of the site. From the fact that it also covered Treasure A, it is clear that it also spread over the edge of the citadel wall and must represent, at least in part, the Middle Troy II destruction deposits. Indeed, Dörpfeld later said that it derived partly from the collapse of the superstructure of the citadel wall.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.279,303f; TA pp.290, 308; Briefwechsel I pp.235,242; JHS 82 (1962) p.83; Ilios pp.40-1; TI p.8)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A201	* <u>Atlas</u> 190-3469	Hemispherical bowl with rounded base and slightly narrowed mouth; on the body are two knobs and two lunate handles (7m). Fig.V.22.
A218	* <u>Atlas</u> 189-3452	Tankard with rounded base on three short feet, wide neck and slightly flaring mouth; loop-handle on shoulder (7m); Fig.V.22.
B6	(*) <u>Atlas</u> 188-3442	Brown lentoid flask with narrow concave neck surrounded by vertical incisions; two loop handles from neck to shoulder (8m). <u>Ilios</u> No.435, <u>TI</u> fig.156, <u>SS</u> 2255; Fig.V.20.
B20	(*) <u>Atlas</u> 189-3463	Jug with globular body, rounded base, tall narrow neck and curved rising spout; handle from neck to body (8m). <u>Ilios</u> No.373; Fig.V.18.
B209	* <u>Atlas</u> 189-3453	Grey bottle with narrow, ovoid body, pedestal and narrow cylindrical neck (7m); Fig.V.23.
B214	(*) <u>Atlas</u> 188-3450a	Jug with broad shoulders tapering to narrow, flat base; straight neck with horizontal mouth cut away at the rear; handle from neck to shoulder (8m). Fig.V.18.
B215	(*) <u>Atlas</u> 189-3457	Jug with hemispherical body, rounded base, carinated shoulder, tall straight neck ending

- in mouth cut away towards front; handle from neck to shoulder (8m). Fig.V.18.
- C5 Atlas 195-3511 Red polished biconical jar with rounded base, cylindrical neck, two large wings curling upwards from shoulder and two vertical strap-handles on the carination; carination and base of neck are decorated with lines of herring-bone incision (8m). TR No.285, Ilios No.349, SS 2309; Fig.V.19.
- C5 Atlas 217 Black polished jar with wide shoulders, narrow flat base, cylindrical neck, two large pointed wings rising from the shoulders and one (or two) vertical loop-handles set on shoulder (8m). TR No.32, Ilios No.180, SS 2505-6; Fig.V.19.
- C30 Atlas 188-3443 Neck-fragment of face-vase, showing horizontal rim, plastic eyebrows, eyes and ears (7m). Fig.V.23.
- C30 (*)Atlas 189-3455 Similar to 189-3456 but larger and, because of its burnt condition, of uncertain original colour (8m). TR No.173, Ilios No.234; Fig.V.19.
- C30 * Atlas 189-3456 Black polished face-vase with globular body, rounded base, cylindrical neck, everted rim, two wings rising vertically from body, plastic decoration of eyebrows, eyes, nose, ears, two knobs and a circle on body (7m). Ilios No.988(?); Fig.V.23.
- C32 * Atlas 188-3445 Brown-grey polished piriform jar with short pedestal base, wide concave neck, and two lugs on the shoulder (7m). SS 501; Fig.V.23.
- D8 Atlas 195-3511 Cylindrical lid with flanged top, surmounted by two crossed bands and a central knob (8m). TR No.285, Ilios No.349, SS 2309; Fig.V.21.
- D8 Atlas 217 Cylindrical lid with flanged top, surmounted by two crossed bands and a central knob (8m). TR No.32, Ilios No.180, SS 2505-6; Fig.V.21.
- D26 (*)Atlas 210a Red coarse-ware jar with rounded base, short concave neck, two loop-handles on shoulder, and perforations all over the body (8m). Ilios No.1194, SS 2866; Fig.V.19.
- D26 (*)Atlas 210b Red coarse-ware jar with ovoid body, short cylindrical neck, two loop-handles on body, and perforations all over (8½m). Ilios No.1193, SS 2864; Fig.V.21.
- D28 Atlas 189-3462 Dark yellow barrel-shaped vessel with spout on one side; probably a butter churn (8m). TR No.283, Ilios No.439, SS 2558; Fig.V.21.
- D29 * Atlas 188-3450b Brown theriomorphic vessel with ovoid body brought to a bell-shaped muzzle at one end, three short feet, spout rising from the back and loop-handle from rim of spout to back (7m). TR No.114, Ilios No.334, SS 2430; Fig.V.22.
- D208 (*)Atlas 189-3455 Lid, with body not visible, surmounted by bent stalk as on face-lids (8m). TR No.173, Ilios No.234; Fig.V.21.
- D208 * Atlas 189-3456 Lid similar to 189-3455 (7m). Ilios No.988(?); Fig.V.23.

- D209 (*)Atlas 189-3461 Small grey cylindrical pyxis with out-turned rim at top and bottom, three short feet, and conical top; decorated with horizontal incised lines (8m). SS 2134; Fig.V.21.
- D211 * Atlas 187-3435 Shallow bowl with flat base and straight, flaring sides; two holes in the side (7m); Fig.V.23.
- D212 * Atlas 188-3447 Small "canoe-shaped" box with rounded base, a lug at each end, and incised squares on either side (7m). Ilios No.471, SS 6847; Fig.V.23.

METALWORK

- (*)Atlas 187-3426 Copper knife with slightly curved blade and rivet-hole in tang (8m). Fig.V.35.
- (*)Atlas 190-3479 Copper chisel(?) described as a bolt or key (8m). Ilios No.819(?); Fig.V.35.

POLISHED STONE

- Atlas 190-3474 Whetstone of red schist, one end decorated with incised marks resembling writing (7m). TR No.5, Ilios No.1265, SS 8665; Fig.V.41.
- (*)Atlas 188-3440 Grey stone pick-axe, unfinished, with shaft hole not fully cut through (8m). Ilios No. 621, SS 7196; Fig.V.41.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- * Atlas 187-3407 T-shaped bone object with hole through; possibly staff-handle (7m). TR No.182, Ilios No.545, SS 9037; Fig.V.43.
- * Atlas 187-3438 Bone tube with two grooves around each end (7m). Ilios No.532, SS 7930; Fig.V.43.
- (*)Atlas 187-3425 Bone toggle, narrow at the centre and with three grooves around each end (10m). Ilios No.536, SS 7917; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- GVI * Atlas 187-3411 (7m)
- GVI * Atlas 187-3412 (7m)
- GIVA * Atlas 187-3415 (7m) TR No.494, Ilios Nos.510,1994.
- GID * Atlas 187-3427 (7m)
- GVB * Atlas 190-3466 (7m) SS 5273.
- GVI * Atlas 190-3468 (7m) TR No.374, Ilios 1874, SS 5286.
- RVIIF (*)Atlas 187-3419 (8m) SS 5071; Fig.V.49.
- GID (*)Atlas 187-3432 (8m)
- RIA (*)Atlas 188-3449b (8m) SS 4520.
- RVIIBa (*)Atlas 190-3480 (8m) SS 4910.
- GIXC (*)Atlas 190-3481 (8m)

TERRACOTTA BALL

- * Atlas 187-3434 Incised terracotta ball (10m); Fig.V.46.

FIGURINES

- 1B (*)Atlas 187-3429 Broad marble figurine with incised line for nose and two dots for eyes (8m). Fig.V.44.

- 2C * Atlas 187-3430 Marble figurine with incised line for nose and two dots for eyes (7m). Fig.V.44.
- 2C? (*)Atlas 187-3431 Marble figurine with incised V for eyebrows and nose, and two dots for eyes (8m). Fig.V.44.
- 3H (*)Atlas 187-3420 Marble figurine with incised V for eyebrows and nose, and two dots for eyes (8m). Fig.V.44.
- 8B * Atlas 187-3417 Oblong marble figurine with incised line for nose and two dots for eyes (7m). Fig.V.44.

Deposit (9). Schliemann reports finding several walls of, as he thought, Priam's House - including a room that was 6 metres square and 80cm high. Most of these cannot now be located. But Atlas Taf.214 and 215 do show some walls attributed to Priam's Palace in the southwest corner of square C5; they may be seen on Fig.IV.87 where they are numbered Walls 99 and 100. Whether Wall 99 with Wall 71 might have been the basis of Schliemann's 6m-square room is uncertain, but it seems possible. He does say that the room had no superimposed buildings, which appears to exclude most of the features further North and East in the immediate vicinity. The walls must belong to Troy II in Blegen's terms.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.299; TA p.302f)

Deposit (10). At the southeast end of the block of earth and just to the northwest side of Gate FM Schliemann may be presumed to have uncovered more of Wall 59=70, belonging to Troy II in Blegen's terms. It is not explicitly mentioned, but may be included in the "several walls" mentioned under Deposit (9). A part of it is shown in Atlas Taf.214 and 215.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.299, TA p.302f)

Deposit (11). Schliemann exposed more of Wall 81, the citadel wall of Middle Troy II. Atlas Taf.214 and 215 show that the inner side was traced continuously from Gate FM throughout the length of the trench. The outer face was exposed only at the west end, in square B5, where the West and Northwest Trenches joined. It was found to have a batter. Its upper surface, shown by Dörpfeld to reach to c.30.25m A.T. in this area, lay 2m below the bottom of Wall 82 and was stratified below the burnt stratum, Deposit (8). Schliemann refers to a "Trojan pavement".

It is not clear what this was. Possibly he meant a part of the surface of the circuit-wall. He notes that the inner face was perpendicular.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.270,272,273,299; TA
p.289; Atlas Taf.214-5; TI Taf.III)

THE NORTHEAST SLOPE

HJ 1-2

Figs.III.12,13,16.

There are allusions to work in this area, but no clear descriptions. In March 1873 Schliemann had proposed to remove 7m of his own spoil and then to dig into the north face of the mound to a depth of 1½m, "purely to enrich my collection". The excavation was to be 30m long. In fact, however, he seems to have got no further than removing some of the spoil over a length of 18m. On 9th April there may be another brief mention in the diary: he was digging "on the North side" with four men, but "purely to find objects". There are two pieces which may be attributable to this trench.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.86,104,177; TA p.222;
Ilios p.39f)

OBJECTS FOUND

SCULPTURE

- *- Piece of marble frieze (2m). Atlas 136-2725, SS 9628.
- *- Mouth of drain in form of marble lion's head (1m).
Atlas 136-2730.

CHAPTER V:

A SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS
AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Part I: THE STRUCTURE OF THE MOUND¹

Although Dörpfeld must continue to take the credit for first disentangling the stratigraphic history of the site, Schliemann's excavations of 1870-73 have some additional insights to offer (see Fig.V.O). The sequence of level platforms surrounded by fortification walls, the sequence which so strongly influenced the structure of the mound throughout its history, can be traced back to Late Troy I when the first platform may have been laid out at c.27.50m A.T. From this beginning the Bronze Age citadel was over the centuries built upwards and outwards.

In the centre of the mound levelling operations early in Troy II produced a level platform at c.30m A.T., and during the numerous phases of Troy II which followed successive levellings and rebuildings left a 'telescoped' stratigraphy in which a confusion of architectural remains was all preserved to much the same altitude. An exception is the last phase, Blegen's IIg, from which the 1-2m deep destruction-deposit was allowed by the builders of Troy III to remain. Troy III, IV and V left behind a horizontal accumulation of deposits across the citadel centre, which added at least another five metres to the height of the mound. Into this accumulation dug the builders of Troy VI. Evidence of their activity comes from many points in Schliemann's excavations. Foundations of Troy VI buildings and objects from the same period penetrated not only the strata of Troy V but those of Troy IV as well. In fact Schliemann seems to have found few deposits of Troy V intact. It is therefore the builders of Troy VI, and not Schliemann,² whom we must blame for their disappearance. Some deposits of Troy VI, though not very plentiful ones, remained in situ in the centre of the mound and were found by Schliemann. From his work, as from that of his successors, may come evidence of tumbled masonry at the end of the period.³ and of a rebuilding in Troy VII on the foundations left from Troy VI. But his records do not usually allow us to distinguish more than one phase within Troy VII. Of Troy VIII almost nothing can be distinguished in the mound centre. This will be because the builders of Troy IX constructed their platform at c.36.60m A.T. on the eastern half of the site and presumably disturbed the western half of the site to a similar degree, albeit earlier and in a less regular way. In both halves there are buildings of Troy IX whose foundations cut so deeply into the underlying deposits that they touched the remains of Troy II.⁴

Around the edges of the mound, outside the line of the earliest citadel walls, a different situation prevails. All round the south side successive fortification-walls from Troy I onwards could each be built further south than the last. This was because the land in this direction sloped away only very gently. As later deposits accumulated over the earlier fortifications, a stepping-down or terracing resulted, an effect which can be traced through from Troy III to Troy IX.⁵ But this seems not to have occurred on the north side of the mound. Here the citadel wall of Troy II was probably built directly over that of Troy I, while the later wall of Troy VI was actually built further to the South. The reason for this was certainly that the steepness of the slope prevented expansion to the North. The same constraint will have affected the builders of Troy III, IV and V. But these periods have failed once again to yield any trace of fortifications along the northern periphery of the site. There is no indication that Schliemann found such walls anywhere South of the Troy II fortifications; rather, the deposits of Troy III-V just South of that line are said to have consisted of "domestic refuse".⁶ It is, however, quite possible that there were multiple rebuildings on the line of the Troy II wall, where the overlying strata of Troy III-V have since been eroded away and replaced by a thin stratum of wash from Troy VIII-IX.⁷ It is true that on the steeply-sloping northwest side of the mound deposits from later in Troy I-V spread out beyond the line of the Troy II walls. But there is no sign that among them Schliemann found any structures, and they may be the result of dumping. At a later date they were deeply cut into by a Troy IX circuit wall whose continuation has disappeared from the north side.⁸

On the northeast side, however, the Troy II citadel wall lay further away from the northern edge of the natural promontory, having turned a corner southwards in square E2. This left a natural shelf outside the citadel wall on which thick deposits from dumping and levelling could build up. The consequent sloping strata of debris are well attested. But outside the line of the Troy II citadel wall the American excavations also found horizontal strata from later periods.⁹ It is therefore quite likely that in this area the citadel interiors of Troy III-V spread beyond that of Troy II, being built over earlier dumps; and that the fortifications here took a more northerly course. Once again there is no suggestion that any remains of citadel walls from Troy III-V were actually found. But Fig.IV.7 shows how the builders of Troy VI and IX took advantage of the accumulated deposits here to build their struct-

ures further to the North than those of Troy II, and it is possible that their activities may have removed the traces of any features of III-V which were built here. So it is a legitimate supposition that the combined effects of later building, stone robbing and erosion have removed all trace of what may have been sizeable remains of Troy III-V from the north side of the mound.

Parts of Troy IX, notably the stones of the Temple of Athena, were removed from the site no doubt over the course of the many centuries since its abandonment. This will have resulted in irregularities in the mound surface and especially in the large rectangular depression noted by Calvert and Schliemann in squares GH3-4.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V, Part I

1. In this chapter the following abbreviations will be used:
 - EW: East-West Trench
 - NE Slope: Northeast Slope
 - NE: Northeast Trench
 - NP: North Platform
 - NS/c: North-South Trench, central sector
 - NS/n: North-South Trench, northern sector
 - NS/s: North-South Trench, southern sector
 - NW: Northwest Trench
 - SE: Southeast Trench
 - W: West Trench
 - WA: Western Area
 - NE.i.1 would be an abbreviation for Northeast Trench, Area 1, Deposit 1
2. Cf. Troy II p.221.
3. NS/c.i.3; W.i.11.
4. The Temple of Athena and Dörpfeld's Building IXA.
5. Figs.IV.42,45,52,54.
6. NP.i.5.
7. NP.i.1.
8. See Figs.IV.72-3. The dumping may be related to that found further down the slope, on the Ledge, by Blegen: Troy I p.270.
9. Troy III p.107.

Part II: TROY I-V - THE EARLY AND MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

Architecture

There is little to add to the architecture of Troy I, and little need for any real revision of Blegen's findings. One feature may perhaps be assigned to Early Troy I, though it cannot be firmly dated: Wall 57, which lay parallel to the east wall of Gate FN and was founded at only half a metre above bedrock.¹ In a late phase of Middle Troy I Blegen places his wall IW (Dörpfeld's wall Ia), on the south side of the citadel.² Against its south face he found a "thick deposit of stone chips and yellowish-white decomposed soft rock".³ We may perhaps equate with this Schliemann's discovery, in a similar location, of a stratum of white, "calcareous" earth; Wall IW itself was taken by Schliemann to be part of a large house.⁴

The beginning of Late Troy I (Fig.V.1) is marked by the building of Blegen's wall 'm': a 2m-high retaining-wall on the north side of the site, its top at c.27m A.T.⁵ Schliemann seems to have found its eastward continuation in Wall 70, a large wall of stones and earth found running eastwards for at least 12m from the entrance to the North-South trench.⁶ Blegen found that wall 'm' presented a well-built face to the North, but was backed to the South by a stone fill that stretched at least 10m southwards. The fill can be seen in his section of the North-South trench,⁷ thinning towards the South till it is no more than one course deep, but maintaining a level upper surface at c.27-27.50m A.T. Schliemann may have encountered the same fill.⁸ Blegen sensibly suggested that the whole structure formed part of a platform laid out only in the centre of the site. Among the ashy deposits which accumulated over Wall 70 and to its North there was a cist grave containing an infant burial.⁹ Some walls built of small stones and mud mortar, found by Schliemann at c.25.67m A.T. at the east end of the North Platform,¹⁰ may be the continuation of Blegen's Ij deposits in F3.¹¹

From 1870-73 there is additional evidence for the fortification of Late Troy I around the north side of the site. Along the edge of the North Platform in CDE2 was Wall 14, a sloping layer of stones laid against the underlying deposits at an angle of 60°.¹² This corresponds well to the similar structure noted by Dörpfeld in squares C3 and G3-4¹³ and by Blegen in C2-3, D2 and F3.¹⁴ The whole seems to constitute a stone-faced glacis encasing the north face of the mound. Presumably it was

surmounted by a vertical wall. To Blegen it looked as though the segment in square C3 overlay strata of Late I;¹⁵ but its similarity to IZ, on the south side, tended to preclude any date beyond Troy I. The date may well be correct, although the evidence is not (as Blegen admits) conclusive.

On one matter Blegen's conclusions do, perhaps, admit of some revision. It is not a matter on which the seasons of 1870-73 have any light to shed, but it does affect our understanding of the architectural development from Troy I to Troy II. It concerns the gateway MR. Blegen's view was that Towers M and R were built at the same time as Wall IW and that the gateway had already fallen out of use when Ramp IX was built.¹⁶ But Tower R, at least, was not bonded into Wall IW; it was built up against it as Blegen's photographs show¹⁷ and as the visitor to the site can still see. Moreover, the strata that immediately overlie Tower R's original ground-level¹⁸ find their closest comparison not with those over IW but with those over IX.¹⁹ This suggests that the gateway was built at the same time as IX. And it may well have remained in use to the end of Late Troy I, for it and Wall IZ are covered by the same destruction-deposit thrown down out of the citadel interior.²⁰ There is therefore a real possibility that in Late Troy I the citadel had a gate in the centre of the south circuit-wall. This was a feature which continued into the early phases of Troy II.

The architectural evidence from Troy II is much more plentiful. This is primarily because it was in Troy II that Schliemann saw the Troy of Priam, so that it was the remains of this period that he aimed to expose and record most thoroughly. But the situation has been complicated by work since. Within Schliemann's Troy II, Dörpfeld's analysis distinguished three phases; Blegen's work, however, found seven. Mellaart's study of the architecture²¹ then showed that into the final phases of Troy II (as defined by Blegen) we must bring the buildings shown by Burnouf in the eastern half of the site, or something very much like them.²² And now we have to take account of additional features revealed by the excavations of 1870-73.

When considering how to bring all this disparate, architectural evidence together, there is one thing which it is important to bear in mind. This is that the overall sequences discerned by Dörpfeld and Blegen are not likely, in either case, to provide us with a correct and final framework. Dörpfeld's work, though architectural in its inspiration, does

incorporate a large number of individual stratigraphic observations showing which wall overlay which. These we must suppose generally to be correct. But his overall sequence, with three phases, is obviously called into question by the extra phases distinguished by Blegen. The root of the error, as Blegen implies,²³ lay in the fact that the three-phase sequence was derived from the fortifications and was then imposed on to the citadel interior to which it did not in fact apply. Blegen's overall sequence likewise has its limitations. Chief of these is the fact that it is based on excavation in a number of separate areas, each of quite restricted size. It is true that each area produced a valuable, and we must suppose reliable, stratigraphy, and that this cannot be ignored. But there was relatively little to ensure that these separate areas were correctly correlated one with another, and the overall sequence eventually decided upon does not show any clear signs of having taken full account of all the earlier evidence. Its base is therefore rather narrow. Let me emphasise again that we have, of course, no licence to disregard any of the individual, stratigraphic observations made by any of the excavators. But what is, I think, permissible is a certain amount of shuffling of the individual sequences relative to each other. Indeed, it is necessary if the integrity of each is to be preserved.

In what follows I shall attempt, in outline, to construct the necessary synthesis. The most sensitive stratigraphic record is provided by the buildings in the eastern half of the citadel interior. These will be considered first. Then we shall turn to those in the western half and discuss how they relate to those of the eastern half. We may then consider the sequence of fortifications and its points of contact with the sequence in the citadel interior. When this framework is established we may finally consider where the architectural findings from 1870-73 fit in. We start, then, with the eastern half of the citadel interior.

(1) Squares DEFG 3-6. The sequence here is longer than Blegen supposed. Megaron IIR, in square F3, he took to belong to phase IIc.²⁴ This re-allocation from Dörpfeld's phase IIa appears to have been caused by the presence of Lustre Ware - a good indicator of Early Troy II - associated with underlying buildings that were two phases earlier.²⁵ Its effect is to make IIR more or less contemporary with Megara IIA, IIB, Building IIH, Propylon IIC and the attached colonnade.²⁶ This is certainly not how Dörpfeld understood it, for he shows buildings

of II.2, apparently with two separate phases, overlying IIR but underlying the IIA, B, H complex²⁷ In square E3, as well, Blegen touched some deposits associated with buildings assigned by Dörpfeld to II.1; these too he re-assigned to phase IIc.²⁸ But exactly the same difficulty recurs, this time with the added force of a series of spot-heights more consistent with Dörpfeld's interpretation than with Blegen's.²⁹ Blegen accepts Dörpfeld's view that IIR and the II.1 building in E3 were contemporary; their orientation favours this, and the ceramic evidence permits it. But there seems no good reason to disregard Dörpfeld's view of their stratification. Both should be at least two building-phases earlier than Blegen's 'IIc' buildings and themselves appear, from Dörpfeld's plan, to have passed through two phases. This means that the buildings of 'IIa' and 'IIb' found below Megaron IIR³⁰ must belong to even earlier phases of Troy II, the 'IIa' building antedating those of 'IIc' by at least six building-phases. The length of this sequence in square F3 may be attributed to the terracing-down of early Troy II buildings on the north slope; they may as a result have escaped some of the levellings in the very centre of the citadel. Schliemann's discovery of Troy II material at c.27.50m A.T. in squares D3-4³¹ suggests that a similar situation prevailed there. Further South, however, the very earliest buildings of Troy II were founded at least two metres higher, for to this phase may belong the 'Palace' of Blegen's IIa in squares EF4-5;³² certainly it has the same orientation as the early buildings in F3.

Between IIR and the end of Troy II, this eastern half of the citadel provides evidence for another seven building-phases. Two of these belong to Dörpfeld's II.2 walls, as we have already seen. To the second may possibly belong the small megaron found under Megaron IIA. Megara IIA and IIB introduce us to the ensuing phases, stratified as they are above the 'II.2' buildings. On stylistic grounds we should expect Megaron IIF and Propylon IIC to be their contemporaries. But here there is evidence for two building-phases, the colonnade wall that adjoined IIC having been rebuilt further South and so adapted as to allow for the continued presence of IIF.³³ A third building-phase is represented by a massive mudbrick structure which was built over Megaron IIF,³⁴ incorporating Blegen's Wall II-18³⁵ and some remains beside Gate FM.³⁶ Megara IIA and IIB may have continued in use during this period. A final two phases are attested by the buildings of Blegen's IIf and IIg found in squares E6 and F4.³⁷ These are securely stratified over Wall II-18.³⁸ The walls of Blegen's IIg seem to fit onto the insulae of

buildings which Burnouf shows in the eastern part of the site,³⁹ and some house remains in squares F4-5 probably belong as well.⁴⁰ Some of Burnouf's walls seem to overlies Megara IIA and IIB, so these latter may not have survived into the latest phases of Troy II.

In this eastern half of the site, then, there is good reason for reconstructing a stratigraphic sequence of at least eleven building-phases within Troy II. Even this is probably too few, for we have taken no account of an isolated parastade-base in E3⁴¹ or of the curiously-placed wall running from IIH to the colonnade.⁴² These can now only be the subject of speculation, although the implications of their presence could be quite serious.

(2) Squares CD 4-6. Fewer phases are represented here than in the eastern half of the site, but they nonetheless oblige us to extend the sequence of Troy II. On a thin stratum of reddish earth containing many fragments of Lustre Ware⁴³ lay the earliest feature of Troy II in C4-5: a pavement. Although it is described as "associated" with Wall a in the same area,⁴⁴ this is not the impression given by the plan according to which, in C5, the eastern edge of the pavement lay up to 1½ metres West of the wall and with a quite different orientation.⁴⁵ The walls a and a² seem to represent second and third phases of building.⁴⁶ The latest feature in the area was Burnouf's House HS, persuasively argued by Blegen to belong to his phase IIg.⁴⁷ To the same period may belong the house of Treasure D which overlays Megaron IIE and looks well paralleled in the architecture of Blegen's II f and II g.⁴⁸ Stratified below House HS was Dörpfeld's Building IID, placed by Blegen in phase IIc.⁴⁹ The form of the building as given in Dörpfeld's plan arouses the suspicion that it developed through more than one phase, but it is not a suspicion that can be pursued far with any assurance.

Stratified below Building IID and above Wall a² was the large complex assigned by Dörpfeld to II.2.⁵⁰ Dörpfeld's plan shows evidence of some minor rebuilding in square C5, but not of enough to justify speaking of two phases. Further North, and perhaps from the same date, were fragmentary remains of a large structure with the same orientation. Mellaart, not implausibly, reconstructs this as a gigantic megaron.⁵¹ This group of buildings is of particular interest because it alone of the western buildings seems incompatible with any of those known from the eastern half, so that the eastern sequence must be loosened to accommodate it. What is its relative date? While the lack of

documentation from the North-South trench makes certainty impossible, the general impression created by Dörpfeld's plan is that the 'II.2' buildings of the eastern half have cut into those of the western half, removing in the process all trace of their eastward extension. The sequence in D6 tends to support this impression. Here the western 'II.2' complex is overlain by the fragmentary remains of a building itself partly cleared to make way for Megaron IIF. Megaron IIF, as we have seen, belongs to a phase stratified directly over the 'II.2' buildings of the eastern half. Thus the latest of the eastern 'II.2' buildings are stratigraphically later than the western 'II.2' buildings. Perhaps the likeliest supposition is, then, that a phase characterised by the western 'II.2' buildings should be intercalated into the eastern sequence after the phase containing IIR and before either of the two phases of the eastern 'II.2' buildings.

This stratigraphic 'skeleton' shows us, I believe, that the total number of Troy II building-phases must be raised to a minimum of twelve. Into this we may later attempt to bring Schliemann's findings of 1870-73 and other features; but at this point it will be convenient to summarize the sequence so far discerned and to provide numbers for its phases.⁵²

- II.1: 'Palace of IIa' in EF4-5, pavement in C4-5.
In F3: (i) House of 'IIa'
(ii) House of 'IIb'.
- II.2: Megaron IIR, and other 'II.1' buildings in DEF 3-4 (2 phases).
In C4-5: (i) Wall a
(ii) Wall a²
- II.3: 'II.2' buildings in western half.
- II.4: 'II.2' building in eastern half (2 phases).
Little megaron below IIA. Fragment in D6.
Possibly some of IID.
- II.5: Megara IIA, IIB, IIE, and presumably IIH. All or most of IID.
(i) IIF, Propylon IIC, inner colonnade
(ii) IIF, Propylon IIC, outer colonnade
- II.6: HS; House of Treasure D; Insulae in Ilios Plan I, Troja 1890
Taf.III.
In E6: (i) Wall II-18 (plus IIM, N etc.)
(ii) IIf In F4-5: (ii) IIf
(iii) IIg (iii) IIg

The redistribution of Blegen's Troy II deposits implied by this scheme is shown for convenience in Table XXIII.

(3) To this we may now relate the fortifications. Dörpfeld's three-phase scheme⁵³ is obviously much too compact and needs to be drawn out.

The earliest circuit-wall is certainly Dörpfeld's IIId, associated with the first phase of Gate FN.⁵⁴ It must date back to the very beginning of Troy II since Blegen found no signs of Troy II pottery in any of the immediately underlying deposits from the end of Troy I. Gate FN is essentially an extension of the previous Troy I gateway MR. The poorly-preserved western gate FL probably dates to the same period.⁵⁵

These two gates fit well with the citadel interior of our phase II.1. FL would have given direct access to the 'Palace of IIa'; and FN's roadway turned to the right in square E5 with the clear purpose of skirting around the same building. Gate FL was partly remodelled in a second phase.⁵⁶ The alteration was occasioned by the strengthening of the citadel wall immediately to the North. The corresponding change to its South and East was probably the construction of Dörpfeld's Wall IIc together with the second phase of Gate FN.⁵⁷ These changes did not fundamentally alter the style and disposition of the fortifications; they may be roughly contemporary with the changes in the citadel interior at the beginning of our phase II.1.(ii).

There is clear evidence that at the end of phase II.1 there was vigorous levelling in the citadel interior. A thick layer of stony rubble was encountered at several points by Schliemann⁵⁸ as well as by Blegen.⁵⁹ In square F3 there was a deep deposit of mudbrick debris over the 'IIb' building,⁶⁰ and rubble was found in the porch of the 'Palace of IIa'.⁶¹ Dörpfeld, too, noticed that a stratum of burnt debris underlay the foundations of his II.2 period.⁶² With this we may perhaps associate the deposition of a 3m-thick stratum of debris against the face of Dörpfeld's Wall IIc⁶³ and over or within Gate FL.⁶⁴ There is no sign, however, that at this stage Wall IIc fell out of use; the same applies to Gate FN², which may have remained in use and become the sole entrance. This stage in the fortifications seems well suited to our phase II.2 in the citadel interior: Gate FN, with its right-ward turn, led directly to Megaron IIR.

Wall IIc was in due course succeeded by Dörpfeld's Wall IIb, the southernmost of the Troy II circuit walls. This wall was carried around the south side of Gate FN whose entrance was now narrowed. This suggests that FN no longer functioned as the principal access to the citadel. Which gate did? The contemporary phase in the citadel interior should now be our phase II.3, with Dörpfeld's western 'II.2' complex and the large adjoining building to its North. These structures

overlie Gate FL, already blocked, and antedate Gate FM. Gate FH, of uncertain date, may belong to this period, but can never have been more than minor. The only contender, then, is Gate FO, on the southeast side. And indeed FO is very well placed to have served a large, western building such as Mellaart's megaron.⁶⁵

The following phase, contemporary with phase II.4 of the citadel interior, is not clearly marked but probably includes the rebuilding of Gate FO.⁶⁶ Stylistically we should expect this development to antedate Gate FM, Propylon IIC, Megara IIA, IIE and IIF because of the lack of parastades.

FO remained the principal gate throughout the remainder of Troy II, undergoing major alterations in Troy II.6.⁶⁷ But a new gate, FM, was introduced for the duration of Troy II.5. Dörpfeld's supposition that FM, like FO, passed through two phases⁶⁸ seems to have no real basis in the excavated remains. It may never have had other than its 'second' phase, the phase which has clear stylistic similarities to the interior buildings of our phase II.5.⁶⁹ The gate is stratified over Dörpfeld's Wall IIC⁷⁰ and, more importantly, over the western 'II.2' complex. Contemporary with it will be the wall traced by Dörpfeld around the southwest side.⁷¹ This overlay Gate FH, now blocked, but contained in its place a small gate, FJ.

The site was burnt at the end of phase II.5, and signs of this were noticed by Dörpfeld below the eastern course of the circuit wall: an earth layer contained burnt bricks from the wall's predecessor.⁷² The ensuing wall, itself also burnt (at the end of II.6), is the one shown in TI Taf.III with regularly-spaced projecting towers. Gate FO was built out and added to;⁷³ Gate FM was probably blocked.⁷⁴ Outside the citadel wall lay building IIS, assigned by Blegen to his phase IIg.⁷⁵ Other remains, which may belong to additional external buildings of the same phase, are known to exist on the west side of the site⁷⁶ but have not been investigated. The revised sequence of fortifications, as suggested here, is shown in Table XXIV.

(4) The discussion so far has shown, I hope, that we must postulate a sequence of at least twelve building-phases for the citadel interior of Troy II, and that the sequence of fortifications can be adapted without strain to correspond with this. The resulting conjunctions seem to make good sense. How do the findings of 1870-73 fit in with this?

Troy II.1 (Fig.V.2) Around the north side of the site, in squares CDE 2-3, stood Wall 15 - a 5m-high structure of limestone blocks preserved to an altitude of c.29.67m A.T.⁷⁷ It probably represents the continuation of the Troy II citadel wall traced by Dörpfeld in squares C3 and G3. It seems to have followed much the same course as Wall 14, the glacis of Late Troy I, and may well have been built atop it. Indeed, it is conceivable that it did itself originate in Late Troy I, although positive evidence on the point is lacking. Wall 15 presumably continued in use, with additions and modifications no doubt, throughout Troy II.

On the south side of the site, Dörpfeld's fortification-wall IIId, of phase II.1.(i), seems to have been cut through without record. But Schliemann did notice the wall from phase II.1.(ii), Dörpfeld's Wall IIc, for he took it to be the north side of his "Tower".⁷⁸ Remains from the first two phases of Gate FN were encountered as well, but were not of course recognised for what they were. Wall 55 belonged to the outer, western edge of the gate in phase II.1.(i);⁷⁹ Walls 54 and 56 belonged to the second phase, in II.1.(ii).⁸⁰ The roadway within the gate lay on the same axis as that of the earlier Gate MR, but turned right at its north end, in E5, to skirt along the foot of the retaining-wall beside the "Palace" in squares EF4-5.

I have already suggested that the "Palace" belongs to II.1; the retaining-wall shown in TI Taf.III is closely associated with it and is probably contemporary. A segment found by Blegen was assigned to Troy IIa.⁸¹ It is possible that the wall extended further to the West than Dörpfeld shows, for Dörpfeld's Wall Ic may be a continuation of it.⁸² Dörpfeld, it is true, supposed that his Wall Ic belonged well within Troy I, earlier than his Wall Ia (Blegen's Wall IW).⁸³ This was presumably because he took the more southerly wall to be the later. But his own section-drawing suggests the reverse, for it shows a layer of rubble running from the top of his Wall Ia (= IW) to below the foundations of Wall Ic.⁸⁴ So an allocation of Wall Ic to early Troy II is not impossible. Its characteristics are suitable, too: it was 2.50m wide, battered on its south face, and preserved to c.30m A.T. Schliemann may have found an additional segment in Wall 96.⁸⁵ Another feature related to the same structure may possibly be the pavement found by Blegen in squares C4-5.⁸⁶ Its eastern edge appears to continue the line of Dörpfeld's Wall Ic. Only further excavation can show whether or not this is fortuitous.

At the east end of the North Platform Schliemann unearthed a number of features which can be related to the deposits which Blegen found below Megaron IIR in square F3. In phase II.1.(i) we can place Schliemann's Walls 22+,⁸⁷ for these probably belong to Blegen's "IIa" building.⁸⁸ So too will any eastward extension that Schliemann dug away.⁸⁹ To the succeeding phase II.1.(ii) we can assign a green-stained drainage-channel found slightly to the North but at the same altitude as Blegen's "IIb" pavement.⁹⁰ It seems to be a linear successor of the channel found by Blegen in "IIa", and it finds an echo in the green-stained street to the South of his "IIb" building.⁹¹ Also in II.1.(ii) we can place the disordered mass of small stones found by Schliemann at c.26.67m A.T. This is likely to have been a continuation of Blegen's "IIb" pavement.⁹² Similar pavements, usually of white pebbles, are attested elsewhere on the North Platform: one at c.25.17m, another at c.26.67m, and a third at an unstated depth in square E3.⁹³ All seem to derive from period II.1.

Other features attributable to II.1 are Wall 16, apparently an early retaining-wall on the north side of the site;⁹⁴ a number of walls noticed by Schliemann on the North Platform but not individually recorded;⁹⁵ Blegen's Wall OB in square D3;⁹⁶ and the two phases of Gate FL.⁹⁷ Deposits of Troy II may at some points have been cut down into those of Late Troy I, for in D3-4 Schliemann seems to have found Troy II material directly overlying the Late, but not final, Troy I terrace-wall 'm'.⁹⁸ From the end of phase II.1.(ii) come clear signs of widespread burning.⁹⁹

Troy II.2 (Fig.V.3) The disaster at the end of II.1.(ii) was followed by massive levelling in the centre of the citadel. In some parts this left a two-metre-deep stratum of stony rubble; Schliemann noticed it in four places,¹⁰⁰ it is visible in the sections in Ilios Plan III (at 'V') and Troy I fig.422, and it was found by Blegen in the porch of his "Palace of IIa".¹⁰¹ Elsewhere it left an equally deep stratum of mudbrick debris, as in square F3.¹⁰² Possibly there was dumping on the north side of the site;¹⁰³ on the south side debris was thrown against the face of Dörpfeld's citadel wall IIc and into Gate FL.¹⁰⁴ The stratum of stony rubble was contained on its north side by Wall 17, a massive retaining-wall preserved to c.30.67m A.T. and found only in the central twenty metres of the North Platform.¹⁰⁵

Among the fortifications Gate FL may have been blocked, but Dörpfeld's

Wall IIc and Gate FN² may have continued in use; parts of both were encountered by Schliemann, as we have already seen. Of the buildings preserved from this period within the citadel, the most imposing is Megaron IIR; to this Wall 32 provides a new cross-wall,¹⁰⁶ and to its North Schliemann also found a drain.¹⁰⁷ In squares DEF 3-4 Dörpfeld's plan¹⁰⁸ shows a number of other "II.1" buildings, and scraps of buildings, lying parallel to IIR. These too may belong in our II.2; certainly Blegen accepted their contemporaneity with IIR, and with reason since the deposits underlying them in D3 are analogous to those below IIR in F3.¹⁰⁹ They seem from the plan to have had at least two building phases. Two phases are also attested in squares C4-5 by walls a and a².¹¹⁰

Troy II.3 (Fig.V.4) Gate FN now entered its third phase, of which Schliemann found a part in Wall 53.¹¹¹ To its West, and adjoining it, stood Dörpfeld's fortification-wall IIb; this appears in Schliemann's work as the southern part of his "Tower".¹¹² The remaining features attributable to this period have already been mentioned: Dörpfeld's "II.2" complex in the western half of the citadel, Gate FO (first phase) and Gate FH.

Troy II.4 (Fig.V.5) The findings of 1870-73 have nothing to add to this period. It is characterised by the re-building of Gate FO and the continuance of the other fortifications. Within the citadel Dörpfeld's eastern "II.2" complex, reminiscent of the House of Tiles at Lerna and of the White House and its predecessor on Aegina,^{112a} seems to provide evidence for two phases of building; to one or both of these may have belonged the small megaron below IIA and the fragmentary building in square D6, just to the West of Megaron IIF. It is possibly to this period that the earliest chambers in the superstructure of Gate FN belong.¹¹³

Troy II.5 (Fig.V.6) This period is much better known, largely because its second phase was brought to an end by fire. Correspondingly more of it was encountered by Schliemann. Of the fortifications he found a western segment of the citadel wall, Wall 81;¹¹⁴ Gate FM;¹¹⁵ and the paved road leading up to it.¹¹⁶ Building 3, which he found over Gate FN,¹¹⁷ may have belonged to the superstructure of this now walled-up gate; and it may have been from this phase that nine pithoi were sunk into the building below.¹¹⁸ Gate FO² no doubt continued in use. FH was blocked but replaced by the small Gate FJ.

In the citadel interior Schliemann found, but did not understand, large parts of Megaron IIA: it is to this that Walls 21, 67, 89 and 94 belong.¹¹⁹ He may also have found a part of the northeast corner of Megaron IIB.¹²⁰ Other features to be assigned to this period include Megara IIE, IIF, IIH and IIK; presumably Dörpfeld's Building IID, or some phases of it; and Propylon IIC and the two phases of colonnade. It is worth recalling that on the inside of the courtyard, between IIC and IIA, and also to the outside, Schliemann, Dörpfeld and Blegen all found fragments of slate in large numbers.¹²¹ Probably it was used as roofing-material.

Clear evidence for burning at the end of this period comes from Megaron IIA¹²² and from the area of the second, later colonnade.¹²³ The numerous pits dug down from this level¹²⁴ may in some cases have resulted from attempts to recover valuables after the disaster. In square E5 a storage-jar empty but for the skeletons of six shrews and a weasel¹²⁵ suggests at least a short hiatus in human occupation.

Troy II.6 (Fig.V.7) This final period, constituting Schliemann's "Burnt City", is equally well known. The excavations of 1870-73 provide two significant additions to our knowledge of the fortifications. The first is Schliemann's altar with its horned, upright stone.¹²⁶ It was found in square G7 and must be placed on the platform adjoining the east side of the now heavily rebuilt Gate FO.¹²⁷ The whole feature suggests a gatehouse shrine comparable to that known from Tower VII at a later date.¹²⁸ The second is what seems to be an otherwise unattested stretch of citadel wall found in B5-6: Wall 83.¹²⁹ Both its stratigraphic position and its projecting tower favour an attribution to this period: the tower has contemporary parallels on the eastern side of the site.¹³⁰ Behind Wall 83 was a pavement.¹³¹ The wall is of particular importance because, if it is correctly dated, it shows that at this period the citadel spread further to the Southwest than has hitherto been recognised. This may in turn have consequences for the dating of Treasure 'A', found in a stone cist in square B5;¹³² for the treasure must therefore have been found behind Wall 83 and well within the limits of the II.6 citadel. Its exact relationship to the previous citadel wall, which it lay on or near, will be of little importance: that wall was already buried when the cist was built, and did not last beyond Troy II.5. Consequently the treasure can be allowed to derive from Troy II.6, and there is no longer any need to suppose that it was dug down from Troy III or IV.¹³³ Other features among the fortifications have

been mentioned already. Gate FO had its passage narrowed and was now approached by a flight of steps from the South.¹³⁴ To its West, outside the citadel wall, lay Building IIS.¹³⁵ The lie of the Troy III deposits in square D7 may indicate the presence of a similar building there too,¹³⁶ and Dörpfeld noticed other possibly related remains outside Gate FM.¹³⁷

Within the citadel interior, the eastern half is well documented by Ilios Plan I, Troja 1890 Taf.III, and Blegen's findings in squares E6 and F4-5. Schliemann apparently nowhere noticed the massive mudbrick structure which included IIM, IIN, Wall II-18 and the remains near Gate FM - unless Wall 52 over Gate FN was a part of it.¹³⁸ This too was a massive structure of mudbrick, but its preservation to a height of three metres suggests that it survived at least to the end of II.6 and possibly into Troy III. The same cannot be said for the IIM-IIN structure, or not at least in square E6 where it was overlain by foundations of Blegen's phase II_f, our II.6.(ii).¹³⁹ It is possible, of course, that the sequence in E6 is atypical. In the western half of the site Building 5, in square D6, overlay Megaron IIF but probably belonged to II.6 as it was preserved to c.32m A.T.¹⁴⁰ Walls 72-74 may be additional parts of the building. Only a small adjustment to the orientation shown in Atlas Taf.214 is needed to make these buildings consistent with the layout in the eastern half of the site. To Building HS we may add Walls 71, 99 and 100;¹⁴¹ and other walls shown to its North and East in Ilios Plan I look quite consistent with the architecture of this period. So does the house in square CD4 in which Treasure D was found. In square D6 Walls 75 and 76¹⁴² probably date from II.6 but seem from their orientation not to belong to the same phase as Building 5 and Walls 72-74. In squares EF7 it is uncertain whether Building 2 derives from Troy II or Troy III.¹⁴³ From many points there is evidence of a major conflagration at the end of phase II.6.(ii).¹⁴⁴

Troy III (Fig.V.8) The strata of this succeeding period have still failed to reveal any trace of new fortifications.¹⁴⁵ Whether this is because mudbrick superstructures were built along the lines of the Troy II citadel walls but were missed by Schliemann, or because the right areas have not been dug, or because the site was undefended, is all an open question. It is conceivable that the large mass of hewn and unhewn stones found over the Tower¹⁴⁶ might derive from a rebuilding in Troy III. But over the Tower and over Wall 81 Schliemann otherwise noticed only deposits of burnt debris.¹⁴⁷ Dörpfeld has no light to cast

on the matter since the final rebuilding of Gate FO has been re-assigned to Late Troy II;¹⁴⁸ and at the only point where Blegen might have been able to settle the question the strata of Troy III were missing altogether.¹⁴⁹ Excavation in square H5 could possibly resolve the issue. In the citadel interior Building 4, a complex of rectangular rooms built over the 2-3m of debris covering Gate FM, is likely to derive from Troy III.¹⁵⁰ So too may Wall 59/70, a wall with the same alignment as Building 4, but preserved only to c.32.70m A.T.¹⁵¹ In squares EF6-7 we know that there were walls founded at various altitudes from 31 to 32m A.T. preserved to 2, 3 and even 3.20m high, if Schliemann is to be believed. There were traces of yellow- and white- painted plaster, timber components, doorways at various levels, a semi-circular wall (perhaps from an apsidal building) and a pavement of unhewn stones.¹⁵² Some of all this must certainly derive from Troy III; but whether Building 2, shown in Atlas Taf.214 and Fig.IV.61 of the present work, is to be included is again not clear. The deep deposit of III material in squares D7-8 included a burnt mudbrick wall, but of this we have no further information.¹⁵³ In squares DE3-4 some of the walls 60-66,68,84-88,90-93,95,97-98 may belong to Troy III with rebuilding on the same lines in Troy IV, but certain dating is now impossible.¹⁵⁴ From Blegen's excavations we can add in the four phases known from squares E6 and F4-5, where the architecture seems similar to that of Troy IIIf and IIg; and some sparse remains in F7-8 and GH7.¹⁵⁵

With Troy IV we enter the Anatolian Middle Bronze Age. The 1870-73 excavations have produced additional evidence for the course of the southern fortification-wall, in two places (Fig.V.9). In square D8 Wall 27 is a mass of large stones which seems, stratigraphically, to belong to Troy IV.¹⁵⁶ Its position aligns it well with Blegen's mass of stones in square F8,¹⁵⁷ and with the presumed presence of a retaining-wall below VIM in square C7 or 8.¹⁵⁸ Schliemann seems to have come across a second piece of the Troy IV wall in square H7.¹⁵⁹ Here he found a mass of stones with a battered face preserved to c.30m A.T. and traced down to c.26.50m A.T. At first he took it to be an eastern extension of the Tower; later he described it, rightly, as a circuit-wall. This again is well aligned with fragments noted by Blegen. Blegen's sketch of the northeast scarp of Schliemann's Southeast Trench reveals in section a part of a 6m-thick wall with battered face backed by deposits of Troy III and overlain by deposits of Troy IV;¹⁶⁰ this is perfectly aligned with Schliemann's piece, Wall 44. Nearby in HJ6-7 a further piece, lying relatively a little further to the Southeast, is recorded by

Blegen.¹⁶¹ There is still nothing known about the northern course of the Troy IV circuit wall. Within the citadel some or all of Walls 60-66, 68, 84-88, 90-93, 95, 97-98, chiefly known from Atlas Taf.214,215, may derive from Troy IV, as already discussed. In square D4 Schliemann found a mudbrick building, or buildings, and a pavement of small stones.¹⁶² Walls 42 and 43, found in a deep sounding in the Southeast Trench and shown in Atlas Taf.214 as walls of "trojan houses", probably belong to Troy IV.¹⁶³ Walls of small stones bonded with mud are recorded from squares EF6-7, but without any detail.¹⁶⁴ In square C6 Wall 58 could be of Troy IV date if it does not belong to Troy VI or VII.¹⁶⁵ Into Troy IV we may also add Blegen's architectural sequences in squares F4-5, E6, F7-8;¹⁶⁶ some of the walls shown by Dörpfeld in squares FG6;¹⁶⁷ and some of the walls found in squares BC6-7 in 1893,¹⁶⁸ although exactly which is unclear.¹⁶⁹ Occupation extended into squares Z5 and A4-5.¹⁷⁰

Fragmentary though they are, the architectural remains of Troy IV show an unmistakable kinship with the Middle Bronze Age elsewhere in Anatolia. It is clearest in Blegen's plans of the buildings in E6.¹⁷¹ The tapering rooms, with their persistent avoidance of right-angles, have the same stamp as the domestic architecture of the Karum period at Kültepe.¹⁷² The Schliemann buildings in squares DE3-4, if they belonged to Troy IV, could perhaps be compared with the seemingly chaotic plans of Complex I in Alişar 11T.¹⁷³

The excavations of 1870-73 have little to add to our knowledge of Troy V (Fig.V.10). In the Northeast Trench a stratum of mudbrick debris was found immediately below the footing-trench of the Troy VI citadel wall;¹⁷⁴ this may correspond with Blegen's observation that Troy V remains were preserved up to 32.80m A.T. in the adjoining area.¹⁷⁵ In the northern sector of the North-South Trench there were some traces of Troy V at c.35.67-36.67m A.T., and Schliemann noted here a "mass of burnt matter" including stones with signs of scorching.¹⁷⁶ In the Southeast Trench he found a deposit of stones and yellow ash below the foundations of the Troy IX stoa and the walls of Troy VII. The deposit yielded objects of E.B. or M.B. date from as high as 34.50m A.T., and it may well have been a stratum of Troy V material.¹⁷⁷ The only structural feature we can readily assign to Troy V is Wall 26. This was a wall of irregular masonry bonded with white mortar, apparently stratified over deposits of Troy IV in the southern sector of the North-South Trench.¹⁷⁸ Judging from its date of discovery it is likely

to have overlain Wall 27, the citadel wall of Troy IV. If so, it is possible that here too the Troy IV citadel wall was rebuilt in Troy V in the way postulated by Blegen for the wall in square F8,¹⁷⁹ where it should underlie the north wall of the Pillar House of Troy VI.¹⁸⁰ A citadel wall of Troy V was identified by Blegen at two other points: in square C8,¹⁸¹ where it must lie to the North of the very low-lying E.B.-M.B. deposits exposed to the South of VIM;¹⁸² and in squares Z5/A4-5 close to the fortification-wall of Troy VI.¹⁸³ To this we may add what appears to be a Troy V fortification visible in the scarp in GH7 8-10¹m Southeast of Wall 44 and immediately Northwest of the north wall of Building VIG;¹⁸⁴ a retaining-wall which may, from the section-drawing, be presumed to lie below the east wall of Building VIF;¹⁸⁵ and its continuation which can be presumed to lie below the east wall of Building VIE.¹⁸⁶ Dörpfeld attributed a number of other features to Troy V: fragments of a circuit-wall in squares AB5-7, which he numbered Vb, c and d; two other segments lying just behind them, Va and a section of wall broken by a staircase in B7; also a piece of wall underlying Building VIG, Ve.¹⁸⁷ Of these Vb, c, d and e are re-assigned by Blegen to Troy VI.¹⁸⁸ The reasons for this revision are never very clearly explained, but seem to rest on two points. First, the fact that when Vb was exposed near the Troy VI citadel wall some pottery of Troy VI came from "almost directly below" it.¹⁸⁹ Second, the stratigraphy exposed in the eastern scarp of Schliemann's trench in GH7, where again samples of Troy VI material were found below the northwest wall of Building VIG and thus more or less below Wall Ve.¹⁹⁰ In neither case does the observation rest on full excavation, and some reservation must attach to the re-dating on that account. But if we accept it provisionally there still remain Dörpfeld's Wall Va and the feature in B7, both of which could on present evidence belong to Troy V. Indeed, they seem to me to fit rather well with the general line of the Troy V fortifications otherwise suggested.

For our picture of the citadel interior we have only scraps of information. Blegen exposed sequences of architecture in the restricted areas in E6 and F8,¹⁹¹ and Dörpfeld's sounding in CD7 no doubt recorded buildings from this period.¹⁹² Dörpfeld records that small, irregular rooms were found in squares E6 and G7.¹⁹³ Otherwise there is very little: a demolished wall in F4-5;¹⁹⁴ a wall running North-South in J6;¹⁹⁵ some large stones and the bottom course of a wall in HJ6-7.¹⁹⁶ Some houses unearthed in square A8 show that there was occupation outside the citadel wall.¹⁹⁷

As in Troy IV, the architecture is distinctly of the Middle Bronze Age. A building in E6 might have been transposed almost directly from Alişar 10T;¹⁹⁸ and the final structure in square F8 on or near the probable line of the citadel wall could itself be part of a casemate wall such as is known from Alişar II.¹⁹⁹

Pottery

It is now fifty years since Blegen completed his excavations at Troy, and nearly forty since he published the volumes dealing with Troy I-V. They are still in many ways exemplary. But Anatolian prehistory has changed almost beyond recognition in the interim. Survey, excavation and publication in Anatolia and the Eastern Aegean have brought to light much important comparative material not available to the American excavators. Wide-ranging studies by French and Mellaart, in 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1971, were already able to describe with much greater clarity the regional variations in the material culture of West Anatolia, and to locate Troy's place within them.²⁰⁰ One of the most striking findings, indicative of a major change in perspective, was that Blegen's "Early Aegean" wares at Troy were almost entirely Anatolian, genuinely Helladic imports being reduced to no more than a handful.²⁰¹

Recent years have also brought a significant increase in our knowledge of the northern rim of the Aegean area. Publications from Ezero, Sitagroi, Dikili Tash and Kastanas show the presence of a material culture broadly akin to that of Northwest Anatolia, particularly for the period covered by Troy I and Early Troy II. The theme has been elegantly expounded by S  f  riades who thinks it justified to speak of a "Thraco-Anatolian" continuum.²⁰² Similar findings are suggested for the southern half of Turkish Thrace by the recent surveys of M.   zdoĝan; a convenient summary is provided by Yakar.²⁰³

It can, then, hardly be a criticism of the authors if one says that the Troy report, in its selection of comparanda, now seems rather too Hellenocentric. Even so, Troy's westward links are real enough. Though Aegean imports to Troy are sometimes difficult to identify with certainty among the Schliemann material, analogies of shape and decoration certainly occur and are sufficient to show that the site did to some extent participate in an Aegean community of ideas. In one respect the links may even have been strengthened, in that the number of possible Trojan exports (i.e. vessels of West Anatolian appearance)

found in Cycladic and Helladic contexts has been steadily increasing.²⁰⁴

Material has so increased on all sides that a complete re-appraisal of Trojan culture, based on all the available material, would probably be justified. That cannot be attempted here. The discussion which follows has two, more limited, aims. The first is to show how the findings of 1870-73 modify those of Blegen. There are changes to the chronological distributions of types he recognised, and there are extra types to be added to the repertoire. Much of this information can most easily be presented in tables and figures. The second aim is to place at least the pottery from 1870-73 in the fuller context now available to us. This will be done by means of a catalogue arranged according to types, with brief commentary where necessary. The commentary will discuss parallels from the Blegen material and from other, stratified sites.

These two lines of enquiry - into the modifications needed to Blegen's findings, and into the copious comparanda now available - will have consequences both for our picture of Troy's external relations and for our understanding of its chronology. Our present section on the pottery will conclude with a summary of the site's ceramic relations with other regions; chronology will be considered later. First, however, we must consider the wares.

Schliemann's record here is hopelessly incomplete, as it was only irregularly that he noted even the surface-colour of pots. But some broad outlines can be salvaged, and these seem consistent with the much more satisfactory treatment by Blegen. Grey and black wares occurred throughout Troy I-V; red, brown and buff wares from Troy II onwards; and yellow wares in Late Troy II, IV and V. Of the pottery in the strata of Troy II-III he noted that it was more elegant than that in the higher levels.²⁰⁵

For a quantitative approach to the wares Blegen's sherd-counts are very helpful. They do not pretend, in most cases, to be more than approximate, so precision is not to be hoped for. But we have the rough guidance that 1 Basket = 8 Bags²⁰⁶ and 1 Bag = slightly less than 300 sherds,²⁰⁷ so the units of measurement can be related to one another, albeit crudely. And although the quantities of sherds recovered from the different strata vary wildly (e.g. c.900 from II.4 and c.15,500 from II.6.iii) and even have occasionally to be estimated by the reader, when reduced to percentages they yield a remarkably coherent picture.

Table XXV shows the changes over time in the relative proportions of fine and coarse wares. For Troy III we have only a single set of figures since Blegen did not, unfortunately, catalogue this material by its separate phases. We cannot tell what developments these figures may mask, but we do have it that in Troy III there was "little appreciable change or development from beginning to end."²⁰⁸ Allowing for these defects, what the table otherwise reveals is two points of sudden change, at Middle I and IVa, when fine wares sharply decreased in popularity, and one at II.5.(i) when they suddenly increased.

Tables XXVI and XXVII are concerned only with the fine wares and show the changes over time in the relative proportions among their various classes. Here two horizons stand out sharply. Material from II.3 is too scanty to be usable, but by II.4 there has been a marked reduction of Grey and Black Polished Wares and, after a brief floruit in II.1-2, Lustre Ware has virtually disappeared. Plain Wares, by contrast, show a steep increase. The changes at this point are certainly to be associated with the growing popularity of the potter's wheel, first attested in II.1.(i) but not in quantity till II.4;²⁰⁹ for the declining wares were handmade and the Plain Wares wheelmade.²¹⁰ II.4, then, marks a first horizon. A second horizon occurs, as before, in IVa. Plain Ware, "the most characteristic pottery in the subsequent phases [i.e. subsequent to IIb] of the Second and Third Settlements",²¹¹ suddenly decreases and there is a sudden, proportionate increase in Red Coated Ware.

Putting these results together, we find that visible in the wares are three moments of change: at Middle I, II.4-5 and IVa. These compare interestingly with the moments of change discerned by Podzuweit in his study of the forms.²¹² He sees three main ceramic phases. The first subdivides where our first change occurs. The second begins in Blegen's IIc-d, more or less at the point of our second change. The beginning of his third phase coincides less well with our third moment of change, being placed at Blegen's IVc; but he does admit that the transition in Troy IV, judged on the basis of the forms, occurred only gradually. In a later section of this chapter we shall see these same chronological divisions emerge as horizons of change over a wider area.

For study of the forms, much of the comparative material from West Anatolia and the Aegean has been painstakingly assembled by Podzuweit²¹³ while that from Anatolia has been classified by Huot.²¹⁴

Both compilations are useful for purposes of reference, but to have adopted either of their typological schemes here could only have confused matters. I have retained Blegen's scheme, which is simple and well known, for forms identified by him; and for additional forms I have extended it. The new types are all numbered from 200 onwards, so are immediately distinguishable. The types, old and new, are all illustrated in Figs.V.51-58. Blegen's scheme is not very sophisticated. But all typologies contain a strong element of the arbitrary, and the greater the number of types, sub-types and sub-sub-types, the greater the number of marginal cases and arbitrary decisions. Even limited use of a sensitive scheme like Podzuweit's soon convinces one that different people see the same object in different ways. So the roughness of Blegen's has its advantages.

Table XXVIII shows the chronological distribution within Troy I-V of Blegen's types, as found by him and as suggested by the material from 1870-73. Objects from 1870-73 that are clearly attributable to Late II have been so classified; but the 'II' column certainly contains others which will have derived from Late II but which I have been unable stratigraphically to distinguish.

As the table shows, some of Blegen's distributions seem to be strikingly confirmed.²¹⁵ Other types, which in Blegen's excavations appeared only intermittently, now have their chronological gaps partly or wholly filled in ways that might have been expected.²¹⁶ Many of the types found by Blegen only in I are entirely absent from the Schliemann material; this is because Schliemann hardly penetrated the Troy I strata in 1870-73, and so provides indirect confirmation of Blegen's distributions.²¹⁷ Other absences from the Schliemann material are of types that Blegen found to be unique, rare, or attested only by fragments. (Schliemann, of course, was much less conscientious in identifying sherds and restoring unknown shapes from broken pieces.)²¹⁸ Otherwise many of Schliemann's distributions fall within the range of Blegen's but are shorter. This again may partly be explained by Schliemann's lack of interest in sherds; partly also by the difficulty of classifying some of Schliemann's pieces, especially bowls, on the basis of his shaky drawings.²¹⁹ Of more interest, however, are those of Schliemann's distributions which extend the lifetime of one of Blegen's types.²²⁰ Considering the greater extent of Schliemann's work in the E.B. and M.B. layers, such cases were only to be expected; and in fact many of them are supported by external parallels of comparable date.

Table XXVIII attempts no finer division than into the six columns for Troy I, II, Late II, III, IV and V: Schliemann's records would not, on the whole, permit it; and within III- V the allocation of Blegen's finds to sub-phases is in any case unchanged. The one period in which there is serious disturbance to the distribution of Blegen's pottery across sub-phases is Troy II. This is caused by the re-arrangement I have suggested for the deposits of Troy II, as in Table XXIII. Table XXIX, therefore, shows the revised distribution. The concentrations in II.5 and II.6 reflect the greater volume of pottery found in the two heavily burnt layers.

Of particular interest are the eighty-seven types in the Schliemann material which are without parallel in Blegen's. These are shown in Figs.V.56-58, with details of their chronological distribution in Table XXX. A few are purely Trojan, but most have contemporary parallels from other sites or at least Anatolian or Aegean precursors.

The following catalogue summarises the occurrences of types in the pottery of 1870-73, commenting where necessary on comparable pieces from the later Trojan excavations and from other sites. Troy's maritime position makes it legitimate, indeed necessary, to look further afield than its immediately surrounding region. But it must be admitted that where, as here, one finds family resemblances and communities of ideas as well as direct contact, it can be difficult to distinguish the significant from the fortuitous. This applies especially to comparisons of single pieces. The citation of parallels is intended to illustrate rather than exhaust.

SUMMARY CATALOGUE OF E.B. AND M.B. POTTERY, BY TYPES

Types are listed according to the following arrangement:

A:	Bowls, plates and dishes	- 1,2,4,5,7,8,12,16,20,200-204.
	Cups and beakers	- 26,30,31,33,37,205-16,220-24.
	Tankards	- 39,41,43-45,217-19,225-29.
B:	Jugs	- 1,3,4,11,13-5,17,18,20-22,24,212-18.
	Bottles and Flasks	- 5-8,200-211,219-220.
		Plus C207-8.
	Vessels with Nozzles	- 9,221.
C:	Jars	- 1,5-8,10-13,19,21,22,25,27-30,32,34-36, 39,200-6,209-223.
D:	Lids	- 1-3,7,8,11,13-15,200-8.
	Miscellaneous	- 24,26,28-32,209-216.

Bowls, plates and dishes

The poor quality of Schliemann's drawings often makes reliable classifi-

cation impossible. Many are probably A2 wheelmade plates.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Illustration</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
A1?	II	*72-1808	V.17	

In Blegen's material these platters occur in handmade and in wheelmade versions, and are present in Troy I, II and III. Some of the occurrences in III, and the one instance in IV, may be upcasts from Troy II (Troy II pp.96, 146), but this is not suggested for all cases (cf. Troy II pp.41, 76). In Troy II they occur in a variety of wares, but in IIb-c very commonly in Red-Coated ware (Troy I p.224), a high polish being characteristic of IIc (Ibid. p.221). In our re-distributed stratigraphy this would be a feature principally of Troy II.5.(i). Mellink, in Chronologies p.116, draws a useful parallel between the platters of this phase and those of Tarsus early EBIIIIa, and suggests perhaps rightly that the two phases were contemporary. She sees a subsequent parallel between the later EBIIII platters at Tarsus with a pale brownish, slightly lustrous slip, and the "very thin pink, red or tan wash" of Troy IIg, the Tarsus platters then supposedly outlasting the Trojan ones into EBIIIIb. Actually Blegen's observation concerning the "very thin pink, red or tan wash" notes its occurrence on shape A2 ("flaring bowls") rather than A1 (Troy I p.221); and a better parallel for the brownish platters at Tarsus might be with the platters of Troy III all of which are in the Red Coated ware which at that period tended to have tan and red-brown slips more frequently than in II (Troy II p.19).

Other large, red handmade platters of Troy II.5.(i) type have been found in early EBIIII deposits of Karataş-Semayük: Mellink, AJA 71 (1967) p.262f; 72 (1968) p.259; End of the Early Bronze Age p.145. The large handmade plates on Mt. Kynthos may be related (BCH 104 (1980) pp.3-45 nos.99, 171, 174, 430).

A2	II	*72-841	V.17	
	"	*72-1371	V.17	
	"	*72-1677	V.16	
	"	72-1987	V.17	
	"	73-664	V.17	
	"	-	-	NP.i.5
	"	-	-	EW.iii.4
	"	-	-	EW.v.8
	LII	*72-1501	V.22	
	III	72-719	V.24	
	"	-	-	EW.v.6
	IV	*72-1208	V.28	

From deposits of II and III Schliemann explicitly notes many platters adding, for II, that they were usually of plain ware (EW.iii.4; v.6; v.8). 72-1677 is probably from II.1.(i) (NS/c.i.10).

In Blegen's material wheelmade plates and bowls first appear in II.1.(ii) where there are ten fragments in plain ware: Troy I p.260. Appearances remain sporadic in II.2 and II.3 (pp.266, 257), and only in II.4 and thereafter do they become frequent (pp.256, 258, 300). Their distribution in West Anatolia and the Aegean is quite widespread: older maps, now slightly incomplete, appear in Beycesultan I p.256 map IX and French, Anatolia and the Aegean figs.49, 54. Their chronological significance has been variously assessed, but the view has been advanced that there was a wide-spread, almost simultaneous diffusion which may be taken as a marker of the onset of the Anatolian EBIII (e.g. Mellink, in Chronologies p.115f). The view adopted here is that the type made its first appearance in small numbers during mid-EBII where it is attested at Tarsus, Aphrodisias BA2 and Troy II.1 (Tarsus II no. 341; Prehistoric Aphrodisias p.389, fig.419: 12, 15, 18). There subsequently and after some lapse of time occurred a marked increase, and rapid spread, visible at Troy in II.4. To this phase we may assign the instances at Beycesultan XIIIa, Heraion II, Manika and Lefkandi (Beycesultan I fig.P.46:6; Samos I p.65 Taf. 44:1; Manika fig.65; Lefkandi fig.7:1-2). Whether this phase is termed EBII, EBII transitional, or EBIII is largely a matter of taste; but since in most other respects the Beycesultan, Manika and Trojan assemblages are still EBII in character it seems simpler to retain the designation EBII. A third phase of diffusion, continuing from the second but fractionally later and so falling on the other side of the EBII-III divide, is attested by the increase in Tarsus EBIIIa and by the new occurrences in Kültepe 13, Karataş-Semayük EBIII, Poliochni Yellow and Ayia Irini III (Tarsus II p.137f, nos.412-429; Özgüç, "New Observations" p.38f; AJA 71 (1967) p.263; 72 (1968) p.259; Mellink in End of the Early Bronze Age p.145; Poliochni II p.260 nos.44, 1433; Hesperia 41 (1972) p.373, fig.6:C5, pl.81). On this view the appearance of these plates and bowls, therefore, does often mark the arrival of the EBIII period; but it may also mark the outgoing EBII and can occur even earlier. For further discussion see the section on Bronze Age Chronology.

A4	LII	72-362	V.22
	III	73-142	V.24

A5(?)	II-V	-	-	NP.1.5
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A7(?)	I	72-621	(fragt.)	NS/n.iii.14
	"	72-1109	(fragt.)	NS/n.v.7
	II	-	-	NP.ii.9

A7	III	73-731	V.24
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Pedestals on bowls are most characteristic of Troy I. 73-731, if classed as A7, is therefore unusually late. But it could also be regarded as a pedestalled version of A16. In reality its foot has more in common with the low bases of Troy III-IV than with the stiffly-profiled pedestals of Troy I: cf. Figs.V.24-29: 72-1953, 73-92, 72-1946, 73-555, 73-721; Troy II fig.160: 37-882, 37.1126. Pedestals are known from contemporary strata at Emporio, and occur on bowls (albeit carinated) in Beycesultan VII: Prehistoric Emporio fig.254 nos.2643-4; Beycesultan I fig.P57:9. A somewhat closer parallel is found in Beycesultan V: ibid. II fig.P4:12.

A8	IV	*73-159	V.28
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This is handmade and of coarse ware (SS 290), like two of the three examples found by Blegen: Troy II pp.122-4, 239. Blegen relates the type to the well-known EHII saucers. Such a derivation is possible, but relies on the silver examples from Troy II.5.ii and Treasure 'A' to bridge the gap between EHII and the type's first appearance in pottery in Troy IV: Troy I fig.359: 36.449; SS 5868. A more convincing comparison is with the wheelmade bowls so characteristic of MB layers at Beycesultan, Aphrodisias and Tarsus: Beycesultan II p.83: shape 9; figs.P4:10; P5:8,12; P16:21; P25:2; P33:12,15,17,18; Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.454:13; 457: 2,6; Tarsus II fig.368:753.

A12	I	*72-1519	V.16
	I or II	At.105-2310	V.16
	III	73-4	V.24

Lugs on the rims of A12 bowls are characteristic of Troy I, and Blegen found a development towards lugs with pinched-up ends in Late I: Troy I p.60. Our two examples from Troy I agree entirely.

A16	II	73-660	V.17
	III	*73-663	V.24

III	*73-542	V.24
"	*73-285	V.24
"	*73-328	V.24

The shape is very characteristic of Troy III, and, like Blegen's, our examples are mostly red polished (cf. Troy II p.25). The shape is also characteristic of early Middle Helladic and of Beycesultan IX-VII: cf. Buck, Hesperia 33 (1964) pl.39 type A1; Beycesultan I pp.213, 231, shape 6. On *73-328 the vertical loop-handle is unusually small and is not adequately matched by Anatolian parallels; Beycesultan I fig.P66:14 (VIa) and Archaeologia 87 (1937) p.238 fig.8:8 (Kusura B) perhaps come closest. But small, vertical loop-handles are a prominent feature of Middle Helladic.

A20	IV	*73-327	V.31
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The shouldered rim of type A20, which is an innovation of Troy IV (Troy II p.125), occurs also in Beycesultan V and IVb, Büyükkale IVd and MB Tarsus: Beycesultan II figs.Pl:8-10; P24:25-27; Fischer, Hethitische Keramik no.878; Tarsus II fig.369:B. It seems not to antedate the Middle Bronze Age.

