

STUDIA TROICA  
Monographien 5

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# STUDIA TROICA

Monographien 5

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# **Troia 1987–2012: Grabungen und Forschungen I**

Forschungsgeschichte, Methoden  
und Landschaft

Teil 1



VERLAG  
DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH  
BONN

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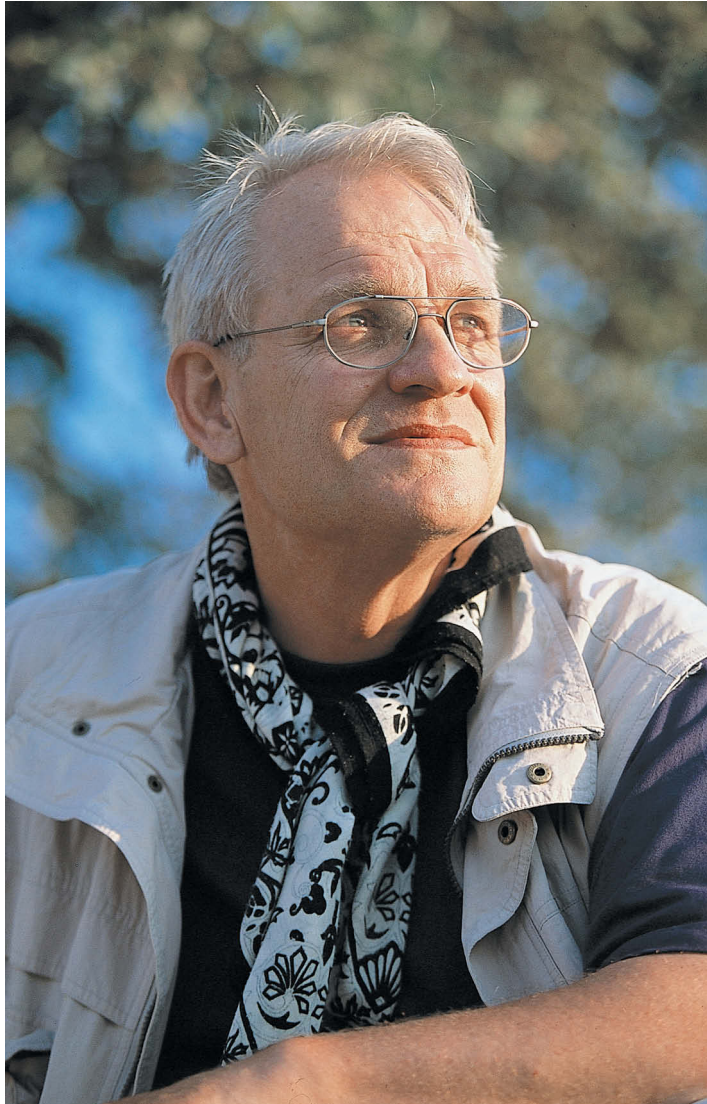
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In memoriam  
Manfred O. Korfmann

26. April 1942 bis  
11. August 2005

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Donald F. Easton\*

## **The First Excavations at Troy: Brunton, Calvert and Schliemann**

### **Abstract**

The excavations by John Brunton (1856) and Frank Calvert (1863–1870) are briefly described. The chapter is otherwise devoted to a discussion of Schliemann's work at Troy and in the Troad (1870–1890). It considers (1) the difficulties in using the Schliemann material, and the necessity of doing so; (2) how Schliemann was introduced to the site of Hisarlık; (3) the sources which document his work; (4) the history of his excavations on the mound; and (5) how his understanding of the stratification and dating developed during the course of his excavations. To summarise his principal findings and to provide a guide to his reports there is then (6) a phase-by-phase account of the architectural features he found; (7) an outline of the sequence he established for the Bronze Age pottery; and (8) a discussion of the find-spots and characters of his so-called »Treasures.« His investigations in the Lower Town and elsewhere in the Troad are summarised (9), and a brief account is given (10) of the history of the Schliemann Collection.

### **Zusammenfassung**

Zunächst werden die Ausgrabungen von John Brunton (1856) und Frank Calvert (1863–1870) kurz beschrieben. Dann werden Heinrich Schliemanns Arbeiten in Troia und in der Troas (1870–1890) diskutiert. Dabei werden folgende Punkte berücksichtigt: 1. die Schwierigkeit, Schliemanns Material zu benutzen, und die Notwendigkeit, es zu tun; 2. wie Schliemann auf Hisarlık hingewiesen wurde; 3. die Quellen, die seine Arbeiten dokumentieren; 4. die Grabungsgeschichte auf dem Hügel; 5. wie sich sein Verständnis von Stratigraphie und Datierung während der Grabungen entwickelte. Um seine Hauptfunde zusammenzufassen und einen Leitfaden für seine Berichte zu erstellen, muss daher 6. eine Zusammenstellung aller Bauphasen zu den Architekturfunden erfolgen; 7. eine Zusammenfassung seiner Abfolge der bronzezeitlichen Keramik erstellt; und 8. die sog. Schatzfunde in Bezug auf Fundort und Eigenart diskutiert werden. 9. Seine Untersuchungen zur Unterstadt und in der Troas sind zusammenzufassen wie auch 10. die Geschichte der Schliemann-Sammlung.

### **John Brunton, 1856**

The first known archaeological excavations on the site of Troy were by John Brunton. Brunton's name, although not wholly invisible,<sup>1</sup> was generally unknown to archaeologists until it was no-

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\* I am very grateful to Dr. Stephan W. E. Blum and Diane Thumm-Dograyan M.A. for their generous help with the presentation of the figures. Dr. Sinan Ünlüsoy has most kindly allowed me to use his plans of Troy II as a basis for Figs. 20 and 21, although I have taken the liberty of suggesting a different date for Buildings IIM, IIN etc.

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned as author of the map of the Erenköy region. See Calvert 1860, 287, 293 note 8.

ticed in 1973 by John M. Cook.<sup>2</sup> His charming autobiographical essay, unearthed by Cook, first revealed his excavations.<sup>3</sup> More recent research by Christopher Silver has discovered supplementary accounts by Edmund Parkes and William Eassie.<sup>4</sup>

Brunton was an engineer commissioned by the British War Office during the Crimean War to build a civil hospital in Turkey, for which he selected a site on the Dardanelles coast at modern Güzelyalı, near Erenköy.<sup>5</sup> Eassie was his assistant and Parkes was the medical superintendent. When peace negotiations began and he was ordered to stop work at the hospital, Brunton found himself with 150 unemployed men from the Army Work Corps on his hands. He solved the problem by setting them to camp out on the plains of Troy and to excavate at a number of sites including Akça Köy, Dardanos and Ilium Novum (Hisarlık). Silver dates this to July 1856,<sup>6</sup> and suggests that the impetus came from Eassie.<sup>7</sup> The excavations may have been quite brief. Brunton mentions »the ruins of a temple,« including a Corinthian capital and, nearby, »the walls of a house« with painted plaster and a tessellated pavement which had an oval depiction of a boar hunt in the centre.<sup>8</sup> Eassie mentions two inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> The boar-hunt mosaic was later removed by villagers and was traced to the church at Kalafat.<sup>10</sup> Other objects from Brunton's various excavations went to the British Museum.<sup>11</sup>

Exactly where the excavations at Troy took place is unclear. Eassie says that they were »on the uppermost flat of the Hissarjik hill.«<sup>12</sup> A location on the site of the Temple of Athena could be considered since a depression was later noted there by both Calvert and Schliemann,<sup>13</sup> but the Corinthian capital argues against it.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that the area was subsumed within one of the trenches shown in Adolphe Laurent's plan of 1872.<sup>15</sup> But Laurent's failure to show any trenches other than Calvert's and Schliemann's cannot be considered decisive since traces of Brunton's »superficial excavations«<sup>16</sup> might no longer have been distinct sixteen years later. The problem must be left unresolved.

<sup>2</sup> Cook 1973, 37, 61, 94–95.

<sup>3</sup> Brunton 1939, 68–69.

<sup>4</sup> Silver 2004, 151–153; Silver 2007, 151–158; Eassie 1868, 153–154. For the report by Parkes see Silver 2007, 55 note 21.

<sup>5</sup> According to Cook 1973, 61 Gwyn Williams (1967, 184) reported the existence at Güzelyalı of an inscribed stone including Brunton's name. Cook was unable to find it, but a photograph of it is now published in Silver 2004, 169.

<sup>6</sup> Silver 2004, 152; Silver 2007, 152.

<sup>7</sup> Silver 2007, 153.

<sup>8</sup> Brunton 1939, 68–69.

<sup>9</sup> Eassie 1858, 153–154.

<sup>10</sup> Brunton 1939, 70; Cook 1973, 95.

<sup>11</sup> Brunton 1939, 80–81; Allen 1999, 78.

<sup>12</sup> Eassie 1858, 153.

<sup>13</sup> Easton 2002, 11.

<sup>14</sup> Allen 1999, 292 note 50.

<sup>15</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 116.

<sup>16</sup> As noted in July 1856: Perrot 1874, 61.

## Frank Calvert, between 1863 and 1870

The life and archaeological activities of Frank Calvert have been thoroughly documented in recent years.<sup>17</sup> He was the youngest of seven in a family of land-owners, diplomats, merchants and bankers who had been established in Turkey for several decades. They were prominent figures at the Dardanelles (modern Çanakkale) and in the Troad, where they farmed several thousand acres. Frank's archaeological interests go back to at least 1853,<sup>18</sup> and in subsequent years he acquired a deep knowledge of the archaeology of the region, successfully identified many important sites,<sup>19</sup> and came to be regarded as an authority. He was much consulted by European visitors, for whom he laid on a standard tour.<sup>20</sup> Together with other members of his family he assembled a large collection of antiquities much of which now forms the nucleus of the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Çanakkale.<sup>21</sup>

At some time before 1857 he had bought a share in 2,000 acres which are described as being on the territory of Novum Ilium, i. e. in the neighbourhood of Hisarlık.<sup>22</sup> Senior dates this acquisition to 1847, Allen to between 1853 and 1856.<sup>23</sup> The land may have been bought piecemeal at various dates.<sup>24</sup> In September 1863 Calvert wrote to Charles Newton of the British Museum that he already owned »a large portion of the site of Ilium (Novum)« but was negotiating to buy »the field containing the actual site.«<sup>25</sup> By 1865 he had bought a field »comprising a part of the highest mound, or acropolis,«<sup>26</sup> but whether this was, as he seems to imply, a new purchase is unclear. At all events by the time Schliemann began excavations in 1870 Calvert owned the eastern half of the mound, the western limit of his property probably being indicated by the eastern limit of Schliemann's proposed trench of 1872.<sup>27</sup> He never secured the western half and nor did Schliemann.

It is presently not possible to reconstruct exactly the course of Calvert's excavations.<sup>28</sup> The evidence is conflicting. On the one hand his letter of 24<sup>th</sup> September 1863 to Newton, referred to above, contained a proposal that the British Museum should sponsor excavations at Hisarlık and stated that he had already made a trial excavation on the site of the Temple of Athena and had revealed fluted columns, a capital, an inscription and friezes.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand his later, published accounts<sup>30</sup> make no mention of any work in 1863 but say that he »commenced excavations« at

<sup>17</sup> Allen 1995a; Allen 1995b; Allen 1999; Robinson 1994; Robinson 1995; Robinson 2006.

<sup>18</sup> Easton 1991, 122.

<sup>19</sup> Cook 1973, 35–36.

<sup>20</sup> Allen 1995a, 385.

<sup>21</sup> A catalogue of the Calvert collection was handwritten by Hermann Thiersch in 1902 and is preserved in the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum.

<sup>22</sup> Senior 1861, 155–156.

<sup>23</sup> Senior 1861, 157; Allen 1999, 75.

