

SCHLIEMANN'S EXCAVATIONS AT TROY

1870-1873

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study is based on Schliemann's unpublished Troy excavation note books from 1870-73. It attempts to reconstruct his activities, to locate and identify the features he found, and to stratify and date the several thousand objects he recorded. There is some degree of synthesis with the later findings of Dörpfeld and Blegen, and a review, in the light of all these findings, of the chronology of the Bronze Age strata. The study covers all periods from Early Bronze Age to Byzantine, and all classes of material.

A reconstructed contour-plan permits a new and closer understanding of Schliemann's progress. Fifty-two areas of work are distinguished in each of which an outline stratigraphy can be reconstructed. Objects are assigned to specific strata, although Schliemann's frequent failure to specify from which trench which objects came can inject varying degrees of uncertainty into the operation.

The sequence of fortifications on the North side of the site is greatly clarified, especially for Troy II and VI. Buildings in the citadel interior are more closely dated, and the sequence in Troy II is substantially re-organised to allow for at least twelve building-phases. The earth-movements supposed to have demolished Troy VI are unlikely to have antedated late VIIa.

Troy I-II.4 belong to EBII (c.3000-2465); wheelmade plates and one-handled tankards first appear in II.1. Troy II.5-III belong to EBIII (c.2465-2005); two-handled cups and tankards appear in II.5 after an increase of wheelmade plain ware in II.4. Troy III is contemporary with early Middle Helladic. Troy IV-V belong to the Anatolian Middle Bronze Age (c.2005-1712), and VI-VII are purely Late Bronze Age (c.1712-1070). VIh was destroyed c.1270(?), probably around the end of LHIII B1, and VIIa was destroyed c.1190(?) during LHIII C.

CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	8
LIST OF TABLES	13
ABBREVIATIONS	14
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	21
INTRODUCTION	23
I. TROY BEFORE SCHLIEMANN	25
Travellers' Observations, c.565-1784 A.D.	26
Survey Results, 1784-1853	29
First Excavations, 1855-1865	37
Reconstruction of the Mound before Excavation	46
Footnotes	57
II. THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES	65
Range and Extent of the Sources	66
The Question of Schliemann's Reliability	76
Footnotes	81
III. THE HISTORY OF THE EXCAVATIONS	87
1870	88
1871	89
1872	95
1st-25th April	95
1st-11th May	98
12th-22nd May	104
23rd May-18th June	105
19th June-13th July	110
13th July-4th August	115
5th-9th August	120
15th-16th September	121
1873	122
2nd-23rd February	122
24th February-6th March	127
7th-15th March	130
17th-22nd March	132
24th-29th March	134
31st March-5th April	134
7th-16th April	136
17th April-10th May	137
10th-24th May	142
26th May-14th June	145
Footnotes	150
IV. THE RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS	169
Preface	170
The Northeast Trench	184
Area i, GH 2-3	190
Area ii, GH 2-4(a)	192
Area iii, GH 2-4(b)	198
Area iv, FGH 3-4(a)	202
Area v, FGH 3-4(b)	206

	Page
The North Platform	210
Area i, CDEF 2-3	219
Area ii, CDEF 3	232
Area iii, F3	240
Area iv, F3-4(a)	241
Area v, F3-4(b)	249
Area vi, DE 3	253
Area vii, CD 3-4	254
Area viii, DE 3-4(a)	260
Area ix, DE 3-4(b)	264
The North-South Trench: Northern Sector	267
Area i, D5	273
Area ii, CD 3-5	275
Area iii, CD 4	282
Area iv, D5-6	300
Area v, D4-6	302
Area vi, D3-4-5	311
Area vii, E4-5	312
The North-South Trench: Southern Sector	315
Area i, CD 8-9(a)	320
Area ii, CD 8-9(b)	322
Area iii, CDE 7-8	323
The North-South Trench: Central Sector	336
Area i, DE 6-7	340
Area ii, CDE 6-7(a)	358
Area iii, CDE 6-7(b)	364
The Southeast Trench	365
Area i, HJ 8	369
Area ii, H7-8	372
Area iii, GHJ 7-8	376
Area iv, GH 6-7	380
The East-West Trench	382
Area i, EFGH 6-7(a)	388
Area ii, EFGH 6-7(b)	390
Area iii, EF 6-7(a)	396
Area iv, EF 6-7(b)	402
Area v, EF 7	405
Area vi, G7(a)	414
Area vii, EF 6-7(c)	417
Area viii, E6	421
Area ix, G7(b)	421
The Northwest Trench	422
Area i, AB 4-5(a)	427
Area ii, AB 4-5(b)	430
Area iii, AB 4-5(c)	434
The West Trench	438
Area i, AB 5-6(a)	442
Area ii, AB 5-6(b)	445
The Western Area	448
Area i, C5	455
Area ii, C6(a)	455
Area iii, C6(b)	457
Area iv, CD 5-6(a)	461
Area v, CD 5-6(b)	474
Area vi, BC 5-6	486
The Northeast Slope, HJ 1-2	502

	Page
V. A SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE	504
Part I: THE STRUCTURE OF THE MOUND	505
Footnotes to Part I	508
Part II: TROY I-V - THE EARLY AND MIDDLE BRONZE AGE	509
Architecture	509
Pottery	525
Metalwork and Metalworking	592
Bone Artefacts	599
Ground and Polished Stone Artefacts	601
Chipped Stone Tools	605
Figurines	606
Seals	608
Weights	609
Miscellaneous Objects of Terracotta	610
Human Remains	611
Animal Remains	615
Plant Remains	616
Footnotes to Part II	619
Part III: TROY VI-VII - THE LATE BRONZE AGE	638
Architecture	638
Pottery	644
Metalwork	649
Stone Artefacts	651
Bone Artefact	652
Small Finds of Terracotta	652
Figurines	653
Human Remains	653
Animal Remains	654
Plant Remains	655
Footnotes to Part III	657
Part IV: TROY VIII-IX - THE ARCHAIC, CLASSICAL, HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS	664
Architecture	664
Architectural Fragments	668
Pottery	669
Metalwork	669
Other Small Finds	671
Terracotta Figurines	672
Sculptures	676
Inscriptions	676
Coins	677
Human Remains	684
Animal Remains	685
Plant Remains	685
Footnotes to Part IV	687
Part V: THE BYZANTINE PERIOD	694
Footnotes to Part V	696
Part VI: CHRONOLOGY OF THE BRONZE AGE STRATA	697
Troy I-V	697
Troy VI-VII	717
Footnotes to Part VI	724

	Page
INDICES	735
I. Index of Features	736
II. Index of Objects Illustrated in Schliemann's Diaries, 1872-73	742
III. Index of Objects Illustrated in the <u>Atlas</u>	787
IV. Index of Objects Illustrated in <u>Troy and Its Remains</u>	817
V. Index of Objects Illustrated in <u>Ilios</u>	822
VI. Index of Objects in Schmidt's Catalogue	831

TABLES I-XXXIII

FIGURES I.1 - V.60

SUBSIDIARY MATTER SUBMITTED IN SUPPORT OF THE THESIS

1. "The Schliemann Papers", BSA 77 (1982) 93-110.
2. "Schliemann's Discovery of Priam's Treasure: two enigmas", Antiquity 55 (1981) 179-83.
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6. "Has the Trojan War been found?", Antiquity 59 (1985) 188-96.
7. Review of L. Deuel, Memoirs of Heinrich Schliemann, in Bull. Inst. Arch. 17 (1980) 174-5.
8. Review of H. Döhl, Heinrich Schliemann: Mythos und Ärgernis, in The Classical Review 33 (1983) 286-7.
9. Review of F. Schachermeyr, Mykene und das Hethiterreich, in The Classical Review NS 38 (1988) 303-305.
10. Review of G.A. Lehmann, Die mykenischfrühgriechische Welt und der östliche Mittelmeerraum in der Zeit der 'Seevölker' - Invasionen um 1200 v. Chr., and F. Schachermeyr, Mykene und das Hethiterreich, in JHS 108 (1988) 259-260.
11. "Hittite Land Donations and Tabarna Seals", JCS 33 (1981) 3-43.

## LIST OF FIGURES

### CHAPTER I

- I.1 Franz Kauffer's plan of Hisarlık, taken in 1793; reproduced from Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II (1822) plate 35. The drawing of the architectural remains may be the work of Dubois in 1814.
- I.2 J-B Hilaire's view of the southern spur of Hisarlık in 1814; reproduced from Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II (1822) plate 36.
- I.3 Three sketches of Hisarlık in 1847, after Maclaren:  
1. Sketch-plan, based on Forchhammer.  
2. Outline as seen from the North.  
3. Outline, said to be from the Northwest, but actually from the West.
- I.4 Adolphe Laurent's plan of April 1872, published in Atlas Taf.116.
- I.5 Plan of the excavations at the end of the 1872 season; drawn by Sisilas in September 1872, published in Atlas Taf.117.
- I.6 Plan of the excavations at the end of the 1873 season; drawn by Adolphe Laurent, published in Atlas Taf.214.
- I.7 Assemblage of spot-heights, contours and pseudo-contours for the site of Hisarlık, all corrected to Dörpfeld's standard. These form the basis of the reconstructed contour-plan.
- I.8 Tentative reconstruction of Hisarlık before excavation.
- I.9 The location of Frank Calvert's trenches.

### CHAPTER II

- II.1 Daily entries in the diary for 1870.
- II.2 " " " " " " 1871.
- II.3 " " " " " " 1872
- II.4 " " " " " " 1873
- II.5 A periodic résumé from the diary for 1873.

### CHAPTER III

- III.1 Schliemann's excavations in 1870.
- III.2 Schliemann's excavations in 1871.
- III.3 Schliemann's excavations during 1st-25th April 1872.
- III.4 Schliemann's excavations during 1st-11th May 1872.
- III.5 Schliemann's excavations during 12th-22nd May 1872.
- III.6 Schliemann's excavations during 23rd May-18th June 1872.
- III.7 Schliemann's excavations during 19th June-13th July 1872.
- III.8 Schliemann's excavations during 13th July-4th August 1872.
- III.9 Schliemann's excavations during 5th-9th August 1872.
- III.10 Schliemann's excavations during 2nd-23rd February 1873.
- III.11 Schliemann's excavations during 24th February-6th March 1873.
- III.12 Schliemann's excavations during 7th-15th March 1873.
- III.13 Schliemann's excavations during 17th-22nd March 1873.
- III.14 Schliemann's excavations during 24th-29th March 1873.
- III.15 Schliemann's excavations during 31st March-5th April 1873.
- III.16 Schliemann's excavations during 7th-16th April 1873.
- III.17 Schliemann's excavations during 17th April-10th May 1873.

- III.18 Schliemann's excavations during 10th-24th May 1873.  
III.19 Schliemann's excavations during 26th May-14th June 1873.

CHAPTER IV

- IV.1 Key.  
IV.2 Reconstructed section of trench GH 2-3, along the line GH.  
IV.3 Reconstructed plan of trench GH 2-4(a).  
IV.4 Reconstructed section of trench GH 2-4(a), along the line GH.  
IV.5 Reconstructed plan of trench GH 2-4(b).  
IV.6 Reconstructed section of trench GH 2-4(b), along the line GH.  
IV.7 Hypothetical reconstruction of the lie of the strata in trench GH 2-4(b).  
IV.8 Reconstructed plan of trench FGH 3-4(a).  
IV.9 Reconstructed section of trench FGH 3-4(a), looking Northwest.  
IV.10 Reconstructed plan of trench FGH 3-4(b).  
IV.11 Reconstructed section of the west part of trench FGH 3-4(b), looking West.  
IV.12 Reconstructed section through the deep, central cut of trench FGH 3-4(b), looking West.  
IV.13 Reconstructed plan of trench CDEF 2-3.  
IV.14 Reconstructed section of trench CDEF 2-3, at the east end of the trench.  
IV.15 Reconstructed section of trench CDEF 2-3, through D2-3.  
IV.16 Reconstructed section of trench CDEF 3, at the east end of the trench.  
IV.17 Reconstructed section of trench CDEF 3, through D2-4.  
IV.18 Reconstructed plan of trenches CD 3-4 and F3.  
IV.19 Reconstructed section of trench F3, at the east end of the trench.  
IV.20 Reconstructed plan of trench F3-4(a).  
IV.21 Reconstructed section of trench F3-4(a), looking North-east.  
IV.22 Reconstructed section of trench F3-4(b), looking East.  
IV.23 Reconstructed section of trench CD 3-4, through D2-4.  
IV.24 Reconstructed plan of trench DE 3-4(a).  
IV.25 Reconstructed section of trench DE 3-4(c), looking East.  
IV.26 Reconstructed plan of trench DE 3-4(b).  
IV.27 Reconstructed section of trench DE 3-4(b), looking East.  
IV.28 Reconstructed plan of trench D5.  
IV.29 Reconstructed section of trench D5.  
IV.30 Reconstructed plan of trench CD 3-5.  
IV.31 Reconstructed section of trench CD 3-5.  
IV.32 Reconstructed plan of trench CD 4.  
IV.33 Reconstructed section of trench CD 4, through D2-4.  
IV.34 Reconstructed section of trench D5-6.  
IV.35 Reconstructed section of trench D4-6, at the east side of the trench.  
IV.36 Reconstructed plan of trench D3-4-5.  
IV.37 Reconstructed plan of trench E4-5.

- IV.38 Reconstructed plan of trench CD 8-9(a).
- IV.39 Reconstructed section of trench CD 8-9(a), at the east side of the trench.
- IV.40 Reconstructed section of trench CD 8-9(b), through D8-9.
- IV.41 Reconstructed section of trench CDE 7-8, at the east side of the trench, showing selected bench-marks from TI Taf.III, probable locations of selected finds, and suggested lines of strata.
- IV.42 Reconstructed section of trench CDE 7-8, at the east side of the trench.
- IV.43 Reconstructed plan of trench CDE 7-8.
- IV.44 Reconstructed plan of trench DE 6-7.
- IV.45 Reconstructed section of the central area of trench DE 6-7, along the line of the east side of the North-South trench.
- IV.46 Reconstructed section of the eastern area of trench DE 6-7, at the east side of the trench.
- IV.47 Reconstructed section of the western area of trench DE 6-7, at the west side of the trench. Section shown in mirror-image.
- IV.48 Reconstructed plan of trench CDE 6-7(a).
- IV.49 Reconstructed section of the eastern area of trench CDE 6-7(a), at the east side of the trench.
- IV.50 Reconstructed section of trench HJ 8, looking North-east.
- IV.51 Reconstructed plan of trench HJ 8.
- IV.52 Reconstructed section of trench H7-8, looking North-east.
- IV.53 Reconstructed plan of trenches H7-8 and EFGH 6-7(a).
- IV.54 Reconstructed section of trench GHJ 7-8, looking Northeast.
- IV.55 Reconstructed plan of trenches GHJ 7-8 and EFGH 6-7(b).
- IV.56 Reconstructed section of trench EFGH 6-7(a), looking North.
- IV.57 Reconstructed section of trench EFGH 6-7(b), looking North.
- IV.58 Reconstructed section of trench EFGH 6-7(b), looking West.
- IV.59 Reconstructed section of trench EF 6-7(a-b), looking West.
- IV.60 Reconstructed section of trench EF 7, looking West.
- IV.61 Reconstructed plan of trenches EF 7 and G7.
- IV.62 Reconstructed section of trench G7, looking West.
- IV.63 Reconstructed plan of trench EF 6-7(c).
- IV.64 Reconstructed section of trench EF 6-7(c), looking North.
- IV.65 Reconstructed plan of trenches AB 4-5(a) and AB 5-6(a), showing their relation to buildings of Troy VI and IX.
- IV.66 Reconstructed sections of trench AB 4-5(a): (a) the northeast face (b) the south end.
- IV.67 Reconstructed plan of trench AB 4-5(b).
- IV.68 Reconstructed section of the east side of trench AB 4-5(b), looking Northeast.
- IV.69 Reconstructed section along the centre of trench AB 4-5(b), looking Northeast.
- IV.70 Reconstructed section across the south end of trench

- AB-4-5(b), looking Southeast.
- IV.71 Reconstructed plan of trench AB 4-5(c).
- IV.72 Reconstructed section of the east side of trench AB 4-5(c), looking Northeast.
- IV.73 Reconstructed section along the centre of trench AB 4-5(c), looking Northeast.
- IV.74 Reconstructed section across the south end of trench AB 4-5(c), looking Southeast.
- IV.75 Reconstructed sections of trench AB 5-6(a): (a) the northwest face (b) the north end.
- IV.76 Reconstructed plan of trench AB 5-6(b).
- IV.77 Reconstructed section of trench AB 5-6(b), looking Northwest.
- IV.78 Reconstructed section of trench C6(a), looking Northwest. (The building shown as Deposit (2) cannot in reality be reconstructed at all.)
- IV.79 Schematic representation of relative depths of strata in C6(b), looking Northeast.
- IV.80 Very tentative reconstruction of a building of Troy VI-VII in C6(b), based on the supposition that Schliemann observed some relationship between Wall 51 and Walls 49,50.
- IV.81 Reconstructed plan of trench CD 5-6(a).
- IV.82 Reconstructed section of trench CD 5-6(a), looking through square C6 to the Northeast.
- IV.83 Reconstructed and schematic section of trench CD 5-6(a), looking to the Northwest and showing a possible Troy VI terrace.
- IV.84 Reconstructed plan of trench CD 5-6(b).
- IV.85 Reconstructed section of trench CD 5-6(b), looking Northwest.
- IV.86 Reconstructed section of trench CD 5-6(b), looking Northeast.
- IV.87 Reconstructed plan of trench BC 5-6.
- IV.88 Reconstructed section of trench BC 5-6, looking North.
- IV.89 Reconstructed section of trench BC 5-6, looking Northwest.

#### CHAPTER V

- V.0 Composite North-South section through the mound.
- V.1 Plan of Late Troy I.
- V.2 Plan of Troy II.1.
- V.3 Plan of Troy II.2.
- V.4 Plan of Troy II.3.
- V.5 Plan of Troy II.4.
- V.6 Plan of Troy II.5.
- V.7 Plan of Troy II.6.
- V.8 Plan of Troy III.
- V.9 Plan of Troy IV.
- V.10 Plan of Troy V.
- V.11 Plan of Troy VI.
- V.12 Plan of Troy VIIa.
- V.13 Plan of Troy VIIb.
- V.14 Plan of Troy VIII.
- V.15 Plan of Troy IX.
- V.16 Pottery of Troy I; Pottery of Late Troy I or Early Troy II.

- V.17 Pottery of Troy II.
- V.18 Pottery of Troy II, continued.
- V.19 Pottery of Troy II, continued.
- V.20 Pottery of Troy II, continued.
- V.21 Pottery of Troy II, continued.
- V.22 Pottery of Late Troy II.
- V.23 Pottery of Late Troy II, continued.
- V.24 Pottery of Late Troy II, continued; Pottery of Troy III.
- V.25 Pottery of Troy III, continued.
- V.26 Pottery of Troy III, continued.
- V.27 Pottery of Troy III, continued; Pottery of Troy II or Troy III.
- V.28 Pottery of Troy IV.
- V.29 Pottery of Troy IV, continued.
- V.30 Pottery of Troy III or Troy IV; Pottery of Troy V.
- V.31 Pottery of Troy II-V.
- V.32 Pottery of Troy VI, Troy VI-VII.
- V.33 Pottery of Troy VI-VII; Pottery of Troy VII.
- V.34 Pottery of Troy VIII; Pottery of Troy IX.
- V.35 Metalwork of Troy I-II, Troy II and Late Troy II.
- V.36 Metalwork of Late Troy II, continued.
- V.37 Metalwork of Late Troy II, Troy III, Troy IV, Troy V and Troy II-V.
- V.38 Metalwork of Troy VI-VII and Troy VIII-IX; Jewellery of Troy I and Troy II.
- V.39 Jewellery of Late Troy II, Troy III, Troy IV, Troy VI-VII.
- V.40 Moulds of stone and terracotta.
- V.41 Ground stone objects of Troy I, Troy II and Late Troy II.
- V.42 Ground stone objects of Troy III to Troy IX.
- V.43 Bone artefacts of Troy I to Troy VII.
- V.44 Stone Figurines of Troy I to Troy III.
- V.45 Stone Figurines of Troy IV to Troy IX; Bone Figurines; Terracotta Figurines.
- V.46 Seals; Terracotta Balls.
- V.47 Stone and Terracotta Weights.
- V.48 Miscellaneous Objects of Terracotta; Unpublished sculptures of Troy VIII-IX.
- V.49 Selection of Spindle-Whorls.
- V.50 Selection of Spindle-Whorls, continued.
- V.51-55 Blegen's Pottery Types for Troy I-V.
- V.56-58 Additional Pottery Types for Troy I-V.
- V.59 Conspectus of short-lived depas types.
- V.60 Map

LIST OF TABLES

- I Comparison of altitudes in published plans of the site.
- II Conversion-table for standardising altitudes.
- III List of altitudes and their conversions used to compile contour-map.
- IV Allocation of objects found during 1st-25th April 1872.
- V Allocation of objects found during 1st-11th May 1872.
- VI Allocation of objects found during 12th-22nd May 1872.
- VII Allocation of objects found during 23rd May-18th June 1872.
- VIII Allocation of objects found during 19th June-13th July 1872.
- IX Allocation of objects found during 13th July-4th August 1872.
- X Allocation of objects found during 5th-9th August 1872.
- XI Assumed Excavation-dates of objects in Atlas plates, 1873.
- XII Objects excavated in 1873: allocation to probable periods of excavation.
- XIII Allocation of objects found during 2nd-23rd February 1873.
- XIV Allocation of objects found during 24th February-6th March 1873.
- XV Allocation of objects found during 7th-15th March 1873.
- XVI Allocation of objects found during 17th-22nd March 1873.
- XVII Allocation of objects found during 24th-29th March 1873.
- XVIII Allocation of objects found during 31st March-5th April 1873.
- XIX Allocation of objects found during 7th-16th April 1873.
- XX Allocation of objects found during 17th April-10th May 1873.
- XXI Allocation of objects found during 10th-24th May 1873.
- XXII Allocation of objects found during 26th May-14th June 1873.
- XXIII Proposed re-distribution of Blegen's Troy II deposits.
- XXIV Sequence of fortifications in Troy II.
- XXV Approximate percentages of fine and coarse wares in Troy I-V.
- XXVI Approximate percentages of fine wares in Troy I-V.
- XXVII Proportions of fine wares in Troy I-V.
- XXVIII Distribution of pottery types in Troy I-V.
- XXIX Pottery types in re-distributed deposits from Blegen's Troy II.
- XXX Distribution of new pottery types in Troy I-V.
- XXXI Incidence of patterns on whorls.
- XXXII Incidence of patterns on whorls - percentages of types within each period.
- XXXIII Chronological Table, Troy I-V.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	<u>Archäologischer Anzeiger</u>
<u>AAZ</u>	<u>Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung</u>
<u>AD</u>	'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
<u>AE</u>	'Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
<u>Aegean Metalwork</u>	<u>K. Branigan, Aegean Metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Oxford 1974)</u>
<u>Aghios Kosmas</u>	<u>G.E. Mylonas, Aghios Kosmas: An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica (Princeton 1959)</u>
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>Alaca 1935</u>	<u>R.O. Arık, Alaca Höyük Hafriyatı: 1935 Deki Çalışmaları ve Keşiflere Ait İlk Rapor (Ankara 1937)</u>
<u>Alaca 1936</u>	<u>H.Z. Koşay, Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük: Ein Vorbericht über die im Auftrage der Türkischen Geschichtskommission im Sommer 1936 Durchgeführten Forschungen und Entdeckungen (Ankara 1944)</u>
<u>Alaca 1937-39</u>	<u>H.Z. Koşay, Alaca Höyük Kazısı: 1937-1939 Çalışmaları ve Keşiflere Ait İlk Rapor (Ankara 1951)</u>
<u>Alaca 1940-48</u>	<u>H.Z. Koşay, M. Akok, Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük: Vorbericht über die Forschungen und Entdeckungen von 1940-1948 (Ankara 1966)</u>
<u>Alaca 1963-67</u>	<u>H.Z. Koşay, M. Akok, Alaca Höyük Excavations: Preliminary Report on Research and Discoveries 1963-1967 (Ankara 1973)</u>
<u>Alishar I, II</u>	<u>H.H. von der Osten, E.F. Schmidt, The Alishar Hüyük: Season of 1927, 2 parts, OIP VI-VII (Chicago 1930,1932)</u>
<u>Alishar III, IV</u>	<u>H.H. von der Osten, The Alishar Hüyük: Seasons of 1928 and 1929, 2 parts, OIP XIX-XX (Chicago 1932,1933)</u>
<u>Alishar V, VI, VII</u>	<u>H.H. von der Osten, The Alishar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930-1932, 3 parts, OIP XXVIII, XXIX, XXX (Chicago 1937)</u>
<u>Alt-Ägina III.1</u>	<u>H. Walter, F. Felten, Alt-Ägina III.1: Die Vorgeschichtliche Stadt (Mainz 1981)</u>
<u>AM</u>	<u>Athenische Mitteilungen</u>
<u>AnSt</u>	<u>Anatolian Studies</u>
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## INTRODUCTION

The need for a re-examination of the site of Troy was something which struck me in 1973, when I first began to study archaeology. Here was a pivotal site, dug by three excavators, with three sets of results which appeared only partially reconcilable. The situation seemed to require that each set of findings be dismantled into its component parts, be combined with the others, and that the whole be reassembled in the manner of a gigantic, three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle; thus a grand synthesis would emerge. This is a task which the present study only begins.

When I subsequently began research into the problem it was increasingly borne in on me that Schliemann's work, which was far more extensive than that of either of his successors, had to be taken seriously, and that for this it was necessary to consult his excavation notebooks. Of these I received copies in 1979, and in due course it became apparent that the volume and complexity of this material alone, if it was to be fully understood, would itself require a full-length study. Such is the genesis of the present work. This study aims, then, to reconstruct Schliemann's activities in 1870-73, to locate and identify the features he found, and to stratify and date the objects he recorded. I hope that it will enable scholars to refer with greater confidence to the Schliemann material, and to gain a clearer idea of its relation to the site as a whole.

It is not perhaps archaeology in the most common sense of the word. It is a work of interpretation, based largely on textual analysis through (as it were) archaeological spectacles. It is archival, text-based, as the task requires - and all the more so as the Schliemann collection is largely lost or destroyed and since what remains is hopelessly dispersed. I have not, however, ignored the later excavators. Indeed, this work of interpretation would have been impossible without having available for constant comparison the detailed and far superior reports of Dörpfeld and Blegen. Consequently the final chapter moves towards a degree of synthesis between the three sets of findings.

Schliemann recorded the progress of his excavations, and the locations of his finds, by measuring in from the side of the mound and down from

its surface; but he left no adequate contour plan by which these measurements might be understood. Chapter I therefore reconstructs the shape of the mound as it was before excavation, drawing on information from the excavators and from earlier travellers and antiquaries. The resulting contour plan provides the key, I believe, to a new and closer understanding of Schliemann's work. Chapter II describes and evaluates the documentary sources on which this re-assessment is based, and Chapter III then proceeds to define as closely as possible where Schliemann was digging, and to what depths, on what dates. Fifty-two areas of work are distinguished and all are plotted onto the contour plan. Chapter IV takes the areas of work so defined and reconstructs within each what in the way of stratigraphy it is possible to salvage from the records. Objects are catalogued and assigned, sometimes only tentatively, to the strata from which they may have come. The areas are grouped into "trenches", and for each trench I have provided an introductory summary of the sequence revealed within it. Chapter V draws together the findings of Chapter IV, and discusses all the material period by period and category by category. It covers all periods from Early Bronze Age to Byzantine, and all classes of material; the bulk, however, comes from Troy I-V. A final section reconsiders the Bronze Age chronology of the site.

In archaeology very little is certain, and in Schliemann even less. I hope that at least this study does not aggravate the problem.

CHAPTER I:

TROY BEFORE SCHLIEMANN

When Schliemann began to dig at Hisarlık in 1870 he was not broaching an unknown site. During the thirteen and a half centuries that separated its abandonment<sup>1</sup> from its excavation the site was seen, drawn, planned and discussed by many visitors, some of whom have left us information about its virgin appearance. The purpose of this chapter is to bring together their observations, discussing attribution and priority where necessary; and to reconstruct, so far as possible, the appearance of the mound at Hisarlık as it was before Schliemann began to dig. This last is fundamental to any attempt to unravel the tangled descriptions in Schliemann's early reports.<sup>2</sup> I have also allowed myself a little latitude to include some biographical details on the Calvert family, not otherwise easily come by; but an exhaustive treatment of that theme would have been out of place here.

It is not, then, with the history of the discussions on the location of "Homeric" Troy<sup>3</sup> that this chapter is concerned. Nor do I propose to deal here with the broader history of exploration in the Troad, already covered so admirably and elegantly by Professor Cook; but for the most part with the more narrowly archaeological question of the record of the site before it was excavated.

#### I. Travellers' Observations, c.565 - 1784 A.D.

The site was probably abandoned early in the sixth century A.D., and the name of Troy was not clearly linked to the remains until 1822, when Charles MacLaren published his discussion of Trojan Topography.<sup>4</sup> But the name of Troy had never been entirely lost from the region. Nicetas Choniates, writing in the early years of the thirteenth century, speaks of Armenians who came from the Troad allying themselves with Henry of Flanders in 1205 against Theodore Lascaris.<sup>5</sup> The Provinciale Romanum of c.1210 lists a "Trojan" bishopric within the Archbishopric of Cyzicus, corresponding to a suffragan bishopric, ὁ Τρωάδος, which is listed in the Greek Notitiae.<sup>6</sup> Nicephoras Gregoras (1295-1360) records that he was stranded for four days at the Hellespont and had the opportunity to visit the "obscure vestiges" of Troy.<sup>7</sup> As late as 1657 the name Troia occurs in a purely administrative context, in a despatch from Simon Reniger, the ambassador of Leopold I to the Sublime Porte, where it simply indicates a port at the lower end of the Dardanelles.<sup>8</sup>

From the accounts of travellers it is clear that among the inhabitants of the Troad itself oral tradition must have preserved both the memory of the name and, with it, various rival claims for the ancient city's true location. The site shown by locals to a traveller would depend entirely on where his ship put in. If he anchored off the West coast of the Troad he would be escorted (or follow the trail of someone else who had been escorted) to the impressive ruins at Eski Stamboul (Alexandria Troas).<sup>9</sup> This was the site seen by Pierre Belon (1548),<sup>10</sup> William Biddulph (c.1600),<sup>11</sup> William Lithgow (1609-10),<sup>12</sup> Thomas Coryate (1613),<sup>13</sup> Pietro della Valle (1614),<sup>14</sup> Jacob Spon (1675-6),<sup>15</sup> and, even as late as 1820, by William Rae Wilson.<sup>16</sup> If, on the other hand, the traveller landed at Kum Kale he would be shown the site at Yenisehir.<sup>17</sup> Zosimus the Deacon, on pilgrimage from Moscow to the Holy Land in 1419, noted that "it is precisely at the mouth [of the Hellespont] that the city of Troy was situated."<sup>18</sup> And it was the Yenisehir site that was seen by Peter Mundy (1617)<sup>19</sup> and Henry Blount (1634).<sup>20</sup> It seems to have been somewhere in this area again that in c. 1700 Aaron Hill came upon a tombstone masquerading as that of Hector on which he found this piece of nautical doggerel:

"I do suppose that here stood TROY,  
My name it is WILLIAM, a jolly Boy,  
My other Name it is HUDSON, and so,  
God bless the Sailors, where ever they do go.

I was here in the Year of our Lord 1631, and was  
bound to Old England, God bless her." 21

Those who stopped at both places were, of course, shown both sites. Thomas Dallam, while escorting to Sultan Mehmet III the organ which purported to be from Elizabeth I and which he himself had built, reached the Troad in July 1599. He anchored off the west coast opposite Tenedos and, on going ashore, looked at the Eski Stamboul ruins. After sailing to Cape Janissary he visited the Yenisehir site, where he says that he saw the ruins of Troy in more detail.<sup>22</sup> Evidently he thought that both sets of ruins belonged to one, gigantic site. Similarly Richard Wrag, in 1594, sailed past Cape Janissary "where Troy stood," and continued with "Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan Fields on the left."<sup>23</sup> Vincent de Stochove (1631) was first shown the Yenisehir site, spent the night on Tenedos, and next day went to the coast opposite to revisit the ruins of Troy where he had been told that the larger part

of them was to be seen. He was assured that there were yet more ruins five or six leagues further inland.<sup>24</sup>

The notion of an outsize Troy, even of one that had occupied the whole of the Troad, occurs in other sources as well. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (1403), on his way to the court of Timur at Samarkand, was able from his anchorage off Tenedos to see the town wall, gateways and turrets of "the mighty and populous city of Troy" (that is, of Alexandria Troas) and, rising above them, "a high steep hill (the Çigri Dağ?) on the summit of which, it is said, stood the castle known as Ilion." But on reaching the Dardanelles he further noted that "in ancient days settlements of the city of Troy occupied the whole space of countryside between this spot and the land down even to Cape St Mary [= Baba Burun] ... which is a plain of some sixty miles in extent."<sup>25</sup>

The tradition is expressed in general terms by the anglo-saxon merchant Saewulf. In 1103 he was returning from the Holy Land where he had been expiating his sins, and he records:

"After leaving Scio [Chios], we passed by the great town of Smyrna, and came to the island of Meteline, and then to Tenit [Tenedos], near which, on the coast of Romania, was the very ancient and famous city of Troy, the ruins of which as the Greeks say, are still apparent over a space of many miles."<sup>26</sup>

This passage has the additional interest of suggesting (with what reliability it is hard to say) that this inflated idea of the extent of Troy's remains was a confusion not only in the minds of the western travellers but in the minds of locals as well.

The tradition occurs in a more detailed form in the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner. Muntaner held office as the governor of Gallipoli in 1305-1309 during the time it was held by the Catalans. In describing the neighbouring area he says that the city of Troy had had a circuit of 300 miles and that it had had gates at both Cyzicus (Artaqui) and Cape Adramyti.<sup>27</sup> Both of these associations are attested elsewhere.

The association of Troy with Adramyttium perhaps turns up again in Pero Tafur's itinerary. In the autumn of 1437 this Spanish nobleman was returning from a visit to the Holy Land, Egypt and Cyprus. From Chios he went to Foca where he met up with an old friend from Seville. The friend

equipped him with horses so that he could go and look at Troy, and he rode off up the coast. After two days, he says, he came to the place they called Troy. He then went on to 'Ilium,' on the coast opposite Tenedos, where the impressive remains convinced him that this was the site of ancient Troy. The second site was clearly that of Alexandria Troas; and, in view of Muntaner's remarks, it is tempting to locate the first at Adramyttium.<sup>28</sup>

The claim for a location, or extension, of the site of Troy in the North of the Troad and towards Cyzicus seems to be evidenced in Ottoman sources as well as in Muntaner. Suleiman the son of Orhan, on the brink of the first Turkish conquest in Europe in 1352, was said by the Ottoman historians to have drawn inspiration from a moonlight reverie among ruins which he believed to be those of Troy, and to have launched his attack in the same night across the Dardanelles against the castle of Tzympe, near Gallipoli.<sup>29</sup> Hammer-Purgstall placed the incident at Cyzicus, whereas Choiseul-Gouffier preferred Abydos as does Donald Pitcher.<sup>30</sup> The ruins of Ilium seen by Mehmet II during his crossing of the Troad in 1462 cannot, unfortunately, be located.<sup>31</sup> Evidently, however, the passing of the Troad into Turkish hands in 1306 did not cause the oral tradition and the attendant rival claims to be entirely lost, even though Pero Tafur did find in 1437 that the Greeks of Tenedos were more informed on the subject than the mainlanders.

Hisarlık, therefore, lay within a general area to which the name of Troy had remained attached in both popular and official use, and where any or all conspicuous ruins could be ennobled with heroic associations. But this particular site seems to have escaped attention, from western travellers at least, until the end of the eighteenth century. This can be put down partly to its small size, and partly to the fact that it lay in a region that had become notorious for brigandage.

## II. Survey Results, 1784 - 1853

It was Choiseul-Gouffier's appointment in 1784 as French ambassador to the Sublime Porte that set in train the events which led to the discovery of Hisarlık.<sup>32</sup> Engineers, artillery officers and a detachment from the marine corps were placed under his direction, and he was entrusted with the task of surveying the North-East Aegean. Observatories were set up

in Pera and Tarapia, so that readings could be related to a meridian. The coastlines were determined from a corvette by a cartographical team, who also plotted in mountain peaks and principal villages. Engineers then mapped in the rest of the hinterland by trigonometrical observations on the ground. The final preparation of the maps was put in the hands of artists.<sup>33</sup>

Among Choiseul-Gouffier's team was Jean-Baptiste Chevalier,<sup>34</sup> who, after 1791, became well known as the originator of the theory which placed Troy at Pınarbaşı.<sup>35</sup> In 1785 and 1786 he was engaged in making a map of the Troad which he later published in his Description of the Plain of Troy. Apparently he was assisted by L.F. Cassas, one of Choiseul-Gouffier's draughtsmen, who is given credit in the 1802 version of the map.<sup>36</sup> In 1791, however, Chevalier simply reported that he himself had taken the measurements while Cassas "designed all the monuments;"<sup>37</sup> and the other published maps with which Cassas is associated owe little or nothing to Chevalier.<sup>38</sup> The map which Chevalier took with him when he left Turkey for Moldavia in 1787 seems to reflect some independence in the making, even though the work on it overlapped in time with that of Franz Kauffer, with whom on occasion both Chevalier and Cassas collaborated. Choiseul-Gouffier, if he had a copy, made no use of it in his Voyage Pittoresque.

Its publication, together with Chevalier's theory, in English in 1791 and in German in 1792,<sup>39</sup> had an immediate impact and established it as a standard article in the traveller's armoury for many years. Although it showed no site at Hisarlık,<sup>40</sup> it did locate the temple of Thymbraean Apollo among the not too distant ruins (actually a burial-ground) outside Halileli.<sup>41</sup> More importantly, it showed a route to Pınarbaşı ("Troy") that led from Kum Kale through Çıplak. As a result, many subsequent travellers who were keen to check his claims followed Chevalier's route and came so close to Hisarlık that its discovery soon followed. His own theory of trojan topography was later discredited; but it was Chevalier's fieldwork which led directly to the discovery of the site which, in the literature, eventually usurped from Pınarbaşı the appellation "Troy."

Credit for the discovery of Hisarlık must be given, it seems, to Franz Kauffer - as Cook has already found;<sup>42</sup> for his published maps of the Troad

all mark it as a site and were the first to do so. Cook is probably also right in giving to the discovery the presumed date of 1793. Kauffer had indeed been working for Choiseul-Gouffier in the Troad in 1786 and 1787, for Choiseul's "Carte de la Plaine de Troie levée en 1786 et 1787," although emended by Barbié du Bocage, is in essence a Kauffer product;<sup>43</sup> and Barbié du Bocage confirms that Kauffer was taking measurements in 1787 and produced a volume Matériaux pour servir au treizième chapitre du Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce.<sup>44</sup> Yet it is unlikely that the site was found at this time since Chevalier, who had been in the Troad in 1786 and 1787 as well and had left Choiseul-Gouffier only in 1787, knew nothing of it. The possibilities must be admitted, though, either that it was found late in 1787 after Chevalier had left, or that the very independence of Chevalier kept Kauffer's observations from him.

Kauffer's next and last known visit was in 1793 and may well have been prompted by Chevalier's publication in 1791 and 1792. The trip certainly included work in the area of Hisarlık, for the results are incorporated in Choiseul-Gouffier's "Plan de Ilium Recens et de ses Environs, levé en 1793 par F.Kauffer,"<sup>45</sup> where the site of Hisarlık is clearly marked and the line of its outer walls is traced. (See Fig. I.1) This visit is the most probable occasion of the discovery.

What is much more doubtful, however, is whether Kauffer ever drew the plan of the remains which appears in this map, and whether he even surveyed the site itself in any detail at all. The version of his map which was obtained by Clarke and Cripps and published by them in 1803 marks Hisarlık simply as "Ilium Pagus: Ville de Constantin."<sup>46</sup> Now it is perfectly true that, arguing on the basis of this map alone, it could be supposed that Kauffer had in fact known the detailed plan of the site but failed to show it. Although the map proclaims that it was made specially for Count Ludolf,<sup>47</sup> from whom Clarke and Cripps had received it, it has to be said that it shows every sign of being a hasty and inferior copy of some better map. It was later criticised by both Gell<sup>48</sup> and Rennell<sup>49</sup> for its inaccuracy. And we know of at least one other occasion when Kauffer warded off unwelcome attentions by handing over an inferior map: when Clarke and Cripps besieged him on his death-bed in 1802 and were palmed off with an out-of-date plan of Constantinople.<sup>50</sup> But there are other

maps to be taken into account, and it is a striking fact that the Hisarlık fortifications are absent from every other Kauffer map that was published before 1820. They are not in the derivative map published by Olivier,<sup>51</sup> which does not mark a site at Hisarlık at all (although the text does allude to the Ville de Constantin<sup>52</sup>). Rennell's version, which had come to him through John Hawkins, only scatters the site with stereotyped L-shaped marks to indicate the presence of buildings.<sup>53</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier's map of the coast of the Troad published in 1809 still marks the site with only a patch of dots.<sup>54</sup> It is true that the plan of the fortifications does appear in his "Carte de la Plaine de Troie levée en 1786 et 1787."<sup>55</sup> But that map notes that it was emended and added to by Barbié du Bocage in 1819, after Choiseul's death in 1817; and the plan of the Hisarlık remains here is palpably an imperfect copy of their more exact representation in the "1793" map under discussion. All this means that for up to eighteen years after Kauffer's death (1802) neither Choiseul-Gouffier nor anyone else was depicting the actual appearance of the Hisarlık site, despite the fact that Choiseul, at least, presumably had a copy of Kauffer's 1793 map already. And then in 1820 and 1822 the plan made its appearance. What happened in the interim?

In 1812 Clarke published the third volume of his Travels, in which he placed Ilium Novum at Hisarlık. In 1814 Choiseul-Gouffier, now in Paris, sent Dubois back to the Troad to collect detailed information on matters that still needed clarifying.<sup>56</sup> Dubois definitely spent some time at Çıplak<sup>57</sup> where he took notes on Hisarlık.<sup>58</sup> It was also a normal part of his job to take plans.<sup>59</sup> He was certainly not there just to draw the pictures of Hisarlık, because that was done by Hilaire.<sup>60</sup> It looks very much as though Clarke's publication pushed Choiseul-Gouffier into sending Dubois to make the detailed survey of Hisarlık which was lacking in Kauffer's plans. The plan must have been added to Kauffer's 1793 map without either Choiseul-Gouffier or Dubois feeling the need to acknowledge the addition; and after Choiseul's death the more scrupulous Barbié du Bocage transferred the plan, acknowledging the addition, to the map originally made by Kauffer in 1786 and 1787. Thus, while Kauffer receives the credit for first having noticed the site, to Dubois should probably go the credit for having made the first detailed survey of it. The first published picture of the site was by Hilaire (see Fig.I.2.).

Edward Clarke visited the site in 1801, accompanied by J.M. Cripps and the two artists Préaux and Lusieri, who were both engaged in making drawings for Lord Elgin; at that time British Ambassador in Constantinople.<sup>61</sup> It was perhaps on their account that the party visited Halileli, "in whose vicinity we had been instructed to seek for remains of a temple once sacred to the Thymbraean Apollo."<sup>62</sup> While in the area, they were shown a large number of coins of Ilium which had come, they were told, from Hisarlık.<sup>63</sup> These, together with the evidence of inscriptions in the neighbourhood, persuaded Clarke to propose the site's identification as New Ilium. He was not, as Cook has pointed out,<sup>64</sup> the first to place New Ilium in the region of Çıplak; but he was the first to place it specifically at Hisarlık and to do so for a sound archaeological reason - although Morritt later claimed that he had thought of the idea first, in 1794, only to reject it.<sup>65</sup> But Morritt's letters show that the site he noticed was the Çıplak burial-ground, and neither they nor his Vindication of Homer provide any support for his claim.<sup>66</sup>

Nevertheless the first person to publish the identification was not Clarke himself but Gell. His Topography of Troy, beautifully illustrated with hand-painted aquatint plates, came out in 1804, and noted that the situation of Ilium Recens had been discovered from inscriptions on the spot.<sup>67</sup> Gell himself had never visited the site,<sup>68</sup> which explains the curiously vague and unsupported air of his statement. He gives no details of the site, no description, and not even a close view in any of his plates. Hisarlık only ever appears in the distance as one feature among others in a panoramic view.<sup>69</sup> The fact is that the identification cannot be attributed to Gell. But we can see where he picked it up. His survey took place in December 1801, after which he returned to Constantinople. Shortly afterwards Clarke and Cripps came back from their tour of the Holy Land, Egypt and Greece which they had begun the previous March in the Troad. On arriving at their former lodgings in Constantinople they found them occupied by Gell and Dodwell; and thereafter all four shared the same accommodation from January till April 1802,<sup>70</sup> and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was from Clarke that he learnt of the identification. Clarke thus lost the pleasure of announcing the discovery himself; but it may have been with a view to establishing his priority that in 1812 he included in his Travels the following note:

"We were together in Constantinople in 1800; and both visited Troas in the following year. Our journey took place in March 1801: Sir W. Gell did not arrive until December."<sup>72</sup>

Gell includes in his general map of the Plain of Troy (Plate XLV) an indication of the remains at Hisarlık: a suggestion of fortification walls that follow the shape of the spur. This, too, must go back to Clarke; and published in 1804 it antedates the publication of the plan by Dubois. But it is too cursory and schematic to rank as a competitor. It was later taken over by Rennell.<sup>73</sup> Gell, however, may not have appreciated this compliment, for in the Gennadius Library in Athens there is a copy of Rennell's work which contains on p.xi a manuscript note which attributes to Gell this comment:

"Major Rennell was perfectly convinced that Troy was at Bounarbashi till about the year 1813, for in 1812 he repeatedly told me that, Dr Chandler was in his dotage when he wrote his Troy.<sup>74</sup> Rennell was become a real old woman before he wrote this work."

Although Gell went into print first with, as it seems, Clarke's identification, Clarke himself was the first to publish a verbal description of Hisarlık. It is not very detailed, but perhaps deserves to be quoted in full on account of its priority and as it is in many respects quite representative of the comments of travellers who followed:

"We came to an elevated spot of ground, surrounded on all sides by a level plain, watered by the Callifat Osmack, and which there is every reason to believe the Simoisian. Here we found, not only the traces, but also the remains of an antient citadel; Turks were then employed raising enormous blocks of marble, from foundations surrounding the place; possibly the identical works by Lysimachus when he fenced New Ilium with a wall. The appearance of the structure exhibited that colossal and massive style of architecture which bespeaks the masonry of the early ages of Grecian history. All the territory within these foundations was covered by broken pottery, whose fragments were parts of those antient vases now held in such high estimation. Here the peasants said they had found the medals which they had offered to us, and most frequently after heavy rains. Many had been discovered in consequence of the recent excavations made there by the Turks, who were removing the materials of the old foundations, for the purpose of constructing works at the Dardanelles..."<sup>75</sup>

In time the description of the site and its location was amplified by other visitors. It lay on an eminence at the end of a suite of hills, to which it was connected by a narrow ridge. On the spur itself, which was of limestone, was a large mound shaped like a truncated cone.<sup>76</sup> Three sides of the mound sloped gently away, but on the north side the slope was steep

and ran down to a marsh.<sup>77</sup>

The clearest description is given by Charles Maclaren who, despite having published his Dissertation in 1822,<sup>78</sup> did not visit the site until 1847.<sup>79</sup> He incorporated his observations in the field into his later work, The Plain of Troy Described, published only in 1863.<sup>80</sup> His ground-plan of the site (see Fig.I.3.1), if we disregard for the moment his inclusion of walls and the like which he drew in on the authority of Choiseul-Gouffier rather than from personal observation,<sup>81</sup> is taken from Forchhammer<sup>82</sup> and shows no serious divergence from Kauffer's map of 1793;<sup>83</sup> but it has the advantage of being accompanied by a more detailed commentary. It has to be recognised, however, that in the commentary Maclaren has inadvertently transposed the descriptions of the northern spur of the site (marked 'a' on the plan) and the southern spur (marked 'b'). If this is allowed for, his account records that the southern spur lay at about 84ft above the plain and that "the top of the hill generally forms a sort of plateau at nearly the same elevation." The northern spur, on the other hand, stood about 25ft higher and formed a nearly square eminence measuring c.700ft in either direction. On its eastern side it was marked at all points by an almost vertical drop to the level of the natural hill-top, and on the West by a very steep descent to the plain 110ft below. On the south side he noted that a gentle rise in the plateau reduced the difference of level to about 10ft. But even this figure seems to indicate that here too there was a distinct edge to the higher ground. Maclaren refers to this eminence (properly on the northern spur) as the acropolis, and it is this which appears in his silhouette of the site seen from the North (see Fig. I.3.2). It is, of course, the prehistoric mound of Hisarlık.

A number of visitors after Clarke rightly saw that irregularities on the surface of the site, and in particular the distinct edges on all sides of the northern spur, attested the existence of buried city walls. Dubois believed he could trace the remains of an entire circuit;<sup>84</sup> and Choiseul-Gouffier, perhaps depending on Dubois, noted in his own text the existence of an enclosure and of foundations.<sup>85</sup> Barbié du Bocage, relying on the observations of Kauffer, Dubois, Clarke, Hobhouse, Despréaux de Saint-Sauveur and others, later stated specifically that the city walls

could be seen below the surface, and that they more or less followed the contours of the site.<sup>86</sup> Ulrichs, who visited the site in 1843, confirms that the city walls could be followed easily,<sup>87</sup> and Newton<sup>88</sup> too was impressed by the obviously extensive remains below the surface. While it is true that the shape of the mound on the northern spur did indeed turn out to be a rough guide to the line of the city walls (of Troy VI, not IX), unfortunately the contours of the rest of the site proved in the event much less reliable. The circuits traced by Dubois and Forchhammer, although they coincide at some points with the Troy IX walls recorded by Dörpfeld,<sup>89</sup> are largely illusory.

Of slightly more value are the records of upstanding remains on the site. They are described in fairly general terms by a number of travellers, often with a note that they were being depleted by local peasants who were taking the stone for building. Hammer-Purgstall saw remains of ancient monuments and masonry on his visit in 1800,<sup>90</sup> and both the plan by Dubois and the engraving by Hilaire are fairly specific in showing upstanding blocks of stone on the circuit of the Troy IX wall.<sup>91</sup> These are mentioned by Barbié du Bocage also,<sup>92</sup> but he is drawing his information from Dubois and Hilaire. Forchhammer, who visited the site in 1839, was able to identify "extensive ruins" including the theatre, the city wall, the aqueduct and what he interpreted as a bath.<sup>93</sup> Von Eckenbrecher, in the following year, likewise noted some large remains of destroyed buildings.<sup>94</sup> William Turner, on the other hand, visiting the site in 1816, was able to record only "small stones, among which are some morsels of marble and brick scattered over the hill."<sup>95</sup> Rather similar observations were later made by Weston (1845)<sup>96</sup> and Newton (1853), who noted that "the remains above ground are very trifling."<sup>97</sup>

Taken as a whole, the accounts left by the surveyors and travellers provide us with little more than a rough impression of the site as it was before excavation. The plans are approximate - impressionistic, even; the verbal descriptions are mostly brief and lacking in detail. Only Maclaren's description comes close to precision, and even he has got his notes confused. This is hardly surprising. Hisarlık held no unique or outstanding interest for these writers, who were mostly aiming at a more general documentation of the Troad. Their legacy should not be judged out of context. But it is fair to say that to the modern archaeologist their accounts are of very limited value. For something more substantial

we must turn to the excavators, of whom Schliemann was not the first.

### III. First Excavations, 1855 - 1865

At this point the Calvert family must be introduced. They were a family of English origin who had been established in the Levant, and particularly in Turkey, for several decades as landowners, diplomats, merchants and bankers. They had associations with Rhodes, Smyrna, Salonika, Alexandria and Istanbul, but were also prominent residents of the Troad and the Dardanelles.<sup>98</sup> Several brothers are mentioned in the literature. Frederick appears to have been the eldest and was British Consul at the Dardanelles (Çanakkale) for many years.<sup>99</sup> James may have been the second eldest, for he acted as British Consul in Frederick's absence.<sup>100</sup> The youngest of the three who were normally resident at the Dardanelles was Frank, who appears in the Earl of Carlisle's diary as "young Mr Calvert, the consul's brother."<sup>101</sup> There were also other brothers living elsewhere. In 1857 W.N. Senior made the acquaintance of a Calvert brother in Therapia, at Constantinople. This one had apparently been born in Malta and had lived for most of his life in various parts of Turkey, including Konya and Kayseri, which he had left in 1847.<sup>102</sup> If this brother was Edward, then it was he who later attempted to mediate for Schliemann in his request for an excavation-permit in 1870.<sup>103</sup> Lascarides refers to an Edmund Calvert, British Vice-Consul in Rhodes, and to a Charles Calvert, British Consul in Monastir.<sup>104</sup>

Frederick Calvert had come to live in the Troad in 1834, at which time the British Consulship was held by his uncle, a Mr Launder.<sup>105</sup> There is also evidence for the existence of a younger Mr Launder (or Lander), son of the consul and British Vice-Consul, whom Napier and Welcker both met at Erenköy.<sup>106</sup> The younger Mr Launder had been in the Troad since at least 1829 and was still there in 1842, doing a thriving business in valonia. Launder's house at Erenköy, seen by Temple in 1834,<sup>107</sup> was in ruins from a recent fire when visited by Charles Fellows in 1838.<sup>108</sup> It appears that the father subsequently had a new house built on the same site.<sup>109</sup> To this he must have added a neighbouring house formerly owned by a Turkish Ağa,<sup>110</sup> for Senior makes clear that by the time of his visit in 1857 the Erenköy property consisted of two houses joined together.<sup>111</sup> Its size is evident from the map of Erenköy published by Frank Calvert in

his article on Ophrynum.<sup>112</sup> By 1853 the house had come into the possession of Frederick Calvert, whose ménage at that time included not only his two younger brothers and his mother-in-law, a Mrs Abbott, but also a Wallachian refugee who was practising as an artist.<sup>113</sup>

Frederick Calvert is first met in G.F. Weston's account of his visit in 1845.<sup>114</sup> He is depicted as a great sportsman, a crack shot who used to go shooting every autumn with the Paşa of Beyramiç and who was a great favourite with the Turks. His Italianate villa at the Dardanelles, still incomplete in 1871, is described by Senior;<sup>115</sup> also by Stark, who there found himself in an English world of tea and conversation.<sup>116</sup> In addition to this and the house at Erenköy, Frederick was the proprietor of two farms, both held for legal reasons in the name of his wife.<sup>117</sup> One was in the Chersonese,<sup>118</sup> but of this little is known. The other, which figures more prominently in the literature, was the Batak Farm at Akça Köy, known later as Thymbra Farm.<sup>119</sup> Here in about 1847 Frederick had bought 2-3,000 acres of land in the valley and on the slopes of the Menderes Çay,<sup>120</sup> at the southern end of the Trojan Plain. From 1853 onwards we hear of plans to drain the marshes here,<sup>121</sup> a task which was apparently completed by 1874,<sup>122</sup> but whose rewards Frederick did not live to see.<sup>123</sup> He was active in introducing European livestock and farming implements onto his lands.<sup>124</sup> From his visitors come testimonies to his industry, benevolence, humour and concern for justice.<sup>125</sup> A less flattering view is given by John Brunton, who portrays him as grasping, devious and ill-tempered when thwarted.<sup>126</sup> According to the gossips of Smyrna he was only able to maintain his position by his work as an agent for Lloyds'.<sup>127</sup>

Frederick was not the only brother to go in for farming. At some time before 1857 Frank Calvert, together with a Mr Freeman, had bought 2,000 acres of land in some other part of the Trojan Plain.<sup>128</sup> Senior tells us that this land was on the territory of Ilium Novum,<sup>129</sup> and his itinerary shows that it must have lain largely in the valley of the Dümrek Su and on the ridges to North and South.<sup>130</sup> The çiftlik which he mentions, apparently as Frank Calvert's farmhouse, may be the farm shown in his map as lying North of Halil Eli, just off the road from Erenköy to Kum Kale.<sup>131</sup> The same farm appears in Spratt's and Schliemann's maps and may have been noted as a deserted site by Cook.<sup>132</sup> The fields on Ilium Novum are likely to have lain on the western, and

perhaps southern, limits of Frank Calvert's land. But he never owned the entire site; for although in an unpublished letter of 24th September 1863 he was able to remind Newton:

"You are aware of my proprietorship to a large portion of the site of Ilium (Novum) which contains many remains of antiquity buried below its surface."

and to note that:

"A short time since whilst clearing out brushwood from the theatre, a torso and two forepaws of a lion were brought to light - just below the surface;"

the same letter nevertheless adds:

"The field containing the actual site, I am in treaty for, and hope soon to secure."<sup>133</sup>

These negotiations met with only limited success. Speaking of events in 1864 or 1865 Calvert later wrote,

"I purchased a field comprising part of the highest mound, or acropolis..."<sup>134</sup>

But it is clear from the history of Schliemann's excavations on the site that, although by 1870 and thereafter Calvert owned the eastern half of the Bronze Age mound and parts of the Lower Town (presumably on the eastern side), he never owned the western half.<sup>135</sup>

To the archaeological activities of the Calverts we shall return shortly. It is their ownership of land that is for the moment important in providing the background to the first known excavations on the site of Hisarlık.

During the Crimean War the British Government wanted military hospitals built at Smyrna and Abydos. The sanitary arrangements were a matter of particular concern. To supervise the project the War Office chose a certain John Brunton, a Londoner from Canonbury Square who had graduated in Mathematics and French from London University and had trained under his father as an engineer. His earlier experience was largely in railway construction and as an adviser to a large firm of contractors headed by Isambard Brunel. On his arrival in Turkey he selected a site two miles North of Erenköy.<sup>136</sup> Inevitably he came into contact with the Calvert family, perhaps particularly because of Ferderick's official

role in servicing the visiting troops.<sup>137</sup> Brunton enters the archaeological literature as author of a map of the Erenköy region published by Frank Calvert in 1860.<sup>138</sup> It remained for Professor Cook to draw attention to Brunton's autobiography by which his excavations at Hisarlık in the winter of 1855-56 were revealed.<sup>139</sup>

When peace negotiations began, Brunton was ordered to stop all works at the hospital. This left him with 150 men from the Army Works Corps unemployed. A programme of excavations was his solution to this dilemma, a solution to which the men were only partly reconciled by extra rations of stout. They camped out "on the plains of Troy, - determining to commence some excavations at the Necropolis." By "Troy" Brunton will here certainly have meant Pınarbaşı, following the identification still held at this date by almost all scholars as well as by both Frederick and Frank Calvert, neither of whom abandoned the view until 1860.<sup>140</sup> But the excavations "at the Necropolis" will have been at Hanay Tepe, which at this time the Calverts held to have been Troy's burial ground.<sup>141</sup> This, not Pınarbaşı itself, is likely to have been the origin of Brunton's "Trojan" objects in the British Museum.<sup>142</sup> Brunton's camp, and all his initial excavations, must then have been on Frederick Calvert's land.

When, therefore, we next read that he detached a section of men to excavate at Ilium Novum, the presumption will be strong that here too the digging took place on Calvert land, namely on the part of Hisarlık that belonged to Frank Calvert. Brunton's narrative, which was written to entertain his grandchildren, is not very informative. His excavations at Hisarlık may have lasted no more than a single day. At all events they seem to have been quite brief. Brunton records:

"I found the ruins of a temple, the Corinthian capital of one of the columns, evidently shaken down by an earthquake, was the most beautiful piece of carving I ever saw. It weighed over 3 tons - we had some difficulty getting it out of the hole in which we discovered it. There were no roads to the place along which a cart could be brought to convey it away - so I was forced to roll it up the mound under which I had found it, set it up on end, and to my great regret leave it there."

Very near the same spot he found some walls with coloured plaster.

"We dug a little deeper and came upon the tessellated pavement of a room. We cleared the whole area of the room. In the centre of the room was a large oval tessellated picture, - the subject a

Boar hunt, beautifully worked in variously tinted marbles."

At this point the work was interrupted by despatches. Brunton and his men were ordered to return immediately to the hospital, so the excavated area was filled in again. A fortnight later he returned, only to find the mosaic gone. He contented himself with removing a piece of the bordering of the room. "This," he says, "ended my explorations at Troy."

The site of Brunton's excavations cannot be determined with any certainty, but a few indications allow us to hazard a guess at its rough location. Frank Calvert's land, on which it seems likely that the excavation took place, did not at this date include any part of the mound proper. We must therefore look for a site either on the fringes of the mound or in the lower town. Schliemann reported mosaic floors from five shafts in the lower town, all damaged.<sup>143</sup> In his long trench to the south side of the mound he found a portico of syenite columns with Corinthian capitals of white marble.<sup>144</sup> A location to the South or Southeast of the mound is therefore one possibility. Another possibility is that Frank Calvert later re-excavated the same trench, before he acquired the additional land, and described it again in September 1863 in his letter to Newton.<sup>145</sup> In this case the work will probably have been in square J8. Schliemann re-opened Calvert's trench here in 1873 and found large blocks of Corinthian pillars and other sculptured blocks, together with a number of inscriptions.<sup>146</sup> These later proved to have belonged to Theatre B, whose coloured floor Dörpfeld says had been removed some years earlier by local villagers.<sup>147</sup> Brunton's stolen mosaic has been traced to the church at Kalafat.<sup>148</sup>

Frank Calvert's excavations, just referred to, are the next known archaeological assault on Hisarlık. In fact all three Calvert brothers had archaeological interests, although they followed them with varying degrees of intensity. James could comment with interest and some knowledge on Schliemann's excavations of 1870.<sup>149</sup> But fieldwork was apparently the preserve of Frederick and Frank. Until about 1863 they seem to have enjoyed a casual collaboration, Frank being the more active and having the more scholarly mind. Until 1860 they both shared the orthodox view of Chevalier that Troy lay at Pınarbaşı.<sup>150</sup> The collection of antiquities usually associated with Frank Calvert seems to have been begun as much by Frederick, if Carlisle's account of 1853 is to be

believed;<sup>151</sup> and it was in Frederick's house at the Dardanelles that Stark saw it poorly displayed in vestibule and narrow attics in the autumn of 1871.<sup>152</sup>

It seems to have been Frank who first dug a site, although the dates later given to his excavations and to Frederick's in The Levant Herald may not be wholly accurate.<sup>153</sup> Already by the time of the visits of Newton, Tozer and Carlisle in 1853, the brothers clearly had a good general knowledge of antiquities in the Troad. But their first excavations were at Hanay Tepe, on Frederick Calvert's farmland. Frank Calvert dug here in February 1853 during C.T. Newton's visit.<sup>154</sup> The excavation was written up in September 1856 and published in 1859,<sup>155</sup> apparently without any further digging. Frank Calvert later dated the excavation variously to 1856<sup>156</sup> and 1857,<sup>157</sup> but perhaps these dates reflect only the date when the report was written. The report, in Frank Calvert's usual economical style, already reveals a knowledge of the pottery sequence and of geology, together with an interest in stratification. But the section-drawing, while it superficially appears authoritative, is largely extrapolation from the limited discoveries that could be made in one vertical shaft and one horizontal trench. The report of his renewed excavations in 1878-79 under Schliemann's patronage shows the extent to which his skills of recording and interpretation had developed in the intervening 25 years.<sup>158</sup> In 1853 Frank Calvert also dug in the nearby necropolis,<sup>159</sup> where Brunton was to follow and where in 1857 Frederick - perhaps typically - entertained N.W. Senior to the excavation of some pithos-burials before lunch.<sup>160</sup> By this date Calvert had evidently dug quite a number of pithos-burials in different parts of the Troad.<sup>161</sup>

At some date between 1853 and 1859 the two brothers turned their interests to the region near Frederick's other house at Erenköy. By 1859 Frank had cleared out some wells, excavated a few tombs in the necropolis and identified the site of Ophrynum. Frederick had excavated a mound.<sup>162</sup> Frank had already explored, but probably not excavated, the area at the time of Newton's visit in 1853.<sup>163</sup> He later gave the date of his work as 1857-59.<sup>164</sup> But the results are already shown in Brunton's map - compiled in 1855-56,<sup>165</sup> and indicate an earlier date for the work - unless some of the notes in the map were added by Frank Calvert. The observations, which again include geological and palaeontological remarks,

seem to have been carefully made and the identification to be reliable;<sup>166</sup>  
the excavations were never published.

Around 1859 the two brothers extended their explorations to the Sigeum ridge. Frank explored the coast between Alexandria Troas and Cape Lectum, identifying the sites of Coloniae and Larisa, and excavating in the necropolis on Beşik Tepe.<sup>167</sup> Frederick excavated the "Tomb of Patroclus" at the northern end of the ridge.<sup>168</sup>

But the progressive draining of the marsh around Frederick's farm at Akça Köy drew their attention back to the question of Troy's location in 1860-61. Two springs, one hot and one cold, were thought to have come to light in the marsh; these the two brothers took to be the source of the Scamander. They were thus led to adopt the topography of Ulrichs, who had placed Troy at Akça Köy - the site of Frederick's farm.<sup>169</sup> Frederick Calvert remained an adherent of this view, so far as we can judge, until he died. Certainly in 1871 he still held to the identification.<sup>170</sup>

Frank, however, seems soon to have abandoned the view and to have turned his attention to Hisarlık. This produced the curious situation in which the brothers, with neighbouring farms, each believed that he alone could lay claim to the authentic site of ancient Troy. At least some element of rivalry is likely to have made itself felt; and indeed from this date we find no further evidence of the friendly, if casual, collaboration of earlier days. But there was no hostility, for Frank was again digging on his brother's land in 1871<sup>171</sup> and apparently inherited it.<sup>172</sup>

1863 in fact brought the turning-point which led to Frank Calvert's excavations on Hisarlık and, ultimately, to Schliemann's. A sudden flurry of activity announces Frank's interest in the site and is perhaps to be explained by the publication in the same year of Charles Maclaren's The Plain of Troy Described,<sup>173</sup> arguing for Hisarlık as the site of Troy. First he carried out a series of test excavations in and around Pınarbaşı. These enabled him to discard the generally-held theory of its trojan identity.<sup>174</sup> He then immediately turned to Hisarlık, where he made a small sounding, and started to negotiate for the purchase of the mound. Hitherto it has been thought, on Calvert's own authority, that his

excavations at Hisarlık only began in 1865, under the influence of von Hahn's negative results at Pınarbaşı in 1864.<sup>175</sup> This, however, is not the case, as may be seen from the letter to Newton which has already been mentioned.<sup>176</sup> It is dated 24th September 1863 and the relevant section runs as follows:

"You are aware of my proprietorship to a large portion of the site of Ilium (Novum) which contains many remains of antiquity buried below its surface. I have discovered that the site of the temple of Pallas occupied the prominent mound which rises out of the plain - an excavation I made twelve feet long by eight feet broad and three deep, disclosed a number of fluted columns a capital, an inscription and friezes, whilst others appear underneath and on all sides. Our mutual friend Mr Waddington thinks important discoveries may be made in this temple. The field containing the actual site, I am in treaty for, and hope soon to secure. The abrupt hill affords an easy method of getting rid of the rubbish in any excavation that might be made here. A short time since whilst clearing out brushwood from the theatre, a torso and two forepaws of a lion were brought to light - just below the surface.

"Now if anything could be managed with the British Museum to carry on excavations here (and elsewhere if they desired it) I would be very happy to offer my services.

"I would allow any part of my lands to be turned over, and all objects found to become the property of the British Museum (with the exception of any duplicates which the Turkish Govt. would probably claim as their right in granting the firman of excavation).

"I would however wish to have the direction of the excavation, or that my name might be attached to any discoveries made.

"My services would be gratuitous, unless the British Museum on the results of the excavations being known, might think fit to make me a compensation - but this is a matter I would leave entirely to them.

"The funds could be under the control, or not, of H.M's Consul, as the British Museum might deem preferable.

"This I think is a liberal proposal, which combined with my local knowledge and experience, that could be brought to bear favourably on the enterprise, makes me entertain a hope that the British Museum may be disposed to accept it.

"You would greatly oblige me by letting me know as soon as possible whether there is any chance of my proposal being entertained, for in the negative case, my intention is to apply to the Prussian or French Govt - as I confess my means for carrying on the excavations are limited. This is an alternative I am loath to have recourse to, preferring infinitely to serve our own Government."

Frank Calvert was too cautious, and perhaps too wily, to make direct reference in this letter to the Trojan identification of Hisarlık; but his belief in the identification is already implied by the brackets in his writing "Ilium (Novum)" and by a later reference in the letter to his belief that Pınarbaşı was not "the Ilium Vetus" of Chevalier but Gergithe.

Calvert's excavation of 1863 has to be located in his trench in J8, shown in Atlas Taf. 116 (=Troja und Ilion fig.1) and in Fig.I.9 of the present work. His finds reported in the letter to Newton correspond sufficiently well with Schliemann's later discoveries at the same point;<sup>177</sup> they derive from Theatre B of Troy IX.<sup>178</sup> There is also, as has been mentioned, a general correspondence which could suggest that this was the site of Brunton's excavations of 1855-56. Erosion or digging by villagers may explain the larger size of the trench in Laurent's plan of 1872.

Perhaps Calvert did not present his case forcefully enough; for after some delays the British Museum's refusal was communicated to him in February 1864.<sup>179</sup> By the following year, however, he had bought the field containing the northeastern part of the site, and there he started new excavations.<sup>180</sup> These excavations of 1865 were in the other three trenches shown in Atlas Taf. 116 and in Fig.I.9 and must be placed in squares G 3-4, H 3-4 and JK 4-5 (see Fig.I.9). From several brief reports we can form some idea of Calvert's findings,<sup>181</sup> but as yet no more detailed report or set of notes has come to light.

Calvert records that he uncovered part of the city wall "built by Lysimachus" some of whose stones carried builders' marks. In trenches G 3-4 and H 3-4 what he found was undoubtedly part of the enclosure wall of Troy IX, and it provides evidence that it did indeed extend between IXW and IXN.<sup>182</sup> Similar builders' marks are attested on IXN and IXM.<sup>183</sup> The trench at the northeastern corner of the mound will have been intended to trace further the supposed circuit wall. The angle of masonry exposed by Calvert appears in Atlas Taf.214 (=TR Plan 2). If the trench and wall shown in the plan are correctly placed, Calvert must there have uncovered the stone superstructure belonging to the northern end of the Troy VI city wall,<sup>184</sup> rather than any part of the East Stoa of Troy IX.

Further into the mound, within the "Wall of Lysimachus," he correctly identified the Temple of Athena. Here he noted doric columns, architraves and parts of several bas-reliefs.<sup>185</sup> One was said to depict part of the figure of a gladiator. This can probably be identified as the block illustrated in Troja p.201, No. 108 and photographed in Troja und Ilion Beilage 51 No. 3. Schliemann and Dörpfeld note that it had come from Hisarlık and had stood in front of Calvert's farmhouse at Thymbra for many years.<sup>186</sup> In a letter of 1869 to Schliemann, Calvert also mentions that he found the pavement of the temple at a depth of 10 to 12 feet.<sup>187</sup> If we take it that Calvert was measuring down from the highest part of the adjoining mound-surface, at c.36.50m, then his pavement must have lain at about 32.00 - 33.50m. But it is difficult to find anything in Dörpfeld's record which might correspond with this.<sup>188</sup> If, however, we suppose the measurement to have been taken from the much lower surface within the depression formed by the robbing-out of the Temple masonry, at c.34.67m, then there is the possibility that Calvert here struck the top of the Troy II citadel wall, at a point where all the later Bronze Age deposits had been removed to lay the Temple foundations.

His excavations went to a depth of c.4-5m, but never touched virgin soil. Among the pottery Calvert found, he identified nothing earlier than seventh century. He was, however, left with the clear understanding that the site consisted of many superimposed ruins, and with the conviction that the site of Troy was there to be found. These he passed on to Schliemann.<sup>189</sup>

#### IV. Reconstruction of the Mound Before Excavation

It is only from the time of Schliemann's visit of 1868 onwards that more detailed observations of the site become available. When taken together these allow us to reconstruct the shape of the mound as it was before excavation. A reconstruction of this sort is not simply a matter of antiquarian interest; it is an essential first step to the accurate interpretation of Schliemann's excavation-records. The reason is that, since he himself used no grid, the only method by which he could pinpoint his finds was to note their depth from the surface and their distance from the edge of the mound. To the modern reader this information is useless and confusing unless the shape of the mound has been

defined. But given an adequate reconstruction, most of the obscurities can be resolved.

As might be expected, Schliemann's earliest measurements lack precision. After his visit of 1868 he described the site as a spur roughly 40m high, standing 20m higher than the hills behind it. The summit was a four-cornered plateau measuring 233m in both length and width, with its north slope dropping "almost vertically to the plain."<sup>190</sup> The horizontal measurements must have been paced out on the plain and judged by eye; the vertical measurements are generous estimates. In his diary for 1870 he noted an altitude of 100ft, the mound standing 50ft higher than the hills and on two sides dropping to the plain at an angle of 65°.<sup>191</sup> The horizontal measurements, presumably of the top of the mound, are now given as 164 x 120m;<sup>192</sup> but a note is added that the eastern part of the summit lay 3 to 4m lower than the western part.<sup>193</sup> Another batch of figures was given after his work of 1871 and 1872. The summit of the mound stood at 32m above the plain and at 40m above sea-level.<sup>194</sup> This summit constituted a higher plateau; there was also a second plateau 8m below the summit and 24m above the plain,<sup>195</sup> i.e. at 32m above sea-level. The horizontal measurements, this time clearly taken again from the base of the mound, are given as 215 x 300m.<sup>196</sup> The angle of the north slope is said to be 40°.<sup>197</sup>

From these diverse, early measurements a preliminary picture emerges. The plain lay at about 8m above sea-level, and the ridge of hills at about 25m above sea-level. Above these the site rose in three tiers: a lower "plateau" at about 32m, the eastern half of the summit at 36-37m, and the western half of the summit - the "highest plateau" - at about 40m above sea-level. The base of the site, where it joined the plain, measured roughly 215 x 300m; the summit of the mound measured roughly 164 x 120m, these figures evidently indicating its greatest length and greatest width. There was a steep slope on two sides, that on the north side being particularly noticeable. This body of preliminary information will be useful in providing a rough check on whatever more detailed reconstruction we may reach.

For a more precise picture we can draw on some early, but partial, contour-plans together with a fairly large number of spot-heights for

the original mound surface.

The first plan to give an indication of contours was Adolphe Laurent's plan of 1872, published as Atlas Taf.116 and reproduced here as Fig.I.4. It shows the shape of the mound at an early stage in the excavations. The dotted lines, however, do not represent genuine contours, as becomes clear if we compare them with the spot-heights and the profile on the same plate. Their purpose seems to be to show how the lie of the land struck the eye. Dörpfeld has reproduced Laurent's plan in Troja und Ilios fig.1, but he has omitted the spot-heights and the profile while adding three extra "contours" of his own. These are certainly not based on his own observation. He only arrived at Hisarlık in 1882, by which time the contours of the mound had been badly distorted by dumping: the frontispiece to Ilios shows the state of the site at the end of 1879. One is driven to the conclusion that Dörpfeld's additional contours are no more than decorative. For the more outlying parts of the site, away from the excavations on the citadel, Wolff's plan of 1883 is definitive. Published in Troja Plan VIII and reproduced (with some additions) in Troja und Ilios Taf.II,<sup>198</sup> it was the first plan to show genuine contours. But its outlines of the mound itself have been almost completely distorted by dumping. None of the undulations shown by Wolff on the north side appears in the early plans of Schliemann. To these plans we may add the testimonies of Atlas Taf.177 and 214 (reproduced as Troja und Ilios fig.2; and Troy and Its Remains Plan 2, Troja und Ilios fig.3), which, while not showing contours, do give an indication of the general shape of the summit of the mound. (See Figs. I.5,6).

Spot-heights on the original mound-surface are available from a number of sources. Several are noted in Laurent's plan, Atlas Taf.116. Atlas Taf. 117, from the end of the 1872 season, gives some more, including a useful one for the top of the "Tower." In Dörpfeld's version of the plan some of the depths are omitted and at least one is incorrectly transcribed.<sup>199</sup> The plan of the 1873 excavations, Atlas Taf. 214, is particularly valuable as it includes a large number of spot-heights on unexcavated areas. But it has its difficulties. In the four copies of the (rather rare) Atlas that I have been able to consult, the photographs are always in part badly faded, and some of the figures in Taf. 214 are barely legible even with a magnifying glass. It is not surprising that

the later reproductions of Taf.214 in TR Plan 2 and TI Fig.3 show discrepancies and omissions from the original. But precisely because of the difficulties it is essential to use the plan as it stands in the Atlas. Two of the section-drawings in Ilios, plans III and IVa, show the mound-surface at certain points and allow a rough calculation of its altitude by measuring its height above identifiable points such as the top of Wall IIa in Plan III, or the "Hellenic Wall" (of IXB) in Plan IV. In Plan IVb, shown below IVa, the measurements are incorrect - the line which marks the bottom of the excavations may have been wrongly drawn in - and this renders the section useless for our present purpose. In Ilios Schliemann reports Burnouf's calculation that the mound reached 49.43m above sea-level.<sup>200</sup> This altitude is completely different from any other ever calculated for the site and should be disregarded. Wolff's plan of 1883 shows one or two spot-heights on unexcavated parts of the mound proper. The spot-heights which Dörpfeld shows around the edges of the citadel in Troja und Ilion Taf.III at first look very helpful, but in fact prove to have been affected in all cases by dumping. The architectural record in this plan is nevertheless useful, for the highest bench-marks among the excavated remains provide us with the minimum altitude below which the mound-surface must not be placed. Troja und Ilion figs 6 and 53 are composite section-drawings and are too schematic to be used with any precision. From the American excavations comes very little which might help us to reconstruct the summit of the mound: too much of it had already been dug away. But for reconstructing its sides their report is invaluable. First, it enables us to eliminate many of the outlying altitudes shown by Wolff and Dörpfeld but which derive from the dumps left by Schliemann and Dörpfeld. The Cincinnati team speaks ruefully of "the many meters of unproductive dump," the "thousands of tons of loose earth and debris" and the "enormous mass of debris deposited by Schliemann." Specifically, dumping was recognised in A 2-3-4,<sup>201</sup> AB8-9,<sup>202</sup> CDEF 2-3,<sup>203</sup> C 8-9 and D 9,<sup>204</sup> E 8-9,<sup>205</sup> F 8-9,<sup>206</sup> G 9,<sup>207</sup> K 7,<sup>208</sup> and ZA 4-5-6.<sup>209</sup> Secondly, it allows us - if we take text, plans and sections together - to define the altitudes and locations of the original mound-surface, often in areas where the earlier spoil was removed. Spot-heights thus become available for A 3,<sup>210</sup> A 8,<sup>211</sup> D 2,<sup>212</sup> E 8-9,<sup>213</sup> F 8-9,<sup>214</sup> G 2-3,<sup>215</sup> J 5<sup>216</sup> and K 7.<sup>217</sup>

These, then, are the sources from which we may deduce the original shape of the mound. But bringing all the information together is a complex

operation which involves several procedures. We face three difficulties. First, the plans are all drawn to different scales. This would pose few problems if the scales marked on each were entirely accurate, or if one could be certain that features were all correctly drawn in; but that is not the case. Secondly, we need to be able to give all plans the same orientation, so as to be able to superimpose one plan on another; but magnetic and true North are not always distinguished and no plan before 1890 bears a grid. Thirdly, each plan adopts a different (and often unspecified) datum for its altitudes, and we are left with the task of calculating the relationships between the altitudes of one plan and another. To this only the altitudes used in Troja und Ilion and by Blegen are an exception, for Blegen deliberately adopted Dörpfeld's standard.<sup>218</sup>

We must begin the operation by converting all the plans to the same scale and orientation. This will enable us to apply Dörpfeld's grid to every plan and so to fix the positions of all the spot-heights. Each plan shows buildings or other features which appear also in TI Taf.III, where the grid is drawn. It is these, not the orientation-marks, which are better used. In Atlas Taf.214, despite its crude appearance, the buildings are mostly in the same positions relative to each other as they are in TI Taf.III. There is a small distortion of up to 3m at some points, but this is not enough to invalidate the plan altogether. The most useful features for comparison are the "Hellenic Well" at C 4-5, the relation of CD 5-6 to Gate FM (which is not yet fully exposed in Schliemann's plan), Propylon IXD, and the northeast corner of the Troy VI city wall in K 4. Having on this basis applied the grid to Atlas Taf.214, we can then apply it indirectly to Atlas Taf.116 and 117. Taf.116 and 117 can be related to Taf.214 by the positions of the northwest trench of 1870, together with its architecture; of the North-South trench; and of Calvert's trench on the northeast side. Taf.117 helps further by showing in its profile the "Great Tower" (Dörpfeld's Wall I Ib and I Ic), which also appears in Taf.214. Burnouf's plan in Ilios does not, fortunately, concern us here as it carries no spot-heights. With Wolff's plan in Troja Plan VIII we are able to return to direct comparisons with TI Taf.III. The comparisons are nevertheless not without problems. Wolff's plan of the citadel itself is on such a very small scale that it has to be greatly magnified; and with magnification what were minute errors in the original become serious inaccuracies. It seems to be the outer features of the citadel which have

been slightly misplaced: Propylon IXD, the south side of the Troy VI circuit wall and Gate FL. The temple, too, is not quite correctly drawn in. The features whose relative positions are most reliable are Gates FM, FN, FO, Megara IIA, IIB and the earth pillar in E6. It is by reference to these that Dörpfeld's grid can be applied. In bringing all these plans together a margin of error is unavoidable: it derives chiefly from the plans themselves. But it is not so large as to invalidate the results to any major degree.

Once the plans can be placed together under Dörpfeld's grid, all the known spot-heights for the mound-surface can be put on one map. This brings us to our next obstacle: the lack of a uniform standard in measuring altitudes. Here we have to resort to some arithmetic. In Table I I have extracted from each plan the altitude of any spot which is marked with an altitude in any other plan as well. By comparing these figures we can define the differences between the datum-level used in each plan, and so eventually convert all altitudes to the standard used by Dörpfeld and Blegen. Direct comparisons with either Troja und Ilion or Blegen are possible in most cases.

(i) Atlas Taf.116

Mound-surface in E 8: Blegen	37.50 <sup>219</sup>	
Taf.116	<u>30.34</u>	
	7.16	difference

The two figures come from points close to one another on the mound surface. Since, however, they do not come from identical points the calculation needs to be checked. This will be possible via Atlas Taf.117.

(ii) Atlas Taf.117

First of all, a direct comparison with Troja und Ilion:

Top of Tower in D 6: <u>TI</u>	30.66	
Taf.117	<u>19.50</u>	
	11.16	difference

These figures come from a solid architectural feature, and should be

reliable for comparison. Schliemann excavated the "Tower" down to the top of the masonry,<sup>220</sup> so there should be no question of erosion between the dates of the two measurements.

Next, an indirect calculation to check the result obtained for Atlas Taf.116.

Mound-surface in D 5-6:	Taf.116	32.52	
	Taf.117	<u>28.50</u>	
		4.02	difference

Thus

Difference between Taf.117 and <u>TI</u>	11.16
Difference between Taf.117 and 116	<u>4.02</u>
Difference between Taf.116 and <u>TI</u>	<u>7.14</u>

Although the altitudes from D 5-6 in fact refer no more precisely to a single point than those from E 8, the virtual coincidence of the results is impressive. We will take the difference between Atlas Taf.116 and TI to be 7.15m.

(iii) Atlas Taf.214

Top of Tower in D 6:	<u>TI</u>	30.66	
	Taf.214	<u>24.36</u>	
		6.30	difference

This should be an accurate figure. Two others, for points on the mound which are only roughly comparable, yield 6.37 and 6.62. But indirect calculation via Atlas Taf.117 and 116 yields 6.31, which seems to confirm the figure of 6.30.

(iv) Troja 1890

The comparison is very straightforward in this case, for the datum-point in D 3 is given the altitude 24.82 in Troja und Ilion.

(v) Troja Plan VIII

Here the situation is more complex. There is one figure, the spot-height for the mound-surface in E 6, which finds a direct comparison in TI Taf.III. But there is a question whether the figure, 40m, is accurate; for when it is compared with its equivalent in Atlas Taf.214 it yields a different result from the other comparison which can be made - for the mound-surface in G 4-5. The one produces a difference of 8.00m between Taf.214 and Troja; the other shows only 6.50m. Which of the figures is correct? To decide this we can apply a test, taking each set in turn.

(a) The figure of 40m for the mound-surface in E 6.

First we define the differences implied by the figure:

<u>Troja</u> Plan VIII:	40.00
<u>TI</u> Taf.III:	38.37 (=Troja -1.63)
<u>Atlas</u> Taf.214	32.00 (=Troja -8.00)

We now re-apply these differences to a feature whose altitude is known, and, using them, calculate backwards to the altitude that ought then to be expected in Atlas 214 and 117. If the results agree with the altitudes actually given in the Atlas, then the differences must be correct. If not, they must be wrong. For the test-feature we may use the Tower.

Top of Tower in D 6:

Actual height in <u>TI</u>	30.66
Theoretical height in <u>Troja</u> VIII (30.66 + 1.63)	31.29
Theoretical height in <u>Atlas</u> 214 (31.29 - 8.00)	23.29
Theoretical height in <u>Atlas</u> 117 (23.29 - 4.86)	18.43

The theoretical heights for the tower in Atlas 214 and 117 do not agree with the heights for the tower actually shown on the plans, so the differences we have been using must be wrong. It might be suggested that the error has arisen from the fact that E 6 was partly excavated in 1893, between the dates when Troja Plan VIII and TI Taf.III were drawn.<sup>221</sup> But Blegen rightly recognised that the E 6 pillar was hardly disturbed at all, except to uncover the walls of IXC.<sup>222</sup> This can be confirmed by comparing the altitudes given

for the pillar in Atlas 214 and TI Taf.III, which similarly bracket the date of its excavation. They reveal a difference of 6.37m, which is very close to the usual difference between the two plans. We therefore have to conclude that Wolff's altitude of 40m for E 6 must simply be wrong.

(b) The figure of 37m for the mound-surface in G 4-5.

Again, we first define the differences implied by the figure.

<u>Troja</u> Plan VIII	37.00		
<u>TI</u> Taf.III	[36.80]	( = <u>Troja</u>	-0.20) <sup>223</sup>
<u>Atlas</u> Taf.214	30.50	( = <u>Troja</u>	-6.50)

Now we apply these to the Tower in the same way as before.

Top of Tower in D 6:

Actual height in <u>TI</u>		30.66
Theoretical height in <u>Troja</u> VIII	(30.66 + 0.20)	30.86
Theoretical height in <u>Atlas</u> 214	(30.86 - 6.50)	24.36
Theoretical height in <u>Atlas</u> 117	(24.36 - 4.86)	19.50

The figures for Atlas 214 and 117 agree exactly with those from the plans themselves, and so confirm that the difference between Troja und Ilion Taf.III and Troja Plan VIII must be 0.20m.

Table II is based on these results and shows the corrections which need to be applied when any two plans are compared. For our present purpose only the right-hand column is relevant. Using these comparisons, all spot-heights known for the original mound-surface can be justified to Dörpfeld's standard. The detailed conversions are listed in Table III.

The results can now be applied. Fig.I.7 brings together all the adjusted altitudes, the contours and pseudo-contours, and relates them to the grid. The spot-heights shown in brackets, in the southeast corner of the mound, are taken from Dörpfeld's uppermost underlying buildings. Only in this area do his bench-marks at all modify the picture given by the figures for the mound-surface.

On the basis of Fig.I.7, the tentative reconstruction in Fig.I.8 has been

made. The contours combine as far as possible the dictates of the spot-heights with the shape suggested by the outlying contours of Wolff and the pseudo-contours of Adolphe Laurent. There has been little difficulty in harmonising the three.<sup>224</sup>

It may be asked whether the reconstruction proposed in Fig.I.8 does not belong more to the realms of fantasy than of sober archaeology. To this properly sceptical question I bring several points in reply.

Certainly I will concede that the map cannot claim total accuracy. In some parts it is based on more evidence than in others; and the early plans which have contributed to its construction were themselves not wholly accurate. In a few cases the location of spot-heights may be wrong by two or three metres. The altitudes of the summit may be three or four centimetres out. But the map is drawn at a small enough scale for such errors to be of little consequence. I must add that constant application of the map to Schliemann's excavation-records, published and unpublished, has convinced me of its general validity. But certain more immediate tests can be used.

Maclaren's description, based on his visit of 1847, has been quoted earlier.<sup>225</sup> He saw a mound measuring 700 x 700 ft. (= c.217 x 217m). Dörpfeld's grid, which neatly encloses the mound as reconstructed, measures 200 x 200m. The summit rose 100ft (c.31m) above the plain and 25ft (c.7½m) above the plateau on which it sat. On the west side there was a steep descent to the plain; on the east side there was a steep descent from the summit to the plateau. On the south side there was a gentle rise from the plateau to the summit with, at one point, a noticeable difference of 10ft. The reconstruction exhibits all these features, the description of the south slope being applicable to the terrain in FGH 8-9.

The preliminary picture which we formed from Schliemann's early descriptions confirms the new reconstruction in the same way. His measurement of the summit, 164 x 120m, fits well the surface of the reconstructed mound when measured along B-K 5 and F 3-8. The three tiers which he noted are also present: the "plateau" at 32.50m, on the southeast side of the mound; the eastern half of the summit lying at 36-37m in F-K 3-8; and the western half of the summit rising to nearly 40m in D 4-6.

The reconstruction can also be tested by comparing it, square by square, with the highest bench-marks in Dörpfeld's plan. In general the mound-surface as reconstructed fits snugly over the top of all Dörpfeld's buildings. Sometimes there is perhaps half a metre to spare, which we can put down either to error in the map or to topsoil encountered in excavation. In only one case does a figure in TI Taf.III show a greater height than that given in the map, and that is the figure of 37.40 in G 7. But this figure can be shown to have arisen from a mistake in Dörpfeld's arithmetic. It ought to have been 36.40, which is perfectly consistent with the contour-map.<sup>226</sup>

Some irregularities amongst the spot-heights in GH 3-4 may serve as a final confirmation. Here there is one curiously low altitude of 34.67, surrounded by five higher figures: 37.25, 36.76, 36.30, 36.43, and 36.80. The only explanation can be that there was a depression here. Now as it happens both Schliemann and Calvert refer to a depression in this area.<sup>227</sup> Schliemann says that it was rectangular and measured 34 x 23m. If we take this into account, the whole feature can be drawn in quite accurately, and there is little choice over exactly where to place it. It has to be placed directly over the Temple of Athena, with a corresponding size and orientation. Even Schliemann realised that the depression had been made by peasants digging for stone.<sup>228</sup> When the Temple was eventually excavated it was confirmed that the foundations had been entirely robbed out.<sup>229</sup>

Fig.I.8 is therefore put forward as a reasonable approximation to an accurate contour-plan of Hisarlık before excavation, in the light of what can be learned about the site from its surveyors and excavators. In subsequent chapters it will be put to use as a frame of reference around which Schliemann's excavations - their progress and their findings - can be reconstructed.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the reign of Justinian, apparently. See J.M.Cook, The Troad: An Archaeological and Topographical Study, (Oxford 1973) p.101f. It will be evident that in much of what follows I am deeply indebted to this magnificent work. A shorter survey of early travellers in the Troad may now also be found in Michael Wood, In Search of the Trojan War (London 1985) pp.29-42.
2. For example, H.Schliemann, Troy and its Remains (London 1875) p.200. The book is hereafter cited as TR. It may be noted here that this translation by Dora Schmitz of Trojanische Alterthümer (Leipzig 1874) is at many points unsatisfactory, sometimes even confused or misleading. For an accurate understanding of Schliemann's work one should normally refer to the German edition.
3. When the site of Hisarlık is referred to in this study as "Troy" this is purely for convenience. It is not meant to convey or imply any particular view either about what the site was called in the Late Bronze Age, or about the historicity of the Trojan War, or about the interpretation of the topographies of classical geographers.
4. Charles Maclaren, A Dissertation on the Topography of the Plain of Troy, (Edinburgh 1822).
5. I.A. van Dielen (ed.) Nicetae Choniatae Historia I (Berlin 1975) p.601 lines 80,83; p.617 line 73.
6. R.L. Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261," Traditio VI (1948) pp.33-60, p.52.
7. Nicephorus Gregoras, Historia Byzantina XXV.26. The name does occur elsewhere in Byzantine sources, but I have not attempted an exhaustive survey of the literature.
8. P.P.Argenti (ed.) The Diplomatic Archive of Chios 1577-1841, I (Cambridge 1954) p.123f.
9. For the ruins at Alexandria Troas see J.M.Cook, The Troad pp.198-204.
10. P.Belon du Mans, Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez et choses memorables (Paris 1553) Book II pp.82-84.
11. W.Biddulph, (ed. Theophilus Lavender) The Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia and to the Blacke Sea (London 1609) p.14. Biddulph's party did not go ashore.
12. W.Lithgow, The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations etc. (Glasgow 1906) pp.108-114.
13. "Master Thomas Coryates travels to, and Observations in Constantinople and other places in the way thither, and his journey thence to Aleppo, Damasco, and Jerusalem," in Purchas his Pilgrimes X (Glasgow 1905) ch.xii, pp.395-414.
14. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle (Rome 1650) I pp.34-44.
15. J.Spon, Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676, (Lyon 1678) I pp.197-209.
16. W.R. Wilson, Travels in Eygpt and the Holy Land, (2nd edition, London 1824) p.357.
17. For the site, and a fuller history of its visitors, see J.M.Cook, The Troad pp. 152-159.
18. B.de Khitrovo (ed.) Itinéraires Russes en Orient, (St Petersburg 1865) p.207. Other Russian pilgrims, such as Ignatius of Smolensk (1405), the Archimandrite Grethenios (c.1400) and Epiphanes the Monk (c.1416), took the same route but did not note the location of Troy. Basil the Merchant, however, took the overland route (1465.).
19. P.Mundy, "Itinerarium Mundi," in R.C.Temple (ed.) The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667, (Cambridge 1907) I p.20.

20. "Extracts from Blount's Voyage into the Levant," in R.C.Temple (ed.), The Travels of Peter Mundy etc., I.p.157.
21. Aaron Hill, A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in all its Branches (London 1733) pp.194-197. Others who place Troy beside the Dardanelles but who are inexplicit otherwise include Robert of Clari (1203), Cyriacus of Ancona (1445) and Sir John Maunderville (1322). See E.H. McNeal (ed.), The Conquest of Constantinople, translated from the Old French of Robert of Clari, (New York 1936) p.66; Thomas Wright (ed.), Early Travels in Palestine (London 1848) p.134; E.W. Bodnar (ed.), Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-1445, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, vol 122 (Philadelphia 1976) p.35.
22. "Master Thomas Dallam's Diary," in J.T.Bent (ed.), Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant (London 1893) pp.46-49. Cook, a little unjustly, accuses him of being "no scholar" and of being "content to have two different Troys." The Troad p.157 n.1.
23. Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow 1903-1905) VI p.107.
24. Voyage du Sieur de Stochove fait es années 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, (Brussels 1643) pp.211-216).
25. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406, transl. G.le Strange (London 1928), pp.54,58.
26. Thomas Wright (ed.), Early Travels in Palestine (London 1848) p.49.
27. Lady Goodenough (transl.), The Chronicle of Muntaner, 2 vols. (London 1920) II p.511.
28. Malcolm Letts (ed. and transl.), Pero Tafur; Travels and Adventures 1435-1439 (London 1926) pp.112-114.
29. J.Leunclavius, Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum (Frankfurt 1591) IV, cols. 205-209; with additional sources in J.von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte des Osmannishcen Reiches<sup>2</sup> (Pest 1840) I p.131f.
30. M.G.F.A.Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II. 2, (Paris 1822) p.417 n.6. D.E.Pitcher, An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire (Leiden 1972) p.39 and Map VIII.
31. P.Villard, "Mehmed II et la guerre de Troie (1462)," Provence Historique 93-94 (1974) pp.361-373, esp. 368.
32. M.G.F.A.Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, II.1, ch.13 (Paris 1809) pp.4-11; see also the "Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier" by Dacier in II.2 (Paris 1822).
33. Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II.1, ch.14 (Paris 1820) p.208.
34. On Chevalier see J.M.Cook, The Troad p.21f; and A.C. Lascarides, The Search for Troy 1553-1874, Lilly Library Publication XXIX, (Indiana University 1977) pp.32-34.
35. J-B. Chevalier, Description of the Plain of Troy, Translated and edited by Andrew Dalzel (Edinburgh 1791).
36. J-B. Chevalier, Recueil des Cartes, Plans, Vues et Médailles pour servir au Voyage de la Troade (Paris 1802) No. XIV.
37. Description of the Plain of Troy p.38.
38. e.g. Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II.1 plate 19, made in 1786-87. This map is in the Kauffer tradition, as Mauduit recognised: A.F.Mauduit, Découvertes dans la Troade (Paris 1840) p.240.
39. J-B Lechevalier, Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja, transl. H.Heyne (Leipzig 1792).
40. Chevalier's Recueil des Cartes (1802) does place Ilium Recens at Çıplak, and shows Paşa Tepe also. These are additions which can be traced back at least to C.G.Lenz (ed.), Reise nach Troas oder Gemählde der Ebene von Troja in ihrem gegenwertigen Zustande, vom Burger Lechevalier (Erfurt 1800) p.178f, where Chevalier seems to be following the views of Helvig and Åkerblad, *Ibid.* pp.233,258 - although they are not there incorporated in the map.