A200	II	*73-125	V.16
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Miniature hemispherical bowl with slightly incurving rim. Others of similar shape and size: Thermi pl.XI no.496 (V), XLI no.5 (I, III, IV); Prehistoric Emporio fig.121:82 and pp.203, 252 (X-VIII); Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.416:5 (BA2). Though simple, it thus seems to be an EB2 type. There are no whole examples from Troy I, but Blegen's sherd-profiles suggest that this type of rim was then well known: Troy I figs.263, 264.

A201	LII	*At.190-3469	V.22
	IV	*73-263	V.29

The inverted-U handles on *At.190-3469 are not previously attested on this hemispherical shape of bowl, but are otherwise common and unremarkable. The same applies to the knobs or lugs on *73-263.

A202	LII	73-447	V.22
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Shallow tripod dish with vertical loop-handle set on rim. Blegen actually cites this piece as a parallel to his shape A17 (Troy I p.227). Its closest parallel is in a small tripod dish from Beycesultan VIa made, apparently, from a broken askos: Beycesultan I fig.P67:15, pl.XXX:4, p.233. This latter has a tab-,

rather than a loop-, handle. Cf. also Ezero p.387, fig.189a.

A203	LII	73-525	V.22
	III	73-819	V.24
	"	*72-1225	V.24

Miniature tripod bowls with deep bodies like egg-cups. The first two have spreading legs; the third is perhaps more directly descended from predecessors of Troy I-II date, though only Thermi and Poliochni have produced examples: Thermi pl.IX:301 (Towns III-IV); Poliochni I.2 Tav.CXLI.6 (Red). The Thermi piece has a handle on the rim, but is otherwise close.

A204	IV	72-1557	V.28
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Small tripod dish with incised design on its flat top. A much earlier precursor, undecorated, occurs in Poliochni Blue: Poliochni I.2 Tav.LXXXIII:X; CII:7. Brea notes many Balkan parallels, *ibid.* I.1 p.586f. Our piece could perhaps be out of context, but there are also SS 9682-5.

Cups and Beakers

A26	II	At.105-2311	V.16
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This pedestalled cup in red lustre ware was assigned by Schliemann and Schmidt to Troy I (Ilios p.224; SS 161), an allocation favoured by Podzuweit (Trojanische Gefäßformen p.147). On the basis of the fabric Blegen preferred an origin in Early Troy II (Troy I p.228). The appearance of red lustre ware is in general a characteristic, though not infallible, mark of the beginning of Troy II. This, together with stratigraphic considerations, makes it likely that the deposit from which the cup came, NS/n.iii.12, was of Troy II.1 date.

A30	LII	73-273	V.22
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Three other examples come from Blegen's Troy IIg: Troy I p.228. Cf. also SS 1471. The type is thus attested in II.5, II.6 and III and so belongs to EBIII.

A31	I	72-1226	V.16
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Perhaps a mis-shapen example of a type which Blegen has only in Troy I. (Those from II.5.ii, or IIId, sound different: Troy I p.284.) Cf. also Thermi fig.28, Class B, Cup 1.

A33	LII	*72-1237	V.22
	III	72-563	V.24
	"	*72-1097	V.24
	IV	72-1087	V.28
	"	*72-1144	V.28
	"	*72-1205	V.28
	"	*72-1216	V.28
	"	*72-1219	V.28
	"	*72-1235	V.28
	"	*72-1470	V.28
	"	*72-1662	V.28
	V	72-197	V.30
	"	*72-1663	V.30
	"	*72-1668	V.30
	VI?	72-922	V.32

Among the A33 cups we may distinguish two groups. One represents the 'true' A33, with a sharply rising handle and sometimes a rather shallow bowl. In the Schliemann material this first appears in Late II (*72-1237) but is most frequent in Troy IV (*72-1205, *72-1219, *72-1235, *72-1662), surviving into V and possibly VI (72-197, *72-1668, 72-922). It also occurs in MB Tarsus (Tarsus II figs.294:837; 295:843). The type may be seen as an Anatolian counterpart to the "ladles" which appear in Middle Helladic Minyan Ware. The relationship is particularly apparent in Ilios nos. 1095-1100 which have very Minyan-looking handles; assigned to Schliemann's "Fourth City", they may derive from Troy III.

The second group is characterised by a much less sharply rising handle and, often, a more generous belly. In our material this type is first clearly attested in Troy III (e.g. 72-563), and is again most frequent in IV. In West Anatolia generally the type does perhaps have an ancestry going back to EBII, although such occurrences are occasional (Thermi pl.IX:436) or uncertain (Troy I p.64; II p.125). But it came into widespread use in EBIII (Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.439:23 (BA4); Protésilas no.139 (3rd settlement); Samos I Taf.40:19 (IV); Archaeologia 86 (1936) pl.VIII.2 (Kusura B); Tarsus II fig.358:459) and survived into the Middle Bronze Age (Tarsus II fig.294:838; Beycesultan II fig.P5: 20-21). For EH comparisons see Troy II p.126 and D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.129ff.

A37 II 73-464 V.17

This is the earliest Trojan example of the type; others come from Late II (?), III (?) and IV (Ilios nos.449, 1094, 1101; Troy II fig.160:37.882, 37.1126; cf. also SS 691-700). The related type at Beycesultan has a comparable life-span, from XI to V:

Beycesultan I figs.P48:2; P66:19; P67:5-7; II figs.P5:26,28,31; P6:2.

A205 LII *72-1383 V.22

Simple, cylindrical tumbler with slightly flaring mouth. A comparable silver cup from Treasure A, SS 5866 = Atlas 192-3490d (Fig.V.35) is probably contemporary. The history of the type goes back to Late Troy I or Early Troy II, because examples are known from Town III at Thermi: Thermi fig.26 no.194, pl.VIII; see also Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.163, Becher LIII. Indeed, various other tumblers are assigned by Schmidt to Troy I as well: TI p.250, SS 156-160. Our type A205 may well be related to the "ouzo-cups" of the Greek mainland, as Podzuweit too has recognised (Podzuweit, loc.cit. n.1067). Although they are considered especially characteristic of the early phases of EHIII, at Lerna they make their first appearance in habitation-deposits of Late EHII: Hesperia 24 (1955) pl.21e,f; cf. 29 (1960) p.296; AJA 72 (1968) p.315. Even so, they appear earlier in Northwest Anatolia. Hood derives them ultimately from Mesopotamian metal prototypes (End of the Early Bronze Age p.49). In Macedonia, however, such tumblers appear at the end of EBI: BCH 107 (1983)p.661 (Dikilitash IIIA), and they also occur in Southern Bulgaria: J.G.P. Best, "Lerna und Thrakien", in A.Fol, E.Buchner, C.Danov (eds.), Dritter Internationaler Thrakologischer Kongress, 2 vols, (Sofia 1984) p.156, fig.8.

A206 LII At.136-2728 V.22

Tumbler with sinuous profile, slightly everted lip and spreading foot whose internal profile is unrecorded. This too may have metal parallels in the contemporary Treasure A: SS 5865, 5864 = Atlas 202-3602, -3603 (Fig.V.35). But in this case earlier examples are lacking. The type is, however, characteristic of EB3 at Tarsus, where all but one of the pieces come from the very latest EB3 phase; it is also characteristic of the contemporary J1/J11 phase at Byblos: Tarsus II p.144f, fig.357:519; M. Saghih, Byblos in the Third Millennium B.C. (Warminster 1983) pp.97f, 116f; plates XLVIc, LII: dated to Late Akkadian-Ur III. It is unclear in which direction the influence has run, but the type was clearly more popular in the Levant and Cilicia than at Troy.

A207 I 72-599 V.16

Although superficially similar to A205, this is more probably a cylindrical stand - as its date and its spreading base suggest. Contemporary parallels are known from EHII Zygouries: Zygouries fig.108. The ribbing on our piece is curious and somewhat Carian in appearance: cf. the ribbed jars in Iasos figs.5,6.

A208 IV At.187-3436 V.28

Miniature pedestalled goblet. The shape is not an uncommon one and occurs in earlier periods, although not at Troy: cf. Poliochni I:2 Tav.IXa-d (EBI), LXXX m (EBII); AE 1898 pl.9:15; 1899 pl.8:13; Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.25, fig.3:5,9 (ECII); Alaca 1937-39 pl.XCVII:138,529; Alaca 1940-48 pl.48:h129, k99 (EB); Zygouries fig.117 (EHIII); Öktü, Intermediate-Keramik Taf.29: I-I/O1; 57:I-i/O1 (Kültepe EBIII). Pieces more likely to be contemporary with ours comes from M.B. levels at Beycesultan and Polatlı: Beycesultan II figs.P6:7-11 (V); P16:22-25,29 (IVc); AnSt 1 (1951) p.50, fig.12:7 (Polatlı, level 22).

A209 V 73-694 V.30

Conical cup with conical, fenestrated pedestal. There are no exact Anatolian parallels, but there can be little doubt about the Middle Bronze Age character of the piece: the steep profile, the sharp lines, the ribs around waist and base and the fenestrated pedestal are all indicative. Loose analogies may be found in Kültepe 1948 pl.XLIII; LXXIII:530-1; K. Emre, Anadolu 7 (1963) figs.10-13; Beycesultan II figs.P15, 26:2 (IVc,b). Our piece is, however, much more closely related to the straight-rimmed style of pedestalled goblet that appears in Ayia Irini IVb where smooth stems, such as ours, are also characteristic: J.C. Overbeck in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.111, cf. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia 41 (1972) fig.8:D4.

A210 II *73-61 V.16

Shallow, one-handled cup with large, vertical loop handle from rim to lower body. The type is characteristic of EBI and II, especially at Demircihüyük, but is not very common in the Northwest. The "spoons" at Eutresis (EHII-II) are similar. Demircihüyük III.1 pp.112-23; Taf.30.1-2; 31.15; 32.18-25; 33.1-3,18; 43.1-5; 45.1-7,26; 48.7; 49.1-7; 51.7-10,12-20; 48.7 is the closest; II Taf.38:9; 51:8. Cf. also Alaca 1936 Taf.LXXI:199,251; Alaca 1937-39 pl.XCVIII:3; Etiyokusu figs.62,70,71; Prehistoric

Aphrodisias fig.423:7 (BA3); Beycesultan I fig.P.14:3,9 (XIX),
Prehistoric Emporio p.385 no.1134; p.481 no.1885 (from periods V,
 IV = Troy I); Poliochni I.2 Tav.IIIa ('Black') - similar but with
 two handles; Eutresis fig.106.

A211	II	73-445	V.17
	III	72-1949	V.24

Globular cup with short, distinct, vertical rim. The shape is infrequent in the West Anatolian repertoire (Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.143f, Tassen C), but deserves to be distinguished from Type A33 (e.g. Troy II fig.159:37.1124 (IV) is classed by Blegen as A33). The type occurs in EBII at Aghios Kosmas, Ezero, Poliochni and Aphrodisias, and in EBIII in Macedonia: Aghios Kosmas fig.140:172,175; Ezero p.63 fig.36d (Period I, level 1); Poliochni I.2 Tav.CXLIII.K ('Green'); Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.436:2 (BA3); Argissa-Magula III pl.85:7, Beilage 31B:74. If the decoration on the rim of 73-445 is painted, one might compare it with a broader example with everted rim from EHIII Eutresis: Eutresis pl.IX:4 and fig.153:2.

A212	LII	*72-501	V.22
	III	*72-1826	V.24
	IV	*72-1025	V.28
	"	73-549	V.28
	III-IV	72-558	V.30
	"	-	-

NS/n.ii.5

Shallow rounded cup with incurving rim; vertical loop-handle rising from rim and descending to mid or low body. Something similar is found in Thermi IV; but, apart from SS 540 (= TI p.263 fig.134) whose date is uncertain, the type has its closest parallel in Kusura B: Thermi pl.IX:432, and fig.29, Class C; Archaeologia 86 (1936) p.18, fig.6:5; other examples listed by Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.140f, Tassen A1a-bl, are less alike, and 73-549 is best thought of as a dipper. In Central Anatolia, as at Troy, the type survives into the MBA: cf. Alishar VI fig.172: e2162 (Karum period).

A213	LII	73-347	V.22
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Ovoid cup with incurving rim and vertical loop-handle rising from rim and descending to mid body. An exactly equivalent two-handled form appears at the same time, in Late II-A223. It is not an Anatolian type although Beycesultan I fig.P55:39 (VIII) is similar in some respects; but there are close parallels in EHII at Aghios

Kosmas: Aghios Kosmas pl.127:41; 133:29.

A214 III *73-284 V.24

Shallow, hemispherical cup, handle restored. Perhaps in the tradition of shallow cups, cf. A210, but not a very good example. For general discussion of "dipper cups" see Hood, Prehistoric Emporio p.184f.

A215 IV *72-1373 V.28

Broad-bellied cup or jug with narrow hole-mouth and vertical handle from rim to mid body. The type is descended from the Late Chalcolithic: Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.26.1-5. A comparable piece but with everted trefoil mouth occurs in Beycesultan V: Beycesultan II fig.P7:12.

A216 IV At.131-2597 V.28

Small, conical cup with sloping rim, flat base and vertical loop-handle from rim to low on body. This type seems to lack good contemporary parallels. Podzuweit's examples of Tassen E, Trojanische Gefässformen p.146, have markedly rising handles. So does Thermi fig.28, Class B, Cup 4; pl.VIII:257.

A220 II 72-410 V.17

Cylindrical beaker with flat base and two vertical tab (or loop?) handles below rim. The type seems to be unique.

A221 II 73-538 V.17
LII 73-436 V.22
IV 73-555 V.28

Goblet with two vertical loop-handles from below rim to low on body, and with small, low ring(?) -base. The type is squatter than Blegen's A44 and lacks the narrower waist. 73-538 may come from Late II, for Schliemann has it among his finds from the Third (Burnt) City: Ilios no.324. Even so, it probably appears earlier than the six rather more developed pieces from the final EBIII phase at Tarsus: Tarsus II p.144:508-513; figs.266, 357. Another such appears in Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.426:13 (BA4). 73-555, from Troy IV, though perforated, is closer to the Tarsus and Aphrodisias examples. 73-436 (LII) with its convex profile is in a slightly different style. It is reminiscent of some goblets from Kültepe level 12 if its base can be disregarded: Öktü, Intermediate-Keramik Nos.I-C/01-03, 05, 07-8.

A222	LII	73-41	V.22
	III	*72-1879	V.24
	IV	*72-1206	V.28
	"	*At.188-3449a	V.28

Globular cup, sometimes with flattened base, with spreading rim and two loop-handles rising from rim and descending to mid body. The type does not appear in the Blegen material. It probably originated at the beginning of the EBIII period during which it was present at Beycesultan, Tarsus, Lerna and contemporary strata in Thessaly and Macedonia. It is very characteristic of the period. Beycesultan I figs.P47:23, 62 (XII); P50:46 (X); P52:18 (IX); Tarsus II no.493, fig.356; and see the useful tables in Argissa-Magula III Beilage 30, 31B, 32. *72-1879 is looser and more globular in shape than the others; comparable and perhaps contemporary cups are known from Paradimi (stratification uncertain) and, with more tightly raised handles, from the Middle Helladic deposits at Korakou: Paradimi Taf.70:4; Korakou p.16, fig.21.

A223	LII	73-274	V.22
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Ovoid cup with incurving rim and two vertical loop-handles rising from rim and descending to mid body. This is the two-handled version of A213, q.v.

A224	III	73-448	V.24
	"	72-203	V.24
	IV	*72-1658/9	V.28

Like A37 but replacing base with three short legs. This seems to be a purely Trojan type of EBIII and early MB date: cf. Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.148, Tassen HIIIb1-2.

Tankards

A39	II	*72-559	V.17
	"	*72-1515	V.17
	"	*72-1579	V.17
	"	*72-1828	V.17
	"	72-1985	V.17
	"	73-397	V.17
	LII	72-138	V.22
	"	*72-842	V.22
	"	*72-1825	V.22
	"	73-398	V.22
	III	*73-537	V.25
	IV	*72-1284	V.28
	"	*72-1477	V.28
	"	72-1910	V.28
	II-V	*72-1704	V.31

This type of one-handled tankard has been discussed at some length by Mellink, End of the Early Bronze Age, pp.145-9. As she rightly and usefully points out, the type antedates the related two-handled tankards in that it first appears during EBII and EHII: this is clear from the occurrences in Poliochni Red, Raphina, Orchomenos, Manika and apparently Karataş. (See, conveniently, Argissa-Magula III Beilage 27,28,29.) But, contrary to Mellink's view, exactly the same sequence can be observed at Troy. The type A39 may be present in Late I and II.1.(i) (Troy I pp.172, 252, 253). It is first certainly attested in II.1.(ii): Troy I p.260, fig.378:37.1183. The two-handled tankards (A43) are not certainly attested before II.5.(ii) although they may, like the depas (A45), have been introduced in II.5.(i) (See Table XXIX). The Trojan tankards do not, on the whole, have the widely flaring collar which is stiffly and sharply offset from the squat body typical of most (not all) of the published examples from Karataş. Some, however, are not so very different; one is the earliest stratified example already cited, 37.1183; another, SS 429, looks equally early. The presence of Plain Ware from II.1 onwards makes it quite possible that other flaring examples (Ilios no.397, SS 1097, 1098, 1110, 1185-97, 1764-5, 2000) could in some cases derive from II.1-4, so antedating the introduction of A43, even though "technically late". Indeed, Blegen seems to have found possible fragments in II.2 and II.4 (Troy I pp.266, 300). So the Trojan tankards need not be either derivative or late; and there is no evidence for a gap in occupation.

Blegen's classification is a bit of a catch-all, as there is a spectrum of types involved. There are tankards with and without stiffly flaring conical collar, with and without body sharply offset, with low-set handle and high-set handle, and in all possible combinations. This is not so very different from the rest of West Anatolia in range, only in balance. Not all tankards elsewhere have the flaring collars: cf. Poliochni I Tav.CXLIII:d,k; Beycesultan I figs.P51:5, 55:44; AJA 69 (1965) pl.61 fig.12 (Karataş); and even in those which do, the offset is not always sharp: cf. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.444:11; AJA 68 (1964) pl.80 figs.14,15; 82 fig.28 (Karataş); Samos I figs.47:4,6. While some of the Cycladic and Euboean examples have the sharp, Southwestern (for Mellink, "typical") look, this is not so for all of them either: cf. Lefkandi fig.7:7,8; BCH 104 (1980) pp.3-45 nos.58,119,

434; Hesperia 41 (1972) pl.80:C1, C42; RGZM 26 (1979) p.151, Abb.6:2; one could see this range of tankards as a typical West Anatolian mix. But one must agree that it does not look quite Trojan.

Among our own examples, two pieces from Troy II have a distinctive, elongated form: 72-1985, 73-398. It is without good parallel. 72-138 has vertical neck sharply separated from globular body; this occurrence in Late II has a good, wheelmade, red-polished parallel in the cemetery at Karataş: AJA 69 (1965) pl.61 fig.12. The sinuous profile and narrow base of *73-537 are characteristic of Troy III: Troy II figs.68-9 esp. 33.242, 33.239, 33.240; cf. Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.159f, Becher H1b1. 72-1910 is similar to one of Blegen's Troy IV pieces: Troy II fig.160 no. F8-9:150. In Central Anatolia, as at Troy, the type may continue into the Middle Bronze Age: Alishar III fig.134: stratum II = Karum period.

A41	LII	72-195	V.22
	V	*72-1190	V.30
	V?	*72-973	V.31

Blegen found tankards of this 'hour-glass' shape only in Troy V (Troy II p.242f). 72-195 therefore seems at first sight to be unusually early. But in Greece the possibly related 'Trompetenkanne' occurs in late EHII deposits at Orchomenos, and in Early Thessalian II and III: cf. Argissa-Magula III, Beilage 27 nos.33, 40; Beilage 24 no.31; Beilage 32 nos.19, 50, 69. A comparable piece of uncertain E.B. date is known from Babaköy: W. Orthmann, Ist Mitt 16 (1966) p.1ff: no.4. There are other Trojan examples, at least one of which (Ilios no.1182) may derive from Troy III - Schliemann's "Fourth City". See also Ilios no.1316, SS 1868-1878.

A43	II	73-375	V.17
	LII	*72-1379	V.22
	III	72-879	V.24
	IV	*72-1285	V.28

In Blegen's material the earliest certain attestation of this type of two-handled tankard occurs in II.5.(ii) - see Table XXIX. If the paucity of material is not misleading, it seems that the earlier examples (in II.5) have short rims, while the later examples from II.6 include ones with tall, flamboyantly flaring

rims: Troy I figs.379, 380; (to II.5.(ii) belong 36.740, 36.743; to II.6.(iii) belong 35.566, 37.1129, 35.456, 35.558, 35.415). A similar development has been noted in the contemporary levels 13 and 12 at Kültepe (Özgüç, "New observations..." pp.41f). At Tarsus, however, the flaring type appears without predecessors at the beginning of EBIII: Tarsus II fig.356:471. If the Trojan and Kültepe examples reflect a genuine chronological development in the type, this could suggest that Tarsus EBIIIA was contemporary with Troy II.6. But it is perhaps more likely that regional factors were at work, for, as with type A39, the stiff collars of the Tarsus tankards may be a primarily southern characteristic: cf. AJA 69 (1965) pl.65, fig.36; 71 (1967) pl.83, fig.46 (Karataş). Our examples are all short necked and so do not contribute to the discussion. The type is in general characteristic of EBIII. Further discussion in Hood, Pre historic Emporio pp.556-8.

A44 IV 73-209 V.28

Blegen, too found this type only in IV: Troy II p.127. It is ^{of}MB date, for there are close parallels from Heraion IV on Samos, and also from Beycesultan V and Acemhüyük III: Samos I Taf.15:4; 41:13-15; 43:37; Beycesultan II figs.P5:30; P6:1; Anadolu 10 (1966) p.129 pl.XXXV:3. But there are antecedents in EBIII: e.g. Ilios no.325 (Troy II.6?), Beycesultan I fig.P52:23 (IX). Cf. SS 665-7.

A45	II	*72-1865	V.17	
	"	73-407	V.17	
	"	-	-	NS/n.ii.7
	"	-	-	NS/n.ii.6
	"	-	-	EW.iii.4
	LII	72-587	V.22	
	"	72-643	V.22	
	"	*72-821	V.22	
	"	*72-1352	V.22	
	"	At.174-3372	V.22	
	III	*72-1141	V.24	
	"	*72-1145	V.25	
	"	*72-1321	V.25	
	"	*72-1333	V.24	
	"	*72-1372	V.25	
	"	72-1953	V.24	
	"	*73-593	V.24	
	"	*73-668	V.24	
	IV	*72-1476	V.28	
	"	72-1495	V.28	
	"	72-1655	V.28	
	"	*72-1660	V.28	
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5

V	72-1401	V.30	
"	72-1874	V.30	
"	73-741	V.30	
II-V	-	-	NP.i.5

The so-called "depas amphikypellon". The type has a wide distribution throughout West Anatolia; but it is also found along the south coast, in Central and Southeastern Anatolia, in the Amuq, in one instance on the Syrian Euphrates, in the Cyclades and on the Greek mainland. But it is still most numerous at Troy. There are useful discussions and distribution maps in French, Anatolia and the Aegean pp.53f, 129f, maps 50,55; P.Z. Spanos, Untersuchungen über den bei Homer "depas amphikypellon" genannten Gefässtypus, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 6 (Tübingen 1972); Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen pp.151-3; Huot, Céramiques pp.540-9 and Carte 62.

The material from 1870-73 greatly augments the number of stratified depres cups and, taken together with Blegen's examples (re-distributed as in Table XXIX), allows us to propose a refined typological sequence for the examples found at Troy. The first clear attestations come in II.5.(i), and the cups are found throughout the remainder of Troy II-V. The following types seem to be of usefully limited duration:

1. With grooved or fluted decoration, Troy I fig.407: II-143 (II.5.ii). Other stratified examples may all be contemporary with II.5: Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.426:10 (BA4); Tarsus II fig.285:722 (EBIIIA), 735 (EBIIIB); Öktü, Intermediate-Keramik Taf.54:I-c/O5 (Kultepe 13); Demircihüyük III, 2, Taf.64:1,6 (Bozüyük); cf. AJA 72 (1968) p.132, fig.54:4 (Antalya Museum, unstratified).
2. Squat with flaring rim and pointed base. Not found at Troy but probably contemporary with II.5: Beycesultan I fig.P47: 61 (XII); Alaca 1936 pl.34: Al.a.261 (II.4).
3. With rim that continues the line of the body with little or no splaying: Troy I fig.382: 35-601, 35-602; *72-1352? (all II.6); *72-1321, *72-1372, 72-1953, *73-668 (all III); cf. Poliochni II Tav.CXCII c,d (Yellow).
4. With undulating body-profile. At Troy the type may be limited to II.6: Troy I fig.381: 35-852; Podzuweit includes some from II.5 (Troy I fig.381: 36-856, -857), but they are unconvincing. Possibly contemporary are: AD 22a (1967) pp.53-76, fig.5:7 (Kastri ECIIIa); RGZM 26 (1979) p.150 fig.5:6 (E. Thess IIc-

- III); Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.426:9 (BA4); Tarsus II fig. 356:484 (EBIII but out of context); Öktü, Intermediate-Keramik Taf.16: I-C/06 (Kültepe 12); AnSt. 1 (1951) p.42, fig.10: gr.25:24 (Polatlı IB).
5. Squat and broad, with rim only slightly everted. At Troy this type occurs only in II.6: At.174-3372. Cf. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.426:11 (BA4); R.D. Barnett, British Museum Quarterly 27 (1963/64 p.79).
 6. With distinct foot, spreading rim, and body divided into horizontal registers. At Troy only in II.6: Troy I fig.382: 35-841; (fig.379:35-426 might be included also). Perhaps contemporary are: Beycesultan I fig.P52:21 and perhaps 17,20 (IX); Hesperia 24 (1955) pl.21.i (Lerna, EHIII); Tiryns IV pl.XXXII:5 (EHIII); Alt-Ägina III, 1, Abb.107 (VI). In shape the Trojan example stands apart from the others in having a low foot instead of a spreading, conical base. The Greek examples are all painted, and may span the entire EHIII period since the Lerna piece is of early EHIII date while Aegina VI immediately precedes the MH period. Cf. also Braidwood, OIP LXI (1960) p.450 fig.349 (Amuq J).
 7. With narrow ring-base. At Troy only in III: 72-1953. Possibly contemporary are Beycesultan I fig.55:46 (VIII), Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.426:1 (BA4). Perhaps to be compared are Tarsus II nos.508-513 (EBIII, CIII-IV); Belleten XXI (1957) fig.53 (Kültepe 12).
 8. With concave profile. At Troy only in III: *73-593. Cf. Beycesultan I fig.P67:2 (VIa).
 9. With two constrictions in the body, giving a 'bubbly' shape. At Troy only in IV: 72-1655. Cf. Protésilas Abb.71:137 (level 3).
 10. In addition it seems that the largest Trojan depas cups, with a height of 22cm or more, all belong to II.5 - III. The large examples from Kastri, Ayia Irini and Pefkakia can all fall within this range: AD 22a (1967) pp.53-76 fig.4:3 (c.24cm); Hesperia 41 (1972) p.374 fig.7:C48 (c.22cm); RGZM 26 (1979) p.150f, Abb.5:6; 6:4,6.
- For a conspectus see Fig.V.59.

Small jug or tankard c.7cm tall, with rounded base, concave neck, strongly everted rim, and vertical loop-handle rising from rim and

descending to mid body. Because of its flaring rim the type has some resemblance to A39, but the closest parallel is with a tankard nearly twice the size from Tomb 15 at Iasos: Iasos p.47, figs.2:18; Tav.XXXVI:135.

A218 LII *At.189-3452 V.22

Tankard resembling A39, but with three small feet. A comparable, if not the same, piece is shown in Ilios no.1043. At present it seems to be a purely Trojan type. The position of the handle is reminiscent of EHIII tankards: e.g. Orchomenos III pl.XI:3a,4a.

A219 IV *72-1376 V.28

Tankard with low base, ovoid body, straight neck and slightly thickened horizontal rim; loop-handle from rim to body. The shape is Buck's Middle Helladic shape B8 (Hesperia 33 (1964) pl.40; this is clearer in the photo at SS 2327 than in Schliemann's drawing or Ilios no.1020. The decorative design, though incised, is very characteristic of Middle Helladic Matt-Painted Ware (cf. for example Eutresis figs.202,205,232, pl.XIV). There is similar incised decoration on a dark-faced sherd of early ECIIIB date from Phylakopi I-ii and on a dark grey sherd from MB Tarsus; both should be contemporary with early Middle Helladic (Phylakopi pl.V:3; Tarsus II fig.300:935). Our piece is in pale buff coarse ware and, if not an MH import, is certainly of MH inspiration.

A225 III 73-27 V.24
" 73-51 V.24

Tankard with ovoid body, sharply concave neck, flaring rim and two loop-handles rising from rim and descending to shoulder. The closest parallels are to be found in late EBIII of Macedonia and in Middle Thessalian: Kastanas Taf.52:10; 65:4,7 (levels 22b-a); Prehistoric Thessaly p.182, fig.126d (Lianokladhi III). There is a possible antecedent in Sitagroi fig.13, 25:10 (level Vb) but the top is broken, and another in Troy I fig.385:36.819 (II.6.iii).

A226 III *72-1778 V.24

Ovoid tankard on low base, with concave neck, flaring rim and two vertical loop-handles from neck to shoulder. This is an EBIII type, for very similar pieces, but twice the size, are known from Emporio I which is dated by Hood to late Troy II: Prehistoric Emporio pp.560,562; fig.249 nos.2555, 2556. Earlier but possibly

related are a tripod-jar from Iasos p.84:4 figs.15:5; 266 and a vase without handles from the EHIb settlement at Manika: Manika I fig.24γ, Γ 5. Cf. also SS 537.

A227 III 73-500 V.24

Pedestalled goblet with plain rim and two, small, vertical loop-handles set below rim. There is a parallel without handles in Emporio I, and two incomplete pieces from Aphrodisias BA4 may be of the same type. A similar goblet with four lugs is known from Kültepe. Prehistoric Emporio p.556 no.2531; Hood notes possible antecedents in Early Cycladic II. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig. 427:5,6; Bittel, PFK p.69, pl.viii.3.

A228 IV *73-241 V.28
III-IV *72-600 V.30

'Hourglass' tankards with two handles. *72-600 is clearly a two-handled version of type A41 (see above). *73-241 is wider and has a more rounded base; four such pieces are listed by Schmidt: SS 1996-9 (though Podzuweit classes these differently from our pieces: Trojanische Gefässformen pp.154-5, 158: Becher CII, FIVa-b). They show a broad kinship with the two-handled tankards of Middle Thessalian I and Beycesultan V: cf. Argissa-Magula III, Beilage 11:12; Beycesultan II fig.P5:23.

A229 IV *72-1581 V.28
II-V 72-216 V.31

Piriform tankard narrowing to simple mouth, with two vertical loop-handles on mid body. The shape is possibly related to that of EHIII tankards, but may also be connected with a larger and more sharply defined form of the Assyrian colony period at Kültepe: cf. Orchomenos pl.XI:3a; Manika I fig.58:9; K. Emre, Anadolu 7 (1963) fig.10: Kt.m/k 202 (level II).

Jugs

B1 I *72-1805 V.16
II 72-144 V.16
III *At.188-3444 V.25

B3 II 72-95 V.17
" 72-116 V.16
" 72-588 V.17
" 72-666 V.17
" *73-73 V.17
" 73-399 V.17

II	73-671	V.17
LII	*72-495	V.22
"	*72-496	V.22
"	*72-1113	V.22
"	*72-1378	V.22
"	73-287	V.22
"	73-400	V.22
III	72-406	V.25
"	72-474	V.25
"	72-749	V.25
"	*72-1110	V.25
"	*72-1774	V.25
"	*72-1775	V.25
"	73-288	V.25
"	73-723	V.25
"	At.189-3459	V.25
IV	*72-1095	V.28
"	*72-1355	V.28
"	*73-146	V.28
V	*72-1070	V.30
"	*73-150	V.30
V?	72-993	V.31

Within Blegen's definition falls a number of differing shapes and sizes of jug: (1) a simple jug with globular body and straight neck, with varying proportions and, occasionally, decorative warts; (2) similar, but with widening mouth; (3) a jug not greatly different from the elongated A39 tankards (73-287, *73-146); (4) the three miscellaneous shapes represented by 73-671, 73-288 and 73-723. Types 1-3 all span at least Troy II-IV, so cannot be distinguished chronologically.

The ribbing on 72-95 (II) is shown by the photograph in SS 2263 to undulate and to be gently diagonal. Although ribbing and fluting are most characteristic of EBI and II in Southwest Anatolia, as at Beycesultan, they do occasionally appear in the Northwest as well: Demircihüyük III.2 Taf.34:2 (L); Kâmil, Yortan Cemetery pl.XX:41 (Class A); Poliochni I.2 Tav.CXLIIIh ('Red'); Thermi pls.VIII:10, 138; XII:115; XIV:1; cf. also Paradimi Taf.2a:5; 2b; 37:2, of uncertain EB date. Since the fern-leaf pattern around the neck can quite well be Trojan too, there is no need to suppose our piece to be an import.

B4.	II	73-348	V.17
	LII	73-409	V.22
	"	At.138-2747	V.22
	III	73-281	V.25
	"	73-735	V.25
	V?	*72-992	V.31

B11 II-V. 72-1756 V.31

The form is a rare one, found by Blegen only in IV. But our example is probably Ilios no.405, assigned by Schliemann to the Third (Burnt) City, i.e. to II.6. A similar jug is known from EBII Tarsus: Tarsus II fig.259:336.

B13 II *73-188 V.17
 " 73-748 V.17
 III At.188-3441 V.25
 III-IV 72-601 V.30
 IV At.167-3272 V.28

B14 II At.89-1847 V.17

B15 II 72-1900 V.18
 " *73-28 V.16
 " *73-52 V.18
 LII 73-736 V.22
 III 72-166 V.25
 " *At.189-3451 V.25
 IV *72-1143 V.28
 " *72-1279 V.28
 II-V. 72-1 V.31

Various styles of cut-away spout are represented here. In general such spouts came to popularity during the EBII period: cf. the attestations listed by Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen pp.169-171, Krüge C1, to which add Prehistoric Emporio pp.390, 393, figs.176-7, pls.67-9; Yortan Cemetery figs.45-64. 72-1900 (II) and 72-1279 (IV) are in a rather different class as they are lentoid jugs. The type first appears towards the very end of EBII both in West Anatolia and in Euboea: AJA 68 (1964) pl.82, fig.29 (Karatas); Euboea pls.VII:2; IX:1,6; Manika I p.250 fig.57. The appearances continue in early EBIII and beyond: Hesperia 41 (1972) pp.374f: C49; Poliochni II Tav.CCX:c (Yellow); Yortan Cemetery fig.80:277 (Class C); AJA 71 (1967) pl.82, fig.42 (Karatas); Tarsus II fig. 361:557; such lentoid vessels are discussed by Mellink in End of the Early Bronze Age pp.145-150. For lentoid flasks see B6.

B17 II 72-190 V.17
 " *72-655 V.17
 " At.151-3019 V.17
 LII 72-653 V.22
 III 72-550 V.25
 " *72-1204 V.25
 IV *At.188-3446 V.28
 II-V 72-215 V.31

The two examples from Troy III both have pinched spouts.

B18	II	*72-549	V.17
	"	*72-1809	V.17
	LII	73-465	V.22
	"	At.139-2761	V.22
	V	*73-260	V.30

73-465 is discernibly EBIII: the basic shape occurs in Tarsus EBIII, and a similar jug (though smaller and incised), with little wings and 'rivets' on the neck, is known from Beycesultan X: Tarsus II fig.270:539, 545; Beycesultan I fig.P51.1. Twisted handles are characteristic of EBII-III: see discussion in Hood, Prehistoric Emporio p.215. The knobs or lugs on the neck of *73-260 are characteristic of Troy V: cf. Troy II p.243:B20.

B20	II	72-147	V.16	
	"	At.189-3463	V.18	
	"	-	-	NP.i.5
	III	*72-1776	V.25	
	"	73-46	V.25	
	"	*73-339	V.25	
	IV	73-554	V.28	
	"	*73-673	V.28	
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5
	V	*At.124-2490	V.30	
	V-IX	72-263	V.30	
	II-V	-	-	NP.i.5
	V?	*72-966	V.31	

The beaked jug in its canonical form, as described by Blegen (Troy II p.27f), is an innovation of Troy III. It appears simultaneously in the painted 'geometric' vases of ECIIIB (cf. Barber in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.91). In our material it is clearest in *73-339 (III), *73-673 (IV) and *At.124-2490 (V). But the beak has its ancestors already in EBII: e.g. AE 1899 pl.8:10; 9:2 (ECII); Prehistoric Emporio p.447, pl.84:1575 (period II); Tarsus II fig. 250:224; Samos I Taf.44:2 (II); Euboea pl.IX:3,6; Manika I pp. 249f, figs.55:1; 56:4. This is reflected in our Troy II examples. *72-1776 and *At.124-2490 are entirely at home in Troy III-V: cf. Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen p.174: Krüge CV. 72-263 (V-IX) was assigned by Schliemann to the Burnt City, i.e. to II.6 (Ilios no.360). Our stratification, however, points to V as the origin; and indeed the piece agrees very well with Blegen's notes on the typical features of B20 in Troy V (Troy II p.243f).

B21	III-V	-	-	NS/n.ii.5
	V	At.167-3267	V.30	

This seems to be a development from an EBII type, as in B14 and Yortan Cemetery shape XIV, figs.71:230; 76:246-7; cf. Troy II

p.129. A jug similar to At.167-3267 is said to have come from the Burdur region: The Anatolian Civilizations I pp.166f; no.A441.

B22 V 73-739 V.30

A purely Trojan form, it seems: Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.178: Krüge GII.

B24	LII	At.161-3089	V.22	
	II-III	-	-	NS/n.ii.6
	III	73-108	V.25	
	IV	*73-158	V.28	
	"	*73-255	V.28	
	V	*72-1074	V.30	

Pinched and trefoil mouths, the characteristic of this type, began in EBII at Tarsus, but only in EBIII (II.6) at Troy: Tarsus II nos.201-2, 205, 221, 228; Tables XXVIII, XXIX. They seem to reach the Cyclades somewhat later, in early ECIIIB: Barber in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.92. Jugs like At.161-3089, with large bodies and disproportionately small mouths, enjoyed a vogue in EBII-III: cf. Iasos p.50, fig.3:25; Poliochni I Tav.CXLIV:a,b (Red); Eutresis fig.153:4 (EHIII); Troy I fig.265:4(?) I; Tarsus II fig.271:532. *73-158 (IV) may be compared with MB juglets from Tarsus (Tarsus II fig.296:847-9, 851); the low base on *73-255 (IV) is characteristic of MB jugs at Beycesultan (Beycesultan II figs. P6:15-16; P17-19; P27-8; P35); *72-1074 (V) is closely paralleled by two jugs from the Karum period in Central Anatolia (Alishar VI fig.180:e31; Kultepe 1949 pl.XXIV:102 - from Karum Ib). Its decoration is analogous to that found by Blegen on the B20 jugs from Troy V, Troy II p.243 and cf. 72-263 (Fig.V.30).

B212 III *At.187-3423 V.25

Miniature jug with flat base, cylindrical body, clearly marked shoulder, horizontal mouth pinched to a lip, and handle from rim to shoulder. No obvious parallels.

B213 II 73-187 V.18

Globular jug with neck and mouth pulled back: loop handle from rim to mid body. Although the best parallels come from Troy (Ilios nos.366-8), others from Aphrodisias BA4 show that this type is not exclusively Trojan: Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.425:35; 426:19 (BA4). It may be an EBIII exaggeration of an earlier form related, perhaps, to the flat-bottomed, non-theriomorphic askoid

jugs of EHII: cf. Thermi fig.29: Class C, Jug 8; Tarsus II fig. 249:213; Aghios Kosmas pl.126:17; Zygouries fig.82; Tiryns IV pl.IX; Orchomenos III pl.VII, VIII; AJA 72 (1968) p.315; for discussion of such see Hood, Prehistoric Emporio p.188f.

B214 II At.188-3450a V.18

Ovoid jug with flat base, cylindrical neck, horizontal mouth cut away at rear, and loop-handle from neck to shoulder. A rare type, perhaps EBIII, but not exclusively Trojan: cf. Ilios no.345; Dhimini p.148 fig.57; Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.179: Krüge LIb.

B215 II At.189-3457 V.18
" *73-185 V.18

Jug with mouth cut away diagonally towards the front. This, if genuine, seems to be a purely Trojan shape; but Ilios nos.384, 395 (from the "Third City") look as if they may be the same jugs with horizontal rims restored - whether correctly or incorrectly one cannot now say. They are not listed in SS.

B216 II *72-1680 V.16
" 73-662 V.18
III 73-278 V.25
" *73-600 V.25

Piriform jug with rounded base, tall thin neck rising directly to mouth which is cut away diagonally towards the rear and slightly shaped or pinched; handle from low neck to upper body. The type is distinguishable from B20 by the lack of forward-drawn spout. A similar form occurs in Beycesultan I fig.P48:17 (XII).

B217 II At.175-3390 V.18
III *73-888 V.25
" At.174-3367 V.25

Jug with twin necks. The type is known in EBII: Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.50:2,3 (F2,3); Yortan Cemetery fig.75:244-5 (Class A); AJA 73 (1969) pl.73:10 (Karataş); it continues into EBIII: Prehistoric Emporio p.558, fig.249, pl.103, 109: no.2540 (I); Beycesultan I fig.P.67:14 (VIa).

B218 II At.104-2298 V.16

Double jug, from Early Troy II. Although double jars are quite common in the EBII of the region, double jugs are rare; this seems to be the only Anatolian example. They do, however, occur in the

Cyclades in ECII: Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.358, pl.418 and p.536.

Bottles and Flasks

B5	II	72-484	V.18
	III	73-341	V.25
	IV	*72-1375	V.29
	"	*At.167-3263	V.29

These pieces, whether imported or not, are all related to forms known in the metallic and simple wares of North Syria discussed by H. Kühne, Die Keramik vom Tell Chuera (Berlin 1976). Kühne argues that much of the material is principally of Early Dynastic date, although he does allow some to survive to the end of the Ur III period. There seems to be truth in the observation that the wares occur in E.D. contexts and that Tell Chuera goes back to at least E.D.II; but Kühne may have been too zealous in arguing away many of the Akkadian contexts: see R. Zettler, JNES 37 (1978) pp.345-50. In Anatolia the earliest attestations come in late EBII with ovoid and globular bottles in Kültepe levels 15-14, a globular jar with double lugs in Early Troy II (At.105-2312 = Ilios no.23), a bottle in Alişar 13T, and other metallic ware imports in Korucutepe D, EBII Tarsus and Tilmen Hüyük IIIg: Özgüç, "New Observations" pp.35-38; Korucutepe II p.68, III p.274; Tarsus II fig.244: 154a,b; AnSt 14 (1964) p.25; Chuera p.49 nn.330, 331; and pp.46-51 generally. According to the chronology adopted here, none of these attestations need be earlier than E.D.IIIa. The alabastron-shaped bottles, however, first appear in EBIIIIa at Kültepe levels 13-11 (Özgüç, op.cit. pp.34-36) and in EBIIIIb at Tarsus, Tilmen and perhaps Gedikli. These would be of Early Dynastic IIIB-Post Akkadian date (Tarsus II p.154; Chuera pp.46-47).

The Trojan bottles fall into Kühne's classes F1 (alabastron-shaped bottles), F2.1 (ovoid bottles) and F3 (globular bottles), though only F1 and F3 are represented in the four pieces catalogued here.

In class F1 we may place Ilios no.408, assigned by Schliemann to the Burnt City, and our example 73-341 (= Ilios no.1124) which comes from Troy III. Unlike most of the alabastra from Kültepe and Tarsus, neither has a double rim. They are more like Tarsus II fig.268:616, which is unstratified. *At.167-3263 and *72-1375, both from Troy IV, are a different shape of alabastron. They, like

the unstratified pieces SS 1482-86, find their closest parallels in two bottles of Middle Bronze Age date at Tarsus II fig.294:913,917 and one at Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.445:22, also MB. As ovoid bottles of shape F2.1 we may reckon Ilios nos.407 and 409, both included among Schliemann's finds from the Burnt City; also Ilios no.1129 from Schliemann's "Fourth City" and so perhaps from Troy III. Globular bottles of shape F3 must include 72-484 from Troy II (this is Ilios no.410 which Schliemann assigns to his Burnt City); also an example in gold from Treasure A: SS 5862 = At.202-3603a, dateable to Late Troy II. Later examples of F3 are Ilios no.1122 from Schliemann's "Fourth City", i.e. perhaps from Troy III; Blegen's piece Troy II fig.70:34.750, certainly from Troy III; and Ilios no.1314 from Troy IV or V. SS 1823, 1824 are additional examples but unstratified. Type B203 is related.

The dates at which these classes of bottle first appear at Troy is of interest but difficult to establish since the earliest instances all occur among the Schliemann material. A date somewhere within Troy II can be regarded as almost certain, but whether in Early II (= late EBII), Middle II (EBIIIIa) or Late II (EBIIIIb) is less clear. Schliemann's allocations to the Burnt City may favour Late II. This would be very probable in the case of the alabastron-shaped bottles if the Trojan sequence was running parallel with that at Tarsus; but it would be less likely for the ovoid and globular bottles which elsewhere usually appear earlier, especially as ovoid and globular jars with the same Syrian affinities are attested at Troy from Early II onwards.

B6	II	At.188-3442	V.20
	LII	72-880	V.23
	"	*72-1689b	V.23
	III	*72-1559	V.26

If 72-880 and *72-1559 are Ilios nos.436 and 1115, both are lentoid like At.188-3442. A similar two-handled flask is shown in Beycesultan I fig.P51:10 (level X) but is not noted as being lentoid. For lentoid jugs see B15. 72-1689b has parallels in the EBII and EBIIII deposits at Karataş-Semayük: AJA 78 (1974) pl.66: fig.7 (Mound level I); 69 (1965) pl.64: fig.29 (Mound level II); 71 (1967) pl.82 fig.43 (EBIIII habitation-area). See also B219.

B7	IV	73-718	V.28
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Blegen has a comparable piece from II.6: Troy I fig.386:35.468. The

type's occurrence in IV is not isolated since it also appears in the Aphrodisias BA4-MB deposits: Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.333, 445:28. Cf. SS 393.

B8	II	73-353	V.20	
	LII	-	-	NP.ii.7

A parallel from Late II is: Troy I fig.386:36.665; cf. also Ilios no.1141 (III?). In the E.B. this seems to be a Trojan shape. Among related flasks of the second millennium, Alaca 1937-39 pl.XLVII:1 is very similar.

B200	II	*72-1678	V.19
	LII	73-728	V.23
	III	*72-1516	V.25
	IV	*72-1236	V.29

Piriform flasks with conical neck tapering to a plain rim; there are sometimes two or more vertically-pierced lugs on the body. The base may be flattened or rounded. The type has a history going back to the "constricted-neck jar" of the Aegean Late Neolithic: Saliagos fig.34:1. During the Late Chalcolithic it is attested at Tarsus, Kumtepe IA and Demircihüyük: Tarsus II fig.233:83; Kumtepe fig.8; Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.26:10,14. Thereafter it survives on all sides of the Aegean basin, being apparently most common in the EBII period, e.g. Ezero p.386, fig.188B (period I, level V = Troy I); Kastanas Taf.24:3; 25:7 (E.Mac.II); Thermi pl.VIII:195 (Town III); AE 1898 pl.9:1-2,4 (ECII); Aghios Kosmas pl.142:155 (EHII); Phylakopi p.83, fig.67 (ECIII). A later parallel for *72-1516 is perhaps provided by Samos I Taf.19:6 (Heraion IV).

B201	II	72-143	V.16
	"	72-667	V.18
	"	73-551	V.18
	LII	73-74	V.22
	III	72-408b	V.25
	"	72-752	V.25
	II-V	*72-1703	V.31

Globular flask with cylindrical neck and plain rim. The shape is related to Blegen's C28 but is simpler, lacking handles, lugs, or everted rim. It is discussed by Hood, who notes its presence in the Cyclades from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age and at sites influenced by the Cyclades; there are no whole examples from Emporio, but the type may be attested by rim-sherds: Prehistoric Emporio p.196. Of EBII date are Ezero p.61 fig.342 (period I,

level IV); Thermi fig.28, class B, collar-necked jars type 1; Aghios Kosmas pl.147:191,194. The nature of the decoration on 72-408b is uncertain; it could have been painted, incised or spiral burnished.

B202	IV	*73-96	V.28
	"	At.162-3133	V.28

Small flask with flattened base, globular body, and long cylindrical neck ending in a plain rim. Tarsus II figs.261,349 no.359 (EBII) has some points of similarity but has a tapering neck whereas ours tend to be slightly flaring. Kultepe 1949 pl.XXIV:105 (Karum Ib) has a similar piece with trefoil mouth.

B203	II	*73-75	V.16
	"	73-454	V.18
	"	73-669	V.18
	LII	73-732	V.23
	"	73-734	V.22
	"	At.131-2595	V.23
	IV	72-226	V.29
	V?	72-751	V.31

Globular flask with tall, narrow neck and spreading rim; sometimes with lugs at the rim. The type is again related to Blegen's C28, but neither Blegen nor Podzuweit gives it separate treatment. The shape is a simple one with widespread parallels, e.g. Chuera Abb. 264-7, Kastanas Taf.24:4. In Anatolia it appears in the Late Chalcolithic and EBI at Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.26:13; 44:4-5. A good example comes from a burial dug into the BA3 deposits at Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.374:13; but many rim-sherds suggest that it was present there throughout the E.B.A.: *ibid.* figs.405:38, 42; 419:35; 304:19,20; 408:2; 436:11,16; 305:5; 462:13; 445:22 (arranging them in chronological order). Beycesultan II fig.P9:1 (V), though lugged and carinated, suggests some survival of the type into the M.B.A.; as may the apparently M.B. example in Alaca 1935 pl.XXV:A1.16.

B204	LII	72-743	V.22
	IV?	73-276	V.29
	V	*73-149	V.30

Globular flask like B203, but with vertically-placed tubular lugs on upper part of body. It is not exclusively a Trojan type (cf. Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen p.197, *Kleine Vorratsgefäße* BIVa) since parallels are frequent, though apparently earlier, at Iasos: Iasos figs.6-7. The lugs on *73-149, apparently from Troy V,

are more reminiscent of Beycesultan EBII: Beycesultan I figs.P23, 37.

B205	II	*73-190	V.19
	"	73-698	V.19
	LII	73-591	V.23
	III	*72-1118b	V.26
	"	73-688	V.26

Globular flask like B203 but with projections like wings or bucrania. This seems to be a purely Trojan shape, although a fragment in Prehistoric Emporio p.565f, fig.252:2598 (period I) could be from a flask like 73-591.

B206	II	73-582	V.18
	III	*72-1189	V.25
	"	73-326	V.25

Flask with flattened base, concave neck and spreading rim. The earliest parallels seem to come from the Late Chalcolithic: Beycesultan I figs.P8:9; P9:2. From EBI there is Prehistoric Emporio p.53, fig.36: Ayio Gala no.235; from EBII Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.57:15; Tarsus II fig.246:175; Alaca 1936 Taf.33; Beycesultan I fig.P42:3. There is an unstratified parallel in SS 1489.

B207	III	73-15	V.26
	IV	*72-1506	V.29

Piriform flask with short, cylindrical neck and three feet. A fragmentary jug from Troy IV looks similar but apparently had a handle: Troy II p.142, fig.161:37.901.

B208	II	At.145-2842	V.21
	LII	72-16	V.22

Ovoid flask with flat base. The basic shape of At.145-2842 is already known from jugs of type B4. 73-16, with which 73-13 may be identical, finds a parallel at Samos I Taf.41:18, assigned to the Troy IV period.

B209	LII	*At.189-3453	V.23
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Slender, ovoid flask with spreading pedestal and cylindrical neck ending in plain rim; no handles. A rare type, not noted by Blegen or Podzuweit. It has a possible early parallel in the Aeneolithic Cemetery at Byblos (Byblos I no.6691), and a similar form, though with handle, comes from the EHIb material at Manika (Euboea

pl.VII:3); this latter could be directly related to the Trojan piece. An interesting MB development is a similar flask from Kültepe Karum II with moulded ornament depicting two human faces, one male, the other female: T. Özgüç, "A vessel in the form of a human of the Assyrian trading colony period", Belleten 43 (1979) pp.267-272; The Anatolian Civilizations I p.196 no.A511.

B210	LII	At.167-3266	V.23
	III	72-407	V.26
	III-IV	72-597	V.30
	V	*72-1841	V.30

Ovoid flask with spreading pedestal, cylindrical or spreading neck ending in plain rim, and two wings or lugs placed vertically on the body; Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefässformen p.183: Flaschen C. The type is first attested, it seems, in EBII: Thermi pl.X:336, 481; Yortan Cemetery fig.93:22 (of uncertain provenance); Ezero p.62 fig.352. From EBIII there are: Poliochni II Tav.CXCVIII.a; Ilios no.302; SS 5859, 5860 (both silver); and presumably Schimmel Collection no.1 (electrum); Ilios no.1005, probably from Troy III. It is thus a primarily Northwest Anatolian type.

B211	LII	73-822	V.23
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A variant of B210, with the wings enlarged and having two nozzles at the top; the central neck is wider; the whole is incised to look like a human or a bird. Thermi pl.X:336 provides the closest parallel, and since the wings on that piece are clearly those of a bird of prey Schliemann may not have been utterly in the wrong in speaking of "owl-faced" vases.

B219	II	73-665	V.20
	LII	At.167-3260	V.23
	III	*73-599	V.26
	II-V	*72-1715	V.31

Two-handled flask with globular or lentoid body, long slender neck, splaying rim, and two handles usually from neck to shoulder. The type is related to Blegen's B6 but may be regarded as a class of its own. It is present in West Anatolia throughout the Early Bronze Age: Beycesultan and Demircihüyük have it in EBI; Yortan and Iasos have it in EBII; Troy, Yortan and Karataş have it in EBIII. Beycesultan I fig.P20:1,2,4 (XVIII, XVII); Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.30:15, 41:1-3, 47:2-7; Yortan Cemetery fig.70:226 (Class A); 82:283 (Class C); Iasos p.52, fig.4:28 and Tav.XL1:159; AJA 71 (1967) pl.83 fig.45. The type spread westwards into the Aegean

towards the end of EBII and ^{at} the beginning of EBIII, Hesperia 24 (1955) pl.21h, p.37 (end of Lerna III); cf. 41 (1972) p.374 fig.7 (Ayia Irini, ECIIIa: one-handled); Manika I pl.83 (one-handled equivalent in "EHIIb"). See also SS 431-2.

B220 V *72-1836 V.30

Globular flask with low base, cylindrical neck, and two widely-drawn handles from rim to shoulder. A Troadic type: cf. SS 537, Archaeology 26 (1973) p.173 (Samos). Fragments of a vessel in Emporio II look as if they may derive from such a piece: Prehistoric Emporio no.2394.

C207 II-V 72-227 V.31

Globular bottle with flat base and very short collar neck ending in plain rim. Seemingly without parallel.

C208 II 73-545 V.18
IV 73-682 V.29
V *72-1842 V.30

Ovoid bottle with flat base. 73-545 and *72-1842 have necks ending in slightly everted rim, the latter having a clearly-marked lip. 73-682 has a neck tapering to a plain rim. 73-545 could be seen as a version of Cl5 without handles, and 72-1842 as a development from B5. 73-682, from Troy IV, has a parallel in a Middle Bronze Age bottle from Tarsus: Tarsus II fig.294:916.

Vessels with Nozzles

B9 II 73-344 V.18
 LII At.167-3259 V.22
 IV *72-1656 V.28
 " 73-891 V.28

Side-spouted vessels are first attested in the Early Neolithic and develop eventually into the carinated teapots of the Middle Bronze Age and beyond; early occurrences are discussed by Hood, Prehistoric Emporio p.217. Additional EBI-II examples from Demircihüyük may be noted: Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.32:10; 39:1-7; 40:1; 54:4,6 (EBI); III.2 Taf.6:1; 27:8; 28:1; 29:2; 34:3; 35:1 (EBII). 73-344 is the commonest Trojan type: cf. SS 390-392,555; it has parallels (with horizontal necks) in Central Anatolian EBII: Alaca 1936 Taf.LXXII:AL/A 302; Alaca 1963-67 pl.LVI, Al.r.224; Orthmann, Keramik p.111, Taf.10 no.2/59 (Alışar 14T). At.167-3259 is certainly of EBIII date and is very reminiscent of N. Syrian

types: cf. Chuera Abb.256-260; A9 (Tell Chuera and Chagar Bazar). *72-1656 also has N. Syrian 'Simple Ware' analogies (Chuera Abb.260, 261); other Anatolian examples tend to have basket handles or vertical handles from rim to body: Tarsus II fig.246:174,229 (EBII); Prehistoric Aphrodisias no.320.III: figs.326:2; 444:27 (BA4-MB). The type is introduced into Greece in EHIII: cf. Zygouries figs.89,115; M.S.F. Hood in End of the Early Bronze Age p.49. 73-891 has a basket-handle like some Tarsus EBIII examples (Tarsus II p.149). Unlike those and the Yortan Class B examples (Yortan Cemetery fig.79:266-68) there is a distinct carination in the body; cf. Orthmann, Keramik p.134, Taf.37:no.8/65 (Polath); Prehistoric Mersin fig.123:5 (unstratified). The carination may reflect the appearance already of early MB types of teapot, e.g. Beycesultan II fig.P8:1-6. (level V). Ilios 1329 has it too, and will be from Troy IV or V. These pieces have a clear relation to ones of the Karum-period at Kültepe: Kültepe-Kaniš pl.XXVIII:3; XXXII:2.

B221 V At.167-3268 V.30

Squat, conical jar with rounded base and sides rising to short cylindrical neck with plain rim. Two cylindrical nozzles project upwards from the sides, as do two pointed wings (restored). Jars with multiple nozzles are attested from the Chalcolithic to the Late Bronze Age: The Anatolian Civilizations I p.71, A116 (Kuruçay, Chalcolithic); Anadolu 13 (1969) pp.69-76 (Karataş-Semayük, EBII); Hesperia 25 (1956) pl.43f, p.162 (Lerna, EHIII); Prehistoric Aphrodisias no.222.III, figs.79, 428:23 (BA4); Samos I Taf.41.6(?) (EB3); Anatolica 14 (1987) pp.29-30 (Taşlıcıbayır, LB). The class is discussed by Mellink, Anadolu 13 (1969) pp.69-76, who lists other multi-spouted vessels from Mari, Khafaje, Telloh and Naxos, and suggests that they were for communal beer-drinking using straws, as depicted on Early Dynastic and Karum-period seals. If our jar were placed on a pot-stand it would be comparable in shape to the Karataş and Mari examples.

Jars

C1	II	72-1901	V.17
	"	73-343	V.17
	"	73-396	V.17
	III	72-404	V.24
C5	II	72-1960	V.20

II	73-410	V.20
"	73-695	V.20
"	73-696	V.20
"	73-697	V.20
"	At.195-3511	V.19
"	At.217	V.19
LII	72-747	V.23
III	72-473?	V.26
"	73-717	V.26
"	73-722	V.26
V	At.168-3275	V.30

These twelve examples cut across Podzuweit's Amphoren types AIIa-c and AIIa-b, Trojanische Gefässformen pp.184-6. At Poliochni the type occurs in the Yellow phase but not before: Poliochni II Tav. CXCIV-CXCVIII. For discussion of plastic bucrania see Hood, Prehistoric Emporio pp.287-8.

C6	II	*72-1810	V.18
	III	73-738	V.26

Although Blegen has the type only in Troy IV, these earlier attestations from EBII-III are supported by stratified EBII examples from Beycesultan XIV-XV, Karataş V, and by others from EBIII Tarsus; many similar pieces also occur in the Yortan Class A wares: Beycesultan I figs.P33:9; AJA 70 (1966) pl.59 fig.20; 71 (1967) pl.84 fig.49; Tarsus II fig.277:597,605; Yortan Cemetery figs.28-32. A piece similar to 73-738 and its lid, but with vertically-placed tubular lugs rather than handles, occurs at Byblos II no.18145.

C7	II	73-342	V.19
	"	73-383	V.19
	"	At.167-3262	V.19
	IV	*72-1020	V.29
	"	*72-1103	V.29
	V	*72-1071	V.30
	"?	73-892	V.31

C8	IV	73-123	V.29
	V	*72-1835	V.30

Schmidt rightly saw that this was a late type, TI p.257. A third example, but without bosses, is known from the "Hittite" strata at Alaca Hüyük: Alaca 1937-39 pl.LXV:4; the piece seems to derive from stratum 4 and to be of MB date. Of the two Trojan pieces it resembles 73-123 the more closely.

C10	II	72-750	V.20
	"	*72-1772	V.20

II	73-412	V.20
"	73-453	V.20
"	73-544	V.20
"	73-720	V.20
LII	*72-1370	V.23
III	73-286	V.26
"	73-496	V.26
II-III	73-191	V.27
V	*72-1073	V.30

The four-handled version, 73-286 (III), is unusual but has close parallels in Poliochni Yellow and among the Middle Helladic II material from Kirrha: Poliochni II Tav.CCXV:a,c; Kirrha pl.XLVII. 72-1073 (V) is paralleled, though not exactly, in two pieces from the MB strata of Alaca Hüyük: Alaca 1937-39 pl.LIX:3; Alaca 1940-48 p.140:18; pl.18:e250. A jar in Beycesultan V may be related but lacks the handles: Beycesultan II fig.P9:2.

C11	II	*72-1773	V.21
	LII	73-346	V.23

C12?	IV	*At.190-3482	V.28
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This two-handled ovoid pitcher seems to be without Anatolian parallel. It could, however, be regarded as an adaptation of a Middle Helladic hydria, Buck, Hesperia 33 (1964) pl.41 shape C6. Buck suggests (p.296) that the form was developed only during the course of the MH period and was not present in the early phases.

C13	II	73-377	V.19
	"	73-411	V.19
	IV	73-602	V.29

Two pieces from MB Tarsus are fragmentary but seem to provide close parallels to 73-602: Tarsus II fig.299:925,926.

C19	II	At.138-2750	V.17
	LII	*72-1377	V.23
	III	73-699	V.24
	IV	*72-1448	V.29

At.138-2750 is slightly unusual in having four, rather than two, handles. The deeper shape of *72-1377 may be compared with that of 36.666, also from Late II: Troy I fig.399. For the horizontal handles on 73-699, cf. 35.570, Troy I fig.399, also II fig.243: 32.22 (V). The type is said to be abundant in Acemhöyük III: Anadolu 10 (1966) p.136 pl.XLI.1; it also occurs in Büyükkale Vc: K. Bittel et al., Boğazköy VI: Funde aus den Grabungen bis 1979 (Berlin 1984) p.24, Abb.6:72; *72-1448 is paralleled by Tarsus II

fig.299:928 (MB).

C21	II	*72-1771	V.19
	IV	73-329	V.29
C22	III	*72-1604	V.26
C25	I	*72-1610	V.16
	II	*72-1681	V.16
	"	*72-1700	V.18
	LII	72-1675	V.22
	"	73-679	V.22
	IV	*72-1317	V.29

For *72-1610 there are parallels in Ezero p.61 fig.34e (Troy I period), Thermi fig.29, pl.IX:411, Class C Pyxis 2 (IV), Hesperia 41 (1972) p.366 fig.4:B48-51 (Ayia Irini, ECII). *72-1681 is like Thermi fig.29, pl.IX:412, Class C Pyxoid Bowl (IV), Aghios Kosmas pl.150:218 (grave 29), Yortan Cemetery fig.32:71,72.

C27	II	72-562	V.18
	"	*72-836	V.18
	"	72-1947	V.18
	"	73-547	V.18
	III	73-580	V.25
	II-V	*72-1735	V.31

The type is discussed by Hood, Prehistoric Emporio p.197: Type 44, and occurs also in the Yortan material: Yortan Cemetery fig.32:71, 73. If *72-1735 is the same as SS 2587, three legs should be restored. The unexpectedly late occurrence of the type in III is matched perhaps by Ilios no.1015 ("Fourth" City). The type thus occurs in Northwest Anatolia in EBI, II and III. The incised decoration on 73-580 (III) seems reminiscent of early ECIIIB and the Middle Helladic incised coarse ware (cf. Phylakopi pl.V; Eutresis fig.250; Asine figs.105-7); but no exact parallel is known to me.

C28	I	*72-1607	V.16
	II	72-193	V.18
	"	72-585	V.18
	"	72-665	V.18
	"	72-696	V.18
	"	72-715	V.18
	"	72-920	V.18
	"	*72-1281	V.18
	"	*72-1413	V.16
	"	*73-161	V.18
	"	73-181	V.18
	"	73-416	V.18
	"	73-442?	V.18

II	73-725	V.18	
"	73-729	V.18	
"	At.104-2301	V.16	
LII	72-475	V.22	
"	72-668	V.22	
"	*72-695	V.22	
"	*72-834	V.22	
"	73-42	V.22	
III	*72-620	V.26	
"	*72-1608	V.26	
"	73-677	V.25	
"	73-680	V.25	
"	73-724	V.26	
II-III	-	-	NS/n.i1.6
IV	*72-1184	V.29	
"	*72-1344	V.29	
"	*72-1469	V.29	
"	*72-1580	V.29	
"	*72-1858	V.29	
"	*72-1862	V.29	
"	73-670	V.31	
"	At.168-3277	V.29	
III-IV	72-924	V.30	
V	72-196	V.30	
II-V	*72-1755	V.31	

One of the most characteristic forms of the Northwest Anatolian Early Bronze Age. Within C28 we may distinguish four basic shapes, three types of lug and three sizes of jar. The jars may have concave shoulder rising directly to a simple rim (e.g. 72-193), a short collar neck (e.g. 72-475), a tall and slender cylindrical neck (e.g. *73-161), or a broad cylindrical neck (e.g. 72-665). The lugs may be tubular (e.g. 72-193, 72-665), triangular (e.g. 73-416) or pointed (e.g. *72-1413). The sizes cluster around three figures: 6cm, 10cm and 16cm tall. The decoration on 73-181 (Troy II) is characteristic of very early EHIII: cf. Rutter, Hesperia 51 (1982) pl.99:28; 100:35,37; that on 72-196 (V) may imitate the painted styles of MB Kültepe, cf. (e.g.) Kültepe 1948 pl.LXII:360. Some of the squat jars with concave shoulder have parallels in Copper Age Alaca Hüyük: Alaca 1937-39 pl.CVI:Al.d.153, p.147; pl.CXXXCII; Alaca 1940-48 pl.48:h75, p.205. 72-696 may be a miniature like Troy II fig.167:37.993.

C29	III	*72-1214	V.26
	V?	At.155-3054	V.31

The curled handles are an innovation of Troy III: Troy II p.30. The decoration on At.155-3054 is closely matched by that on an MB sherd of dark grey incised ware at Tarsus II p.182, fig.300:934.

C30	I	72-1804	V.16	
	II	*72-1611	(fragt.)	NS/c.i.11

II	*72-1679	V.18	
"	73-47	V.19	
"	73-406	V.19	
"	73-643	V.17	
"	At.189-3455	V.19	
"	<u>Ilios</u> 232	V.19	
LII	72-753	(fragt)	NS/n.iii.8
"	*72-1443	V.23	
"	At.167-3271	V.23	
"	At.174-3375(a)	V.23	
"	At.188-3443	V.23	
"	*At.189-3456	V.23	
"	At.191-3483	V.23	
III	*72-1261	(fragt)	NS/s.iii.11
"	*72-1777	V.26	
"	73-601	V.26	
"	*At.145-2846	V.26	
"	At.188-3439	V.26	
"	At.190-3464	V.26	
II-III	73-37	V.27	
"	-	-	NS/n.ii.6
IV	*73-147	V.29	
"	73-254	V.29	
"	73-684	V.29	
"	73-742	V.29	
"	*At.151-3020	V.29	
"	At.167-3269	V.29	
III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5
V?	72-260	(fragt)	NS/s.i.1
"	-	-	NS/n.ii.4
"	-	-	NP.v.1
II-V	72-94	(fragt)	NP.i.5
"	At.155-3052	V.31	

These anthropomorphic jars are characteristic of Troy and rare elsewhere. (But cf. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.426:12, BA4; AJA 72 (1968) pl.82:15, from Karatas; The Anatolian Civilizations I p.154, A410 from Afyon; Larisa am Hermos III Taf.I:2, treated as a figurine.) Whereas Blegen's types C7 and C8 were probably designed to carry face-lids which covered the plain mouth and neck of the jar, type C30 has the human face on the neck itself; the lid will have fitted inside the mouth of the jar. Most have upright "wings" rising from the sides, and three knobs representing breasts and belly. Schmidt's attempt, TI pp.256-7, to arrange the jars into a chronological sequence based on typology, was almost wholly mistaken. 73-643 belongs to a rare type known also from Ilios nos.487,987 (perhaps LII, III). The basic shape of At.191-3483, but retaining only handles and breasts of the decorative features, is paralleled at Beycesultan I fig.P26:1 (XVI). The chronological extension of C30 into the Troy I period is important but is already attested by a piece from Kumtepe Ic: J.W. Sperling, Hesperia 45 (1976) pl.79:823.

C32	II	73-443	V.19	
	LII	73-686	V.23	
	"	At.168-3273	V.23	
	"	*At.188-3445	V.23	
	III	73-92	V.26	
	"	At.188-3448	V.26	
	II-III	-	-	NS/n.ii.6
	IV	73-721	V.29	
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5

These pedestalled pyxides mostly have globular bodies, but 73-443 and At.188-3445 are piriform and *At.188-3448 is ovoid. The globular style is very characteristic of the Yortan region in EB2: Yortan Cemetery figs.33:76-79; 89:7,10 (Babaköy); 90:21 (Bergama); 92:11-15 (uncertain provenance); The Anatolian Civilizations I pp.139f, no.A368. Its appearance elsewhere in West Anatolia, including Troy, is mainly dateable to EB3: cf. Poliochni II Tav. CCd, CCXXIb (Yellow); Beycesultan I fig.P53:12 (IX). The piriform variety has wider parallels, but again mainly of EB2 date; the shape is related to that of Ezero p.386 fig.188d; but At.188-3445 is strongly reminiscent of Early Cycladic II pieces: AE 1899 pl.8:1; C. Renfrew in Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.25 fig.3:1. Also similar are four pieces from Alisar V, fig.72 (12M) which have interesting parallels in bronze from Chuera Taf.1:1,2,5, but without lugs. For the distribution of type C32 see French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.129ff.