<sup>24</sup> Allen 1999, 291 note 18.

<sup>25</sup> Easton 1991, 123.

<sup>26</sup> Calvert 1874, 610.

<sup>27</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 116.

<sup>28</sup> This corrects Easton 1991, 124–125.

<sup>29</sup> Easton 1991, 123.

<sup>30</sup> Calvert 1873; Calvert 1874; see also Calvert 1865, 337.

Hisarlık in 1865, digging on the northern extremity of the highest part of the mound, exposing a part of the »Wall of Lysimachus« on the brow of the hill and the remains of a Doric temple to its south. Possibly his published reports suppressed all reference to 1863 because at the time he had been without a permit and the land had not been his; or possibly in the letter to Newton he could be representing Brunton's excavations as his own. By 1872, in any case, we can see from Adolphe Laurent's plan that he had dug four trenches: two on the north side of the mound in G3 and H3, one at the northeast corner in K4/5, and one at the southeast corner<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 1). In the two northern trenches Laurent shows a wall which is presumably Calvert's »Wall of Lysimachus« and should be the north wall of the Hellenistic temple platform. An angle of masonry shown in the northeast trench may be the northeast corner of the same structure, but if so is somewhat out of place.<sup>32</sup> The two trenches in G3 and H3 would have cut across the Temple of Athena. Calvert also investigated a cave at the western limit of the lower town, establishing the existence of three subsidiary branches within it,<sup>33</sup> and at some date he excavated some Greek and Roman burials outside the city wall.<sup>34</sup> A crucial observation, however, was that below the Greek and Roman remains on the mound there lay deep deposits pre-dating the Archaic period.<sup>35</sup>

## Heinrich Schliemann, 1870–1890

### 1 Can the Schliemann material be used?

In the remainder of this chapter an attempt will be made to guide the reader through the often confusing record of Schliemann's excavations.<sup>36</sup> Not every aspect can be covered. Aside from tracing the course of his excavations, we shall concentrate mainly on those areas likely to be of greatest interest – the stratigraphy, the architecture, the Bronze Age pottery and the so-called »Treasures.«<sup>37</sup> Schliemann, however, is known to have been both a crude excavator and a liar.<sup>38</sup> It might well be asked, then, whether he is worth the bother – whether anything of value can be

<sup>31</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 116.

<sup>32</sup> Allen 1999, 304 note 157. Apparently it cannot be the Troy VI northeast bastion, which Calvert narrowly missed: Allen 1999, 101 (no source given).

<sup>33</sup> Calvert 1874, 611.

<sup>34</sup> Robinson 2006, 272.

<sup>35</sup> Calvert 1873, 90.

<sup>36</sup> There is a massive literature on Schliemann. The most useful biographies are Ludwig 1931; Meyer 1969; Traill 1995. For Schliemann's correspondence see especially Meyer 1936; Meyer 1953; Meyer 1958; Herrmann – Maaß 1990; Saherwala et al. 1993. Other studies include Döhl 1981; Döhl 1986; Korfmann 1990; Herrmann 1990; Korfmann 1993; Duchêne 1995; Cobet 1997. There are useful collections of essays in Calder – Traill 1986; Calder – Cobet 1990; Herrmann 1992; Traill 1993, and some additional material in Calder 1984; Calder 1995; Jähne 1995; Press 1995. Analyses of Schliemann's excavations may be found in Schuchhardt 1891, 17–92; Dörpfeld 1902, 1–17; Easton 2002; Easton 2006. Many of the Schliemann papers, including his Troy excavation notebooks for 1870–73 and 1890, are in the Gennadius Library, Athens – see Easton 1982; Kennel 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Schliemann's other small finds from 1870–73 are discussed at Easton 1989, 592–611, 649–653, 669–685; Easton 2002, 331–334. For later seasons see Schliemann 1880 and Schliemann 1884.

<sup>38</sup> See especially Calder 1972; Calder 1986; Calder – Traill 1986; Traill 1993; Traill 1995; Traill 2000; Easton 1984a; Easton 1992; Easton 2002, 21–25.

extracted from his excavation notes and publications. Perhaps academic rigour should dictate that we leave all the Schliemann information strictly on one side?

A moment's consideration will show that this is not an option. He excavated more of the site than any of his successors; some of his discoveries, such as the »treasures,« are of great importance; his finds display a much wider range of types; the types in common sometimes have in Schliemann a wider chronological range. These simple facts alone mean that, if we are seeking a full understanding of the site, the Schliemann material cannot be ignored.

The Blegen excavations of 1932–38 did to an extent ignore Schliemann, and the consequences were serious. They did not, of course, ignore him completely: the Cincinnati reports contain plenty of references to Schliemann *comparanda* of all kinds. But the excavations were intended to provide an independent check on Schliemann's, and so were treated as more or less free-standing and self-sufficient. There was no attempt at deep understanding, no real effort to synthesize the new findings with the old. The result was serious errors, most clearly visible in Troy II where Megarons IIR and IIK were placed in the wrong phases and Megaron IIA incorrectly had its life extended by Blegen to the end of his phase IIg. There were consequent errors, albeit minor, in the sequences for the Troy II pottery and small finds as well. Further, Blegen fell into the really embarrassing error of misunderstanding Schliemann's stratigraphic revision of 1882.<sup>39</sup> This resulted in the Troy III of Schliemann and Dörpfeld being included within Blegen's Troy II, the former Troy IV becoming the new Troy III, and the old Troy V being split into Troy IV and V.<sup>40</sup> These changes were the worse for being unrecognised (Section 5).

Ignoring Schliemann, then, is really not an option. We must do the best we can with what we have. So the question is, how bad is the problem? There are two basic concerns: Schliemann's lying and his carelessness. Let us examine each in turn.

That Schliemann sometimes told lies in other areas of his life is not in dispute. What needs to be established is whether, and how far, they extend into his archaeology. Assessments of this question differ but, so far as the Troy material is concerned, attention has focussed mainly on Schliemann's most spectacular finds, his »treasures.« These are discussed in more detail below (Section 8). In three instances – Treasures A, R and S – we can see that the published group falsely combines at least some items that were not originally found together. The additions seem to be few and relatively minor,<sup>41</sup> even in the case of Treasure A, although opinions differ on this. But the fact that they can be detected from Schliemann's notebooks, and even sometimes from his publications, suggests that they were innocently perpetrated. There may have been carelessness, a disregard for accuracy, excess of imagination – but deliberate fabrication is unlikely. In any case the confusions can be remedied. In the case of other treasures – K, L, N and Q – there is nothing more than vague suspicion. But whatever our verdict on the treasures, they remain a special case. »The disinterested recording of finds, their description, the drawings need not be univer-

<sup>39</sup> Schliemann 1884, 52.

<sup>40</sup> Easton 1990, 436 fig. 7.

<sup>41</sup> The number of bronzes added to Treasure A is still undetermined, but is definitely not as great as Traill 2000 claims. The suggestion that the 56 earrings claimed for the treasure might be a subsequent find is also far from secure. See further note 483, below.

sally doubted,« says Calder.<sup>42</sup> This is obviously correct, and is borne out by study of the material. Most of Schliemann's archaeological data were far too mundane to be worth falsifying.

Potentially more problematical is the standard of Schliemann's normal procedures in digging and recording. He had no exact, three-dimensional system of co-ordinates with permanent datum-points, so amid the constantly changing landscape of the excavation it was impossible for him to retain, either in his mind or on paper, a fully accurate record of the relationship of one feature to another. This helps to explain his uncertainty as to the exact find-spots of some of the treasures, including Treasure A. Schliemann did not, however, work without any co-ordinates at all. He often described the progress of his excavations, and the locations of features, by reference to the edge of the mound (whose contours we can reconstruct) and to its surface. The method was inexact, but was good enough to allow us to plot roughly where he was digging and to identify his larger architectural discoveries with moderate confidence.

In Schliemann's published accounts one reads with alarm that he brought down large chunks of earth using iron levers, winches and battering-rams.<sup>43</sup> It is natural to suppose that, in the process, objects from different strata sometimes got confused.<sup>44</sup> But the popular image of Schliemann's roughness as an excavator derives very largely from his earliest years. The winches and battering rams were abandoned in February 1873,<sup>45</sup> and we can see in subsequent years that Schliemann turned increasingly to stratigraphic excavation, albeit crudely conceived by modern standards. Yet even in the early years Schliemann must have had some system for separating finds from different strata. In his notebooks for 1872–73 he regularly drew sketches of the objects he had found, adding to each a note of the depth at which it had been found. The objects themselves often carry a pencilled figure as well. Possibly when Schliemann himself was supervising one of the trenches he noted onto each object the depth, in round figures, from which it had come. The same task could have been entrusted to foremen in other trenches. Or perhaps finds from different depths were separated initially into different baskets, and Schliemann noted the depths onto the objects as the baskets were brought to his hut. We do not know. But a system of some kind there evidently was. Thus although there will certainly have been errors at the level of the individual object, we can have some confidence in the overall trends which the material displays.

One point at which we can gauge the general level of Schliemann's care and accuracy is the transition from recording to publication, by comparing the notebooks with the published reports. In studying the finds from 1870–73 I found that, of the 2,879 items drawn into the notebooks, only 35 appeared with a different depth in a subsequent publication. That is an error rate of about 1.2%. Of these, however, eleven were cases where the pencilled figure on the object was ambiguous: 6 was confused with 9, or 4 with 7.<sup>46</sup> In a further fourteen instances Schliemann had altered the depth by one metre, apparently in a deliberate rounding-up or rounding-down op-

<sup>42</sup> Calder 1972, 350.

<sup>43</sup> Schliemann 1875, 185.

<sup>44</sup> Traill 1995, 98.

<sup>45</sup> Schliemann 1873a, 43.

<sup>46</sup> This may imply that, in describing objects in his published reports, Schliemann worked directly from the objects themselves and not from his notebooks.

eration aimed at clarification or correction. A mere ten cases of more serious, unexplained change remain: a ratio of less than 0.35 %.<sup>47</sup>

Given his vitriolic disagreements with opponents one might have expected Schliemann to be pig-headed and high-handed with his own team, but he seems to have been quite otherwise. According to Rudolf Virchow he ran his excavation as a »republic« where visiting scholars could do what they wanted,<sup>48</sup> and according to his architect, assistant and successor Wilhelm Dörpfeld he was quite willing to accept advice.<sup>49</sup> This indeed we can see in his cautious acceptance of Dörpfeld's view as to the original find-spot of »Priam's Treasure«<sup>50</sup> and in his eventual acknowledgement that Troy VI had to be the best candidate for »Homeric« Troy (Section 5).<sup>51</sup>

In any study, therefore, it is essential to take Schliemann's findings into account. The details may often remain fuzzy; we will not find a modern level of exactitude. But Schliemann was an intelligent, observant man, and he developed at least a rough and ready system for handling the vast quantity of material he unearthed. His standard of excavation improved over time, and even in his early years at Troy the observable level of error is very low. With caution his publications can and should be used. But they need to be understood.