41. On Halileli see J.M.Cook, The Troad pp.64-67, 68f.
42. Ibid. p.93.
43. Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II.1, plate 19; see also note 38 above.
44. Ibid. II p.333 n.4; see also p.208.
45. Ibid. II.2 plate 35.
46. A Map of the Plain of Troy and the District of Ida (London 1803).
47. Constantine, Count de Ludolf, was the Neopolitan ambassador at Constantinople. He is said to have been the owner of a fine library which he made available to both resident society and travellers. According to Robert Tweddell (ed.), The Remains of John Tweddell (London 1816) p.248, he had by 1798 been collecting a portfolio of views for many years.
48. W.Gell, The Topography of Troy, and Its Vicinity (London 1804) p.112f.
49. J.Rennell, Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy (London 1814), p.xix.
50. E.D.Clarke, Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa (London 1811-1814) vol. VIII (=part II.3) p.195; for the outdated plan see vol. III p.185. The revised version appears in Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II plate 68.
51. G.A.Olivier, Voyage dans L'Empire Othoman, L'Égypte et la Perse (Paris An 9 = 1801), Atlas plate 5.
52. Ibid. II p.50.
53. J.Rennell, op. cit., Map IV.
54. Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II.1 (Paris 1809) plate 13.
55. Ibid. plates 18, 19 in chapter 14, published in 1820.
56. Ibid. II.1 p.261 n.2.
57. Ibid. II.1 p.296 n.1.
58. Ibid. II.2 p.422 n.4.
59. Ibid. II.2, "Avertissement du Libraire-Éditeur."
60. Ibid. II.2 plate 36.
61. E.D.Clarke, op.cit., vol. III p.110 n.2 (in the 1817 edition). Préaux had previously been employed by both Choiseul-Gouffier and John Tweddell; Remains of John Tweddell p.261.
62. E.D.Clarke, op.cit. vol.III p.110.
63. Ibid. pp.130-133.
64. J.M.Cook, The Troad, p.93f.
65. "Remarks on the Troad," in R.Walpole (ed.), Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey; edited from Manuscript Journals (London 1817) p.556.
66. G.E.Marindin (ed.), The Letters of John B.S.Morrith of Rokeby (London 1914) p.141; J.B.S.Morrith, A Vindication of Homer and of the Ancient Poets and Historians who have recorded the Siege and Fall of Troy (York 1798) p.91. For the sites at Çıplak see J.M.Cook, The Troad p.106f.
67. W.Gell, The Topography of Troy, and Its Vicinity (London 1804) p.144.
68. Ibid., narrative of the journey on pp.1-17.
69. Ibid. Plates xiv, xviii, xix, xxxi, xxxvii.
70. E.D.Clarke, op.cit., vol. VIII p.131f.
71. W.Gell, op.cit., p.75.
72. E.D.Clarke, op.cit., vol.II p.137 n.1.
73. J.Rennell, Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy, Map 1.
74. Richard Chandler, The History of Ilium or Troy (London 1802).
75. E.D.Clarke, op.cit., vol.III (1812) p.102f.
76. Lord Broughton (= J.C.Hobhouse), Travels in Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey vol. II (London 1855) p.146; Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, II.2 (Paris 1822) p.422; G.F.Weston, Journal of a Tour in Europe and the East 3 vols, (London 1894) II p.111: his visit was in 1845.

77. Choiseul-Gouffier op.cit. p.421; W. Turner, Journal of a Tour in the Levant III (London 1820) p.226; H.N.Ulrichs, "An excursus on the topography of the homeric Ilium," Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, 2nd series, II (1847) p.51.
78. Charles Maclaren, A Dissertation on the Topography of the Plain of Troy (Edinburgh 1822).
79. Robert Cox and James Nicol (ed.), Select Writings, Political, Scientific, Topographical and Miscellaneous, of the Late Charles Maclaren, II (Edinburgh 1869) p.449, note.
80. Charles Maclaren, The Plain of Troy Described (Edinburgh 1863) pp.70ff.
81. Ibid. p.71.
82. P.W.Forchhammer, "Observations on the Topography of Troy," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 12 (1842) pp.28-44; and Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja (Frankfurt 1850). His visit was in 1839.
83. Choiseul-Gouffier, op.cit. II.2 plate 35.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid. II.2 p.299.
86. Ibid. II.2.p.421f. The chapter is ascribed to Barbié du Bocage (l'Éditeur) on p.433, beyond which Letronne took over the writing.
87. H.N.Ulrichs op.cit. p.50f.
88. C.T. Newton, Travels and Discoveries in the Levant I (London 1865) p.132. His visit was in 1853.
89. W.Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion (Athens 1902), II Tafel II.
90. J.Hammer-Purgstall, Topographische Ansichten Gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante (Vienna 1811) p.24 (visit in 1800).
91. Choiseul-Gouffier op.cit. II plates 35,36.
92. Ibid. p.422.
93. P.W.Forchhammer, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 12 (1842) p.39.
94. G. von Eckenbrecher, "Über die Lage des homerischen Ilion," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie NF 2 (1843) p.39.
95. W.Turner, op.cit. III p.226.
96. G.F.Weston, op.cit. II p.111.
97. C.T.Newton op.cit. I p.132.
98. K.B. Stark Nach dem Griechischen Orient (Heidelberg 1874) p.173; A.C.Lascarides, The Search for Troy 1553-1874, Lilly Library Publication XXIX (Indiana 1977) p.63.
99. J.M.Cook gives the dates as 1846-1862: The Troad p.35.
100. C.T. Newton op.cit. I p.125.
101. The Earl of Carlisle, Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters I (London 1854) p.72.
102. N.W.Senior, A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece (London 1859) pp.33-44, 122-3.
103. Ernst Meyer, Briefwechsel von Heinrich Schliemann, 2 vols (Berlin 1953) I p.328 n.240; hereafter quoted as Briefwechsel.
104. A.C. Lascarides op.cit. p.63.
105. W.N.Senior La Turquie Contemporaine (Paris 1861) p.147.
106. E.Napier, "Remarks on Ancient Troy and the Modern Troad," United Service Journal 140 (1840) ii, p.297; F.G. Welcker, Tagebuch einer Griechischen Reise 2 vols. (Berlin 1865) II p.224.
107. Major Sir Grenville Temple, Bt., Travels in Greece and Turkey, 2 vols. (London 1836) I p.289.
108. Charles Fellows, A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor (London 1839) p.76.
109. C.T.Newton, op.cit. p.125.
110. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. p.76.
111. W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.159.

112. Frank Calvert, "Contributions to the Ancient Geography of the Troad: On the site and Remains of Ophrynum," The Archaeological Journal 17 (1860) opp. p.287.
113. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. pp.76, 95-7.
114. G.F. Weston, op.cit. II pp.120-4.
115. W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.146.
116. K.B.Stark, op.cit., p.173.
117. Earl of Carlisle op.cit. pp.76-8; W.N. Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.157.
118. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. p.76f.
119. J.M.Cook, The Troad p.119f. N.W.Senior, however, appears to place the Batak Farm of 1857 not at Akça Köy but in the region of Dikeli Taş, where Cook does speculate that there may have been a çiftlik. N.W.Senior, A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece, map following p.154; J.M.Cook, The Troad p. 107. By 1874, at any rate, there was a Calvert farmhouse at Akça Köy: H.Schliemann, TR p.393 (Batak); Ilios p.706.
120. W.N. Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine pp.157,160.
121. E.g. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. p.95f; TR pp.70,71,92.
122. TR p.51.
123. According to Cook, The Troad, p.35, he died in 1876.
124. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. p.97; C.T.Newton, op.cit. p.125.
125. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. pp.97,99; W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine pp. 147-150,157.
126. J.H. Clapham (ed.), John Brunton's Book (Cambridge 1939) p.71f.
127. N.W.Senior, A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece, p.208.
128. W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.155f.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.p159f.
131. N.W.Senior, A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece p.154.
132. J.M.Cook, The Troad p.82.
133. Letters from Frank Calvert to C.T.Newton, 24th September 1863. The original is in the Archive Room of the British Museum. I am very much indebted to Mr D.M.Bailey of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for kindly providing me with a transcript of the letter and for permission to quote from it.
134. Frank Calvert, "Trojan Antiquities," The Athenaeum No.2454, (7th Nov. 1874) p.610.
135. E.g. TR p.144.
136. J.M.Cook, The Troad p.61.
137. N.W.Senior, A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece p.207.
138. Frank Calvert, "Contributions to the Ancient Geography of the Troad: On the Site and Remains of Colonoe," The Archaeological Journal 17 (1860) p.293 n.8.
139. J.H.Clapham, op.cit. esp.p.68f; J.M.Cook, The Troad pp.37,94f; also p.58.
140. The Archaeological Journal 18 (1861) p.363f; contrast J.M.Cook, The Troad p.137.
141. Frank Calvert, "The Tumulus of Hanai Tepeh in the Troad," The Archaeological Journal 16 (1859)p.5f.
142. J.M.Cook, The Troad pp.58, 137.
143. H.Schliemann, Troja (London 1884) p.214; cf. also Tagebuch for 1870, p.69; H.F.Tozer, Researches in the Highlands of Turkey I (London 1869) p.48. W.Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion p.240.
144. Troja p.26.
145. See note 133.
146. TR pp.230,239.

147. W.Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion pp.230-234; hereafter cited as TI.
148. G.Perrot, "Excursion à Troie et aux Sources du Menderé," Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France VIII (1874) p.61; J.M.Cook, The Troad p.95; cf.C.T.Newton, op.cit.I p.131 for a similar occurrence two years earlier.
149. Briefwechsel I p.170.
150. Frederick held the view in 1845: G.F.Weston, op.cit. II p.123; in 1857: W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.163; Frank held the view in 1856: The Archaeological Journal 16 (1859) p.5. Both only began to question it in 1860: see above, note 140. Frank only abandoned it finally in 1863.
151. Earl of Carlisle, op.cit.p.96.
152. K.B.Stark, op.cit. p.173.
153. Frank Calvert, "Excavations in the Troad," The Levant Herald, 4th February 1873 p.90.
154. C.T.Newton, op.cit. I p.134; so also H.F.Tozer op.cit.I p.45; Earl of Carlisle, op.cit. p.92f.
155. The Archaeological Journal 16 (1859) pp.1-6.
156. The Levant Herald 4th February 1873 p.90.
157. H.Schliemann, Ilios (London 1880) p.709.
158. Frank Calvert, "Thymbra, Hanai Tepeh," Ilios pp 706-720.
159. C.T.Newton, op.cit. p.134f,355 n.62; The Archaeological Journal 16 (1859) pp.1-3.
160. W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.161f.
161. Ibid. p.151.
162. Frank Calvert, The Archaeological Journal 17 (1860) pp.291-296; Ilios p.655.
163. C.T.Newton, op.cit. p.132f.
164. The Levant Herald loc.cit.
165. The Archaeological Journal 17 (1860), map opp.p.287 and p.293.
166. Cf. J.M.Cook, The Troad pp.72-77.
167. Frank Calvert, "On the Site of Colonoe," The Archaeological Journal 17 (1860) pp.287-291; "On the Site and Remains of Larisa," The Archaeological Journal 18 (1861) pp.253-255.
168. W.N.Senior, La Turquie Contemporaine p.170; The Levant Herald loc.cit. Schliemann wrongly attributes the excavation to Frank Calvert in Ilios p.656 and Troja p.251.
169. The Archaeological Journal 18 (1861) pp.363-4; H.N.Ulrichs, "Über die Lage Trojas," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie NF iii (1845) pp.573-608; Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, 2nd series, II (1847) pp 103-178.
170. TR pp.71,92.
171. TR p.70.
172. Ilios p.77, where Frank is named as the owner.
173. Charles Maclaren, The Plain of Troy Described (Edinburgh 1863).
174. Frank Calvert, "Contributions towards the Ancient Geography of the Troad: On the Site of Gergithe," The Archaeological Journal 21 (1864) pp.48-53; The Athenaeum No.2454 (7th Nov. 1874) p.610.
175. The Levant Herald, loc.cit.
176. See above, note 133.
177. TR pp.223,230,239; letter of 14th Nov. 1872 to Sir John Lubbock, H.G.Hutchinson, The Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury, 2 vols. (London 1914), I p.143.
178. TI pp.230-4.
179. Letter of 3rd February 1864 from C.T.Newton to Frank Calvert, from the letter files of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. I am again very grateful to Mr D.M.Bailey for providing me with a photocopy of this and other documents, and for permission to quote from them.

180. The Athenaeum, loc.cit.
181. The Archaeological Journal 22 (1865) p.337; H. Schliemann, Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja (Leipzig 1869) p.165f, hereafter quoted as IPT; The Levant Herald, loc.cit; The Athenaeum, loc.cit.
182. TI p.216.
183. TI pp.215,216.
184. Up to the point marked 'c' in TI p.144 fig.52; for the superstructure see p.117f.
185. Cf. TI p.223.
186. Troja p.200; TI p.433.
187. Briefwechsel I p.144.
188. TI pp.216-223.
189. IPT pp.165f; Briefwechsel I pp.140,142. The degree of Schliemann's indebtedness to Frank Calvert is rightly emphasised, and elucidated, by David A. Traill in "Further Evidence of Fraudulent Reporting in Schliemann's Archaeological Works," Boreas 7 (1984) pp.295-312.
190. IPT p.164f.
191. Tagebuch 1870, p.66.
192. Ibid. p.88.
193. Ibid.p.135.
194. TA p.46.
195. TA pp.2,6.
196. TA p.2.
197. TA p.46; but the summary in Ilios p.22 notes the angle as 45°.
198. Also in C.W. Blegen, C.G.Boulter, J.L.Caskey, M.Rawson, J.Sperling, Troy: Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati, 1932-38, 4 vols. (Princeton, 1950-58), I fig.416 etc.; hereafter cited as Troy.
199. 22.5 in Atlas Taf.117 appears as 25 in TI fig.2; the depth marked 20.5 TI fig.2 may be 20.8 in Atlas Taf.117.
200. Ilios p.19
201. Troy I p.10; IV p.133.
202. Troy I pp.12, 18; III p.93f; IV p.305.
203. Troy I pp.10,11,33,34,81,196, fig.423. CDEF 2-3 was in any case the area of Schliemann's North Platform.
204. Troy III p.93f.
205. Troy IV fig.333
206. Troy I p.8, fig.470.
207. Troy I p.9f, 12, fig.95.
208. Troy III p.349, figs.497,498.
209. Troy I p.12; III p.363.
210. Troy IV p.133, fig.354 (stratum 2).
211. Troy IV p.305, fig. 378 with fig.375 (stratum 1).
212. Troy I fig.423 (stratum 6).
213. Troy IV fig.333 with figs.334-6.
214. Troy I fig.470 with III fig.449.
215. Troy III pp.107-9, figs. 83,447,501,502 (stratum 1a).
216. Troy IV p.283, fig.359.
217. Troy III p.349, figs.497,498 (stratum 2).
218. Troy I p.20.
219. Troy IV fig.333, with reference also to fig.334-6.
220. TA pp.171,284. See also Atlas Taf.109,110 where the Tower is clearly all masonry.
221. W.Dörpfeld, Troja 1893: Bericht über die im Jahre 1893 veranstalteten Ausgrabungen (Leipzig 1894) p.72 and Taf.1; (hereafter cited as Troja 1893); TI pp.19,214.
222. Troy I p.8.
223. Calculated indirectly: the difference between Atlas Taf.214 and Troja Plan VIII is 6.50, while that between Atlas Taf.214 and TI Taf.III is

- 6.30. The 0.20 derives from the difference between these two figures.
224. One spot-height I have not been able to integrate within the contour-plan: 33.66 in D 9, deriving from Atlas Taf.117. It may already have been produced by dumping.
225. See above, note 80.
226. The plan in H.Schliemann, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890 (Leipzig 1891) shows its altitude as 11.58m, which needs to be corrected by 24.82 to reach the standard of TI Taf.III. 36.40m is the result. The mistake - for such it must be - is already present in Troja 1893 Plan I where it ought to be 28.83m but is marked 29.83m.
227. TA p.99; Briefwechsel I p.198.
228. TA p.99f; Briefe p.120.
229. TI p.217.

CHAPTER II:  
THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

My aim in this chapter is to describe the sources, mainly documentary, from which we can gain a picture of Schliemann's work at Troy during the years 1870-1873. There is a wide range of source-materials available to us, and I shall first attempt a general outline of these. Then, as Schliemann's truthfulness has been called into question in recent years, I shall discuss how much reliance we can place on his records.

### I. Range and Extent of the Sources

The range of documentary material bequeathed to us by Schliemann is most easily understood if we look systematically at how he worked: how he worked on site during excavation, and how he wrote up his findings afterwards, at home in Athens.

For excavation he preferred to employ Greek workmen rather than Turkish,<sup>1</sup> with the result that he developed a routine of working from Monday to Saturday and of taking Sunday off. This routine is reflected in the diaries he tried to keep during excavation. These contain daily entries written on weekdays, and periodic résumés written up usually on a Sunday or on a public holiday.<sup>2</sup>

The daily entries he aimed to write up each night after the close of work,<sup>3</sup> although in practice he sometimes left this to the following day<sup>4</sup> or even omitted it altogether. They usually run according to a formula. First comes the date, written in by Schliemann himself. He uses both the Julian (Eastern) and the Gregorian (Western) calendars, and the date is sometimes in one, sometimes in the other, and sometimes in both.<sup>5</sup> After the date comes a note of the number of workmen employed that day and a record of the cost. Then follows a complaint about the weather and, hard on its heels, another complaint about the "allergrössten Schwierigkeiten" he is facing in the excavations.<sup>6</sup> There may then be a brief note of where on the mound he has been working that day, and a mention of any specially notable architectural features or stratigraphic peculiarities. Finally he lists the objects he has found. Whereas in 1870 and 1871 this was done entirely verbally, in 1872 he began to use drawings. And, acting on Burnouf's advice,<sup>7</sup> he included with each drawing a note of the depth at which it had been found. This practice continues into the diary for 1873 as well, and is a most fruitful source of information (see Figs.II.1-4).

We must remember, of course, that there were often trenches being dug in more than one part of the mound at once; and that Schliemann, talented though he may have been, was neither omniscient nor omnipresent. Except in cases where he himself was supervising, he must have been dependent for his information on periodic visits to the trenches, and on what was told to him by his supervisors and workmen. This to some extent explains the paucity of detail. The objects, we know, were sometimes brought to him by the workmen,<sup>8</sup> and it must have been they who often provided the information as to depth. Photographs of the objects in the Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer show how this was recorded: by marking each object with a figure in metres. Presumably this was done on the spot, as Schliemann received the object and questioned the workman. It was later, no doubt in his own hut and after dark, thus well away from the trenches, that the day's findings were recorded and the objects drawn. Here (and indeed later) there was scope for misreading the records of depth drawn onto the pieces: 6 could be read as 9, 4 as 7, and vice versa. Different readings for the depth of the same object can sometimes be found when the diaries and the Atlas are compared,<sup>9</sup> but on the whole the two are consistent.

The periodic résumés are much longer affairs, and come at irregular intervals of one, two, three or even four weeks.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes Schliemann succeeded in completing them during a single day off, but at other times their continuation can be found straggling through the next week or ten days in between the daily entries.<sup>11</sup> These résumés often give much more information about exactly where Schliemann has been digging. They can also give quite a full account of the stratigraphy and architecture as exposed at the time of writing. They are thus very useful in setting the scene for the daily entries which have preceded them, and in providing a "snapshot" of the state of the excavations on a given date. Never do they carry any drawings. But what they do quite often do is bring together the most interesting finds of the previous week or weeks, and classify them according to depth. In this way they sometimes provide verbal descriptions for objects for which, in the daily entries, there are only drawings (see Fig.II.5).

These periodic résumés are marred by crossings out, rewritings, and changes of order. The reason is that they were intended only as rough drafts of despatches later to be sent for publication by newspapers. The

fair copies were written out by Schliemann in his Penn Letter-Books.<sup>12</sup> From these he could tear out the handwritten bottom copy, leaving behind an upper sheet of tissue-paper which, having previously been pressed onto the original, had taken up the wet ink and reproduced the text. The duplicates of his fair copies are thus still available for inspection. The despatches themselves were sent to German or Greek newspapers, most commonly the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, Ἄυτόθι and Ἐφημερὶς τῶν Συζητήσεων.<sup>13</sup> After publication they were sometimes picked up and used, in translation if necessary, by other journals.<sup>14</sup>

An area entirely neglected by Schliemann in 1870 and 1871 was the drawing of plans. This was to a small degree remedied by his bringing of Adolphe Laurent to the site in April 1872. Laurent was commissioned, as we have already seen, to draw a sort of pseudo-contour-map of the site, and onto it he plotted the trenches already cut in 1870 and 1871. Within them he also showed those architectural remains which were still visible at the beginning of the 1872 season.<sup>15</sup> These, of course, are shown at only a very small scale. The same plan laid out a scheme for digging away a large part of the western half of the mound. Schliemann's excavation of the North Platform represents an abortive attempt to implement the scheme in full: excavation was thereafter conducted on a narrower front.

A further plan was drawn after the end of the 1872 season, this time by G. Sisilas, a surveyor, when Schliemann returned briefly to the site in late September.<sup>16</sup> This plan again shows only what was visible at the end of the season. But it has the merit of showing where the spoil-heaps were accumulating and of providing a small, diagrammatic section showing clearly the line of the trench bottom and the altitudes of a few features.<sup>17</sup>

Three more plans, by Adolphe Laurent again,<sup>18</sup> come from the end of the 1873 season. One is a plan of the entire site, including the full extent of the roman settlement to South and East.<sup>19</sup> On this the mound is shown quite small. Another is a plan of the excavations in the mound, showing the remains visible at the end of the season, and sketching in the supposed lines of some demolished structures and their conjectural extensions in unexcavated ground.<sup>20</sup> Despite its air of

unreliability this plan is in fact very useful, not least because it gives a large number of spot-heights for excavated and unexcavated parts of the mound.

What Schliemann never did in these years was to make plans of his architectural discoveries as excavation proceeded, and before they were destroyed. A very great deal of information has been lost to us as a result.

On-site photography was used by Schliemann, but again only at the end of the season and only in 1872. On his short visit in late September he brought with him from the Dardanelles<sup>21</sup> a photographer called Siebrecht<sup>22</sup> who took twelve views of the site.<sup>23</sup> Seven of these are reproduced in the Atlas.<sup>24</sup>

His team in 1873 was enlarged by the addition of a draughtsman, Polychronios Lempessis from Salamis.<sup>25</sup> The difference is immediately noticeable in the diary, where the scratchy and deformed drawings of 1872 are replaced by sketches of a professional standard (see Figs.II. 3,4). From the distribution of drawings in the 1873 diary it is obvious that Lempessis only gained access to the book from time to time.<sup>26</sup> But he must in the meantime have been occupied with compiling the full pages of drawings which, after photography, were subsequently published as Atlas Taf.119ff. To these Schliemann was simultaneously compiling a descriptive catalogue. The duplicate can be found in his copy-book for February-August 1873, interspersed with copies of his outgoing correspondence.<sup>27</sup> The catalogue itself was later published as a part of the text which accompanies the Atlas.

It was not just objects that Lempessis drew. No doubt it was he who made the fourteen sketches of the site later published in the latter half of the Atlas.<sup>28</sup> Some of these depict work in progress at various stages of the season; others give distant views of the mound from varying points of the compass. All are potentially useful in a general way, although none yields the kind of detailed information we should now like to have.

Schliemann was an inveterate letter-writer, and he kept up a steady flow of correspondence during excavation. A number of his letters from the

seasons of 1870-1873 have been published.<sup>29</sup> One of these, his letter of 21st April 1870, provides really useful information not available elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> The remainder for the most part only duplicate what can in any case be extracted from his diaries and publications. For this reason I have not undertaken the labour of thoroughly scouring his copy-books and his incoming correspondence for 1870-73, although both are available for study.<sup>31</sup> It is certainly a possibility that they may contain the odd nugget of information not known from elsewhere.

Once excavation was over, Schliemann continued work in Athens. As early as February 1872 we hear of plans for a publication with photographs,<sup>32</sup> and at this date Schliemann was already active in making squeezes and photographs of inscriptions and other objects which he must have brought with him from Troy at the end of 1871.<sup>33</sup> The theme was taken up again in October 1872, after his return to Athens,<sup>34</sup> and a proposed publication with Brockhaus was definitely envisaged in January 1873.<sup>35</sup> By this time he was systematically having photographs made of all his objects,<sup>36</sup> and it is quite clear that the majority of his finds had been assembled into a collection in Athens.<sup>37</sup> This included the Helios metope, smuggled out of Turkey in July 1872.<sup>38</sup> The resultant photographs, made between the seasons of 1872 and 1873, make up the majority of the plates in Atlas Taf.1-118. They show (not always very clearly) a large display of objects arranged on wooden shelves by class and by depth of findspot. Here we seem to be looking at Schliemann's collection as it was actually laid out in the winter of 1872-3.

More objects were shipped to Athens from the site during the course of the 1873 excavations, and a copy of a bill of lading for one such consignment is preserved in the 1873 copy-book.<sup>39</sup> "Priam's Treasure" was smuggled out in June of the same year by a strategy similar to that used in the previous year for the Helios metope.<sup>40</sup> Its removal from the site was actually so rapid that there was no opportunity for Lempessis to draw any of the pieces. This is why "Priam's Treasure" is documented mostly by photographs taken in Athens after the end of the 1873 season.<sup>41</sup> Presumably Lempessis's drawings for the Atlas were photographed at the same time.

The Brockhaus book came out in French and German early in 1874.<sup>42</sup> It consisted of the majority of Schliemann's despatches from 1871, 1872 and

1873, brought together with a small number of editorial changes.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, while it is advisable to check the text of Trojanische Alterthümer against Schliemann's rough drafts and against his published despatches in newspapers, the book can in general be regarded as a primary source for the study of his work at Troy.

The Atlas came out at the same time<sup>44</sup> containing Schliemann's descriptive catalogue, the photographs and plans from 1872, the photographs made of the objects in Athens during the winter of 1872-3, and the photographs taken at the end of the 1873 season of the drawings made during the previous months. The photographs of "Priam's Treasure" were included as well.

An English translation of Trojanische Alterthümer appeared in 1875: Troy and Its Remains.<sup>45</sup> This includes a preface by the English editor, Philip Smith, a selection of engravings made from plates in the Atlas, and Schliemann's autobiographical preface to his earlier work Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja.<sup>46</sup> The translation was done by Dora Schmitz and is neither felicitous nor reliable.<sup>47</sup> The book therefore needs to be used with caution, and should usually be checked against the German original.

Schliemann himself was later responsible for a summary account of his work in these years. It appears in the Introduction to his book Ilios.<sup>48</sup> This account is dependent directly on the text of Trojanische Alterthümer.<sup>49</sup> So although it can occasionally clarify a doubtful point, it should in general be treated as a secondary, not a primary, source.

Directly dependent, in turn, on the summary in Ilios are the relevant passages in the so-called Selbstbiographie<sup>50</sup> and in Schuchhardt's one-volume summary of Schliemann's Excavations.<sup>51</sup> These must on this account rank as tertiary sources and are of little value to this enquiry. The popular biographies give little detailed attention to the technicalities of the excavations and again draw mostly on previously published accounts. Ernst Meyer's documentary biography draws more extensively on unpublished correspondence and on the diaries, but cannot even so be relied upon for a clear and accurate exposition of Schliemann's archaeological progress.<sup>52</sup> The summary given by Dörpfeld<sup>53</sup> is in an altogether different class benefitting, of course, from its

writer's intimate knowledge of the site and of the man. Dörpfeld's contribution here was to clarify the locations of Schliemann's trenches by reference to a grid, and to identify some of the structures he found. It is still a valuable piece. But it was a limited exercise, and it was not Dörpfeld's purpose to present a full account of Schliemann's earlier work; nor is there any sign that he had access to Schliemann's notebooks. For these reasons even his summary is of very limited value in re-assessing Schliemann's work of 1870-73.

From what has so far been said it will be obvious that manuscript sources play a considerable rôle in this study; and this may be an appropriate point at which to mention a problem concerning these.

A Schliemann archive exists in the Gennadius Library in Athens, an institution which comes under the aegis of the American School of Classical Studies. This must be the first resort of anyone seriously concerned with Schliemann's person or work. In the summer of 1980 I had the opportunity to visit the library and to compile an outline catalogue of the Schliemann archive. At the same time I was able to put together a partial history of the papers.<sup>54</sup> What emerged from that study was that, although the Troy notebooks for 1870-1873 and 1890 were present, those for the intervening seasons of 1878, 1879 and 1882 were not, and never had been. Moreover the related copy-books for the same dates were missing as well. These together make up just a part of an unexpectedly large gap in the archive.<sup>55</sup>

How this gap may have arisen is something of a puzzle. But to my mind the most probable solution is suggested by an examination of where the present archive has come from. We know that after Schliemann's death his papers were fiercely guarded by his widow, Sophie.<sup>56</sup> It seems unlikely that she would have countenanced a division of the archive during her life-time. But it may well have been divided when she died in 1932. At this date her two children, Andromache and Agamemnon, were still alive; and so were two of her three grandchildren: Alex Melas and Leno Melas.<sup>57</sup> A large collection of papers (the bulk of the present archive) was lent to the Gennadeion by Andromache in 1937 and was bought by the library after her death in 1962.<sup>58</sup> Even during Andromache's lifetime, however, her son Leno had a further collection of papers in his own possession; and it later transpired that Alex Melas, too, had a

collection of his own. All these eventually passed to the Gennadeion.<sup>59</sup> We may take it that either there was a general share-out of the papers when Sophie died in 1932, or Andromache handed some on to her sons Alex and Leno before she lent her own to the library in 1937.

The one person from whom nothing in the Gennadeion derives is Schliemann's son Agamemnon. On any view it seems likely that he may have taken a part of the archive in 1932, whether there was a general division between all surviving descendants or whether there was a simple division between Sophie's two children. It is therefore an interesting coincidence that in the year following his death in 1954, a collection of papers including the Mycenae albums came onto the market.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, the dealer himself said that the sale resulted from the death of a member of the Melas family. Unfortunately Agamemnon Schliemann died in Paris, and French law prohibits access to the will until one hundred years have elapsed. So I have been unable to trace what may have happened to the missing volumes if he had them. Mme. Lilian Mela, the sole surviving member of the Schliemann family,<sup>61</sup> is adamant that she herself has nothing; and all other enquiries have drawn a blank. The absence of notebooks and copy-books for the Troy seasons of 1878, 1879 and 1882 is the main reason why the present study has gone no further than 1873.

In discussing the range and extent of the sources available to us, I have so far concentrated on documentary sources which give a direct, verbal account of Schliemann's activities on the site of Troy. But there are two further types of source-material which must briefly be discussed. One is the mass of objects which Schliemann retrieved from the site; the other is the reports of the subsequent excavators.

It is not possible to construct a complete list of all the objects which Schliemann found, for the simple reason that every extant record is an incomplete one. Even the diaries record nothing more than a selection. But it may be helpful to give here a brief account of what became of the majority of Schliemann's finds.

A small proportion - seven pithoi and four sacks of stone implements - was given to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.<sup>62</sup> The contract with Frank Calvert enabling Schliemann to dig on the eastern half of the

mound should have resulted in a halving of the finds made there.<sup>63</sup> Of these he bought from Calvert his half of the Helios metope found in 1872<sup>64</sup> and, apparently, a half share of three inscriptions unearthed in 1873.<sup>65</sup> According to his own account he gave all the remainder of his 1873 finds from the eastern half of the site to Frederick Calvert, to be shared with Frank.<sup>66</sup> I know of no record showing what these consisted of, although the Schliemann archive may possibly contain something relevant. Any objects given to the Calverts are liable to have joined the Calvert Collection of which a part was bought by the British Museum in 1877, a part was lost in the great fire of Izmir in 1922, and another part remains in Çanak Kale.<sup>67</sup>

Most of Schliemann's objects were taken by him to Athens and are shown in the Atlas. Some were illustrated for a second time in Ilios, a number of whose engravings derive from the Atlas photographs. Other objects may well have been given away to friends, institutions and distinguished visitors, as was customary at the time. A large part of Schliemann's own collection was given to the Königl. Museen in Berlin in 1881.<sup>68</sup> But this collection was broken up in 1895<sup>69</sup> when duplicates of many pieces were handed over to thirty-seven other institutions<sup>mainly</sup> in Germany.<sup>70</sup> What remained in Berlin was catalogued by Hubert Schmidt.<sup>71</sup> The Second World War further diminished the holdings in Berlin. Apparently the collection was divided into three or four parts for safe keeping.<sup>72</sup> Gold pieces were stored in packing-cases in a bunker below the Zoological Station in Berlin. These were discovered when Russian forces took over the East Sector of Berlin, and an order was issued that they should be taken under heavy guard to Moscow. Their present whereabouts is unknown. Other valuables may have been stored "under a Berlin museum". A number of items were hidden in a mine. These latter were recovered by American troops, handed over to the Allied Art Treasure Commission and are now in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in West Berlin. The bulk of the pottery was sent to Lebus Castle on the River Oder. Much was destroyed when in a late offensive the Russian army attacked the area and the castle was demolished. Some, however, was salvaged and returned to Berlin, only to be lost when the museum was bombed in February 1945. At some stage a collection of pottery, bronzes, figurines, stone artefacts and spindle whorls fell into Russian hands and was returned to East Germany in 1958.<sup>73</sup> These are now in the Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte in East Berlin. How far the other thirty-

seven collections in Germany<sup>and elsewhere</sup> may have been disrupted by the war has not, so far as I know, been documented.

For the present study I have not attempted to locate, study and draw all the extant objects from Schliemann's excavations. This may at first seem unconventional, even ill-advised. But there are several good reasons for the omission. First, the results would not have justified the large expenditure of time and money involved. The only value at this stage would have lain in identifying individual objects already known from the excavation records. But those found in 1870 and 1871 will be mostly unidentifiable as no drawings were made, and many of those found in 1872 will only be identifiable with great uncertainty as the drawings are poor. Only those found in 1873, when good drawings were made, will be easily identifiable; and almost all of these have been published already, if only in the unsatisfactory Atlas. Secondly, the whole exercise can more usefully be carried out when the later seasons of 1878, 1879, 1882 and 1890 have been re-examined as well. And thirdly, logical priority must in any case be given to the textual work of reconstructing the course of the excavations; for it is mostly on this basis that a re-ordering of the extant objects can be begun. It is to be expected, of course, that when the objects are all examined and catalogued (as they need to be) some errors and misunderstandings in the present work will be exposed. But the bulk of the objects belong to the fairly homogeneous corpus of Early Bronze Age material, and it is unlikely that examination of the objects themselves will in many cases show up a need for any re-dating. The catalogues in Chapter IV, therefore, bring together a digest of the information to be found in Schliemann's writings and elsewhere concerning each object, but do not rely on first-hand study by the present writer. For the purpose of cataloguing I have assigned to each drawing in the notebooks a serial number: 72-1 to 72-1987 for those recorded in the 1872 diary, and 73-1 to 73-892 for those recorded in the 1873 diary.

It is difficult to over-estimate the value of the later excavations of Dörpfeld and Blegen for understanding Schliemann's work on the same site. It is to them, and particularly to Dörpfeld, that we owe the fundamental clarification of the structure of the site on which any re-assessment must draw. But their reports are valuable in other ways as well. Both excavators encountered the remains of trenches cut by

Schliemann; the information they provide can be helpful in determining the limits of Schliemann's work. Both excavators established sequences of objects - Blegen's more refined than Dörpfeld's; these may need minor modifications in the light of the present study, but they remain very valuable as an aid to dating the deposits distinguished in Schliemann's excavations. They can only be partial aids, however, because their range of types is narrower than that in the Schliemann material. Most important of all, Dörpfeld's keen eye for architecture and Blegen's careful stratigraphic analyses provide us with invaluable comparisons when adjacent areas were dug by Schliemann.

## II. The Question of Schliemann's Reliability

In recent years wide publicity has been given to claims that Schliemann was fraudulent,<sup>74</sup> and in the light of these it may seem unwise to attempt a reconstruction of his excavations on the basis of his own statements. The propriety of giving critical attention to Schliemann's writings, and of exposing lies where they can be detected, does not seem to me to be an issue,<sup>75</sup> even if it does result in a tarnishing of the image. By his own autobiographies, and his other publications, the man put himself in the public domain; his image must take the consequences. What is now an urgent task, however, is to restrain unbridled scepticism and to establish into what realms positive fraudulence does and does not extend. For this, speculation and innuendo are not enough. Proper evidence must be produced. The "only defensible scholarly procedure"<sup>76</sup> is not, in my view, to regard every omission and textual variant as a cause for cynical disbelief, but to take them in context, remembering the limitations imposed on Schliemann by his circumstances, his abilities and his lack of training.

It may well be the case that Schliemann swindled Rothschild's when he was buying gold-dust in California in 1852,<sup>77</sup> and that he used perjury to obtain his divorce and American citizenship in 1869.<sup>78</sup> It is certain that he smuggled antiquities out of Turkey in 1872 and 1873.<sup>79</sup> The American diaries of 1852 and 1867-8 do appear to contain fictitious accounts of visits to President Fillmore, the Governor-General of Panama and President Johnson.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, Schliemann's story of his childhood dream of excavating Troy, under suspicion since 1972,<sup>81</sup> has now been plausibly argued to be an invention of 1875-6 designed to establish a priority of inspiration over Frank Calvert.<sup>82</sup>

What evidence is there that the fraudulence extended into his archaeology? One instance has been revealed by Korres. In 1888 Schliemann claimed to have discovered a number of inscriptions in the garden of his house in Athens.<sup>83</sup> The claim was false. Several had in fact been discovered earlier and had been held in private collections till Schliemann acquired them.<sup>84</sup> A second secure instance has been recognised by Traill.<sup>85</sup> A comparison of Schliemann's 1868 diary with his book Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja shows that in the publication he has exaggerated the extent of his work at Pınarbaşı and has suppressed the fact of his initial belief that it was at Pınarbaşı that Troy was to be found. In fact it was Frank Calvert who opened his eyes to the possibilities of Hisarlık, and that only on the eve of his departure from the Dardanelles for Constantinople. In this second example it will be noted that it is the diary which reveals the lie. It is true that the diary is not completely untainted by it, for two entries which may have been written after the meeting with Frank Calvert are designed to suggest that Schliemann had already, at some earlier date, decided that Troy was at Hisarlık.<sup>86</sup> There is also a give-away page cut out.<sup>87</sup> Nonetheless, Schliemann was not clever or thorough enough to effect a complete cover-up; and apart from the excision there is no reason to suppose that the diary has distorted the account of what Schliemann actually did. And even the publication, though it sets up false claims for priority, does not really distort the account of what Schliemann actually found.

Much the same appears to apply in the case of the three invented 'treasures' N, R and S, found at Troy in the seasons of 1872 and 1873. I have discussed these inventions in detail elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> They are all quite minor collections of metalwork, with few objects involved. Yet even so Schliemann has failed to conceal the varying original circumstances of their finding. The reason is, in my opinion, that no deliberate fraud was intended. In Treasure 'N' the two collections of jewellery found in June 1872 and October 1878 may have appeared to Schliemann to have the same context: a stratum of metal pieces related to the destruction-deposits of what we now call Megaron IIA and Megaron IIE. In Treasure 'R' the finger-ring, the three earrings, the gold pin, the gold beads and the oval gold ring had, to Schliemann, all been found "near" (neben) the skeleton. (The statement that they were found "by the side of the skeleton" exists only in Dora Schmitz's inadequate

translation in TR.) What constituted "nearness"? To Schliemann - who had an undisciplined mind and no real academic training - the association of them all with Megaron IIA, and the belief that they all came from the same depth. Treasure 'S' is an even clearer case. The various constituent finds all derived from roughly the same area; Schliemann's over-active imagination re-grouped them so as to suggest the discovery of two fallen warriors. In all these cases Schliemann was bringing together objects which he believed to come from the same archaeological context. It is due to the honesty of the excavation notebooks that the inventions can be dismantled.

Traill has recently pointed to another invented association: that of the two inscriptions said by Schliemann to have been found below his wooden house in June 1873.<sup>89</sup> One, a list of fines,<sup>90</sup> is not mentioned anywhere in the diary - not in the résumé of 31st May, nor in that of 17th June, nor in any of the daily entries. To Traill this is "particularly significant". What he does not make clear, however, is that by the time serious excavation began after the house had been demolished, on 6th June,<sup>91</sup> the résumé of 31st May had already been completed; that the résumé dated 17th June is nothing but an extended description of "Priam's Treasure"; and that the daily entries for the whole period 6th-14th June occupy no more than fifteen lines and do not even record the discovery of Treasure A2. Yet the authenticity of the latter should not be in doubt since the unbroken omphalos-bowl, SS 5868, was apparently drawn into the Atlas on site at just this point at the end of the season.<sup>92</sup> That an inscription found on site on or after 6th June should not be recorded in the diary is therefore not in any way sinister or surprising. The second inscription, which deals with the sympolity established between Ilium and the Scamandrians,<sup>93</sup> was, as Traill points out, found in early February 1873 "beim Bau meines Hauses."<sup>94</sup> The upper part of this inscription, Frisch's fragments a and b,<sup>95</sup> was, it is true, found by Dubois in nearby Çıplak in 1815.<sup>96</sup> But this is no reason to suppose that the lower part was found anywhere other than where Schliemann says it was found. Indeed, it is quite possible that an upper part should have been moved while a lower part was left in situ. Schliemann's record that it was found "beim Bau meines Hauses" shows the reason why he reported it together with the list of fines: to him they both came from the same context - below his house. What he had forgotten was that two different houses were involved - the stone house

and the wooden house. The invented association is once again an innocent one, born of carelessness and a faulty memory. And it is revealed by the diary. The grounds for supposing the invention to be a deliberate fraud are completely inadequate.

A hoard of twenty coins is said by Schliemann to have been found in the same place, below the wooden house in square BC 5-6.<sup>97</sup> Traill thinks that these, too, might be a fraud: "earlier finds or purchases that Schliemann has saved up for the end."<sup>98</sup> But the argument rests on the pedantic supposition that Schliemann ought to have recorded them in a daily entry such as that of 5th June (the probable day of their discovery) as well as in the continuation of his draft despatch written on the same day. This is to disregard one of the main purposes of the daily entries, which was to help supply the raw material for the despatches. It is also to overlook the fact that four of the coins were in fact drawn into Atlas Taf.190 which seems to have been compiled on site during the final days of the 1873 excavation.<sup>99</sup> Once again the evidence for fraud is unconvincing.

"Priam's Treasure" has been, and remains, a principal target for those wishing to unearth frauds and scandals in Schliemann's archaeology. I have discussed the issue at length elsewhere<sup>100</sup> and do not propose to repeat the arguments here. It is not possible to demonstrate that every piece claimed by Schliemann to have belonged to the treasure was indeed found as he says. But that is the direction in which such evidence as we have points. And, while it is conceivable that the treasure might have been enlarged by some additions, not one of the pieces can in fact be shown to have been found somewhere else or at an earlier date. In this it is completely unlike the other inventions which Traill believes to be fraudulent. As I have said elsewhere in connection with Treasure 'R': "If this is how Schliemann works when he invents a treasure of six or more objects and a skeleton, then it is truly remarkable that of an invented treasure of over four thousand objects not a single one should appear earlier in the notebooks."<sup>101</sup> The fact is that none of the other arguments in favour of its authenticity has yet been refuted, and none of those raised against it yet stands up.

I do not wish to maintain that Schliemann's archaeological writings, or even his excavation notebooks, enjoy a complete immunity from his

propensity to lie.<sup>102</sup> What I do believe, however, is that the Troy excavation notebooks of 1870-1873 are remarkably free from deliberate fraud. Inventions and misunderstandings there are. Deliberate fraud has yet to be demonstrated.

What the present study seems to me to reveal is the surprising degree to which Schliemann's records, once unravelled and analysed, do agree with the later findings of Dörpfeld and Blegen. Buildings are continued in the right places by walls of the right size; objects come, on the whole, from the right depths; sloping strata were noticed at the right points; even marble chippings characteristic of Troy VI foundation-trenches were recorded from just the right point for a robbed-out Troy VI fortification-wall on the north side of the site. The very large number of such agreements provides a validation, of a general kind, of Schliemann's records and, I hope, justifies the pains I have taken with them.

## FOOTNOTES

1. TR p.63.
2. The diaries are to be found in the Schliemann archive of the Gennadius Library, Athens. For the years 1870-1873 two diaries are involved:
  - (i) A notebook labelled "Voyage en Amérique", Cat.No.13 in BSA 77 (1982) p.103. Pages 68-90 record the work of 1870 and are in French; they contain no résumés or drawings. Pages 202-277 contain the notes from 1871, being written in German and French. Here there are five periodic résumés, but the only drawings are some crude representations of supposed inscriptions on whorls and of a mason's mark on a stone (p.259). Pages 277-499, 500-504 record the work done in 1872. The text is almost entirely in German. There are eight periodic résumés, drawings of objects begin on p.295 (3/15 April) with depths noted from p.339 (15 May) onwards. Pages 410-3, 418-24, 436-8 contain passages in Greek.
  - (ii) A notebook labelled "Henry und Sophie Schliemanns Buch," Cat. No.14 in BSA 77 (1982) p.103f. Pages 2-317 record the work done in 1873. The text is mostly in German. There are eleven periodic résumés and many pages of drawings, although few from p.224 (early May) onwards except after the entry for 12th June. I was enabled to study the diaries in microfilm by the generosity of the trustees of the Craven Fund of Oxford University, who paid for it, and by the kindness of Dr. F.R. Walton, formerly the Director of the Gennadius Library, who gave permission for the filming and undertook to arrange it. The microfilm is now in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford.
3. Bfw I p.211.
4. E.g., the entry for 29th May 1872 describes first the work done on 27th and 28th before recounting that of 29th: Tgb 1872 pp.363-5.
5. In the late nineteenth century the two calendars were twelve days apart, with the Gregorian ahead of the Julian, so that (for instance) 7th April (Julian) was the same day as 19th April (Gregorian). Schliemann, if he was in the mood to show both dates, would express this as 7/19 April. In general it is the Gregorian dates which form the more continuous thread through the diaries.
6. No doubt the complaints were justified.
7. Bfw I No.179, letter dated Athens, 8th May 1872. Schliemann starts to note depths of objects from 15th May.
8. TR p.120.
9. E.g. 73--140 (4m) = 120-2374 (8m).
10. The résumés in 1871 are dated 18th October, 26th October, 3rd November, 18th November, 24th November. The 1872 résumés are dated 5th April, 25th April, 11th May, 23rd May, 18th June, 13th July, 1st August, 14th August. Those from 1873 are dated 22nd February, 1st March, 15th March, 22nd March, 29th March, 5th April, 16th April, 10th May, 15th May, 31st May, 17th June.

11. The résumé dated 15th May 1873 is a case in point. It begins on Tgb 1873 p.245 continuing at intervals through to p.269 where the concluding paragraph follows a daily entry for 24th May.
12. For a description of these see D.F. Easton, "The Schliemann Papers", BSA 77 (1982) p.104.
13. The 1871 despatches were published in a series of five articles in AAZ entitled "Ausbrabungen auf der Ebene von Troja": Beilage zu Nr.306 (2nd November 1871) p.5405f; Beilage zu Nr.326 (22nd November 1871) p.5757f; Nr.331 (27th November 1871) p.5851f; Beilage zu Nr.350 (16th December 1871) p.6225f; Nr.7 (7th January 1872) p.97f. G.S. Korres, Βιβλιογραφία Ἐρρικού Σλήμαν (Athens 1974) pp.7-8 lists in addition an article in 'Εφημερίς τῶν συζητήσεων No.124, B, (23rd October 1871) pp.3-4; and articles in 'Αυτόθι No.131, B (17th November 1871) pp.3-4; No.134, B (27th November 1871) p.4; No.136, B (4th December 1871) pp.3-4; No.138, B (11th December 1871) p.4.  
According to H.G. Hutchinson, Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury (London 1914) I p.142 there are nine reports for 1872 in 'Εφημερίς τῶν Συζητήσεων. Korres p.8 lists only those in No.203, C (8th August 1872) pp.3-4; and in 'Αυτόθι No.205, C (17th August 1872) pp.3-4. In 1873 the despatch dated 15th May in the diary was published in two parts in AAZ Beilage zu Nr.164 (13th June 1873) p.2509f, Beilage zu Nr.165 (14th June 1873) p.2527f. The despatch of 17th June, concerning "Priam's Treasure", was published in AAZ Beilage zu Nr.217 (5th August 1873) p.3309f, where it erroneously carries the date 17th July. Korres lists additional articles in Ἡ Ἀμόλθεια (Smyrna) ΛΣΤ, No.1950 (4th July 1873) pp.2-3; 'Αυτόθι No.1952 (11th July 1873) pp.2-3; No.1954 (18th July 1873) p.2. I have been unable to obtain copies of any of the Greek newspapers. In 1873 Schliemann appears to have been sending some, at least, of his despatches to the publishers Brockhaus (Briefe p.132 n.3). It seems that there may also have been despatches to French newspapers: Briefe p.126 - though Schliemann could here be alluding to translations of reports published elsewhere. For other articles, not based on the despatches, see Korres's Bibliography pp.7-9.
14. The despatch dated 15th May 1873 appears in AAZ and also in Philologischer Anzeiger 5 (1873) pp.384ff. That dated 17th June 1873 appears not only in AAZ but also in Philologischer Anzeiger 5 (1873) pp.473-8 and, translated, in Revue Archéologique 26 (1873) pp.196-202.
15. Atlas Taf.116; see Fig.I.4. Reproduced with some alterations in TI fig.1.
16. Tgb 1872 p.503, TR p.220.
17. Atlas Taf.117; see Fig.I.5. Reproduced with some alterations in TI fig.2.
18. TR p.357.
19. Atlas Taf.213; TR Plan I.
20. Atlas Taf.214; see Fig.I.6; TR Plan 2. Reproduced with some alterations, notably to the spot-heights, in TI fig.3. The same failing afflicts TR Plan 2.

21. Modern Çanakkale.
22. TR p.220.
23. Bfw I p.216.
24. Atlas Taf.106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113.
25. TR p.357.
26. E.g. there are almost no drawings for the whole of May 1873.
27. BSA 77 (1982) p.105, No.50.
28. Atlas Taf.127-9, 144, 153, 156, 157, 169, 170, 180-6, 211-2; reproduced in TR plates V, VI, IX, X, XIA, XIB, XII, XIII.
29. E. Meyer, Briefe von Heinrich Schliemann (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936) pp.114-40; Heinrich Schliemann Briefwechsel I (Berlin, 1953) pp. 163-246; "Schliemanns erste Briefe aus Troja", Ruperto-Carola XVII (Bd.37, 1965) pp.77-80; "Schliemann's Letters to Max Müller in Oxford", JHS 82 (1962) pp.75-105; H.G. Hutchinson, op.cit. (see above, n.13) pp.142-5.
30. Bfw I pp.163-8.
31. In the Gennadius Library, Ächens. See below and BSA 77 (1982) pp.93-110.
32. Bfw I p.202.
33. Bfw I pp.198, 202.
34. Briefe p.124.
35. Briefe pp.126-7, 128.
36. Briefe pp.127, 128, 130, 131.
37. Briefe p.124, final paragraph of No.24; also pp.125, 128.
38. For details of this operation see D.F. Easton, "Schliemann's Discovery of 'Priam's Treasure': two enigmas", Antiquity 55 (1981) p.182.
39. Copy-book No.50(BSA 77 (1982) p.105), p.190.
40. Antiquity 55 (1981) pp.181-3.
41. Atlas Taf.192-209.
42. Trojanische Alterthümer (Leipzig 1874); Antiquités Troyennes transl. A.R. Rangabé (Leipzig/Paris 1874).
43. The series of five despatches to AAZ in 1871 appear as TA chs.i-v. The notebook for 1872 contains 8 periodic résumés. With the addition of a despatch dated 28th September, these make up TA chs. vi-xiv. Of the 11 periodic résumés in the notebook for 1873, that

dated 15th May was published in AAZ but not reproduced in TA; and that dated 31st May was reproduced in TA under the date 17th June, apart from Tgb pp.273-5, describing the discovery of 'Priam's Treasure'. This passage was replaced in TA by the résumé dated 17th June in the notebook, albeit with revision and re-ordering. Otherwise the résumés of 1873 directly make up TA chs.xv-xxiii. Schliemann began sending copies of his despatches to Brockhaus in April 1873: Briefe p.130. See also notes 2, 10, 13 above.

44. Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer (Leipzig 1874); Atlas des Antiquités Troyennes (Paris 1874).
45. H. Schliemann, Troy and Its Remains; A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries on the site of Ilium, and in the Trojan Plain, transl. L.D. Schmitz, ed. Philip Smith (London, John Murray, 1875).
46. H. Schliemann, Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja: Archäologische Forschungen (Leipzig 1869), Vorrede.
47. I have noted examples of poor, or misleading, translation on TR pp.93, 99, 116, 131, 134, 148, 202, 206, 210, 211, 277.
48. H. Schliemann, Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans: The Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and throughout the Troad in the years 1871, 72, 73, 78, 79 (London 1880, New York 1881); Ilios: Stadt und Land der Trojaner. Forschungen und Entdeckungen in der Troas und besonders auf der Baustelle von Troja (Leipzig 1881). The summary appears on pp. 19-43 of the English edition.
49. E.g. Ilios pp.22-26 summarize TR pp.99, 127, 133, 109, 144ff, 185ff, 200f, 221f, 148, 201ff.
50. Henrich Schliemann's Selbstbiographie, bis zu seinem Tode vervollständigt (by Alfred Brückner). Herausgegeben von Sophie Schliemann (Leipzig 1892). Second edition with postscript by Ernst Meyer (Leipzig 1936). See pp.54-68.
51. C. Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations: An archaeological and historical study, transl. E. Sellers (London 1891). See pp.6-8.
52. Ernst Meyer, Heinrich Schliemann: Kaufmann und Forscher (Göttingen 1969) pp.252-279.
53. W. Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion 2 vols (Athens 1902) pp.2-9.
54. BSA 77 (1982) pp.93-110. To the list of Schliemann's original letters given there should be added: sixty-nine letters to Rust, published in H.A. Stoll, Abenteuer meines Lebens: Heinrich Schliemann erzählt (Leipzig 1958) pp.223-377; letters to Kate Field published in K.J.R. Arndt, "Schliemann's excavation of Troy and American politics, or why the Smithsonian Institute lost Schliemann's great Troy collection to Berlin", Yearbook of German-American Studies 16 (1981) pp.1-8; J.V. Luce, "Five New Schliemann Letters in Belfast", Hermathena 132 (1982) pp.8-14; some documents held by the National Bank of Greece, to be published by Dr. Kritsellis; five letters in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich; and about thirty letters originally acquired by Meyer

now said to have been placed in a library in West Berlin. In addition it should be noted that the Gennadius Library has recently received from Meyer's son a collection of letters written to Schliemann by R. Virchow. For the above details I am much indebted to Professor W.M. Calder III, Miss Lesley Fitton, Professor G.S. Korres, Mrs. S. Papageorgiou and Mr. David Traill.

55. My 'conservative' estimate that about 46 volumes were missing (BSA 77 (1982) p.99) was probably too high. This large gap must of course be distinguished from the much smaller gap caused by Meyer's removal from the Gennadeion of two or three volumes of correspondence, ibid., p.96.
56. Briefe p.21.
57. For the family tree see BSA 77 (1982) p.93.
58. Ibid., pp.95-6.
59. Ibid., pp.96-7.
60. M.S.F. Hood, "Schliemann's Mycenae Albums", Archaeology 13, 1 (1960) pp.61-5. The three albums were bought by Mr. Hood.
61. From Schliemann's marriage to Sophie, that is. There are said to be descendants in the U.S.S.R. from his first marriage.
62. TR p.53.
63. TR p.144.
64. Bfw I pp.212, 226, nos.185, 204.
65. "Dr. Schliemann's Discoveries - Division of the Spoils", The Levant Herald 10th September 1873, p.262; see also p.260.
66. Ibid.
67. J.M. Cook, The Troad pp.9, 54; A.C. Lascarides, The Search for Troy (Bloomington 1977) p.64.
68. H. Döhl, Heinrich Schliemann: Mythos und Ärgernis (Munich/Lucerne 1981) pp.39-49.
69. SS p.vi.
70. Listed in SS pp.331-336.
71. H. Schmidt, Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer (Berlin 1902).
72. I rely here on the account by L. and G. Poole, One Passion, Two Loves: The Schliemanns of Troy (London 1967) pp.245-6.
73. F. Geupel, "Das Schicksal der Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer von H. Schliemann, Troja und Thrakien: Katalog zur Ausstellung (Berlin/Sofia 1981) pp.19-20.
74. For a general summary see D.F. Easton, "Schliemann's Mendacity: A False Trail?" Antiquity 58 (1984) pp.197-204. To the bibliography

- given there must now be added D.A. Traill, "Further evidence of fraudulent reporting in Schliemann's archaeological works", Boreas 7 (1984) pp.295-316; "Schliemann's 'Dream of Troy': the making of a legend", Classical Journal 81 (1985) pp.13-24; "Schliemann's mendacity: a question of methodology", in Anatolian Studies 36 (1986) pp.91-98; W.M. Calder III, D.A. Traill (eds.), Myth, Scandal and History (Detroit 1986) and reviews by K. Zimmermann, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 109 (1988) cols.572-7, J.T. Hooker, JHS 108 (1988) p.258f; D.A. Traill, "Hisarlik, 31 May 1873, and the Discovery of 'Priam's Treasure'", Boreas 11 (1988) pp.227-34.
75. Pace M. Mellink, AJA 86 (1982) p.561; 89 (1985) p.553.
  76. Cf. D.A. Traill, Anatolian Studies 36 (1986) p.93.
  77. D.A. Traill, "Schliemann's mendacity: fire and fever in California", Classical Journal 74 (1978-9) pp.351-355.
  78. D.A. Traill, "Schliemann's american citizenship and divorce", Classical Journal 77 (1982) pp.336-42.
  79. D.F. Easton, Antiquity 55 (1981) pp.179-83.
  80. W.M. Calder III, "Schliemann on Schliemann: a study in the use of sources", Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 13 (1972) pp.338-43.
  81. Ibid., pp.343-7, 350-2.
  82. D.A. Traill, Classical Journal 81 (1985) pp.13-24.
  83. H. Schliemann, "Attische Grabinschriften", Athenische Mittheilungen 13 (1888) pp.207-10, 429.
  84. G.S. Korres, "Inscriptions à la possession de Heinrich Schliemann", Athena 75 (1974-5) pp.54-67, 492.
  85. D.A. Traill, Boreas 7 (1984) pp.295-310.
  86. The entries for 14th and 16th August 1868; see Boreas 7 (1984) pp.301, 305.
  87. Ibid. pp.300, 304.
  88. Antiquity 58 (1984) pp.200-2.
  89. D.A. Traill, in Anatolian Studies 36 (1986) pp.95-7; TR pp.335f.
  90. SS 9664.
  91. Tgb 1873 p.290.
  92. Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.148, 150.
  93. TI p.466 No.39.
  94. Tgb 1873 p.iii; cf. p.130.
  95. P. Frisch, Die Inschriften von Ilion; Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien III (Bonn 1975) pp.150-4.
  96. M.G.F.A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce II (Paris 1822) p.413.
  97. Tgb 1873 p.288; TA p.314f.
  98. Anatolian Studies 36 (1986) p.97.
  99. See Table XI.
  100. Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.141-169; Antiquity 58 (1984) p.200.
  101. Antiquity 58 (1984) p.201.
  102. Having close knowledge of neither the site nor the notebooks, I feel unable to judge Traill's assertion that the LH III figurines in Shaft Grave I at Mycenae are a fraudulent addition. Boreas 7 (1984) pp.312-6.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE EXCAVATIONS

Schliemann's first season lasted only from 9th to 19th April. Because it was unauthorised and hasty, and provoked the displeasure of the Turkish government, he never afterwards spoke of it as his first season, reserving this description for his work of 1871. He tended to minimise its results. And it is true that he worked on a small scale with no more than twenty workmen.

For their understanding of the 1870 season, earlier commentators and biographers have relied chiefly on the very abbreviated account in Ilios p.20. This has repeatedly led them into the error of supposing that Schliemann excavated in only one area, at the north-western corner of the mound.<sup>1</sup> Careful comparison of this account with the allusions in Trojanische Alterthümer<sup>2</sup> and the Atlas<sup>3</sup> could always have corrected the misunderstanding; a reading of Schliemann's journal for 1870<sup>4</sup>, of his letter of 21st April to the President of the Institute of France,<sup>5</sup> and of the other relevant publications<sup>6</sup> makes the situation plain. Nevertheless Meyer, in his biography, has confused matters further by interpreting the journal as though it too spoke of excavation in only the one area.<sup>7</sup>

Schliemann actually dug in two areas, using a total of three trenches. The first area lay on the highest part of the mound, in D 5; the other lay to the West, where Schliemann put down two trenches forming an 'L' in AB 4-5 and AB 5-6.

Over the L-shaped trench there has been no dispute as it was clearly shown in Atlas Taf.116. The southern leg was 2½m wide and 30m long;<sup>8</sup> the northern leg was initially 4m wide and 19m long, but was soon extended to a width of 5m and a length of 30m.<sup>9</sup> Dörpfeld correctly placed the latter trench in B 4.<sup>10</sup>

What has not been recognised is that there was also the excavation in D 5 where Schliemann in fact began the season's work.<sup>11</sup> Here, on the highest part of the mound, he exposed a rectangular building 17.90m x 13.25m,<sup>12</sup> which in 1871 was embraced by the trench opened that year. The position of the trench of 1871 is shown in Atlas Taf.116, and the only place within it where a building of these dimensions could fit

is at the south end, in D 5 - which should indeed, according to the reconstructed contour-plan, be the highest part of the mound. This, then, is where the initial trench was opened.

Schliemann's method in 1870 was, first of all, to dig a hole at random somewhere in the middle of the mound. When he struck a wall, he followed it. In D 5, having uncovered four walls of a building, he cleared the area between them to a depth of at least c.3m. It was out of impatience, after three days' work in D 5, that he determined to dig a deeper trench in AB 4-5.<sup>13</sup> Again, on finding a wall at the innermost end he followed it; and then, when another, unrelated wall came to light, he cut an additional trench towards the South (in AB 5-6) to expose more of his new find.<sup>14</sup> Hereafter he confined his work to the trenches already established, digging to a depth of 4m in the southern leg<sup>15</sup> and to 8m in the northern leg.<sup>16</sup> The outer angle of the 'L', in B5, was excavated down to only 2m.<sup>17</sup> From the excavations he sent two crates of antiquities back to Athens.<sup>18</sup>

On board the steamer to Piraeus Schliemann succumbed either to seasickness or to what was, archaeologically, his besetting sin: haste. His letter to the President of the Institute of France (which, if it was written on 21st April, must have been composed in the first class cabin of the "Menzaleh" and not, as stated, at Çıplak) shows some serious discrepancies when compared with the journal. The most tiresome is the rotation through 90° of all the points of the compass. In the letter "North" takes the place occupied in the journal by "West."<sup>19</sup> More disturbing, however, is the duplication of the deposits at 5m and below - including a 2m-thick wall - in AB 4-5 (where they belong) and in D 5 as well (where they do not belong.)<sup>20</sup> The letter must therefore be used with some caution, and priority should normally be accorded to the journal.

#### 1871 (Fig.III.2)

The second season, usually referred to as the first, was conducted from

11th October until 24th November 1871 and was brought to an end by bad weather. Schliemann employed up to 83 workmen, on average about 50, and his operations were on a larger scale than in the previous year.

Obstacles have inadvertently been laid in the way of understanding this season's work by the two principal commentators, Dörpfeld and Meyer. There is, however, the consolation that Schliemann must this time have brought a reliable compass in his baggage.

Dörpfeld writes that he again worked in the northwest corner of the mound, in A 4 and B 4.<sup>21</sup> He was right in thinking that Schliemann excavated in an area where he had worked the previous year, but wrong in placing this in A 4 and B 4. The error arises from his misunderstanding of the 1870 work, in which he failed to note the existence of the trench in the middle of the mound, in D 5. He has also, apparently, ignored the implications of Laurent's plan in Atlas Taf.116, which shows the 1871 excavation, even though it is reproduced on the very next page in Troja und Ilion. Dörpfeld was also incorrect - although he was not to know it - in saying that Sophie was present at the 1871 excavations. It is clear from the journals and the correspondence, as also from the despatches published in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, that she was not present at all but remained in Athens. The record of her presence is a later adjustment of the story by Schliemann himself.<sup>22</sup>

Meyer presents a more complicated picture.<sup>23</sup> He is roughly correct in saying that Schliemann drove in a broad cut from the north side of the mound,<sup>24</sup> which he refers to as the "large trench."<sup>25</sup> But beyond this his account is hopelessly confused. He says that Schliemann continued work in his old "West-East trench on the south side of the hill,"<sup>26</sup> and that in it he found some simple house walls.<sup>27</sup> In fact there was no such trench. In addition he refers to work in a cutting on the north edge of the mound, to the East of the great trench.<sup>28</sup> Again, no trench existed here. Thirdly, he asserts that the limestone blocks, the pillars and sandstone found

by Schliemann "obviously" belonged to the Temple of Athena.<sup>29</sup> This despite the fact that Schliemann did not begin work on the Eastern half of the mound, which belonged to Frank Calvert, until May 1872. Meyer's statements are not quite without foundation, for they can mostly be traced back to misunderstandings of Schliemann's account;<sup>30</sup> but they are no guide to the true state of affairs in 1871.

Where, then, was Schliemann really digging? At first sight he appears to speak of work in two places: area-excavation on the summit, and a cutting made southwards from the north edge of the mound.

The area-excavation is attested in his letter of 13th October to Sophie, in which he says that he is concentrating on the "Temple of Minerva," which he wishes to expose entirely.<sup>31</sup> Schliemann's identifications were sometimes fickle, and here he does not mean the building found in 1870 in the AB 4-5 trench for which at the time he gave Justizrat Plato the same possible title.<sup>32</sup> This time he is following his conjecture that the temple must have stood on the highest part of the hill;<sup>33</sup> at the spot, in other words, where he had found the rectangular building in 1870.<sup>34</sup> After digging in and around this rectangular building and finding three inscriptions he later concluded, on 26th October, that it was not after all a temple but perhaps a town hall.<sup>35</sup> There is no doubt, then, that the "Temple of Minerva" in the letter to Sophie was identical with the rectangular building found in 1870, and that Schliemann was digging once more in D 5. This is fully confirmed by the journal where there are repeated references to excavation in and around the rectangular building.<sup>36</sup>

But the North-South trench was not a separate operation, for Schliemann says that it too embraced the rectangular building found in 1870.<sup>37</sup> Not only is the North-South cutting described as lying 20m from the previous year's work;<sup>38</sup> the area-excavation too is spoken of in the same terms.<sup>39</sup> In fact there was simply one large trench which fulfilled both functions: a conclusion which is, again,

confirmed by the journal. Schliemann's original plan was to dig a trench from the north slope to encompass and join both his previous work in AB 4-5 and the area in D 5. Before his permit arrived he marked out a trench 25-30m wide.

"Dieser Graben, den ich von NW nach S.Ost ziehe, schliesst sowohl meinen grossen N.S.Grabens<sup>40</sup> als auch das grosse Gebäude mit ein welches ich auf der höchsten Fläche des Berggipfels entdeckte."<sup>41</sup>

In the event the plan was slightly modified.

"Je commençai cette fois-ci une tranchée de 10m de large du Nord Ouest au Sud-Est en commençant au bord de la pente à l'endroit où celle-ci est le plus escarpé et je visais cette tranchée en ligne oblique sur le bâtiment quadrangulaire que j'avais découvert il y a 18 mois au milieu de la cime de la colline. Cette nouvelle tranchée est à 20m de la grande tranchée<sup>42</sup> que j'ai coupée en Avril 1870 et ainsi j'espère bien joindre les 2 tranchées."<sup>43</sup>

The secondary sources, too, are consistent with the view that there was only the one trench. The summary in Ilios speaks of only one large trench;<sup>44</sup> and Alfred Brückner, in the so-called Selbstbiographie, says that Schliemann made a cut through the mound hoping to find the Temple of Athena, and that the hope was disappointed.<sup>45</sup>

In actual fact, therefore, the work lay exactly where it is shown in Laurent's plan in Atlas Taf.116, stretching from the north slope in C 3-4 to the summit of the mound in D 5. Meyer says that he drove this trench forward southwards into the mound;<sup>46</sup> but for understanding Schliemann's work in this season it is essential to realise that the excavation progressed by taking off horizontal spits of soil throughout the length of the trench.<sup>47</sup> It is true that Schliemann did originally plan to dig upwards and inwards from virgin-soil on the north edge.<sup>48</sup> But the plan was never implemented. On 24th October the excavation had reached a depth of 4m in the area of the rectangular building;<sup>49</sup> on 26th October he claims an "average" depth of 4m.<sup>50</sup> By 11th November he had reached 7m,<sup>51</sup> 8½m in some places by 14th November,<sup>52</sup> and 10m by 18th November,<sup>53</sup> at which depth work continued to the end of the season.<sup>54</sup> The excavation at the north end tended, if anything, to get left behind; for towards the end of the season Schliemann had

to remove a "hillock" from that end of the trench to avoid rainwater running into the central area.<sup>55</sup>

Schliemann's aim was to reach virgin soil, if possible before the winter rains set in;<sup>56</sup> or, as he otherwise put it, to lift the veil from homeric Troy within six weeks.<sup>57</sup> Since 1868 he had assumed Homer's Troy to lie at the very bottom of the deposits;<sup>58</sup> and he was possibly fortified in his ambition to reach the virgin soil by the advice of Stoney, the civil engineer who in September 1871 was advising Frederick Calvert on the drainage of the marshes on his farm at Batak, and with whom Schliemann seems to have struck up a brief friendship.<sup>59</sup> Frederick Calvert encouraged him again to the same end during a visit to the site on 2nd November when Schliemann was feeling dispirited at the lack of good finds.<sup>60</sup>

The discovery of a well gave him, as he saw, a short cut to finding the depth at which virgin soil lay;<sup>61</sup> and from its discovery until 3rd November he worked constantly at emptying it, sometimes also probing deeper with an augur, or pulling stones out of its wall to see whether it had yet sunk below the artificial debris of the mound.<sup>62</sup> He abandoned his efforts at a depth of 11.60m with the declaration that the well must reach down as far as the level of the plain.<sup>63</sup> This may not, however, have prevented an earlier estimate of 15m for the depth of virgin soil within the mound itself<sup>64</sup> from lingering in his mind until the following season.

It was the continual deepening of the trench, not a progression towards the South, which was responsible for its increasing length as the season wore on. Schliemann himself explains the reason quite clearly: the north end came out onto the slope at the edge of the mound.<sup>65</sup> The initial length was 48m;<sup>66</sup> on 26th October it was 54m,<sup>67</sup> on 3rd November it was 56m;<sup>68</sup> the eventual length was 60m.<sup>69</sup> He did at one point extend the trench somewhat towards the South, but it is unlikely to have been by more than a metre or two.<sup>70</sup>

If we attempt to locate the trench on the contour-plan, the initial

length of 45m places the north end at or just below the 37.50m contour in C 3. This seems to be a satisfactory location, for, measuring the distance at the same altitude, it is in fact 20m from the B 4 trench, as Schliemann describes it,<sup>71</sup> and also it lies at the point where the north slope begins to drop more steeply towards the plain - which is, again, as Schliemann describes it.<sup>72</sup> The final length of 60m places the north end at the 27.50m contour. This is admittedly 2m lower than the 29.60m which should be expected, but the discrepancy can be explained. Either Schliemann deliberately dug deeper at the north end to allow the rainwater to escape; or he dug to a uniform depth of 10m below the surface regardless of the altitude of the surface itself. A later photograph in Atlas Taf.111 does show a tendency for the north end of the trench to slope down.

The width of the trench shown by Laurent in Atlas Taf.116 is consistent with Schliemann's accounts: an initial width of 10m,<sup>73</sup> which must fall at the north end; and a maximum width of 15m,<sup>74</sup> which must have been to embrace the rectangular building whose width was 13.25m.<sup>75</sup> The trench narrowed with increasing depth.<sup>76</sup>

The two spurs shown by Laurent and reproduced here in Fig.III.2 are the "side-passages" which Schliemann cut to enable wheelbarrows to remove spoil from the trench.<sup>77</sup> According to the journal, the eastern one was cut first and was directed towards the east corner of the rectangular building.<sup>78</sup> This tends to confirm the location and orientation which I have suggested for the building. The western passage seems to have originated on 16th October with an "entrée" which Schliemann began to dig from the central area towards the 1870 trench in AB 5-6.<sup>79</sup> His idea was to determine the depth of the lowest wall discovered there the previous year, but the plan was not fully carried through. By 18th October both passages were in use for carrying spoil.<sup>80</sup> The journal records that on 24th October a new "lateral path" was opened.<sup>81</sup> Wherever this was, it cannot have been pursued very far, for at the end of the season there were still only two side-passages.<sup>82</sup>

As the floor of the main trench was lowered, so the inclination of the side-passages had to be adjusted.<sup>83</sup> In the journal Schliemann repeatedly complains of the tediousness and waste of time involved in this operation,<sup>84</sup> and it was this which finally led to his refusal to cut them any deeper than 7m.<sup>85</sup>

The fact that the north end of the trench was narrower and tended to be excavated less rapidly lends substance to an impression given by the journal that Schliemann's main interest in 1871 still lay in the area in D 5. It is probably fair, although not wholly reliable, to assume that most of the objects he records came from this south end of the trench. Equally most of the measurements of depth will have been taken from the surface at this point - that is, from the summit.

An important consequence of Schliemann's practice in 1871 of horizontal digging was that it enabled him to gain a clear, if very rough, idea of the characters of the strata through which he dug. His later technique of cutting out huge, vertical chunks made it rather more difficult to assign pottery and small finds to their proper origins. The stratigraphic divisions which he determined in 1871 remained fundamental to all his later work and, at least in outline, have been accepted as valid ever since. Schuchhardt's verdict on the season's work - that there was nothing to show for it except a Hellenistic building in the upper layer.. and ..., at a depth of 33 feet, several walls of houses made of rough brick, and numerous stone implements,"<sup>86</sup> - this verdict is too severe.

### 1872

The progress of Schliemann's third season, from 1st April to 14th August 1872, can be traced in more detail.

#### 1st - 25th April, 1872 (Fig.III.3)

The work of 1870 and 1871 had been for the most part exploratory, but

by the end of 1871 Schliemann had uncovered "colossal remains" at a depth of 10m. These, he was sure, belonged to the Troy he was seeking to uncover.<sup>87</sup> So by the time he returned in 1872 the target of his excavations was clearly identified. He wanted to expose the "Trojan" stratum over a wide area as quickly as possible, to be sure of "thoroughly solving the Trojan question this year."<sup>88</sup>

To this end he decided to tackle the entire area between his previous year's trench and Frank Calvert's field on the eastern half of the mound.<sup>89</sup> On the north edge of the mound this meant that he was to dig across a width of 70m.<sup>90</sup> The area designated for excavation is shown in Atlas Taf.116, drawn shortly after the beginning of the season; and some of the results are shown in Taf.117. Although Dörpfeld says that its northern limit was in D 2, E 2 and F 2,<sup>91</sup> these plans show that it must have extended also into C 2, as was recognised by the Cincinnati excavators.<sup>92</sup>

There was no need, Schliemann thought, to remove the strata one by one as he had tried to do in 1871, for the sole object now was to uncover the remains at 10m deep. Area-excavation could therefore be dispensed with in favour of the quicker method of driving in a horizontal platform at the required depth, beginning from the north edge of the mound. This method involved cutting away vertical spits of debris half a metre thick,<sup>93</sup> although Schliemann took the precaution of cutting the upper part of the trench-face as a slope rather than as a vertical section. He varied the angle of the slope and the height of the lower, vertical section from time to time in the light of experience.<sup>94</sup> Some of his techniques he owed to Adolphe Laurent, the railway engineer whom he had brought with him from Athens. It was at Laurent's suggestion that after 18th April he began a system of weakening the section-face by digging out chimneys and tunnels, and finally bringing it down with pickaxes, crowbars and winches.<sup>95</sup> The dangers of the system, never unnoticed,<sup>96</sup> were later to become painfully apparent.<sup>97</sup> An unhappy corollary for the archaeology was that, as Schliemann himself admitted, "it is impossible for me always to know precisely the exact depth where this or that object was found."<sup>98</sup> No doubt this difficulty could have been compounded by his reliance on

workmen to bring him the objects,<sup>99</sup> although in fact the stratification of his finds in this season as a whole has proved to be remarkably consistent with that established by Blegen. But speed was everything: he aimed to dig right through the mound in 150 working days.<sup>100</sup>

Schliemann naturally believed that what he had found at a depth of 10m was only the top of the "Trojan" stratum. For the trojan remains to be fully exposed the platform had to be made at a deeper level. From the start he had always assumed that Homer's Troy was to be found at the very bottom of the deposits, on virgin soil<sup>101</sup> - an assumption only discarded in 1873. When clearing the well in C 4-5 he had already made an estimate that virgin soil would lie at a depth of 15m or more.<sup>102</sup> So it is not surprising to find that the platform was dug at a similar depth.

Over the precise depth of the platform there has been some confusion. In Trojanische Alterthümer<sup>103</sup> and Ilios<sup>104</sup> Schliemann gave the figure of 14m - a figure which has become embedded in the secondary literature.<sup>105</sup> In letters to Burnouf and Plato, however, the depth is given as 16m.<sup>106</sup> In fact the contradiction is only apparent, not real. For both measurements Schliemann was relying on calculations by Laurent. In his diary he notes:

"Ich bemerke ferner dass nach Hr. Laurents Messung der Gipfel des Berges sich 16m über mein Plateforme erhebt."<sup>107</sup>

The parallel passage in Trojanische Alterthümer reads:

"Ich bemerke ferner dass nach Herrn Laurent's Messung die Bergfläche sich 14m über meine Plateforme erhebt."<sup>108</sup>

The depth of 16m, then, was measured from the summit while the depth of 14m was measured from a point elsewhere on the mound-surface. The point in question is one of two quoted by Schliemann as altitudes assigned by Laurent to the mound-surface: 11.79m and 11.95m.<sup>109</sup> These figures both appear in the profil transversal attached to Laurent's plan in Atlas Taf.116. There they represent the supposed depth of deposit above bedrock, which is assumed to lie at 18.70m. The more northerly of the two figures, 11.79m, therefore applies to the point marked 30.49 on the plan itself, for 30.49 is the sum of

11.79 + 18.70. If we convert this figure to Dörpfeld's standard, the point lay at 37.64m A.T. Our reconstructed contour-plan shows the summit of the mound to have lain at 39.67m A.T., almost exactly 2m higher. The point at 37.64m lay on the eastern side of the platform where the steep slope began. It appears on Fig.I.7 in square G 3.

Schliemann was therefore using two systems of measurement. In the diary and in some letters he measured depths from the summit. In Trojanische Alterthümer, however, his measurements of depth are taken from the datum of 37.64m A.T., for by 25th April the southeast corner of the platform had come close to that point.

The platform, then, should have lain at 16m, not 14m, below the summit. This places it at 23.67m instead of 25.67m A.T. We may check this by reference to Blegen's excavations. His section through D 2 revealed the outer edge of Schliemann's platform cutting through a Troy IX deposit. Its initial altitude, according to the drawing, must be very close indeed to 23.67m.<sup>110</sup> But it must also be recognised that the platform tended to slope up to the South. The slope appears clearly in Blegen's section through D 2-3. The floor of the platform may have risen by 2m or more. This means that where Schliemann's measurements of depth may have been calculated by measuring up from the floor of the platform, as seems sometimes to have been the case, we shall have again to subtract 2m to compensate for the unnoted rise.

The platform's progress horizontally was rapid. After one day's work it had advanced three metres into the mound,<sup>111</sup> and it was 10-12m broad by 20th April.<sup>112</sup> When the report dated 25th April was written, the platform reached 15m into the mound;<sup>113</sup> the (later?) diary-entry for that day records a width of 16m.<sup>114</sup>

#### 1st - 11th May, 1972 (Fig.III.4)

Easter celebrations put a stop to work for several days after 25th April, so that Schliemann was only able to start digging again on Wednesday 1st May. Throughout the next eleven days work continued on the north platform. But a violent wind and blinding dust on the

north side of the mound persuaded Schliemann to deploy some of his men on the south side as well. Work there began on 2nd May.<sup>115</sup> From 6th May he resumed the clearance of the well in C 4-5.<sup>116</sup> For this period we must therefore consider separately his activities in these three areas.

The work on the north platform cannot properly be understood without the help of the diaries, although they need to be supplemented by information from the published reports and letters. A letter to Justizrat Plato appears at first to give us a useful summary of events.<sup>117</sup> According to this account Schliemann first pressed forward until the platform had advanced 25m into the mound. Having done this he discovered that virgin soil lay deeper. He then re-cut the platform with a slope downwards of 10°, so that he struck virgin soil at 18m below the summit and at 25m from the edge of the trench. But the letter to Plato was written more than two months later, and the strictly contemporary sources suggest a different sequence of events.

Schliemann at first continued to dig the platform, as he thought, horizontally. His letter of 2nd May to Frank Calvert shows him still digging at 16m.<sup>118</sup> This depth must be taken from the summit, for in the diary too nothing lower than 16m is recorded until 8th May;<sup>119</sup> and here there is no doubt that measurements of depth for the north platform are related to the summit of the mound rather than to the datum in G 3.<sup>120</sup> The new plan of cutting the platform at an angle down into the mound was introduced on 6th May, a Monday morning. Initially the idea was to make a very steep slope that would drop 11m over a distance of 10m.<sup>121</sup> By 8th May an additional drop of 1m had been achieved,<sup>122</sup> and by 10th May a depth of 18m below the summit had been reached.<sup>123</sup>

This slope was not, however, cut along the entire length of the platform. In Trojanische Alterthümer he explains that the slope was made only over a length of 20m.<sup>124</sup> Its location is not absolutely clear, but the diary appears to show that it was at the west end of the platform<sup>125</sup> and that he was attempting to extend it towards the East.<sup>126</sup> A location at the west end certainly seems to be consistent

with the stratigraphy there. The lowering of the platform may be reflected in Blegen's section for squares D 2-3.<sup>127</sup> There is evidence here for a dip of roughly 2m at an angle of roughly 10°. A hint of the same dip is possibly to be seen in the section of D 3-4 as well.<sup>128</sup> If these dips are correctly identified, their position is consistent with the view that Schliemann here re-cut the floor of the trench over some of the breadth that had already been exposed before 25th April.

It seems unlikely that, at this stage, the platform penetrated the full 25m into the mound suggested by the letter to Plato. We may calculate, rather, that by 11th May Schliemann must have advanced the west end of his platform about 21.50m into the mound. This figure is based on the volume of soil that, on 11th May, he says he would have had to move in order to lower the platform if he had dug horizontally instead of at an angle.<sup>129</sup> On the line DE this must have brought the platform's south edge to about 10m north of the line 3/4. This again agrees very closely with the southern limit of Schliemann's platform as shown in Blegen's sections.<sup>130</sup> This calculated figure of 21.50m appears also to be confirmed by Schliemann's later mention, in the same connection, of 21m.<sup>131</sup> How far the east end of the platform had advanced is not clear. It seems likely that its progress had lagged behind slightly, but there is no direct evidence.

Schliemann's discovery of bedrock in fact came later than his initiation of the slope. It did not precede it. The slope was begun on 6th May, and at the same time work was resumed on clearing out the well in C 4-5.<sup>132</sup> By 8th May it was established that it was walled as far down as 18m (wrongly corrected in Trojanische Alterthümer to 16m<sup>133</sup>), below which it entered rock.<sup>134</sup> The result of this was that when, three days later, the north platform reached a depth of 18m below the summit, Schliemann declared that there too, at the west end, he had found bedrock.<sup>135</sup> In actual fact the testimony of the American excavations is quite clear that he found nothing of the kind.<sup>136</sup> He seems simply to have been dazzled by the figure of 18m. Ironically, it is also clear that he was not really digging at 18m below the summit.

His platform had accidentally sloped upwards as it was dug into the mound, and his new lowering of it took it down only to c.24.00m A.T.-15½m below the summit. The account in Trojanische Alterthümer implies that, having found bedrock, Schliemann worked forward at the same depth of 18m below the summit "for several days."<sup>137</sup> Blegen's section appears to confirm that he did indeed abandon the idea of digging deeper and went forward instead at the same level.<sup>138</sup> But the journal shows that the "several days" is an exaggeration: he only resumed horizontal digging on the day of the report itself.<sup>139</sup>

The platform on the south side of the mound, begun on 2nd May, was situated "exactly as shown on the plan"<sup>140</sup> - that is, in Atlas Taf.116. Its location can also be seen in Atlas Taf.117 and 214. The outer edge lies in CD 9, not just D 9 as Dörpfeld implies.<sup>141</sup> The cut was made at 5m below the mound-surface according to Trojanische Alterthümer;<sup>142</sup> at 10m below the summit according to the diary.<sup>143</sup> The measurement below the mound-surface is probably taken, as on the north side, from one of Laurent's spot-heights in Atlas Taf.116: perhaps the 27.77 mark (=34.92m A.T.) in E 9. A cut 10m below the summit would in any case put the platform at c.29.67m A.T. Granted a little latitude, this is more or less consistent with its location in Fig.III.4.

The extent of digging by 11th May can be judged from the fact that by that date the south platform had reached a "splendid bastion" which lay very much in the way.<sup>144</sup> Can this "splendid bastion" be identified? Both Dörpfeld and Ludwig took it to be the southeast corner of Building VIM.<sup>145</sup> Atlas Taf.117, which was drawn by Sisilas some weeks after the end of the 1872 season, does show a "Bollwerk aus der Zeit des Lysimachus" at letter K which ought to be a part of VIM; and at the same date Schliemann too refers to this feature as a bastion.<sup>146</sup> There is therefore a case for the identification if we refer directly to the records made at the end of the season. But the puzzle is that Schliemann really ought to have come across the Troy VI citadel wall. He says that his south platform was dug with an inclination of 12° (or 14°) downwards to the North;<sup>147</sup> but even with horizontal digging the wall should have come to light. Dörpfeld

realised this problem, yet said he could find no reference to the wall in Schliemann's reports.

There are in fact three references which allow us to identify the "splendid bastion" of 11th May as the Troy VI city wall. First, Schliemann's earlier draft of the despatch dated 11th May actually describes the wall concerned as a "Stützmauer."<sup>148</sup> In the published version it is called a "Bollwerk." The term "Stützmauer" would certainly be more apt as a description of a circuit wall than as a description of the corner of a building. Secondly, in the very next published report (of 23rd May 1872) he does in fact speak of a circuit wall ("Ringmauer") on the south side of the mound.<sup>149</sup> This, like the "splendid bastion" of 11th May, is attributed to the time of Lysimachus, which suggests that we are dealing with the same feature. Thirdly, the Troy VI city wall is clearly depicted in this trench in Atlas Taf.214, drawn in 1873, although Schliemann had not dug again in that area in the intervening period. Once again it is dated to the time of Lysimachus.

It is curious, though, that the wall should re-appear in Atlas Taf.214, drawn in 1873, when it is absent from Taf.117, drawn at the end of the season when it was found. How can this be explained? Schliemann left the site on 14th August at the end of the 1872 season. Atlas Taf.117 was only drawn a month later, when Schliemann returned on 10th September to make a plan of the excavations. With him he brought Sisilas, the surveyor, who was a newcomer to the site. In the intervening month there had been very heavy rains and two metres of soil had been washed into the south trench.<sup>150</sup> It is possible that in this way the wall had been covered up again. Sisilas, being new to the site, would have drawn only what he actually saw. Its inclusion by Laurent in the later plan, Atlas Taf.214, must have been from memory, for Schliemann did not dig in that area again in the interim. This may explain why in the later plan it is not accurately placed. It was certainly not visible in 1882, according to Dörpfeld.<sup>151</sup> After September 1872 it may well have remained buried until 1894.

If we accept that the "splendid bastion" of 11th May was actually the Troy VI city wall and not the corner of VIM, we have to concede that the discovery of the southeast corner of VIM went unmentioned in Schliemann's published reports. This, I think, is understandable and can be attributed to two factors. In the first place Schliemann's attention was mostly concentrated on the north platform where he himself was taking charge. The south platform, under the direction of G. Photidas, is much less carefully recorded. In the second place, Schliemann seems to have viewed the corner of VIM, when it came to light, as only another part of the "bastion" already discovered. In this case he may have felt justified in waiving any special mention of its discovery.

The limits of Photidas' south platform on 11th May, defined on the north side by the line of the Troy VI city wall, are shown in Fig. III.4. At its widest point it extended roughly 15m into the mound, on average perhaps 10m. There is conflicting evidence concerning the slope and projected length of the trench. The journal speaks of a 12° slope designed to bring the trench down to bedrock (i.e. to 18m below the summit) after a length of 60m.<sup>152</sup> Trojanische Alterthümer changes these figures to 14° and 75m.<sup>153</sup> Only the former can be correct, provided that the angle of 12° is measured relative to the slope of the mound-surface and not relative to the horizontal. In this case the 12° slope would indeed bring the trench to c.21.67m A.T. (=18m deep) after 60m. The 75m mentioned in TA may indicate the ultimate target of Schliemann's investigations at bedrock: the area below the summit in D 5, and the point shown in Atlas Taf.116 where the north and south trenches were planned to join. The figure of 14° may, however, be a note of the slope at which the trench was actually cut. On this assumption, the deepest end of the trench should by 11th May have reached c.28.50m. In fact Schliemann says that by this date it was 6m deep,<sup>154</sup> which agrees well with my calculations, if we assume that he was measuring down from the datum on the mound-surface at c.34.92m A.T.

12th - 22nd May 1872 (Fig.III.5)

Out of the next eleven days Schliemann was able to use only seven for digging.<sup>155</sup> During this time work continued on the north platform but not, it seems, on the south platform. The daily entries in the diary contain no reference at all to any work on the south platform, and the entry of 29th May shows that even by that date the platform had gained only another half metre in depth since 11th May,<sup>156</sup> an advance which can be attributed to work on the 23rd- 29th May. Trojanische Alterthümer does, it is true, contain a passing reference which seems to imply that work had continued on the south platform.<sup>157</sup> But every detail of this very brief report derives from earlier discoveries<sup>158</sup> or from the revision of the draft report on or about 29th May.<sup>159</sup> The reason for this temporary abandonment of the south platform was that its foreman, Photidas, was being used on the north platform to introduce a system of excavation by terraces which he had developed on the south platform.<sup>160</sup>

The north platform had been left on 11th May with its floor at c.24.00m A.T. at the western end and at perhaps c.25.00m A.T. at the eastern end. But Schliemann continued to assign to them the purely theoretical depths of 16m and 18m below the summit (as quoted in the diary) or 14m and 16m below the datum on the mound-surface (as quoted in the published reports).

To make the work safer and quicker, he now concentrated on cutting smaller platforms at a higher level, with the object of breaking them down to the lower level only in a second operation. A 3m-wide terrace was first cut at each end of the trench.<sup>161</sup> The two terraces were then apparently to be extended until they met in the middle of the trench. In fact, however, neither exceeded 20m in length by the date of the report.<sup>162</sup> The upper deposits seem to have been cut at an angle as before,<sup>163</sup> presumably emerging onto the mound-surface 6-8m further South. The lower deposits were hardly broken down at all: the operation had only begun on 21st May.<sup>164</sup>

Both east and west terraces must have been cut at c.30.00m A.T. In the diary their heights are given as 6m at the east end and 8m at the west end.<sup>165</sup> These are the heights above the theoretical depths of 16m and 18m, and show that Schliemann intended to cut both platforms at an identical depth of 10m below the summit. In Trojanische Alterthümer they have been changed to 5m and 6m respectively.<sup>166</sup> These figures seem to reflect the actual height of the terraces above the platform floor. For the western terrace, at least, the depth of 10m is confirmed by the note that it adjoined the trench cut in 1871.<sup>167</sup> It may be remembered that that trench, too, had been dug to a uniform depth of 10m below the summit.

#### 23rd May - 18th June 1872 (Fig.III.6)

The published report describing the activities of this period was first drafted on 18th June and still bears that date. But the text for the final version must have been revised some days later, certainly no earlier than 23rd June, and it includes references to discoveries made later than 18th June.<sup>169</sup> Such later interpolations will be ignored here. The report is a lengthy one, but much of it summarises results previously obtained both earlier in the season and in 1871. The "stratigraphic" divisions used in it (0-2m, 2-4m, 4-7m, 7-10m) are largely a repetition of the previous year's findings. For these and other reasons the report is liable to be misleading, and, as ever, the primary sources for understanding Schliemann's work in this period must be his notebooks and letters.

On 21st May a serious accident had taken place at the west end of the north platform. A part of the section fell, burying two men who were very lucky to be rescued almost unharmed.<sup>170</sup> Schliemann was clearly shaken, although Sophie's arrival from Athens on the 24th will no doubt have given him fresh courage. No more work was done at the east end, and Schliemann resolved in future to cut all sections, i.e. even the lowest parts, with a slope.<sup>171</sup> He also decided on a new strategy: to make first a narrower cut through the entire mound joining up north and south platforms, and to leave open for the moment the question how to complete his previous plan for a wider trench.<sup>172</sup>

The position and dimensions of the cut can be seen in Atlas Taf.117. At the north end it starts from the western end of the north platform. In its southward course it spreads into the North-South trench of 1871 but also extends further to the East. Schliemann apparently intended it to be 30m wide at the top and 20m wide at the bottom.<sup>173</sup> In fact it seems to have been only 23m wide at the top, even when measured from the western edge of the 1871 trench. This figure, given in a letter to Frank Calvert,<sup>174</sup> is confirmed by Atlas Taf.117 and by the position of the eastern edge of the trench in Dörpfeld's plan.<sup>175</sup> The early figure of 30m must date from the start of Schliemann's work on the new trench, and was probably taken across CD 4, measuring from the western limit of the 1871 trench to the eastern limit of the north platform's western "terrace."

The report in Trojanische Alterthümer says that work on this new North-South trench was begun straight-away along its entire length.<sup>176</sup> This seems to be a very loose way of expressing what really occurred, for against it we must set several points carrying a different implication. First, Schliemann does not yet seem to have reverted to his 1871 practice of horizontal excavation. When he eventually did so he commented specially on it, in unfavourable terms;<sup>177</sup> and for the moment there seems to be no change in his methods - he is still working forward, taking out large, vertical bites with levers, chains and winches.<sup>178</sup> Secondly, he reports on 13th July that the length of the trench had increased to 80m,<sup>179</sup> which certainly does not suggest simultaneous excavation on all areas of the projected trench. Thirdly, in his letter of 23rd July to Plato he actually says that he began to dig simultaneously from north and south ends.<sup>180</sup> Yet even this seems to be not quite accurate, for there is evidence that work was carried out in not two but three areas of the trench.