C34	II	72-114	V.16	
	"	73-182	V.19	
	"	At.134-2664	V.19	
	LII	72-137	V.23	
	II-III?	-	-	NS/n.ii.6

C35	II	*72-1468	V.19	
	"	73-418	V.19	
	"	At.103-2296	V.16	
	"	*At.120-2357	V.16	
	"	At.155-3055	V.19	
	LII	72-192	V.23	
	"	73-48	V.23	
	III	72-229	V.26	
	"	*72-1146	V.26	
	"	73-280	V.26	
	"	73-336	V.26	
	"	73-687	V.26	
	"	73-727	V.26	
	II-III?	73-40	V.27	
	IV	*72-1368	V.29	
	"	73-208	V.29	
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5
	V	*At.124-2488	V.30	
	II-V	*72-1716	V.31	

IV-V	-	-	NW.ii.7
II-V	-	-	NP.i.5

There is some variety in degree of squatness, width of neck, type of lug, position and style of feet. The type cuts across Podzuweit's Kleine Vorratsgefäße BII, CII and EII (Trojanische Gefäßformen pp.194-203) but is firmly Northwest Anatolian. For At.103-2296 cf. Troy I fig.403:35.427 (II.6.iii); for *72-1146 cf. Troy I fig.403:36.849 which originally had legs (II.5.ii); for 73-687 cf. Troy II fig.60:III-83,84 (III); 73-40 may be ancestral to a type from Kültepe Karum Ib (Anadolu 7 (1963) pp.87ff, fig.12: Kt.k/k 140); the decoration on 73-208 is paralleled on a piece without lugs or feet in Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.326:5; 426:15 (BA4), also on two fragments from MB Tarsus: Tarsus II fig. 300:936a,b. Note the appearance of volute handles in Troy III: *72-1146.

C36 IV *72-1217 V.29

The lugs have been restored. Blegen's C36, which appears only in Troy IV, is closely paralleled by a jar in Beycesultan IVc (Beycesultan II fig.P22:1) where it is "an abnormal shape", *ibid.* p.111.

C39	II	72-232	V.21	
	"	-	-	NS/n.iii.9
	LII	-	-	EW.vii.1
	III	-	-	NS/c.i.7
	"	-	-	NP.i.5
	II-III	-	-	NS/n.ii.6
	IV	-	-	EW.v.5
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5

72-232 belongs to Podzuweit's Pithoi C: Trojanische Gefäßformen p.206f. The type is known also at Thermi and Poliochni, but differs from Yortan Type 3 in having a shorter neck. Examples from the Troy I period at Emporio have the same everted rim and body-shape, but complete specimens are equipped with four or six handles: Prehistoric Emporio pp.199, 409, 530; figs.187:1287, 1283; 231:2332, 2333; pl.100.

C200	II	73-548	V.18
	LII	72-742	V.22
	IV	*72-1369	V.28
	"	*72-1096	V.28
	V?	*72-976	V.31

Globular jar with concave neck and plain rim. The shape is a simple one descended, ultimately, from the Neolithic. Other

examples contemporary with these include: Euboea pls.II (bottom row); V, B2, B8; Manika I p.387, pl.96 (EHII), Aghios Kosmas pl.147:205 (EHII); Alaca 1936 Taf.LXXI:37 (Copper Age); Orthmann, Keramik 2/24 p.108, Taf.6 (Alişar 12M). For the single knob or lug on *72-1096 cf. AE 1898 pl.9:22; Manika I fig.68ß:70; 68d:84; pl.111. The type corresponds to Hood's Type 33 attested at Emporio VIII-VII: Prehistoric Emporio pp.192, 332, fig.155, pl.54.

C201	II	*At.136-2724	V.18
	"	*72-1690	V.18

Deep ovoid jar with rounded base and sides narrowing to a simple rim. Our pieces are only 10-12cm high. Tarsus II fig.271:613 EBIII) is somewhat similar and 15cm high, but has a slightly everted rim and, perhaps, a basket handle: II p.153. Much larger, and earlier, is a jar of similar shape from Ayio Gala Lower Cave: Prehistoric Emporio p.19 no.21, pl.5.

C202	LII	73-425	V.22
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Miniature ovoid jar with two triangular lugs just below simple rim. Without obvious parallel.

C203	III	72-115	V.25
	"	72-214	V.25
	IV	72-1494	V.29

Cylindrical or ovoid jars with flat base, simple rim and two lugs on upper half of body. 72-214 is a miniature, as may the others be. Cf. Troy II fig.78:37.884 (III) - incomplete.

C204	LII	At.136-2727	V.22
	III	*72-1790	V.25
	IV	At.155-3053	V.28
	V	*72-1578	V.30

Small ovoid jar with rounded base, short collar-neck, simple rim, and one lug or knob on mid-body. No obvious parallels.

C205	III	72-717	V.25
	IV	*72-1255	V.28
	"	*72-1876	V.28
	"	*73-225	V.28
	V?	*72-835	V.31
	V?	*72-837	V.31

Conical pyxides. The type's connexion with Troy IV is very noticeable (the example from Troy III stands apart as atypical in shape). In the Cyclades conical pyxides are an innovation of

Phylakopi I-ii, dated to early ECIIIB: Phylakopi pl.IV:1-3; Barber in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.90. The Trojan examples therefore have a chronological significance. *73-225 (IV) has a distinctive rounded shape with short neck. There is a possible EHII and EHIII ancestry (Aghios Kosmas grave 7, pl.147:196; Zygouries fig.88); but in Anatolia its only parallels, and those not exact, occur in MB contexts: Beycesultan II fig.P9:1 (V); Alaca 1937-39 pl.LIX:5 (level 4?).

C206	II	At.149-2948	V.18
	IV	73-563	V.29

Pyxides with narrow base and broad shoulders sloping sharply in to a simple hole mouth. At.149-2948 has holes at the rim; 73-563 has two perforated lugs on the shoulder. Both are miniatures. The former has a larger, EHII parallel at Aghios Kosmas grave 3, pl.141:164. The latter has some similarities with Yortan fig.77:253 (Class B ware) and with Manika I pl.93a:γ (EHIIb). But cf. also Alaca 1940-48 pl.15:h 108 (MB).

c209	II-V	*72-1727	V.31
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Squat, possibly globular jar with hole mouth and two large, vertically perforated lugs. The piece looks like Ilios no.1027 ("IVth City", i.e. III), where it is given a neck and three feet; cf. SS 2305. Precise analogies are lacking, but the incised decoration could be Early Cycladic at its crudest - cf. Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.139, fig.129:2 (ECII).

C210	IV	At.167-3265	V.29
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Globular jar with flattened base, very slight concave neck and simple rim, two vertical loop-handles on upper body. There are no really good parallels. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.484:8 (MB) has a wider mouth and Beycesultan II fig.P9:3 (V) a deeper body and rounded base; both are much larger. Kultepe 1948 pl.LIII:266 (Karum period) has horizontal handles but is otherwise similar.

C211	II	72-100	V.18
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Conical pyxis similar to C205 but with two pointed, vertically placed handles at the neck.

C212	II	73-540	V.17
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Globular jar with concave neck, flaring rim, and two handles from

just below rim to body. The shape is related to EBIII two-handled cups like A222, but was already present in EBII: Yortan Cemetery fig.70:228 (Class A); Tarsus II fig.247:191; Poliochni I Tav.CXLIIf (Red).

C213 II 73-730 V.19

Globular jar with rounded base, cylindrical neck, bevelled rim and two loop handles on shoulder. Although this type has possible antecedents in Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.36:1-4 (Phase E), Prehistoric Emporio p.402, fig.182, pl.73 (IV), and Thermi pl.XIII:30 (Town I), it seems closest in spirit to the globular jars in metallic and simple wares from Tell Chuera where, however, such handles are rare (Chuera, Abb.276). Cf. also Tarsus II fig.276:589 (EBIII).

C214 LII 73-282 V.22

Biconical jar, squat, with flat base, simple rim and basket handle (restored). No side-spout. There are no exact parallels but several approximations. 73-891 (Type B9) is the closest but has a side-spout. Asea fig.73a (EHII?) lacks the basket handle. Poliochni I Tav.CLIIfa has a pedestal and is not biconical (Red).

C215 II *72-1558 V.18
LII At.149-2932 V.22
IV *72-1318 V.29

Globular pyxis on three short feet, sometimes with two vertically-perforated lugs on the body; hole-mouth with no neck. The shape occurs in Yortan Class A wares and in Poliochni Yellow: Yortan Cemetery fig.32:74; Poliochni II Tav.CCIIa,c. There are thus parallels in EBII and EBIII.

C216 II *72-1824 V.19

Globular pyxis with hole mouth, on low pedestal. There is a similar piece from Bergama: Yortan Cemetery fig.90:21.

C217 III 72-1946 V.26
" *At.149-2931 V.26
IV 73-678 V.29

Miniature ovoid jar with low pedestal, two lugs on body and simple hole-mouth. Thermi pl.VIII:307 (Town III or IV) provides a close parallel.

C218 III 72-1823 V.26

V At.168-3284 V.30

Tripod jar with cylindrical neck and two curled handles on mid body. A purely Trojan type, it seems, and very characteristic of Troy III: cf. 72-1146 (III), Ilios nos.1025, 1044, 1049, all from Schliemann's "Fourth City", i.e. III.

C219 III *72-1400 V.24

Jar with globular body, spreading pedestal and wide, flaring neck. This piece could be seen as a wider version of Troy I fig.403: 35.433 (II.6.iii) or of Troy II fig.168:36.892 (IV). In the same way it could be compared with SS 1969, 2790 and Manika I pl.24γ (EHII-IIIa). And there are possible antecedents in Prehistoric Emporio p.503 no.2086 (Period II) and Ezero p.368 fig.172e (I, level XIII). But the closest parallel seems to be with a jar from the partly-plundered Chamber Tomb M2 at Gedikli, probably of EBIII date: Belleten 30 (1966) p.51, fig.45. Also similar is Tarsus II fig.274:579 (EBIIIc).

C220 II 73-387 V.21
" 73-461 V.21
III *72-1507 V.27

Deep ovoid storage-jar with narrow, flat base, concave neck, widening rim and two loop-handles on shoulder or from neck to shoulder. There are no whole examples from Blegen's excavations, but Troy I figs.259:C39, 1a; 414:20 could be fragments of such pithoi. The same applies to the evidence from Poliochni, see Podzuweit's Pithoi/B, Trojanische Gefässformen p.206. The fragmentary evidence from Emporio suggests pithoi like these: Prehistoric Emporio no.2284 and pp.199, 409, 564, figs.187, 251. Yortan Cemetery shape 6, fig.22:93,95, has a much wider neck but is, of course, a burial-jar. Also closely related are Tarsus II fig.256:284, 286a, 286b (EBII); fig.275:636 (EBIII).

C221 III 73-691 V.26

Ovoid jar with narrow flat stump-base, concave neck and flaring rim; two lugs or handles on mid-body. Only c.20cm. Probably a miniature version of a pithos like Poliochni II Tav.CCXVIIIb (Yellow), but with different handles.

C222 LII 73-14/17 V.22

Miniature jar with flat base, ovoid body and, if nearly complete,

hole mouth or only very short neck. There is some protuberance on the side of the body. Cf. Poliochni I Tav.CXXXIVn (Green).

C223 LII 72-764 V.22

Globular jar with hole-mouth and one lug on the side. Cf. Poliochni II Tav.CCIId (Yellow).

Lids

D1	I	*72-1356	V.16
	II	72-146	V.16
	"	72-586	V.21
	IV	*73-667	V.29
	II-V	*72-1714	V.31

Podzuweit's Deckel BI, Trojanische Gefässformen p.216ff; Hood's Type 62, Flanged Covers, Prehistoric Emporio p.201. Well attested at Troy, not so well at other Northwest Anatolian sites; at home in the E.B. of Crete and the Cyclades.

D2	II	73-497	V.21
	III	*At.132-2616	V.27

Podzuweit's Deckel BII, op.cit. p.218, noting parallels at Samos and Raphina. There is now also Demircihüyük III.1 Taf.36:7 (Phase E).

D3	II	73-97	V.16	
	LII	72-775	V.24	
	"	*72-1353	C.24	
	III	*72-1185	V.27	
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5

D7	LII	72-411	V.24
	"	73-350	V.24
	III	72-1866	V.27
	"	72-1958	V.27
	"	73-338	V.27
	II-V	72-141	V.31

D8	II	At.104-2307	V.16	
	"	At.195-3511	V.21	
	"	At.217	V.21	
	III	*72-1207	V.27	
	"	73-122	V.27	
	II-III	-	-	NS/n.ii.6
	III-IV	-	-	NS/n.ii.5
	V?	72-748	V.31	

Attestations at Emporio, Thermi and perhaps Poliochni show that in the Northeast Aegean the type was already present in EBII. In the Southwest it occurs only in EBIII, it seems. Prehistoric Emporio

pp.202-3 (II-I); Thermi fig.40:XIIa (IV-V); Poliochni I p.645; Beycesultan I fig.P49:10; P56:11-13; P70:8; AJA 71 (1967) p.261 (Karataş); Samos I p.65. The same may be true at Troy (see Table XXIX).

D11	I	72-1334	V.16
D13	II	72-767	V.21
	"	72-776	V.21
	"	73-104	V.21
	"	73-384	V.21
	"	73-421	V.21
	LII	72-516	V.23
	"	73-589	V.23
	"	73-683	V.23
	"	73-692	V.23
	"	73-817	V.23
	III	72-194	V.27
	"	72-517	V.27
	"	*72-1218	V.27
	IV	*72-1069	V.29
	"	*72-1142	V.29
	"	*72-1853	V.29
	"	73-259	V.29
	"	73-676	V.29
	V	*72-297	V.30
	"	*72-1374	V.30
	"	72-1832	V.30
	II-V	72-1702	V.31
	"	*72-990	V.31
	III-IV	-	-

NS/n.ii.5

Anthropomorphic lids were designed to fit on jars like C7 and C8 and are at present uniquely Trojan. Instances are documented by Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen p.216: Deckel A. There is considerable variety in basic shape and in decorative treatment. Some are cylindrical with flat tops; others have rounded tops and gently spreading sides; still others are rounded but very shallow. In almost all cases eyebrows and nose are indicated by one continuous feature; ears are sometimes shown, but mouth only occasionally. The top of the lid may carry a knob or coil suggesting a tuft of hair. When Blegen's examples are taken into account, the chronological dispersion of all these variants seems pretty random; but since most types are present at some point in Troy II and continue at least into III or IV the likelihood is that hazards of excavation are mostly responsible for the gaps. An exception to this seems to be the shallow, rounded kind like *72-297: there are no certain examples earlier than Troy V, and a further two come from Schliemann's "Fifth City" (= IV-V): Ilios

nos.1291, 1298. The very schematic 72-776 is unique. It is perhaps worth noting that Ilios no.190 has a facial treatment unusual at Troy but resembling that on the head of an unfinished Cycladic figurine in the Goulandris Collection: C. Doumas, The N.P. Goulandris Collection of Early Cycladic Art (Athens 1968) pl.259. But that does not look typically Cycladic either.

D14	II	73-439	V.21
	II-III	73-178	V.27
	IV	*72-1839	V.29

Podzuweit's Deckel KV Ia, well attested at Thermi: Trojanische Gefässformen pp.224-5.

D15	II	*72-925	V.21
	"	*73-29	V.21
	III	*At.164-3201	V.27
	"	At.190-3473	V.27
	IV	*73-223	V.29
	"	*73-250	V.29
	V?	73-262,264	V.31

D200	II	72-777	-	NS/n.iii.8
	LII	72-486	V.23	
	"	*72-1289	V.23	
	III	*72-1381b	V.27	
	IV	*72-1381a	V.29	
	"	*72-1697	V.29	
	"	At.143-2825	V.29	

Disc-lid with two string-holes near the edge on opposing sides. Blegen classes these within D15 (e.g. Troy II p.33, fig.80:34.328), but they are a distinct group as Podzuweit recognises: Trojanische Gefässformen pp.223, 225: Deckel KVIIIb. The type is typically Northeast Aegean and is attested at Prehistoric Emporio, e.g. no. 2099, p.502 (phase II) and Thermi pl.XXXVIII: lid types Ik,m (Towns I-III). At Beycesultan it appears only at the transition from EBII to EBIII: Beycesultan I fig.P45:II (XIII). Like 72-486, some flat lids at Emporio are incised: e.g. Prehistoric Emporio nos.1656, 2098.

D201	II	At.150-2968	V.21
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Disc-lid (?) with central knob and two perforated lugs at the edges. The type may be related to the knobbed variety in Poliochni I Tav.CLIX g-o (Red), but also to the lugged type in Poliochni I Tav.LXVb (Developed Blue). Cf. also Thermi pl.XL, lid type XI (Town IV).

D202 I 72-485 V.16

Lid with flat top and single basket-handle with central knob. There may be a parallel in Poliochni I Tav.CLIXb (Red), and at Emporio Type 61 is similar though it lacks the central knob: Prehistoric Emporio no.1296 (Period IV). Blegen found a disc lid with crossed basket-handles in Troy I: Troy I fig.231:37.978, and p.75. But Schmidt records 72-485 as having been restored as a cylinder lid, SS 196; it is not clear whether the restoration was correct.

D203 III-IV 72-718 V.30
IV *72-1280 V.29

Shallow cover with vertical sides, slightly rounded top, and two laterally perforated lugs rising from the edge of the top. The type is known in EBI-II Emporio, where four lugs are more common than two. A piece from Poliochni Yellow may be similar. Prehistoric Emporio p.455, nos.1300, 1302, 1658-1661, 2306-7; Poliochni II Tav.CCXXVh; cf. SS 2987-8. There are contemporary parallels in Beycesultan V and MB Tarsus, but both with vertical holes in the lugs: Beycesultan II fig.P8:8; Tarsus II fig.372:921, 922.

D204 IV *73-478 V.29

Flanged cover with the flange pulled out at two points to provide vertically pierced lugs. Flanged covers are quite common but the pulled out lugs are not. See MB parallels cited for D203.

D205 II 72-531 V.21

Cylindrical lid with upper half widened to form a deep flange; basket-handle on the top. A similar, though not identical, piece occurs in Poliochni I Tav.CXXXIII:1, CXXXIVj (Green).

D206 LII 73-681 V.23

Flanged cover with flaring sides and low, central knob. No close parallels.

D207 III *72-1315 V.27
IV 72-198 V.29

Cylinder lid with concave, flaring sides and three little warts on the top. Tarsus II p.156, fig.366:643 (EBIIIc) is similar but has four warts, as do un-flanged covers in Emporio IV and II.

D208	II	72-1902	V.21
	"	At.189-3455	V.21
	LII	At.174-3375b	V.23
	"	*At.189-3456	V.23

Cylindrical, conical, flat or hemispherical lid with central coil, probably to go on anthropomorphic jars of type C30. The only parallel is Troy II fig.80:34.327 (III) which Blegen classifies as type D14.

Miscellaneous

D24	I	At.103-2294	V.16
	"	At.103-2295	V.16
	LII	73-499	V.23
	III	73-105	V.26

Tripod cooking-jar, belonging to a common West Anatolian class discussed by Hood, Prehistoric Emporio pp.189-90; it is particularly frequent at Poliochni. There are recently published examples also from Beşik-Yassitepe, AA 1984 p.173 fig.3:Sl2.130 (Troy I period) and Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.289, 337, 370:15 (BA2), 347, 462:1 (BA3-4). The projections on the rim of our two Atlas examples are characteristic of Troy I: cf. Troy I fig.233:37.1138. The examples from Late II and III would belong to Podzuweit's Töpfe DIV, Trojanische Gefäßformen pp.212-3. There are additional examples in Ilios 1130 ("Fourth City", i.e. perhaps III) and Troy II fig.243:35.1090 (V). This type, with no projections on the rim but with a clearly demarcated, vertical collar, although descended from EBII antecedents (Thermi fig.9:26; 35:27,167; 36:258; Beycesultan I fig.P42:5 - level XIV), first emerges clearly in EBIII: cf. Beycesultan I figs.P49:11,12; P60:8 (X, VII).

D26	II	At.210a	V.19
	"	At.210b	V.21
	III-IV	72-735	V.30

Perforated vessels, or colanders, can come in many shapes; but cf. particularly Troy II fig.61:33.208 (III).

D28	II	At.189-3462	V.21
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This form, which Blegen found only in Troy I, is at present a feature of the West Anatolian EBII-III, being known also from Thermi IV, Poliochni Red-Yellow and Karataş level II (Thermi fig. 37:367,601; Poliochni I Tav.CXLVIIIa,b; II Tav.CCXXa; AJA 69 (1965) p.250, pl.64 fig.32). Séfériadès points out that it is

closely related to a characteristically Baden form (Troie I p.217f) and also occurs in EMI in Crete. He rightly identifies it as a butter-churn. Metal vessels of this shape are in use in parts of East Anatolia to this day, however; so there is likely to be a continuity of use beyond EBIII.

D29	II	72-191	V.18
	"	72-1609	V.18
	"	*72-1802	V.18
	"	72-1945	V.18
	LII	72-582	V.22
	"	At.174-3380	V.22
	"	*At.188-3450b	V.22
	III	72-1562	V.26

Theriomorphic askoi, Podzuweit Sonderformen BII, Trojanische Gefässformen p.229f. Cf. Yortan Cemetery figs.71-73. Blegen's examples of type D29 from Troy IV and V are not theriomorphic: Troy II figs.170:13; 256:41. Other stratified theriomorphic askoi from Troy may all derive from Late II (Ilios nos.335,337,338) so the form may not have continued beyond Troy III. At Beycesultan I fig.P67:12 there is one from VIa, but there is nothing later. The fully modelled animal-vases of V and IVa are quite different: ibid. II figs.P11, P37:1. As Hood points out, the Trojan vases depict animals, not birds: Prehistoric Emporio pp.188f. 72-1562 (III) is very similar in shape to a matt-painted early MH example: Eutresis p.160 fig.223.

D30	II	*73-184	V.19
	IV	*72-1019	V.29
	"	73-79	V.29
	V	73-889	V.30

Ring-vases, Podzuweit Sonderformen C, Trojanische Gefässformen p.230. Blegen's only example comes from II.6.iii (Troy I fig. 406:35.441); so this collection considerably extends the range. A piece with multiple spouts and solid base comes from Chuera Taf. 32:7 and p.79. Podzuweit notes other variants for Aegina and Phylakopi.

D31	II	73-124	V.19
	"	73-345	V.19
	III	At.187-3424	V.26
	V	*72-1843	V.30

Multiple jars, Podzuweit Sonderformen NI, NIII; Trojanische Gefässformen pp.235-6. Blegen has this type only in Troy I, so the chronological range is greatly extended. The type is widespread in the Aegean and East Mediterranean region during the E.B.A.; for

discussion see Hood, Prehistoric Emporio p.198.

D32 III At.187-3422 V.24

Small dipper cup. This form, with a vertical loop-handle, is less common than that with a horizontally-placed handle rising from the rim or upper part of the body. But there are full-sized parallels in Samos I Taf.16:4 and Ilios no.1184, and another miniature in Poliochni I Tav.CXXXIV1 (Green). The Ilios example may derive from Troy III ("Fourth City").

D209 II At.189-3461 V.21
 LII 73-737 V.23
 " 73-740 V.23
 II-III 73-38 V.25

Cylindrical pyxis, Podzuweit Sonderformen AIV, Trojanische Gefässformen pp.228-9. These are very similar to Cycladic stone pyxides, cf. Getz-Preziosi in Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.104 fig.85:30,31; p.106 fig.87:2,3,10. Other Trojan examples are Ilios nos.252,263 ("Third City"). 73-740 comes from the same deposit as 73-737 and may be its lid, cf. SS 2051-2.

D210 LII At.190-3477a V.23

Two small, conical saucers capable of fitting together as if to form a container. No obvious parallels.

D211 LII *At.187-3435 V.23

Small circular dish with at least two circular holes in its vertical sides. A flat dish with similar perforations, probably of Late Chalcolithic date, comes from Beşik-Sivritepe: AA 1988 p.178 fig.18:LL 83.46/9. J. Seeher, *ibid.* p.180, notes Late Chalcolithic parallels in the Aegean and from Aphrodisias and the Elmali Plain.

D212 LII 73-31 V.22
 " 73-44 V.22
 " 73-788 V.22
 III *73-331 V.24

Miniature shallow oval dishes; Schliemann sometimes refers to these as "canoes". Blegen found one in Troy III: Troy II p.25, fig.66: 37.991. They are also known at Paradimi where their stratification is unclear: Paradimi Taf.71:10. Much larger examples, sometimes of metal, occur as foundation-deposits at all levels in the Temple of Ishtar at Mari: Mari I pp.58ff. It is quite unclear whether there

is any connection with our pieces.

D213 V *72-1837 V.30
" 72-1916 V.30

Miniature hemispherical bowl. 72-1837 was found with a flat lid in a group of twelve, cf. Ilios p.582. Blegen has them in III and IV: Troy II figs.64:34.323; 157:32.56. They also occur in Sitagroi Vb and at Paradimi: Sitagroi fig.13.27:4-8; Paradimi Taf.71.7.

D214 LII *72-1021 V.22

Miniature hemispherical bowl with everted rim. Cf. Poliochni I Tav.CXXIIh (Green).

D215 II *At.119-2346 V.18

Miniature globular jar with hole-mouth. Cf. Troy II figs.64:34.324, 34.360 (III); 157:32.51 (IV).

D216 LII *72-840 V.22

Miniature globular jug with collar neck and vertical loop-handle on upper body. Apparently without parallel.

POSSIBLE IMPORTS

72-235 I NP.ii.11 V.16

Black-on-white painted sherd. Almost certainly a piece of ECII painted ware. Cf. Hesperia 41 (1972) p.363, pl.77:B4,5,7 (Ayia Irini II); Evans and Renfrew in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.65 fig.1b (Phylakopi A2). Two similar pieces were found by Blegen in a deposit over Ramp IV: Troy I pp.184-5; EH566,567; fig.252:1-2. There is one other possible ECII sherd: Troy I p.154: EH447; fig.251:14.

At.105-2312 II NS/n.iii.12 V.16

Globular jar with double lugs, from a deposit of II.1. It is probably an import of Early Dynastic-Akkadian metallic ware, cf. Chuera p.49f, Taf.18:7-8; 19:1-2; Abb.250-2. The same type recurs in II.5(ii) and II.6: Troy I fig.401:37.1117; 35.646 - Blegen comments on the "metallic appearance" of the latter, p.356. Similar but unstratified are SS 432, 2082, 2155.

73-661 II WA.iv.6b V.18

Ovoid jar of Early Dynastic or Akkadian style; cf. Chuera p.64, Abb.37. The type also appears in Kültepe level 15 and Tarsus EBII: Özgüç, "New Observations" p.37; Tarsus II fig.244:154a,b. Other related pieces found by Blegen come from II.5.(ii) (Troy I fig. 413:45,46) and II.6 (ibid. fig.396:36.1152). Three similar jars are assigned by Schliemann to the Burnt City, i.e. to II.6: Ilios nos.406, 411, 412.

At.142-2793 II EW.v.8 V.21

Decorated but undescribed sherd. If incised, it is probably a piece of incised ECIII ware. Cf. Phylakopi pl.V:9,11,12B (Phylakopi I). These incised wares are discussed by Evans and Renfrew in The Prehistoric Cyclades pp.66-7, and the suggestion is that they may belong to an early phase of the First City period at Phylakopi, i.e. to ECIIIA.

*72-1187 III NS/s.iii.11 V.27

Cylindrical pyxis lid, probably belonging to *72-1186. Buff polished ware painted with a red design of interlocking circles on the top of the lid, and on the sides alternating vertical lines and vertical rows of dots. It is very Cycladic in appearance; cf. AE 1899 p.87 fig.14 from Syros. Bittel, PFK p.96, likewise sees it as a possible Cycladic import. Cylindrical pyxides do not continue beyond early ECIIIB in the Cyclades: Barber in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.90.

*73-330 IV EW.iii.2 V.28

Fragmentary teapot spout. Middle Minoan in affinity.

This long review of the pottery and its parallels suggests a series of chronological correlations. They will be listed here for convenience, but discussion is reserved for a later section.

Late Troy I:	Early Helladic II	(A207)
	Early Cycladic II	(C25:*72-1610; Import 72-235)
	Ezero	(C25:*72-1610)
	Yortan Class A	(C25:*72-1610)
	Early Dynastic III	(*A205)
Troy II.1:	Early Helladic II	(A39:Raphina, Orchomenos)
	Poliochni Red	(A39; B3:72-95)
	Aphrodisias BA2	(A2)
	Kültepe .15	(Import, 73-661)

	Tarsus EBII	(A2; Import 73-661)
	Early Dynastic II→	(Imports <u>At.</u> 105-2312, 73-661)
Probably Troy II.1-4:	Early Helladic II	(C206:73-563)
	Early Cycladic II	(B218: D209)
	Thermi IV	(C25:*72-1681)
	Yortan Class A	(B3:72-95; C25:*72-1681)
	Demircihüyük L	(B3:72-95)
	Beycesultan XII Ib	(D200)
	Karataş-Semayük, late EBII	(A39, B6, B15)
Troy II.4:	Early Helladic IIb	(A2, A39, B15:Manika, Lefkandi)
	Early Cycladic IIb	(A39:Mt.Kynthos)
	Samos, Heraion II	(A2)
	Beycesultan XIIIa	(A2)
Troy II.5:	Poliochni Yellow	(C5, C10)
	Aphrodisias BA4	(A45/1)
	Karataş, early EBIII	(A1, A43)
	Kültepe 13	(A43, A45/1, also A2)
	Tarsus EBIIIa	(A1, A43, A45)
Probably Troy II.5-6:	Early Thessalian IIc-III	(A45/10)
	Early Helladic III	(C28:73-181)
	Early Cycladic IIIa	(A2, A45/10; Ayia Irini III, Kastri; Import, <u>At.</u> 142-2793)
	Poliochni Yellow	(A2, C32, C215)
	Beycesultan XII-XI	(A37, B216, D8)
	Karataş, early EBIII	(A2, B15)
	Kültepe 13	(B5)
	Tarsus EBIIIa-b	(B5, B15)
	Early Dynastic II→	(B5)
Troy II.6:	Early Thessalian IIc-III	(A45/4)
	Early Helladic III	(A45/6)
	Early Cycladic IIIa	(A45/4:Kastri)
	Poliochni Yellow	(A45/3, C223)
	Aphrodisias BA4	(A45/4, A45/5, A221)
	Beycesultan X-VIII	(A45/6, A213, B18:73-465)
	Kusura B	(A212)
	Polatlı Ib	(A45/4)
	Kültepe 12	(A43, A45/4, A221)
	Tarsus EBIIIb	(A206, A221, B5, B18:73-465)
	Amuq J	(A45/6)
Troy III:	Early Middle Helladic	(A16, D29)
	Middle Helladic	(A33, *A222, C10, C27)
	Middle Thessalian?	(A225)
	Early Cycladic IIIB	(B20, C27, D209; Import*72-1187)
	Poliochni Yellow	(A45/3; C10:73-286; C221)
	Aphrodisias BA4	(A45/7)
	Beycesultan VIII-VIa	(A7:73-731; A16, A45/7, A45/8)
	Tarsus, EBIIIC	(A1, A45/7, *C219, *D207)
	Ur III	(B5)
Troy IV:	Middle Thessalian I	(*A228)
	Middle Helladic	(A33, *A219, C12:* <u>At.</u> 190-3482)
	Middle Minoan	(*73-330)
	Early Cycladic IIIB	(*C205)

	Protesilaos 3	(A45/9)
	Samos, Heraion IV	(A44)
	Aphrodisias, post-BA4	(A221:73-555; C35:73-208)
	Aphrodisias MB	(A8, B7, C210)
	Beycesultan V-(IVc)	(A8, A20, A37, A44, *A215, *A228, B24: *73-255, C36, C205:*73-225, C210, D203, *D204)
	Alaca 4 (MB)	(C8:73-123, C205:*73-225, C206: 73-563)
	Büyükkale IVd	(A20)
	Alişar MB	(A212)
	Kültepe, Karum period	(B9:73-891, C210)
	Kültepe, Karum II-Ib	(*A229, B202)
	Acemhöyük III	(A44)
	Tarsus, post-EBIII	(A221, B9)
	Tarsus MB	(A8, A20, *A33; B5: <u>At.</u> 167-3263, *72-1375; B24:*73-158; C13:73-602; C19:72-1448; C35:73-208; C208: 73-682; *D203, *D204)
	Post-Ur III?	(B9:*72-1656)
Troy V:	Early Middle Cycladic	(A209:Ayia Irini IVb)
	Beycesultan IVc-(b)	(A209)
	Alaca MB	(C10:*72-1073)
	Alişar II	(A39, B24:*72-1074)
	Kültepe, Karum period	(C28:72-196)
	Kültepe Ib	(B24:*72-1074)
	Acemhöyük III	(C19)
	Tarsus MB	(C29: <u>At.</u> 155-3054)

The Trojan pottery of the Early and Middle Bronze Age is an individual blend of West Anatolian, Northwest Anatolian and purely Trojan characteristics. Although the repertoire is very conservative, the balance does change over time. Initially it is weighted heavily towards the Northwest Anatolian; but during Troy II there is a steady growth of contact with the rest of West Anatolia. This phase embraces the beginning of the EBIII period, a period of ceramic inventiveness both at Troy and in West Anatolia generally. Into the Trojan repertoire come various influences. In Troy II we can detect occasional but clear Syrian and Cilician traits, and signs of two-way traffic with the Cyclades. In EBIII, as horizons expanded, Aegean features increased. This pointed the direction in which Troy was henceforth to go, for in the Middle Bronze Age (Troy IV-V) the westward-looking tendency, though still slight, continued and no doubt eventually provided a basis for the very Helladic character of Troy VI.

A glance at the most popular types in the Trojan repertoire illustrates

this mixing of traditions. The anthropomorphic jars and lids (C7, C30, D13, D208) are purely Trojan, or virtually so. The simple jugs (B3), jars with cylindrical necks (C28), three-legged jars with lugs (C35) and theriomorphic askoi (D29) are Northwest Anatolian EBII types. Jugs with cut-away spouts (B15) and jugs with rising or beaked spouts (B20) are more general, West Anatolian EBII types. Likewise wheelmade plates (A2) and flaring, one-handled tankards (A39) are West Anatolian types; these appear in the second half of the EBII period over a wide area, becoming most common in EBIII. Other types which at Troy become popular in the EBIII period include pedestalled pyxides (C32, of Northwest Anatolian EBII origin), two-handled ovoid amphorae (C10, perhaps of Early Helladic II origin²²¹), winged jars (C5, Northeast Aegean EBIII²²²) and the "depas" cup (A45, a West Anatolian EBIII invention, particularly popular at Troy). Types which become particularly popular in the Middle Bronze Age include bowls with incurving profiles (A16) and cups with everted rims and rising handles (A33); both are characteristic of the Middle Helladic period.

There are other types, apart from the anthropomorphic jars and lids, which seem in our present state of knowledge to be of purely Trojan origin. The pedestalled cup (A26), the two-handled hemispherical jar (C19), the four-handled deep conical jar (C21) and the cylindrical lid with one basket-handle (D3) all have a Trojan EBII origin. The beginning of the EBIII period, at Troy II.5, introduces some new Trojan types. There are an incurving tumbler (A30), a beaker with two tab-handles (A220), a jug with elongated body (B4), bottles (B5), a three-handled jug (B22), a globular flask with wings (B205) and an ovoid flask with flat base (B208). There are further, purely Trojan, innovations in II.6 and III. II.6 introduces the one-handled tankard on three feet (A218), jugs with the front of the spout cut away (B215), a miniature ovoid jar (C202), an ovoid jar with one lug (C204), the "coronet" lid with three superposed handles (D7), the flanged lid with flaring sides and central knob (D206) and a pair of conical saucers forming a box (D210). Troy III introduces a two-handled cup on three feet (A224), a piriform flask on three feet (B207), a miniature jug (B212) and a tripod jar with cylindrical neck and two curled handles (C218). Of all these innovations of EBIII only three survive into the Middle Bronze Age: the three-handled jug (B22), the ovoid jar with one lug (C204) and the three-handled "coronet" lid (D7). The only purely Trojan innovation of the Middle Bronze Age is the small, conical cup with flat base and sloping rim (A216), a type that is neither stylish nor frequent. It is clearly

the EBIII period which was most innovative.

If we consider the basic corpus of forms laid down in Troy I and surviving through all, or most, of Troy I-V, there is a fairly even balance between West Anatolian and Northwest Anatolian types. As West Anatolian types we may reckon the inverted- and incurving-rim bowls (A12, A16), two varieties of jug (B1, B15), cylindrical-necked flasks (C28), disc lids with central stalk (D14), tripod cooking-jars (D24) and butter-churns (D28). More specifically Northwest Anatolian are the jugs B3, B13, B17, B18, the pyxis C25, conical lids with central stalk (D15) and multiple jars (D31); the cylindrical lid (D1) is also very Northwestern, but has wide-ranging Aegean and Balkan connections. But if we include those forms present in Troy I which do not outlast the Early Bronze Age (i.e. which do not survive beyond Troy III), the heavily Northwestern character of Troy I becomes apparent: there are pedestalled bowls (A7), the incurving cup (A31), the tripod jug (B14), the two-handled jar (C1), the globular pyxis (C27), the deep storage-jar (C220), the flat lid with four horns (D11) and the flat lid with basket-handle (D202). As time passed, the tendency then was for the regional, Northwest Anatolian forms to fall out of use and for those with broader affiliations to be retained.

As clear Aegean imports in Troy I there are three or four Early Cycladic II sherds; all are from deposits of Late I (see "Possible Imports", 72-235). The appearance of tumblers (A205) probably in Late I may indicate the irruption of a Mesopotamian, Early Dynastic influence; the type may have spread to Greece in late Early Helladic II and, as "ouzo-cups", became characteristic of EHIII.

Ceramic developments during Troy II can be unravelled only with difficulty and uncertainty. While some items in the Schliemann material can be separated out as clearly belonging to very Early Troy II or to Late Troy II (= II.6), many others cannot be so separated and may derive from any phase. This is the result partly of the telescoping of strata of II.1-5, and partly of Schliemann's poor recording. Sometimes an appeal to Blegen's findings (as in Table XXIX) can help resolve the issue, and well-stratified parallels on other sites can also be useful; but even so the results can only be educated guesses.

A large number of West Anatolian types appear during Troy II, many of these quite possibly (though not certainly) from Early Troy II onwards.

We must note the simple hemispherical bowl (*A200), the shallow one-handled cup (*A210), the globular cup with short, vertical collar (A211), the flaring tankard of Carian (?) type (*A217), lentoid flasks and jugs (B6, B15), early forms of beaked jug (B20), the globular jar with lugs and spreading rim (B203), the flask with flat base, concave neck and spreading rim (B206), the jug with twin necks (B217), the two-handled flask with globular or lentoid body (B219), the four-handled flask (*C6), large two-handled storage-jars (C11, C220) and the globular jar with concave neck and two handles (C212). Of these B203 and B206 go back to the Late Chalcolithic and B219 to EBI, but otherwise the types belong to the West Anatolian EBII and survive, in many cases, into the EBIII.

Two types whose first appearance at Troy can definitely be placed in II.1 are the wheelmade plates (A2) and the flaring one-handled tankards (A39). The plates are known also from EBII Tarsus and Aphrodisias BA2, but become frequent only at the time of Troy II.4-5 when they spread widely through West Anatolia, the Cyclades and Euboea. The tankards are encountered in EBIIb in West Anatolia and mainland Greece, but similarly become more frequent at the time of Troy II.4-5-6 when, in a mixture of West Anatolian styles, they also appear in the Cyclades, Euboea, the Argolid and Thessaly. The only specifically Northwest Anatolian types to appear in Early Troy II are the lugged tripod jar with collar neck (C35) and perhaps the theriomorphic askoi (D29). One thus receives the impression that Troy's northwestern cultural heritage has already been fully displayed in Troy I, and that in Troy II it is the wider world of West Anatolia as a whole that is brought forward.

Also appearing in Troy II, perhaps in II.1-4, are three types with a long previous history in the Aegean and Anatolia, and a further four which are more distinctively Aegean. The globular jar with concave neck (C200), the side-spouted vessel (B9) and the constricted-neck jar (*B200) all go back to the Neolithic period. Cylindrical-necked flasks of type B201, the double jug (B218), and the cylindrical pyxides (D209) seem to be Cycladic types, while the narrow-based pyxis may be an Early Helladic type (C206). So there seems to be some two-way traffic with the Aegean and particularly with the Cyclades.

Early Troy II definitely introduces some North Syrian types. The globular jar with double lugs (At.105-2312) is probably an import, and so may be the ovoid jar 73-661. The globular jar with two handles

(C213) looks Syrian in inspiration as well. It is conceivable that this period saw the first appearance of ovoid and globular bottles of Tell Chuera types F2.1 and F3, as their first appearances at Korucutepe, Tarsus, Kültepe and Alişar seem to be contemporary with Early Troy II; but at Troy the earliest occurrences of such types are all either unstratified or among the material assigned by Schliemann to the "Burnt City" (= II.6). Whatever the truth of this, it seems possible that a sudden growth of Syrian and Mesopotamian trade with Central and coastal Anatolia was one of the stimuli which provoked a widening of horizons in the late EBII period.

With Middle Troy II (= II.5) we enter the EBIII period. The clearest marker of this change is the appearance of two-handled cups and tankards. At Troy there are a two-handled tankard with, at this stage, a rim that is apparently without flare (A43), and the earliest forms of "depas" cup: grooved or fluted (A45/1), and large (A45/10). These all have a wide, West Anatolian distribution (extending in some cases to Kültepe and Cilicia), and large depas cups of perhaps this date have been found at Ayia Irini as well. Another type with a wide, West Anatolian distribution is the large platter (A1) with, at this date, a highly polished red surface. All these are already present in II.5. All are innovations of the EBIII period, and their simultaneous appearance in widely separated sites shows that links within and around West Anatolia were now well enough established for there to be a community of taste in which a rapid transmission of ideas was possible.

Perhaps to be placed in Troy II.5 are three other West Anatolian EBIII types: the globular jug with pulled-back neck (B213), the piriform jug with cut-away spout (B216) and the two-handled cup on small ring-base (A37). These appear early in the southwestern EBIII, but their position within Troy II is uncertain.

The Northwest Anatolian tradition contributes at least one further type at this point, and possibly three. The pedestalled pyxides of type C32 first appear in Troy II.5 and Poliochni Yellow; they subsequently appear in Beycesultan IX. The type derives from Yortan EBII. *C215, a tripod pyxis, and *C216, another pedestalled pyxis, are likewise Yortan EBII types in origin. They too enter the Troy II repertoire at some point, and as C215 too appears in Poliochni Yellow an EBIII date for their diffusion, perhaps at Troy II.5, seems possible. With this last gasp the Northwestern cultural reservoir is exhausted, for we shall see no

more Northwestern types come forward.

On the other hand the Aegean and its northeastern islands introduce a number of types into the Trojan repertoire, some of which were to become very popular. From the islands come the winged jars (C5), a krater (C13) and, it seems, four types of lid (D8, D200, D201, D205). The lids all have EBII ancestries in the Northeast Aegean, and it must be admitted that in no case can we be certain during which phase of Troy II they were introduced. D8, however, appears in Beycesultan XI-VIa and D200 in Beycesultan XIIb, so for them, at least, a Middle Troy II date is possible. The krater (C13) is attested at Poliochni Yellow and is strictly a Northeast Aegean type; but it has close analogies in the EHIII Kraters from Manika and Lerna IV, the difference being that the Greek examples have vertically-placed handles.²²³ So the type may be linked with EHIII. Which way the influence went is unclear. But the C10 amphorae, mentioned earlier, may derive from the broader amphorae of EHII and so may be an instance of the introduction of Early Helladic types. The sherd At.142-2793 is probably a piece of incised early ECIIa ware, and the decoration on 73-181 (type C28) is characteristic of very early EHIII; on chronological grounds, therefore, both may perhaps be placed in Troy II.5, but otherwise we only know that they derive from Troy II.

In this period, then, there is some continued adoption of older Northwestern traditions, but on a very limited scale. The main developments lie in West Anatolian innovation, the continued diffusion of West Anatolian types to Greece and the Cyclades, and an incursion into Troy of some EBII and EBIII types from the Northeast Aegean and perhaps from Greece. A community of ideas within West Anatolia has already been established; with the Aegean links are still only developing. —

Late Troy II (II.6) shows an intensification of the same pattern. There are seven West Anatolian innovations: A43, in its flaring "Southwestern" form (as in the contemporary Level 12 at Kültepe), four varieties of depas (A45/3-6), and A221 and A222; all are two-handled cups or tankards. The shallow, rounded cup with vertical loop-handle (A212) may be another West Anatolian innovation. Two of these innovations, the depas with undulating body-profile (A45/4) and the footed depas (A45/6) spread westwards to Greece and the Cyclades as well. There are three new types which may have a previous West Anatolian history: the tripod dish with loop handle (A202) and two varieties of flask (B204,

*B209).

The Northeast Aegean still has a cultural legacy to be tapped. From that quarter come the tripod egg-cups (A203), two types of pedestalled flask with wings (B210, B211) and a miniature jar with one lug (C222). Possibly the globular jar with hole-mouth and single lug (C223) may, like the others, go back to the EBII of the Northeast Aegean, but it is not attested before the Yellow phase at Poliochni.

There are four new types which may be of Helladic or Cycladic inspiration. The "hour-glass" tankard (A41) is possibly related to the "Trompetenkanne" of Early Helladic II and Early Thessalian II-III. The ovoid, one-handled cup (A213) may well be derived from an EHII type, and A223 may be a two-handled variation on the same theme. *At.188-3445 (C32), a pedestalled piriform pyxis, is reminiscent of Early Cycladic II. In addition the miniature oval "canoes" of II.6-III (D212) have unstratified parallels at Paradimi. The two-handled globular cup (A222) is widespread throughout West Anatolia and the Northern Aegean area; perhaps like the "canoes" it may be a sign of a newly-emerging common idiom.

There are also links with Cilicia, the Levant and Syria. From Tarsus, itself now heavily influenced by West Anatolian fashions, come two old, EBII types: a squat style of jug (B11); and the trefoil-mouthed jug (B24), which will reach the Cyclades only at the time of Troy III. The tumbler with sinuous profile (A206) links Troy II.6 not only with EBIIb Tarsus but, beyond that, with Byblos where it is particularly frequent. Syrian types are again in evidence. Alabastron-shaped bottles of Chuera type F1 (B6) occur in II.6 and III, and it is in II.6 that the ovoid and globular bottles (F2.1, F3: Troy type B5) are first certainly attested. A side-spouted vessel of II.6 also seems to have North Syrian affinities (B9:At.167-3259).

This period, therefore, is characterised by a fairly forcible West Anatolian "koine" but, at the same time, by growing influence from Greece and the Northeast Aegean. There are even some signs of the beginning of an Aegean-Anatolian common idiom. The Northwest Anatolian cultural heritage is now played out; but there is a striking, if small, revival of influence coming westwards from Cilicia and Syria - an influence last felt in Early Troy II but apparently dormant during Middle Troy II.

The Troy III period sees the introduction of only one West Anatolian type, the pedestalled goblet (A227) and even that may ultimately be of Early Cycladic origin. Three new types may enter the Trojan repertoire from the islands of the Northeast Aegean: a miniature, ovoid lugged jar on a pedestal (C217, an EBII type), a two-handled ovoid tankard on low pedestal (*A226) and an ovoid storage-jar with stump base and flaring rim (C221). Some continued influence from Cilicia may be indicated by the appearance of a globular jar with spreading neck and pedestal (*C219) and of a lid with three warts (*D207), but there are no further signs of Syrian influence.

The most notable innovations look towards the Aegean, now entering the Middle Helladic period. The new popularity of incurving bowls (A16), everted-rim cups with high handles (A33) and beaked jugs (B20) on both sides of the Aegean (in the cases of A16, A33) and in the Cyclades and Troy (in the case of B20) suggests an increasing community of idiom between Troy and its Aegean neighbours - building on what had already begun in II.6. A type of two-handled tankard (A225) may be of Macedonian EBIII origin; if so, it apparently spread to Troy and to Thessaly simultaneously at the beginning of the Middle Thessalian period. At Troy, though, it may possibly go back to II.6 where its occurrence could be contemporary with that in Macedonia. But some miniature bowls (D213) which first appear in Troy III also have a plausible Macedonian ancestry. A painted cylindrical pyxis-lid (*72-1187) is probably a Cycladic import and can be no later than early ECIIIB.

Troy IV and V are best taken together, as there is so little material from V. Both the architecture and the ceramic parallels suggest that these phases fall in the Anatolian Middle Bronze Age, and further arguments for this correlation will be advanced in a later section discussing chronology. The attribution is at first surprising since the pottery is so very conservative and still so very Early Bronze Age in appearance. But it becomes less surprising when we recognise Troy's growing tendency, from II.1 onwards, to look towards the West. This is in striking contrast to Beycesultan where, in the Middle Bronze Age, the similarities with Central Anatolia are unmistakeable - although there, too, there is an otherwise conservative development from the Early Bronze Age. One may suppose the difference to have been between a coastal site and one on the plateau. Certainly one may argue that in the Late Bronze the political alignments of West Anatolia separated along this divide: the plateau states of Mira, Hapalla, Wilusa and the Seha River Land

tending to look towards Hatti, and the coastal states of Arzawa, Attarimma and Millawanda preferring to look westwards towards Ahhiyawa.²²⁴ These political alignments of the Late Bronze Age may arise out of the cultural alignments already visible in the Middle Bronze Age.

The appearance in Troy IV of six new West Anatolian types is perhaps indicative of a revival of West Anatolian energies after the period of stagnation apparent in Troy III. These types are the small bowl with flat base (A8 - usually wheelmade, but at Troy handmade), the bowl with shouldered rim (A20, also found in Central Anatolia), the two-handled tankard on button base (A44), a broad-bellied jug with narrow mouth (*A215), the squat, globular jar with lugs and everted rim (C36), and a globular jar with flattened base, hole mouth and two handles (C210). Two more West Anatolian types appear in Troy V, but both may have an EB ancestry: a tripod jug (B21) and a type of two-handled flask (*B220).

Three types, all of EB descent, enter the repertoire from the Northeast Aegean. The shallow lids with two perforated lugs (*D203, *D204) spread simultaneously from the islands to Troy, Beycesultan and Tarsus. And a small tripod dish with flat top is anticipated in Poliochni Blue but also has many E.B. parallels in the Balkans.

But it is now from Greece and the Cyclades that most new types come. An incised tankard (*A219) is certainly Middle Helladic in style and perhaps in manufacture. The two-handled "hour-glass" tankards, (*A228, a variant on A41) show a broad affinity with tankards of Middle Thessalian type as well as with some in Beycesultan V; and a piriform two-handled tankard (*A229) may be descended from an EHIII type. *At.190-3482 (C12?) may be an adaptation of the Middle Helladic hydria. The conical pyxides (*C205) can be traced back to those of early ECIIb. An isolated teapot-spout, *73-330, may be Middle Minoan in inspiration. The very popular cups in shape A33 have much in common with those of the Middle Helladic period, but suggest a Trojan-Aegean "koine" rather than Aegean influence. In Troy V the conical cup with fenestrated pedestal (A209) has very good parallels in early Middle Cycladic (Ayia Irini IVb) where it seems to be at home.

The only clear signs of Central Anatolian influence lie in a tendency, in Troy IV-V, towards biconical body-shapes and in the decoration on a jug from Troy V (B24: *72-1074). There are, however, some rather

interesting signs of influence running in the reverse direction. A number of West Anatolian types make appearances in MB deposits of Central Anatolia. Some may possibly be imports, such as the A44 tankard in Acemhöyük III and the conical pyxis like *73-225 (C205) in MB Alaca. Others may be types which were adopted and slightly changed in Central Anatolia itself; such may include the pedestalled flask (B209) in Kültepe Karum II, the two-handled jars with everted rim in MB Alaca (C10), the broad-shouldered pyxis also in MB Alaca (C206), and the globular jar with two handles (cf. C210) from the Karum at Kültepe. All but B209 and C10 have parallels which at Troy occur in Troy IV. None, however, can be isolated as a purely Trojan type. But there are other pieces which do, in our present state of knowledge, look distinctively Trojan. A small jar of shape C8 from MB Alaca looks very much like a Trojan import: the type is known nowhere else and occurs only in Troy IV-V. A type of piriform, two-handled tankard in Kültepe Karum II looks like an adaptation of the Troy IV type *A229. A long-necked flask with trefoil-mouth may be a Kültepe Ib adaptation of another Troy IV type, B202. A tripod flask of the same date at Kültepe looks as if it is descended from a Trojan predecessor such as 73-40 (C35). But perhaps most convincing of all is the appearance in numbers of the two-handled hemispherical bowls, C19, in Büyükkale Vc and Acemhöyük III. The type is otherwise known only at Troy where it goes back to Early Troy II. The historical significance of these borrowings is intriguing but as yet opaque.

In the ceramic repertoire of Troy I-V we can therefore see a basic corpus composed of West and Northwest Anatolian types. On top of this we can distinguish some items which are, at present, purely Trojan. But there are also variations and innovations which help to document the site's cultural history. The material begins by being largely Northwest Anatolian in character (in Troy I). Troy II shows a growing awareness of other West Anatolian traditions and, as the EBIII period dawns and rises, of a corporate West Anatolian inventiveness. Syrian and Cilician influences seem especially noticeable in Early and Late Troy II, but not at other periods. From Middle Troy II onwards there are increasing signs of Aegean influence and, from III onwards, of a certain common unity of taste. Troy IV and V seem to owe almost nothing of their pottery to Central Anatolian influence but do, strangely, make a significant contribution in the reverse direction.

Metalwork and Metalworking (Figs.V.35-40)²²⁵

The Schliemann material shows the presence of gold and copper from Late Troy I onwards, and of electrum, silver, lead and tin bronze from Troy II onwards. The early occurrence of gold²²⁶ slightly extends Blegen's distribution for that metal,²²⁷ while conversely Blegen found lead in Troy I where Schliemann did not.²²⁸ Electrum, supposing the metal to have been correctly identified by Schliemann, does not appear in the Blegen material; but tin bronzes are now well certified amongst the finds of Troy II.²²⁹ Schliemann recorded finds of iron in Troy I, II and V,²³⁰ but the claims need confirmation.²³¹ Some weights of magnetite, to be discussed in a later section, came from Troy II.

Smelting, presumably only secondary smelting for purification, may have taken place on the site if Schliemann's reports of slag are correct.²³² The small clay funnels found in Troy II-IV²³³ may confirm this if they were tuyères.²³⁴ Blegen has no funnels before Troy III, but there are other earlier examples from Poliochni Blue and Red.²³⁵

Smithing is certainly attested by the presence of crucibles, moulds and ingots. There are crucibles from at least Late Troy II and Troy III,²³⁶ to which may be added further Troy III examples from Schliemann and Blegen.²³⁷ 73-408 (Late II) is interesting in showing an internal partition, and is said to have had traces of copper. Crucibles are also known from Thermi and Emporio,²³⁸ but none exactly matches any of ours.

Open and closed (i.e. two-piece) moulds must be distinguished.²³⁹ Open moulds occur in both stone²⁴⁰ and terracotta,²⁴¹ and are attested no later than Troy III;²⁴² closed moulds are all of stone and appear throughout Troy II-V,²⁴³ but most frequently in IV. Blegen has no closed moulds or their covers earlier than Troy V.²⁴⁴ The open moulds provide shapes for flat axes, daggers, spearheads, an arrowhead, chisels, a small hammer, bun ingots and bar ingots. Three examples in stone are rectangular blocks with shapes on all six surfaces; there is an Early Cycladic parallel from Chalandriani.²⁴⁵ Another in stone with the shapes of a bun ingot and a jeweller's hammer has an unstratified parallel from Boğazköy.²⁴⁶ The terracotta moulds for bar ingots (LII, III)²⁴⁷ have parallels in stone and terracotta from the M.B. strata at Alaca and Alişar.²⁴⁸ The example from Troy III, 73-402, is closely paralleled by one recovered by Blegen from Troy IIIa;²⁴⁹ ours comes from square E7, Blegen's from perhaps 10m away in square E6. There is no sign that they join. On the closed moulds there are shapes for daggers

(one is ribbed²⁵⁰), pins, a ring, and bar- and bun ingots. A Troy IV mould for a stiletto, 73-207, has a close parallel of the Karum period from Alişar.²⁵¹ 72-746, from Troy II, may be a cover with a groove for a strap;²⁵² a similar piece of EBIII date comes from Alişar.²⁵³

A bar ingot from Treasure C²⁵⁴ is said to be of electrum; it was found in Troy II and is the only one from the site. Six silver tongue-shaped ingots came from Treasure A, in Late Troy II.²⁵⁵ There are EM-MM parallels in bronze from Mochlos,²⁵⁶ and there may be a further example in Poliochni Yellow.²⁵⁷ A similar ingot of iron, SS 6706, is of uncertain date. The large spherical piece of iron reported from Troy II-III²⁵⁸ could be a bun ingot. Lumps of gold and perhaps silver are noted as well.²⁵⁹

Troy's metal sources have not been exactly identified, but there were accessible sources of gold, silver and copper in the region,²⁶⁰ and tin was available near Bursa.²⁶¹ Lead-isotope analysis suggests that the copper came from at least five different deposits, two or more of which may not have been in the immediate region.²⁶²

There are twenty-six metal vessels. All but four of these belong to Treasures A and B which I have discussed at length elsewhere.²⁶³ Their parallels in contemporary clay vessels have often been noted.²⁶⁴ The four additional items are (1) a large, round gold plate engraved with "most curious signs", from Troy II,²⁶⁵ and belonging to the stolen Treasure C. Apparently it was melted down by the thieves; (2) a lead plate from somewhere in Troy II-V;²⁶⁶ (3) a spout, two curled handle-attachments and a base-ring from a bronze kettle in Treasure S1, from Late Troy II;²⁶⁷ and (4) a similar spout from Treasure S2, also of Late Troy II.²⁶⁸ Remnants of another bronze kettle like that of S1 occur among the finds of Treasure B.²⁶⁹ Analysis of these Treasure B pieces shows them to include copper unlikely to have been found in Anatolia, or not at least from any presently-known source.²⁷⁰ Their curled handle-attachments are paralleled on a silver teapot in Tomb K at Alaca Hüyük;²⁷¹ their spouts also look Central Anatolian, but only by comparison with pottery of the Middle Bronze Age.²⁷²

Schliemann records thirty-five metal weapons of which nineteen were in Treasure A.²⁷³ These latter consist of seven tanged-and-slotted spearheads and twelve long daggers. Neither type was found by Blegen; but for the spearheads there are additional examples, including one in

silver,²⁷⁴ from Schliemann's later excavations,²⁷⁵ and also a mould.²⁷⁶ For the daggers there are moulds which certainly correspond to two of the types,²⁷⁷ and two other fragmentary moulds found by Blegen.²⁷⁸ External parallels have already been listed.²⁷⁹

The sixteen items not found in Treasure A are made up of (1) Three metal arrowheads reported, but not illustrated or described; two seem to be from Troy II,²⁸⁰ one from Troy IV.²⁸¹ A tanged and barbed bronze arrowhead, probably from Late II, appears at Ilios no.955; and a mould for a hollow-based arrowhead comes from Troy II.²⁸² Blegen records flint arrowheads from Troy IV and V.²⁸³ (2) Twelve daggers. Two of these belong to types already represented in Treasure A,²⁸⁴ three are ribbed with squared shoulders and tang,²⁸⁵ and one may be from a short, triangular dagger.²⁸⁶ Six others are mentioned (as "spearheads") but not illustrated.²⁸⁷ All these daggers belong to a broad class of tanged short blade which was, as French emphasizes, "the basic type for Anatolia".²⁸⁸ (3) A halberd, *72-1880, from Troy III. The piece has a curved butt similar to examples from Mahmatlar and Iskilib,²⁸⁹ and a crude-looking blade of three sharp teeth. It is consistent, in a general way, with other known E.B. halberds from Anatolia;²⁹⁰ but it is unusual in having a cylindrical haft. In this respect it comes closest to a halberd depicted on a fragmentary stone sculpture found in the debris of Temple I at Boğazköy.²⁹¹

Sixty-one or sixty-two items may be classed as metal tools. A gilded copper blade probably comes from Early Troy II.²⁹² Five bronze or copper knives from Troy II-Late Troy II all have tangs and shoulders and are of the straight-backed variety.²⁹³ These have other parallels from Late Troy II²⁹⁴ but none among Blegen's material;²⁹⁵ there are additional examples from Thermi and Aphrodisias BA2.²⁹⁶ The fragment *72-1382 (Late II) may be from another such knife. Seven bronze or copper knives have curved blades (Troy II-III).²⁹⁷ The type is discussed by Séfériadès who notes its Thraco-Anatolian distribution and suggests a Ukrainian origin.²⁹⁸ There are others from Troy I and Late Troy II.²⁹⁹ Some other copper knives are reported without further detail.³⁰⁰

Fourteen "flat axes" from Treasure A, with their parallels, have been discussed elsewhere.³⁰¹ Seven others are noted, all but one being from Troy II.³⁰² Some are certainly of bronze.³⁰³ There are eleven chisels, all from II-Late II. Three were found with Treasure A.³⁰⁴ Six are of

the type that resembles a narrow "flat axe",³⁰⁵ one is very narrow and triangular in section,³⁰⁶ and one has an exceptionally broad cutting-edge.³⁰⁷ Chisels are well-attested in Blegen's material (Late II-V)³⁰⁸ as well as in Schliemann's,³⁰⁹ and there are moulds with chisel-shapes from the site also.³¹⁰ E.B. parallels are numerous.³¹¹ Five items may be punches,³¹² though two of these³¹³ might be classified by some as awls, drills or darts.³¹⁴ Two pieces from Troy II and V may be spikes,³¹⁵ that from V is said to be of iron. Spikes such as At.165-3219 were found still in the charred beams of Megaron IIA in 1894, so must have been used in building.³¹⁶ Two bronze saws from II and Late II³¹⁷ have parallels in Poliochni Green-Red and (without tang) at Kastri on Syros.³¹⁸ From Troy II there is a pickaxe (73-721). The type is long-lived. A silver pickaxe, but with no distinct shaft, is known from Tomb E at Alaca,³¹⁹ and a bronze example, with shaft, is reportedly from a robbed tomb near Çorum.³²⁰ Deshayes shows examples from the Bulgarian and Bosnian Late Chalcolithic,³²¹ and indeed Schliemann reports four from the "Burnt City",³²² of which ours may be one. Early Byzantine examples are not greatly different.³²³ A sickle from Troy III (73-192) looks at first like a Second Millennium intrusion, and Götze supposed it to have come from Troy VI.³²⁴ This is possible; but a Middle Bronze Age parallel from Aphrodisias³²⁵ need be only slightly later, and one from Amorgos could even be contemporary.³²⁶ One final piece from Early Troy II, *72-846, may be a razor. There is a possible razor from Poliochni Blue,³²⁷ and four are reported from Karataş;³²⁸ none is quite of the same shape as our example. Mellink suggests that razors, at least of the Karataş type, may be characteristic of West Anatolia in the E.B.A.³²⁹ In the Second Millennium they are also known from Central Anatolia.³³⁰

Some miscellaneous items of metal must be noted. A small lead plate 1½ inches square, with a hole in one corner and an incised character, was found in deposits of Troy II.³³¹ A copper loop comes from Late Troy II.³³² There are two lead whorls from somewhere in II-V.³³³ From Troy IV is a copper disc with a 6cm diameter, slightly bossed at the centre, and with a metal cross-strap. I know of no contemporary parallels, and Götze assigns it to Troy VII calling it a tutulus.³³⁴ Another intriguing possibility is that it might be the button from a horse harness; but the parallels are remote.³³⁵

The bulk of the jewellery is from Treasure A and is discussed elsewhere;³³⁶ this undoubtedly contains the richest pieces. But a good

number of other items, less impressive for the most part, come from elsewhere on the site. They span at least Troy I-IV, although most come from Troy II.

The remains of a bone torque encased with silver rings come from Troy II and are closely paralleled in Poliochni Yellow.³³⁷ Two pairs of gold basket earrings with pendent decoration come from Troy II;³³⁸ these are paralleled by others from the site and from Poliochni as well as by some amongst the Pennsylvania hoard.³³⁹ There is also a pair of gold chain pendants with 'idol' ends, detached from their earrings,³⁴⁰ and a solitary gold leaf similar to those on pendent chains.³⁴¹ Four golden shell earrings all belong to Troy II. One, from Treasure R, has six lobes (72-481); two have granulation and are a pair from Treasure C (Ilios nos.830-1); and a simpler example, without granulation, is from Treasure N (At.98-2075). Treasure N also contained two bundles of silver shell earrings.³⁴² One of these resolved itself into a group of eleven earrings each with five lobes.³⁴³ In the same hoard was a silver earring like "a pair of tongs".³⁴⁴ It is not illustrated but may have been like a gold earring known from Poliochni.³⁴⁵

There are eight bracelets. The only one in gold was found among Treasure C, apparently, and is a closed circle bearing at one point a small engraved oval plate. This is from Troy II.³⁴⁶ Five silver bracelets are all from Treasure N, also of Troy II date. Only one is a closed circle (At.98-2070), and this is quadrangular in section.³⁴⁷ One is a crude spiral (At.98-2079), and three others are shown in a corroded bunch (At.98-2078). Four copper bracelets cover a wider span of time. A pair is reported from Late Troy I.³⁴⁸ An open bracelet with one end formed into an almond-shaped finial comes from Troy IV (At.187-3409); this is paralleled in MB Aphrodisias.³⁴⁹ And a fourth, not illustrated, is from Troy III-IV.³⁵⁰

A small, closed gold ring, oval in shape, was found in Troy I near the skeleton thrown into the fill outside the citadel wall (At.17-521). A circular lead ring (72-785) is from Late Troy II. Open rings are more common. Three such rings in gold wire are from Treasure R, of Troy II (72-478, 479, 480). Also from Troy II are one in silver (At.150-2994) and two in copper (At.149-2933). Another open copper ring is from Troy III (At.149-2950), and a last is from an unknown stratum within II-V.³⁵¹

Schliemann records many pins, often without illustration.³⁵² Spherical-

headed pins (Blegen's Type 1) are the most common. One said to be of electrum (72-477) is from Treasure R (Troy II), and from Troy II again is one in silver (72-1978). Nine illustrated examples are of copper and come from Troy II-III.³⁵³ Two copper pins with slightly rounded, disc-shaped heads (Blegen's Type 2) are from Troy II (73-798). Two with biconical heads (Blegen's Type 3) are from Troy III (*73-319, 73-417). Spiral-headed pins are attested in Troy II-IV in five examples, one in silver (*73-127) being from Troy II; the rest are of copper.³⁵⁴ A silver pin from Troy II (72-1979) may be T-headed (Blegen's Type 7), but the drawing is unclear. A flat-headed needle (Blegen's Type 10) from Late Troy II is of copper (73-798). Another copper pin from Troy II (also among 73-798) has a disc head and a spherical swelling on the shaft. It is neither exactly a vase-headed pin³⁵⁵ nor a "pomegranate" pin. A broken pin from Alaca Tomb H may be of the same type.³⁵⁶ A toggle-pin from Late Troy II (*72-1692) joins other examples known from the site.³⁵⁷ The type is characteristic of Amuq J³⁵⁸ and the EBIII cemetery at Gedikli;³⁵⁹ but also occurs in EBII strata at Tarsus and Karataş and in EDIII contexts in Southern Mesopotamia.³⁶⁰ Other examples are known from the Heraion on Samos, from Poliochni Yellow, and from Alaca.³⁶¹ A silver pin from Early Troy II (At.26-705 = Ilios no. 121) has a fluted head apparently held in place above and below by two rings. It is an Early Dynastic type, and parallels from Ur and from the "Ur Treasure" at Mari use a lapis lazuli bead for the head.³⁶² A straight metal pin, without head and possibly broken, comes from Troy IV (*72-1282).

Schliemann reports seventy gold "box" beads, and two gold biconical beads from Treasure C (Troy II).³⁶³ Other box beads are known from Poliochni Yellow, and biconical beads occur among Blegen's Troy II finds.³⁶⁴ Treasure N (Troy II) contained many more gold beads and one cylindrical bead of electrum.³⁶⁵ Several other gold beads come from elsewhere in Troy II.³⁶⁶ Also from Troy II is a bronze disc (diam.c.1") pierced with two holes, 72-96. It may be compared with a rectangular piece in silver from Tomb 335 at Karataş,³⁶⁷ and with other parallels in Alaca Tomb A.³⁶⁸ From Treasure N there is said to have been a "very artistic ornament" attached to At.98-2078,³⁶⁹ and from Treasure C there were various unspecified pieces of jewellery.³⁷⁰

The bulk of our material comes from Late Troy II, and this must to some extent reflect the devastating burning of II.6 and the fortunate discovery of Treasure A in its debris; for smiths were still working on

the site in III, IV and V. The spectacular wealth of Late II is nonetheless remarkable, and may possibly reflect the development of the two-piece mould, the proximity of mineral sources (including the relatively near deposit of tin); and a good maritime position.

Many of the tools and weapons are common in Anatolia and the Aegean; this applies to the daggers, flat axes, chisels, punches, spikes and pickaxes (from Troy II onwards); to the tanged-and-slotted spearheads (Late II); and even to the halberd (III). Many of the vessels found in Treasure A are Trojan or Northwest Anatolian in shape: the gold and silver cups, the globular bottle, the silver tankard and jars, the lugged flasks, the silver bowls and dish, the bucket and the long-handled pan. Others, like the gold sauceboat and the bronze "cauldron", have a Northeast Aegean appearance. And the curved, one-edged knives have a Thracian-Anatolian distribution.

Some of the jewellery is closely paralleled at Poliochni: shell earrings, pendent decorations on earrings and headdresses, conical sequins, perforated gold bars, spiral bracelets, and the silver-covered bone torque. It is difficult not to see the Poliochni examples as Trojan exports. The same applies to the open mould from Chalandriani and the saws from Poliochni and Kastri. Cretan parallels include box beads, diadems, double studs and tongue-shaped ingots. The sickle in Troy III is paralleled by one of possible ECIIIB date from Amorgos.

Close and specific parallels with Southwest Anatolia are few. The razor in Early Troy II is perhaps typical of the West Anatolian E.B. culture. The copper bracelet with almond-shaped finial (Troy IV) is paralleled in MB Aphrodisias. Winged-disc beads known at Poliochni and Karataş are widespread.

Links with Mesopotamia are useful for dating-purposes. Toggle-pins occur in Troy I-III; they are characteristic of the Anatolian EBII-III and of the Early Dynastic III-Akkadian periods. The pin with the fluted head in Early Troy II has E.D.III parallels at Ur and Mari. In Treasure A (Late II) the beads with granular decoration have a parallel in Sargonid Brak³⁷¹ while the earrings with very fine granulation have no parallels before Ur III.³⁷² Some possible parallels for the long-handled pan also seem to fall in the Ur III period.³⁷³ This may suggest transitional Akkadian-Ur III date for Treasure A.

There are few parallels with Central Anatolia during the Early Bronze Age. The Troy II pin with spherical knob on its shaft is perhaps paralleled in Alaca Tomb H. But striking once again is the popularity of items of EB-MB Trojan type in the Central Anatolian Middle Bronze Age: there are tanged-and-slotted spearheads,³⁷⁴ moulds for bar ingots, a stone mould for a stiletto; and in the Late Bronze Age there are razors.