## 2 Schliemann's Introduction to Hisarlık

In the autobiographical preface to his book *Ilios* (published 1880) Schliemann famously presented his work at Troy as the fulfilment of a long-cherished ambition reaching back to his childhood.<sup>52</sup> The truth of this claim has been doubted.<sup>53</sup> It is certainly true that any seeds of interest implanted in childhood can only have assumed real importance to Schliemann in retrospect, for to the modern observer they are almost invisible until 1857 when Schliemann was 35. But they need not be wholly fictitious.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Traill 1995, 98–99 draws attention to the varying depths assigned to three stone moulds. (1) *Ilios* no. 600 was found at 8 m according to the notebook (Schliemann 1873a, 126), published in 1874 as coming from 14 m (*Troy and its Remains* no. 82), and then in *Ilios* as having been found at 8.5 m. Here Schliemann seems to have detected a mistake and corrected it. (2) *Ilios* no. 1268 is published at *Troy and its Remains* no. 142 as coming from 2.5 m deep and in *Ilios* as from City IV at 4–5 m deep. In the notebook (Schliemann 1872, 329) it has no depth. Traill says that the finds illustrated next to it are from the Graeco-Roman stratum, but this is only partially true as there are others which are plainly from Troy II–V. The mould in fact comes from the south end of the north-south trench, CD8/9 (Easton 2002, 236–237), where the deposits sloped down beyond the Troy II citadel wall and where the stratigraphy was, and still is, unclear. Schliemann's assigning of the piece to 2.5 m may have been accurate as to depth, but his subsequent location of it in City IV was probably an intelligent guess based on the supposition (Schliemann 1880, 519) that it was in this period that occupation of the citadel first spread beyond the limits of the old Troy II fortress. The 4–5 m depth will be wrong in that it denotes the depths of City IV within the confines of the old Troy II citadel. (3) *Ilios* no. 103 began as a find made at 8 m (Schliemann 1872, 296) but, beginning with *Atlas* pl. 22 (compiled in 1872), was in all subsequent publications assigned to 14 m, i. e. to City I (*Troy and its Remains* no. 71, *Ilios* no. 103). This is the one really suspicious case, where perhaps Schliemann wanted to boost the character of what he still hoped in 1872 would be the »Trojan« level.

<sup>48</sup> Traill 1995, 187.

<sup>49</sup> Traill 1995, 219.

<sup>50</sup> Schliemann 1884, 57.

<sup>51</sup> Sperling 1986, 30.

<sup>52</sup> Schliemann 1880, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Calder 1972, 350–352; Calder 1984, 104–107; Calder 1986, 27–28.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the earlier biographical sketch in Schliemann 1869, pp. v–xiv; Schliemann 1875, 3–8.



Schliemann first visited the Troad in August 1868, when he spent eight days touring the area. He had amassed enormous wealth on the commodities market in St Petersburg<sup>55</sup> but, unsettled by the stock market collapse of 1857 and disillusioned with the commercial rat-race, was looking for a more genteel occupation.<sup>56</sup> He had been dabbling in archaeology in Paris and had at least a slight knowledge of Trojan questions.<sup>57</sup> In Athens he had recently met Ernst Ziller, and had learned from him of Johann Georg von Hahn's excavations in 1864 at the generally favoured location for Homer's Troy on the Ballı Dağ above Pınarbaşı at the southern end of the Trojan plain.<sup>58</sup> Von Hahn had accepted the site as the location intended by Homer, but of a Troy and a Trojan war that were purely mythical.<sup>59</sup> When Schliemann himself arrived in the Troad he made some cursory diggings on the same site. Although his published account in *Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja* presents the whole episode otherwise,<sup>60</sup> these investigations were probably carried out in the expectation that they would confirm the literal view of the Ballı Dağ as the location of a real, historical Troy<sup>61</sup>. The meagre findings seem to have disappointed him, and it was only an encounter with Frank Calvert on the final day of his visit that drew his attention to Hisarlık. Calvert pointed him to Charles Maclaren's arguments in its favour<sup>62</sup> and told him of his own excavations which, as we have seen, implied the existence of deep prehistoric deposits beneath the remains of classical Ilion. He proposed that Schliemann should come back and dig. This offered to Schliemann on a plate a highly attractive solution to his mid-life crisis, and he took it up. Nine seasons of fieldwork followed: 1870–73, 1878–79, 1882 and 1889–90.

### 3 The Sources

In the course of excavation Schliemann recorded his progress in his diaries, of which those from 1870–73 and 1890 are preserved in the Gennadius Library in Athens.<sup>63</sup> These are a valuable source for understanding his work. The 1870–73 diaries contain daily entries, interspersed periodically by drafts of despatches which were to be sent to newspapers. In 1872 the daily entries generally include rather scratchy drawings by Schliemann of objects found that day, each with a note of the depth from which it came. When he was excavating in several different areas simultaneously, they seem sometimes to be grouped by trench. In 1873 he brought with him the artist Polychronis Lempessis who took over the sketching of objects into the diary, but had access to it less frequently. His sketches are of a professional standard. They were pencilled in first and inked over later. The despatches of 1871–73 were later republished, with some additions in the final

<sup>55</sup> On Schliemann in St Petersburg see Gavrilov 2006 (in Russian, with extensive bibliography).

<sup>56</sup> Hahn 1990.

<sup>57</sup> Traill 1995, 30–34.

<sup>58</sup> Traill 1995, 47.

<sup>59</sup> von Hahn 1865.

<sup>60</sup> Schliemann 1869, 124–213.

<sup>61</sup> Calvert 1874, 610; Traill 1984a, 296–310; Lehrer – Turner 1989, 237–263.

<sup>62</sup> Maclaren 1863.

<sup>63</sup> Easton 1982; Kennell 2007. If there are diaries from other years, their location remains undisclosed.

chapter, as *Trojanische Alterthümer*.<sup>64</sup> The book was accompanied by an ambitious collection of photographic plates, the *Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer*,<sup>65</sup> which illustrated the site, the progress of the excavations and a large number of objects. Schliemann had begun compiling the photographs and the catalogue for this publication in Athens after the 1872 season, and during the 1873 season deputed Lempessis to make fair drawings of the objects while Schliemann himself continued to compile the descriptive catalogue.<sup>66</sup> On his return to Athens after the 1873 season, Lempessis's drawings were photographed<sup>67</sup> as were additional objects which had not been drawn on site. Among the latter were most of the pieces which made up 'Treasure »A« – the so-called »Priam's Treasure« – which had been smuggled off the site rapidly after their discovery near the end of the season.<sup>68</sup> The *Atlas* includes plans which show the state of the excavations at the beginning and end of the 1872 season and at the end of 1873.<sup>69</sup> These are a valuable source for understanding the progress of the excavations. *Troy and its Remains*, the not wholly satisfactory English translation of *Trojanische Alterthümer*,<sup>70</sup> incorporated some of the illustrations from the *Atlas*.<sup>71</sup> A useful supplementary source is Schliemann's published correspondence.<sup>72</sup> In these and subsequent years there may be additional insights to be gained from the voluminous unpublished correspondence and numerous newspaper articles<sup>73</sup>, but these have so far not been systematically studied with an eye to the archaeology.

No diaries are preserved from 1878–79. This means that in these years we can no longer follow from day to day where Schliemann was digging and what he found there. For the most part, therefore, it is not possible to attribute individual objects to specific areas. Consequently we know far less about these seasons than we do about those of 1870–73. We have to rely on Schliemann's subsequent publication, *Ilios*. It is a very wide-ranging work which not only reports on the excavations but discourses on the history, topography, geology, ethnography and natural history of the region as well. The breadth of interest may reflect Schliemann's new friendship with Virchow, begun in 1875. The archaeological sections of the book present the findings up to 1879 in a systematic way, period by period, with a wealth of detail. A drawback, however, is that they not only publish the results from 1878–79 but also re-publish much of the information from previous years, and it is not always immediately apparent which data in *Ilios* are new and which go back to 1870–73. This makes for difficulties when one seeks to use it as a source for the excavations of 1878–79. On the other hand *Ilios* contains a moderately good plan of the excavations and three

<sup>64</sup> Schliemann 1874a.

<sup>65</sup> Schliemann 1874b.

<sup>66</sup> Easton 2002, 16. The first draft of the catalogue was made in Schliemann's copy-books, which were designed to retain copies of his outgoing correspondence.

<sup>67</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pls. 119–191.

<sup>68</sup> Easton 1994a, 225–226.

<sup>69</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 116–117, 213–214.

<sup>70</sup> Schliemann 1875.

<sup>71</sup> Schliemann 1990 is a modern equivalent, with a larger number of *Atlas* illustrations.

<sup>72</sup> See above, note 36.

<sup>73</sup> Many of the articles are listed in Korres 1974a.

section drawings,<sup>74</sup> all by Émile Burnouf who seems to have had a greater interest in architectural analysis than Schliemann. The plan was usefully re-drawn by Dörpfeld to place it within the grid devised in 1890.<sup>75</sup>

From 1882 there are again no known notebooks, and indeed Schliemann was prohibited from making notes or plans at the end of the campaign,<sup>76</sup> a prohibition lifted only later in the year, after which the architect Dörpfeld, who with Joseph Höfler had been helping Schliemann during the season, returned in November to make a general plan of the architecture on the citadel mound.<sup>77</sup> Schliemann himself returned with the surveyor J. Ritter Wolff in April 1883 to draw a plan of the entire site including the lower town.<sup>78</sup> For our knowledge of this season, therefore, we are mainly dependent on Schliemann's resulting book *Troja*. In this book the influence of Dörpfeld, the trained architect, is immediately apparent: there are detailed architectural drawings and plans, careful discussions of construction technique and a systematic attempt to assemble all the data relating to the architecture of the Greek and Roman settlements.

From 1890 Schliemann's notebook is preserved.<sup>79</sup> The entries are generally brief and there are no drawings. This is presumably because he again had the assistance of Dörpfeld and, for a few weeks, of Alfred Brueckner<sup>80</sup> to rely on. We also have Dörpfeld's notebook, which contains architectural sketches and notes. It is preserved in Berlin in the archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Photography was re-introduced in the 1890 season, having been abandoned after the not very satisfactory *Atlas* of 1874. It was executed by Dörpfeld, often with results that even today remain outstanding. The glass plates are preserved today in the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens, along with those from Dörpfeld's 1893–94 seasons at Troy and his excavations elsewhere. Dörpfeld's notebook includes a list of the dates on which many of the photographs were taken.<sup>81</sup> It seems that plates 1–157 can all be attributed to this season. Virchow also took part in the excavations for a limited period.<sup>82</sup> A short report, *Troja 1890*, with a section by Dörpfeld, was published in 1891.<sup>83</sup> It includes a detailed plan focussing mainly on the Troy II remains, and introduces the three-dimensional system of co-ordinates (a 20 m grid and altitudes) used in all subsequent excavations.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Schliemann 1880, plans I, III, IV.

<sup>75</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, fig. 4.

<sup>76</sup> Schliemann 1884, 12–14; Dörpfeld 1902, 12–13; Traill 1995, 221–222 suggests that the prohibition resulted mainly from misconduct on Schliemann's part. Documents in the Ottoman archives indicate the suspicion with which Schliemann was sometimes viewed after 1873, Aslan et al. 2009; Aslan – Sönmez 2011.

<sup>77</sup> Schliemann 1884, plan VII.

<sup>78</sup> Schliemann 1884, plan VIII.

<sup>79</sup> Schliemann 1890.

<sup>80</sup> Brueckner was present from 1st May to at least 14th May according to Schliemann 1890, 21, 32.

<sup>81</sup> Dörpfeld 1890. The list of photos is in the second half of the notebook. The list shows that most of the 1890 photos were made on five rolls of film.

<sup>82</sup> Virchow was present from 28th March to 21st April according to Schliemann 1890, 3, 19; his report may be found at Virchow 1890.

<sup>83</sup> Schliemann 1891.

<sup>84</sup> The altitudes were not yet measured above sea level but were adjusted to do so in Dörpfeld 1902.