The first of these was at the north end, in what had been the western end of the north platform. Until 4th June Schliemann concentrated on extending his terrace at c.30.00m A.T. so as to expose more of the large building which he had found at that level,<sup>181</sup> a building which can be identified as Megaron IIA.<sup>182</sup> He extended

the terrace until he found the building to be a "room" taking up most of the terrace. This implies a southward extension of the terrace by approximately 9m, as far as the northern cross-wall of IIA reconstructed by Dorpfeld in TI Taf.III. At the same time, however, he was busy cutting away the "lower earth wall" to expose what he hoped would be the lower courses of the building.<sup>183</sup> In doing so he was in fact extending the platform at its depth of c.24.00m A.T. By 4th June he had found that the building actually rested on remains of earlier structures and had a depth of only  $\frac{1}{2}$ m.<sup>184</sup> He thereupon lost interest in extending the terrace any further at the 30.00m level.

At the same time, but for a different reason, he also gave up digging the platform to the depth of 24.00m A.T. During an altercation with Schliemann, Photidas, who evidently had spells of idleness, claimed that he was digging  $3\frac{1}{2}$ m into virgin soil. Schliemann was swayed by his arguments, for he found that amongst the lowest deposits containing charcoal, bones and boars' teeth there was indeed much "pure virgin soil" as well; and he accepted that it was useless to dig to such a depth. He therefore decided to raise the platform. The diary says that it was to be raised by  $3-3\frac{1}{2}$ m, to a theoretical depth of  $14\frac{1}{2}$ m.<sup>185</sup> The published report gives the figure as 2m.<sup>186</sup> The rise can actually be seen in Troy I Fig.423, where it measures c.3m. The new limit of excavation lay at 27.00m A.T. In Fig.424 it is wrongly called "Schliemann's Secondary Terrace." Fig.423 shows the real secondary terrace at 30-31m A.T. The measurements of depth in this part of the North-South trench can become a little confusing. In general it seems that for depths up to 10m they are reliably measured down from the summit. Lower depths tend to be affected by the theoretical level of the platform at  $14\frac{1}{2}$ m deep (actually at c. $12\frac{1}{2}$ m deep) and need to be treated with caution.

The second area of excavation within the North-South trench can be less certainly located. Schliemann speaks of a "middle" platform,<sup>187</sup> and of excavation in the "middle of the mound."<sup>188</sup> The most likely situation for this is adjoining the south end of the 1871 trench

working either towards the North, to meet the trench from the north platform, or perhaps more probably towards the South, to meet the south platform. The initial task will presumably have been to bring adjacent parts of the mound down to the 10m depth of the 1871 trench.

The third area of excavation within the projected North-South trench was on the south platform. Work here was at best sporadic and was in fact discontinued on 12th June.<sup>189</sup> It received only 13 days' work in this period. A depth of 6m had already been attained when excavation here was resumed. Yet on 29th May the trench had only reached 6½m. Clearly the advance was not very rapid. The Troy VI fortification wall was, of course, in the way and was not to be demolished;<sup>190</sup> Schliemann may have worked at exposing the south face of the wall to a greater depth. But in the diary he does refer also to an upper terrace which had been dug at a depth of 2m and which, with only one more day's work to go before its abandonment, had been extended 7m further into the mound.<sup>191</sup> The remnants of a system of terraces can be seen in Atlas Taf.117 where, however, the trench is at a much more advanced stage. But what is the depth of 2m measured down from? One possibility is that Schliemann was again measuring down from the datum at c.34.92m A.T. In this case the terrace will have been cut directly into the mound-surface 2m above the top of the Troy VI wall, at c.32.92m A.T. (see Fig. IV.39). But it is perhaps more likely that the terrace was cut into the trench face from the top of the Troy VI wall itself, its floor being formed by the top of the wall. In this case the 2m will have been measured down from the mound-surface directly above the point where the terrace began, and the terrace will have lain at c.31.00m A.T. Two pieces of evidence favour this interpretation. First, Schliemann does note that the fortification wall was covered entirely with earth<sup>192</sup> - which implies complete excavation of the overburden. Secondly, both Dörpfeld and Blegen found the existing surface in C 8 to lie at c.31.00m,<sup>193</sup> the upper deposits clearly having been removed. For the northward extent of excavation we must assume a figure slightly in excess of 7m from the south face of the Troy VI wall.

In December 1871 Frank Calvert had drawn Schliemann's attention to a "deep hollow" which lay in his own land on the east side of the mound.<sup>194</sup> It must be identical with the rectangular depression later noted for that area in Trojanische Alterthümer.<sup>195</sup> In the reconstructed contour-plan I have located it in GH 3-4 where it proves to overlie the Temple of Athena exactly. During April and May 1872 Schliemann had become increasingly intrigued by the eastern half of the mound,<sup>196</sup> partly spurred on by Calvert's own interest and partly for reasons of his own. Having in the previous year failed to find the Temple of Minerva on the summit of the hill, he was now disposed to regard the ash deposits found at the east end of his north platform as sacrificial remains from an undiscovered temple nearby.<sup>197</sup> The many fragments of marble lying on the eastern half of the mound seemed to point to the same conclusion.<sup>198</sup> Eventually, on 12th June, he began a new platform on the northeast side of the mound.<sup>199</sup> The location of the completed platform can be seen in Atlas Taf.117 and 214. It also appears in Ilios plan I. Dörpfeld correctly says that it lay in GH 2-3.<sup>200</sup> To judge from the plans, its outer edge must have lain close to the 25.00m contour; but for the platform's depth there are some divergent figures. Trojanische Alterthümer speaks of a platform lying at 12m below the mound-surface.<sup>201</sup> For this figure the original draft had 15m below the summit.<sup>202</sup> We may assume that Schliemann is here following his established practice of converting measurements that apply to excavations in the northeastern area to measurements from the surface, and that the two figures are equivalent. The area around the depression did not lie much higher than 36.50m A.T. This will give us an altitude of c.24.67m for the platform, which agrees well with its position on the plan. There is the difficulty that in Atlas Taf.214 the platform's altitude is given as 20.48 which, when the appropriate conversion is applied, is 26.78m A.T. In H 3, however, Blegen's team seems to have found undisturbed strata only below the level of 24.50m A.T.<sup>203</sup> How an incorrect figure for the platform might have arisen in Atlas Taf.214 one cannot now say, but it does not seem to be the result of dumping. The testimony of three independent sources is, then, persuasive that this platform must be placed at c.24.67m A.T. But there is also evidence for an upper terrace<sup>204</sup>

which, if we here make use of Atlas Taf.117, lay 5½m higher, that is at c.30.17m A.T. It may be this terrace that is alluded to in the diary's statement<sup>205</sup> that the trench was laid out so as to be cut at a depth of 9m. But Sisilas's plan in Atlas Taf.117, assigning to the trench a total depth of 10m below the surface, is clearly using a datum from the surface in the immediate neighbourhood of the trench, and it is possible that the diary's 9m may be based on a similar datum.

Initially the trench was laid out with a width of only 12m.<sup>206</sup> Probably it was designed to join up the two trenches left from Calvert's excavations in 1865, although their depth was only 4-5m originally.<sup>207</sup> Its extension can be seen in Atlas Taf.117 protruding to the South of the rest of the platform. But, perhaps after the discovery of the Helios triglyph, Schliemann soon widened the lower platform to 31m and the upper to 34m.<sup>208</sup> His purpose was clearly to include the whole of the rectangular depression within the trench.

By 18th June Schliemann had only had three days' work on the northeast platform. He cannot have advanced very far - perhaps 2 or 3m on each terrace: probably far enough, at any rate, for the upper terrace to be cut into the slope rising above the lower one.

One last operation must be mentioned: a trench opened by Sophie Schliemann. It was begun on 7th June with two workmen<sup>209</sup> and was on a small scale. It is marked Z in Atlas Taf.117 and lay in square C 5.

#### 19th June - 13th July 1872 (Fig.III.7)

Schliemann in this period continued to extend the trenches which he had already opened. He gives little information about progress in the northern sector of the projected North-South trench. His comment in the despatch in Trojanische Alterthümer that in "several places" excavation had reached a distance of 80m from the edge of the mound<sup>210</sup> can, however, only refer to this part of the

work. It implies that, on the surface at any rate. the trench now reached well into D 6 and as far as it ever went. Work must therefore have been continued in the "middle platform" of the trench, in D 5-6, although Schliemann never specially refers to it. In his letter to Plato, Schliemann allowed it to be assumed that the trench's width remained 30m throughout.<sup>211</sup> Atlas Taf.117, 214 and TI Taf.III nevertheless make it clear that in its southern reaches the trench attained a width of no more than 12 or 13m. In the diary-entry for 29th June, Schliemann records that one of the foremen had undertaken to continue the excavation of the trench at bedrock as far as the end of the 1871 excavations, and to do so in 15 days.<sup>212</sup> This entry clearly has in mind the more northerly part of this sector, where the north platform was already being extended southwards, supposedly at bedrock level. It envisages excavation in D 4-5, largely in an area where the previous year's work had reached a depth of only 10m. What depth did Schliemann now have in mind when prescribing excavation to bedrock? The theoretical depth of bedrock in this trench was, as we have already seen, 14½m.<sup>213</sup> Summing up his achievements in the North-South trench, Schliemann later spoke of its depth as 15-18m,<sup>214</sup> which we may take as loosely consistent with this and his previous work. But the actual altitude of the bottom of the trench in this area was initially, again as we have already seen, c.27.00m A.T.<sup>215</sup> It seems likely that for the most part it remained at this level, for Sisilas' section shows the depth of the trench as 13m,<sup>216</sup> and the walls of Early Troy I seem to have remained mostly undisturbed. It is not clear precisely how much of his task the foreman fulfilled by 13th July, but probably the larger part of it.

There is direct evidence in the diary for continued work on the south platform, the southern sector of the projected North-South trench. On 22nd June Schliemann had reached a depth of 8m,<sup>217</sup> and had gone below the 9m level by 5th July.<sup>218</sup> He explicitly says that he was still adhering to his earlier practice of digging the trench at a slope,<sup>219</sup> and Atlas Taf.117 confirms that, after digging down behind the Troy VI wall scarcely at all, he continued the slope of the trench downward to the North. Later in 1872 the trench in D 7

was carried to a depth of 14m below the mound-surface, just South of the so-called "Tower" (Dörpfeld's Walls IIb and IIc).<sup>220</sup>

This achievement was preceded by the digging of a two-metre-deep pit to a depth of 13m.<sup>221</sup> Atlas Taf.117 confirms that there was a hole just to the South of the "Tower." If it reached a depth of 13m when two metres deep, the bottom of the trench from which it was dug down must have lain at 11m below the surface, i.e. at c.27m A.T. This figure allows us to determine the line of the bottom of the trench for the period in hand, as in Fig.IV.41. The altitude for the trench-bottom can be derived from Atlas Taf.214, and, after allowance has been made for the presence of washed-in soil, all three are consistent with the line proposed: 30.56m in the southern sector of D 8,<sup>222</sup> 28.22m at the edge of the pit,<sup>223</sup> and 24.80m at the bottom of the pit.<sup>224</sup> When, therefore, Schliemann says early in the period that he has reached a depth of 8m, and later records finds to a depth of 10m, this can only mean that he was measuring depths from a point on the surface that must have lain at approximately 38m A.T., where the surface flattened out in D 7.

From Schliemann's correspondence we know that by 19th July the trench extended 50m into the mound.<sup>225</sup> Setting this against the 9m depth already reached on 5th July, we can estimate that by 13th July the trench may have advanced 20m or more into the mound from the point at which it had previously been left. This will have brought it well into D 7. The trench's width is made clear by both Atlas Taf.117 and Atlas Taf.214. It was approximately 23m, as in the northern sector of the North-South trench; but this includes two terraces. The central, deeper part of the trench had a width of only c.10m. Atlas Taf.214 allows us to calculate the altitudes of the two terraces. The western one lay at c.34.15m A.T., and the eastern one at c.34.74m A.T.<sup>226</sup> The western terrace passed over the top of the east end of the Building VIM, whose southeast corner it exposed.<sup>227</sup> The eastern terrace must have passed by the structures of Troy VII and DE 8, shown in TI Taf.III, exposing only a wall at the extreme northeast corner of the platform.<sup>228</sup>

More detail is given of progress in the northeast platform, which Schliemann refers to as the "Temple area."<sup>229</sup> Two terraces had already been started, one at c.30.17m A.T. and the other at c.24.67m A.T. From the depths of finds recorded in the diary, it can be seen that during 18th-22nd June Schliemann was engaged in extending the upper terrace.<sup>230</sup> From 24th June to 9th July he was extending the lower terrace while still continuing work on the upper terrace.<sup>231</sup> The eventual extent of the upper terrace can be seen in Atlas Taf.117. It is still 34m wide, as before, but (when measured to include the sloping face at its southern end) has penetrated c.38m into the mound. The lower platform, also referred to as the large platform, remained 31m wide, but now penetrated 25m into the mound.<sup>232</sup> Judging from Atlas Taf.117 and 214, this measurement was taken along the west side of the platform and included the width of the slope on the south side. For the depth of the lower platform Schliemann gives a bewildering series of figures. In the daily entries of the diary it is 9m deep;<sup>233</sup> in the résumé in the diary it is 15m below the summit;<sup>234</sup> in Trojanische Alterthümer it is 12m below the summit.<sup>235</sup> But the same variation has already been found, and in the equivalent places, in the records for 24th May - 18th June.<sup>236</sup> The depth of 9m may be a measurement from top to bottom of the cutting at the northern end of the trench. The depths of 12m below the surface (at c.36.50m) and 15m below the summit (at c.39.67m A.T.) again point to an altitude of c.24.67m A.T. for the floor of the platform.

On 9th July Schliemann stated his intention to dig the "large platform" - that is, the lower one - 8m deeper than it had been dug so far.<sup>237</sup> This plan was not carried out, as it was subjected to two revisions. Schliemann soon realised the enormity of such a task, and decided instead (the first revision) to make only a narrow cutting which would go 8m deeper than the lower terrace. He began work on this project. It was to be 4m wide at the bottom, 6m wide where it cut through the lower terrace floor, and 8m wide where it cut through the upper terrace floor.<sup>238</sup> Its total depth, as noted

in the diary, would be 17m (i.e. 9m + 8m). But even this plan was not fully carried through, for in fact (second revision) the narrow cutting was sunk to an extra depth of only 5m, i.e. to c.19.67m A.T. This is the figure eventually given in Trojanische Alterthümer,<sup>239</sup> and it agrees with the information in Atlas Taf.117. Also, from Atlas Taf.117 and 214 we may estimate that the northern end of the cutting must have lain at approximately the 20.00m contour, which tends again to confirm the 5m depth of the trench. The cut can be clearly seen on these plans, as well as in Ilios Plan I where it is marked "w."<sup>240</sup> It lay in the middle of the lower platform.<sup>241</sup>

Schliemann's decision to dig 8m deeper was sparked off by his belief that on the lower platform he was still only in the remains of "the historical period."<sup>242</sup> He may have been misled by the sloping deposits of Troy VIII and IX which covered the north face of the mound to a considerable depth in this area.<sup>243</sup> His apparently arbitrary seizing on the figure of 8m must derive from his experience of 1871 when he found what he took to be the remains of the earliest settlement 8m below the bottom of the Greek settlement. His reduction of this figure to 5m may have been prompted by the thought that a total trench-depth of 17m would be a depth of 21m below the surface, there being a difference of 3m in the respective datum points. He would have expected a cutting 17m below the surface to serve his purpose well enough, considering his experience in the North-South trench.

We do not know how much, at this stage, of the narrower cutting had been excavated. The plan only materialised on 9th July, and between then and 13th July, when the first draft of Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xi was written, there was work only on the 10th. So it cannot have progressed very far. In that chapter he does say, however, that he was digging the trench "from below," that is, from the north slope, and at the same time on both terraces.<sup>244</sup> This clearly indicates that he began work simultaneously at several places along its whole length, at least as far as the southern-most extent of the upper platform. There is no sign that the further extension to the South was yet begun.

13th July - 4th August 1872 (Fig.III.8)

Chapter xii in Trojanische Alterthümer is dated 4th August 1872,<sup>245</sup> this being the date on which the fair copy of the text as it now stands was eventually despatched from the site. The rough draft can be found in the diary between the two entries dated to 25th July.<sup>246</sup> But it has been written later than 25th July on pages which must have been left blank, for at the end of the entry there remains one page unused.<sup>247</sup> The rough draft actually bears the date 1st August. The final draft of 4th August still bears a few features of the earlier draft which ought to have been altered.<sup>248</sup> In other respects, however, the text has been updated. On 1st August the north side of the "Tower" had not yet been exposed; three days later it had been, and the appropriate revision was made.<sup>249</sup>

In the northeastern trench, in the "temple area," Schliemann continued work on the narrower cutting that was to penetrate 5m below the floor of the lower terrace. In GH 2-3, where a beginning had already been made, the bottom of the trench lay at c.20m, as we have already seen, with a theoretical depth of 17m. This figure recurs in the diary during this period,<sup>250</sup> and Schliemann does say that he continued to cut the trench horizontally into the mound.<sup>251</sup> It may, however, have sloped upwards slightly as it was dug. The evidence for this will be given shortly. Extension of the trench southwards was brought to a halt by the discovery of a wall 2m thick and 3m high lying East-West across the line of excavation.<sup>252</sup> A variety of measurements is given for its depth and its distance from the mound's edge, but the difficulty of using these to locate the wall is removed by the certainty of its location in the plans. Schliemann spoke of it as a Trojan wall,<sup>253</sup> on account of its depth and size, and it is shown in Atlas Taf. 214 as the Outer Wall of Troy, where it lies close to the line GH 3/4. Ilios p.24 No.2 shows its relation to the underlying fortification wall (A) which was found only later and which appears both in Atlas Taf.117 at the letter P and in Atlas Taf.214 numbered 28. There is no doubt that Dörpfeld was right to identify this wall with his wall BC,<sup>254</sup> which overlies the batter of the fortification wall of Troy II in GH 3-4.

This identification makes it easier to cut through the tangle of measurements given by Schliemann. Several figures are given for its distance from the edge of the mound. The largest are 50m<sup>255</sup> and 40m.<sup>256</sup> These must be two different attempts to measure its lateral distance from the foot of the mound in H 1. Next is the figure of 35m.<sup>257</sup> This must be a rough measurement from the point on the north slope where the trench floor cut in at c.20m A.T. Finally there is the figure of 31½m.<sup>258</sup> This appears to be a more strictly horizontal measurement to the north slope.

There is also a bewildering variety of measurements of the wall's depth. These, too, must be unravelled if we are to understand the system by which depths are assigned to objects in this trench. The wall was originally said to be 11m below the surface.<sup>259</sup> Once it had been found itself to have a height of 3m,<sup>260</sup> Schliemann gave its vertical depth variously as 10½-13½m (in Trojanische Alterthümer)<sup>261</sup> and 12-15m (in the diary).<sup>262</sup> A number of bench marks are recorded for Wall BC,<sup>263</sup> and we can estimate that the upper surface where Schliemann brought it to light must in fact have lain at approximately 26.00m A.T. Only the depth of 10½-13½m can be an accurate measurement from the surface which at this point lay at c.36.50m A.T. - although the original figure of 11m may pass as a rough measurement of the same distance. How Schliemann arrived at the figure of 12-15m is more of a puzzle. There seems no reason why he should have taken a datum of c.38m A.T. on the surface of the mound. It is more likely, I think, that in the diary Schliemann made use of a theoretical figure. The floor of the trench was supposed to lie at 17m deep; and the foot of the wall was 2m higher.<sup>264</sup> The wall itself should then have been at 12-15m deep. In reality, however, the foot of the wall must have lain at c.23.00m A.T., and the floor of the trench at c.21.00m A.T. This means that the trench floor must have sloped up by approximately 1m from c.20.00m A.T., where it had originally been 6m deeper than the top of the wall- as Schliemann implies.<sup>265</sup> It also means that in this period other, lower depths that are noted in the diary - for instance, for objects - may have been calculated in a similar way.

Although Schliemann was not able to continue digging at this depth, he did work on an extension of the trench southwards to a shallower depth. By 18th July the trench had been extended far enough South to expose, to the South of the Temple, two courses of a large wall.<sup>266</sup> For Schliemann the "Temple area" was defined by the depression in the mound-surface in GH 3-4, and he must therefore have reached at least as far South as the south wall of the Temple of Athena. The wall concerned is unlikely, however, to have been the south wall of the Temple itself, all the masonry of which seems to have been robbed out at some earlier date.<sup>267</sup> It does in fact appear in Atlas Taf.214 where it is numbered 30 and described as a Hellenic Wall. Here it lies almost parallel to, and just North of, the line G 4/5, some 4m South of where the southern wall of the Temple lay. It may be a continuation of the building marked VID on Dörpfeld's plan.<sup>268</sup> Certainly Atlas Taf.117 shows the trench reaching just far enough for this to be possible. In both Atlas Taf.117 and 214 the width of the trench appears to be c.10m at the surface of the mound and, as before, c.4m at the bottom. The depth of the trench is shown in Atlas Taf.214 as 20.34. With the +6.30 correction, the altitude will have been 26.64m A.T. This means that the trench was cut more or less horizontally from the top of Wall BC.

At the same time, Schliemann continued work on the south platform. Here he continued to dig northwards from the position in D 7 at which the trench had arrived on 13th July. Its total width, if we may judge from Atlas Taf.117 and 214, appears now to have been c.16m. This figure includes the width of the western terrace, originally dug at c.34.15m A.T. but now possibly rising higher; with the narrowing of the trench the eastern terrace has disappeared. The deeper cut, now lying on the east side of the trench, seems to have been c.10m wide as before.

Various figures are given for the trench's length. In the journal Schliemann speaks of its northern end lying 70m from the edge of the hill.<sup>269</sup> In the published despatch the figure is 60m.<sup>270</sup> In his letters, however, he quotes a distance of 50m.<sup>271</sup> The latter two, at least, are easy enough to understand. They are both measurements

of the length of the trench, the first along its eastern side, the second along its western side, following the line of the platform's edge. The figure of 70m is harder to understand and must be a measurement from some point on the mound-surface to the South of the southern entrance to the trench. These interpretations can be stated with some certainty since we do know exactly how far the trench progressed: it was taken northwards until its path was blocked by what Schliemann called the "Tower:"<sup>272</sup> the structure which turned out to be the fortification-walls later numbered by Dörpfeld as IIb and IIc. The exact position of the southern face of this architectural mass is known from TI Taf.III.

At its deepest point the south trench reached a depth of 14m below the surface, as is explicitly stated in two sources.<sup>273</sup> This depth was measured in a hole which Schliemann dug against the south side of the "Tower."<sup>274</sup> The surface at this point lay at c.38m A.T. according to the contour-plan, so the hole must have gone down to c.24m A.T. The figure is confirmed by Atlas Taf.214, from which we can derive the figure of 24.80m A.T.,<sup>275</sup> and by TI Taf.VIII where the figure is given as 24.40m. The figure in Atlas Taf.214 has, of course, been affected by silting during the winter rains of 1872-1873. But from what depth was the hole dug down? When Schliemann began to dig the hole he recorded that he had dug it two metres deep, to a depth of 13m. Its upper limit must therefore have lain at a depth of 11m below the surface, that is at c.27m A.T. This is the depth to which the south trench should have reached in the northern quarter of D 7. When translated onto a section, as in Fig.IV.27, it implies a slope in the trench floor of about 1 in 7, which is exactly the figure mentioned by Schliemann.<sup>276</sup> From Atlas Taf.214 we can derive a figure of 28.22m A.T. for the depth of the trench at the deepest part of the slope;<sup>277</sup> but this depth, like that in the pit, has been affected by silting.

The North-South trench was continued, too, from the North and had struck the north side of the "Tower," that is, the north face of Dörpfeld's Wall IIc, by 4th August,<sup>278</sup> although it had not yet done so on 1st August.<sup>279</sup> The width of the trench seems, as before, to

have been c.12 or 13m.<sup>280</sup> Over the depth of the trench it is difficult to reach any firm conclusion. Atlas Taf.117, in the section, shows a depth of 12½m below the surface which here lay at c.39m A.T. This places the bottom of the trench on the north side of the "Tower" at c.26.50m A.T. Schliemann himself records that the "Tower" lay 8m below the surface<sup>281</sup> (Dörpfeld provides a bench-mark of 30.66m A.T. for IIc), and that he dug to a depth of 5m in front of its north face.<sup>282</sup> This brings the depth of the trench here to 25.66 or c.26.00m A.T. On the other hand, Schliemann also records finds at depths of 14m,<sup>283</sup> 15m,<sup>284</sup> and even 16m.<sup>285</sup> These may all be calculated from the summit (39.67m A.T.), but the last two figures should probably be dismissed as no more than theoretical. This again leaves us with a figure of c.25.67m A.T. A rather lower figure is required by Atlas Taf.214, where the altitude of 18.70 must be corrected to 25.00m A.T. A still lower one is demanded by Ilios Plan III which shows the depth as 15m below (presumably) the summit. That figure works out at 24.67m A.T. The range, then, seems to be 24.67 - 26.50m A.T. To some extent the varying figures can be explained by the fact that the trench floor sloped upwards to the South, as may be seen in Atlas Taf.117 and in Ilios Plan III. The greater depths of 14, 15 and 16m are all mentioned by Schliemann on or before 1st August when he had not yet reached as far South as the "Tower." The depth of 13m ( a straight addition of 8m to the "Tower" and 5m below it) only makes its appearance after the "Tower" has been reached.

The day after the discovery of (Dörpfeld's) Wall I Ib, which first came to light on 9th July, horses and carts were brought round to the north side of the area to begin its clearance from the mound-surface downwards.<sup>286</sup> This plan gradually expanded in scope. A few days later Schliemann was planning to dig a run-off channel to deflect away from the wall the water that ran down the south trench.<sup>287</sup> This channel was to extend to the west edge of the mound<sup>288</sup> and was to be 3m deep - which suggests that it originated as an extension of the hole on the south side of the "Wall." But by 27th July Schliemann had begun to interpret the wall as a "Tower," and so began to think of clearing it not only on north and south sides, but

to East and West ("left" and "right" respectively<sup>289</sup>) as well.<sup>290</sup>  
The run-off channel was apparently subsumed within this expanded trench.<sup>291</sup> At this stage, and presumably for the rest of the period in hand, the dimensions proposed for the "Tower" trench were 20m in width and 20m in length.<sup>292</sup> But Atlas Taf.117 shows that these dimensions were not entirely achieved. A length of 20m (from North to South) does appear on the eastern side of the trench, but not on the west; and even so the figure must be understood to include the work being done at the south end of the north trench. The east end of the "Tower" trench had reached a depth of at least 4m by 4th August.<sup>293</sup> The west end may have penetrated deeper, possibly to 8m.<sup>294</sup> The whole trench effectively joined up the northern and southern sectors of the projected, and now completed, North-South trench.

Small excavations were put in hand in two other parts of the site. On the north platform Schliemann dug a deeper, 2m-wide trench from North to South to see whether he could locate any circuit walls.<sup>295</sup> The trench is shown in Atlas Taf.117, marked S, where it is described as a drainage channel. Also, on 19th July Schliemann began to mark out and dig a long trench in the Theatre, which he had looked at eleven days earlier.<sup>296</sup> The location of the trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.213.<sup>297</sup> No findings are recorded from either trench, except a note that no circuit wall was found below the north platform.<sup>298</sup>

#### 5th - 9th August 1872 (Fig.III.9)

The season's excavations were brought to a close after a final day's work on Friday 9th August.<sup>299</sup> Schliemann remained on the site until 13th August, the remaining days being taken up with clearing washed-in soil out of the south trench, packing up, writing and receiving a visit from the Calvert brothers.<sup>300</sup> In ceasing work on 9th August, Schliemann was not adhering to any preconceived plan. The end of the season was brought about by the fact that he, his three foremen and his servant had all contracted malaria, aggravated in Schliemann's case by exhaustion and a troublesome abscess on the leg.<sup>301</sup> "My days

are numbered," he wrote to Curtius a fortnight later, with characteristic hyperbole.<sup>302</sup>

On the last day of work some men were assigned to dig both in the "temple" area, GH 2-4, and on the north platform, as well as to clear out the south trench.<sup>303</sup> The object seems to have been as much to keep everyone busy as to continue serious excavation, and no records of the work were kept. Otherwise all work in this short period was concentrated on the trench around the "Tower" in CDE 6-7. The eventual state of the excavations here may be seen in Atlas Taf.117. The length of the trench from East to West was increased to c.32m. Where it crossed the North-South trench its width was c.20m, narrowing to c.12m at the west end and to c.18m at the east end. In the east and west arms excavation was carried down to the top of the "Tower" at c.30m A.T. (=8m deep).<sup>304</sup> On the north side of the "Tower," in the North-South trench, excavation ceased at c.28m A.T. (11m deep).<sup>305</sup>

#### 15th - 16th September 1872

For two days Schliemann revisited the site after the end of the season.<sup>306</sup> With him came Sophie, Sisilas the surveyor who drew the plan in Atlas Taf.117, and Siebrecht, a photographer from the Dardanelles who took twelve views of the site.<sup>307</sup> In Schliemann's absence some stones had been removed from the "Bastion of Lysimachus" on the south side - i.e. from VIM - and the rains of 14th August had left two metres of soil washed into the pit in front of the "Tower" in the south trench. He set some men to re-expose the south face of the "Tower," and he built a protective wall in front of it.<sup>308</sup>

The rain had also exposed a new wall at the bottom of the northeast trench. Initially it was found 2m below the Wall BC,<sup>309</sup> but was later found to lie behind it.<sup>310</sup> It corresponds to the battered fortification-wall of Troy II shown by Dörpfeld in G 3 of his plan.<sup>311</sup> There is some looseness in Schliemann's description of its location: 40m, or 50m, from the edge of the mound.<sup>312</sup> But the identification is not in doubt. A small amount of work was done to expose it more fully. In Fig.IV.6 it appears as Deposit (7), Wall 29.

Schliemann's fourth season, from 2nd February to 14th June, is again documented in considerable detail.

2nd - 23rd February 1873 (Fig.III.10)

His work in the previous year had convinced Schliemann that the Temple of Athena was to be found on the northeast side of the mound, and since at least September 1872 it had been his firm intention to continue work in that area.<sup>313</sup> It was to this task that he first turned when excavations began in 1873.

Schliemann's starting-point is clearly specified in Trojanische Alterthümer: on the north side of the hill, at 40m from the edge, 2m below the "Trojan" wall, at the spot where a wall of white stones rose at 40°, <sup>314</sup> with the east edge of the mound lying 80m away.<sup>315</sup> This point must have lain against the lower face of Wall 29 (the Troy II fortification wall) and below Wall 30, in the deep cut in square H 4 or G 4 (see Fig. IV.5). The emphasis on this starting-point, even in the résumé of 22nd February when work had been in progress, albeit interrupted, for three weeks, is a result of Schliemann's desire to expose more of Wall 29. But he does also say that he was aiming to reach the temple by digging simultaneously on two sides using five terraces.<sup>316</sup> The second of these two areas lay in F 3-4, at the east end of the north platform, where Atlas Taf.214 shows two terraces. We can therefore assume that Schliemann was using three terraces in the first trench in GH 2-4. This is consistent with the evidence of the diary, which speaks of an "upper terrace," and a "second terrace" and a "lower excavation" in the northeast trench.<sup>317</sup>

Where were these terraces? If we compare Atlas Taf.214, which shows the excavations at the end of the 1873 season, with Atlas Taf.117, made a year earlier, it is clear that no work was done on the two more easterly terraces in H 2-4. It is also clear that little additional work can have been done in the deep, central cut of the area: Atlas Taf.214 gives two altitudes for the trench bottom which, when corrected, coincide very closely with the state of this deep cut at the end of 1872.<sup>318</sup> Only in the western part of the trench

does Atlas Taf.214 show any change. Here the lower terrace, lying at c.26.66m A.T.,<sup>319</sup> has been extended nearly 20m to the south, if we include the area where Wall 29 was revealed; and the upper terrace, lying at c.30.59m A.T.,<sup>320</sup> has been extended 17-18m southwards, and also westwards to join the trench from the north platform. The terraces are in fact extensions of the terraces left in the trench at the end of 1872.<sup>321</sup>

The trench was abandoned on 1st March, after only about 16 days' work.<sup>322</sup> Perhaps 10 days' work had been done by 23rd February. This allows us to estimate roughly how far the trench had progressed during the first period, and there is some additional information to help. On the upper terrace, Schliemann had already advanced 2m beyond the boundary of Frank Calvert's field by 10th February.<sup>323</sup> The exact, western limit of the field is not recorded, but on the north side of the mound it certainly lay between the trenches in F 3 and G 3, perhaps along the west edge of the rectangular depression in GH 4. The North-South line bisecting the mound in Atlas Taf.116 may represent the western limit of Calvert's land as well as the eastern limit of the excavations proposed by Schliemann for 1872. On the lower terrace, Wall 29 was first uncovered on 26th February, and had not yet been reached on 23rd.<sup>324</sup> We know little of work in the deep cut, save that it took place.<sup>325</sup> Taking these figures into account, we can estimate that by 23rd February the lower terrace had been extended southwards by 9-10m, and the upper terrace westwards by c.10m and southwards by c.12m.

The altitudes noted for objects found in this trench appear, at this stage, to be calculated from the surface, which here lay at 36.50m A.T. The point where the wall of white stones (Wall 29) was first revealed is said to have lain at a depth of 15½m, and 2m below Wall 30.<sup>326</sup> This reiterates the measurements of 13½m deep for the base of Wall 30 in August and September 1872 in Trojanische Alterthümer<sup>327</sup> which, as I have shown, must have been related to the local mound-surface.<sup>328</sup> The same system was probably in use in the diary, for a depth of 15m is mentioned on several occasions during this period, and no deeper figure occurs.<sup>329</sup>

The new trench at the east end of the north platform was begun at the same time, likewise to be abandoned on 1st March.<sup>330</sup> The trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.214, 215, Ilios Fig.4 on the left, and, apparently at a more developed stage, in Ilios Plan I at the letters PP to the South of point C. Its width is said in Trojanische Alterthümer to have been 13m.<sup>331</sup> This agrees with Atlas Taf.214, if we assume that the measurement applies to the cut at its north entrance. Further South the width diminishes to c.10m. Atlas Taf.214 shows that excavation took place at two levels, which must ultimately have lain at c.24.80m A.T. and 30.59m A.T.<sup>332</sup> These two levels constitute the two "terraces" which, together with the three in the northeast trench, make up the five terraces mentioned by Schliemann for the temple area.<sup>333</sup> If we assume that Schliemann was measuring his depths here from the neighbouring mound-surface at c.37.50m A.T., in F 4, then his statement that he cut the upper platform to a depth of 7m<sup>334</sup> agrees closely with the altitude shown in Atlas Taf.214. His record that, in this period, the lower platform was cut only 3m deeper, to 10m,<sup>335</sup> is more difficult to reconcile with the figure of 24.80m A.T. There is, however, no evidence from February 1873 that a level deeper than 10m was attained. On 24th February finds from this trench are still being reported from no greater depth than 9m.<sup>336</sup>

The distance to which excavation on these two terraces had advanced by 23rd February can only be estimated. Perhaps 9 days' work had been done by that time, and a further 6 were to follow before their abandonment on 1st March. On 10th February Schliemann was expressing the hope that the upper terrace would join the upper terrace of the northeastern trench in two days' time.<sup>337</sup> The upper terraces must certainly have joined, then, by 23rd February. From the lower terrace, the discovery of a wall 9m deep at 25m from the edge of the mound marks the distance achieved by 22nd February.<sup>338</sup> The wall seems to be the one shown at the south end of the lower terrace in Atlas Taf.214. The 25m has been measured along the west side of the trench. During this period, therefore, the upper terrace must have advanced roughly 25m to the South, and the lower terrace roughly 11m, again measuring along the west side of the

trench. The upper terrace is an extension southward of the 2m-wide terrace left in F 3 on 22nd May 1872 (see Fig.IV.19).

During the season of 1872, Schliemann's attention had been drawn to a wall made from corinthian column fragments which was visible in Calvert's old excavation in square J 8. "I am sure," he wrote to Sir John Lubbock, "that from the modern Apollo Temple derive all those Corinthian columns which you will have noticed in the small excavation, and almost at the surface, at the foot of the southeast corner of the Mount."<sup>339</sup> On his return to the site in 1873 he opened a trench in this area in squares HJ 7-8, beginning on 10th February.<sup>340</sup> The trench may be seen in Atlas Taf.214, 215, Ilios Plans I, IVa, and Troja und Ilion Taf.III.

Although Schliemann does not mention what width he gave to the trench, we can see from Atlas Taf.214 that at the southeast entry it must have been about 2m. Further into the mound, however, it could narrow to as little as 10m. He is more specific as to its depth. In the diary he says that he intended to make the trench 6m deep in the hopes of finding in it the continuation of the "Tower" and perhaps a Temple of Apollo.<sup>341</sup> Against this we must set the record of Trojanische Alterthümer, where he explains that he cut the trench at a considerable slope in order to attain a depth not of 6m but of 8m on reaching the "Tower."<sup>342</sup> Now Schliemann obviously expected to find the continuation of the "Tower" in square H 7: that is clear both from the line of his trench and from the orientation of the "Tower" structure exposed in 1872. And here, if we consult the contour map, the surface lay at c.36.00m A.T. The depth of 6m proposed in the diary, if we take it to be measured down from the surface, implies a final altitude of c.30.00m A.T. for the bottom of the trench. This corresponds approximately to the altitude of the "Tower's" surface in D 6-7. The depth of that surface had in the previous season been calculated down from the mound surface in E 6-7 which lay at c.38.50m, and had therefore been found to be 8m deep. The contradiction of the figures in 1873 is consequently no more than apparent: the figure of 8m has simply been repeated by Schliemann as a standard figure for the depth of the "Tower." The altitudes are

otherwise measured down from the mound surface in HJ 7-8, and the trench was given a slope down to an eventual depth here of c.6m, as Meyer accepted.<sup>343</sup> That this really is the case is confirmed by Atlas Taf.214 where the altitude shown for the deepest part of the trench is 23.60, which, when corrected, amounts to 29.90m A.T. The line of slope, of c.12° from the horizontal, is confirmed by the figure of 27.57 towards the south end of the cut; when corrected it becomes 34.17m A.T. The trench floor began, then, at c.35m A.T. at the southwest end, and reached c.30m A.T. at its deepest point towards the North. Its eventual length was 34m.<sup>344</sup>

But how far had Schliemann advanced by 23rd February? We know that by 22nd February he had almost completed his breaking-through of what he identified as the "Wall of Lysimachus."<sup>345</sup> This wall, as Dörpfeld rightly saw, is to be identified with the north wall of Theatre B,<sup>346</sup> and lay quite near the mouth of the trench. But it seems that in the meantime Schliemann had also been clearing at least part of the area to the North of this, for on the same date he also says that in excavating further he came upon one housewall after another, whose removal gave him great difficulties.<sup>347</sup> The pattern of later work in this trench, too, does seem to support the idea that progress here came through area-excavation: he records the increasing depths of 5m on 6th March and 6m on 7th March.<sup>348</sup> The housewalls seem likely to have been walls of Troy VII, parts of which he certainly cut away in this trench.<sup>349</sup> But it is impossible to arrive at a proper estimate of the extent of these excavations beyond the "Wall of Lysimachus." The shaded area in Fig.III.10 represents no more than a guess.

One final area of activity in this period must be noted. Schliemann's plans on returning to the site in 1873 included the intention to expose the circuit walls to right and left of the "Tower."<sup>350</sup> Accordingly on 11th February he set four men to begin a "gallery" in the unexcavated ground to the West of the "Tower," that is, in square C 6.<sup>351</sup> On the following day excavation was conducted in the same area from the mound surface with nine men, with the making of two "galleries" in view.<sup>352</sup> Work here was apparently then dropped

again until it was resumed on 1st March and again on 10th March.<sup>353</sup>  
Little can have been done, and it is impossible to specify the extent  
of the work within the final dimensions of the trench.

24th February - 6th March 1873 (Fig.III.11)

The résumé published as Trojanische Alterthümer ch. xvi bears the  
date 1st March in both the published and the unpublished versions.<sup>354</sup>  
This is the date on which it was begun. But it was not finished until  
6th or 7th March, for in the diary it is interrupted by entries for  
3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th March.<sup>355</sup> It is therefore possible that the  
latter part of the text may include some information from work  
between 1st and 6th March, and 6th March is for that reason taken as  
the most convenient point at which to make a division.

Work was continued in the northeastern trench, FGH 3-4(b), until it  
was abandoned on 1st March.<sup>356</sup> By this date a further six days' work  
had been done. The final state of the trench can be seen in Atlas  
Taf.214. The upper terrace, which lay at c.30.59m A.T., had been  
extended southwards by another 6-7m. The second terrace, at c.26.66m  
A.T., was continued southwards by only another two metres or so  
before the "retaining wall" - Wall 29 - came to light in it on 26th  
February.<sup>357</sup> Atlas Taf.214 shows that here in the western part of  
the trench Wall 29 was left intact; Dörpfeld's plan, in Troja und Ilion  
Taf.III, shows the same. So the second terrace advanced no further  
South than the north face of this wall. Some effort was nonetheless  
put into exposing the wall to its full height, which was achieved  
by 1st March.<sup>358</sup> The mass of stones which can be seen in Atlas Taf.214,  
numbered '28,' probably represents the battered north face of the wall  
and not its top. Some work was also, apparently, continued in the  
deep, central cut of the northeastern area. Here, working at  
c.21.74m A.T., Schliemann tore down a part of the "Trojan" wall  
(Wall 30) to gain access to Wall 29.<sup>359</sup> The gap in this former wall,  
Dörpfeld's BC, can be seen in TI Taf.III. Wall 29 was partly exposed  
behind it on 26th February, but never, it seems, to its full height.<sup>360</sup>  
Schliemann says that it had been broken through over a width of  
4m - the width of the central cutting itself.<sup>361</sup> This feat must have  
been accomplished in 1872. The trench bottom in the southernmost

sector of the deep cut, where Wall 29 had been removed, remained untouched at c.26.64m A.T. where it had been left at the end of 1872.<sup>362</sup> This southernmost sector qualified, because of its depth, to be considered as an additional part of the "second terrace;" and there seems to be evidence for limited excavation, perhaps an extension of only 1½m southwards, in this area. We must assume, then, that in this central cutting work progressed no more than c.5m further to the South in the lower part, and perhaps no more than 1½m further South in the higher part during the six days of excavation.

Depths in this area seem once again to have been measured down uniformly from a point on the surface at c.36.50m A.T. To this there is one clear exception: the note that the top of Wall 29 lay at 8m below the surface.<sup>363</sup> From TI Taf.III we should expect that its top here lay at c.30.91m A.T., not at the height of 28.50m A.T. which Schliemann's figure seems to imply. We must assume either that in this case he was quoting from another datum, such as the summit, perhaps for the sake of comparison with the "Tower;" or that he had not yet really found the top of the wall. The former possibility seems to be the correct one, since other measurements of depth in the same entry (for 1st March = "17th February") are best understood if we assume that they, too, were calculated from the summit.

The adjoining area, at the east end of the north platform, was likewise dug until it, too, was abandoned on 1st March.<sup>364</sup> A further six days' work was done. Again, the final state of the trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.214. The upper terrace, which by now merged with the upper terrace of the northeast trench, must have been lengthened to the South by 6 or 7m. It may also have been widened slightly towards the West at its south end. It remained at c.30.59m A.T.,<sup>365</sup> 7m below Schliemann's datum on the surface<sup>366</sup> which, for this trench, must have lain at c.37.50m A.T. The lower terrace seems to have been advanced no further South than the wall which had already been found on 22nd February.<sup>367</sup> But it was probably cut to a deeper level, for although it had been begun at a depth of 10m (i.e. at c.27.50m A.T.), Atlas Taf.214 shows that it was left at nearly 13m deep (i.e. at c.24.80m A.T.<sup>368</sup>). It is conceivable that

this depth was only reached during May, when the north platform was being dug down to 14m below the local datum of 38.50m in square E 4.<sup>369</sup> But as there seems to be at least one, and possibly a second, reference to work in the lower part of this area,<sup>370</sup> we may assume that at any rate some progress was made during this period towards the eventual depth of 24.80m A.T.

On 26th February Schliemann opened a new trench on this south side of the mound. It was to connect the old "Tower" trench of 1872, in DE 6-7, with the newly-made trench at the southeast corner of the site.<sup>371</sup> Work on this new, connecting trench may at first have been rather slow; but it received the attentions of the entire workforce once the trenches on the north side had been abandoned.<sup>372</sup> Its purpose was to expose the rest of the "Tower" and to follow up the city wall, presumed to adjoin it, until the Scaean Gate should come to light.<sup>373</sup>

The trench, in its eventual state, can be seen in Atlas Taf.214 and 215 and in TI Fig.3, where it is marked Q. It appears again in Ilios Plan I and is shown in section in Ilios Plan IVa. Schliemann gave its proposed length as 80m.<sup>374</sup> This figure must include the full width of the southeast trench, to which the new trench was to join. The different figures of 90m, 96m and 100m are also given at various times.<sup>375</sup> These must have included the full width of the "Tower" trench dug in 1872. The actual length of the trench, however, from the east side of the "Tower" trench to the northwest end of the southeastern trench, must have been closer to 60m. Its eventual width can be seen from Atlas Taf.214 to have been c.20m. But Schliemann began by digging a trench that was only 1½m wide.<sup>376</sup> This must have been along the southern edge of the trench, for it exposed the north wall of the Roman building IXB almost immediately.<sup>377</sup> This seems to have been the first step towards giving the trench its projected width of 20-24m,<sup>378</sup> the full extent of which was subsequently dug "all at once."<sup>379</sup> There is also a brief note that fourteen men were again set to dig on the west side of the "Tower" on 1st March.<sup>380</sup>

At this early stage Schliemann must have been aiming to dig the trench to a uniform depth of roughly 1½m. This is the figure given for the initial, 1½m wide trench,<sup>381</sup> and on 7th March he had still reached a depth of only 2m.<sup>382</sup> In apparent contradiction to these depths stands out the statement of 6th March that certain walls in the trench had been traced to a depth of 5m.<sup>383</sup> But these are most probably the walls of Building VIG found not in the new East-West Trench, but in the Southeast Trench.

Schliemann's method of excavation remained the same as before: to leave the trench face at a slope - this time of 55°.<sup>384</sup> He refers to the construction of eight side-passages to help remove the spoil,<sup>385</sup> but these cannot now be located, with the exception of a 4m-wide ramp in F 6-7 which is still visible even in Troja Plan VII.

#### 7th - 15th March 1873 (Fig.III.12)

Schliemann's work was now almost entirely concentrated on the south side of the mound, where he was attempting to uncover the continuation of the "Tower" and the city walls which he expected to be associated with it.

The southeast trench, in GHJ 7-8, which had already reached a depth of 6m on 7th March,<sup>386</sup> was taken down a further 1½m<sup>387</sup> before it was abandoned for good on 14th March.<sup>388</sup> The final state of the trench is shown in Atlas Taf.214, from which it is clear that the deepest point in the trench lay at c.29.90m A.T.<sup>389</sup> As the surface in H 7 lay at only c.36.50m A.T., some of the depths in this trench, which is said finally to have reached 8m, must have been measured down from a datum elsewhere of c.38m A.T., perhaps on the east side of the old "Tower" trench. Before abandoning the southeast trench, Schliemann believed that he had identified a continuation of the "Tower" in the deepest cut at 34m from the end of this trench.<sup>390</sup> This structure cannot, however, have been any part of Dörpfeld's Troy II citadel wall, which lay much further North. It may have been a building associated with Blegen's IIS, or possibly a structure of Troy IV. Schliemann also records that he worked on an "upper gallery" close to this point but on "this side" of it, and found nothing.<sup>391</sup>

By "this side" he may mean the west side, nearest to his house in square C 6.<sup>392</sup> If so, the "upper gallery" may have been the area just to the East of Propylon IXD which, to judge from Atlas Taf.214, was never dug below c.33.47m A.T.<sup>393</sup> It may, alternatively, refer to that whole area of the East-West trench which lay East of Propylon IXD. In either case the depth is unlikely to have exceeded 4½m.

In the meantime work was also continued in the main part of the new East-West trench in EFGH 6-7. A short section of wall running East-West in Square E 6 had come to light,<sup>394</sup> and was taken to be the north wall of the Temple of Minerva,<sup>395</sup> matching the supposed south wall found previously. Further to the East, the west wall of Propylon IXD had been exposed by 13th March.<sup>396</sup> This Schliemann took to be a part of a reservoir.<sup>397</sup> These two structures he proposed to leave intact; and by 15th March he was planning to dig only the western end of the trench down as far as 8m, where he expected to find the surface of the "Tower."<sup>398</sup> the area of excavation was to be contained within the "north" and "south" walls of the "Temple," and to the West of the "reservoir." On 13th March he had reached a depth of 4m;<sup>399</sup> by 15th March he may have reached 4½m, at least in parts of the east end of this area.<sup>400</sup> These depths appear to have been measured down from a datum at c.38.50m A.T.

Schliemann now took up again the work which in mid-February he had tentatively begun, and abandoned, on the west side of the former "Tower" trench. From 10th March he began to excavate an area 14.30m long and 14.40m wide,<sup>401</sup> whose object was again to expose more of the "Tower" and its adjoining walls. The location of this trench is not made entirely clear either in the diary or in Trojanische Alterthümer; but bearing in mind its purpose, we can assume that it is most likely to have formed a direct extension Northwestwards of the cutting already made into C 6. This finds some confirmation from Schliemann's statement in Ilios that the new trench lay close to his wooden house.<sup>402</sup> The wooden house itself lay at the northwest corner of square C 6.<sup>403</sup> By 15th March Schliemann was here recording finds from depths of up to 4m.<sup>404</sup> These depths were presumably

measured down from the neighbouring mound-surface, as usual; the highest adjacent point here lay at nearly 38.50m A.T.

One final area of work must be mentioned for this period. Ever since he had found the marble triglyph in 1872, Schliemann had been hoping to find a second one to match it. On 14th March he began a positive search by planning to dig a platform 30m wide close to where he had found the first triglyph. The platform was to be dug into the foot of the mound.<sup>405</sup> Clearly it must have lain somewhere in GHJ 1 or 2. But the plan seems to have been modified, for in Trojanische Alterthümer we read that the trench was only 18m wide.<sup>406</sup> Perhaps this modification was caused by the enormity of the preliminary task of shifting the build-up of seven metres of his own spoil.<sup>407</sup> Work did continue, sporadically, on this project; but we never hear much about it, and the trench was never shown on any plan.

#### 17th - 22nd March 1873 (Fig.III.13)

During the six days covered by this period, Schliemann worked again in three areas: the East-West trench in EFGH 6-7, which he called the Temple of Minerva; the west side of the "Tower" in C 6; and on the north side of the mound in HJ 1-2.

The horizontal dimensions of the East-West trench remained the same as before, and Schliemann's efforts were directed to deepening the cut that already existed. It seems that, on 15th March, the depth of the trench had nowhere exceeded 4-4½m below the datum of c.38.50m A.T. We now read of excavation reaching first 5m deep<sup>408</sup> and eventually, in some places, 8m deep.<sup>409</sup> At this point we are also able to gain a closer idea of Schliemann's method of excavation in this trench. First, he makes it clear that the deepest excavation was taking place in the northern part of the trench. Here he made a trench within the trench in order to be able to reach the surface of the "Tower" more quickly.<sup>410</sup> By 22nd March he believed that he had already exposed it in several places.<sup>411</sup> Secondly, he appears to distinguish an eastern sector and a western sector, for Trojanische Alterthümer records his plan to expose the "Tower" completely - within three weeks on the east side, and within a week and a half on the west side.<sup>412</sup> The dividing-

line between these two areas is likely to have been the ramp of unexcavated soil that ran northwards into the trench in F 6-7 and served as a path for workmen and wheelbarrows. It is indicated on the plans in Atlas Taf.214, 215, Ilios Plans I, IVa and even still in Troja Plan VII. It can also be seen in the views shown in Atlas Taf. 157 (TR plate IX), Taf.170 (TR plate XIA) and Ilios fig.144. This, if correct, provides us with a division into four areas:- an east sector and a west sector, each having a higher area and a deeper trench. It therefore comes as no surprise to read Schliemann's statement that he had now made a division of the trench into four terraces the lowest of which was constituted by the surface of the "Tower."<sup>413</sup> But work seems to have been concentrated only on cutting the deeper 'terrace' in the western area, for a depth of 5m was first reached in the eastern area only later, on 4th April.<sup>414</sup>

On the west side of the "Tower," in square C 6, the horizontal dimensions of the trench may likewise have remained unaltered while the trench was deepened. There is no very clear evidence of what depth was reached here by 22nd March. It is certain that the "Tower" surface was not yet reached, a target which Schliemann did not expect to achieve before the end of the month.<sup>415</sup> The depth of 9m was not reached until 9th April.<sup>416</sup> It is also clear that, even though a depth of 4m had already been reached in some places by 15th March,<sup>417</sup> work was still being done at a depth of 3m, and even of only 30cm and 1m, in others.<sup>418</sup> As before, depths can be assumed to have been measured down from a datum of c.38.50m A.T. A reference to a wall stratified below the building in D 5 excavated in 1871,<sup>419</sup> may, however, indicate that excavation was extended along the northwest fringe of the old Tower trench in D 6. The extent of such work is not clear.

Schliemann frankly admitted that his excavations in the third area, the trench in HJ 1-2, were "purely to enrich my collection" by, as he hoped, bringing to light a second triglyph.<sup>420</sup> A small number of men was set to work there on 18th and 19th March, but not apparently on the other days. Schliemann later explained that he only dug here when he had workmen to spare.<sup>421</sup> The work seems to have consisted mostly, if not entirely, in moving the previous year's spoil-heap.<sup>422</sup>

24th - 29th March 1873 (Fig.III.14)

During these six days progress was hampered by bad weather and a shortage of workmen. Little work was done.<sup>423</sup> There is nothing in either the diary or Trojanische Alterthümer to suggest that Schliemann excavated anywhere other than in the deeper part of the west sector of the East-West trench, in squares EF 6-7. It is most unlikely that any digging took place in the eastern sector, for when work was resumed there on 3rd April<sup>424</sup> a depth of 5m had still not been reached.<sup>425</sup> Similarly there is complete silence on the trench West of the "Tower" in square C 6 until 9th April, although it must be admitted that by that date a depth of 9m had been reached.<sup>426</sup>

The horizontal dimensions of the trench in EF 6-7 remained unchanged. Most work, it seems, was done at a depth of 8m<sup>427</sup> - a depth which will again have been measured down from the datum of c.38.50m A.T. Enough work was done on the surface of the "Tower" here for Schliemann to note once more that a packing of loose stones lay between (Dörpfeld's) Walls IIb and IIc.<sup>428</sup> But the depth of 8m cannot yet have been uncovered across the full width of this western sector, for the building with pithoi in EF 7, overlying Gate FN, was not exposed until 4th April.<sup>429</sup>

31st March - 5th April 1873 (Fig.III.15)

Schliemann had a good supply of workmen all week, an average of 116,<sup>430</sup> and was able to achieve much more. He appears to have worked in three areas.

First, he continued to dig in the western end of the East-West trench, in EF 6-7. This was where his efforts were primarily directed. By now he was widening out the deep cut to include the whole width of the trench. As a result he soon exposed the network of walls overlying Gate FN, shown in Atlas Taf.214 and 215.<sup>431</sup> They first came to light on 31st March;<sup>432</sup> by 5th April Schliemann believed he had here dug down to the surface of the "Tower."<sup>433</sup> The spot-heights recorded for this area in Atlas Taf.214, however, suggest that in places he may not have penetrated below 31.42m A.T. A datum of c.38.50m was probably in use.

Secondly, on 3rd April he began work again in the east end of the East-West trench.<sup>434</sup> It seems that this area had probably been lying unattended since 15th March, when it had been taken down to a maximum depth of c.4½m below a datum of c.38.50m A.T. - i.e. to c.34m A.T.<sup>435</sup> Schliemann must now have begun working from the West, for the first feature to come to light was the 'altar' just East of the ramp, in square G 7.<sup>436</sup> The upright stone was found first, at a depth of 5m. Since the stone itself was only half a metre tall, and since the stone on which it rested lay only 1m above the level of the "Tower," the top of the stone must have been found at c.31.50m. The depth of 5m has therefore now been measured down from the surface immediately above, at c.36.75m A.T., and no longer from the more distant datum of c.38.50m A.T. Schliemann apparently dug to a depth of over 1m below the altar, that is, down to c.30m A.T.<sup>437</sup> But Atlas Taf.214 shows that he reached this depth only in a small hole no more than 4 or 5m in diameter. The surrounding area is marked with final spot-heights of 26.48 (= 32.78m A.T.), 25.03 (=31.33m A.T.) and 27.50 (=33.80m A.T.). These depths may already have been reached by 5th April, for what little work was subsequently done in this trench seems to have been concentrated in square H 7.

It is uncertain whether, thirdly, Schliemann also worked in the trench in C 6 during this period; but three factors suggest that he may have done. The increased number of workmen might have posed difficulties if consigned only to the East-West trench - especially in view of the difficulties of moving spoil out of the trench. There is, too, the rapidity with which a depth of 9m was reached in C 6 after 7th April.<sup>438</sup> And there is, in the diary entry for 5th April, a passing reference to a drain which had been found "on the west side of the Tower."<sup>439</sup> If these points may be taken as suggesting, tentatively, that excavation still proceeded in C 6, we are still left in ignorance as to what took place there. Presumably the length and breadth of the trench remained unaltered, but the depth may have been increased to, say, 7m below the likely datum of c.38.50m A.T. - a halfway-house between the states of affairs on 22nd March and 9th April.

7th - 16th April 1873 (Fig.III.16)

Once again, much of Schliemann's work was in this period directed towards the excavations in the East-West trench. In the western sector, in EF 6-7, the surface of the "Tower" at 8m deep was cleared<sup>440</sup> and a number of walls exposed.<sup>441</sup> Among these were the northwest angle of Dörpfeld's Wall IIb, where it turned South to form part of Gate FN;<sup>442</sup> a wall running NNW-SSE, shown as No.27 in Atlas Taf.214, which appears to have been a part of the eastern half of Gate FN;<sup>443</sup> and a mudbrick wall 8m wide and 3m high which lay just to the South of the building with the pithoi.<sup>444</sup> This last may have been related to the similar, massive mudbrick structures found by Dörpfeld overlying the Troy II remains in squares G 4-5.<sup>445</sup> Work was also continued in the eastern sector, as far as the northern end of the southeast trench. Here the wall previously thought to have been a continuation of the "Tower," in H 7, was identified instead as an early circuit-wall.<sup>446</sup>

It was his discoveries West of the "Tower," in square C 6, which caught Schliemann's attention during this period. A depth of 9m having been reached here on 9th April,<sup>447</sup> Gate FM immediately began to come to light. As Dörpfeld shows a spot-height of 29.58m A.T. for this upper part of the paved street which Schliemann first exposed at 9m deep, we have some confirmation that depths here were calculated down from a datum of 38.50m A.T. The gateway was cleared, so far as it lay within the confines of the trench, by 16th April.<sup>448</sup>

As soon as the gate appeared on 9th April, Schliemann jumped to the conclusion that a royal palace must lie immediately to its Northeast. He therefore decided without further ado to open a new cutting which would run from his North-South trench of 1871-72 to the northeast side of the trench in C 6.<sup>449</sup> It was begun on 10th April,<sup>450</sup> and its object was to remove the entire block of earth which lay between the well in CD 4-5 and Schliemann's wooden house in C 6. It was this trench which was later to expose "Priam's palace," and its northeastern limit can easily be seen in Atlas Taf.214 and 215. Schliemann's original plan stated that

the cutting was to be 20m wide.<sup>451</sup> This must have been a measurement taken along the southwest face of the North-South trench in CD 5-6. But the eventual dimensions are recorded as 24 x 24m.<sup>452</sup> The width was extended to the Northwest, and the length must be measured at the northwest end of the cutting and must include the 10m-deep terrace left on the west side of the North-South trench from the excavations in 1871. The depth of 10m, to which the new trench was cut,<sup>453</sup> was selected as it was the depth at which the adjoining terrace had been left in 1871. Men were set to dig away this huge block of earth simultaneously from top and bottom.<sup>454</sup> It is from the early work at the north end of this trench that two workmen stole the metal objects which were later seized by the Turkish authorities.<sup>455</sup> The finds were apparently made on the "east" (i.e. northeast) side of the "palace" and very close to the well in squares CD 4-5. The date of late March, mentioned by Schliemann as the date of this theft, is evidently a Julian date - as would naturally be the case if it derived from a confession by the culprits.

Besides the work in these areas on the summit and south side of the mound, a limited amount of work was done on the north side, possibly in two areas. A diary entry for 9th April records that on the previous day Schliemann had set four men to dig on the north side - but purely to try to find objects.<sup>456</sup> This recalls Schliemann's earlier purpose in starting the trench in HJ 1-2, and may imply that the work was again in that area. Another entry, for 16th April, notes that excavations were being continued on the north side and that the old platform was being covered again with spoil.<sup>457</sup> If spoil was now being tipped on the old North Platform, then we are clearly dealing here with a trench other than the one in HJ 1-2. The statement appears, rather, to foreshadow the later indication that the North Platform itself was being extended Southwards at the depth of 10m.<sup>458</sup> If so, excavation must have concentrated first on removing the block that still protruded, with a sloping north face, into squares DE 3.

17th April - 10th May 1873 (Fig.III.17)

The Greek Easter celebrations meant that no excavation took place

between 16th and 23rd April.<sup>459</sup> By 10th May Schliemann had nevertheless done a further 14 days' work,<sup>460</sup> and that with an average of 95 workmen.<sup>461</sup>

A limited amount of work was done in the East-West trench and on the "Tower." In the eastern half of the East-West trench, according to an entry in the diary for 29th April,<sup>462</sup> Schliemann had the interior of Propylon IXD cleared.<sup>463</sup> In the western half of the trench, he worked on exposing two walls which lay in the northern part of the cutting. These he spoke of as constituting part of a two-storey building founded on bedrock.<sup>464</sup> The walls can be seen in Atlas Taf.214 where they are numbered '12.' The trench between them carries the spot-height 20.12 which, when corrected, becomes c.26.42m A.T. Schliemann therefore dug here to a depth of over 12m below his local datum of c.38.50m A.T. If we seek to locate this deeper pit on Dörpfeld's plan of the site,<sup>465</sup> it has to be placed in square E 6 just to the South of the remaining earth 'pillar' and just to the West of the IId phase of Gate FN - in the area shown by Dörpfeld as masonry belonging to phase IIc of the gate. But it is clear from the plan that at this point Wall IId had been dug away at some earlier stage, for Dörpfeld indicates it only with broken lines. The massive block of masonry from phase IIc shown in the plan must therefore certainly be a reconstruction, at least in part; and it seems likely to be an erroneous reconstruction.

The work on the "Tower" was restricted to cleaning off the surface of (Dörpfeld's) Walls IIb and IIc. In square D 6 Schliemann found the depression between the two walls:<sup>466</sup> and in squares DE 7 he had previously found three superimposed banks of stones bonded with mud. These he had taken to be remnants of a superstructure, an interpretation which he now doubted.<sup>467</sup> Both features are shown in Atlas Taf.214.<sup>468</sup>

We are not very well informed about the progress of excavations in squares CD 5-6, the important area West of the "Tower." The shape of the trench does not seem to have been altered, but it will certainly have been carried to a greater depth. On the northwest side of the trench it can be assumed that the sloping southwest

face of the old, 1871 trench had been cut away and the new trench extended at a depth of 10m by at least the width of that slope. That the trench-bottom did here eventually reach a depth of 10m is confirmed by the spot-heights of 23.44 and 23.50 shown in Atlas Taf.214.<sup>469</sup> These, when corrected, yield altitudes of 29.74 and 29.80m A.T., which are roughly 10m less than the height of the mound-surface in this area. Immediately to the Southwest, however, Schliemann exposed to 7m deep a group of buildings whose top lay at 6m deep.<sup>470</sup> These are among the structures numbered "7" in Atlas Taf.214, and are the walls which overlay the building identified as Priam's palace.<sup>471</sup> The complex must have been partly cut away in the excavations of 1871, for it is preserved only as far as the edge of the 1871 trench. But it is uncertain how much of this had come to light on the northeast side by 10th May. On the southwest side, in square C 6, Schliemann continued clearing Gate FM on the "left" side,<sup>472</sup> by which he must mean either the east or northeast side. In following it up he unearthed, on 9th May, the second, and more northerly, of the two sets of projecting piers in the Gate.<sup>473</sup> Beyond these he brought to light the southern side of the walls just mentioned. In the gateway excavation reached down to c.30.04m A.T.,<sup>474</sup> and among the walls to c.32.50m A.T.<sup>475</sup>

Excavation on the North Platform was resumed on 2nd May.<sup>476</sup> Schliemann appears to speak of work on two levels. On the one hand several house-walls were exposed at 6-10m deep.<sup>477</sup> These house-walls are said to have been in the "upper levels."<sup>478</sup> On the other hand, a colossal wall of stones and earth was exposed in the lowest 5 or 6 metres.<sup>479</sup> This wall is said to have been in the "lower layers."<sup>480</sup> It seems, then, that there was an upper terrace at 10m deep and a lower terrace at 15 or 16m deep. The only place on the North Platform where Schliemann could now have dug a terrace at 10m below the surface lies in DE 3-4: the unexcavated wedge that protruded northwards between the North-South trench and the Northeast Trench in F 3-4. This, as has already been suggested, must be where he was digging. The decision to cut a terrace at 10m below the surface (here at c.39.50) was not a caprice. It recalls Schliemann's discovery of monumental remains at the same depth in 1871,

and the temporary terraces he dug, again at the same depth, in F 3 and D 3-4 during the 1872 season. In practice, however, the depth of 10m was not kept to, for Atlas Taf.214 shows several spot-heights for this area which, when corrected, indicate that for the most part the terrace lay at an altitude of up to c.30.90m A.T.<sup>481</sup> At the northeast corner of the terrace there is a solitary spot-height of roughly the right order.<sup>482</sup> The depths of 15 or 16m (below 39.50m A.T.) for the lower terrace are identical with the depth at which the base of the North Platform had been left in 1872: at the west end it lay at c.23.67m A.T.,<sup>483</sup> and at the east end at c.24.67m A.T.<sup>484</sup> This shows that the new, lower terrace begun on 2nd May 1873 was conceived simply as a continuation of the earlier work. To judge from Atlas Taf.214, the lower 'terrace' can never have advanced very far. It is more difficult to judge how much progress was made on the upper terrace during this period: work continued there probably until 24th May, although conceivably until the end of the season.<sup>485</sup> The shading in Fig.III.17 represents no more than a guess.

While working in the trench in C 6, Schliemann noticed that a fortification-wall extended West-North-West from Gate FM, but was unable to trace it beyond the western end of the trench without demolishing the ground on which his own quarters stood.<sup>486</sup> He decided to try to expose it further to the West, and in order to do so he began a new trench on the northwest side of the mound.<sup>487</sup> The trench can be clearly seen in Atlas Taf.214 and 215, where it lies in squares AB 4-5. It is also depicted in Ilios Fig.10, and Ilios Plans I (Z') and IV (Z'West). It was, as Schliemann himself pointed out, essentially a broadening and a lengthening of the trench dug in the same spot in 1870. Whereas the original trench had been 5m wide and 30m long,<sup>488</sup> his re-excavated version was intended to be 10m wide and 43m long.<sup>489</sup> The plan in Atlas Taf.214 shows that the trench must have attained, or nearly attained, this size by the end of the season.

The datum from which depths were measured down in this trench must have lain at c.38.50m A.T. - the highest adjacent point on the

mound surface - for Schliemann notes that the "Wall of Lysimachus" was covered with 5m of debris.<sup>490</sup> By this he means not that there was a vertical accumulation of 5m on the top of the wall, but that, in the same general area, the mound had increased 5m in height. The "Wall of Lysimachus"<sup>491</sup> is clearly the wall marked RM in Dörpfeld's plan;<sup>492</sup> and in that plan it bears the spot-height 33.70m A.T.

Schliemann states that the trench was dug to a depth of 10½m.<sup>493</sup> This should have produced an altitude at the trench bottom of c.28m A.T. The spot-heights shown in Atlas Taf.214 are broadly consistent with this, if we assume that the trench was worn down at the mouth and sloped upwards towards the centre of the mound: the altitudes to be derived from the plan are at 27.41m A.T. at the mouth of the trench and 29.78m A.T. at its junction with the later west trench.<sup>494</sup> The means by which this depth was reached are, however, not very clear. There is mention of a "small platform" cut into the mound slope at 10½m deep.<sup>495</sup> This may possibly be identical with the "lower platform" in the excavation of which the full height of the "Wall of Lysimachus" was exposed.<sup>496</sup> In any case, this "small platform" at 10½m deep must have formed the nucleus, as it were, of the entire trench. But Schliemann also alludes to three "galleries."<sup>497</sup> By "gallery" Schliemann usually means a temporary cutting at a higher level than that eventually intended for the trench as a whole. Atlas Taf.214 shows the top of Wall 4 exposed to a width of several metres; one "gallery" may perhaps have lain at the height of the top of Wall 4 and have been dug further into the northeast side of the trench. If so, it would have lain at c.33.50m A.T.<sup>498</sup> There may have been a second, similar cutting to broaden the trench to the Southwest. The third "gallery" may have lain at the same depth at the southeast end of the trench. If Schliemann was, as he says, working on all three galleries, he may therefore have been widening the trench on northeast and southeast sides to a depth of 33.00m A.T., and extending it at its southeast end at the same depth. By 10th May he had exposed Wall RM and was in the process of breaking away the exposed parts of Megaron VIB.<sup>499</sup>

During this period Schliemann also had several small soundings dug on the plateau to the South of the mound. Two are mentioned in the diary on 2nd May.<sup>500</sup> These may be the two mentioned in Trojanische Alterthümer<sup>501</sup> which seem to correspond to the soundings later numbered 6 and 12 on Atlas Taf.213 (=TR Plan I). They are again included, apparently, among the three soundings mentioned in the diary entry for 9th May,<sup>502</sup> the third being the one later numbered 13 in Atlas Taf.213. In the entry for 8th May, however, we are faced with five soundings.<sup>503</sup> No.6 of Atlas Taf.213 appears here as the fifth, and Nos.12 and 13 among the first three again. The additional two mentioned in this entry appear to be those marked as No.5 and - perhaps - No.14 in Atlas Taf.213. The published résumé, however, speaks of a further fifteen soundings (in addition to Nos.6 and 12).<sup>504</sup> Unfortunately these fifteen cannot be individually identified on the plan.

Finally, it must be recorded that it was during this period that a trench was opened on the "Tomb of Batieia," Paşa Tepe.<sup>505</sup> Schliemann's letter of 24th May published in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung mentions that the work (which was carried out on 28th, 29th, 30th April and 1st May) was supervised by Sophie.<sup>506</sup> It seems possible that the mound contained material of Late Bronze Age date, and some archaic material as well (possibly on the surface).<sup>507</sup> Schliemann himself was insistent in his early publications that he had there found a "mass" of Early Bronze Age sherds.<sup>508</sup> But in the light of his diary entries which speak only of a "few pieces," "very few sherds" and "not the least thing,"<sup>509</sup> this should probably be written off as an exaggeration. The few E.B. sherds may have been stray pieces already in the soil before the mound was raised.

#### 10th - 24th May 1873 (Fig.III.18)

The next résumé after that for 10th May was begun on 15th May and, in the diary, bears that date at its head.<sup>510</sup> But the rough draft in the diary is interspersed with daily entries of which the latest is dated 24th May.<sup>511</sup> As this is also the date given to the published version of the report in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung,<sup>512</sup> we may take it to be the date on which the report was finished. It is up to this date, therefore, that the next period may most conveniently be taken.

It seems that during this period there was no more work either in the East-West trench, or in the trenches to the West of the "Tower" in C 6 and CD 5-6. But there was some intense excavation in two adjoining areas. The first of these was the northwest trench in squares AB 4-5, which Schliemann, picking up a phrase coined by his workmen, sometimes calls the *μάμμη*, "the grandmother of the excavations."<sup>513</sup> The horizontal dimensions proposed for the trench did not change; but the trench did make significant progress towards the Southeast. By 16th May the "upper terrace" (at c.33.50m A.T.?) reached as far as the south end of the trench, near Schliemann's wooden house.<sup>514</sup> By 23rd May the same point had been excavated to a depth of 8m, and had revealed "Treasure B."<sup>515</sup>

On 15th May Schliemann began another trench on the west side of the mound, in squares AB 5-6.<sup>516</sup> This trench, which is on occasion confusingly referred to as "the northwestern excavation"<sup>517</sup> or as "the cutting from the northwest side,"<sup>518</sup> was intended to be 32m long.<sup>519</sup> Some impression of the shape of the trench can be gained from Atlas Taf.214 where, however, the eastern end of the trench has been much widened out. The west end shows a trench 2-4m wide running more or less East-West. Prolonged for 32m in a straight line this would have reached Schliemann's wooden house in C 6, as the trench is expressly stated to have done.<sup>520</sup> The wider area shown in square B 5-6 has partly been caused by the intersection of the new, west trench with the old, 1870 trench in B 5. The depth of the trench was to be, again, 10½m<sup>521</sup> - as Schliemann said, roughly 6m deeper than the old trench in B 5,<sup>522</sup> which had been dug to only c.4m deep. Although a reference to a "lower" cutting implies that it was dug on a terrace-system,<sup>523</sup> by 24th May Schliemann could ruefully note that he had broken through a huge, 6m-high "fortification" wall which passed under his wooden house from Gate FM to the Northwest.<sup>524</sup> This wall is visible on Atlas Taf.214, where it is numbered '33;' and it is quite certainly the northeast wall of Dörpfeld's complex IXA. Dörpfeld, too, shows this wall to have been nearly 6m high: he gives the bench-marks 30.65 and 36.49 for its bottom and top.<sup>525</sup> The fact that Schliemann knew that it had a height of 6m shows that he himself had

in this area already reached a depth of c.30.50m by this date. To judge from Atlas Taf.214, the deepest digging - which caused the breach in the wall - must have taken place both at the east end of the new trench, and in the adjoining part of the old B 5 trench. But the presence of later buildings in the plan suggests that higher terraces, too, were left on north and south sides at this eastern end. At the same time, on 24th May, Schliemann could still note that the western trench had not yet reached the (Troy II) wall leading off from Gate FM.<sup>526</sup>

Excavation continued on the North Platform. There is little information. The diary notes a quantity of superimposed domestic walls built of stones and earth, from depths of 4-10m.<sup>527</sup> This implies that the 'terrace' at "10m deep" (i.e. at c.30.90m A.T.) was being extended Southwards. But some work was also done on the lower 'terrace' further North, for several walls were exposed at 14m deep, and also part of a 'pavement' of white stones.<sup>528</sup> If Schliemann calculated the depth of these by measuring 4m down from the terrace at c.30.90m A.T., this 'pavement' may have been a continuation of the stratum of stones previously met in D 3-4 at c.27m A.T.<sup>529</sup> It is probable that after 24th May little or no work was done on the North Platform. The one, later reference<sup>530</sup> is of a very general, retrospective nature. In Fig.III.18, therefore, I have shown the work taking the trench to its fullest extent, as shown in Atlas Taf.214 and 215.

Two notes in the diary show that Schliemann had also resumed work in the North-South trench of 1872. The entry for 16th May records that he was having the trench walls broken down over a long stretch and was digging outwards.<sup>531</sup> An entry for the following day notes that a house was coming to light.<sup>532</sup> The results of the renewed excavations in the North-South trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.214, where (in squares DE 4) an additional terrace has been extended to the East. Its total width is c.14m, but not all of it was previously unexcavated soil. A spot-height shows that digging here ceased at c.31.12m A.T.<sup>533</sup> A later reference shows that excavation in this area continued beyond 24th May,<sup>534</sup> so the shaded area on

Fig.III.18 represents no more than an estimate of the area uncovered to c.3lm A.T. in this period.

Schliemann continued to make soundings on the plateau, but the number quoted still does not exceed fifteen.<sup>535</sup> Of these, the ones numbered 5, 13 and 14 in Atlas Taf.213 may already have been opened; Nos. 6 and 12 had also been dug and bring the total to seventeen. A sounding on the east side of the site at 200m from the citadel, mentioned on 16th May,<sup>536</sup> can only be No.15, even though the diary records bedrock there at 2m rather than 2.50m. A sondage on the west side in which Schliemann thought to find the Wall of Lysimachus as well as another, earlier wall,<sup>537</sup> may be No.9 on the plan. The trench on the southwest side that lay closest to the citadel and which reached a depth of 5m<sup>538</sup> must be No.11. The third of the group of three trenches in this area, mentioned on 16th May,<sup>539</sup> is likely to have been No.10. The remaining eight trenches, of which four were begun on 12th May,<sup>540</sup> cannot be identified.

#### 26th May - 14th June 1873 (Fig.III.19)

The area which chiefly held Schliemann's attention during the final weeks of the 1873 season was the area to the Northwest of the 'Scaean' Gate, FM. Here he continued to investigate first the circuit wall, and later an extension of the structures he interpreted as Priam's palace. Initially the work was all done at the east and southeast ends of the west and northwest trenches. From these the excavation began to be extended eastwards, back towards Gate FM, to the West of which, however, there still stood an unexcavated block of earth with Schliemann's wooden house on top. Meyer was therefore wrong to imply that Schliemann here continued to work in an arc towards the Northwest, exposing the citadel wall at an ever-increasing distance from the gate.<sup>541</sup>

We hear little of his new activities in the west trench (in AB 5-6), although retrospective résumés of his work there are given on several occasions.<sup>542</sup> There is a note that during the 27th - 29th May he had been engaged in trimming the section faces in his west and

northwest trenches.<sup>543</sup> On Friday 30th May he was exposing the (Troy II) citadel wall at the east end of the trench.<sup>544</sup> Atlas Taf.214 shows that the depth eventually reached was 29.78m A.T.<sup>545</sup> If Schliemann believed that this achieved, or nearly achieved, his target of a 10½m depth for the trench,<sup>546</sup> he can only have been measuring down from the summit. But in view of his practice in the northwest trench, where he clearly used a local datum of c.38.50m A.T., it seems more likely that he simply failed to dig the trench to its full depth.

In the northwest trench, likewise, Schliemann had exposed the (Troy II) circuit wall by the time he wrote his résumé dated 31st May in his diary.<sup>547</sup> Here he had evidently reached a depth of 9m below the local datum of c.38.50m - a figure which roughly coincides with the spot-height of 29.78m A.T. for the junction of these two western trenches. It was at the south end of this trench that Schliemann found the collection of metalwork which he called "Priam's Treasure." It has been suggested that this discovery was, at least in part, a fraud.<sup>548</sup> This suggestion in the final analysis rests solely on two curious features of Schliemann's earliest report of the find: his description of the gold sauceboat as a *depas*, and his failure to mention the jewellery.<sup>549</sup> For these features, which are admittedly odd, alternative explanations are available which do not involve fraud; and on other grounds both the textual and the archaeological evidence weigh heavily against the theory.<sup>550</sup> The view adopted here is therefore that the discovery was authentic.

It must be admitted that the evidence for the date of the discovery is nonetheless contradictory. According to a diary-entry dated 17th June 1873 it was found on 7th June;<sup>551</sup> and a date at the beginning of June is indicated by a letter written to Schliemann on 19th July<sup>552</sup> and by the report published in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung.<sup>553</sup> A later statement, however, refers to "the end of May 1873,"<sup>554</sup> and certainly the earliest note of the discovery is to be found in a résumé in the diary dated 31st May 1873. The differences may partly be explained by Schliemann's use of both

Julian and Gregorian calendars and by his very well-attested confusion of mind over all matters of dating towards the end of the 1873 season. But a further possibility is that, in quoting 7th June, Schliemann was taking up the date on which he had found not the bulk of the Treasure but the silver bowls that he regarded as completing it.<sup>555</sup> The date of their discovery is not certain as it is not explicitly mentioned in the diary before the résumé dated 17th June. But it cannot have been before 3rd June when Schliemann first tackled the area in which they were found, and probably not before 6th June when he first tackled it in earnest.<sup>556</sup> Perhaps the most likely date for the earlier part of the discovery is 31st May; but certainty is not to be had.<sup>557</sup>

The findspot, however, is very clearly described. Schliemann was working at the time "behind" the second wall of the "hellenic Tower"<sup>558</sup> - that is, to the Southeast of Megaron VIB - and was digging either on or near the circuit wall.<sup>559</sup> If it was on 27th May he is likely to have been straightening the section-face.<sup>560</sup> The treasure was found at between 8 and 9m deep<sup>561</sup> - a figure later rationalised to 8½m deep<sup>562</sup> - and therefore probably at an altitude of c.29.50 - 30.50m A.T. It lay at the foot of Schliemann's own wooden house at the northwest corner of the square C 6<sup>563</sup> and directly below a 6m-high wall which must be identified as the north wall of Dörpfeld's building IXA.<sup>564</sup> These details enable us to pinpoint the findspot to the extreme southwest corner of the trench, in the trench face and in the bottom metre of the exposed deposits. This is more or less exactly the spot shown in Atlas Taf.214 and 215 (= TR Plans 2,IV). The spot is, as Traill has pointed out,<sup>565</sup> on the outer edge of the circuit wall, or even just outside it. The contemporary evidence given by Schliemann's foreman Yannakis to William Borlase suggests that the latter may be the more correct.<sup>566</sup> Schliemann says that he found the treasure in a narrow space enclosed by two walls.<sup>567</sup> In these walls he thought at first to see an extension of 'Priam's palace,'<sup>568</sup> although later he usually described the spot as having been, simply close to Priam's Palace.<sup>569</sup> Buildings of a later date than the circuit wall could have reached out to this point. Yannakis' testimony, however, "that it was

contained in a little place built round with stones, and having flat stones to cover it,"<sup>570</sup> suggests at least a cist and possibly a cist grave.<sup>571</sup> The wooden chest deduced, though never actually observed, by Schliemann was probably a piece of wishful thinking designed to make the discovery conform with Priam's household treasure as described in Iliad XXIV, 228.<sup>572</sup> The "key" may have been a fraudulent addition,<sup>573</sup> and later examination showed in any case that it was very far from being a key.<sup>574</sup>

Into his published report Schliemann inserted a single sentence acknowledging his wife's help in the excavation of the treasure.<sup>575</sup> But thanks to David Traill's work<sup>576</sup> in unearthing some unpublished correspondence and in drawing attention again to Borlase's article, it now seems very likely that in reality she was in Athens at the time and that her name was introduced, as Schliemann indeed later admitted,<sup>577</sup> "to give her a zest for archaeology."

The discovery of "Priam's Treasure" spurred Schliemann on to expose the rest of the building he identified as Priam's palace. His intention to do this is stated in his résumé of 31st May,<sup>578</sup> and the plan has been initiated by 3rd June.<sup>579</sup> The plan involved breaking away the remaining block of earth, c.10m x 12m, which still stood between the area opened up by the two western trenches, and the area West of the "Tower." It also involved the demolition of Schliemann's wooden house which stood on the block.<sup>580</sup> The block of earth was attacked from three sides and the spoil was carried away across Gate FM, which was bridged over for the purpose.<sup>581</sup> Progress was fast. At some stage three silver bowls were found at a spot  $\frac{1}{2}$ m below the findspot of Treasure A.<sup>582</sup> The one undamaged bowl was later habitually included in Treasure A.<sup>583</sup> By 14th June the excavation had reached down to the pavement on the north side of the (Troy II) circuit wall, and the circuit wall itself was now fully exposed from Gate FM to the northwest trench.<sup>584</sup> The block of earth was entirely removed, and the circuit wall, at least to some extent, uncovered on both its outer and inner sides.<sup>585</sup> The north wall of building IXA was in the process broken away over a stretch of  $17\frac{1}{2}$ m,<sup>586</sup> although a section was left in the remaining block

of earth just to the West of Gate FM<sup>587</sup> and can be seen in Atlas Taf.214. Excavation reached down to a depth of c.31.09m A.T. on the north side of the citadel wall<sup>588</sup> and c.29.78m A.T. on the south side.<sup>589</sup>

One brief reference indicates that work continued on the eastward expansion of the North-South trench.<sup>590</sup> Many more house-walls were brought to light, and the final state of the trench may be seen in Atlas Taf.214. Meyer's statement,<sup>591</sup> that in the North-South trench Schliemann now struck virgin soil and exposed some thin cross-walls belonging to Troy I, cannot be confirmed. The walls were not discovered until 1879.<sup>592</sup>

A further three sondages appear to have been made in the lower town, for in his résumé of 31st May Schliemann speaks of a total of twenty sondages.<sup>593</sup> The full number is shown on Atlas Taf.213 (=TR Plan I), but the final three sondages cannot be identified.

After a final blessing by a priest from Yenişehir, the excavations were closed on the evening of Saturday 14th June "for ever."<sup>594</sup>

FOOTNOTES

- 1 E.g. Ernst Meyer (ed.), Heinrich Schliemann Selbstbiographie  
bis zu seinem Tode vervollständigt, herausgegeben von Sophie  
Schliemann (Wiesbaden 1955), p.54, hereafter cited as Selbst-  
2 biographie; C.Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations, transl.  
E.Sellers, (London 1891) p.6f; TI p.2.
- 3 TA pp.2,6.
- 4 Atlas Taf.116.
- 5 Tagebuch 1870, pp.63-90, in French.
- 6 Briefwechsel Ip.163.
- 7 "Ausgrabungen in Troja im Frühjahr 1870," Augsburg Allgemeine  
Zeitung, Beilage zu Nr.144, 24th May 1870, p.2301f; The Times,  
28th May 1870, p.11; Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger, 16th June  
1870, Nr139, p.2360.
- 8 Ernst Meyer, Heinrich Schliemann, Kaufmann und Forscher (Göttingen  
1969) pp.252-4, hereafter cited as HSKF.
- 9 Tagebuch 1870, p.76f; Briefwechsel Ip.165.
- 10 Tagebuch 1870, pp.80, 90; Briefwechsel I pp.165, 167.
- 11 TI p.2.
- 12 Tagebuch 1870, pp.65-9, 74, 81; Briefwechsel I p.164f.
- 13 TA p.6 (measured in 1871); Tagebuch 1870 has 20 x 14½m; Briefwechsel  
I p.164 has 20 x 14m.
- 14 Tagebuch 1870 p.70.
- 15 Ibid. p.71.
- 16 Briefwechsel I p.166.
- 17 Tagebuch 1870, p.89; Briefwechsel I p.167.
- 18 Tagebuch 1870, p.88; Briefwechsel I p.166.
- 19 Tagebuch 1870, p.89.
- 20 Thus e.g. the AB 4-5 trench opened, according to Tagebuch 1870  
p.71, "from the West edge towards the East" ran according to  
Briefwechsel I p.165f "to the northern edge of the summit of the hill."  
Briefwechsel I pp.165,167; cf. Tagebuch 1870 p.87. In writing the  
letter Schliemann may have been misled by the beginning of his entry  
in Tagebuch 1870 p.87 for 7/19th April: "Nous continuâmes aujourd'hui  
l'excavation dans la grande tranchée.." In context this clearly  
refers to the AB 4-5 trench. Taken in isolation it could have been  
thought to refer to the trench in D 5.
- 21 TI p.2.

22 HSKF p.429 n.148. See Tagebuch 1871 p.210, Briefwechsel I pp.189ff,  
191; also Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung (hereafter AAZ) Beilage zu  
Nr.306, 2nd November 1871, p.5405f. Contrast TA p.4, Ilios p.21,  
Selbstbiographie p.55, TI p.2.

23 HSKF pp.257-265.

24 Ibid. p.259

25 Ibid. p.261.

26 Ibid. p.259.

27 Ibid. p.261.

28 Ibid. pp.262, 263.

29 Ibid. p.260f.

30 Thus (1) the supposed West-East trench on the South side of the hill  
may go back to Tagebuch 1871 p.229: "je fis ouvrir un nouveau chemin  
lateral et je fis considérablement élargir mon excavation du côté  
Sud," combined with a misunderstanding of the letter to Curtius,  
Briefwechsel I p.199. (2) The imaginary eastern cutting on the  
north slope seems to arise out of a misunderstanding of Tagebuch  
1871 p.239: "Viel Zeit ging verloren durch die Erneuerung oder  
besser Erniedrigung des rechten Seitenwegs," after which follows  
the first account of the "stone-age" finds. This must be the source  
of Meyer's belief that the stone-age finds were to the East of the  
great trench, a statement not otherwise made by Schliemann in the  
letter which Meyer quotes, Briefwechsel I p.194. But (3) if Meyer  
means that Schliemann also worked in the area of the real Temple of  
Athena, this is simply erroneous guesswork.

31 Briefwechsel I p.191. So also Tagebuch 1871 p.216.

32 Briefwechsel I p.169; Ernst Meyer, "Schliemann's Erste Briefe aus  
Troja," Ruperto Carola XVII Bd37 (1965) p.77.

33 TA p.6.

34 Briefwechsel I p.165.

35 TA p. 12f, although this passage does not appear in the original  
draft in Tagebuch 1871 pp.231-7 or in the earlier published version  
in AAZ Beilage zu Nr.326, 22nd November 1871, p.5757f.

36 Tagebuch 1871 pp.215, 218, 219, 226, 229.

37 TA p.6, and Briefwechsel I p.199.

38 TA p.6.

39 TA p.22, and Briefwechsel I p.199.

40 "NS Graben" here probably refers to the trench in AB 5-6. Initially the  
term "large trench" was used by Schliemann to designate any of his  
three 1870 trenches. Thus the AB 4-5 trench: Tagebuch 1870 p.87, 1871

pp.214, 218; the AB 5-6 trench: Tagebuch 1871 p.206f; the D 5 trench: Briefwechsel I p.165, based on a misunderstanding of Tagebuch 1870 p.87 - see above note 19. Only with its use in Tagebuch 1871 p.226 on 19th October and thereafter does it usually refer to the central North-South trench.

- 41 Tagebuch 1871 p.206f, 30th September.
- 42 Probably the trench in AB 4-5 is meant.
- 43 Tagebuch 1871 p.214, 11th October.
- 44 Ilios p.21.
- 45 Selbstbiographie pp.57f, 64.
- 46 HSKF p.261, "vordrang."
- 47 Explicitly stated in TA p.47.
- 48 Tagebuch 1871 p.207; Briefwechsel I p.188f.
- 49 Tagebuch 1871 p.229.
- 50 TA p.9. But Schliemann's "averages" have a way of being quotations of the most impressive figure, not real averages at all, e.g. in Ilios p.21 the average number of workmen was said to be 80, which was in fact nearly the maximum for that year.
- 51 Tagebuch 1871 p.256; Briefwechsel I p.193f.
- 52 Briefe p.118; cf. Tagebuch 1871 p.259 for 16th November.
- 53 TA p.28.
- 54 TA p.39; Briefwechsel I p.196.
- 55 Tagebuch 1871 p.260f.
- 56 TA p.4.
- 57 Briefwechsel I p.191.
- 58 IPT p.166.
- 59 Tagebuch 1871 pp.204-210, cf.p.242; HSKF pp.259, 260; Briefwechsel I p.188f.
- 60 Tagebuch 1871 p.243.
- 61 Tagebuch 1871 p.226 (19th October), 227 (20th October); TA p.9.  
The well is the one marked Bg in TI Taf.III, in C 5.
- 62 Tagebuch 1871 pp.228, 239, 240, 241; Briefe p.117.
- 63 Tagebuch 1871 p.250 - draft of an article for AAZ, but omitted from the equivalent text in TA ch.III; Briefwechsel I p.192; Briefe p.118;  
TA p.40.
- 64 Briefe p.117.
- 65 TA p.6.
- 66 Briefwechsel I p.194. Cf. Tagebuch 1871 pp.214, 228.
- 67 Tagebuch 1871 p.231.

68 TA p.22.  
69 Briefwechsel I p.194; 199  
70 Tagebuch 1871 p.229.  
71 TA p.6.  
72 Tagebuch 1871 p.214, quoted above.  
73 Tagebuch 1871 p.214.  
74 Tagebuch 1871 pp.228, 231; Briefwechsel I p.194.  
75 TA p.6; Tagebuch 1871 p.219.  
76 Tagebuch 1871 pp.239, 253.  
77 TA pp.7, 37.  
78 Tagebuch 1871 p.218, 15th October.  
79 Tagebuch 1871 p.219.  
80 TA p.7.  
81 Tagebuch 1871 p.229.  
82 TA p.27 = Tagebuch 1871 p.271.  
83 TA p.7. ;  
84 Tagebuch 1871 pp.229, 239, 240, 253, 256.  
85 TA p.37; Tagebuch 1871 pp.256, 257f.  
86 C.Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations p.7.  
87 TA pp. 39, 44; Briefwechsel I p.197; Tagebuch 1871 p.270.  
88 TR p.99.  
89 Tagebuch 1872 p.277.  
90 TA p.46.  
91 TI p.2.  
92 Troy I pp.11,33f.  
93 Briefwechsel I p.208.  
94 Tagebuch 1872 pp.280, 296; TA pp.46, 68.  
95 Tagebuch 1872 pp.297f,311; TA p.68.  
96 TA p.46.  
97 TA p.103.  
98 Briefwechsel I p.208.  
99 TA p.75.  
100 Tagebuch 1872 p.295.  
101 IPT p.166.  
102 Briefe pp.117, 118; TA p.40; Briefwechsel I p.192; Selbstbiographie  
p.58f.  
103 TA p.46.

104 Ilios p.22.  
105 e.g. HSKF p.265.  
106 Briefwechsel I p.208; Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd.37 (1965) p.79.  
107 Tagebuch 1872 p.309.  
108 TA p.70.  
109 TA p.70.  
110 Troy I fig.423.  
111 Tagebuch 1872 p.278.  
112 Tagebuch 1872 p.300.  
113 TA p.60.  
114 Tagebuch 1872 p.313.  
115 Tagebuch 1872 p.320.  
116 Tagebuch 1872 p.324.  
117 Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd37 (1965) p.79.  
118 Briefe p.120.  
119 Tagebuch 1872 pp.319-324.  
120 E.g. 18m in Tagebuch 1872 p.332 is adjusted to 16m in TA p.77.  
121 Tagebuch 1872 p.324.  
122 Tagebuch 1872 p.325: "17m unter des Berges Gipfel."  
123 Tagebuch 1872 p.327f.  
124 TA p.83.  
125 Tagebuch 1872 p.329.  
126 Tagebuch 1872 p.326.  
127 Troy I fig.423.  
128 Troy I fig.422.  
129 TA p.82f.  
130 Troy I figs.422,423.  
131 TA p.104.  
132 Tagebuch 1872 p.324.  
133 TA p.77; for the mound-surface in C 4-5 virtually coincides with the summit.  
134 Tagebuch 1872 p.325.  
135 Tagebuch 1872 p.329; cf.TA pp.83,84.  
136 Troy I p.82 and figs.419-423.  
137 TA p.83  
138 Troy I fig.423.  
139 Tagebuch 1872 p.329.

140 Tagebuch 1872 p.320.  
141 TI p.4.  
142 TA p.82.  
143 Tagebuch 1872 p.336.  
144 TA p.82.  
145 TI pp.4ff; Emil Ludwig, Schliemann of Troy, the Story of a Goldseeker  
(London and New York 1931), p.173.  
146 TA p.180.  
147 14° in TA p.82; 12° in Tagebuch 1872 p.336.  
148 Tagebuch 1872 p.336.  
149 TA p.96; see also p.176.  
150 TA p.180; for a similar, earlier incident see Briefwechsel I p.197  
151 TI p.6.  
152 Tagebuch 1872 p.336.  
153 TA p.82.  
154 Tagebuch 1872 p.336.  
155 TA p.86. The report must have been drafted on 22nd May and put into  
fair copy on or about 29th May.  
156 Tagebuch 1872 p.365.  
157 TA p.95.  
158 For measurements of the pithoi from the "Greek strata" and details  
of those from pre-Greek times, see Tagebuch 1872 p.327 (10th May).  
159 For the number of pithoi from the "Greek strata" - ten - cf. Tagebuch  
1872 p.336. The original draft on p.356 mentions only four.  
160 TA pp.82,86.  
161 TA p.90.  
162 TA p.90.  
163 Atlas Taf.117 shows a slope on the south side of the platform.  
164 Tagebuch 1872 p.359; TA p.90.  
165 Tagebuch 1872 p.350.  
166 TA p.86.  
167 TA p.88.  
168 Tagebuch 1872 pp.390-413; TA Ch.X.  
169 E.g. the "Trojan Wall" (TA p.110) was only found on the 23rd (Tagebuch  
1872 p.417) and is not mentioned in the draft at Tagebuch 1872 p.398.  
170 Tagebuch 1872 p.360; TA p.103 f.  
171 Tagebuch 1872 p.360.  
172 TA p.104.