Bone Artefacts (Fig.V.33)

Schliemann illustrates three bone pins and alludes to a number more.³⁷⁵ Those illustrated all belong to Blegen's Type 8, which he found in I-IV,³⁷⁶ and have horizontal grooves cut around the shaft towards the head. Two from Late II and III are relatively simple (73-360, *73-160); that from IV is more elaborate and bears some comparison with metal pins of the Karum period at Kültepe (73-529).³⁷⁷ Séfériadès notes that bone pins are also numerous at Poliochni, but rare in Macedonia and Thrace.³⁷⁸ Needles are, with one exception (*73-568: IV), recorded without illustration;³⁷⁹ in Blegen's excavations they were found in Troy I, IV and V.³⁸⁰ The same is true of awls, the one illustrated example (*73-533: IV) being of Blegen's Type 1;³⁸¹ others are mentioned as being made of bone, antler and boar's tusks.³⁸² From Late Troy II are two pointed implements (72-770, *72-1112), possibly knives or awls, corresponding to Blegen's Type 5.³⁸³ More are reported from III-IV.³⁸⁴ A bone "dagger" from Early Troy II³⁸⁵ is probably identical with At.25-665 (= Ilios no.142). This piece, with a four-pronged head, tanged blade and incised circles each containing a dot, is regarded by Schmidt as an idol.³⁸⁶ It stands outside the usual range of figurine shapes, but it may be a fanciful, quasi-anthomorphic knife or spatula. The dot-and-circle design appears on two other bone pieces, both from Troy II, and in Poliochni Green and Yellow.³⁸⁷ Another spatula, At.149-2944, from Late Troy II has a squared head with central hole. Fragments of comparable spatulae were found by Blegen in Troy II d (= II.5) and IV,³⁸⁸ and two more are listed by Schmidt.³⁸⁹ They all belong to the class of "idol-spatulae" discussed by French and Séfériadès.³⁹⁰ Others are known from Emporio, Poliochni Blue and, in an especially good parallel, Thermi.³⁹¹ One also comes from the M.B. strata at Boğazköy.³⁹²

Decorated tubes, all from II or Late II, come in a variety of shapes and may have had a variety of uses. A short, polygonal piece (At.142-2817) from II is decorated with the dot-and-circle motif. A comparable but

circular example is known from Troy III,³⁹³ and another from Troy VI retained a fragment of a bronze haft and had clearly served as part of the handle of a metal tool or weapon.³⁹⁴ Others are listed by Schmidt.³⁹⁵ A short, somewhat flattened piece (At.133-2638, II) has three bands of incised decoration and two transverse holes. Other pieces with transverse holes are attested in II.5 and III.³⁹⁶ Again, use as a haft-casing seems likely. Two rather longer tubes (73-386, 73-627) have undecorated parallels in II.6³⁹⁷ and a decorated parallel in IV.³⁹⁸ Other M.B. examples are reported from Kültepe and Alişar.³⁹⁹ A third (*At.187-3438, Late II) has three grooves cut around each end. It is closely paralleled in Troy III⁴⁰⁰ and there is a fragment of a similar handle from Kastri on Syros.⁴⁰¹ Much more distinctively Cycladic is a tube from Late II (73-824) with one end cut to a spout. The type is well known from Early Cycladic tombs, although a Levantine origin has been conjectured.⁴⁰² Other examples are known from EBII Poliochni⁴⁰³ and EHII in Euboea.⁴⁰⁴ They may have been for holding cosmetic pigments.⁴⁰⁵

Pierced plaques occur in a variety of shapes, spanning Troy II-V in date.⁴⁰⁶ Two are decorated with the dot-and-circle motif (72-145, *72-1076); the second of these, from Troy V, is in a more elaborate style and has close parallels in Troy III⁴⁰⁷ and also in Alişar II, Büyükkale IVD-III and M.B. Byblos.⁴⁰⁸ A highly decorated piece with seven holes (73-121: III) looks as if it may have been part of a stringed instrument, as Schliemann too supposed.⁴⁰⁹ Bone rings are recorded from Troy II,⁴¹⁰ and one from Late II was of mother-of-pearl.⁴¹¹ A wide ring from Late II looks as if it may have been cut from a long bone.⁴¹²

A bone toggle from II joins two others, both from Troy V.⁴¹³ Loose parallels from Sesklo and Lerna IV are perforated, not waisted at the middle.⁴¹⁴ A metal example from Horoztepe is three times the size and is more heavily worked.⁴¹⁵ Middle Bronze Age examples in bone and stone from Alaca and Alişar are closest in style but have no grooving at the tips.⁴¹⁶ *At.187-3407 (Late II) is a handle with transverse socket. Two comparable pieces made of antler come from Troy IV; their purpose is not known.⁴¹⁷ 72-1691 (Late II) is a saw or broken comb. *72-1320 (III) may be a disc or a truncated conical spindle whorl. 73-401 (III) may have held a stone blade at its obliquely-cut end, and have had a handle through the middle, in the manner illustrated for a piece from Dhimini by Tsountas.⁴¹⁸ Another, similar piece may also come from Troy III.⁴¹⁹ 73-203 (V) looks broken and may well have been part of a perforated

pickaxe of antler such as is known from Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly.⁴²⁰ Séfériadès suggests that they were used as plough-shares.⁴²¹ A bone fragment from Troy II (73-444) may possibly have been used as a scraper.⁴²²

Among the bone artefacts, therefore, the spatulae (II-IV) are characteristically Northeast Aegean, and the decorated bone tube with a spout (Late II) is perhaps of Early Cycladic manufacture or inspiration. A grooved bone handle found at Kastri on Syros is similar to a Trojan piece from Late Troy II and could be of Trojan origin. A number of items from the Central Anatolia M.B.A. appear to be in a tradition previously attested at Troy: an "idol-spatula" from Boğazköy, decorated bone tubes from Kültepe and Alişar, pierced plaques with intense decoration of concentric circles and dots, and toggles. Of these the "idol-spatula" points the most clearly to Troy and the Northeast Aegean.

Ground and Polished Stone Artefacts (Figs.V.41-42)

The assemblage of ground and polished stone objects is much as one might expect for the E.B. and M.B. periods in this region. It includes tools for cutting, scraping, hammering, polishing and grinding; there are a few stone vessels, some items of jewellery and other luxury goods; and there are various shaped pieces of uncertain or unknown use. In addition there are stone moulds, figurines, weights and seals; but these are discussed in other sections.

Schliemann's knowledge of geology cannot be relied upon, but his range of identifications should be noted for the record. In "granite" there is a shafthole axe (72-5), an arrow-straightener (72-556) and a number of querns (NE.v.4-5; NS/n.ii.5). In "diorite" there is a flat axe (73-371), a double axe (73-435), two double hammers (NP.i.5; EW.ii.4), three other "axes" (EW.ii.4), a "spit-rest" (Ilios no.606) and two polishers (?) (73-474, 73-306). In "porphyry" there is a flat axe * (72-1114 - red) and a "hammer" (? macehead) (EW.v.8), both from Troy II. Pumice appears in querns in Troy III-IV (NS/n.ii.5). Schliemann notes marble quite frequently: there are three cylindrical objects, one with a hole through its length (73-630, 73-581, NS/n.ii.5); four phallus-shaped objects, one perhaps a pestle (73-693, 73-294, NS/n.ii.5, NS/n.iii.12); a white whorl (NS/n.ii.5); a perforated disc (72-765); a sword- or dagger-pommel (73-595); part of a flaring axe (73-426); and, from III-IV, pieces of a large marble vessel (NS/n.ii.5). "Schist" and "slate" are recorded for whetstones (*At. 190-3472, -3474, NS/n.ii.5) and

"spit-rests" (73-337, 73-440). There are two pieces of crystal: a lion's-head pommel (73-291) and a pointed, hexagonal fragment (73-295), from II and Late II respectively. Two items in "alabaster" come from Troy II: a whetstone (?) and an egg-shaped object (72-1984, 72-1986). Also from Troy II comes a "carnelian" bead (73-106). Some pieces are described only by colour. In "black stone" there is a segmented mace-head (73-115), some "axes" (NS/n.ii.3), a whetstone (73-592), a pendant (72-760), a polished ball (NS/n.ii.7) and "many implements" (NS/n.ii.5). In "green stone" there are celts (73-53, 73-382), chisels (73-640, 73-313 - the latter said to be "transparent"), an adze (73-202), a pyramidal object (73-367) and a "tool" (NS/n.iii.14). In "red stone" there is a phallus-shaped piece (72-165).

Celts have squared, rounded or pointed butts.⁴²³ All three types are attested in the Blegen material⁴²⁴ and are common elsewhere.⁴²⁵ Flat axes⁴²⁶ and chisels⁴²⁷ likewise have parallels among Blegen's finds.⁴²⁸ There is a number of polishers,⁴²⁹ although in Schliemann's drawings these cannot always be distinguished from fragments of other tools. An eye-shaped piece, 73-306 (Late II), classed here as a polisher, has a close parallel in the Copper Age strata at Alaca Hüyük;⁴³⁰ and a squared piece in Troy IV (73-206) recalls a small cube from the BA4-MB deposits of Aphrodisias.⁴³¹ Polishers occur throughout Blegen's finds from Troy I-V.⁴³²

Shafthole-axes appear in several shapes. A simple hammer-axe 72-5, poorly stratified (II-V), has one possible parallel from the site⁴³³ but EB and MB parallels elsewhere.⁴³⁴ 73-636 (II), with a flaring blade, has probably broken along the shafthole like some at Ezero.⁴³⁵ The oddly-shaped 73-426 (II), of marble, may be broken too. The broader double-axes Atlas 149-2960 and 73-435, from II and Late II, have parallels in Blegen's Troy II material⁴³⁶ and elsewhere in West Anatolia.⁴³⁷ A more slender variety is also present in 72-1788 (II): the type may be paralleled in Blegen's Troy I.⁴³⁸ A pickaxe, Atlas 188-3440 (II), has no shafthole and is perhaps incomplete.⁴³⁹ The pointed butt is unusual at Troy and Poliochni, a blunt end being commoner.⁴⁴⁰ But it is perhaps not unique at Troy⁴⁴¹ and is closely paralleled by an example with shafthole from Alişar III.⁴⁴² A wide range of similar axes is known from Ezero,⁴⁴³ and the Trojan piece may be considered to fall within the class of "battle-axes" argued by some to have a northern origin.⁴⁴⁴ As at Lerna, shafthole axes in West Anatolia seem to be most numerous in EBIII, though they are by no means

restricted to that period. Two pieces from Troy IV have holes or depressions at right-angles to the blade: 73-202, 73-528. These may be adzes. There are E.B. parallels from Ezero, Emporio, Etiyokuşu and Alaca.⁴⁴⁵

Double-hammers with shafthole are quite common⁴⁴⁶ and adequately paralleled on the site.⁴⁴⁷ A flatter profile is shown for some⁴⁴⁸ than for others. Spherical and near-spherical pieces with shafthole may be maceheads.⁴⁴⁹ Others are known from the site,⁴⁵⁰ though not from the American excavations. For the strange piece 73-115 (II) I know of no parallels. It is of black stone with a conical projection on one side and a corresponding depression on the other; around the edge are five spherules. If, as seems likely, it was designed to top a wand, it may well have been a macehead. Possibly analogous but more three-dimensional pieces are known in gold and bronze from Tomb B at Alaca,⁴⁵¹ from a robbed tomb near Çorum,⁴⁵² and from the Royal Cemetery at Ur.⁴⁵³ But the incised lines across one of the spherules of 73-115 could be compared with those around the necks of some stone figurines (Figs.V.44-45), and it is conceivable that the five spherules might represent a head and four limbs as Schliemann evidently supposed.⁴⁵⁴

There are other references to "axes"⁴⁵⁵ and "hammers",⁴⁵⁶ but the pieces are not illustrated by Schliemann and cannot profitably be discussed.

Schliemann mentions pieces of a large, marble vessel, apparently from Troy III-IV.⁴⁵⁷ There are no details of its shape. From Troy II comes *72-832, said by Schliemann to be 10cm wide and 15cm high; the drawing is unclear, but it may well represent a jar with concave neck. 72-1948, from Troy III, is undescribed as to shape and material; but it is not dissimilar from a miniature E.C. marble vessel now in Karlsruhe.⁴⁵⁸ Blegen reports fragments of two stone vessels from Troy I,⁴⁵⁹ and seven more (unstratified) are listed by Schmidt.⁴⁶⁰ Other E.B. examples are known from Thermi, Poliochni, Emporio, Kumtepe⁴⁶¹ as well as Beycesultan and Aphrodisias;⁴⁶² not all need be Cycladic in origin.⁴⁶³

Querns are mentioned frequently⁴⁶⁴ but illustrated only rarely;⁴⁶⁵ they require no comment. Two conical stones found in Troy II may be pounders,⁴⁶⁶ though similar pieces elsewhere have sometimes been classed as idols, pawns or counters. Both types are known from Northwest Anatolia and elsewhere, and one is well paralleled in Blegen's Troy I.⁴⁶⁷ Pestles and whetstones cannot always be distinguished. *72-1366,

from Troy I, is probably a pestle and has two parallels in Poliochni blue.⁴⁶⁸ 73-693 (II), classed by Schliemann as a priaps, might be a pestle or a whetstone; similar objects occur in Protesilaos I, Aphrodisias BA4 and in the LB strata at Troy.⁴⁶⁹ Other items with, like 73-693, some groove or constriction at the neck may be whetstones,⁴⁷⁰ although other interpretations (e.g. as pendants, idols, phalluses or pestles) cannot always be ruled out. 72-1984 (II) has E.B. parallels and L.B. successors.⁴⁷¹ Atlas 190-3474, of red schist (Late II), is seemingly unique in both shape and ornament, although flat, rectangular whetstones with a hole at one end are not uncommon from EBIII onwards.⁴⁷² 73-592 (IV) is an M.B. type paralleled at Tarsus.⁴⁷³ *73-201 (V) foreshadows an L.B. variety.⁴⁷⁴ Other whetstones were noted by Schliemann but not illustrated.⁴⁷⁵

A granite bun with engraved cross, 72-556 (II), would usually be called an arrow-straightener;⁴⁷⁶ a contemporary parallel comes from Poliochni and there is another known from Troy. In Greece they do not appear before EHIII.⁴⁷⁷ A large, conical whorl of white marble comes from Troy III or IV;⁴⁷⁸ Blegen found a stone whorl in IIg.⁴⁷⁹

An oval bead of carnelian comes from Troy II: *73-106. In Blegen's excavations carnelian first appeared in Late Troy VI,⁴⁸⁰ but Schliemann recorded other carnelian beads in Treasures E and L, both probably from Late Troy II.⁴⁸¹ A black stone pendant from Late II, 72-760, recalls the serpentine zoomorphic pendants in Alişar I⁴⁸² but is unusual in the Northwest.⁴⁸³ The shape of the Trojan example suggests a human foetus. There are two pommels. One, 73-291 (II), is in crystal and is carved to the form of a lion's head; a similar pommel, but more delicately worked, was found by Blegen in Troy IIg.⁴⁸⁴ The other, 73-595, is a mushroom-shaped pommel of marble and probably comes from Late Troy II. With this we may compare an incomplete crystal example from II.5.ii,⁴⁸⁵ six more crystal examples from Treasure L,⁴⁸⁶ and a marble example, perhaps of Late II date, found in 1893.⁴⁸⁷ The type becomes common in the second millennium.

Inevitably some items remain obscure in their purpose. Three small, grooved blocks with transverse holes⁴⁸⁸ are usually called "spit-rests". Others in both stone and terracotta are known from the site,⁴⁸⁹ though none come from Blegen's excavations. The type is attested from at least the Late Chalcolithic to the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia,⁴⁹⁰ and also occurs in the Cyclades.⁴⁹¹ A spit-rest with transverse hole from Thermi

v⁴⁹² seems to provide a typological bridge between our type and the rather different examples found by Blegen.⁴⁹³ Stone balls are attested in II, Late II and III-IV; one is black and polished,⁴⁹⁴ another is decorated with lines and circles and recalls the similar balls of terracotta.⁴⁹⁵ One may have been a pounder.⁴⁹⁶ From II comes an egg-shaped stone of alabaster, 72-1986; Blegen records many such from Room 201 of square E6 in Late Troy II.⁴⁹⁷ A pear-shaped object from Troy III, 73-703, may be a polisher;⁴⁹⁸ so may a similar piece from IV, 72-1026, unless it be a figurine.⁴⁹⁹ There are three sub-cylindrical objects from II, Late II and III,⁵⁰⁰ that from Late II being of black- and white-striped marble; Blegen treats similar pieces as polishers,⁵⁰¹ but Brea and Lamb would treat them as pounders.⁵⁰² A perforated cylinder from Troy III-IV⁵⁰³ must be compared with the terracotta examples from the same strata, Fig.V.48, to be discussed below. There are three phallus-shaped objects⁵⁰⁴ of which other examples exist in the Schliemann material⁵⁰⁵ but not in Blegen's. Perforated discs from Troy II onwards⁵⁰⁶ are paralleled among Blegen's finds⁵⁰⁷ and may be buttons or beads. A small truncated pyramid in green stone, 73-367 (II), has a central hole filled with lead. Its shape suggests that it served as a base, conceivably for a leaden figurine or ornament. It is unique at Troy, but is interestingly paralleled by an unstratified find from Boğazköy.⁵⁰⁸ If indeed it is a figurine-base, it may provide additional evidence for the occasional transmission of Central Anatolian lead figurines to Troy in the EBIII period.⁵⁰⁹ To the crystal artefacts from II.5 and II.6⁵¹⁰ we must add, finally, a pointed hexagonal fragment: 73-295 (Late II). A similar piece from Aphrodisias may be contemporary or only slightly later.⁵¹¹

Chipped Stone Tools

By modern standards Schliemann's drawings of chipped stone tools are particularly inadequate. Even so, it is clear that his finds correspond broadly to Blegen's and to the assemblages known from Thermi and Poliochni. The usual material will have been flint, but obsidian is noted occasionally.⁵¹² Presumably it was present throughout in only small quantities, much as Blegen found.⁵¹³ This relative scarcity is typical of most West Anatolian and North Aegean sites.⁵¹⁴

The assemblage is dominated by blades with one, long serrated edge. These are often roughly rectangular,⁵¹⁵ although sometimes the opposing edge is curved;⁵¹⁶ both types are common in Blegen's material.⁵¹⁷ The flint "saws" often mentioned by Schliemann⁵¹⁸ may belong to this

category. Some of the blades may be sickle elements, others may be genuine saws.⁵¹⁹ Some, however, are denticulated on both of the parallel long sides,⁵²⁰ while others are drawn with no denticulation at all.⁵²¹ Occasionally there is evidence in the drawing for a midrib.⁵²² Two notched blades from Troy II⁵²³ are without parallel in Blegen's material. Also from Troy II is a fan scraper,⁵²⁴ also without really good parallel in the American excavations. From Troy IV Schliemann records a chipped "axe" of white flint;⁵²⁵ it is not illustrated. From III-IV there is noted a long, flint "knife".⁵²⁶ Schliemann does mention many flint "points",⁵²⁷ but apart from one possible exception⁵²⁸ there are no clear examples of genuine projectile points. Their rarity is normal for the region, although they are not wholly unknown.⁵²⁹ Other flint blades are mentioned but not described or illustrated.⁵³⁰

Figurines (Figs.V.44-45)⁵³¹

Schliemann records many figurines, most of stone but a few in bone or terracotta, and one in lead. Among the stone figurines six correspond to Blegen's Type 7,⁵³² having incised features but only minimal shaping; these are found in Troy II-IV in our material,⁵³³ but rarely (I, III, IV) in Blegen's.⁵³⁴ Ten are pebble-shaped with two nicks to indicate the waist; seven of these are squat or ovoid and correspond to Blegen's Type 1,⁵³⁵ not extending beyond Troy III in either body of finds.⁵³⁶ Three, from Troy II and Late Troy II, have a more elongated shape⁵³⁷ and would fall within Blegen's Type 2 of which examples are spread throughout I-IV;⁵³⁸ not all bear incised features. Three from Troy III have a rounded torso, nicked waist and pointed head;⁵³⁹ these come closest to Blegen's 2G.⁵⁴⁰ A more developed example from Troy V (72-1845) is paralleled by an M.B. piece from Aphrodisias and by one now in Karlsruhe,⁵⁴¹ also by an unstratified figurine from Kültepe.⁵⁴² Höckmann speculates that the type was a development from the disc-headed type; but it could equally well be a development from the stalk-headed "fiddle"-shaped figurines of the Southwest Anatolian EB1-2. Thimme sees the pointed-head type as male.⁵⁴³ Eleven, from II-V, are in the squat figure-of-eight shape;⁵⁴⁴ only four are without incised features. These all belong within Blegen's Type 2, found throughout I-IV.⁵⁴⁵ A variant with longer neck occurs in II-IV in our material⁵⁴⁶ and in II-III in Blegen's.⁵⁴⁷ Two have incised fringes on the forehead (73-789, 73-818), and one from Troy III has an incised neckband or collar (73-818), a feature that seems to become more common from III onwards. A second variant with squared shoulders comes from Late II-V,⁵⁴⁸ and from I-V in Blegen's material;⁵⁴⁹ at Aphrodisias the type is

first attested in the BA4 (= EBIII) period.⁵⁵⁰ Related to this is a third variant in which the neck is cut sharply into the head leaving two squared-off corners. The best examples come from Troy III, but there are less good examples which spread the range from Late II to IV.⁵⁵¹ Blegen too has the type in II-IV.⁵⁵² A fourth variant, with rounded head and oblong body, is attested in III and IV, and has a good parallel of Type 3B in Blegen's Troy III.⁵⁵³ A fifth and final variant has an elongated head; our two examples come from Late II,⁵⁵⁴ and a broken piece from Blegen's III seems to have been similar.⁵⁵⁵ Two figurines from Troy III with square bodies,⁵⁵⁶ like a broken example from Blegen's Troy II,⁵⁵⁷ are unusual in the Northwest; they are closer to the Cycladic and Southwest Anatolian types.⁵⁵⁸ Others have an elongated form. Two with rounded outlines (II-III)⁵⁵⁹ are close to Blegen's Types 3A or 3B.⁵⁶⁰ Two with squared outlines (III)⁵⁶¹ are in a shape more typical of bone figurines,⁵⁶² though not unknown in stone.⁵⁶³ One from Troy V has two pointed projections which suggest arms (73-226). Again, comparable pieces occur in bone;⁵⁶⁴ a less well-shaped forerunner in green schist was found at Thermi.⁵⁶⁵ A simple, almost triangular, figurine from Troy I (72-1693) is of Blegen's Type 5, found by him too in Troy I.⁵⁶⁶ A celt-shaped item from Troy II (73-71) seems to be a figurine, or so comparison with SS 7344 suggests. Other stone figurines from II-V are not illustrated.⁵⁶⁷

There are only nine bone figurines, plus two which may be of bone or stone.⁵⁶⁸ Two from Late II (72-782, 73-791) are comparable to the stone type with oblong bodies. Three are in elongated shapes corresponding to Blegen's Type 3C,⁵⁶⁹ one having parallels in Poliochni Yellow.⁵⁷⁰ These approach the "idol spatulae" in form, and a bone "spoon" from III-IV may belong among them.⁵⁷¹ One with rudimentary arms (73-790: Late II) is comparable to two figurines in terracotta.⁵⁷² Two others with pointed projections for arms (73-431, LII; *73-587, III) are the ones similar to a stone figurine from V. The later of the two is closely paralleled by a bone figurine from Copper Age Alaca.⁵⁷³

Only five figurines are of terracotta. 73-102 (II) is related to the type with upraised arms, known from Thermi,⁵⁷⁴ but is even cruder; there is also a rough parallel in Kusura B.⁵⁷⁵ At.20-562 (II) and 72-1895 (IV) are perhaps comparable to a piece recovered by Blegen from Troy I.⁵⁷⁶ Other, broadly similar, examples are known from Thermi, Kusura, EBI Tarsus and elsewhere.⁵⁷⁷ 73-112 (III) is only fragmentary but may derive from a figurine with pointed head such as is attested in

stone in the three examples from Troy III and in the one from Troy V.⁵⁷⁸ The fifth terracotta figurine is mentioned but not described or illustrated.

The figurine in lead, 72-1973, is from Troy II and is in the figure-of-eight shape.

There do tend to be general differences in shape corresponding to differences in material. Stone figurines are often of rounded, pebble shapes; bone figurines are inclined to be long and thin; terracotta figurines are more fully moulded. But there is a great deal of overlap as well.

The repertoire is predominantly Northwest Anatolian and Northeast Aegean. But the appearance of pointed heads and of squared bodies, in III-V and II-III respectively, may suggest a modest opening to Southwest Anatolian influences in EBIII. Conversely the appearance of round-based figurines in Aphrodisias BA4 may suggest some Northwestern influence on the Southwest at the same time. Links with Central Anatolia, where different traditions prevailed, are confined to a bone figurine in EB2 Alaca, perhaps an import from the Northwest; and to an unstratified figurine with pointed head found at Kültepe.

Seals (Fig.V.46)⁵⁸⁰

There are only seven seals in our material. Stamp-seals form the majority, as is usual for this region and date. 72-1620 (II) is very closely similar to seal-impressions on a jar from Chalandriani on Syros;⁵⁸¹ so much so that a common origin for the two seems likely. 72-551 (Late II) was assigned by Götze to Troy VI on account of its grey fabric.⁵⁸² But the design has loose parallels amongst the finds from Karataş, and Copper Age Alaca.⁵⁸³ 72-745 (Late II) may be compared with a stalked stamp-seal in Aphrodisias BA4.⁵⁸⁴ 72-136 (Late II) is a conical stamp-seal with a design of impressed lines and circles. There are EBII anticipations of the design at Tarsus and Aphrodisias.⁵⁸⁵ *72-1311 (IV) has a simple design for which I have noted no parallel. There are two cylinder-seals, neither of them a stamp-cylinder such as are known from Amorgos and Poliochni.⁵⁸⁶ 73-709 (II) is seen by Collon as being in the Syrian "ED:A" style, that is of EDI-II date.⁵⁸⁷ 73-527 (IV), of terracotta, may be compared with two faience cylinder-seals with similar chevron designs from EBIII Tarsus.⁵⁸⁸

It is worth noting that the seal-impressed fragment of pottery found by Blegen in IIB⁵⁸⁹ falls, when re-allocated as suggested in Table XXIX, in Troy II.4. This is the phase which may have contained a building comparable to the House of Tiles at Lerna; and the impression can reasonably be compared with two found in the House of Tiles.⁵⁹⁰

Weights (Figs.V.35, 37, 41, 42, 47)

A range of spherical, ovoid, ellipsoid and biconical weights includes examples in copper, magnetite, porphyry, alabaster, green stone and slate.⁵⁹¹ The type is present throughout II-V and is well paralleled among Blegen's finds.⁵⁹² Only the biconical shape⁵⁹³ was not found by Blegen. At.147-2885 (IV) seems to be unique in having a projecting ridge around its length. Blegen suggested that these were metric weights,⁵⁹⁴ and Petruso has argued that they and comparable examples from Poliochni belonged to a uniform system of measurement.⁵⁹⁵

Pendent weights come in a variety of shapes, and their purposes can mostly only be guessed at. Flat stone weights with rounded or pointed upper ends are variously regarded as net-sinkers, loom-weights, whetstones or pendants. They are found throughout I-IV and have parallels in contemporary strata at Thermi, Poliochni, Emporio, Ezero, Kusura, Karataş and Tarsus.⁵⁹⁶ They continued in use into the Late Bronze Age. Four perforated stone weights have horizontal grooves.⁵⁹⁷ Two similar pieces are known from MB Kültepe.⁵⁹⁸ One of the Trojan examples (73-446) looks as if it may have been carved to resemble a creature, possibly a fish. If it were, a use as sinkers for fish-nets would suggest itself. Conical weights with one hole come from Late II (72-758) and IV (73-205). Both have parallels in Blegen's material and at Emporio and Ezero.⁵⁹⁹ One is in the shape of a truncated pyramid (73-477: II) and has EBII parallels at Ezero and Kastanas;⁶⁰⁰ later parallels occur in (e.g.) Kusura B, Alişar II, and the type continues into the classical periods.⁶⁰¹ Such weights are generally regarded as loom-weights; they are not uncommon. Another is only poorly stratified in Troy II-V,⁶⁰² and Blegen has parallels in II, III, IV and V.⁶⁰³ Discoid and lentoid terracotta weights with two holes are attested in three examples from Late II, IV and V,⁶⁰⁴ and there is a related weight in stone from II.⁶⁰⁵ In Blegen's material there is nothing comparable. Discoid weights with one hole are known from Thermi,⁶⁰⁶ and there are examples with two holes from Dhimini, EBII Tarsus, Kusura A, Alişar II⁶⁰⁷ and elsewhere; the type is discussed by Hood who points out its long history in the Balkans.⁶⁰⁸ Again, the type continues into the

classical periods.

There are three stone spools, possibly weights, with indented waists. *72-786 (III), in a flat shape, has parallels in Poliochni Yellow, Alişar III and Kusura early C or late transitional.⁶⁰⁹ Two later pieces are deeper in shape (*73-144, V; 72-261, V-IX). This latter type has a long history from the Late Chalcolithic to the Late Bronze Age.⁶¹⁰ Other references to stone and terracotta weights are unspecific.⁶¹¹

Miscellaneous Objects of Terracotta (Figs.V.46, 48-50)

Terracotta balls occur throughout Troy II-IV. Some are plain, others are decorated with incision. The most common designs are division into two or four fields, impressed dots and small incised circles. Blegen found similar balls in Troy III.⁶¹² Good parallels are known from Alişar Ib; others occur in Alaca Tomb H (in gold), Aphrodisias BA4, Kusura C (in terracotta and bone), and Boğazköy NW-Hang 9.⁶¹³

Perforated discs, perhaps cut from potsherds, come from all strata, as Blegen also found.⁶¹⁴ Not all are illustrated.⁶¹⁵ Cylinders were found in Troy III-IV; most were pierced longitudinally like those recovered by Blegen in Troy III.⁶¹⁶ The parallels seem to be Early and Middle Helladic.⁶¹⁷ Phallus-shaped objects, perhaps pestles, appear in Late II and III;⁶¹⁸ they have no parallels in Blegen's material. Spoons also come from Late II and III. There are good sequences of spoons at Ezero and Thermi,⁶¹⁹ and the type is discussed at length by Hood.⁶²⁰

In Troy I a box (72-299) with white-filled pointillé decoration is unparalleled in the Blegen material. In Troy II there are two model animals (Fig.V.21). 73-45 is a small hippopotamus, originally one of a double piece.⁶²¹ A similar but fragmentary piece was found in Aphrodisias BA4,⁶²² and many enamelled hippopotamus figurines come from the Obelisk Temple at Byblos.⁶²³ 73-744 is the head of a pig. A complete clay pig, plump but rather schematic with a cylindrical snout and three legs, is shown from Poliochni Yellow.⁶²⁴ Also from Troy II comes a brush handle, 73-532. Blegen found others in II, III and IV;⁶²⁵ French points out that such handles are characteristic of Anatolia but not of Greece.⁶²⁶ Late II produced a squat, cylindrical object with seven holes, 73-424. There is a closely similar piece of Hittite Empire date from Boğazköy.⁶²⁷ Troy III yielded a broken, hollow conical object (*73-638) and a ring (*72-1234) which may perhaps be compared with an elongated doughnut-shaped item found in III by Blegen.⁶²⁸ From III or IV Schliemann reports baths (oval basins 2m in diameter)⁶²⁹ and an

andiron ("miniature hearth").⁶³⁰ In Troy IV there were a block 8cm long with holes and grooves for six strings (72-1701), a conical piece with three holes possibly for thumb and two fingers (73-140), and a rattle (72-360 Fig.V.29) paralleled in EBII-MB Tarsus.⁶³¹ From II-V there is a hook.⁶³² Schliemann illustrates 1224 spindle whorls from Troy I-V (see Tables XXXI, XXXII). In most cases the shape is not recorded. The most frequent design is that of curved lines forming four fields (Schmidt's Reihe IA). Three designs show some decrease in frequency in Troy IV-V: Reihe VA (curved lines forming seven fields), Gruppe IA (incised line in radial, diagonal or concentric patterns) and Gruppe ID (mixed designs). Three others show an increased frequency in IV-V: Reihe IIA, Reihe IIIA and Reihe IVA (curved lines forming three, five and six fields respectively).

Human Remains

Schliemann's work of 1870-73 produced one intramural infant burial, two possible but doubtful adult jar burials, and a number of stray skeletons or parts of skeletons. There may, however, be just enough evidence to suggest the presence of a small burial-plot within the citadel walls on the south side of the site in Middle or Late Troy II.

The infant burial was found in square D3 or D4 on 15th June 1872 among the strata of Middle Troy I.⁶³³ Two tripod cooking-vessels of Blegen's shape D24 were surrounded by three stones, and one of them (Atlas 103-2294)⁶³⁴ contained ash and the bones of a six-month-old foetus, presumably from a miscarriage or premature birth.⁶³⁵ The second vessel, Atlas 103-2295,⁶³⁶ also contained ash but the duplication, possibly attributable to carelessness, that it too contained human bones does not re-appear beyond the first report of the find in the diary. The arrangement combining an infant jar-burial with a stone-lined tomb is reminiscent of the two child burials at the Heraion on Samos.⁶³⁷ Six other infant burials come from Blegen's excavations in Early Troy I, also in square D3 - in and around House 102.⁶³⁸ Four of these had been placed in jars (of shapes C1, 2 or 3) one of which was also covered over by a stone; and one of them may have been a foetus.⁶³⁹ The other two were simple inhumations. Schliemann's later excavations yielded two other depositions of fetuses in jars, attributed to his Third City, thus probably deriving from Late Troy II.⁶⁴⁰ In Troy V Blegen found the simple, contracted inhumation of another neonate.⁶⁴¹ The practice of intramural burial of infants, sometimes in jars, is consistent with that found at most other West Anatolian sites of the same period.⁶⁴²

Blegen found three child burials in the E.B. strata.⁶⁴³ All were pit burials, two of them with stones arranged to protect the head.⁶⁴⁴ That from Troy Ic, found close to Wall IW in squares F5-6, may have been extramural.⁶⁴⁵ The other two were placed below the floors of occupied houses. No additional child burials are revealed in Schliemann's work of 1870-73.

Adult remains from Schliemann's excavations seem to be more numerous. In or near the north end of Megaron IIA, among the deposits of Troy II, Schliemann found a number of pithoi one of which contained bones he considered human and which he said he intended to keep.⁶⁴⁶ Treasure 'N' was found nearby, and so was the curved dagged-blade 72-722.⁶⁴⁷ But the bones do not appear in the later, anthropological studies of Schliemann's material⁶⁴⁸ and so may be among those said by Winnefeld to have turned out to be non-human.⁶⁴⁹ And the metalwork should, to be associated with a burial, have been found in the pithos, not near it. Again from the north side of the site, in square D3, came a human tooth⁶⁵⁰ apparently found in a jar⁶⁵¹ but quite divorced from any other human remains. Slightly more convincing is the case of the skull found on 26th March 1873.⁶⁵² This is the skull with "neat little teeth" which Schliemann took to be female⁶⁵³ but which Virchow⁶⁵⁴ and Angel⁶⁵⁵ have identified as that of a young man. The initial record shows that it was found among "yellow ash" in squares EF6-7 among the deposits of Troy II to the North of Gate FN.⁶⁵⁶ On the following day four large jars, all broken, were found in the same area,⁶⁵⁷ and the subsequent despatch assumed that the skull, together with a copper pin, derived from a damaged pithos burial,⁶⁵⁸ an assumption repeated by Winnefeld.⁶⁵⁹ It is a possibility that cannot be wholly discounted. But it is disturbing to find the pithos quietly dropped from the picture as the discovery of a second skull suggested to Schliemann the more dramatic possibility that he had come upon two fallen warriors.⁶⁶⁰ With the first skull he now associated what he supposed to be fragments of a helmet found on 31st March-1st April: the base-ring, two volutes and spout of a kettle, also a ribbed-and-tanged dagger-blade (Treasure S1). This association is almost certainly false. A number of other bones were alluded to in the first despatch⁶⁶¹ and in Ilios have turned into an entire skeleton.⁶⁶² Its "entirety" must be an exaggeration. At least we can say that the conviction that he had found a pithos burial was not so strong in Schliemann's mind as to resist the onslaught of his imagination.

But from the same part of the site came a number of other parts of human skeletons. A human mandible was found among a stratum of burnt mudbrick rubble and ash over the fortifications of Troy II in squares EF7, apparently associated with Treasure S1.⁶⁶³ From the same area a few days later came a skull⁶⁶⁴ which was later, and perhaps falsely, associated with Treasure S2.⁶⁶⁵ This became the second of Schliemann's "two warriors" with "entire skeletons".⁶⁶⁶ In these cases there is no mention of any associated pithoi. Somewhat to the West, in E6-7, but in a similar deposit, Schliemann had in the previous year found "a huge mass of human bones". Among the wall-stubs ("steps") preserved over the "Tower" it was as though the place were strewn ("übersät") with them.⁶⁶⁷ Some of this mass of bones apparently occurred also in the depression in the "Tower" - that is, between Walls IIb and IIc.⁶⁶⁸ These are exactly the sorts of statement towards which Winnefeld encourages us to be sceptical. But granted the presence close by of the two skulls and the mandible (indicating a third death), perhaps they are not so improbable. The picture may come into clearer focus when we recall that in square E6, again very close, Blegen found an intact adult burial in a cist dug down into the top of Wall IIa from a phase of Middle Troy II.⁶⁶⁹ This cist, moreover, was one of a straight line of four. The other three contained no human remains but had been dug - or re-dug? - at a later date than the first.⁶⁷⁰ We have, then, one intact burial, three empty cists, evidence for three other corpses (two skulls, one mandible), a scatter of bones - apparently profuse, and a scatter of metalwork. Among this last we may include not just Treasures S1 and S2 but a gold leaf-shaped pendant (73-378),⁶⁷¹ a bronze or copper knife (72-1952),⁶⁷² four punches (72-1975-7, 73-420),⁶⁷³ two silver pins (72-1978-9)⁶⁷⁴ and seven copper pins (72-1980-1, 73-361, and four at TA p.250).⁶⁷⁵ Two bone tubes with incised decoration (73-386, Atlas 142-2817) come from the same deposits.⁶⁷⁶ At this remove no explanations can command certainty. But one possibility is that EF6-7 was the site of a small burial-plot in (perhaps) Middle Troy II and that it was disturbed by levelling or looting, or both, at a later date, presumably before the beginning of Late Troy II. The presence of one or more cist burials is certain; pithos-burials may possibly have been present as well, but the one apparent attestation is insecure. Disturbance of this burial-plot could conceivably account for the presence in Blegen's Troy IIg of the solitary skull found amongst the fallen roof of Room 200 in square E6.⁶⁷⁷ Such a burial plot would, of course, have been situated within the citadel walls of Middle Troy II; but there is no evidence to

suggest that it would have been placed within contemporary buildings. Rather, it may have occupied the open space between the colonnade and the main citadel gate, FO.

Four more deposits enable us to complete the catalogue of human remains from the E.B. and M.B. strata. The broken skeleton of an adult male is said to have been found among the remains of Troy I in 1882.⁶⁷⁸ An adult skull was found in a pit surrounded by stones and was dated by Blegen to Troy IVe or Va-b.⁶⁷⁹ And a fragment of human bone came from Troy Va.⁶⁸⁰ This leaves for consideration only the skeleton found by Schliemann on 15th July 1872⁶⁸¹ and assigned by him to his Second City.⁶⁸²

The skeleton concerned was found "nearly standing, and but slightly inclined backward"⁶⁸³ in what Schliemann took to be a house. Almost certainly it was found among the debris thrown down on the south side of Wall IW before Wall IId was built.⁶⁸⁴ This places its deposition somewhere in the later phases of Troy I. It was not a normal inhumation, but represents the corpse of a sub-adult woman⁶⁸⁵ either newly dead or disturbed from a recent burial and thrown in amongst the rubble of building operations. It seems to have been associated quite genuinely with several gold beads and a thin, oval, gold ring, but not - despite Schliemann - with Treasure R.⁶⁸⁶

The corpus of available material has been entirely re-assessed from the anthropological point of view by J.L. Angel.⁶⁸⁷ Morphologically the population has its main line of descent from the "Basic White" long-headed populations of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic hunters to North and East, with some admixture of "Iranian" traits. But there are also some short-headed "Alpine" and "East Alpine" types such as would have been at home in Neolithic or Bronze Age Cyprus. So there is evidence of mixture. But the sample is small and deductions about racial origins seem hazardous. There emerge no obvious correlations between sex or skull-type and burial customs. Our picture of the Trojans' health is a sombre one. More than half the population never reached adulthood, if the sample is representative;⁶⁸⁸ and of those who did, most could expect to die before the age of thirty. Nutritional and general health was poor, and it is likely that the surrounding marshes favoured the malarial mosquito.

Animal Remains

Schliemann did not, of course, make any systematic collection of animal remains. Nor were his identifications, made on site, based on anything more than general knowledge. But his records, as far as they go, seem consistent with those of the American excavators,⁶⁸⁹ though they need much amplification before a rounded picture emerges.

From Blegen's work it seems that sheep and goat, cattle and pigs were present throughout the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Age in fairly even, and fairly stable, proportions.⁶⁹⁰ Apart from various unspecified animal bones noted in deposits of I, I-II and IV,⁶⁹¹ Schliemann recorded rams' horns in Troy I-II and II.⁶⁹² Boars' teeth appear in deposits from all periods.⁶⁹³ Two ox horns were found by Schliemann, one in a deposit of Troy I-II, the other in a deposit of Late Troy II.⁶⁹⁴ Gejvall has found⁶⁹⁵ that wild ox is attested in Troy I and primigenous types are occasionally present in other strata⁶⁹⁶ having perhaps been used as draft animals. But the principal variety, introduced in Troy II or III, is a domesticated short-horned type possibly kept as dairy-cattle. Schliemann found antlers in strata of Troy I-II and, less well-dated, in a stratum assignable only to Troy II-V.⁶⁹⁷ Blegen found deer in all E.B. periods, but in larger proportions in Troy III-IV where there are fallow deer, also stag and red deer.⁶⁹⁸ What Schliemann did not note, though Gejvall did, was the presence of dogs (of a primitive, unimproved breed with pricked ears and upright tails),⁶⁹⁹ foxes,⁷⁰⁰ tame asses⁷⁰¹ (thus explaining what Virchow took to be horse bones in Troy I),⁷⁰² porcupine and beaver,⁷⁰³ hare and tortoise.⁷⁰⁴

Bones which Schliemann took to be sharks' vertebrae are represented through all or most of the E.B. and M.B. phases.⁷⁰⁵ Shark bones are attested, occasionally, in deposits dug by the Americans;⁷⁰⁶ but they also found bones of tunny-fish and, in Troy II, dolphin. Unidentified fish-bones come from deposits of II, II-III and III-IV.⁷⁰⁷ Some were found in a jar in Troy II.⁷⁰⁸ Particularly frequent are Schliemann's records of mussel shells in deposits of all periods.⁷⁰⁹ A similar result comes from Blegen's work, although the same degree of frequency seems not to be implied except for Troy I where shells are so frequent that the settlement can be described as a fishing village.⁷¹⁰ Oyster-shells, on the other hand, are recorded only "rarely" by Schliemann⁷¹¹ whereas for Blegen they were relatively common. The inversion of these two sets of results is curious, and it does not seem likely that Schliemann could have confused the two types of shell. The American

results, being based on systematic collection (though on more limited excavation) are probably to be preferred. Shells of other marine animals, such as cockles and arks, are frequent in the American material; most cockle shells have been opened with a pointed tool, suggesting that they were eaten raw.⁷¹² Other shell-fish will have been boiled. Snails are common in all layers,⁷¹³ and lobsters are known from Troy III-V.⁷¹⁴ The authors of Troy Supplementary Monograph 4 point out that if Troy was situated on a promontory within an ancient estuary, as they believe, the supplies of shell-fish immediately available to its inhabitants would have been "almost unlimited".⁷¹⁵ Carbon-13 analyses of two cockle shells from the site tend to confirm that they came from a brackish mix of sea-water and river-water such as might have been found in an estuary.⁷¹⁶

Plant Remains

Schliemann gives little information about plant remains, except that he does on several occasions note the presence of grain. Carbonised grain was found in a pithos of Troy II,⁷¹⁷ and much burnt grain is recorded from Late Troy II.⁷¹⁸ Burnt grain found in a jar comes from Troy III-IV⁷¹⁹ and so does some burnt grain associated with querns.⁷²⁰ The most intriguing of Schliemann's observations is that of burnt sesame, perhaps from Late Troy II but without any clear indication of depth.⁷²¹ There is good textual evidence for the cultivation of sesame in Mesopotamia from the mid-third millennium B.C. onwards,⁷²² and in Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.⁷²³ But its appearance in the archaeological record is rare, and in the Anatolian region, so far as I am aware, does not otherwise occur before the strikingly clear evidence for the production of sesame-oil unearthed at Karmir Blur.⁷²⁴ The reason may be that, as a field-crop, it was normally processed outside the town; and there is also the point that the seeds, once carbonised, are very friable and so may have escaped attention.⁷²⁵ Schliemann's claim is therefore of some interest. But sesame has not been noted by any later workers at Troy, so the identification - made only in the field - remains unsupported. Carbonised grain found by Blegen in a deposit of Late Troy I⁷²⁶ has now been identified as including emmer wheat and barley.⁷²⁷ Vetch was noted in Troy IV.⁷²⁸

Additional information has recently come from specialist studies of the soil samples taken by Blegen at the time of his excavations.⁷²⁹ The pollen analyses⁷³⁰ can for the most part give little evidence of what materials were deliberately brought to the site. Their value lies in

showing that the natural environment of the site has probably changed little over the past five and a half thousand years. There may, however, be some evidence for land-clearance and deforestation in Troy I, Middle Troy II and Troy VI-VII, especially Troy VI.⁷³¹ Olive trees may have been present from Troy I onwards, but it is not clear whether these were cultivated. No olive-stones have been recorded from the site. Two pollen samples from Troy I show very high proportions of Pinus.⁷³² These may have been affected by pine branches brought to the site for building or burning.

Charcoal has been analysed from 18 samples.⁷³³ In the samples from the Early and Middle Bronze Age the most frequently-occurring woods are oak and hawthorn; but pine, elm and maple are all nearly as well-represented. The number of samples is probably too small for any study of their distribution to be of value. It is perhaps interesting, though, that pine is better attested in Troy I than in subsequent periods. Here there may be a tenuous link with the results of the pollen analyses.

In the long term useful results may be expected from the study of "phytoliths" if the volume and complexity of the necessary information does not become impossibly burdensome. As yet, however, it is a study that is only in its infancy. Phytoliths are the microscopic, opaline silica bodies that form in and between plant cells and which can survive as micro-fossils. Some phytoliths take on the shape of the cell in which they form, and different species of plant can be distinguished by the different ranges of phytolith shapes which they produce. These assemblages may differ, however, as between root, stem, leaf and flower of a single plant; and there is some degree of overlap between the forms found in different species. The analysis of archaeological samples is therefore a very complex business. But computer programmes can be designed to overcome these difficulties and to select from a given sample the plants, and parts of plants, most likely to be represented. This line of enquiry is a promising one in that it should eventually yield much more detailed information on the uses to which plants, and their component parts, were put. It should also assist us in detecting the presence of species such as cultivated, self-pollinating grasses, which are unlikely to show up in pollen spectra.

A preliminary analysis of 41 samples from Troy⁷³⁴ has some points of interest. But it is seriously limited by the fact that, for comparison,

there was a range of 29 species only nine of which yielded phytoliths. The identifications suggested cannot, therefore, be regarded as anything like precise. Many of the samples come from mixed deposits such as destruction-debris and the fill of pits. These may contain material recycled from earlier deposits and, being mixed, can in any case tell us little about the uses to which plants were put. But floor deposits all show the presence of the stems of grasses and reeds, and sometimes of wheat as well.⁷³⁵ This strongly suggests that floors were habitually covered with straw either loose or in matting. Samples taken from strata immediately above bedrock include, interestingly, phytoliths from the roots of wheat.⁷³⁶ This suggests that wheat was grown as close as possible to the settlement. The same conclusion is perhaps suggested by a sample containing wheat-root phytoliths from just outside Tower M of Troy I.⁷³⁷ The root and inflorescence of wheat are attested in samples of clay plaster and clay packing both taken from Troy I.⁷³⁸ Presumably these were present naturally in the clay whereas the stems of grasses and reeds, also present but without their related roots or flowers, were added deliberately as chopped straw. Wheat roots also appear among several samples taken from fills,⁷³⁹ but they do not appear in any samples from later than Troy I. Perhaps the Trojans changed their source of clay after Troy I, although such a change does not seem to be reflected in the technical studies which analyse its constituents.⁷⁴⁰ A mudbrick taken from Troy II contained phytoliths from the stems of wheat, grasses and reeds⁷⁴¹ - again, no doubt, representing a deliberate inclusion of chopped straw.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V, Part II

1. EW.vii.10; Figs.IV.63-4.
2. Troy I p.145.
3. Troy I p.182; fig.437:10.
4. NS/c.i.12; i.10.
5. Troy I p.163, figs.421, 422.
6. NP.viii.6, Figs.IV.24-5.
7. Troy I fig.422.
8. NS/n.iii.13; Fig.IV.33.
9. NS/n.iii.14.
10. NP.i.10.
11. Troy I p.170f.
12. NP.i.7; Figs.IV.13, 15.
13. TI Taf.III.
14. Troy I pp.194-6.
15. Troy I p.195f.
16. Troy I pp.147, 182.
17. Troy I figs.183, 184. The section in fig.439 appears to support this also.
18. Troy I fig.446, strata 12, 11; see p.155.
19. Troy I fig.437, strata 15, 16; see p.182.
20. Troy I p.196 with fig.446 stratum 8; p.190 with figs.437 stratum 18, and 444 stratum 1?
21. J. Mellaart, "Notes on the architectural remains of Troy I and II", AnSt 9 (1959) pp.131-62.
22. Ilios Plan I.
23. Troy I p.203.
24. Troy I p.265.
25. Troy I p.253.
26. Troy I p.206.
27. TI Taf.III.
28. Troy I p.251.
29. TI Taf.III, squares D3, E3:II.1, 30.08; II.2, 30.17; II.3, 30.83.
30. Troy I pp.251-3, 258-261.
31. NS/n.iii.12: Fig.IV.33. So also Blegen, Troy I p.250f.
32. Troy I pp.247-9. So also J. Mellaart, op.cit. pp.137f.
33. Troy I p.278, fig.457.
34. TI p.77f, Taf.III.
35. Troy I p.302.
36. TI p.78, Beilage 3 p.16.
37. Troy I pp.303-318, 321-71; figs.458-62, 468-9.
38. Troy I p.302.
39. Ilios Plan I; J. Mellaart, op.cit. p.152, though I have joined them differently.
40. Troja 1890 Taf.III; J. Mellaart, op.cit. p.150.
41. TI Taf.III.
42. Ibid.
43. Troy I p.181f, stratum H; fig.445.
44. Troy I p.246.
45. Troy I fig.463.
46. Troy I pp.245f, fig.463.
47. Ilios Plan I; Troy I p.372, fig.463.
48. Ilios p.490 and Plan I.
49. Troy I p.267.
50. TI Taf.III; Troy I pp.245f, fig.463.
51. J. Mellaart, op.cit. pp.141-2.
52. This scheme supersedes that referred to in AnSt 26 (1976) pp.146-9.
53. TI pp.52-80.
54. TI pp.56-8.
55. TI p.58f.

56. TI p.65.
57. TI pp.61f.
58. NP.ii.8, vii.9, viii.5; NS/n.iii.11; cf. Ilios Plan III 'V'.
59. Troy I fig.422.
60. Troy I p.258.
61. Troy I p.248.
62. TI p.61.
63. TI p.63.
64. TI p.68.
65. J. Mellaart, op.cit. fig.5, p.141f.
66. TI p.73.
67. TI pp.74, 99: assigned by Dörpfeld to Troy III.
68. TI pp.63-5.
69. TI pp.69-72.
70. TI p.63f.
71. TI p.79.
72. TI p.76.
73. See n.67 above.
74. TI p.100.
75. TI p.99f (building 'h'); Troy I pp.374-6.
76. TI p.80.
77. NP.i.8; Figs.IV.13, 15.
78. NS/c.i.9.
79. EW.vii.7.
80. EW.vii.7; vii.9. A fragment of the west face of Wall 54 was found in situ also by Blegen, Troy I p.244f and figs.269, 451, "dd". He assumed it to derive from a tower built against the earliest Gate FN. This may be correct; Schliemann, however, thought he had found a 'room' to which Wall 54 provided the western limit.
81. Troy I p.250, fig.447.
82. TI fig.7; cf. W. Schirmer, "Überlegungen zu einigen Baufragen der Schichten I und II in Troja". Ist Mitt 21 (1971) pp.15-16.
83. TI p.44.
84. TI Taf.VIII.
85. NS/n.vi.4.
86. Troy I fig.463.
87. NP.iii.7.
88. Troy I p.251f, fig.434.
89. NP.i.10.
90. NP.i.10; iii.7.
91. Troy I pp.252, 258; fig.434.
92. NP.i.11; Troy I p.258.
93. NP.i.10; ii.10; ix.5.
94. NP.i.9.
95. NP.i.10.
96. Troy I pp.250f, figs.161, 163.
97. TI pp.58f.
98. NS/n.iii.12.
99. TI p.61; Troy I pp.245, 247f, 251, 253.
100. NP.ii.8; vii.9; viii.5; NS/n.iii.11.
101. Troy I p.248, fig.273.
102. Troy I p.258.
103. It would be included in NP.i.10a.
104. TI pp.63, 68.
105. NP.i.12.
106. NP.iv.5.
107. NP.i.5.
108. TI Taf.III.
109. Troy I p.250f; cf. pp.251f, 258f.
110. Troy I pp.245f, fig.463.
111. EW.vii.4.

112. NS/c.i.9.
- 112a. Cf. Hesperia 26 (1957) plate 45b, and Alt-Ägina III.1 figs.3, 5, 9-14.
113. Ilios Plan I.
114. NW.iii.7; WA.vi.11.
115. WA.iv.9; v.8.
116. WA.iv.10.
117. EW.v.9.
118. EW.vii.1.
119. NP.vii.8; viii.4; NS/n.iii.10; vi.2; vii.3.
120. NP.viii.6: Wall 69.
121. TI p.89; Troy I pp.206, 278, 294.
122. TI pp.89, 92.
123. Troy I p.279.
124. Troy I p.277f.
125. Troy I p.297.
126. EW.vi.3-4.
127. TI p.99.
128. Troy III p.99, figs.55, 452.
129. W.ii.4.
130. TI p.74f.
131. W.ii.5.
132. WA.vi.6.
133. This corrects my earlier argument in AnSt 34 (1984) pp.147-8, whose conclusion is rejected also by E.F. Bloedow, "Schliemann on his Accusers", Tyche I (1986) pp.30-40.
134. TI p.99.
135. TI p.99; Troy I pp.374-6, fig.471.
136. NS/s.iii.11, and see below under Troy III.
137. TI p.80.
138. EW.vii.3.
139. Troy I p.302.
140. WA.v.9.
141. WA.v.9; vii.9.
142. WA.v.9.
143. EW.v.7.
144. Troy I p.321.
145. Cf. TI p.102; Troy II p.5.
146. NS/c.ii.9.
147. WA.vi.8; NS/c.i.8; ii.8.
148. TI p.99.
149. Troy I p.376f and fig.347.
150. WA.v.5. Dörpfeld, TI p.103, attributes Building 4 to Troy IV; but as explained in the Preface to Chapter IV, Dörpfeld's IV is to be reckoned within Blegen's III.
151. WA.iv.8; v.6.
152. EW.v.7.
153. NS/s.iii.11.
154. NP.viii.4; ix.2; NS/n.vi.1; vii.2; see Figs.IV.24, 26, 36-7.
155. Troy II pp.37-97.
156. NS/s.iii.10; Figs.IV.42-3.
157. Troy II p.139, fig.309.
158. Troy II p.216, fig.316; the IV deposits here derive from occupation, but the citadel wall may have lain to their North rather than South, thus explaining their very low altitude.
159. SE.iii.11; iv; Figs.IV.54-5.
160. Troy II p.214, fig.141.
161. Troy II p.167, figs.312, 314.
162. NS/n.iii.5, 6; Fig.IV.33.
163. SE.iii.9, 10; Fig.IV.55.
164. EW.iii.2; Fig.IV.59.

165. WA.iv.7; Figs.IV.83, 85.
166. Troy II pp.139-218.
167. TI Taf.III.
168. Troja 1893 Plans I, II.
169. In C7 they must be within Dörpfeld's strata 5-8 since 4 is clearly of Troy VI. Dörpfeld's assumption that the lowest stratum, 8, had to derive from Troy III is not necessarily correct. Troja 1893 pp.82-6 and figs.27, 28.
170. Troy II pp.217f.
171. Troy II figs.268-274.
172. Kültepe-Kaniš figs.1-53, Plan 4.
173. Alishar VI fig.35.
174. NE.ii.11.
175. Troy III p.107.
176. NS/n.ii.4.
177. SE.ii.9; iii.6.
178. NS/s.iii.8; Fig.IV.42.
179. Troy II pp.139, 252.
180. Troy III fig.453.
181. Troy II pp.216, 295.
182. Troy II fig.316.
183. Troy II p.297, figs.230, 231, 233.
184. Troy II p.291, fig.141; III p.148.
185. Troy II fig.315; III fig.482.
186. Compare Troy III fig.488, where V deposits are shown preserved to nearly 33m A.T., with figs.490-1 where they are shown not even touched at 29m A.T. - see III p.148.
187. TI pp.103-107.
188. Troy II pp.221f.
189. Troy III p.212.
190. Troy II p.291, fig.141; III p.148, fig.71.
191. Troy II pp.252-290.
192. Troja 1893 p.85. Blegen supposed that Dörpfeld's phase 6 belonged to Troy V: Troy II p.221.
193. TI p.106f.
194. Troy II p.270f.
195. Troy II pp.291-2, fig.311.
196. Troy II p.293.
197. Troy II pp.295-7; fig.317.
198. Troy II figs.280, 281; cf. Alishar VI fig.36.
199. Troy II fig.308; cf. Alishar VI figs.19-24, 27-28.
200. J. Mellaart, "The Pottery and Objects" in S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart, Beycesultan I (London 1962); "Pottery" in Beycesultan II (London 1965); D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C., Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1968; J. Mellaart, "Anatolia c.4000-2300 B.C." and "Anatolia c.2300-1750 B.C.", chs.xviii, xxiv(a) in CAH I.2³ (Cambridge 1971).
201. D.H. French, Anat.Stud. 11 (1961) 99ff; Anatolia and the Aegean p.187, n.244.
202. M. Sfériadès, Troie I: Matériaux pour l'Étude des Sociétés du Nord-Est Égéen au début du Bronze Ancien (Paris 1985).
203. J. Yakar, The Later Prehistory of Anatolia, 2 vols. (Oxford 1985), I pp.72-93.
204. D.H. French, Anat.Stud. 16 (1966) p.49; 17 (1967) p.36; Anatolia and the Aegean pp.129-132; C. Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen der Frühbronzezeit in Anatolien, der Ägäis und angrenzenden Gebieten (Mainz 1979); "Neue frühtrojanische Funde in Nordwest-anatolien und Griechenland", RGZM 26 (1979) pp.131-153.
205. NS/n.ii.6.
206. Troy I p.26 n.5.
207. Troy I p.150.

208. Troy II p.8.
209. II.1.1: *72-1677 in NS/c.i.10 (Fig.V.16); II.1(ii): Troy I p.260, ten fragments; II.2, *ibid.* p.266, "several pieces"; II.3, *ibid.* p.257, five pieces; II.4, *ibid.* pp.258, 300, forty pieces.
210. It should be noted, however, that Lustre Ware, which at Troy is handmade (Troy I p.220), survives in a wheelmade version in the Iznik and Manisa areas: D.H. French, AnSt 17 (1967) p.65; 19 (1969) p.67: "pink slipped ware".
211. Troy I p.222.
212. Trojanische Gefäßformen pp.17-32.
213. See n.204.
214. J-L. Huot, Les Céramiques Monochromes Lissées en Anatolie à l'Époque du Bronze Ancien, 2 vols. (Paris 1982).
215. Thus A26, A44, B24, C5, C10, C29, C32, C36, D11, D13.
216. This applies to B1, B6, C22, C25, C34, D2, D8, D33 and possibly A33.
217. Troy I types not found by Schliemann: A9, A14, A15, A25, A32, A42, B2, B12, B16, B19, C2, C3, C4, C17, C18, C24, C26, C37, D9, D10, D17, D18, D19, D20, D28.
218. Other rare Blegen types not attested in the Schliemann material: A3, A6, A10, A11, A13, A17, A18, A19, A21, A22, A23, A24, A27, A28, A29, A34, A35, A36, A38, A40, A46, B10, B23, C9, C14, C15, C16, C20, C23, C31, C33, C38, D4, D5, D6, D12, D16, D21, D22, D23, D25, D27.
219. Compatible but shorter distributions are attested for: A1, A2, A8, A12, A16, A20, A30, A31, A39, B3, B9, B18, C5, C10, C11, C12, C13, C19, C39, D1, D3, D7, D15, D24.
220. There are extended distributions for: A4, A5(?), A7, A33, A37, A41, A43, A45, B4, B5, B7, B8, B11(?), B13, B14, B15, B17, B20, B21, B22, C1, C6, C7, C8, C21, C27, C28, C30, C35, D2, D8, D14, D26, D29, D30, D31, D32, D33, D34.
221. C10 is characteristic of Troy II.5-V and Poliochni Yellow, and in its narrow, ovoid shape is peculiarly Northeast Aegean. But it may be derived from the broader, two-handled amphora current in EHII at Lerna, Orchomenos and in Central Greece, Thessaly and the Northeast Peloponnese, and in EHIII also at Eutresis and in Attica and Macedonia: cf. Argissa-Magula III Beilage 24:29, 35; 25:37; 27:43, 52; 28:23 and esp.32; 30:16, 37, 56, 95; 31B:42; 32:12, 26, 43, 59.
222. Such winged jars are otherwise most common in Poliochni Yellow.
223. Cf. Argissa-Magula III Beilage 29:16; 30:40.
224. This assumes a political geography similar to that which I proposed in "Hittite Geography and the Location of Ahhiyawa", Vth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Sheffield 1980 (still awaiting publication). But I would now accept some form of Mycenaean identity for Ahhiyawa: see Antiquity 59 (1985) pp.191-2.
225. There are useful recent discussions in: P.S. de Jesus, The Development of Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in Anatolia, BAR International Series 74 (Oxford 1980) 2 vols. esp. pp.134-9; J. Yakar, "Regional and Local Schools of Metalwork in Early Bronze Age Anatolia", Part I, AnSt 34 (1984) pp.59-86, Part II, AnSt 35 (1985) pp.25-38; see esp. I p.74, II pp.27-9; T. Stech, V.C. Piggott, "The Metals Trade in Southwest Asia in the Third Millennium B.C.", Iraq 48 (1986) pp.39-64, esp.52-6.
226. At.17-521.
227. Troy I pp.41-2, 213-4.
228. *Ibid.* p.41f.
229. R.F. Tylecote and R.I. Jaffee, "Analyses of Trojan bronzes", Bulletin of the Historical Metallurgy Group 7 (1966) pp.20-29; Z.A. Stos-Gale, N.H. Gale, G.R. Gilmore, "Early Bronze Age Trojan Metal Sources and Anatolians in the Cyclades", Oxford Journal of

- Archaeology 3/3 (1984) pp.23-43; Iraq 48 (1986) 53.
230. I:NS/c.i.13 - a "piece"; II: a large spherical piece, NS/n.ii.6; V:*72-1873 (spike ?).
231. Cf. J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin, T. Stech, E. Özgen, "Iron in Anatolia and the Nature of the Hittite Iron Industry", AnSt 35 (1985) 70-1.
232. NP.ii.7; NS/n.iii.8; TA p.309 - all in Troy II.
233. II:NP.i.10, *72-1106; LII:73-423, 72-405; III:72-1430, 72-640; IV:72-1899.
234. Cf. P.S. de Jesus, op.cit. pp.39-41.
235. Poliochni I.2 Tav.LXXXIII, r,s,t; CLXVIIa,b.
236. Late II:73-408, 73-631, 73-726; III:72-361; II:72-363; II-V:NP.i.5.
237. Troy II p.34, fig.80; Ilios no.1198 ("Fourth City").
238. Thermi p.157, pl.XXIV; Prehistoric Emporio p.627, figs.283, 284.
239. Cf. P.S. de Jesus, op.cit. pp.41-44.
240. II:72-779, 72-358, 72-1951 (?), At.136-2722, 73-349; LII:72-882, 72-754, 72-755; III:*72-1209, At.174-3382.
241. LII:72-756, *72-1126, *72-1115; III:73-402.
242. Also in Blegen: Troy I fig.221:38-100; fig.363:32-43; fig.369:37-127; II fig.53 38-105; but none thereafter.
243. II:72-18a; LII:72-778; IV:73-502, 73-207, 73-460; V:*At.189-3460; V-IX:72-262. Cover, II:72-746. Not illustrated: II:NP.vii.10, NS/n.ii.6; II-V:NP.i.5.
244. Troy II fig.234:32-183.
245. G. Papathanassopoulos, Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization (Athens, undated) pls.51-2.
246. Boehmer, Kleinfunde no.2219.
247. *72-1115, 73-402.
248. Alaca 1940-48 p.180, pl.37:2117; Alishar III p.123, b.2013.
249. Troy II fig.53:38-105, and p.73.
250. 73-502 (Troy IV).
251. Alishar VI fig.263:d294.
252. Cf. Troy IV fig.220:32-337 and p.87; fig.254:37-559 and p.205.
253. Alishar V fig.270:d2649.
254. WA.iv.6b:Ilios no.821.
255. Atlas 200-3589 - 200-3594; WA.vi.6.
256. Branigan, Aegean Metalwork pp.64, 198.
257. Poliochni II Tav.CCXXXVib.
258. NS/n.ii.6.
259. Ilios no.827 (II); NP.i.5 (II-V).
260. P.S. de Jesus, Prehistoric Mining pp.65, 76, 83, 137-8.
261. A. Çağatay, Y. Altun, B. Arman, "Madenbelenitepe (Soğukpınar Bursa) Kalay Cevherleşmesinin Mineralojisi", MTA Bulletin 92 (1979) pp.40-48; cf. also K. Aslihan Yener, H. Özbal, "Tin in the Turkish Taurus mountains: the Bolkardağ mining district", Antiquity 61 (1987) pp.220-6.
262. Stos-Gale et al., Oxford Journal of Archaeology 3/3 (1984) 26-29.
263. D.F. Easton, "Priam's Treasure", Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.141-169, especially pp.151, 157-8, 165-6.
264. E.g. Bittel, PFK p.54; D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.106; Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen p.24; Easton, op.cit. pp.157f, 165f. In addition a particularly good Troy I predecessor for the sauceboat, but with pedestal, is now published from Emporio: Prehistoric Emporio p.377 no.1051, pl.61. At.176-3401, a silver jar from Treasure B, has a smaller parallel in gold from Grave K at Alaca Hüyük: Alaca 1937-39 pl.CLXXV, Al.D.K.6, and in a black-slipped jar from the settlement at Horoztepe: Horoztepe p.33 fig.54, p.60.
265. WA.iv.6b; Ilios p.488.
266. NP.i.5.
267. At.142-2791 and 73-437. For Treasure S1 see EW.v.8 and Antiquity 58 (1984) pp.197-204.