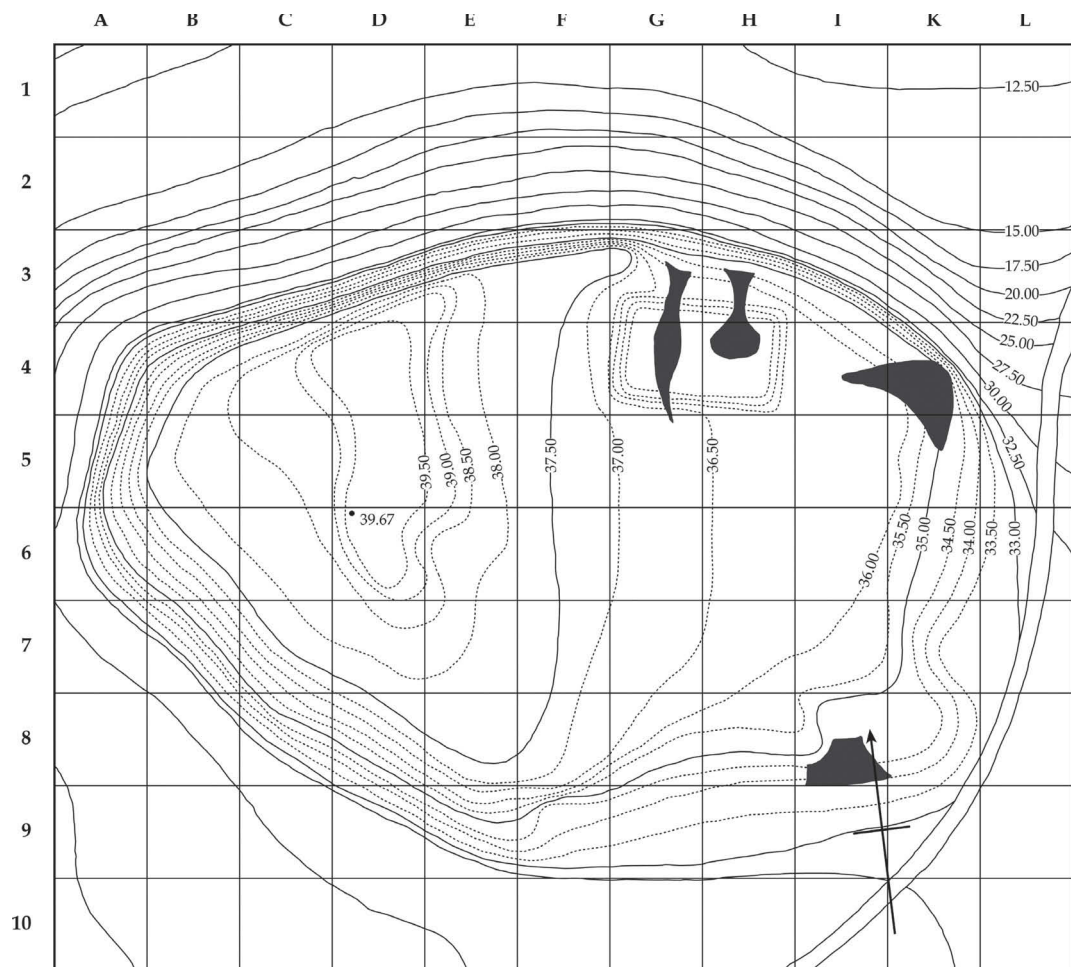


Fig. 1  
Reconstructed  
contour plan showing  
the location of  
Calvert's trenches.

#### 4 History of Schliemann's Excavations on the Mound

Heinrich Schliemann was the first to excavate the site of Troy on a large scale. The following account of the excavations utilises the grid devised by Dörpfeld<sup>85</sup> and standardises all altitudes to the system originated by Dörpfeld and adopted by both Blegen and Korfmann.<sup>86</sup> It also refers to individual features by the, now customary, designations to be found in Dörpfeld's work. The nomenclature of the broad periods, or stratigraphic blocks, into which the sequence is divided is unfortunately a little more complicated. Schliemann's own stratigraphic divisions will be referred to in the way he himself used – as the »first, second, third stratum« or City I, II, III etc. His understanding of these varied somewhat from season to season, as we shall see. While the divisions adopted by Dörpfeld in most respects follow Schliemann's of 1882–1890, Blegen's contain

<sup>85</sup> Schliemann 1891, pl. III; Dörpfeld 1902, pl. III; cf. Korfmann 1991, 3–5.

<sup>86</sup> Korfmann 1991, 5.

some important differences. It will be made clear at every step whose scheme is being referred to. The new excavations, similarly, have slightly revised the numbering of the periods and when the terms Troy I, II, III etc are used in the following discussion without further qualification, they are being used in the new sense. The new arrangement mostly retains the broad outlines of Blegen's scheme, with some changes to the phasing within periods – for example Blegen's division of Troy II into phases a–g has had to be reorganised.<sup>87</sup> The most important change is that Blegen's Troy IIg is now treated as the initial phase of Troy III. This revision reinstates the consistent practice of Schliemann and Dörpfeld and makes a division where the archaeological change is clearest. It removes the former IIg destruction into Early Troy III, but also leaves an earlier destruction at the end of the new Troy II.

In his early seasons, 1870–73, Schliemann described where he was working, and the location of particular discoveries, by measuring in from the edge of the mound and down from its summit. Unfortunately in these years he left no accurate contour-plan to enable us to understand these measurements.<sup>88</sup> A satisfactory contour-plan has, however, been reconstructed which shows the state of the mound at the outset of his work<sup>89</sup> (Fig. 1). This, together with the detailed information in the diaries, has opened the way to a comprehensive re-examination of his work in these years<sup>90</sup> on which the present discussion draws.

Schliemann made some initial and unapproved soundings in the western half of the mound during ten days in April 1870.<sup>91</sup> He dug in two areas: an L-shaped trench in squares AB4/5/6 and an area on the summit in D5. The latter was revealed only by study of the notebooks, correspondence and newspaper articles.<sup>92</sup> It was unknown to Schuchhardt or Dörpfeld and went unrecognised by Meyer.<sup>93</sup>

Schliemann's first official season of excavation, with a permit, took place over six weeks in October and November 1871. Dörpfeld mistakenly thought that he dug in squares A4 and B4,<sup>94</sup> an error caused by his ignorance of the previous year's work in D5.<sup>95</sup> There was in the end a single operation in this season, namely the opening of a trench running through the mound from north to south<sup>96</sup> (Fig. 2). Schliemann began by continuing to dig around the D5 trench of the previous year, but soon subsumed this area within a much larger trench (max. 15 × 60 m) cutting southwards across the mound from the north edge.<sup>97</sup> The work progressed by taking off horizontal spits of earth throughout the length of the trench, to an eventual depth of approximately

<sup>87</sup> Easton 1989, 510–521; Easton 2002, 307–309; Ünlüsoy 2010. These reconstructions appear to be consistent with those of the computerised Harris matrix developed for the site – Jablonka 2000, 117 fig. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 116–117, 214 give only general indications of the shape of the mound. Schliemann 1884, plan VIII and Dörpfeld 1902, pl. III are later and have been affected by extensive dumping.

<sup>89</sup> Easton 2002, 1–12 fig. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Easton 2002.

<sup>91</sup> Easton 2002, 27–28.

<sup>92</sup> Easton 1989, 88–89; Easton 2002, 27–28, and independently Traill 1995, 78.

<sup>93</sup> Schuchhardt 1891, 6–7; Dörpfeld 1902, 2; Meyer 1969, 252–254.

<sup>94</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 2.

<sup>95</sup> Easton 2002, 28–29.

<sup>96</sup> Easton 2002, 29–33.

<sup>97</sup> Illustrated in Schliemann 1874b, pl. 116.

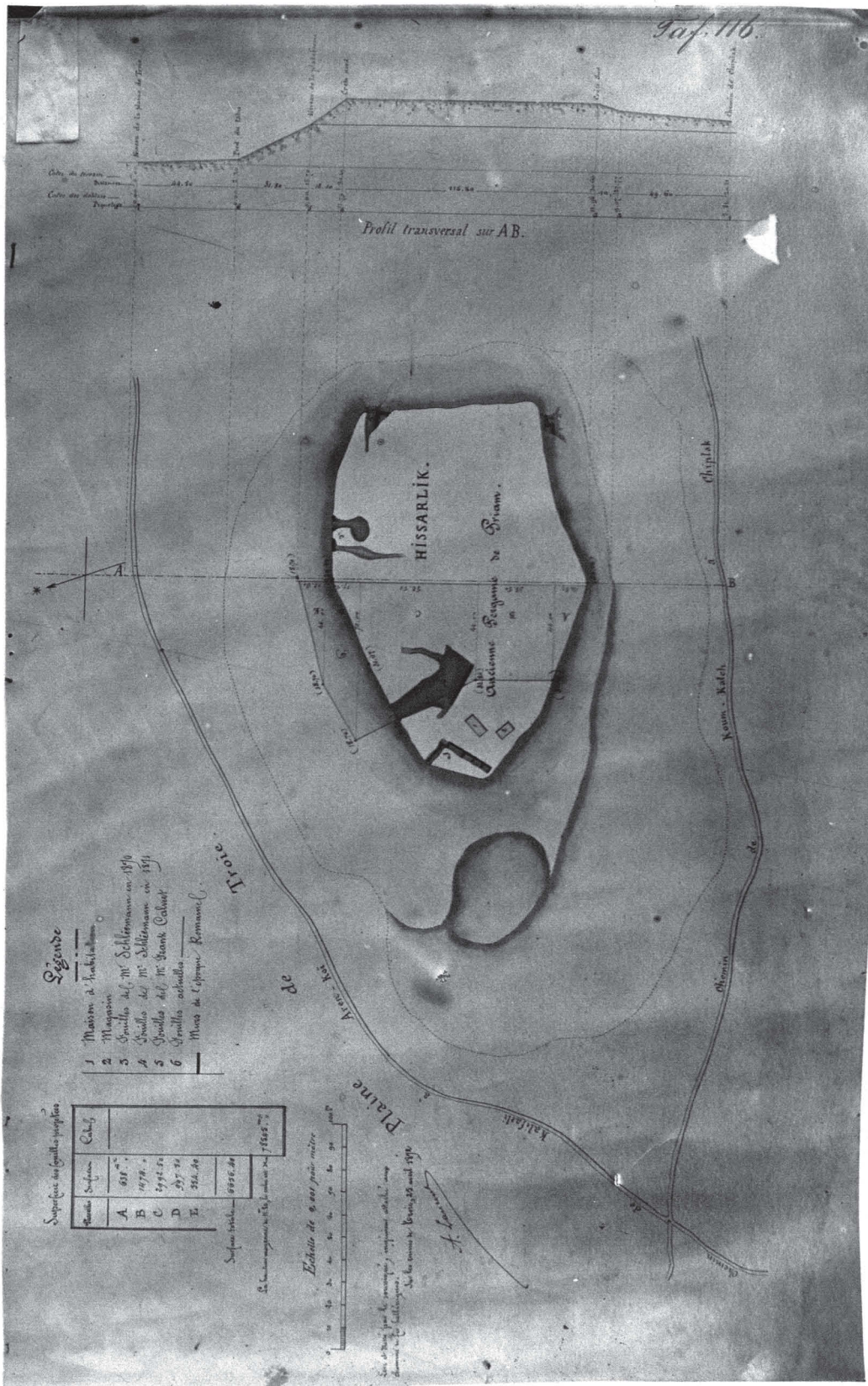


Fig. 2  
State of the  
excavations at the  
beginning of the 1872  
season (Schliemann,  
Atlas pl. 116).

ten metres. As the trench deepened its length increased and a spur was added on each side to facilitate the removal of spoil. By the end of the season Schliemann had gained a clear, if rough, notion of the stratigraphy in the centre of the mound and, beneath thick deposits of burnt mudbrick debris, had exposed large structures of unhewn stones at c. 30 m AT in the bottom of the trench.<sup>98</sup> Later seasons showed these to belong to Troy II. Schliemann took them to be the burnt remains of Priam's Troy,<sup>99</sup> a conviction to which, with modifications, he held until 1890.<sup>100</sup>

A much longer, 19-week season began on the following 1st April. Schliemann now had a clear objective: to uncover the supposedly »Trojan« stratum over a wide area so as to be sure of »thoroughly solving the Trojan question this year.«<sup>101</sup> His determination to cut down rapidly to the »Trojan« stratum is reflected in his alarming choice of equipment which included battering-rams, chains and windlasses.<sup>102</sup> There were four operations (Fig. 3).<sup>103</sup>

On the north side of the mound, in CDEF2/3, he opened up the entire 70-metre-wide area between the north-south trench and Calvert's field, taking out large vertical chunks of earth to a depth of 10 m (i. e. to c. 30 m AT) so as to expose the top of the »Trojan« stratum. He followed this cut, the north platform, in from the north with a second, deeper platform at c. 23.67 m. He also widened the north-south trench to the east in CD4. In CD6/7/8/9 he drove in a trench from the south edge of the mound to join up with and extend the north-south trench dug the previous year.<sup>104</sup> The floor of the trench sloped down to the north and was intended eventually to reach bedrock (assumed to lie at 18 m below the summit) in D5. A wider trench (c. 32 × 20 m) was dug in CDE6/7 in order to complete the join between the north and south sectors of the north-south trench. Here Schliemann dug down to what he identified as the »Tower« of Ilion, which proved later to be the two separate citadel walls IIb and IIc.<sup>105</sup> To north and south of them he excavated deeper, into strata of Early II and I. At the northeast corner of the mound, in GH2/3/4, he drove in two platforms and, at a deeper level, a narrower cut. His object was to expose the Temple of Athena which Calvert believed he had located.<sup>106</sup> The trenches ran across much of the area that was, indeed, occupied by the temple, but it had, as Dörpfeld later recognised, been almost entirely robbed out.<sup>107</sup> Schliemann's 1872 records show no sign that he found any part of it in situ.