173 TA p.104; Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd.37 (1965) p.79.  
174 Briefwechsel I p.210.  
175 TI Taf.III.  
176 TA p.104.  
177 TA p.164.  
178 TA p.140.  
179 TA p.140.  
180 Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd.37 (1965) p.79.  
181 Tagebuch 1872 p.363.  
182 See Chapter IV, North Platform, Area 7, Deposit (8).  
183 Tagebuch 1872 pp.366-8.  
184 Tagebuch 1872 p.372; TA p.110.  
185 Tagebuch 1872 p.374. See also Briefwechsel I p.210.  
186 TA p.104.  
187 Tagebuch 1872 p.363.  
188 Tagebuch 1872 p.366.  
189 Tagebuch 1872 p.381.  
190 TA p.82, contrary to the intention expressed in Tagebuch 1872 p.336.  
191 Tagebuch 1872 p.378.  
192 Tagebuch 1872 p.366.  
193 TI p.122 fig.39; Troy III p.166 and fig.511.  
194 Briefwechsel I p.198.  
195 TA p.99.  
196 Briefe p.119f.  
197 Briefe p.119f; TA p.61.  
198 TA p.99f.  
199 Tagebuch 1872 p.383.  
200 TI p.6.  
201 TA p.99.  
202 Tagebuch 1872 p.390.  
203 Troy I p.253.  
204 Tagebuch 1872 p.386; TA p.99.  
205 Tagebuch 1872 p.384.  
206 Tagebuch 1872 p.384.  
207 The Levant Herald, 4th February 1873, p.90.  
208 TA p.99.  
209 Tagebuch 1872 p.379.  
210 TA p.140.

- 211 Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd.37 (1965) p.79.
- 212 Tagebuch 1872 p.428.
- 213 Tagebuch 1872 p.374.
- 214 Briefwechsel I p.212 (50-60ft); Ruperto-Carola loc.cit.
- 215 See discussion in previous section.
- 216 Atlas Taf.117, section.
- 217 Tagebuch 1872 p.418.
- 218 Tagebuch 1872 p.435.
- 219 Tagebuch 1872 p.425.
- 220 Atlas Taf.117, section.
- 221 Tagebuch 1872 p.466.
- 222 24.26, with correction of +6.30.
- 223 21.92, with correction of +6.30.
- 224 18.50, with correction of +6.30.
- 225 Briefwechsel I p.212.
- 226 27.85 and 28.44, both with correction of +6.30.
- 227 Labelled "Interior bastion of Lysimachus" in Atlas Taf.214, and marked "K" in Atlas Taf.117.
- 228 Marked as No.2 in Atlas Taf.214.
- 229 TA p.140f.
- 230 Tagebuch 1872 pp.414-417.
- 231 Tagebuch 1872 pp.423-441.
- 232 Tagebuch 1872 pp.441, 446; TA p.140; Atlas Taf.117,214.
- 233 Tagebuch 1872 pp.430,441.
- 234 Tagebuch 1872 p.446.
- 235 TA p.140, clearly an error for "below the surface," as in TA p.99.
- 236 Tagebuch 1872 p.384 (9m deep); Tagebuch 1872 p.390 (15m below summit); TA p.99 (12m below surface).
- 237 Tagebuch 1872 p.441; cf. Briefe p.122.
- 238 Tagebuch 1872 p.441; Briefe p.122.
- 239 TA p.141.
- 240 Ilios p.24.
- 241 TA p.141.
- 242 Tagebuch 1872 pp.427,441; TA p.141.
- 243 Troy III p.158, figs.83,502.
- 244 TA p.141.
- 245 TA p.157.
- 246 Tagebuch 1872 pp.472-80.

247 Tagebuch 1872 p.481.

248 E.g. "vorgestern" TA p.167, refers to 30th July, Tagebuch 1872 p.483f.

249 TA p.159; cf. Tagebuch 1872 p.473.

250 Tagebuch 1872 p.470.

251 TA p.158.

252 Tagebuch 1872 p.469f., 481; TA p.157f.

253 TA p.158.

254 TI p.6 and fig.13.

255 Tagebuch 1872 p.472; Briefwechsel I p.213.

256 TA p.157.

257 Tagebuch 1872 p.470.

258 Tagebuch 1872 p.481.

259 Tagebuch 1872 p.470.

260 Tagebuch 1872 p.481.

261 TA p.157f.

262 Tagebuch 1872 p.472f.

263 TI Taf.III.

264 TA p.158.

265 Tagebuch 1872 p.470.

266 Tagebuch 1872 p.461.

267 TI p.217f.

268 TI Taf.III.

269 Tagebuch 1872 pp.462,473.

270 TA p.159.

271 Briefwechsel I p.212; Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd.37 (1965) p.79.

272 Tagebuch 1872 p.463; TA p.159.

273 Atlas Taf.117; TA p.159.

274 Atlas Taf.117 and 214 show the hole; Tagebuch 1872 p.466 mentions it.

275 18.50 with correction of +6.30.

276 Tagebuch 1872 p.473.

277 21.92 with correction of +6.30.

278 TA p.159.

279 Tagebuch 1872 p.473.

280 Atlas Taf.117, 214.

281 Tagebuch 1872 p.462.

282 TA p.159.

283 TA pp.159,167.

284 Tagebuch 1872 p.478.

285 Tagebuch 1872 p.473  
286 Tagebuch 1872 p.463.  
287 Tagebuch 1872 p.468; TA 159.  
288 TA p.175.  
289 "East" in TA p.165 replaces "left" in Tagebuch 1872 p.476.  
290 Tagebuch 1872 p.482; Briefe p.122f; Briefwechsel I p.213; TA p.159.  
291 TA p.159.  
292 Tagebuch 1872 p.482.  
293 TA p.166.  
294 TA p.167, if these finds are attributable to the west end of the trench.  
295 Tagebuch 1872 pp.461,462.  
296 Tagebuch 1872 pp.438,462.  
297 Atlas Taf.213 is reproduced in TR as Plan 1.  
298 Tagebuch 1872 p.466.  
299 Tagebuch 1872 p.493.  
300 Tagebuch 1872 pp.493-502.  
301 TA p.171; Briefwechsel I p.337 n.296; Ruperto-Carola XVII Bd.37 (1965)  
p.80. The original draft of TA ch.xiii, in Tagebuch 1872 p.493, does  
not mention Sophie, who had in fact left the site on 27th June  
(Tagebuch 1872 p.425). The reference to her in TA p.171 appears to be  
a falsification.  
302 Briefwechsel I p.215.  
303 Tagebuch 1872 pp.491,493.  
304 Tagebuch 1872 p.491.  
305 TA p.172. The original draft in Tagebuch 1872 p.496 makes it clear that  
this applies to the north side of the "Tower," although the depth  
given there is 13m.  
306 Tagebuch 1872 p.503f; TA p.179; HSKF p.268.  
307 Briefwechsel I p.216.  
308 TA p.179f.  
309 Tagebuch 1872 p.504; TA p.181; Ilios p.24 and No.2, wall A.  
310 TI p.6.  
311 TI Taf.III.  
312 Tagebuch 1872 p.504; TA .181; Briefwechsel I p.216.  
313 TA p.182f.; Briefe No.24, pp.123f.; Briefwechsel I pp.216f.;  
H.G. Hutchinson, The Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury, 2 vols.  
(London 1914) I, p.142; H. Schliemann, "Ausgrabungen in Troja,"  
Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.1, Wednesday 1st January  
1873, pp.11-12.

314 TA p.186.

315 TA p.187; Tagebuch 1873 p.12.

316 TA p.186; Tagebuch 1873 p.(iii).

317 Tagebuch 1873 p.9.

318 15.44 +6.30 = 21.74m A.T.; 20.34 +6.30 = 26.64m A.T. Cf.Fig.IV.6  
for the situation at the end of 1872.

319 20.36 +6.30.

320 24.29 +6.30.

321 For the two western terraces, cf. Fig.IV.4, where the middle terrace  
may be placed too low.

322 Tagebuch 1873 p.58; Briefwechsel I p.223.

323 Tagebuch 1873 p.9.

324 Tagebuch 1873 p.41.

325 Tagebuch 1873 pp. 5,6,9.

326 TA p.186.

327 TA pp.157f.,181.

328 See above, 13th July - 4th August 1872.

329 Tagebuch 1873 pp.4,5,6.

330 Tagebuch 1873 pp.iii,58; Briefwechsel I p.223.

331 TA p.188.

332 18.50 +6.30; 24.29 +6.30.

333 TA p.186.

334 Tagebuch 1873 p.9.

335 Tagebuch 1873 p.10.

336 Tagebuch 1873 p.26.

337 Tagebuch 1873 p.9.

338 Tagebuch 1873 p.24.

339 H.G. Hutchinson, Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury, 2 vols.  
(London 1914) I p.143; cf. Briefe pp.123f.; TA p.183.

340 Tagebuch 1873 p.10.

341 Ibid.

342 TA p.191.

343 HSKF p.270.

344 TA p.214; Atlas, Taf.214.

345 Tagebuch 1873 p.24.

346 TI p.9.

347 Tagebuch 1873 p.24.

348 Tagebuch 1873 pp.62,74.

349 Cf. Troy IV Figs.338,339.

- 350 Briefwechsel I p.217; Briefe pp.123f.; H.G. Hutchinson, Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury, 2 vols. (London 1914) I p.143; "Ausgrabungen in Troja," Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.1, Wednesday 1st January 1873, p.12.
- 351 Tagebuch 1873 p.11.
- 352 Tagebuch 1873 p.12.
- 353 Tagebuch 1873 pp.58,77; Ilios p.33.
- 354 Tagebuch 1873 p.58; TA p.194.
- 355 Tagebuch 1873 pp.62-3.
- 356 Tagebuch 1873 p.58; Briefwechsel I p.223.
- 357 Tagebuch 1873 p.41.
- 358 TA p.194.
- 359 Tagebuch 1873 p.41.
- 360 Tagebuch 1873 pp.41,46.
- 361 TA p.195; Atlas Taf.214.
- 362 Spot-height marked 20.34 in Atlas Taf.214.
- 363 Tagebuch 1873 p.57; TA p.194.
- 364 Tagebuch 1873 p.58; Briefwechsel I p.223.
- 365 24.29 in Atlas Taf.214, +6.30 correction.
- 366 Tagebuch 1873 p.9.
- 367 Tagebuch 1873 p.24.
- 368 18.50 in Atlas Taf.214, +6.30 correction.
- 369 Tagebuch 1873 pp.269,284; "Ausgrabungen in Troja," Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr. 165 (14th June 1873), p.2528.
- 370 Tagebuch 1873 p.45, and perhaps p.40.
- 371 Tagebuch 1873 p.41.
- 372 Briefwechsel I p.223.
- 373 Tagebuch 1873 p.45; Briefwechsel I p.223.
- 374 Tagebuch 1873 p.41; cf.p.46.
- 375 Briefwechsel I pp.223-4; TA p.199.
- 376 Tagebuch 1873 P.41.
- 377 Tagebuch 1873 p.46.
- 378 Briefwechsel I p.223; TA p.199.
- 379 TA p.199.
- 380 Tagebuch 1873 p.58.
- 381 Tagebuch 1873 p.41.
- 382 Tagebuch 1873 p.74.
- 383 Tagebuch 1873 p.62.

384 TA p.199.  
385 TA p.199; Ilios p.27; but in the rough draft in Tagebuch 1873 p.68  
he says there were ten side-paths.  
386 Tagebuch 1873 p.74  
387 Tagebuch 1873 p.84.  
388 Tagebuch 1873 p.86.  
389 23.60 +6.30 correction  
390 Tagebuch 1873 p.86; TA pp.213f.  
391 Tagebuch 1873 p.86.  
392 Cf. his use in 1872 of "left" to mean "East."  
393 27.17 +6.30 correction.  
394 Atlas Taf.214, No.11; a part of Dörpfeld's IXC.  
395 Tagebuch 1873 p.76.  
396 Tagebuch 1873 p.83.  
397 Atlas Taf.214, No. 15.  
398 TA p.213.  
399 Tagebuch 1873 p.83.  
400 TA p.215.  
401 Tagebuch 1873 p.77; TA p.219.  
402 Ilios p.33.  
403 Atlas Taf.116, No.1; Taf.117, letter A.  
404 TA p.220.  
405 Tagebuch 1873 p.86.  
406 TA p.222.  
407 Ibid.  
408 Tagebuch 1873 p.104.  
409 Tagebuch 1873 p.117; TA p.224.  
410 Tagebuch 1873 p.104.  
411 TA p.224.  
412 Ibid.  
413 Ibid.  
414 Tagebuch 1873 p.162.  
415 Tagebuch 1873 p.117.  
416 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
417 TA p.220.  
418 Tagebuch 1873 pp.104f.; TA p.229.  
419 Tagebuch 1873 p.114f.  
420 Tagebuch 1873 p.104.  
421 Ilios p.39f.

422 Tagebuch 1873 p.104.  
423 TA p.231.  
424 Tagebuch 1873 p.158  
425 Tagebuch 1873 p.162.  
426 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
427 TA pp.231-4.  
428 TA p.240.  
429 Tagebuch 1873 pp.162-3.  
430 Not 150 as he says: TA p.243.  
431 Tagebuch 1873 pp.162-3; TA pp.243-4; Briefwechsel I p.226, No.203;  
"Ausgrabungen in Troja," Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu  
Nr.164 (13th June 1873), p.2509.  
432 Tagebuch 1873 p.152.  
433 Tagebuch 1873 p.166.  
434 Tagebuch 1873 p.158.  
435 Although Propylon IXD may have been exposed on the east side to a  
depth of 5m: see under 24th February - 6th March 1873.  
436 Tagebuch 1873 p.162; Atlas Taf.214.  
437 TA p.245.  
438 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
439 Tagebuch 1873 p.166.  
440 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
441 Tagebuch 1873 pp.176,188.  
442 TA p.256.  
443 TA p.257; Tagebuch 1873 p.188. WNW must be an error for NNW.  
444 TA p.258.  
445 TI Taf.III; pp.77-8.  
446 TA p.258.  
447 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
448 Tagebuch 1873 p.189.  
449 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
450 Tagebuch 1873 p.182: in the diary, dated Thursday 29th March  
according to the Julian calendar.  
451 Tagebuch 1873 p.176.  
452 TA p.254; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr. 164 (13th June  
1873), p.2509.  
453 TA p.254.  
454 Ibid.

455 Ilios pp.43,485.  
456 Tagebuch 1873 p.177.  
457 Tagebuch 1873 p.189  
458 TA p.282.  
459 Tagebuch 1873 p.205; TA p.268.  
460 TA p.268; "Four" in TR p.300, is an error.  
461 Not the 150 Schliemann claims: TA p.268.  
462 Tagebuch 1873 p.208.  
463 He still refers to Propylon IXD as a cistern or reservoir.  
464 Tagebuch 1873 p.205; "Ausgrabungen in Troja," Allgemeine Zeitung  
(Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr. 164 (13th June 1873), p.2509.  
465 TI Taf.III.  
466 Tagebuch 1873 p.210; TA p.284.  
467 TA p.284.  
468 At numbers 5, 6.  
469 The spot-heights in the plan are often difficult to read. 23.44  
appears to have been wrongly transcribed in TR, plan 2, as 23.62.  
A number of spot-heights are wrongly reproduced there as well.  
470 TA p.271; 32.50 and 33.50m A.T. respectively.  
471 The later walls are shaded darker in Atlas Taf.214, but lighter in  
TR plan 2.  
472 Tagebuch 1873 p.205.  
473 Tagebuch 1873 p.224.  
474 23.74 (Atlas Taf.214) +6.30.  
475 39.50 (datum) - 7.00.  
476 Tagebuch 1873 p.209.  
477 TA p.282.  
478 Tagebuch 1873 p.209.  
479 Ibid.  
480 TA p.282.  
481 Spot-heights: 24.54, 24.09, 24.60, all +6.30.  
482 23.76 +6.30 = 30.06m A.T.  
483 Cf. Fig.IV.33.  
484 Cf. Fig.IV.19.  
485 Tagebuch 1873 p.284: the only reference later than 24th May, but  
probably retrospective.  
486 TA p.282.

487 TA p.282; Tagebuch 1873 p.225.  
488 Tagebuch 1870 pp.80,90; Briefwechsel I pp.165,177.  
489 TA p.282; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.165 (14th June 1873), p.2528; Ilios p.40.  
490 TA p.283.  
491 Shown in Atlas Taf.214 as the outermost wall.  
492 TI Taf.III.  
493 Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr. 165 (14th June 1873), p.2528.  
494 21.11, 23.48, both +6.30.  
495 TA p.282.  
496 TA p.283.  
497 TA p.282.  
498 See Figs.IV.65,66.  
499 TA pp.282-3.  
500 Tagebuch 1873 p.210.  
501 TA p.272.  
502 Tagebuch 1873 p.226.  
503 Tagebuch 1873 p.223f.  
504 TA pp.272,286.  
505 Tagebuch 1873 pp.207-9; TA pp.268-9.  
506 Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.165 (14th June 1873), p.2527-8. Sophie left the site on 7th May: Tagebuch 1873 p.223.  
507 See the discussion in J.M.Cook, The Troad, pp.107-8, 133-4.  
508 TA p.269; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), loc.cit.  
509 Tagebuch 1873 pp.208,209.  
510 Tagebuch 1873 p.245.  
511 Tagebuch 1873 pp.268-9.  
512 "Ausgrabungen in Troja," Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.164 (13th June 1873), p.2509.  
513 TA p.282; Tagebuch 1873 pp.251, 266.  
514 Tagebuch 1873 p.250.  
515 Tagebuch 1873 p.268; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.165 (14th June 1873), p.2528; H.Schmidt, Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer (Berlin 1902), p.237.  
516 Tagebuch 1873 p.246.  
517 Tagebuch 1873 p.250.  
518 Tagebuch 1873 p.269.

- 519 Tagebuch 1873 p.263; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.165 (14th June 1873), p.2528.
- 520 Tagebuch 1873 p.250.
- 521 Tagebuch 1873 p.263.
- 522 Tagebuch 1873 p.250.
- 523 Ibid.
- 524 Tagebuch 1873 p.268; Ilios p.40.
- 525 TI Taf.III.
- 526 Tagebuch 1873 p.264.
- 527 Tagebuch 1873 p.264.
- 528 Tagebuch 1873 p.269; cf. Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.165 (14th June 1873), p.2528.
- 529 See Fig.IV.33; possibly to be equated with Atlas Taf.214, No.26.
- 530 Tagebuch 1873 p.284.
- 531 Tagebuch 1873 p.250.
- 532 Tagebuch 1873 p.251.
- 533 Atlas Taf.214: 24.82 +6.30.
- 534 Tagebuch 1873 p.269.
- 535 Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.164 (13th June 1873), p.2510; letter of 20th May to Lubbock; H.G.Hutchinson, op.cit.I p.149.
- 536 Tagebuch 1873 p.249.
- 537 Tagebuch 1873 p.252.
- 538 Tagebuch 1873 p.266; cf.p.252.
- 539 Tagebuch 1873 p.249.
- 540 Tagebuch 1873 p.243.
- 541 E.Meyer, HSKF p.270.
- 542 Tagebuch 1873 p.269 (referred to as the cutting from the northwest side), and pp.270,271-2
- 543 Tagebuch 1873 pp.269-70.
- 544 Tagebuch 1873 p.270.
- 545 23.48 +6.30 correction.
- 546 Tagebuch 1873 p.263.
- 547 Tagebuch 1873 p.273.
- 548 D.A.Traill, "Schliemann's 'discovery' of 'Priam's Treasure,'" Antiquity 57 (1983), pp.181-86.
- 549 Tagebuch 1873 pp.273-5.
- 550 D.F.Easton, "Schliemann's Mendacity: A False Trail?" Antiquity 58 (1984) pp.197-204; "Priam's Treasure," Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.142-169.

551 Tagebuch 1873 p.300.

552 Briefwechsel I.p.234.

553 "Der Schatz von Priamos," Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Nr.217  
(5th August 1873), p.3309, reproduced in Philologischer Anzeiger 5  
(1873), pp.473-8, and Revue Archéologique (2nd series) 26(1873),  
pp.196-202. The date of 17th July at the head of the letter is an error  
for 17th June, but may indicate that, despite the intended fictitious  
date, the report was actually written during July.

554 Troja p.57.

555 Tagebuch 1873 p.305; TA p.303.

556 Tagebuch 1873 pp.281,290.

557 D.F.Easton, "Schliemann's discovery of 'Priam's Treasure': two enigmas,"  
Antiquity 55 (1981), pp.179-181; D.A.Traill in Antiquity 57 (1983),  
p.183; D.F.Easton Antiquity 58 (1984), p.200; Anatolian Studies 34  
(1984) p.144.

558 Tagebuch 1873 p.273.

559 There is some uncertainty of description in the reports. TA pp.289,295,  
296,303; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.217 (5th August  
1873), p.3309; Briefe p.135; Briefwechsel I pp.233,234,235; a letter to  
Max Müller (JHS 82 [1962], p.83); and Ilios pp. 41,453, Plan I all  
place it "on" the wall. Tagebuch 1873 p.300, places it "near" the  
circuit wall, as do Atlas Taf.214,215; but since the same report  
speaks of its discover "on" the wall (pp.303,305), we must assume that  
Schliemann here used the terms more or less synonymously.

560 Tagebuch 1873 pp.269-70.

561 Tagebuch 1873 p.273; p.281 gives 8m.

562 Tagebuch 1873 p.300; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.217  
5th August 1873), p.3309; Briefwechsel I p.233; Ilios Fig.14.

563 Tagebuch 1873 pp.275,281.

564 Tagebuch 1873 p.304; TA p.297; Briefwechsel I p.235; JHS 82 (1962) p.83;  
Ilios pp.40-1.

565 D.A.Traill, Antiquity 57 (1983), pp.182,184.

566 William C. Borlase, "A Visit to Dr Schliemann's Troy," Fraser's Magazine  
17 (Feb.1878), p.236.

567 Tagebuch 1873 p.300.

568 Tagebuch 1873 pp.273,300.

569 TA p.289; Briefe p.135; Briefwechsel I pp.233,234,235; Ilios pp.40,453.

570 Borlase, loc.cit.

- 571 As pointed out by Traill, Antiquity 57 (1983), p.184. See also  
D.F.Easton, Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) pp.146-9.
- 572 Tagebuch 1873 p.303; Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.217  
(5th August 1873), p.3309; Briefwechsel I p.234; TA pp.295-6; Ilios  
p.41: these all make clear that the chest's existence was deduced.  
Briefe p.135, puts it more positively.
- 573 Borlase, loc.cit.; unless Yannakis was thinking of the iron key, Ilios  
No.1476.
- 574 H.Schmidt, Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer  
(Berlin 1902), No.5824.
- 575 Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg), Beilage zu Nr.217 (5th August 1873),  
p.3309; TA p.290; later repeated in the summary in Ilios p.41.
- 576 D.A.Traill, Antiquity 57 (1983), p.184.
- 577 Borlase, op.cit., pp.235-6.
- 578 Tagebuch 1873 p.275.
- 579 Tagebuch 1873 p.281, entry erroneously dated 4th June.
- 580 Tagebuch 1873 pp.281,304; Ilios p.42.
- 581 Tagebuch 1873 p.290.
- 582 Tagebuch 1873 p.305; TA p.303; Ilios p.43.
- 583 TA p.303; Ilios p.453, No.786, Fig.14; Schmidt, op.cit. Nos.5868-70.  
See D.F.Easton, Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) p.150.
- 584 Tagebuch 1873 p.299; Atlas Taf.214.
- 585 Tagebuch 1873 p.299.
- 586 Tagebuch 1873 p.304; TA p.302.
- 587 Ibid.
- 588 24.79 (in Atlas, Taf.214) +6.30.
- 589 23.48 (in Atlas Taf.214) +6.30.
- 590 Tagebuch 1873 p.269: "bei weiterer Abgrabung vom gr. Einschnitt."  
E.Meyer, HSKF p.270.
- 591 Ilios p.54.
- 593 Tagebuch 1873 pp.275-6,279; TA pp.304-5,307.
- 594 Tagebuch 1873 p.298; cf.TA p.318.

CHAPTER IV:  
THE RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS

## PREFACE

It is the aim of this chapter to present, so far as may be possible, the detailed excavation-reports which we should now like Schliemann to have written. That is to say, this chapter takes each of the areas distinguished in Chapter III, and reconstructs within it a sequence of soil-deposits, buildings and objects. I have attempted to describe, and account for, these sequences in an orderly way, by assigning to each deposit a number and by discussing each deposit in turn. The description of each deposit is followed where appropriate by a catalogue of the objects which seem to have been found in it. Reconstructed "section-drawings" and plans are provided as visual aids.

The order followed in this chapter is not the same as that in Chapter III. Chapter III provided a chronological account of the excavations. In this chapter, however, I have grouped the many, different areas of excavation together into "trenches". Some of these will already be well-known by name - the North-South Trench, and the North Platform, for instance. Others, such as The Western Area, are newly distinguished. Each "trench" is then subdivided into a number of "areas", and each area into a number of deposits. Usually the sequence in which I have placed the areas within any one trench is the sequence in which Schliemann dug them. This division of trenches into "areas" yields, I hope, a fairly detailed picture of Schliemann's findings; but it has the obvious disadvantage of fragmenting the overall picture. To remedy this I have prefaced the report of each trench with a synthetic summary of the main findings within it. An overall description of the site, period by period, is reserved for Chapter V.

In describing Schliemann's findings I have aimed to present the full information on which the reconstructed sequence within any one area is based. But it has not usually been possible to recount in full the process of reasoning involved. It may therefore help if some general comments are made here.

Relevant information is of several different kinds. Sometimes Schliemann himself makes direct statements about the stratification of soil-types or architectural features. Sometimes the position of a given feature within the area can be inferred from the date on which it was found; this pre-

supposes the possibility of gauging Schliemann's progress day by day from the diaries. Sometimes this can be done; sometimes it cannot. Within each area the distribution of objects by depth is usually very helpful, provided that the dates of manufacture for some, at least, of the pieces are known from the excavations of Dörpfeld or Blegen. The homogeneity of much of the Early<sup>and Middle</sup> Bronze Age material makes for difficulty here, and it is rare that the objects alone permit a secure division into deposits of Troy II, III, IV or V. But for these strata there can often be helpful information from the excavation of adjacent, or neighbouring, areas, whether by Schliemann or by one of his successors. It is fortunate that across the centre of the site the E.B.<sup>and M.B.</sup> deposits are known to have displayed an accumulation that was regular and more or less horizontal (cf. Troy I figs.449-50,465). The rather crude technique of extrapolating divisions between strata from one area to the next therefore has some validity, as well as some obvious pitfalls.

I cannot say that the way in which the information from all these sources has been brought together is wholly "scientific". For each area I have attempted to consider the evidence as a whole, and to reconstruct around it a stratigraphy that would account for as much of it as possible. It has been a process of trial and error: of putting all the facts into a mental kaleidoscope, shaking them up time and time again, until a satisfactory pattern has emerged. Usually I have seen only one realistic way of reconciling all the facts; but I must admit the possibility that there are other, better solutions which I have missed.

The resultant stratigraphies can be regarded as no more than rough ones. Given the nature of the sources, - not to mention the character of the excavations - fine stratigraphy is, of course, quite out of the question. While some obvious cases of intrusion have been spotted, it is difficult - usually impossible - to make sufficient allowance for pits and other irregularities which may have affected the sequence of objects as Schliemann found them. Equally difficult to allow for is the possibility that Schliemann was given incorrect information by his foremen; or that objects from higher strata, once exposed, fell to the bottom of the trench and were recorded among those from lower strata. For these reasons the indices at the end of this work claim only to note the date of the deposit in which each object is likely to have been found, not the date of the object itself.

The section-drawings which accompany this chapter are as rough as the reconstructed stratigraphies. They do not pretend to be drawings of real, but vanished, sections. Rather, they are a visual presentation of my interpretation of what Schliemann says he found. Their purpose is to provide a visual framework within which to place the available information. I hope and believe that they have a validity of a general kind; but it is too much to hope that any one of them gives a truly accurate picture of the area to which it relates.

Schliemann's technique of recording has already been described in Chapter II. His field-notes were kept in diary-form, with drawings of objects added before or after the record of each day's work. This can provide quite a useful sequential account of the excavations. But what Schliemann never really saw the need for was a fully separate account of the work in each area. The result is that from 1872 onwards, when he was usually digging in more than one area at once, there can be difficulties in separating the findings of one area from those of another. This applies less to Schliemann's record of the stratigraphy and architecture than it does to his record of the objects. His account of the stratigraphy and architecture is usually fairly clear in its attributions of deposits and buildings to individual areas; and even ambiguities can normally be sorted out without too much heartache. But the real problem comes with the objects.

Schliemann's work of 1872 is divided into seven periods, in all but two of which there was simultaneous excavation in more than one area. In these five periods there can be serious difficulties in deciding which object came from which area. There are many cases where allocations can be made with some confidence. A direct statement in the diary, Trojanische Alterthümer, or some other source may describe an object and say which area it was found in. Or the depth at which it was found may preclude an origin in all but one of the areas. Sometimes the date on which it was found and drawn can also be a relevant factor: it may come from a day when Schliemann was working in only one area, or in only one area at the right depth. These sound quite straight-forward criteria, but even so there can be snags. In Trojanische Alterthümer Ch.xiii, for example, there is a long list of objects found near the "Tower" in the central area of the North-South Trench. The list begins (p.164f) with the observation that on the east side of the Tower (i.e. in E 6-7) pre-

Hellenic objects were found at the unusually slight depth of 1 metre. A list of pre-Hellenic objects from around this depth follows, together with a note of classical artefacts from higher strata. Clearly these are all to exemplify the situation described, and must derive from the east side of the "Tower". The same theme is continued at the beginning of the next paragraph (p.165), and the east side of the "Tower" is again mentioned. The catalogue of objects and motifs from unexpectedly high deposits continues until a depth of 4 metres is mentioned.

"In dieser letztern Tiefe fand ich in der Ausgrabung an der Westseite des Thurmes einen höchst sonderbaren, 20 Centimeter hohen Becher..."

And of the immediately following item Schliemann says

"Ebendasselbst fand ich eine merkwürdige Vase..."

From this it could easily be assumed that Schliemann was now embarking on a comparable list of objects from the west side of the "Tower". But this is probably not the case, for the remainder of the list (pp.166-169) takes us progressively deeper, from 4m to 14m, without any further mention of either the east or the west side of the "Tower". Even the "Ebendasselbst" is ambiguous. Does it mean "In the same place", i.e. to the West of the "Tower", as assumed in Troy and Its Remains p.207? Or does it mean "At the same depth" without any reference to East or West? In the light of what follows, I suspect it means the latter. Thus out of this entire catalogue of over fifty objects only twenty or so can be assigned to the eastern area, and only one (the curious cup, 72-1655) to the western area. All the rest must be allocated simply to the central area of the North-South Trench with no further attempt at refinement. It is always essential to keep a sharp eye on the structure and sense of Schliemann's texts and to deduce only what it is possible to deduce.

These, then, are cases where objects from the 1872 excavations can be allocated to an area with some certainty. But certainty is often not possible. Even so, one can often suggest an allocation that is at any rate plausible.

Sometimes, for instance, it is our sketchy knowledge of Schliemann's day-to-day progress that hampers us. But if a plausible estimate can be made of the depths reached in Schliemann's various trenches over a series of days, then the depth at which an object was found, and the date of its

discovery, can permit an allocation which is also plausible.

On other occasions the context of a given drawing in the diary can be suggestive. A small group of drawings comes, for instance, at the very end of the entry for 11th May 1872 (Tgb 1872 p.331). I have numbered the drawings from 72-229 to 72-304. Now on 11th May Schliemann was digging in only two areas: the South Platform, which went down to a depth of 6m, and the North Platform, which went to a depth of 18m. Of this small, isolated group of objects the first and last must derive from the North Platform because of their depths - 18m for 72-229; 8m for 72-304 (according to Atlas 10-323). This makes it tempting, and plausible, to suppose that the intervening objects likewise come from the North Platform, even though their depths, all being of 6m or less, give nothing away.

Sometimes again it may be the arrangement of drawings in the diary that provides us with a clue. During 1872 Schliemann was particularly interested by the designs on spindle-whorls - so much so that in each day's drawings he took to putting the whorls first and other, to us more interesting, objects later. The tendency becomes really noticeable from 15th May onwards, although it is not always adhered to with rigidity. This idiosyncrasy, not in itself particularly noteworthy, becomes of interest in a diary-entry such as that for 12th June 1872. Here there is a first set of drawings (not including any whorls), said to derive from the Northeast Trench, followed by a second set, said to derive from the North-South Trench. Those from the North-South Trench begin with a selection of whorls. The same pattern appears in the entry for the following day. The suspicion is thus aroused that Schliemann was sometimes drawing his objects in groups, by trench; and that when, in a long series of drawings, a group of whorls appears, it may indicate the beginning of a new group. Take the entry for 5th July 1872 (Tgb 1872 pp.433-4). Here there are two pages of drawings with almost no text. There are five objects in the middle of the series, Nos.72-1262 to 72-1266, which Schliemann says were found in the Northeast Trench. They are followed by a large group, 1267-1290, of which the first twelve items are whorls. One immediately suspects that they might come from another trench; and indeed there are two objects which, by reason of their depth, can only have been found in the North-South Trench. Preceding the five pieces from the Northeast Trench is another large

group, similarly beginning with a series of nineteen whorls: Nos.1239-1261. Not one of these objects comes from a depth greater than 10m. This allows us to assign all of this first group to the one, remaining area under excavation at the time: the South Platform. In this manner the entire collection of objects drawn in the entry for 5th July divides easily and naturally into three groups: the first from the South Platform, the second from the Northeast Trench, and the third from the North-South Trench - the three areas that we know Schliemann was then digging. The allocations are far from certain, but I think they are plausible.

Take another kind of case. During 1st-11th May Schliemann was digging in two areas. One was on the North Platform, "wo ich commandire", as Schliemann says of himself (Tgb 1872 p.337); the other was on the newly-begun South Platform, where Photidas was in charge (TA p.82). From this period very few of the objects recorded in the diary are known to have come from the South Platform, while nearly all of the securely-allocated finds are from the North Platform. Indeed, there is in general much more information given us about the latter area. The inference is obvious: Schliemann records most from the area he is watching most closely. Areas under someone else's supervision tend to get poorly reported. Now in the following period, 12th-22nd May, there were again two areas under excavation: the east end of the North Platform, and its west end. We are told (Tgb 1872 p.359) that a workman called Theodore was directing operations at the east end; and it is striking that Trojanische Alterthümer Ch.IX, which gives us a full account of the findings at the west end, says next to nothing about the excavations at the east end. In fact every one of the explicitly allocated objects from this period derives, without exception, from the west end. It seems a reasonable conjecture that it was Schliemann himself that supervised work at the west end. This will then encourage us to assign most other objects found during this period to the west end of the North Platform. Again, the allocations cannot be certain; but taken all in all they may be plausible.

Additional problems arise when we turn to the objects found in 1873. In this season I have distinguished ten periods of excavation, and during all but one of these Schliemann was again digging in more than one area at a time. As before, explicit statements in the diary, Trojanische

Alterthümer or the Atlas allow some objects to be allocated with certainty to this or that area. But a change in the pattern of diary-entries makes other allocations more difficult. In 1872 objects were often drawn into the diary on, or shortly after, the day they were found. But in 1873, and especially towards the end of the season, daily entries became more infrequent, and the periodic résumés grew longer, being written over more and more extended periods. At the same time the drawings were now entrusted to an artist who, it seems, got access to the diary only from time to time. They now make their entry in sudden gushes, and in no apparent order. In between there may be long pages of notes devoid of all illustration. These irregularities in the diary rob us of the ready means of dating individual discoveries afforded us by the 1872 records. It is now harder to be sure of the date on which any given object was found. Sometimes it is not even clear at first into which period of excavation its discovery should be placed. Allocation of objects to areas, therefore, becomes that much more of a problem.

But these difficulties are not insuperable. As if to compensate for the irregularity of the drawings, Schliemann is now more liberal with his descriptions of objects found. Sometimes these descriptions, or allusions, occur in the daily entries, sometimes in the periodic résumés, and sometimes in both. In most cases the description can be matched up with a drawing. This means that for any individual object it is usually possible to record the earliest attestation and so to gain at least a terminus ante quem for its discovery. To take an example: the small marble pyramid which I have numbered 73-367 appears in a collection of drawings that fall between the entries for 25th and 26th March (Tgb 1873 p.129). But it is actually described in the entry for 22nd March (Tgb 1873 p.116) and in the résumé bearing the same date (TA p.225). Thus while its drawing appears to fall in the fifth period of excavation in 1873, the descriptions show that it was actually found at the end of the fourth period. The opposite can also occur. For example, the figurine which I have numbered 73-102 is drawn into the diary just after the entry for 22nd February (Tgb 1873 p.24) and five pages before Schliemann began his rough draft of the despatch describing his first period of work (TA ch.xv). It is also described in the daily entry of the same date. But in the despatches, or periodic résumés, it is not described until 1st March (TA p.195). Thus while from the despatches it would appear to have been found only in the second period of excavation,

from the drawing and the daily entry it is clear that it must have been found instead in the first period.

The dates of excavation arrived at in this way can help provide an additional, indirect source of information. Throughout the 1873 season Schliemann's artist was not only drawing objects into the diary; he was also continuing to compile the Atlas. Whereas plates 1-118 were compiled in Athens at the end of the 1872 season, plates 119-217 were for the most part compiled on the spot at Troy during the 1873 season. Their progress is attested in Schliemann's copybook for February to August 1873, where a draft of the Atlas text is interspersed with copies of outgoing letters (see BSA 77 (1982) p.105 No.50). Once a terminus ante quem has been established, in the way just described, for the discovery of any object, that object can then be identified in the Atlas. When this has been done for all dateable objects, a pattern emerges in which we can see the period of excavation during which each plate in the Atlas was compiled. This can in turn enable us to suggest excavation-dates for otherwise undated objects, or doubtfully dated objects, which appear in the Atlas. For example, Atlas 148-2902 shows a piece of copper moulded at one end into the shape of an animal-head. It is not drawn in the diary, and is not described in either any of the daily entries or any of the periodic résumés. Its date of excavation is therefore not recorded. But the 32 other pieces illustrated in Atlas Taf.148 can all be seen to have been found during Schliemann's seventh period of excavation, thereby dating the compilation of Taf.148. It is a fair assumption that 148-2902 was found in the same period.

Another example will help to confirm the reliability of this method. Schliemann's second period of excavation in 1873 ended on 6th March. After the diary-entry for 6th March but before that of 7th March comes a series of sixteen drawings which I have numbered 73-201 to 73-216 (Tgb 1873 pp.71-2). Should these objects be reckoned with the finds of the second period of excavation, or with those of the third? Six of the objects, 73-211 to 73-216, appear again in the Atlas, in Taf.125. Now on the Atlas plate there are illustrations of another twenty-seven objects. For one of them, 125-2504, there is no external evidence of its date of discovery. But of all the rest there is not a single one for which the diary or despatches do not clearly point to Period III as the date of discovery. We can assume, then, that Atlas Taf.125 shows objects found

in the third period of excavation, that this is when 73-211 to 73-216 were found, and that 73-201 to 73-210 may have been found at the same time as well. This last conclusion can actually be confirmed, for 73-202, 203, 205 and 207-210 all have their discovery recorded in the daily entries of the diary, and those entries fall during Period III - namely on 7th and 8th March (Tgb 1873 pp.74-5). Thus of the sixteen objects whose illustrations fall between the writings of Periods II and III in the diary, seven can be firmly dated by later diary-entries, and another six are independently dated by the Atlas; and the dates agree. What must have happened is that, after the end of Period II, Schliemann left three blank pages in his diary, pp.71-73, before beginning his record of Period III. Objects found during the early days of Period III were drawn into the blank pages while the written account was continued a few pages further on. Confirmation of this comes from Page 73, which is still blank, and from Page 72 which was never completely filled.

Towards the end of the 1873 season the Atlas becomes particularly important as a source of excavation dates. Schliemann's ninth period of excavation lasted from 10th May to 24th May. His daily record may be found in pp.232-269 of the diary. But within these pages not a single object is illustrated. What objects did he find? Some are described in the rough copy of the despatch dated 31st May which sprawls through pp. 271-290 of the diary and was later used to form part of Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xxiii. And some are mentioned in daily entries of Period IX. Together these sources provide us with about thirty-two pieces which have a firm date of discovery in Period IX. In the Atlas they are illustrated in plates 171-176. But half of them are illustrated again in a batch of drawings on pages 291-298 of the diary, towards the end of Schliemann's tenth period of excavation. This raises the question how many more of these apparently Period X drawings, Nos.73-828 to 73-892, might be late illustrations of objects actually found in Period IX. When we trace this collection of late drawings to the Atlas we find that, like the known Period IX pieces, every one of them is also illustrated within plates 171-176. Indeed, if we examine plates 171-176, and disregard as possibly misleading the apparent Period X date of 73-828 to 73-892, we find that every piece with a firm date of excavation was found during Period IX. It thus becomes very plausible to suggest that not only 73-828 to 73-892 but all one hundred and nineteen pieces shown in Atlas Taf.171-176 are the objects found during Period IX.

Of course the issues are not always so clear-cut. But these examples will suffice to show the sorts of methods by which each object found in 1873 has been given a date of excavation. Detailed discussion of every case would have been most undesirable. But Table XI attempts to show the periods over which I believe each Atlas plate, from Taf.119 onwards, was compiled; and Table XII lists the resulting allocations of objects to their period of excavation.

Once the excavation-dates are established for the objects found in 1873, those objects may be allocated - either securely or plausibly - to the proper trenches by much the same means as were used for the 1872 finds. Once again, to have discussed in detail the allocation of every object found in 1872 and 1873, amounting to well over 3000 pieces, would have been most undesirable. The allocation of each object has in fact been decided individually, taking into account, I hope, all the relevant factors. But the results are displayed in a series of synoptic tables: Tables IV-X, XIII-XXII. These tables distinguish clearly between allocations which are secure and those which are merely plausible; and they attempt to give some indication, of a general sort, of the grounds on which the allocations have been made. We can assume, of course, that not all of the "plausible" allocations will in fact be correct. But from my knowledge of the material and of the methods I have used (but without, I am afraid, any sophisticated statistical analysis), I should rate their chances of correctness as being generally in the region of 70%.

This distinction between secure and plausible allocations - a distinction of obvious importance - is preserved in the trench reports in the following chapter. Within the catalogue of objects found in any given deposit, those whose attribution to the area in question is only plausible are marked with an asterisk. It should not be supposed, however, that the presence of an asterisk need always call into question an object's date of origin. For example, the objects found at a depth of 4m and listed under Deposit (2) of Area 4 of the North Platform would have to derive from Troy III whether or not they were really found on the North Platform. For given their depth and date of excavation the only alternative findspot for them would have been in the Northeast Trench, and there too the deposits from 4m seem to belong to Troy III (see Table XIII and Figs.IV.9,21). Objects such as these, which can claim a firm date of origin despite the uncertainty of their allocation, have their

asterisks contained within brackets, thus: (\*).

In the preceding pages I have tried to describe the methods I have used for deciding which object may have come from which area. I have done so at some length because the issue is a critical one, and the problems are complex. Now, however, I should like to turn to another question: the allocation of objects to strata.

The stratigraphy of a given area has sometimes to be reconstructed almost exclusively from the evidence of the objects found within it. While this procedure may be a hazardous one, in that the reconstruction can only be very rough and ready, it is at least quite simple provided, as is often the case, that the strata are likely to have accumulated in regular, horizontal bands one on top of another. The lines separating the strata can then be drawn round the objects. Matters can become more complicated, however, when the objects have to be fitted into a stratigraphy.

The problem lies in Schliemann's use of round numbers to measure depth. Whether he is noting changes in the character of deposits or the find-spots of objects, he quotes figures such as 5m, 6m, or 7m. Only rarely will he use intermediate figures such as  $5\frac{1}{2}$ m,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ m, or  $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. But if 5m is the depth at which a change of deposit is noted, should an object also said to have been found at 5m deep be assigned to the deposit above the 5m line, or to the one below it? It depends on the circumstances. Let us look at three examples.

In February 1873 Schliemann was digging Area 4 of the North Platform, in squares F 3-4, to form an upper terrace at c.7m deep (30.59m A.T.) and a lower terrace at 10m deep (c.27.50m A.T.). There is one object given a depth of 10m, and clearly this can only be assigned upwards into Deposit (4) since no greater depth was reached. Rather the same applies to the objects from 7m. As may be seen from Fig.IV.21, much less work was done below the depth of 7m than above it. This is reflected in the numbers of objects found at varying depths within the trench:

4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ m	:	21
5m	:	14
6m	:	30
7m	:	24
8m	:	8

9m : 8  
10m : 1

Clearly the objects from 7m must mostly have been found above the level of the 7m terrace floor. It is most unlikely that they all derive from that small portion of Deposit (3) which may have gone down to 7½m deep.

Higher in the same trench, however, there is a different situation. Schliemann says practically nothing of the strata at 0-4m deep, while he explicitly discusses those at 4-7m deep. He also refers to the good quality of the pottery which came from the latter depths. Should the nineteen objects from 4m deep be assigned upwards to Deposit (1), or downwards into Deposit (2)? Apart from the items from 4m, only nine objects are otherwise attributable to Deposit (1), whereas there are seventy-one others from the deposits at 4-7m deep. It looks as though the large number of objects from 4m deep reflects Schliemann's greater interest in, or the greater harvest from, the lower levels. I have therefore assigned them downwards to Deposit (2).

Yet another situation arises in the next area of the same trench: Area 5, excavated in the last days of February 1873. Once more Schliemann was digging to two depths: to c.7m on the upper terrace, and perhaps to 13m on the lower terrace. It is unlikely, however, that there was any digging between the depths of 7 and 10m. It is therefore curious that seven objects appear to come from a depth of 8m. The answer is not that they are wrongly allocated to this area, for one of them (73-181) has an allocation that is certain. Nor is it that the upper platform was dug deeper, for Atlas Taf.214 shows that it was not. Nor again is it that Schliemann could have been using a higher datum-point, for the contour-plan and Fig.IV.22 show that, if anything, the surface in this area of the mound lay lower than in Area 4. It must simply be that some irregularity crept into Schliemann's system of measurement. That irregularity creates a pressure, in this case, to allocate objects upwards. As there is virtually no information about the stratigraphy of the area, the divisions in Fig.IV.22 having simply been extrapolated from those in Fig.IV.21, there is no further control on the allocations. So the policy of "upward-allocation" has been pursued in this trench from 8m upwards.

The situation in each area - and often for each deposit - has, therefore,

to be judged on its own merits. Sometimes we must imagine Schliemann, as it were, "looking down" from the top of the trench. Having found the top of a newly-discovered deposit at, say, 7m deep, he would in such a case say that the objects found just below the top of that deposit had come from 7m deep. At other times we must imagine him "looking up" from the bottom of the trench and doing the reverse. I have not, I am afraid, set out the reasoning behind every decision that has been made in the following reports. I have, however, recorded the depth to which Schliemann assigns each object so that the reader can re-allocate the finds for himself should he consider it necessary. In cases where I have found myself completely without guidance I have assigned objects of doubtful stratification upwards. This follows the normal archaeological practice aimed at avoiding spurious early datings.

The problems are rather different in the two cases of the Northeast Trench and the southern sector of the North-South Trench. Here we are faced with the complicating factor of sloping deposits. In the Northeast Trench I have been unable to overcome this difficulty, and many objects remain un-allocated, even though the lie of the strata can be fairly well estimated. In the southern sector of the North-South Trench, however, we can do better. Here Schliemann's daily progress can be determined and the findspots of many of his objects can be plotted in on a skeletal section-drawing. From this, and other information, I have reconstructed a stratigraphy and have been able to propose allocations for over two hundred and fifty objects. The method is described in the report and need not be repeated here. It is a unique case.

One final point must be added. Throughout the Troy publications of Schliemann, Dörpfeld and Blegen there are variations in the way in which the divisions within Troy II-V are conceived. A number of revisions can be traced through the work of Schliemann and Dörpfeld. And it only takes a comparison of Blegen's sections of the pillars in E6 and F 4-5 with those of Dörpfeld (Troja und Ilion Taf.VIII) to see that Blegen, too, has numbered the strata differently. His Troy III includes the Troy III and IV of Dörpfeld; while Dörpfeld's Troy V is divided by Blegen into IV and V. Since Blegen's excavations provided a typology that, when necessary, I have used in the dating of artefacts, I have for the sake of consistency adopted his division of the strata also. The strata of Troy II, III, IV and V distinguished in the following reports can there-

fore he assumed to link up with the strata of Troy II, III, IV and V of Blegen.

In the catalogues, pottery has been classified according to the typological scheme devised by Blegen. The types for Troy I-V are illustrated in Figs.V.51-55. There are, however, many additional types, and the scheme has been extended to include these. The new types are illustrated in Figs.V.56-58 and are all numbered from 200 onwards so as to be distinguishable from Blegen's. Also used in these catalogues are Blegen's classificatory schemes for figurines and pins, and Schmidt's for spindle-whorls (see TI pp.204-224). None of these schemes is entirely satisfactory, but all have the advantage of being known and understood.

THE NORTHEAST TRENCH

On the east side of the mound lay the field bought by Frank Calvert in 1864 or 1865. Calvert himself had dug two trenches here in 1865 (see Fig.I.9) attracted, it seems, by the presence of a large rectangular depression in the mound-surface and by the numerous pieces of marble that lay scattered and exposed. He believed it to be the site of the Temple of Athena, and in this he was shown much later by Dörpfeld to be perfectly right. In 1872 Schliemann took over Calvert's identification, believing it to be confirmed by thick deposits of ash found on the North Platform. These he supposed to derive from temple sacrifices. In June, July and August 1872 and in February 1873 he therefore excavated a large area, encompassing Calvert's old trenches, which extended nearly 60m southwards from the north face of the mound and had an overall width of about 40m. The final state of the trench may be seen in Atlas Taf.214, 215, Ilios Plan I and in Fig.III.11 of the present work.

The excavation was conducted by means of a rather complicated system of terraces, of which an impression may be gained from Atlas Taf.113. Essentially there were two, wide terraces which ran East-West and which were dug southwards into the mound. The upper one lay at c.30.17m A.T., sloping up to c.30.59m A.T.; the lower one lay at c.24.67m A.T., sloping up to c.26.66m on its south side. Bisecting these was a long, narrow, North-South cut which was deeper and reached down to c.19.67m A.T. at its north end, but which stepped up to c.26m A.T. at its south end. In 1873 the areas East of the long cut were neglected, while the western terraces were pushed southwards and westwards to join up, in an arc, with a trench being driven eastwards from the North Platform. This left a curious pinnacle of soil unexcavated in squares FG3.

The structure of the mound in this Northeast Trench seems to have been determined by two overriding factors. One factor was the presence at a deep level of a northeastern sector of the Troy II citadel wall, running diagonally through the excavated area from Northwest to Southeast. Above this wall, and to the Southwest of it, subsequent occupation had laid down a series of more or less regular, horizontal deposits. Outside it, however, to the Northeast, all subsequent deposits sloped down to the North and East, following the drop of the wall's outer face. Later buildings were placed further Northeast to only a very small extent. This is accounted for by the nearness of the Troy II citadel wall to the steep, natural slope of the promontory on which Troy was built. A second

factor was that of later disturbance. Foundations of Troy IX structures - particularly of the Temple of Athena - cut deep into the underlying deposits, at some points perhaps even penetrating the topmost strata of Troy I. Much of the deposits from Troy IV and later may have been affected by this, for there is some evidence that within the Temple the disturbance went down to c.33.91m A.T. In addition the temple masonry had at some stage been robbed out, including most of the foundations; Calvert had dug his two trenches; and it seems that he had been followed by further robbing out of at least the Troy IX, and conceivably the Troy VI, retaining walls.

Calvert's trenches of 1865 had exposed what must have been a part of the enclosure wall of Troy IX, extending between Dörpfeld's Walls IX W and IX N. He found masons' marks on the stones. But, by the time that Schliemann dug here there was no more than a small segment to be found, at the west end of the upper terrace, just below the surface (Area ii, Deposit 4). But it was enough to indicate a thick wall built of large, hewn stones, preserved up to c.35.80m A.T.

Although Schliemann often spoke of the Northwest Trench as the "Temple Area", he was worried by the absence of any obvious structure here and never in these years convinced himself that the Temple of Athena had been found. It was only Dörpfeld who later recognized the robbed-out foundation trenches and their significance. But it is nevertheless clear that the foundation-trenches at the west end of the Temple were encountered by Schliemann, and recorded by him, even though they were not recognized. In two areas which cannot be specified exactly he found the same deep packing of sand, to a depth of c.28.59m A.T. (Area v, Deposit 2). And he several times comments on the mixture of thick deposits of black earth with marble chippings, which Dörpfeld found characteristic of the fill in the upper levels of the foundation trenches (Area iv, Deposit 1a; Area v, Deposit 1). Unlike Dörpfeld he also had the good fortune to find a few large, sandstone blocks still apparently in situ (Area iv, Deposit 1a). These he did suspect of being a part of the Temple foundations, and he may well have been right. Additional remains of the Temple - fragments of sculpted marble, architectural pieces and, of course, the famous Helios Metope - were found in the deposits which had accumulated down the north slope of the mound, together with other remains from Troy VIII-IX: inscriptions, figurines, lentoid weights and a terracotta plaque.

From Schliemann's records there emerges no indication that he found in this area any deposits of Troy VII. This corresponds with Sperling's later observations in the same area (Troy III p.158; figs.83,502).

A large part of the remains of Troy VI will have been removed to make way for the Temple of Athena when it was built. But outside the Temple, structures of Troy VI seem to have been preserved almost to the surface of the mound. This is certainly the case on the south side, in square H4, where Dörpfeld identified a Troy VI building, VI D, preserved up to 36.45m A.T. It is therefore quite likely that Wall 28 (Area iii, Deposit 5), found by Schliemann at the southernmost end of his central cutting a little too far South to be a part of the Temple, is an additional piece of VI D. It appears in Atlas Taf.214 as No.30, a 'Hellenic Wall', and consisted of two courses of large, hewn blocks of limestone.

The same was probably true to the North of the Temple, for in squares FG3 Blegen found a short section of Troy VI citadel wall preserved up to 36.32m A.T. (Troy III pp.108f,158; figs.84-86,447,501). In the Northeast Trench Schliemann did not find any of the masonry from this wall, which may have been removed either when IX W was built or by the peasants robbing the area after Calvert's excavations. But close to the probable line of Wall IX W in GH3 it seems very likely that Schliemann came across the undisturbed fill of the Troy VI footing-trench. Here he found tell-tale alternating strata of brown soil and marble chippings, as later found by the American excavators in other foundation-trenches of Troy VI (Area ii, Deposits 5-9).

No doubt some material dating from Troy VI was found on the north slope, as it was by Blegen. Some of the pottery found in Deposit (3) of Area ii seems to confirm this; but the evidence is not plentiful.

From the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Schliemann here dug through thick deposits and made plentiful finds, although they are not easily divisible between Troy II, III, IV and V. As was the case with the remains of Troy VI, those of Troy IV and V seem to have been seriously cut into either by the Temple of Athena or at an earlier date by the builders of Troy VI, for within it EB-MB material is not clearly attested above a depth of 6m (30.69m A.T.: see Area iii, Deposit 6). To the North of the Temple, however, we know from Blegen's investigation that Troy V deposits were

preserved up to 32.80m A.T. (Troy III pp.107,158). This corresponds with Schliemann's observation that mudbrick debris was to be found immediately below the Troy VI footing-trench (Area ii, Deposit 11). In both cases we are concerned with a point where ~~EP-MB~~ deposits had built up in horizontal succession over the old Troy II citadel. Presumably Troy IV-V material had also spilled down the north face of the mound, but it is difficult to distinguish from E.B. material and Schliemann did not separate the sloping strata in excavation (see Figs.IV.6,8).

Deposits dating to Troy II and III were found more or less intact except where the Temple foundations had penetrated into them. Schliemann records thick deposits of yellow and red ash, stones and burnt debris reaching up to c.33m A.T. and sloping down to North and East. Here it is not clear what belongs to III and what to II. But below these deposits he found what we now know to be a part of the citadel wall of Troy II. It may first have been noticed in 1865 by Frank Calvert, who in 1869 mentions a 'pavement' at a depth of 10-12 feet (Briefwechsel I p.144) - the correct depth for the top of the wall if he were measuring down from the interior of the depression within the Temple. But this is not certain. It is possible that Schliemann came upon the wall, called Wall 29 in the present work, in August 1872 (Area iii, Deposit 7) and inadvertently dug a 4m-wide hole through it; but it was first recognized when exposed by rain in September 1872, and was only excavated in 1873. Much of the battered north face was cleared in the western and central parts of the trench and is depicted in Atlas Taf.214 and 215. Schliemann describes it as a wall of white stones rising at 40° out of the trench floor and reaching to 8m below the surface (i.e. below the summit). The width of the wall was not determined at the top, although the upper, western terrace was cut in over its top. A measurement of its thickness was, however, taken at a deeper point, at the south end of the central cutting where the 4m breach had been made and where Schliemann could see the wall in section. There it appeared to have a thickness of ½-1m (Area iv, Deposit 7; Area v, Deposit 6).

Of a later date than Wall 29 is Dörpfeld's Wall BC (here called Wall 30), which Schliemann found resting against the north face of Wall 29 at c.23-26m A.T. He describes it as built of large and small hewn stones joined with mortar. It appears in Atlas Taf.214 as the "Outer Wall of Troy", and in Ilios p.24 No.2 where it is Wall B, the "Trojan" wall. It was cut

away to give access to Wall 29, as may be seen from the plan in TI Taf. III (see Area iii, Deposit 8; Ch.III, 13th July-4th August 1872).

Schliemann may just have penetrated into deposits of Troy I when digging behind Wall 29 at the south end of the central cut. Here he records finding deposits of green ash mixed with mussel shells but without stones (Area v, Deposit 7).

The work in the Northeast Trench may be divided into five "areas". These correspond to the areas which Schliemann tackled during the five relevant periods distinguished in Chapter III. The areas of work are represented in Figs.III.6-8,10-11, and are discussed individually in the following pages.

Excavation in this area took place during the period 12th-18th June 1872. The site of the trench can be seen in Atlas Taf.117 and Ilios Plan I. The floor of the trench lay at c.24.67m A.T., its outer edge thus lying close to the 25m contour in GH2. Its width was initially 12m, and at this stage the trench was probably designed to lie between and to join the two old trenches left by Frank Calvert's excavations (see Fig.I.9). Very soon, on the first or second day of work, an upper terrace was also cut, at c.30.17m A.T. By 18th June the two terraces had been widened so that the lower measured 31m from West to East, and the upper measured 34m. There is no evidence to show clearly how far Schliemann had advanced these terraces into the mound by 18th June. I have assumed that, as only six days' work was involved, progress was probably fairly modest.

Schliemann gives no information about the character of the soil in his excavations in GH 2-3, and it has been possible to do no more than to separate Deposit (1) as the deposit removed in the upper terrace and Deposit (2) as the deposit removed in the lower terrace. But in view of Troy III fig.502 it should be remembered that the division is an artificial one and that the deposits here probably sloped down from the top of the mound. The material is largely of Troy VIII-IX date, although there are also a few earlier objects as well. It seems likely that depths of only 1-5m were measured down from the top of the trench, while greater figures - certainly those of 14m - were calculated down from the summit of the mound.

Deposit (1). This is the material removed in the upper terrace.

OBJECTS FOUND

METALWORK

72-818 Socketed spearhead (2m). Fig.V.38.

WHORLS

GIA 72-859 (2m)  
RIA 72-886 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIIIA 72-932 (2m)

FIGURINES

72-885 Head from terracotta figurine of Kybele type with polos (5m).

WEIGHTS

- 72-820 Lentoid weight with two holes. Fig.V.47.  
72-887 Clay(?) lentoid weight with two holes (2m). Fig.V.47.  
72-819 Lentoid weight (2m).

INSCRIPTIONS

- 72-888 Fragmentary Greek inscription (1-2m). Atlas 34-843,  
TI p.468, No.4Or, SS 9668.

SCULPTURES

- 72-816 Marble piece depicting human figure (40cm). Fig.V.48.

ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT

- 72-817 Marble piece with foliate design, possible antefix  
(31cm). Fig.V.48.

Deposit (2). This is the material removed from the lower terrace of the  
trench.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- D33 72-935 Funnel (8cm). Atlas 66-1485? Fig.V.31.

METALWORK

- 72-860 Piece of lead, possibly a strigil (8m). Atlas 99-2112??  
Fig.V.38.

POLISHED STONE

- 72-938 Shaft-hole axe(?) (8m). Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- GIA 72-928 cf. Atlas 11-350.  
RIC 72-929  
RIA 72-930 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIC 72-931  
GIB 72-933  
RIC 72-934  
72-937 Terracotta disc with central hole (14m).

FIGURINE

- 3G 72-936 Marble figure-of-eight figurine (14m). Fig.V.45.

SCULPTURE

- Helios Metope (Tgb 1872 p.386). Atlas 30,31; TR  
plate III, Ilios p.623, SS 9582.

This area was excavated during 19th June-13th July 1872 and was at the time referred to by Schliemann as the "Temple Area". An upper terrace at c.30.17m A.T. was 34m wide and penetrated c.38m into the mound. A lower terrace at c.24.67m A.T. was 31m wide and penetrated c.25m into the mound. Schliemann had also begun a deeper cut through the middle of the area, reaching to a depth of c.19.67m A.T. This latter cut attained a width of 4m at its bottom, and of 8m where it cut through the floor of the upper terrace. Atlas Taf.117 and 214 show slopes at the sides of the terraces. In view of Schliemann's earlier practice (Tagebuch 1872 p.296; TA pp.46,68), we can probably assume that he aimed at an angle of 50° for these slopes.

Schliemann's own information about the stratification in this area is, when taken in isolation, incomplete and baffling. But fortunately it can be supplemented and illuminated by the reports of the other excavators. In 1937 the American excavators cleaned the western face of Schliemann's trench in GH 2-3. This revealed that the north slope of the mound had here been covered by sloping deposits of material which had trickled down its face during Troy VI and VIII-IX and which together had a thickness of over 6 metres (Troy III p.158; figs.83,502). Schliemann, when digging through these deposits, noticed that material from the latest settlements was occurring at a surprisingly great depth, but did not understand the cause. After several days' work on the upper terrace he still found a hellenistic figurine at a depth of 4m (Tagebuch 1872 p.415); and again, after several days' work on the lower terrace, at 9m deep, he was dismayed to find himself still in deposits of "the historical period" (Tagebuch 1872 p.427,430; TA p.141).

Further into the mound, although we have little information from Schliemann about the character of the deposits, we at least know from Blegen's findings that below the sloping strata were horizontal folds of material from Troy V and earlier. In G3, by the fortification-walls of Troy VI, these deposits were preserved up to c.32.80m A.T. (Troy III pp.107,158). Above the 32.80m A.T. level, the situation is much more confused. Schliemann evidently did not find his path barred by the enclosure wall of Troy IX (IXW), although he did find a part of it at the

left (=West) edge of the trench. But Calvert had found it in 1865 in his two trenches in GH 3-4, and had described it as the city wall "built by Lysimachus". The stones must have been removed by peasants once they were exposed. Similarly, Schliemann does not record any trace here of the fortification-walls of Early and Late Troy VI of which neighbouring evidence was found by Blegen (Troy III pp.107-9). They must originally have followed a course almost identical to that of IXW and may have been robbed out at the same time. Interestingly, however, there seems among Schliemann's records to be evidence for the footing-trench of the Late VI wall (Deposits 5-9) which must have remained partly undisturbed. Dörpfeld, in Troja und Ilion pp.217-8, has already explained why Schliemann failed to find the Temple of Athena in this trench: once again, all the masonry had been robbed out. From Dörpfeld's observations (TI pp.217-220) we can supply a part of the reconstructed section-drawing.

For this period it is, as usual, a delicate task to select from the diary those objects which may have been found in this area. When drawing the day's finds, Schliemann did not always clearly distinguish which objects came from which area. But within the drawings for any one day it is often possible to distinguish several groups, the introduction of a new group being marked by the drawing of a new set of spindle-whorls, to which Schliemann usually gave first attention. Sometimes the origin of a group is specifically noted; in other cases the depth at which the objects were found may help us to assign them to a particular area. The situation with trench GH 2-4 is made much easier by two factors. The first is Schliemann's repeated complaint throughout the period that he was still excavating in the debris of the "historical period". He was quite capable of recognizing prehistoric material when it arose (e.g. Tagebuch 1872 p.425), so this complaint must be taken seriously. It is indeed made perfectly plausible by the stratigraphy revealed by Blegen's work. Most objects in the diary for this period are in fact prehistoric and must therefore be assigned to other areas. The second factor is Schliemann's agreement with Frank Calvert to share the finds that were made on his land (TA p.99). It was probably because of this agreement that Schliemann explicitly noted in his diary that certain finds had come from the "Temple Area" or had been found "auf Frank Calvert's Feld". The following catalogue includes only those objects which can quite certainly be assigned to GH 2-4.

Deposit (1). Judging from the dimensions of the trench shown in Atlas Taf.117, Schliemann must have dug far enough South to encounter the line of the north wall of the Temple of Athena. His diary and letters give no record of the deposits at this point, but the information can be made good from Dörpfeld's report, which tells us that the masonry had been robbed out to the very last stone and that only the sand-filled footing-trench remained undisturbed. In Fig.IV.4, deposit (1a) therefore represents the modern fill of the robber trench, and deposit (1b) the undisturbed sand foundations of the original wall.

(TI pp.217-220)

Deposit (2). I have here reconstructed a second robber trench, which I assume to have been responsible for the removal of the fortification-walls of Early and Late Troy VI which were identified in adjacent areas by Blegen. Stratum (2) in Fig.IV.4 represents the fill of this presumed robber trench. It is, however, possible either that the walls were already destroyed in this area when the enclosure wall of Troy IX (IXW) was built; or that at the one point where Schliemann saw IXW, at the west end of the upper terrace, it was so closely built on the walls of Troy VI that Schliemann failed to distinguish them. It now makes little practical difference which of these alternatives was actually the case, as no finds are attributable to the deposit.

(Troy III pp.107-9)

Deposit (3). From Blegen's work in this part of the site we know that the north slope of the mound here was covered by 6m of sloping deposits dating from Troy VI and VIII-IX. These constitute deposit (3). They are not directly described by Schliemann, but are reflected in his complaints that he was still only digging in the "historical period" even on 9th July.

(Troy III p.158; figs.83,502; Tagebuch 1872 pp.428,430,441)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

D46(?)	72-1099	Animal head in terracotta. Fig.V.32.
	72-1148	Fluted sherd.
	72-1262	"Beaker" with "mouse-head" at one end ( <u>Tgb 1872</u> p.436) (9m). Fig.V.34. Intrusive from VIII-IX?
	-	Painted sherds with zigzag decoration ( <u>Tgb 1872</u> p.428)
	-	Sherd with red design ( <u>Tgb 1872</u> p.418)

#### METALWORK

- 72-942 Pin, type 2 (4m). Fig.V.39.  
72-1077 Pin, type 5. Fig.V.39.  
72-953 Piece of ribbed copper sheeting, 3cm x 5cm (4m).  
72-1100 Lead whorl ( $\frac{1}{2}$ m).

#### CHIPPED STONE

- 72-1263-5 Blades (9m).

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

- 72-941 Bone(?) awl (5m).  
72-1038 Fragment of bone(?) plaque decorated with two parallel lines and 14 circles or holes (3m). Fig.V.43.

#### WHORLS

- GIXD 72-939 (3m). Atlas 6-203, SS 5455.  
RIIC 72-940 (2m). cf. Atlas 5-139.  
RIIC 72-954 (5m). cf. Atlas 5-135.  
RIIC 72-1036 (3m).  
RIIA 72-1102 cf. Atlas 5-135.

#### WEIGHTS(?)

- 72-955, -1037 Spherical stone weights(?) or balls (3m,7m).  
72-1266 Lentoid clay weight with two holes and stamped design (2m). Atlas 18-530?

#### FIGURINES

- 72-996 Fragment of hellenistic terracotta figurine, perhaps a lion from the figure of an enthroned Kybele with lion on lap. Cf. Troy SM3 Nos.19-25 (3m).  
- Figurine of female figure with robe covering head and body, jewellery on chest and neck. Traces of red paint (Tgb 1872 p.415).

#### INSCRIPTIONS

- Fragments are recorded (Tgb 1872 p.428).

#### TERRACOTTA PLAQUE

- 72-995 Terracotta plaque representing swan's head(?) and various geometric ornaments ( $2\frac{1}{2}$ m). Fig.V.48.

#### ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT

- 72-1058-9 L-shaped corner-stone decorated with two circular designs, one of rosette style and the other of two central circles with an outer ring of bent rays. Each circular design is 34cm in diameter. (Tgb 1872 p.425) ( $\frac{1}{2}$ m). Atlas 155-3057; Fig.V.48.

#### HUMAN/ANIMAL REMAINS

- 72-1101 A tooth (7m).

Deposit (4). On the "left" side of the upper terrace (that is, apparently, on the west side where they were also visible to Dörpfeld and Blegen) very thick fortifications constructed of large, hewn stones came to light on 22nd June. Schliemann records that they were covered by scarcely 30cm of debris. This places their upper surface at c.35.80m A.T.

He did not, apparently, find any extension of the wall across the trench, but this may be because it had been robbed out by peasants after having first been exposed by Calvert in his trenches here in 1865. Schliemann, following Calvert, attributes the wall to the time of Lysimachus. We may probably identify it as an extension of IXW, our wall 12+, the enclosure wall of Troy IX, with which it seems to be aligned and with whose upper altitudes (36.47 and 36.20 in G3; 33.35 in J3) it is consistent. There is, however, no detailed information about the wall's dimensions to be gleaned from the diary.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.417; TI Taf.III; The Levant Herald 4th February 1873 p.90; The Athenaeum No.2454, 7th November 1874 p.610).

Deposits (5)-(9). These deposits, when taken together, provide a remarkable example of Schliemann's capacity for detailed stratigraphic observation and of its apparent confirmation by the later findings of Blegen. They are recorded in the entry for 22nd June, and must therefore be located in the region of the robbed-out wall IXW and therefore also of the robbed-out fortification-wall of Troy VI (Wall 13). Schliemann records that from the surface to a depth of 2½m there was a stratum of humus - deposit (5). Below this, at 2.50-2.80m, he found a thin stratum of marble chips 20-30cm thick - deposit (6). Below deposit (6), at c.2.80-3.50m deep, was a second stratum of humus and debris 70cm thick - deposit (7), followed at c.3.50-3.60m deep by a second stratum of limestone chips c.5-10cm thick - deposit (8). Below this there must have been a further deposit at c.3.60-4.00m, perhaps of humus again, but of this - deposit (9) - there is no direct information. At 4.00m deep, 30-40cm deeper than deposit (8), Schliemann found that he was among mudbrick debris - deposit (11).

At first sight this is a puzzling sequence, until we search Blegen's report for comparable examples. Similar alternations of strata of loose earth and stone chips were found at a number of points in the American excavations, and usually in the fill which accumulated against the foundations of buildings of Troy VI. The phenomenon is explained by suggesting that stonemasons trimmed the stone blocks of which the walls were built once they were placed in situ, repeating the operation from time to time as the walls grew higher. There seems, then, a strong likelihood that these strata derive from fill in a footing-trench

against one of the fortification-walls of Troy VI that we know to have lain in this area. The deposits will have remained undisturbed when the wall itself was robbed out, and offer a striking testimony to its original presence here.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.417; Troy II fig.318; III pp.149f,156,167f,245,247,249,326f,364 and figs.468,469,470,488,492,493,496,506,511).

Deposit (10). This deposit has been shown on Fig.IV.4 in order to make the reconstructed section theoretically complete. It is not directly attested. We know from the American excavations that the deposits of Troy V were preserved up to c.32.80m A.T. in this region. Deposit (10) therefore represents whatever deposits of Troy VI and later may have remained overlying the Troy V strata, undisturbed by foundations of Troy VI walls and the activities of later builders and robbers. Clearly, however, the whole area was badly disturbed, for Schliemann reports that on the upper terrace he found many stray marble blocks and bits of inscriptions which he took to derive from the temple.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.426,427,430; Troy III p.107)

Deposit (11). At 4m below the surface, i.e. at c.32.40m A.T., Schliemann came upon a stratum of mudbrick debris 5-10cm thick. Being mudbrick debris, this deposit is unlikely to have formed a part of the fill in the footing-trench for Wall 13; and its altitude is too low to permit an attribution to Troy VI. I am therefore inclined to see in it one of those horizontal strata of Troy V which reached up to at least c.32.80m in G3, and which Sperling found below the walls of Troy VI and the sloping strata of VI-IX. The top of the deposit which included this stratum of mudbrick debris is consequently taken to have lain at c.32.80m here also. There is no information of any kind to allow the subdivision of the other underlying strata, and deposit (11) is therefore the designation given to all strata underlying (3), (9) and (10) as far as the bottom of the trench. Schliemann says that at 6.10m deep (=c.30.30m A.T.) he found a thin stratum of sherds of unpainted, wheelmade pottery. This may confirm that in deposit (11) we are among the later Early <sup>or Middle</sup> Bronze Age strata.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.417,425; Troy III pp.107,158)

This area was excavated by Schliemann during the period 13th July-4th August 1872. The width of the trench, at the mound surface, was c.10m, and it extended southwards nearly as far as the line G4/5, roughly 4m South of the southern wall of the Temple. At its greatest depth the trench reached to c.20m A.T., but this depth was opened up only as far South as Wall BC. From Wall BC southwards excavation was continued to a depth of only c.26m A.T.

Deposits (1) and (2). Not noticed by Schliemann in 1872, but recorded by Dörpfeld, are the trenches where the north and south walls of the Temple of Athena were originally laid and from which the masonry had at some time been robbed out. The stone foundations originally descended to 31.61m A.T. The depression on the surface of the mound in GH 2-3 has been caused by the robbing out of all that remained of the temple.

(TI pp.217-223)

Deposits (3) and (4). These deposits, again not noticed by Schliemann, have been reconstructed here from the information given by Dörpfeld. They are the base of sand in the foundation trenches for the north and south walls of the Temple of Athena. According to Dörpfeld, the foundation-trenches were cut to a depth of 27.92m A.T.

(TI pp.217-223)

Deposit (5). In the diary, although not in Trojanische Alterthümer, Schliemann records that on the south side of the temple he found a wall, or the remains of a wall, consisting of two courses of large, hewn limestone blocks. This wall, which is here numbered Wall 28, seems to be the wall which appears marked '30' in Atlas Taf.214. It lies just to the North of the line G4/5, and may be a continuation of the building marked VID on TI Taf.III.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.461)

Deposit (6). In this deposit we must include all material excavated in the trench which cannot be identified as a distinct feature, such as a wall or a robber-trench. From Schliemann's own observation it is clear that the strata here sloped down to the North, as is to be expected from

the position of Dörpfeld's Troy II fortification wall (Wall 29) and the outlying strata of Troy VI-IX. This, combined with the lack of any evidence which might clarify the stages in which Schliemann tackled this area, has made it impossible to subdivide the deposits and to allocate individual objects to particular strata. The following catalogue has, however, listed the depth at which each object was found - for what the information is worth. Depths are measured down from a datum of c.36.50m A.T. Fig.IV.7 has gone beyond this information to sketch in, tentatively, the approximate lines which the deposits of individual periods may be expected to have followed.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- |        |          |  |
|--------|----------|--|
| A39    | *72-1704 | One-handled tankard with rounded base (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 48-1159? Fig.V.31.  |
| B11    | *72-1756 | Small, squat jug or sauceboat with flat base and rim drawn out to form mouth; handle from rim to body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 56-1294; Fig.V.31.  |
| B201   | *72-1703 | Piriform jar with flat base and straight neck with two perforations at the rim (10m). <u>Atlas</u> 9-1888? Fig.V.31.   |
| B219   | *72-1715 | Brown burnished lentoid flask with rounded base, tall narrow straight neck, and two large handles from shoulder to body (7m). <u>Atlas</u> 56-1310, <u>Ilios</u> No.1113, <u>SS</u> 430; Fig.V.31. |
| C27(?) | *72-1735 | Squat jar with flattened base, cylindrical body and narrower hole mouth. Two vertical lugs are set on opposing sides (10m). Fig.V.31.  |
| C28    | *72-1755 | Globular jar with narrow, straight neck and two vertical lugs on opposing sides of the body (10m). Fig.V.31.   |
| C35    | *72-1716 | Piriform jar with three short legs, short straight neck and two vertical lugs on opposing sides of the body (11m). <u>Atlas</u> 89-1848? (10m), <u>Ilios</u> No.280, <u>SS</u> 406; Fig.V.31.      |
| C209   | *72-1727 | Squat, globular jar with flat base and hole mouth. Two vertically perforated handles rise from body. Upper half decorated with (incised?) diagonal lines in three registers (7m). Fig.V.31.        |
| D1     | *72-1714 | Plain, cylindrical lid with flanged top and slightly flaring body (11m). Fig.V.31.   |
| D13    | 72-1702  | Face-lid (11m). Fig.V.31.  |
| D-     | *72-1393 | Sub-rectangular miniature box (9m). <u>Atlas</u> 79-1678; Fig. V.31.   |

##### POLISHED STONE

- |          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| *72-1717 | Millstone (?) . Fig.V.42. |
|----------|---------------------------|

##### CHIPPED STONE

- |          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| *72-1762 | Blade (5m). |
| *72-1706 | " (10m).    |

##### BONE ARTEFACT (?)

- |         |            |
|---------|------------|
| 72-1392 | Awl? (9m). |
|---------|------------|

## WHORLS

RIB \*72-1509 (3m)  
 RIIIA 72-1451 (4m)  
 RIIA \*72-1760 (5m)  
 RIIC \*72-1710 (6m)  
 RIC \*72-1718 (6m)  
 GIXD \*72-1743 (6m)  
 RIIIC \*72-1747 (6m) Atlas 4-123.  
 GIA \*72-1758 (6m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
 GIC \*72-1473 (7m)  
 RIA \*72-1474 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GVIIIC \*72-1708 (7m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 RIIIA \*72-1709 (7m) cf. Atlas 3-72.  
 RVIIbD \*72-1711 (7m) Atlas 3-83.  
 RIIA \*72-1712 (7m)  
 RVIB \*72-1713 (7m) cf. Atlas 6-171.  
 RIIIA \*72-1722 (7m)  
 GIII/X \*72-1725 (7m) Atlas 2-56, SS 5506.  
 RVIIDc \*72-1726 (7m)  
 GIA \*72-1728 (7m)  
 RVIB \*72-1729 (7m) cf. Atlas 10-315.  
 GID \*72-1742 (7m)  
 RIA \*72-1748 (7m)  
 GIA 72-1452 (8m)  
 RIVA 72-1454 (8m) cf. Atlas 3-86.  
 RIIIB \*72-1475 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-18.  
 GVII \*72-1721 (8m) Atlas 8-241.  
 RIB \*72-1724 (8m)  
 RVIIDc \*72-1733 (8m)  
 GX \*72-1734 (8m)  
 RIIA \*72-1759 (8m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIIA 72-1450 (9m)  
 RVIIC \*72-1478 (9m) cf. Atlas 6-173.  
 RIIA \*72-1480 (9m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIIA \*72-1510 (9m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 GIC \*72-1723 (10m) cf. Atlas 10-322.  
 GIC \*72-1731 (10m) cf. Atlas 10-328.  
 GIC \*72-1732 (10m)  
 GIC \*72-1737 (10m)  
 RIVA \*72-1738 (10m) cf. Atlas 3-86.  
 RVIIDc \*72-1741 (10m)  
 RVA \*72-1745 (10m)  
 RIA \*72-1746 (10m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 GIA \*72-1749 (10m)  
 GIA \*72-1753 (10m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
 GIC \*72-1761 (10m)  
 RVIIDc \*72-1705 (11m) cf. Atlas 4-115.  
 GIC \*72-1707 (11m)  
 GIC \*72-1730 (11m)  
 RIVA \*72-1740 (11m) cf. Atlas 3-86.  
 GIA \*72-1752 (11m)  
 GID \*72-1798 (11m)  
 RIB \*72-1750b (12m)  
 GVIIIC \*72-1751 (12m) Atlas 1-15.  
 RIVA \*72-1799 (12m) cf. Atlas 3-88.  
 RIIIA \*72-1792 (14m) Atlas 3-70, TR No.328, Ilios No.1828.  
 RIIA 72-1793 (16m)  
 RID 72-1794 (16m) Atlas 3-90, SS 4506.

RIIA 72-1795 (16m)  
GIC 72-1796 (16m) Atlas 4-131, SS 5144.  
RVIIBd 72-1797 (16m)

#### WEIGHTS

\*72-1481 (3m) Lentoid clay weight with two holes. Fig.V.47.  
72-1453 (4m) " " " " " " Fig.V.47.  
\*72-1482 (4m) " " " " " " Fig.V.47.

#### TERRACOTTA DISC (?)

\*72-1739 (11m) (Identification uncertain)

#### FIGURINES

3G \*72-1736 Figure-of-eight shaped figurine of marble (7m). Atlas 99-2140; Fig.V.45.  
3G \*72-1757 Figure-of-eight shaped figurine of marble, decorated at upper end with three small circles each containing a dot (10m). Atlas 21-587, TR No.26, Ilios No.220, SS 7363; Fig.V.45

#### INSCRIPTION

72-1601 Block measuring 1.57 x .80 x .80m, with two indentations on the top where the feet of a statue had been placed. (Tgb 1872 p.461; TA p.162f; Ilios p.637) (2m).

Deposit (7). A feature which may have been struck by Schliemann in this period, but which is not clearly recorded, is the fortification wall in GH 3-4 which Dörpfeld attributes to Troy II. Its top, as preserved, lay at c.30.91m A.T., according to TI Taf.III. There may be an obscure reference to the battered north face of this wall, here numbered Wall 29, in Schliemann's observation that a large quantity of stones lay beside the wall to be described under Deposit (8). Wall 29 came clearly to light only when Schliemann revisited the site in mid-September 1872.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.504; TA pp.157,181-3;  
Ilios p.24)

Deposit (8). Wall 30 was discovered at c.26m A.T., where it blocked the trench from West to East. It was found to be 2m wide, descending to c.23m A.T. It was built of both small and large hewn stones, joined with mortar. It can be positively identified as Dörpfeld's Wall BC, as has been stated in Chapter III.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.469f,481; TA pp.157f;  
Atlas Taf.214 "outer wall of Troy"; Ilios p.24 No.2: Wall B; TI pp.6,59,fig.13)

This area was excavated during the period 3rd-23rd February 1873, and is variously referred to by Schliemann as the "Temple" area and as "George's trench" - this latter because it was under the supervision of George Photidas. Schliemann's plan, on resuming work here at the beginning of the 1873 season, was to extend the terraces which he had already begun in the previous year. On this western side of the "Temple" area, they still lay as they had been left on 13th July 1872 (see Fig.IV.4), with the exception that the deep, central cut had later been extended (Figs.IV.5,6). The uppermost terrace, which was also the most southerly, was now extended southwards by c.9-10m and westwards to a total width of c.20m. The floor of this upper terrace lay at c.30.59m A.T. The second terrace was likewise extended c.9-10m to the South, but retained its initial width of c.13m. Its floor now lay at c.26.66m A.T.: it must have been dug with a slope upwards, for the original terrace in 1872 had lain at c.24.67m A.T., almost two metres deeper. What work was done in the deepest cut that ran through the centre of the 1872 terraces is not clear. Certainly there was some, for it is explicitly mentioned. Possibly the north face of Wall 30 had only been exposed over a very small area in 1872, and Schliemann now widened the trench to 5m. Depths were measured down from a datum of c.36.50m A.T.

For building up a view of the stratification here, I have extrapolated from the divisions shown in Fig.IV.7, making allowance for the fact that the Troy II fortification-wall, Wall 29, should here lie relatively further to the North (Troja und Ilion Taf.III). I have also taken into account Blegen's division of the strata in the neighbouring area of F 4-5 (Troy I fig.465). The results coincide well with the information given by Schliemann.

Deposit (1a). The dimensions of the trench imply that a large proportion of the upper terrace was taken up by the robber-trenches from the west and north walls of the Athena Temple. The trench from the Temple's south wall, too, must have been encountered. Schliemann did not recognize that this was what he was dealing with; but he does record repeatedly that on the upper terrace he was digging mainly through black earth mixed with chips of marble. These marble chips are perhaps to be equated with the

stone chippings mentioned by Dörpfeld as having been used to fill up the foundation-trenches after the Temple foundations had been laid. Much of this fill will have remained in the trench after the masonry was robbed out. On one occasion, the 7th February, Schliemann even noted a number of large, hewn sandstone blocks which he found lying one on top of another; and he speculated that they might be part of the Temple foundations. It seems quite possible that a few blocks might have been missed by those who robbed away the rest of the Temple. Certainly these blocks, if they were of sandstone, cannot have belonged to any part of the Temple superstructure which seems all to have been in marble.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.6,9,26; TA pp.186-7;  
TI pp.218-220, fig.85)

Deposit (1b). I have included this deposit with some hesitation. Dörpfeld described a packing of sand in the bottom three metres of the foundation-trenches of the Temple of Athena, and this is what would constitute Deposit (1b) - if it was actually present in this area. But there must be some doubt on the point. If the Temple foundations were uniform on all sides, the stratum of sand should have lain at c.31.61- c.27.92m A.T. But Dörpfeld's plan shows that in this area the underlying structures of Troy II were apparently undisturbed at c.30.59-30.91m A.T., which means that the Temple foundations cannot here have been dug to the same depth as elsewhere. It is possible, however, that a thinner layer of sand, a metre or less in thickness, may have overlain the Troy II remains; and it is also possible that there were pockets where it reached a greater depth - for instance, towards the southwest corner of the Temple. The deposit has been included on that account.

(TI p.218f, Taf.III)

Deposit (2). Schliemann says that mixed up with the black earth and marble chips he found many fragments of sculpted marble. Some of these he took to come from a Temple ceiling. In general he attributed them to the Doric order. He notes that practically no domestic objects were found. We may assume that these fragments derive from a disturbed, topmost deposit in the trench which, on the evidence of Deposit (3) in FGH 3-4(b), descended to approximately 33.91m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.6,9,26; TA pp.186-7)

Deposit (3). We may assume, by extrapolation from Fig.IV.7, that at the

north end of the area, in the deep cut, Schliemann would probably have encountered some deposits of Troy V sloping down to the North. These have been shown in Fig.IV.9 as deposit (3). There are no objects clearly attributable to them, but any which may derive from them have been included in the objects listed under deposits (5) and (6).

Deposit (4). The existence of this deposit, too, is inferred by extrapolation from Fig.IV.7, where it is dated to Troy IV. Schliemann would probably have encountered such a deposit in the deep, central cutting. It is conceivable that he may also have met it on the upper terrace, where it would have had a thickness of up to 2 metres; but the uppermost stratum within and around the Temple is likely to have been very disturbed, for Schliemann repeatedly records finding stones and sculptured marble blocks. Those finds which may be attributable to the deposit are also possibly attributable to deposits (5) and (6), under which they are listed.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.6,9,26; TA p.186)

Deposits (5) and (6). On all three terraces, and below deposits (1a) and (1b), Schliemann found a deposit of yellow and red ash which included some stones and burnt debris. Apart from Walls 29 and 30, to be mentioned in a moment, no other deposits are recorded from the lower two terraces. These ash deposits must be identical with the ashy strata described by Schliemann as overlying the "retaining-wall" (the Troy II fortification-wall, =Wall 29) and sloping down to North and East at an angle of 50-60°. This is in general agreement with the picture to be derived from Figs.IV.7,9, and, if we extrapolate from Fig.IV.7 and from Blegen's work in F 4-5, the deposits should date from Troy II and III in Blegen's terms. The few finds which can be assigned to them are entirely consistent with that dating, although those finds may equally belong to deposit (4) or even (in the case of 73-88 and 73-90) to deposit (3). Ashy deposits are a characteristic of the destruction layer of Troy II throughout the site. Schliemann notes that the sloping strata were no longer present to the West of the border of Frank Calvert's field - i.e. roughly to the West of the line F/G. This is explained by the fact that the strata sloped down because they lay over the outer face of the Troy II citadel wall. West of the line F/G Schliemann was excavating within the perimeter of that wall, in an area where the strata had built up horizontally over the Troy II citadel remains.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.6,9,12,20; TA pp.187,188)

OBJECTS FOUND

(Some of the following objects may derive from Deposits (3) and (4).)

POTTERY

- C30 73-37 Jar with out-turned rim, flat base and two tall, wing-like projections. Decorated with eyebrows, eyes, nose and ears in relief on the neck, and with two knobs on the body (15m). Atlas 119-2332, Ilios No.158, SS 1072, TI Beilage 33 No.V; Fig.V.27.
- C35 73-40 Red polished jar with out-turned rim and three feet; two (?) small perforated lugs on the body (15m). Atlas 119-2333, SS 1918; Fig.V.27.
- D209 73-38 Cylindrical pyxis with broadened base, two swellings and narrowed neck (15m). Atlas 119-2331, TR No.65, Ilios No.61; Fig.V.25.

METALWORK

- 73-43 Copper object of elongated ovoid shape; described by Schliemann as a "slingstone" (15m). Atlas 121-2382, Ilios No.609, SS 6901; Fig.V.37.

WHORLS

- GIA (\*)73-82 Depth 4m, therefore from deposit (5). Atlas 122-2412.
- RVIIBd 73-88 (12m). Atlas 122-2422.

FIGURINES

- 3B 73-90 Greenstone figurine; (11m). Atlas 122-2416; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (7). By 20th February Schliemann was complaining of finding only a large number of stones where he had previously been finding burnt debris. The same complaint is repeated on 24th, this time with specific reference to the second terrace. Judging from Troja und Ilion Taf.III, he should have come across parts of the Troy II fortification-wall (Wall 29) on the upper terrace and also on the second terrace, probably towards the end of this period of excavation. The body of stones may have been a part of, or derived from, that wall. They are here designated as deposit (7).

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.20,26)

Excavation in this area continued in 1873 from 24th February until it was abandoned on 1st March. The upper terrace, which lay at c.30.59m A.T., was extended a further 6 or 7m to the South. The second terrace, at c.26.66m A.T., was continued until Wall 29 was fully exposed. An additional area, also at c.26.66m A.T. and on that account also referred to as the second terrace, was dug for some small distance at the south end of the central cut. Here Wall 29 had inadvertently been demolished during the work towards the end of the 1872 season. In the deeper part of the central cut, too, there was some further work at c.21.74m A.T., in which Wall 30 was broken away and the foot of Wall 29 was exposed. Depths were measured down from a datum at c.36.50m A.T.

Schliemann says, in the notebook, that a "mass of whorls" was found in this area, but not much besides (Tagebuch 1873 pp.43,45,46). A few items are specifically assigned to this trench, but the material from the neighbouring deposits at the east end of the north platform seems to have been more plentiful (Tagebuch 1873 p.45). In Trojanische Alterthümer ch.xvi a number of objects are said to have come from the "Temple" area (pp.195-9). Normally one would take this to mean FGH 2-4; but in this case some items are known from the diary to have been found in the neighbouring trench (73-181,73-182,73-187). The list in Trojanische Alterthümer seems, in fact, to cover both areas; but most of its objects probably come from the more westerly trench.

Deposit (1). On 26th February Schliemann records that from (at least) 2m above the upper terrace he was digging in black earth mixed with marble chips. This deposit must clearly be equated with Deposit (1a) of FGH 3-4(a), which we have taken to be the remaining fill of the foundation-trench of the Temple of Athena. Fig.IV.10 shows that Schliemann would at this stage very probably have encountered the remains of this foundation-trench. The deposit is not mentioned again, and there are no finds which may be assigned to it.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.43)

Deposit (2). At two places "above" Wall 29 Schliemann found deposits of

sand. These he investigated and found to go at least 2m deep. This must mean 2m below the floor of the upper terrace. The deposit must be equated with the packing of sand found by Dörpfeld in the foundation trench of the Athena Temple. It is impossible to say where the sand was found exactly; perhaps the most likely places are the points at the south end of the second terrace to East and West of the top of Wall 29.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.57; TA p.195; TI p.218f)

Deposit (3). At 3m above Wall 29, i.e. at c.33.91m A.T., lay the bottom of a stratum containing a mass of stones. Particularly noted are pieces of marble and pieces of marble columns. Schliemann describes this layer as the debris of the Greek temple, so presumably it reached to the surface. There are no objects clearly attributable to it.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.58)

Deposits (4) and (5). These two deposits, like deposits (5) and (6) in FGH 3-4(a), cannot clearly be separated. At one point in the diary Schliemann notes that a stratum of stones overlay Wall 29 to a height of 1½m; elsewhere the figure is 2m. Red ash and red earth are frequently mentioned in this connection as well, and they too were found, with many stones, on the second terrace. Here they clearly belonged to strata which had been tipped down the outside of Wall 29. It is these tipped strata which must have contained the 'many red pots' noted at 7-10m deep. It is not clear whether the red ash and the stones belonged to one mixed deposit, or whether the red ash was stratified over the stones and should be counted separately as deposit (4). If they were mixed and both formed deposit (5) - as is perhaps more likely - then we have no information about the character of the overlying deposit (4). It is, however, possible to distribute some of the finds between the two strata by examining the depths at which they were found.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.40,41,43,45,57,58;  
TA p.195)

OBJECT FOUND IN DEPOSIT (4)

WHORL

GVB \*73-162 Atlas 126-2541, SS 5233.

OBJECTS FOUND IN DEPOSIT (5)

POLISHED STONE

73-179 Diorite celt. Atlas 126-2557; Fig.V.41.

WHORLS

RIIA \*73-163 Atlas 126-2542.  
 GIVB \*73-166 Atlas 126-2544; Fig.V.50.

OBJECTS FOUND IN DEPOSITS (4) OR (5)

POTTERY

C10 73-191 Tall ovoid jar with rounded base, slender neck slightly flaring towards the rim, and two vertical loop-handles on mid body (7m). Atlas 124-2473, (similar to Ilios No.1119); Fig.V.27.  
 D14 73-178 Lid, probably flat or slightly conical on top, with incised radial decoration of straight lines, wavy lines and rows of circles. The shape of the lower part of the lid is unknown. Atlas 126-2555, TR No.164; Fig.V.27.  
 - Many red pots at 7-10m (Tgb 1873 p.57).

POLISHED STONE

73-189 Diorite celt. Atlas 123-2470; Fig.V.42.  
 - Granite quern. Tgb 1873 p.46.

WHORLS

GVIIIA \*73-165 Atlas 126-2543.  
 RVIIIC \*73-176 Atlas 126-2554, TR No.455, SS 5031.