268. At.142-2791. For Treasure S2 see EW.v.8 and Antiquity 58 (1984) loc.cit.
269. At.171-3304, 3305; 73-842, 843: NW.iii.6; AnSt 34 (1984) pp.166.
270. Stos-Gale et al., Oxford Journal of Archaeology 3/3 (1984) p.28.
271. Alaca 1937-39 pl.CLXXVII:K41, and p.168. This may be one of the earliest Alaca tombs: cf. Huot, Céramiques I pp.58f.
272. Cf. K. Emre, Anadolu 7 (1963) fig.10:Kt.c/k.49; fig.13:Kt.a/k.641; Bittel, PFK p.55.
273. AnSt 34 (1984) pp.152, 158.
274. Ilios no.901 ("III").
275. SS 6050, 6148-50.
276. SS 6726.
277. For Long Dagger type XVII: At.136-2722 (II), 73-349 (II), 72-778 (LII); for type XIX: SS 6757. 73-502 (IV) is for a type not represented in metal.
278. Blegen's moulds: Troy I p.150, fig.221:38-100 (Mid.I); II fig.234:32-183 (V).
279. AnSt 34 (1984) p.158 with additional works cited there.
280. NS/n.ii.7.
281. NP.v.1.
282. 72-358. Cf. also Troja no.44, of ivory.
283. Troy II p.156, fig.147:33-137; pp.223, 256, fig.234:36-116.
284. *72-694 (II), Long Dagger type XVII; 73-394 (LII), Long Dagger type XVIIa.
285. 73-534, 73-372, 72-722, all from II.
286. 72-3 (II-V).
287. Two in NS/n.ii.6; two in NP.v.3; one in NS/n.ii.7 - all from Troy II; plus one from NS/n.ii.5, from Troy III-IV.
288. D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.107.
289. Bulleten 14 (1950) pl.XL, XLI; 44 (1980) p.472.
290. Cf. Stronach, AnSt 7 (1957) p.120f.
291. Bittel, Kleinfunde Taf.3, 2; Schirmer, Kleinfunde no.2123.
292. At.26-703 = Ilios no.120; NP.i.5.
293. II:72-642, 72-1952, At.187-3426; Late II:72-773, 73-585, At.194-3504b.
294. Ilios nos.956, 957.
295. Troy II fig.234:35-532 (V) has no shoulder.
296. Thermi p.170 pl.XLVII:31-30; Prehistoric Aphrodisias no.250.2.
297. II:*72-1807, 72-716, 72-4; Late II:73-825, 73-708; III:*73-325, 73-315.
298. M. Sfériadès, Troie I pp.212-3. Note also Ezero p.171 fig.106, Hesperia 45 (1976) pl.71:829 (Kumtepe Ic), Troja p.259 fig.136 (Protesilaos), Poliochni II Tav.CCXXXVIe (Yellow), AE 1899 pl.10:43 (Syros).
299. Ilios nos.117-119, 954.
300. NS/n.ii.6 (II); NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV).
301. AnSt 34 (1984) pp.152, 159.
302. Ilios no.828 (Treasure C), 72-641, At.84-1766, 1767, 72-1971; NS/n.ii.6; and 72-97 (II-V).
303. SS 5827, 5830, 5836, 5831: see Ilios p.477, TI pp.421-3, de Jesus, Prehistoric Mining p.299, Stos-Gale et al., op.cit. p.39.
304. At.193-3493, 201-3600, 201-3600b.
305. *72-1831, At.149-2959, 165-3228, 190-3479, all from II; 73-632, *73-862 from Late II.
306. At.149-2963 (Late II).
307. 73-797 (Late II).
308. Troy I fig.358:37-746, 35-551 (II); II figs.47:37-773 (III); 234:35-489 (V).
309. SS 6213-32.
310. SS 6725, 6726, 6758-9, 6762-3.
311. See, eg., de Jesus, Prehistoric Mining pp.282-5, K. Branigan,

- Aegean Metalwork pp.168-70.
312. 72-1975, 1976, 1977; 73-420 (all II); At.166-3244 (LII).
 313. 73-420, At.166-3244.
 314. Cf. TI pp.345 fig.265; 348 fig.271c; Troy I fig.358:35-554; II fig.47:37-757; III fig.297:38-117.
 315. At.165-3219, *72-1873.
 316. TI p.348.
 317. *At.123-2462, SS 5849 (Treasure A).
 318. Poliochni I pl.CLXXV:10; AD 22 (1967) p.64 fig.2:5.
 319. Alaca 1937-39 pl.CLXVI fig.1.
 320. Belleten 40 (1980) p.470 pl.VIII.
 321. J. Deshayes, Les Outils de Bronze de l'Indus au Danube (Paris 1960) nos.2260, 2283.
 322. Ilios p.506.
 323. J.C. Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis pl.11:140, 141; see also K.D. White, Agricultural Implements of the Roman World (Cambridge 1967) pp.61-4.
 324. TI p.395.
 325. Prehistoric Aphrodisias no.628.1.
 326. K. Branigan, in Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.120, fig.93:16, said to be probably of Phylakopi I date, i.e. ECIIIB which is argued by me to be partly contemporary with Troy III.
 327. Poliochni I Tav.LXXXVI:13.
 328. AJA 71 (1967) pl.77 figs.16, 17; 73 (1969) pl.74 figs.19, 20.
 329. AJA 71 (1967) p.255.
 330. E.g. Boehmer, Kleinfunde no.262, p.79, Taf.XV (Büyükkale IVb).
 331. NS/n.ii.7.
 332. 73-796.
 333. NP.i.5; cf. SS 5808-15; Troy IV figs.219, 221:35-292 (VII a or b).
 334. TI p.406.
 335. Cf. J. Curtis, Nush-i-Jan III: The Small Finds (BIPS 1984) nos.289-95 and pp.32-3. I owe this reference, and the suggestion, to Dr. N.V. Sekunda.
 336. Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.153-6, 159-60. For more detailed discussion see K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery (London 1971) pp.48-60. Two additional parallels may be noted. For At.195-3505 (= SS 5939) the gold bracelet made of four wires, cf. Ur Excavations II pl.138:U.10949; and for At.195-3508 (= SS 5942), the spiral gold bracelet of twisted wire, cf. Byblos II nos.17700-17702 from the Obelisk Temple, dated by Saghih to the Isin-Larsa/Karum period: M. Saghih, Byblos in the Third Millennium B.C. (Warminster 1983) p.132.
 337. Ilios p.492, nos.863-4; NS/n.iii.9. Cf. Poliochni II Tav.CCXXXVI: 26 and p.290.
 338. Ilios nos.822-3 and p.488, from Treasure C.
 339. Ilios nos.847, 905, 920 and, with their pendants lost, 842-3, 881-2; Poliochni II pp.286-7, Tav.CCXLI-IV; G.F. Bass, AJA 74 (1970) pp.335-6, pl.85 figs.3-6.
 340. Ilios nos.832-3 (II, Treasure C). For the 'idol' ends cf. Poliochni II Tav.CCLI:a.
 341. 73-378 (= Ilios no.902), cf. Poliochni II Tav.CCLI:b.
 342. NS/n.iii.9, At.98-2076, 2077, 2078; SS 6127, 6128, 6129.
 343. Ilios p.492. See also TR p.164.
 344. Ilios p.493.
 345. Poliochni II p.288, Tav.CCXLVI:23.
 346. Ilios no.829.
 347. SS 6130.
 348. NS/n.iii.14.
 349. Prehistoric Aphrodisias no.672.2 (bronze ?).
 350. NS/n.i.5.
 351. NP.i.5.

352. Pins mentioned by Schliemann: Silver (III-IV), NS/n.ii.5; Copper, I:NS/n.iii.14, NP.ii.9, NP.v.4; II:NS/n.ii.6, iii.9, EW.v.8; III:NP.v.2; III-IV:NS/n.ii.5; II-V:NP.i.5.
353. II:72-852, 72-1980, 72-1981; Late II:73-334, 73-333, *72-1414, 73-798; III:*72-1791, 72-769.
354. II:73-361; Late II:73-335; III:At.150-2972; IV:*73-304.
355. Cf. Branigan, Aegean Metalwork p.37, type XIIIa; Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery p.314.
356. Alaca 1937-39 pl.CXXXIV.
357. SS 6405-6412; Troja nos.64, 65; Troy I p.136, fig.215 (I); II p.11 fig.47 (III).
358. Cf. P.J. Watson in Chronologies p.80f.
359. Belleten 30 (1966) figs.36, 37.
360. Tarsus II pp.285f, 296; fig.431:210, 221-36; AJA 71 (1967) pl.77:22; 74 (1970) p.248, pl.57:16; E. Porada in Chronologies p.166f.
361. Samos I Taf.50:4, 5; Poliochni II Tav.CCXXXVI: o and p.294; Alaca 1935 pl.LXI:A1.28.
362. Mari IV p.31f, no.30, pl.XVII:2; Ur Excavations II pl.231:U.8162.
363. WA.iv.6b; Ilios nos.824, 825-6.
364. Poliochni II Tav.CCLII:24-5; Troy I fig.356, types 1, 2, 5.
365. NS/n.iii.9; Ilios p.493.
366. NS/c.i.10; TA p.168.
367. AJA 74 (1970) pl.57:17.
368. Alaca 1936 pl.87:MA 73a.
369. NS/n.iii.9
370. Ilios p.488.
371. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery p.57, cf. p.31 fig.22c.
372. Ibid. pp.58-9.
373. Viz. the comparable pieces in Aššur Grave 20 and in Grave 1422 at Ur: see Maxwell-Hyslop, op.cit., p.71; "Near Eastern Gold Treasures: a note on the Assyrian Evidence", Antiquity 44 (1970) p.227. The example in Aššur Grave 20 could be of similar date, or be later, or have been an antique at the time of deposition. Though Calmeyer, in Trade in the Ancient Near East, XXIII Rencontre Assyriologique (London 1977) 87-97, argues for an Old Babylonian date for Grave 20 and its contents, Spanos suggests that it was re-used several times and contained a mixture of pieces of Akkadian, Ur III and Old Assyrian date: "Zur absoluten Chronologie der zweiten Siedlung in Troja", ZA 67 (1977) pp.104-6. He rightly stresses the importance of taking the Trojan piece in its full archaeological context and not in near-isolation. The depictions on Ur III (?) and Old Babylonian reliefs suggested by Calmeyer are indecisive if not unconvincing. A similar pan in Aššur Tomb 21 appears to have been deposited in Old Assyrian times: A. Haller, Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur (Berlin 1954) p.104, Taf.21a.
374. Calmeyer, op.cit. p.95, and Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery p.59, take these to have originated in the Central Anatolian M.B.A. This depends on a view of relative chronology not accepted here, and is in any case disproved by earlier occurrences in Alaca, Horoztepe and EBIII Tarsus, cf. de Jesus, Prehistoric Mining p.136.
375. Thirteen in II, EW.v.8; "a number" in IV, WA.iv.6a; others from II-V, NP.i.5.
376. Troy I fig.126, pp.47, 216; II pp.13, 114.
377. Kültepe-Kaniš pl.L:2-3.
378. M. Séfériadès, Troie I p.208.
379. I:NS/n.iii.14; III-IV:NS/n.ii.5.
380. Troy I fig.126; p.47; II pp.114, 233.
381. Cf. Troy II p.114.

382. II:NS/n.iii.9; EW.v.8; II-V:NP.1.5, NE.iii.6.
383. Troy I fig.126; pp.47, 216; II pp.13, 114.
384. NS/n.ii.5.
385. NS/n.iii.12, TA p.105.
386. SS 7624.
387. 72-145, At.142-2817; Poliochni I Tav.CLXXVI:6, p.401; II Tav.CCLV:5, 9.
388. Troy I p.282, fig.365:36-372; II p.182, fig.149:37-79.
389. SS 9050-1.
390. D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.116; M. Séfériadès, Troie I p.209.
391. Prehistoric Emporio p.673 no.44, fig.294, pl.141; Poliochni I Tav.LXXXVI:d, XCIII:1-19; Thermi pl.XXVII:36.
392. Boehmer, Kleinfunde no.2105 (Büyükkale IVd).
393. Troy II fig.51:35-262.
394. Cf. Troy II p.70.
395. SS 7955-9.
396. Troy I p.282, fig.365:36-235; II p.70, fig.51:33-187, 35-262.
397. Troy I fig.365.
398. Troy II fig.149:33-120.
399. Kültepe 1948 pl.LXVI nos.421-3 and p.207; Alishar VI fig.273.
400. Troy II p.70, fig.51:33-278.
401. AD 22 (1967) p.62f, fig.1:20.
402. Cf. C. Tsountas, AE (1899) pl.10:2, 3, p.104; B. Otto in Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.140, fig.130:1-7, and pp.543-4.
403. Poliochni I Tav.CLXXVIII:12 and p.457.
404. Manika I fig.71:33-4.
405. For general discussion of these and other decorated bone tubes see Thermi p.200, Otto, loc.cit., and D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.117.
406. 72-145, At.134-2689 (II); 73-296 (LII); *72-1076 (V).
407. Troy II p.57 fig.51; cf. also Ilios no.540, SS 7926.
408. Alishar VI fig.275; Schirmer, Kleinfunde nos.1981, 1984-5, 1999; Byblos I pl.CXXI (from Building E), II no.15467 (from the Temple of the Obelisks).
409. TR p.28; Ilios p.424f.
410. NS/n.iii.12.
411. 72-639.
412. 73-290.
413. Troy II pp.232, 285, fig.235; Troja no.102.
414. Dhimini pl.46, p.356; Hesperia 25 (1956) pl.47e, f; p.162.
415. Horoztepe p.45, pl.XIV:5.
416. Alaca 1940-48 p.181, pl.39:g.267; Alishar III p.71, b.752 ('stratum I'); VI fig.264:d.1911, fig.276:d.2443, d.412, c.2382, d.2874.
417. Troy II pp.115, 159, 187; fig.149:32-406, 33-56.
418. Dhimini p.317f, fig.243.
419. Ilios no.1263 ("Fourth City"); and see SS 9036-40.
420. Ezero pp.190-1, 193; figs.116b, 117e, 118; Kastanas Taf.83 (levels 23a-22b, EB 2-3); Dhimini pl.47, p.358f.
421. Séfériadès, Troie I p.208.
422. Cf. Troy I pp.169, 179, 254, 256, 302.
423. 73-53, 73-382, 73-179 (II); 72-784, 72-761, 72-780 (LII); 73-72, *72-1657 (III); 73-189 (II-III); *73-93 (IV); 73-197 (V).
424. Squared butt: Troy II fig.148:36-266, p.207 (IV), with other Trojan examples at Ilios nos.86 (I), 667, 676 (LII), 1280 (III), TI figs.313, 314; SS 6949, 7076-7084; rounded butt: Troy I figs.217:35-64 (I), 361:35-443 (II), Troy II figs.49:37-132 (III), 148:37-29, 37-67, 37-101 (IV); pointed butt: Troy I fig.361:33-325, 35-286 (II), II fig.49:37-479 (III).
425. Some discussion in Bittel, PFK p.41f.
426. *72-1114, *73-530 (II); 73-371, 73-705 (Late II); *72-1211 (III).

427. 73-640 (I-II); 72-533, 73-641 (II); 73-313 (Late II); 73-702 (III).
428. Flat axes: Troy I fig.217:36-201 (I), II fig.148:32-455 (IV);
chisels: Troy I fig.217:35-87, II figs.148:37-531 (IV), 234:
35-166 (V).
429. 73-474 (II); 73-292, 73-293, 73-306 (Late II); At.149-2962 (II-
III), 142-2795 (III); *73-206 (IV).
430. Alaca 1937-39 pl.CIX:7.
431. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.452:12.
432. Troy I figs.218; 363; II figs.49, 148, 234:35-491.
433. TI fig.328 = SS 7219.
434. E.g. Ezero pp.163-5, figs.100-102 (flat butts); Protésilas figs.
58:3, 60:1 (II); Poliochni I.2 Tav.CLXXIV:9 (Red); Asine fig.
175:7 (EH/MH); AJA 72 (1968) p.314 (Lerna IV); Alishar III p.64
b.388 (I); Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.252:4 (BA4/MB);
Archaeologia 86 (1936) pp.45f, fig.21:5 (Kusura B).
435. Ezero p.166 fig.103.
436. Cf. Troy I fig.361:36-289, 290, 291.
437. E.g. Poliochni II Tav.CCLX:7 (Yellow); Beycesultan I fig.F3:1 (X);
AJA 71 (1967) pl.77:20 (Karataş tomb 152); Archaeologia 86 (1936)
pp.46f, fig.21:6, 7 (Kusura B); Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.252:17.
438. Troy I fig.217:36-186. Cf. also Poliochni II Tav.CCLX:5 (Yellow),
Beycesultan I fig.F3:7 (XIV); Archaeologia 86 (1936) p.47f:
fig.22:7 (Kusura C).
439. So SS 7196.
440. E.g. SS 7182, 6055-8; Poliochni I.2 Tav.CLXXXIII:1-8, II Tav.
CCLIX-X.
441. Cf. the fragment SS 7178.
442. Alishar V fig.271 e.1369.
443. Ezero p.167, Table 22.
444. Cf. Séfériadès, Troie I pp.204-6, with further references; also
Bittel, PFK pp.43-5.
445. Ezero p.153 fig.95d; Prehistoric Emporio p.651, pl.134, stone
object no.24 (without hole); Etiyokuşu fig.88:Ey.363; Alaca 1937-39
pl.CIX, Al.b.491.
446. *72-1364 (I); 72-142, *73-141 (II); 72-759 (LII); *72-1210, *72-1283
(III); also NP.i.5, EW.v.4.
447. Troy I fig.217:36-366; fig.361:37-330; II fig.148:33-15; SS 7179,
7240-62.
448. 72-142 (II); *72-1210, *72-1283 (III). Cf. Alishar III p.64, b.51
(I), Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.252:6 (BA3).
449. *72-1875 (II), *72-1394 (III), 72-584 (III-IV), NP.i.5 (II-V).
450. Ilios nos.635-7 (LII); TI pp.323, 377; SS 7295-7342. Also Bittel,
PFK p.46; D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.114.
451. Alaca 1935 pl.CLXXIII, Al.243.
452. Belleten 44 (1980) p.470, pls.VI-VII.
453. Ur II pl.224:U.9137.
454. Ilios p.337.
455. NP.i.5; NS/n.ii.5, 6, iii.14, vi.3, vii.3; EW.ii.4.
456. NP.i.5, ii.11; NS/n.ii.5, ii.6, iii.12, iii.14; SE.iii.6; EW.v.8.
457. NS/n.ii.5.
458. Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.317 pl.293, and p.507.
459. Troy I pp.150, 159; figs.217:38-99, 38-101.
460. SS 7905-11. Bittel assigns SS 7905 to Troy II, but it is not
clear why: PFK p.48.
461. Thermi pp.177f and pl.XXVI:30.21; Poliochni II Tav.CCXXII pp.303f,
Tav.CCLIIIb; Prehistoric Emporio pp.643-6; Hesperia 45 (1976)
pl.70:139, 880.
462. Beycesultan I pl.XXXII:7, 8 (XVIIb); Prehistoric Aphrodisias I
p.237.
463. Further discussion in D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.114f.
Cycladic stone vases are discussed by P. Getz-Preziosi in Art and

- Culture of the Cyclades pp.95-107.
464. I:NS/n.iii.14; II:NS/n.ii.6; NP.i.10; II-III:NE.v.4-5; III-IV: NS/n.ii.5; II-V:NP.i.5.
 465. 72-926 = Ilios no.75; *72-1717 (unless this is a shafthole tool).
 466. 72-654, 72-757.
 467. For 72-654 cf: Troy I p.84, fig.218:35-159 (I); Prehistoric Emporio p.656:49, pl.136 (I); Aghios Kosmas pl.168:61. For 72-757 cf: Poliochni I Tav.CIV:27 (Blue), CLXXXIX:2 (Red); Thermi 30.55, fig.56 (I or II); Prehistoric Emporio p.648:16, fig.291, pl.135 (unstratified); Archaeologia 86 (1936) p.31, fig.12:15 and p.51; also fig.23:4 (Kusura B, C); Aghios Kosmas pl.168:59.
 468. Poliochni I Tav.CIV:26, 30.
 469. Protésilas fig.35:16; Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.438:27; Troy III fig.299:36-392 etc.
 470. 72-1984 (II), At.190-3474 (LII), *At.190-3472 (III), 73-592 (IV), *73-201 (V).
 471. Cf: Protésilas fig.35:16 (I); Tarsus II p.274, fig.418:88 (EBII); Alaca 1940-48 pl.37:j141 and p.178 (LB); Troy III fig.299:36-392 etc. (LB).
 472. E.g. Troy I fig.361:36-323, 35-256 (II); II fig.49:37-443 (III); fig.148:33-20 (IV); III fig.299:38-26 etc. (VI); Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.458:11; 459:42; 469:28 (BA4-MB); Poliochni II Tav.CCLVIII:4-6 (Yellow).
 473. Tarsus II p.274, fig.418:96 (MB).
 474. Troy IV fig.254:37-298.
 475. NP.i.5 (I-V); NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV).
 476. E.g. Boehmer, Unterstadt no.3846 (unstratified).
 477. Poliochni II Tav.CCLXII:10; TI fig.339 = SS 9327; Hood, in End of the Early Bronze Age p.57.
 478. NS/n.ii.5.
 479. Troy I p.373, fig.363:35-106.
 480. Troy III p.23.
 481. Ilios p.493, TI p.333, figs.359:a,b; SS 6000-1; Troja 1890 p.20, TI p.340, SS 6108-11.
 482. Alishar III pp.53-5, 206, figs.63, 268; V fig.184.
 483. Cf. only SS 7795.
 484. Troy I p.326, fig.359:36-14.
 485. Troy I p.282, fig.359:36-320.
 486. SS 6059-64.
 487. TI p.385 fig.357.
 488. 73-337 (LII), 73-440 (III), Ilios no.606 (?) (II-V).
 489. SS 6799-6816.
 490. Prehistoric Aphrodisias p.237, fig.400:1 (LCh4); Tarsus II p.324, fig.442:18 (EBII); Alaca 1963-67 pl.XXXVII:Al.t.19 and p.79 (LB).
 491. Phylakopi p.199, fig.172.
 492. Thermi fig.44:30-6.
 493. Troy I pp.50, 168, figs.221; 250:17; 369:38-102, 37-363. For further discussion of spit-rests see Bittel, PFK p.71.
 494. NS/n.ii.7 (II); cf. Troy II p.261, fig.234:37-69.
 495. NS/n.ii.5 (II-IV); cf. Fig.V.46.
 496. 72-762 (LII); cf. Troy I p.333, fig.363:E6.86; II pp.54, 84, fig.49:E6.35, 42.
 497. Troy I p.329 (IIg = II.6.iii); cf. also Ilios no.556, Troja no.46, SS 7667-7671.
 498. Cf. Troy I p.359, fig.363:36-237 (IIg); II p.196, fig.148:37-74 (IV).
 499. Cf. Troy II fig.48:34-531 (III).
 500. 73-630 (II), 73-294 (LII), 73-581 (III).
 501. Troy I p.326, fig.363:35-247 (II); II pp.47, 187, 268, figs.49:33-181 (III); 148:32-388 (IV); 234:32-407 (V).
 502. Thermi fig.56:30-13 (V); Poliochni II p.312, Tav.CCLXII:12, 14.

503. NS/n.ii.5
504. 72-165 (III), NS/n.iii.12 (II), NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV, striped).
505. Cf. TI p.384 and Beilage 45 (on p.368): VII; SS 7650-66.
506. At.135-2698 (II), 72-765 (LII), NP.i.5 (II-V).
507. Troy I pp.249, 295, 368, fig.363:37-120, 37-493, 37-474; II pp.152, 156, 174, fig.147:33-40, 33-81, 33-58. Cf. also SS 7763-70.
508. Boehmer, Kleinfunde no.2282.
509. Cf. Ilios no.226 (Late II), seen by Calmeyer as being in a style that antedates the earliest Karum periods: P. Calmeyer, "Der Grab eines Altassyrischen Kaufmanns", in Trade in the Ancient Near East, XXIII Rencontre Assyriologique (London 1977) pp.93-4. Cf. also J.V. Canby, "Early Bronze Age Trinket-Moulds", Iraq 27 (1965) pp.42-61.
510. 73-291 (II), SS 6059-64 (LII), Troy I fig.359:36-298, 36-320, 37-488 (II.5); 36-14 (II.6).
511. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.453:13.
512. EW.v.8 - six blades (II); EW.vi.1, 2, 4 (II-III); NP.i.5 (II-V); NS/n.ii.6 (II).
513. Troy I pp.46, 211; II pp.8, 108.
514. M. Séfériadès, Troie I p.197f; D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.113f.
515. *72-1612 (I); *72-1290, 72-1564, 72-1602, *72-1613, 73-584 (II); 72-1664 (LII); *72-1390, *72-1560, 72-1896, 72-1897, 72-1898, 73-579 (III); 72-781 (III-IV); *72-1042, *72-1055, *72-1053, *72-1098, *72-1005, 72-1343, 72-1665, *72-1859 (IV); *72-1035, 72-1044, *72-1057, *72-1054 (V); *72-1762 (II-V).
516. *72-1520 (I); 72-1667 (II); 72-1417, 72-1561 (LII); *72-1195, 72-1770 (III); *72-1846, 72-1666, *72-1032 (IV); *72-1031 (V).
517. See Troy I figs.217, 362; II figs.49, 147, 234.
518. EW.iii.3, 4; v.4, 5, 6, 8; NW.ii.7.
519. Bittel PFK p.47.
520. 72-557 (I); *72-1769, 72-1972, 73-376 (II); *72-1863, *72-1388, *72-1389, 72-1954, 72-1955, 72-1956 (III); *72-1033, 72-1696, 72-1694 (IV); *72-1706 (II-V).
521. 73-480 (II); *72-1188 (III); 72-1695 (IV); 72-93 (II-V).
522. 72-584 (II); 73-376 (II); 73-480 (II).
523. Atlas 134-2690, 2691.
524. 73-422 = Atlas 134-2679.
525. EW.ii.4. Such an axe might betray northern links: Bittel, PFK p.45f.
526. NS/n.ii.5.
527. NS/n.iii.9 (III).
528. 72-1974; cf. Ilios no.98 which Blegen would accept as a possible javelin-point: Troy I p.97.
529. Bittel, PFK pp.47-8; D.H. French op.cit. p.114; M. Séfériadès op.cit. pp.119-203. For some examples: Poliochni Tav.CLXXVIII:3, 10 and p.677; Troy II fig.234:36-116. The type also occurs in metal: Fig.V.40:72-358.
530. NS/n.iii.14 (I); NP.i.10; vii.7; NS/n.ii.6 (II); EW.vi.1, 2, 4 (II-III); NP.vii.6 (III); NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV); NP.i.5 (II-V).
531. For general discussions of figurines see: Bittel, PFK pp.36-41; D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean pp.98-103; O. Höckmann, "The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Idols of Anatolia", in Art and Culture of the Cyclades pp.173-184. Also relevant are C. Renfrew, AJA 73 (1969) pp.1-32, S. Alp, Belleten 29 (1965) pp.3-14.
532. Troy I p.28, fig.127.
533. *72-1583 (II); *At.187-3417 (LII); At.190-3467, *73-887, 73-823 (III); At.149-2961 (IV).
534. Troy I fig.216:37-374 (I); II fig.48:33-178; II fig.147:37-68, 37-529 (IV).
535. 73-479, At.187-3420, 3429, 3431 (II); 73-395, *At.187-3430 (LII); 73-441 (III); cf. Troy I fig.127.

536. Cf. Troy I fig.216:33-217 (I); fig.360:34-1, 35-40, 35-208 (II); II fig.48:33-292, 34-429 (III); p.301: Table 24.
537. 73-355, 73-419 (II); *At.165-3209 (LII).
538. Cf. e.g., Troy II fig.147:36-265 (IV).
539. 73-299, *73-321, 73-820.
540. E.g. Troy II fig.147:37-158 (IV).
541. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.232; Höckman in Art and Culture of the Cyclades pp.389, 563, pl.526; related pieces are in Basle, Columbia and Houston: *ibid.* nos.525, 527, 528.
542. Ö. Bilgi, "Anthropomorphic representations from the mound of Kültepe". Belleten 39 (1975) pp.209-216: see p.212f, pl.IV:15. Perhaps also related: Alaca 1936 p.142:A1/a.3 (Copper Age).
543. Art and Culture of the Cyclades p.563.
544. *73-70, 73-639 (II); 72-771, 73-826, *At.164-3203 (LII); *72-1287, At.187-3437 (III); 72-99, *72-1052, *72-1661 (V); *72-1736 (II-V).
545. Troy II p.301; I fig.216:35-65, 37-321, 37-525 (I); fig.360: 35-258 (II); II fig.48:33-270, 33-311, 34-319 (III); fig.147: 32-335 (?) (IV).
546. 73-789 (II); *At.165-3210, 166-3256 (LII); *73-320, *73-567, 73-818, At.190-3470 (III); 73-227 (IV).
547. Troy I fig.360:35-221, 36-34, 37-469 (II); II fig.48:34-318, 37-544: falling within Blegen's Type 3, especially 3E, 3G, 3H.
548. 73-792 (LII); *At.149-2938, *72-1323 (IV); *73-138 (IV-V); *72-1877 (V); 72-1757 (II-V).
549. Troy I fig.216:37-372 (I), fig.360:35-258 (II); II fig.48:34-61 (III); fig.147:37-502 (IV); fig.234:37-157 (V).
550. Prehistoric Aphrodisias p.215.
551. 73-569 (LII); 73-180 (II-III); *73-364, *72-1391 (III); *73-139 (IV).
552. Type 3E, e.g. Troy II fig.48:37-523, 37-544 (III).
553. At.166-3236 (III); *72-1844 (IV); cf. Troy II fig.48:34-318.
554. *72-1699, 72-1957.
555. Troy II fig.48:34-61.
556. *72-1022, *72-1674.
557. Troy I fig.360:35-287.
558. Cf. C. Tsountas, AE 1898 pl.11:3, 1899 p.97 fig.29; Archaeologia 87 (1937) pl.LXXXIV:11 (Kusura B-C); AJA 68 (1964) pl.82:fig.24; 71 (1967) pl.77 figs.13-14 (Karatas cemetery).
559. 73-90 (II-III); 73-164 (III).
560. Cf. Troy II fig.48:33-179.
561. 73-351, At.187-3421.
562. Cf. 73-813, Troy II fig.48:37-43.
563. Troy II fig.48:37-440.
564. 73-431 (LII); *73-587 (III).
565. Thermi 30.58, p.177, pl.XXIV.
566. Cf. Troy I fig.216:37-359.
567. NP.i.10, NS/n.ii.6, WA.iv.6b (II); NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV); NP.i.5 (II+V).
568. Of bone or stone are *72-1577, *72-1615.
569. 72-89 (II), cf. Troy I fig.360:37-628 (II); 73-813 (III), no exact parallels; 72-189a (II-IX), cf. Troy II fig.149:37-82 (IV).
570. Poliochni II Tav.CCLV:1, 2.
571. NS/n.ii.5.
572. 72-1895 (IV), 73-588 (VI-VII).
573. Alaca 1937-39 pl.CVII:A1.d.168; see p.147.
574. Thermi pl.XX:nos.29:3, 5, 23.
575. Archaeologia 87 (1937) p.251, fig.17:7.
576. Troy I fig.216:35-165.
577. Thermi no.29.1; Archaeologia 86 (1936) p.29 fig.11:1 and p.28f (purchased); Tarsus II fig.451:1. Lamb, in Archaeologia 86, notes parallels at Ahlatlibel, Alisar and Antalya.
578. 73-820, 73-299, *73-321 (III); *72-1845 (V).

579. NS/n.ii.5.
580. For general discussions of West Anatolian EB-MB seals see Bittel, PFK pp.55-6, D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean pp.117-20, M.S. Joukowsky, Prehistoric Aphrodisias I p.384.
581. Cf. C. Zervos, L'Art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l'age du Bronze (Paris 1957) pl.101.
582. TI p.400.
583. AJA 68 (1964) p.275, pl.82:fig.26; Alaca 1937-39 p.148, pl.CVIII: Al.d.30.
584. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.318:4.
585. Tarsus II p.237 no.3, fig.392 (Early EBII); Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.318:5 (BA2).
586. F. Dümmler, AM 11 (1886) p.20 Beilage 1:D6; Poliochni II Tav.CCLIV and pp.298-302.
587. D Collon, First Impressions, p.22f, no.49.
588. Tarsus II p.238, fig.393, nos.20, 21. No.20 is of early EBIII, no.21 is intrusive.
589. Troy I fig.408:37-1134; p.256 (Square F6, phase IIb).
590. Cf. M.C. Heath, "Early Helladic Clay Sealings from the House of the Tiles at Lerna", Hesperia 27 (1958) pl.22:S46, 47.
591. Copper:73-55 (II), 73-43 (II-III); Magnetite:WA.iv.6b (eleven) (II); WA.v.7, EW.iii.4 (LII); NW.ii.7 (IV-V); Porphyry:At.147-2884 (II); Green stone:73-49 (II); Alabaster:73-2 (LII); Slate:EW.ii.4 (IV); Other stone:73-583, 73-50, *73-174, *73-175 (II); 73-30 (LII); 73-704 (III); At.147-2885 (IV).
592. Troy I fig.217:35-120, pp.251-2; fig.363:35-445, 37-515; II fig.49:34-60, 34-317; fig.148:33-122, 33-138.
593. At.133-2635 (LII), 73-49 (II), 73-30 (LII).
594. Troy I p.359.
595. K.M. Petruso, "Trojan weight metrology", IVth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Sheffield 1977 - awaiting publication in the conference proceedings.
596. Thermi pl.XXVI nos.30.27, 30.43, 31.42, 31.60, and p.193; Poliochni II Tav.CCLVIII:4 (Yellow); Prehistoric Emporio p.625 no.28, fig.292, pl.136 (V); p.652 no.29, pl.134 (II?); Ezero p.392 Table 224; pp.405, 407 (bone); Archaeologia 86 (1936) p.50f; p.31, fig.12:28, 29 (Kusura C, but also in A-B); AJA 70 (1966) pl.62, figs.38, 39; Tarsus II p.274, fig.418 nos.83, 84, 85.
597. 73-446 (II); 72-512, 73-701 (LII); 73-597 (IV).
598. Kültepe 1948 pl.LXV:407, 414.
599. Troy I p.219, fig.369 (more than seventy-five from IIg), II fig.150; Prehistoric Emporio clay object no.27, p.632f, fig.284, pl.132; Ezero p.391, fig.192.
600. Ezero p.392 Table 224, esp. in I level II; Kastanas p.197, pls.11, 52, 83.
601. Cf. At.190-3471 and discussion later in this chapter. Also Archaeologia 86 (1936) pp.34, 36 fig.16:5-6; 87 (1937) pp.254, 256, fig.19:2; Alishar III p.123f, b.2763.
602. NP.i.5.
603. Troy I fig.369; II figs.53, 150, 236:37-135.
604. 73-578, *72-1090, 73-700.
605. 73-427.
606. Thermi p.163 and fig.44:31.31.
607. Dhimini pl.43:4; Tarsus II fig.418, p.274 no.89; Archaeologia 86 (1936) pp.34, 49; fig.23:6; Alishar III p.123:b.1471, b.2287.
608. Prehistoric Emporio loc.cit.
609. Poliochni II Tav.CCLVIII:8; Alishar III p.207:b.14; Archaeologia 87 (1937) p.253f; fig.19:7, 8 (terracotta).
610. Alishar III p.52, b106; V fig.91, cl588; Poliochni I Tav.CLXXXIX: 12, 18 (Green) and p.608; II Tav.CCLXII:1-6 (Yellow); Protésilas fig.35:4, 7, 9 (1st settlement); Alaca 1963-67 pl.XXXVI, p.79:

- Al.p.184 (Hittite strata); Troy IV fig.256:36-61 (VIIb1).
611. Stone: NS/n.iii.14, NP.ii.11 (I); NS/n.iii.12, NP.i.10 (II); NS/n.ii.6 (LII); NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV); EW.ii.4 (IV); NP.i.5 (II-V). Terracotta: NS/n.ii.6 (LII); NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV).
612. Troy II pp.49, 62, 73, 304; fig.56:34-54, 34-287, 34-415.
613. Alishar III p.47 fig.56:b399; V fig.204; Alaca 1937-39 pl.CXXXI: H.13, 14 and p.157; Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.591-14; Archaeologia 86 (1936) p.31 fig.12:9; p.53 fig.24:7; Schirmer, Nordwesthang nos.262-4, p.59, Taf.47.
614. Troy I fig.221; II figs.148, 151, 236, p.304 Table 26.
615. Not illustrated: NS/n.ii.6 (II); EW.ii.4 (IV); NE.iii.6, NP.i.5 (II-V); NP.ii.2-7 (II-IX). Decoration with a swastika is reported from NP.i.5.
616. Troy II pp.74, 85 fig.53:34-534; 55:33-211. Note one not illustrated from NS/n.ii.6 (II).
617. Ibid. p.74.
618. One from NS/n.ii.5 (III-IV) is not illustrated.
619. Ezero p.395, Table 227; Thermi p.159 and fig.45.
620. Prehistoric Emporio pp.623-6.
621. Ilios p.377.
622. Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.328, 426:17.
623. Byblos II: Atlas (Paris 1950) pl.99-102.
624. Poliochni II Tav.CCXX:c-d.
625. Troy I fig.369; II figs.55, 150.
626. D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.116.
627. W. Schirmer, Nordwesthang p.55, Taf.42:211.
628. Troy II p.40, fig.53:34-2.
629. NS/n.ii.5.
630. NS/n.ii.5.
631. Tarsus II fig.444:45-7.
632. NP.i.5; cf. SS 8831-5, TI fig.371.
633. Tgb.1872 p.389, TA 107f = TR p.153f; NS/n.iii.14, see figs.IV.32-3.
634. TR no.107, Ilios no.59, SS 1; Fig.V.16.
635. Ilios p.227.
636. Fig.V.16.
637. Samos I, 6, 10-12.
638. Troy I p.94f, fig.426.
639. Troy SM 1 p.6:6cTr.
640. Ilios p.323.
641. Troy II p.273; Angel op.cit. p.12:8aTr.
642. Cf. T.S. Wheeler, "Early Bronze Age Burial Customs in Western Anatolia", AJA 78 (1974) pp.416, 419, 420.
643. Troy I p.130, fig.436; p.315f, figs.309, 468; p.329, fig.461; Angel op.cit. 1Tr, 5Tr and 2Tr respectively.
644. 1Tr and 5Tr.
645. In Pit j, Troy I fig.436.
646. Tgb.1872 p.387; NS/n.iii.9; Figs.IV.32, 33.
647. TA p.117.
648. E.g. R. Virchow in Ilios pp.508-12, and Alt-Trojanische Gräber und Schädel, Abhandl. der Kön. Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin 1882); largely superseded by Angel op.cit.
649. H. Winnefeld, "Gräber und Gräbhügel", TI ch.viii, p.535.
650. 72-766, NS/n.iii.12, from the Troy I-II transitional period. Noted in Ilios p.39.
651. TA p.169.
652. 73-385 = Atlas 136-2726 = Ilios nos.969-972 = Angel 10Tr.
653. Tgb.1873 p.130, TA p.232, TR p.267f.
654. Ilios p.509 (cf. Troja p.174).
655. Angel op.cit. p.11.
656. Tgb.1873 p.130; EW.iv; see Fig.IV.59.
657. Tgb.1873 p.133.

658. Ibid. p.136; TA p.232, TR pp.267f. In Ilios p.39 Schliemann has confused this supposedly female skull with the genuinely female skull Ilios nos.977-8 which has no mandible. There is no record that this latter skull was found in 1873, but the confusion has passed into Angel op.cit. p.11:11Tr who thus incorrectly describes it as a pithos burial found in 1873. It was neither.
659. TI p.536.
660. Tgb.1873 pp.170-1, TA pp.246-7, TR p.37. See Antiquity 58 (1984) p.202.
661. TA p.232.
662. Ilios p.507.
663. Tgb.1873 p.152: EW.v.8. See Figs.IV.60, 61.
664. 73-543, Tgb.1873 p.163; Atlas 146-2850, TR No.190, Ilios Nos.973-6 (and see Troja p.174), Angel op.cit. p.10f:9Tr. Young adult male.
665. Antiquity 58 (1984) p.202.
666. TA pp.246-7, Ilios p.507.
667. Tgb.1872 p.491f: NS/c.ii.8. See Figs.IV.45, 48, 49, V.5.
668. TA p.172.
669. Troy I p.255, figs.284, 452: Angel op.cit.:3Tr.
670. Troy I fig.452; cf. pits 2, 3, 4 in fig.457 and p.280.
671. EW.iv; Fig.V.38.
672. NS/c.ii.8; Fig.V.35.
673. NS/c.ii.8, EW.v.8; Fig.V.35.
674. NS/c.ii.8; Fig.V.38.
675. NS/c.ii.8, EW.iv, EW.v.8; Fig.V.38.
676. EW.iv, EW.v.8; Fig.V.43.
677. Troy I p.336; Angel op.cit. p.10:7Tr.
678. Troja p.348.
679. Troy II p.209; Angel 12Tr.
680. Troy II p.271.
681. Tgb.1872 p.460; TA p.167f; Atlas 103-2294, TR No.153, Ilios No.147.
682. Ilios p.270.
683. Ibid. n.9.
684. NS/c.i.10, Fig.IV.45; cf. Troy I fig.437.
685. Ilios p.271f; Angel op.cit. p.7:4Tr.
686. Antiquity 58 (1984) p.200f.
687. Troy:SM1; and, most recently, "The Physical Identity of the Trojans" in Troy and the Trojan War pp.63-76.
688. Troy and the Trojan War p.72; these statistics are, of course, affected by the absence as yet of any proper E.B. cemetery for the site. But the extensive E.B. cemetery at Karatas yields a picture only marginally happier, and better farm land has there to be taken into account.
689. N-G. Gejvall, "The Fauna of the Different Settlements of Troy: Preliminary Report", Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet I Lund, Årsberättelse (1937-8) pp.51-57; "The Fauna of the Successive Settlements of Troy: Second Preliminary Report", Ibid. (1938-9) pp.1-7; The Fauna of the Different Settlements of Troy, Part I: Dogs, horses and cattle (duplicated typescript, 1946, available at the Institute of Archaeology, London). The second preliminary report is based on the material collected in 1938; the other two reports are based on the material collected in 1932-37. Basic information on the presence and absence of species can be traced conveniently through the indices of the main excavation reports under "Animal Bones" and "Shells". For shells see also R. Virchow in Ilios pp.114-6 and Troy SM4 pp.187-8.
690. Gejvall 1946, table of distribution (to be used only with caution).
691. NP.ii.11; NS/n.iii.12; SE.iii.7.
692. NS/n.iii.12; NS/n.iii.9 (72-844).
693. NP.ii.11; NS/n.iii.14; NP.i.10; NP.i.5; NS/n.ii.6; NS/n.ii.5; NS/n.iii.12; NS/n.ii.7.

694. NS/n.iii.12; NS/n.iii.8.
695. Gejvall 1946, chapter III.
696. Cf. J.U. Dürst, Die Rinder von Babylonien, Assyrien und Ägypten (Berlin 1899) pp.13-15, who identifies two of Schliemann's horn-cores as belonging to *Bos primigenius*.
697. NS/n.iii.12; NP.i.5.
698. Gejvall 1937-38 p.53; cf. Gejvall 1946, distribution table.
699. Gejvall 1946 ch.I.
700. Ibid. I pp.1-5.
701. Ibid. ch.II.
702. Ilios p.319; Troja p.349.
703. Gejvall 1937-38 p.55; 1938-9 p.3.
704. Gejvall 1946, distribution table.
705. NS/n.iii.12; NP.i.10; NS/n.v.6; NS/n.ii.5; NP.i.5; NP.ii.2-7.
706. Troy I pp.281, 332; II p.268; cf. Gejvall 1937-8 p.55.
707. NS/n.ii.7, 6, 5.
708. NS/c.ii.14: in 72-1960.
709. NP.ii.11; NP.i.5, 10; EW.iii.3, 4; NS/n.iii.8, 9; NS/n.ii.5-7; SE.iii.7.
710. Gejvall 1937-8 p.52f.
711. Tagebuch 1872 p.349: NP.vii.7 (Troy II).
712. Gejvall 1937-8 p.52.
713. Gejvall 1938-9 p.4.
714. Gejvall 1937-8 p.55.
715. Troy SM4 p.188. The reconstruction of a marine embayment in Chapter I is based on findings, including radiocarbon dates, from seven cores. The reconstruction has not passed entirely uncriticised: see J.M. Cook, TLS review 25th February 1983; "The topography of the Plain of Troy", Trojan War p.166.
716. Troy SM4 p.188.
717. 72-232, NP.ii.7.
718. Tgb.1872 p.435: NS/n.v.6.
719. NS/n.ii.5.
720. NS/n.ii.5.
721. Tgb.1872 p.442.
722. J. Renfrew, "Finds of sesame and linseed in Ancient Iraq", Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture II (Cambridge 1985) pp.63-5; D. Bedigian, "Is še-giš-ì Sesame or Flax?" Ibid. p.164; N.M. Nayar, "Sesame", in N.W. Simmonds (ed.), Evolution of Crop Plants (London 1976) p.232.
723. H.A. Hoffner, Alimenta Hethaeorum (New Haven 1974) pp.126-7.
724. B. Piotrovsky (transl. J. Hogarth), The Ancient Civilization of Urartu (London 1969) p.138f. Sesame is, however, attested at the much earlier site of Harappa, and sesame pollen has been extracted from 7th Millennium layers at Ali Kosh; W. van Zeist, "Pulses and oil crop plants", Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture II (1985) p.37.
725. D. Bedigian, op.cit. p.170.
726. Troy I p.171.
727. Troy SM4 p.189f.
728. Troy II p.176.
729. Troy SM4.
730. Ibid. ch.iv..
731. Ibid. pp.114f. Note the proportions of Ostrya-Carpinus (Hornbeam), Tubuliflorae and Ambrosiae in samples 216, 229, 234, 298, 345, 306.
732. Samples 14, 265.
733. Troy SM4, pp.191-3.
734. Ibid. ch.v.
735. Samples 131, 135, 321, 340, 302, 306.
736. Samples 36, 316. The wheat is identified as Triticum durum, but this was the only species available for comparison in the modern

sample.

737. Sample 113.

738. Samples 86, 268.

739. Samples 113, 149 (now dated to I), 206, 229, 265.

740. Troy SM4, ch.iii.

741. Ibid. ch.v. sample 141.

Part III: TROY VI-VII - THE LATE BRONZE AGEArchitecture (Figs. V.11-13)

Schliemann's excavations of 1870-73 do not fundamentally alter our knowledge of Troy VI, but they do considerably enrich it (Fig. V.11). Perhaps their most important contribution is their unexpected elucidation of the course of the citadel wall along the north side of the mound. The "defensive walls" found just below the surface in squares CDE3¹ agree in altitude, and roughly in alignment, with the fragment found by Blegen in FG3.² In the Northeast Trench Schliemann found no masonry, the stones of the Troy VI wall probably having been removed in the reconstruction during Troy IX; but close to the probable line of Wall IXW he did encounter what is likely to have been the undisturbed fill of a Troy VI footing-trench, with characteristic alternating strata of brown soil and marble chippings.³ The position accords well with the course the citadel wall must have taken. In square AB4 another section of the wall may have been found. Here Schliemann came across a mass of large stones reaching to c.31^mA.T. but with their lower limit not determined. The curious statement that they ran in an "oblique" direction may possibly mean that what Schliemann saw was the battered northwest face of the wall.⁴ The American excavators found more of the same deposit and thought it might be associated with Troy VI pottery.⁵ Contrary to received opinion, Schliemann did in fact encounter the citadel wall on the south side of the site as well. In CD8-9 he exposed to a height of three metres a "splendid bastion" built of well-hewn limestone blocks, without mortar, resting on a foundation of loosely packed stones.⁶

Blegen distinguished three main phases in the fortification of Troy VI;⁷ of the sections discovered in 1870-73, those mentioned so far probably all belong to the latest phase. But to the earliest phase belongs Wall 41, underlying the northwest wall of House VIG: a wall of large, unhewn limestone blocks with a width of 3m.⁸ It must include Dörpfeld's Ve, assigned by Blegen to early VI along with Vb, c and d.⁹ It would, however, have been quite well aligned with the east wall of VIF, suggested by Blegen as a part of the fortifications of Middle VI.¹⁰ These divisions into phases are rather speculative. The interesting thing to note is the close continuity between the fortifications of Troy V and those of Troy VI.

Within the citadel the excavations have produced additional pieces for a number of known structures, and evidence for several other structures not

previously known. The northeast end of Megaron VIB has been recovered in Schliemann's "hellenic tower", Walls 5, 79 and 80 providing the three necessary walls. Wall 5 was found in 1870 and is the northeast wall;¹¹ Wall 79 was the northwest wall, found in 1873 and definitely attached to Wall 5;¹² Wall 80 was the southeast wall, found in 1873 going off at right-angles from Wall 5.¹³ The southwest end of Dörpfeld's Megaron VIG is now attested in Walls 37b and 41,¹⁴ although Wall 41 must, as already mentioned, include his Wall Ve as well. The southeast corner of Building VIM was exposed in the southern sector of the North-South trench, but not clearly described.¹⁵ It appears in Atlas Taf.117, 214 as a "Bastion of Lysimachus". In squares GH4 Wall 28, marked '30' in Atlas Taf.214, consisted of two courses of large, hewn limestone blocks and may be an additional piece of Dörpfeld's Building VID.¹⁶

In square D4 the imposing Wall 20 is a newly-discovered structure.¹⁷ This was a 3m-high wall of well dressed limestone blocks, 17½m long and 1.90m thick, running parallel to the citadel wall. The rest of whatever building it belonged to is not recorded. In squares C5-6 Walls 49 and 50 may have formed the southeast corner of some rectangular building¹⁸ and it is possible that Wall 51 was another piece of this further to the Northeast.¹⁹ The date of these walls is uncertain, but in their final form they may derive from Troy VII. The great depth to which they descended, however, suggests an origin in Troy VI. In square C6 Wall 58 has tentatively been assigned to Troy VI and could form part of a building of VI on a terrace lower than the building which included Walls 49-51. But an attribution to Troy III or IV is at least as attractive.²⁰ In squares D7-8 the deposits of Troy VI descend via a terrace 15m wide. Although no architectural remains are recorded, this could suggest the (one-time) presence of two parallel walls, Walls 24 and 25.²¹ In 1870 a short section of Wall 11 was exposed in the West Trench.²² It underlay Wall 7 and consisted of large dressed stones in a confused and tumbled state, exposed to a height of 1m. Oddly nothing more of it was found when Schliemann dug again in the area in 1873. Somewhere in the southwest quarter of the East-West trench Schliemann found a limestone silo with lime plaster facing. The silo had a diameter of 1.13m and a depth of 80cm. Its fill appears to have included pottery of Troy VI-VII.²³ Other features to note are the three wells in squares C4-5, D4 and D7;²⁴ of these the first and last are not known from Dörpfeld's later work.²⁵

The excavations of 1870-73 have no new light to cast on the destruction of Troy VI or its causes. Tumbled masonry was found by Schliemann in

the central sector of the North-South Trench²⁶ and in the West Trench;²⁷ in both cases an attribution to Troy VI is possible, but in neither case can it be decided whether the fall of stones was caused by earthquake or enemy action. In the remainder of the site it is perhaps true that the most spectacular signs of destruction are those recorded by Blegen: large blocks of fallen masonry lying in and around the structures of Late Troy VI and overlain by the floors of VIIa.²⁸ Such deposits were found at most points along the inner course of the citadel wall on the east and south sides of the site; they were also found inside the Pillar House and Building VIg. Similar deposits were noted by Dörpfeld.²⁹ But there were also signs of fire. Dörpfeld records deposits of ash within Building VIA³⁰ and Gate VIS;³¹ Blegen found "a good deal of carbonized rubbish" inside the fortification-wall in square J6.³² Dörpfeld further states that traces of a large fire were found at many points, though he admits that these traces were neither as general nor as clear as those in Troy II. But he very reasonably points out that the building-materials of Troy VI were much less combustible than those of Troy II.³³ While this evidence of burning was not greatly augmented by Blegen's findings, it does need to be taken seriously into account when assessing the likely causes of the destruction of Troy VI. Fallen masonry and traces of burning can as well indicate enemy action as an earthquake.³⁴

It must be admitted, pace Professor Cook,³⁵ that Supplementary Monograph 4 of the Troy excavation report does now provide sufficient evidence that an earthquake affecting the site of Troy is within the bounds of geological possibility.³⁶ But Rapp's own analysis of the evidence from Troy VI has disappointingly little to offer that is new: his attempts at observation on the site in 1977 were limited by the impossibility of studying fresh cross-sections, and were invalidated by reconstruction and stabilization of some of the structures since their first discovery.³⁷ Rapp concurs in a general way that the destruction of Troy VI was caused by "foundation failures stemming from earthquake-induced earth movements in the underlying unconsolidated materials";³⁸ but for his evidence he relies mostly on Blegen's own observations.

Now in all of the evidence collected by Blegen the only direct indications that there had been any earth movements came from cracking in the east and west walls of Tower VII, ³⁹ sharp tilting-over towards the North of the citadel wall adjoining Tower VII, ⁴⁰ and cracks in the south wall of Tower VIIh.⁴¹ The evidence for earth movements is thus confined to the south-east corner of the site, and, in particular, to the citadel wall and its

adjuncts. Since the two towers were founded on bedrock⁴² and were built in such a way as to lean against the sloping face of the citadel wall,⁴³ and since the citadel wall itself was built resting diagonally against the unstable fill from earlier phases of settlement;⁴⁴ the most likely sequence of events is that the fill behind the citadel wall subsided or compacted, the wall settled downwards and backwards, and the towers split as a result.⁴⁵ It is quite possible, though entirely uncertain, that the subsidence or compaction of the fill was triggered by an earthquake in the first place. But it is interesting to note that a very similar collapse affected the fortifications of Troy I, again at the southeastern corner of the site;⁴⁶ this might prompt the speculation that the ground on which the southeastern part of the site was built was for some reason particularly unstable.

The date at which the southeast corner of the Troy VI citadel wall subsided is, of course, crucial - if it can be established. Blegen admits that the cracks in the two towers "offer no definite chronological clue".⁴⁷ But this is not the case with the tilting of the citadel wall where, according to Blegen, "the stratification shows that the shifting occurred before the ground level of House 701 of Troy VIIa was established."⁴⁸ The evidence for this statement seems to consist entirely in the fact that House 701, built up against the old citadel wall in Troy VIIa, had its floor laid over a stratum of fallen stones.⁴⁹ Certainly those stones derived from the destruction of Troy VI, but their presence does not in itself date the tilting of the wall with which they may or may not be connected. House 701 in fact supplies us with no piece of building-work, firmly dateable to VIIa, that is clearly later than the tilting of the wall and unaffected by it. Blegen does, it is true, draw attention to a wall blocking the one-time doorway through the citadel wall into Tower VII.⁵⁰ This wall, which has an upper and a lower section, is clearly a secondary feature; and it looks in Blegen's photographs as if its upper section, at least, is still standing vertically despite the marked angle of the earlier masonry around it.⁵¹ This, then, must postdate the movement of the citadel wall, and Blegen dates it to Troy VIIa. But in doing so he freely admits that it "might almost equally well be attributed to Troy VIIb".⁵² Thus while the plentiful fallen masonry and traces of a large fire derive beyond doubt from the end of Troy VI, there is no secure evidence at all that the earth movements in the southeast corner of the site have the same date. On the contrary, our only terminus ante quem so far is the possible VIIb origin of the piece of vertical walling.

Elsewhere I have argued that these earth movements affecting the citadel wall and Towers VIh and VIIi are likely to have taken place during Troy VIIa and not during, or at the end of, Troy VI.⁵³ The evidence consists in the fact that the houses built against the inner face of these same parts of the citadel wall in Troy VIIa themselves show clear signs of subsidence. Walls have sagged and floors have sunk very unevenly. In squares FG9 the damage extends through Houses 701, 705, 722 and the east end of Street 711,⁵⁴ but not, apparently, as far West as House 721 or into Houses 703, 725 and 726 which were built over the very solidly-founded Pillar House of Troy VI. In squares HJ7-8 it is Houses 730, 731 and perhaps the pavement of VIIa that are affected.⁵⁵ Such subsidence is not found elsewhere among the remains of VIIa; and in those places where it is found it cannot be traced through to the remains of Troy VIIb which appear to be unaffected by it. On the contrary, the builders of VIIb seem to have tried to compensate for the irregularities bequeathed to them.⁵⁶

If these observations are correct, the implications will be obvious. When at the southeastern corner of the site the fill behind the citadel wall subsided, it was not just the citadel wall that settled and the towers that cracked. The houses built over the fill, up against the citadel wall, buckled in as well. This did not happen in Troy VI, when those houses had not been built; it happened in Troy VIIa. This may possibly bring the relevant earth movements into relation with the masses of fallen stones and heaps of burnt debris that filled the ruins of Troy VIIa.⁵⁷ But it removes them from any connection with the destruction of Troy VI. The cause of that destruction thus becomes an entirely open question; and with the disappearance of any direct evidence of earthquake the possibility of destruction by an enemy becomes as attractive as any. This possibility could be important in any discussion of the historicity of the Trojan War.⁵⁸

Throughout Troy VII the citadel wall remained in use, with some repairs and alterations.⁵⁹ To our picture of this the excavations of 1870-73 add only what they added to our knowledge of the Troy VI fortifications. But they do introduce some fresh information regarding the citadel interior (see Fig.V.12). In the Northwest Trench the northeast end of Megaron VIB was rebuilt, a substantial new wall of limestone blocks being founded on the remains of the earlier northeast wall. This wall, Wall 4, first found in 1870 and further exposed at the end of May 1873, appears to have been two metres thick, preserved to a height of two and

a half metres and, if we can believe Schliemann's observation, twenty-five metres long.⁶⁰ An attribution to Troy VIIa seems beyond reasonable doubt. Also in square B5 Schliemann found some "hellenic housewalls" at 1-2m deep in 1873.⁶¹ These he left in situ, and they may include the walls of Troy VII shown by Dörpfeld to the southwest of the northeast wall of Building IXA.⁶² Taking into account their proportions and their evident incompatibility with the rebuilding in VIIa of Megaron VIB, we may assign them to Troy VIIb. In squares CD5-6 Walls 49, 50 and 51 may have received their final form in Troy VII, but are surrounded by deposits and are of proportions which again suggest an origin in Troy VI.⁶³ This may once more suggest reconstruction in Troy VIIa. Here there is no evidence of further buildings dating to Troy VIIb, although at least one piece of VIIb2 pottery derives from work in this area.⁶⁴ Perhaps the building, if one building it was, remained standing throughout Troy VII.

In squares CD8-9 Schliemann found that a "huge mass of large housewalls" overlay the Troy VI citadel wall.⁶⁵ The deposit included eight or nine pithoi. For lack of detailed information I have not drawn these walls into Figs.V.12 or 13, but one need have little hesitation in suggesting that what Schliemann found was a continuation of the kind of structure built up against the old VI citadel wall in all other preserved parts of the Troy VII circuit. As elsewhere, many of the walls may have served through both VIIa and VIIb; a VIIb cup was discovered in the locality.⁶⁶ It is possibly of interest to note that Schliemann records that all the walls lay crooked. This he attributes to the weight of the overburden. It could also be the case that these were more VIIa walls affected by subsidence; but this can only be conjectural now. In square E8 Wall 23 seems to provide an additional six-metre length to the L-shaped wall of Troy VIIa shown by Dörpfeld in TI Taf.III.⁶⁷ And in the East-West Trench, in squares EFGH6-7, some walls of small stones and mortar associated with "hellenic" (mycenaean?) sherds may derive from Troy VII. At the east end of the trench there were many large pithoi sunk into the underlying deposits: typical of VIIa.⁶⁸

In the Southeast Trench several small walls were discovered to the North of Wall 34, in square H8.⁶⁹ These are not recorded in detail and cannot be located precisely; they may be additional pieces of Dörpfeld's House VIIi or Blegen's House 784, the former of VIIa, the latter of VIIb. Like his successors Dörpfeld and Blegen,⁷⁰ Schliemann recognised that over what we now call House VIG a new structure had been raised. On top of

the earlier walls of the south end of VIG Schliemann found walls of smaller stones and mud mortar preserved to a height of one metre.⁷¹ The southeast wall, Wall 38, appears in Atlas Taf.214; so does Wall 40, the northwest wall. It is Wall 37a, the internal dividing-wall, that provides the evidence of rebuilding.⁷² As elsewhere in VIIa, numerous pithoi were found: some probably derive from House VIIk,⁷³ some from the rebuilding of VIG (= Blegen's House 731),⁷⁴ and some from a structure now lost in the northernmost part of the trench, in square G7.⁷⁵ Schliemann's observations permit no clear division between phase VIIb1 and VIIb2 and only rarely between VIIa and VIIb. Nor do they elucidate the decline and eventual decay of Troy VIIb.

Pottery (Figs.V.32-33)

The stratigraphic divisions within Troy VI and VII are not sufficiently clear or secure in the excavations of 1870-73 to justify a phase-by-phase discussion of the pottery. In what follows, the Second Millennium material is therefore treated as a whole. Where the new findings seem to indicate a modification to previous results, this is mentioned. Schliemann gives us very little information about the fabrics involved, and even the colours of the pieces are recorded only erratically. Classification has to rest chiefly on shape and decoration, with obvious limitations and dangers. With this reservation in mind, we may describe the pottery under six heads.

(1) Survivals from the M.B. Repertoire

Both Schmidt⁷⁶ and Blegen⁷⁷ observed that some M.B. forms continued in use into Troy VI. The same continuity was no doubt attested in the areas dug in 1870-73. But as there was considerable cutting-in of Second Millennium deposits into those of Troy IV and V, it has not been possible to separate genuine late survivals from M.B. pieces still in situ but surrounded by material of VI or VII. Most pieces with M.B. forms have therefore been assigned to M.B. deposits.

(2) Native Forms of the Second Millennium

The following occurrences are consistent with the temporal distributions noted by Blegen. In Troy VI: C39, C64, D46;⁷⁸ in Troy VI or VII: B25, B26, C39;⁷⁹ in Troy VI or VII, though noted by Blegen only in VI: A99, B36, C55, D46;⁸⁰ in Troy VI or VII, though noted by Blegen only in VIIa: B27, B31, B32;⁸¹ and in Troy VII: A48, A77, B29, B30, B35, C39,

C48.⁸² In addition, one miniature example of B32 was found in Troy VI⁸³ whereas Blegen found the shape only in VIIa. The small beaker 72-959 introduces a new shape to VIIa; but the fabric is grey and the incised and white-filled decoration is at home in VI-VII. The restoration of the grey vessel 73-455, with its horizontal grooving on the shoulder, is uncertain; it may be a jug of shape B32.

Several pieces deserve individual comment. The jug 73-275 provides a complete example of shape B27, with a rim of the style conjectured by Blegen;⁸⁴ both examples appear to be in Tan Ware. The jug 73-224 has been classified as Blegen's type B35, to which it most closely corresponds; but the side-spout is a new feature. Blegen found only one sherd attesting the presence of the pyxis shape C55;⁸⁵ his identification was based on the piece recorded here - Atlas 155-3058. The two animal-head attachments 73-111 and Atlas 168-3285 have been likened to snakes' heads but may be better interpreted as sheep's or goats' heads; 73-237 looks bovine, while 73-624 and 73-689 may be stylized horses' heads; 72-1099 is too crude, or too crudely-drawn, to permit sensible comment.

Incised decoration of straight horizontal lines and of wavy lines, sometimes multiple, appears on several pieces: 73-462, 73-275, 73-455, *72-959 and the sherd 72-476 (intrusive into Troy I). It is entirely characteristic of Troy VI-VII.⁸⁶ A herringbone design appears on one sherd, 72-598, from Troy VI; Blegen too found it represented in Troy VI.⁸⁷

(3) Mycenaean Forms

No clear Mycenaean imports can be recognised among the pottery found in 1870-73, but, as Blegen found, a number of forms betray Mycenaean inspiration. Their temporal distribution is again largely consistent with that noted by Blegen, although some of the juglets do not correspond exactly to any of the types he distinguished. In Troy VI-VII, though noted by Blegen only in Troy VII, we find instances of B29, B31(?), C43.⁸⁸ In Troy VI, though noted by Blegen only in Troy VII, we find two juglets which might be classified as B29;⁸⁹ but in neither case is the classification wholly satisfactory. Four alabaster correspond in a general way to Blegen's types C52, C53 or C57, but again fall short of an exact fit. 73-498, if correctly drawn, is

unusual in having no distinct rim, though such is known on a Late Minoan alabastron from Kydonia.⁹⁰ 73-456 has no exact parallel illustrated by Blegen or Furumark; but its short 'collar'-neck and its two handles (instead of three) point to an LHIIIC date⁹¹ and an attribution, therefore, to Troy VIIa or VIIb.⁹² 73-546 is an unusually tall alabastron and might almost be a cross between an alabastron and the E.B. bottle shape.⁹³ *72-960, a brown micaceous alabastron, is neither exactly C52 nor C57.

Several forms have no parallels among Blegen's material. 73-536 is a stemmed cup with angular bowl but, unusually, no handle. But a similar piece comes from an LHIIIC context at Emporio.⁹⁴ 73-535 (= SS 3177) is a red cup loosely comparable to shape A87; but this is the cup which Blegen thinks "may be of considerably later date",⁹⁵ and he may well be right. The cup 73-675 is clearly Mycenaean in some of its features: the piriform body, the tall base, the contrasting handles; but it has no exact counterparts in the forms noted by Furumark and seems closer in its basic conception to Minoan pieces such as the two-handled, waisted strainers⁹⁶ and the stalked jars.⁹⁷ In this case, though, the floor of the cup seems not to be perforated even though the pedestal is hollow and its sides perforated.⁹⁸ Atlas 168-3276 is an interesting piece too. It is clearly a double-wicked lamp on a low stand, with its two spouts bridged over. Ultimately the origins of such a piece must lie with the Minoan lamps so well-represented in stone examples.⁹⁹ It comes closer, however, to the type represented by a steatite lamp from Phylakopi III¹⁰⁰ and to the low stand-lamps in clay for which Persson cites additional parallels from Knossos, Gournia, Palaikastro, the Argive Heraeum, Phylakopi and Mycenae.¹⁰¹ But the bridged spouts of our piece seem to be without parallel. *73-183 is without its neck, but clearly comes from a rather squat piriform jar resembling Furumark's nos. 20, 21 and 27. It is reminiscent of Blegen's shape C41, but with a much wider base. Finally there is the small yellow piglet with red decoration, 72-741. The red quatrefoil filling-pattern is authentically Mycenaean without any doubt. It is commonly used to indicate animal-hide in frescoes¹⁰² and on pottery, especially in LHIIIB.¹⁰³ But what about the figure? The normal spindly, stylized Mycenaean animal figurines are in a completely different tradition. This chubby little creature is not only realistic but has been made with a sense of humour. In this respect it stands closer to the West Anatolian E.B. tradition of askoi

and theriomorphs;¹⁰⁴ indeed it has a direct, if stylized, antecedent in an EBIII piece from Poliochni.¹⁰⁵ The piece may thus represent a coming-together of Trojan and Mycenaean artistic traditions.

At several points Schliemann records "Greek" sherds, or sherds with painting "in the Greek manner".¹⁰⁶ These may well have been Mycenaean sherds in some or all cases; but the necessary details are lacking, so we cannot go beyond surmise.

(4) Handmade Coarse Ware

The handmade Coarse Ware of Troy VIIb, and especially of VIIb1, has attracted attention in recent years. Schmidt had noted its presence alongside the Knobbed Ware of VIIb and suggested a similar origin for it.¹⁰⁷ Blegen, having subdivided VIIb, found that the Coarse Ware appeared before the Knobbed Ware. He saw it as a ware of local descent, albeit displaying some new features in VIIb1.¹⁰⁸ It seems to have been Hood who set the recent discussion moving by noticing some comparable pieces among the LHIIIC material from Mycenae and Lefkandi.¹⁰⁹ Subsequent work, stimulated partly by Rutter's publication of similar material from Korakou,¹¹⁰ revealed its presence at a number of Peloponnesian sites, and analogous finds have come to light in Attica, Euboea and even Crete.¹¹¹ Taken as a whole, this "Barbarian" ware recalls southern Balkan traditions; but there are variations in fabric, shape and decoration which point to local manufacture and to a variety of derivations. The Trojan Coarse Ware is seen by Hänsel as having its links primarily with the Coslogeni and Čerkovna groups of the Late Bronze Age;¹¹² Bouzek looks to the rather later Babadağ-Pšeničevo group.¹¹³ When these chronological issues are under discussion, it deserves to be noted that the Coarse Ware at Troy may make its first appearance in Late Troy VI, if the evidence of two sherds is to be trusted.¹¹⁴

Among the finds of 1870-73 there are perhaps four vessels which can be assigned to this class of pottery. *72-552 is a crude tankard in shape Al02. Though it lacks the tell-tale applied band of plastic decoration, the shape is one which Blegen found to occur only in Coarse Ware.¹¹⁵

*72-594 is a deep hole-mouth jar with two vertically-placed handles set midway on the sides. The shape is not paralleled at Troy. Similar hole-mouth jars are very much a feature of the Peloponnesian "Barbarian"

Ware, although not with such handles. But similar handles do appear in the Coslogeni and Čerkovna material.¹¹⁶ 72-555 is a miniature jar not unlike the previous piece except that it appears to have a band of appliqué plastic decoration with diagonal slashes running horizontally below the rim, and to have also a knob at mid-body. The slashed band is a hallmark of the Coarse Ware and of the "Barbarian" Wares generally. But the shape again finds its closest parallel in a larger Coslogeni piece.¹¹⁷ The flask *72-965 is more of a puzzle, and it is not certain that it should be assigned to this group. I know of no parallels for the shape. But diagonal fluting - if that is what the decoration on *72-965 is - is characteristic of Lausitz Ware, and partial fluting is found occasionally among Coslogeni material.¹¹⁸ On the other hand one cannot quite rule out the possibility of some influences from Late Cypriote III Black Slip Buccherio Ware¹¹⁹ or that the piece is an up-cast from E.B. strata where the shape has at least relatives if not parallels.¹²⁰ 72-656 is a colander. Colander-fragments occur in VIIb1 Coarse Ware in Blegen's material;^{120a} but colanders are present in all periods, and we have no information about the fabric of our example. Schliemann also notes the presence of "very crude sherds" and "very-small crude pots";¹²¹ these may possibly have belonged to the Coarse Ware.

(5) Knobbed Ware

The Knobbed Ware, or Buckelkeramik, of Troy VIIb2 is well known. Its closest links are with the Čatalka, Cepina, Babadağ I and Coastal Bulgarian groups of the Early Hallstatt period,¹²² and some Thracian antecedents are now known.¹²³ But, as Hänsel emphasizes, it belongs to a local group of its own, with its own distinctive assemblage.¹²⁴ It has been questioned whether the Knobbed Ware occurred only in phase VIIb2.¹²⁵ The stratigraphic distinction between VIIb1 and VIIb2 was, it is true, observed in only a few places by Blegen. Evidence for the existence of the earlier phase is not unquestionable in Houses 768 and 769,¹²⁶ and accumulated deposits in an adjacent, unpaved street may not, perhaps, provide the most convincing support.¹²⁷ Elsewhere, however, the evidence - though very scanty - seems secure,¹²⁸ so it is probably best for the present to accept the excavators' assessment.

There are seven vessels from the excavations of 1870-73 which seem to belong to this class. Vessels of shapes A104, A105, A106 and A107¹²⁹ correspond closely to forms recognized by Blegen.¹³⁰ The two-handled cup 72-218 has handles that are smaller and more rounded than any shown by

Blegen, but its affinity with Knobbed Ware is unmistakable. Two rather unprepossessing cups, *72-498 and *72-1354, may correspond to types found in the Čatalka group of sites,¹³¹ although the shallower, *72-1354, also recalls some North Bulgarian pieces.¹³²

(6) Miscellaneous

One piece remains to be mentioned: the miniature grey jar *72-991, seemingly from Troy VII. The shape is not a Trojan one of the Second Millennium; neither (so far as I know) is it Mycenaean or Bulgarian. It could, however, be an upcast from the E.B. strata.

Metalwork (Figs.V.38,39,40)

Three arrowheads all have parallels among Blegen's finds from Troy VI-VII. 72-564 is a triangular, barbed and tanged piece.¹³³ Blegen saw the type as mycenaean, possibly imported to Troy. But it occurs in the Hittite strata at Alisar and Boğazköy as well.¹³⁴ and, infrequent though it is in both Greece and Anatolia,¹³⁵ may simply be a part of the Late Bronze Age koine.¹³⁶ *No.72-1117 is shown by Schmidt to have lost its shaft.¹³⁷ It is thus similar to Blegen's piece from VIIa.¹³⁸ It is clearly related to the barbed but tangless form with convex sides found in such profusion in Room 100 of Nestor's Palace at Pylos.¹³⁹ Our example was found among the strata of Troy III;¹⁴⁰ the type does have E.B. prototypes in chipped stone,¹⁴¹ and the related type with straight sides is attested in Troy II by the mould 72-358 (Fig.V.40), so an E.B. origin for our piece cannot be ruled out. But a Late Bronze Age date is more likely,¹⁴² and it is perhaps safer to think of *72-1117 as intrusive from Troy VI or VII. The much more slender, barbed and tanged 73-238 is again a common Late Bronze Age, and particularly Anatolian, type.¹⁴³ It is already known from Troy VI,¹⁴⁴ but parallels come from Boğazköy,¹⁴⁵ Alaca Hüyük,¹⁴⁶ Sardis,¹⁴⁷ Kusura,¹⁴⁸ Tarsus¹⁴⁹ and Cyprus.¹⁵⁰

Two flat axes, or perhaps wide chisels (the distinction is hard to draw with confidence), come from Treasure P¹⁵¹ and have no parallel among Blegen's second millennium finds. But neither flat axes¹⁵² nor chisels¹⁵³ are uncommon in the period.