He returned briefly in mid-September 1872 to make drawings and photographs, and found that rain had exposed a part of the Troy II citadel wall at the northeast corner of the mound.<sup>108</sup> One plan and seven photographs show the state of the excavations at this date.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Easton 2002, 143–149.

<sup>99</sup> Schliemann 1874a, 39, 44; Meyer 1953, 197.

<sup>100</sup> Easton 1994b, 174.

<sup>101</sup> Schliemann 1875, 99.

<sup>102</sup> Schliemann 1875, 185.

<sup>103</sup> Easton 2002, 33–51.

<sup>104</sup> Easton 2002, 176–190.

<sup>105</sup> Easton 2002, 191–213.

<sup>106</sup> Easton 2002, 81–93.

<sup>107</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 219–220.

<sup>108</sup> Easton 2002, 51, 92.

<sup>109</sup> Schliemann 1874b, 106–109, 111–113, 117. The plan was later re-published as Dörpfeld 1902, fig. 2.

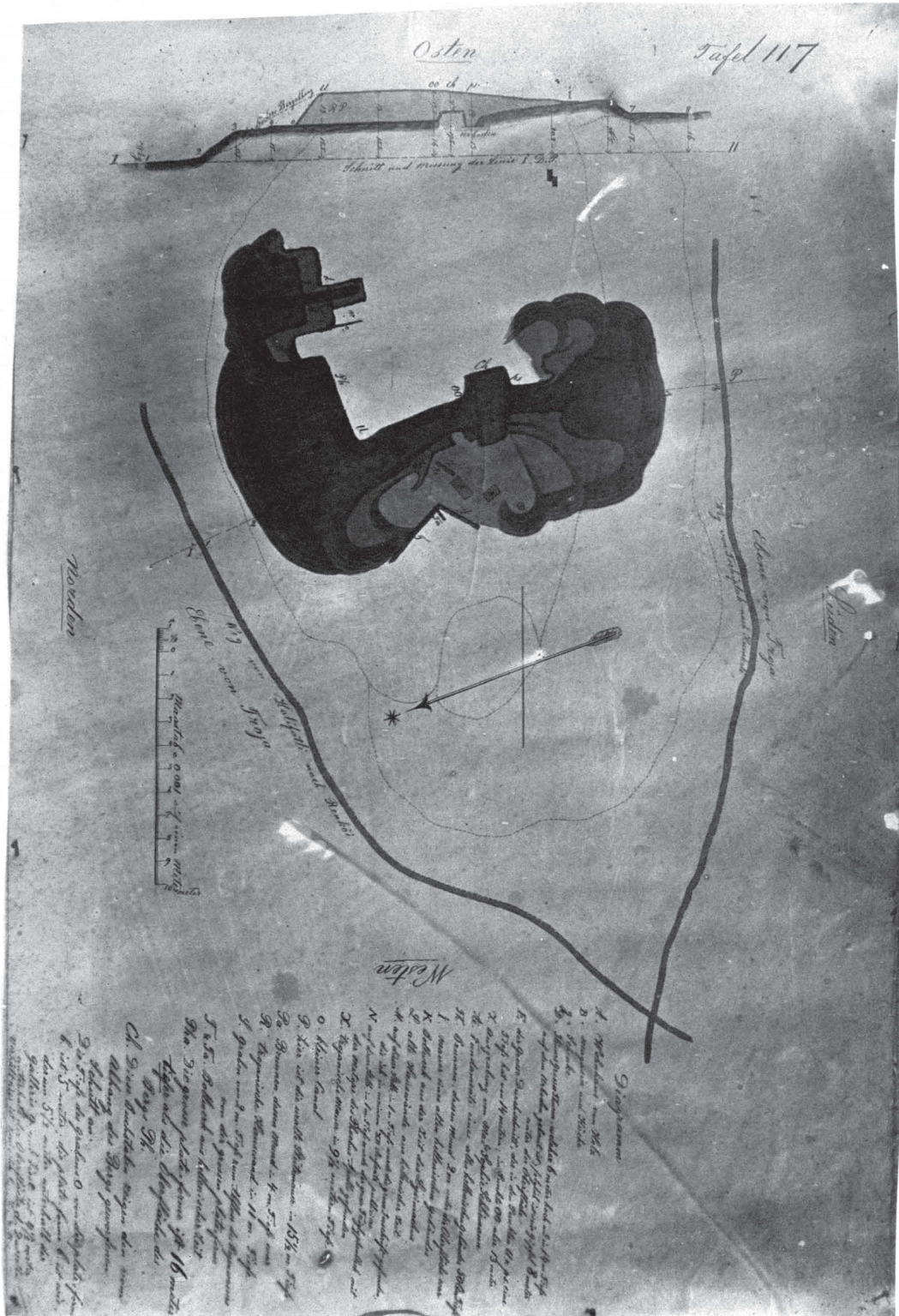


Fig. 3  
State of the  
excavations at  
the end of the 1872  
season (Schliemann,  
Atlas pl. 117).



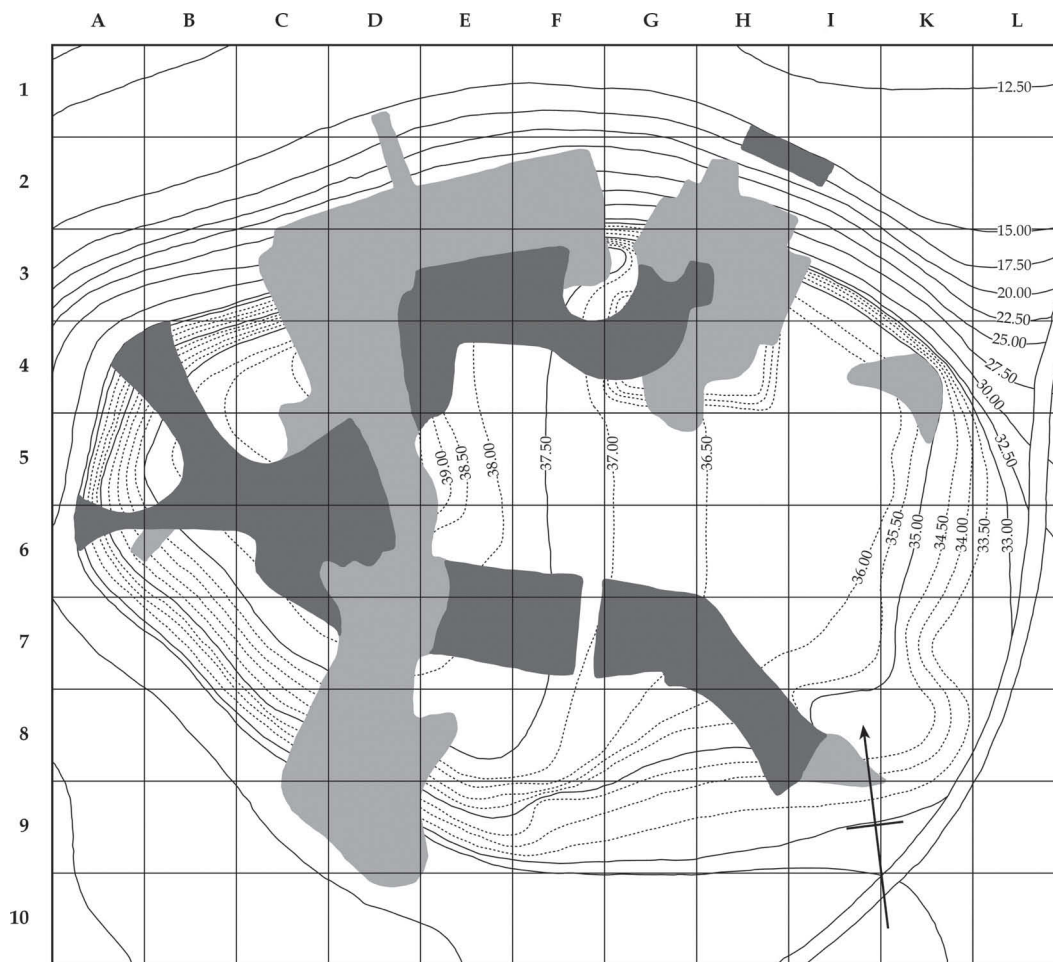


Fig. 4  
Areas excavated  
in 1873 (paler areas  
excavated in earlier  
seasons).

Schliemann returned at the beginning of February 1873 for another 19-week season which lasted until the middle of June<sup>110</sup> (Fig. 4). At the north-eastern corner of the citadel mound, in FGH3/4, Schliemann extended his 1872 excavations westwards so as to link up with his north platform.<sup>111</sup> The north platform itself was extended southwards into DEF4.<sup>112</sup> The north-south trench was likewise extended eastwards into E4.<sup>113</sup> A new operation was the opening of a trench on the southeast side of the mound, in GHI7/8, taking as its starting-point the trench left by Calvert in 18.<sup>114</sup> Like the previous year's trench in D7/8/9, it sloped down to the north and was presumably intended to expose the Troy II »Tower«. To connect the southeast trench with the north-south trench, and to expose the »Tower« over a wider area, Schliemann opened up an east-west trench

<sup>110</sup> Easton 2002, 51–72.

<sup>111</sup> Easton 2002, 93–98.

<sup>112</sup> Easton 2002, 119–129, 135–139.

<sup>113</sup> Easton 2002, 173–176.