FIGURINE

3E 73-180 Large marble figurine. Atlas 126-2560, TR No.163, Ilios No.197, SS 7522; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (6). Wall 29, which constitutes deposit (6), was encountered in two parts of the trench. On the second terrace it was exposed behind deposits (4) and (5) which also overlay it on the upper terrace. Here it reached to "8m below the surface" - a calculation which must have been taken from the summit of the mound, for we know from Dörpfeld that the wall was preserved to c.30.91m A.T. Schliemann also records that at one point he had unintentionally broken through the wall over a width of 4m. Atlas Taf.214 shows that this must have been in the other area referred to as the "second terrace", at the south end of the central cut of 1872. It must have been in 1872 that the structure was removed, although a reference to "many stones", apparently in this area, on 28th February could indicate that a remnant was left for 1873. The absence of the wall from this part of the central cut may explain why Schliemann was unable to trace how high the wall went when investigating it from the "lower excavation". It was, presumably, examination of the wall in section here which showed it to be ½-1m thick. The foot of the wall was, however, exposed in the "lower excavation" itself. According to Blegen, bedrock here lay at 23.75m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.41,45,46,57; TA p.194-5; Atlas Taf.214; TI Taf.III; Troy I p.253)

Deposit (7). In the diary there are several rather puzzling references to a deposit of green ash, containing some mussel-shells but no stones. It is first noted on 27th February, when Schliemann says that on the second terrace there was red ash with many stones and then ("darauf") green ash with no stones. It is noted again on 28th February, once more as a deposit found on the second terrace, and this time is said to resemble virgin soil. On 1st March there is a note that in two places "above" Wall 29 - i.e. probably on the floor of the upper terrace - Schliemann found sand into which he dug holes without finding soil, but that "otherwise" the mound consisted of green ash mixed with mussel-shells. By the "mound" Schliemann here means the deposits enclosed by Wall 29. The green ash should therefore have lain behind the wall, to its South. This appears to be confirmed by a passage in Trojanische Alterthümer which says that green-coloured virgin soil was found after Wall 29 had been broken through over a width of 4m. The green deposit has, in view of this, to be placed at the south end of the "second terrace" in the central cut - behind where Wall 29 would have been had it not been broken away in 1872. It was cut away to a (horizontal?) depth of 1½m. Presumably it was located a few metres to the East of Blegen's Wall IW and South of Tower T.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.45,46,57; TA p.195)

Deposit (8). Schliemann gives no information about the material in the "lower excavation" which had to be cleared away in order to expose Wall 29. There was presumably a deposit lying between Wall 30, which had previously been exposed, and Wall 29, which had not yet been reached.

Deposit (9). This deposit, Wall 30, has been described already and need not be discussed again, except to note that a part of it was torn away to give access to Wall 29. The break can be seen in Dörpfeld's plan, TI Taf.III.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.41)

THE NORTH PLATFORM

The North Platform was excavated in April and May of 1872, and again in February, April and May of 1873. The area in question lay on the northern edge of the mound between the North-South trench begun in 1871 (Fig.III.2) and Calvert's trenches in GH 3-4. The mound surface here rose gently from c.37m A.T. to c.39.50m A.T. from East to West across the summit, but dropped steeply down to the North. The work of 1872 consisted largely in cutting a more or less horizontal platform into the north face of the mound; that of 1873 in excavating below the flatter mound surface that lay a little further South.

The progress of the North Platform can be seen in Figures III.3-5,10-11, 16-18. Atlas Taf.214 gives an indication of its state at the end of 1873. A view of the operation as it was in 1872 is given in Atlas Taf. 106; Taf.180,185 and 186 show the work done in 1873. The area covered is a roughly rectangular one 70m long and 30-40m wide. As elsewhere, Schliemann worked by means of a system of terraces which can be difficult to follow. On the northern edge he cut a horizontal platform at c.23.67m A.T. At the eastern end this probably sloped up to c.25m A.T., but was cut down to c.23.67 again in parts of the west end. In squares F 3-4 the trench was extended southeastwards in a tongue which met the upper platform of the Northeast Trench. This tongue was 10-13m wide, and in F4 was cut down to c.30.59m A.T. In F3, however, the lower depth of the North Platform as a whole was maintained, and the trench was excavated down to c.24.80m A.T. At the western end, in squares DE3, a 20m-wide terrace at c.30m A.T. was begun in 1872 (Fig.III.5) to adjoin the North-South trench of 1871. The continuance of this work southwards is described in the section of this work devoted to the North-South trench. Towards the end of the 1873 season the remaining central block, in squares DEF3, was cut away mostly to form an extension of the terrace at 30m A.T., but with some further work to extend the cutting at c.23.67m A.T. To avoid the possibility of sections collapsing, Schliemann dug the upper parts of his trench walls at an angle of 50°.

On this side of the mound there is no evidence of the gradual stepping down of strata that may be seen on the south side. The deposits of Troy III-VII, if not of VIII-IX as well, appear to continue out horizontally almost to the very edge of the mound. Here they are overlaid only by a thin layer of material washed down from Troy VIII-IX on the top of the mound. No fortification walls of Troy III-V survive on this north side.

Whatever there was has clearly been eroded or robbed away. But the proximity of the steep, north slope of the natural promontory here certainly makes it very unlikely that any substantial wall could have been built further out than the great fortification work of Troy II - Walls 14 and 15. Indeed, the Troy VI citadel wall was built a little further in at a higher level. The likelihood is, therefore, that any fortifications of III-V were built on the foundation of the earlier citadel wall of Troy II. All this superstructure has disappeared, leaving only the remnants of the Troy II wall below which the old, Troy I strata had straggled over the crest of the mound and down the north slope.

For the remains of Troy VIII-IX we have little detailed information in this area. At about 20m in from the north edge of the trench, that is in CDEF3, Schliemann found walls all along the south side of the trench, and especially at the east end (Area i, Deposit 2). These were built of shelly limestone, hewn, and bonded with mortar. They reached at all points to a depth of 2m below the surface - to c.37.67m A.T. at the west end, and to c.35.67m A.T. at the east end. Presumably they were preserved almost to the mound surface. These seem likely to have been structures from the Hellenistic or Roman period. Some may be related to Dörpfeld's Wall IXW, and a part of the reconstruction in Fig.IV.13 has assumed this. As to the others, we can only guess. It is a plausible speculation that Schliemann came across parts of a northern circuit wall linking up with Wall RM and Wall 78 in squares AB4, and determining the contours of CDE 2-3. A little further South a lentoid clay weight with stamped design is attested at a depth of 2m and suggests again a depth of 2m (or more) for these late deposits (Area ii, Deposit 2). Various pieces of marble sculpture came to light as well, but their depth is not recorded. No doubt they will have come from a layer close to the surface (Area iv, Deposit 1). At the edge of the mound a thin layer of material from VIII-IX had washed down the north face where it lay directly over a fortification structure of Troy II and other EB and MB deposits previously eroded or in part removed. This applied in the western and central sections of the North Platform. At the east end the accumulation of wash from VIII-IX was much thicker: 2-3 metres (Area 1, Deposit 1). This was because at this point the underlying Troy II circuit wall, and subsequent Early and Middle Bronze Age fortifications of Troy III-V, had all taken a southward turn in squares E 2-3 while the natural contours of the promontory did

not make the corresponding southward turn until squares FG 2-3. There was thus a more level area in squares EF 2-3 where the later wash of VIII-IX could accumulate to the North of the Troy II citadel wall.

There is some sparse evidence to suggest the presence of deposits of Troy VII. A jug, possibly of VIIa date, was found at a depth of 3m in CD 3-4 (Area vii, Deposit 2). And along the north edge of the trench, probably in the western and central sectors, there was a 2m-deep deposit overlying a wall which can almost certainly be dated to Troy VI. This deposit (Area i, Deposit 3) contained a large pithos - characteristic of Troy VIIa strata - and some small pots "of crude workmanship". These might well derive from VIIb2, or indeed from the handmade burnished ware of VIIb1. It is possible that here as elsewhere some of the structures of VI were re-used as foundations in VII, and this could apply to the citadel wall in this area.

Of Troy VI rather more was preserved. At 5-6m below the summit, but just below the surface on the north slope in CDE 3, Schliemann found 'defensive walls' built of large, well-hewn limestone blocks without any clay or cement. These appear to be aligned with the fragments of Troy VI circuit wall known from Blegen in squares FG 3 and A 4-5; also with those which seem to have left traces of a footing-trench in Schliemann's Northeast Trench, already discussed. The altitudes, c.33.67-34.67m A.T., are consistent with those recorded for the segment in FG 3 (Troy III pp.108f,158; figs. 84-6,447,501). The wall, in Area i Deposit 4, underlies what may be a deposit of Troy VII material, and certainly overlies deposits from the Early and Middle Bronze Age. It is likely to be the remains of a citadel wall of Troy VI.

Parallel to this citadel wall but further into the mound, and at the west end of the North Platform in square D4, Schliemann found another large wall - Wall 20 (Area vii, Deposit 5). Its top lay at c.36.67m A.T. and it was preserved to a height of 3 metres. It was 17½m long; and its position and orientation can be fixed fairly precisely by reference to the state of the excavations at the time of its discovery. It was built of well-dressed blocks of shelly limestone joined with clay, and it was 1.90m thick. The dimensions, the orientation, the style of construction and the stratification make it virtually certain that this derives from a building of Troy VI. The plan of the building cannot be reconstructed

with any certainty as the remaining walls are unrecorded. There is little other evidence from the North Platform for the presence of Troy VI material, except that in the eastern tongue of the North Platform a jar of possible Troy VI date was found at a depth of 2m apparently among otherwise M.B. deposits (Area v, Deposit 1a). As elsewhere on the site, there is a suggestion that the builders of Troy VI dug down into the underlying deposits of Troy V and maybe even into Troy IV.

Deposits of the Early and Middle Bronze Age are harder to differentiate. The major building works of Troy II are quite easy to identify and will be discussed shortly. But some of the overlying deposits of II-V are not easily distinguished one from another because of the homogeneity of the material. The task is simplified, however, if we recognize that all these deposits had here accumulated horizontally. For this we have the explicit evidence of Schliemann (Tagebuch 1873 p.12; TA p.189) as well as the observation by Sperling in the neighbouring area of FG 3 (Troy III p.158). The reason is that all these strata lay within the circuit of the old Troy II fortification-wall, and had built up steadily over the roughly level platform laid out for Troy II.

In fact a number of strata do eventually emerge from Schliemann's accounts of the North Platform. A clear break was noted at 30.00 to 30.50m A.T., marking the lower limit of Troy II, above which there were deposits of ash (Area iv, Deposit 2; Area vii, Deposit 7; Area viii, Deposit 3). A second break emerges at c.31.67-32m A.T. In Area ii, Deposit 7 this is detected on the basis of the objects, rather tentatively; certainly in the 'island' in F3 Blegen found that Troy II was preserved to at least 31.75m A.T., and probably higher. The hint of a change in strata at 7m deep in Area i (Tagebuch 1872 p.301) may reflect either a transition between subphases within Troy III or more probably the use of a different datum, but at 32.67m A.T. is unlikely to represent a change from III to IV. That break is clearly attested at c.33.50-33.67m A.T. In squares F 3-4 this marked the top of a thick deposit of yellow and grey ash (Area iv, Deposit 2). A similar horizon was seen in DE 3 (Area vi, Deposit 6). For the uppermost limit of Troy IV the figure of 34.50m A.T. at first suggests itself, this being the height to which a number of walls were preserved in Area viii (Deposit 4). But Blegen's investigations in the 'islands' in F 4-5 and E6 showed that Troy IV was normally preserved to at least 35.50m A.T., there being

in places up to half a metre of destruction-deposit over the wall-stubs of Troy IV (Troy II figs.261,285). This higher figure is indeed reflected in Area ix Deposit 2, where the house-walls reach up to c.35.50m A.T. In Areas ii, vi and possibly viii the M.B. deposits were preserved up to c.36.67m A.T. where they were cut into by foundations of Troy VI. These highest strata may derive from Troy V.

In squares DEF 3-4 in 1873 Schliemann exposed part of a complex of house-walls: Walls 60-68 and 84-88 (Area viii, Deposit 4; Area ix, Deposit 2). These he describes as "Trojan houses and later walls built upon them"; they appear to have gone down to c.30.50/30.90m A.T. and to have been preserved up to c.34.50-35.50m A.T. Wall 67 alone is an exception, belonging it seems to the east wall of Megaron IIA. The plan of these walls is given in Atlas Taf.214 and 215 and in Figs.IV.24,26 of the present work. It yields a fairly coherent layout if Walls 65 and 66 are disregarded.

To what date should these walls be assigned? Given the architectural evidence of Blegen's excavations in F 4-5 and E6, it is most unlikely that the walls were built and rebuilt in perfect alignment through four or five metres of deposit from Troy II to Troy IV, despite the height to which they appear to stand in the views given in Atlas Taf.185,186. The walls may to some degree have been 'created' by Schliemann in excavation. They do not accord with the other walls of Troy II shown by Dörpfeld in TI Taf.III, nor with the walls of Late Troy II (otherwise known as III) depicted by Burnouf in Ilios plan I. Blegen did, however, find some consistency of alignment between the walls of III and IV, so it is possible that Schliemann's walls may derive from both Troy III and Troy IV. A Troy V date is precluded by the altitudes to which they were preserved. The descent into deposits of Troy II may possibly have been caused by eagerness on Schliemann's part to trace the walls down to the 'Trojan' level at 30m A.T.; or alternatively by the presence of foundations sunk by the builders of Troy III.

The sequence of deposits in Troy I and II is greatly illuminated by Blegen's excavations in squares CD 2-3 and F3. These picked up almost exactly where Schliemann left off, and show that in D 3-4 he penetrated no deeper than Blegen's If (Troy I fig.422), and that in F3 he barely touched Blegen's IIa (*ibid.* p.251; fig.434). Schliemann's work, it is

true, extended some way North of Blegen's and sometimes reached a slightly lower altitude; but these factors are largely offset by the certainty that around this north side of the mound contemporary buildings were terraced down the slope during Troy I and Early Troy II (note the variation in floor-levels in e.g. Troy I pp.171,258).

The earliest feature found by Schliemann in this area was, indeed, most probably the retaining-wall to a terrace. This was Wall 70 (Area viii, Deposit 6) which appears to have been a continuation into square E3 of Blegen's Wall m. Like Blegen's wall it was essentially a southward-straggling packing of stones with a well-laid north-facing front. Blegen places it in Late Troy I. Among the deposits of Late Troy I which must be stratigraphically later than Wall 70, Area ii, Deposit 11 (Fig.IV.17) is of particular interest in containing what seems to be a sherd of Early Cycladic II black-on-buff ware: 72-235 (Fig.V.16).

Along the northern edge of the platform, in several places, Schliemann found what was clearly a continuation of the Late Troy I fortification noted by Dörpfeld in C 2-3 and by Blegen in D2 and F3: a sloping embankment of limestone blocks joined with (and, Blegen found, resting on) clay. This is Wall 14, (Area i, Deposit 7). It was not a wall in the normal sense of the word, though; rather, a casing of clay and stones laid over the face of the hill - a glacis. Presumably it led up to the base of a vertical wall. The date of this glacis is not certain because so little material was stratified over it. Blegen estimated that in C3 it probably overlay deposits of Late Troy I, and the evidence in F3 seemed consistent with this (Troy I pp.195,196). On the other hand in style of construction it is closely related to all the Troy I fortifications on the south side of the site, none of whose associated deposits contain any traces of the tell-tale lustre ware which is such a clear marker of the beginning of Troy II. Wall 14, then, should probably be dated to a late phase of Troy I (as by Blegen) rather than to an early phase of Troy II. There is nothing in Schliemann's accounts to suggest that it overlay any earlier structures of the same kind.

Immediately to the South of Wall 14, and apparently following the same course, Schliemann found a second stone wall, Wall 15, that rose perhaps four metres higher (Area i, Deposit 8). This again was certainly a

fortification-work; and in both its location and its relation to the underlying glacis it corresponds extremely well with the Troy II fortification-wall recorded by Dörpfeld (TI Taf.III) and Blegen (Troy I figs.209,211,212). Whether this wall was erected in Troy II or was built at the same time as Wall 14 seems an open question.

In square F3 Schliemann's findings from Late Troy I and Early Troy II coincide remarkably well with Blegen's. Some house walls of small stones and mud found at c.25.67m A.T. were probably the northern continuation, one step down, of Blegen's building of Ij (Area i, Deposit 10; cf. Troy I p.171). A green-stained drain found at c.26.67m A.T. (Area i, Deposit 10; Area iii, Deposit 7) recalls both the stone channel found by Blegen on the north side of his IIa building (Troy I p.251) and the green-stained passage adjoining the south side of his IIb building (Troy I p.258); the altitude of Schliemann's find, if correct, would better suit the IIb structure; but the nearby house built of large hewn and unhewn stones (Area iii, Deposit 7) agrees better with that of IIa. A disordered mass of small stones found over a twenty-metre width at c.26.67m A.T. is probably a continuation of the pavement underlying Blegen's walls of IIb (Area i, Deposit 11; cf. Troy I p.258; figs.279-281).

Pavements, particularly of white stones, seem to have been a feature of this side of the site during Early Troy II: others were found at the west end of the platform at c.25.17m, at c.26.67m and at an unstated depth in E3 (Area i, Deposit 10; Area ii, Deposit 10; Area ix, Deposit 5). It is conceivable that these were all contemporary and that the differences in altitude reflect the terracing of the north slope. A briefly-mentioned wall, Wall 16, which lay just South of Wall 15, may possibly have been a retaining-wall associated with the pavement at 25.17m found just to its South (Area i, Deposit 9).

Above these deposits of Early Troy II Schliemann found, in the western and central areas of the North Platform, a stratum which included many large blocks of stone. Its top lay at c.30m A.T. (Area ii, Deposit 8; Area vii, Deposit 9; Area viii, Deposit 5). The stratum is clearly visible in Blegen's section, Troy I fig.422, where it is labelled 'Strata of Troy II'. Blegen found no trace of this in F3, and Schliemann makes no specific mention of finding it there either. So the statement that it

extended across the entire width of the platform (TA p.83) may be a bit of Schliemann hyperbole. At its north edge, and reaching to the same altitude, was a 20m-wide wall of limestone blocks, Wall 17 (Area i, Deposit 12). This appears in Atlas Taf.214 (= TR Plan 2) as the demolished "Outer Wall of Troy". Its stratification over the deposits of Early Troy II and below others of Troy II secures its date. Most likely it and the stratum of stones represent levelling and terracing after the earliest phases of Troy II. Further East, in F3, the levelling is represented by the thick deposit of mudbrick debris overlying Blegen's IIB building (Troy I p.258). Wall 17 may well have stood contemporaneously with Wall 15, the circuit-wall some metres to the North. The space between them was filled with debris of Troy II which, Schliemann noted, had clearly been 'thrown down' from above (Area i, Deposit 10a): it may derive from the end of Troy II.

To a somewhat later date in Troy II, probably, belongs Wall 32 - apparently an additional crosswall to Megaron IIR in F3 (Area iv, Deposit 5), and a drain on its northern side (Area i, Deposit 5). Parts of the east wall of Megaron IIA can be identified (Area vii, Deposit 8; Area viii, Deposit 4); and so perhaps can the northeast corner of Megaron IIB (Area viii, Deposit 7). All these were overlaid by a two-metre thick deposit of ash and other debris, reaching up to c.32m A.T. (Area i, Deposit 5; Area ii, Deposit 7; Area iv, Deposit 3; Area vii, Deposit 7). In this Schliemann found samples of carbonised grain, slag (as he identified it), and Treasure 'R'.

Schliemann's work on the North Platform is divided for convenience into nine "areas". These correspond to the areas tackled by Schliemann in the nine relevant periods of work distinguished in Chapter III. They are represented in Figures III.3-5,10-11,16-18, and are discussed individually in the following pages.

This area, which represents the beginning of Schliemann's work on the north platform, was excavated during the period 1st-25th April 1872. The platform was cut in horizontally from the north slope, its base lying initially at 16m below the summit, i.e. at c.23.67m A.T., but rising by perhaps 2m as it progressed to the South. The trench was 70m wide and, in this period, its base penetrated 16m southwards into the mound. The southern edge of the trench will, however, have emerged onto the mound-surface some 8 or 9m further South, slightly beyond the 37.50m contour; for deposits lying higher than 5m (initially 2m, then 2½m, finally 5m) above the platform floor were cut away at an angle of 50°.

A number of major architectural features were encountered by Schliemann in this trench. We cannot locate them all with certainty. But in several cases there has proved to be close agreement between what can be deduced from the diaries, and certain features noted either in Atlas Taf. 214 or in the later reports of Dörpfeld and Blegen. The results are valuable in helping to clarify the confusion which has always existed over what fortifications were built on the north side of the mound.

In trying to define the other deposits I have been able to make only the broadest divisions, such as emerge relatively clearly from the diary. Further subdivisions could have been made in excavation and are hinted at by Schliemann. But in re-listing the objects he found, it would have been impractical to aim for greater precision: the information is not detailed enough. Even as things stand it is by no means always easy to assign an object to its correct deposit, for Schliemann had not yet adopted the habit of clearly specifying the depth at which each find was made. But an informed guess can usually be made. The context in the diary at the point where the object is described, and an estimate of the distance to which the trench had penetrated the mound - these sometimes have to suffice. At other times the depth or archaeological context of the find is specifically noted, and then there are fewer problems. First impressions gained from the diary have sometimes to be corrected by more detailed information in the published reports. At the same time a new source of information now becomes available, for it was in this season that Schliemann first began to make drawings of the objects he found. His

drawings are crude and small; the objects we should have liked to see drawn are often ignored in favour of tedious and repetitive documentation of the designs on the numerous spindle-whorls with which, for the moment, Schliemann was obsessed. Nonetheless, when the drawings are there they are usually clear enough to allow a rough identification at least.

During excavation Schliemann quoted the depths of his deposits and his finds sometimes as depths below the summit of the mound and sometimes as depths below a datum-point 2m lower. In fact, however, some of the lower measurements seem to have been arrived at by calculation upwards from the floor of the platform - which, of course, rose higher as it reached further South, but without Schliemann realising it. In the following description I have tried to compensate for these variations, and all figures have been adjusted to read as depths below the summit at c.39.67m A.T.

Deposit (1). A stratum of topsoil or "humus". At the western end of the trench this deposit formed only a very thin layer overlying Wall 14. Towards the eastern end, however, where Wall 14 was found further into the mound than in the West, it attained a thickness of 2-3m. We may assume that it also overlay Walls 15, 13 and 12<sup>+</sup>, as well as deposits (3), (5) and (10); but there is no direct evidence to substantiate this. It appears to include washed-down deposits from Troy IX.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.279; TA pp.48,61)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- Sherd from a vessel decorated with leaves and flowers.
- Unspecified vase.
- Roman lamp. (Tgb 1872 p.278)

Deposit (2). On 20th April, and therefore well towards the southern limit of the trench, walls were noted at all points along the south side of the trench, and especially at the east end. Schliemann records that they were found at all points to a depth of 2m below the surface, i.e. to c.37.67m A.T. at the west end, and to c.35.67m A.T. at the east end. They were built of large blocks of shelly limestone, hewn and bonded with mortar. Schliemann refers to them as Roman. For the sake of reference they are here noted as Walls 12<sup>+</sup>, but it seems possible that more than

one structure was involved. Some of the walls at the eastern end may have been related to Dörpfeld's IXW, and the reconstruction of the course of the walls at that end of the trench (Fig.IV.13) has been made with this in mind. Of the walls in the western and central parts there are no details. The reconstruction in Fig.IV.13 of an extension of the enclosure wall in squares AB 4 (walls RM, 78 etc.) is entirely speculative. But it has the merit of being consistent with the unexcavated contours of the mound in CDE 2-3.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.300)

Deposit (3). A 2m-deep stratum of debris overlay Wall 13, whose top was found at c.34.67m A.T., and reached to the surface of the mound. The upper surface of the deposit lies therefore at the 36.67m contour and southwards. But the position of this deposit and of Wall 13 along the southern edge of the trench is not clear. It seems likely, though, that they were found either in the central or western sections, for Schliemann's descriptions of the east end stress the almost exclusive predominance of deposit (5). The material may derive from Troy VII, overlying a wall of Troy VI as it does, and containing a pithos (characteristic of VIIa) and small crude pots (characteristic of VIIb).

(Tagebuch 1872 p.293)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- C39 - Pithos 1.60m high x 1m diam, found broken.  
- Small broken pot inside the pithos.  
- Several very small pots of crude workmanship.  
(Tgb 1872 p.293)

Deposit (4). The top of Wall 13 lay at 5m below the summit (= c.34.67m). Its position may be deduced partly from this fact and partly from the date of its discovery, 10th April; it is likely that it was unearthed only just below the surface. Schliemann says that it was built of large, well-hewn limestone blocks without clay or cement. He thought it was "probably the remains of a tower", which suggests that it must have been an imposing feature - possibly one which projected towards the North, although Schliemann tended to be over-hasty in identifying "towers". A reference ten days later to defensive walls which reached to a depth of 6m (i.e. to c.33.67m A.T.) may well be a further allusion to the same

feature. In this case he noted a construction of stone flags 1.00 x 0.50 x 0.20m, again without cement. There is perhaps an implication here that the defensive walls stood to some more considerable height, maybe being preserved to a greater height than was first noted for Wall 13. If so, there is no necessary contradiction. The more preserved parts may have been found further into the mound where the mound-surface lay higher. For reasons explained in the notes on deposit (3), it is perhaps most likely that Wall 13 was found in the central and western areas of the trench.

The wall can almost certainly be identified as the fortification wall of Late Troy VI. Dörpfeld and Blegen found a very short section of the wall in FG 3. Here on the south side its lower surface lay at 35.45m and its top at 36.32m A.T. On the north side, however, it was traced down to 34.08 with its top preserved only to 34.90m A.T. These figures and the description coincide closely with what is known of Wall 13. Wall 13 can also be very satisfactorily joined up in plan with the fragments of wall found by Schliemann and Blegen in A4, FG 3 and GH 3, so as to form part of a circuit. The underlying deposits (No.5) are clearly of E.B. III date. The overlying deposit (No.3) is of uncertain date, but may derive from Troy VII.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.293,300; Troy III pp. 108f,158, figs.84-86,447,501)

Deposit (5). A large stratum of "domestic refuse" and, over an area of 20m towards the eastern end, of ash, overlay Wall 17 and, it seems, deposit (10). Its lower limit can therefore be placed at c.30.67m, descending at some points to 28.67m A.T. Schliemann seems to have regarded 35.67m (=4m deep) as marking the top of the deposit, in which case it probably lay below Wall 12. Wall 13 may have cut into it: their relation is obscure. Some difference in the nature of the deposits and their contents may have been seen at c.32.67m (=7m deep), but we do not have enough detail to be specific. When the deposit was discovered on 18th April, it apparently reached to the top of the trench as it then was. Among the eastern parts of this deposit, at c.29.67m (or perhaps 31.67m), was found what Schliemann at first identified as a roughly-worked cornice but later as a drain.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.297,299,312,313)

## OBJECTS FOUND

Only in a few cases did Schliemann note precise depths of objects found in this deposit. The material has therefore to be treated as a whole and cannot be subdivided. Apart from one or two items which may be intrusive, it seems to derive entirely from Troy II-V. The pottery shows no features from Troy VI or later, so far as it is possible to judge.

### POTTERY

- |           |        |  |
|-----------|--------|--|
| A2        | -      | Many wheel-made plates at 9-10m deep ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.311, TA p.67</u> ).   |
| A5(?)     | -      | Tumbler-shaped cup ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.292</u> ).  |
| A45       | -      | Depas, many examples ( <u>Tgb 1872 pp.292,294</u> ).   |
| B3        | 72-95  | Fluted jug of brownish sandy clay, reddened in places, with incised branch-motif around the neck, <u>Atlas 87-1822 (10m), Ilios No.389, SS 2263; Fig.V.17</u> .  |
| B15       | 72-1   | Jug with flat base, cutaway spout and three rivets at base of neck ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.311</u> ). Fig.V.31.  |
| B18       | -      | Beakspouted jugs with long necks, protruding bodies, and sometimes two or three nipples on the body ( <u>TA p.67</u> ).  |
| B20       | -      | Beakspouted jugs, especially at 8-10m ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.307</u> ).   |
| C1        | -      | Jars with two nipples ( <u>Tgb 1872 pp.292,311</u> ).  |
| C26/27    | -      | Many small jars with pierced rims and vertically perforated lugs ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.292</u> ).  |
| C30       | -      | Many examples ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.307, TA p.65</u> ), including 72-94 (fragt.).  |
| C31(?)    | -      | Small jars with vertical, perforated lugs. Some are crudely made and only very small - 4cm high ( <u>Tgb 1872 pp.298,301</u> ).  |
| C34/35(?) | -      | Tripod vases with two handles, sometimes with vertically perforated lugs ( <u>Tgb 1872 pp.279,281,298,301</u> ).   |
| C39       | -      | Several pithoi were found standing upright ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.306</u> ). One was at 7m deep at the east end of the platform. Another measured over 1½m in height ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.293</u> ). One example, 72-2, found at 11m deep, was 2m high and 1m in diameter; it was decorated with a pattern of incised zigzags and impressed circles ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.315; TA p.63f</u> ); see Fig.V.16. |
| C203      | 72-115 | Small, two-handled jar (7m). <u>Atlas 100-2246(?)</u> ; Fig.V.25.  |
| C211      | 72-100 | Flat-bottomed, bulbous jar with narrow neck and two pointed lugs, horizontally perforated, at the neck; fabric reddish-brown, with greenish-brown slip. <u>Atlas 68-1511 (8m), Ilios No.242, SS 2143; Fig.V.18</u> .   |
| D13       | -      | Many face-lids ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.311</u> ).  |
| D34(?)    | -      | Objects described as small terracotta lamps; actually crucibles? ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.279</u> ).  |

### METALWORK

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
|      | - | Iron "key" with three teeth (intrusive?) ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.279</u> ), <u>Ilios No.1476?</u> ; Fig.V.38. |
|      | - | Small iron arrowhead (intrusive?) ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.296</u> ).  |
|      | - | Small lead plate ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.296</u> ).   |
|      | - | Two lead whorls, types 4,11 ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.311</u> ).  |
|      | - | Lump of metal, possibly silver ( <u>Tgb 1872 p.296</u> ).   |
|      | - | Many copper pins, one of type 2 ( <u>Tgb 1872 pp.293,296, 301</u> ).                                  |
| 72-3 |   | Copper blade, broken, with wide central flange; possibly  |

- from triangular dagger (Tgb 1872 p.311); Fig.V.37.
- 72-4 Curved copper or bronze knife-blade, with single hole in hilt (Tgb 1872 p.310); Atlas 90-1872? (10m), SS 6205; cf. TI fig.268c; Fig.V.35.
- Copper knife-blade, heavily gilded, found at c.31.67m (Tgb 1872 p.292); Atlas 26-703? (13m), TR No.86, Ilios No.120. Analysis on Ilios p.251; Fig.V.35.
- 72-97 Copper flat axe (Tgb 1872 p.311); Fig.V.37.
- Copper ring (Tgb 1872 p.279).
- 72-96 Bronze disc with two holes; Atlas 98-2037 (8m); Fig. V.38.

#### STONE MOULDS

- Several moulds for weapons and tools (Tgb 1872 p.293).
- 72-18a Micascist mould for pins et al., (8m) (Tgb 1872 p.296; but cf. TA p.62, Atlas 22-592, TR No.71, Ilios No.103, SS 6774 which give the depth as 14m. There is no apparent reason for the discrepancy. Fig.V.40.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- Obsidian blades (Tgb 1872 pp.296,301).
- Many flint blades, in brown and also white flint (Tgb 1872 pp.278,279,293,296,301).
- 72-93 Green agate knife-blade (Tgb 1872 p.311).
- Stone "spear-head" (Tgb 1872 p.311).

#### POLISHED STONE

- "Diorite" axes (Tgb 1872 pp.278,296).
- Small "diorite" hammer with hole (Tgb 1872 p.293).
- "Diorite" hammers and other unspecified "diorite" tools (Tgb 1872 pp.281,293,294,296).
- Diorite spit-rest with hole through, and groove cut into top (Tgb 1872 p.279), Ilios No.606?, SS 6799? Fig.V.42.
- 72-5 Granite "hammers" i.e. axe-heads (Tgb 1872 pp.300,301); Fig.V.42.
- Spherical mace-head (Tgb 1872 p.299).
- Whetstones(?) (Tgb 1872 pp.296,311).
- Many querns, sometimes of pumice (Tgb 1872 pp.279,281,293,296,300).

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

- Bone pins (Tgb 1872 pp.296,310; cf. TR No.98).
- Bone awl(?) (Tgb 1872 p.310).
- Sharpened roe-deer antlers (Tgb 1872 p.279).
- Sharpened boars' teeth (Tgb 1872 p.296).

#### COINS

- Several copper coins, including one of Sigeum. (All intrusive from deposit (1)?) (Tgb 1872 p.311).

#### WHORLS

- GIA 72-6 (7m) Atlas 13-422(?), TR No.342, Ilios No.1842.
- GID 72-7
- GIA 72-8
- RIA 72-9
- GVB 72-10 (8) Atlas 9-275, SS 5273 (2822); Fig.V.50.
- RIB 72-11 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.

RIB 72-12 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
GVI 72-13 (10m) Atlas 9-294, TR No.370, Ilios No.1870, SS 5295  
(2784).  
RIC 72-14 (5m) Atlas 12-401(?).  
RIIA 72-15 cf. Atlas 8-238.  
GIA 72-16 (10m) Atlas 10-340(?).  
RVA 72-18 (10m)  
GID 72-19 (9m) Atlas 10-338(?).  
RIIIB 72-21 cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
RID 72-22 (10m) Atlas 1-6(?); Fig.V.49.  
RIIIA 72-23 cf. Atlas 5-150(?), SS 4641.  
RIIA 72-24 (3m) Atlas 5-167(?).  
RIVB 72-25 (10m) Atlas 4-113(?), SS 4724.  
RVB 72-26 cf. Atlas 10-335.  
RIA 72-27 cf. Atlas 8-240.  
GIXD 72-28 (7m) Atlas 8-268.  
RVC 72-29 (6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>m) Atlas 9-283, SS 4755.  
RVIAb 72-30 cf. Atlas 10-335.  
GVI 72-31 (7m) Atlas 9-282, TR No.356, Ilios No.1856, SS 5294.  
RIB 72-32 (10m) Atlas 3-82, SS 4520 (2598).  
RIA 72-33 cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RID 72-34  
RIIB 72-35  
RIIB 72-36  
RIIIA 72-37 cf. Atlas 5-150, SS 4641.  
RIB 72-39 cf. Atlas 1-5.  
GIA 72-40  
RIIA 72-41  
RID 72-42 (8m) Atlas 11-351.  
RVIIBd 72-43 (7m) Atlas 13-418(?), TR No.344, Ilios No.1844, SS 4948.  
GVA 72-44  
GIVB 72-45  
GVA 72-46 (7m) Atlas 2-34, Tgb 72-68; TR No.381, Ilios No.1881,  
SS 5235.  
GVA 72-47  
GIB 72-48 cf. Atlas 11-352.  
RIIIB 72-49 cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
RIB 72-50 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
RIIA 72-51 cf. Atlas 5-135.  
GI 72-52 cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
RIB 72-53 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
GIA 72-54 (6m) Atlas 13-412(?).  
GIA 72-55  
RIIB 72-56 (7m) Atlas 7-209.  
RIIIA 72-57 (10m) Atlas 3-80(?), SS 4647.  
RIIIB 72-59 cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
RVIAb 72-60  
RIIA 72-61 cf. Atlas 5-135.  
RIIC 72-62 (8m) Atlas 11-349.  
GID 72-63 (9m) Atlas 12-410(?), TR No.391, Ilios No.1891.  
RVIAb 72-64  
GIB 72-65 cf. Atlas 10-322.  
RIC 72-66 (8m) Atlas 1-25.  
RIA 72-67 (6m) Atlas 8-248.  
GVA 72-68 (7m) Atlas 2-34(?), Tgb 72-46; TR No.381, Ilios No.  
1881, SS 5235.  
RIA 72-69  
RIVA 72-70 (6m) Atlas 3-86(?).

RVB	72-71	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 11-359(?), <u>SS</u> 4753.
GIII	72-72	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 2-42, <u>TR</u> No.410, <u>Ilios</u> No.1910, <u>SS</u> 5205.
GIA	72-73	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 10-325, <u>SS</u> 5080.
RIIB	72-74	
RIIB	72-75	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 2-43.
GID	72-76	
RIVA	72-77	
GIC	72-78	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 4-110.
RIIIC	72-79	
RIB	72-80	
RIA	72-81	
RIVA	72-82	
RIA	72-83	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
RIIA	72-84	
RIA	72-85	(6m) <u>Atlas</u> 7-220, <u>SS</u> 4505.
RIA	72-86	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RIVA	72-87	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 3-73.
RIIIA	72-88	(7m)
RIB	72-101	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-2.
RIA	72-102	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
GID	72-103	
RIA	72-104	
GIII	72-105	
RIIA	72-106	
GIII	72-117)	
GIII	72-118)	(10m) <u>Atlas</u> 2-44; Fig.V.50.
RIA	72-119	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-240.
RIA	72-120	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 8-246.
RVIA	72-121	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 3-73.
RIIIA	72-122	
RIB	72-123	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-2.
-		Terracotta discs with central hole and swastika design ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.279f, 297).
-		Stone disc with central hole ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.311).

#### TERRACOTTA BALLS

72-17	Incised terracotta ball (5m), <u>Atlas</u> 14-455(?); Fig.V.46.
72-107	" " " (8m), <u>Atlas</u> 15-461; Fig.V.46.

#### TERRACOTTA HOOK

-	One example found ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.279 cf. <u>TI</u> fig.371).
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#### LOOM-WEIGHTS

-	Many stone weights attested. One pyramidal example with two holes. ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 pp.278,281,299,311).
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#### FIGURINES

3G	Flat, marble figurine ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.299).
3H	72-99 Flat, marble figurine with incised eyebrows, two dots for eyes, and four lines across neck (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 99-2174b, <u>Ilios</u> No.1301; Fig.V.45.
3D(?)	Flat, marble, bottle-shaped figurines ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.279).
3D	72-89 Flat, bone, bottle-shaped figurines, described as spoons ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 pp.299,310) (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 99-2191g(?), <u>Ilios</u> No.223, <u>SS</u> 7603; Fig.V.45.
7(?)	- Small marble plaque with engraving of a woman ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.281) (intrusive?).

MISCELLANEOUS

- Large piece of terracotta decorated with (incised pattern of?) three "nails"
- Large piece of terracotta decorated with "symbolic signs" (Tgb 1872 p.279)

ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells, "sharks' vertebrae", antlers, boars' teeth (Tgb 1872 pp.292,293,298,299,301,311).

Deposit (6). This deposit was recognized only on 24th April, and was therefore scarcely excavated at all. It was a mass of burnt debris which Schliemann found to the South of Wall 17 in the centre of the platform at 16m from its north edge: in other words at the southern limit of excavation.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.314)

Deposit (7). At several places along the northern edge of the northern platform, and overlain by Deposit (1), Schliemann found remains of Wall 14. Its western extension, 20m long, came to light almost immediately the trench was opened. Its eastern parts were only discovered rather later, on 8th April. This probably implies that the eastern end of the wall lay further into the mound than the western end. Since Schliemann later referred to Wall 14 as the "Roman circuit wall", he seems to have had no doubt that one, continuous structure was involved.

The wall itself, although very irregular, was built of large blocks of shelly limestone joined with clay mortar. It rested against the underlying deposits at an angle of 60°. It was covered by only a thin layer of topsoil and so must have been preserved to a height of perhaps 26m A.T., and perhaps more at the eastern end of the trench. Its base must have lain at c.23.67m or lower.

There can be little doubt that Wall 14 is a part of what Blegen considered to be a defensive system on the north side of the mound related to Wall IZ on the south side. Dörpfeld found a broadly sloping wall below the fortifications of Troy II in squares C 2-3. When examined by Blegen it rose to at least 24.90m A.T., descending to 23.40m A.T. or lower. In the eastern half of square D2 Blegen found a steep slope formed by an embankment of yellow clay. On this rested an immense 'cascade' of unworked stones, large and irregularly shaped. Its bottom

lay at 19m A.T., and its top was preserved up to 24.25m A.T. - which must be where it was cut into by Schliemann's North Platform. The stratum overlying it contained pottery of Late Troy I or Early Troy II. Something similar was found in square F3, in the northeast corner. Here again there was a facing of unhewn stones laid on a widely sloping clay embankment. In this case the face could be followed down to 24.55m A.T., though it went deeper; and the top was preserved to 25.75m A.T., where it underlay an upper wall with a slight batter. The stone facing here was more or less aligned with some sloping masonry shown by Dörpfeld in squares GH 3-4.

Blegen took the entire embankment to be the substructure of a defensive work of Troy I, and realised that most of it had been removed by Schliemann. That Wall 14 and the northern fragments of "IZ" formed a stone-faced glacis encasing the entire northern face of the mound from c.19m A.T. to 25 and 26m A.T. seems very likely.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.279,292,303; TA pp.47f; TR p.100; TI fig.11, Taf.III; Troy I pp. 188,194-6, figs.57,209,211-213).

Deposit (8). Wall 15 is the second of the three retaining walls which Schliemann found one behind the other along the north side of the trench within the first 8-10m of excavation. It was discovered in the western and central parts of the trench behind Wall 14 but was not, apparently; found at the extreme east end. Possibly it originally made a southward turn in E3 or F2 as Wall 14 too must have done. It would then have entered the south face of the trench perhaps in F2; but Schliemann did not record such a course. In this area it may have been eroded away. The wall, where preserved, stood to a height of 5m above the platform, i.e. to c.29.67m A.T., with its base lying at c.24.67m or lower. It was built of rough-hewn blocks of shelly limestone, often irregularly shaped, joined with mortar. Wall 15 seems to agree in orientation and altitude with the probable course of the Troy II fortification walls. Dörpfeld's hypothetical line for these, in TI Taf.III, is 10m to the North of where I have placed Wall 15. But Dörpfeld may have been misled by ignorance of the original contours along the north side and by a desire to make his Troy II citadel roughly circular.

Tagebuch 1872 pp.293,296f,298)

Deposit (9). The third of the three retaining walls on the north edge of the trench was Wall 16. Schliemann gives no specific information about it other than that it existed. Like Wall 15, it was not definitely traced to the east end of the trench but was quite apparent in the central and western areas.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.293)

Deposit (10). Under this heading are subsumed all the deposits stratified below (1) and (5) but lying between and over Walls 14, 15, 16 and 17 to a height of 5m above the platform, i.e. to c.30.67m A.T. Schliemann's notebooks provide a certain amount of contradictory evidence about this deposit, but it seems possible to resolve the problems by recognizing that two, separate deposits are involved which he did not clearly distinguish.

The first, (10a), was found to the South of Walls 14 and 15 in the western and central parts of the platform, at 10-12m from the north edge of the trench. At the eastern end, however, where Walls 15, 16 and 17 were not preserved, it was found to extend over an area 25m wide to the edge of the trench, being bounded only by Wall 14. The soil here was soft, and Schliemann says repeatedly that it had all been "thrown down" from a greater height. Presumably he noticed striations sloping down to the North. It is probably fair to assume that this represents material pushed over the edge of Wall 17 in a levelling operation. Wall 17 appears likely to be of early Troy II date; and the dateable objects of Deposit (10) seem also to derive from Troy II.

The second deposit, (10b), is something rather different. In Area i this was found only at the east end of the trench, and at a later date than (10a) - so further to the South. It was stone-hard and ashy, with a clay-like appearance, containing bits of charcoal, bones, small shells and occasional pieces of brick. But a similar deposit was found in Area ii behind Wall 17 (see below: Area ii, Deposit 9). The probability is that it represents an earlier series of horizontal deposits, laid down in regular succession and cut into by Wall 17.

Several architectural features came to light within these deposits, but

none can be located precisely. Occasional walls were seen lying at right-angles to the retaining-walls and disappearing into the south face of the trench as it was at the time of excavation (19th April) - i.e. to the North of Wall 17. In the easternmost 25m of the trench, at 14½m from the platform's edge and at c.26.67m A.T. (or perhaps at c.28.67m A.T.) a channel of green sandstone 20cm wide x 18cm high was found. This was probably a drain. At c.25.67m (or perhaps 27.67m) in the same area Schliemann found small housewalls built of small stones joined with mud. At c.25.17m (or perhaps 27.17m), a notional depth of 14½m, in the western area, was a pavement of small, white pebbles.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.292,297,298,300,303, 310,312,370; Briefe p.119; TA pp.48, 61f,102f)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

The material found in this deposit probably derives mostly, if not entirely, from Troy II in Blegen's terms. Among the pottery, shape C34 is not attested later than Troy II in Blegen's excavations, although D33 there occurs no earlier than Troy III. Overlying Wall 17 as it does, this deposit points to a very early date for that wall.

#### POTTERY

B3	72-116	Jar with straight neck and flat base; Fig.V.16.
C34	72-114	Black polished jar with straight neck, three feet (restored), two lugs and four vertical ribs on each side (10m). <u>Atlas</u> 91-1887(?), <u>Ilios</u> No.268, <u>SS</u> 876; Fig.V.16.
C39	72-125	Dark red pithos 1½m tall x 1m diam (14m). <u>Atlas</u> 114-2325, <u>TR</u> No.72, <u>Ilios</u> No.156; Fig.V.16.
D33	-	Crude terracotta funnel ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.313).

#### METALWORK

-		Silver pin with fluted spherical head ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.300) (14m). <u>Atlas</u> 26-705, <u>TR</u> No.87, <u>Ilios</u> No.121, <u>SS</u> 6424; Fig.V.38.
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#### CHIPPED STONE

-		Many flint blades ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 pp.297,313).
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#### POLISHED STONE

-		Querns; stone balls ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.297; <u>TA</u> p.48).
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#### WHORLS

RIC	72-20	(12m) <u>Atlas</u> 7-218, <u>SS</u> 4547.
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GIB	72-38	(14m) <u>Atlas</u> 4-110(?)
RIIA	72-58	(11m) <u>Atlas</u> 4-114(?)
GID	72-108	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 11-362
GID	72-109	
RIIB	72-110	cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-17
GIA	72-111	
RIB	72-112	
GIC	72-113	(10m) <u>Atlas</u> 12-377

#### WEIGHTS

- Stone weights (Tgb 1872 pp.297,311).

#### FIGURINES

- Many small idols of fine marble, with and without "owl-face" and girdle (TA p.48).

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

- Mussel shells, sharks' vertebrae, wild boars' teeth, and other bones unidentified (Tgb 1872 pp.280,297, 301,310).

Deposit (11). A disordered mass of small stones was found over an area 20m wide at the eastern end of the trench. The deposit was first noticed on 19th April and must therefore have lain 10-12m into the mound. Its upper limit lay at 1m above the base of the platform, that is at c.26.67m. These stones are probably a northern continuation of the IIB pavement found by Blegen at c.26.75m A.T. It is also conceivable that material from the collapse of Wall 15 is included amongst them.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.299; Troy I p.258)

Deposit (12). Wall 17 is the designation which I have assigned to a mass of stones discovered by Schliemann on 22nd April. Unlike the stones of Walls 14 and 15 which could be found over a 45m-wide section of the trench, these were found over an area only 20m wide in the central part of the platform. They continued to be exposed until on 24th April Schliemann penetrated at one point behind them to Deposit (6). The stones were a formidable mass which reached to 5m above the platform, 9m below the summit - i.e. to c.30.67m A.T. The depth at which they were founded is unknown, but the wall either overlay or cut into pavements of Troy I or Early Troy II on its North and South sides (Area i, Deposit 10; Area ii, Deposit 10). The wall consisted of blocks of shelly limestone, more or less hewn, but with no lime or cement. Schliemann believed it to be the fortification wall of Troy II. Its dimensions and its position appear to coincide perfectly with

the wall shown in Atlas Taf.214 (=TR Plan 2) as the "Outer Wall of Troy" that had been demolished. Its stratification behind Deposit (10a), of Troy II date in Blegen's terms, will require for it a date in Troy I or Troy II.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.310,313; TA p.61f)

AREA ii: CDEF 3

Figs.III.4; IV.16,17.

This area was excavated during 1st-11th May 1872, when the southward thrust of the north platform was being continued. The width of the trench was 70m and by the end of the period it had advanced approximately 21m into the mound when measured at the floor of the trench. Because of the slope cut into the deposits which lay higher than 5m above the platform, the southern side of the trench must have emerged onto the mound-surface roughly 6m further South. Throughout most of the trench the floor remained at c.25.67m A.T. (notionally at 16m below the summit, but not actually so). But over a stretch 20m wide the floor of the trench was cut on a slope down to c.24.00m A.T. (notionally 18m below the summit). The area in which this deeper cutting was made is unlikely to have lain in the eastern part of the trench.

As in CDEF 2-3 Schliemann quotes depths according to two different systems, and both are vitiated by the unobserved rise in the level of the platform floor. In the following discussion I have tried to compensate for these variations by relating all measurements of depth to the summit and by using altitudes Above Tide (A.T.) where practicable; but only approximations are possible. In this as in all other matters there is woefully little information about what was found in this area.

Deposit (1). A stratum of "nice debris" and decomposed mudbrick was

found immediately Schliemann began to make the deeper cut into the 20m-wide area of the platform. It is contrasted with the hard debris overlying it and previously found in CDEF 2-3 Deposit (10). The point at which the slope of the cut began can be seen in Blegen's section (Troy I fig.423): it lies about 2m North of the line D2/3. Deposit (1) must therefore have underlain Deposit (10) of CDEF 2-3. Whether it also lay up against the foot of Wall 17 is unknown.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.325)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### BONE ARTEFACTS

Bone "curlers" (Tgb 1872 p.325).

Deposits (2)-(7). Under this heading are gathered all the deposits overlying Wall 17 and Deposit (8). Schliemann gives no information about the character of the soil here; but a number of objects are attributed to these layers, and these enable the outlines of a stratigraphy to be reconstructed. The stamped weight 72-228, found at 2½m deep, attests the presence of Troy VIII-IX deposits reaching down to c.37.67m A.T. These will have been associated with Walls 12<sup>+</sup>. There is no direct evidence for any deposits deriving from Troy VI or VII. If any survived, they will probably have lain at c.36.67 to 37.67m A.T., but may also, like the Troy VI citadel wall, have cut deeper into the deposits of Troy V. Troy V deposits appear to be preserved up to c.36.67m A.T., and Troy II to 31.67 or c.32m A.T. - 8 or 7½m below the surface. Divisions between the deposits of III, IV and V have been extrapolated from those found in the neighbouring areas of the North-South Trench and from Blegen's findings in squares F 4-5.

For some of the objects found here there are no depths stated. These are listed in the following catalogue. Most, if not all, appear to be of E.B. or M.B. date.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

A229	72-216	Deep conical tankard with flat bottom and narrow neck; two large handles from neck to body. Fig.V.31.
B17(?)	72-215	Jug with globular body and flattened base; slightly rising spout. Fig.V.31.

C39(?) \*72-298 Decorated fragment with incised(?) chevrons and impressed(?) circles. Fig.V.31.  
 C207 72-227 Flat-bottomed globular jar with very narrow, short, straight neck. Fig.V.31.  
 D7 72-141 Cylindrical lid with three surmounting bands and central knob. Fig.V.31.

METALWORK

- Many copper pins (Tgb 1872 p.323).

CHIPPED STONE

72-213 Blade  
 - Many other two-edged flint blades (Tgb 1872 p.325).

BONE ARTEFACTS

- Bone pins (Tgb 1872 p.323).

WHORLS

RIIA 72-127  
 GIA 72-128  
 RIIA 72-169  
 RVA 72-170  
 GVI 72-171  
 RIVA 72-172  
 RIIA 72-175 cf. Atlas 8-240  
 RIA 72-176 cf. Atlas 8-246  
 RIIA 72-177  
 GVI 72-178  
 RIA 72-179 cf. Atlas 8-246  
 RVIB (72-180  
 (72-181  
 RIIA 72-182 cf. Atlas 8-240  
 RIIA 72-186 cf. Atlas 8-238  
 RVIB 72-187  
 GIA \*72-201 cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 RVA 72-207  
 RIB 72-208 cf. Atlas 1-25  
 RIA 72-209 cf. Atlas 8-240  
 GIC 72-210  
 RIIA 72-211 cf. Atlas 8-236  
 RIIA 72-219  
 RVA 72-220  
 RIA 72-223 cf. Atlas 8-240  
 RIA 72-224 cf. Atlas 8-246  
 RIA \*72-300 cf. Atlas 8-240  
 GIA \*72-301 cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 RIA \*72-302 cf. Atlas 8-246

TERRACOTTA DISC

72-188 With two holes. Cf. Atlas 99-2152.

FIGURINE

3C 72-189a Bone figurine. Fig.V.45.

ANIMAL REMAINS

- "Shark bones" (Tgb 1872 p.323)

Deposit (2). This is the material which descended from the mound surface to c.37.67m A.T. and which was presumably associated with Walls 12<sup>+</sup>. There is just the one object.

OBJECT FOUND

WEIGHT

72-228 Clay weight with stamped design and two holes (2½m)  
Atlas 18-526, SS 8335ff.

Deposit (3). There may have been a deposit of Troy VI-VII material reaching down at some points to c.35.67m A.T., where it would have cut into underlying deposits of Troy V. If so, it may have been related to Wall 13, the fortification wall of Late Troy VI, or to one of its predecessors. No objects can be assigned to it.

Deposit (4). We may tentatively reconstruct a horizon of Troy V deposits lying at c.35.67-c.36.67m A.T., although there is no detailed information concerning them.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A33 72-197 Cup with flat bottom, spreading rim and high handle (4m). Atlas 39-943(?). Fig.V.30.  
C28 72-196 Round-bottomed jar with straight neck and two vertically pierced lugs. Decorated with three horizontally incised(?) lines around base of neck, and chevrons over two horizontal lines around the body (4m). Fig.V.30.  
D13 \*72-297 Face-lid of Troy V type (1m). Fig.V.30.

WHORLS

RIIB 72-131 (3½m) Atlas 11-368.  
RIVA 72-154 (3½m) Atlas 3-84, SS 4716.  
RIA 72-205 (3m) Atlas 12-386.  
RIIA 72-222 (4m) Atlas 5-163.  
GIXD \*72-303 (3m) Atlas 6-176, TR No.389, Ilios No.1889, SS 5439.

Deposit (5). A horizon of Troy IV material may, again, tentatively be reconstructed at c.33.67-35.67m A.T.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- B203 72-226 Globular jar with flaring neck; upper half of body decorated with incised(?) vertical lines and a dot between each line, all contained in one register between two horizontal lines (5m). Fig.V.29.
- D207 72-198 Yellow, cylindrical lid with three small horns on top, and two holes in the rim (6m). Atlas 49-1181, Ilios No.1031, SS 1476; Fig.V.29.

WHORLS

- GIA 72-184 (5m) Atlas 4-101(?).
- GVIIIA 72-168 (6m) Atlas 7-224, TR No.337, Ilios No.1837, SS 5370 (3028).
- RIIA 72-212 (6m) Atlas 8-262.

Deposit (6). Troy III material may be supposed to have lain at c.32-33.67m A.T.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A224 72-203 Black polished tripod cup with two large vertical handles. Body is globular with widened neck. Decorated with four incised horizontal lines (7m). Atlas 84-1762 (9m), TR No.53, Ilios No.326, SS 2334; Fig.V.24.
- B15 72-166 Jug with flat base and cutaway spout (7m). Fig.V.25.
- C35 72-229 Brown tripod jar with globular body and straight neck; lugs restored. Lower half of body decorated with incised chevrons and vertical rows of dots (7m). Atlas 56-1300, Ilios No.1029, SS 2340a; Fig.V.26.
- C203 72-214 Miniature jar with flat base, slightly splayed rim, and two perforated, vertical lugs (7m). Atlas 57-1315(?); Fig.V.25.
- D13 72-194 Face-lid (7½m). Fig.V.27.

POLISHED STONE

- 72-165 Red stone object, of phallic shape (7m). Atlas 64-1424(?). Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- RVIIBd \*72-200 (7m) Atlas 11-372, SS 4943.
- RIC 72-206 (7m) Atlas 8-236(?).

Deposit (7). The Troy II material may be reconstructed in a horizontal layer overlying the top of Wall 17 and reaching up to perhaps c.32m A.T.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A41 72-195 Biconical cup, handle restored (8m). Atlas 75-1626(?), SS 1872; Fig.V.22.

A39	72-138/9	Tankard with round body, flattish base, and tall straight neck (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 76-1637(?); Fig.V.22.
B8(?)	-	"Pilgrim flask" with five nipples, 12cm x 10cm (8m) ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.320).
B17	72-190	Jug with globular body and rising spout (10m). <u>Atlas</u> 87-1825? Fig.V.17.
C28	72-193	Brown globular jar with grey-brown slip and burnish; straight neck and two pairs of vertically perforated lugs, and two holes in the lip (9m). <u>Atlas</u> 79-1673(?), <u>SS</u> 565; Fig.V.18.
C34	72-137	Tripod jar with globular body, straight neck and two pierced lugs (8m); Fig.V.23.
C35	72-192	Black tripod jar with globular body, straight neck, two pierced lugs and perforations in the lip (8m). <u>Atlas</u> 67-1508; Fig.V.23.
C39	72-232	Pithos, similar in shape to <u>TI</u> fig.250, 1.10m x 0.68m (8m). Contained carbonised grain ( <u>Tgb</u> 1872 p.327); Fig.V.21.
D29	72-191	Flat-bottomed askos with slightly cutaway spout and five nipples (10m). Fig.V.18.

#### METALWORK

- A stratum of slag or molten metal, very fragile, is reported at 10m deep. It was several inches thick. (Tgb 1872 p.327).

#### WHORLS

RVIIDd	72-129	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 10-319; Fig.V.49.
GX	72-130	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 6-202, <u>SS</u> 5537.
RIIIB	72-150	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 7-231(?), <u>TR</u> No.336, <u>Ilios</u> No.1836.
GIVB	72-151	(10m) <u>Atlas</u> 10-333, <u>SS</u> 5193.
GIVB	72-157/8	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 5-166, <u>TR</u> No.334, <u>Ilios</u> No.1834, <u>SS</u> 5219.
GIXD	72-162	(10m) <u>Atlas</u> 11-344, <u>TR</u> No.387, <u>Ilios</u> No.1887, <u>SS</u> 5438.
GIA	72-167	(9m) <u>Atlas</u> 10-338(?).
RIB	72-174	(10m) <u>Atlas</u> 11-369(?).
RIB	72-183	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 1-8(?).
RIVA	72-185	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 1-29, <u>SS</u> 4714.
GIB	72-189	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 11-352(?).
RIIB	72-221	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 1-14.
GIB	72-304	(8m) <u>Atlas</u> 10-323(?).

#### TERRACOTTA BALL

- 72-202 One, incised (8m). Atlas 19-542? Fig.V.46.

#### SEAL

- 72-136 Conical clay stamp-seal with incised design, and hole in the top (8m). Atlas 19-556, TR No.78, Ilios No.492, SS 8858; Fig.V.46.

#### PLANT REMAINS

- Carbonised grain found in the pithos 72-232 (8m).

Deposit (8). To the South of Wall 17 lay a stratum of debris which extended across the entire 70m width of the North Platform, its top lying at 6m above the platform floor, i.e. at c.30m A.T., and at 10m below the

summit. Among this deposit Schliemann found many large, single blocks of stone. These seem to have been noted and more accurately described in the adjoining Area i of the North-South trench and in Troy I fig.422. In Figs.IV.16,17 they have been drawn in accordance with the information from these later sources as a separate stratum in their own right. They form Deposit (8).

(Tagebuch 1872 p.328; TA p.82f)

Deposit (9). This is the stratum of debris, as distinct from the stones of Deposit (8), which extended all the way across the North Platform to the South of Wall 17. Presumably, in the light of the stratigraphy in the North-South Trench, it lay below the stones at c.28m A.T. Its northerly limit, behind Wall 17, can be estimated from the fact that Schliemann only ceased removing the stones of the wall a few days before 11th May. The deposit was damp and hard, consisting of ashes, small shells and bones. Schliemann compares it closely with the strata found in CDEF 2-3 Deposit (10), the eastern part of which may indeed be a continuation of it.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.328; TA p.82f)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- |      |        |   |
|------|--------|---|
| B1   | 72-144 | Jug with flat base and straight neck (14m). See Fig. V.16.      |
| B20  | 72-147 | Fragment from black polished beakspout jug (13m). See Fig.V.16. |
| B201 | 72-143 | Small flask with tall, straight neck (14m). See Fig.V.16.       |
| D1   | 72-146 | Simple cylinder-lid with flat top (14m). See Fig.V.16.          |
|      | -      | Pedestal bases.   |

##### POLISHED STONE

- |  |        |   |
|--|--------|---|
|  | 72-142 | Two hammers, both from "16m" (14m). ( <u>Tgb 1872</u> pp.319, 321). Fig.V.41. |
|--|--------|---|

##### BONE ARTEFACTS

- |  |        |  |
|--|--------|--|
|  | 72-145 | Flat, trapezoidal plate of bone, decorated with incised circles and two holes (14m). <u>Atlas</u> 25-664, <u>Ilios</u> No.141, <u>SS</u> 7807. Fig.V.43. |
|--|--------|--|

##### WHORLS

- |       |        |  |
|-------|--------|--|
| GIA   | 72-148 |  |
| RIID  | 72-149 |  |
| RIA   | 72-152 |  |
| GID   | 72-153 |  |
| GIA   | 72-155 |  |
| RIIIB | 72-156 | cf. <u>Atlas</u> 1-21, <u>SS</u> 4669. |

RIIA 72-159  
 GIB 72-160 cf. Atlas 4-110  
 RVIAb 72-161  
 RIA 72-163  
 RIIB 72-164 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818

Deposit (10). At "15m" deep, apparently meaning c.26.67m A.T. rather than 24.67m A.T., lay what is described as a pavement of round, white pebbles.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.327)

Deposit (11). Because of his method of excavation Schliemann treated separately the strata which lay in the lower-cut part of his platform, at the west end, below the notional 16m level. It is clear that the general character of the soil here was little different from that of Deposit (9). But it underlay the pavement of white pebbles and Schliemann lists his finds from these bottom two metres of the trench separately; for these reasons the subdivision is reproduced here. There is no direct information about the relation of Deposit (11) to Wall 17 or to Deposit (1). The material appears to be of Troy I date.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.328; TA pp.83ff)

#### OBJECTS

##### POTTERY

Wares are brilliant black, and sometimes red or brown. Incised decoration is frequent. Quality of pottery is better than in higher levels.

- C39 72-233/4 Pithoi with incised decoration (Tgb 1872 p.327) (16m)  
 See Fig.V.16.  
 72-235 Fragment of black-on-white painted vase  
 (16m). Atlas 27-722, TR No.1, Ilios No.1433; Fig.V.16.  
 - Vase-fragment painted with black (Tgb 1872 p.324).  
 72-299 Rectangular fragment, incised and white-filled, with  
 holes for attachment of some kind. Appears to be a  
 part of Atlas 20-578a (16m), TR No.77, Ilios No.55,  
SS 248; Fig.V.48.

##### METALWORK

- Copper pins (Tgb 1872 p.327).

##### POLISHED STONE

- Hammers (Tgb 1872 p.327).

##### WHORLS

- Shape H \*Almost flat, no thicker than buttons. Of better workmanship than in higher levels.

WEIGHTS

- Are attested (Tgb 1872 p.327).

ANIMAL REMAINS

- Mussel shells, boars' teeth, other large teeth, unspecified bones. (Tgb 1872 pp.326,327,328).

AREA iii:F3

Figs.III,5; IV.18,19.

This area was excavated during 12th-22nd May 1872 under the direction of G. Photidas. Digging took place over an area of 20m x 3m, mostly down to the 30.00m A.T. level (=c.10m deep). The south face of the trench was cut away at an angle of 50° and so emerged on the mound-surface approximately 6m further South. In some parts which cannot be located the "terrace" was broken away and excavation was carried down to the floor of the north platform, i.e. to c.25.00m A.T. Little information is given about work in this area, probably because Schliemann himself was fully occupied in supervising work in CD 3-4 at the time.

Deposits (1)-(6). The existence of these deposits is not explicitly attested; but they are tentatively drawn in on Fig.IV.19 on the assumption that the stratification here was similar to that in Area ii (see Fig.IV.16) and in F 4-5. An exception to this must be the stratum of stones at c.28-30m A.T. on which Schliemann is now silent and which Blegen did not observe in his adjoining excavations in square F3. No finds are clearly attributable to F3.

Deposit (7). In the report of 25th April Schliemann had already noted a green-stained sandstone channel which he took to be a drain (TA p.61). It had lain at c.26.67m A.T. and was found in the easternmost section of trench CDEF 2-3 at 14½m from the edge of the north platform (see Deposit (10) of CDEF 2-3). The drain must have lain roughly North-South, for Schliemann was evidently able to follow it and to report on it again when

his excavations had progressed further South. On 17th May he reports that he had come to the house which it had served, and there found a stone threshold and the remains of a house of large hewn and unhewn stones. The drain and the wall or walls (Wall 22<sup>+</sup>) constitute Deposit (7). The walls and drain can be related to features found by Blegen in square F3. The drain is at the right altitude to have belonged with Blegen's IIb building, and must have lain to the North of the building. But Schliemann's observation of stone-built walls accords better with the underlying building of IIa than with the entirely mudbrick structure of IIb. He may have dug away some IIb walls without noticing.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.345,349; Troy I pp. 251f,258f; figs.277-281,434,435)

AREA iv: F 3-4(a)

Figs.III.10; IV.20,21.

This area, variously referred to by Schliemann as "the east end of the North Platform" and "the Captain's trench" (an allusion to G. Tsirogiannis, its supervisor), was excavated during 3rd-23rd February 1873. It adjoined the area FGH 314 in the Northeast Trench. The trench had a width of c.10m at the south end and c.13m at the north end. It was cut in two terraces. The floor of the upper terrace lay at c.30.59m A.T. This terrace, which was taken c.25m southwards during this period, was an extension of the terrace left in F3 in 1872 (see Fig.IV.19). The floor of the lower terrace lay at c.27.50m A.T., although it may have sloped upwards to the South. This terrace was perhaps advanced c.11m southwards. This was not an extension of any previous terrace, although it does find a parallel from 1872 in CD 4 where a terrace was cut at the other end of the North Platform, at c.27m A.T. (see Fig.IV.29). The idea of digging a terrace to adjoin the North Platform at this depth was not, therefore, a new one.

Unlike the strata in the adjoining area FGH 3-4, the strata in F 3-4 did not slope away to North or East but lay horizontally (Tagebuch 1873 p.12; TA p.189). This indicates that we are dealing with an area of habitation within the circuit described by the Troy II citadel walls. The deposits cannot easily be divided on the basis of Schliemann's information about the objects found at specified depths: there is a more or less homogeneous collection of Early and Middle Bronze Age material. Depths appear to be measured down from a datum of c.37.50m A.T.

Deposit (1). Schliemann makes specific mention of the strata at 4-7m deep (=c.33.50-c.30.50m A.T.), and in doing so implicitly makes a distinction between them and the overlying strata at 0-4m deep. These overlying strata, which cannot on the internal information from Area 4 be subdivided, constitute Deposit (1). Presumably they, like the underlying strata, are the subject of Schliemann's general remark that the debris on the "great platform" consisted of calcined rubbish. With the exception of the pieces of sculpture, the objects appear to be of EB-MB date. The depths suggest that they mostly derive from Troy IV. But there may have been an overlying deposit of Troy V, not detected by Schliemann.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.6,10)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- |      |        |  |
|------|--------|--|
| B202 | *73-96 | Flask with globular body, flattened base and tall cylindrical neck. (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 120-2356; Fig.V.28.  |
| C8   | 73-123 | Jar with flattened base and tall, cylindrical neck. Two pointed lugs on the shoulder, two pointed plastic knobs and a larger, flatter knob below them decorate the body. The <u>Atlas</u> notes four similar jugs from 1 and 2m (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 120-2367, <u>Ilios</u> No.1294, <u>SS</u> 1846; Fig.V.29. |
| D30  | 73-79  | Ring-shaped vessel with three feet, one spout, and handle connecting spout with opposite side of the ring (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 120-2352, <u>TR</u> No.160, <u>Ilios</u> No.1392, <u>SS</u> 3246, <u>TI</u> Fig.209; Fig.V.29.  |

##### POLISHED STONE

- |  |        |   |
|--|--------|---|
|  | *73-93 | Diorite celt (1m). <u>Atlas</u> 122-2433; Fig.V.42. |
|--|--------|---|

##### WHORLS

- |       |         |   |
|-------|---------|---|
| RVIAa | *73-12  | (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 121-2387; Fig.V.49.       |
| GX    | *73-36  | (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 121-2381.                 |
| GIII  | *73-78  | (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 122-2439.                 |
| GIA   | *73-86  | (2m) <u>Atlas</u> 122-2415, <u>SS</u> 5091. |
| GIC   | *73-114 | (3m) <u>Atlas</u> 122-2436.                 |

## SCULPTURES

Many sculptured marbles; Tagebuch 1873 p.4.

Deposit (2). Schliemann notes that from the strata at 4-7m deep (= c.33.50-30.50m A.T.) there came fragments of good quality pottery. This suggests that he felt able to distinguish some change in the deposits at c.33.50m A.T. Such a change appears to have been noticed in 1872 in the related strata in CD 3-4 (see Fig.IV.27) and has been assumed for F3 (see Fig.IV.19). At these depths (c.33.67-c.30.00m A.T.) in CD 3-4 Schliemann observed yellow and brown ash. Here in F 3-4 he records yellow and grey ash and calcined debris on the upper platform. There is no direct evidence for making a further division of the deposit at c.32.17m A.T., but such a division has been extrapolated from CD 3-4, so that Deposit (2) consists only of the strata between c.33.50m and c.32.17m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.10)

## OBJECTS FOUND

### POTTERY

- |        |           |   |
|--------|-----------|---|
| A12    | (*)73-4   | Shallow bowl with flat base and incurving rim (4m). Fig.V.24.   |
| A225   | (*)73-27  | Tankard with narrow, flat base, narrowed neck and flaring mouth. Two large loop-handles run from mouth to body (4½m). Fig.V.24.   |
| A225   | (*)73-51  | Tankard with globular body, flat base, flaring neck, and two large loop-handles (restored) from rim to body (4½m). <u>Atlas 119-2339</u> ; Fig.V.24.  |
| B20(?) | (*)73-46  | Jug with globular body and rounded base. Neck and mouth missing, but were joined by loop-handle to upper part of body (4m). <u>Atlas 119-2337</u> ; Fig.V.25.   |
| B24    | (*)73-108 | Neck, mouth and upper part of body of trefoil-mouthed jug. Stub of a handle from back of spout (4m). <u>Atlas 120-2359</u> ; Fig.V.25.  |
| B207   | (*)73-15  | Ovoid vessel with three short feet and short, simple (or broken?) neck. There may be a vertical handle or lug on the shoulder (4m). <u>Atlas 119-2327</u> ; Fig.V.26.   |
| C32    | (*)73-92  | Globular vessel on low pedestal-base, with hole-mouth or missing neck in top of vessel. Two V-shaped tab-handles are on the sides of the vessel and are vertically perforated (4m). <u>Atlas 120-2355</u> ; Fig.V.26. |
| D8     | (*)73-122 | Flaring cylindrical lid with flanged top, surmounted by two crossed loops and central knob (4m). <u>Atlas 120-2366</u> ; Fig.V.27.  |
| D24    | 73-105    | Ovoid vessel with rounded base, short-vertical neck, three tall legs, one or more lunate horizontal lugs on body, and heavy vertical loop-handle on upper   |

half of body (5m). Atlas 120-2362, TR No.161, Ilios No.1033, SS 2808; Fig.V.26.

#### METALWORK

- (\*) 73-126 Iron arrowhead with ribbed, quadrilateral head, stout haft, and ring at junction of haft and blade (4m). Atlas 119-2344, SS 6502; Fig.V.38. Intrusive.

#### POLISHED STONE

- (\*) 73-72 Broad, nearly square diorite celt blade (4m). Atlas 121-2412; Fig.V.42.

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

- 72-121 Incised bone plate. One edge is straight, the other two are curved and the general effect is roughly triangular. There are seven holes along the straight edge. The whole is covered with incised decoration (4m?). Atlas 122-2435, TR No.9, Ilios No.520, SS 7962. It is uncertain whether the original depth was 4m or 7m. A pencilled note on the object itself may have been unclear. Fig.V.43.

#### WHORLS

- GVI \* 73-11 (5m) Atlas 121-2377?  
RVIIDc \* 73-18 (5m)  
GIC \* 73-23 (5m)  
RIA \* 73-24 (5m) Atlas 121-2404, SS 4520.  
GVB (\*) 73-25 (4m) Atlas 121-2386, SS 5273.  
GVIIIC? (\*) 73-32 (4m) Atlas 121-2394.  
GVI (\*) 73-34 (4m) Atlas 121-2389, TR No.454, SS 5291.  
GIC \* 73-80 (5m) Atlas 122-2442, TR No.435, SS 5225.  
GIA (\*) 73-81 (4m) Atlas 122-2443.  
GVII \* 73-83 (5m) Atlas 122-2413, SS 5325.  
RVIIDc \* 73-84 (5m) Atlas 122-2414.  
RVIAb (\*) 73-85 (4m) Atlas 122-2427.  
RIIIA (\*) 73-87 (4m) Atlas 122-2417.  
RVIIBb (\*) 73-89 (4m) Atlas 122-2418; Fig.V.49.  
GVA \* 73-100 (5m) Atlas 122-2429, SS 5236.  
RVIIBb \* 73-103 (5m) Atlas 122-2423.  
GXII \* 73-117 (5m) Atlas 122-2430, SS 5606; Fig.V.50.  
GID (\*) 73-119 (4m) Atlas 122-2431.  
GX (\*) 73-120 (4m) Atlas 122-2440.  
RVIIE \* 73-131 (5m) Atlas 122-2449, SS 5043.  
RVIB \* 73-134 (5m) Atlas 122-2446, SS 4820; Fig.V.49.  
GIB \* 73-136 (5m) Atlas 122-2441.

#### FIGURINE

- (\*) 73-112 Terracotta figurine, or upper part of figurine, crudely cruciform. The front is incised with dots and horizontal lines, the back with vertical lines (4m). Atlas 122-2432, TR No.171, Ilios Nos.1403-4, SS 7632; Fig.V.45.

Deposit (3). This deposit consists of the remaining strata of ash between c.32.17m and c.30.00 or 30.50m A.T. - that is, to the depth of 7m

which Schliemann mentions. Blegen found that in the adjacent deposits in the "island" in F3 the remains of Troy II extended up to 31.75m A.T. and higher, there being a thick topmost stratum of red, burnt earth. The material from this deposit in F 3-4 is broadly consistent with such a dating, although it is not specific enough to require it.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.10; Troy I p.372)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- A217 \* 73-3 Tankard with rounded body, flat base, very flaring mouth, and large loop-handle from rim to body (7m). Fig.V.17.
- A222 (\*)73-41 Globular jar with flat base, low flaring neck, and two large loop-handles from rim to lower half of body, rising above level of the mouth (6m). Atlas 119-2334, Ilios No.1094? Fig.V.22.
- B3 \* 73-73 Small globular jug with rounded base, straight neck and horizontal mouth. A loop-handle (restored) runs from base of neck to middle of body (7m). Atlas 119-2347; Fig.V.17.
- B15 \* 73-52 Ovoid jug with flat base, tall straight neck cut away at the back. A handle (restored) runs from neck to middle of body (7m). Atlas 119-2340, SS 1785; Fig.V.18.
- B201 (\*)73-74 Flask with rounded base, slight carination around middle of body, chimney neck and horizontal mouth. One (or more) V-shaped lugs on the shoulder, and two perforations just below the mouth (6m). Atlas 119-2348.
- B208 (\*)73-13 Ovoid flask with flattened base, short straight neck developing into two pinched-out spouts on either side of the mouth (6m). See 73-16, below.
- B208 (\*)73-16 Ovoid flask very similar to 73-13; or possibly a duplicate drawing of the same flask (6m). Atlas 119-2328 (7m!); Fig.V.22.
- C28 (\*)73-42 Globular jar with flat base, short straight narrow neck, one or two crescent handles on the sides, and two pointed lugs (6m). Atlas 119-2336; Fig.V.22.
- C30 73-47 Neck of a face-jar. The neck has a slightly flaring rim, and is decorated with plastic ears, eyes, eyebrows and nose (7m). Atlas 119-2341; Fig.V.19.
- C35 (\*)73-48 Jar with three short feet, tapering neck and two pointed lugs set on the shoulder (6m). Atlas 119-2338; Fig.V.23.
- C222 (\*)73-14 Jar narrowing towards a flat base. Neck broken off. On one side of the body there is a double lump, the remains of either a lug or a handle (6m). See 73-17.
- C222 (\*)73-17 Globular jar with rounded base. The neck is broken off. A lump on one side of the body may be the remains of a lug or handle (6m). Atlas 119-2329 (7m!). Fig.V.22. May be the same as 73-14.
- D13 73-104 Slightly flaring cylindrical face lid with rounded top and plastic decoration of eyes, eyebrows and very short nose placed on and just below the edge of the rounded top (1m). Atlas 120-2358, SS 1852; Fig.V.21.
- D15 \* 73-29 Low, cone-shaped lid decorated with radial incisions and two holes near edge (7m). Atlas 121-2398; Fig.V.21.

- D31 73-124 One jar from a multiple vessel. Globular with two small pointed feet and one pointed and vertically-perforated lug on side of body. The low neck leads up to a mouth which appears to slant, but which may be broken (7m). Atlas 120-2368; Fig.V.19.
- D46 (\*) 73-111 Fragment of a grey "Snake's head" handle showing head, mouth, two eyes, two "horns" and ribs around neck. Probably intrusive from Troy VI (6m). Atlas 120-2363, TR No.170, Ilios No.1402, SS 3258; Fig.V.32.
- D212? (\*) 73-31 Shallow bowl with rounded base and nearly upright sides (6m). Fig.V.22.
- D212? (\*) 73-44 Shallow bowl with flat base and flaring sides (6m). Atlas 119-2335; Fig.V.22.
- D215 \* - Miniature globular jar with rounded base and hole mouth (7m). Atlas 119-2346; Fig.V.18.

#### TERRACOTTA MODEL

- 73-45 Brilliant red, theriomorphic pot, depicting a hippopotamus or similar creature. Four stubby legs, folds on the neck, short tail (7m). Atlas 119-2330, TR No.159, Ilios No.340, SS 1760; Fig.V.21.

#### METALWORK

- 73-55 Ovoid copper weight (7m). Fig.V.35.

#### POLISHED STONE WEIGHTS

- 73-2 Alabaster, ovoid (6m). Atlas 121-2383? Fig.V.41.
- 73-30 Elongated, biconical (6m?). Ilios No.610; Fig.V.41.
- 73-49 Elongated, biconical, green (7m). Atlas 121-2396, SS 6867; Fig.V.41.
- 73-50 Ovoid, diorite (7m). Atlas 121-2397; Fig.V.41.

#### WHORLS

- RVA (\*) 73-5 (6m) Atlas 121-2378.
- RVIIF (\*) 73-6 (6m) Atlas 121-2376, SS 5075.
- GIVB (\*) 73-7 (6m) Atlas 121-2379 (=73-21).
- GVB? \* 73-8 (7m) Atlas 121-2380.
- GVI (\*) 73-9 (6m) Atlas 121-2385, SS 5276.
- (\*) 73-10 (6m) " " "
- GIC (\*) 73-19 (6m) Atlas 121-2388.
- RVIIC (\*) 73-20 (6m) Atlas 121-2384, SS 4953.
- GIVB (\*) 73-21 (6m) Atlas 121-2379 (=73-7).
- RVIIAa (\*) 73-22 (6m)
- GVA (\*) 73-33 (6m) Atlas 121-2393, TR No.367, SS 5238.
- GVA (\*) 73-35 (6m) Atlas 121-2392, TR No.451, SS 5251.
- RVIIDc (\*) 73-56 (6m) Atlas 121-2400.
- GIVA (\*) 73-58 (6m) Atlas 121-2403, SS 5216.
- GIXD \* 73-60 (7m) Atlas 121-2402 (5m!)
- GVIIIA \* 73-66 (7m) Atlas 121-2407; Fig.V.50.
- RVIIBa \* 73-67 (7m) Atlas 121-2409, SS 4904; Fig.V.49.
- RVIIDc \* 73-69 (7m) Atlas 121-2406.
- RIIIB (\*) 73-91 (6m) Atlas 122-2421.
- GIVA (\*) 73-95 (6m) Atlas 122-2428.
- GVIIIB \* 73-99 (7m) Atlas 122-2420, 122-2425.
- GIXD \* 73-101 (7m) Atlas 122-2437.
- GIXD (\*) 73-113 (6m) Atlas 122-2434.
- RVIIDc \* 73-116 (7m) Atlas 122-2424.
- GIA (\*) 73-118 (6m) Atlas 122-2426.

RVIIE \* 73-132 (7m) Atlas 122-2450; SS 5051; Fig.V.49.  
 RIB \* - (7m) Atlas 121-2390.  
 RVIIDc \* - (7m) Atlas 121-2391.

TERRACOTTA BALL

\* 73-68 (7m) Atlas 121-2408; Fig.V.46.

FIGURINE

73-102 Crude terracotta figurine with two small, pointed arms. On the front, three incised circles and a V-shaped line; on the back, vertical incised wavy lines (7m). Atlas 122-2438, TR No.165, Ilios Nos.195-6, SS 7629; Fig.V.45.

Deposit (4). This deposit is defined as consisting of all the material found on the lower terrace, between the depths of c.30.50 and c.27.50m A.T., with the exception of the wall to be discussed under Deposit (5). There are no clear descriptions of this deposit, but Schliemann does at one point say that he came upon stone-hard debris. Elsewhere there is a reference to "the unburnt layers on the east side of the great platform". These layers are said to contain mussel shells, bones, "sharks' vertebrae" and querns of pumice. The unburnt character appears to distinguish these strata from the material on the upper terrace (although it is not to be expected that the deposits on the upper terrace were, in reality, all burnt); and the rest of the description roughly accords with the character of Deposit (9) in CDEF 3, found in 1872, below the 30m level.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.17,20)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A200 \*73-125 Simple bowl, hemispherical, with rounded base and plain rim (9m). Atlas 120-2369; see Fig.V.16.  
 A210 \*73-61 Shallow cup or dipper with rounded base and large loop-handle from rim to lower part of body (9m). Atlas 119-2342, SS 2731; see Fig.V.16.  
 B15 \*73-28 Jug with globular body, slightly flattened base, tall straight neck cut away at the rear. Loop-handle from rear of mouth to body (8m); see Fig.V.16.  
 B203 \*73-75 Flask with ovoid body, flat base and straight neck rising to slightly out-turned quatrefoil lip. Decorated with three pairs of incised (?) lines around middle of body and eight lines around neck (9m). Atlas 120-2349; see Fig.V.16.  
 C35 \* - Jar with globular body, three short feet, tall straight neck and two pointed lugs on the shoulder (8m). Atlas 120-2357; see Fig.V.16.

- C1 \*73-107 Rim sherd from storage jar, decorated with impressed circles and incised herringbone (8m). Atlas 120-2361; see Fig.V.16.
- D3 73-97 Slightly flaring flanged cylinder-lid surmounted by single loop-handle (8m). Atlas 120-2354, Ilios No.332, SS 466; see Fig.V.16.

#### METALWORK

- \*73-127 Silver pin with rolled head (8m). Atlas 120-2364; Fig. V.38.

#### POLISHED STONE

- \*73-53 Quadrangular greenstone flat axe (8m). Atlas 121-2395, Ilios No.675? Fig.V.41.
- \*73-71 Marble celt decorated with two horizontal lines and four dots across the upper, narrower end (9m). Atlas 121-2411; Fig.V.41.
- \*73-106 Broken ovoid carnelian bead (8m). Atlas 120-2353, SS 7759, TI Fig.387a; Fig.V.41.
- 73-115 Macehead (?) of black stone, having a central depression surrounded by five rounded lobes (9m). Atlas 122-2444, TR No.167, Ilios Nos.224-5, SS 9267; Fig.V.41.

#### WHORLS

- GID \*73-57 (9m) Atlas 121-2401.
- RVIAb \*73-59 (9m) Atlas 121-2399.
- RVA \*73-94 (8m) Atlas 122-2419.
- GII \*73-135 (9m) Atlas 122-2445, SS 5162; Fig.V.50.

#### FIGURINE

- \*73-70 Marble figurine incised with two dots and a vertical line, for eyes and nose (10m). Atlas 121-2410; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (5). On the lower terrace, at a distance of 25m from the edge of the mound, Schliemann found a wall of large stones at a depth of 9m. This wall, here called Wall 32, constitutes Deposit (5). According to Schliemann it was mostly in ruins and had only three courses in place. It stood to a maximum of 1m high, but there were loose stones at its foot ("below" it) which Schliemann took to derive from its collapse. The wall ran roughly East-West and is probably to be identified as the wall shown at the south end of the terrace in Atlas Taf.214. Despite his initial belief that the wall was a continuation of Wall 30, which lay in the "Temple" trench to the East, he actually found that it extended no further than the east side of the trench.

What structure this wall might have belonged to cannot be decided for certain. It must have lain c.5m North of the crosswall of Megaron IIR, a

location which coincides with Blegen's observation of the point at which Schliemann's southward excavation of the strata below IIR came to an end. The traces of Schliemann's trench can be seen in the gap cut through the middle of the building of Blegen's Troy "Iib" (Troy I figs.432,435). But to which phase, in Blegen's terms, might the wall belong? The building of "IIa" was stratified too deep and was undisturbed by Schliemann (Troy I fig.276). If it was the top of Wall 32 that was found at 9m deep (=c.28.50m A.T.) the wall could have belonged among the Troy "Iib" structure whose south room was paved at c.27.25m A.T. But the walls of the "Iib" building apparently contained few, if any, stones, and it is difficult therefore to fit this stone wall into the plan. The remaining possibility is that it was the foot of Wall 32 that lay at c.28.50m A.T., and that its top was preserved to no higher than c.29.50m A.T. In this case it might have formed an additional crosswall to Megaron IIR, for which there are other benchmarks of 29.46 and 29.24m A.T. (TI Taf.III), and whose other walls were found by Blegen to stand to an average of 60cm high (Troy I p.265). This is an attractive possibility, for Dörpfeld records that the walls of IIR were built of particularly large stones - a characteristic noted by Schliemann for Wall 32. I have therefore tentatively supposed that this is the building to which Wall 32 should be assigned, and that it must have been its foot which was found at c.28.50m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.24,26; TA p.188; Atlas Taf.214; TI p.96; Troy I pp.251,258,265 and figs.276,432,435)

AREA v: F 3-4(b)

Figs.III.11; IV.22.

This area was excavated from 24th February to 1st March 1873, when work here was abandoned. The upper terrace already discussed under F 3-4(a) was extended some 6 or 7m towards the South, at c.30.59m A.T. The lower terrace was probably not taken further South but was cut deeper, possibly

to as much as 24.80m A.T.

Schliemann gives broad information about the deposits on both upper and lower terraces, but nothing which would enable them to be subdivided. The subdivisions shown in Fig.IV.22 are therefore hypothetical and are merely extrapolated in the same way as those shown for F 3-4(a). Within these subdivisions, therefore, the objects are listed by depth in the following catalogues.

Deposits (1), (2) and (3). These deposits, all on the upper terrace, consisted "mostly" of numerous horizontal strata of domestic refuse, much of it burnt.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.40,45)

Deposit (1a). Objects which would be attributable to such a presumed deposit are listed below. There is one item which may derive from Troy VI (73-148); otherwise they all appear to be of E.B. or M.B. date.

	<u>1-2m</u>	POTTERY
B3	*73-150	Globular jug with flattened base, horizontal rim and handle from neck to body (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 123-2456; Fig.V.30.
B204	*73-149	Globular flask with small, flat base. Neck restored. Two very large, flaring tubular lugs placed vertically on the shoulders, each with a plastic ring encircling the narrow part of the lug (1½m). <u>Atlas</u> 123-2457, <u>Ilios</u> No.299 (restored, and attributed to 26 ft. deep), <u>SS</u> 1503; Fig.V.30.
C30(?)	* -	Terracotta vase with breasts, navel and arms but no face (1-2m). <u>TA</u> p.198.
C64	*73-148	Ovoid jar with flat base, short straight neck and slightly flaring rim. Two horizontal loop handles on the body and one (or two) squared, rising lugs or short wings in between (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 123-2455, (Troy VI). Fig.V.32.

		POLISHED STONE
	*73-144	Toggle or reel (?) of black stone (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 120-2375; Fig.V.47.

	<u>2-3m</u>	WHORLS
RIC	*73-167	(3m) <u>Atlas</u> 126-2545
RIC	*73-170	(3m) <u>Atlas</u> 126-2551

		FIGURINES
3G	*73-138	Marble figurine (3m). <u>Atlas</u> 120-2370; Fig.V.45.

Deposit (1b)

- POTTERY
- 3-4m
- A8 \*73-159 Small hemispherical bowl with low, pedestal base (4m). Atlas 123-2458, SS 290; Fig.V.28.
- B3 \*73-146 Jug with flat base, tall neck and horizontal mouth. Handle from neck to body (4m). Atlas 123-2452; Fig.V.28.
- B24 \*73-158 Jug with flat base, narrow neck, slightly flaring pinched mouth, and handle from rim to body (3½m). Atlas 123-2460; Fig.V.28.
- C30 \*73-147 Jar with flat base, horizontal neck, two wings (restored), and plastic decoration of face (without mouth) on the neck, and three knobs on body (4m). Atlas 123-2453; Fig.V.29.

METALWORK

- One arrowhead (4m). (Tgb p.68; TA p.199).

WHORL

- RIIIC \*73-157 (4m) Atlas 126-2535, SS 4691

SMALL FINDS

- \*73-140 Terracotta cone with three holes in flat side (4m; but Atlas 120-2374 says 8m!). Atlas 120-2374, SS 7703, TI fig.453a,b; Fig.V.48.
- \*73-143 Terracotta ball (4m). Atlas 126-2531; Fig.V.46.

FIGURINES

- 3G \*73-139 Marble figurine.(4m). Atlas 120-2373; Fig.V.45.

Deposit (2)

- POTTERY
- 4-5m
- A4(?) (\*) 73-142 Simple bowl with rounded (?) base (5m). Atlas 120-2372; Fig.V.24.

METALWORK

- (\*) 73-192 Sickle. (4½m). Atlas 124-2478, Ilios No.1418, TI fig. 383, SS 6454; Fig.V.37.

WHORL

- GIII (\*) 73-145 (4½m) Atlas 126-2533, SS 5207.

5-6m

METALWORK

- (\*) - Thin copper pins with rounded head and bent head (5-6m). TA p.199.

BONE ARTEFACTS

- \* 73-160 Short bone pin with ornamental head (6m). Atlas 123-2454; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

- GVII \* 73-151 (6m) Atlas 126-2534, SS 5310.
- GVII \* 73-153 (6m) Atlas 126-2536, SS 5332
- RIID \* 73-154 (6m) Atlas 126-2537.
- RIVA \* 73-156 (6m) Atlas 126-2540.
- GVII \* 73-171 (6m) Atlas 126-2552, SS 5333.

FIGURINES

3A (\*)73-164 Stone (?) figurine (6m). Fig.V.44.

Deposit (3)

6-7m

POTTERY

- B213 73-187 Globular jug with flat base, neck bent back and cut-away spout. Handle from rear of spout to body (7m). Atlas 123-2467, TR No.166, Ilios No.365; Fig.V.18.
- B215 \* 73-185 Jug with rounded base, slanting spout with highest point at rear; handle from neck to body (7m). Atlas 123-2466; Fig.V.18.
- C28 \* 73-161 Jar with flattened base, straight neck and flaring rim. Two vertically perforated lugs on the body. Atlas shows a low pedestal or ring-base; but Tgb does not (7m). Atlas 123-2459, SS 420; Fig.V.18.
- C34 73-182 Globular vessel with three small feet, short straight neck encircled by ring at base, two vertically perforated lugs on the body. Incised (?) decoration on upper half of body - branch-designs in between vertical lines (7m). Atlas 123-2463; Fig.V.19.
- C- \* 73-183 Biconical vessel with flat base, neck broken off (?), and two horizontal strap-handles on the shoulder (7m). Atlas 123-2464. Intrusive from VI. Fig.V.32.
- D30 \* 73-184 Ring-vase with spout and basket-handle (7m). Atlas 123-2465, SS 3247; Fig.V.19.

METALWORK

- \* - Copper saw (7m). Atlas 123-2462, cf. TI fig.270(b); Fig.V.35.  
Two spearheads (7m). (Tgb 1873 p.68, apparently miscopied in TA p.199).

WHORLS

- GIA \* 73-152 (7m) Atlas 126-2539, SS 5079.
- RIVB \* 73-155 (7m) Atlas 126-2538.
- RIIIC \* 73-168 (7m) Atlas 126-2546, SS 4684.
- GVII \* 73-172 (7m) Atlas 126-2553.
- GVIII B \* 73-173 (7m) Atlas 126-2548; Fig.V.50.

7-8m

POTTERY

- B13 \* 73-188 Jug with flattened base, rising spout, and handle from neck to body (8m). Atlas 123-2468; Fig.V.17.
- B205 \* 73-190 Globular flask with narrow, straight neck (partly restored) and two bulbous (crescentic?) handles on body (8m). Atlas 123-2469; Fig.V.19.
- C28 73-181 Globular grey-brown jar with tall straight neck, flattened base, and two vertical lugs on the body. Incised decoration of zigzags and dots around body and dots around base of neck (8m). Atlas 123-2461, Ilios No. 1016, SS 2345; Fig.V.18.

STONE

- \* 73-141 Diorite hammer (8m). Atlas 120-2371; Fig.V.41.
- \* 73-174 Diorite, elipsoid (8m). Atlas 126-2549; Fig.V.41.
- \* 73-175 Diorite, elipsoid (8m). Atlas 126-2550; Fig.V.41.

WHORL

RVIIAa \* 73-177 (8m) Atlas 126-2556, SS 4851; Fig.V.49.

Deposit (4). Schliemann notes that the strata at the bottom of the terrace lay horizontally and were of hard, grey ash. There were occasional pieces of polished black or red pottery, but none of the illustrated pieces can safely be assigned to this area.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.40,45,47)

OBJECTS FOUND

METALWORK

- Lead pin with large head. Tgb 1873 p.40.

WHORL

GIA 73-169 (10m) Atlas 126-2547.

AREA vi: DE 3

Fig.III.16.

There is a brief note that Schliemann was continuing excavations on the north side of the mound in the period 7th-16th April 1873. This on its own could indicate work in HJ 1-2. But an additional remark that the "old platform" was being covered 2m deep with spoil places the work securely in DE 3, where Schliemann may have been extending either the terrace at c.30m or the platform at c.24.50m A.T. There are no objects which derive clearly from this trench.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.189)

This area was excavated as a part of Schliemann's work on the North Platform during 12th-22nd May 1872. Digging was mostly concentrated on making a "terrace" 3m wide and 20m long, with its floor lying at c.30.00m A.T., adjoining the North-South trench of 1871. The deposits above the terrace floor were cut away at an angle of 50°, leaving a slope up to the South, where the excavation reached the mound-surface. But Schliemann does also say in his diary-entry for 21st May that he tried to reach virgin soil "almost everywhere" (Tagebuch 1872 p.359). So we must allow for a small part of the northern edge of the terrace having been dug away to the level of the rest of the north platform. Depths quoted in the catalogue are measured from the summit.

Deposits (1)-(2). Schliemann does not distinguish, or provide any information about, the character of strata overlying Wall 20 to a depth of 3m below the summit. But a few objects are attributable to a stratum at 3m, including a jug which may be dated to Troy VIIa if Blegen's sequence is correct.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

B29(?) \*72-409 Jug with flattened base, spreading horizontal rim, and single handle from rim to body (3m). Atlas 35-875, SS 2190; Fig.V.33. Troy VII?

WHORLS

RIIA \*72-316 (3m)  
RIA \*72-317 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIIA 72-448 (3m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
RIA 72-449 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-240.

Deposits (3)-(4). Although no description is given of the strata surrounding Wall 20 at c.33.67-36.67m A.T., Schliemann does imply that a change in the soil could be seen at 33.67 (=6m deep) and below. The objects found in the levels between that and 36.67m A.T. must therefore be treated separately. They may derive from Troy IV-V in Blegen's terms. As in Fig.IV.17 a tentative division may be made between the objects from 4m deep (Troy V-Deposit (3)) and those from 4½-5m deep (Troy IV-Deposit (4)).