Also from Treasure P is the double-axe 72-1821. Schmidt notes a comparable piece,¹⁵⁴ wrongly assigned by Götze to Treasure P instead of 72-1821 (which never went to Berlin).¹⁵⁵ Our example belongs to Deshayes's Type B1 most examples of which come from the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.¹⁵⁶

There are only two knives, if we exclude the uninformative fragment 72-1822. Atlas 131-2599 looks very similar to an MB/LB piece from Thermi, compared by W. Lamb to LMII and III types;¹⁵⁷ it has no parallel among Blegen's finds. *72-849, on the other hand, does; and both it and Blegen's example come from Troy VII.¹⁵⁸ But this must be a coincidence, for they seem to be descended from an E.B. type,¹⁵⁹ and other second millennium examples are widely spaced chronologically.¹⁶⁰

Sickles are, as Blegen remarks, fairly common at Troy. The excavations of 1870-73 produced six, two of which look as if they may have broken at the haft.¹⁶¹ Blegen publishes one from Troy VIIb.¹⁶²

A "copper pin stuck through a piece of bone"¹⁶³ must be a bone-handled awl of the type already known from Troy VI and VIIb.¹⁶⁴ The robust-looking nail 73-576 has MB parallels at Aphrodisias.¹⁶⁵

The double meat-hook *73-272 has an ancestry stretching back to E.B. II in the Aegean area;¹⁶⁶ but examples from Hittite strata at Boğazköy and Alışar show that the Trojan piece need not be out of place.¹⁶⁷

There are six pins (Fig.V.39), the identity of whose metal is reported in only one case (*72-951: "copper"). Probably all were of copper or bronze. Two have parallels among Blegen's finds from Troy VI-VII: 73-577, with a conical head, corresponding to Blegen's Type 3;¹⁶⁸ and 72-1077, with a rolled head, corresponding to Blegen's Type 5.¹⁶⁹ As newly attested types we may count 72-942, with a spherical head - already known from the Early Bronze Age layers but not from VI or VII; *72-951, with its double rolled head - known in a number of E.B. examples among Schliemann's finds¹⁷⁰ and in second millennium examples from Tarsus,¹⁷¹ Kusura¹⁷² and Gordion;¹⁷³ and *72-950, with its hooked head. This last is a type at home in the second millennium; examples are known from Boğazköy,¹⁷⁴ Mycenae, the Athenian Agora and Volos,¹⁷⁵ but are more characteristically Cretan.¹⁷⁶

Atlas 150-2980 (Fig.V.38) is described by Schliemann as a small gold mount or fitting; I know of no parallels. 72-258 (Fig.V.40) is one half of a two-piece mica-schist mould apparently for a ring-pendant. Comparable moulds are known from Troy VII.¹⁷⁷

Viewing the metalwork as a whole, there is little to surprise and little to excite. One cannot say that it is distinctively Trojan, or

distinctively West Anatolian; neither is it distinctively Aegean. Rather it is a small sample from a fairly homogeneous blend that prevailed in the Aegean and Anatolia during the second millennium.

Stone Artefacts (Fig.V.42)

There is a small number of chipped stone tools recorded by Schliemann. Most are parallel-sided blades with one serrated edge,¹⁷⁸ already well attested in Troy VI.¹⁷⁹ But there are also round-backed blades with one serrated edge,¹⁸⁰ a parallel-sided blade with two serrated edges,¹⁸¹ what may be a thumbnail scraper,¹⁸² and a core.¹⁸³ No doubt the sample is far from complete.

Among the ground stone tools only one piece has no parallels among Blegen's finds: the elegantly-shaped hammer-axe *73-323. For this I have found no parallels from elsewhere either, unless one be represented by a fragment from E.B. Tarsus.¹⁸⁴ The crudely-worked flat axe *73-370 has superior parallels in Blegen's VI and VII,¹⁸⁵ and the polisher *73-493 has a close parallel in VIIa.¹⁸⁶ *72-857 is a double hammer with shafthole. Blegen found two such pieces in his second millennium deposits, but was inclined to regard both as up-casts or antiques.¹⁸⁷ But there are second millennium examples from Boğazköy¹⁸⁸ and now Schliemann's piece, so Blegen may have been mistaken.

Two stone pommels, perhaps dagger-handles, are recorded. One of these, *73-76, has an unusual, "waisted" shape. The other, *73-392, belongs to a much more common class. A comparable piece comes from Early Troy VI,¹⁸⁹ but other examples are known from Boğazköy, Alişar, Samos, Knossos, Mycenae and Pylos.¹⁹⁰ Occurring in crystal, marble, alabaster, bronze and iron, such pommels were standard luxury items of the Second Millennium; but at Troy they first appear in EBIII.¹⁹¹

Three small items of ground stone are without parallel among Blegen's finds from VI-VII. *73-476, of green stone, is possibly a tiny chisel but more probably an ovoid weight of the type seen in the Early Bronze Age and attested in the second millennium at sites in Central Anatolia and the Levant.¹⁹² *73-277 may be the top piece of a two-piece mould with grooves for straps to bind the two halves together. This continues an E.B. type seen already,¹⁹³ but is not out of place in the second millennium as an example from Boğazköy shows.¹⁹⁴ A piece of stone, 73-541, with criss-cross incisions, is of uncertain purpose.

Already familiar from Troy VI-VII are stone discs such as *72-848,¹⁹⁵ blue steatite whorls,¹⁹⁶ and stone balls¹⁹⁷ which may have served as spherical slingshot.¹⁹⁸

Bone Artefact (Fig.V.43)

Only one piece is recorded: the very undistinguished knife or awl 73-366. There is no shortage of parallels from Blegen's Troy VI-VII.¹⁹⁹

Small Finds of Terracotta

The most common, indigenous form of seal in preclassical Anatolia is the stamp-seal, and three examples come from the excavations of 1870-73 (Fig. V.46). One, *72-611 from VIIb2, is of very simple, radial design. A second, 72-907, was assigned by Götze, too, to Troy VI on the basis of its fabric.²⁰⁰ Though more complex than 72-611, its design is hardly sophisticated, and a similar piece in copper or bronze is known, unstratified, from Thermi.²⁰¹ 72-1811 has a design which combines dots and an irregular grid. The same concept may be seen on three terracotta stamp-seals from the Middle Bronze Age at Karahüyük, Konya²⁰² and, less distinctly, on an unstratified seal from Tarsus.²⁰³ 73-616 (Fig.V.48) may possibly be a discoid seal like the bone piece known from Blegen's Troy VI.²⁰⁴

Five terracotta balls (Fig.V.46) appear among the strata assigned to VI-VII, all but one of them from the same area.²⁰⁵ Terracotta balls, at Troy and elsewhere, are usually a feature of the Early Bronze Age, and these pieces may be out of context.

A perforated disc (Fig.V.48), possibly of terracotta, has parallels among Blegen's finds from both Troy VI²⁰⁶ and Troy VII,²⁰⁷ those from Troy having been cut from potsherds. Perforated discs are also known in stone²⁰⁸ and bone.²⁰⁹

One hundred and twenty-nine spindle whorls have been assigned to strata of VI and VII. Of these, slightly more than sixty percent come from deposits of Troy VII, despite the fact that Troy VII was more slenderly represented in the excavations than Troy VI. The most frequent designs are those of Schmidt's Reihe IA, Reihe IIA and Gruppe IA, all of which show increased popularity by comparison with the Early Bronze Age (see Tables XXXI - II). There is no adequate information about their shapes.

Figurines (Fig.V.45)

There are drawings of one stone figurine in figure-of-eight shape, one terracotta figurine with arms and incised face, and of a crudely-sculpted lion.²¹⁰ In addition Schliemann records eleven marble figurines, some with incised faces and some without.²¹¹ Of these the lion may belong to the second millennium. The others are more characteristic of the Early Bronze Age and may perhaps be up-casts.²¹²

Human Remains

To the human remains of the Second Millennium B.C. the excavations of 1870-73 have nothing to add except perhaps a tooth which may be human but which could equally well derive from Troy VIII-IX.²¹³

The citadel mound has otherwise produced five infant burials from Troy VI.²¹⁴ Three of these were jar-burials and two were simple inhumations. All except one were intramural. A fragment of a human skull was found in deposits of Late VI near the southwest corner of the Pillar House.²¹⁵ Absence of skeletons would be surprising in a site devastated by earthquake. But several pieces came from the destruction deposit of VIIa. A fragmentary mandible was found in the burnt debris of House 741.²¹⁶ From squares G8-9 came fragments of a human skull from the west doorway of House 700,²¹⁷ further remains of human bones from the street outside,²¹⁸ a fragment of a skull from Street 710,²¹⁹ and a broken mandible from Street 711E.²²⁰ Outside the citadel wall in squares A3-4 the American excavators found an intact skeleton which appeared as if it might be lying where it had fallen. The skull was crushed.²²¹ Nearby sherds suggested an attribution to VIIa.

A larger quantity of remains has come from the lower town. Two burial urns were found at the south side of the plateau in 1893. One contained the remains of a cremation, the other the bones of two prematurely-born infants.²²² It was in the same area that the Americans subsequently found the cremation cemetery of Troy VI.²²³ This cemetery, although disturbed by the circuit wall of Troy IX, stone-robbing, a military trench and modern quarrying, yielded nineteen burial jars most of which contained fragments of bone. Nearby were also the remains of four large pithoi, two still containing pieces of bone. But the scatter of pottery and bones enabled Blegen and his colleagues to deduce that the cemetery had originally contained at least 182 cinerary urns and probably many more than that.²²⁴ The pottery was all of Troy VIh date. A structure tentatively identified as a crematorium yielded no human bones.²²⁵ But a

"place of burning" on the west slope, 20m North of the Ledge,²²⁶ contained some slivers of human bones in a stratum mainly of Troy VI material, though with an admixture of pottery from VII and VIII as well.²²⁷ Other cemeteries of Troy VI are assumed to lie around the site.²²⁸ None of Troy VII has yet been found.

Much of the material is too fragmentary to allow useful anthropological deductions. Angel thinks it plausible to see some increase in brachycrany, perhaps to be associated with the appearance in Anatolia of Indo-European languages.²²⁹ There appear to have been better prospects for the average Trojan than in the Early Bronze Age. Though nutritional and general health remained poor, over 55% of the population could now expect to reach adulthood, and most adults could expect to live into their early thirties. The improvement in life-expectancy was greater for women than for men, six years now having been added to their normal life span. These factors are likely to have produced a growth in the population.

Animal Remains

As in the E.B. strata, Schliemann's records of animal remains from the Second Millennium deposits are rather general in character. But again they are consistent, as far as they go, with the later findings.

There is a general reference to "many animal bones" in a deposit of VIIb-IX.²³⁰ The same deposit produced boars' teeth, attested in the two other deposits from which Second Millennium faunal remains may come.²³¹ There are counterparts in Blegen's material. To Schliemann's observations we can add that cattle are still predominantly short-horned dairy herds,²³² although *Bos primigenius*²³³ and buffalo²³⁴ may be attested. There are apparent decreases in the numbers of deer (VI-VIIa)²³⁵ and of sheep and goats (VIIa-b).²³⁶ These are partly balanced by an increase in the number of bird bones (VI-VIIa).²³⁷ Large asses continue to be in evidence, but true horses appear early in Troy VI.²³⁸ Both oriental (broad-fronted) and occidental (narrow-fronted) types are represented. Horses become quite common in VI-IX, though apparently they are rare in VIIa. Bear, hedgehog, rat and blind mice are also present.²³⁹

Schliemann notes sharks' vertebrae and other fishbones;²⁴⁰ also mussel shells, oyster shells²⁴¹ and other small shells.²⁴² These again find parallels in Blegen's finds. Gejvall notes an increase in the number of fishbones in VIIa;²⁴³ similarly Blegen reports a large increase in the

number of pins and awls made from fishbones, and he suggests that it may reflect some advance in fishing methods which made possible the capture of large fish in greater quantities.²⁴⁴ The excellent fishing in the Dardanelles and in the marine bay has been cited as a possible cause of Mycenaean interest in the site.²⁴⁵ It is therefore interesting that an increase in local consumption of fish should coincide - so it seems - with the Mycenaean's departure, a departure perhaps leaving in its wake a depleted stock of small cattle. Gejvall records coming across a plentiful and unmixed deposit of murex shells.²⁴⁶ Virchow records something similar, but without saying in which stratum.²⁴⁷ It is possible that there was a small purple industry in Second Millennium Troy.

On site meat and seafood were stored in pithoi, as we know from Dörpfeld²⁴⁸ and Blegen.²⁴⁹

Plant Remains

Schliemann's excavations have produced no record of plant remains from the Second Millennium layers. But some evidence does come from the later excavators.

In Dörpfeld's excavations grain was found in some pithoi of Troy VI,²⁵⁰ and the carbonised remains of a fine-grained fruit were found in a pithos in Building VIM.²⁵¹ Blegen's excavations in Troy VII yielded two clear deposits of carbonised wheat in VIIa, both from the "Bakery", House 700 in G8-9.²⁵² A third deposit was found in pithos No.11 in House 730 and may derive from a period later than that house's destruction, although the excavators concluded in favour of an attribution to VIIa.²⁵³ Some unidentified grain was noted over a rough stone pavement in House VIIj as well,²⁵⁴ and in a jar in House 769 dated to VIIb1.²⁵⁵ A sample taken from the floor deposit of House 761, of VIIb1, has recently yielded a spikelet fork of Triticum dicoccum (emmer wheat) and evidence of a legume cotyledon.²⁵⁶ Vetch was identified in two pithoi of House 731²⁵⁷ and perhaps in the "Bakery";²⁵⁸ and in VIIb it was found in considerable quantities in a pithos of House 730 where some pieces of Knobbed Ware occurred in the same jar.²⁵⁹

Phytoliths have been found in seven soil-samples from Troy VI-VII. The findings are little different from those for the Early Bronze Age.²⁶⁰ Only Orchard Grass, Dactylis glomerata, found in Troy I-II, is no longer present.

Extensive use of wood on the site has been reasonably surmised by both Dörpfeld and Blegen. No doubt it was used for doors and in beams to support ceilings and roofs. Indirect evidence of its use to support an upper floor is supplied by holes in the masonry of Tower VIh,²⁶¹ and slots in the east wall of House VIG suggest the construction of a wooden platform in a timber-framed doorway.²⁶² In the Pillar House, House VIF and the "Bakery" (House 700) in VIIa there are horizontal interstices in the walls suggesting the use of wooden members.²⁶³ Vertical interstices in the south and west walls of VIF suggest the original presence of wooden jambs in doorways later walled up.²⁶⁴ Similarly its use in internal columns in Houses VIG²⁶⁵ and VIF²⁶⁶ has been plausibly inferred. In only one case were the decayed remains of a wooden column recognised in a post-hole in VIF, and that in retrospect.²⁶⁷ Pieces of charred wood were, however, recognised in two pithoi of Troy VIIa.²⁶⁸ These have not been analysed. But three charcoal fragments recovered from Blegen's soil-samples of Troy VI have all been identified as oak.²⁶⁹ One from VIIa is pine,²⁷⁰ and one from VIIb1 may be hawthorn.²⁷¹ The pollen records already discussed suggest some deforestation in Troy VI.²⁷²

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V, Part III

1. NP.i.4.
2. Troy III pp.108f, 158f, fig.501.
3. NE.ii.5-9.
4. NW.i.7: Wall 99.
5. Troy IV p.133, fig.320.
6. NS/s.i.3; ii.2.
7. Troy III pp.109-13.
8. SE.iii.3.
9. Troy II pp.221f.
10. Troy III p.112.
11. NW.i.6; ii.5,6.
12. NW.ii.5; iii.5.
13. NW.iii.5.
14. SE.ii.8; iii.3.
15. NS/s.iii.5.
16. NE.iii.5.
17. NP.vii.5: Building 6.
18. WA.iii.3,4; iv.3.
19. WA.iii.5.
20. WA.iv.7.
21. NS/s.iii.4.
22. W.i.11: square B6.
23. EW.v.3.
24. Well 1 in C4-5: NS/n.ii.3; Well 2 in D4: NS/n.iii.3; Well 3 in D7: NS/s.iii.6.
25. TI pp.175-181.
26. NS/c.i.3.
27. W.i.11.
28. Troy III pp.86, 92, 117, 118, 143, 218, 225, 244, 262, 283, 318, 329f; figs.16, 59, 92, 95, 150, 174, 208, 221-8, 476(2), 482, 490, 491.
29. TI pp.181-2.
30. TI p.152.
31. TI p.130.
32. Troy III p.329.
33. TI p.181.
34. An even, horizontal spread of fallen masonry would be the normal result of an earthquake, while destruction by man ought to leave masonry in piles. Troy VI produced a horizontal spread, but we have to allow for the facts that the site was levelled for reoccupation and fallen stones were re-used in VIIa.
35. Troad p.394; Times Literary Supplement 25th February 1983.
36. Troy SM4 pp.43-51. But some doubt attaches to the figures of intensity, Table 4 p.50. Enquiries made on behalf of Professor Cook in Çanakkale in 1974 produced mention of a "minor earthquake at Yenice in around 1953". Thus a quake said to have an intensity of IX-X (producing general panic, large landslides and destruction of most masonry structures) was remembered fifty miles away as only minor. For this information I am indebted to Professor J.M. Cook.
37. Troy SM4 p.57.
38. Ibid. pp.53-58.
39. Troy III pp.95, 98, figs.47, 48, 52, 53, 54.
40. Troy III p.92, figs.36, 57, 58.
41. Troy III p.90, figs.24, 28, 31; cf. TI p.140.
42. Troy III pp.89, 95.
43. Troy III pp.90, 95.
44. Troy III pp.86, 93, 94; figs.453, 461, 477, 509. For the instability of such deposits see Troy SM4 p.57.
45. So Blegen, Troy III p.90 but not p.95.

46. Troy I p.148, fig.189: collapse of Wall IW in square F5. Michael Wood, In Search of the Trojan War (London 1985) p.229, has misunderstood my comments on this to have arisen from study of Schliemann's notebooks.
47. Troy III p.331.
48. Troy III p.92.
49. Troy III fig.59; IV p.72.
50. Troy IV p.72, TI p.133, fig.44 labelled a.
51. Troy III figs.36, 37.
52. Troy IV p.73.
53. D.F. Easton, "Has the Trojan War been found?" Antiquity 59 (1985) p.190f.
54. See Troy IV fig.322. For the uneven floor in House 701 see Troy IV fig.327 stratum 5; for that in House 705, Troy IV p.76, and tilting southwards of the north wall may be seen in ibid. fig.24; the west wall of House 722 sags towards the middle "probably as a result of settling", ibid. p.78, fig.32; Street 711 slopes sharply down to the South, ibid. fig.326 strata 2,3.
55. See Troy IV fig.338. The central wall (F) of House 730 has a slight sag, ibid. fig.67; House 731 had a sagging east wall and revealed "collapse or general subsidence of the floor", ibid. p.96, fig.81; the pavement in J7, despite being "the most carefully constructed stone pavement discovered anywhere on the site" (ibid. p.106, TI p.187) looks distinctly uneven, Troy IV fig.106.
56. The VIIb floor in House 701 is even: Troy IV fig.327 stratum 3; the upper courses of the west wall of House 722 appear to compensate for the sag in the lower courses and may derive from rebuilding in VIIb, ibid. fig.32 (and p.196); the same is true of Wall F in House 730/784 where only the bottom two courses derive from VIIa, ibid. p.89, figs.67, 86; over the subsided floor of House 731 the south-east wall of House 781 looks undisturbed but may be too small to judge by, ibid. p.220, fig.83; the VIIb floor of Street 711 is quite level, ibid. fig.326 stratum 1 surface. The clearest evidence of compensation is provided by House 701 and Street 711; but much of VIIb was disturbed by later intrusions.
57. Fallen masonry from the end of VIIa, together with evidence of burning, is attested in Streets 710 and 711, also in Houses 700, 721 and 725: Troy IV pp.50-1, 56-7, 62-3, 66, 81, 85; figs.5, 7-9, 12, 14-16. Fallen burnt debris, without fallen masonry, is also attested in most other parts investigated by the Americans: Troy IV pp.72f, 90, 92, 96, 102, 106, 110, 114, 116, 119, 120f, 131.
58. Michael Wood, op.cit. pp.230-1; D.F. Easton, Antiquity 59 (1985) pp.188-196.
59. TI pp.184-6, 194; Troy IV pp.6, 141.
60. NW.i.5; iii.4.
61. NW.iii.1; W.ii.2.
62. TI Taf.III.
63. WA.iii.3,4,5; iv.3.
64. Atlas 155-3059; Fig.V.33.
65. NS/s.ii.3.
66. NS/s.i.1: 72-218, Fig.V.33.
67. NS/s.iii.3.
68. EW.ii.3.
69. SE.i.4.
70. TI p.188; Troy IV p.94f.
71. SE.i.4; ii.8; iii.2.
72. SE.ii.8.
73. SE.i.5.
74. SE.ii.6.
75. SE.iii.5.
76. TI pp.289-294.

77. Troy III p.36.
78. C64: *73-148; D46: 73-111, At 168-3285, 164-3204, 73-689.
79. B25: *73-256, 73-462; B26: *73-240.
80. A99: 73-340; B36: 73-539; C55: At 155-3058; D46: *73-237, 73-624.
81. B27: 73-275; B31: *72-664; B32: *73-257.
82. A48: *72-850; A77: *72-1024; B29: *72-409; B30: *73-199; B35: 73-224; C48: 72-881.
83. 73-596.
84. Troy IV p.32; though 73-275 was of course published already at Atlas 131-2588.
85. Troy III p.65.
86. Troy III p.77; IV pp.44f, 176.
87. Troy III p.77.
88. B29: 73-594; B31(?): 73-666; C43: 73-332.
89. 73-733, Atlas 168-3274.
90. F. Matz, Forschungen auf Kreta, 1942 (Berlin 1951) Taf.51,2.
91. A. Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification (Stockholm 1941) p.43.
92. Accepting the observations regarding LHIIIc and Troy VIIa made by C.B. Mee in Anatolian Studies 28 (1978) p.147; "The Mycenaeans and Troy", in Trojan War pp.48-50. A similar observation was made by E.B. French in "Ceramic relations between Troy and Mycenae in the LBA" at the IVth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory at Sheffield in April 1977, but the proceedings are still unpublished.
93. E.g. Fig.V.22 no.73-734.
94. Prehistoric Emporio p.598, fig.268 no.2781.
95. Troy III p.53.
96. Palaikastro p.66, figs.48:14; 61:85a; 96a; Gournia pl.II.21.
97. Palaikastro p.71 fig.56; Gournia pl.I.9.
98. Ilios p.543, SS no.273.
99. E.g. Gournia pl.V.29 (LMI); Palaikastro fig.119C 121B (LMII).
100. Phylakopi p.209 fig.184, pl.XLI.1.
101. A.W. Persson, New Tombs at Dendra near Midea, Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 34, (Lund 1943) pp.102-111 esp. p.107.
102. E.g. G. Rodenwaldt, Tiryns II (Athens 1912) fig.60.
103. Furumark, op.cit. pp.246, 376.
104. Cf. Figs.V.18, 21, 22.
105. Poliochni II pl.CCXX, c-d ("yellow" phase).
106. NS/n.i.1; ii.5; SE.iii.1; perhaps also NE.ii.3 (sherd with red design and painted sherds with zigzag decoration).
107. T1 p.303.
108. Troy IV p.154.
109. M.S.F. Hood, "Buckelkeramik at Mycenae?" in W.C. Brice (ed.), Europa: Festschrift für Ernst Grumach (Berlin 1967) pp.120-131.
110. J. Rutter, "Ceramic evidence for northern intruders in southern Greece at the beginning of the late helladic IIIC period", AJA 79 (1975) pp.17-32.
111. For a general review see J. Bouzek, The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millennium B.C. SIMA 29 (Göteborg 1985) pp.183-187.
112. Hänsel, Beiträge p.231 and Karte 2.
113. J. Bouzek, op.cit. pp.185-7.
114. Troy III fig.397 no.8; fig.442 no.16.
115. Troy IV p.164.
116. B. Hänsel, Beiträge Taf.8 no.7; 9 nos.4,6,7; I.25; II.24,27-30.
117. Ibid. Taf.8 no.7, from Dorobanțu.
118. Ibid. Taf.32.1.
119. Cf. Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV.1C Fig.LXXVIII; J.L. Benson, The

- Necropolis of Kaloriziki, SIMA 36 (Göteborg 1973) pls.33-34;
 Bouzek op.cit. p.198.
120. Cf. Fig.V.23 nos.72-880, *72-1689b.
- 120a. Troy IV fig.286: 20-22.
121. NP.i.3; W.i.10.
122. Hänsel, Beiträge, pp.231-6, Karte 4.
123. M. Özdoğan, "Taşlıcıbayır: A Late Bronze Age Burial Mound in Eastern Thrace", Anatolica XIV (1987) 5-39.
124. Hänsel, Beiträge p.234. Cf. Bouzek, op.cit. p.195.
125. M.S.F. Hood, op.cit. (see note 109 above), p.124 and n.23.
126. Troy IV pp.203, 209f.
127. Ibid. p.188.
128. E.g. Street 750, House 762: Ibid. pp.182, 196.
129. At.103-2297, *72-500, *72-499, At.155-3059.
130. Troy IV fig.218.
131. B. Hänsel, Beiträge, Taf.XIII.4,5.
132. Ibid. Taf.21,1; Karte 4.
133. Cf. Troy III pp.22, 270, fig.297: no.36-377.
134. Alishar II fig.290 no.b.2151; Boehmer, Unterstadt nos.3158-3161.
135. The form without tang is more common: cf. A.J.B. Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, Archaeologia 82 (Oxford 1932) pp.59f.
136. Examples from Langada are dated to LHIII: PBF V.1 nos.724 L-Q; p.105, Taf.27.
137. SS 6451.
138. Troy IV p.51, fig.219: no.35-486.
139. Palace of Nestor I.2 pl.317.
140. NS/n.v.5.
141. E.g. Poliochni I pl.CLXXVII no.10 (Green-Red phases); Troy II fig.234 no.36-116 (Troy V).
142. PBF V.1 Taf.26 and 64 show a wide range throughout Late Helladic: Branigan, Aegean Metalwork, lists no such pieces.
143. PBF IX.8 p.53, pl.18 nos.69-80.
144. Troy III p.262, fig.297: no.35-480.
145. Bittel, Kleinfunde I p.20, pl.13 nos.13-20, 33-35; Bittel, Güterbock, Neue Untersuchungen pl.11, no.24, p.31; Boehmer, Kleinfunde pl.XXVI-XXIX esp. nos.817, 818, 865, 866 and see discussion at pp.104-108; Boehmer, Unterstadt nos.3152-4, 3188D. The range is Büyükkale IVb-I and Unterstadt I or earlier.
146. Alaca 1936 pp.33, 64 no.AL/A40; Alaca 1940-1948 p.196 pl.131 nos.2,6.
147. Metalwork from Sardis p.36: "Hittite Imperial".
148. Archaeologia 86 (1936) fig.19 no.2: of Period C, i.e. Second Millennium.
149. Tarsus II fig.427 nos.80-82, of LBII (see p.291).
150. H.W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (Oxford 1964) fig.16 no.10; and Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV.1D fig.60.33.
151. 72-1819, 1820: NS/c.i.4.
152. Deshayes, Outils II pp.12-35.
153. For MB examples see Branigan, Aegean Metalwork pp.24-6, 168-170; later examples include Palaikastro pl.XXVP, Palace of Nestor I figs.300.11, 316.6, Phylakopi p.190, pl.XXXVIII 1-3.
154. SS 6135.
155. TI p.394.
156. Deshayes, Outils I p.257f, II pp.106-8, pl.XXXIV-V. Cf. also Aegean Metalwork pp.21f, 164f.
157. Thermi p.206, pl.XXV no.32.62. Comparison with Troy III fig.297 no.37-780 must be uncertain since the details of the blade are not very clear.
158. Troy IV fig.219 no.38-95.
159. Aegean Metalwork p.28f: Knife type VII; cf. SS 6203-6 assigned by Schmidt to Troy II-V.

160. W.A. Heurtley, Prehistoric Macedonia (Cambridge 1939) p.213, fig.83w (MBA) W.F. Petrie, Tools and Weapons (London 1917) p.23, pl.29 no.K235 (inscribed Tuthmosis III).
161. 72-1816, 72-1818, *Atlas 124-2489, 131-2598; possibly broken: 72-1817, 73-239.
162. Troy IV fig.254, p.240: no.36-398. Also Ilios nos.1418, 1420 and 1419 (if it is not 72-1816).
163. Tagebuch 1873 p.104; WA.iii.6.
164. Troy III p.186, fig.301 no.37-425; IV p.199, fig.254 no.37-494.
165. Prehistoric Aphrodisias II p.673 nos.640.7; 646.4.
166. K. Branigan, op.cit. nos.1181-1185.
167. Boehmer, Kleinfunde no.191 (Büyükkale III); Alishar VI p.264, fig.296: d.2683; cf. also H.W. Catling, op.cit. p.65f.
168. Troy III p.28 fig.288.
169. Blegen's Type 5: Troy III p.28, fig.288.
170. SS 6399-6402, Ilios nos.848, 932.
171. Tarsus II fig.431 nos.207-9.
172. Archaeologia 86 (1937) p.41, fig.18 nos.14-17; 87 (1938) fig.21 no.24.
173. M.J. Mellink, A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion (Philadelphia 1956) pl.18b-d.
The type is fully discussed in I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, Nadeln der Frühhelladischen bis Archaischen Zeit von der Peloponnes, PBF XIII.8 (München 1984) pp.23-25.
174. Boehmer, Unterstadt nos.2673, 2789.
175. Aegean Metalwork p.35, pin type II.
176. PBF XIII.8 p.49 nos.104, 105.
177. SS 6772; Troy IV p.124, fig.220 no.37-389.
178. 72-638, *72-948, *72-949, 72-1264, 72-1265, *73-314.
179. Troy III fig.300.
180. *72-962, *72-1056; cf. Troy III fig.300; IV fig.254.
181. 72-1263.
182. *72-1034.
183. 72-554.
184. Tarsus II p.270, fig.414, no.7.
185. Troy III p.186, fig.299 no.37-181; IV fig.220 nos.37-433, 490; fig.254, no.36-348.
186. Troy IV p.104, fig.220 no.34-393.
187. Troy III p.25, fig.299 no.37-333; IV p.193, fig.254 no.35-420.
188. Boehmer, Unterstadt no.3740.
189. Troy III pp.25, 146, fig.298 no.38-33. Note the variety of types in TI figs.385, 443, SS 7880-7902.
190. Boehmer, Kleinfunde nos.2276-80 and p.221 for discussion; Alishar VI fig.261, c.1419, d.2876; Samos I Taf.25,9 (from the Mycenaean burial); Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos IV.2 (London 1935) p.931 fig.902; G. Karo, Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai (München 1930/1933) grave IV, pl.LXXVI; grave V, pl.LXXXIII; Palace of Nestor III p.127, fig.195 no.13.
191. Fig.V.41: 73-595; SS 6059-64; TI pp.384-5; Troy I p.282, fig.359: 36-320.
192. Boehmer, Kleinfunde Taf.LXXXIV nos.2197-2213 (mostly Unterstadt 4), and discussion on p.214f.
193. Fig.V.40 no.72-746.
194. Boehmer, Kleinfunde no.2216.
195. Cf. Troy III p.24, fig.298, nos.33-74, 37-644; but Blegen has none from VII.
196. NS/n.ii.4; cf. Troy III p.231, IV pp.15f, 85, 199.
197. 72-955, 72-1037; *72-946, *72-961; *72-974.
198. Troy III p.186.
199. Troy III figs.302-303; IV figs.219, 255.

200. TI p.400.
201. Thermi pp.171, 172, fig.50, pl.XXV no.30.26.
202. S. Alp, Konya Civarında Karahöyük Kazılarında Bulunan Silindir ve Damga Mühürleri (Ankara 1972) pl.16 nos.36-38.
203. Tarsus II fig.394 no.43.
204. Troy III fig.301 no.37-761.
205. *72-595 from NS/n.iii.1c; *72-691, 72-714, 72-720 from NS/n.iii.1d; 73-467 from WA.iv.2.
206. Troy III p.125, fig.352 no.15; p.173.
207. Troy IV p.199, fig.256, no.37-489.
208. Troy III fig.298.
209. Troy III fig.301, no.36-137.
210. *72-1072; 73-588; 73-869.
211. TA p.260; WA.iv.2.
212. Cf. Troy III p.7; IV pp.14, 150.
213. NE.ii.3.
214. Troy III pp.122, 128, 167.
215. Ibid. p.244, fig.450 pit 615.
216. Troy IV p.121, fig.360.
217. Ibid. p.63, fig.322.
218. Ibid.
219. Ibid. p.50.
220. Ibid. p.121.
221. Ibid. p.134.
222. Troja 1893 p.124, TI p.536.
223. Troy III fig.445 and pp.370-91. For a review of Bronze Age cremations in the Near East see P.A. Bienkowski, "Some remarks on the practice of cremation in the Levant", Levant 14 (1982) 80-89.
224. Ibid. p.375.
225. Ibid. p.393.
226. Ibid. fig.445.
227. Ibid. p.395.
228. Ibid. p.377.
229. Troy SMI pp.15-16, 31; "The Physical Identity of the Trojans", in Troy and the Trojan War p.70.
230. W.i.10.
231. NS/n.ii.4; iv.2.
232. Gejvall 1946, chapter III.
233. J.U. Dürst, Die Rinder von Babylonien, Assyrien und Ägypten (Berlin 1899) p.13f.
234. Gejvall 1946, III/3.
235. Gejvall 1937-8 p.54; 1946 distribution table.
236. Gejvall 1946, distribution table.
237. Ibid.
238. Gejvall 1938-9 p.3f; 1946 chapter II.
239. Gejvall 1937-8 p.55.
240. NS/n.ii.4.
241. Ibid.
242. W.i.10.
243. Gejvall 1946, distribution table.
244. Troy III p.28.
245. J. Bintliff, "Environmental factors in Trojan cultural history", paper at IVth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Sheffield, April 1977 (awaiting publication); also C.B. Mee, "Aegean trade and settlement in Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.", Anatolian Studies 28 (1978) p.148; "The Mycenaeans and Troy", in Trojan War pp.51-2.
246. Gejvall 1937-8 p.54.
247. Ilios p.318.
248. TI p.319.

- 249. Troy IV p.98.
- 250. TI p.319.
- 251. Ibid.
- 252. Troy IV pp.64-5.
- 253. Ibid. p.89 and fig.340.
- 254. Ibid. p.117.
- 255. Ibid. p.211.
- 256. Troy SM4 pp.176, 190.
- 257. Troy IV p.98.
- 258. Ibid. p.64.
- 259. Ibid. p.221.
- 260. Troy SM4 pp.130-134: samples 171, 176, 298, 302, 316; 189; 306.
- 261. TI p.141, fig.49; Troy III p.89.
- 262. Troy III p.257, fig.171.
- 263. Troy III pp.221, 287-9; IV p.65.
- 264. Troy III pp.288, 290.
- 265. Ibid. p.259.
- 266. Ibid. pp.291, 320, 322.
- 267. Ibid. p.286.
- 268. Pithos No.2 in House 730, Troy IV p.90; pithos No.4 in House 731, ibid. p.98.
- 269. Troy SM4 pp.191-3: samples 314, 310, 347.
- 270. Ibid. sample 300.
- 271. Ibid. sample 304.
- 272. Ibid. pp.114f, samples 298, 345.

Part IV: TROY VIII-IX: THE ARCHAIC, CLASSICAL, HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Architecture

Dörpfeld and Blegen place the division between Troy VIII and Troy IX at different dates. In Troy VIII (Fig.V.14) Dörpfeld included everything later than his Troy VII2 (= VIIb) but earlier than the first century A.D. and below the Roman buildings.¹ Blegen placed the division earlier, including in Troy VIII only those features antedating the boost to Troy's fortunes which followed the interest taken by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C.² While Blegen's additions to the architecture of Troy VIII³ can be assumed to fall securely within the limits he himself defined, problems are raised for the dating of Dörpfeld's remains of Troy VIII.

For dating the citadel wall of Troy VIII Dörpfeld used arguments that were partly archaeological and partly historical.⁴ Much of the work of VIII consisted of additions and repairs to the old walls of Troy VI, still to some extent visible.⁵ These may have been carried out at varying dates. But at some points, at least, the rebuilding of VIII took place when the other, domestic remains of Troy VII were already buried by 2m-deep deposits of earth.⁶ Historical evidence suggested to Dörpfeld that the "homeric" walls of VI were in part broken away during the sixth century B.C., but that the site was once more fortified by the time of Charidemus's attack in c.360 B.C. According to these criteria the fortifications should remain in VIII as defined by Blegen. In square K7 what may well have been a curved retaining wall or bastion of Troy VIII was associated with gray ware, sherds of Ionian cups and "G2-3 ware".⁷ The structure is reminiscent of the other curved bastions of Troy VIII in squares JK3-4 and A7 already known to Dörpfeld.

Dörpfeld's structures from the citadel interior are not published with any associated finds and are therefore now difficult to date. He himself did make the general statement that the finds assured their "Greek" date.⁸ In a general way they do conform to the sort of building unearthed by Blegen in EF8, dated by him to VIII.⁹ The Doric entablature discussed by Dörpfeld must now be assigned to Troy IX if his appreciation of the style is correct.¹⁰ There is still no clear evidence of any temple of VIII unless, as is conceivable, Building 1 (here ascribed to Troy IX) represents the remains of an archaic prostyle temple.

Schliemann's excavations of 1870-73 have very little to add to Troy VIII. The "hellenic housewalls" found in square B5 at 1-2m deep may include the

Troy VIII walls recorded by Dörpfeld.¹¹ Walls 8 and 10, found among the remains of Building IXA, are of uncertain date. Although preserved to the same altitude as some of the IXA walls, they seem not to fit the IXA plan; they may be remnants of Troy VIII buildings dug into by the foundations of IX.¹² Wall 10 actually seems to continue the southeast end of a Troy VIII building recorded by Dörpfeld.

To the Hellenistic and Roman site of Troy IX, of which the mound forms only the acropolis, Schliemann's work of 1870-73 can add a number of features (see Fig.V.15). Walls were found all across the North Platform in CDEF3 reaching at all points to 2m below the surface but preserved, presumably, almost to the surface.¹³ These walls cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. The westernmost extension of Dörpfeld's IXW is likely to have been among them. There may also have been a continuation of Wall RM and the segment of wall shown by Dörpfeld in square B4. Such a wall, if it continued across as far as IXW, would have determined the final contours of the northwestern slope of the site. A piece of it seems certainly to have been found adjoining Wall RM in squares AB4, 4m high and 3m wide. It was broken through without record in 1870 but was noticed when the trench was widened in 1873. Here it is known as Wall 78.¹⁴ A section of the northern enclosure wall was exposed by Calvert in 1865 in what later became Schliemann's Northeast Trench. He noted masons' marks on the stones. Schliemann, however, found only a small segment on the west side of his trench:¹⁵ very thick foundations of large, hewn stones. It seems that the extension across the trench is likely to have been robbed out after Calvert's work stopped.

The large temple precinct on the east side of the acropolis, most of which may have been built by Augustus,¹⁶ was not, of course, recognised by Schliemann for what it was. With hindsight, however, we can see that a number of its principal features were first encountered in the 1870-73 excavations. Propylon IXD, the main entrance, was found intact, with three courses of limestone blocks preserved. Schliemann thought it was a reservoir or cistern.¹⁷ Only small parts of the adjoining south stoa were preserved, apparently; Walls 35 and 36 appear to have been a part of it, although this entails the supposition that they were incorrectly drawn in Atlas Taf.214 to look like two parts of one single wall.¹⁸ Both rested on a double layer of large limestone blocks which continued beneath a large pavement of marble flagstones.¹⁹ The location and extent of this pavement are uncertain. It is definitely attested at the west end of the East-West Trench, in squares EF7, where it again has the same

construction.²⁰ A similar foundation below the West Stoa²¹ was found by Dörpfeld who also found remains of a similarly-constructed pavement between the Temple of Athena and the altar in square J4.²² The pavement may have run continuously throughout the precinct and the colonnades surrounding it. Towards the west end of the south stoa architectural pieces in the Corinthian order were found in large numbers.²³ Walls 45 and 46, in square E6, may be small parts of the west stoa;²⁴ and the foundations of the "house" in squares E6-7, although their plan is actually unknown, are likely to have been a part of the row of shops found by Blegen just to the west of the stoa.²⁵ Walls 47 and 48, in G6-7, are fragments too small to be interpreted.²⁶ Of the temple itself a number of traces were found.²⁷ Some large, sandstone blocks seem to have been found in situ and may be some of the very few pieces of masonry ever recorded from the foundations.²⁸ But from the foundation-trenches Schliemann encountered the deep packing of sand at two points, probably in square G4;²⁹ and from the upper levels of their fill he also found the characteristic thick deposits of black earth mixed with marble chippings.³⁰ Besides these direct evidences, numerous fragments of sculpted marble, including the famous Helios metope, were found in deposits on the north face of the mound and scattered over the surface of this area. Here too were found figurines, lentoid weights, inscriptions, sculptures and a terracotta plaque.

To the West of the temple precinct, in squares CD4-5, a previously unknown structure came to light. Here it is called Building 1.³¹ It was a large, rectangular stone-built chamber. In 1870 only its interior was excavated, and in 1871 it was demolished without further investigation; so we have no means of knowing whether it was free-standing or a part of some larger complex. As found, it had no paved floor; but we may suppose an original floor to have been removed. What remained was a stratum of lime which may have served as a low-grade floor if the building was put to a secondary use late in its life. It is interesting that the building was situated on the very highest point of the mound. This could suggest an original function of some consequence. It is, however, very difficult to date. Some very uncertain stratigraphic evidence, based on a single coin, could indicate an origin no earlier than the second century A.D.³² But the coin could be intrusive. The building could well be contemporary with Dörpfeld's Building IXA. The two are aligned with each other; they both share the same mode of construction - dressed stones laid on a foundation of boulders - although the foundations of IXA go much deeper; and they both

received a lime floor. But IXA, too, is undated. An origin for Building 1 during Troy VIII, as an archaic prostyle temple, cannot be dismissed out of hand; but it has no secure evidence in favour of it, and might give it an earlier date than IXA which overlies some buildings assigned to Troy VIII. If accepted, however, it could identify the building as the temple visited by Alexander and which presumably remained standing until Fimbria's destruction in 85 B.C. The larger temple in GH3-4 would then need to be seen as having a purely Augustan foundation, as Goethert has argued.³⁴

Schliemann recorded several parts of what we now know to have been Building IXA. A central cross-wall, hitherto unnoticed, may have been found in 1870 and further exposed in 1873.³⁵ It was built of large, dressed stones laid on a foundation of boulders but was preserved to a height of only 1½ metres. In this respect it was strikingly different from the main, structural walls of the building. For Schliemann also exposed almost the entire course of the northeast wall, Wall 3/82, which, as implied by TI Taf.III, had a total height of over 6 metres and was dug deep into deposits of the Early Bronze Age.³⁶ A short section of the long, central wall, again of dressed stones on boulders, had a total height of 4 metres and a width of 3 metres. It appears in Atlas Taf.214 as the "Wall of Lysimachus".³⁷ The southwest wall was likewise exposed over a short length and proved to have been built in the same way.³⁸ All the walls of IXA were preserved to c.37m A.T. Possibly associated with them was a mosaic floor³⁹ overlaid by the lime floor already mentioned.⁴⁰ Overlying the northeast wall of IXA were two later walls, Walls 1 and 2, forming a right angle.⁴¹ They were again built in a similar way, but were presumably later in origin than IXA; there is no indication what sort of structure they belonged to.

Southeast of IXA, in squares CD6, lay what Schliemann describes as a "very elegant house".⁴² He did not record its plan or dimensions, but he does note that its walls and foundations were of large, hewn blocks of limestone and its floor of polished red flagstones.

Wall 18, skirting the edge of the trench in square D9, is a part of the west wall of Theatre C, of Roman date.⁴³ Of the Roman Bouleuterion, Dörpfeld's Theatre B, Schliemann found a segment of the north wall, Wall 34.⁴⁴ This was built of large, drafted blocks of limestone, apparently without cement; and one block carried masons' marks. It was exposed to a height of about 2 metres. Fragments of Corinthian and Doric columns were

found in the vicinity, and so were other pieces of carved marble.⁴⁵ But Brunton may have dug here in 1855-6, and Calvert certainly did in 1863. The latter revealed fluted columns, friezes, a capital and an inscription. Near to the north wall of the Bouleuterion Schliemann found some terracotta piping.⁴⁶ In squares EF7, along the southern edge of the East-West Trench, Wall 39 is the north wall of Dörpfeld's IXB.⁴⁷ Large blocks of white limestone carried a superstructure of small stones bonded with cement. The wall may have been only 1 metre wide and was preserved to a height of 2 metres. Schliemann thought it was the south wall of the temple complex built by Lysimachus. It seems to have been among the foundations of IXB that Dörpfeld's Doric entablature was found.⁴⁸

Architectural Fragments (Fig.V.48)

There are twelve architectural fragments whose findspots can be determined with plausibility or with certainty. Eight of these are likely to have belonged to the Temple of Athena. From the Northeast Trench came the Helios-metope,⁴⁹ which may originally have stood at the east end of the triglyph frieze on the north face of the temple.⁵⁰ From the same area came the relief sculpture, only crudely sketched by Schliemann, 72-816.⁵¹ This could derive from one of the scenes of combat on the temple metopes. Two other pieces come from this trench. One is the L-shaped block 72-1058/9.⁵² The two carvings on this block agree closely with those known from the rosette-frieze,⁵³ as do their dimensions, and it seems best to assume that Schliemann's minute drawing of the block depicts either a corner-stone of that frieze with the perspective eliminated or, more likely, the corner of a door-frame. The other is a piece again only crudely drawn by Schliemann, 72-817.⁵⁴ It appears to have been an antefix with some kind of scroll design or palmette. It may well have come from the temple eaves or roof-ridge. Further down the northeast slope Schliemann found a lion-head gargoyle.⁵⁵ It is similar, so far as one can judge, to the one other adequately preserved from the temple - a piece formerly in the Calvert collection.⁵⁶ From elsewhere on the site come two pieces which must be sima-fragments from the long sides of the temple;⁵⁷ and finally a relief-carving of a male head which may have belonged to a metope depicting a fight between Greeks and Barbarians.⁵⁸

A sima-fragment found on the Northeast Slope⁵⁹ has a palmette-and-clover-leaf design which is unlikely to derive from the Temple. But the beading along its lower edge is echoed in another fragment, with a different floral motif, which was found in clearing Propylon IXD.⁶⁰ So it may

well have come from a part of the stoa and suggests a uniformity of artistic conception for the whole complex. From the southwest quadrant of the East-West Trench, squares EF7, come two final pieces. One is an antefix with an acanthus-scroll design.⁶¹ It is different, clearly, from 72-817, and is unlikely to derive from the same building. The other is identified by Schliemann as part of a wreath-ornament to a capital.⁶²

Pottery (Fig.V.34)

Only a small quantity of pottery was recovered from Troy VIII-IX. To Troy VIII we can perhaps assign the pointed alabastron *73-222.⁶³ There are also four sherds of Late Geometric. Three of these find parallels among the East Greek pieces illustrated by Blegen.⁶⁴ The fourth, with an elaborate swastika-motif, has no published parallels from Troy but is of a type very well attested among the seventh-century material from Larisa.⁶⁵

To Troy IX we can assign four pieces which appear to be Hellenistic. The grey-slipped rhyton-spout *72-839 is so classified by Schmidt,⁶⁶ who gives a similar date to two pieces of barbotine ware.⁶⁷ A sherd of dark brown relief-ware with red and white painted decoration comes from the centre of a bowl.⁶⁸ Winnefeld notes that its erotic scene closely copies that on two silver bowls from Tarentum, thus placing the piece in a class of hellenistic wares imitating decorated metal prototypes.⁶⁹ Erotic scenes are now known to be common on the hellenistic red and black gloss-and-relief wares from Pergamon,⁷⁰ and this may be the source of the Trojan piece.

Two miniature, pedestalled dishes are classified by Schmidt as Roman,⁷¹ so are a yellow amphoriskos⁷² and two black-polished perfume bottles.⁷³ But the latter type has a wide chronological range.⁷⁴ A sherd with a human face in relief is too poorly described and illustrated to be dateable,⁷⁵ and the same applies to the "mouse"-headed beaker 72-1262.⁷⁶ The large urns found in the Northwest Trench in 1870, and thought by Schliemann to be filled with ash, may derive from any period from VIIb onwards,⁷⁷ but those in the West Trench should come from VIII or IX.⁷⁸

Metalwork (Fig.V.38)

There are three projectile-points, none closely dateable. A socketed spearhead 72-818 belongs to a common and long-lived class but, if accurately drawn by Schliemann, seems to be without exact parallels.⁷⁹ A similar piece but with narrower blade and split socket is known from Emporio where it is attributed to the seventh century B.C.⁸⁰ Another,

with longer blade, from Larisa is of Archaic or Hellenistic date.⁸¹ On the other hand a spearhead with similarly stumpy head but much longer socket was found sticking into the foundations of a wall of Büyükkale IIIa at Boğazköy and must be of Late Bronze Age date.⁸² The iron arrowhead 73-126 is also from a very long-lived type. Comparable pieces from the City of Midas may be of Phrygian date,⁸³ and Sakçagözü has produced one example from a secure, early first millennium context.⁸⁴ Two examples included among the illustrated finds from Alisar V could be of the same period,⁸⁵ but actually come from a mixed deposit which also included Hellenistic and Roman material.⁸⁶ One of two pieces from Nemrud Dağ is said to come from a securely Hellenistic or Roman context,⁸⁷ but at Sardis the type was found in contexts ranging from the sixth century A.D. to Late Byzantine times.⁸⁸ Examples from Corinth and Pergamon are likewise regarded as Byzantine.⁸⁹ Schliemann noted a second iron arrowhead,⁹⁰ but failed to make a drawing; just as he failed to draw the remains of what he took to be an iron sword.⁹¹ The inscribed sling-shot 72-1023 is probably of lead and is of a common Greek type.⁹²

The lead piece 72-860 could conceivably be part of a strigil, but is too fragmentary to be properly identifiable. Ilios No.1476 is an iron "Laconian" key, a type with a chronological range from c.379 B.C. to the present century.⁹³ The copper or bronze object Atlas 164-3202 is not flat enough to be a belt-buckle. It appears to incorporate a pivot to enable two chains or straps to be joined but to swivel relative to one another. A similar, though less sturdy, piece comes from the Phrygian levels at Alaca Hüyük.⁹⁴ The rectangular lead weight, Atlas 164-3178, is one of several known from the site.⁹⁵ The type is well known and runs from the fifth, or possibly sixth, century to the first century B.C., and a variety of symbols and letters can occur on it in relief.⁹⁶ A particularly good series of such weights is known from the Athenian Agora.⁹⁷ But the boar's head on our Trojan example seems not to be paralleled.⁹⁸ 73-780 is probably a Medusa-head lid from a bronze oil-lamp; the lid may have become detached at the hinge.

Several other metal objects are attested. There are two copper (or bronze) rings one of which could, however, be as early as VIIb; neither is illustrated.⁹⁹ Many copper pins and nails are noted.¹⁰⁰ There is a piece of ribbed copper sheeting, though this could also derive from Troy VI.¹⁰¹ A bronze animal-headed finial found among the strata of Troy VI has hellenistic parallels and may be intrusive from Troy IX.¹⁰² And

slag is reported from two locations.¹⁰³

Other Small Finds

The small objects of terracotta include at least four lamps not drawn by Schliemann,¹⁰⁴ a moulded lamp perhaps of Hellenistic date (Atlas 165-3211, Fig.V.34),¹⁰⁵ and a stemmed lamp (73-553, Fig.V.34) which Schmidt dates to the fourth or third centuries B.C.¹⁰⁶ There is a rattle (*72-663, Fig.V.48) for which I have found no parallel,¹⁰⁷ and a terracotta disk with central hole (72-937, Fig.V.48).¹⁰⁸

The terracotta weights (Fig.V.47) form an interesting, though not unusual, series. The earliest piece may be Atlas 190-3471, a loom-weight in the shape of a truncated pyramid, with two holes near the top. This shape of weight has a chronological range from seventh to fourth centuries B.C., and the type is quite widespread.¹⁰⁹ At Troy there are comparable examples in lead and stone.¹¹⁰ The small, topmost surface is stamped with a gem-impression and shows a clothed, standing figure facing the spectator's right. In mainland Greece the stamping of weights with gem-impressions began towards the end of the fifth century B.C. and continued throughout the Hellenistic period.¹¹¹

The remaining weights, of which only a representative selection is shown in Fig.V.47, are of the very common discoid or lentoid type. It has not been possible to distinguish which, if any, may have been flat disks; certainly there is no evidence for the type moulded with large letters in relief;¹¹² and many, from the drawings, are plainly lentoid. Lentoid/discoid weights come with many variations in shape, none of any obvious chronological significance.¹¹³ The oval shape of several Trojan pieces (73-821, 73-586, Atlas 173-3352, 3353) is less usual, however, and may have a regional significance in that the same shape is attested at Ephesus.¹¹⁴ The lentoid class of weights as a whole may have been introduced in the fifth century¹¹⁵ but became particularly common, and sometimes predominant, in the Hellenistic period. It is unlikely to have survived the disappearance of the vertical loom at the end of the first century A.D.¹¹⁶ Some of the Trojan examples have gem-impressions. There is a male head in helmet facing left (73-623), a female head facing left (73-524), a male head in crown (?) facing right (Atlas 173-3352), a seated female figure facing right (*72-1192, Atlas 190-3465); also a bee and altar (?) (72-487), standing bird (*72-690), flying bird (Atlas 173-3353), and antelope with goose (73-821, 73-586).

Objects of ground stone (Fig.V.42) include some tools¹¹⁷ of which 72-938 may be one; a polished, oblong piece with three (or more) holes (72-1565); and a marble slab of unknown use - Schliemann thought it might have been part of a lavatory.¹¹⁸ The double stone ball*73-236 may be a weight. Though lacking a rectangular base, it is otherwise very similar to the "mastoid" weights known from Greek sites.¹¹⁹ It may be of Roman date. Chipped stone blades continue in use. Both one-edged and two-edged blades are attested.¹²⁰

Two glass buttons were found.¹²¹ Both are green inlaid with white or yellow swirls. Comparable pieces were found by Blegen,¹²² and the technique has a very wide chronological range from the Late Bronze Age to Byzantine times.¹²³

Bone artefacts continued to be made. There are pins,¹²⁴ an awl,¹²⁵ and what may be part of a decorated plaque if it is not a fragment of a terracotta sieve (72-1038, Fig.V.43).¹²⁶

As in Blegen's excavations,¹²⁷ the deposits of VIII and IX produced only a very small number of spindle-whorls (see Tables XXXI-II). Only seventeen are recorded. Of these eight can be assigned to Schmidt's Reihe I, being divided by their design into four fields; four can be assigned to Reihe II, having three fields; and four can be assigned to Gruppe IA, having radial, diagonal or concentric lines. A lead whorl may be from this period.¹²⁸ Shapes are not recorded.

Terracotta Figurines

There is no doubting that we are now in the classical world. The figurines of Troy VIII-IX are completely different from anything found in the earlier periods.¹²⁹ The material as known in 1902 was the object of a brief survey by Winnefeld.¹³⁰ But a large number of additional pieces was found in the American excavations, and these have been published, with a full discussion, by Dorothy Thompson in Supplementary Monograph 3 of the report.¹³¹ At some points she has taken account of Schliemann's finds. But to a very large extent her corpus and Schliemann's overlap, rendering further detailed discussion unnecessary. The chronological range is determined by Thompson as stretching from the fourth century B.C. to the Late Roman period.¹³² Within this I have not attempted to date individual pieces, or to identify imports.

Thompson noted seven contexts in which figurines were especially frequent,

and five of these were on the west side of the site.¹³³ These all represent fill or dump laid down in antiquity either after Fimbria's destruction of Ilion in 85 B.C. or in the course of the renovation under Augustus c.22 B.C.¹³⁴ Winnefeld likewise noted that Kybele figurines were to be found on both east and southwest sides in ancient dumps.¹³⁵ And the same proves to be the case with Schliemann's figurines, 72% of which were found in the deep stratum of Troy IX debris encountered in the Northwest Trench.

Schliemann's finds of 1870-73 add only a few types to those found among the American material. SS 9540 is a head of Pan surmounted by a basket. 172-3329 is the figure identified by Winnefeld as that of Apollo,¹³⁶ lyre in hand. The representations of Venus Anadyomene (164-3180) and of the cloaked figure (168-3286) have already been noted by Thompson.¹³⁷ 165-3208 is a nude figure, female, standing with arms held away from the sides and apparently spreading a garment behind her. The eight miniature votive tablets with divine symbols, 164-3171 - 164-3179, are discussed by both Winnefeld¹³⁸ and Thompson,¹³⁹ the latter seeming to imply that the type derives from Italy.¹⁴⁰ 164-3183 may be the bust of a boy, though it is rather similar to a piece regarded by Thompson as female.¹⁴¹ 164-3182 is a small circular object, about one inch in diameter, showing a star in relief. The material may be terracotta, but Schliemann does not specify.

The following list brings together the figurines found in 1870-73 and classifies them by subject. Most are illustrated in the Atlas. Locations are noted only for those pieces not found in the Northwest Trench.

DEITIES

1. Draped figure, standing, with right hand hanging at side and left hand across waist holding lyre(?), Atlas 172-3329, SS 9511, TI Beilage 56, No.2. Winnefeld interprets it as a figure of Apollo, TI p.442; Schmidt regards it as female.
2. Wing from child Eros, Atlas 165-3212 cf. Troy SM3 p.74 n.26. It is similar but not identical to Troy SM3 No.5.
3. Lower left leg and foot from male figurine, Atlas 164-3199. Thompson, Troy SM3 p.74 n.26, sees in it a chubby and childish leg from a child Eros; to me it looks adult, but it would be of the right size to belong with the wing, No.2 (above).
4. Head of Pan, surmounted by basket, *72-693, Atlas 34-853, SS 9540. From NS/n.iii.1a, a topmost stratum.
5. Venus Anadyomene, only the lower half preserved: nude figure on a circular plinth, with drapery in the background, Atlas 164-3180 cf.

Troy SM3 p.65 n.17.

6. Kybele enthroned with leopard on lap, Atlas 172-3335. Only the upper half is preserved. Thompson (Troy SM3 p.57) identifies the animal as a dove and the figure as either Aphrodite or Kybele. But in the copy of the Atlas I have seen there is no doubt that the animal is a cat with head turned towards the spectator.
7. Probably a leopard from the figure of an enthroned Kybele, 72-996. From NE.ii.3, tip or erosion deposits down N. slope of mound.
8. Head of Kybele with high, crenellated polos but no veil, Atlas 173-3363. Similar to Troy SM3 No.46.
9. Head of Kybele with polos, 72-885. From NE.i.1, tip or erosion deposits on N. slope of mound.
10. Head of Kybele with polos surmounted by veil, *73-223, Atlas 125-2511. From WA.ii.3, within Building 1.
11. Head of Kybele in low polos, Atlas 165-3221.

CULT FIGURES

12. Cloaked figure, Atlas 168-3286, cf. Troy SM3 p.65 n.17.
13. Hierodoulos seated and draped, right hand on breast, left hand on knee, Atlas 168-3287. Similar to Troy SM3 No.64.
14. Hierodoulos: a female head with melon coiffure and tight bun, Atlas 164-3186.
15. Hierodoulos: female head with stephane and tight bun, Atlas 164-3192.
16. Head of dancer wearing kalathos stephane, 72-217. Cf. Troy SM3 No.85. From NS/s.i.1, mixed deposit outside the Troy VI citadel wall.
17. Female figure standing naked, arms away from the sides, apparently holding a garment behind her. Mantle dancer? Atlas 165-3208.

VOTIVE PLAQUES

18. Horseman-hero, Atlas 164-3200. This fragment from a square or rectangular plaque has a pediment superposed, cf. Troy SM3 No.127. Prancing horse faces spectator's right; reins and the rider's right leg are visible, also a round altar below the horse's front legs, cf. Troy SM3 No.128, TI Beilage 57 below No.10152. No worshippers are visible. This represents an additional type to those listed by Thompson, Troy SM3 p.110.
19. Heroine. Draped female figure with veiled head wearing chiton and himation faces right. Pouring a libation. Atlas 165-3214, SS 9558, TI Beilage 58,2. Very similar to Troy SM3 No.129.
20. Miniature plaque depicting winged thunderbolt, Atlas 164-3173, TR p.xxv centre, Ilios 1460, SS 9560, TI Beilage 58 No.3.
21. Miniature plaque similar to No.20; Atlas 164-3176, TI Beilage 58 No.3.
22. Miniature plaque depicting thyrsos (Troy SM3 p.117), Atlas 164-3174, TR p.xxxiii right, Ilios 1464, SS 9570, TI Beilage 58 No.3.
23. Miniature plaque depicting thyrsos (Troy SM3 p.117), Atlas 164-3177, TR p.xxxiii centre, Ilios 1463, SS 9568, TI Beilage 58 No.3.
24. Miniature plaque depicting bow and quiver, Atlas 164-3175, TR

- p.xxxiii left, Ilios 1462, SS 9567, TI Beilage 58 No.3.
25. Miniature plaque depicting Herculean knot, Atlas 164-3171, TR p.xxv left, Ilios 1459, SS 9564, TI Beilage 58 No.3.
 26. Miniature plaque similar to 25. Atlas 164-3172, TR p.xxv right, Ilios 1461.
 27. Miniature plaque similar to 25. Atlas 164-3179.
 28. Fragment of plaque with swan's neck and geometric decoration; traces of red paint, 72-995 (Fig.V.48). From NE.ii.3, tip down north slope of mound.

SECULAR SUBJECTS

29. Comic mask or mime head, male, 73-522, Atlas 148-2918. From WA.iv.1, a topmost stratum.
30. Comic mask or mime head, male, Atlas 164-3196. Cut away at the back, perhaps for use as lid to filling-hole of a lamp (cf. Troy SM3 Nos.132, 133-6).
31. Naked male figure without arms preserved from neck to knees. A twisted cloth is wrapped in a cord around chest and left shoulder. Gladiator? Atlas 164-3198.
32. Boy's head, Atlas 164-3184.
33. Bust of boy(?), Atlas 164-3183. The figurine is rather similar to Troy SM3 No.163, regarded by Thompson as female.
34. Draped female figure, standing, right arm on breast, left at thigh. Veiled. Atlas 172-3332.
35. Veiled female head, 73-228, Atlas 124-2472. From WA.ii.3, within Building 1.
36. Veiled female head, Atlas 168-3283, Ilios No.1454? Cf. Troy SM3 No.179.
37. Veiled female head, Atlas 165-3227.
38. Female head with Knidian(?) coiffure, *73-363, Atlas 135-2700. From WA.iii.1, a topmost stratum.
39. Female head with Knidian coiffure, Atlas 165-3223.
40. Female head with Knidian coiffure, Atlas 164-3185.
41. Female head with Knidian(?) coiffure, Atlas 164-3191.
42. Female head with bow-knot, Atlas 165-3216. Similar to Troy SM3 No.204.
43. Female head with melon coiffure, Atlas 164-3197.
44. Female head with Knidian coiffure and plain fillet, Atlas 165-3220.
45. Female head with Knidian coiffure and plain fillet, Atlas 168-3280.
46. Female head with stephane, 72-259, Atlas 100-2214? From NS/s.i.1, a mixed deposit outside Troy VI citadel wall.
47. Female head with stephane, 73-322, Atlas 132-2629. From WA.iii.1, a topmost stratum.
48. Protome apparently on a sherd, depicting female head with Knidian coiffure and stephane, Atlas 164-3181.
49. Female head with Knidian coiffure and stephane, Atlas 172-3334. Similar in face to Troy SM3 No.218.

50. Female(?) head with wreath, Atlas 165-3215.
51. Female head with Knidian(?) coiffure and wreath, Atlas 172-3326.
52. Female head with Knidian(?) coiffure and wreath, Atlas 172-3330.
53. Female head with wreath and lampadion-knot, Atlas 165-3222, SS 9523.
54. Fragment of female face, Atlas 173-3346.
55. Figurine, no details (Tgb 1872 p.415); from NE.ii.3, tip down north slope of mound.
56. Figurine, no details (Tgb 1872 p.485); from NS/c.i.2, a topmost stratum.
- 57-8. Two figurines, no details (Tgb 1870 p.74); from W.i.4, within Building IXA.

MISCELLANEOUS

59. Female herm, 73-472, Atlas 142-2794. Similar to Troy SM3 No.301. From EW.v.1, a topmost stratum. (N.B. There is also a male herm, 173-3344, whose findspot I have been unable to determine.)
60. Circular object, approx. 1 inch in diameter, depicting star in relief. Material not specified but possibly terracotta. Atlas 164-3182.

Sculptures

Seven pieces can be traced to their findspots. Two were found in the Southeast Trench:¹⁴² a fragmentary hand holding a discus (73-110 = Atlas 120-2365) and the lower part of a draped female figure (73-64 = Atlas 119-2343 = SS 9598). From the northern sector of the North-South Trench came the head of a marble statue¹⁴³ and a marble hand;¹⁴⁴ neither of these is illustrated. In the Northwest Trench Schliemann found a fragment of the torso of a draped female figure (73-690 = Atlas 158-3060).¹⁴⁵ And the East-West Trench produced a draped figure missing its head and feet (Atlas 155-3056 = SS 9597);¹⁴⁶ beside it was found the inscription 73-603. From the North Platform came a small marble plaque with the "engraving" of a woman;¹⁴⁷ this is not illustrated. And there is a general statement that many sculpted marbles were found at the east end of this trench, in squares F3-4.¹⁴⁸

Inscriptions¹⁴⁹

From the excavations of 1870-73 there are twelve inscriptions whose findspots can be determined. They fall into two groups. Those from the western half of the acropolis all antedate the Augustan age, while all those of Augustan or later date come from the eastern half. This corresponds to the picture to be obtained from the architecture: the eastern half dominated by an Augustan layout, the western half preserving buildings which are probably earlier.

Five of the inscriptions come from the western half. Three of them were found in the immediate vicinity of Building I, in square D5. These were the gabled marble slab honouring Menelaos (c.359 B.C.),¹⁵⁰ the gabled stele honouring Diaphenes of Temnos (C3rd B.C.),¹⁵¹ and the upper part of a gabled stele honouring Chaireas (post-188 B.C.).¹⁵² One was found close to the northeast side of Building IXA, in square C5; this was a list of fines (last third of C3rd B.C.).¹⁵³ And the fifth, the bottom section of a sympolity treaty between Ilion and the Scamandrians (c.100 B.C.), was found some distance further to the North, in squares C4-5, where Schliemann built his stone house in February 1873.¹⁵⁴

Of the remaining inscriptions four were found in the East-West Trench, two in the Northeast Trench, and one in the Southeast Trench. From the East-West Trench came a stele recording a land donation by Antiochus I to Aristodikides (c.274 B.C.),¹⁵⁵ a statue-base belonging to the statue SS 9597 and revealing its identity as that of Metrodorus (C3rd B.C.),¹⁵⁶ and a list of fines of Augustan date.¹⁵⁷ Of the fourth inscription we have no details.¹⁵⁸ It is impossible to know now whether these were all still in situ or whether some of them, for instance the earlier ones, had been displaced by levelling and dumping. The two inscriptions from the Northeast Trench are a fragment of a decree by the Agonothetes (Clst B.C. - Clst A.D.),¹⁵⁹ and the base of a statue of A. Claudius Caecina (138-161 A.D.).¹⁶⁰ It is possible that both of these were set up in the Augustan temple precinct and only dislodged when the temple was destroyed. Some other fragmentary inscriptions came from the same trench, but Schliemann recorded no details of these.¹⁶¹ The final inscription, a decree honouring Gaius Caesar, the son of Augustus (c.1 B.C.), was found built into Wall 33, in square H8,¹⁶² thus indicating a late, possibly Byzantine, date for the wall.

Coins¹⁶³

The excavations of 1870-73 turned up quite a number of coins, but only four are illustrated in the Atlas and the remainder are mostly recorded without description. There is thus little chance of adequate identification for most of them now. Some independent checks do exist, but they are not very helpful. The earliest of these is a manuscript handlist of Schliemann's coin collection, compiled in 1876 by Achilles Postolacca.¹⁶⁴ It has been published in facsimile,¹⁶⁵ but unfortunately it is not a descriptive catalogue nor is it illustrated; it is simply a classified check-list. Its usefulness is further reduced by the fact that Schliemann had evidently been active in buying a wide range of ancient

coins, and the purchases are not distinguished from the excavated pieces. More coins were found in 1878-79, and some of these may be referred to in the typological discussion in Ilios,¹⁶⁶ but that rather disappointing essay by Postolacca covers published material as well, and only occasionally alludes to coins in the Schliemann collection. More were again found in 1882, and these are listed a little more clearly in Troja.¹⁶⁷ All this additional material, together with more coins from other sources, was catalogued again by Postolacca in 1883 in an addendum to the 1876 handlist.¹⁶⁸ Schliemann, it seems, was particularly attached to his coins and did not inflict them, with his other antiquities, on the German Nation. After his death they were kept by his widow Sophie who gave von Fritze access to them when he was preparing his study of the coins of Ilium for Troja und Ilion.¹⁶⁹ Then in 1928 she handed the collection over to the National Numismatic Museum of Athens,¹⁷⁰ which is the Athens collection of which Bellinger later took note in writing his monograph on the coins from the American excavations.¹⁷¹ One would therefore have expected a large number of Trojan coins to show up in the Athens collections consulted by von Fritze and Bellinger, including some of the more easily identifiable pieces from the work of 1870-73. But for some reason this is not the case, and their two studies are of very little direct help. Little more can be extracted from the excavation records, therefore, than the following list.

GENERAL REFERENCES

Schliemann alludes to two rusted, copper coins found in 1870,¹⁷² and to other coins of Ilium,¹⁷³ sometimes specifying that these were of copper¹⁷⁴ (i.e. of bronze). It is not clear whether these "coins of Ilium" were truly minted at Ilium or whether Schliemann is writing loosely about his finds on the site of Ilium.

PERSIAN

1. One coin is said to be Persian.¹⁷⁵ No such piece appears in Postolacca's list.

COINS OF ILIUM

Some of Schliemann's Roman imperial coins are said to be Ilia¹⁷⁶ but have no counterparts in Postolacca's 1876 list of Ilia coins.¹⁷⁷ Schliemann may therefore again have been using the term "Ilia" loosely. On the other hand it seems likely that Postolacca included in his list of Ilia coins only those that bore an

inscription identifying them at first sight as products of the Ilian mint. If so, his list of Roman coins,¹⁷⁸ among which some of Schliemann's imperial "Ilian" coins may be included, could possibly include some coins lacking in obvious inscriptional identification but which would now, on typological grounds, be classed as Ilian. But this is impossible to substantiate or qualify. Here I will list only those that are quite evidently Ilian.