<sup>114</sup> Easton 2002, 213–223.

in EFGH6/7.<sup>115</sup> He dug down to a fairly uniform depth of 30 m AT, with two deeper pits in E6 and F6. On the west side of the mound he re-opened the L-shaped trench of 1870 in AB4/5 and AB5/6, adding a new east-west cut from the west edge of the mound.<sup>116</sup> To complete an east-west cut through the whole mound, Schliemann joined his L-shaped trench to the north-south and east-west trenches by digging an area in BCD5/6.<sup>117</sup> The 1873 season exposed the southwestern sector of the Troy II citadel walls, Gate FM and the paved ramp leading to it and, inside the citadel, a number of buildings near the gate which Schliemann took to be the ruins of Priam's palace (Fig. 5). The season also produced the spectacular Treasure »A« which Schliemann thought corresponded to the household treasure of Priam described in *Iliad* xxiv 228–237. These and other factors all confirmed him in the view that he had unearthed the site whose destruction was remembered in Homer's poem.<sup>118</sup>

Schliemann returned to the site for two months from September 1878 and for a further three months from 1st March 1879. In 1879 he was accompanied from the end of March by Émile Burnouf and for one month by Rudolf Virchow. The seasons of 1878 and 1879 greatly extended the exposure of the »Burnt City« (the »Second Stratum« of 1873) in the centre of the mound (Figs. 6, 7). In 1878 Schliemann dug to the west and northwest of Gate FM, exposing the »House of the City King«<sup>119</sup> in the process. He deepened his northwest trench in B3/4 with a view to uncovering more of the citadel walls, and he began to extend southwards the north platform in EF3/4.<sup>120</sup> In 1879 he continued in the area of Gate FM, digging now further north and northwest from the »House of the City King« (HS) into square BC4 and to the east into CD6. He also continued work on the east side of his north-south trench in EF4/5, effectively extending the north platform yet further south to meet the east-west trench of 1873. The north-south trench itself he deepened to bedrock over a narrow area in D4/5 and he explored over and around the »Tower« in EF6/7.<sup>121</sup> His discoveries, not recognised at the time, included the west side of Gate FO and the west wall of Megaron IIB which, because they were nearly aligned with one another, he thought represented the eastern course of the Trojan citadel wall.<sup>122</sup> To the east of this supposed wall he found a maze of small buildings and streets which he took to be a »suburb« of the »Burnt City.«<sup>123</sup>

*Ilios* presented the findings up to and including the season of 1878, and discussed in some detail both the classical tradition relating to Troy and the Egyptological evidence which might also do so.<sup>124</sup> The latter included the texts listing the allies of the Hittites at the Battle of Qadesh and the Sea Peoples who threatened Egypt in the time of Ramesses III. Schliemann was left uneasy. They seemed to imply a site larger and more important than the one he had exposed.<sup>125</sup> So he de-

<sup>115</sup> Easton 2002, 223–250.

<sup>116</sup> Easton 2002, 250–265.

<sup>117</sup> Easton 2002, 265–304.

<sup>118</sup> Schliemann 1875, 19–20, where the claim is made with some circumspection.

<sup>119</sup> Marked »HS« in Schliemann 1880, plan I.

<sup>120</sup> For 1878 see Schliemann 1878, 4 and Schliemann 1880, 50–52.

<sup>121</sup> For 1879 see Schliemann 1880, 53–65.

<sup>122</sup> Schliemann 1880, 306.

<sup>123</sup> Schliemann 1880, 327–328.

<sup>124</sup> Schliemann 1880, 119–183, 745–751.

<sup>125</sup> Schliemann 1884, 1–5.



Fig. 5 Features visible at the end of the 1873 season (Schliemann, Atlas pl. 214).

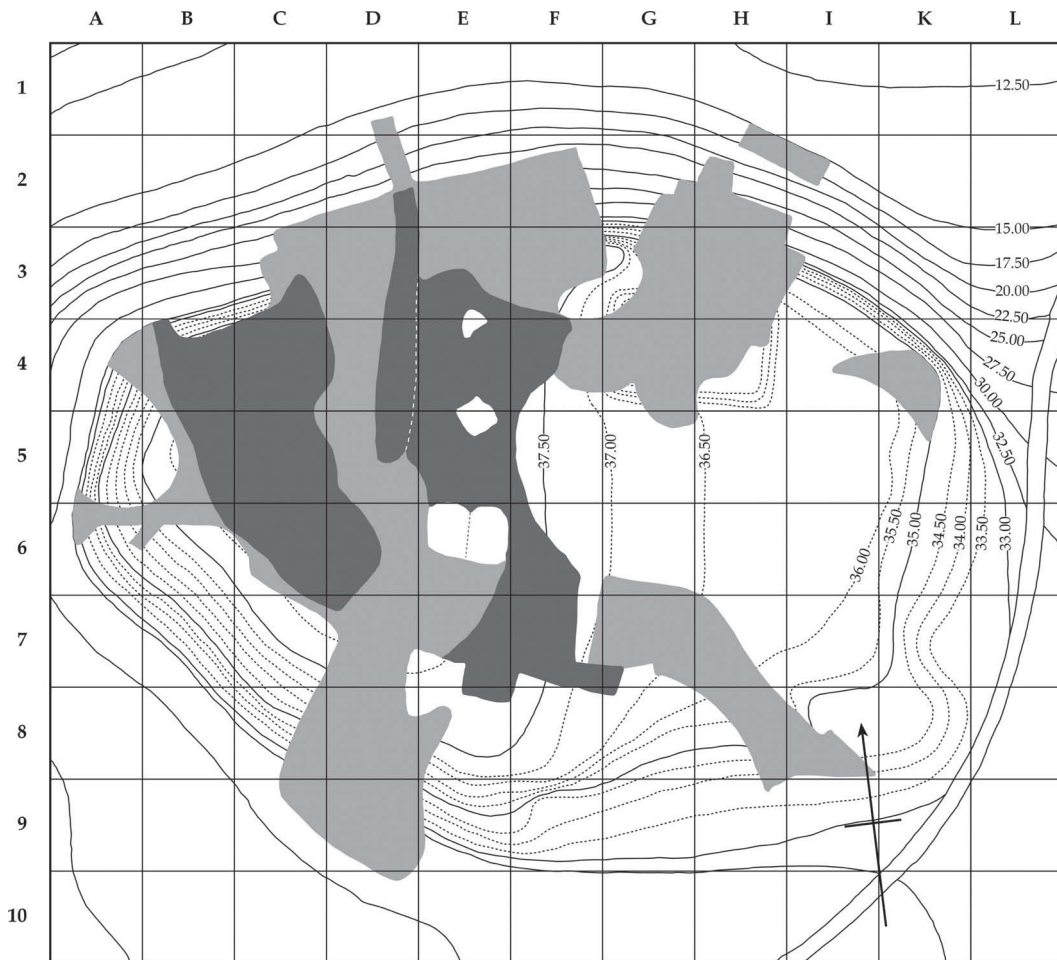


Fig. 6  
Approximate extent  
of the areas excavated  
in 1878–1879 (paler  
areas excavated in  
earlier seasons).

cided to resume the excavations in 1882. He now brought with him two architects, Höfler and Dörpfeld. Dörpfeld had recently been appointed architect to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens and was to remain with Schliemann throughout the following years. Schliemann also brought three additional staff members, two of them supervisors from the excavations at Olympia. The season ran from 1st March to the end of July.

It seems that Schliemann's initial intention may simply have been to expose more of the »Burnt City« identified in 1878–79. But early in the season Dörpfeld discovered that to the east of Gate FN the (Troy II) citadel wall did not turn north as previously thought, but continued eastwards.<sup>126</sup> This led to more excavation in the eastern half of the citadel and to the realisation, already half acknowledged in *Ilios*,<sup>127</sup> that the warren of small buildings in the supposed eastern »suburb« was

<sup>126</sup> Traill 1995, 218.

<sup>127</sup> Burnouf relates the house-walls over the remains of Megarons IIA and IIB to those marked T in *Ilios* plan III: Schliemann 1880, 309.

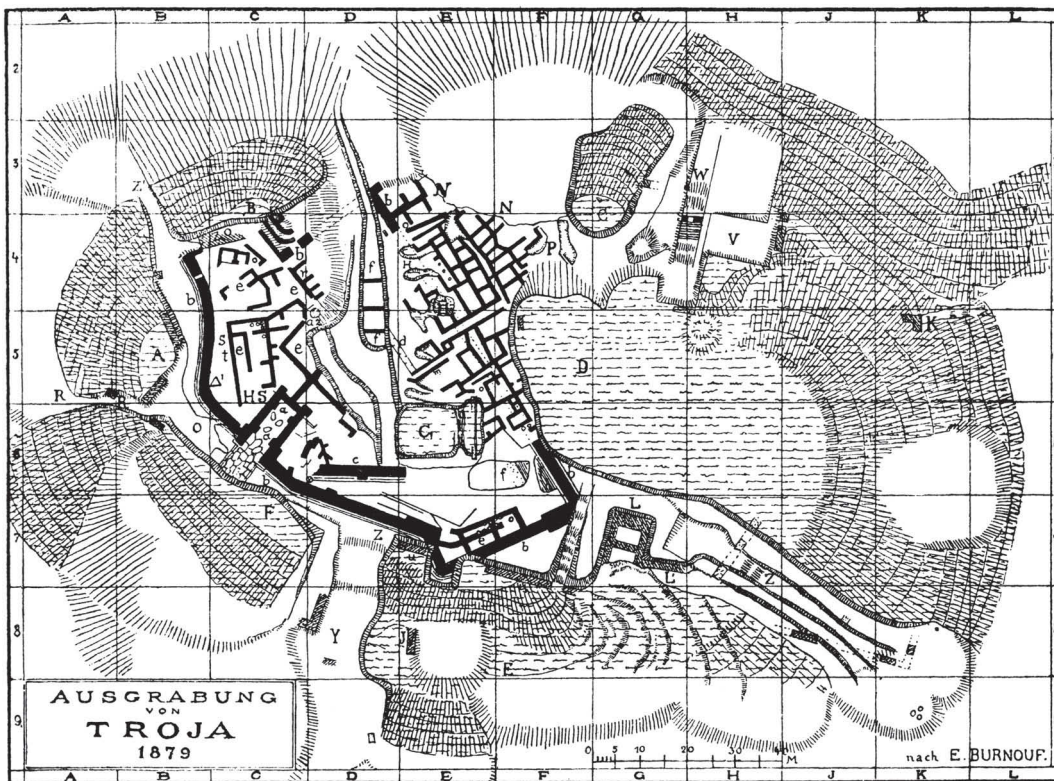


Fig. 7  
State of the excavations at the end of the 1879 season (Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilios* fig. 4, based on Schliemann, *Ilios* plan I).

not after all contemporary with the large buildings of City II but later, and overlay them. Since it was also the more imposing buildings of City II which appeared to have been heavily burned, it was these which now became Schliemann's candidate for the Troy of the Trojan War. The main activity of the season thus developed into that of removing the overlying strata and exposing more of the remains of City II across most of the citadel (Figs. 8, 9).

Large blocks of earth were excavated in squares C3 and FG5/6,<sup>128</sup> an area to the east of Gate FM was opened out, and the northwest trench in B3/4/5 was deepened to expose more of the circuit wall and of Gate FM.<sup>129</sup> The citadel of City II was shown by all these investigations to have been roughly twice the size previously thought.