OBJECTS FOUND

TERRACOTTA

D- 72-360 Terracotta rattle with loop handle (restored) and stones inside (5m). Atlas 46-1108, SS 7691; Fig.V.29.

WHORLS

RVIAb (\*) 72-357 (4m) Atlas 6-171(?)  
 RVIAb (\*) 72-375 (4m) cf. Atlas 6-171.  
 RIA (\*) 72-386 (4m)  
 RIVA 72-455 (4m)  
 RIVA 72-458 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-463 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-464 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-465 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-466 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-467 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-469 (4m)  
 RIVA 72-470 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-472 (4m)  
 RIVA (\*) 72-306 (4½m)  
 RIA (\*) 72-364 (5m)  
 RIIA (\*) 72-371 (5m)  
 GVII (\*) 72-379 (5m)  
 RIVB (\*) 72-387 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-33, SS 4724.  
 RIA (\*) 72-394 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIA (\*) 72-395 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIIIC (\*) 72-444 (5m) Atlas 4-103, SS 4693.

Deposit (5). Wall 20, identified by Schliemann as belonging to a house, was found at c.36.67m A.T. (=3m deep). The preserved part was 17½m long and came to light just East of the area excavated in 1871. The position and orientation of the building can therefore be very closely fixed, as the length of the wall requires the building to have extended along the slope of the trench. The walls were constructed of hewn blocks of shelly limestone joined with clay, and presented a smooth surface. None of the blocks was more than ½m long. The walls were 1.90m thick and reached down to c.33.67m A.T. (=6m deep). The dimensions of this building, together with its style of construction, its orientation parallel to Wall 13, and its stratification over deposits that are predominantly E.B., and under deposits which may include some Troy VII material, make its attribution to Troy VI a virtual certainty. It must be the north wall of a hitherto unknown building. There is no clear evidence to show how the rest of the building should be reconstructed. The attempt in Fig.IV.18 is more or less arbitrary. Smith, in TR p.132, wrongly identifies the wall as No.24 on Plan II.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.348, TA p.88)

Deposit (6). Below Wall 20, at c.33.67m A.T. (=6m deep) Schliemann distinguished a stratum consisting of large heaps of burnt debris, mostly of yellow and brown ash. This may tentatively be assigned to Troy III in Blegen's terms, for it overlay a further four layers of ash and household debris descending to a depth of 10m (=c.30.00m A.T.), which must be assigned to Troy II. The depth of the division between the two is not given; but if we extrapolate from neighbouring areas, it may be placed at c.32m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.348; TA p.88)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- B3 (\*)72-406 One-handled jug (6m). Fig.V.25.  
 B3 72-474 Ovoid jug with straight neck and three knobs on the body (6m). Fig.V.25.  
 B201 (\*)72-408b Globular flask with narrow, straight neck, no handles, decorated with horizontal lines (7m). Fig.V.25.  
 B210 (\*)72-407 Globular flask with ring-base, short cylindrical neck (restored), and two lugs (7m). Atlas 56-1296; Fig. V.26.  
 C1 (\*)72-404 Coarse-ware jar with rounded base, straight neck and two vertical-loop handles (7m). Atlas 56-1306, Ilios No.1088, SS 2676; Fig.V.24  
 C5(?) (\*)72-473 Two-handled jar with no neck (missing?) but two knobs on the body (6m). Fig.V.26.  
 C39(?) (\*)72-408a Incised sherd with herringbone decoration (6m). Fig. V.27.  
 D34 (\*)72-361 Lamp or crucible (6m). Atlas 49-1196(?). Fig.V.26.

##### CHIPPED STONE

- Many small flint blades (Tgb 1872 p.349).

##### WHORLS

- RIIC (\*)72-311 (6m)  
 GIB (\*)72-336 (7m)  
 RIIIA (\*)72-346 (7m)  
 RIC (\*)72-347 (7m) cf. Atlas 10-316.  
 GIB (\*)72-352 (7m)  
 GIB (\*)72-368 (7m)  
 RIB (\*)72-370 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-4.  
 GVA (\*)72-373 (7m) Atlas 9-298, TR No.383, Ilios No.1883, SS 5242.  
 RIA (\*)72-381 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GIA (\*)72-389 (7m)  
 RIB (\*)72-401 (6m) cf. Atlas 1-4.  
 GIA (\*)72-431 (7m)  
 RIVA (\*)72-435 (6m)  
 RIIIA (\*)72-436 (7m)  
 RIB (\*)72-443 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-4.  
 RVIIBa (\*)72-446 (7m)  
 RIIIA 72-447 (7m)  
 RIVA 72-450 (7m)  
 GIA 72-451 (7m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 RVIIDa 72-452 (6m) Atlas 4-120 (9m!); Fig.V.49.

RIVA 72-456 (7m)  
 RIVA 72-457 (7m)  
 RIVA 72-459 (7m)  
 RIIIA 72-461 (7m)  
 RIIIA 72-471 (7m)

Deposit (7). As this deposit, dating probably to Troy II, we may assign the four layers of ash and household debris which Schliemann detected below the yellow and brown of Deposit (6), and which he says descended to a depth of 10m.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.348; TA p.88)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

A4(?) (\*) 72-362 Bowl (8m). cf. Atlas 67-1503; Fig.V.22.  
 A220 (\*) 72-410 Two-handled cup (10m); see Fig.V.17.  
 B5 72-484 Ovoid bottle with short neck and out-turned rim; brown, slipped and burnished (9m). Atlas 82-1737, Ilios No.410(?), SS 603; Fig.V.18.  
 C28 (\*) 72-475 Globular jar with flat base, straight neck and vertical lugs (8m). Fig.V.22.  
 C34 72-482 Tripod jar with vertically perforated lugs and pierced, tapering neck (9m). Atlas 79-1671(?); Fig.V.19.  
 D7 (\*) 72-411 Coronet-lid (8m). Atlas 72-1583(?); Fig.V.24.  
 D33 (\*) 72-405 Terracotta funnel (8m). Atlas 66-1474; Fig.V.23.  
 D34 (\*) 72-363 Lamp or crucible (10m). cf. Atlas 86-1807; Fig.V.21.

##### METALWORK: TREASURE 'R'

The association of this small collection of metalwork with the skeleton later found in square D5 (Atlas p.24, TA p.168, Ilios p.272) is certainly false. What is not entirely clear is the depth at which it was found. The entry in the notebook (Tgb 1872, p.349) has 14m, but this is written over an earlier 9m. The 9m-figure is corroborated by the statement that it was 3m below the house (of Troy VI) with colossal walls, and helps to explain the later association with the skeleton, also from 9-10m deep. The figure of 13m, in the publications, can be disregarded as a rationalization. So probably can that of 14m. See further Antiquity 58 (1984) pp. 200-201 where, however, the 9m origin is probably wrongly dismissed.

72-478 Spiral ring of gold wire. Atlas 17-522, 98-2073; Ilios No.150, SS 6142; Fig.V.38.  
 72-479 Open-ended ring of gold wire. Atlas 17-516, 98-2072a; Ilios No.149, SS 6143; Fig.V.38.  
 72-480 Open-ended ring of gold wire. Atlas 17-520, 98-2072b; Ilios No.148, SS 6144; Fig.V.38.  
 72-481 Golden shell earring, with six segments. Atlas 17-517, 98-2074a; SS 6141; Fig.V.38.  
 72-477 Electrum pin with spherical head. Atlas 17-514, 98-2071; Ilios No.151, SS 6145; Fig.V.38.

##### STONE MOULD

(\*) 72-358/9 Circular stone mould for barbed arrowhead(?) (9m); Fig.V.40.

## CHIPPED STONE

- Many small flint blades (Tgb 1872 p.349)

## WHORLS

GVA (\*) 72-305 (9m) Atlas 9-289 (6m), cf. TR No.372, Ilios No.1872, SS 5247.

RIB (\*) 72-307 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-4.

RIB (\*) 72-313 (10m) cf. Atlas 1-3.

RIIB (\*) 72-321 (9m) Atlas 2-57, TR No.42, Ilios No.506.

RIIIB (\*) 72-331 (8m)

RIIA (\*) 72-337 (8m)

GIA (\*) 72-338 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.

RIIIA (\*) 72-342 (8m) cf. Atlas 5-150, SS 4641.

GIA (\*) 72-343 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.

RIIIC (\*) 72-348 (9m) Fig.V.49.

RIIA (\*) 72-349 (8m)

GIA (\*) 72-350 (8m) Atlas 11-350.

RIIA (\*) 72-353 (8m)

RIIA (\*) 72-354 (9m)

RIA (\*) 72-356 (9m) cf. Atlas 8-246.

GIA (\*) 72-365 (10m) Atlas 11-357, SS 5094.

RIIID (\*) 72-380 (9m) Atlas 12-387 (6m); Fig.V.49.

GIA (\*) 72-385 (10m) Atlas 12-389.

RIA (\*) 72-391 (9m) Fig.V.49.

GID (\*) 72-392 (10m) Atlas 11-353.

RIIIC (\*) 72-398 (9m) cf. Atlas 1-26.

RIIB (\*) 72-399 (9m)

RIIB (\*) 72-402 (8m)

RIB (\*) 72-413 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-4.

RIIC (\*) 72-414 (8m)

GIB (\*) 72-415 (9m)

RIB (\*) 72-416 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-3.

RVIAb (\*) 72-417 (10m)

GIB (\*) 72-418 (10m) cf. Atlas 10-328.

RIVA (\*) 72-419 (8m)

GVIIIIC (\*) 72-421) (8m)

(\*) 72-422)

RIIA (\*) 72-423 (10m)

RIIA (\*) 72-424 (10m)

RIIIA (\*) 72-425 (10m) Fig.V.49.

RIC (\*) 72-427 (9m)

RIA (\*) 72-428 (10m) cf. Atlas 8-246.

GIB (\*) 72-432 (10m) cf. Atlas 11-352.

RVA (\*) 72-433 (10m) Fig.V.49.

GIB (\*) 72-434 (10m)

RIIA (\*) 72-437 (10m)

RIB (\*) 72-438 (9m) cf. Atlas 1-3.

GIA (\*) 72-441 (10m)

RIIA (\*) 72-442 (9m)

RIIIA (\*) 72-445 (9m)

GIA 72-462 (8m) cf. Atlas 13-412.

RIIA(?) 72-483 (9m) Fig.V.49.

## ANIMAL REMAINS

- Oyster shells (rarely) (Tgb 1872 p.349).

Deposit (8). Immediately above the 10m-deep terrace was Wall 21, a wall built of large, shelly limestone blocks, roughly hewn. The wall was 1.40m thick, but only a small part of it seems to have been exposed. Its lower courses seem not to have been uncovered. The exposed part of the wall can be identified as the upper courses of the north end of the east wall of Dörpfeld's Megaron IIA, the stone socle of which was 1.40-1.45m wide like its mudbrick superstructure. (The foundations were wider and measured 1.70m.) Towards the north end the floor of the building as recorded by Dörpfeld lay at 30.65m A.T., and the socle stood 20cm higher, i.e. to c.30.85m A.T. Schliemann's discovery of the north end of the building at this date implies that the building was up to 2½m longer than Dörpfeld suggested in his reconstruction.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.349; TA p.89; TI pp.85, 89f, fig.28, Taf.III)

Deposits (9)-(10). Little information is given about the deposits below Wall 21, at c.24.00-30.00m A.T.; probably not much was excavated here. Schliemann does, however, mention that these "lower earth walls" were very hard and contained many large stones. These are likely to be the continuation of Area ii, Deposit 8, and are here numbered as Deposit (9). A few finds are recorded, all deriving from the underlying Deposit (10). There is no reference to the pebble pavement at c.26.67m A.T., which may or may not have continued through Area vii.

(Tgb 1872 p.359; TA p.90)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- (\*) 72-476 Dark grey polished sherd, incised with wavy lines. Probably intrusive from VI (17m). Atlas 26-721a,b; TR No.79, Ilios No.53, SS 3194; Fig.V.33.
- D202 (\*) 72-485 Simple coronet-lid. (16m). Atlas 102-2281; see Fig.V.16.

##### STONE MOULDS

- (\*) Mould for seven weapons and tools, not illustrated (16m). (Tgb 1872 p.361).

Schliemann dug in this area during the period 17th April-10th May 1873. His object here was to remove the block of earth which protruded northwards between the North-South trench and the Northeast trench in F 3-4. Most work was directed to cutting a terrace at 10m deep, although since the mound-surface in this area lay at c.39.50m A.T. and the terrace was in fact cut at c.30.85m A.T., the terrace's depth was in reality closer to 9m. There was also some attempt to extend southwards the old North Platform at c.23.67m-24.75m A.T., but this was not much pursued. The block of earth must have been 20-30m wide. There is no indication of how far into the mound the excavation progressed in this period. I have estimated the distance to be a possible 10 metres.

There is some confusion over the way Schliemann calculated the depths of features and finds in this trench. Objects are recorded from depths of  $\frac{1}{2}$ m, 3m, 4m, 5m, 6m, 7m and 8m. This is a continuous sequence, more or less, which peters out before the 9m-depth at which the terrace was cut (although two isolated objects may come from 10m and 11m). It seems likely, then, that the depths of these objects were correctly measured from the surface of the mound. By contrast, Schliemann also records a number of house-walls in "the upper levels" at 6-10m deep. Here it is most likely that the figure of 10m is the purely theoretical figure for the depth of the terrace. If so, then the 6m-figure will simply indicate that the walls reached to 4m above the terrace. In reality the depths of these features may be 5-9m.

Schliemann says that he found here "a mass of interesting objects" (Tagebuch 1873 p.209). Unfortunately very few items can be assigned to the trench with certainty. Nevertheless Schliemann is explicit in attributing large numbers of objects to the Northwest Trench and to the trench CD 5-6 during the same period. Others seem, in the Atlas, to be grouped either with the finds known to have come from the Northwest Trench or with those known to have come from CD 5-6. After all these have been excluded, there remains a very small number of objects whose provenance is uncertain. I have taken the liberty of assuming that these may derive from DE 3-4. Such objects are marked in the catalogue with an asterisk. But it is unlikely that they constitute the full tally of

material found in this trench.

Deposit (1). There is no information about the topmost strata in the trench. Judging from the finds, however, it seems that Troy VI-VII and VIII-IX were all stratified above the 4m-level, or higher (=c.35.50m A.T.). From a depth of 4m and below, the recorded objects are all of E.B.-M.B. date. I have therefore made a division of the strata at c.35.50m A.T., in Fig.IV.25, and taken this as the lower limit of deposit (1).

Deposit (2). To this deposit are assigned the M.B. objects found at 4m-deep (=c.35.50m A.T.), and overlying the walls found at c.30.50-c.34.50m A.T. There is no information about the character of the soil. The finds should be attributable mostly to Troy V in Blegen's terms.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- A209        73-694    Tall chalice with hollow, fenestrated pedestal, conical bowl and restored loop-handle set on rim (4m). Atlas 158-3063, TR No.231, Ilios No.1185, SS 264; Fig.V.30.
- B21        (\*) -        Squat jug with wide, flattened body, three short feet and funnel neck leading to cutaway spout. Handle from mouth to body, and two lugs on the side of body (4m). Atlas 167-3267, Ilios No.1048(?), SS 2785; Fig.V.30.
- B22        (\*)73-739    Red-polished piriform jug with rounded base, tall neck and trefoil mouth; two vertical loop-handles on body, and handle from neck to shoulder (4m). Atlas 160-3081, Ilios No.1143, SS 1533; Fig.V.30.
- B221       (\*) -        Conical jar with flattened base and narrow hole mouth; two long spouts rise diagonally out of the body, and one (or two) pointed "wings" (4m). Atlas 167-3268, Ilios No.1177, SS 1507; Fig.V.30.
- C5(?)      (\*) -        Piriform jar with rounded base and horizontal rim; two loop-handles set vertically on shoulders. Decorated with plastic bucrania and impressed (?) dots (4m). Atlas 168-3275; apparently not the same as Ilios No. 1188, SS 2225; Fig.V.30.
- C218       (\*) -        Squat jar with three short feet, short cylindrical neck, and two volute-handles set on sides (4m). Atlas 168-3284; Fig.V.30.

##### WHORLS

- GVA        (\*)73-710    (4m) Atlas 162-3105, SS 5248.

##### WEIGHT

- (\*)73-700    Circular piece of flat terracotta with two holes near one side (4m). Atlas 162-3101; Fig.V.47.

Deposit (3). This is the material which was found surrounding the walls to be mentioned under Deposit (4), and in the presumed destruction-deposit overlying them. It lay at c.30.50-c.35.50m A.T. Schliemann says that it consisted of burnt debris. It will probably have derived from Troy II-IV.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.209)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- B5 \* - Bottle with pointed base, narrow neck and slightly flaring mouth (6m). Atlas 167-3263, Ilios No.1129(?); Fig.V.29.
- B13 (\*) - Squat jug with rounded base, broad neck and rising spout. Handle from rim to body; decorated with incised vertical lines in groups of three from neck to base (5m). Atlas 167-3272, SS 2292; Fig.V.28.
- B202 (\*) - Tall narrow neck perhaps from flask; two holes just below mouth (5m). Atlas 162-3133; Fig.V.28.
- C28 (\*) - Globular jar with flat base, concave neck above carination at the shoulder, out-turned rim. Two vertically-perforated lugs on the shoulder (5m). Atlas 168-3277, SS 1259; Fig.V.29.
- C210 (\*) - Globular jar with narrow, flat base and narrow hole mouth surrounded by impressed dots. Two vertical loop-handles set on body (5m). Atlas 167-3265; Fig.V.29.
- D15 \* - Flat pot-lid with central pointed knob, two holes in rim, and radial decoration of incised (?) lines (7m). Atlas 164-3201; Fig.V.27.

##### WHORLS

- GVII (\*) 73-713 (5m) Atlas 162-3109.
- GVII (\*) 73-714 (5m) Atlas 162-3111, TR No.363, Ilios No.1863, SS 5303.
- RVIB (\*) 73-765 (5m) Atlas 162-3123.
- RIIA (\*) - (5m) Atlas 164-3189, TR No.431, Ilios No.1931.
- GVII \* - (6m) Atlas 164-3187, TR No.366, Ilios No.1866, SS 5300.
- RVA \* - (7m) Atlas 164-3194.
- GIB \* - (7m) Atlas 164-3195.
- RVA \* - (8m) Atlas 164-3188.
- GID \* - (8m) Atlas 164-3190.

##### FIGURINES

- 2B \* - Flat marble figurine with incised eyebrows and dotted eyes (8m). Atlas 164-3203; Fig.V.44.
- 2C \* - Flat marble figurine with incised eyebrows (8m). Atlas 165-3209; Fig.V.44.
- 3G \* - Flat marble figurine with incised nose and dotted eyes (8m). Atlas 165-3210; Fig.V.44.

Deposit (4). Under this deposit are grouped together all the walls found by Schliemann on the terrace, "in the upper levels". Their

theoretical depth was 6-10m; their actual depth was probably 5-9m. i.e. c.30.50m-c.34.50m A.T. The walls to which Schliemann refers must be those shown in Atlas Taf.214,215 and described there as "Trojan houses and later walls built upon them". They are shown on Fig.IV.24, and are numbered Walls 60-68. The variety of orientation amongst these walls suggests what Schliemann noted - that they derive from more than one period. Considering the depths of the deposit, they have a possible range of Troy II-IV. It is <sup>mostly</sup> impossible now to date them with any certainty. Wall 67 can almost certainly be identified as the east wall of Megaron IIA, even though the walls seems in Atlas Taf.214 to be oriented rather differently from the megaron. The remaining walls, however, do not seem to coincide with the other Troy II walls shown in TI Taf.III, or to link up with walls shown in Burnouf's plan in Ilios Plan I - walls which may date from a late phase of Troy II or an early phase of Troy III. Probably they all derive from later periods - that is, from Troy III-IV (in Blegen's terms), and perhaps from two or more phases. It is impossible now to decide which wall might belong with which.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.209; TA p.282)

Deposits (5) and (6). Schliemann records that in the "lower levels" of the trench, i.e. at c.25-30m A.T., a colossal wall of earth and stones had come to light. It was not much investigated, but he speaks of it as being apparently a large fortification wall. This allows us to identify it as the wall marked '27' in Atlas Taf.214 (TR Plan 2), "Wall of Fortification anterior to the time of Troy", as the wall just South of X in Ilios Plan I, and as the wall of City II discussed at Ilios p.268f. From this last we learn that it has "real masonry" only on the outside and consisted "for the rest of loose stones". We can thus be fairly sure that it was a retaining-wall, or part of a retaining-wall, holding in place the rubble from a levelling operation. The two most likely walls with which it might be connected are Wall 'm' and Wall 17. Its location seems to favour an identification with Wall 'm', as Wall 17 probably lay about 10m further North. Its 'colossal' character, on the other hand, rather favours an identification with Wall 17. The explanation is perhaps provided by Ilios Plan III, the North-South section, where we are referred to the feature marked 'V'. There are two such, the lower of which looks irresistibly like Wall 'm' in Blegen's section (Troy I fig.422) while the upper looks very much like the stratum of stoney rubble which lay to the South of Wall 17. Schliemann thought he

was faced with a wall 5 or 6m high; actually it was Wall 'm' overlain by rubble belonging to Troy II. The continuation of Wall 'm' here is called Wall 70 and regarded as Deposit (6). The overlying strata are dubbed Deposit (5), from which there are two objects.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.209; TA p.282; Ilios pp.24,40,268-9; Plans I,III)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### WHORLS

GX \* 73-808 (10m) Atlas 166-3241.  
GVIIIC 73-802 (11m) Atlas 166-3240.

Deposit (7). Atlas Taf.214 shows a second wall overlying the two previous deposits but going off at right-angles to them. This could be either the north end of the east wall of Dörpfeld's Megaron IIB, or a part of Dörpfeld's building of Troy II.2. It might, then, have been preserved to an altitude of c.30.83 or c.30.17m A.T. as shown by Dörpfeld for neighbouring parts of these buildings. Here it is numbered Wall 69.

(Atlas Taf.214; TI Taf.III)

#### AREA ix: DE 3-4(b)

Figs.III.18; IV.26,27

This area was excavated during the period 10th-24th May 1873. The terrace at c.30.90m A.T. - notionally at a depth of 10m - was extended southwards by up to 10m. There was also some work on the lower terrace at "14m" deep; this work cannot be located or quantified. The datum

probably lay at c.39.50m A.T. Few objects can be attributed to the trench with any certainty.

Deposit (1). We have no information about the material found at 0-4m deep.

Deposit (2). At "4-10m" deep, i.e. at c.35.50-c.30.90m A.T., Schliemann found a "mass" of housewalls, one on top of another, built of stones and earth. He gives no detailed description of these, but they are shown in Atlas Taf.214, and have been reproduced in Fig.IV.26. Probably Walls 61, 62,64 and 68 were further exposed, while Walls 84-88 were newly discovered. No very firm conclusions can be reached on their date; they must be from Troy III-IV in Blegen's terms, and possibly from more than one phase.

(Tagebuch 1873 pp.250,264; Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (3). There is no information about the deposits surrounding the walls mentioned under Deposit (2). But three objects can be attributed to these layers. All are double-necked jugs, the only three such from the excavations.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- B217 - Jug with globular body, slightly flattened base, double neck and rising spouts with "rivet" on each side. Handle from mouth to body (7m). Atlas 174-3367, Ilios No.1176(?), SS 873; Fig.V.25.
- B217 - Squat, grey jug with rounded base and body, double neck and two rising spouts. Single handle from neck to body (8m). Atlas 175-3390, TR No.286, Ilios No.359, SS 627; Fig.V.18.
- B217 \*73-888 Necks of double necked jug with rising spouts (7m). Atlas 175-3383; Fig.V.25.

Deposit (4). A deposit of Troy II material must be presumed to have overlain Deposit (5), but there is no information about it.

Deposit (5). In the lower platform Schliemann found a deposit of white stones which he took to be a continuation of the supposed platform of white stones previously found in D 3-4 at c.27m A.T. It may be this feature which is shown in Atlas Taf.214 at No.26, described as a mosaic antedating the time of Priam.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.269; Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (6). Schliemann records that he found several walls at a depth of 14m. This presumably means that the walls were found on the lower platform, with their bases at c.25m A.T. or lower. Unfortunately none is shown on Atlas Taf.214 and there is no further information about them or about the deposits surrounding them.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.269; AAZ Beilage zu Nr. 165, 14th June 1873, p.2528)

THE NORTH-SOUTH TRENCH:  
NORTHERN SECTOR

By the end of his 1873 season, Schliemann had completed a trench which cut all the way through the western half of the mound from squares CD 2 to CD 9. This famous, even notorious, North-South trench was a large undertaking; but it divides naturally into three areas which it will be convenient to consider separately: a northern sector, a southern sector and a central sector. Here we will be concerned with the northern sector, which may be defined as that part of the North-South trench which extended from the northern edge of the mound to the middle of square D6 where it met the East-West trench (see figs.III.7,18).

The trench was laid out across the summit of the mound and embraced most of the area that lay at 39m A.T. and above. But it also cut through a part of the slope on the northwest face where the surface lay at only 27.50m A.T. It developed in a rather haphazard way. Initially there was Schliemann's 3m-deep hole dug into the summit of the mound during three days' work in 1870 (Fig.III.1). In 1871 this was incorporated into a trench 60m long and 10m deep, reaching from the summit in D5 to the northwest face of the mound (Fig.III.2). In the following year the trench was widened to the East, by making a cutting southwards from the west end of the North Platform; and the trench was also extended further South into square D6 (Figs.III.6-7). Schliemann was by now digging mostly at a depth of c.27m A.T. and in fact deepened the eastern half of the area already dug by a further 3m to meet this target. Views of the trench in this state are given in Atlas Taf.108,111. Here the main body of the trench was left, except that in May and June 1873 he exposed an area to the east of the trench, in DE 4, cutting down to a level of c.31m A.T. (Figs.III.18-19). The trench in its final state, therefore, had a western strip cut down to c.30m A.T., an eastern platform cut to c.31m A.T., a central length cut to c.27m A.T.; and to the North of this last lay the west end of the North Platform cut to c.24m A.T. The overall length will have been in the region of 75 metres, and the width over 30m at its widest point in squares CDE 4.

The structure of the mound in this northern sector of the North-South trench seems to present few problems, exhibiting a fairly even, horizontal accumulation of deposits throughout. This is because the area fell entirely within the limits of the Troy II fortifications and rested on the horizontal platform laid out at that time.

Deposits of Troy VIII-IX nevertheless do seem in this trench to reach down to uneven depths. In Areas iii and v there is evidence that they penetrated to a depth of at least 1m. In Area ii there were lentoid clay weights and sculptures at 2m deep, and three inscriptions besides. But in Area i it seems clear that deposits of VIII-IX went down at least to 3m deep, for Deposit (8) includes not only a coin of C.4th B.C., but lentoid clay weights as well. Area i produced the only well-attested building of VIII-IX, Building 1. Unfortunately Schliemann appears to have excavated only its interior in 1870, and to have demolished it in 1871. We therefore do not know whether the rectangular, stone-built chamber in D5 was simple and free-standing, or whether it was a part of some more elaborate structure. No paved floor was found, but a stratum of lime lay just at the base of the drafted masonry and just above the foundations of boulders (see Fig.IV.29), so Schliemann was probably right to see in this a floor. This suggests some not very elevated function for the building which, if the stratigraphy is to be believed, overlay a coin of C.2nd-3rd A.D. (Deposit 6). It is therefore possible that Building 1 was no more than a late barn, or some such structure. On the other hand its alignment with Dörpfeld's Building IXA is striking and suggests some earlier, more exalted purpose. In this case one could suppose that an original paved floor had been robbed out and replaced by a secondary, lime floor. But this is speculative. In Area ii, in 1871, Schliemann again mentions buildings of large, hewn stones in Deposits (1) and (2), but it is not clear whether he is referring again to Building 1 which he was now demolishing, or whether he had found additional structures of the same date.

No structures of Troy VII can be reconstructed in this trench. But there is some slender evidence for the (one-time?) presence of deposits of VIIb. In Area ii, Deposit (2) fluted sherds were found at 1-2m deep among material of VIII-IX, but overlying a well probably of Troy VI. Schliemann says they were sherds of the C.2nd A.D., but his identifications are unreliable and there is a possibility that they were pieces of Knobbed Ware from VIIb2. More secure examples occur at 1-2m deep in Area iii, Deposit (1b) and perhaps at 3m deep in Area v. It is possible that in Area iii, Deposit (1c) a deposit of VIIa-VIIb1 should be identified at 2-3m deep.

Similarly there are no major structures recorded from Troy VI. The south wall of Building 6 (Area iii, Deposit 2) is pure reconstruction. But something of this sort is required; moreover between it and Wall 20 to the North deposits of Troy VI descend at least to 4m and possibly to 5m deep (Area iii, Deposit 1); these may be from the interior of the building. Elsewhere, too, in the trench there is evidence of Troy VI pieces even at 4-5m deep (Area ii, Deposit 5). Two wells were found, both of which may have been used in Troy VI: Well 1, found complete with capstone at 2m deep in C 4-5 (Well Bg in TI Taf.III); and Well 2 with its top at 4m deep in square D4, apparently in Building 6 (marked "Pa" in Atlas Taf.117). Well 2, at least, seems to have been abandoned after Troy VI; but Well 1 may have survived into Troy VII or VIII, to judge from the altitude of the capstone.

Middle Bronze Age deposits were, however, preserved to a higher level - to only 2 or 3m deep in places (Area ii, Deposit 4; Area iii, Deposit 1c; Area v, Deposit 3). This can only mean that Troy VI structures were dug into the underlying deposits, sometimes removing all trace of Troy V, as in Area iii where Building 6 rests directly on, or even in, material probably deriving from Troy IV. Some traces of Troy V were found, though, at c.35.67-36.67m A.T., but little is recorded of them. Schliemann mentions finding stones with signs of scorching (Area ii, Deposit 4), but otherwise there is no architectural detail.

The rather crude observation of 1871, that a 3m-deep stratum could be discerned at 4-7m deep (=32.67-35.67m A.T.) showing walls of small, unhewn stones joined with clay, can probably be taken to indicate roughly (but only roughly) the limits of Troy III and IV (Area ii, Deposit 5). Areas iii and v, taken together with Blegen's results from the pillars in F 4-5 and E6, further refine the stratigraphy. The horizon dividing IV from III must occur around 33.50m A.T. (33.47/33.67), and that dividing III from II at around 32m A.T. (31.67-32.17m A.T.). Some mudbrick buildings of Troy IV, together with what may have been a pavement of small stones, were found in Area iii (Deposits 5,6); otherwise there are no features certainly attributable to Troy IV. Neither are there any certainly of Troy III. But a number of walls found on the east side of the trench in 1873 must belong either to Troy III or to Troy IV, or to both: Walls 62, 68, 90-93, 95, 97, 98 (see Areas vi and vii). The walls may be seen in Atlas Taf.214,215 and in Figs.IV.36-37 of the present work.

They continue the complex found on the North Platform in 1873 (see Figs. IV.24,26).

Of Troy II, it is clear that a large part of Megaron IIA was found and recorded. The north end may be the "room" noted in Area iii, Deposit (10); and in Areas vi and vii the northern cross-wall and the east and west walls were found - Walls 67, 89, 94. They can all be seen in Atlas Taf.214 and in Figs.IV.36,37. Megaron IIA will have been but one of the large buildings of stone noted at 10m deep at the bottom of the trench in 1871 (Area ii, Deposit 7). Overlying these remains were immense masses of burnt mudbrick debris in which Schliemann recognized, but did not fully record, mudbrick house-walls resting on stone foundations (Area ii, Deposit 6); many stones were encountered too. At a depth of 9½m (=c. 30.17m A.T.) and surrounding the north end of Megaron IIA was a stratum of yellow ash. It was in this that Treasure 'N' was discovered. At a slightly higher depth, apparently, the platform on the east side of the trench revealed what Schliemann called a 'stratum' of slag (Area vii, Deposit 5). The identification of the substance as slag seems to have been confirmed by visiting archaeologists, but it seems unlikely that Schliemann could have found a continuous stratum of the stuff. Two other features may be attributable to Troy II. One is a fragment of wall running East-West, found on the East side of the trench and described by Schliemann as a "Wall of Troy" (Wall 96: Area vi, Deposit 4); this may be another piece of the retaining-wall of Troy II.1 shown by Dörpfeld in square EF 5 of his plan. The second is a stratum of large stone blocks with its top at a depth of 10m (=c.29.67m A.T.). This was observed in Area iii (Deposit 11) and again in Area v (Deposit 7). It seems likely to be a continuation of the stratum of stones backing Wall 17 in two areas of the North Platform. If so, then it may provide further evidence for the existence of a platform of rubble laid out across the citadel in Early Troy II, with Wall 17 as its northern limit and retaining wall.

Not much is recorded of Troy I. In Area v was found a wall of small, roughly hewn stones joined with mortar (Deposit 7). This may have been at c.26.67m A.T. and, if so, will have derived from Troy I. Its exact whereabouts are not recorded. In Area iii Schliemann failed to find any continuation of the white, pebble pavement found earlier on the North Platform. But it appears that below the platform of stones at 10m deep

he did find, at c.13-14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>m deep, a thick stratum of red ash (Area iii, Deposit 12) containing further deposits of slag; and, below that, a further mass of stones which may have been an additional stretch of the stone fill to the South of Blegen's wall 'm' (Area iii, Deposit 13). To its North, where Schliemann had dug down to c.24m A.T., he found 'stone-hard', ashy deposits typical of Troy I. It was among these that the two jars from a possible cist grave were found (Area iii, Deposit 14).

The northern sector of the North-South Trench has been divided into seven areas. These correspond to the areas tackled by Schliemann in the seven relevant periods distinguished in Chapter III, and they are represented in Figs.III.1-2, 6-7, 18-19. The results from each area are discussed individually in the following pages.

This was the first trench opened by Schliemann in his first season. Its location is shown in Atlas Taf.116. The trench, whose existence has not previously been noted by biographers and commentators, was placed on the highest part of the mound. The measurements of depth must therefore be taken from the summit at c.39.67m A.T. or thereabouts. The account in Briefwechsel I No.131 is confusing in its suggestion that excavation in this area penetrated below 3m. It did not. In the letter Schliemann has wrongly transferred to this trench the deposits below 3m which, in his notes, clearly belong to the trench in AB 4.

Deposit (1). Topsoil was encountered to a depth of 25cm.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.66)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

Unspecified sherds only

Deposit (2). Below the thin stratum of topsoil Schliemann found a rectangular building to which he eventually gave the measurements 17.90 x 13.25m. This is Building 1. The walls consisted of two upper courses of sandstone blocks 60cm x 1.43cm with a total height of 65cm, resting on limestone boulders which were 69cm high. The tops of the walls were preserved to various heights ranging from c.39.02 to 39.42m A.T. (=0.25-0.65m deep). One wall, possibly on the southeast side, is reported to have had a doorway 2.65m wide. Given the shape and size of the trench shown in Atlas Taf.116, only one orientation is possible for Building 1: an orientation which corresponds very closely to that of IXA. Building 1 was destroyed during the excavations of 1871, and it was never established whether or not the building extended behind this one, large chamber.

(Tagebuch 1870 pp.66,67,69,81; Tagebuch 1871 p.219; TA p.6; Bfw I p.164; Ilios p.21)

Deposit (3). Within Building 1, to a depth of 1m (=c.38.67m), was a stratum containing large stones, sherds and bones. It presumably underlay deposit (1).

(Tagebuch 1870 p.69)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

Unspecified sherds

ANIMAL REMAINS

Many bones

Deposit (4). At c.38.67m (=1m deep), below deposit (3), was a stratum of tough, nasty lime which Schliemann took to be the remains of a floor.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.69)

Deposit (5). Below deposit (4), and therefore at c.38.67m or a little deeper, was a stratum containing large stones, sherds and bones.

(Tagebuch 1870 p.69)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

Unspecified sherds

ANIMAL REMAINS

Many bones

Deposit (6). A stratum of ashes and other burnt matter, found by Schliemann at c.38.47m (=1.20m deep) below deposit (5).

(Bfw I p.164)

OBJECTS FOUND

COINS

1 coin of Hector Ilieon. (Dateable to 117-260 A.D.: cf. Bellinger types T147-T291).

Deposit (7). Below deposit (6) and at an unspecified depth lay an accumulation of ten more strata of burnt matter mixed with habitation debris. The lower limit of these strata was found at c.36.67m (=3m deep).

(Tagebuch 1870 p.74; Bfw I p.164)

Deposit (8). At a depth of 3m (c.36.67m A.T.), at the bottom of the trench, was a deposit containing many bones and sherds. It is not clear whether this formed a separate deposit or whether the note of it is only

an additional description of deposit (7).

(Bfw I p.165)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

Unspecified sherds

COINS

Coin of Ancient Sigeum (Dateable to 355-334 B.C.)  
cf. Bellinger p.164

WEIGHTS

Terracotta pieces with two holes

ANIMAL REMAINS

Large masses of bones, including some identified  
as "wild boars' teeth"

AREA ii: CD 3-5

Figs.III.2; IV.30,31.

This was the trench on which Schliemann concentrated all his efforts in October-November 1871. It was designed to run from the northern edge of the mound to the summit, where it embraced the previous year's excavation in D5. The length of the trench was initially 48m, increasing to 60m as greater depth brought the north end to a lower, and more distant, position on the north slope. At the north end its width was 10m, at the south end 15m. Excavation was carried to a depth of 10m below the summit, except in the two side-passages in C5 and DE 4, where excavation stopped at 7m. The side-passages were originally cut to give access for wheelbarrows to the main trench, but were abandoned when their maintenance became too time-consuming. The position of the trench is shown in Atlas Taf.116.

Deposit (1). To a depth of 1m (c.38.67m A.T.) was a stratum containing buildings of hewn stones joined with lime mortar.

(TA p.40)

## OBJECTS FOUND

### POTTERY

Unspecified coarse sherds (Bfw I p.194).

### COINS

Copper coins of Ilium, Sigeum and Alexandria Troas. (Tgb 1871 pp.214,215,219; TA pp.7,9,40).

### WEIGHTS

Many stamped lentoid clay weights with two holes. Wares are red, yellow, grey and black. (Tgb 1871 pp.216f,231; Bfw I p.195; TA pp.10,40).

### SCULPTURE

Marble hand (30cm) (Tgb 1871 p.242).

### ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells, Oyster shells, Fish bones, Boars' tusks (TA pp.11,40).

Deposit (2). Below deposit (1), at c.38.67 to 37.67m (=1-2m deep), was a stratum containing buildings of large, hewn stones. Schliemann's reports differ as to whether or not they used mortar. It is not clear how far his descriptions of deposits (1) and (2) may be generalisations based on the rectangular building of D5 found in 1870.

(Tagebuch 1871 p.275; TA pp.9,40)

## OBJECTS FOUND

### POTTERY

Fluted sherds "of C.2nd A.D." (Tgb 1871 p.226).

### METALWORK

Remains of an iron "sword" (Tgb 1871 p.219).

### WEIGHTS

Many stamped lentoid clay weights with two holes. In red, yellow, grey and black wares. (Tgb 1871 pp.216f,231; TA pp.10,40; Bfw I p.195).

### SCULPTURE

Head from a marble statue (c.1½m) (Tgb 1871 p.217).

### INSCRIPTIONS

Three inscriptions in Greek, in the vicinity of the rectangular building of D5 found in 1870. Dateable to 350-200 B.C. TR pp.67-8, Ilios p.638, Tgb 1871 pp.216,217,225; Bfw I pp.198,201.

Atlas 28-751 Brückner No.26 (TI p.465), SS 9656.  
Atlas 29-752 Brückner No.27 (TI p.466), SS 9657.  
Atlas 29-753 Brückner No.1 (TI p.462), SS 9658.

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells, Oyster shells, Fish bones, Boars' tusks (TA pp.11,40).

Deposit (3). At c.37.67m A.T., apparently stratified below deposit (2), Schliemann found the top of Well 1. It was covered with a capstone measuring 98 x 76 x 36cm. The well itself was built of stones joined with mortar, and was 1m in diameter. It is marked 'Th' in Atlas Taf.117, and is described in Taf.214 as a hellenic well. In TI Taf.III it appears as Bg, situated at C 4-5. The well was cleared to a depth of 11.40m in 1871.

(Tagebuch 1871 pp.227,228; Bfw I p.192; Briefe p.117; TA pp.9,40)

Deposit (4). Stratified below deposit (2), at c.37.67m and reaching to c.35.67m A.T. (=2-4m deep), was a stratum which Schliemann identified as a mass of burnt matter. Here he found a few stones, often showing signs of scorching, but no large blocks such as were found in the higher levels.

(Tagebuch 1871 pp.229,230,275; Bfw I pp.199,332 no.266; TA pp.9,40f)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

The wares were handmade and very coarse. None of the pottery was painted.

B24?

Small pots with mouths sometimes "pinchée en arrière".

C30

Owl-face vase (3-4m).

C30/D13

Sherd with human face in low relief, thought by Schliemann to be Egyptian or Phoenician (4m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.224,228,230; Bfw I pp.196,199,202f; TA pp.11,41,42; Ilios p.21).

##### WHORLS

Stone whorls incised with circles. Of blue stone; and one of marble (3m).

Clay whorls are conical and biconical, usually incised on one side only.

(Tgb 1871 p.229; Bfw I p.195; TA pp.10f,23f,40).

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells, Oyster shells, Fish bones, "Sharks' vertebrae", Boars' tusks.

(Tgb 1871 p.229f; TA pp.11,40).

Deposit (5). At c.35.67m, below deposit (4), was a stratum 3m deep (to c.32.67m A.T.) in which Schliemann noted walls of small, unhewn stones joined with clay. At c.35.67-34.67m (=4-5m deep) the stones were "fairly well worked". It was this stratum which, because of the large numbers of stone implements, Schliemann at first took to represent the stone age.

(Tagebuch 1871 pp.242,275; Bfw I p.332 n.266; TA pp.26,34,41; Ilios p.21)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

Despite occasional (Mycenaeán?) sherds with painting "in the Greek manner", found at c.35.67-34.67m, the pottery was in general coarse and handmade. At 34.67-32.67m (=5-7m deep) the wares were monochrome grey, black, red or yellow. (Ilios p.21; Selbstbiographie p.60).

A45?	Two-handled goblets.
A212?	Small cup with very large handle.
A-	Small goblet (4-5m).
B20?	Globular jugs with long necks.
B21?	Globular jugs with long necks and tripod bases.
C30	Jars with owl-face decoration, frequently (4-5m).
C32?	Jar with two raised arms.
C35?	Large jar with three small feet.
C39?	Pithoi.
D3	Bell-shaped lids ("goblets") (6m).
D7/8	"Coronet" lids.
D13	Owl-face lids.
D-	Miniature terracotta "canoes" (4-5m).
D-	Miniature "hearth" (4-5m).
D-	"Whetstones" (4-5m).
D-	Oval basin 2m in diameter. ( <u>Tgb 1871</u> pp.224,238-241,252-3; <u>Bfw I</u> pp.195,196; <u>TA</u> pp.25-6; <u>Selbstbiog.</u> pp.60f).

##### METALWORK

Silver pin (5m).  
Copper knife 17½cm long (6-7m).  
Copper spearhead 16½cm long (6-7m).  
Copper armband (6-7m).  
Copper pins:  
2 (4-4½m).  
1, 9cm long (6m).  
2 with twisted heads (6m).  
1 with round head (6-7m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.219,240,252,254-6; TA pp.21,25,42).

##### CHIPPED STONE

Flint blades in large numbers, including one long, flint knife (6-7m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.230,241,256; TA p.29).

#### POLISHED STONE

Many implements of black stone (diorite?).  
Stone balls of various sizes (6m).  
Hammers, axes, granite weights, slate whetstones,  
querns of pumice and granite.  
Pounders.  
Pieces of large marble vessel (6-7m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.230,239,244,253,255; Bfw I p.197;  
TA pp.21,25-6,41).

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

Many bone needles, one with small decorative design.  
Bone "spoon".  
Pointed bone "knives" (4-5m and 6-7m).  
Bodkins.  
(Tgb 1871 pp.245,254; TA p.26).

#### WHORLS

These are more frequent than in higher strata.  
Conical and biconical types are attested. Decoration  
is incised and white-filled.  
Whorls are made of clay, stone, or broken sherds.  
Round flat stones with central hole, total diam. 2",  
painted red on one side.  
Large conical white marble whorl (6m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.230,240,241,244,245,252,253; TA pp.  
23-4).

#### SMALL FINDS

Clay: terracotta "priapus" 10cm long; weights  
7-12cm long.  
Stone: "priapus" of striped marble 1 inch long.  
Marble cylinder with central hole, 8 x 6½cm.  
Stone ball decorated with lines and circles.  
Marble weights.  
(Tgb 1871 pp.239,252,253,255; TA pp.24-5).

#### FIGURINES

Piece of hard stone representing a human/owl's  
face.  
Small "divine statue" of terracotta.  
(Tgb 1871 pp.240,242,244).

#### PLANT REMAINS

Burnt grain in a jar (4-5m).  
Burnt grain associated with querns (6-7m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.241,255).

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells, Fish bones, Sharks' vertebrae(?),  
Boars' tusks.  
(Tgb 1871 p.255; TA p.40).

Deposit (6). Below deposit (5) Schliemann identified a 3m-thick deposit at c.32.67-29.67m A.T. (=7-10m deep). Here he found immense masses of calcined mudbrick debris and, amongst it, house-walls of mudbrick on stone foundations. Stone thresholds were noted. The house-walls were "the meanest I ever saw". Large numbers of stones were noted from c.32.67 to 31.17m, becoming larger and more troublesome with increasing depth.

(Tagebuch 1871 pp.258,275; Bfw I p.332 n.266; Briefe p.118; TA pp.34,42f; Ilios p.21)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

Schliemann noted that the pottery at this depth tended to be more elegant than in the higher levels. Wares were polished black, red, yellow and green.

A45? Two-handled goblets.  
A45 Depata.  
B 24? Large jugs with necks bent back.  
C28?? Jars with vertical lugs and pierced rims.  
C30 Owl-face jars.  
C32? Large, two-handled jars with raised wings.  
C34? Small jars on tripod bases.  
C39? Pithoi.  
D7/8 "Coronet" lids.  
D- Cylinders 8½cm x 6½cm.  
(Tgb 1871 pp.254f,260f; Bfw I p.203; TA pp.32f,42).

##### METALWORK

Large spherical piece of iron(?) at 7m.  
Small copper axe (8½m).  
2 copper "spearheads" (8½m).  
Copper knives (8½ and 9m).  
Copper pins (8½ and 9m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.256,258f,260; Briefe p.118).

##### CHIPPED STONE

Flint blades.  
Two-edged obsidian blades.  
(TA pp.29,42).

##### POLISHED STONE

Hammers. Axes, sometimes of black stone. Weights. Querns. Micaschist moulds (8-10m).  
(Tgb 1871 pp.256,259; TA pp.29,33f,42).

#### WHORLS

These are mostly biconical, with only a few instances of the conical type.

One clay whorl was thought to bear an inscription, illustrated in Atlas 2-61, TR Nos.326,482, =Ilios No.1982, =SS 5295.

Terracotta disc 2.3" in diam., painted white on one side, with markings thought to be "Phoenician".

(Tgb 1871 p.258; Bfw I p.196; TA pp. 30-2,42,94).

#### SMALL FINDS

Many clay weights 4-5" x 3-4".

(TA p.33).

#### FIGURINES

Small (stone?) idol (c.9m).

(Tgb 1871 p.260).

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells. Boars' tusks. Fish bones.

(TA p.40).

Deposit (7). The trench was excavated to a depth of 10m. Exposed in the bottom of the trench by the end of the season were large buildings of stone. The size and construction of these was at this stage not clear; stones came to light wherever Schliemann dug and, as usual, he attributed the confusion to a putative earthquake. The walls were without mortar; the stones themselves were generally unhewn, but were rough-hewn on occasion. The measurement of 10m depth (c.29.67m A.T.) cannot - in view of Blegen's stratigraphy for CD 4 and D5, together with Dörpfeld's bench-marks - apply to the upper surface of these remains of Dörpfeld's Troy II.1. It simply alludes to what was visible at the bottom of the ten-metre trench.

(Tagebuch 1871 pp.269,270,275; Bfw I pp. 196,197f,332ff n.266; TA pp.37f,43f; Ilios p.21; TI Taf.III; Troy I figs.431, 437)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

A45?

Goblet with two handles.

B14

Small brown globular tripod jug with incised decoration on body

5½cm tall (10m).  
Atlas 89-1847, Ilios No.441, SS  
2437; Fig.V.17.  
(Tgb 1871 pp.260,269; TA p.38).

METALWORK

Copper spearhead.  
2 copper arrowheads.  
Lead plate 1½" x 1½", with incised  
character and a hole in one corner.  
(Tgb 1871 pp.260,270; TA p.38).

POLISHED STONE

Black stone ball.  
(Tgb 1871 p.260).

WHORLS

One conical clay whorl.  
(TA p.38).

ANIMAL REMAINS

Mussel shells. Fish bones. Boars'  
tusks.  
(TA p.40).

AREA iii: CD 4

Figs.III.6; IV.32,33.

This area was excavated during 23rd May-18th June 1872 as the northern end of Schliemann's newly-established North-South trench. The trench was 23m wide and originated as an extension of the western terrace on the recently abandoned north platform. There was some initial work carried down to the two levels of c.30.00m and 24.00m A.T., the levels of the old terrace and platform floor respectively. The terrace was extended southwards by approximately 9 metres. But from 4th June Schliemann adopted a new policy of excavating to the 27.00m level - a theoretical depth of 14m. It is not clear how far South he was able to carry this work by 18th June: far enough, at any rate, to have demolished nearly to the level of the trench floor, but no further, the newly discovered well in D4. His published report in Trojanische Alterthümer has included a

repetition of the stratigraphic divisions he had recorded for the North-South trench in 1871. They were not newly observed and are not recorded at all in the diary for this period in 1872. They will therefore be ignored in the description of deposits which follows. In so far as they belong anywhere they are probably included by Schliemann to give an account of the strata in the "middle platform" of the North-South trench in D 5-6. Relatively few objects can be allocated to this area with certainty. A number can be placed here with plausibility. This includes all those pieces which seem to provide evidence for a deposit of Troy VIIb2 material in Stratum (Ib). It must be admitted that, from the information given by Schliemann, they could equally well derive from squares CD 8-9, the South Platform. But the reconstructed stratigraphy of that area suggests that VIIb2 deposits would there more probably have occurred at 2-4m than at 1-2m, whereas the latter depth would be suitable on the north side of the mound. Also there is the testimony of what seems to be a VIIb2 Buckelkeramik bowl (A104). It was found, undoubtedly, in the lowest deposits of CD 4. Here it must have been out of context, but suggests the presence in the same area of other VIIb2 material.

A rather large body of material has, in addition, been assigned to this trench which may in fact derive either from CD 4 or from D 5-6 (the continuation of the North-South trench in the middle of the mound), or which may be a mixture of the two. I have chosen to catalogue the objects under CD 4 as this seems to have been the area where more work was done and where Schliemann was personally more involved. Although this decision could be mistaken, in practice such a mistake would be of little consequence, as the broad divisions in CD 4 and in D 5-6 seem to have been very similar.

Deposit (1). Apart from the information repeated from the findings of 1871, Schliemann tells us nothing about the character of the soil between the surface (39.67m A.T.) and the depth of 5m. But a sufficiently full record of his finds can be posited to allow us tentatively to subdivide these strata into four periods of deposition.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

Stratum Ia: 39.67-38.67m A.T. (=0-1m deep)  
Material which can be assigned to Troy VIII-IX.

#### WEIGHTS

- (\*) - Terracotta pieces with flat top and two holes.  
 72-487 Impressed with design of bee(?) and square; Fig.V.47.  
 \* 72-690 Impressed with unidentifiable design. Cf. Atlas 17-513?, TR No.37, Ilios No.1469, SS 8322; Fig.V.47.  
 72-707 Plain lentoid terracotta weight with two holes. Fig. V.47.

#### FIGURINES

- \* 72-693 Head of figurine, possibly of a youthful Pan with basket on head (under 1m). Atlas 34-853, SS 9540.

Stratum 1b: 38.67-37.67m A.T. (=1-2m deep)

The material in this stratum may be compared with that of Blegen's Troy VIIb2.

#### POTTERY

- A- \* 72-498 Simple cup with rounded base, slightly narrowed mouth, and handle from rim to body (2m). Fig.V.33.  
 A102 \* 72-552 Tankard with flat base and one large handle (1m). Fig.V.33.  
 A105 \* 72-500 Black handmade cup or jug with horizontal ribs around neck and vertical ribs on body; projecting knob at front (2m). Atlas 33-799, Ilios No.1374, SS 3587; Fig. V.33.  
 A106 \* 72-499 High-handled cup with projecting knob at front (2m). Fig.V.33.  
 C- \* 72-594 Large, hole-mouth jar with two small handles set vertically half way up body on either side (1m). Fig. V.33.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- (\*) 72-638 Flint blade 12cm long (2m).

#### WHORLS

- RIIB \* 72-509 (2m)  
 GIXD \* 72-567 (2m) cf. Atlas 13-425.  
 GID \* 72-569 (2m) cf. Atlas 11-354.  
 GIB \* 72-572 (2m)  
 GIA \* 72-573 (2m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
 GX \* 72-574 (2m) Atlas 13-416?  
 GIB \* 72-575 (2m) cf. Atlas 10-322.  
 GIA \* 72-578 (2m)  
 RIIA \* 72-603 (1m)  
 GIA \* 72-605 (1m)  
 RVIAb \* 72-606 (2m)  
 RIA \* 72-607 (1½m)  
 GIA \* 72-683 (2m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 RIIA 72-705 (2m)  
 GIB \* 72-730 (1.30m)  
 RIIIB (\*) 72-740 (2m) cf. Atlas 1-3.  
 RIIA (\*) 72-797 (2m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIB (\*) 72-810 (2m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 GX \* 72-822 (2m) Atlas 12-384, TR No.428, Ilios No.1928, SS 5532.  
 RIIA \* 72-829 (2m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RVIAb (\*) 72-868 (1m) cf. Atlas 10-335.  
 RIA (\*) 72-870 (2m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RVIAb (\*) 72-871 (2m)  
 RIA (\*) 72-875 (2m)

## SEAL

- \* 72-611 Conical terracotta stamp-seal (2m). Atlas 19-547?  
Ilios No.495, SS 8860; Fig.V.46.

Stratum lc: 37.67-36.67m A.T. (=2-3m deep)

The material in this stratum may partly derive from Troy VIIa-VIIb1, although some (e.g. 72-748) is probably of earlier date.

## POTTERY

- A48? \* 72-850 Wheelmade bowl with 15cm diameter (3m). Atlas 36-917; Fig.V.33.
- C48 (\*) 72-881 Globular jar with straight neck, rim and two handles (2m). Atlas 32-774?? TR No.131; Fig.V.33.
- C205 \* 72-835 Conical, hole-mouth jar 7½m tall (2½m). Maybe MB. Fig.V.31.
- C205 \* 72-837 Conical, hole-mouth jar with two horizontal lines towards top (3m). Maybe MB. Fig.V.31.
- D8 (\*) 72-748 Red polished coronet-lid with two incised lines around body and three superposed straps with central knob (2m). Atlas 76-1646 (8m!), Ilios No.1322, SS 1960. Probably MB. Fig.V.31.
- D33 \* 72-858 Funnel, 7cm long (3m). Fig.V.33.

## METALWORK

- \* 72-849 Knife-blade (2½m). Fig.V.38.

## CHIPPED STONE

- (\*) 72-554 Conical flint core (??) (3m).

## POLISHED STONE

- \* 72-848 Marble disc with central hole, diam. 7cm (3m). Atlas 99-2129? Fig.V.42.
- \* 72-857 Diorite hammer (3m). Fig.V.42.

## WHORLS

- RIB (\*) 72-540 (3m)
- GID (\*) 72-541 (3m)
- GIB (\*) 72-546 (2½m) cf. Atlas 11-352.
- GVII (\*) 72-579 (2½m)
- GX (\*) 72-591 (2½m) Atlas 5-147.
- RIA (\*) 72-592 (2½m) cf. Atlas 8-251.
- RIA \* 72-617 (2½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- GIA (\*) 72-624 (2½m) cf. Atlas 9-301.
- GIA (\*) 72-628 (3m) Atlas 10-329, SS 5108.
- RVIB (\*) 72-731 (3m)
- RIIA (\*) 72-809 (3m)
- GIA? (\*) 72-811 (3m)
- GIB \* 72-823 (3m)
- RIIIA \* 72-825 (3m)
- GIA \* 72-826 (3m)
- RIIC (\*) 72-862 (3m)
- GIXD (\*) 72-865 (2½m)
- RIIIA (\*) 72-866 (3m)
- RIA (\*) 72-877 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIA (\*) 72-889 (2½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIIA (\*) 72-894a/901 (2½m) Atlas 6-183.
- RIA (\*) 72-897 (2½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIA (\*) 72-898 (3m) Atlas 9-302.
- RIIA (\*) 72-904 (2½m)

GIA (\*)72-913 (2½m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
RIB (\*)72-917 (2½m)

TERRACOTTA DISC

\* 72-856 With one central hole. Fig.V.48.

TERRACOTTA BALL

\* 72-595 With four incised encircling lines (3m). Fig.V.46.

Stratum 1d: 36.67-34.67m A.T. (=3-5m deep)

This level certainly includes one item of Troy VI date (72-741). The A33 cup could be of Troy IV or V date, but the type is known from Blegen's excavations to have survived into VI. The date of the B203 jar ought to be EB-MB, but the possibility of survival of the type into VI cannot be precluded.

POTTERY

A33 (\*)72-922 Squat cup with flat base, splayed rim and rising handle (4m). Fig.V.32.  
B203 (\*)72-751 Globular jar with flattened base and slightly flaring neck (4m). Possibly pre-VI. Fig.V.31.  
D46 \* 72-839 Grey slipped terracotta horsehead (4m). Atlas 18-540, TR No.290, Ilios No.1391, SS 4002; intrusive from IX; Fig.V.34.  
- (\*)72-741 Yellow clay figure of a pig painted with bright red crosses (4m). Atlas 18-537, TR No.162, Ilios No.1450, SS 3563, Fig.V.32.  
- (\*)72-598 Sherd with incised herringbone decoration (4m). Fig.V.33.

METALWORK

(\*)72-564 Barbed and tanged arrowhead (5m). cf. Atlas 99-2113; Fig.V.38.

WHORLS

RIIIIA (\*)72-506 (4m)  
RIA (\*)72-576 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
GIA (\*)72-577 (4m)  
RVIB (\*)72-593 (5m)  
RIA (\*)72-658 (4m)  
RIC 72-698 (4m)  
RIIA 72-703 (4m)  
GX 72-708 (4m)  
RIA 72-711 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
GIB (\*)72-723 (4m)  
GIA (\*)72-729 (4m)  
RIVA (\*)72-890 (5/4m)  
RIVB (\*)72-892 (4m)  
RIIA (\*)72-894 (5m)  
RIVB (\*)72-896 (4m)  
RIVA (\*)72-903 (4m)  
GVII (\*)72-908 (4m) Atlas 12-400.  
RIVA (\*)72-912 (4m)

TERRACOTTA BALLS

\* 72-691) Incised ball with eight fields (5m). Atlas 14-450,  
\* 72-692) 92-2155, TR No.493, Ilios No.1993, SS 8904; Fig.V.46.  
72-714 Decorated with incised dots in eight fields (5m). cf. Atlas 15-464; Fig.V.46.  
72-720 Incised (5m). Atlas 14-452, TR No.491, Ilios No.1991, SS 8899; Fig.V.46.

SEAL

(\*72-907 Conical terracotta stamp-seal (5m). Atlas 19-550; Fig.V.46.

Deposit (2). The existence of this deposit is not directly reported by Schliemann, but may be inferred. It is the south wall of the building (Building 6) of which Wall 20 is the north wall. We may now note that in TA p.119 Schliemann explicitly refers to walls, in the plural, at 3m below the surface, having the character of Wall 20, and forming a building which was not yet entirely demolished.

Deposit (3). The top of Well 2, walled with stones and mud mortar, was discovered at 35.67m A.T. (=4m deep) on 7th June. During excavation of CD 4 the well was almost entirely removed down to the level of the trench floor. It appears in Atlas Taf.117, where it is marked 'Pa', and lies in Square D4. Unless Schliemann failed to identify the upper parts of the structure, it seems that the well must have been abandoned during Troy VI. Its position within Building 6, if Building 6 is correctly reconstructed, is curious and unparalleled in the case of the other Troy VI wells (Ba, Bb, Bc). One probably postdates the other.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.390)

Deposit (4) consists of the material surrounding the walls to be referred to under Deposit (5), part of which must constitute the related occupation deposits, and part the destruction deposit. These strata, which Schliemann himself does not isolate, lie at c.34.67m with a depth of approximately one metre, their bottom lying at c.33.67m A.T. (=5-6m deep). They must derive from Troy III or IV.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- |      |          |   |
|------|----------|---|
| A212 | (*72-558 | Grey rounded cup with loop-handle attached to rim of cup at one end (5m). <u>Atlas</u> 47-1128, <u>SS</u> 672; Fig.V.30.  |
| A228 | * 72-600 | Grey-slipped 'hourglass' tankard with two handles (restored) and four lines around stem (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 51-1234; <u>Ilios</u> No.1080?, <u>TI</u> fig.132, <u>SS</u> 1880; Fig.V.30. |
| B13  | * 72-601 | Jug with rounded base and rising spout; handle and spout broken (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 49-1180; Fig.V.30.   |
| B210 | (*72-597 | Pedestal flask with two lugs, similar in shape to <u>Ilios</u> No.304 (6m); Fig.V.30.   |
| C28  | (*72-924 | Globular jar with straight neck, holes in lip, and two vertically perforated lugs; 7cm high, 6½cm diam. (6m). <u>Atlas</u> 50-1216?; Fig.V.30.  |
| D26  | (*72-735 | Squat sieve or colander with flattish base and splayed rim (6m); Fig.V.30.  |
| D203 | 72-718   | Lid with two pierced horns (5m). Fig.V.30.  |
| D-   | * 72-838 | Terracotta cylindrical box, 6cm x 4cm (5m). Cf. <u>Ilios</u> No.472; Fig.V.30.  |

CHIPPED STONE

(\*)72-781 Chipped stone blade (5½m).

POLISHED STONE

(\*)72-584 Macehead(?) or spherical hammer (6m). Fig.V.42

WHORLS

RIIA (\*)72-490  
GIA (\*)72-492  
RIVC (\*)72-507 (6m) Fig.V.49.  
RIA (\*)72-524 cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIB (\*)72-630 (6m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
GIA (\*)72-633 (6m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
RIVA (\*)72-635 (6m)  
RIVA (\*)72-636 (6m)  
RIA \* 72-669 (6m)  
RIA \* 72-670  
RIB \* 72-674 (6m)  
RVIAb \* 72-675 cf. Atlas 8-267.  
RVIAb \* 72-676 cf. Atlas 8-267?  
RIIA \* 72-678  
RIIC \* 72-680  
RIC 72-700  
RIB (\*)72-891 (6m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
RIIIA (\*)72-893  
RIIA (\*)72-894b  
RIIA (\*)72-900  
RIB (\*)72-902 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
GIA (\*)72-914  
RIA (\*)72-915

MISCELLANEOUS

(\*)72-923 Clay cylinder 7cm x 6cm, with longitudinal hole (6m). Fig.V.48.

Deposit (5). At c.34.37m A.T. or higher Schliemann found the remains of a mudbrick building whose walls were 45cm thick and preserved to a height of one metre. Their base lay on deposit (6) which itself is recorded as lying 3½m above Wall 21. Depending on the thickness of deposit (6) - here arbitrarily given an assumed thickness of 20cm - the top of deposit (5) may be higher or lower than 34.37m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.367)

Deposit (6). Underlying the mudbrick building (deposit (5)) Schliemann found a stratum of small stones at 3½m above Wall 21, i.e. at c.33.17m.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.367)

Deposit (7). We may treat separately the material underlying deposit (6) and reaching down to a depth of 8m below the summit (=31.67m A.T.), where

Schliemann himself seems to have observed some difference which caused him to treat it as a dividing line. This division may correspond with that previously noted at 7½m below the summit (32.17m). The character of the soil is not described; the objects appear to be characteristic Blegen's Troy II-V. The jug 72-550, found at a depth of 7m, is of a type (B17?) not attested later than Troy III in Blegen's excavations. The jar 72-752, also found at 7m, would not, so far as is known, be at home later than Troy III. Considering the stratification established for the adjoining deposits (see Fig.IV.33), an allocation to Troy III will be the most probable.

(TA p.104)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- (6½m)  
C 28 \* 72-620 Globular jar with flat base, flaring neck separated from body by two horizontal lines. Two small perforated lugs on upper part of the body and two perforations in lip. Atlas 50-1219? Fig.V.26.
- (7m)  
A2 72-719 Shallow plate or bowl. Atlas 64-1439? Fig.V.24.  
A33 (\*) 72-563 Cup with high handle, flat base and slightly splayed rim. Atlas 61-1379? Fig.V.24.  
A43 (\*) 72-879 Hourglass tankard with two handles. Atlas 58-1331; Fig.V.24.  
B3 (\*) 72-749 Straight-necked jug with flat base and one handle (restored). Atlas 64-1421? Fig.V.25.  
B17 (\*) 72-550 Jug with ovoid body and slightly pinched spout. (Atlas 57-1317?). Fig.V.25.  
B201 (\*) 72-752 Jar with ovoid body and straight neck. Fig.V.25.  
C205 72-717 Squat piriform jar with narrow neck and two knobs. Cf. shape C8, but without the wings. Fig.V.25.  
D13 (\*) 72-517 Black burnished face-lid. Atlas 65-1441, SS 325; Fig. V.27.  
D33 (\*) 72-640 Funnel 7cm x 4cm. Atlas 57-1326? Fig.V.26.

##### METALWORK

- (\*) 72-769 Pin, type 1. (7m). Fig.V.39.

##### WHORLS

- RIA (\*) 72-488 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
RIVB (\*) 72-503 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-33, SS 4724.  
GIB (\*) 72-504 (7m) cf. Atlas 11-352.  
RIIIA (\*) 72-513 (7m)  
RIB (\*) 72-518 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
RIB (\*) 72-531 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
GIA (\*) 72-532 (7m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
RIC (\*) 72-543 (7m) cf. Atlas 12-391.  
RVIB (\*) 72-548 (7m)  
GID (\*) 72-565 (7m) cf. Atlas 11-354.

RIB (\*) 72-566 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 GIVA \* 72-609) (7m) Atlas 13-432, TR Nos.292,496, Ilios No.1996, SS  
 \* 72-610) 5212; Fig.V.50.  
 RIIA \* 72-612 (7m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIB \* 72-614 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 RIIIB \* 72-615 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
 RIA (\*) 72-631 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIA (\*) 72-632 (7m)  
 GIA (\*) 72-634 (7m) cf. Atlas 10-328.  
 RIVA 72-651 (7m)  
 GX (\*) 72-662 (7m) Atlas 13-424, TR No.346, Ilios No.1846, SS 5538.  
 RIIB \* 72-671 (7m)  
 RIA \* 72-673 (7m)  
 RIVC \* 72-679 (7m)  
 RIB \* 72-681 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-3.  
 RIC 72-704 (7m)  
 GIA (\*) 72-738 (7m)  
 RIB (\*) 72-861 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 GIA (\*) 72-864 (7m)  
 RIA (\*) 72-911 (7m)  
 GVI/VIII (\*) 72-918 (7m)

#### WEIGHTS

\* 72-786 Grooved circular stone weight (7m). Fig.V.47.

Deposit (8). Underlying Deposit (7) we may distinguish a separate stratum which must overlie Deposit (9) of which Schliemann explicitly speaks. This confines the deposit within the levels 8-9 $\frac{1}{2}$ m deep (=31.67-30.17m A.T.). Once again Schliemann provides no specific information about the character of the soil, but numerous objects were recovered from these depths. The material can be no earlier than Troy II (types A45, C5, D13 are attested) and perhaps no later than Troy III (type D3 is present).

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

(8m)  
 A39 \* 72-842 One-handled tankard, but with neck not flaring as much as in A39. Atlas 66-1460? (handle restored). Fig.V.22.  
 A45 (\*) 72-587 Depas. Fig.V.22.  
 A45 \* 72-821 Red polished depas. Atlas 77-1653? Fig.V.22.  
 A45 72-643 Red polished depas. Atlas 77-1652? Fig.V.22.  
 A212 \* 72-501 Shallow cup with flat base and wide mouth; small loop handle curves down from rim. Fig.V.22.  
 B3? \* 72-495 Globular jug with flat base; broken neck has two "rivets" at base. Fig.V.22.  
 B3 \* 72-496 Globular jug with flat base and rising spout. Atlas 76-1645, Ilios No.376, SS 369; Fig.V.22  
 B6? (\*) 72-880 Jar with flat base, narrow neck and simple mouth restored as two-handled flask. Atlas 73-1601? Fig.V.23.  
 B17 72-653 Brown slipped jug with flat base and rising spout. Atlas 73-1599, SS 403; Fig.V.22.

- B204 \* 72-834 Globular jar with rounded base, straight neck, two vertical lugs and a knob; 10cm high. Fig.V.22.
- C5 (\*) 72-747 Globular jar with rounded base and straight neck; two loop-handles set low on body, and bucrania-like curved plastic decoration; Fig.V.23.
- C28 \* 72-695 Globular jar with flat base, short neck and two lugs on body. Atlas 78-1664? Fig.V.22.
- C28 (\*) 72-743 Pale brown globular jar lightly burnished, with rounded base, tall narrow neck and two perforated vertical lugs. Atlas 71-1573, Ilios No.287, SS 416; Fig.V.22.
- C28 (\*) 72-668 Globular jar with rounded base, collar neck and two perforated vertical lugs. Atlas 72-1580; Fig.V.22.
- C30 (\*) 72-753 Fragment of a face-jar.
- C200 (\*) 72-742 Fragment of jar(?); globular body, flattened base decorated with three incised(?) horizontal lines around middle of body, and groups of three vertical lines down lower part of body. Fig.V.22.
- C223 (\*) 72-764 Ovoid, hole-mouth jar with one vertical lug(?). Fig. V.22.
- D3 (\*) 72-775 Flanged lid with one loop-handle. Cf. Atlas 67-1506? Fig.V.24.
- D13 (\*) 72-516 Yellow slipped face-lid. Atlas 75-1624, Ilios No.991, SS 328; Fig.V.23.
- D29 (\*) 72-582 Brown & green slipped and polished theriomorphic vase on three legs, with open, cutaway spout, loop-handle from spout to top of body. A tail is present at the other end of the body. Top of body decorated with incised chevrons. Atlas 74-1613, Ilios No.333, SS 2432; Fig.V.22.
- D200 (\*) 72-486 Circular lid, incised. Diam. 9cm. Fig.V.23.
- D216 \* 72-840 Globular jar with tapering neck and one horizontally perforated lug. Fig.V.22.
- (8½m)
- C28 (\*) 72-920 Globular jar with rounded base, tall tapering neck and two vertically perforated lugs. 7½cm high x 7cm diam. Fig.V.18.
- D200 (\*) 72-777 Circular lid with two holes. Atlas 98-2055?
- (9m)
- A2 \* 72-841 Shallow bowl, 17cm diam. Fig.V.17.
- B3 (\*) 72-588 Tall, ovoid jug with straight rim and flat base. Atlas 82-1742; Fig.V.17.
- B18 \* 72-549 Ovoid jug with flat base and rising spout. Atlas 83-1752? Fig.V.17.
- C27 \* 72-836 Globular jar with straight neck and one horizontal handle, lug or spout. Fig.V.18.
- C28 (\*) 72-585 Globular jar with rounded base, tall neck with holes in rim and two horizontally perforated(?) lugs. Atlas 79-1676?? Fig.V.18.
- C28 72-715 Globular jar with flattish base, flaring neck (restored) and two perforated lugs. Atlas 80-1700? Fig.V.18.
- D1 72-586 Flanged lid with three holes(?) in top. Fig.V.21.
- D13 (\*) 72-767 Fragment of plain polished face-lid. Atlas 84-1758, SS 326; Fig.V.21.
- D13 (\*) 72-776 Black polished dome-shaped lid(?) with plastic ornament of three bars forming three sides of a square,

- and one knob in the centre. Atlas 84-1761; Fig.V.21.  
 - (\*) 72-583 Sherd with plastic decoration of ridge, triangle and circle.

#### METALWORK

- (8m)  
 (\*) 72-773 Bronze or copper knife blade. Atlas 69-1539, TR No. 45e, Ilios No.962; Fig.V.37.  
 (\*) 72-785 Lead ring. Atlas 98-2030? Fig.V.39.

- (9m)  
 72-641 Three flat axes of copper. Atlas 84-1766,1767; Fig. V.35.  
 - Two copper flat axes (Tgb 1872 p.372).  
 72-642 Copper knife blade. Fig.V.35.  
 \* 72-694 Copper blade from long dagger. Fig.V.35.  
 72-716 Curved copper knife. Fig.V.35.  
 (\*) 72-721 Copper pick-axe, Stronach type 1. Atlas 93-1912?? (10m), Ilios No.958? Fig.V.35.

#### STONE AND CLAY MOULDS ETC.

- (8m)  
 (\*) 72-754 Broken mica-schist mould for two objects. Atlas 69-1553, TR No.46, Ilios No.602, SS 6766; Fig.V.40.  
 (\*) 72-755 Mica-schist mould for flat axe and spearhead. Atlas 69-1546, SS 6732; Fig.V.40.  
 (\*) 72-756 Clay mould for flat axe. Atlas 70-1562? SS 6761? Fig.V.40.  
 (\*) 72-778 Mould for dagger blade(?) Fig.V.40.  
 (\*) 72-882 Mica-schist mould for flat axes et al. Atlas 69-1554?? Fig.V.40.

- (9m)  
 (\*) 72-779 Fragment of stone mould for ingot(?) Atlas 93-1974; Fig.V.40.  
 (\*) 72-774 Lump of slag(?)

#### POLISHED STONE

- (\*) 72-757 Pounder (8m). Atlas 66-1487? Fig.V.41.  
 (\*) 72-759(?) Shafthole double-hammer (8m?). Fig.V.41.  
 (\*) 72-761 Celt (8m) Fig.V.41.  
 (\*) 72-762 Hammer-stone (8m). Atlas 69-1524? Fig.V.41.  
 (\*) 72-780 Celt (8m). Atlas 66-1467; Fig.V.41.  
 (\*) 72-784 Celt (8m). Fig.V.41.  
 (\*) 72-760 Black stone pendant, foetus-shaped (8m). Atlas 24-646, TR No.50, Ilios No.651, SS 7796; Fig.V.41.

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

- (\*) 72-770 Knife (8m). Fig.V.43.  
 (\*) 72-639 Ring of mother-of-pearl (8m). Atlas 98-2062? Fig.V.43.

#### WHORLS

- RIIA (\*) 72-489 (8m)  
 RIA (\*) 72-491 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIB (\*) 72-505 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-3.  
 RIB (\*) 72-510 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIB (\*) 72-523 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-3.  
 RIIC (\*) 72-528 (9m) cf. Atlas 5-135.

GIA (\*) 72-535 (8m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 GIA (\*) 72-542 (9m)  
 RIIIA (\*) 72-568 (9m)  
 RIIIB (\*) 72-570 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
 GIA (\*) 72-571 (8m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 GIXA (\*) 72-589-590 (9m) Atlas 10-313?? SS 5410; Fig.V.50.  
 GIA (\*) 72-616 (9m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 RIA (\*) 72-625 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIA (\*) 72-626 (9m) cf. Atlas 8-240; Fig.V.49.  
 RIIA 72-637 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-238.  
 RIVA 72-645 (9m) cf. Atlas 3-86.  
 RIIC 72-648 (9m) Fig.V.49.  
 RIB 72-649 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-3.  
 RIB 72-652 (8m)  
 RIIIB (\*) 72-661 (8m)  
 GID \* 72-677 (9m) Atlas 4-128.  
 RIVB 72-697 (9m)  
 RIB 72-712 (8m)  
 RIVB (\*) 72-724 (9m)  
 RID (\*) 72-725 (8m) Atlas 10-307, TR No.339, Ilios No.1839.  
 RIIIA (\*) 72-727 (8m) cf. Atlas 5-150, cf. SS 4641.  
 RIIB (\*) 72-728 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-16.  
 RVIIDc (\*) 72-733 (9m) Fig.V.49.  
 RIA (\*) 72-734 (8m)  
 GIB (\*) 72-736 (8m)  
 GIA (\*) 72-737 (8m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 RIA (\*) 72-739 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIIA (\*) 72-788 (9m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RVIIDd (\*) 72-789 (8m)  
 RIIIB (\*) 72-790 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-18.  
 RIB (\*) 72-791 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIA (\*) 72-792 (8m)  
 RIIA (\*) 72-793 (8m)  
 GVII (\*) 72-794 (8m)  
 RIC (\*) 72-795 (8m) Atlas 12-383? SS 5503.  
 GIB (\*) 72-798 (8m)  
 RIVB (\*) 72-799 (8m)  
 RIIIC (\*) 72-800 (8m)  
 GIB (\*) 72-801 (8m)  
 GID (\*) 72-802 (9m) Fig.V.49.  
 RIC (\*) 72-804 (8m)  
 RVIIBb (\*) 72-806 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-8.  
 RVIIDc (\*) 72-807 (8m) Atlas 4-129.  
 GIA (\*) 72-812 (9m)  
 RIA (\*) 72-813 (9m) Atlas 9-300? (10m)  
 RIC (\*) 72-814 (8m)  
 RVB \* 72-824 (9m)  
 RIB \* 72-828 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIA \* 72-830 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIIB (\*) 72-869 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
 RIB (\*) 72-872 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 GVB (\*) 72-873 (6m) Atlas 9-279 (9m), TR No.338, Ilios No.1838.  
 GIA (\*) 72-876 (9m)  
 GIA (\*) 72-895 (8m)  
 RIC (\*) 72-899 (8m)

TERRACOTTA BALLS

(\*) 72-805 (8m?) Plain.  
 (\*) 72-581 (9m) Incised with cross. Fig.V.46.

#### WEIGHTS

- (\*) 72-512 Sandstone net-sinker, with two horizontal incisions (8m). Atlas 98-2086, TI fig.445, SS 8365; Fig.V.47.
- (\*) 72-783 Rectangular schist net-sinker with hole at one end (8m). Atlas 98-2087? Fig.V.47.
- (\*) 72-758 Stone weight with lateral hole. Fig.V.47.

#### SEALS

- (\*) 72-745 Terracotta stamp seal (8m). Ilios No.493, SS 8857ff; Fig.V.46.
- (\*) 72-551 Terracotta stamp seal (9m). Atlas 19-561; Fig.V.46.

#### FIGURINES

- 2A (\*) 72-771 Marble(?) figurine (8m). Fig.V.44.
- 3C (\*) 72-782 Bone figurine (8m). Fig.V.45.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

- (\*) 72-765 Marble disc (8m), cf. Atlas 99-2125; Fig.V.41.
- (\*) 72-772 Terracotta phallus(?) (8m). Fig.V.48.
- (\*) 72-556 Rectangular granite tablet with incised cross (9m). Atlas 83-1750, SS 8402; Fig.V.41.

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

- \* 72-843 Ox horn (8m).
- Large number of mussel shells at 8-9m (Tgb 1872 p.376).

Deposit (9). At c.30.17m A.T. (=9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>m deep) Schliemann found a stratum of yellow ash which appears to have surrounded Megaron IIA and to have overlain Deposit (11) at c.29.67m. The material is comparable with that of Blegen's Troy II.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.370,379,403; TA p.117)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

Wares: polished black and red, well made; vessels rarely intact (Tgb pp.374,381)

- A39 \* 72-559 Tankard with flat bottom, straight wide neck and single handle from neck to body (10m). Atlas 87-1828? Fig.V.17.
- B3 (\*) 72-666 Brown globular jug with flat base, straight narrow neck and single handle from neck to body. Handle and rim restored. Network of incised lines on upper half of body, not shown in 72-666 (10m). Atlas 91-1896? SS 2227? Fig.V.17.
- B17 \* 72-655 Piriform jug with rounded base, sloping mouth (restored), long narrow neck, and handle from rim to body (10m). Atlas 85-1779? Fig.V.17.
- B201 (\*) 72-667 Globular flask with collar neck (10m). Fig.V.18.
- C10 (\*) 72-750 Ovoid jar with narrow neck and two vertical handles set half way up body (10m). Atlas 92-1906; Fig.V.20.
- C27 72-562 Brown slipped globular jar with flat base, short neck, two vertical, perforated lugs and decoration of three vertical herringbones on at least one side (10m).

- Atlas 86-1803, Ilios No.293, SS 2425; Fig.V.18.
- C28 (\*)72-665 Globular jar with flattened base, tall straight neck and two vertical perforated lugs on body (10m). Atlas 87-1823; Fig.V.18.
- C39 - Mass of pithoi at 10m, one containing bones (Tgb 1872 p.387).
- C39 (\*)72-808 Pithos-fragment decorated with circles and herringbone design (10m). Fig.V.21.

#### METALWORK

- (\*)72-722 Ribbed and tanged dagger or knife-blade, slightly curved (10m). Atlas 90-1876, SS 6161. Analysis in Gale 1984, p.39. Fig.V.35.
- \* 72-852 Pin with spherical head (10m). Fig.V.38; and other copper 'nails' (Tgb 1872 p.378).

#### TREASURE 'N' (9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>m)

- Atlas 98-2070 Closed circular silver bracelet, rhomboid in section, SS 6130; Fig.V.38.
- Atlas 98-2078 Bundle of three silver bracelet-wires, Ilios No.861, SS 6132.
- Atlas 98-2079 Open spiral bracelet of silver, Ilios No.862, SS 6131; Fig.V.38.
- Atlas 98-2075 Gold shell earring with five rows of longitudinal granulation; found adhering to Atlas 98-2078? = Atlas 17-523, SS 6126; visible on Ilios No.861? Fig.V.38.
- Atlas 98-2076) Two bundles of silver shell earrings with one, five and  
" 98-2077) six lobes; also various unidentifiable items of silver jewellery, all corroded together. SS 6128,6129.
- One silver shell earring with five or six lobes, attached to 98-2078. TR p.164, SS 6127.
- Eleven silver shell earrings with five lobes, Ilios p.492.
- One silver earring resembling "a pair of tongs", Ilios p.493.
- Large number of gold beads, Ilios p.493.
- One cylindrical electrum bead, Ilios p.493.
- Twenty sections of necklace or torque, with small silver rings encasing surved pieces identified as ivory, Ilios Nos.863,864; Fig.V.38.
- Many (more than 158) small loose silver rings from necklace or torque, Ilios p.492.
- A "very artistic ornament" attached to 98-2078. No counterpart to the gold shell earring SS 6125, assigned by Schmidt to Treasure N, can be found in the 1872 diary, the Atlas, Trojanische Alterthümer or Ilios. On Treasure 'N' see further Antiquity 58 (1984) p.201.

#### STONE MOULDS

- (\*)72-746 Grooved lid(?) of mica-schist "mould" (10m). Atlas 90-1879(?) Fig.V.40.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- Many flint points (Tgb 1872 p.376).

#### POLISHED STONE

- (\*)72-533 Stone flat axe (10m). Atlas 93-1942; Fig.V.41.
- 72-654 Pounder, 30cm x 13cm (10m). Atlas 86-1798; Fig.V.41.

## BONE ARTEFACTS

- Awl (Tgb 1872 p.376).

### WHORLS

RIA (\*)72-521 (10m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIA (\*)72-522 (10m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
GIA (\*)72-623 (10m) cf. Atlas 13-412; Fig.V.49.  
RVIAb (\*)72-627 (10m) Fig.V.49.  
RIVB 72-646 (10m) Atlas 6-189?  
RIA 72-647 (10m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIIC (\*)72-657 (10m) cf. Atlas 5-135.

Below 10m Whorls are usually undecorated and are not so common as in higher levels (Tgb 1872 pp.372,376).

### ANIMAL REMAINS

\* 72-844 Ram's horn (10m).  
- Mussel shells (Tgb 1872 pp.376,379).

Deposit (10). In his excavations in CD 4 Schliemann was able to trace further the structure (Megaron IIA) of which Wall 21 was a part. He records that he found a "room" which took up nearly the whole terrace. This "room" is likely to have been the exterior northern end of the megaron. The foundations attained a depth of only  $\frac{1}{2}$ m, which is noticeably shallower than the 1.30m noted by Dörpfeld for the southern end of the building.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.363,372; TA p.110; TI p.89f)

Deposits (11)-(14). Below Megaron IIA, and stretching from below its northern walls towards the northern edge of the terrace, Schliemann found a confused sequence of deposits which he does not distinguish very clearly. He says that between 10 and "18"m deep the deposits were hard and damp, although including some ash near Wall 21; that there were only ash and stones in "the lowest 8 metres". Yet a subdivision of these deposits seems possible. Schliemann had in mind the possibility that he might find a continuation of the white pebble pavement discovered earlier on the North Platform. He did not in fact do so, but this did not stop him from using its anticipated position  $3\frac{1}{2}$ m above the trench floor (=c.27.50m A.T.) as a point of reference. Above it the stones were large blocks, below it they were comparatively small. Above it there was also a large deposit of ash. This appears again in what must be a general description of the deposits, where Schliemann refers to red, light ash and terrible masses of stones forming a deposit 4-5m high. Elsewhere we hear of a  $3\frac{1}{2}$ m-thick

layer of stones at 10m deep.

Allowing for some confusion, these accounts seem to coincide with the picture to be derived from the section-drawing in Troy I fig.422 where a thick layer of large stones labelled 'strata of Troy II' overlies, and is separated from, the stone fill behind wall 'm' of Troy I by some strata of earth. The overall measurements of depth including both lots of stones do vary from 3½m to 5m. This interpretation has therefore been adopted in the account which follows.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.370-385)

Deposit (11). Below Megaron IIA, stretching from below its northern walls towards the northern edge of the terrace, Schliemann found a mass of irregularly placed stone blocks. Bones and ash could be found between them. The top of the deposit lay at c.29.67m A.T. (=10m deep). The depths noted for strata and objects below this level are rather confused, but it seems that the deposit must have reached down to perhaps c.28.00m A.T., where it overlay deposit (12), although the upper limit of this latter deposit is not in fact recorded.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.372,374f,381,385)

Deposit (12). Over deposit (13), which lay at c.27.50m A.T., and therefore below deposit (11), Schliemann found a large deposit of red, light ash. It is not clear how deep this deposit was, but it can perhaps be identified in Troy I fig.422 below the mass of stones marked "Strata of Troy II". Within this deposit he also found two layers of what may have been slag - "metallic-like material which as been poured out". The depths given by Schliemann for these lowest deposits are rather erratic; but as deposit (11) is said to lie at 10-13m deep (Tgb p.385) and deposit (13) at 14½m deep (Tgb p.370), we may assign to deposit (12) those objects said to derive from depths of 13-14m. They seem mostly to be from Troy II, although some (such as the A12 bowls) could derive from Troy I.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.378f)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

#### POTTERY

Wares are usually black, often with decoration on the inside of the vessel (Tgb 1872 p.385)

- A12 - Two black bowls with horizontal lugs on rim (TA p.106).  
Atlas 105-2310 (14m), Ilios No.38, SS 24; see Fig.V.16.
- A26 - Red pedestal cup with high handle (TA p.106). Atlas

- 105-2311 (14m), Ilios No.51, SS 161; see Fig.V.16.
- A104 - Large yellow bowl with one handle and three large, curved ram's-horn projections (TA p.106). Atlas 103-2297 (14m?), Ilios No.1369, SS 3611. Intrusive from VIIb2? Fig.V.33.
- B218 - Red double jug with beakspouts (restored) (TA p.106). Atlas 104-2298 (14m), TR No.105, Ilios No.161, SS 1927; see Fig.V.16.
- C28 - Red globular jar with four lugs and restored neck. Atlas 104-2301 (14m); see Fig.V.16.
- C28(?) 72-696 Fragment of black vessel? Or miniature jar? (13m).
- C35 - Black polished tripod jar with two lugs, wide chimney-neck, and incised decoration of zigzags and dots (TA p.106). Atlas 103-2296 (14m), TR No.106, Ilios No.163, SS 2349; see Fig.V.16.
- C- - Black globular (wheelmade?) jar with rounded base and two sets of double vertical lugs (TA p.106) (14m). Atlas 105-2312, Ilios No.23, SS 2081; see Fig.V.16.
- D8 - Cylinder lid surmounted by four straps and central knob (13m). Atlas 104-2307; see Fig.V.16.
- D15? \* 72-925 Unidentified object, possibly a flat lid with two holes; decorated with chevrons (14m). Fig.V.21.
- \* 72-831 Sherd with incised zigzags on a background of parallel lines (14m). Cf. Atlas 27-735.

#### METALWORK

- \* 72-846 Razor or fragment of knife-blade (14m). Fig.V.35.

#### POLISHED STONE

- \* 72-832 Cylindrical vessel with concave neck (13-14m) Fig.V.41.
- 72-926 Saddle quern (14m). Atlas 102-2293? (16m), TR No.103, Ilios No.75.
- Hammer (Tgb 1872 p.385).
- Marble 'phallus' (TA p.109).

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

- Bone 'dagger' (TA p.105).
- Bone knife with decoration of incised "suns" (TA p.105) (14m). Atlas 25-665, TR No.14, Ilios No.142; SS 7624; Fig.V.43.
- Bone rings (TA p.105).

#### WHORLS

Not so common as in higher levels. Usually biconical and undecorated (Tgb 1872 pp.372,385).

#### WEIGHTS

- Stone weights are attested (Tgb 1872 p.385).

#### FIGURINE

- Broken terracotta figurine (14m). Atlas 20-562, TR No.109, Ilios No.71; Fig.V.45.

#### HUMAN REMAINS(?)

- (\*)72-766 Tooth (14m).

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

- Many bones (Tgb 1872 p.385).

- 72-833 Ox horn (14m).  
 - Boars' tusks, rams' horns, antlers, 'sharks'  
 vertebrae', shells (TA pp.107-9).

Deposit (13). Among the 4-5m - (or alternatively 3½m -) high agglomeration of stones and ashes, it seems that Schliemann did distinguish a lower stratum of smaller stones below the ash of deposit (12). This can probably be identified as the fill shown in Troy I fig.422 stretching South from Blegen's wall 'm' with its upper surface at c.27m A.T. There are, however, some difficulties in joining Blegen's wall 'm' to Dörpfeld's which, in TI Taf.III and fig.7, seems to lie several metres further North. It seems possible, though hardly certain, that Blegen's team could have made a wrong identification and that their wall 'm' was actually a different structure from Dörpfeld's. But this can now only be a matter of speculation. The line of the wall drawn in on Fig.IV.32 is at all events a matter of guesswork.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.370,374; TI fig.7; Troy I figs.422,424)

Deposit (14). From the very lowest strata of the excavations Schliemann records 'stone-hard' deposits of bones, ash, charcoal and many stones. No continuation of the pavement of white pebbles was found. At a supposed depth of 15m he found what he described as a small, private burial-ground. It seems to have been a small cist grave, for three stones enclosed the burial: two vessels with ash, one containing the remains of a six-month old foetus.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.369,373,376,381; TA p.107)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- Wares are polished and black or red (Tgb 1872 p.367)
- A7            72-621 Fragment of pedestalled cup or dish (18m). Several other such fragments are attested (TA p.106).
- A 207        72-599 Black cylindrical pot-stand (18m). Atlas 114-2323; see Fig.V.16.
- D24           - Tripod vessel with strap handle from rim to body. In it was found an infant burial (TA p.107f) (15½m). Atlas 103-2294, TR No.107, Ilios No.59, SS 1; see Fig.V.16.
- "            - Similar vessel to 103-2294, but larger. Found with it, and said to contain human ashes (TA p.107f) (15½m). Atlas 103-2295, SS 2; see Fig.V.16.

#### METALWORK

- Copper pin (Tgb 1872 p.371).
- Pair of copper bracelets (TA p.105).

#### CHIPPED STONE

- 72-557 Stone blade 4½cm long (17m).
- Other flint blades (TA p.106).

#### POLISHED STONE

- Unspecified tool of green stone (Tgb 1872 p.369).
- Quern (Tgb 1872 p.372).
- Other stone tools, no details (Tgb 1872 p.371).
- Large and small axes (TA p.108).
- Hammers. (TA p.108).

#### BONE ARTEFACTS

- Bone "knitting needle" (Tgb 1872 p.371).

#### WHORLS

Not very common and usually undecorated (Tgb 1872 p.371f).  
72-613 (18m)

#### WEIGHTS

- Round stone weight(?) (Tgb 1872 p.369).
- Granite weights (TA p.108).

#### HUMAN REMAINS

- Infant burial in a pot (Atlas 103-2294), found together with another, similar vessel said to contain human ashes. Both were found enclosed in a miniature cist-grave formed by three stone slabs (TA p.107-8) (15½m).

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

- Bones; boars' teeth (Tgb 1872 pp.369,373).

#### AREA iv: D 5-6

Figs.III.6; IV.34.

In the period 23rd May-18th June 1872, when Schliemann began his scheme of working on a narrower North-South trench which would join the north and south platforms, excavation was started in a "middle platform". Its location is not definitely known, but it is likely to have adjoined the

old North-South trench of 1871, which had been excavated to a depth of 10m. Its purpose must have been to extend the 1871 trench either northwards to the North Platform or southwards towards the South Platform. The latter is the more likely plan for Schliemann to have adopted, for here there was a much greater distance to be covered before the trenches were joined, towards which conclusion Schliemann was pressing keenly. I have therefore tentatively assumed a location in D 5-6, at the southern end of the 1871 trench.

How far the excavations progressed during this period is not known. Work on the "middle" platform is only mentioned on a few occasions, and was certainly not a dominant factor in Schliemann's plans. Progress was perhaps fairly modest. The limits shown in Figs.III.6 and IV.34 are no more than estimates. There is equally no clear evidence of the depth to which excavation was carried, but it is likely to have been to a depth of 14m, where Schliemann expected to find virgin soil. In this case he may have deepened the 1871 trench also.

In the diary information about the stratification and finds in this trench is extremely scanty. To a large extent this is because Schliemann was primarily interested in recording the evidence from the area where he himself was supervising and tended to neglect other areas. But it is also possible that among the objects I have assigned to CD 4 there may be some which were actually found in D 5-6. In Trojanische Alterthümer, ch.x includes much stratigraphic information taken over from his previous year's description of the North-South trench of 1871. This may be intended to provide the necessary details of stratification in the "middle" platform which was, after all, an extension of the 1871 trench; but it does not rest on fresh observation and will be ignored here. There is no new information at all about the deposits below c.37.67m A.T.

Deposit (1). Schliemann gives no information about the stratum at 0-1m deep, except to note an absence of two-holed lentoid clay weights ("ex-votos"), and the presence "on the surface" of spindle-whorls with "sun-ray" designs.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.365)

Deposit (2). For the strata at 1-2m deep (=38.67-37.67m A.T.) there is again no information about the character of the soil, and only minimal

information about finds.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- C- 72-555 Deep, straight-sided jar with rounded base, two vertical loop-handles half way up body, and a protruding knob on middle of body. Coarse ware. (Tgb 1872 p.366) (1m). Atlas 33-798? (2m). Fig.V.33.

##### ANIMAL REMAINS

- Mass of boars' teeth (Tgb 1872 pp.364,366).

#### AREA v: D 4-6

Figs.III.7; IV.35

This area was dug by Schliemann during the period 19th June-13th July 1872 as a continuation of his attempt to dig a North-South trench that would join up with the South Platform. Much of the trench lay in the area that had been dug in 1871. Here he deepened the bottom of the trench from c.30m A.T. to c.27m A.T. In other parts of the trench the same depth had to be attained by digging down from the surface of the mound. By 13th July the trench had apparently reached a distance of 80m from the north edge of the mound. It seems to have been c.18m wide in D4 and c.12m wide in D6.