2. One bronze ('copper') coin with the legend ΕΚΤΩΡ ΙΛΙΕΩΝ from 1870.¹⁷⁹
3. Five bronze ('copper') coins. Obv: bust of Athena. Rev: ΙΛΙΕΩΝ.¹⁸⁰ Postolacca has 25 Ilian coins without attribution to any monarch,¹⁸¹ and Schliemann's five could be included among them.

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER

4. One bronze ('copper') coin. Obv?: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ. Rev?: ΕΚΤΩΡ ΙΛΙΕΩΝ.¹⁸² The coin is clearly Ilian, but is not listed in Postolacca's 1876 catalogue where the Ilian coins include none from Faustina.¹⁸³ Neither von Fritze nor Bellinger notes such a piece in Athens.

JULIA DOMNA

5. Bronze ('copper') coin. Obv: bust of Julia Domna facing right; 1. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ r. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ . Rev: ΙΛΙ to l, ΕΩΝ to r. Athena standing, facing right, wearing helmet and long mantle; spear in r, Nike in l.¹⁸⁴ This is Atlas 190-3476. It is similar to Bellinger's T223,¹⁸⁵ although Bellinger notes no Athens example of the type; nor does von Fritze. It may be one of the six bronze Ilian coins of Julia Domna listed by Postolacca in 1876, though it is not mentioned in his later essay in Ilios.¹⁸⁶ A similar-sounding coin was found in 1882.¹⁸⁷
6. Bronze ('copper') coin. Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ to l, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ to r.; bust of Julia Domna facing right. Rev: ΙΛΙΕΩΝ to l, ΕΚΤΩΡ to r., Hector in helmet standing facing left; r. raised, spear and shield in l.¹⁸⁸ This is Atlas 190-3475, but it is a type not listed by von Fritze or Bellinger. It may, like No.5, be among Postolacca's six bronze coins of Julia Domna listed in 1876.

In addition to those already discussed, Postolacca's 1876 catalogue lists some further Ilian bronzes: Augustus 9, Caligula 1, Nero with

Agrippina 1, Vespasian-Titus-Domitian 1, Caracalla 2, Geta 1, Gordian III 2. Some or all of these may derive from the excavations of 1870-73.¹⁸⁹

OTHER ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS, SOME PERHAPS ILIAN

Schliemann makes the general observation that his Roman imperial coins spanned the period from Augustus to Constantine the Great,¹⁹⁰ with an especially large number from Constantine. This is confirmed by Postolacca's catalogue; for although his list of Ilian coins runs from Augustus only to Gordian III,¹⁹¹ his list of Roman coins issued under the emperors does indeed extend to Constantine the Great (and later), with eighteen coins from Constantine's reign:¹⁹² the greatest number for any monarch represented in the collection. A similar balance is found in the coins from the American excavations, where twelve coins come from the reign of Constantine.¹⁹³

FAUSTINA THE ELDER

7. A coin (or coins) is referred to, but it is not clear whether it derives from the Ilian mint.¹⁹⁴ Postolacca's 1876 list has no Ilian coins of Faustina the Elder but does include one among the Roman coins.¹⁹⁵ There is also one from Delphi; but possibly this was a purchase.¹⁹⁶ Postolacca's essay in Ilios describes an Ilian type with "Hector walking, armed" on the reverse; but he does not say that it was to be found in the Schliemann collection.¹⁹⁷ Neither von Fritze nor Bellinger recognises any Ilian types from Faustina the Elder; and the American excavations revealed no other coins of Faustina either.

MARCUS AURELIUS

8. A coin (or coins) is referred to, but again it is not clear whether it might have been minted at Ilium.¹⁹⁸ Postolacca in 1876 listed no Ilian coins of Marcus Aurelius, but he did note four bronze Roman coins, one bronze from Cyzicus, one from Patrae in Achaea, and another of uncertain mint.¹⁹⁹ His discussion in Ilios distinguishes four Ilian types, but finds none of them in the Schliemann collection. Von Fritze notes two coins in the Schliemann collection which are definitely Ilian, Nos. 57 and 63,²⁰⁰ and these are listed by Bellinger too.²⁰¹ But these may be the two bronze Ilian coins of Marcus Aurelius listed in Postolacca's 1883 supplement.²⁰² If so, however, he ought to have listed a third,

namely the coin with a Palladium on the reverse, found in the excavations of 1882.²⁰³ This last seems to be a type not noted by von Fritze or Bellinger. At all events, it seems unlikely that either of the von Fritze/Bellinger pieces goes back to the excavations of 1870-73.

9. Schliemann found a silver coin of Marcus Aurelius.²⁰⁴ He does not say whether it was struck at Ilium. It appears nowhere in Postolacca's 1876 catalogue. There is, however, a silver Roman coin of this emperor in the addendum of 1883;²⁰⁵ and as no such discovery is noted either in Ilios or in Troja it is possible that this may be the coin found in 1873. But it could equally well be a purchase or an unrecorded discovery of 1878, 1879 or 1882.

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER

10. A coin (or coins) is referred to.²⁰⁶ Once again Schliemann does not make clear whether the Ilian mint was responsible. Postolacca's 1876 catalogue has no Ilian coins of Faustina the Younger, but does have four bronze Roman coins of this ruler,²⁰⁷ so the likelihood is that Schliemann's was Roman. Four Ilian types are distinguished in the essay in Ilios,²⁰⁸ but none of them is said to be represented in the Schliemann collection. The 1883 addendum does note three bronze coins of Ilium for Faustina the Younger,²⁰⁹ but it seems that none of these found its way into von Fritze's study or Bellinger's.²¹⁰

COMMODUS

11. A coin (or coins) is mentioned, again without a clear statement of its mint.²¹¹ Postolacca's list of 1876 records four bronze Ilian coins²¹² and three bronze Roman coins²¹³ of Commodus, so both mints remain possible. Neither von Fritze nor Bellinger notes any Ilian coins of Commodus in the Schliemann or Athenian collections. This despite the existence of the four listed in 1876, one mentioned in Ilios²¹⁴ (which seems to be comparable to Bellinger's T190),²¹⁵ and five new types described in Troja²¹⁶ (of which only the first may find a parallel in Bellinger's list: T183?). The four new bronze Ilian coins in the addendum of 1883²¹⁷ presumably include some of the pieces listed in Troja; but the Ilios piece could go back to the excavations of 1870-73. It does not have to, though, as it could derive from the excavations of 1878-79.

CRISPINA

12. A coin (or coins) is noted.²¹⁸ Again, it is not clear whether the Ilian mint is in question. An Ilian bronze coin of Crispina is listed by Postolacca in the 1876 catalogue,²¹⁹ but so is a Roman bronze of the same reign.²²⁰ The essay in Ilios makes no attributions to the Schliemann collection, nor are there any additions in the 1883 addendum even in the list of Roman coins. A bronze coin of Crispina is listed among the Ilian coins found in 1882.²²¹ Its absence from the 1883 addendum is therefore surprising; it is not referred to, or paralleled, in von Fritze's study or in Bellinger's. Only von Fritze's No.83²²² (= Bellinger's T195)²²³ is said to come from the Schliemann collection. This could well be the Ilian bronze coin listed in 1876 and so might go back to the excavations of 1870-73.

COINS OF ABYDOS

- 13,14 Schliemann records finding two 'copper' (i.e. bronze) coins of Abydos in 1873.²²⁴ Neither is illustrated or described. They may be among the four listed by Postolacca in 1876²²⁵ and so should, in theory, have found their way to the National Numismatic Museum of Athens. Blegen's excavations also produced four coins of Abydos.²²⁶

COINS OF DARDANUS

15. One bronze ('copper') coin was found in 1873.²²⁷ It may be among the four bronze coins of Dardanus listed by Postolacca in 1876,²²⁸ but it is nowhere illustrated or described. Blegen's excavations turned up nine Dardanian coins.²²⁹

COINS OF OPHRYNIUM

- 16,17 Two bronze ('copper') coins came out of the 1873 excavations.²³⁰ One of these is illustrated at Atlas 190-3478 and is similar to Ophrynum Nos.3-5 in the British Museum catalogue,²³¹ Postolacca notes four bronze Ophrynian coins in his list of 1876,²³² among which these two presumably feature. One of Blegen's coins may be Ophrynian.²³³

COINS OF SIGEUM

- 18,19 At least two bronze ('copper') coins came from the excavations of 1870-73. One was found in 1870,²³⁴ and two references from the records of 1871 may simply be repeating this fact.²³⁵ A second was found in 1872.²³⁶ But Postolacca's list of 1876 shows eight

Sigeian bronze coins²³⁷ and Blegen's work yielded eleven.²³⁸ So it is reasonable to suppose that Schliemann's records are incomplete. None of his Sigeian coins is illustrated.

COINS OF TENEDOS

20,21 One 'copper' coin of Tenedos was found in 1878 at the same time as a silver tetradrachm of the same mint.²³⁹ The silver coin, illustrated at Atlas 190-3477b, has a Janus-like head closely comparable to a Tenedian coin in the British Museum; this is on the obverse.²³⁰ The reverse, however, has no exact parallel there. It displays a double-axe with, on the left, a bunch of grapes and, on the right, something unclear - possibly a small human figure; the whole is surrounded by a laurel-wreath. Postolacca's catalogue of 1876 shows no bronze Tenedian coins but two of silver.²⁴¹ Presumably the Atlas coin is included here, and one is tempted to wonder whether the metal of the other 1873 coin has been misidentified either by Schliemann or by Postolacca. No Tenedian coins came out of the American excavations.

COINS OF ALEXANDRA TROAS

Alexandra Troas was, with Ilium, one of the two principal mints of the region; and this is reflected in the number of Alexandrian coins unearthed in both Schliemann's excavations and Blegen's.²⁴² Several were found in the work of 1871,²⁴³ and five more, bronzes ('copper'), came to light in 1873.²⁴⁴ These should be among the forty-five listed by Postolacca in 1876²⁴⁵ of which the majority may well have come from the excavations but, if so, went unrecorded at the time. Some of these forty-five may now be among the Athens specimens listed by Bellinger,²⁴⁶ but inspection of the museum records would be necessary to confirm the possibility.

COIN OF ELAEUS

A coin found in 1872²⁴⁷ is described by Schliemann as having, on the obverse, a portrait of the emperor Commodus with the legend KOMOΔOΣ. On the reverse is a figure in armour (he identifies it as Minerva), holding two spears, standing on the prow of a ship which terminates in the head of a gazelle; around the design is the legend ΕΛΑΙΟΥΣΙΩΝ. Schliemann, in Trojanische Alterthümer, assumes the piece to come from the Cilician Elaeûssa. Postolacca's catalogue of 1876 lists what is doubtless the same coin, here shown to be bronze, as coming from the Carian island of

Elaeussa.²⁴⁸ With five places having similar or identical names, some confusion in the early literature was inevitable. But this was clarified by Imhoof-Blumer who attributed a number of pieces to Elaeus on the Thracian Chersonese, opposite Kum Kale.²⁴⁹ Among them was one (his No.43), depicted by Fox, which closely matches Schliemann's description and is, again, a coin of Commodus.²⁵⁰ Imhoof-Blumer's attribution was accepted by Drexler, who pointed out that the armed figure depicted on the reverse had to be that of Protesilaos.²⁵¹ This, and the attribution to Elaeus, appear to have found general acceptance.²⁵² It is obviously satisfactory from the point of view of Elaeus's proximity to Troy; and Cook records that he too found a number of coins of Elaeus in the area.²⁵³

Human Remains

Schliemann's records of 1870 note an urn containing ash in his West Trench,²⁵⁴ and some large urns filled with human ashes in his Northwest Trench.²⁵⁵ These would all have lain in deposits of Troy VIII-IX, but the accuracy of his observation cannot be checked, so it must be uncertain whether human remains really were found. Otherwise his work of 1870-73 yields only the same tooth, possibly human but of uncertain date, that was mentioned in discussion of the Second Millenium remains.²⁵⁶ From within the acropolis the only other human remains appear to be the skeletons found by Dörpfeld in the shaft of the great well, Ba, in the sanctuary of Athena. They were found in 1894 lying above the rubble of architectural pieces, inscriptions and sculptures tumbled into the well-shaft.²⁵⁷

From below the acropolis, however, come many graves of a late date. Those found by Schliemann in his trial pits cannot, as Winnefeld has pointed out, be dated.²⁵⁸ A skeleton found 250m south of the citadel on a rough stone pavement below a Roman house but among deposits of Troy VI may possibly derive from Troy VIII.²⁵⁹ The 1894 excavations investigated a number of Roman graves on the south side of the plateau outside the circuit wall of the lower tower.²⁶⁰ Apparently sixteen were found, some of which were built with stone slabs, others with tiles and yet others cut in the rock to form shaft graves.²⁶¹ One large slab-grave contained five bodies. Ten more Roman graves were found in the hillside to the northeast of the Roman settlement. Most of these were rock graves, but the one slab-grave held three skeletons. At the northeast corner of the settlement was a group of seven simple slab-graves which,

unlike those in the other groups, were without burial goods. Two had roughly-scratched crosses on the stones, so the group may be a cluster of early Christian burials.

These observations coincide generally with the American findings. In trial trenches on the north and west slopes and on the plateau to South and East Hellenistic and Roman burials were found in profusion in 1932.²⁶² Many were again found on the plateau to the south in 1933;²⁶³ and in 1935 many more were found near the east edge of the plateau, not far from the village of Hisarlık.²⁶⁴

In the skeletal material Angel finds continued blending of Iranian and Mediterranean characteristics modified by growing influence from Aegean types.²⁶⁵

Animal Remains

From deposits of Troy VIII-IX Schliemann records unspecified animal bones,²⁶⁶ and boars' teeth.²⁶⁷ He also notes mussel shells,²⁶⁸ oyster shells,²⁶⁹ other small shells²⁷⁰ and fish bones.²⁷¹ For this period Blegen reports only a deposit of bones, mostly burnt, from the Upper Sanctuary of Troy VIII.²⁷² Pig is represented there, together with sheep, goat, deer, lion, panther and bear, but not fish or shellfish. The bones are thought to be the remains of sacrifices and this would doubtless explain the absences. From Gejvall's work we can also note the presence of two varieties of dog, one of a large mastiff type similar to stray dogs found commonly in Turkey today; the other of a smaller kind with a head similar to that of a fox-terrier or dachshund.²⁷³ In Troy IX there is an increased proportion of bird bones, and remains of a cock and of a hen's egg were found.²⁷⁴

Plant Remains

Little evidence has been gathered of plant remains in this period. Schliemann's work of 1870-73 revealed none, although Dörpfeld found that traces of wooden posts were visible in the foundation-trench of the Temple of Athena.²⁷⁵ One of Blegen's soil samples was taken from a sloping stratum of Troy VIII rubbish on the northeast slope of the mound. This contained charcoal of oak (75%) and pine (25%).²⁷⁶ Four samples yielded phytoliths, two from Troy VIII, two from Troy IX; but two of these were again taken from the rubbish-tip on the northeast slope.²⁷⁷ The most frequently-noted species of earlier periods are still attested: stem, leaf and inflorescence of wheat, stems of giant

reeds, and stems of grasses. The pollen spectrum shows the first appearance of lime-trees (Tilia).²⁷⁸

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V, Part IV

1. TI p.201.
2. Troy IV p.249.
3. Troy IV pp.247-8.
4. TI pp.205-6.
5. Ibid; so also Troy IV p.247.
6. TI p.202, Beilage 27 p.184.
7. Troy IV pp.285-7.
8. TI p.206.
9. Troy IV pp.291-3.
10. TI p.210, fig.78.
11. NW.iii.1; W.ii.2.
12. W.i.8,9.
13. NP.i.2.
14. NW.ii.2; iii.5.
15. NE.ii.4.
16. TI p.227.
17. EW.ii.5; ix; for a fuller account see TI p.212f.
18. SE.ii.3.
19. SE.ii.2.
20. EW.ii.2; v.1; also i.2.
21. TI p.214.
22. TI p.227.
23. EW.ii.2.
24. EW.ii.6,7; see further TI p.214.
25. NS/c.i.1.
26. EW.ii.8,9.
27. For fuller accounts of the temple see TI pp.217-27; also F.W. Goethert, H. Schleif, Athenatempel.
28. NE.iv.1a; cf. TI p.220.
29. NE.v.2.
30. NE.iv.1a; v.1.
31. NS/n.i.2; ii.1,2.
32. NS/n.i.6.
33. Athenatempel pp.34-36.
34. Ibid. ch.III.
35. W.i.6; ii.3: Wall 7.
36. NW.i.3; iii.2; W.ii.6; WA.vi.2.
37. Wall 9: W.i.7; ii.1.
38. W.i.5.
39. W.i.3.
40. W.i.2.
41. NW.i.1.
42. WA.ii.2.
43. NS/s.i.2; TI p.234.
44. SE.i.3; cf. TI pp.231-4.
45. SE.i.2.
46. SE.ii.4.
47. EW.i.3; v.2.
48. TI p.234.
49. Tagebuch 1872 p.386; Atlas Taf.30, 31; TR pl.III; Ilios p.623; SS 9582: NE.i.2.
50. Athenatempel p.31.
51. NE.i.1.
52. NE.ii.3.
53. Athenatempel p.16f, fig.14 a-b.
54. NE.i.1.
55. Atlas 136-2730: NE Slope.
56. F. Willemsen, Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels, Olympische Forschungen IV (1959) Taf.66; Athenatempel p.22.

57. Atlas 137-2737 (EW.v.1); Atlas 189-3454 (WA.vi.1). For both compare Athenatempel Taf.15.
58. Atlas 119-2345 (SE.i.2); Athenatempel p.30, Taf.49a,b: metope-fragment No.20.
59. Atlas 136-2725 (NE Slope).
60. Atlas 167-3264 (EW.ix).
61. Atlas 137-2732 (EW.v.1).
62. Atlas 137-2735 (EW.v.1).
63. Cf. Troy IV fig.292 no.36.723.
64. 73-625 cf. Troy IV fig.295 nos.9, 12; 73-289 cf. Troy IV fig.295 nos.3, 10; 73-629 cf. Troy IV fig.295 no.10.
65. 73-626, cf. Larisa am Hermos III Taf.18 nos.18, 20; 19.1; 20.1,5,10; 21.14; 22.1,8,10,11; 24.1,11,12; 26.3,6; 30.2,3; 34.11; 36.1; 35.5.
66. SS 4002.
67. Atlas 165-3207 = SS 3999; Atlas 165-3205 = SS 3998.
68. 73-590 = Atlas 147-2881, Ilios 1457, SS 9576. Schmidt records the paint as yellow and white, Winnefeld as red and white.
69. TI p.444.
70. J. Schäfer, Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon (Berlin 1968) pp.79-80, pls.27-32.
71. 73-550 = Atlas 145-2844, SS 4025; 73-598 = Atlas 152-3029, SS 4026.
72. Atlas 168-3279, SS 4018.
73. 73-484 = Atlas 142-2809, SS 4004; 73-552 = Atlas 145-2843 and possibly SS 4005.
74. Cf. for example P. Perdrizet, Fouilles de Delphes (Paris 1908) V p.166 nos.345-9 and fig.698 (c.400 B.C.); T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, Priene (Berlin 1904) pp.426, 428 (C3-2 B.C.); Tarsus I fig.135 (hellenistic).
75. 72-135: NS/s.i.1.
76. NE.ii.3.
77. NW.i.4.
78. W.i.4.
79. NE.i.1.
80. Greek Emporio p.229 no.446.
81. Larisa am Hermos III Taf.10, 13 (see note 65 above).
82. Boehmer, Kleinfunde p.75 no.206, pl.XIII.
83. Phrygie III pp.99, 151, pl.42c.8-10.
84. See D.B. Stronach, "Metallfunde in Arsameia am Nymphaios" in F.K. Dörner, T. Goell, Arsameia am Nymphaios (Berlin 1963) ch.xiii p.276f for discussion.
85. Alishar 1928-9 p.72 Abb.103 a. 375.
86. Ibid. p.71.
87. Stronach, loc.cit.
88. Metalwork from Sardis nos.53-57 p.37.
89. Corinth XII p.200 nos.1529, 1530; A. Conze, Altertümer von Pergamon (Berlin 1913) I.2 p.327, Beiblatt 69.
90. Tagebuch 1872 p.296: NP.i.5.
91. Tagebuch 1871 p.219: NS/n.ii.2.
92. Cf. Olynthus X pp.418-443, pls.CXXX-CXXXIV, Corinth XII p.200 nos.1525-7, pl.91.
93. Olynthus X pp.505-9 for general discussion; nos.2577-8, pl.CLXV; cf. also Olynthus VIII pl.70.2; Corinth XII nos.967-9.
94. Alaca 1940-48 p.135, pls.46.70, 70.6. A similar piece, but probably a buckle, comes from Midas City and is also Phrygian in date: Phrygie III p.97, pl.41c.5.
95. TI p.413.
96. E.g. Metalwork from Sardis nos.480, 481, p.87, possibly sixth century; G.R. Davidson, D.B. Thompson, Small Objects from the Pnyx: I, Hesperia Supplement VII (1943) p.27f, fig.13 nos.1-4, fifth to fourth centuries; Olynthus X p.461f, nos.2417-2420, fifth to fourth centuries; W. Deonna, Exploration Archéologique de Délos XVIII:

- Le Mobilier Délien (Paris 1938) p.147, pl.XIV nos.419-426.
97. M. Lang, M. Crosby, The Athenian Agora X: Weights, Measures and Tokens (Princeton 1964) pp.2-33.
 98. Not even in the exhaustive list compiled in E. Pernice, Griechische Gewichte (Berlin 1894), who has overlooked our piece. The boar's head occurs only as a stamp-impression on a tortoise-weight: pp.20, 109f: no.185.
 99. NW.i.4; W.i.4.
 100. NP.ii.2-7; W.i.1.
 101. 72-953: NE.ii.3.
 102. Atlas 148-2902: WA.iv.6a. Cf. Tarsus I p.391, pl.264 fig.44; W. Andrae, Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli (Berlin 1943) Taf.49c.
 103. NW.i.4 - "molten iron and copper"; W.i.10 - "much molten iron and ?silver". Both could be as early as VIIb.
 104. NP.i.1 ("Roman"); NW.i.4 ("Lamps"); W.i.4 (miniature lamp with two holes).
 105. Loosely similar to Tarsus I p.101, fig.94 no.36; Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon (note 70, above) p.132, Taf.59, nos.Q21-29.
 106. SS 4060. The vessel itself is similar in shape to C3rd B.C. pieces from Pergamon: A. Conze, Altertümer von Pergamon I.2 p.279, Beiblatt 49. Stemmed lamps have a chronological range from Archaic to Byzantine times; see H. Menzel, Antike Lampen im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz (Mainz 1969) p.99 no.642 with references.
 107. NS/s.ii.3; but it could be as early as Troy VI.
 108. NE.i.2.
 109. Hesperia Supplement VII (1943) pp.65-94 esp. p.75: at Athens they occur in C7-4th B.C.; Lindos I, pp.143-6, no.404, pl.15; archaic, but Sicilian examples go back to C7th B.C.; Larisa am Hermos III p.53f, nos.14-15, Taf.11, C6th B.C.; Greek Emporio p.234 nos.519, 520, also C6th B.C.; Corinth XII pp.161-2, Geometric(?) to C4th B.C.
 110. TI pp.413, 416.
 111. Hesperia Suppl.VII (1943) pp.74-5.
 112. As for example the Roman pieces in Tarsus I p.394, figs.267-9.
 113. Hesperia Suppl.VII (1943) p.93, fig.41.
 114. Ephesus pp.319-20.
 115. E.g. Corinth XII pp.162f, 171; pl.77 nos.1207-8; Hesperia Suppl.VII (1943) p.79; M.J. Chavane, Salamine de Chypre VI: Les Petits Objets (Paris 1975) pp.79-86, pls.24-6.
 116. Hesperia Suppl.VII (1943) p.79. For Hellenistic examples cf. Lindos I p.146, pl.152 nos.3226ff; Tarsus I p.394; Ephesus pp. 319-20.
 117. Tagebuch 1872 p.320; NS/s.i.1.
 118. Ibid. p.322; NS/s.i.1.
 119. The Athenian Agora X (see note 97, above) pp.34-38, pl.11-12; Corinth XII pp.213-4, pl.97; Délos XVIII (note 96, above) pp.144-5, pl.53-4.
 120. One-edged blades: 72-945, *72-947, *72-975, all from NS/s.iii.1. Two-edged blades: 72-213 and two others, from NP.ii.2-7; but these could be earlier. There are also one or two "arrowheads" from NW.i.4, dated to VIIb-IX.
 121. 73-234, 235, from WA.ii.3. Illustrated at Atlas 125-2512, 2520 and Ilios Nos.549, 550.
 122. Troy IV p.268, fig.289 nos.38-44, 38-57.
 123. Lindos I pl.10 no.151 and p.94; Ephesus p.203, pl.45; Corinth XII p.292, pl.121.
 124. NP.ii.2-7; NW.i.4. But some or all could in both cases be earlier.
 125. NE.ii.3, but the piece could also be earlier.
 126. NE.ii.3; again an attribution to VI would also be possible.
 127. Troy IV pp.250-1.

128. 72-1100: NE.ii.3.
129. The marble figurine 72-936, from NE.i.2, is no doubt a throw-up from the E.B. strata.
130. TI Abschnitt V, esp. pp.439-444.
131. Troy SM3.
132. Ibid. pp.ix, 61-66.
133. Ibid. pp.7-11.
134. Contexts I-III, V-VI.
135. TI p.440.
136. Ibid. p.442, Beilage 56 No.2.
137. Troy SM3 p.65 n.17.
138. TI p.444.
139. Troy SM3 p.117.
140. Ibid. p.64 n.14.
141. Troy SM3 No.163: p.126, pl.XXXVI.
142. SE.i.2.
143. NS/n.ii.2; Tgb 1871 p.217.
144. NS/n.ii.1; Tgb 1871 p.242.
145. NW.ii.1.
146. EW.vii.
147. NP.i.5; Tgb 1872 p.281.
148. NP.iv.1; Tgb 1873 p.4.
149. For the full corpus of inscriptions from Ilion see now P. Frisch, Die Inschriften von Ilion: Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien III (Bonn, 1975), on whom I have depended for dating and interpretation.
150. Frisch No.23 = Atlas 29-753, Ilios p.638, TI p.462 No.1, SS 9658: NS/n.ii.2.
151. Frisch No.40 = Atlas 28-751, Ilios p.638, TI p.465 No.26, SS 9656: NS/n.ii.2.
152. Frisch No.56 = Atlas 29-752, Ilios p.638, TI p.466 No.27, SS 9657: NS/n.ii.2.
153. Frisch No.6 = TA p.317, TR p.356, Ilios p.640, TI p.463 No.5, SS 9664: WA.vi.i.
154. Frisch No.63c = 73-1, 73-374, TA p.316f, TR p.355, Ilios p.639, TI p.466 No.39: WA.iii.1. Schliemann in his publications mistakenly says this inscription was found below his wooden house in C6. Traills' argument (Anat. Stud. 36, (1986) pp.95-7) that the inscription was bought, not found, seems needless.
155. Frisch No.33 = 73-194, TA pp.201-9, TR pp.240-7, Ilios pp.627-32, TI p.468 No.45, SS 9653: EW.i.1.
156. Frisch No.61 = *73-63, TA pp.264-7, Ilios p.635, TI p.469 No.50: EW.vii.
157. Frisch No.65 = 73-200, TA pp.209-10, TR p.247, Ilios p.632, TI p.468 No.43, SS 9655: EW.i.1.
158. Tgb 1873 pp.41, 45; TA p.200: EW.i.1.
159. Frisch No.7 = 72-888, Atlas 34-843, TI p.468 No.40r, SS 9668: NE.i.1.
160. Frisch No.106 = 72-1601, Tgb 1872 p.461, TA p.162f, Ilios p.637, TI p.473 No.84, SS 9654: NE.iii.6.
161. Tgb 1872 p.428: NE.ii.3.
162. Frisch No.87 = 73-98/128, TA p.192, Ilios p.633, TI p.471 No.68, SS 9662: SE.i.1.
163. I am most grateful to Professor T.V. Buttrey for reading this section and suggesting improvements and corrections.
164. D.F. Easton, BSA 77 (1982) p.107 No.239.
165. G.S. Korres, Deltion 29 (1974) pp.245-269.
166. Ilios pp.641-7.
167. Troja pp.219-224.
168. Korres, op.cit. pp.265-9.
169. TI ch.vii, pp.477-534.

170. Korres, op.cit. p.246.
171. A.R. Bellinger, Troy SM2, The Coins (Princeton 1961) p.ix. For a conspectus of the finds from Ilion from the earlier excavations see L. Robert, Études de Numismatique Grecque (Paris 1951) pp.74-78. An extended review of Bellinger's monograph is provided by L. Robert, Monnaies antiques en Troade (Paris 1966). Bellinger seems to make no direct reference to the Schliemann collection or to Schliemann's publications; he relies instead on Robert, Études: Troy SM2 p.188.
172. Tagebuch 1870 p.74: W.i.4.
173. TA p.9: NS/n.ii.1.
174. TA pp.7, 40, 217: NS/n.ii.1; EW.ii.2.
175. Tagebuch 1872 p.320: NS/s.i.1.
176. As at TA p.9f.
177. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
178. Ibid. p.262f.
179. Bfw I p.164, NS/n.i.6.
180. TA p.315: WA.vi.1.
181. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
182. TA p.10.
183. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
184. TA p.315; WA.vi.1.
185. Bellinger, Troy SM2 p.65.
186. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
187. Troja p.221.
188. TA p.315; WA.vi.1.
189. Korres, op.cit. p.258. That of Caligula may be von Fritze's No.43. That of Nero with Agrippina could be von Fritze's No.47, but the latter could also be one of the three new acquisitions in Postolacca's 1883 addendum. Von Fritze No.97 is the first Caracalla coin listed at Troja p.221, and No.101 was not in the Schliemann collection; so neither of the Caracalla coins listed by Postolacca reappears in the literature. Nor does the Geta coin unless it is the Athens example of Bellinger's T234. Those of Gordian III do not reappear either.
190. TA pp.xxviii, 217; EW.ii.2?
191. Korres, op.cit. p.258. Ilium was not minting coins after 260 A.D.
192. Ibid. pp.262-3.
193. Troy SM2, pp.174-5.
194. TA p.9; NS/n.ii.1.
195. Korres, op.cit. p.262.
196. Ibid. p.256.
197. Ilios p.644, apparently like No.1497.
198. TA p.10; NS/n.ii.1.
199. Korres, op.cit. pp.262, 257, 256, 260.
200. TI pp.489, 490.
201. Troy SM2 pp.51, 52: T144, T151.
202. Korres, op.cit. p.266.
203. Troja p.220.
204. TA p.314; WA.vi.1.
205. Korres, op.cit. p.267.
206. TA p.10; NS/n.ii.1.
207. Korres, op.cit. p.262.
208. Ilios pp.642, 643, 645.
209. Korres, op.cit. p.266.
210. Von Fritze No.73 = Ilios No.1501, but this is not said to be in the Schliemann collection, and Bellinger (T163, p.53) does not note it in the Athens collection.
211. TA p.10; NS/n.ii.1.
212. Korres, op.cit. p.258.

213. Ibid. p.262.
214. Ilios p.642 cf. No.1488.
215. Troy SM2 p.59.
216. Troja pp.220-1.
217. Korres, op.cit. p.267.
218. TA p.10; NS/n.ii.1.
219. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
220. Ibid. p.262.
221. Troja p.221.
222. TI p.494.
223. Troy SM2 p.59.
224. TA p.314; WA.vi.1.
225. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
226. Troy SM2 p.166.
227. TA p.314; WA.vi.1.
228. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
229. Troy SM2 pp.163-4.
230. TA p.314; WA.vi.1.
231. W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos (London 1894) p.75, pl.XIV Nos.8,9.
232. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
233. Troy SM2 p.164.
234. Bfw I p.165; NS/n.i.8.
235. TA pp.9, 40.
236. Tagebuch 1872 p.311; NP.i.5 (intrusive).
237. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
238. Troy SM2 p.164.
239. TA p.314; WA.vi.1.
240. Wroth, op.cit. pl.XVII No.13; cf. L. Robert, Études de Numismatique Grecque (Paris 1951) p.76 n.4.
241. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
242. Blegen found sixty-four: Troy SM2 pp.161-3.
243. Tagebuch 1871 pp.214, 219; TA pp.7, 9, 40, 217; NS/n.ii.1, EW.ii.2?
244. TA p.314; WA.vi.1.
245. Korres, op.cit. p.258.
246. Troy SM2 pp.78-151.
247. TA p.165; NS/c.i.1.
248. Korres, op.cit. p.259.
249. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques (Paris 1883) pp.45-8.
250. C.R. Fox, Engravings of Unedited or Rare Greek Coins II, Asia and Africa (London 1862), pl.VII No.130.
251. W. Drexler, "Bemerkungen zu einigen von Fox...mitgetheilten Münzen", Zeitschrift für Numismatik 14 (1887) pp.130-2.
252. E.g. B.V. Head, Historia Numorum (Oxford 1911) pp.259-60; also A. von Sallet, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Antiken Münzen I: Taurische Chersonesus, Sarmatien, Dacien, Pannonien, Moesien, Thracien, Thracische Könige (Berlin 1888) pp.263-5. Here No.11 is again very similar to the coin described by Schliemann: see pl.VII No.63; L. Robert, Études de Numismatique Grecque (Paris 1951) p.75. n.4.
253. J.M. Cook, The Troad pp.65, 103, 388 n.1.
254. Tgb 1870 pp.74, 81: W.i.4. Cf. TI p.536.
255. Bfw I p.167: NW.i.4.
256. 72-1101: NE.ii.3.
257. TI p.537.
258. Ibid.; cf. Ilios Plan II, TR Plan I.
259. TI p.537.
260. TI p.538, Taf.II.
261. Ibid. pp.538-9.
262. Troy I p.9, fig.416.
263. Ibid. p.10.

- 264. Ibid. p.13.
- 265. Troy SM1 pp.16-18, 28, 31.
- 266. NS/n.i.3,5,8; NW.i.4.
- 267. NS/n.i.8, ii.1,2; NW.i.4; W.i.10.
- 268. NS/n.ii.1,2.
- 269. NS/n.ii.1,2.
- 270. W.i.10.
- 271. NS/n.ii.1.
- 272. Troy IV p.263.
- 273. Gejvall 1946, chapter I.
- 274. Gejvall 1946, distribution table; 1938-9 p.6.
- 275. TI p.218.
- 276. Troy SM4 p.191 and p.172 fig.A16: Sample no.283.
- 277. Ibid. pp.132, 134: Samples 205, 283, 282, 292.
- 278. Ibid. p.114.

Part V: THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Evidence for re-occupation of the site in Byzantine times has been collected by Professor Cook.¹ There are Byzantine glazed bowls of the late twelfth-early thirteenth century, and an amphora of the same date. Eight coins span the period 1000-1204 A.D., and there are ten from the following century. Some additional Byzantine coins were collected by Calvert, and a few were noted by Cook in 1959.² When contrasted with the almost total absence of pottery and coins from the preceding four and a half centuries, this certainly suggests the resumption of occupation if only on a very modest scale.

But Cook also cites Schliemann's architectural evidence,³ and this is partly invalid. For the moat filled with sand and marble chippings, thought by Schliemann to indicate the presence of a small fort on the northeastern corner of the acropolis, is none other than the foundation-trench of the Temple of Athena.⁴ What does remain valid is Schliemann's observation that doric capitals from the Temple of Athena were re-used in later foundations. Although Dörpfeld's doric entablature found among the foundations of IXB must be excluded from this argument as having dimensions too small for it to derive from the Temple,⁵ the general truth of the argument is strikingly confirmed by the American excavations. For on the south side of the acropolis, and especially in square F9, they found several pieces deriving originally from the Temple built into foundations laid in Late Antiquity.⁶ And there may also be evidence for the trimming and re-use of some half-columns from the Temple cella.⁷ The destruction of the Temple and the re-use of its stones cannot have taken place before at least the second half of the fourth century A.D., for the Emperor Julian found on his visit that it was in good repair.⁸

There is additional evidence. The American excavators found an L-shaped cut in square F8 and much disturbance in square G8. These they attribute to Late Roman or Byzantine intrusion, although the grounds for the dating are not made clear.⁹ It reached down to 34.35m A.T. In square H8 Schliemann found a wall, Wall 33, cutting into, and clearly post-dating, the Bouleuterion and reaching little deeper than 34m A.T.¹⁰ Into it were built large bits of Corinthian pillars and other re-used pieces of masonry. Also built into it was a re-used inscription, originally from 1 B.C. or thereabouts, which had previously served as a statue-base.¹¹ The wall cannot be dated exactly, but it must at least post-date the construction of the Bouleuterion under Augustus¹² and its

continued use under Tiberius;¹³ and it would be quite reasonable to assign it to a much later period when the underlying structure had been forgotten. A Byzantine date is therefore possible though hardly certain. It is tempting to assume some connection between the wall in H8, the disturbance in squares F8 and G8, the foundations in F9 and the entablature from IXB.

A group of four burials halfway up the west side of the mound and near the spring¹⁴ was judged by Winnefeld to be Byzantine. This was on the strength of a fragment of green, Byzantine glass found with a child burial and of a white glazed sherd found with a later, superimposed tile-grave.¹⁵ From Blegen's excavations four Late Roman, or post-Roman, burials have been examined by Angel who notes an influx of Armenoid combinations; but the sample is small.¹⁶

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V, Part V

1. Troad pp.101-3.
2. Schliemann records "two bad coins belonging to a Byzantine monastery", TA p.xxviii. Postolacca's list of 1876 has sixteen Byzantine coins, but it is unknown how many of these, apart from some of Constantine II, might come from the excavations. Blegen's excavations produced eighteen, though Bellinger's definition of "Byzantine" is slightly narrower, beginning at 491 A.D.: Troy SM. pp.181-2.
3. Troja p.224f.
4. NE.v.2; TI pp.217-220.
5. TI p.210.
6. Athenatempel pp.10, 12, 18, 23.
7. Ibid. p.20.
8. Ibid. p.37.
9. Troy IV pp.85, 87, 183, 288, 296; fig.322.
10. SE.i.1; Figs.IV.50, 51.
11. SS 9662.
12. TI p.234.
13. TI p.233.
14. TI Taf.II.
15. TI p.539.
16. Troy SM1, pp.18-19, 31.

Part VI: CHRONOLOGY OF THE BRONZE AGE STRATA

Our study has suggested new stratigraphic positions for many objects excavated by Schliemann in 1870-73. There are also some proposed alterations to the architectural sequence and, within Troy II, to the relative positions of some of Blegen's finds. These changes may have consequences for the dating of the Bronze Age strata of the site, and it is such possible consequences that this section explores.

Troy I-V¹

The relative dating of Troy I-V can be studied by the classic methods of comparative stratigraphy, and its absolute dating by means of radiocarbon dates and by noting links with accepted historical chronologies. That radiocarbon dates, calibrated on the most recent curves and averaged by proper statistical procedures, can be compatible with historical chronologies has been demonstrated by Hassan and Robinson using the Egyptian and Mesopotamian sequences.² I believe the same compatibility extends to the Aegean and Anatolian sequences properly understood, at least for the third and early second millennia B.C., as I hope the ensuing discussion will show. In order to establish dates for the Trojan sequence, therefore, I shall attempt to relate it to the two historical chronologies of Egypt and Mesopotamia and, in between, to construct a chain of stratigraphic links that will take us from Crete and the Aegean to Troy, and from Troy across Western and Southern Anatolia to the Levant and Mesopotamia. Wherever possible I shall try to fix absolute dates for these related sequences by using radiocarbon dates. In order to cross-check the results I will finally double back to Troy, first from Syria and Mesopotamia and then across Central Anatolia. I intend to concentrate on essentials, and so will not include sites (such as Poliochni and Thermi) which largely duplicate sequences documented elsewhere.

Any suite of radiocarbon dates may contain rogue samples and outliers; this is all the more the case when calibrated on a wiggly section of the calibration curves. One therefore needs to know not just the outermost limits of a calibrated series, but where the statistical weight of the dates lies. To determine this I shall use Ottaway's excellent method, published in Archaeometry 15 (1973).³ It is, as Ottaway says, a "robust" method well suited to the unevenness in quality of the evidence, and it has the great virtue of simplicity; it entirely sidesteps the need for complicated algorithms and expensive computer

programmes. Only groups of dates are used, so I have left out of consideration any series with less than three. For each group the calibrated and averaged results are displayed in a long rectangle. This rectangle spans the maximum possible distribution of the dates, including the most extreme points in cases where the calibration curve is wiggly. In the middle of the rectangle is a shaded area. This gives a rough indication of the area where the statistical weight of the series lies - that is, the probable duration of the deposits from which the samples have come. A cross-bar in the middle of the shaded area indicates the median date; this is of value when all the samples derive from a single event such as the destruction of a settlement by fire. The shaded area and the median line are arrived at by calculations which incorporate a weighting which allows for the 65% deviation quoted by the laboratory, the frequency of intersection on the wiggles for each calibrated date, the possible presence of rogue results, and all other uncertainties. And a child of twelve could do the arithmetic.

Let us begin, then, with Crete and the Aegean. On the extreme left of the chronological chart (Table XXXIII) is the historical chronology of Egypt as proposed in the Cambridge Ancient History and as agreed by Hassan and Robinson's computerised radiocarbon dates. Against this we may place an outline of the Cretan sequence taking, as a basis, Warren's definition of the few reliable Egyptian synchronisms with Crete.⁴ This can be fleshed out by some radiocarbon dates from Myrtos. Seven samples come from its final destruction at the end of EMII.⁵ When calibrated and averaged using Ottaway's method, they show the probable lifespan of the site to have ended at around 2360 B.C. This agrees tolerably well with Warren's own estimate of 2300 B.C. for the end of EMII and, if the rise of the Dynasty of Akkad is dated to 2371 B.C., it can accommodate in EMII the Akkadian cylinder seal from Mochlos Tomb I. It fails to achieve the necessary overlap with Dynasty VI, but only by a margin of fifteen years. In other words, the radiocarbon dates fall in exactly the right place but the shaded area of the rectangle is slightly too short.

The Early Helladic and Early Cycladic sequences can be derived more or less directly from that of Crete, and for these we may largely follow the scheme accepted by MacGillivray and Barber.⁶ Here again the proposed sequences can be tested against the C¹⁴ evidence. Three dates from EHI and II at Eutresis yield a span of c.3095-2987 B.C.⁷ This seems perfectly satisfactory by comparison with the EMI-II dates if one

bears in mind that two of the three dates are from EHI and are bound to tilt the series towards an early average. Radiocarbon dates for the Middle Helladic and Middle Cycladic sequences are available from Ayios Stephanos⁸ and Ayia Irini.⁹ The Ayios Stephanos series seems to be unreliable, but the Ayia Irini dates yield a probable duration for phases IV and V of c.1841-1707 B.C. Since IV is reckoned to have begun within the MMIB period (1930-1800 on Warren's figures), and V appears to overlap into MMIII (c.1700-1600),¹⁰ the radiocarbon dates are consistent with the historically-derived chronology, though falling a bit short at the lower end.

Although MacGillivray and Barber accept a chronological equation which brings EMII to an end before ECIIIA begins, one must note that there are no direct Cycladic-Minoan correlations which require this;¹¹ indeed Rutter takes the view that EMIIIB and ECIIIA were contemporary.¹² This is a position which the radiocarbon evidence seems to support. The earliest EHIII strata at Lefkandi¹³ have often been compared with the ECIIIA deposits at Kastri, Ayia Irini and Mt. Kynthos. And the five radiocarbon dates from Lefkandi's three EBIII phases¹⁴ suggest a probable duration of c.2537-2261 B.C. On this reckoning ECIIIA would overlap considerably into the period of EMII. Lerna, where an assemblage similar to that of Lefkandi I occurs in the final phase of the EHII layers, shows much the same picture. Three radiocarbon dates come from the House of Tiles thereby dating the final EHII phase.¹⁵ They yield a probable duration of c.2585-2465 B.C. Three more samples come from the earliest overlying strata of EHIII, and they suggest a probable duration of c.2463-2368 B.C.¹⁶ So the Lerna series, when calibrated, weighted and averaged, neatly divides around a date of c.2465 B.C. for the transition from EHII to EHIII, and shows an EHIII period that has started well before the end of EMII.

If, then, we take all these findings together we may suggest an Aegean chronology along the following rough outlines:

EMI, EHI, ECI	: 3500-2900
EMIIA, EHII, ECII	: 2900-2465
EMIIIB	: 2465-2300
EHIII, ECIIIA	: 2465-2150
EMIII	: 2300-2150
MMIA-B, ECIIIB, early MH	: 2150-1800
MMIIA-III, MC, late MH	: 1800-1600

Against this framework, which is secured against the Egyptian historical chronology and supplemented by C-14 dates, we may now place the sequence at Troy. What does the Schliemann material have to offer?

In Late Troy I there was a black-on-white sherd (72-235, Fig.V.16). This appears to be a fragment of black-on-buff ware as known from Ayia Irini II and Phylakopi A2. It places Late Troy I in Early Cycladic II. What seem to be two similar sherds were found by Blegen, likewise in deposits of Late Troy I.¹⁸ A globular pyxis (72-1610) has ECII and EHII parallels, and a cylindrical potstand has EHII parallels as well (72-599).¹⁹ These links are all consistent with Blegen's discovery in Late Troy I of sauceboat fragments and Urfirnis sherds vouched for by Dr. D.H. French.²⁰ Urfirnis ware is especially characteristic of the early and middle phases of EHII at Lerna,²¹ so we should expect to place Late Troy I in early or middle EHII. The validity, and authenticity, of the EHII synchronism has been much discussed.²² But the lack of other EHII parallels in Troy I need not disturb us since, as we have seen, Troy's external relations were in general very limited at that time and began to open out only in Troy II.

Our examination of the ceramic wares showed a distinct change at Middle Troy I, and Podzuweit has seen a change in forms at the same point. The preceding ceramic phase, including Poliochni Black-Blue, Kumtepe Ib and Early Troy I, displays similarities with Early Minoan I and Early Cycladic I.²³ This suggests that we should place Middle Troy I roughly at the transition from EHI to EHII.

Some radiocarbon dates provide us with a useful check on these correlations. At Ezero, if we ignore a few stray finds from disturbed upper levels and a number of intrusive pieces, the top five E.B. phases (II-VI) are assigned by the excavators to the period of Early and Middle Troy I. The next two (VII-VIII) they place in that of Early Troy I.²⁴ Spanning levels VIII-IV, thus mainly of Early Troy I date, are fifteen radiocarbon dates.²⁵ When calibrated and averaged they suggest a probable duration of c.3053-2916 B.C. They do, therefore, fall at the very end of the EMI/EHI period. At Sitagroi, phase IV seems broadly comparable with this same Aegean period, and phase Va with that of Poliochni Green and Middle-Late Troy I. Moreover there is a useful synchronism in that material of Va type appears in Thessaly in the same phase as EHII Urfirnis imports.²⁶ There are seven radiocarbon dates from Sitagroi IV, and three from Va.²⁷ Taken in separate blocks they yield c.3200-2942 B.C. for phase IV, and c.2903-2710 B.C. for phase Va. So these seem to indicate even more clearly a division around 2900 B.C. for the transition from Early to Middle Troy I - the same date assumed for the transition from EMI to EMII and EHI to EHII. One might be

tempted to disregard the Trojan parallels at Ezero and Sitagroi as being, in both cases, rather general and unspecific. But yet more evidence comes from Beşik-Yassitepe in the Troad, a site with undoubtedly close affinities to Early Troy I.²⁸ The Early Troy I strata have produced ten radiocarbon dates and four thermoluminescence dates.²⁹ The T-L dates yield the broad figure of 3060 ± 200 B.C. The radiocarbon dates, calibrated and averaged, show a probable duration of c.2975-2899 B.C. These, together with the other evidence discussed, allow us with some confidence to place Early Troy I in the final phases of Early Helladic I, c.3000-2900 B.C., and the remainder of Troy I in the early and middle phases of Early Helladic II, beginning c.2900 B.C. I would therefore accept the designation of Middle and Late Troy I as an EBII culture.³⁰

Troy II, around which much chronological discussion has centred, cannot be accurately dated without a very clear understanding of the transition from EBII to EBIII and where this falls in the Trojan sequence. The arrival of EBIII is signalled in the Aegean and West Anatolia by the universal appearance of two-handled cups and tankards; but one can detect a preceding period in which contacts are warming up. This has been most usefully discussed by Professor Mellink,³¹ although the Trojan position is not, I believe, quite as she sees it.

At Troy we may discern three phases. (1) Troy II.1 brings the first appearance of wheelmade plates (A2) and the first certain appearance of one-handled tankards (A39), some perhaps with flaring rims. (2) In Troy II.4 there is a steep increase in the percentage of Plain Wares, and correspondingly there is a sudden increase in the numbers of wheelmade plates and bowls. As yet, however, there are no two-handled tankards or depas-cups. These only appear in (3) Troy II.5 where they are first certainly attested (A43, A45). Blegen does note earlier possible occurrences of the two-handled tankards,³² but none of these is certain and all the relevant pieces could derive from such shapes as the one-handled tankard (A39). One possible depas-fragment antedates II.5, but it is simply a piece of a handle and is uncertainly identified;³³ and in any case it now falls in II.4.

Now this sequence is not visible in full at any other single site, but it can be detected when a synoptic view is taken of related Aegean sites. The full EBIII repertoire, with depas cups and other two-handled cups and comparable to that of Troy II.5, is present in

Poliochni Yellow, Ayia Irini III, Kastri, Lerna IV and Pefkakia.³⁴ There is one two-handled tankard from a late phase of Sitagroi Vb.³⁵ Sporadically represented in these assemblages are also wheelmade plates, one-handled tankards and bell-shaped goblets. But these occur as well in contexts from which depas cups and two-handled tankards are absent: Manika EHIb, Lefkandi I, Mt. Kynthos (where the plates are handmade), and in the final strata of Poliochni Red and Lerna III (without the plates).³⁶ The EBII character of the assemblages at Manika, Poliochni Red and Lerna III show this to be an earlier phase than EBIII, but the stratification at Poliochni and Lerna indicates that it was only marginally so. It may be compared with Troy II.4. The one-handled tankards, however, go back to the beginning of Poliochni Red and Sitagroi Vb, and are attested in firmly EHII contexts at Orchomenos and Raphina;³⁷ so these seem to appear first at a yet earlier date, perhaps comparable with Troy II.1. Apart from the later appearance of wheelmade plates, this is then the same sequence as we may observe at Troy. But wheelmade pottery does appear early, if rarely, in Macedonia where its stratification may match that in Troy II.1.³⁸

The evidence of ceramic shapes and wares, together with comparative stratigraphy, allows us then to place the transition from EBII to EBIII at the beginning of Troy II.5, which we may call Middle Troy II. This should fall at around c.2465 B.C. if we refer to the radiocarbon dates from Lerna. Sitagroi Vb tends to confirm this dating. It has large numbers of one-handled jugs and tankards and seems to be comparable with Troy II;³⁹ but the appearance of only one two-handled tankard, and that from a "relatively high" stratum,⁴⁰ suggests that it barely continued into the EBIII period. It has produced six radiocarbon dates, and they yield figures of c.2565-2450 B.C. for its probable duration.⁴¹

Troy II is therefore contemporary partly with the Aegean EBII and partly with EBIII. Equation of Troy II, or parts of it, with the Aegean EBII is not new,⁴² and one may now add to the parallels that of the seal 72-1620 with the seal-impressions from Chalandriani. Two pieces in the Schliemann material from Troy II show direct links with early stages of the Aegean EBIII. 73-181 (Fig.V.18) has decoration characteristic of very early EHIII;⁴³ and Atlas 142-2793 (Fig.V.21) is probably a sherd of incised ECIIIA ware.⁴⁴ Neither can be firmly placed in II.5, although such a stratification is possible for both.

The Aegean links of Troy II.6 are still with the EBIII period. The

assemblage is much the same as that of II.5 but four new forms of depas cup appear (A45:3-6). Three of these (3, 4, 6) occur in Early Helladic III, Early Thessalian IIc-III or Early Cycladic IIIa contexts.⁴⁵ There are nine radiocarbon dates from grain and seed samples which Virchow collected from the storage-rooms burnt in the final phase of II.6.⁴⁶ When calibrated, weighted and averaged these yield a median date of c.2135 B.C. for the destruction of II.6.⁴⁷ This corresponds broadly to the expected date for the end of EMIII, EHIII and ECIIIA: c.2150 B.C. Hood has noted a possible import in Troy II f from Middle Minoan Crete.⁴⁸

It may at first seem strange to suggest that Troy III was contemporary with the beginning of the Middle Helladic period when it has been thought that Troy IV was well linked to EHIII and when Blegen, arguing from the appearance of Gray Minyan Ware, so placed Troy VI.⁴⁹ But one has to remember that, since Blegen's argument of 1953, the beginning of MH has been redefined.⁵⁰ It is no longer signalled by the appearance of Gray Minyan Ware which appears at quite different dates in different places. In the Argolid it is already present in EHIII.⁵¹ On Aegina, where the appearance of matt-painted ware places VII at the beginning of the MB period, it does not appear until IX.⁵² Similarly in the Cyclades the local equivalent of matt-painted ware is present throughout Phylakopi I-ii and I-iii,⁵³ but Gray Minyan does not appear until the following period of Ayia Irini IVa.⁵⁴ In Euboea it was already current at the time of Troy V,⁵⁵ but at Troy itself not until Troy VI. Two sherds from Troy IV do, however, suggest the currency then of Minyan fashions, one looking much like part of a ring-stemmed goblet.⁵⁶ The winged jar, supposedly of Troy IV date, in EHIII Lerna⁵⁷ can perfectly well be of Troy II date as the Schliemann material and Poliochni Yellow demonstrate.⁵⁸ Much the same applies to the Manika assemblage which need not even be Trojan, as Mellink has shown.⁵⁹

A number of positive links do in fact seem to exist between Troy III and the early Middle Helladic period. Three of the ceramic innovations of Troy III have direct parallels among the forms of early MH matt-painted pottery.⁶⁰ Trojan shape A22 is comparable to MH shapes A4 and A5; C14 is comparable to MH shape C2; and A16, not a true innovation of Troy III but very characteristic of the period,⁶¹ may be compared with MH shape A1. There is also a parallel for A225 in Lianokladhi III.⁶² There are other, more restricted, parallels among the material from 1870-73. The two-handled cup with very globular body, *72-1879 (Fig.V.24, type A222), is similar to a MH Minyan bowl from Korakou.⁶³ 73-286, a four-handled

pitcher (Fig.V.26, type C10), has a parallel among the MHII material at Kirrha.⁶⁴ The askos 72-1562 (Fig.V.26, type D29) is closely matched by a mattpainted askos of early MH date from Eutresis.⁶⁵ Finger-impressed bands below the rims of storage jars are particularly characteristic of Late Troy II and Troy III;⁶⁶ they are a feature, too, of MH Krisa.⁶⁷ A handle from early Troy III has a densely incised and white-filled decoration.⁶⁸ It could perhaps be compared with the similarly-decorated "northern" flasks which appear in the earliest MH strata of Lerna V.⁶⁹ Ilios Chapter VIII is revealing. This describes the material from Schliemann's "Fourth City", much of which should therefore have come from Blegen's Troy III. Nos.1015, 1017, 1020 and 1024 are decorated with incised designs which strongly recall the designs of Middle Helladic mattpainted ware. Nos.1135 and 1136 are jars with wide, disc-like rims; such rims are a feature of MH Lerna.⁷⁰ The swollen neck on No.1170 is repeated in a piece from MH Eutresis.⁷¹ And the cups shown at Nos.1095-1100 might almost be pure Gray Minyan ware.

There are some links with the Cyclades too, where ECIIIB is now regarded as contemporary with early Middle Helladic.⁷² The cylindrical pyxis with painted lid, *72-1186, *1187 (Fig.V.27), may be a Cycladic import. It should be no later than ECIIIB, though it could be as early as ECII.⁷³ The introduction of shape B20 as defined by Blegen, the jug with deeply-grooved beak spout, is a feature of Troy III.⁷⁴ It is also characteristic of ECIIIB "geometric" ware.⁷⁵ Trefoil-mouthed jugs are another innovation of ECIIIB.⁷⁶ At Troy there are varieties of pinched and trefoil mouths which appear earlier; but the closest parallel is 73-108 (Fig.V.25) in Troy III. The oddly-shaped handle on Ilios no. 1132, from Schliemann's "Fourth City" (= Troy III), has a parallel in early ECIIIB at Phylakopi.⁷⁷

Although the parallels between Troy III and early Middle Helladic are not numerous and are sometimes only occasional, they are enough, I think, for the comparison to be sustainable; especially when one makes allowance for the very conservative cultural tradition of Troy II-V.

Middle Helladic contacts continue in Troy IV. Cups in shape A33, with shallow bowl and sharply rising handle, are most frequent in Troy IV; they might be compared with MH Minyan ladles.⁷⁸ The innovations of Troy IV are instructive. The hemispherical cup with large, rising handle, shape A28, is reminiscent of MH pieces at Kirrha and Korakou.⁷⁹ The biconical cup, A36, also has a parallel at Kirrha.⁸⁰ A228, the two-

handled hourglass tankards, have analogies in Middle Thessalian contexts.⁸¹ The jug shape B23, if one disregards the cutting-away of the back of the neck, has close parallels in ECIIIB.⁸² Shape C38 could be regarded as a miniature version of the common Aegean MB barrel-jar.⁸³ Conical pyxides, shape C205, first appear in Troy III but are particularly associated with Troy IV; in the Cyclades they are an innovation of ECIIIB.⁸⁴ Additional contacts are suggested by three other pieces. The tankard *72-1376 (Fig.V.28) is distinctly Middle Helladic in both shape and decoration.⁸⁵ A two-handled ovoid pitcher, *Atlas 190-3482 (Fig.V.28) looks like a possible adaptation of the MH hydria, shape C6.⁸⁶ If the connection is genuine it is of chronological interest since the hydria was a development only of MHII. Finally, the fragment *73-330 (Fig.V.28) looks like a possible Middle Minoan bridged spout. A painted fragment of a lugged flask found in Troy IV is regarded by both Blegen and Rutter as being of EHIII date;⁸⁷ it may perhaps be an up-cast. Two minyan-looking fragments from Blegen's Troy IV have already been mentioned.⁸⁸ It is interesting to recall that Blegen's discovery of beehive ovens in Troy IV led him to consider the possibility of a link with the Middle Helladic period,⁸⁹ although of course a comparison with MB Kültepe might be equally valid.⁹⁰

The links between Troy V and the Middle Helladic are not as many, but there are two innovations which may be significant. The deep bowl on a foot in shape C20 may perhaps be related to a form of the later MH period, Buck's shape A3,⁹¹ although the Helladic type has an everted rim and two horizontal loop-handles. The lid in shape D4 may be compared with a MH matt-painted cup attested at Korakou.⁹² Perhaps more telling are the links with the Cyclades; these are now with the Middle Cycladic strata of Ayia Irini IV. The domed lid D16, an innovation of Troy V, is characteristic of the first half of Ayia Irini period IV.⁹³ And the pedestalled goblet A209 (73-694, Fig.V.30) is in the simple-rimmed, smooth-stemmed style which appeared in Ayia Irini IVb.⁹⁴ Ayia Irini IV, which has three phases, is dated to roughly MMIIA, overlapping somewhat into MMIB and MMIIB; so Troy V should belong in approximately the first half of that period, and should be dated c.1850-1700 B.C.

When the Trojan sequence is placed against that of the Aegean, therefore, we arrive at the following preliminary chronological outline based, insofar as it is absolute, on radiocarbon dates and on links with the historical chronology of Egypt:

Early Troy I (= late EMI, EHI)

: c.3000-2900 B.C.

Middle Troy I - Early Troy II (= EHII, ECII)	: c.2900-2465 B.C.
Middle - Late Troy II (= EHIII, ECIIIA)	: c.2465-2135 B.C.
Troy III-IV (= ECIIIB, MHI-II)	: c.2135-1850 B.C.
Troy V (= early MC)	: c.1850-1700 B.C.

But how far can this be confirmed from the other West Anatolian evidence? First, the EBII period.

Kâmil's careful analysis of Yortan pottery has shown that what he calls "Class A", the attractive incised and ribbed pieces, resembles most closely the pottery of Middle Troy I - Early Troy II and also that of Beycesultan XVI-XIIIa.⁹⁵ This creates a strong presumption that these phases at Troy and Beycesultan were contemporary. The presumption is strengthened by the reports on the pottery from the recent excavations at Demircihüyük. Phases DEF are related by Seeher on the one hand to Early-Middle Troy I, and on the other to Beycesultan EBI (XIX-XVII).⁹⁶ This provides the step below the correlation yielded by Yortan "A" Ware. Subsequent phases, especially from K onwards, show some links with Beycesultan EBII (XVI-XIII), Yortan "A", and Troy II.⁹⁷ But the Demircihüyük EB sequence finishes before the appearance of EBIII types such as the depas and before the introduction of pink-slipped wares as in Beycesultan XIIIa, although both are known locally from the later sites of Aharköy and Bozüyük.⁹⁸ The only reservation attaching to this is that Seeher believes Demircihüyük phases DEF to be contemporary also with Yortan.⁹⁹ But he admits that the similarities are vague,¹⁰⁰ and I think we can set them aside. All this harmonizes perfectly with Kâmil's observations; and it means that Beycesultan XIX-XVII spans the transition from Kumtepe IB to Troy I, so explaining the confusion over its exact date.¹⁰¹ It also means that in its last EBI phases it is still within the Early Helladic I period, thereby perhaps satisfying the parallels observed there.¹⁰²

Demircihüyük has produced a remarkable series of eighty radiocarbon dates from the EB deposits at the site.¹⁰³ Fourteen should be excluded from consideration as probably deriving from up-casts from an earlier, Chalcolithic cemetery.¹⁰⁴ The remainder show surprisingly little difference in date when averaged in groups according to their stratigraphic phases. Overall, however, they show a probable duration for phases E-M of c.2801-2580 B.C.¹⁰⁵ The earliest calibrated date of the EB series is 3035 B.C., and the latest is 2458 B.C.¹⁰⁶ These correspond well to the dates for Troy I-Early Troy II (c.3000-2465 B.C.). Some thermoluminescence dates agree in part but become unsatisfactory for the later phases of G-K.¹⁰⁷

Against these four sequences we may now align that from Aphrodisias. A pithos-burial dug into the "BA3" levels on the Pekmez mound contained four distinctive black-burnished jugs, probably imported.¹⁰⁸ Three of them have parallels with Yortan Class "A" Ware,¹⁰⁹ two of them have parallels in Troy I-II,¹¹⁰ and all four have parallels in Beycesultan XVI-XIV.¹¹¹ Bowls with rows of beads on the inverted rim¹¹² and a black jug with white-painted multiple chevrons¹¹³ suggest that "BA2" belonged in the period of Beycesultan XVI-XIV as well and, more specifically, in XVI.¹¹⁴ "BA1", however, has an imitation goatskin baby-feeder¹¹⁵ of a type found in Beycesultan XVII,¹¹⁶ and a fragment of a flat square lug with a central hole¹¹⁷ such as occurs in Early Troy I.¹¹⁸ This dating is rather confirmed by the prevalence of inverted-rim bowls.¹¹⁹ "LCh4" produces the earliest jug with rising spout.¹²⁰ This and some shallow, incurving bowls¹²¹ relate this period, too, to Beycesultan XIX-XVII.¹²² The underlying LCh2 layers correspond to Beycesultan LCh3,¹²³ leaving LCh3 contemporary with Beycesultan LCh4.

At Karataş-Semayük the settlement around the mound and some of the graves contain items reminiscent of the EBIII strata of Troy II, but this is not the case with the mound itself.¹²⁴ Here nothing published is of EBIII appearance, and this is said to be the case with the unpublished material as well.¹²⁵ A late phase of EBII introduced one-handed flaring tankards, some wheelmade plates, and lentoid flasks with cutaway rims.¹²⁶ This phase should be roughly contemporary with Troy II.1. From the top level (V) of the mound come four pieces with satisfactory parallels in Beycesultan XIV;¹²⁷ this tends to confirm the synchronism. Mellink and her colleagues have emphasized the absence of "Troy II" types. But by this they seem to mean the EBIII types introduced during Troy II,¹²⁸ so a chronological overlap with early Troy II can perhaps be a possibility. All such judgements can only be provisional, however, until the material is fully published. The earlier Level II, also compared with Troy I, has produced seven radio-carbon dates.¹²⁹ These indicate a probable duration of c.2892-2704 B.C., falling within Middle-Late Troy I and quite consistent with our findings so far.

The transition to EBIII is seen clearly at Beycesultan. Phase XIIIa yielded some "foreign-looking vessels" with a distinctive red slip.¹³⁰ They belong to the class of West Anatolian pottery defined by Dr. French as "Pink-Slipped Ware" which at Troy is known as "Red Lustre Ware".¹³¹ Here it occurs most frequently in II.1-2, and by II.4 has fallen almost

completely out of use (see Table XXVII); it is always handmade. At Beycesultan, however, it is wheelmade. This suggests a fairly closely-defined synchronism not much later than II.1-3 but late enough to allow for the increased popularity of the potter's wheel. Troy II.4 is the obvious date. The shapes may confirm this. They include a wheelmade plate, two possible fragments of flaring tankards (one identified, uncertainly, as part of a depas cup), and part of a bell-shaped goblet.¹³² Beycesultan XIIIa, then, seems to belong to the same final EBII horizon as can be seen at Manika, Lefkandi I, Mt. Kynthos, Lerna III and Poliochni Red - and which is contemporary with Troy II.4. The EBIII repertoire, with two-handled tankards and two-handled cups, begins for certain only in Level XII.¹³³

It is worth exploring how the following levels at Beycesultan relate to the Trojan sequence.¹³⁴ Beycesultan XII and XI have parallels still among the Schliemann material from Troy II, but which are uncertainly stratified.¹³⁵ These phases are probably contemporary with Troy II.5. Beycesultan X and IX seem to be contemporary with II.6, although the evidence is limited to the simultaneous appearance of the footed depas (type A45:6) and a variety of B18 jug (73-465, Fig.V.22). The ovoid cup A213 has a rough parallel in Beycesultan VIII.

But the parallels between Troy III and Beycesultan VIII-VIa are rather stronger. First, bead-rim bowls are introduced at this date. At Beycesultan the earliest occurs in IX,¹³⁶ but from level VIII onwards they become numerous.¹³⁷ At Troy the first hints come in III,¹³⁸ though the type becomes more frequent in IV. Secondly, volute attachments first become popular in pottery. There is one previous instance from Troy II.6.iii,¹³⁹ and it is true that some of the metal vessels from Priam's Treasure display comparable attachments.¹⁴⁰ But in pottery they are very characteristic of Troy III¹⁴¹ and occur also in Beycesultan VIII-VIa.¹⁴² They are also attested in Poliochni Yellow.¹⁴³ It is important to grasp that in this period the volutes take the form of curled feet, curled wings, curled knobs on lids, and imitation handle-attachments on jars. They are not yet used as handles on bowls, a separate and later development, and one which appears to have bypassed Beycesultan. The Troy III fashion for volutes does continue into Troy IV and V, but only weakly.¹⁴⁴ A third characteristic shared by Troy III and Beycesultan VII-VIa is the introduction of red-cross bowls. Korfmann has rightly drawn attention to the unreliability of red-cross bowls as a dating criterion.¹⁴⁵ It nevertheless does seem that there

was a West Anatolian fashion for red-cross bowls observable in Troy III (where Schliemann found two in his "Fourth City"),¹⁴⁶ Beycesultan VII,¹⁴⁷ Tarsus EBIIIC¹⁴⁸ and Kültepe 12.¹⁴⁹ Though, again, the fashion continued at Troy (conservative as ever) into IV and V, in its origins it is distinct from the later MB style which included painting on the outsides of bowls but which eschewed any multiple crosses or complex bands. Some other types link the two sites at this period. Trojan shape A16, already identified as characteristic of Troy III, became more popular from Beycesultan IX onwards.¹⁵⁰ And two new types of depas appear in Troy III; they also first appear in Beycesultan VIII and VIa (shapes A45:7, 8).

If my arguments so far have been sound, then it should follow that Beycesultan VIII-VIa were contemporary with the early phases of Middle Helladic and Early Cycladic IIIB. There may in fact be some evidence that this was the case. A small sherd from Beycesultan VIII is described as follows: "Mat black paint on pale greenish buff, white grits, closed vessel."¹⁵¹ This sounds very much like a MH matt-painted import. Another sherd from the same level displays a design corresponding to a standard form of MH matt-painted decoration.¹⁵² Small sherds can easily be intrusive, but assemblages cannot. There are striking similarities between the bowls of Beycesultan VIa and those which appear in the first Middle Helladic horizon (VII) at Aegina.¹⁵³ At Beycesultan the types can be traced back certainly to VIb and VII.¹⁵⁴ Bowls with sharply everted rim and a vertical "shoulder", also found in Aegina VII,¹⁵⁵ go back at Beycesultan to VII and perhaps to VIII;¹⁵⁶ but here one has to remember that they have developed from earlier prototypes. A number of other analogies between the Beycesultan VIII-VI repertoire and that of Middle Helladic can perhaps be detected, but most are rather vague.¹⁵⁷

In the ensuing period some of the innovations of Troy IV first appear also in Beycesultan V. This is the case with types A8, A20, A44 and C36. Two types survive at both sites until this date but no further: A37 and A224. And at both sites this phase sees the introduction of sharply carinated bowls, often with bead rims.¹⁵⁸ (The anti-splash rim, characteristic of MB Beycesultan, hardly occurs at Troy.¹⁵⁹) There are no good direct links between Beycesultan IVc and Troy V, but the wide-mouthed jars popular in Ayia Irini IV were popular also in Beycesultan IVc.¹⁶⁰ This creates an indirect link with Troy V.

To a large extent the BA4 and MB sequence of Aphrodisias runs parallel to the EB3-MB sequence at Beycesultan. It is unnecessary to document this in detail. We may notice in passing that Aphrodisias BA4 includes a range of depas shapes that spans Troy II.5-III (A45:1, 4, 5, 7), that bead-rim bowls first appear in the mixed BA4-MB deposits,¹⁶¹ that the sharply carinated bowls begin in the MB strata,¹⁶² and that shape A8 first appears in MB.¹⁶³ Some other direct parallels with the Trojan sequence can be extracted from the résumé at the end of the discussion of EB-MB pottery. The resulting chronological equations appear to be:

Troy V	Beycesultan IVc	}	Aphrodisias MB
IV	V		
III	VIII-VI	}	BA4-MB
II.6	X-IX		
II.5	XII-XI		
			BA4

Aphrodisias has yielded six radiocarbon dates from the last phases of BA4, and another six spanning the middle and end phases of its MB occupation. The BA4 dates, when calibrated and averaged, show a probable duration for Complex II of c.2350-2138 B.C. The MB dates show a probable duration spanning c.1970-1742 B.C. These agree remarkably well with the Trojan dates already proposed.