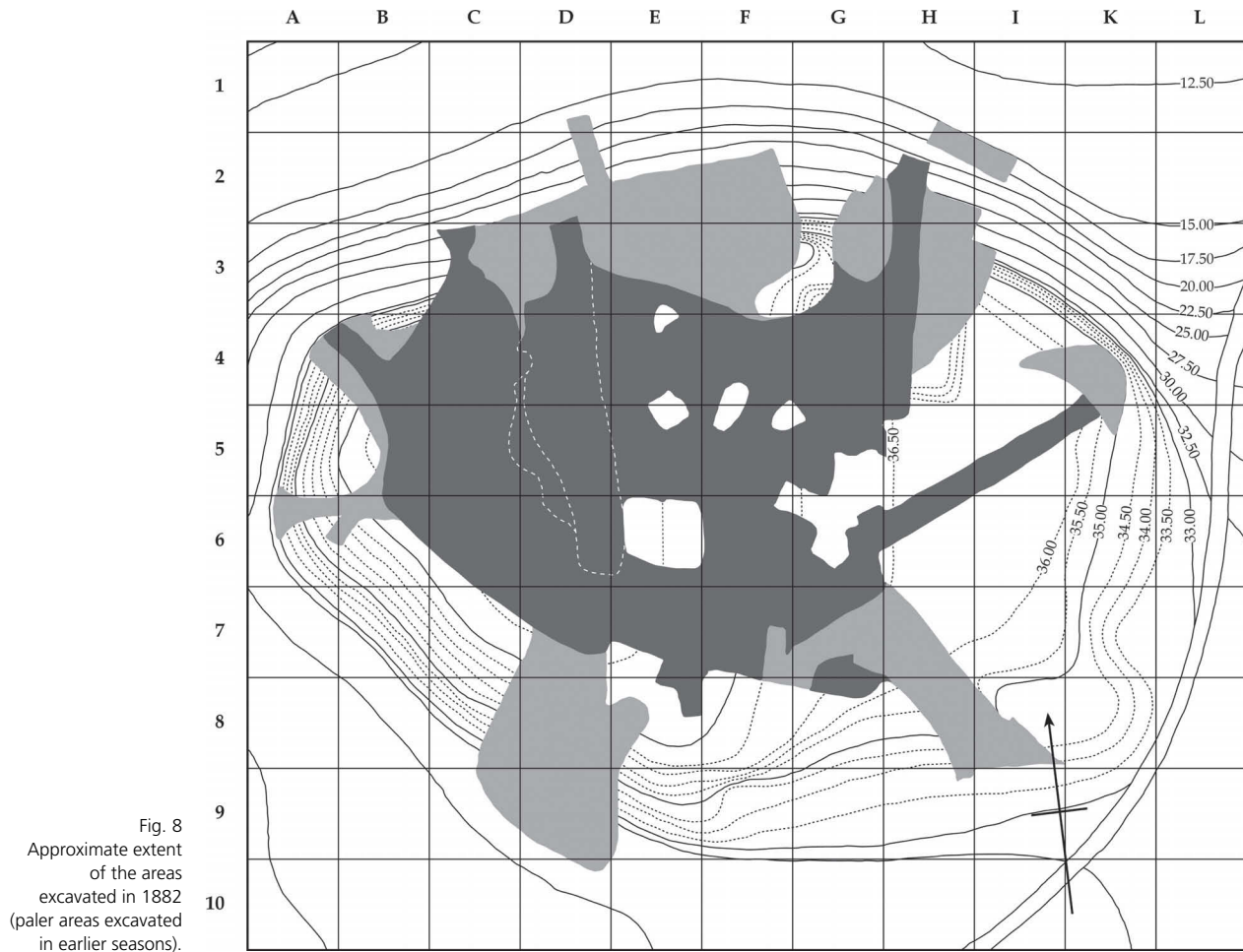
Other activities included the deepening and enlarging of the old north-south trench to expose more of City I,<sup>130</sup> and the excavation of an 80-metre-long trench on the eastern part of the mound, from G7 to K4, where it joined one of Calvert's original cuts. The purpose was to determine the eastern limit of the prehistoric citadel.<sup>131</sup> A notable discovery in the new, east trench was a large fortification wall in K4/5 which Schliemann ascribed to City V but which in fact be-

<sup>128</sup> Schliemann 1884, 22–23.

<sup>129</sup> Schliemann 1884, 23–24.

<sup>130</sup> Schliemann 1884, 24.

<sup>131</sup> Schliemann 1884, 19–22.



longed to Troy VI.<sup>132</sup> Greek and Roman structures were investigated on those parts of the site, mainly on the east side, which were as yet unexcavated; and there was a systematic attempt to collect and study blocks from the Temple of Athena and other buildings.<sup>133</sup> A request from Richard Schöne for more sculptures for the Berlin Museums seems to have spurred Schliemann into fresh activity on the north slope of the mound, where the Helios Metope had been found, and in the theatre to the Northeast.<sup>134</sup>

From late in 1883 the excavations began to attract the attentions of a retired artillery captain, Ernst Boetticher, who explained the ruins as a cremation necropolis and accused Schliemann and Dörpfeld of having falsified their plans of the site.<sup>135</sup> Rebuttals in print failed to halt the flow

<sup>132</sup> Schliemann 1884, 21 and fig. 99.

<sup>133</sup> Schliemann 1884, 17–18; Dörpfeld 1902, 14.

<sup>134</sup> Schliemann 1884, 18–19; Dörpfeld 1902, 14; Traill 1995, 219.

<sup>135</sup> Boetticher's numerous publications can be found listed in Korres 1974a, 83–102. For a brief account of the conflict between Schliemann and Boetticher see Traill 1995, 233–234, 279–283. For a fuller account see now Zavadil 2009.

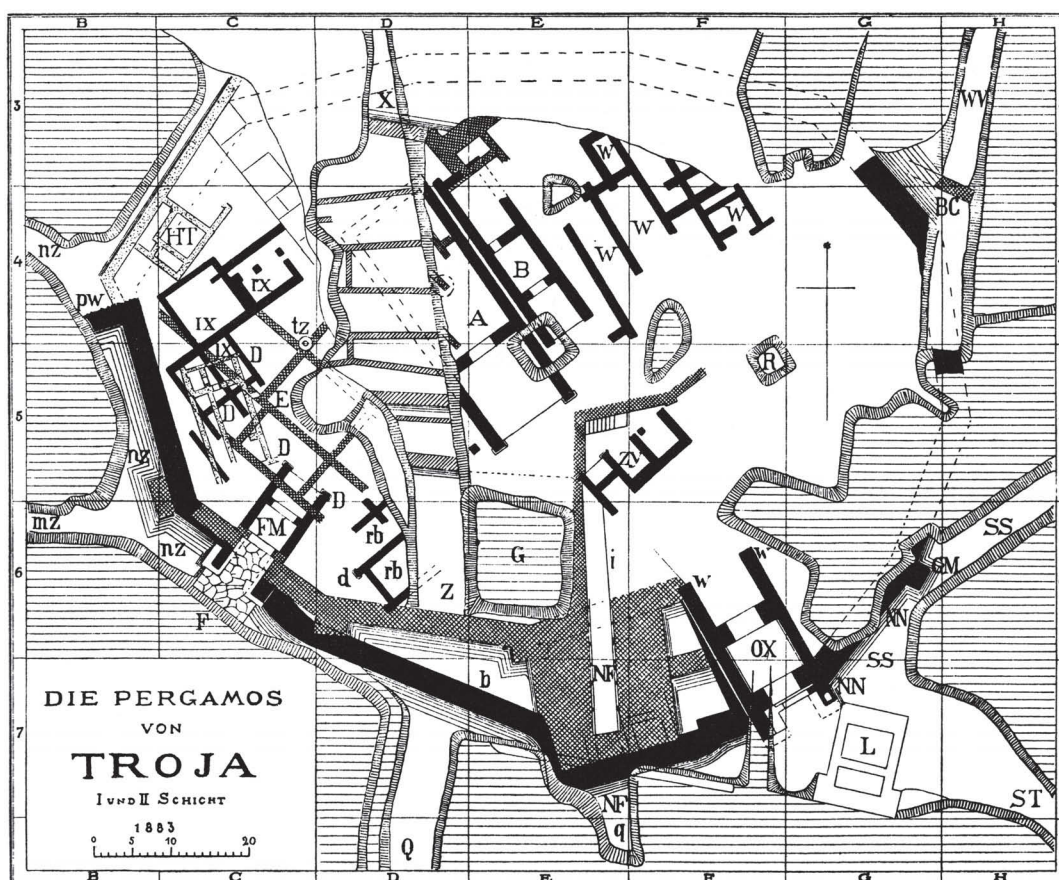


Fig. 9  
State of the excavations at the end of the 1882 season (Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* fig. 5, based on Schliemann, *Troja* pl. VII).

of Boetticher's criticisms, so in November 1889 Schliemann returned for one month to the site, where he hoped to convince him by examination of the ruins on the spot. At a meeting at Hisarlık attended by Dörpfeld and by Professor George Niemann and Major Bernhard Steffen representing the Academies of Sciences of Vienna and Berlin, Boetticher apparently admitted the accuracy of Schliemann's account of the excavations but refused to make a public retraction. Niemann and Steffen produced a short protocol supporting Schliemann.<sup>136</sup> A modest programme of excavation seems to have been followed, of which we have no detail.

Schliemann returned again for five months from 1st March 1890. He now hoped to demonstrate the falsity of Boetticher's claims by the discovery of the Trojan burial ground and, if possible, of royal tombs.<sup>137</sup> First, however, he summoned a second and larger Hisarlık Conference without Boetticher which again fully supported his analysis.<sup>138</sup>

Schliemann concentrated most of his efforts on further investigation of the City II strata: there was work across almost all exposed parts of the Troy II citadel, and also around the outside to the

<sup>136</sup> Schliemann 1891, 1–4.

<sup>137</sup> Schliemann 1890, 64; Dörpfeld 1902, 16; Traill 1995, 286.

<sup>138</sup> Schliemann 1891, 6–8.

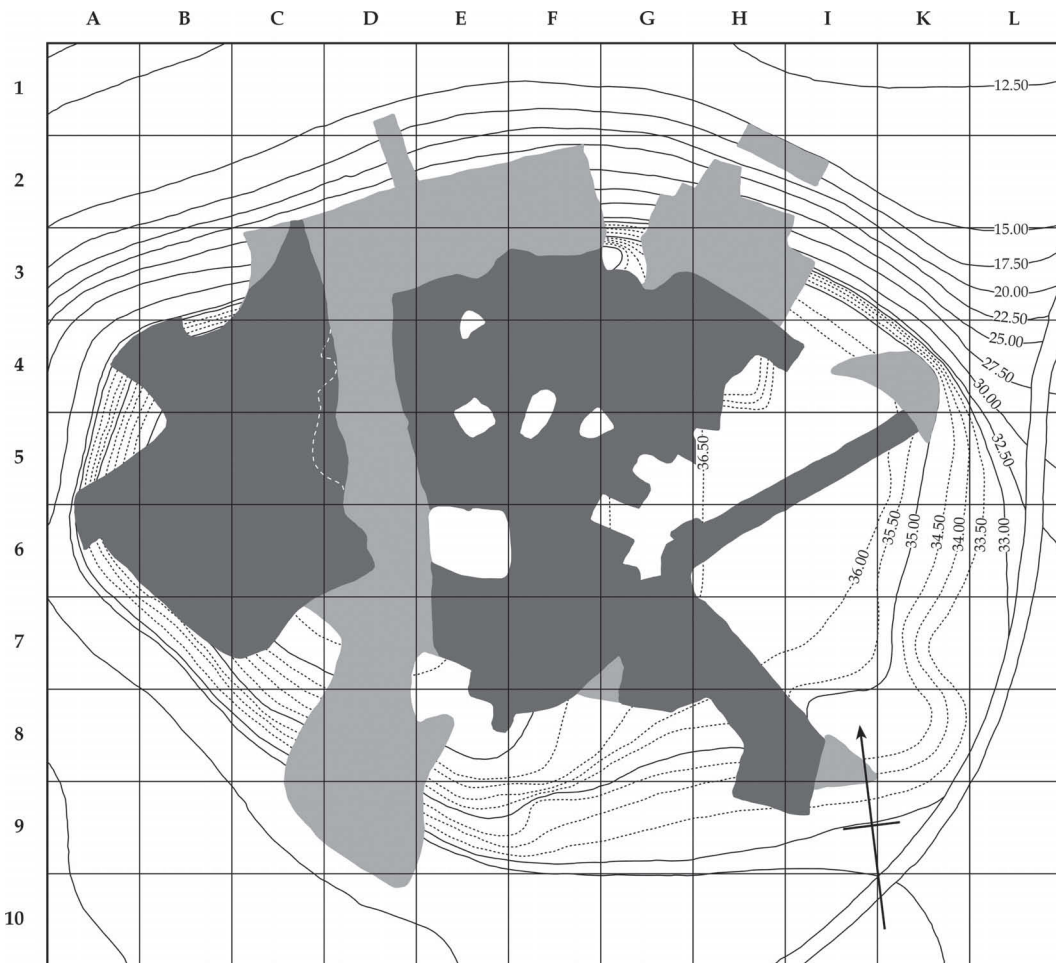


Fig. 10  
Approximate extent  
of the areas excavated  
in 1889–1890 (paler  
areas excavated in  
earlier seasons).

southwest and southeast<sup>139</sup> (Figs. 10, 11). The east and southeast trenches were cleared and deepened,<sup>140</sup> the latter being extended to embrace parts of the Bouleuterion in HI8/9. A new area was opened up outside the Troy II citadel walls in ABC5/6/7,<sup>141</sup> partly in the search for royal tombs, with important results including the first identification of a Troy VI building (Fig. 12). The building was later to be known as Megaron VIA. Three newly installed railways in the trenches around the south side of the site made the work much quicker by speeding up the removal of spoil.<sup>142</sup>

Schliemann's interest was now beginning to point beyond the confines of the Troy II citadel. The season's results showed that the area immediately outside the citadel wall plainly invited more investigation, and that some of the Roman lower town could also be uncov-

<sup>139</sup> Schliemann 1891, 11–14.