Schliemann's notes provide almost no direct record of the stratification in this area. But some deductions can be made from the finds which are tentatively attributed to it. The inscribed slingstone found at a depth of 1m (72-1023) suggests that here as elsewhere the deposits of Troy VIII-IX reached to at least 1m deep. A cup found at 3m deep (72-1354) may be in Knobbed Ware, and may therefore suggest that deposits of VII could be found as deep as c.36.67m A.T., with the remains of Troy VI no doubt lying deeper. On the other hand, M.B. material is still found at

c.36.67m A.T. (the lid, 72-1374), and is strongly in evidence at 4m deep (72-1020, 72-1344). This suggests that Troy VI in this area was, at least partly, dug into the remains of Troy V and perhaps even of IV, and that between the depths of 3-5m (c.36.67m-34.67m A.T.) Schliemann found a mixture of Middle and Late Bronze Age material. Below 4m (c.35.67m A.T.) the objects are clearly of Early and Middle Bronze Age date, but the deposits are not easily subdivided into periods. At 7m deep the material appears to be of Troy II-III date (72-1225), as it is also at 8m (72-1021, 72-1352, 72-1353, 72-1379). At 14m deep it is of Troy I date (72-1334).

We can have some confidence in these deductions because they find close parallels in a number of adjoining areas. In Area iii, CD 4, the deposits of VIII-IX were found to a depth of 1m, as here. The deposits of Troy VII descended to c.3m deep, again as they seem to here; this included material of Troy VIIb2 which was found in the strata at 1-2m deep as in D 5-6. Taking the evidence of CD 4 together with that of CD 3-4 on the North Platform, it is clear that the structures of Troy VI were dug well into the remains of Troy IV and V and that much of the Troy V deposits must have been removed in the process. Troy VI deposits are found to a depth of 4m in CD 4. In CD 3-5, Area ii, excavated in 1871, Deposit (4) certainly contained some E.B. or M.B. pottery at 3-4m deep. Deposit (5), however, although principally containing E.B.-M.B. material, still included some sherds with painting "in the Greek manner" at c.35.67-34.67m A.T. (=4-5m deep); these I take to be mycenaean sherds from Troy VI. The pinnacle in E6, excavated by Blegen, immediately adjoins the D 4-6 trench with which we are dealing. Here the deposits of Troy V were preserved up to 37.39m A.T. at their highest point, although their more general upper limit here must have been in the region of 36.64m A.T. This latter figure agrees well with that found in CD 3-4 and D 4-6. In E6, however, Blegen found the Troy V stratum to be overlaid with deposits reaching up to almost 38m A.T. which were attributed to Troy VI. This seems on the face of it to be at variance with the evidence of the adjoining regions - in so far as it is known - and it may be worth considering whether this material could belong instead to Troy VIIa-VIIb1. Such an attribution would bring the stratigraphy into almost perfect harmony with the neighbouring areas. A depth of 4m (=35.67m A.T.) for the top of the Troy IV deposits is broadly consistent, again, with Blegen's findings in both F 4-5 and E6. In F 4-5

the figure must have been c.35.59m A.T.; and in E6 the highest point for Troy IV deposits lay at 36.24m A.T., but they must mostly have reached c.35.94m A.T. The two pinnacles also provide us with altitudes for the upper and lower limits of the Troy III strata. In F 4-5 their top lay at 33.69m A.T., reaching at one point to nearly 34m A.T., and their bottom lay at 31.75-31.84m A.T. In E6 their bottom lay at 32.19m with their top reaching at its highest point to c.34.62m A.T., but more generally to c.33.84m A.T. These figures allow us to make an approximate division between the strata of Troy III and IV in D 4-6 at a depth of 6m (=33.67m A.T.) and between those of Troy II and III at a depth of 7½m (=32.17m A.T.). The same depth for the bottom of the strata of Troy III has been noted previously for CD 3-4 and CD 4. In CD 3-5, in 1871, Schliemann noted a soil-change at 7m deep (=32.67m A.T.) which may correspond with the same division. As in CD 3-5, CD 4 and D 5-6, Schliemann found a stratum of stones at 10m deep (=c.30m A.T.). Below this level, Blegen's section of CD 4 shows the stratification among the Troy I deposits in the west side of the trench. Bedrock here must have lain at c.25.26m A.T. although no figure is actually quoted in Blegen's report.

In Fig.IV.28 I have brought all this stratigraphic evidence together in diagrammatic form, and have made divisions in the excavated area of D 4-6 accordingly. One important consequence is that, if this reconstructed stratigraphy is correct, then Dörpfeld and Blegen were both wrong in supposing that in this area of the mound the buildings of Troy VI rose in terraces to a central peak and were cut away in hellenistic and roman times by a platform that was laid out at c.36.50m A.T. Such a platform was laid out on the eastern half of the site but not, apparently, on the western half. Here the buildings of Troy VI seem to have been dug into the remains of Troy IV and V and to have been cut down, but not wholly removed, in order to make way for Troy VII - whose deposits formed a further 2m accumulation before being dug into and overlaid by the structures of Troy VIII and IX.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.435; TI pp.18f,108f, fig.6, Taf.VIII; Troy I figs.431,449,450, 465; II pp.37,89,210,262,270,271; III p.172)

Deposit (1). (0-1m = 39.67-38.67m A.T.) Probably dating to Troy VIII-IX.

OBJECT FOUND

\* 72-1023 Slingstone, inscribed EPI (1m). Fig.V.38.

Deposit (2). (1-3m = 38.67-36.67m A.T.) Probably dating to Troy VII.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A- \* 72-1354 Shallow cup with flattish base, rising loop-handle from rim to knob on body of cup (3m). Fig.V.33.

WHORLS

GIA \* 72-997 (2m) cf. Atlas 4-101.  
RIIA \* 72-1014 (2m)  
RIIA \* 72-1229 (3m)  
RIIA \* 72-1342 (3m)  
RIIA \* 72-1343 (3m)

Deposit (3). (3-4m = 36.67-35.67m A.T.) Probably deriving from Troy V, with remains of Troy VI cut into it.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

D13 \* 72-1374 Face-lid (3m). Fig.V.30.

WHORL

GVII \* 72-1331 (3½m)

Deposit (4). (4-6m = 35.67-33.67m A.T. or over) Dateable to Troy IV in Blegen's terms.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

(4m)  
A215 \* 72-1373 Piriform cup with rounded base, plain mouth and handle from neck to body. Fig.V.28.  
B3 \* 72-1355 Globular jug with flattish base, straight wide neck and handle (broken) from base of neck to lower half of body. Fig.V.28.  
C7 \* 72-1020 Brown burnished piriform jar with rounded base, short tapering neck, small vertical loop-handles on shoulder, and three decorative knobs on body. Height 27cm. Atlas 41-1003, TR No.70, SS 1081; Fig.V.29.  
C28 \* 72-1344 Globular jar with flat base, short straight neck and two rising lugs on body. Fig.V.29.  
D30 \* 72-1019 Grey and brown burnished ring-vase with micaceous slip, three tall nozzles and three short, pointed feet. Height 10cm, width 12cm. Atlas 41-996, TR No.130, Ilios No.1110, SS 610; Fig.V.29.  
D200 \* 72-1381a Saucer-shaped lid(?) with two holes. Fig.V.29.  
D203 \* 72-1280 Lid(?) with short, straight sides and two superposed perforated lugs. Fig.V.29.  
D- \* 72-1363 Coarse, sub-rectangular box. Atlas 41-1002; Fig.V.29.

(5m)

- A33(?) \* 72-1235 Cup with rounded body, slightly flaring rim, flat base and large handle from rim to body. Atlas 46-1109; Fig. V.28.
- A39 \* 72-1284 Deep tankard with very slightly indented neck, handle (restored) from neck to lower body. Atlas 47-1135? Fig.V.28.
- A43 \* 72-1285 Brown, partly reddened, 'hourglass' tankard with rounded base, narrowing neck and flaring rim. Two handles from rim to body (4½m). Atlas 41-993? SS 1207; Fig.V.28.
- A219 \* 72-1376 Deep pale buff tankard with flat base and slightly flaring neck. Decorated with incised lozenges around the body, contained between two horizontal lines above and two below. Atlas 43-1031, Ilios No.1020, SS 2327; Fig.V.28.
- B5 \* 72-1375 Bottle, cf. TI fig.247, but without a pronounced rim. Fig.V.29.
- B15 \* 72-1279 Jug with wide (lentoid?) body, rounded base and tall straight narrow neck set forward on body. Slightly rising spout, open at the rear. Handle from neck to rear of body. Atlas 45-1087; Fig.V.28.
- B200 \* 72-1236 Piriform flask with tall, slightly tapering sides leading to plain rim. Two large, vertical lugs half way up vessel. Height 20cm. Atlas 47-1132, Ilios No.1008; Fig.V.29.
- C35 \* 72-1368 Globular yellow jar with three curled feet and tapering neck. Two pierced lugs on body. Body is decorated with two registers of incised lines, the upper in groups of three vertical lines, the lower in groups of two vertical lines, each group separated from the next by a panel of four or five dots. These two registers are contained within a total of three horizontal lines, with a fourth around the base of the neck and a fifth around the lower half of the body. Atlas 43-1032, Ilios No.1019, SS 2336; Fig.V.29.
- C200 \* 72-1369 Globular jar with wide, slightly out-turned neck. Fig.V.28.
- D- \* 72-1380 Sub-rectangular box. Atlas 46-1116; Fig.V.29.

#### METALWORK

- \* 72-1282 Straight metal(?) pin (4m). Fig.V.39.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-1005 (4m), \*-1343 (5m): Blades.

#### WHORLS

(4m)

- RIA \* 72-998 cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIA \* 72-1000 cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIVA \* 72-1001 cf. Atlas 3-86.
- RIA \* 72-1004
- GIC \* 72-1008
- RIA \* 72-1011 cf. Atlas 3-67.
- GIA \* 72-1012 cf. Atlas 11-350.
- RIIA \* 72-1015
- RIIA \* 72-1017 cf. Atlas 5-135.
- RIC \* 72-1238
- RIA \* 72-1362

RIIIA \* 72-1365  
RIIA \* 72-1367

(5m)

RIIA \* 72-1220 cf. Atlas 5-135.  
RIIIA \* 72-1221  
RIIIA \* 72-1222  
GIA \* 72-1223 cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
RIA \* 72-1273 cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIIIB \* 72-1274 cf. Atlas 1-21, SS 4669.  
RVB \* 72-1275  
RIA \* 72-1276 cf. Atlas 8-246.  
RIVA \* 72-1341 cf. Atlas 3-86.  
RIIIA \* 72-1347 cf. Atlas 3-72.  
RIA \* 72-1348 cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RIB \* 72-1349 cf. Atlas 1-2.  
GVII \* 72-1357 Atlas 8-252?  
RIIIB \* 72-1358

#### MISCELLANEOUS

\* 72-1119 Clay(?) cylinder with longitudinal hole (4m). Fig.V.48.

Deposit (5). (6-7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>m=33.67 and over - 32.17m A.T. and below). Dateable to Troy III in Blegen's terms.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

(6m)

A45 \* 72-1333 Red polished depas. Atlas 84-1769? (9m), Ilios No.319? Fig.V.24.

(7m)

A45 \* 72-1372 Red polished depas. Atlas 56-1302; Fig.V.25.  
A203 \* 72-1225 Bowl with three small feet, similar shape to A30. Fig.V.24.  
B3 \* 72-1110 Neck fragment broken away from jug with tall narrow neck and handle on neck. Fig.V.25.  
B205 \* 72-1118b Globular flask with flaring neck and two small lugs on body. Atlas 65-1448; Fig.V.26.  
D200 \* 72-1381b Ovoid lid with two holes. Fig.V.27.  
D212 \* 72-1288 Oblong dish or box, described as a "canoe".

##### METALWORK

\* 72-1117 Barbed arrowhead (7m); Fig.V.38. (Intrusive from VI?)

##### GROUND STONE

\* 72-1283 Shafthole hammer (7m); Fig.V.42.

##### WHORLS

(6m)

RIVB \* 72-1228 cf. Atlas 6-173.  
RIB \* 72-1268  
RIVA \* 72-1326

RVIIDc \* 72-1360

(7m)

RIIIA \* 72-1016

RIA \* 72-1108 cf. Atlas 8-246.

GVIIC \* 72-1120 }  
\* 72-1121 } Atlas 7-210.

RIB \* 72-1224 cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.

RIIA \* 72-1227 cf. Atlas 5-135.

RIA \* 72-1272

RIIIB \* 72-1277 cf. Atlas 1-18.

RIIA \* 72-1328

RIA \* 72-1345 cf. Atlas 8-240.

RIIA \* 72-1346 cf. Atlas 8-238.

GVI \* 72-1361

#### FIGURINES

3G \* 72-1287 Marble(?) figurine (6m). Fig.V.44.

2H \* 72-1022 Marble(?) figurine with pointed head and squared body (7m). Atlas 99-2136; Fig.V.44.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

\* 72-1234 Clay ring, diam. 6cm (6m). Cf. Atlas 66-1496; Fig.V.48.

\* 72-1118a Clay cylinder (7m). Fig.V.48.

Deposit (6). (7½m-10m=32.17-29.67m A.T.) Dateable to Troy II in Blegen's terms.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

(8m)

A33 \* 72-1237 Cup with out-turned rim, rounded body, and high handle from rim to body. Atlas 70-1558? Fig.V.22.

A43 \* 72-1379 Deep tankard with slightly bulbous body, flat base and plain rim. Two handles from below rim to body. Atlas 78-1665? Fig.V.22.

A45 \* 72-1352 Depas. Atlas 74-1615; Fig.V.22.

A205 \* 72-1383 Narrow beaker with flat base and wider rim. Fig.V.22.

B3 \* 72-1113 Jug with globular body, rounded base, straight neck and handle from neck to body. Height 20cm. Atlas 76-1641; Fig.V.22.

B3 \* 72-1378 Similar, but with wider neck. Atlas 78-1668? Fig.V.22.

C10 \* 72-1370 Tall jar, shape similar to B4 but with two handles. Atlas 78-1669; Fig.V.23.

C19 \* 72-1377 Globular jar with wide mouth; two handles from below rim to body; Fig.V.23.

D3 \* 72-1353 Cylindrical lid with flanged top and single loop-handle. Fig.V.24.

D200 \* 72-1289 Oval lid with two holes. Fig.V.23.

D214 \* 72-1021 Miniature bowl 2cm high x 3½cm wide; Fig.V.22.

D- \* 72-1336 Crucible or sub-rectangular box. Atlas 98-2040; Fig.V.23.

(9m)

- A2 \* 72-1371 Shallow dish or plate. Atlas 79-1693/4; /4;  
Fig.V.17.
- C28 \* 72-1281 Coarse grey jar with rounded base, short slightly  
flaring neck with holes in rim, and two vertically-  
placed lugs on body. Atlas 50-1217? (6m!), SS 1261;  
Fig.V.18.
- D33 \* 72-1106 Funnel. Fig.V.21.

#### METALWORK

- \* 72-1382 Fragment of blade(?) (8m). Fig.V.37.

#### MOULDS

- \* 72-1115 Rectangular terracotta mould 19 x 12cm with indenta-  
tions for five ingots (8m). Atlas 70-1563, Ilios No.  
605, SS 6758; Fig.V.40.
- \* 72-1126 Broken triangular clay mould, 27 x 27 x 27cm, with  
indentations for three flat axes (8m). Atlas 70-1566,  
SS 6760? Fig.V.40.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-1290 Blade (10m).

#### POLISHED STONE

- \* 72-1114 Flat axe of red porphyry (9m). Fig.V.41.

#### BONE ARTEFACT

- \* 72-1112 Knife (8m). Atlas 66-1479? Fig.V.43.

(8m)

#### WHORLS

- GVA \* 72-1009 Atlas 8-257, SS 5250.
- GIB \* 72-1010 cf. Atlas 11-352.
- RIA \* 72-1018 cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIIIA \* 72-1230
- GID \* 72-1269 cf. Atlas 11-354.
- RID \* 72-1271
- GVI \* 72-1278 cf. Atlas 10-308.
- GIXD \* 72-1325
- RIA \* 72-1340 cf. Atlas 8-246.

(9m)

- RVA 72-1007

(10m)

- RIA 72-1002 cf. Atlas 8-240.
- RIIB 72-1122 Fig.V.49.
- GVIIC \* 72-1324 Fig.V.50.
- RIA \* 72-1339 cf. Atlas 8-246.

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

- \* 72-1013 Vertebra of tunny-fish(?) (8m).

#### PLANT REMAINS

Much burnt grain (Tgb 1872 p.435) (8m).  
(Tgb 1872 also mentions burnt sesame without specifying  
the depth at which it was found.)

Deposit (7). (10-14 $\frac{1}{2}$ m=29.67-c.25.17m A.T., bedrock). From the top of this deposit, as elsewhere at a depth of 10m, Schliemann records that he found many flat stones lying horizontally. From lower in the deposit, perhaps at c.26.26m A.T., he records a wall of small, roughly-hewn stones joined with mortar. The stones were 30-50cm long x 15-30cm wide. It is now impossible to identify the wall, but, among other possibilities, it may be either one of the walls of Troy I shown in TI fig.7, or one of the rather higher walls (153,154) shown in Troy I fig.431. The material is dateable to Troy I.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.417,435)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

(14m)

- A31 72-1226 Miniature cup in nubby ware with flat base, straight sides and handle from rim to base. Height 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Atlas 100-2227; see Fig.V.16.
- D1 \* 72-1356 Plain, cylindrical lid. See Fig.V.16.
- D11 72-1334 Flat lid with short, pointed central knob and, at the edge, four pointed lugs with perforations. Atlas 21-583, Ilios No. 26, SS 188; see Fig.V.16.

("15m")

- 72-1109 Fragment of pedestal vessel.

##### POLISHED STONE

- \* 72-1364 Double hammer with shafthole (14m). Fig.V.41.
- \* 72-1366 Pestle (14m). Atlas 21-579, Ilios No.77, SS 9203; Fig. V.41.

##### WHORLS

- GIVA 72-1232 (11m)
- RIC \* 72-1107 (12m) cf. Atlas 7-228.
- GIA 72-1267 (12m) cf. Atlas 11-350.
- 72-1327 (12m) undecorated.
- 72-1329 (13m) undecorated.
- GID 72-1270 (14m) cf. Atlas 11-371.
- GIA 72-1330 (14m) undecorated.
- \* 72-1350 (14m) Atlas 97-2027b? Biconical, undecorated.
- \* 72-1351 (14m) Atlas 97-2027c? Biconical, undecorated.
- According to TA p.143, the whorls found at 11-14 $\frac{1}{2}$ m were of brilliant black terracotta and were most frequently shaped like large, flat buttons; but conical whorls were also present.

##### WEIGHT?

- 72-1130 Pendent weight or whetstone (12m). Fig.V.47.

Excavation here took place during 10th-24th May 1873. The work consisted in cutting a platform at c.31m A.T. on the east side of the North-South trench. The area may have had an approximate width of 9m and a length of 20-28m. The datum must have lain at c.39.50m A.T. Schliemann has left no record of the stratigraphy, and very few finds can be assigned to the trench with any assurance. We can list little more than a few features, all of which are included in Schliemann's general observation that "on the side of the great canal, a house is coming out" (Tagebuch 1873 p.251). We have to rely entirely on Atlas Taf.214 for any more detailed information.

Deposit (1). Atlas Taf.214 shows a number of walls in this area which seem to be unrelated to the known remains of Troy II and which should, therefore, derive from either a late period of Troy II or from Troy III-IV (in Blegen's terms). Into this category fall Walls 90,91,92,93 and 95. They may belong to more than one period; certain dating is now impossible.

(Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (2). In this deposit I have included Walls 67,89 and 94 which seem, inescapably, to belong to Dörpfeld's Megaron IIA. Wall 67 extends at its north end into an area where deposits overlying IIA had already been dug away; it is also (according to Atlas Taf.214) an extremely long wall - like the side-walls of IIA. Wall 94 is shown parallel to it, or almost parallel to it, 10m away; and Wall 89 goes off at right-angles. These two fit very snugly as IIA's southwest and northwest walls respectively. We know from Dörpfeld that IIA was preserved even in his day up to 31.10m A.T.; so it is quite possible that the tops of the walls were exposed by Schliemann in 1873, even though they are no longer clearly visible in Ilios plan I. The identification of these walls with parts of Megaron IIA does, admittedly, entail the assumption that their orientation in Atlas Taf.214 is a little out of true; but no-one would wish to spend much time defending the accuracy of that plan.

(Atlas Taf.214; Ilios plan I; TI Taf.III)

Deposit (3). We have no information about the deposit surrounding the

walls discussed under Deposits (1) and (2). But a few objects came from these layers.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- D30 73-889 Red ring-vase with three short feet, and three vertical nozzles the middle one of which was joined by a loop-handle to the far side of the ring-body. Handle and one nozzle restored. (6m in Atlas; 4m in TA p.312). Atlas 175-3384, TR No.287, Ilios No.1111, SS 823; Fig.V.30.  
- Some jugs and vases. Tgb 1873 p.250.

##### METALWORK

- \* 73-862 "Copper" chisel (8m). Atlas 172-3331; Fig.V.37.

##### POLISHED STONE

- Some axeheads. Tgb 1873 p.250.

##### WHORLS

- Many whorls. Tgb 1873 p.250.

\*

Deposit (4). Shown in Atlas Taf.214, at No.23 ("Wall of Troy") is a short section of wall on the east side of the North-South trench: Wall 96. Its description implies that it lay slightly deeper than the other walls discussed above. Schliemann does not recount its discovery or describe it in the text of any diary or report; but it could be either a part of Dörpfeld's Wall "c" of Troy I, or an extension of the retaining-wall dated by Dörpfeld to Troy II.1 and shown in squares E-F 5 of his plan. Granted that Walls 67 and 94 may be slightly out of alignment, it is difficult to place Wall 96 exactly.

(Atlas Taf.214; TI Taf.III)

#### AREA vii: E 4-5

Figs.III.19; IV.37.

From 26th May-14th June 1873 there is only one clear indication of any

work on the North-South trench, and that is from the diary entry for 26th May. It is possible that digging continued there until 31st May; but after the discovery of Treasure "A" Schliemann concentrated on the removal of the block of earth in square C6 and it seems unlikely that, with the decreasing number of workmen available, he should have kept up the work in the North-South trench.

The final state of the trench is shown in Atlas Taf.214. Schliemann may have extended it a further 6m to the East over a length of about 17½m. The datum must have remained at c.39 or 39.50m A.T. There is very little information about the findings, and in the absence of stratigraphic details the deposits are defined in a manner similar to that adopted in the adjoining area DE 3-4(b) (cf. Fig.IV.27).

Deposit (1). There is no information about the deposits at 0-4m deep. Only one object can be attributed to these strata.

#### OBJECT FOUND

##### POTTERY

C7        73-892        Small jar with globular body, rounded base, collar neck and two restored vertical loop-handles on body; three plastic knobs on the body (2½m). Atlas 175-3387, SS 1077; Fig.V.31.

Deposit (2). On 26th May Schliemann recorded that "more and more" housewalls were coming to light. Some of them can be seen in Atlas Taf. 214, and they must have included the south ends of Walls 62 and 68, as well as the newly-exposed Walls 97 and 98. These four walls constitute deposit (2), and may belong to Troy III-IV in Blegen's terms. There may have been other walls which do not appear on the plan.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.269; Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (3). Atlas Taf.214 shows that Schliemann must have uncovered the southward extension of Wall 67, the east wall of Dörpfeld's Megaron IIA. This wall, which dates to Troy II, is taken as Deposit (3); but Schliemann gives no further information about it.

Deposit (4). We have no information about the deposits around the walls mentioned in Deposits (2) and (3), and which must have lain at c.31-

35.50m A.T. One object certainly derives from here; a jug and five axes, whose depths are not recorded, may also do so.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

A large jug, not described. Tgb p.269.

##### MOULD

- Fragment of mica-schist mould (7m). Atlas 174-3382; Fig.V.40.

##### POLISHED STONE

- Five axes, not described but presumably of stone. Tgb p.269.

Deposit (5). In his résumé of 31st May, Schliemann records that Adolphe Laurent and visiting archaeologists had confirmed that a stratum of slag at 9m deep, visible in section throughout the mound, derived from smolten ores of lead and copper. This may imply that the slag was visible in the North-South trench.

(Tagebuch 1873 p.280; TA p.309)

THE NORTH-SOUTH TRENCH:  
SOUTHERN SECTOR

The southern sector of the North-South trench may be defined as that part of the trench which extended from the southern edge of the Bronze Age citadel mound, in square D9, to the middle of square D7 where it met the East-West trench. The surface here ran down from c.38m A.T. to c.30m A.T. over a distance of roughly 40m: a slope of 1 in 5, on average. The eventual dimensions of the trench, visible in Atlas Taf.214, show a cutting about 37m wide at the south end, narrowing to approximately 17½m at the north end, having a length at its west side of about 35m, and about 42m at its east side.

Schliemann dug here in May, June and July 1872, but the excavation is not very fully recorded as its supervision was for much of the time entrusted to others. An outline account of the work can nevertheless be extracted from the records. Schliemann's intention was to reach bedrock below the summit of the mound; this southern trench was therefore cut so as to lead down to a depth of 18m below the summit over a projected length of 60m by sloping the trench floor down to the North. The first week's work (Area i) went according to plan until the Troy VI citadel wall was found to block progress across the entire width of the trench. By this time the north end of the trench had probably reached a depth of c.28.92m A.T., the south end having been cut into the mound-face at c.30m A.T. In the second period of work, during 23rd May-12th June (Area ii), the base of the Troy VI citadel wall was exposed by a further half metre, and a horizontal terrace running in over the top of the wall at c.31m A.T. was excavated a further 7m northwards into the mound. From this point the trench floor was once again (in Area iii) given a slope downwards to the North, but only in a 10m-wide central cutting. At its deepest, most northerly point this reached down to c.28m A.T. On the west and east sides a system of horizontal terraces was introduced, as may be seen in Atlas Taf.109,117,214. The western terrace was cut at 34.15m A.T., so as to expose the top of Building VIM; the eastern terrace lay at the similar altitude of 34.74m A.T. At its northernmost end the trench had an overall width, including both terraces, of c.30m. But the eastern terrace was cut partly as a separate, northward tongue; the remainder of the trench narrowed to about 17½m.

Schliemann gives little direct information about the stratigraphy in this area, but reconstruction shows that the deposits all ran down to the South. Their lie appears to have been determined in the first

instance by the strata of Troy III which here extended some 20m south of the citadel wall of Troy II, reaching up to a uniform altitude of c.32m A.T. This extension of Troy III, at first surprising, implies the presence of substantial remains outside the citadel wall; Building IIS in squares EF 7-8, which perhaps survived from Late Troy II into Troy III, provides an obvious comparison. Against the southern edge of the Troy III deposits the inhabitants of Troy IV had built their citadel wall. The strata of Troy IV-V then accumulated horizontally over those of Troy III, running down to the South over the wall of IV. During Troy VI, however, much of Troy V may have been dug away when a large building was constructed in squares D 7-8. The construction of this building introduced an additional horizontal terrace into the stratification - a terrace which seems to have persisted through the deposition of the strata of Troy VII-IX.

Troy VIII-IX yielded little in the way of architectural remains. Atlas Taf.214 shows that a part of the west wall of Dörpfeld's Theatre C was found skirting the eastern edge of the trench in square D9 (Area i, Deposit 2: Wall 18). Lentoid weights and hellenistic figurines give further evidence of the presence of VIII-IX deposits (Area i, Deposit 1; Area ii, Deposit 1). Also in the eastern part of the trench was a monumental wall, Wall 23, of which Schliemann exposed a length of six or more metres between 35 and 36m A.T. This presumably derives from Troy VIIa (Area iii, Deposit 3). To the same period we may perhaps assign the "huge mass of large house-walls" which overlay the Troy VI citadel wall (Area ii, Deposit 3). The note that they all lay crooked - a circumstance which Schliemann attributed to the weight of the overburden (not very great here) - recalls the subsidence which affected Troy VIIa structures adjoining the old Troy VI citadel wall on the south and south-east sides of the site. The same deposit included eight or nine pithoi, again a characteristic of VIIa remains. Troy VIIb is rather slenderly attested by the VIIb2 cup 72-218 in Area i, Deposit 1.

To Troy VI we may assign the citadel wall, Wall 19, which was built of well-hewn limestone blocks on a foundation of loosely-packed stones. Schliemann exposed the wall to a height of 3m across the whole width of the trench (Area i, Deposit 3; Area ii, Deposit 2). On the western terrace the southeast corner of Building VIM was brought to light, although it was not closely described. Its walls may have been dug down

into deposits of Troy IV or V, for they were founded at c.28.89m A.T. They were preserved to an altitude of c.34.22m A.T. on the south side (Area iii, Deposit 5). The stratification in squares D 7-8 shows the deposits of Troy VI descending via a terrace c.15m wide, already mentioned. This suggests the reconstruction here of a large building, or at least of two parallel walls; but no architectural remnants are actually recorded, so the suggestion must remain tentative (Area iii, Deposit 4). Atlas Taf.214 reveals the existence of a well, Well 3, in square D7. Schliemann has left no record of its discovery, and nothing is known of its date or manner of construction. In view of the dates of the other wells on the site we may suppose that it derives from Troy VI or later (Area iii, Deposit 6). A reference to "Greek" pottery in Area i, Deposit 1 may indicate the presence of mycenaean wares among the strata accumulated outside the Troy VI citadel wall.

The deposits of Troy V have for the most part been inferred from the evidence of objects, and are not directly attested. But Wall 26, a wall of irregular masonry bonded with white mortar concerning which we have few details, may belong to this period (Area iii, Deposit 8). To judge from its date of discovery, its position is such that it should have overlain the circuit wall of Troy IV and therefore could conceivably have been a part of the Troy V fortification wall (cf. Troy II p.297). This is entirely uncertain, but it does agree with Blegen's belief that there were rebuildings over a long period of the Troy IV fortification wall on the south side of the site (Troy II p.139).

To Troy IV we may with reasonable confidence assign the mass of large stones, Wall 27, first found at c.30.50, A.T. in square D8. This is comparable to a structure found by Blegen in square F8, and may well be an extension of his fortification-wall of Troy IV. It appears to have underlain Wall 26 to which it may have been a predecessor. (Area iii, Deposit 10). Also to Troy IV must be assigned a 2m-thick stratum of red and yellow ashes interspersed with mudbrick walls and containing E.B. pottery (Area iii, Deposit 9). The markedly burnt character of the deposits here finds comparisons in some of the strata of Troy IV in squares F 7-8 excavated by Blegen (Troy II pp.140,180,205,207).

A deep deposit, apparently all of Troy III material, was found at the bottom of the trench below c.32m A.T. (Area iii, Deposit 11). This

included a burnt mudbrick wall concerning which we have no detailed information. It is possible, as has already been mentioned, that some large, mudbrick structure similar to the heavily burnt IIS (cf. Troy I p.374) lay here and was responsible for the wide extension of Troy III remains beyond the citadel wall of Troy II. Deposits of Troy II and Troy I seem not to have been encountered.

The southern sector of the North-South trench has been divided into three "areas". These correspond, as before, to the areas excavated by Schliemann during the three relevant periods distinguished in Chapter III. In the following pages the findings from each area are presented in turn.

This area was excavated during the first ten days' work on the south platform in 2nd-11th May 1872. Work was begun here because of the fierceness of the wind and dust on the north side of the mound, and took place in the area designated in Atlas Taf.116 so as ultimately to meet up with the platform being driven in from the north side. The outer edge of the platform lay at c.30.00m A.T. and the floor was cut at an angle of 12-14° relative to the mound-surface. By the end of the period the trench had penetrated c.10m into the mound at its western end and c.15m at its eastern end. Depths are taken from the datum at 34.92m A.T. Schliemann has recorded few finds from this trench, and little other information. The reason is probably that Schliemann himself was fully occupied in supervising work in the north platform. Supervision of the south platform was entrusted to the foreman Photidas.

Deposit (1). Under this heading are included all deposits in the trench with the exception of two architectural features mentioned under (2) and (3). Because depths are mostly not noted for the objects found here, it is not clear how far the deposit was a mixed one, and how far it may have contained distinct strata that passed unobserved. The material ranges from Troy V to Troy VIII or IX. Schliemann mentions that several walls were found already by 4th May. Otherwise he simply notes that it consisted of light debris unlike that found on the north platform.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.320,322,326,327,329)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A107	72-218	"Greek" pottery constantly found; but also: Squat, black two-handled cup with rounded base, splayed rim and diagonal ribbing around lower half (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 33-793(?), <u>Ilios</u> No.1376, <u>SS</u> 3568; Fig.V.33.
B20	72-263	Brilliant red jug, slipped and burnished, with rounded base, long beakspout and crescent-shaped handle set horizontally on side of the body. Incised and white-filled lines run horizontally around body and base of neck. (8m) <u>Atlas</u> 77-1658(?), <u>Ilios</u> No.360, <u>SS</u> 1867; Fig.V.30.
C30	72-260	Fragment of neck from grey face-jar (2m). <u>Atlas</u> 33-806, <u>Ilios</u> No.1292(?), <u>SS</u> 1845.
C39	72-230) 72-231)	Two large pithoi (3m). Cf. <u>TI</u> fig.246 ( <u>Tgb 1872</u> p. 327). Fig.V.32.

#### STONE MOULDS

- 72-258 Mica-schist mould for circular pendant (2½m). Atlas 17-512, TR No.142, Ilios No.1268, SS 6771. (Atlas assigns it a depth of 2½m; Ilios inexplicably places it at 4-5m deep). Fig.V.40.
- 72-262 Fragment of mica-schist mould for 10 objects (9m or 6m). Atlas 83-1749, SS 6734; Fig.V.40.

#### POLISHED STONE

- Crude stone tools; marble slab of uncertain purpose. (Tgb 1872 pp.320,322).

#### COINS

- Various "medallions", one thought by Schliemann possibly to be Persian. (Tgb 1872 p.320)

#### WHORLS

- Many whorls, all undecorated (Tgb 1872 p.320)

#### WEIGHTS

- 72-261 Grooved spherical weight. Fig.V.47.
- 72-257 Stamped clay weight with two holes (2½m). Cf. Atlas 18-526, SS 8335ff.
- Other stamped clay weights (Tgb 1872 p.322; TA p.82).

#### FIGURINES

- 72-217 Head of female terracotta statuette, possibly dancer, wearing kalathos stephane.
- 72-259 Head of female terracotta statuette. with stephane (lm). Atlas 100-2214?

#### MISCELLANEOUS

- 72-135 Terracotta piece decorated with human face.

Deposit (2) is not reported in the journal or in Trojanische Alterthümer, but is visible in Atlas Taf.214 and Troja und Ilion Taf. III. It is Wall 18 that skirts the eastern edge of the trench over a length of 3-4m in D9. It can be identified fairly certainly as a part of the west wall of Theatre C. TI Taf.III shows the walls of the theatre elsewhere standing to c.30.50m A.T., which would agree closely with the altitude required for this wall to have been discovered in the trench at the appropriate place. According to Dörpfeld the wall was elsewhere preserved to 1.30m high.

(TI p.234, Taf.III; Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (3). By 11th May the trench had reached the "splendid bastion" or "retaining wall" that blocked the trench. Reasons have been given in Chapter III for identifying this feature, Wall 19, as the Troy VI circuit wall. Schliemann describes it as built of finely-hewn blocks of

limestone without mortar. He attributes it to the time of Lysimachus. It is visible in Atlas Taf.214 and TI Taf.III, which shows it to be preserved to c.31.00m A.T. in this area.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.336; TA p.82)

AREA ii: CD 8-9(b)

Figs.III.6; IV.40.

This area is the part of the South Platform where work was carried on sporadically from 23rd May until it was discontinued on 12th June 1872. The base of the Troy VI fortification-wall was cleared by another half metre, to c.28.42m A.T. The deposits immediately over the wall were removed, and a platform 7m wide was cut into the mound at the depth of c.31m A.T., the level of the top of the wall. There is little information about either the stratigraphy or the objects which were found.

Deposit (1). Schliemann dug the bottom of the trench to a depth of 6½m below the datum of 34.92m A.T., i.e. to c.28.42m A.T., whereas on 22nd May it had been at 6m below the datum. The half metre removed in this period constitutes Deposit (1), but there is no information as to its character.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.365)

OBJECTS FOUND

WHORLS

All undecorated (Tgb 1872 p.365)

Deposit (2). Revealed by the removal of Deposit (1) was a further ½m of the south face of Wall 19, the Troy VI fortification-wall. Schliemann notes that its footing consisted of loosely-packed stones.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.365)

Deposit (3). The strata overlying Wall 19 are not subdivided by Schliemann. As he began to excavate northwards he found the deposit to consist entirely of earth, with 8 or 9 pithoi amongst the debris. With further excavation he began to complain of a "huge mass of large house-walls", all lying crooked because of the weight of the overburden. Schliemann noted that the debris here included "prehistoric objects", ash and bones, and had all been "thrown down from above".

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.366,378)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

B31 \* 72-664 Globular jug with wide, flaring neck and handle (restored) (cf. A43) (2m). Atlas 34-866? Fig.V.32.  
 C39 - 8 or 9 pithoi all 1-2m high (Tgb 1872 p.366).  
 D26 \* 72-656 Sieve made from globular jar with narrow neck; no handles (2m). Fig.V.32.

##### WHORLS

GID \* 72-525 (0.7m)  
 GID \* 72-526 (0.7m) probably one piece.  
 GIA \* 72-527 (1m)  
 GIA \* 72-530 (1.70m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 GIA \* 72-534 (1m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 RVB \* 72-536 (½m)  
 RVIIAb \* 72-537 (1½m) Fig.V.49.  
 GIA \* 72-538 (1m)  
 RIA \* 72-539 (1½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GIA \* 72-544 (1½m) cf. Atlas 11-350.

##### MISCELLANEOUS

\* 72-663 Terracotta rattle (2½m). Fig.V.48.

#### AREA iii: CDE 7-8

Figs.III.7; IV.41,42,43.

This is the area that was excavated by Schliemann when he extended his South Platform during the period 19th June-13th July 1872. The trench had a total width of approximately 23m, and may have extended nearly as

far North as the 38.00m contour. Within the trench there were two terraces cut at a higher level, one on the west side of the trench and one on the east side. The former lay at c.34.15m A.T., and the latter at c.34.74m A.T. Between these two terraces was a deeper cut approximately 10m wide whose depth is uncertain. It was cut with a slope down to the North, and its deepest point may have reached c.28.22m A.T. Depths recorded by Schliemann in this area appear to have been calculated down from a datum on the surface at c.38m A.T.

Lack of detailed information means that, initially, the stratification of the trench seems quite obscure. But a tentative outline, at least, can in fact be reconstructed if we plot onto a blank section of the trench the probable limits of excavation on certain dates, and the depths of selected, diagnostic objects found on these dates. I have done this in Fig.IV.41. On this figure the diagonal, dotted lines show the probable extents of excavation on 22nd June, 27th June, 1st July, reaching to depths of 8m, 8½m, and 9m respectively, as attested in Tagebuch 1872 pp.418,425,429. The lines for 3rd and 4th July have been put in by guesswork, bearing in mind that the trench was already producing finds from a depth of 10m by 5th July (Tagebuch 1872 p.433). The lines are placed diagonally on the assumption that Schliemann was still cutting his sections with a slope of 50° to the horizontal. Using this chronological framework, a selection of finds has been plotted in. Each is indicated by its serial number and, in brackets, its probable period of origin. In the top four metres of the section, six additional figures have been included. These are bench-marks from buildings of Troy VI and VII shown in the adjoining area to the East of the trench in TI Taf.III. A rough stratigraphic division can be sketched in around these points, and the stratification in F 8-9 (Troy I fig.470) can be used as a broad guide. The resulting diagram displays the sort of sloping strata that might be expected for Troy III-V, and the figures require the same kind of stepped descent for the strata of Troy VI-IX as is found in F 8-9.

In the following list of deposits I have included both those strata which have been tentatively defined on the basis of the finds contained within them, and also the few features and deposits clearly attested by Schliemann. The catalogues list the finds which may tentatively be attributed to each stratum.

Deposit (1). Schliemann gives no information about this stratum. It is reconstructed in Figs.IV.41 and 42 on the basis of bench-marks in the adjoining area to the East which mark the top of structures of Troy VII in TI Taf.III. On the analogy of the stratification in F 8-9 (Troy I fig.470), we can expect that features of Troy IX were dug into the deposits of Troy VIII. It is therefore impractical to try to separate them here, and deposit (1) is taken to include material from both.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-945, \*-947, \*-975 Blades (2m).

##### WHORLS

- GIA \* 72-956 (2m)
- GIA \* 72-979 (2m) cf. Atlas 11-350.

##### WEIGHTS

- \* 72-1157 Plain lentoid weight with two holes (1m). Fig.V.47.
- \* 72-1192 Lentoid clay weight with two holes and stamped design (2m). Atlas 17-519? TR No.38? Ilios No.1470? Fig.V.47.
- \* 72-1193 Plain lentoid weight with two holes (2m). Fig.V.47.

Deposit (2). The existence and dimensions of this deposit of Troy VII material are, again, inferred from, rather than directly attested in, the excavation records. The line of the top of the deposit is reconstructed by reference to the bench-marks in DE 7-8 of TI Taf.III indicating the tops of the Troy VII structures. The line of the bottom of the deposit is deduced from the altitudes of the tops of the Troy VI buildings in the same plan, and from the possible location of what appears to be a Troy VIIa bowl, No.72-1024, which was found at a depth of 3m on 22nd June. There is no information about the character of the deposit. Three jugs, all incomplete, may be of earlier date.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- A41? \* 72-973 Bottom half of biconical tankard or jug, handle and upper half restored. A groove(?) runs around the narrowest part of the body (3m). Atlas 36-899? Fig. V.31. Possibly out of context.
- A77 \* 72-1024 Shallow wheelmade bowl with straight neck and slightly bulbous base (3m). Atlas 36-903; Fig.V.33.
- B4? \* 72-992 Grey burnished ovoid jug(?) with straight neck broken at top(?), flat base, and broken handle rising from

- body (3m). Atlas 35-886, SS 2092; Fig.V.31. Probably out of context.
- B20? \* 72-966 Piriform vessel restored as beakspouted jug with flattened base (3m). Atlas 35-877; Fig.V.31. Possibly out of context.
- C57 \* 72-960 Brown, micaceous alabastron with flat base, short straight neck and two loop handles on opposing sides of the body (3m). Atlas 36-924, SS 3495.
- C- \* 72-991 Grey polished squat pyxis with short neck and flat base, two vertically perforated lugs, one on each side of the body and perforations in the rim (2m). Atlas 32-765, SS 1743; Fig.V.33.
- C- \* 72-959 Small jar with globular body and concave neck. Incised and white-filled decoration of horizontal and wavy lines around neck (4m). Atlas 39-941, SS 2243. (cf. A38); Fig.V.33.
- C- \* 72-965 Ovoid jar with narrow, straight neck and flat base. Two lugs or handles on the shoulders, placed vertically. The body is decorated (both sides?) with three diagonal flutings. Height 28cm (3½m). Fig.V.33.
- D13 \* 72-990 Face-lid (2½m). Atlas 32-775, TR No.10, Ilios No.1296, SS 1850 (out of context); Fig.V.31.
- D- \* 72-1075 Funnel pierced with holes and originally attached to a larger vessel (2m). Atlas 32-786, TR No.137, Ilios No. 1303, SS 2860; Fig.V.33.

#### METALWORK

- \* 72-950 Bent pin 8½cm long (3m). Fig.V.39.
- \* 72-951 Copper pin with double furled head, 12cm long (3m). Atlas 99-2111; Fig.V.39.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-948, \*-949, \*-962, \*-1056 Blades (3m).

#### WHORLS

- RIB \* 72-943 (3m) cf. Atlas 1-3.
- GIA \* 72-944 (3m)
- RIA \* 72-952 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- GIXD \* 72-963 (3½m) cf. Atlas 13-425.
- GIA \* 72-972 (2½m) cf. Atlas 11-350.
- RIA \* 72-977 (3½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIA \* 72-980 (3m)
- RIIB \* 72-981 (3m)
- RIA \* 72-983 (3½m)
- GIA \* 72-985 (3½m)
- RIA \* 72-986 (3½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIA \* 72-987 (3½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIIA \* 72-988 (3½m)
- GIXD \* 72-989 (3½m)
- RIVA 72-1065 (2m)
- RIVA 72-1066 (2m)
- RVIIDc 72-1068 (2m)
- RVIIAa 72-1170 (2m)

#### WEIGHTS(?)

- \* 72-946, \*-961. Circular or spherical objects said to be weights (3m).

Deposit (3). Not mentioned in Schliemann's excavation notes but clearly shown in Atlas Taf.214 is a wall in the far northeastern terrace of the trench. It is probably an extension of the more southerly wall of Troy VII which appears, L-shaped, in square E8 in TI Taf.III. It appears to have been covered over again by later dumping. The altitude shown just to the North of the wall in Atlas Taf.214, and which may be corrected to 37.10m A.T., applies to the mound-surface and not to the wall itself. The altitudes of the wall itself are unknown, but may be assumed to lie between c.35.00 and c.36.00m A.T. A length of six or more metres must have been exposed by Schliemann. The style of construction may have been monumental, for in Atlas Taf.214 the wall is described as a "Great Hellenic Construction". The wall will here be known as Wall 23.

(Atlas Taf.214; TI Taf.III)

Deposit (4). Here again is a deposit, this time of material attributable mainly perhaps to Troy VI, whose existence and dimensions are not directly attested by Schliemann, but which may be inferred from the available sources. The top of the deposit is defined in the same way as the bottom of deposit (2). The bottom of deposit (4) is defined partly by a bench-mark of 36.25m from square E7 in TI Taf.III, and otherwise partly by a rough estimation of its likely position between the upper limit of Troy VI deposits and the upper limit of Troy IV deposits. The line shown in Figs.IV.41,42 is therefore only tentative. There is no information about the character of the soil. There does seem, however, to be evidence enough to require a sharp step down in the stratum at one point in D7, and again at another in D8. This could best be explained by the presence of <sup>a</sup>large, Troy VI wall dug into the underlying deposits. Analogies may be found in Troy I fig.470. In the plan in Fig.IV.43 I have therefore tentatively drawn in two such walls. These may possibly form part of a single structure of Troy VI. They will be numbered as Walls 24 and 25. Despite all these calculations, however, the two items of pottery look as if they may derive from an earlier period.

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- |      |          |  |
|------|----------|--|
| B3   | * 72-993 | Deep vessel with straight neck and flat base. Height 22cm (4m). Handle restored to make jug. <u>Atlas</u> 40-977? Fig.V.31. May be out of context. |
| C200 | * 72-976 | Globular jar with rounded base and short, straight neck (5m). Fig.V.31. May be out of context.   |

METALWORK

- \* 72-1196 Plain needle or pin (3m). Fig.V.39.

CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-1034 Blade (4m).

WHORLS

- RIIIA \* 72-957 (4m)  
 GVB \* 72-958 (4m) Atlas 4-133, TR No.330, Ilios No.1830.  
 GIII \* 72-967 (4m) Atlas 2-59(?).  
 GID \* 72-969 (4m)  
 GIA \* 72-970 (4m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 GIA \* 72-971 (5m)  
 RIA \* 72-978 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIIA 72-1040 (4m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1060 (3m)  
 GIA \* 72-1067 (3m)  
 RIA 72-1078 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIIB 72-1079 (3m) cf. Atlas 1-18.  
 RIIIB 72-1084 (3m) cf. Atlas 1-18.  
 RIC 72-1085 (3m)  
 RIVA \* 72-1091 (3m) cf. Atlas 3-86.  
 GVII \* 72-1179 (3m)  
 \* 72-1201 Marble, undecorated (3m). Atlas 99-2180.  
 GVII \* 72-1384 (1m)

WEIGHT (?)

- \* 72-974 Circular or spherical stone(?) object (5m).

FIGURINE

- 3G \* 72-1072 Stone figurine, height 7cm (3m). Fig.V.25

Deposit (5). In Atlas Taf.117 and 214 it can be seen that the excavations in this area exposed the southeast corner of Building VIM, which is described there as a bastion of Lysimachus. The discovery was not reported in the excavation notebook at the time, but is later alluded to in TA p.180 and Atlas Taf.117. Building VIM is fully described by Dörpfeld in TI pp.155-161. The walls of the southeast corner must have been founded well within the deposits of Troy IV or V, for their lower limit is shown as 28.89m A.T. The upper surface, however, with an altitude of c.34.22m A.T. on the south side, clearly lay within the levels at which other remains of Troy VI were preserved in this area.

(Atlas Taf.117,214; TA p.180; TI pp.155-161 and Taf.III)

Deposit (6). This deposit, again not attested in Schliemann's diary, consists of Well 3. Its presence is known only from Atlas Taf.214, where it is shown in the middle of the deepest part of the trench. There is no evidence as to its period or manner of construction. In Fig.IV.42 I have assumed it to belong to Troy VI or later, like the other wells

on the site.

(Atlas Taf.214)

Deposit (7). This is another stratum, of Troy V material, whose existence and dimensions have to be inferred from the available sources. It is not directly attested. Fig.IV.41 shows that its lower limit has been defined by reference to the locations of four more or less diagnostic objects among Schliemann's finds, although other, less obviously diagnostic, pieces have also been taken into account. The upper limit is largely unknown, except for one bench-mark in E7, and has been reconstructed in the manner noted for the lower limit of Deposit (4). In the northern part of D8 there is little more than the depth of one metre to accommodate the deposits of both Troy V and VI between the top of Troy IV and the bottom of Troy VII. This suggests that the deposits of Troy V may here have been removed to make way for buildings of Troy VI - as can be seen elsewhere on the site.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A41 \* 72-1190 Hourglass-shaped vessel with flat base, restored as tankard with handle (2m). Atlas 32-770; Fig.V.30.
- B3 \* 72-1070 Jug with short, straight neck, flattened base, and handle from neck to body (4m). Fig.V.30.
- B24 \* 72-1074 Piriform vessel with tapering neck and rounded base. Two sets of horizontal lines, perhaps incised, surround the vessel: an upper group of two lines, and a lower group of three lines (4m). Atlas 41-1001; Fig.V.30.
- C7 \* 72-1071 Large, globular vessel with short, straight narrow neck and flat base. Two vertical handles are attached to the body, one on each side. One side of the pot has three protruding knobs. Height 28cm (4m). Cf. Atlas 41-1003; Fig.V.30.
- C10 \* 72-1073 Deep, ovoid jar with short straight neck and flat base. Two vertical handles are attached half way up the body, on opposite sides. Height 60cm, width 50cm (4m). Fig. V.30.
- C- \* 72-994 Broken-off neck of a jar. It is straight and narrow, with an out-turned flange at the top (8m). Fig.V.30.

CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-1031 (5m), \*-1035 (7m), -1044 (5m), \*-1054 (4m), \*-1057 (4m). Blades.

BONE ARTEFACT

- \* 72-1076 Rectangular decorative plaque with 3 holes and 6 circles on one surface. Length 13cm (4m). Ilios No. 541, SS 7925; Fig.V.43.

WHORLS

GVB \* 72-968 (8m) Atlas 2-65 (7m), TR No.413.  
 GVII \* 72-982 (8m)  
 RVB \* 72-1027 (5m) cf. Atlas 6-179.  
 RIIIB 72-1039 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-19.  
 RVIIBd \* 72-1051 (4m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1061 (4m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIIIB \* 72-1297 (3m) cf. Atlas 1-18.  
 RIVA \* 72-1305 (3m)

FIGURINE

2B \* 72-1052 Marble(?) figurine (4m). Fig.V.45.

Deposit (8). In the diary entry for 28th June Schliemann records that he found a wall constructed of fairly large and of fairly small stones bonded with white mortar. No depth is given, but the wall is said to have been stratified over the deposit which is here numbered as (9). For reasons to be explained, Deposit (9) as described by Schliemann should probably be equated with the strata of Troy IV. The wall, which we here call Wall 26, may belong to Troy V. It is possible that it could instead be identical with Wall 25, whose existence we have posited at a similar point stratigraphically. But the style of construction is certainly consistent with that known for other walls of Troy V in this part of the site, and a Troy V date is for that reason preferred. Bearing in mind the likely location of work on the day concerned, Wall 26 may therefore be placed in the northern sector of square D8 among the Troy V deposits at c.33.00-34.00m A.T.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.426; Troy II pp.252,271f, 283)

Deposit (9). Stratified below Wall 26, Schliemann found a stratum of red and yellow ashes, with half-burnt mussels. Within the stratum he found evidence of mudbrick walls, but he does not give enough information for us to be able to locate them. Deposit (9) overlay Wall 27, and Schliemann notes that it contained pottery similar to that found at 10-7m depth on the north side of the site: that is, in Troy II. This does not need to be too strictly interpreted. Probably he simply recognized pottery of Early or Middle Bronze Age date. And as reasons will be advanced for supposing that Wall 27 may have been of Early Troy IV date, it is legitimate to see in Deposit (9) some overlying strata of Troy IV.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.425,426)

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

- A2 \* 72-1208 Open shallow bowl or plate with rounded base (5m). Atlas 47-1144; Fig.V.28.
- A33 72-1087 Cup with out-turned rim, rounded base, and handle (restored) from rim to body (5m). Atlas 46-1099; Fig. V.28.
- A33 \* 72-1144 Similar (6m). Atlas 54-1279a? Fig.V.28.
- A33 \* 72-1205 Cup with slightly out-turned rim, rounded base, and large rising handle from rim to body (5m). Atlas 46-1100; Fig.V.28.
- A33 \* 72-1216 Ditto (5m). Atlas 46-1110; Fig.V.28.
- A33 \* 72-1219 Ditto (5m). Atlas 46-1111; Fig.V.28.
- A212 \* 72-1025 Cup with straight side, rounded base and handle from rim to base (8m). Fig.V.28.
- A222 \* 72-1206 Broad, globular cup with wide mouth, slightly out-turned rim, and rounded base. Two large rising handles from rim to body (5m). Atlas 45-1092; Fig.V.28.
- B3 \* 72-1095 Jug with short, straight neck, flattened base, and handle from neck to body (4m). Fig.V.28.
- B15 \* 72-1143 Spout broken from beakspouted jug. The spout is cut away at the back and preserves the top of a handle descending from the rear edge of the spout (4m). Fig. V.28.
- C7 \* 72-1103 Grey globular jar with narrow, tapering neck, rounded base, and two wings (restored) rising from the shoulder. One side is decorated with raised volutes converging on the middle from the wings, and with two knobs (4m). Ilios No.231, SS 1044; Fig.V.29.
- C25 \* 72-1317 Globular jar with hole mouth, rounded base and two vertical lugs on the upper part of the body (5m). Fig.V.29.
- C28 \* 72-1184 Deep jar with tall, flaring neck, flat base and two pointed lugs rising from the middle of the body. Perforation in lugs and rim (4m). Fig.V.29.
- C36 \* 72-1217 Open jar with slightly out-turned rim and two lugs on body (5m). Atlas 46-1101? Fig.V.29.
- C200 \* 72-1096 Globular jar with short, straight neck and rounded base. The drawing may indicate a lug, spout or vestiges of a handle on one side of the body (4m). Fig.V.28.
- C205 \* 72-1255 Conical pyxis (4m). Fig.V.28.
- C215 \* 72-1318 Globular vessel with hole mouth and three small feet (4m). Fig.V.29.
- D13 \* 72-1069 Face-lid (5m). Atlas 43-1022, SS 1856; Fig.V.29.
- D13 \* 72-1142 Face-lid (5m). Fig.V.29.

CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-1032 (8m), \*-1033 (8m), -1042 (8m), \*-1053 (7m), \*-1055 (7m), \*-1098 (6m): Blades.

POLISHED STONE

- 72-1026 Slingstone(?), pear-shaped (8m). Fig.V.42.

WHORLS

- RIIB \* 72-1028 (8m)
- RVIAb \* 72-1029 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-335.
- GIXD \* 72-1045 (7m) cf. Atlas 6-180.

RIC \* 72-1046 (8m)  
 RVIAb \* 72-1047 (6m)  
 RIC \* 72-1048 (8m)  
 RIA \* 72-1049 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GID \* 72-1062 (8m)  
 RIA 72-1080 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIA 72-1081 (4m)  
 RIIIA 72-1082 (5m)  
 RIB 72-1083 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-7.  
 RIIA 72-1086 (4m)  
 RVIIBd \* 72-1089 (4m)  
 RIB \* 72-1092 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIIIA \* 72-1093 (7m)  
 GX \* 72-1153 (4m)  
 RIA \* 72-1154 (4m)  
 GX \* 72-1158 (4m)  
 RIIID \* 72-1183 (5m)  
 GVI \* 72-1239) (4m) cf. Atlas 8-237, TR No.352, SS 5275.  
 \* 72-1240)  
 GVI \* 72-1241 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-237, TR No.352, SS 5275.  
 RIIIA \* 72-1243 (4m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1244 (4m)  
 GVI \* 72-1245 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-237, TR No.352, SS 5275.  
 RIIIA \* 72-1246 (4m)  
 GIA \* 72-1247 (4m)  
 RVIAb \* 72-1250 (4m)  
 GVI \* 72-1251 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-237, TR No.352, SS 5275.  
 GVI \* 72-1252 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-237, TR No.352, SS 5275.  
 RVIAb \* 72-1253 (4m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1254 (4m)  
 RIIB \* 72-1257 (4m)  
 RIA \* 72-1258 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIIB \* 72-1293 (5m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1295 (4m)  
 RIA \* 72-1296 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 GID \* 72-1299 (5m)  
 GID \* 72-1301 (4m) cf. Atlas 7-211.  
 RIA \* 72-1304 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIIIA \* 72-1314 (5m)  
 RIIID \* 72-1385 (4m)

#### WEIGHT

\* 72-1090 Spherical with two holes. Possibly out of context?  
 (4m). Fig.V.47.

#### SEAL

\* 72-1311/1316 Incised stamp seal(?) (5m). Fig.V.46.

#### FIGURINE

2I \* 72-1323 Marble figurine (5m). Fig.V.45.

Deposit (10). On 27th June at a depth of 7½m (=c.30.50m A.T.)

Schliemann came across a mass of large stones, some hewn and some unhewn. The depth and the date show that this mass of stones has to be located among the deposits of Troy IV (see Fig.IV.41). Schliemann

records that it was overlain by the red and yellow ash here described as Deposit (9). Further East, in square F8, Blegen found a mass of fallen stones resting on a stone platform and rising to at least 31.60m A.T. but descending below 30.10m A.T. This he identified as a possible fortification wall or retaining wall of Troy IV (Troy II p.139 and fig. 309 Nos.3-4). Unfortunately there is no information on the eventual appearance of Schliemann's mass of stones after it had been exposed, so we know no more of its dimensions than that it was initially found at c.30.50m A.T. We do not, for instance, know where the top of the deposit lay. But in view of its similar character and stratigraphic position, so far as we know them, to Blegen's mass of stones, it seems very possible that both were parts of the same wall. The section found in CDE 7-8 will be called Wall 27.

(Tagebuch 1872 p.425; Troy II p.139, fig.309)

Deposit (11). There is very little information about this deposit, whose existence and location emerge from Fig.IV.41, where it is equivalent to the deposits of Troy III. Schliemann does record that on 5th July at a depth of 8m (=c.30.00m A.T.) he found a mudbrick wall which had been burnt; also that at 9m (=c.29.00m A.T.) there was a mass of interesting whorls and pots. Otherwise we have only the following catalogue of objects which may be tentatively assigned to this stratum.

(Tagebuch 1872 pp.435,436)

#### OBJECTS FOUND

##### POTTERY

- A33(?) \* 72-1097 Cup with out-turned rim, rounded base, and spout - or large handle from rim to body (8m). Fig.V.24.
- A45 \* 72-1141 Red polished depas amphikypellon (9m). Atlas 84-1770? TR No.112? Ilios No.322? Fig.V.24.
- A45 \* 72-1145 Ditto (9m). Atlas 84-1768? TR No.111? Ilios No.321? Fig.V.25.
- A45 \* 72-1321 Ditto (10m). Atlas 92-1903? Fig.V.25.
- B17 \* 72-1204 Globular jar with wide, straight neck, flattened base and handle from neck to body (9m). Atlas 79-1680? Fig.V.25.
- B206 \* 72-1189 Piriform flask with wide, flaring neck and flat base (8m). Atlas 66-1462; Fig.V.25.
- C29 \* 72-1214/ Deep wheelmade jar of buff fabric with dark red slip  
5 and burnish, with straight neck and out-turned perforated rim, flat base, two inward-curling perforated handles rising from the body (6m). Atlas 54-1272, Ilios No.1007, SS 1512; Fig.V.26.
- C30 \* 72-1261 Fragment of face-vase (10m).

- C35 \* 72-1146/7 Globular red slipped jar with tall, straight neck, three small feet and two large curling wings placed vertically on the body. Four horizontal lines around base of neck, three horizontal lines around body below handles, and groups of vertical lines, each with dots in between, filling the intermediate space on the body of the pot (8m). Atlas 16-473 (10m), TR No.149, Ilios No.261, SS 2337; Fig.V.26.
- D1 \* 72-1187 Buff polished cylindrical lid with flanged top painted with red interlocking circles and pierced with holes (8m). Atlas 67-1501,68-1515,76-1642,78-1662, Ilios No.264, SS 1739; Fig.V.27.
- D3 \* 72-1185 Cylindrical lid with single loop-handle on top (6m). Atlas 48-1179; Fig.V.27.
- D8 \* 72-1207 Cylindrical lid with flanged top and two crossed-loop handles (7m). Atlas 64-1428; Fig.V.27.
- D13 \* 72-1218 Face-lid (8m). Atlas 75-1662, SS 319; Fig.V.27.
- D207 \* 72-1315 Cylindrical lid with slightly concave profile and three knobs on top (7m). Fig.V.27.
- D209 \* 72-1186 Buff polished flanged cylindrical pyxis bottom with three curled feet and two holes in the rim (8m). Atlas 67-1501,68-1515,76-1642,78-1661, Ilios No.265, SS 1740; Fig.V.27. Perhaps belongs with 72-1187.
- D- \* 72-1307 Circular dish or crucible with straight sides (7m). Atlas 62-1398; Fig.V.26.
- D- \* 72-1322 Ditto (10m).
- D- \* 72-1308 Sub-rectangular dish or crucible (7m). Atlas 62-1399.
- \* 72-1256 Black sherd with incised and white-filled decoration: three parallel lines forming three sides of a rectangle and containing a swastika (10m). Atlas 27-732 (16m), TR No.110, Ilios No.247, SS 227; Fig.V.27.

#### STONE MOULD

- \* 72-1209 Fragment of mould for pointed blade (6m). Fig.V.40.

#### CHIPPED STONE

- \* 72-1188 (8m), \*-1194 (7m), \*-1195 (6m), \*-1388-90 (6m): Blades.

#### POLISHED STONE

- \* 72-1210 Shafthole hammer (7m). Fig.V.42.
- \* 72-1211 Flat axe (6m). E.g. Atlas 51-1244; Fig.V.42.

#### BONE ARTEFACT

- \* 72-1320 Disc or whorl with central hole. Four lines at right-angles radiate to four small circles with central dots (9m). Atlas 16-478 (8m); Fig.V.43.

#### WHORLS

- RIA 72-1094 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIIA 72-1127 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIIB 72-1128 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-19.
- RIA 72-1129 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-240.
- GVA 72-1131 (6m) Atlas 2-35, TR No.380, Ilios No.1880, SS 5243.
- RIA 72-1132 (8m)
- GVB 72-1133 (7m) Atlas 9-295, TR No.362, Ilios No.1862, SS 5266.
- RVIAb 72-1134 (7m)
- GIA 72-1135 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.
- RVB 72-1136 (8m)
- RIVC 72-1137 (6m) Fig.V.49.

RIIIB 72-1138 (9m) Atlas 4-126, SS 4674.  
 RIA 72-1139 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIA 72-1140 (6m) cf. Atlas 3-85.  
 RVIAb 72-1149 (6m) cf. Atlas 10-335; Fig.V.49.  
 RIIA 72-1150 (7m)  
 RIC 72-1151 (9m)  
 RVIAb 72-1152 (9m) cf. Atlas 10-335.  
 GIA 72-1156 (9m) Atlas 12-404?  
 RIA 72-1160 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIVA 72-1161 (8m)  
 RIVA 72-1162 (8m)  
 RIVA 72-1163 (8m)  
 RIVA 72-1164 (8m)  
 RIA 72-1165 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GIXC 72-1166 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-335.  
 RIA 72-1167 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIIA 72-1168 (8m)  
 GIXC 72-1169 (8m) Atlas 4-99, SS 5419.  
 GIA 72-1171 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
 GIA 72-1172 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-325, SS 5080.  
 RIA 72-1173 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RVB 72-1174 (8m)  
 RVIIDc 72-1175 (8m?)  
 RVIAb 72-1176 (8m)  
 RVB 72-1177 (8m)  
 RIIA 72-1178 (8m)  
 RIVA 72-1180 (7m)  
 RIIA 72-1181 (8m)  
 GIA 72-1182 (7m)  
 RVIIDc 72-1197 (9m)  
 RIVC 72-1198 (9m)  
 RIIIA 72-1199 (9m)  
 RIIIA 72-1200 (9m)  
 RIIIA 72-1202 (9m)  
 RIA 72-1213 (7m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIA 72-1242 (9m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIA 72-1248 (8m)  
 GIB 72-1249 (9m)  
 RIIIA 72-1259 (9m)  
 GVI 72-1260 (9m)  
 GIA 72-1291 (9m)  
 RIIIA 72-1292 (8m) cf. Atlas 5-150, SS 4641.  
 RIVA 72-1294 (7m)  
 RIIC 72-1298 (7m)  
 GID 72-1302 (8m)  
 GIB 72-1303 (7m)  
 RIA 72-1306 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 GIA 72-1309 (8m)  
 GIA 72-1310 (9m)  
 GX 72-1312 (8m)  
 RVIAb 72-1313 (8m) cf. Atlas 10-335.  
 GIXC 72-1386 (10m)

FIGURINE

2J(?) \* 72-1391 Marble figurine (7m). Atlas 99-2137? Fig.V.44.

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. Atlas 8-240.
- RVIAb \* 72-1411 (2m) cf. Atlas 6-173.
- GIB \* 72-1497 (2m) cf. Atlas 11-352.
- RIB 72-1568 (30cm) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.
- RIA \* 72-1765 (½m) cf. Atlas 8-246.
- RIVB \* 72-1768 (0m) cf. Atlas 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 \* 72-1837/8 Miniature, hemispherical bowl with flat lid, found in 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

- R1IA \* 72-1404 (3m)  
 R1C \* 72-1409 (3m) Atlas 4-104.  
 R1IIB \* 72-1496 (3m) cf. Atlas 6-187.  
 R1IA \* 72-1498 (3m)  
 R1IA \* 72-1576 (3m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 R1VB \* 72-1585 (3m)  
 R1IIIA \* 72-1621 (3m)  
 R1IVA \* 72-1622 (3m)  
 R1IIIA \* 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) Atlas 9-299, TR No.379, Ilios No.1879, SS 5244.  
 GIA \* 72-1457 (4m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 RIIA \* 72-1458 (3m)  
 RIVA \* 72-1459 (3½m)  
 RIB \* 72-1460 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIID \* 72-1461 (4m) Atlas 3-76, SS 4631; Fig.V.49.  
 RVB \* 72-1462 (4m) Atlas 12-409.  
 RIIC \* 72-1463 (4m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1465 (4m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1483 (4m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 GVI 72-1484 (4m) Atlas 8-242, TR No.490, Ilios No.1990, SS 5283.  
 RIA \* 72-1486 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GIA \* 72-1487 (4m) cf. Atlas 11-350.  
 RIIA \* 72-1488 (4m)  
 GVB \* 72-1500 (5m) Atlas 9-280, SS 5273 (3266).  
 RIIA \* 72-1508 (4m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1514 (4m) cf. Atlas 3-72.  
 RIB \* 72-1523 (4m)  
 RIB \* 72-1524 (3m)  
 GIB \* 72-1526 (4m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1530 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-269.  
 RIC \* 72-1531 (4m) cf. Atlas 4-115.  
 GIXD \* 72-1534 (4m) cf. Atlas 7-218, SS 4547.  
 GIB \* 72-1535 (4m)  
 GIA \* 72-1543 (4m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1554 (4m)  
 RIA \* 72-1567 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIIA \* 72-1569 (4m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1573 (4m)  
 RIA \* 72-1574 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-248.  
 RIID \* 72-1575 (5m)  
 GIII 72-1584 (5m)  
 GID \* 72-1586 (5m)  
 RIVB \* 72-1588 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-33, SS 4724.  
 RIIA \* 72-1589 (5m)  
 RIB \* 72-1591 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 RIIA \* 72-1592 (5m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIB \* 72-1618 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-5.  
 RIB \* 72-1630 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIVA \* 72-1634 (4m)  
 GID \* 72-1635 (5m) Atlas 11-343, SS 5130.  
 RIB \* 72-1636 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 GIXC \* 72-1638 (4m)  
 RIVA \* 72-1639 (4m) cf. Atlas 3-86.  
 GVA \* 72-1640 (4m) Atlas 8-259, TR No.483, Ilios No.1983, SS 5249.  
 RIVA \* 72-1641 (4m)  
 RVIAb \* 72-1643 (4m) cf. Atlas 6-173.  
 RIVB \* 72-1646 (4m) cf. Atlas 6-173.  
 RIIIB \* 72-1654 (5m)  
 RIA \* 72-1671 (5m)  
 RIIB \* 72-1684 (5m) Atlas 4-105, TR No.437, Ilios No.1937, SS 4611.  
 RIA \* 72-1685 (5m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1687 (5m)  
 RIIB \* 72-1698 (5m)  
 RIA \* 72-1784 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIIC \* 72-1840 (3m) cf. Atlas 1-26.  
 RIA \* 72-1850 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIA \* 72-1852 (3m) cf. Atlas 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 (6½m). 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. Atlas 8-238.  
 RIA \* 72-1419 (9m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIA \* 72-1420 (8m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1421 (9m)  
 RIA \* 72-1423 (6m)  
 RIA \* 72-1424 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIA \* 72-1425 (9m)  
 GIB \* 72-1426 (10m) Atlas 4-109? (9m)  
 RIB \* 72-1427 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 RIA \* 72-1429 (4m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 GVII \* 72-1455 (5m) Atlas 9-278, SS 5313.  
 RIIIA \* 72-1464 (5m)  
 RIA \* 72-1512 (6m)  
 RIIC \* 72-1513 (6m)  
 RIIIC \* 72-1517 (6m) cf. Atlas 1-26.  
 RIB \* 72-1518 (6m) cf. Atlas 2-43.  
 GID \* 72-1521 (5m)  
 RIB \* 72-1522 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 RIA \* 72-1525 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIA \* 72-1528 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIID \* 72-1529 (5m) Atlas 10-334, SS 5158.  
 RIIC \* 72-1532 (5m)  
 GIXD \* 72-1533 (6m) Atlas 6-194.  
 RIIC \* 72-1537 (5m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1538 (6m)  
 RIA \* 72-1541 (5m)  
 RIA \* 72-1542 (6m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIC \* 72-1546 (6m) cf. Atlas 4-115.  
 RIIIC \* 72-1547 (5m)  
 RIIIA \* 72-1550 (5m) cf. Atlas 3-72.  
 RID \* 72-1551 (6m)  
 GIA \* 72-1555 (5m)  
 GID \* 72-1566 (6m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1571 (6m)  
 GIA \* 72-1572 (6m) cf. Atlas 10-336, SS 5093.  
 GIB \* 72-1590 (6m)  
 GIXD \* 72-1595 (6m) cf. Atlas 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

C215 \* 72-1558 lugs and a spout(?) on body. A plastic band and row of dots encircles the base of the neck (8m). Fig.V.19.  
 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. Atlas 1-24.  
 RIIC \* 72-1563 (9m) cf. Atlas 1-24.  
 RIIID \* 72-1587 (7m)  
 GIA \* 72-1594 (8m) cf. Atlas 2-53, TR No.329, Ilios No.1829.  
 GIA \* 72-1598 (8m)  
 RVB \* 72-1599 (7m)  
 GVA \* 72-1605 (8m) cf. Atlas 9-286, SS 5270.  
 RIIA \* 72-1623 (8m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIVA \* 72-1628 (8m) Fig.V.49.  
 GID \* 72-1645 (7m)  
 RVIIC \* 72-1648 (8m) Atlas 12-392; Fig.V.49.  
 RIB \* 72-1673 (8m) cf. Atlas 1-2.  
 GIXD \* 72-1683 (7m) Atlas 10-337, TR No.458, Ilios No.1958, SS 5431.  
 RIIA \* 72-1688 (7m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIIIC \* 72-1763 (8m) Atlas 12-379, SS 4695.  
 GIB \* 72-1767 (10m)  
 GIA \* 72-1781 (8m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1783 (10m)  
 RIA \* 72-1785 (11m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 GIA \* 72-1786 (14m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1787 (12m)  
 GVI \* 72-1869 (8m) Atlas 9-291? SS 5295 (2782).  
 RIVB \* 72-1881 (7m) cf. Atlas 1-33, SS 4724.  
 RIIIC \* 72-1882 (7m)  
 RIIA \* 72-1883 (7m) cf. Atlas 5-135.

#### TERRACOTTA BALLS

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

#### WEIGHTS

\* 72-1502 Pendant weight or whetstone (8m) cf. Atlas 98-2063; Fig.V.47.  
 \* 72-1582 Pendant weight or whetstone (8m) cf. Atlas 98-2063; Fig.V.47.  
 \* 72-1614 Pendant weight or whetstone (8m); Fig.V.47.

#### FIGURINES

3C(?) \* 72-1699 Alabaster figurine (7m). Fig.V.44.  
 2C(?) \* 72-1583 Incised marble figurine (8m). Atlas 98-2058b, TR No. 20, Ilios No.215, SS 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 animal-head handle intrusive from Troy VI (10m).  
3 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. Atlas 1-13.  
 RIA 72-1915 (2m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIIA 72-1917 (2m) cf. Atlas 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). Atlas 40-973? Fig.V.28.  
 D33 72-1899 Funnel (4m). Fig.V.29.

METALWORK(?)

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

WHORLS

RIVA 72-1884 (3m)  
 RIA 72-1885 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIA 72-1886 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RIA 72-1887 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 RVIAb 72-1888 (3m)  
 RIIIC 72-1889 (4m) Atlas 7-219, SS 5424.  
 RIIIB 72-1890 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-19.  
 RIA 72-1891 (3m)  
 RIIB 72-1893 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-13.  
 RIIA 72-1894 (3m) cf. Atlas 8-238.  
 RIB 72-1903 (4m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
 RIIIA 72-1904 (4m)  
 RIIB 72-1906 (4m) cf. Atlas 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). Atlas 20-578,99-2172, SS 7696; Fig.V.45.

Deposit (7). No stratigraphic information.

OBJECTS FOUND

POTTERY

A45 72-1953 Depas, brown slipped and burnished (6m). Atlas 49-1208, SS 595; Fig.V.24.  
 A211 72-1949 Globular cup with short, vertical neck, open horizontal mouth, and handle from neck to body (5m). Atlas 47-1129; Fig.V.24.  
 C 217 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. Atlas 1-19.  
RIIIA 72-1908 (6m)  
RIB 72-1929 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-4, TR No.318, Ilios No.1818.  
RVIAb 72-1930 (5m) cf. Atlas 6-177.  
GVII 72-1931 (5m) Atlas 8-255.  
RIIIB 72-1932 (6m)  
GVI 72-1934 (5m) cf. Atlas 5-142.  
GID 72-1935 (5m)  
GIA 72-1936 (5m)  
GIXD 72-1937 (5m) Atlas 5-164? SS 5436.  
RIA 72-1939 (5m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
RVC 72-1940 (5m?)  
RIB 72-1941 (5m) cf. Atlas 1-3.  
RIIB 72-1942 (5m) Atlas 6-207, SS 4959.  
RIA 72-1943 (5m) cf. Atlas 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. Tgb 1872 p.492 mentions 20 plates; TA p.174 mentions 25 (8m). Atlas 102-2290/1, TR No.73, Ilios Nos.461-8; Fig.V.17.  
A39 72-1985 Red ovoid tankard with flatbase, 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. Atlas 6-179; Fig.V.49.  
 GID 72-1961 (8m) Atlas 5-134, TR No.430, Ilios No.1930, SS 5491.  
 RIIIA 72-1962 (8m)  
 RVIAb 72-1963 (8m)  
 RIIA 72-1964 (7m) cf. Atlas 5-135.  
 RIIIC 72-1965 (7m)  
 RIA 72-1966 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-240.  
 GIA 72-1967 (8m)  
 RIC 72-1968 (8m) Atlas 4-97.  
 RIA 72-1982 (8m) cf. Atlas 8-246.  
 RIA 72-1983 (8m) Atlas 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 I Ib and I Ic. 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 I Ia (=Dörpfeld's Wall I Id), 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 2½-4½m 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)

THE SOUTHEAST TRENCH

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 VIG deep into the strata of Troy IV and V. North of VIG 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 VIG, however, it seems that mycenaean pottery was still coming to light at c.30.50m A.T.; and indeed the walls of VIG 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 VIG. 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 iii, 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 VI G, 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 IX G. What certainly does seem to have been found is the rebuilding in Troy VIIa of Dörpfeld's House VI G. 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 VIG. 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 Ve 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 VIG 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.

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  $12^{\circ}$  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  $1\frac{1}{2}$ m; 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  $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. 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  $1\frac{1}{2}$ m 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.33.80 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)

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 VIIH, 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). Atlas 124-2490, Ilios No.1307, SS 1304; Fig.V.30.
- C35 \* - Globular jar with three short fat, narrow legs, up-right neck and everted splayed rim. Two lugs on shoulder of body (2m). Atlas 124-2488; Fig.V.30.

##### POLISHED STONE

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

##### WHORL

- RVIAb \* 73-196 (2m) Atlas 126-2559.

##### LOOMWEIGHT(?)

- 73-198 Perforated sub-triangular object of terracotta (3m). Atlas 124-2475.

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 VIIg. 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 VIIg, 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, TA p.215.  
- - 'Hellenic' sherds, Tgb 1873 p.75.

##### METALWORK

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

##### WHORLS

- With and without decoration, at 1m and 2m, Tgb 1873 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.



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 overlie 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 i: 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 neighbouring 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 124-2487; Fig.V.29.

C205 \* 73-225 Conical jar with wide, rounded base and short, narrower, vertical neck (4m). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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 (3m). 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). Atlas 139-2758, SS 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). Atlas 130-2563; Fig. V.24.
- A214 \* 73-284 Bowl with rounded base and curving sides to form a hemisphere; plain rim. Restored in Atlas 139-2756 as a cup (4m). SS 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). Atlas 139-2763; Fig.V.25.
- B4 73-281 Tall ovoid jug, flat base and horizontal, plain mouth. Handle from neck to body (5m). Atlas 139-2754; Fig. V.25.
- B5 73-341 Red, ovoid bottle with rounded base, narrow neck and bevelled rim (5m). Atlas 130-2576, Ilios No.1124, SS 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 139-2755, TR No.178, Ilios No. 430, SS 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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, TA p.228.
- A30 73-273 Simple bowl with flat base, curving sides and slightly incurved mouth (6m). Atlas 131-2594; Fig.V.22.
- A45 - Brilliant red depata are attested at 6-8m deep, Tgb p.117, TA 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 139-2760; Fig.V.22.
- B18? - Brown jug with rounded base and tall, very narrow neck. Handle from neck to shoulder (7m). Atlas 139-2761, Ilios No.1138(?); Fig.V.22.
- B203 - Neck of jar with vertical triangular lugs at rim (6m). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 139-2765, Ilios 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 133-2642; Fig.V.34. Probably intrusive from VIII.
- - Red-polished and black-polished sherds are attested at 8m. TA p.225.

##### METALWORK

- 73-333 "Copper" pin with spherical head (7m). Atlas 130-2570; Fig.V.39.
- 73-334 "Copper" pin with spherical head (7m). Atlas 130-2571; Fig.V.39.
- 73-335 "Copper" pin with furled head (7m). Atlas 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) Atlas 133-2640, SS 5049.  
 73-303 (6m) Atlas 133-2641, undecorated.  
 GX 73-305 (7m) Atlas 133-2653.  
 GIVA 73-356 (6m) Atlas 135-2695.  
 RIB 73-362 (6½m) Atlas 133-2657.  
 GID 73-365 (7m) Atlas 133-2661, SS 5134.  
 GIXD 73-369 (6m) Atlas 133-2662, TR No.202, Ilios No.505, SS 5412.  
 Whorls are said to be mostly undecorated, Tgb p.106.

TERRACOTTA BALLS

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

FIGURINES

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

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 E 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). Atlas 138-2749; see Fig.V.17.
- A206 - Conical tumbler with low base, convex sides and flaring rim (7m). Atlas 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). Atlas 138-2747; Fig.V.22.
- B4 73-348 Slender, ovoid jug with flat base and plain, horizontal rim. Handle from neck to body (8m). Atlas 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). Atlas 138-2745, Ilios No. 433, SS 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). Atlas 139-2762; Fig.V.18.
- C1 73-343 Jar with flat base, cylindrical neck and two handles from neck to body (8m). Atlas 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). Atlas 136-2729, Ilios 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. Atlas 138-2748, Ilios No.426, SS 2514(?).
- C19 73-379 Hemispherical bowl with incurving rim and three (or more) vertical strap-handles set on body (8m). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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.

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)

73-460

POLISHED STONE

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)

C39

POTTERY

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

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" ( $\frac{1}{2}$ m). 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 i: 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

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

##### METALWORK

- 73-780 Detached lid from bronze oil-lamp, showing a Medusa head in relief.  
Atlas 163-3157 (¼m); Fig.V.38.  
(\*Atlas 164-3202 Small copper object consisting of a stirrup with smaller ring or screw attached (1½m); Fig.V.38.  
Atlas 164-3178 Lead weight in shape of rectangular plate with relief of pig's head (2m). Ilios No.1474, SS 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-handed 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 i: 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 O2-m, sometimes O-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 Inscription said to have been found below Schliemann's (=73-1) 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). Atlas 130-2566; Fig.V.31.
- A216 (\*) - Conical cup with flat base, plain rim, and handle from rim to lower part of body (3m). Atlas 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). Atlas 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 (3m). Atlas 130-2568; Fig.V.29.

##### METALWORK

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

##### WHORLS

- RVA (\*)73-308 (3m) Atlas 132-2610.
- GVI (\*)73-309 (3m) Atlas 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). Atlas 155-3052, SS 1840, TI 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. Atlas 155-3054, SS 2461, Ilios 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-shoulder 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 Atlas 148-2898, TR No.439, Ilios No.1939.  
RIIA (\*) 73-507 Atlas 148-2901.  
RIA (\*) 73-508 Atlas 148-2904.  
RIVA (\*) 73-509 Atlas 148-2910.  
RID (\*) 73-510 Atlas 148-2905.  
GIA (\*) 73-516 Atlas 148-2909.  
GID (\*) 73-518 Atlas 148-2919.  
- (\*) 73-521 Atlas 148-2925, undecorated.  
GIB (\*) 73-559 Atlas 147-2868, SS 5105.  
RIIID (\*) 73-560 Atlas 147-2869.  
GVI (\*) 73-613 Atlas 150-2982, SS 5295.  
RIVB (\*) - Atlas 149-2956.

(6m)

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

(7m)

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

(8m)

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

(9m)

GIVA (\*) 73-604 Atlas 149-2930 (see also 73-648).  
GID (\*) 73-618 Atlas 150-3002, SS 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 goats(?) 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). Atlas 160-3072; Fig.V.24.
- A203 73-819 Cup, or lid, with plain conical body and three out-turned feet (7m). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 161-3087, TR No.228, Ilios 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). Atlas 161-3094, TR No.224, Ilios No.352, SS 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). Atlas 160-3084, TR No.229, Ilios 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). Atlas 158-3069, SS 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). Atlas 154-3037 (4m), Ilios 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 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). Atlas 154-3047, Ilios No.255, SS 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). Atlas 161-3095, TR No.222, Ilios No.262; Fig.V.26.
- C221 73-691 Ovoid jar with pointed, cut-off base, flaring mouth and two lugs on body (7m). Atlas 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) Atlas 163-3149.  
 GIA 73-781 (8m) Atlas 163-3159, SS 5192.  
 GX 73-782 (8m) Atlas 163-3146.  
 GIXC 73-800 (8m) Atlas 166-3233, TR No.291, Ilios Nos.511A,B.  
 RIIB 73-801 (8m) Atlas 166-3230.  
 GIXD 73-803 (8m) Atlas 166-3239, SS 5453.  
 GID 73-807 (8m) Atlas 166-3247.  
 RVA 73-814 (8m) Atlas 166-3251.  
 GID 73-815 (8m) Atlas 166-3252, TR No.388, Ilios No.1888.  
 RVIAb - (8m) Atlas 162-3110.  
 GIVB - (8m) Atlas 164-3193, TR No.227, Ilios No.511.  
 GIXC - (8m) Atlas 165-3213.  
 GID - (8m) Atlas 165-3218.  
 GIA - (8m) Atlas 165-3226, SS 5084.  
 GX 73-751 (9m) Atlas 162-3117, TR No.464, Ilios No.1964, SS 5539;  
 Fig.V.50.  
 RIIA 73-753 (9m) Atlas 162-3122.  
 GIXD 73-754 (9m) Atlas 162-3127.  
 RIC 73-755 (9m) Atlas 162-3126.  
 RVIIDc 73-757 (9m) Atlas 162-3124, TR No.448, Ilios No.1948, SS 5038.  
 RIA 73-761 (9m) Atlas 162-3132.  
 RIA 73-786 (9m) Atlas 163-3162, SS 5565.  
 GID 73-810 (9m) Atlas 166-3231, SS 4683.  
 GVII 73-811 (9m) Atlas 166-3232.

#### TERRACOTTA BALLS

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

#### WEIGHT

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

#### SEAL

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

#### FIGURINES

3C(?) 73-790 Bone figurine showing vestigial arms, with incised eyebrows, nose and dots for eyes (8m). Atlas 163-3153; Fig.V.45.  
 3B 73-791 Bone figurine with incised eyes and nose. Lower part broken away (8m). Atlas 163-3154; Fig.V.45.  
 3E 73-792 Bone or stone figurine, plain (8m). Atlas 163-3156; Fig.V.44.  
 2A 73-826 Marble figurine with crudely incised eyebrows and dots for eyes (8m). Atlas 166-3237; Fig.V.44.  
 3G 73-789 Marble figurine with incised decoration of eyebrows, nose, eyes and hair(?) (9m). Atlas 163-3152, SS 7362, cf. TI Fig.348k; Fig.V.44.  
 3C(?) - Marble figurine with incised V for nose and two dots for eyes (depth uncertain, possibly 8m). Atlas 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 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ 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  $\frac{1}{2}$ m 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 "

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

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

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

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

Atlas 196-3564 SS 5931; Fig.V.39.  
Atlas 196-3569 SS 5932.

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

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

Gold double studs.

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

Three conical gold sequins

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

Two perforated gold bars.

Atlas 196-3542 Ilios Nos.696,765; Fig.V.39.  
Atlas 196-3543 Ilios 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:

Atlas 196-3576-84 Ilios Nos.712-38; Fig.V.39.

#### TREASURE "A2"

#### VESSELS

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

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

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,<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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".<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.

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.<sup>1</sup> In a late phase of Middle Troy I Blegen places his wall IW (Dörpfeld's wall Ia), on the south side of the citadel.<sup>2</sup> Against its south face he found a "thick deposit of stone chips and yellowish-white decomposed soft rock".<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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,<sup>10</sup> may be the continuation of Blegen's Ij deposits in F3.<sup>11</sup>

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°. <sup>12</sup> This corresponds well to the similar structure noted by Dörpfeld in squares C3 and G3-4<sup>13</sup> and by Blegen in C2-3, D2 and F3.<sup>14</sup> 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;<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> But Tower R, at least, was not bonded into Wall IW; it was built up against it as Blegen's photographs show<sup>17</sup> and as the visitor to the site can still see. Moreover, the strata that immediately overlie Tower R's original ground-level<sup>18</sup> find their closest comparison not with those over IW but with those over IX.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 architecture<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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,<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> Its effect is to make IIR more or less contemporary with Megara IIA, IIB, Building IIH, Propylon IIC and the attached colonnade.<sup>26</sup> 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 complex<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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 IIR<sup>30</sup> 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 D3-4<sup>31</sup> 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;<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> A third building-phase is represented by a massive mudbrick structure which was built over Megaron IIF,<sup>34</sup> incorporating Blegen's Wall II-18<sup>35</sup> and some remains beside Gate FM.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> These are securely stratified over Wall II-18.<sup>38</sup> The walls of Blegen's IIg seem to fit onto the insulae of

buildings which Burnouf shows in the eastern part of the site,<sup>39</sup> and some house remains in squares F4-5 probably belong as well.<sup>40</sup> 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 E3<sup>41</sup> or of the curiously-placed wall running from IIH to the colonnade.<sup>42</sup> 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 Ware<sup>43</sup> 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,<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> The walls a and a<sup>2</sup> seem to represent second and third phases of building.<sup>46</sup> The latest feature in the area was Burnouf's House HS, persuasively argued by Blegen to belong to his phase IIg.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> Stratified below House HS was Dörpfeld's Building IID, placed by Blegen in phase IIc.<sup>49</sup> 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 a<sup>2</sup> was the large complex assigned by Dörpfeld to II.2.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

- 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 a<sup>2</sup>
- 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 scheme<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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 Schliemann<sup>58</sup> as well as by Blegen.<sup>59</sup> In square F3 there was a deep deposit of mudbrick debris over the 'IIb' building,<sup>60</sup> and rubble was found in the porch of the 'Palace of IIa'.<sup>61</sup> Dörpfeld, too, noticed that a stratum of burnt debris underlay the foundations of his II.2 period.<sup>62</sup> With this we may perhaps associate the deposition of a 3m-thick stratum of debris against the face of Dörpfeld's Wall IIc<sup>63</sup> and over or within Gate FL.<sup>64</sup> There is no sign, however, that at this stage Wall IIc fell out of use; the same applies to Gate FN<sup>2</sup>, 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.<sup>65</sup>

The following phase, contemporary with phase II.4 of the citadel interior, is not clearly marked but probably includes the rebuilding of Gate FO.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> But a new gate, FM, was introduced for the duration of Troy II.5. Dörpfeld's supposition that FM, like FO, passed through two phases<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> The gate is stratified over Dörpfeld's Wall IIC<sup>70</sup> and, more importantly, over the western 'II.2' complex. Contemporary with it will be the wall traced by Dörpfeld around the southwest side.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> 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;<sup>73</sup> Gate FM was probably blocked.<sup>74</sup> Outside the citadel wall lay building IIS, assigned by Blegen to his phase IIg.<sup>75</sup> Other remains, which may belong to additional external buildings of the same phase, are known to exist on the west side of the site<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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".<sup>78</sup> 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);<sup>79</sup> Walls 54 and 56 belonged to the second phase, in II.1.(ii).<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> Dörpfeld, it is true, supposed that his Wall Ic belonged well within Troy I, earlier than his Wall Ia (Blegen's Wall IW).<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> Another feature related to the same structure may possibly be the pavement found by Blegen in squares C4-5.<sup>86</sup> 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+,<sup>87</sup> for these probably belong to Blegen's "IIa" building.<sup>88</sup> So too will any eastward extension that Schliemann dug away.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> 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;<sup>94</sup> a number of walls noticed by Schliemann on the North Platform but not individually recorded;<sup>95</sup> Blegen's Wall OB in square D3;<sup>96</sup> and the two phases of Gate FL.<sup>97</sup> 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'.<sup>98</sup> From the end of phase II.1.(ii) come clear signs of wide-spread burning.<sup>99</sup>

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,<sup>100</sup> 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".<sup>101</sup> Elsewhere it left an equally deep stratum of mudbrick debris, as in square F3.<sup>102</sup> Possibly there was dumping on the north side of the site;<sup>103</sup> on the south side debris was thrown against the face of Dörpfeld's citadel wall IIc and into Gate FL.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup>

Among the fortifications Gate FL may have been blocked, but Dörpfeld's

Wall IIC and Gate FN<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>106</sup> and to its North Schliemann also found a drain.<sup>107</sup> In squares DBF 3-4 Dörpfeld's plan<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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 a<sup>2</sup>.<sup>110</sup>

Troy II.3 (Fig.V.4) Gate FN now entered its third phase, of which Schliemann found a part in Wall 53.<sup>111</sup> 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".<sup>112</sup> 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,<sup>112a</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup>

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;<sup>114</sup> Gate FM;<sup>115</sup> and the paved road leading up to it.<sup>116</sup> Building 3, which he found over Gate FN,<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> Gate FO<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> He may also have found a part of the northeast corner of Megaron IIB.<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> Probably it was used as roofing-material.

Clear evidence for burning at the end of this period comes from Megaron IIA<sup>122</sup> and from the area of the second, later colonnade.<sup>123</sup> The numerous pits dug down from this level<sup>124</sup> 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 weasel<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> It was found in square G7 and must be placed on the platform adjoining the east side of the now heavily rebuilt Gate FO.<sup>127</sup> The whole feature suggests a gatehouse shrine comparable to that known from Tower VII at a later date.<sup>128</sup> The second is what seems to be an otherwise unattested stretch of citadel wall found in B5-6: Wall 83.<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup> Behind Wall 83 was a pavement.<sup>131</sup> 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;<sup>132</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> To its West, outside the citadel wall, lay Building IIS.<sup>135</sup> The lie of the Troy III deposits in square D7 may indicate the presence of a similar building there too,<sup>136</sup> and Dörpfeld noticed other possibly related remains outside Gate FM.<sup>137</sup>

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.<sup>138</sup> 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).<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup> 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;<sup>141</sup> 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 76<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> From many points there is evidence of a major conflagration at the end of phase II.6.(ii).<sup>144</sup>

Troy III (Fig.V.8) The strata of this succeeding period have still failed to reveal any trace of new fortifications.<sup>145</sup> 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 Tower<sup>146</sup> might derive from a rebuilding in Troy III. But over the Tower and over Wall 81 Schliemann otherwise noticed only deposits of burnt debris.<sup>147</sup> Dörpfeld has no light to cast

on the matter since the final rebuilding of Gate FO has been re-assigned to Late Troy II;<sup>148</sup> and at the only point where Blegen might have been able to settle the question the strata of Troy III were missing altogether.<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup> So too may Wall 59/70, a wall with the same alignment as Building 4, but preserved only to c.32.70m A.T.<sup>151</sup> 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.<sup>152</sup> 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.<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup> 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.<sup>155</sup>

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.<sup>156</sup> Its position aligns it well with Blegen's mass of stones in square F8,<sup>157</sup> and with the presumed presence of a retaining-wall below VIM in square C7 or 8.<sup>158</sup> Schliemann seems to have come across a second piece of the Troy IV wall in square H7.<sup>159</sup> 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;<sup>160</sup> 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.<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup> Walls of small stones bonded with mud are recorded from squares EF6-7, but without any detail.<sup>164</sup> In square C6 Wall 58 could be of Troy IV date if it does not belong to Troy VI or VII.<sup>165</sup> Into Troy IV we may also add Blegen's architectural sequences in squares F4-5, E6, F7-8;<sup>166</sup> some of the walls shown by Dörpfeld in squares FG6;<sup>167</sup> and some of the walls found in squares BC6-7 in 1893,<sup>168</sup> although exactly which is unclear.<sup>169</sup> Occupation extended into squares Z5 and A4-5.<sup>170</sup>

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.<sup>171</sup> The tapering rooms, with their persistent avoidance of right-angles, have the same stamp as the domestic architecture of the Karum period at Kültepe.<sup>172</sup> 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.<sup>173</sup>

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;<sup>174</sup> this may correspond with Blegen's observation that Troy V remains were preserved up to 32.80m A.T. in the adjoining area.<sup>175</sup> 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.<sup>176</sup> 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.<sup>177</sup> 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.<sup>178</sup> 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,<sup>179</sup> where it should underlie the north wall of the Pillar House of Troy VI.<sup>180</sup> A citadel wall of Troy V was identified by Blegen at two other points: in square C8,<sup>181</sup> where it must lie to the North of the very low-lying E.B.-M.B. deposits exposed to the South of VIM;<sup>182</sup> and in squares Z5/A4-5 close to the fortification-wall of Troy VI.<sup>183</sup> To this we may add what appears to be a Troy V fortification visible in the scarp in GH7 8-10<sup>1/2</sup>m Southeast of Wall 44 and immediately Northwest of the north wall of Building VIG;<sup>184</sup> a retaining-wall which may, from the section-drawing, be presumed to lie below the east wall of Building VIF;<sup>185</sup> and its continuation which can be presumed to lie below the east wall of Building VIE.<sup>186</sup> 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.<sup>187</sup> Of these Vb, c, d and e are re-assigned by Blegen to Troy VI.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup> 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.<sup>190</sup> 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,<sup>191</sup> and Dörpfeld's sounding in CD7 no doubt recorded buildings from this period.<sup>192</sup> Dörpfeld records that small, irregular rooms were found in squares E6 and G7.<sup>193</sup> Otherwise there is very little: a demolished wall in F4-5;<sup>194</sup> a wall running North-South in J6;<sup>195</sup> some large stones and the bottom course of a wall in HJ6-7.<sup>196</sup> Some houses unearthed in square A8 show that there was occupation outside the citadel wall.<sup>197</sup>

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;<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup>

### 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.<sup>200</sup> 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.<sup>201</sup>

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 Séfériadès who thinks it justified to speak of a "Thraco-Anatolian" continuum.<sup>202</sup> Similar findings are suggested for the southern half of Turkish Thrace by the recent surveys of M. Özdoğan; a convenient summary is provided by Yakar.<sup>203</sup>

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.<sup>204</sup>

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.<sup>205</sup>

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 Bags<sup>206</sup> and 1 Bag = slightly less than 300 sherds,<sup>207</sup> 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."<sup>208</sup> 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;<sup>209</sup> for the declining wares were handmade and the Plain Wares wheelmade.<sup>210</sup> 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",<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup> 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 Podzuweit<sup>213</sup> while that from Anatolia has been classified by Huot.<sup>214</sup>

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.<sup>215</sup> 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.<sup>216</sup> 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.<sup>217</sup> 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.)<sup>218</sup> 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.<sup>219</sup> Of more interest, however, are those of Schliemann's distributions which extend the lifetime of one of Blegen's types.<sup>220</sup> 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.<br>Plus C207-8.                         |
|    | Vessels with Nozzles     | - 9,221.   |
| C: | Jars                     | - 1,5-8,10-13,19,21,22,25,27-30,32,34-36,<br>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 EBIIIa, and suggests perhaps rightly that the two phases were contemporary. She sees a subsequent parallel between the later EBIII 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 EBIIIb. 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 EBIII 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
	III	*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.i.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
----	-----	--------	------

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.P1:8-10; P24:25-27; Fischer, Hethistische 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

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

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

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

Perhaps a mis-shapen example of a type which Blegen has only in Troy I. (Those from II.5.ii, or IID, 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
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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. Saghieh, 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/01; 57:I-i/01 (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 (EHI-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; Etiyokuşu 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 AIa-b1, 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

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

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.lff: 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 (Özgülç, "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, Pré 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 <sup>of</sup>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 depas 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 (Kültepe 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 EHIIB 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 (Karataş); 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 (Karataş); 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
	LIII	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 ECIII B (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; Kültepe 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 EBIIIa at Kültepe levels 13-11 (Özgüç, op.cit. pp.34-36) and in EBIIIb at Tarsus, Tilmen and perhaps Ged̂ikli. 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 (EBIIIa) or Late II (EBIIIb) 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 EBIII 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 (EBIII 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. Kültepe 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 EHIIb 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 <sup>at</sup> 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 C15 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 (Polatli); 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, All6 (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
LIII	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 AIIIa-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 Acemhüyük 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

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.ii.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 Karataş; 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

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

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

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

Conical pyxis similar to C205 but with two pointed, vertically  
placed handles at the neck.