Against the West Anatolian sequence we may now place that of Tarsus. EBII seems to be contemporary with Aphrodisias BA2-3: wheelmade plates, tall cylindrical bottle-spouts and shallow cups with low handles are present at both sites,¹⁶⁴ and there is a variety of pithos in common as well.¹⁶⁵ Tarsus EBI is presumably contemporary, at least in part, with Aphrodisias BA1; but there is little to go on.

The beginning of Tarsus EBIII has been placed in various positions relative to Troy. Mellink, Spanos and Huot make it contemporary with the beginning of Troy II;¹⁶⁶ Yakar with Troy IIc,¹⁶⁷ Goldman with Troy IIId-g,¹⁶⁸ Mellaart and French with Troy III.¹⁶⁹ I believe the correct alignment to be with Troy II.5. This and Tarsus EBIIIa are both characterised by the introduction of the two-handled tankard (A43), the earliest form of depas, with grooved or fluted decoration (A45/1), and by similar red polished platters (A1);¹⁷⁰ Tarsus's links are, however, more with the Southwest than with the Northwest as detailed comparisons of shape (e.g. of A43) show. The simultaneous appearance in EBIIIa together with these of one-handled tankards (A39) and bell-shaped goblets¹⁷¹ indicates that the assemblage which had gradually been developing in Western Anatolia and the Aegean in the latter part of the EBII period arrived at Tarsus suddenly, and fully developed, at

the beginning of EBIII.

The later EBIII phases at Tarsus can be linked with Troy II.6 and Troy III. EBIIIb has alabastron-shaped bottles¹⁷² and a type of jug paralleled at Troy II.6 and Beycesultan X (shape B18).¹⁷³ In EBIIIc the brownish shade of the platters is best compared not with the colour of the A1 platters of Troy IIg but with that in Troy III.¹⁷⁴ The volutes characteristic of Troy III appear in the final EBIII levels at Tarsus in coiled feet and jar handles.¹⁷⁵ Red Cross bowls first appear at this date at both sites.¹⁷⁶ And there are five other innovations in common: the depas with narrow ring-base (A45/7), the tumbler with sinuous profile (A206), the goblets with two loop-handles and a low base (A221: those in Tarsus final EBIIIc seem more developed than that in Troy II.6), a jar with spreading neck and pedestal (C219), and a concave cylinder-lid with warts on the top (D207).¹⁷⁷

There are many links between MB Tarsus and Troy IV.¹⁷⁸ Five innovations occur in common: the small bowl with low base (A8 - wheelmade and string-cut at Tarsus), the bowl with shouldered rim (A20), a biconical cup (A36: with a slight base at Troy),¹⁷⁹ and the shallow lids with two perforated lugs (D203, D204).¹⁸⁰ A33 cups are numerous in Tarsus MB and most frequent at Troy in period IV.¹⁸¹ In addition there are six individual comparisons of interest. The alabaster^{*}72-1375 and Atlas 167-3263 (Fig.V.29) are of Tarsus MB shape;¹⁸² the jug^{*}73-158 (Fig.V.28) is typical of MB Tarsus;¹⁸³ there may be fragmentary parallels to the jar 73-602 (Fig.V.29), and to the decoration on the flask 73-208 (Fig.V.29).¹⁸⁴ The jar^{*}72-1448 (Fig.V.29) and the bottle 73-682 (Fig.V.29) likewise have parallels.¹⁸⁵

The links persist in Troy V. The carinated bead-rim bowl A23, introduced in Troy V and very characteristic of MB Beycesultan and Aphrodisias, is attested too in MB Tarsus.¹⁸⁶ A rim-fragment at Tarsus may be from a bowl similar to Trojan type A19, found in V only.¹⁸⁷ And the decoration on the jar Atlas 155-3054 (Fig.V.30) is matched on a dark grey incised sherd in MB Tarsus.¹⁸⁸

In the light of these synchronisms with Western Anatolia we should, then, (on the basis of our preliminary Trojan estimates) expect Tarsus EBII to begin c.2900 B.C., EBIIIa to begin c.2465 B.C., EBIIIc to extend beyond c.2135 B.C. and MB to begin perhaps 100-120 years later, c.2015 B.C. These dates seem consistent with what other dates can be

obtained for the Tarsus sequence. The EBII reserve-slip pitcher in Egyptian Dynasty IV context and the steatite seal of possible First Intermediate Period date in Tarsus EBIII are both easily accommodated.¹⁸⁹ The EDII-III fragments of buff ware jars with red stripes seem in place in EBII,¹⁹⁰ and the ring-burnished gray bottles of late ED-Ur III date seem equally in place in EBIIb-c.¹⁹¹ In EBIIa there is a sherd of what looks like Intermediate Ware;¹⁹² a comparable painted ware first appears in the Anti-Taurus at the beginning of Korucutepe E,¹⁹³ and the end of the preceding period is radiocarbon-dated to c.2493 B.C.¹⁹⁴ This agrees tolerably well with our Western-derived date for EBIIa of c.2465 B.C. Radiocarbon dates for the penultimate phase of the Cypriot EBII at Lemba, preceding the spread of Tarsus EBII styles now thought to have occurred at the beginning of EBIII, are consistent with this: c.2600-2505 B.C.¹⁹⁵

Continuing our Eastward course, the Tarsus sequence can be related to that of the Amuq. The clearest synchronism is between the beginning of Amuq K and the beginning of Tarsus MB, based on the introduction of North Syrian painted ware.¹⁹⁶ It is also clear that Amuq I extends into the Tarsus EBIII period.¹⁹⁷ But Amuq I is probably contemporary, at least in part, with Tarsus EBII as well, the two being linked by the introduction of conical corrugated cups.¹⁹⁸ Sites in the Elazığ and Malatya regions display a sequence parallel in some respects to that in the Amuq, and have produced a useful series of radiocarbon dates. There the MB strata at Korucutepe G and Norsun Tepe V are linked to Amuq K by the introduction of grey, wheelmarked ware;¹⁹⁹ the end of the previous phase at Arslantepe Late VI can be radiocarbon-dated to c.2060 B.C.²⁰⁰ Amuq J is characterised by a sharp decline in Khirbet Kerak ware.²⁰¹ The closely-related Karaz wares and their linear descendants disappear from the Antitaurus sites at the beginning of Norsun VI and Arslantepe Late VI,²⁰² dated by radiocarbon samples from Arslantepe to c.2297 B.C.²⁰³ There is also a correlation between Amuq I and the earlier half of Hama J.²⁰⁴ This latter is radiocarbon dated to c.2890-2785 B.C.²⁰⁵ The introduction of Khirbet Kerak ware in Amuq H²⁰⁶ can perhaps be related to its marked increase in Korucutepe C and Arslantepe EBIIb.²⁰⁷ Arslantepe C¹⁴ dates place the beginning of this phase at c.3015 B.C.²⁰⁸ Some tentative dates for the Amuq sequence might then be: Amuq H, 3015 B.C.; I, 2890 B.C.; J, 2297 B.C.; K, 2060 B.C. These dates seem consistent with the available historical links: Amuq G with Egyptian Dynasty I and Jemdet Nasr,²⁰⁹ Amuq I with Early Dynastic II-III,²¹⁰ Amuq J with Akkadian-Ur III.²¹¹

This completes our arduous journey from West to East, and from one historical chronology to another. Although the Amuq sequence is only loosely dated, no serious inconsistencies have emerged. Comparative stratigraphy, radiocarbon dating and historical chronologies seem to be compatible, and so far we have ended up on target. But in order to cross-check I will now double back to the Trojan sequence from Syria and Mesopotamia, first directly and then via Central Anatolia. First, the direct route.

We have the general guidance that ovoid and globular jars of Early Dynastic-Akkadian date first appear in Troy I and become most numerous in Troy II.²¹² The related ovoid and globular flasks occur in Late Troy II and Troy III.²¹³ Alabastron-shaped flasks of late Early Dynastic-Ur III date come from Late Troy II and Troy III.²¹⁴ But these are all relatively long-lived types whose precise dating is disputed.²¹⁵ The cylinder-seal 73-709 in Troy II is of EDI-II date,²¹⁶ while the silver pin with fluted head, Atlas 26-705 (Fig.V.38), from Early Troy II is an EDIII type. This suggests a transition from Troy I to Troy II roughly contemporary with that from EDII to EDIII. Hassan and Robinson place this at c.2650 B.C.,²¹⁷ and the date harmonizes well with the Trojan dates already proposed. A depas from strata of Amuq J is of type A45/6 and finds its closest parallels not in Troy IV but in Beycesultan VIII and, to a lesser extent, Troy III.²¹⁸ For Amuq J we have the tentative dates c.2297-2060 B.C., and for Troy III we have the dates c.2135-c.2035 B.C.; so the link can be accommodated within the scheme so far proposed. Mesopotamian parallels to some of the Trojan metalwork are more controversial. Maxwell-Hyslop has argued for an Ur III or Larsa date for some of the items in Treasure A (from Troy II.6),²¹⁹ while Calmeyer proposes an early Old Babylonian date.²²⁰ Some items in Treasure A are acknowledged to have EDIII or Akkadian parallels;²²¹ the latest items (in Mesopotamian terms) are the lunate earrings with fine granulation²²² and the long-handled ridged pan.²²³ Ridged pans of a similar sort first appear in Mesopotamia in Ur III contexts,²²⁴ whatever the precise date of Grave 20 at Aššur.²²⁵ Parallels for the earrings are not found before the Ur III period, but are most common in the Larsa period.²²⁶ If the end of Late Troy II is dated, as I have suggested, to c.2135 B.C., these parallels can perhaps just about be satisfied in that the end of Troy II would more or less coincide with the beginning of Ur III. In the last resort, however, it is not impossible to suppose that Treasure A was dug down and deposited during a later period (Troy III or IV), or that Schliemann added some or all of the jewellery into Treasure

A from stratigraphically later finds. Of all the items in Treasure A it is certainly the jewellery which is least well attested in the original field notes.²²⁷ A two-handled tankard of shape A43 may be depicted on the Naširiya stele,²²⁸ although neither the identity of the tribute-bearers nor the full shape of the vessel is clear from the stone.²²⁹ It could, however, suggest an Akkadian-Anatolian EBIII synchronism.²³⁰ The disc of Enheduanna, Sargon's daughter, has been restored but may show a metal vessel like the kettles with volute handle-attachments from Late Troy II.²³¹ It may, then, provide an Akkadian synchronism with Late Troy II. The Syrian and Mesopotamian links with Troy are therefore mostly rather uncertain, but seem to suggest an EDIII date for the beginning of Troy II, an Akkadian date for Late Troy II, at least an initial Ur III date for the end of Troy II, and an Amuq J date for Troy III. All this is consistent with our Trojan dates if the CAH chronology is used. The only possible difficulty lies with the granulated earrings of Treasure A.

The second cross-check is via the Kültepe sequence, for much of which there are Mesopotamian historical synchronisms. The late EBII levels (14 and 15) contain ovoid and globular jars of EDII-III type, and from an EBII grave comes a gold pendant which should be no earlier than EDIII.²³² Levels 13-11a belong to the Anatolian EBIII period. From Level 13 come flasks and jewellery of late EDIII type, but also jewellery which should be of Akkadian date.²³³ From Level 11a there is a cylinder seal re-used in Post-Akkadian times.²³⁴ The Karum has yielded evidence for the re-use of seals of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.²³⁵ These may suggest that the origins of the Karum lie at least in the latter part of the Ur III period,²³⁶ although such a conclusion is by no means certain.²³⁷ Karum IV and III are otherwise undated. Karum II, as is well known, spanned at least eighty years and three generations of merchants, reaching into the reigns of Erišum I and PuzurAššur II.²³⁸ On the CAH chronology it falls firmly within the nineteenth century B.C., 1906 and 1830 B.C. being the outer limits of the reigns of Erišum and PuzurAššur. Karum IB follows a gap of uncertain length,²³⁹ and probably lasted from the time of ŠamšiAdad I until at least Year 10 of the reign of Samsuiluna²⁴⁰ but before that of AmmiDitana.²⁴¹ This places it in the early eighteenth century B.C. We thus have the following approximate dates for the Kültepe sequence, if we relate it to the CAH Mesopotamian chronology: EBII ends c.2450; EBIII c.2450-c.2050; Karum IV-III, c.2050-c.1900; Karum II c.1900-c.1815; Karum Ib, c.1785-c.1739 or later.

There are three checks available for these dates. First there is the Tarsus sequence. It is now clear that the EBII and EBIII sequences of the two sites run parallel to one another,²⁴² and Karum IV can be correlated with the beginning of Tarsus MB by the introduction of imports of painted ware.²⁴³ Karum Ib may overlap into the beginning of Tarsus LB.²⁴⁴ For Tarsus we already have the approximate dates: EBIII c.2465-2060, MB c.2060 onwards. Secondly there is the radiocarbon dated sequence in the Elaziğ and Malatya areas. Analogues of Intermediate Ware, which first appears in Kültepe 13,²⁴⁵ appear first in the Anti-Taurus EBIIIa period, whose start is radiocarbon-dated at Korucutepe to c.2493 B.C.²⁴⁶ The subsequent Cappadocian ware, which first appears in Kültepe 12,²⁴⁷ has eastern analogues which first appear in the Anti-Taurus EBIIIb period.²⁴⁸ Arslantepe radiocarbon dates show this period to have begun by c.2297 B.C.²⁴⁹ There are imports of Cappadocian ware in the Anti-Taurus EBIIIb destruction-deposits, and they continue in the MB deposits.²⁵⁰ At Kültepe the ware continues into the Karum period until as late as Karum II.²⁵¹ The MB period at Norsun V, Arslantepe Vb and Korucu G-H is related in its ceramic repertoire to the Karum period,²⁵² and C¹⁴ dates from Arslantepe suggest for the period an initial date of c.2060 B.C.²⁵³ The third check is with Acemhöyük. Level III contains pottery similar to that of Kültepe Karum II.²⁵⁴ Bullae, however, and some ceramic features show that it continued until at least the beginning of Karum IB.²⁵⁵ Three C¹⁴ dates indicate, when averaged, a duration of c.1955-1786 B.C. for Acemhöyük III,²⁵⁶ dates consistent with those already proposed for Kültepe Karum II and IB.

The Kültepe sequence has a number of links with that at Troy. Kültepe 13 is probably contemporary with Troy II.5, as the shapes of the two-handled tankards A43 and A45/1 suggest. Kültepe 12 seems to be contemporary with Troy II.6, as parallel developments in shapes A43 and A45/4 again suggest.²⁵⁷ A lead figurine, Ilios no.226, was probably found in Troy II.6 and is reminiscent of Central Anatolian types of the Middle Bronze Age.²⁵⁸ Stylistically, however, it is probably earlier, and an EB date for the piece seems most likely.²⁵⁹ Troy IV and V are well linked with the Karum period, although lack of published information about Karum IV and III makes detailed correlation difficult. Shapes A28 and A36, which at Troy occur only in IV, have MB parallels at Alişar and Kültepe.²⁶⁰ A44, also from Troy IV only, is attested at Acemhöyük III. A20, introduced in Troy IV, occurs in Büyükkale IVd. Shapes A229, B202, C210 and the (miniature) flask in Troy II fig.185: 33.143 likewise all have parallels in the Kültepe Karum material.²⁶¹ The

Karum period is also linked to Troy V. Volutes appear on the handles of bowls in Kültepe Karum II²⁶² as they do in Troy V²⁶³ and Poliochni Brown.²⁶⁴ The newly-introduced carinated bead-rim bowl (A23) is related to a bowl-type at Kültepe though the latter differs in having low pedestals or tripods.²⁶⁵ Storage jars with a base, like C20, are a characteristic of the Karum period²⁶⁶ and an innovation in Troy V; and the jug^{*}72-1074 (Fig.V.30) is closely paralleled in Karum Ib.²⁶⁷ These links are consistent with the absolute dates suggested for Troy and Kültepe, and satisfactorily conclude our second cross-check.

Reviewing this chronology as a whole, one must recall that averaged radiocarbon dates still give no more than an approximation to calendar dates and are liable, as we saw in the case of Myrtos, to fall a bit short. This may be the case also with dates from Arslantepe, Korucutepe and Aphrodisias. As a date for the end of EBII 2493 B.C., from Korucutepe D, may be a little early. 2465 B.C. is the date which has emerged clearly from Lerna and Sitagroi, and while one cannot expect absolute synchronicity between widely separated sites a gap of thirty years is surely too great considering the long-range contacts of the period and the clarity of the changes. Similarly 2297 B.C., from Arslantepe Late VI, may be too late for the beginning of EBIIb. The phase is linked to Kültepe 12 and thence to Troy II.6. But at Troy if we assume an equal duration for each of the five building-phases in II.5 and II.6, between 2465 and 2135 B.C., a date of c.2330 B.C. emerges for the beginning of II.6. This could be equally acceptable as a date for the beginning of Arslantepe Late VI, where the averaged C¹⁴ date would fall 33 years short (cf. 28 years shortfall for the end-EBII date from Korucutepe).

The date of c.1742 B.C. is almost certainly a little too early as a date for the end of the Anatolian Middle Bronze Age. It is derived from the Aphrodisias MB radiocarbon dates. With this we may compare the date yielded by the prosopographic evidence from Kültepe Ib, where 1739 B.C. is merely a terminus post quem for the end of the phase. If we follow a rule of thumb and add thirty years to the Aphrodisias date, we could place the end of the MB period at c.1712 B.C. As we shall later see, there probably needs to be allowance for some overlap of Early Troy VI into MMII. As the end of MMII is currently placed at c.1700, this overlap is achieved by the date of c.1712 B.C.

The date of c.2135 B.C. for the destruction of Troy II.6 should be

fairly accurate as it is a median date derived from seed and grain samples. Between this and c.1712 B.C. we must allow for the thirteen building-phases of Troy III, IV and V. If each of these was of similar duration to the others, Troy IV should have begun c.2005 B.C. and Troy V c.1842 B.C. If the date of c.2005 B.C. is extended across Anatolia as an approximate date for the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, we find that it leaves a margin of thirty-five years before the Aphrodisias MB radiocarbon dates and (rather greater) a margin of fifty-five years after the end of the Arslantepe EBIIb dates. 1842 B.C. as a date for the beginning of Troy V coincides closely, however, with the C¹⁴ date of 1841 B.C. for the beginning of Ayia Irini IV. As Ayia Irini IV is acknowledged to overlap into MBIB (ending c.1800), this seems to be satisfactory on the Cycladic side.

We may, then, propose a Trojan chronology approximately as follows:

<u>EBI</u>		
Early Troy I	begins c.3000	(C ¹⁴ Beşik,Ezero,Sitagroi IV,Demirci)
<u>EBII</u>		
Mid.Troy I	begins c.2900	(C ¹⁴ Beşik,Sitagroi Va,Karataş)
Troy II.1	begins c.2650	(EDII-III transition)
<u>EBIII</u>		
Troy II.5	begins c.2465	(C ¹⁴ Lerna,EHII-III transition)
Troy II.6	begins c.2330	(estimate)
Troy III	begins c.2135	(C ¹⁴ ,end of Troy II.6)
<u>MB</u>		
Troy IV	begins c.2005	(estimate)
Troy V	begins c.1842	(estimate,and C ¹⁴ Ayia Irini IV)
Troy V	ends c.1712	(cf.C ¹⁴ Aphrodisias,end MB;Kultepe IB)

These dates are, of course, unlikely to prove the last word. But in the present state of the art, and until further stratified evidence becomes available, I would suggest that we can suppose them to be accurate to within two or three decades. But all chronologies are provisional.

Troy VI-VII

The finds of 1870-73 from Troy VI-VII require no major chronological changes and are too poorly stratified to permit minor ones. It may nonetheless be helpful to outline some of the principal factors which must affect our dating of Troy VI and VII.

The dates proposed by the American excavators are an obvious starting-point, but these are not entirely stable. For the beginning of Troy VI, assumed because of the appearance of Gray Minyan ware to be synchronous with the beginning of the Middle Helladic period,²⁶⁸ Blegen at first proposed a date of c.1900 B.C.²⁶⁹ He later revised this to c.1800 "or even 1700" B.C. in order that the sparse remains of Early Troy VI might

be spread less thin.²⁷⁰ The end of Troy VI was dated to a period when the fabrics of Late Helladic IIIA were "being displaced" by those of Late Helladic IIIB,²⁷¹ a change at that time thought to have occurred around 1300 B.C. In the final report Blegen accordingly proposed a date of c.1275 B.C.,²⁷² but both he and Caskey subsequently raised this estimate to c.1300 B.C.²⁷³ For dating the end of Troy VIIa the crucial factor lay in an evaluation of the Mycenaean imports which suggested that Troy VIIa lived out its life before the transition to Late Helladic IIIC, assumed to have occurred c.1230 B.C.²⁷⁴ The sack of Troy VIIa, thought to have taken place 'within a century or less' of the destruction of Troy VI,²⁷⁵ was thus dated to c.1240 B.C., 'subject to shifts of a decade or two' in fixing the beginnings of LHIIIC.²⁷⁶ Subsequently, however, Blegen preferred a terminus ante quem of 1250 B.C., and even ten or twenty years earlier,²⁷⁷ or c.1260 B.C. "if indeed not somewhat earlier".²⁷⁸ The end of VIIb was placed two or three generations later, c.1100 B.C.²⁷⁹ Low dates for the end of VIIa, close to the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, made it a little difficult to envisage a Mycenaean expedition at that date; raising the dates no doubt made it easier.²⁸⁰

This chronological structure is built chiefly on a base of three steps: interpretation of the Helladic pottery found on the site; acceptance of a particular view of the relationship between the Aegean and Egyptian sequences; and acceptance of a particular historical chronology for Egypt. It is this last which ultimately determines the absolute dating of Troy VI-VII. In fact debate continues in all three areas. First, the Helladic pottery.

The synchronism with the beginning of Middle Helladic is no longer sustainable. This is because the Grey Minyan style is not a reliable marker chronologically and reached West Anatolia much later than its first appearance in Greece; this has been discussed earlier, and I have suggested that the true contemporary of the beginning of MH was not Troy VI but Troy III. The grey ware of Troy VI has been argued to have its own, northwest Anatolian ancestry.²⁸¹ The pottery of Early Troy VI may in fact be related to that of the later MB phases at Ayia Irini, phases which are mainly contemporary with MMIII but which may begin slightly earlier, in MMIIIB.²⁸² The main indicator is the parallel occurrence of Grey Minyan rims with handles that spring from thickened supports under the rim.²⁸³ A deposit assigned to Troy VIb includes a sherd of Kamares, or Kamares-related, ware.²⁸⁴ Kamares ware is quite long-lived, but is

especially characteristic of MMII. Troy VIc has a sherd which is unidentified but of probable MMIII affinity.²⁸⁵ Troy VID introduces the first imports of LHI, but they are very few.²⁸⁶ This evidence suggests, then, that Troy VIA-c was roughly contemporary with late MMIIB and MMIII, c.1712-1600 B.C. This is consistent with the architectural and stratigraphic evidence. Early VI has no great depth of deposit except where there has been levelling and tipping.²⁸⁷ House 630 lasted throughout the three phases a-c, but was not especially substantial.²⁸⁸ In Area 603 walls 604 and 605 may have stood throughout Early VI as well²⁸⁹ but were again not especially strong.²⁹⁰ It would be surprising if Early VI lasted more than 150 years.

That the beginning of Troy VI should not be placed earlier is positively confirmed by comparisons with other Anatolian sites. The ceramic innovations of Early Troy VI are overwhelmingly paralleled in Tarsus LBI²⁹¹ and Beycesultan IVb,²⁹² though analogies with the Boğazköy material are few.²⁹³ The correlation with Beycesultan is useful since the transition from Beycesultan IVb to IVa is thought to coincide roughly with that from MMIII to LMI, c.1600.²⁹⁴ The Tarsus correlation, by its links with Kültepe, helps to confirm a date of c.1712 for Early Troy VI. There is, however, an indication that Troy VIc lasted somewhat beyond 1600 B.C. Pattern-burnishing, though present occasionally in Troy V,²⁹⁵ is especially characteristic of Early VI and, within it, perhaps of VIc.²⁹⁶ At Tarsus it occurs in LBIA but more frequently in LBIB,²⁹⁷ and at Beycesultan in IVa.²⁹⁸ Tarsus LBIB is argued by Goldman to extend beyond the fall of Babylon²⁹⁹ (1594 B.C. on the CAH chronology), and Beycesultan IVa should be roughly contemporary with LMI. For Early Troy VI we may therefore tentatively propose dates of c.1712-c.1580 B.C.

Blegen's synchronisms of Troy VIe = LHII (based on very few pieces), VIf = LHII-LHIIIa, VIg = LHIIIa are uncontested. The end of Troy VIh he placed "at a time when Mycenaean pottery of LHIIIa was being displaced by the fabrics of the succeeding stage, IIIB".³⁰⁰ If this is to place the end of VIh at the transition from LHIIIa to LHIIb, the conclusion has rightly been questioned. C.B. Mee has drawn attention to the fact that the LHIIb material in VIh comes in substantial quantity, amounting to over twenty per cent of the diagnostic Mycenaean pottery from the whole span of Troy VI.³⁰¹ The likely inference is that VIh lasted a good way into LHIIb1. This tends to lower the date for the end of Troy VI, but by how much is uncertain because at this point Mycenaean

imports cease almost entirely.³⁰² As a result it is not clear whether the LHIIIb2 phase - largely unattested, as elsewhere outside the Argolid - was contemporary with the latter part of VIh or should be relegated to VIIa. Schachermeyr sees VIh continuing only into his 'Middle' LHIIIb, i.e. to late LHIIIb1.³⁰³ But it may have overlapped into LHIIIb2 if Schmidt is right in assigning a rosette-bowl to Troy VI.³⁰⁴

Troy VIIa is recognised to contain some up-casts and imitations of earlier Mycenaean types,³⁰⁵ and this is bound to be a source of some uncertainty.³⁰⁶ But a substantial overlap with LHIIIb2 is likely in view of the greatly increased numbers of deep bowls,³⁰⁷ the presence of deep bowls of Type B³⁰⁸ and the occurrence of the thick, wavy-line motif.³⁰⁹ An important addition to our understanding of VIIa is the recognition by A. Furumark, C.B. Mee and E.B. French of small numbers of sherds which must be dated to LHIIIC.³¹⁰ The absence of imports makes it difficult to determine how far VIIa continued into LHIIIC. But at all events it looks as though the end of VIIa should be lowered significantly, probably to a point later than the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces.

Mycenaean imports continue to be rare in VIIB, but the locally produced imitations in VIIB1 are thought to betray a knowledge of the developed LHIIIC style.³¹¹ VIIB2 seems to show no true overlap with LHIIIC.³¹²

But correlation with the Egyptian sequence is necessary if absolute dates are to be obtained, and here we come up against the second and third areas of debate. Full discussion of these lies beyond the scope of this study, but some recent trends may be noted.

The Aegean-Egyptian chronology assumed by Blegen is largely the same as the convention later adopted in the third edition of the Cambridge Ancient History. The resulting scheme is well known:

LHI	:	1550 B.C.
LHII	:	1500
LHIIIA	:	1400
LHIIIB	:	1300
LHIIIC	:	1200

Recent studies have tended to lengthen the period backwards. In 1974 Hankey and Warren proposed that the transition from LHIIA2 to IIIB should be placed at the end of the reign of Tutankhamun,³¹⁴ i.e. c.1352 B.C. in CAH terms. This had the effect of lengthening LHIIIB by

about fifty years, with a slight compacting of the preceding periods. And on the basis of the archaeological evidence cited - a mixture of LHIIIa2 and LHIIIb1 at Amarna - the transition could have been placed at any point between 1375 and 1352. A re-examination of Minoan pottery found in Egyptian contexts suggested to Kemp and Merrillees that Late Minoan IB (and thus LHIIa which was contemporary) had already begun before the start of Dynasty XVIII, that is, before 1567 B.C., in CAH terms - roughly where Hankey and Warren had continued to place LHI. For the beginning of LHI they postulated a date of c.1650 B.C., a century earlier than in the CAH convention.³¹⁵ The evidence is by no means simple, and their suggestions have not been universally accepted.³¹⁶ A much longer chronology has recently been advocated by Betancourt who proposes to bring LMIIa1 and LHIIIa1 back to the reign of Tuthmosis III (1504-1450 B.C. in CAH terms), perhaps as much as a century earlier than previously thought, and the beginning of LHI to c.1700 B.C.³¹⁷ His very early datings for LHI and LHIIIa have not met with acceptance, although some upward move of LHIIIa is probably necessary to accommodate the observation of LHIIIb1 at Amarna.³¹⁸

Exactly what absolute dates are attached to any such scheme of inter-relations will depend on the view taken of Egyptian chronology. A recent discussion by Kitchen has defined eight possible schemes,³¹⁹ and the difference between his lowest (and preferred) series and that of the CAH is such that the reign of Akhenaten can be brought lower by twenty-seven years. A similar difference applies to the beginning of Dynasty XIX, a smaller (fifteen years) to the beginning of Dynasty XX.

For determining the dates of the LB strata at Troy, then, we have (though there are many uncertainties) the following rough guidelines to work on:

- (1) Troy VIa begins c.1712; this is deduced from our EB-MB chronology, and there is evidence both from the architecture and from the pottery of continuity from V to VI.
- (2) Troy VIa begins c.1580; this assumes a broad correlation with the beginning of LHI, and is consistent with our estimate of no more than 150 years for the duration of Troy VIa-c.
- (3) Troy VIh must begin at around the same time as LHIIIb. This places its start at around the death of Tutankhamun, 1352 B.C. (CAH) or 1327

(Kitchen).

(4) Troy VIIb1 post-dates the beginning of LHIIIc; but if its beginning is contemporary with a developed phase of LHIIIc, it may also be contemporary with the phase of Mycenaean expansion across Cyprus and to the Levant³²⁰ - dateable perhaps to the time of Ramesses III³²¹ c.1190 B.C. (CAH) or 1177 B.C. (Kitchen).

(5) The date for the end of Troy VIh is difficult to determine. A rough correlation with the end of LHIIb1 seems likely, but that is poorly dated. There may, however, be an overlap between LHIIb2 and the reigns of Hattusilis III and Puduhepa since an LHIIb2 bowl was found associated with a bulla of Puduhepa in a sealed pit at Tarsus.³²² Since Hattusilis appears to have reigned until at least Year 42 of Ramesses II³²³ (1262 CAH or 1237 B.C. Kitchen), a date halfway through LHIIb, c.1270 B.C. (CAH) or 1252 B.C. (Kitchen) would be a reasonable guess for the beginning of IIb2. A date much later seems unlikely; an earlier one would be possible. The dating of the end of Troy VIh is, of course, of particular interest as it is this layer which has the best claim to have been destroyed by enemy action. A destruction at the end of LHIIb1 should have been possible for an organised Mycenaean expedition. In Hittite terms it might fall in the reign of Hattusilis III.

(6) Troy VIe, f and g may be roughly dated by dividing the period between VId and VIh into equal parts. VIf must include the transition to LHIIa, c.1420 or 1405 B.C.

(7) The dates of VIIb2 can only be roughly estimated. One might suppose a duration of sixty years for VIIb1 and the same for VIIb2.

Very tentatively we may, then, suggest the following chronological outlines for Late Bronze Age Troy. They are only approximate, and there can be no final certainty until Mycenaean and Egyptian chronologies have been firmly established. For convenience the dates implied by both the higher (CAH) and the lower (Kitchen) chronologies are displayed.

		<u>Higher</u>	<u>Lower</u>
Troy VIa	begins	c.1712	
VIb	"	c.1668	
VIc	"	c.1624	
VId	"	c.1580	c.1580
VIe	"	c.1524	c.1519
VIf	"	c.1468	c.1457
VIg	"	c.1412	c.1395

		<u>Higher</u>	<u>Lower</u>
Troy VIh	begins	c.1350	c.1327
"	destroyed (by enemy?)	c.1270?	c.1252
VIIa	begins	c.1270?	c.1252
"	destroyed (by earthquake?)	c.1190?	c.1177
VIIb1	begins	c.1190?	c.1177
VIIb2	"	c.1130?	c.1117
"	ends	c.1070?	c.1057

The date of the end of Troy VIIb2 must remain uncertain; but too early an end is made unlikely by the presence of a number of pieces of stamped ware clearly related to the stamped ware of Northern Bulgaria.³²⁴ This carries VIIb into a period later than that of Čatalka, Babadağ I and the North Bulgaria incised wares; and indeed Hänsel notes comparisons of form with the Pšenicevo group, contemporary with Babadağ II.³²⁵ There is one sherd from the site recognised by Blegen as Protogeometric³²⁶ (and Protogeometric would probably be scarce here anyway), two amphorae and a group of sherds of doubtful Protogeometric character,³²⁷ and two sherds suggested by Miss Sandars to be subminoan.³²⁸

For the sake of completeness two radiocarbon dates must be mentioned. Both come from samples collected by Brückner in 1893 from the excavation in squares CD7.³²⁹ Bln-1107 is undoubtedly from a deposit of Troy VI and, calibrated, yields a date of 1800-1680 B.C.³³⁰ Bln-1130 is from a deposit either of Troy VI or of Troy V.³³¹ Calibrated it yields the date 2150-2060 B.C. These results are partially in line with what might be expected. But in view of their isolation from an adequate run of samples, their uncertain stratigraphic origin, and the length of time since the samples were collected, they can bring no greater precision to the question.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V, Part VI

1. I discussed the chronology of Troy I-V in "Towards a Chronology for the Anatolian Early Bronze Age", AnSt 26 (1976) pp.145-172, a study which is superseded by the present one. My use of Suess's calibration-curve in preference to the MASCA tables has proved justified, but my failure to average the dates produced an excessively high chronology. The paper has been justly criticised for its mishandling of the sequences at Karahüyük-Konya and Karataş-Semayük. Recent discussions of Trojan chronology, since 1976, include: K. Branigan, "Troy and the chronology of the EBA", IVth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Sheffield 1977 (the proceedings still await publication); P. Calmeyer, "Der Grab eines Altassyrischen Kaufmanns", XXIII Rencontre Assyriologique (London 1977) pp.87-97; G. Rapp, J. Gifford, "An examination of the earth matrix materials from Troy", IVth ICAP Sheffield 1977; P.Z. Spanos, "Zur absoluten Chronologie der zweiten Siedlung in Troja", ZA 67 (1977) pp.85-107; M.S.F. Hood, "Discrepancies in ¹⁴C Dating as Illustrated from the Egyptian New and Middle Kingdoms and from the Aegean Bronze Age and Neolithic", Archaeometry 20 (1978) pp.197-9; K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, S. Hood, "Dating Troy II", Mycenaean Seminar January 1979; C. Podzuweit, Trojanische Gefäßformen (Mainz 1979); J. Yakar, "Troy and Anatolian Early Bronze Age Chronology", AnSt 29 (1979) pp.51-67; M.Korfmann, "Zum absoluten Zeitansatz beim Komparativen Stratigraphiesystem von V. Milošević", XI Internationales Symposium über das Spätneolithikum und die Bronzezeit, Xanthi, Oktober 1981, Symposia Thracica 1982 pp.257-264; H. Quitta, "Zur Chronologie der frühbronzezeitlichen Trojaschichten", Troja und Thrakien pp.21-29; T. Kâmil, Yortan Cemetery pp.60-69; J-L. Huot, Céramiques pp.689-814, 1054-1073; J. Yakar, The Later Prehistory of Anatolia, 2 vols (Oxford 1985) I, pp.111-120; M.S. Joukowsky, Prehistoric Aphrodisias I pp.159-65, and a variety of schemes on pp.446, 447f, 476; M.J. Mellink, "The Early Bronze Age in West Anatolia: Aegean and Asiatic Correlations", in End of the Early Bronze Age pp.139-152; T. Stech, V.C. Piggott, "The metals trade in Southwest Asia in the Third Millennium B.C.", Iraq 48 (1986) pp.58-59; T. Efe, Demircihüyük III.1: Die Keramik 2 (Mainz 1988) pp.86-119.
2. F. Hassan, S. Robinson, "High-precision radiocarbon chronometry of ancient Egypt, and comparisons with Nubia, Palestine and Mesopotamia", Antiquity 61 (1987) pp.119-135; accepted historical chronologies being, in this case, those of the Cambridge Ancient History, Calibration curves used there and in this study are those in Radiocarbon 28 (1986).
3. B.S. Ottaway, "Dispersion Diagrams: A New Approach to the Display of Carbon - 14 Dates", Archaeometry 15 (1973) pp.5-12; cf. also "Is Radiocarbon Dating Obsolescent for Archaeologists?" Radiocarbon 28 (1986) 732-8; "Radiocarbon: where we are and where we need to be", Antiquity 61 (1987) pp.135-7.
4. P.M. Warren, "Problems of chronology in Crete and the Aegean in the Third and Earlier Second Millennium B.C.", AJA 84 (1980) pp.487-99; also "Radiocarbon dating and calibration and the absolute chronology of Late Neolithic and Early Minoan Crete", SMEA XVII (1976) pp.205-19. Warren proposes the following approximate dates: EMI, 3500-2900; EMII, 2900-2300; EMIII, 2300-2150; MMIA, 2150-1930; MMIB, 1930-1800; MMII, 1800-.
5. P.M. Warren, Myrtos, an Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete (Athens 1972) pp.344-5.
6. The Prehistoric Cyclades p.301, drawing on evidence presented in the papers contributed to the workshop.

7. Radiocarbon 4 (1962) p.149.
8. Radiocarbon 26 (1984) pp.215-17.
9. Radiocarbon 20 (1978) pp.216-17, P-2575, 2577, 2580, 2581.
10. P.M. Warren, "Absolute Dating of the Aegean Late Bronze Age", Archaeometry 29 (1987) pp.205-11.
11. Cf. J.A. MacGillivray, "The relative chronology of Early Cycladic III", in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.73.
12. J. Rutter, "The Early Cycladic III gap: what it is and how to go about filling it without making it go away", The Prehistoric Cyclades p.103. Note that MacGillivray's ECIIIA is termed ECIIIB by Rutter.
13. Lefkandi pp.6-7.
14. Radiocarbon 19 (1977) pp.27-8: L-J 1832, 2354, 3042, 3046, 3047.
15. Radiocarbon 4 (1962) pp.149-50: P-312, P-318, P-319.
16. Ibid, P-320, P-300, P-299.
17. But ECIIIB may extend back into part of the EHIII period: MacGillivray in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.72.
18. Troy I pp.184-5, fig.252:1-2: EH566, 567.
19. See discussions of C25, A207 in the section on pottery.
20. Sauceboat fragments: EH448, 578; Urfirnis sherds: EH572, 595, 599, 600, 605. See Troy I pp.186, 193; AnSt 11 (1961) p.118 n.50.
21. J.L. Caskey, AJA 72 (1968) p.314.
22. S.S. Weinberg, AJA 51 (1947) pp.165ff; M.J. Mellink, Bi.Or. 10 (1953) pp.52ff; AJA 56 (1952) pp.149ff; J. Mellaart, AnSt 7 (1957) pp.55ff; D.H. French, AnSt 11 (1961) pp.99ff; S.S. Weinberg in Chronologies p.303; D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean (1968) pp.154ff; C. Renfrew, The Emergence of Civilization p.209.
23. P.M. Warren, SMEA XVII (1976) p.205; AJA 84 (1980) p.493; The Prehistoric Cyclades p.59f; Renfrew, The Emergence of Civilization p.208f; M.S.F. Hood in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.28; J. Yakar, AnSt 29 (1979) p.62f.
24. Ezero p.542.
25. Ibid. p.513.
26. A. Sherratt in Sitagroi I pp.445-8.
27. Sitagroi I p.173.
28. M. Korfmann, AA 1985 pp.158-68; 1986 pp.306-309. There are also model clay battle-axes as in Ezero X-IV.
29. AA 1986 p.310; Demircihüyük II p.xviii, Abb.4.
30. As in J. Mellaart, "Prehistory of Anatolia and its Relations with the Balkans", Studia Balcanica V (1971) pp.119-137.
31. M.J. Mellink in The End of the Early Bronze Age pp.144-9.
32. Troy I p.225.
33. Troy I p.300.
34. See discussion of shapes A43, A45 in section on EB-MB pottery.
35. Sitagroi I fig.13.30:25.
36. Manika I fig.60, pl.87a; Lefkandi fig.7:6; BCH 104 (1980) pp.19-25; Poliochni I Tav.CXLVIIb; Hesperia 25 (1956) p.164 fig.4.
37. See the discussion of shape A39 in the section on EB-MB pottery, also Sitagroi I fig.13.20.
38. Cf. S. Hood, "Evidence for invasions in the Aegean area at the end of the Early Bronze Age", in The End of the Early Bronze Age p.35, with reference to Kritsana and Servia.
39. Sitagroi I p.447.
40. Ibid. fig.13.20:25 and p.439.
41. Ibid. p.173.
42. E.g. D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.157f, J. Mellaart, Studia Balcanica 5 (1971) p.125.
43. See discussion of shape C28 in the section on EB-MB pottery.
44. See discussion of Possible Imports in the section on EB-MB pottery.
45. See discussion of shape A45.

46. H. Quitta, "Zur Chronologie der frühbronzezeitlichen Trojaschichten", in Troja und Thrakien pp.21-29.
47. Four C-14 dates derived from Blegen's soil samples were reported by G. Rapp and J. Gifford in "An examination of the earth matrix materials from Troy" at IVth ICAP (Sheffield 1977): T-223 (Late I), 3600±95 B.P.; T-57 (I-II), 3475±125 B.P.; T-363 (II.6) 3625±95 B.P.; T-168 (IV) 3575±100 B.P. Those from I and I-II look much too low; those from II.6 and IV may be in the right region.
48. M.S.F. Hood, "The EBA Chronology of the Aegean Area with special reference to Troy", Bericht über den V. Internationalen Kongress für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Hamburg 1958 (Berlin 1961) p.402.
49. Hood, too, has argued for the inclusion of Troy III-V within MH, mostly on other grounds: "Dating Troy II", Mycenaean Seminar, January 1979.
50. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia 29 (1960) pp.302-3.
51. Ibid. J. Rutter, Hesperia 52 (1983) pp.327-355.
52. Alt-Ägina III.1: p.133 (cf. p.131: Walter and Felten attribute its earlier absence to accidents of excavation).
53. R.L.N. Barber in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.89: painted "geometric" vases.
54. J.C. Overbeck in The Prehistoric Cyclades pp.109, 111f.
55. R.J. Howell, BSA 61 (1966) fig.21:45, 46.
56. Troy II fig.170:9, 12.
57. Hesperia 23 (1954) pl.11b.
58. Cf. At.195-3511, Fig.V.19; Poliochni II Tav.CXCIV-CXCVIII.
59. Mellink, in The End of the Early Bronze Age pp.146ff.
60. MH forms as in R.J. Buck, Hesperia 33 (1964) pls.39-41 and pp.283-8.
61. Troy II p.25.
62. Prehistoric Thessaly p.182, fig.126d.
63. Korakou p.16 fig.21.
64. Kirrha pl.XLVII.
65. Eutresis p.160 fig.223.
66. Troy I fig.414:10, 35; Troy II fig.81:III.33, III.137; but they do also occur at other periods.
67. J. Jannoray, H. van Effenterre, "Fouilles de Krisa", BCH 62 (1938) p.118 fig.8.
68. Troy II fig.73:F15.
69. AJA 72 (1968) p.316; Hesperia 25 (1956) pl.43b; 26 (1957) p.150f, pl.40d, f;
70. Hesperia 24 (1955) pl.14a. There is another at SS 2522.
71. Eutresis fig.203, pl.XIII.
72. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia 29 (1960) p.303; J.A. MacGillivray in The Prehistoric Cyclades pp.73-5.
73. See discussion of Possible Imports in the section on EB-MB pottery.
74. Troy II p.27f.
75. R.L.N. Barber in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.91; e.g. C. Zervos, L'Art des Cyclades... (Paris 1957) pl.119.
76. E.g. Phylakopi pl.IV:12 (phase I-ii); Barber, op.cit. p.92.
77. Phylakopi pl.IV:12.
78. See discussion on shape A33.
79. Kirrha pl.XXXIX:18; Korakou fig.44.
80. Kirrha pl.XL:36.
81. See discussion on shape A228.
82. Phylakopi pl.VIII:7.
83. R.J. Buck, Hesperia 33 (1964) p.287, shape C1; cf. e.g. Phylakopi pl.VIII:4.
84. See discussion of shape C205.
85. See discussion of shape A219.
86. See discussion of shape C12 (the hydria is C6 in Buck's MH classification).

87. Troy II p.109; J. Rutter, Hesperia 52 (1983) p.341 n.45.
88. Troy II fig.170:9, 12.
89. Ibid. p.107.
90. E.g. Kultepe 1949 pl.XX:74.
91. R.J. Buck, Hesperia 33 (1964) pl.39, p.291.
92. Korakou p.28, fig.38.
93. J.C. Overbeck in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.110; cf. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia 41 (1972) fig.10: D59-60; pl.87:E10; pl.88:E19.
94. J.C. Overbeck, op.cit. p.111; cf. J.L. Caskey, op.cit. fig.8:D4.
95. J. Kâmil, Yortan Cemetery, esp. p.56.
96. J. Seeher, Demircihüyük III.1:pp.157-9, 161-2.
97. T. Efe, Demircihüyük III.2 pp.95-103.
98. Ibid. pp.97, 102; cf. M. Korfmann in Demircihüyük II: Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen (Mainz 1987) p.xvii.
99. J. Seeher, Demircihüyük III.1 pp.159f.
100. Ibid. p.160.
101. Beycesultan XIX-XVII = Troy I: Beycesultan I p.112; D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.146f; M.J. Mellink, in Chronologies p.114. Beycesultan XIX-XVII = pre-Troy I: M.J. Mellink, AJA 69 (1965) 250; J. Mellaart, Studia Balcanica 5 (1971) p.122.
102. D.H. French, Anatolia and the Aegean p.157; cf. Anatolian Studies 11 (1961) p.117.
103. B. Weninger, "Die Radiocarbonaten" in Demircihüyük II pp.4-13.
104. Cf. M. Korfmann, Demircihüyük II p.xi.
105. Weninger, op.cit., arrives at a slightly higher chronology (2850-2620) by means of wiggle-matching; but his study seems to antedate the new calibration curves of Radiocarbon 28 (1986). Korfmann, op.cit. p.xviii, shows phases D-M spanning c.2920-2580 B.C. - a similar finding to our own.
106. KN-2422, LJ-5236.
107. G.A. Wagner, K.L. Weiner, "Thermolumineszenz-Datierung an Keramik", Demircihüyük II pp.13-20; Korfmann, ibid. p.xv.
108. Prehistoric Aphrodisias pp.404-6.
109. 1579, I: cf. Yortan Cemetery shape X, e.g. Fig.55:193; 1579, II: cf. Yortan Cemetery figs.41:149, 65:216; 1579, III: cf. Yortan Cemetery fig.47:177.
110. 1579, II, III: cf. Troy I fig.228: 36.843, 36.676; fig.227:35.649.
111. 1579, nos.I-IV: cf. Beycesultan I figs.P31:5; P25:7; P45:4; P14:31.
112. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.407:17.
113. Ibid. fig.370:10.
114. Cf. Beycesultan I figs.P23:11, 14; P22:6-8, 10, 13-15; P25:14, 19.
115. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.405:14.
116. Beycesultan I fig.P.19:1.
117. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.405:4.
118. Troy I fig.241:35.
119. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.405:15a, 17, 20, 23, 35, 37.
120. Ibid. fig.402:4. Cf. Beycesultan I fig.P18:1, 2 (XVII).
121. Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.301:5; 402:14, 17.
122. Beycesultan I figs.P14:13; P15; P21:1.
123. White-on-black painted wares, handles with warts at the apex: Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.389, 392; Beycesultan I fig.P9.
124. M.J. Mellink, AJA 72 (1968) p.259.
125. T. Stech, V.C. Piggott, Iraq 48 (1986) p.58f.
126. M.J. Mellink, in End of the Early Bronze Age p.145f.
127. AJA 71 (1967) pl.84:49; 70 (1966) pl.59:19, 20; 61:27; cf. Beycesultan I figs.P42:1, 3, 4; P41:2A; B; P39:3, 4, 6; P40:2.
128. Mellink, loc.cit.; Stech and Piggott, loc.cit.
129. Radiocarbon 8 (1966) p.352f.
130. Beycesultan I pp.177-9.
131. D.H. French, AnSt 17 (1967) p.65; 19 (1969) p.67; Troy I p.220f.

132. Beycesultan I fig.P46:6, 2, 5, 1 respectively.
133. Beycesultan I fig.P47:23, 24, 54, 61, 62.
134. Mellaart's correlations in Beycesultan I of Beycesultan types with Trojan types are of course affected by the changed chronological distributions of Trojan types which emerge from this study.
135. See discussion of shapes A37, B216.
136. Beycesultan I fig.P52:15.
137. Ibid. fig.P55:19-24.
138. Troy II figs.64:34-336; 66:35-524; 37-1122, 34-399, 34-338.
139. Troy I fig.403:37-1113.
140. 73-437; At.142-2791, 171-3304, 3305 (Fig.V.36).
141. Troy II pp.30, 35; fig.78:III-20, 33-201; 80:34-327; also, from Schliemann, Fig.V.26:72-1146, *72-1214, 72-1823.
142. Beycesultan I p.255; fig.P56:4; P61:1, 2, 4, 6; P70:6-8, 11, 13.
143. Poliochni II Tav.CCXXa.
144. Fig.V.28:72-1658; 30:At.168-3284; Troy II fig.248:22; 258:11.
145. M. Korfmann, "Red-Cross Bowl: Angeblicher Leittyp für Troja V", in R.M. Boehmer, H. Hauptmann (eds.), Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel 2 vols (Mainz 1983) pp.292-7.
146. Ilios p.225.
147. Beycesultan I p.221, fig.P57:26, 31.
148. Tarsus II p.139:445-7, and fig.273.
149. Öktü, Intermediate Ware nos.I-B/O6, 12, 22.
150. Beycesultan I p.213, shape 6.
151. Ibid. p.221, fig.P56:2.
152. Ibid. fig.P56:3.
153. Alt-Ägina III.1:Taf.113:381, 383, 382; cf. Beycesultan I fig.P64:14, 15; P65:16.
154. Beycesultan I fig.P63:1, 5, 26; P58:5.
155. Alt-Ägina III.1, Taf.114:386.
156. Beycesultan I fig.P55:35; P57:8, 9, 13.
157. E.g. first appearance of pointed horizontal handles at widest point of bowl: Beycesultan I fig.P57:25, P58:33, P63:5-19, P65:15, 17, 18; cf. Eutresis fig.177, Korakou figs.24, 25. Pedestalled bowl with concave neck: Beycesultan I fig.P57:7, 9, cf. Eutresis fig.189. Ringed stems, Beycesultan I fig.P60:14, 15. Convex-necked jar, fig.P61:23, cf. Eutresis fig.203, pl.XIII. One-handled cup, fig.P63:50, cf. Eutresis fig.226:1. Barrel jars, fig.P69:10, 11, cf. Eutresis figs.200, 202.
158. Beycesultan II fig.P1; Troy II fig.177:11, 12, 15; 179:2-4; 180:12, 27-28; 181:6, 7; 182:10; 183:12; 186:5.
159. Hinted at in Troy V:Troy II figs.253:2, 5, 11; 257:2.
160. J.C. Overbeck in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.112; cf. Beycesultan II fig.P21.
161. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.306.
162. Ibid. fig.306:22; 307:2, 3.
163. Ibid. fig.454:13; 457:2, 6.
164. Tarsus II no.341; fig.261:359 (also fig.243:129, EBI); fig.261:351-2, 354; cf. Prehistoric Aphrodisias figs.419:12, 15, 18; 407:15, 16, 18, 19; 421:16; 419:33.
165. Tarsus II fig.256:284; cf. Prehistoric Aphrodisias fig.371.
166. Mellink, Chronologies p.115; The End of the Early Bronze Age pp.144, 149-50 (assuming a gap between Troy Ij and IIa); Spanos, ZA 67 (1977) p.101; Huot, Céramiques p.797.
167. J. Yakar, AnSt 29 (1979) p.62.
168. Tarsus II p.61.
169. Beycesultan I p.259; Anatolia and the Aegean pp.148-150.
170. See discussion of shapes A1, A43, A45.
171. Tarsus II nos.488, 489.

172. Tarsus II p.154; cf. shape B5.
173. Tarsus II fig.270:539, 545; see discussion of shape B18.
174. See discussion of shape A1.
175. Tarsus II fig.273:445; 275:596.
176. Tarsus II fig.273:445; and p.139:445-7; Ilios p.225 ("Fourth City" = III).
177. See discussions of shapes A45, A206, A221, C219, D207.
178. M.S.F. Hood, Mycenaean Seminar January 1979, has also related Troy IV-V to MB Tarsus, but on different grounds; and he regards Troy III as belonging in the same period as well.
179. Tarsus II figs.294:837, 838; 369:837.
180. See discussion of shapes A8, A20, D203, D204.
181. See discussion of shape A33.
182. See discussion of shape B5.
183. See discussion of shape B24.
184. See discussion of shapes C13, C35.
185. See discussion of shapes C19, C208.
186. Tarsus II p.168f:759-761, 769; figs.286, 367, 368.
187. Tarsus II figs.286:770; 367:A.
188. Tarsus II p.182, fig.300:934.
189. Mellink, Chronologies p.111.
190. Tarsus II p.114, fig.244:154a, b; Chuera p.69.
191. Chuera pp.63f, 65f, fig.65.
192. Tarsus II p.163, fig.285:744.
193. Korucutepe II pp.18, 73, pls.122:c, d, e; 129A:1, 4; 129B:1-6; III p.274.
194. Korucutepe II p.8:P-1618, GrN-6056, P-1629, P-1617A, B, M-2376, P-1628.
195. E.J. Peltenburg, Levant 19 (1987) pp.221-4. The supposed contemporaneity of Philia and Tarsus EBII is based on weak and invalid links: E.J. Peltenburg, "Some implications of recent Lemba Project Radiocarbon Dates for the later prehistory of Cyprus", in J. Reade (ed.), Chalcolithic Cyprus and Western Asia, British Museum Occasional Paper 26 (London 1981) pp.23-40; R. Burleigh, "Radiocarbon Dates for Lemba", *ibid.* p.21.
196. Cf. Mellink, Chronologies p.119.
197. *Ibid.* p.110; cf. Kühne, Chuera p.114.
198. Kühne, Chuera p.114; P.J. Watson, in Chronologies p.78; Mellink, Chronologies p.110, prefers an equation between EBII and Amuq H.
199. Korucutepe III pp.67-70.
200. Radiocarbon 18 (1976) pp.338-9, dates from VIc.
201. P.J. Watson, Chronologies p.80.
202. Cf. H. Hauptmann, "Die Grabungen auf dem Norşun-Tepe 1972", Keban Projesi 1972 Çalışmaları (Ankara 1976) p.78f; A. Palmieri, "Scavi nell'Area Sud-Occidentale di Arslantepe", Orini 7 (1973) pp.93-103, 112-120, 176-7.
203. Orini 7 (1973) p.179:R-930, 1008a, 1011, 1012a.
204. Kühne, Chuera p.112f.
205. P.J. Watson, Chronologies p.90.
206. *Ibid.* p.77.
207. Korucutepe II pp.67-8, 72; Orini 7 (1973) pp.115-118, 227.
208. Destruction of the EBIIa temple: Radiocarbon 18 (1976) pp.337-8.
209. P.J. Watson, Chronologies pp.75-7.
210. *Ibid.* p.79; Kühne, Chuera p.112.
211. P.J. Watson, Chronologies pp.80-1; Kühne, Chuera p.112.
212. Troy I:Troy I pp.99, 105, 112; figs.237:21; 266:7; 241:30; Early Troy II:Atlas 105-2312 (= Ilios no.23); Middle Troy II:73-661; Troy I fig.401:37.1117; fig.413:45, 46; Late Troy II:Ilios nos.406, 411, 412, p.363f; Troy I fig.396:36.1152; 401:35.646, 37.988. Unstratified:SS 423, 2082, 2155.

213. Late Troy II: Atlas 202-3603a (= SS 5862), 72-484 (= Ilios no.410), Ilios nos.407, 409; Troy III: Ilios nos.1122, 1129, Troy II fig. 70:34.750; unstratified: SS 1482-6, 1823-4. There is also Ilios no.1314, from Troy IV.
214. Late Troy II: Ilios no.408; Troy III: 73-341 (= Ilios no.1124).
215. Kühne, Chuera, argues for dates that are principally ED, but later dates are possible: cf. R. Zettler, JNES 37 (1978) pp.345-50.
216. D. Collon, First Impressions, p.22f, no.49.
217. Antiquity 61 (1987) p.128.
218. See discussion of shape A45.
219. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery pp.49, 57-60 and esp. fig.33k, 1; "Dating Troy II", Mycenaean Seminar, January 1979.
220. P. Calmeyer, "Der Grab eines Altassyrischen Kauffmanns", in J.D. Hawkins (ed.), Trade in the Ancient Near East XXIII Rencontre Assyriologique (London 1977) pp.87-97.
221. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery, pp.49, 51, 57.
222. Fig.V.39: At.196-3563, 3564, 3565; V.38: Ilios no.830.
223. Fig.V.36: At.199-3586a, 3587.
224. E.g. Grave 1422 at Ur: Maxwell-Hyslop op.cit. p.71; Antiquity 44 (1970) p.227.
225. Spanos points out that Grave 20 at Aššur has a mixture of material and may have been used more than once: ZA 67 (1977) p.105.
226. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery p.58f.
227. For this various explanations are possible without postulating fraudulence or sloppy practice: e.g. that Schliemann had no time to examine the contents of the silver jar in which the jewellery was found; or that, within a few hours of excavation, the soil contained in it had hardened to an impossible degree (Dr. E.B. French's suggestion).
228. M.J. Mellink, Anatolia 7 (1963) pp.101-115; P.Z. Spanos, ZA (1977) p.103f.
229. Maxwell-Hyslop, Mycenaean Seminar, January 1979.
230. Cf. shape A45/1.
231. Spanos, op.cit. p.101f; cf. Maxwell-Hyslop, Mycenaean Seminar, January 1979, who emphasises the fragmentary condition of the restored figure.
232. T. Özgüç, "New Observations", p.42; Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery p.15.
233. Ibid. pp.36, 42f.
234. Ibid. p.45.
235. Discussed in H. Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period", CAH³ I.2.xxivb, p.711f.
236. Ibid. So also Spanos, ZA 67 (1977) p.63.
237. K. Balkan, Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Karum Kaniš (Ankara 1955) p.63.
238. Ibid. pp.58-62; cf. H. Lewy, op.cit. pp.709-11.
239. Balkan, op.cit. pp.59-62.
240. N. Özgüç, AJA 72 (1968) p.319; Seals and Seal Impressions of Level IB from Karum Kanish (Ankara 1969) pp.59-61.
241. Ibid.; cf. also Kultepe-Kaniš II p.xxi.
242. T. Özgüç, "New Observations".
243. Mellink, Chronologies, p.119f.
244. Ibid. p.119.
245. Öktü, Intermediate Ware, p.39.
246. Korucutepe II p.8: final date for Phase D.
247. Mellink, Chronologies p.113: "EBIIb"; AJA 67 (1963) p.175.
248. Korucutepe III pp.66f, 274.
249. Radiocarbon 18 (1976) pp.338-9, dates from VIc.
250. Korucutepe III p.67; H. Hauptmann, "Die Grabungen auf dem Norşun Tepe 1970", Keban Projesi 1970 Çalışmaları p.109.

251. W. Orthmann, Keramik p.13f; K. Emre, Anadolu 7 (1963) pp.87, 90-1.
252. E.g. H. Hauptmann, op.cit. p.108; TAD 18.1 (1969) p.99; Origni 3 (1969) pp.60-65; Korucutepe III pp.69-71.
253. Radiocarbon 18 (1976) pp.338-9, date for the end of VIc.
254. K. Emre, "The Pottery from Acemhöyük", Anadolu 10 (1966) pp.99-153.
255. N. Özgüç, "Excavations at Acemhöyük", Anadolu 10 (1966) p.50; "Acemhöyük Saraylarında Bulunmuş Olan Mühür Baskıları", Belleten 41 (1977) pp.357-381: note especially the bullae of ŠamšiAdad I, Aplahanda of Carchemish, and Dugedu daughter of Iahdunlim of Mari and Uršu.
256. Radiocarbon 13 (1971) p.371f; 17 (1975) p.204.
257. 73-436 (shape A221) is another possible parallel.
258. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Mycenaean Seminar, January 1979.
259. Cf. J.V. Canby, Iraq 27 (1965) pp.42-61; P. Calmeyer, op.cit. pp.93-95.
260. Alishar VI fig.175: d2958, c2194; fig.176: e26; Kültepe 1949 pl.XXX:186; Kültepe 1948 pl.XLIX:237, 238, 240.
261. See discussions of shapes A229, B202, C210; the miniature flask is related to type A229.
262. Kültepe 1949 fig.418; Kültepe-Kaniš pl.XLII:1, 2, 3; p.64, fig.83.
263. Troy II fig.251:19-22.
264. Poliochni II Tav.CCLXVIIj, h; CCLXVIIIId-i; CCLXIXe, g; CCLXXIIa.
265. Kültepe 1948 pl.XLVI:208, 209, 211, 214.
266. Cf. W. Orthmann, Frühe Keramik Taf.34:356 (Boğazköy NW Hang 8a = Karum Ib).
267. See discussion of shape B9.
268. Troy III p.18.
269. Troy II p.229.
270. Troy III p.19; 1800 B.C. in Troy and the Trojans p.174.
271. Troy III p.18.
272. Ibid. p.20.
273. Troy and the Trojans p.174; JHS 84 (1964) p.10.
274. Troy IV p.9. Caskey later adopted a more flexible date "towards the end of the thirteenth century" with a latitude of twenty or thirty years, JHS 84 (1964) p.10.
275. Troy IV p.8.
276. Ibid. p.12.
277. Troy and the Trojans p.160.
278. Ibid. pp.163, 174.
279. Troy IV pp.143, 147; Troy and the Trojans p.174.
280. For a critique of the chronological changes see M.I. Finley, "Schliemann's Troy: One Hundred Years After", Proceedings of the British Academy 60 (1974) pp.4-6.
281. D.H. French, AnSt 17 (1967) pp.61-4; 19 (1969) p.70; J. Mellaart, CAH³ I.2 (1971) pp.700-702; D.H. French, "Migrations and 'Minyan' pottery in Western Anatolia and the Aegean" in R.A. Crossland, A. Birchall (eds.), Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean (London 1973) pp.51-4.
282. J.C. Overbeck in The Prehistoric Cyclades p.108.
283. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia 41 (1972) p.387.
284. Troy III p.147, fig.360:11.
285. Ibid. p.195.
286. Ibid. p.19.
287. I.e. only in Trench 618, Troy III fig.461 strata 11-14; Area, ibid. fig.460; and square C8, ibid. fig.511 stratum K.
288. Ibid. pp.119-122.
289. Ibid. pp.130-1.
290. Ibid. figs.449, 457.
291. There are a few parallels with MB Tarsus: A56 cf. Tarsus II fig. 288:806; A57, cf. fig.288:823; A47, cf. fig.294:830; B35, cf.

fig.295:859. But there are more with LBIA and B, a greater number being in LBIB whose material is more copious:

A73	cf. <u>Tarsus</u> II	nos.952-958 (LBIA), 950-1, 959-60 (LBIB)
A56	" " "	nos.992? 993? 983? 984, 969 (LBIA) 983, 994, 972 (LBIB)
A91	" " "	no.971? (LBIA)
73-462) 73-275)	" " "	nos.1023, 1032, 1033 (LBIA)
A48	" " "	nos.966, 967 (LBIB)
A49	" " "	no.963 (LBIB)
A47	" " "	no.965 (LBIB)
A57	" " "	nos.988, 989, 991 (LBIB)
A64	" " "	nos.975, 976 (LBIB)
A57/62	" " "	nos.988, 990 (LBIB)
D46	" " "	no.1035? (LBIB)

Innovations of Middle VI find scarcely any parallels in Tarsus LBI. Their better parallels, though few and weak, are with LBII.

292. Innovations of Early Troy VI have few parallels in Beycesultan IVc:

A61	cf. <u>Beycesultan</u> II	fig.P12:12
A60	" " "	fig.P14:1, 4.

Parallels with Beycesultan IVb are as follows:

A56	cf. <u>Beycesultan</u> II	fig.P24:36
A60	" " "	fig.P24:37, 38; P25:21
A73	" " "	fig.P25:7-9
A70	" " "	fig.P25:17?
A94	" " "	fig.P25:18-20
C68	" " "	fig.P26:4
B25	" " "	fig.P28:13?
C78	" " "	fig.P28:11
C64/65	" " "	fig.P30:1
C79	" " "	fig.P30:2

There are only few parallels between Early VI and Beycesultan IVa. IVa, however, compares well with Middle Troy VI: note the introduction of bowls and pedestal-bowls with convex profiles (P32; cf. Troy types A81, 83, 84, 98), and the Krater P31:11 (cf. C72).

293. Innovations in Early Troy VI loosely paralleled at Boğazköy are:

A89: cf. wide cups in Büyükkale IVc, F. Fischer, Hethitische Keramik Taf.51:498.

C48: cf. similar amphorae among the "more recent" cremation-burials at Osmanakaya: K. Bittel et al. Die Hethitische Grabfunde von Osmanakaya, Boğ.Hatt.II (Berlin 1952) p.25f, Taf.XII.2, discussed also by F. Fischer op.cit. p.55f, noting parallels at Alişar and Kültepe.

294. Beycesultan II p.74f; AnSt 20 (1970) p.61.

295. Troy II pp.249, 251.

296. Troy III pp.34, 36, 45, 76f. VIa would include III fig.356:2a and possibly 356:1, 6-9. VIb would perhaps include: fig.364:32; fig.360:10. VIc might include figs.426:15; 429:3; 356:5; 361:4; 354:10; 371:2; but not all the material is closely stratified.

297. Tarsus II nos.1045 (LBIA); 974, 990, 1008, 1028 (LBIB).

298. Beycesultan II p.80.

299. Tarsus II p.63.

300. Troy III p.18.

301. C.B. Mee, "Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.", AnSt 28 (1978) p.146.

302. Ibid. pp.146-7; E.B. French, "Ceramic relations between Troy and Mycenae in the LBA", IVth International Colloquium on Aegean Pre-history, Sheffield, March 1977; the proceedings await publication.

303. F. Schachermeyr, Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen: Die Ägäische Frühzeit Bd.5 (Vienna 1982) p.99f.

304. TI p.284, p.288 Beilage 39 no.II; SS 3395. On rosette-bowls see K.A. Wardle, "A Group of Late Helladic IIIB2 pottery from within the Citadel at Mycenae", BSA 68 (1973) pp.297f, 314f. Schachermeyr, op.cit. p.101, assigns SS 3395 to Troy VIIa, but without explanation.
305. C.B. Mee, AnSt 28 (1978) p.147; "The Mycenaeans and Troy", in Trojan War p.48; E.B. French, op.cit.
306. M. Korfmann, "Beşik Tepe: New Evidence for the Period of the Trojan Sixth and Seventh Settlements", in Troy and the Trojan War p.27, rightly emphasises the "basic uncertainties" in the dating of VI and VIIa, on which his own excavations may well cast some light.
307. Troy III p.49; IV p.27: Shape A71. Cf. K.A. Wardle, BSA 68 (1973) p.304f, and fig.4.
308. Schachermeyr, op.cit. p.101, cites Troy IV fig.244:1, 11, 12. Of these at least no.1 is clearly from such a bowl, cf. Troy IV p.58.
309. Troy IV fig.243:18, cited by Schachermeyr, loc.cit.
310. A. Furumark apud C. Nylander, "The Fall of Troy", Antiquity 37 (1963) p.7; C.B. Mee, AnSt 28 (1978) p.147, Trojan War pp.48-9; E.B. French op.cit. They do not quite agree which sherds are LHIIIC. Troy IV fig.245:1; 246:14 are cited by both Mee and French. Mee adds IV fig.243:19-21; 244:3; French adds IV fig.245:2; 246:32, regarding both (and fig.245:1) as local imitations. Furumark agrees with fig.243:3, but otherwise has 243:1, 15-18; 244:1-2; 246:37.
311. E.B. French, op.cit.: C.B. Mee, Trojan War p.53.
312. Schachermeyr, op.cit. p.106, places VIIb2 in Middle IIIC and VIIb1 in Early IIIC. C. Podzuweit, "Die mykenische Welt und Troja", in B. Hänsel (ed.), Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1400 vor Chr. (Berlin 1982) espouses a much lower chronology placing Troy VIIh in developed IIIC. But for criticism see M. Korfmann, op.cit. pp.26-7.
- ~~313. N.K. Sandars, "From Bronze Age to Iron Age: A Sequel to a Sequel", in J. Boardman, M.A. Brown, T.C.E. Powell (eds.), The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in Honour of C.F.C. Hawkes (London 1971) p.18; cf. TI p.297.~~
314. V. Hankey, P. Warren, "The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age", Bull. Inst. Class. Stud. 21 (1974) pp.142-152.
315. B.J. Kemp, R.S. Merrillees, Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt (Mainz 1980) chapter V and pp.252-4.
316. E.g. Review by P. Warren in The Classical Review 35 (1985) pp.147-151.
317. P.P. Betancourt, "Dating the Aegean Late Bronze Age with Radio-carbon", Archaeometry 29, 1 (1987) pp.45-49.
318. P.M. Warren, Archaeometry 29 (1987) pp.205-211; 30 (1988) pp.176-9.
319. K.A. Kitchen, Review of J. Johnson, E. Wente (eds.), Studies in Honour of G.R. Hughes in Serapis 4 (1977/8) pp.66-78.
320. Cf. V. Hankey, "Archaeological Comments on A.R. Millard's Paper", Trojan War p.18f.
321. Preferable to a date in the reign of Merneptah: cf. D.F. Easton, JHS 108 (1988) p.259f.
322. E.B. French, "A Re-assessment of the Mycenaean Pottery at Tarsus", Anatolian Studies 25 (1975) pp.72-3.
323. E. Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und Ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof (Opladen 1976) p.20.
324. SS 3620; Troy IV figs.282 nos.10-12; 285 no.8.
325. Hänsel, Beiträge p.234.
326. Troy IV fig.278 no.26.
327. SS 3754, Troja 1893 p.116f, fig.74; TI p.300, Beilage 41 no.VI; see Troy IV pp.146-7 for assessment of these pieces and details of related sherd material.

328. B. Hänsel, Beiträge p.235 n.64 refers to a personal letter from Miss Sandars but does not identify the sherds.
329. H. Quitta, "Zur Chronologie der Frühbronzezeitlichen Troja-schichten", in E. Hühns (ed.) Troja und Thrakien pp.21-29. The 5568 half-life was used, with Suess's 1979 calibration table.
330. Ibid. p.26; from SS 9487 taken from CD7 layer 4. BP 3375±60.
331. Ibid. p.26; from SS 9491 taken from CD7 layer 5. Blegen, Troy II p.221, sees this as coming from the 'earlier phases' of Troy VI. Quitta, op.cit. p.26, derives it from Troy V: BP 3615±60.