C212 II 73-540 V.17

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.CXLIIII, CXLVIf (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.CLIIa 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

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: Bulleten 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	-	-
	III-IV	-	-
	V?	72-748	V.31

NS/n.ii.6

NS/n.ii.5

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 KVIA, 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 coif, 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
	"	<del>72-1945</del>	<del>V.18</del>
	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 Elmalı 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.

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: <sup>*</sup> 72-1681)
	Yortan Class A	(B3:72-95; C25: <sup>*</sup> 72-1681)
	Demircihüyük L	(B3:72-95)
	Beycesultan XIIIb	(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	(A45/10)
	IIC-III	
	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	(A45/4)
	IIC-III	
	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	( <del>A</del> 212)
	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, <sup>*</sup> A222, C10, C27)
	Middle Thessalian?	(A225)
	Early Cycladic IIIB	(B20, C27, D209; Import <sup>*</sup> 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, <sup>*</sup> C219, <sup>*</sup> D207)
	Ur III	(B5)
Troy IV:	Middle Thessalian I	( <sup>*</sup> A228)
	Middle Helladic	(A33, <sup>*</sup> A219, C12: <sup>*</sup> <u>At.</u> 190-3482)
	Middle Minoan	( <sup>*</sup> 73-330)
	Early Cycladic IIIB	( <sup>*</sup> 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)
	Acemhüyük III	(A44)
	Tarsus, post-EBIII	(A221, B9)
	Tarsus MB	(A8, A20, *A33; B5:At.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)
	Acemhüyük III	(C19)
	Tarsus MB	(C29:At.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 origin<sup>221</sup>), winged jars (C5, Northeast Aegean EBIII<sup>222</sup>) 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 (Cl3) 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 XIIIb, so for them, at least, a Middle Troy II date is possible. The krater (Cl3) 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.<sup>223</sup> So the type may be linked with EHIII. Which way the influence went is unclear. But the Cl0 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 ECIIIa 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 EBIIIb 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 unmistakable - 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.<sup>224</sup> 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 ECIIIb. 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.

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 gold<sup>226</sup> slightly extends Blegen's distribution for that metal,<sup>227</sup> while conversely Blegen found lead in Troy I where Schliemann did not.<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup> Schliemann recorded finds of iron in Troy I, II and V,<sup>230</sup> but the claims need confirmation.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup> The small clay funnels found in Troy II-IV<sup>233</sup> may confirm this if they were tuyères.<sup>234</sup> Blegen has no funnels before Troy III, but there are other earlier examples from Poliochni Blue and Red.<sup>235</sup>

Smithing is certainly attested by the presence of crucibles, moulds and ingots. There are crucibles from at least Late Troy II and Troy III,<sup>236</sup> to which may be added further Troy III examples from Schliemann and Blegen.<sup>237</sup> 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,<sup>238</sup> but none exactly matches any of ours.

Open and closed (i.e. two-piece) moulds must be distinguished.<sup>239</sup> Open moulds occur in both stone<sup>240</sup> and terracotta,<sup>241</sup> and are attested no later than Troy III;<sup>242</sup> closed moulds are all of stone and appear throughout Troy II-V,<sup>243</sup> but most frequently in IV. Blegen has no closed moulds or their covers earlier than Troy V.<sup>244</sup> 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.<sup>245</sup> Another in stone with the shapes of a bun ingot and a jeweller's hammer has an unstratified parallel from Boğazköy.<sup>246</sup> The terracotta moulds for bar ingots (LII, III)<sup>247</sup> have parallels in stone and terracotta from the M.B. strata at Alaca and Alişar.<sup>248</sup> The example from Troy III, 73-402, is closely paralleled by one recovered by Blegen from Troy IIIa;<sup>249</sup> 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 ribbed<sup>250</sup>), 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.<sup>251</sup> 72-746, from Troy II, may be a cover with a groove for a strap;<sup>252</sup> a similar piece of EBIII date comes from Alişar.<sup>253</sup>

A bar ingot from Treasure C<sup>254</sup> 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.<sup>255</sup> There are EM-MM parallels in bronze from Mochlos,<sup>256</sup> and there may be a further example in Poliochni Yellow.<sup>257</sup> A similar ingot of iron, SS 6706, is of uncertain date. The large spherical piece of iron reported from Troy II-III<sup>258</sup> could be a bun ingot. Lumps of gold and perhaps silver are noted as well.<sup>259</sup>

Troy's metal sources have not been exactly identified, but there were accessible sources of gold, silver and copper in the region,<sup>260</sup> and tin was available near Bursa.<sup>261</sup> 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.<sup>262</sup>

There are twenty-six metal vessels. All but four of these belong to Treasures A and B which I have discussed at length elsewhere.<sup>263</sup> Their parallels in contemporary clay vessels have often been noted.<sup>264</sup> The four additional items are (1) a large, round gold plate engraved with "most curious signs", from Troy II,<sup>265</sup> 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;<sup>266</sup> (3) a spout, two curled handle-attachments and a base-ring from a bronze kettle in Treasure S1, from Late Troy II;<sup>267</sup> and (4) a similar spout from Treasure S2, also of Late Troy II.<sup>268</sup> Remnants of another bronze kettle like that of S1 occur among the finds of Treasure B.<sup>269</sup> 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.<sup>270</sup> Their curled handle-attachments are paralleled on a silver teapot in Tomb K at Alaca Hüyük;<sup>271</sup> their spouts also look Central Anatolian, but only by comparison with pottery of the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>272</sup>

Schliemann records thirty-five metal weapons of which nineteen were in Treasure A.<sup>273</sup> 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,<sup>274</sup> from Schliemann's later excavations,<sup>275</sup> and also a mould.<sup>276</sup>  
For the daggers there are moulds which certainly correspond to two of  
the types,<sup>277</sup> and two other fragmentary moulds found by Blegen.<sup>278</sup>  
External parallels have already been listed.<sup>279</sup>

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,<sup>280</sup> one from Troy IV.<sup>281</sup> 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.<sup>282</sup> Blegen records  
flint arrowheads from Troy IV and V.<sup>283</sup> (2) Twelve daggers. Two of  
these belong to types already represented in Treasure A,<sup>284</sup> three are  
ribbed with squared shoulders and tang,<sup>285</sup> and one may be from a short,  
triangular dagger.<sup>286</sup> Six others are mentioned (as "spearheads") but  
not illustrated.<sup>287</sup> All these daggers belong to a broad class of tanged  
short blade which was, as French emphasizes, "the basic type for  
Anatolia".<sup>288</sup> (3) A halberd,<sup>\*72-1880</sup>, from Troy III. The piece has a  
curved butt similar to examples from Mahmatlar and Iskilib,<sup>289</sup> and a  
crude-looking blade of three sharp teeth. It is consistent, in a  
general way, with other known E.B. halberds from Anatolia;<sup>290</sup> 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.<sup>291</sup>

Sixty-one or sixty-two items may be classed as metal tools. A gilded  
copper blade probably comes from Early Troy II.<sup>292</sup> Five bronze or  
copper knives from Troy II-Late Troy II all have tangs and shoulders and  
are of the straight-backed variety.<sup>293</sup> These have other parallels from  
Late Troy II<sup>294</sup> but none among Blegen's material;<sup>295</sup> there are  
additional examples from Thermi and Aphrodisias BA2.<sup>296</sup> The fragment  
<sup>\*72-1382</sup> (Late II) may be from another such knife. Seven bronze or  
copper knives have curved blades (Troy II-III).<sup>297</sup> The type is  
discussed by Séfériadès who notes its Thraco-Anatolian distribution and  
suggests a Ukrainian origin.<sup>298</sup> There are others from Troy I and Late  
Troy II.<sup>299</sup> Some other copper knives are reported without further  
detail.<sup>300</sup>

Fourteen "flat axes" from Treasure A, with their parallels, have been  
discussed elsewhere.<sup>301</sup> Seven others are noted, all but one being from  
Troy II.<sup>302</sup> Some are certainly of bronze.<sup>303</sup> There are eleven chisels,  
all from II-Late II. Three were found with Treasure A.<sup>304</sup> Six are of

the type that resembles a narrow "flat axe",<sup>305</sup> one is very narrow and triangular in section,<sup>306</sup> and one has an exceptionally broad cutting-edge.<sup>307</sup> Chisels are well-attested in Blegen's material (Late II-V)<sup>308</sup> as well as in Schliemann's,<sup>309</sup> and there are moulds with chisel-shapes from the site also.<sup>310</sup> E.B. parallels are numerous.<sup>311</sup> Five items may be punches,<sup>312</sup> though two of these<sup>313</sup> might be classified by some as awls, drills or darts.<sup>314</sup> Two pieces from Troy II and V may be spikes;<sup>315</sup> 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.<sup>316</sup> Two bronze saws from II and Late II<sup>317</sup> have parallels in Poliochni Green-Red and (without tang) at Kastri on Syros.<sup>318</sup> 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,<sup>319</sup> and a bronze example, with shaft, is reportedly from a robbed tomb near Çorum.<sup>320</sup> Deshayes shows examples from the Bulgarian and Bosnian Late Chalcolithic,<sup>321</sup> and indeed Schliemann reports four from the "Burnt City",<sup>322</sup> of which ours may be one. Early Byzantine examples are not greatly different.<sup>323</sup> 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.<sup>324</sup> This is possible; but a Middle Bronze Age parallel from Aphrodisias<sup>325</sup> need be only slightly later, and one from Amorgos could even be contemporary.<sup>326</sup> One final piece from Early Troy II, \*72-846, may be a razor. There is a possible razor from Poliochni Blue,<sup>327</sup> and four are reported from Karataş;<sup>328</sup> 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.<sup>329</sup> In the Second Millennium they are also known from Central Anatolia.<sup>330</sup>

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.<sup>331</sup> A copper loop comes from Late Troy II.<sup>332</sup> There are two lead whorls from somewhere in II-V.<sup>333</sup> 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.<sup>334</sup> Another intriguing possibility is that it might be the button from a horse harness; but the parallels are remote.<sup>335</sup>

The bulk of the jewellery is from Treasure A and is discussed elsewhere;<sup>336</sup> 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.<sup>337</sup> Two pairs of gold basket earrings with pendent decoration come from Troy II;<sup>338</sup> these are paralleled by others from the site and from Poliochni as well as by some amongst the Pennsylvania hoard.<sup>339</sup> There is also a pair of gold chain pendants with 'idol' ends, detached from their earrings,<sup>340</sup> and a solitary gold leaf similar to those on pendent chains.<sup>341</sup> 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.<sup>342</sup> One of these resolved itself into a group of eleven earrings each with five lobes.<sup>343</sup> In the same hoard was a silver earring like "a pair of tongs".<sup>344</sup> It is not illustrated but may have been like a gold earring known from Poliochni.<sup>345</sup>

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.<sup>346</sup> 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.<sup>347</sup> 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.<sup>348</sup> 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.<sup>349</sup> And a fourth, not illustrated, is from Troy III-IV.<sup>350</sup>

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.<sup>351</sup>

Schliemann records many pins, often without illustration.<sup>352</sup> 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.<sup>353</sup> 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.<sup>354</sup> 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 pin<sup>355</sup> nor a "pomegranate" pin. A broken pin from Alaca Tomb H may be of the same type.<sup>356</sup> A toggle-pin from Late Troy II (72-1692) joins other examples known from the site.<sup>357</sup> The type is characteristic of Amuq J<sup>358</sup> and the EBIII cemetery at Gedikli;<sup>359</sup> but also occurs in EBII strata at Tarsus and Karataş and in EDIII contexts in Southern Mesopotamia.<sup>360</sup> Other examples are known from the Heraion on Samos, from Poliochni Yellow, and from Alaca.<sup>361</sup> 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.<sup>362</sup> 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).<sup>363</sup> Other box beads are known from Poliochni Yellow, and biconical beads occur among Blegen's Troy II finds.<sup>364</sup> Treasure N (Troy II) contained many more gold beads and one cylindrical bead of electrum.<sup>365</sup> Several other gold beads come from elsewhere in Troy II.<sup>366</sup> 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<sup>367</sup> and with other parallels in Alaca Tomb A.<sup>368</sup> From Treasure N there is said to have been a "very artistic ornament" attached to At.98-2078,<sup>369</sup> and from Treasure C there were various unspecified pieces of jewellery.<sup>370</sup>

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 Brak<sup>371</sup> while the earrings with very fine granulation have no parallels before Ur III.<sup>372</sup> Some possible parallels for the long-handled pan also seem to fall in the Ur III period.<sup>373</sup> This may suggest<sup>a</sup> 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,<sup>374</sup> 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.<sup>375</sup> Those illustrated all belong to Blegen's Type 8, which he found in I-IV,<sup>376</sup> 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).<sup>377</sup> Séfériadès notes that bone pins are also numerous at Poliochni, but rare in Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>378</sup> Needles are, with one exception (\*73-568: IV), recorded without illustration;<sup>379</sup> in Blegen's excavations they were found in Troy I, IV and V.<sup>380</sup> The same is true of awls, the one illustrated example (\*73-533: IV) being of Blegen's Type 1;<sup>381</sup> others are mentioned as being made of bone, antler and boar's tusks.<sup>382</sup> From Late Troy II are two pointed implements (72-770, \*72-1112), possibly knives or awls, corresponding to Blegen's Type 5.<sup>383</sup> More are reported from III-IV.<sup>384</sup> A bone "dagger" from Early Troy II<sup>385</sup> 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.<sup>386</sup> 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.<sup>387</sup> 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 IID (= II.5) and IV,<sup>388</sup> and two more are listed by Schmidt.<sup>389</sup> They all belong to the class of "idol-spatulae" discussed by French and Séfériadès.<sup>390</sup> Others are known from Emporio, Poliochni Blue and, in an especially good parallel, Thermi.<sup>391</sup> One also comes from the M.B. strata at Boğazköy.<sup>392</sup>

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,<sup>393</sup> 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.<sup>394</sup> Others are listed by Schmidt.<sup>395</sup> 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.<sup>396</sup> Again, use as a haft-casing seems likely. Two rather longer tubes (73-386, 73-627) have undecorated parallels in II.6<sup>397</sup> and a decorated parallel in IV.<sup>398</sup> Other M.B. examples are reported from Kültepe and Alişar.<sup>399</sup> A third (At.187-3438, Late II) has three grooves cut around each end. It is closely paralleled in Troy III<sup>400</sup> and there is a fragment of a similar handle from Kastri on Syros.<sup>401</sup> 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.<sup>402</sup> Other examples are known from EBII Poliochni<sup>403</sup> and EHII in Euboea.<sup>404</sup> They may have been for holding cosmetic pigments.<sup>405</sup>

Pierced plaques occur in a variety of shapes, spanning Troy II-V in date.<sup>406</sup> 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 III<sup>407</sup> and also in Alişar II, Büyükkale IVd-III and M.B. Byblos.<sup>408</sup> 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.<sup>409</sup> Bone rings are recorded from Troy II,<sup>410</sup> and one from Late II was of mother-of-pearl.<sup>411</sup> A wide ring from Late II looks as if it may have been cut from a long bone.<sup>412</sup>

A bone toggle from II joins two others, both from Troy V.<sup>413</sup> Loose parallels from Sesklo and Lerna IV are perforated, not waisted at the middle.<sup>414</sup> A metal example from Horoztepe is three times the size and is more heavily worked.<sup>415</sup> Middle Bronze Age examples in bone and stone from Alaca and Alişar are closest in style but have no grooving at the tips.<sup>416</sup> \*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.<sup>417</sup> 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.<sup>418</sup> Another, similar piece may also come from Troy III.<sup>419</sup> 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.<sup>420</sup> Séfériadès suggests that they were used as plough-shares.<sup>421</sup> A bone fragment from Troy II (73-444) may possibly have been used as a scraper.<sup>422</sup>

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.<sup>423</sup> All three types are attested in the Blegen material<sup>424</sup> and are common elsewhere.<sup>425</sup> Flat axes<sup>426</sup> and chisels<sup>427</sup> likewise have parallels among Blegen's finds.<sup>428</sup> There is a number of polishers,<sup>429</sup> 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;<sup>430</sup> and a squared piece in Troy IV (73-206) recalls a small cube from the BA4-MB deposits of Aphrodisias.<sup>431</sup> Polishers occur throughout Blegen's finds from Troy I-V.<sup>432</sup>

Shafthole-axes appear in several shapes. A simple hammer-axe 72-5, poorly stratified (II-V), has one possible parallel from the site<sup>433</sup> but EB and MB parallels elsewhere.<sup>434</sup> 73-636 (II), with a flaring blade, has probably broken along the shafthole like some at Ezero.<sup>435</sup> 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 material<sup>436</sup> and elsewhere in West Anatolia.<sup>437</sup> A more slender variety is also present in \*72-1788 (II): the type may be paralleled in Blegen's Troy I.<sup>438</sup> A pickaxe, Atlas 188-3440 (II), has no shafthole and is perhaps incomplete.<sup>439</sup> The pointed butt is unusual at Troy and Poliochni, a blunt end being commoner.<sup>440</sup> But it is perhaps not unique at Troy<sup>441</sup> and is closely paralleled by an example with shafthole from Alişar III.<sup>442</sup> A wide range of similar axes is known from Ezero,<sup>443</sup> and the Trojan piece may be considered to fall within the class of "battle axes" argued by some to have a northern origin.<sup>444</sup> 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.<sup>445</sup>

Double-hammers with shafthole are quite common<sup>446</sup> and adequately paralleled on the site.<sup>447</sup> A flatter profile is shown for some<sup>448</sup> than for others. Spherical and near-spherical pieces with shafthole may be maceheads.<sup>449</sup> Others are known from the site,<sup>450</sup> 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,<sup>451</sup> from a robbed tomb near Çorum,<sup>452</sup> and from the Royal Cemetery at Ur.<sup>453</sup> 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.<sup>454</sup>

There are other references to "axes"<sup>455</sup> and "hammers",<sup>456</sup> 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.<sup>457</sup> 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.<sup>458</sup> Blegen reports fragments of two stone vessels from Troy I,<sup>459</sup> and seven more (unstratified) are listed by Schmidt.<sup>460</sup> Other E.B. examples are known from Thermi, Poliochni, Emporio, Kumtepe<sup>461</sup> as well as Beycesultan and Aphrodisias;<sup>462</sup> not all need be Cycladic in origin.<sup>463</sup>

Querns are mentioned frequently<sup>464</sup> but illustrated only rarely;<sup>465</sup> they require no comment. Two conical stones found in Troy II may be pounders,<sup>466</sup> 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.<sup>467</sup> Pestles and whetstones cannot always be distinguished. \*72-1366,

from Troy I, is probably a pestle and has two parallels in Poliochni blue.<sup>468</sup> 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.<sup>469</sup> Other items with, like 73-693, some groove or constriction at the neck may be whetstones,<sup>470</sup> 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.<sup>471</sup> 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.<sup>472</sup> 73-592 (IV) is an M.B. type paralleled at Tarsus.<sup>473</sup> \*73-201 (V) foreshadows an L.B. variety.<sup>474</sup> Other whetstones were noted by Schliemann but not illustrated.<sup>475</sup>

A granite bun with engraved cross, 72-556 (II), would usually be called an arrow-straightener;<sup>476</sup> a contemporary parallel comes from Poliochni and there is another known from Troy. In Greece they do not appear before EHIII.<sup>477</sup> A large, conical whorl of white marble comes from Troy III or IV;<sup>478</sup> Blegen found a stone whorl in IIg.<sup>479</sup>

An oval bead of carnelian comes from Troy II: \*73-106. In Blegen's excavations carnelian first appeared in Late Troy VI,<sup>480</sup> but Schliemann recorded other carnelian beads in Treasures E and L, both probably from Late Troy II.<sup>481</sup> A black stone pendant from Late II, 72-760, recalls the serpentine zoomorphic pendants in Alişar I<sup>482</sup> but is unusual in the Northwest.<sup>483</sup> 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.<sup>484</sup> 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,<sup>485</sup> six more crystal examples from Treasure L,<sup>486</sup> and a marble example, perhaps of Late II date, found in 1893.<sup>487</sup> The type becomes common in the second millennium.

Inevitably some items remain obscure in their purpose. Three small, grooved blocks with transverse holes<sup>488</sup> are usually called "spit-rests". Others in both stone and terracotta are known from the site,<sup>489</sup> though none come from Blegen's excavations. The type is attested from at least the Late Chalcolithic to the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia,<sup>490</sup> and also occurs in the Cyclades.<sup>491</sup> A spit-rest with transverse hole from Thermi

v<sup>492</sup> seems to provide a typological bridge between our type and the rather different examples found by Blegen.<sup>493</sup> Stone balls are attested in II, Late II and III-IV; one is black and polished,<sup>494</sup> another is decorated with lines and circles and recalls the similar balls of terracotta.<sup>495</sup> One may have been a pounder.<sup>496</sup> 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.<sup>497</sup> A pear-shaped object from Troy III, 73-703, may be a polisher;<sup>498</sup> so may a similar piece from IV, 72-1026, unless it be a figurine.<sup>499</sup> There are three sub-cylindrical objects from II, Late II and III,<sup>500</sup> that from Late II being of black-and white-striped marble; Blegen treats similar pieces as polishers,<sup>501</sup> but Brea and Lamb would treat them as pounders.<sup>502</sup> A perforated cylinder from Troy III-IV<sup>503</sup> must be compared with the terracotta examples from the same strata, Fig.V.48, to be discussed below. There are three phallus-shaped objects<sup>504</sup> of which other examples exist in the Schliemann material<sup>505</sup> but not in Blegen's. Perforated discs from Troy II onwards<sup>506</sup> are paralleled among Blegen's finds<sup>507</sup> 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.<sup>508</sup> 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.<sup>509</sup> To the crystal artefacts from II.5 and II.6<sup>510</sup> we must add, finally, a pointed hexagonal fragment: 73-295 (Late II). A similar piece from Aphrodisias may be contemporary or only slightly later.<sup>511</sup>

### 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.<sup>512</sup> Presumably it was present throughout in only small quantities, much as Blegen found.<sup>513</sup> This relative scarcity is typical of most West Anatolian and North Aegean sites.<sup>514</sup>

The assemblage is dominated by blades with one, long serrated edge. These are often roughly rectangular,<sup>515</sup> although sometimes the opposing edge is curved;<sup>516</sup> both types are common in Blegen's material.<sup>517</sup> The flint "saws" often mentioned by Schliemann<sup>518</sup> may belong to this

category. Some of the blades may be sickle elements, others may be genuine saws.<sup>519</sup> Some, however, are denticulated on both of the parallel long sides,<sup>520</sup> while others are drawn with no denticulation at all.<sup>521</sup> Occasionally there is evidence in the drawing for a midrib.<sup>522</sup> Two notched blades from Troy II<sup>523</sup> are without parallel in Blegen's material. Also from Troy II is a fan scraper,<sup>524</sup> also without really good parallel in the American excavations. From Troy IV Schliemann records a chipped "axe" of white flint;<sup>525</sup> it is not illustrated. From III-IV there is noted a long, flint "knife".<sup>526</sup> Schliemann does mention many flint "points",<sup>527</sup> but apart from one possible exception<sup>528</sup> there are no clear examples of genuine projectile points. Their rarity is normal for the region, although they are not wholly unknown.<sup>529</sup> Other flint blades are mentioned but not described or illustrated.<sup>530</sup>

### Figurines (Figs.V.44-45)<sup>531</sup>

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,<sup>532</sup> having incised features but only minimal shaping; these are found in Troy II-IV in our material,<sup>533</sup> but rarely (I, III, IV) in Blegen's.<sup>534</sup> 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,<sup>535</sup> not extending beyond Troy III in either body of finds.<sup>536</sup> Three, from Troy II and Late Troy II, have a more elongated shape<sup>537</sup> and would fall within Blegen's Type 2 of which examples are spread throughout I-IV;<sup>538</sup> not all bear incised features. Three from Troy III have a rounded torso, nicked waist and pointed head;<sup>539</sup> these come closest to Blegen's 2G.<sup>540</sup> A more developed example from Troy V (72-1845) is paralleled by an M.B. piece from Aphrodisias and by one now in Karlsruhe,<sup>541</sup> also by an unstratified figurine from Kültepe.<sup>542</sup> 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.<sup>543</sup> Eleven, from II-V, are in the squat figure-of-eight shape;<sup>544</sup> only four are without incised features. These all belong within Blegen's Type 2, found throughout I-IV.<sup>545</sup> A variant with longer neck occurs in II-IV in our material<sup>546</sup> and in II-III in Blegen's.<sup>547</sup> 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,<sup>548</sup> and from I-V in Blegen's material;<sup>549</sup> at Aphrodisias the type is

first attested in the BA4 (= EBIII) period.<sup>550</sup> 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.<sup>551</sup> Blegen too has the type in II-IV.<sup>552</sup> 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.<sup>553</sup> A fifth and final variant has an elongated head; our two examples come from Late II,<sup>554</sup> and a broken piece from Blegen's III seems to have been similar.<sup>555</sup> Two figurines from Troy III with square bodies,<sup>556</sup> like a broken example from Blegen's Troy II,<sup>557</sup> are unusual in the Northwest; they are closer to the Cycladic and Southwest Anatolian types.<sup>558</sup> Others have an elongated form. Two with rounded outlines (II-III)<sup>559</sup> are close to Blegen's Types 3A or 3B.<sup>560</sup> Two with squared outlines (III)<sup>561</sup> are in a shape more typical of bone figurines,<sup>562</sup> though not unknown in stone.<sup>563</sup> One from Troy V has two pointed projections which suggest arms (73-226). Again, comparable pieces occur in bone;<sup>564</sup> a less well-shaped forerunner in green schist was found at Thermi.<sup>565</sup> A simple, almost triangular, figurine from Troy I (72-1693) is of Blegen's Type 5, found by him too in Troy I.<sup>566</sup> 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.<sup>567</sup>

There are only nine bone figurines, plus two which may be of bone or stone.<sup>568</sup> 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,<sup>569</sup> one having parallels in Poliochni Yellow.<sup>570</sup> These approach the "idol spatulae" in form, and a bone "spoon" from III-IV may belong among them.<sup>571</sup> One with rudimentary arms (73-790: Late II) is comparable to two figurines in terracotta.<sup>572</sup> 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.<sup>573</sup>

Only five figurines are of terracotta. 73-102 (II) is related to the type with upraised arms, known from Thermi,<sup>574</sup> but is even cruder; there is also a rough parallel in Kusura B.<sup>575</sup> At.20-562 (II) and 72-1895 (IV) are perhaps comparable to a piece recovered by Blegen from Troy I.<sup>576</sup> Other, broadly similar, examples are known from Thermi, Kusura, EBI Tarsus and elsewhere.<sup>577</sup> 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.<sup>578</sup> 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)<sup>580</sup>

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;<sup>581</sup> 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.<sup>582</sup> But the design has loose parallels amongst the finds from Karataş, and Copper Age Alaca.<sup>583</sup> 72-745 (Late II) may be compared with a stalked stamp-seal in Aphrodisias BA4.<sup>584</sup> 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.<sup>585</sup>

\*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.<sup>586</sup> 73-709 (II) is seen by Collon as being in the Syrian "ED:A" style, that is of EDI-II date.<sup>587</sup> 73-527 (IV), of terracotta, may be compared with two faience cylinder-seals with similar chevron designs from EBIII Tarsus.<sup>588</sup>

It is worth noting that the seal-impressed fragment of pottery found by Blegen in IIB<sup>589</sup> 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.<sup>590</sup>

#### 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.<sup>591</sup> The type is present throughout II-V and is well paralleled among Blegen's finds.<sup>592</sup> Only the biconical shape<sup>593</sup> 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,<sup>594</sup> and Petruso has argued that they and comparable examples from Poliochni belonged to a uniform system of measurement.<sup>595</sup>

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.<sup>596</sup> They continued in use into the Late Bronze Age. Four perforated stone weights have horizontal grooves.<sup>597</sup> Two similar pieces are known from MB Kültepe.<sup>598</sup> 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.<sup>599</sup> One is in the shape of a truncated pyramid (73-477: II) and has EBII parallels at Ezero and Kastanas;<sup>600</sup> later parallels occur in (e.g.) Kusura B, Alışar II, and the type continues into the classical periods.<sup>601</sup> Such weights are generally regarded as loom-weights; they are not uncommon. Another is only poorly stratified in Troy II-V,<sup>602</sup> and Blegen has parallels in II, III, IV and V.<sup>603</sup> Discoid and lentoid terracotta weights with two holes are attested in three examples from Late II, IV and V,<sup>604</sup> and there is a related weight in stone from II.<sup>605</sup> In Blegen's material there is nothing comparable. Discoid weights with one hole are known from Thermi,<sup>606</sup> and there are examples with two holes from Dhimini, EBII Tarsus, Kusura A, Alışar II<sup>607</sup> and elsewhere; the type is discussed by Hood who points out its long history in the Balkans.<sup>608</sup> 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.<sup>609</sup> 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.<sup>610</sup> Other references to stone and terracotta weights are unspecific.<sup>611</sup>

#### 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.<sup>612</sup> 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.<sup>613</sup>

Perforated discs, perhaps cut from potsherds, come from all strata, as Blegen also found.<sup>614</sup> Not all are illustrated.<sup>615</sup> Cylinders were found in Troy III-IV; most were pierced longitudinally like those recovered by Blegen in Troy III.<sup>616</sup> The parallels seem to be Early and Middle Helladic.<sup>617</sup> Phallus-shaped objects, perhaps pestles, appear in Late II and III;<sup>618</sup> 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,<sup>619</sup> and the type is discussed at length by Hood.<sup>620</sup>

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.<sup>621</sup> A similar but fragmentary piece was found in Aphrodisias BA4,<sup>622</sup> and many enamelled hippopotamus figurines come from the Obelisk Temple at Byblos.<sup>623</sup> 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.<sup>624</sup> Also from Troy II comes a brush handle, 73-532. Blegen found others in II, III and IV;<sup>625</sup> French points out that such handles are characteristic of Anatolia but not of Greece.<sup>626</sup> Late II produced a squat, cylindrical object with seven holes, 73-424. There is a closely similar piece of Hittite Empire date from Boğazköy.<sup>627</sup> 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.<sup>628</sup> From III or IV Schliemann reports baths (oval basins 2m in diameter)<sup>629</sup> and an

andiron ("miniature hearth").<sup>630</sup> 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.<sup>631</sup> From II-V there is a hook.<sup>632</sup> 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.<sup>633</sup> Two tripod cooking-vessels of Blegen's shape D24 were surrounded by three stones, and one of them (Atlas 103-2294)<sup>634</sup> contained ash and the bones of a six-month-old foetus, presumably from a miscarriage or premature birth.<sup>635</sup> The second vessel, Atlas 103-2295,<sup>636</sup> 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.<sup>637</sup> Six other infant burials come from Blegen's excavations in Early Troy I, also in square D3 - in and around House 102.<sup>638</sup> 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.<sup>639</sup> The other two were simple inhumations. Schliemann's later excavations yielded two other depositions of foetuses in jars, attributed to his Third City, thus probably deriving from Late Troy II.<sup>640</sup> In Troy V Blegen found the simple, contracted inhumation of another neonate.<sup>641</sup> 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.<sup>642</sup>

Blegen found three child burials in the E.B. strata.<sup>643</sup> All were pit burials, two of them with stones arranged to protect the head.<sup>644</sup> That from Troy Ic, found close to Wall IW in squares F5-6, may have been extramural.<sup>645</sup> 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.<sup>646</sup> Treasure 'N' was found nearby, and so was the curved dagger-blade 72-722.<sup>647</sup> But the bones do not appear in the later, anthropological studies of Schliemann's material<sup>648</sup> and so may be among those said by Winnefeld to have turned out to be non-human.<sup>649</sup> 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 tooth<sup>650</sup> apparently found in a jar<sup>651</sup> but quite divorced from any other human remains. Slightly more convincing is the case of the skull found on 26th March 1873.<sup>652</sup> This is the skull with "neat little teeth" which Schliemann took to be female<sup>653</sup> but which Virchow<sup>654</sup> and Angel<sup>655</sup> 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.<sup>656</sup> On the following day four large jars, all broken, were found in the same area,<sup>657</sup> and the subsequent despatch assumed that the skull, together with a copper pin, derived from a damaged pithos burial,<sup>658</sup> an assumption repeated by Winnefeld.<sup>659</sup> 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.<sup>660</sup> 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 Sl). This association is almost certainly false. A number of other bones were alluded to in the first despatch<sup>661</sup> and in Ilios have turned into an entire skeleton.<sup>662</sup> 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.<sup>663</sup> From the same area a few days later came a skull<sup>664</sup> which was later, and perhaps falsely, associated with Treasure S2.<sup>665</sup> This became the second of Schliemann's "two warriors" with "entire skeletons".<sup>666</sup> 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.<sup>667</sup> Some of this mass of bones apparently occurred also in the depression in the "Tower" - that is, between Walls IIb and IIc.<sup>668</sup> 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.<sup>669</sup> 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.<sup>670</sup> 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),<sup>671</sup> a bronze or copper knife (72-1952),<sup>672</sup> four punches (72-1975-7, 73-420),<sup>673</sup> two silver pins (72-1978-9)<sup>674</sup> and seven copper pins (72-1980-1, 73-361, and four at TA p.250).<sup>675</sup> Two bone tubes with incised decoration (73-386, Atlas 142-2817) come from the same deposits.<sup>676</sup> 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.<sup>677</sup> 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.<sup>678</sup> An adult skull was found in a pit surrounded by stones and was dated by Blegen to Troy IVe or Va-b.<sup>679</sup> And a fragment of human bone came from Troy Va.<sup>680</sup> This leaves for consideration only the skeleton found by Schliemann on 15th July 1872<sup>681</sup> and assigned by him to his Second City.<sup>682</sup>

The skeleton concerned was found "nearly standing, and but slightly inclined backward"<sup>683</sup> 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.<sup>684</sup> 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 woman<sup>685</sup> 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.<sup>686</sup>

The corpus of available material has been entirely re-assessed from the anthropological point of view by J.L. Angel.<sup>687</sup> 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;<sup>688</sup> 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,<sup>689</sup> 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.<sup>690</sup> Apart from various unspecified animal bones noted in deposits of I, I-II and IV,<sup>691</sup> Schliemann recorded rams' horns in Troy I-II and II.<sup>692</sup> Boars' teeth appear in deposits from all periods.<sup>693</sup> Two ox horns were found by Schliemann, one in a deposit of Troy I-II, the other in a deposit of Late Troy II.<sup>694</sup> Gejvall has found<sup>695</sup> that wild ox is attested in Troy I and primigenous types are occasionally present in other strata<sup>696</sup> 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.<sup>697</sup> 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.<sup>698</sup> What Schliemann did not note, though Gejvall did, was the presence of dogs (of a primitive, unimproved breed with pricked ears and upright tails),<sup>699</sup> foxes,<sup>700</sup> tame asses<sup>701</sup> (thus explaining what Virchow took to be horse bones in Troy I),<sup>702</sup> porcupine and beaver,<sup>703</sup> hare and tortoise.<sup>704</sup>

Bones which Schliemann took to be sharks' vertebrae are represented through all or most of the E.B. and M.B. phases.<sup>705</sup> Shark bones are attested, occasionally, in deposits dug by the Americans;<sup>706</sup> 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.<sup>707</sup> Some were found in a jar in Troy II.<sup>708</sup> Particularly frequent are Schliemann's records of mussel shells in deposits of all periods.<sup>709</sup> 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.<sup>710</sup> Oyster-shells, on the other hand, are recorded only "rarely" by Schliemann<sup>711</sup> 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.<sup>712</sup> Other shell-fish will have been boiled. Snails are common in all layers,<sup>713</sup> and lobsters are known from Troy III-V.<sup>714</sup> 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".<sup>715</sup> 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.<sup>716</sup>

### 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,<sup>717</sup> and much burnt grain is recorded from Late Troy II.<sup>718</sup> Burnt grain found in a jar comes from Troy III-IV<sup>719</sup> and so does some burnt grain associated with querns.<sup>720</sup> The most intriguing of Schliemann's observations is that of burnt sesame, perhaps from Late Troy II but without any clear indication of depth.<sup>721</sup> There is good textual evidence for the cultivation of sesame in Mesopotamia from the mid-third millennium B.C. onwards,<sup>722</sup> and in Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.<sup>723</sup> 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.<sup>724</sup> 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.<sup>725</sup> 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 I<sup>726</sup> has now been identified as including emmer wheat and barley.<sup>727</sup> Vetch was noted in Troy IV.<sup>728</sup>

Additional information has recently come from specialist studies of the soil samples taken by Blegen at the time of his excavations.<sup>729</sup> The pollen analyses<sup>730</sup> 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.<sup>731</sup> 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.<sup>732</sup> These may have been affected by pine branches brought to the site for building or burning.

Charcoal has been analysed from 18 samples.<sup>733</sup> 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 Troy<sup>734</sup> 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.<sup>735</sup> 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.<sup>736</sup> 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.<sup>737</sup> The root and inflorescence of wheat are attested in samples of clay plaster and clay packing both taken from Troy I.<sup>738</sup> 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,<sup>739</sup> 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.<sup>740</sup> A mudbrick taken from Troy II contained phytoliths from the stems of wheat, grasses and reeds<sup>741</sup> - again, no doubt, representing a deliberate inclusion of chopped straw.

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.2<sup>3</sup> (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 Nordwestanatolien 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.i: \*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. Aslıhan Yener, H. Özbil, "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. Bulleten 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 Saghieh to the Isin-Larsa/Karum period: M. Saghieh, 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.ii.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.i.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. Sfériadès, 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. Sfériadès, 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. Bulleten 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

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:jl41 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. S  feriad  s, 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. S  feriad  s 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. H  ckmann, "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, Bulleten 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:Al/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 (Karataş 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:Al.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, Alışar 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, bl06; V fig.91, cl588; Poliochni I Tav.CLXXXIX: 12, 18 (Green) and p.608; II Tav.CCLXII:1-6 (Yellow); Protéasilas 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) p.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.49lf: 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:SML; 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 Karataş 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.

Architecture (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 CDE3<sup>1</sup> agree in altitude, and roughly in alignment, with the fragment found by Blegen in FG3.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>A.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.<sup>4</sup> The American excavators found more of the same deposit and thought it might be associated with Troy VI pottery.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

Blegen distinguished three main phases in the fortification of Troy VI;<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> It must include Dörpfeld's Ve, assigned by Blegen to early VI along with Vb, c and d.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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;<sup>11</sup> Wall 79 was the northwest wall, found in 1873 and definitely attached to Wall 5;<sup>12</sup> Wall 80 was the southeast wall, found in 1873 going off at right-angles from Wall 5.<sup>13</sup> The southwest end of Dörpfeld's Megaron VIG is now attested in Walls 37b and 41,<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

In square D4 the imposing Wall 20 is a newly-discovered structure.<sup>17</sup> 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 building<sup>18</sup> and it is possible that Wall 51 was another piece of this further to the Northeast.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> In 1870 a short section of Wall 11 was exposed in the West Trench.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> Other features to note are the three wells in squares C4-5, D4 and D7;<sup>24</sup> of these the first and last are not known from Dörpfeld's later work.<sup>25</sup>

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 Trench<sup>26</sup> and in the West Trench;<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> But there were also signs of fire. Dörpfeld records deposits of ash within Building VIA<sup>30</sup> and Gate VIS;<sup>31</sup> Blegen found "a good deal of carbonized rubbish" inside the fortification-wall in square J6.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

It must be admitted, pace Professor Cook,<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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";<sup>38</sup> 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, <sup>39</sup> sharp tilting-over towards the North of the citadel wall adjoining Tower VII, <sup>40</sup> and cracks in the south wall of Tower VIh.<sup>41</sup> 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 bedrock<sup>42</sup> and were built in such a way as to lean against the sloping face of the citadel wall;<sup>43</sup> and since the citadel wall itself was built resting diagonally against the unstable fill from earlier phases of settlement;<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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;<sup>46</sup> 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".<sup>47</sup> 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."<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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 VIIi.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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".<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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,<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup>

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.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup>

Throughout Troy VII the citadel wall remained in use, with some repairs and alterations.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> An attribution to Troy VIIa seems beyond reasonable doubt. Also in square B5 Schliemann found some "hellenic housewalls" at 1-2m deep in 1873.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

In the Southeast Trench several small walls were discovered to the North of Wall 34, in square H8.<sup>69</sup> 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,<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> As elsewhere in VIIa, numerous pithoi were found: some probably derive from House VIIk,<sup>73</sup> some from the rebuilding of VIG (= Blegen's House 731),<sup>74</sup> and some from a structure now lost in the northernmost part of the trench, in square G7.<sup>75</sup> 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 Schmidt<sup>76</sup> and Blegen<sup>77</sup> 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;<sup>78</sup> in Troy VI or VII: B25, B26, C39;<sup>79</sup> in Troy VI or VII, though noted by Blegen only in VI: A99, B36, C55, D46;<sup>80</sup> in Troy VI or VII, though noted by Blegen only in VIIa: B27, B31, B32;<sup>81</sup> and in Troy VII: A48, A77, B29, B30, B35, C39,

C48.<sup>82</sup> In addition, one miniature example of B32 was found in Troy VI<sup>83</sup> 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;<sup>84</sup> 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;<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> A herringbone design appears on one sherd, 72-598, from Troy VI; Blegen too found it represented in Troy VI.<sup>87</sup>

### (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.<sup>88</sup> In Troy VI, though noted by Blegen only in Troy VII, we find two juglets which might be classified as B29;<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> 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 LHIIIIC date<sup>91</sup> and an attribution, therefore, to Troy VIIa or VIIb.<sup>92</sup> 73-546 is an unusually tall alabastron and might almost be a cross between an alabastron and the E.B. bottle shape.<sup>93</sup> \*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 LHIIIIC context at Emporio.<sup>94</sup> 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",<sup>95</sup> 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 strainers<sup>96</sup> and the stalked jars.<sup>97</sup> In this case, though, the floor of the cup seems not to be perforated even though the pedestal is hollow and its sides perforated.<sup>98</sup> 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.<sup>99</sup> It comes closer, however, to the type represented by a steatite lamp from Phylakopi III<sup>100</sup> and to the low stand-lamps in clay for which Persson cites additional parallels from Knossos, Gournia, Palaikastro, the Argive Heraeum, Phylakopi and Mycenae.<sup>101</sup> 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 frescoes<sup>102</sup> and on pottery, especially in LHIIIIB.<sup>103</sup> 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;<sup>104</sup> indeed it has a direct, if stylized, antecedent in an EBIII piece from Poliochni.<sup>105</sup> 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".<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup> It seems to have been Hood who set the recent discussion moving by noticing some comparable pieces among the LHIIIIC material from Mycenae and Lefkandi.<sup>109</sup> Subsequent work, stimulated partly by Rutter's publication of similar material from Korakou,<sup>110</sup> revealed its presence at a number of Peloponnesian sites, and analogous finds have come to light in Attica, Euboea and even Crete.<sup>111</sup> 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;<sup>112</sup> Bouzek looks to the rather later Babadağ-Pšeničevo group.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup>

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.<sup>115</sup> \*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.<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand one cannot quite rule out the possibility of some influences from Late Cypriote III Black Slip Bucchero Ware<sup>119</sup> or that the piece is an up-cast from E.B. strata where the shape has at least relatives if not parallels.<sup>120</sup> 72-656 is a colander. Colander-fragments occur in VIIb1 Coarse Ware in Blegen's material;<sup>120a</sup> 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";<sup>121</sup> 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,<sup>122</sup> and some Thracian antecedents are now known.<sup>123</sup> But, as Hänsel emphasizes, it belongs to a local group of its own, with its own distinctive assemblage.<sup>124</sup> It has been questioned whether the Knobbed Ware occurred only in phase VIIb2.<sup>125</sup> 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,<sup>126</sup> and accumulated deposits in an adjacent, unpaved street may not, perhaps, provide the most convincing support.<sup>127</sup> Elsewhere, however, the evidence - though very scanty - seems secure,<sup>128</sup> 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 A107<sup>129</sup> correspond closely to forms recognized by Blegen.<sup>130</sup> 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,<sup>131</sup> although the shallower, \*72-1354, also recalls some North Bulgarian pieces.<sup>132</sup>

(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.<sup>133</sup> Blegen saw the type as mycenaean, possibly imported to Troy. But it occurs in the Hittite strata at Alişar and Boğazköy as well<sup>134</sup> and, infrequent though it is in both Greece and Anatolia,<sup>135</sup> may simply be a part of the Late Bronze Age koine.<sup>136</sup> \*No.72-1117 is shown by Schmidt to have lost its shaft.<sup>137</sup> It is thus similar to Blegen's piece from VIIa.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> Our example was found among the strata of Troy III;<sup>140</sup> the type does have E.B. prototypes in chipped stone,<sup>141</sup> 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,<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> It is already known from Troy VI,<sup>144</sup> but parallels come from Boğazköy,<sup>145</sup> Alaca Hüyük,<sup>146</sup> Sardis,<sup>147</sup> Kusura,<sup>148</sup> Tarsus<sup>149</sup> and Cyprus.<sup>150</sup>

Two flat axes, or perhaps wide chisels (the distinction is hard to draw with confidence), come from Treasure P<sup>151</sup> and have no parallel among Blegen's second millennium finds. But neither flat axes<sup>152</sup> nor chisels<sup>153</sup> are uncommon in the period.

Also from Treasure P is the double-axe 72-1821. Schmidt notes a comparable piece,<sup>154</sup> wrongly assigned by Götze to Treasure P instead of 72-1821 (which never went to Berlin).<sup>155</sup> Our example belongs to Deshayes's Type B1 most examples of which come from the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.<sup>156</sup>

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;<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup> But this must be a coincidence, for they seem to be descended from an E.B. type,<sup>159</sup> and other second millennium examples are widely spaced chronologically.<sup>160</sup>

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.<sup>161</sup> Blegen publishes one from Troy VIIb.<sup>162</sup>

A "copper pin stuck through a piece of bone"<sup>163</sup> must be a bone-handled awl of the type already known from Troy VI and VIIb.<sup>164</sup> The robust-looking nail 73-576 has MB parallels at Aphrodisias.<sup>165</sup>

The double meat-hook \*73-272 has an ancestry stretching back to E.B. II in the Aegean area;<sup>166</sup> but examples from Hittite strata at Boğazköy and Alışar show that the Trojan piece need not be out of place.<sup>167</sup>

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;<sup>168</sup> and 72-1077, with a rolled head, corresponding to Blegen's Type 5.<sup>169</sup> 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 finds<sup>170</sup> and in second millennium examples from Tarsus,<sup>171</sup> Kusura<sup>172</sup> and Gordion;<sup>173</sup> and \*72-950, with its hooked head. This last is a type at home in the second millennium; examples are known from Boğazköy,<sup>174</sup> Mycenae, the Athenian Agora and Volos,<sup>175</sup> but are more characteristically Cretan.<sup>176</sup>

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.<sup>177</sup>

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,<sup>178</sup> already well attested in Troy VI.<sup>179</sup> But there are also round-backed blades with one serrated edge,<sup>180</sup> a parallel-sided blade with two serrated edges,<sup>181</sup> what may be a thumbnail scraper,<sup>182</sup> and a core.<sup>183</sup> 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.<sup>184</sup> The crudely-worked flat axe \*73-370 has superior parallels in Blegen's VI and VII,<sup>185</sup> and the polisher \*73-493 has a close parallel in VIIa.<sup>186</sup> \*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.<sup>187</sup> But there are second millennium examples from Boğazköy<sup>188</sup> 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,<sup>189</sup> but other examples are known from Boğazköy, Alişar, Samos, Knossos, Mycenae and Pylos.<sup>190</sup> 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.<sup>191</sup>

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.<sup>192</sup> 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,<sup>193</sup> but is not out of place in the second millennium as an example from Boğazköy shows.<sup>194</sup> 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,<sup>195</sup> blue steatite whorls,<sup>196</sup> and stone balls<sup>197</sup> which may have served as spherical slingshot.<sup>198</sup>

#### 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.<sup>199</sup>

#### 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.<sup>200</sup> Though more complex than 72-611, its design is hardly sophisticated, and a similar piece in copper or bronze is known, unstratified, from Thermi.<sup>201</sup> 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, Konya<sup>202</sup> and, less distinctly, on an unstratified seal from Tarsus.<sup>203</sup> 73-616 (Fig.V.48) may possibly be a discoid seal like the bone piece known from Blegen's Troy VI.<sup>204</sup>

Five terracotta balls (Fig.V.46) appear among the strata assigned to VI-VII, all but one of them from the same area.<sup>205</sup> 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 VI<sup>206</sup> and Troy VII,<sup>207</sup> those from Troy having been cut from potsherds. Perforated discs are also known in stone<sup>208</sup> and bone.<sup>209</sup>

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.<sup>210</sup> In addition Schliemann records eleven marble figurines, some with incised faces and some without.<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup>

### 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.<sup>213</sup>

The citadel mound has otherwise produced five infant burials from Troy VI.<sup>214</sup> 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.<sup>215</sup> 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.<sup>216</sup> From squares G8-9 came fragments of a human skull from the west doorway of House 700,<sup>217</sup> further remains of human bones from the street outside,<sup>218</sup> a fragment of a skull from Street 710,<sup>219</sup> and a broken mandible from Street 711E.<sup>220</sup> 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.<sup>221</sup> 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.<sup>222</sup> It was in the same area that the Americans subsequently found the cremation cemetery of Troy VI.<sup>223</sup> 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.<sup>224</sup> The pottery was all of Troy VIh date. A structure tentatively identified as a crematorium yielded no human bones.<sup>225</sup> But a

"place of burning" on the west slope, 20m North of the Ledge,<sup>226</sup> 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.<sup>227</sup> Other cemeteries of Troy VI are assumed to lie around the site.<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup> 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.<sup>230</sup> The same deposit produced boars' teeth, attested in the two other deposits from which Second Millennium faunal remains may come.<sup>231</sup> There are counterparts in Blegen's material. To Schliemann's observations we can add that cattle are still predominantly short-horned dairy herds,<sup>232</sup> although *Bos primigenius*<sup>233</sup> and buffalo<sup>234</sup> may be attested. There are apparent decreases in the numbers of deer (VI-VIIa)<sup>235</sup> and of sheep and goats (VIIa-b).<sup>236</sup> These are partly balanced by an increase in the number of bird bones (VI-VIIa).<sup>237</sup> Large asses continue to be in evidence, but true horses appear early in Troy VI.<sup>238</sup> 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.<sup>239</sup>

Schliemann notes sharks' vertebrae and other fishbones;<sup>240</sup> also mussel shells, oyster shells<sup>241</sup> and other small shells.<sup>242</sup> These again find parallels in Blegen's finds. Gejvall notes an increase in the number of fishbones in VIIa;<sup>243</sup> 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.<sup>244</sup> The excellent fishing in the Dardanelles and in the marine bay has been cited as a possible cause of Mycenaean interest in the site.<sup>245</sup> 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.<sup>246</sup> Virchow records something similar, but without saying in which stratum.<sup>247</sup> 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 Dörpfeld<sup>248</sup> and Blegen.<sup>249</sup>

### 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,<sup>250</sup> and the carbonised remains of a fine-grained fruit were found in a pithos in Building VIM.<sup>251</sup> Blegen's excavations in Troy VII yielded two clear deposits of carbonised wheat in VIIa, both from the "Bakery", House 700 in G8-9.<sup>252</sup> 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.<sup>253</sup> Some unidentified grain was noted over a rough stone pavement in House VIIj as well,<sup>254</sup> and in a jar in House 769 dated to VIIb1.<sup>255</sup> 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.<sup>256</sup> Vetch was identified in two pithoi of House 731<sup>257</sup> and perhaps in the "Bakery";<sup>258</sup> 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.<sup>259</sup>

Phytoliths have been found in seven soil-samples from Troy VI-VII. The findings are little different from those for the Early Bronze Age.<sup>260</sup> 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;<sup>261</sup> and slots in the east wall of House VIG suggest the construction of a wooden platform in a timber-framed doorway.<sup>262</sup> 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.<sup>263</sup> Vertical interstices in the south and west walls of VIF suggest the original presence of wooden jambs in doorways later walled up.<sup>264</sup> Similarly its use in internal columns in Houses VIG<sup>265</sup> and VIF<sup>266</sup> 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.<sup>267</sup> Pieces of charred wood were, however, recognised in two pithoi of Troy VIIa.<sup>268</sup> These have not been analysed. But three charcoal fragments recovered from Blegen's soil-samples of Troy VI have all been identified as oak.<sup>269</sup> One from VIIa is pine,<sup>270</sup> and one from VIIb1 may be hawthorn.<sup>271</sup> The pollen records already discussed suggest some deforestation in Troy VI.<sup>272</sup>

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 Mycenaean 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 Dorobançu.
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 Mycenaean 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.

### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> While Blegen's additions to the architecture of Troy VIII<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Much of the work of VIII consisted of additions and repairs to the old walls of Troy VI, still to some extent visible.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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".<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> In a general way they do conform to the sort of building unearthed by Blegen in EF8, dated by him to VIII.<sup>9</sup> The Doric entablature discussed by Dörpfeld must now be assigned to Troy IX if his appreciation of the style is correct.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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:<sup>15</sup> 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,<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> Both rested on a double layer of large limestone blocks which continued beneath a large pavement of marble flagstones.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> A similar foundation below the West Stoa<sup>21</sup> was found by Dörpfeld who also found remains of a similarly-constructed pavement between the Temple of Athena and the altar in square J4.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> Walls 45 and 46, in square E6, may be small parts of the west stoa;<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> Walls 47 and 48, in G6-7, are fragments too small to be interpreted.<sup>26</sup> Of the temple itself a number of traces were found.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> But from the foundation-trenches Schliemann encountered the deep packing of sand at two points, probably in square G4;<sup>29</sup> and from the upper levels of their fill he also found the characteristic thick deposits of black earth mixed with marble chippings.<sup>30</sup> 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 I.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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".<sup>37</sup> The southwest wall was likewise exposed over a short length and proved to have been built in the same way.<sup>38</sup> All the walls of IXA were preserved to c.37m A.T. Possibly associated with them was a mosaic floor<sup>39</sup> overlaid by the lime floor already mentioned.<sup>40</sup> Overlying the northeast wall of IXA were two later walls, Walls 1 and 2, forming a right angle.<sup>41</sup> 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".<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> Of the Roman Bouleuterion, Dörpfeld's Theatre B, Schliemann found a segment of the north wall, Wall 34.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> In squares EF7, along the southern edge of the East-West Trench, Wall 39 is the north wall of Dörpfeld's IXB.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

#### 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,<sup>49</sup> which may originally have stood at the east end of the triglyph frieze on the north face of the temple.<sup>50</sup> From the same area came the relief sculpture, only crudely sketched by Schliemann, 72-816.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> The two carvings on this block agree closely with those known from the rosette-frieze,<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> From elsewhere on the site come two pieces which must be sima-fragments from the long sides of the temple;<sup>57</sup> and finally a relief-carving of a male head which may have belonged to a metope depicting a fight between Greeks and Barbarians.<sup>58</sup>

A sima-fragment found on the Northeast Slope<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup>

#### 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.<sup>63</sup> There are also four sherds of Late Geometric. Three of these find parallels among the East Greek pieces illustrated by Blegen.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup>

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,<sup>66</sup> who gives a similar date to two pieces of barbotine ware.<sup>67</sup> A sherd of dark brown relief-ware with red and white painted decoration comes from the centre of a bowl.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> Erotic scenes are now known to be common on the hellenistic red and black gloss-and-relief wares from Pergamon,<sup>70</sup> and this may be the source of the Trojan piece.

Two miniature, pedestalled dishes are classified by Schmidt as Roman,<sup>71</sup> so are a yellow amphoriskos<sup>72</sup> and two black-polished perfume bottles.<sup>73</sup> But the latter type has a wide chronological range.<sup>74</sup> A sherd with a human face in relief is too poorly described and illustrated to be dateable,<sup>75</sup> and the same applies to the "mouse"-headed beaker 72-1262.<sup>76</sup> 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,<sup>77</sup> but those in the West Trench should come from VIII or IX.<sup>78</sup>

#### 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.<sup>79</sup> A similar piece but with narrower blade and split socket is known from Emporio where it is attributed to the seventh century B.C.<sup>80</sup> Another,

with longer blade, from Larisa is of Archaic or Hellenistic date.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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,<sup>83</sup> and Sakçagözü has produced one example from a secure, early first millennium context.<sup>84</sup> Two examples included among the illustrated finds from Alişar V could be of the same period,<sup>85</sup> but actually come from a mixed deposit which also included Hellenistic and Roman material.<sup>86</sup> One of two pieces from Nemrud Dağ is said to come from a securely Hellenistic or Roman context,<sup>87</sup> but at Sardis the type was found in contexts ranging from the sixth century A.D. to Late Byzantine times.<sup>88</sup> Examples from Corinth and Pergamon are likewise regarded as Byzantine.<sup>89</sup> Schliemann noted a second iron arrowhead,<sup>90</sup> but failed to make a drawing; just as he failed to draw the remains of what he took to be an iron sword.<sup>91</sup> The inscribed sling-shot 72-1023 is probably of lead and is of a common Greek type.<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> The rectangular lead weight, Atlas 164-3178, is one of several known from the site.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> A particularly good series of such weights is known from the Athenian Agora.<sup>97</sup> But the boar's head on our Trojan example seems not to be paralleled.<sup>98</sup> 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.<sup>99</sup> Many copper pins and nails are noted.<sup>100</sup> There is a piece of ribbed copper sheeting, though this could also derive from Troy VI.<sup>101</sup> A bronze animal-headed finial found among the strata of Troy VI has Hellenistic parallels and may be intrusive from Troy IX.<sup>102</sup> And

slag is reported from two locations.<sup>103</sup>

### Other Small Finds

The small objects of terracotta include at least four lamps not drawn by Schliemann,<sup>104</sup> a moulded lamp perhaps of Hellenistic date (Atlas 165-3211, Fig.V.34),<sup>105</sup> and a stemmed lamp (73-553, Fig.V.34) which Schmidt dates to the fourth or third centuries B.C.<sup>106</sup> There is a rattle (\*72-663, Fig.V.48) for which I have found no parallel,<sup>107</sup> and a terracotta disk with central hole (72-937, Fig.V.48).<sup>108</sup>

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.<sup>109</sup> At Troy there are comparable examples in lead and stone.<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup>

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;<sup>112</sup> and many, from the drawings, are plainly lentoid. Lentoid/discoid weights come with many variations in shape, none of any obvious chronological significance.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> The lentoid class of weights as a whole may have been introduced in the fifth century<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> 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 tools<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> It may be of Roman date. Chipped stone blades continue in use. Both one-edged and two-edged blades are attested.<sup>120</sup>

Two glass buttons were found.<sup>121</sup> Both are green inlaid with white or yellow swirls. Comparable pieces were found by Blegen,<sup>122</sup> and the technique has a very wide chronological range from the Late Bronze Age to Byzantine times.<sup>123</sup>

Bone artefacts continued to be made. There are pins,<sup>124</sup> an awl,<sup>125</sup> and what may be part of a decorated plaque if it is not a fragment of a terracotta sieve (72-1038, Fig.V.43).<sup>126</sup>

As in Blegen's excavations,<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> The material as known in 1902 was the object of a brief survey by Winnefeld.<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> Winnefeld likewise noted that Kybele figurines were to be found on both east and southwest sides in ancient dumps.<sup>135</sup> 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,<sup>136</sup> lyre in hand. The representations of Venus Anadyomene (164-3180) and of the cloaked figure (168-3286) have already been noted by Thompson.<sup>137</sup> 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 Winnefeld<sup>138</sup> and Thompson,<sup>139</sup> the latter seeming to imply that the type derives from Italy.<sup>140</sup> 164-3183 may be the bust of a boy, though it is rather similar to a piece regarded by Thompson as female.<sup>141</sup> 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.la, 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:<sup>142</sup> 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 statue<sup>143</sup> and a marble hand;<sup>144</sup> 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).<sup>145</sup> And the East-West Trench produced a draped figure missing its head and feet (Atlas 155-3056 = SS 9597);<sup>146</sup> beside it was found the inscription 73-603. From the North Platform came a small marble plaque with the "engraving" of a woman;<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup>

#### Inscriptions<sup>149</sup>

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 1, in square D5. These were the gabled marble slab honouring Menelaos (c.359 B.C.),<sup>150</sup> the gabled stele honouring Diaphenes of Temnos (C3rd B.C.),<sup>151</sup> and the upper part of a gabled stele honouring Chaireas (post-188 B.C.).<sup>152</sup> 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.).<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup>

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.),<sup>155</sup> a statue-base belonging to the statue SS 9597 and revealing its identity as that of Metrodorus (C3rd B.C.),<sup>156</sup> and a list of fines of Augustan date.<sup>157</sup> Of the fourth inscription we have no details.<sup>158</sup> 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.),<sup>159</sup> and the base of a statue of A. Claudius Caecina (138-161 A.D.).<sup>160</sup> 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.<sup>161</sup> 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,<sup>162</sup> thus indicating a late, possibly Byzantine, date for the wall.

### Coins<sup>163</sup>

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.<sup>164</sup> It has been published in facsimile,<sup>165</sup> 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;<sup>166</sup> 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.<sup>167</sup> 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.<sup>168</sup> 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.<sup>169</sup> Then in 1928 she handed the collection over to the National Numismatic Museum of Athens,<sup>170</sup> which is the Athens collection of which Bellinger later took note in writing his monograph on the coins from the American excavations.<sup>171</sup> 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,<sup>172</sup> and to other coins of Ilium,<sup>173</sup> sometimes specifying that these were of copper<sup>174</sup> (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.<sup>175</sup> No such piece appears in Postolacca's list.

#### COINS OF ILIUM

Some of Schliemann's Roman imperial coins are said to be Ilian<sup>176</sup> but have no counterparts in Postolacca's 1876 list of Ilian coins.<sup>177</sup> Schliemann may therefore again have been using the term "Ilian" loosely. On the other hand it seems likely that Postolacca included in his list of Ilian 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,<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup>
3. Five bronze ('copper') coins. Obv: bust of Athena. Rev: ΙΛΙΕΩΝ. <sup>180</sup> Postolacca has 25 Ilian coins without attribution to any monarch,<sup>181</sup> and Schliemann's five could be included among them.

#### FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER

4. One bronze ('copper') coin. Obv?: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ. Rev?: ΕΚΤΩΡ ΙΛΙΕΩΝ. <sup>182</sup> The coin is clearly Ilian, but is not listed in Postolacca's 1876 catalogue where the Ilian coins include none from Faustina.<sup>183</sup> Neither von Fritze nor Bellinger notes such a piece in Athens.

#### JULIA DOMNA

5. Bronze ('copper') coin. Obv: bust of Julia Domna facing right; l. 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.<sup>184</sup> This is Atlas 190-3476. It is similar to Bellinger's T223,<sup>185</sup> 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.<sup>186</sup> A similar-sounding coin was found in 1882.<sup>187</sup>
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.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup>

#### 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,<sup>190</sup> 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,<sup>191</sup> 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:<sup>192</sup> 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.<sup>193</sup>

#### FAUSTINA THE ELDER

7. A coin (or coins) is referred to, but it is not clear whether it derives from the Ilian mint.<sup>194</sup> Postolacca's 1876 list has no Ilian coins of Faustina the Elder but does include one among the Roman coins.<sup>195</sup> There is also one from Delphi; but possibly this was a purchase.<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup> 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,<sup>200</sup> and these are listed by Bellinger too.<sup>201</sup> But these may be the two bronze Ilian coins of Marcus Aurelius listed in Postolacca's 1883 supplement.<sup>202</sup> 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.<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup> 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;<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup> 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,<sup>207</sup> so the likelihood is that Schliemann's was Roman. Four Ilian types are distinguished in the essay in Ilios,<sup>208</sup> 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,<sup>209</sup> but it seems that none of these found its way into von Fritze's study or Bellinger's.<sup>210</sup>

#### COMMODUS

11. A coin (or coins) is mentioned, again without a clear statement of its mint.<sup>211</sup> Postolacca's list of 1876 records four bronze Ilian coins<sup>212</sup> and three bronze Roman coins<sup>213</sup> 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 Ilios<sup>214</sup> (which seems to be comparable to Bellinger's T190),<sup>215</sup> and five new types described in Troja<sup>216</sup> (of which only the first may find a parallel in Bellinger's list: T183?). The four new bronze Ilian coins in the addendum of 1883<sup>217</sup> 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.<sup>218</sup> 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,<sup>219</sup> but so is a Roman bronze of the same reign.<sup>220</sup> 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.<sup>221</sup> 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.83<sup>222</sup> (= Bellinger's T195)<sup>223</sup> 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.<sup>224</sup> Neither is illustrated or described. They may be among the four listed by Postolacca in 1876<sup>225</sup> 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.<sup>226</sup>

## COINS OF DARDANUS

15. One bronze ('copper') coin was found in 1873.<sup>227</sup> It may be among the four bronze coins of Dardanus listed by Postolacca in 1876,<sup>228</sup> but it is nowhere illustrated or described. Blegen's excavations turned up nine Dardanian coins.<sup>229</sup>

## COINS OF OPHRYNIUM

16,17 Two bronze ('copper') coins came out of the 1873 excavations.<sup>230</sup> One of these is illustrated at Atlas 190-3478 and is similar to Ophrynum Nos.3-5 in the British Museum catalogue,<sup>231</sup> Postolacca notes four bronze Ophrynian coins in his list of 1876,<sup>232</sup> among which these two presumably feature. One of Blegen's coins may be Ophrynian.<sup>233</sup>

## COINS OF SIGEUM

18,19 At least two bronze ('copper') coins came from the excavations of 1870-73. One was found in 1870,<sup>234</sup> and two references from the records of 1871 may simply be repeating this fact.<sup>235</sup> A second was found in 1872.<sup>236</sup> But Postolacca's list of 1876 shows eight

Sigeian bronze coins<sup>237</sup> and Blegen's work yielded eleven.<sup>238</sup> 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.<sup>239</sup> 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.<sup>230</sup> 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.<sup>241</sup> Presumably the Atlas coin is included here, and one is tempted to wonder whether the metal of the other 1873 coin has been mis-identified 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.<sup>242</sup> Several were found in the work of 1871,<sup>243</sup> and five more, bronzes ('copper'), came to light in 1873.<sup>244</sup> These should be among the forty-five listed by Postolacca in 1876<sup>245</sup> 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,<sup>246</sup> but inspection of the museum records would be necessary to confirm the possibility.

#### COIN OF ELAEUS

A coin found in 1872<sup>247</sup> is described by Schliemann as having, on the obverse, a portrait of the emperor Commodus with the legend ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ. 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 ΕΛΛΙΟΥΣΙΩΝ. 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.<sup>248</sup> 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.<sup>249</sup> Among them was one (his No.43), depicted by Fox, which closely matches Schliemann's description and is, again, a coin of Commodus.<sup>250</sup> 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.<sup>251</sup> This, and the attribution to Elaeus, appear to have found general acceptance.<sup>252</sup> 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.<sup>253</sup>

### Human Remains

Schliemann's records of 1870 note an urn containing ash in his West Trench,<sup>254</sup> and some large urns filled with human ashes in his Northwest Trench.<sup>255</sup> 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.<sup>256</sup> 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.<sup>257</sup>

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.<sup>258</sup> 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.<sup>259</sup> The 1894 excavations investigated a number of Roman graves on the south side of the plateau outside the circuit wall of the lower tower.<sup>260</sup> 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.<sup>261</sup> 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.<sup>262</sup> Many were again found on the plateau to the south in 1933;<sup>263</sup> and in 1935 many more were found near the east edge of the plateau, not far from the village of Hisarlık.<sup>264</sup>

In the skeletal material Angel finds continued blending of Iranian and Mediterranean characteristics modified by growing influence from Aegean types.<sup>265</sup>

#### Animal Remains

From deposits of Troy VIII-IX Schliemann records unspecified animal bones,<sup>266</sup> and boars' teeth.<sup>267</sup> He also notes mussel shells,<sup>268</sup> oyster shells,<sup>269</sup> other small shells<sup>270</sup> and fish bones.<sup>271</sup> For this period Blegen reports only a deposit of bones, mostly burnt, from the Upper Sanctuary of Troy VIII.<sup>272</sup> 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.<sup>273</sup> In Troy IX there is an increased proportion of bird bones, and remains of a cock and of a hen's egg were found.<sup>274</sup>

#### 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.<sup>275</sup> 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%).<sup>276</sup> 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.<sup>277</sup> 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).<sup>278</sup>

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 Ilium 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.

Evidence for re-occupation of the site in Byzantine times has been collected by Professor Cook.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> And there may also be evidence for the trimming and re-use of some half-columns from the Temple cella.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> The wall cannot be dated exactly, but it must at least post-date the construction of the Bouleuterion under Augustus<sup>12</sup> and its

continued use under Tiberius;<sup>13</sup> 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 spring<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

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.

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-V<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> This can be fleshed out by some radiocarbon dates from Myrtos. Seven samples come from its final destruction at the end of EMII.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> Here again the proposed sequences can be tested against the C<sup>14</sup> evidence. Three dates from EHI and II at Eutresis yield a span of c.3095-2987 B.C.<sup>7</sup> 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 Stephanos<sup>8</sup> and Ayia Irini.<sup>9</sup> 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),<sup>10</sup> 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;<sup>11</sup> indeed Rutter takes the view that EMIIIB and ECIIIA were contemporary.<sup>12</sup> This is a position which the radiocarbon evidence seems to support. The earliest EHIII strata at Lefkandi<sup>13</sup> 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 phases<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> A globular pyxis (72-1610) has ECII and EHII parallels, and a cylindrical potstand has EHII parallels as well (72-599).<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> Urfirnis ware is especially characteristic of the early and middle phases of EHII at Lerna,<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> Spanning levels VIII-IV, thus mainly of Early Troy I date, are fifteen radiocarbon dates.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> There are seven radiocarbon dates from Sitagroi IV, and three from Va.<sup>27</sup> 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-Yassıtepe in the Troad, a site with undoubtedly close affinities to Early Troy I.<sup>28</sup> The Early Troy I strata have produced ten radiocarbon dates and four thermoluminescence dates.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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,<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> 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;<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

There is one two-handled tankard from a late phase of Sitagroi Vb.<sup>35</sup>

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 EHIIb, Lefkandi I, Mt. Kynthos (where the plates are handmade), and in the final strata of Poliochni Red and Lerna III (without the plates).<sup>36</sup> 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;<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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;<sup>39</sup> but the appearance of only one two-handled tankard, and that from a "relatively high" stratum,<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup>

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,<sup>42</sup> 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;<sup>43</sup> and Atlas 142-2793 (Fig.V.21) is probably a sherd of incised ECIIIA ware.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> When calibrated, weighted and averaged these yield a median date of c.2135 B.C. for the destruction of II.6.<sup>47</sup> 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 IIf from Middle Minoan Crete.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> But one has to remember that, since Blegen's argument of 1953, the beginning of MH has been redefined.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> On Aegina, where the appearance of matt-painted ware places VII at the beginning of the MB period, it does not appear until IX.<sup>52</sup> Similarly in the Cyclades the local equivalent of matt-painted ware is present throughout Phylakopi I-ii and I-iii,<sup>53</sup> but Gray Minyan does not appear until the following period of Ayia Irini IVa.<sup>54</sup> In Euboea it was already current at the time of Troy V,<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> The winged jar, supposedly of Troy IV date, in EHIII Lerna<sup>57</sup> can perfectly well be of Troy II date as the Schliemann material and Poliochni Yellow demonstrate.<sup>58</sup> Much the same applies to the Manika assemblage which need not even be Trojan, as Mellink has shown.<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup> 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,<sup>61</sup> may be compared with MH shape A1. There is also a parallel for A225 in Lianokladhi III.<sup>62</sup> There are other, more restricted, parallels among the material from 1870-73. The two-handled cup with very globular body,<sup>\*</sup> 72-1879 (Fig.V.24, type A222), is similar to a MH Minyan bowl from Korakou.<sup>63</sup> 73-286, a four-handled

pitcher (Fig.V.26, type C10), has a parallel among the MHII material at Kirrha.<sup>64</sup> The askos 72-1562 (Fig.V.26, type D29) is closely matched by a matt-painted askos of early MH date from Eutresis.<sup>65</sup> Finger-impressed bands below the rims of storage jars are particularly characteristic of Late Troy II and Troy III;<sup>66</sup> they are a feature, too, of MH Krisa.<sup>67</sup> A handle from early Troy III has a densely incised and white-filled decoration.<sup>68</sup> It could perhaps be compared with the similarly-decorated "northern" flasks which appear in the earliest MH strata of Lerna V.<sup>69</sup> 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 matt-painted ware. Nos.1135 and 1136 are jars with wide, disc-like rims; such rims are a feature of MH Lerna.<sup>70</sup> The swollen neck on No.1170 is repeated in a piece from MH Eutresis.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> The introduction of shape B20 as defined by Blegen, the jug with deeply-grooved beak spout, is a feature of Troy III.<sup>74</sup> It is also characteristic of ECIIIB "geometric" ware.<sup>75</sup> Trefoil-mouthed jugs are another innovation of ECIIIB.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

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.<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup> The biconical cup, A36, also has a parallel at Kirrha.<sup>80</sup> A228, the two-

handled hourglass tankards, have analogies in Middle Thessalian contexts.<sup>81</sup> The jug shape B23, if one disregards the cutting-away of the back of the neck, has close parallels in ECIII B.<sup>82</sup> Shape C38 could be regarded as a miniature version of the common Aegean MB barrel-jar.<sup>83</sup> Conical pyxides, shape C205, first appear in Troy III but are particularly associated with Troy IV; in the Cyclades they are an innovation of ECIII B.<sup>84</sup> Additional contacts are suggested by three other pieces. The tankard \*72-1376 (Fig.V.28) is distinctly Middle Helladic in both shape and decoration.<sup>85</sup> A two-handled ovoid pitcher, \*Atlas 190-3482 (Fig.V.28) looks like a possible adaptation of the MH hydria, shape C6.<sup>86</sup> 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;<sup>87</sup> it may perhaps be an up-cast. Two minyan-looking fragments from Blegen's Troy IV have already been mentioned.<sup>88</sup> 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,<sup>89</sup> although of course a comparison with MB Kültepe might be equally valid.<sup>90</sup>

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,<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> And the pedestalled goblet A209 (73-694, Fig.V.30) is in the simple-rimmed, smooth-stemmed style which appeared in Ayia Irini IVb.<sup>94</sup> Ayia Irini IV, which has three phases, is dated to roughly MMIIA, overlapping somewhat into MMB and MMIB; 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.<sup>95</sup> 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).<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup> The only reservation attaching to this is that Seeher believes Demircihüyük phases DEF to be contemporary also with Yortan.<sup>99</sup> But he admits that the similarities are vague,<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup>

Demircihüyük has produced a remarkable series of eighty radiocarbon dates from the EB deposits at the site.<sup>103</sup> Fourteen should be excluded from consideration as probably deriving from up-casts from an earlier, Chalcolithic cemetery.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> The earliest calibrated date of the EB series is 3035 B.C., and the latest is 2458 B.C.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup>

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.<sup>108</sup> Three of them have parallels with Yortan Class "A" Ware,<sup>109</sup> two of them have parallels in Troy I-II,<sup>110</sup> and all four have parallels in Beycesultan XVI-XIV.<sup>111</sup> Bowls with rows of beads on the inverted rim<sup>112</sup> and a black jug with white-painted multiple chevrons<sup>113</sup> suggest that "BA2" belonged in the period of Beycesultan XVI-XIV as well and, more specifically, in XVI.<sup>114</sup> "BA1", however, has an imitation goatskin baby-feeder<sup>115</sup> of a type found in Beycesultan XVII,<sup>116</sup> and a fragment of a flat square lug with a central hole<sup>117</sup> such as occurs in Early Troy I.<sup>118</sup> This dating is rather confirmed by the prevalence of inverted-rim bowls.<sup>119</sup> "LCh4" produces the earliest jug with rising spout.<sup>120</sup> This and some shallow, incurving bowls<sup>121</sup> relate this period, too, to Beycesultan XIX-XVII.<sup>122</sup> The underlying LCh2 layers correspond to Beycesultan LCh3,<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup> Here nothing published is of EBIII appearance, and this is said to be the case with the unpublished material as well.<sup>125</sup> A late phase of EBII introduced one-handed flaring tankards, some wheelmade plates, and lentoid flasks with cutaway rims.<sup>126</sup> 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;<sup>127</sup> 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,<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup> 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".<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup>

It is worth exploring how the following levels at Beycesultan relate to the Trojan sequence.<sup>134</sup> Beycesultan XII and XI have parallels still among the Schliemann material from Troy II, but which are uncertainly stratified.<sup>135</sup> 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,<sup>136</sup> but from level VIII onwards they become numerous.<sup>137</sup> At Troy the first hints come in III,<sup>138</sup> 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,<sup>139</sup> and it is true that some of the metal vessels from Priam's Treasure display comparable attachments.<sup>140</sup> But in pottery they are very characteristic of Troy III<sup>141</sup> and occur also in Beycesultan VIII-VIa.<sup>142</sup> They are also attested in Poliochni Yellow.<sup>143</sup> 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 by-passed Beycesultan. The Troy III fashion for volutes does continue into Troy IV and V, but only weakly.<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup> 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"),<sup>146</sup> Beycesultan VII,<sup>147</sup> Tarsus EBIIIC<sup>148</sup> and Kültepe 12.<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup> 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."<sup>151</sup> 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.<sup>152</sup> 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.<sup>153</sup> At Beycesultan the types can be traced back certainly to VIb and VII.<sup>154</sup> Bowls with sharply everted rim and a vertical "shoulder", also found in Aegina VII,<sup>155</sup> go back at Beycesultan to VII and perhaps to VIII;<sup>156</sup> 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.<sup>157</sup>

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.<sup>158</sup> (The anti-splash rim, characteristic of MB Beycesultan, hardly occurs at Troy.<sup>159</sup>) 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.<sup>160</sup> 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,<sup>161</sup> that the sharply carinated bowls begin in the MB strata,<sup>162</sup> and that shape A8 first appears in MB.<sup>163</sup> 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		

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,<sup>164</sup> and there is a variety of pithos in common as well.<sup>165</sup> 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;<sup>166</sup> Yakar with Troy IIc,<sup>167</sup> Goldman with Troy IIId-g,<sup>168</sup> Mellaart and French with Troy III.<sup>169</sup> 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);<sup>170</sup> 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 goblets<sup>171</sup> 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 bottles<sup>172</sup> and a type of jug paralleled at Troy II.6 and Beycesultan X (shape B18).<sup>173</sup> 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.<sup>174</sup> The volutes characteristic of Troy III appear in the final EBIII levels at Tarsus in coiled feet and jar handles.<sup>175</sup> Red Cross bowls first appear at this date at both sites.<sup>176</sup> 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).<sup>177</sup>

There are many links between MB Tarsus and Troy IV.<sup>178</sup> 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),<sup>179</sup> and the shallow lids with two perforated lugs (D203, D204).<sup>180</sup> A33 cups are numerous in Tarsus MB and most frequent at Troy in period IV.<sup>181</sup> In addition there are six individual comparisons of interest. The alabastra \*72-1375 and \*Atlas 167-3263 (Fig.V.29) are of Tarsus MB shape;<sup>182</sup> the jug \*73-158 (Fig.V.28) is typical of MB Tarsus;<sup>183</sup> 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).<sup>184</sup> The jar \*72-1448 (Fig.V.29) and the bottle 73-682 (Fig.V.29) likewise have parallels.<sup>185</sup>

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.<sup>186</sup> A rim-fragment at Tarsus may be from a bowl similar to Trojan type A19, found in V only.<sup>187</sup> And the decoration on the jar Atlas 155-3054 (Fig.V.30) is matched on a dark grey incised sherd in MB Tarsus.<sup>188</sup>

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.<sup>189</sup> The EDII-III fragments of buff ware jars with red stripes seem in place in EBII,<sup>190</sup> and the ring-burnished gray bottles of late ED-Ur III date seem equally in place in EBIIIb-c.<sup>191</sup> In EBIIIa there is a sherd of what looks like Intermediate Ware;<sup>192</sup> a comparable painted ware first appears in the Anti-Taurus at the beginning of Korucutepe E,<sup>193</sup> and the end of the preceding period is radiocarbon-dated to c.2493 B.C.<sup>194</sup> This agrees tolerably well with our Western-derived date for EBIIIa 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.<sup>195</sup>

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.<sup>196</sup> It is also clear that Amuq I extends into the Tarsus EBIII period.<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup> Sites in the Elaziğ 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 Norşun Tepe V are linked to Amuq K by the introduction of grey, wheelmarked ware;<sup>199</sup> the end of the previous phase at Arslantepe Late VI can be radiocarbon-dated to c.2060 B.C.<sup>200</sup> Amuq J is characterised by a sharp decline in Khirbet Kerak ware.<sup>201</sup> The closely-related Karaz wares and their linear descendants disappear from the Antitaurus sites at the beginning of Norşun VI and Arslantepe Late VI,<sup>202</sup> dated by radiocarbon samples from Arslantepe to c.2297 B.C.<sup>203</sup> There is also a correlation between Amuq I and the earlier half of Hama J.<sup>204</sup> This latter is radiocarbon dated to c.2890-2785 B.C.<sup>205</sup> The introduction of Khirbet Kerak ware in Amuq H<sup>206</sup> can perhaps be related to its marked increase in Korucutepe C and Arslantepe EBIIb.<sup>207</sup> Arslantepe C<sup>14</sup> dates place the beginning of this phase at c.3015 B.C.<sup>208</sup> 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,<sup>209</sup> Amuq I with Early Dynastic II-III,<sup>210</sup> Amuq J with Akkadian-Ur III.<sup>211</sup>

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.<sup>212</sup> The related ovoid and globular flasks occur in Late Troy II and Troy III.<sup>213</sup> Alabastron-shaped flasks of late Early Dynastic-Ur III date come from Late Troy II and Troy III.<sup>214</sup> But these are all relatively long-lived types whose precise dating is disputed.<sup>215</sup> The cylinder-seal 73-709 in Troy II is of EDI-II date,<sup>216</sup> 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.,<sup>217</sup> 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.<sup>218</sup> 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),<sup>219</sup> while Calmeyer proposes an early Old Babylonian date.<sup>220</sup> Some items in Treasure A are acknowledged to have EDIII or Akkadian parallels;<sup>221</sup> the latest items (in Mesopotamian terms) are the lunate earrings with fine granulation<sup>222</sup> and the long-handled ridged pan.<sup>223</sup> Ridged pans of a similar sort first appear in Mesopotamia in Ur III contexts,<sup>224</sup> whatever the precise date of Grave 20 at Aššur.<sup>225</sup> Parallels for the earrings are not found before the Ur III period, but are most common in the Larsa period.<sup>226</sup> 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.<sup>227</sup> A two-handled tankard of shape A43 may be depicted on the Naširiya stele,<sup>228</sup> although neither the identity of the tribute-bearers nor the full shape of the vessel is clear from the stone.<sup>229</sup> It could, however, suggest an Akkadian-Anatolian EBIII synchronism.<sup>230</sup> 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.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup> 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.<sup>233</sup> From Level 11a there is a cylinder seal re-used in Post-Akkadian times.<sup>234</sup> The Karum has yielded evidence for the re-use of seals of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.<sup>235</sup> These may suggest that the origins of the Karum lie at least in the latter part of the Ur III period,<sup>236</sup> although such a conclusion is by no means certain.<sup>237</sup> 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.<sup>238</sup> 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,<sup>239</sup> and probably lasted from the time of ŠamšiAdad I until at least Year 10 of the reign of Samsuiluna<sup>240</sup> but before that of AmmiDitana.<sup>241</sup> 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,<sup>242</sup> and Karum IV can be correlated with the beginning of Tarsus MB by the introduction of imports of painted ware.<sup>243</sup> Karum Ib may overlap into the beginning of Tarsus LB.<sup>244</sup> 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,<sup>245</sup> appear first in the Anti-Taurus EBIIIa period, whose start is radiocarbon-dated at Korucutepe to c.2493 B.C.<sup>246</sup> The subsequent Cappadocian ware, which first appears in Kültepe 12,<sup>247</sup> has eastern analogues which first appear in the Anti-Taurus EBIIIb period.<sup>248</sup> Arslantepe radiocarbon dates show this period to have begun by c.2297 B.C.<sup>249</sup> There are imports of Cappadocian ware in the Anti-Taurus EBIIIb destruction-deposits, and they continue in the MB deposits.<sup>250</sup> At Kültepe the ware continues into the Karum period until as late as Karum II.<sup>251</sup> The MB period at Norşun V, Arslantepe Vb and Korucu G-H is related in its ceramic repertoire to the Karum period,<sup>252</sup> and C<sup>14</sup> dates from Arslantepe suggest for the period an initial date of c.2060 B.C.<sup>253</sup> The third check is with Acemhüyük. Level III contains pottery similar to that of Kültepe Karum II.<sup>254</sup> Bullae, however, and some ceramic features show that it continued until at least the beginning of Karum IB.<sup>255</sup> Three C<sup>14</sup> dates indicate, when averaged, a duration of c.1955-1786 B.C. for Acemhüyük III,<sup>256</sup> 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.<sup>257</sup> 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.<sup>258</sup> Stylistically, however, it is probably earlier, and an EB date for the piece seems most likely.<sup>259</sup> 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.<sup>260</sup> A44, also from Troy IV only, is attested at Acemhüyük 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.<sup>261</sup> The

Karum period is also linked to Troy V. Volutes appear on the handles of bowls in Kültepe Karum II<sup>262</sup> as they do in Troy V<sup>263</sup> and Poliochni Brown.<sup>264</sup> 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.<sup>265</sup> Storage jars with a base, like C20, are a characteristic of the Karum period<sup>266</sup> and an innovation in Troy V; and the jug<sup>\*</sup>72-1074 (Fig.V.30) is closely paralleled in Karum Ib.<sup>267</sup> 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 EBIIIb. 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 C<sup>14</sup> 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 EBIIIb dates. 1842 B.C. as a date for the beginning of Troy V coincides closely, however, with the C<sup>14</sup> 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 <sup>14</sup> Beşik, Ezero, Sitagroi IV, Demirci)	
<u>EBII</u>			
Mid. Troy I	begins c.2900	(C <sup>14</sup> Beşik, Sitagroi Va, Karataş)	
Troy II.1	begins c.2650	(EDII-III transition)	
<u>EBIII</u>			
Troy II.5	begins c.2465	(C <sup>14</sup> Lerna, EHII-III transition)	
Troy II.6	begins c.2330	(estimate)	
Troy III	begins c.2135	(C <sup>14</sup> , end of Troy II.6)	
<u>MB</u>			
Troy IV	begins c.2005	(estimate)	
Troy V	begins c.1842	(estimate, and C <sup>14</sup> Ayia Irini IV)	
Troy V	ends c.1712	(cf. C <sup>14</sup> Aphrodisias, end MB; Kültepe 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,<sup>268</sup> Blegen at first proposed a date of c.1900 B.C.<sup>269</sup> 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.<sup>270</sup> 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,<sup>271</sup> 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.,<sup>272</sup> but both he and Caskey subsequently raised this estimate to c.1300 B.C.<sup>273</sup> 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.<sup>274</sup> The sack of Troy VIIa, thought to have taken place 'witin a century or less' of the destruction of Troy VI,<sup>275</sup> was thus dated to c.1240 B.C., 'subject to shifts of a decade or two' in fixing the beginnings of LHIIIC.<sup>276</sup> Subsequently, however, Blegen preferred a terminus ante quem of 1250 B.C., and even ten or twenty years earlier,<sup>277</sup> or c.1260 B.C. "if indeed not somewhat earlier".<sup>278</sup> The end of VIIB was placed two or three generations later, c.1100 B.C.<sup>279</sup> 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.<sup>280</sup>

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.<sup>281</sup> 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.<sup>282</sup> The main indicator is the parallel occurrence of Grey Minyan rims with handles that spring from thickened supports under the rim.<sup>283</sup> A deposit assigned to Troy VIb includes a sherd of Kamares, or Kamares-related, ware.<sup>284</sup> 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.<sup>285</sup> Troy VId introduces the first imports of LHI, but they are very few.<sup>286</sup> 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.<sup>287</sup> House 630 lasted throughout the three phases a-c, but was not especially substantial.<sup>288</sup> In Area 603 walls 604 and 605 may have stood throughout Early VI as well<sup>289</sup> but were again not especially strong.<sup>290</sup> 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 LBI<sup>291</sup> and Beycesultan IVb,<sup>292</sup> though analogies with the Boğazköy material are few.<sup>293</sup> 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.<sup>294</sup> 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,<sup>295</sup> is especially characteristic of Early VI and, within it, perhaps of VIc.<sup>296</sup> At Tarsus it occurs in LBIA but more frequently in LBIB,<sup>297</sup> and at Beycesultan in IVa.<sup>298</sup> Tarsus LBIB is argued by Goldman to extend beyond the fall of Babylon<sup>299</sup> (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), VI f = LHII-LHIIIa, VI g = LHIIIa are uncontested. The end of Troy VI h he placed "at a time when Mycenaean pottery of LHIIIa was being displaced by the fabrics of the succeeding stage, IIIB".<sup>300</sup> If this is to place the end of VI h at the transition from LHIIIa to LHIIIb, the conclusion has rightly been questioned. C.B. Mee has drawn attention to the fact that the LHIIIb material in VI h comes in substantial quantity, amounting to over twenty per cent of the diagnostic Mycenaean pottery from the whole span of Troy VI.<sup>301</sup> The likely inference is that VI h lasted a good way into LHIIIb1. 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.<sup>302</sup> 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.<sup>303</sup> But it may have overlapped into LHIIIb2 if Schmidt is right in assigning a rosette-bowl to Troy VI.<sup>304</sup>

Troy VIIa is recognised to contain some up-casts and imitations of earlier Mycenaean types,<sup>305</sup> and this is bound to be a source of some uncertainty.<sup>306</sup> But a substantial overlap with LHIIIb2 is likely in view of the greatly increased numbers of deep bowls,<sup>307</sup> the presence of deep bowls of Type B<sup>308</sup> and the occurrence of the thick, wavy-line motif.<sup>309</sup> 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.<sup>310</sup> 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.<sup>311</sup> VIIb2 seems to show no true overlap with LHIIIc.<sup>312</sup>

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 LHIIIa2 to IIIb should be placed at the end of the reign of Tutankhamun,<sup>314</sup> 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.<sup>315</sup> The evidence is by no means simple, and their suggestions have not been universally accepted.<sup>316</sup> A much longer chronology has recently been advocated by Betancourt who proposes to bring LMIIIa1 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.<sup>317</sup> 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.<sup>318</sup>

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,<sup>319</sup> 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 VIc 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 Levant<sup>320</sup> - dateable perhaps to the time of Ramesses III<sup>321</sup> 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 LHIIIb1 seems likely, but that is poorly dated. There may, however, be an overlap between LHIIIb2 and the reigns of Hattusilis III and Puduhepa since an LHIIIb2 bowl was found associated with a bulla of Puduhepa in a sealed pit at Tarsus.<sup>322</sup> Since Hattusilis appears to have reigned until at least Year 42 of Ramesses II<sup>323</sup> (1262 CAH or 1237 B.C. Kitchen), a date halfway through LHIIIb, c.1270 B.C. (CAH) or 1252 B.C. (Kitchen) would be a reasonable guess for the beginning of IIIb2. 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 LHIIIb1 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 VIh and VIa into equal parts. VIh must include the transition to LHIIIa, 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	
VIh	"	c.1580	c.1580
VIe	"	c.1524	c.1519
VIh	"	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.<sup>324</sup> 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.<sup>325</sup> There is one sherd from the site recognised by Blegen as Protogeometric<sup>326</sup> (and Protogeometric would probably be scarce here anyway), two amphorae and a group of sherds of doubtful Protogeometric character,<sup>327</sup> and two sherds suggested by Miss Sandars to be subminoan.<sup>328</sup>

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.<sup>329</sup> Bln-1107 is undoubtedly from a deposit of Troy VI and, calibrated, yields a date of 1800-1680 B.C.<sup>330</sup> Bln-1130 is from a deposit either of Troy VI or of Troy V.<sup>331</sup> 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.

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 <sup>14</sup>C 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. Milojčić", 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. Kültepe 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.Pl; 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", Origini 7 (1973) pp.93-103, 112-120, 176-7.
203. Origini 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; Origini 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", CAH<sup>3</sup> 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 Kültepe-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: "EBIIIb"; 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; Origini 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; CCLXVIIId-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, CAH<sup>3</sup> 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. Tarsus 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) " " " nos.1023, 1032, 1033 (LBIA)  
73-275)  
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. Beycesultan II fig.P12:12  
A60 " " " fig.P14:1, 4.

Parallels with Beycesultan IVb are as follows:

A56 cf. Beycesultan 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 Osmankaya: K. Bittel et al. Die Hethitische Grabfunde von Osmankaya, 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.