<sup>140</sup> Schliemann 1890, 29, 38, 50.

<sup>141</sup> Schliemann 1891, 14–17.

<sup>142</sup> Railways are visible in the photos in AB5/6, in front of Gate FO, and in the east trench, E9. See for example Dörpfeld photo archive nos. 15, 16, 18, 34, 40, 41, 72, 87, 114, 154.



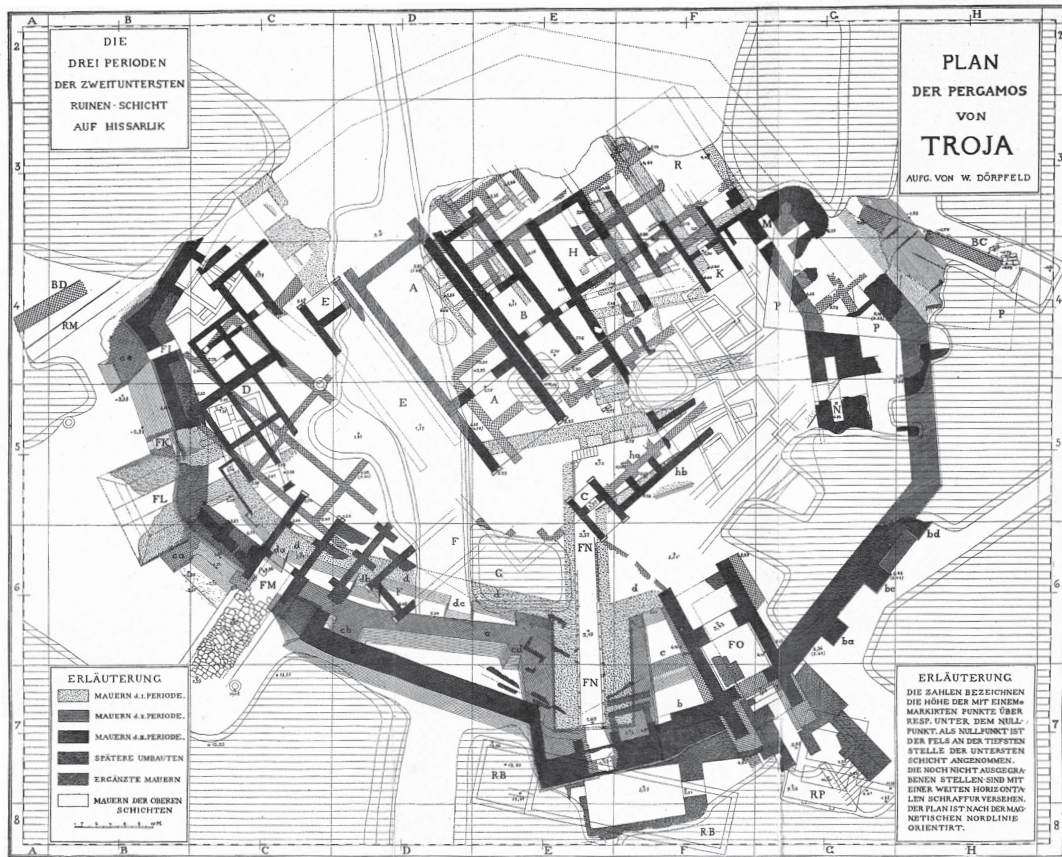


Fig. 11 Features of the Troy II citadel visible at the end of the 1890 season (Schliemann, *Troja 1890 plan III*).

ered.<sup>143</sup> At the same time the discovery outside the citadel of buildings of Troy VI raised the question whether there was a longer circuit wall enclosing them and, if so, whether it had already been found but wrongly identified.<sup>144</sup> Schliemann proposed, therefore, to continue the excavations in 1891.

Since at least 1876 Schliemann had been suffering from problems with his ears, and by 1890 he was suffering from both pain and deafness. The cause lay in numerous bony outgrowths – osteomas – in both ears, which had almost certainly developed as a result of his habit of daily sea bathing.<sup>145</sup> These tended to block the auditory canals, allowing infections to develop. In May 1890 he consulted a Dr van Mellingen in Constantinople, who advised surgery to remove or pierce the osteomas. He regarded the procedure as dangerous and as requiring a series of operations spread out over six weeks.<sup>146</sup> Schliemann was apparently impatient with this plan and instead consulted Professor H. Schwartze of Halle, the leading ear specialist in Germany, who in November 1890 completed a rapid operation on the left ear in under two hours. It seems that

<sup>143</sup> Schliemann 1891, 24.

<sup>144</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 17.

<sup>145</sup> Staeker et al. 2006, 12–14 for a discussion of the pathology and its treatment.

<sup>146</sup> Schliemann 1890, 34–35.

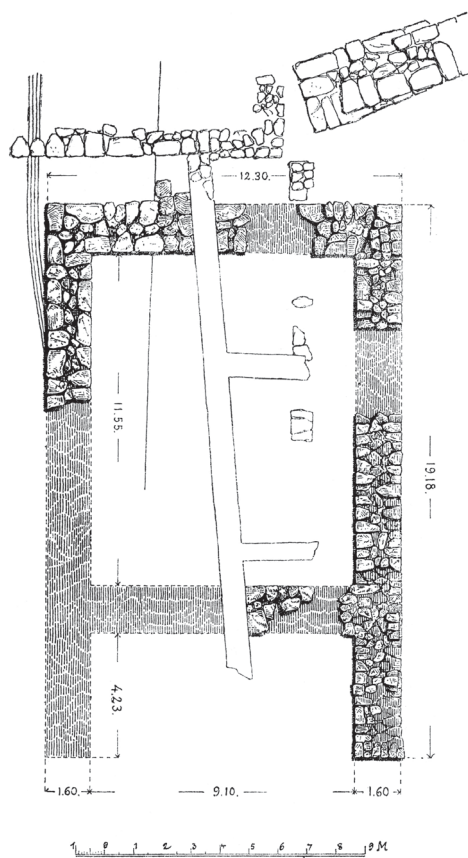


Fig. 12  
Troy VI and VII  
buildings in squares  
AB5/6, exposed in  
1890 (Schliemann,  
*Troja* 1890 p. 59 fig. 4).

in the process he perforated the delicate bone at the floor of the skull, thereby creating a portal through which bacteria could spread from the ear into the brain. It is probable that an abscess developed in the left temporal lobe, or possibly meningitis,<sup>147</sup> with the result that Schliemann collapsed in Naples on 25<sup>th</sup> December and died the following day.

### 5 Schliemann's Understanding of the Stratification and Dating

Schliemann's understanding of the stratigraphic sequence and chronology changed over time (see Fig. 13). By the end of his 1873 season Schliemann had recognised five periods in the mound,<sup>148</sup> of which he considered the second to be the Troy of Priam. The divisions are shown schematically, with depths, in a table at the beginning of *Troy and its Remains*.<sup>149</sup> Schliemann assumed the second stratum to have been destroyed around 1200 BC, and the fifth, the Greek, stratum to have lasted from 700 BC to the Fourth Century AD.<sup>150</sup> The intervening five hundred years were represented by three metres of

deposits. Not represented in this 1873 scheme were the Late Bronze to Late Geometric phases (Troy VI and VII) which were largely absent from the centre of the mound. By 1874, however, Schliemann had noted the presence of seventy pieces of what was evidently Troy VIIb Knobbed Ware (Buckelkeramik), and he had recognised that they might indicate the existence of an additional, pre-Greek phase of occupation.<sup>151</sup>

In *Ilios*, published in 1880, Schliemann distinguishes seven periods of occupation («cities») as opposed to the five described before. Again the scheme is shown in tabular form at the beginning of the book.<sup>152</sup> He has subdivided the previous First Stratum into the First and Second Cities (the previous Second, Third and Fourth Strata thus becoming Cities Three, Four and Five), and he has inserted a new Sixth City (the previous Fifth Stratum now becoming the Seventh

<sup>147</sup> Staeker et al. 2006, 14.

<sup>148</sup> Schliemann 1875, 54–55.

<sup>149</sup> Schliemann 1875, 10.

<sup>150</sup> Schliemann 1875, 12–14, 27.

<sup>151</sup> Schliemann 1874, LVI–LVII; translated in 1875, 54–55.

<sup>152</sup> Schliemann 1880, p. vii.

City). Both ideas had been present in embryo in his previous work.<sup>153</sup> The subdivision of I was caused partly by his deepening of the north-south trench and partly by continued excavation around Gate FM. The former revealed a previously undiscovered style of pottery in the lowest strata, in association with walls founded on bedrock.<sup>154</sup> The latter revealed a number of structures pre-dating the supposed »Priam’s Palace« of the Second Stratum, including an earlier phase of the paved ramp and of Gate FM itself, none of which, however, was as early as the walls at the bottom of the north-south trench.<sup>155</sup> The insertion of a new Sixth City arose from his realisation that a different type of pottery – evidently now including both Grey Minyan Ware and Buckelkeramik – lay over the prehistoric strata but under the classical, and at lower points on the slopes of the mound.<sup>156</sup> This was an astute observation, which also provided Schliemann with a phase of occupation for the Lydian period for which in 1874 he had found no distinct remains.<sup>157</sup> It should, however, be noted that by this stage he had already encountered a number of buildings now known to belong to Troy VI and VII but had failed to notice any connection with his »Lydian« ware. On the other hand he recognised that the reason why he had failed to find the »Lydian« stratum itself lay in the fact that builders of the classical sanctuary of Athena had

TROY AND ITS REMAINS	Ilios	TROJA	TROJA 1890	TROJA UND ILION	BLEGEN	TROJA PROJEKT
V	VII	VII	IX	IX	IX	IX
			VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
[shaded]	VI	VI	VII	VII	VII	VII
			VI	VI	VI	VI
IV	V	V	V	V	V	V
					IV	IV
III	IV	IV	IV	IV	III	III
II	III	III	III	III	II	
[shaded]	[shaded]	II.2	II.3	II.3		
Ib	II	II.1	II.2	II.2		II
[shaded]	[shaded]	[shaded]	II.1	II.1	I	I
Ia	I	I	I	I		

Fig. 13 Comparison of schemes for numbering the strata at Troy.

<sup>153</sup> The First Stratum is shown subdivided in Schliemann 1875, 10. Schliemann 1874a, pp. lvi–lvii and Schliemann 1875, 54–55 recognize the existence of an additional period between the prehistoric and the Greek.

<sup>154</sup> Schliemann 1880, 212. Schliemann also assigned to the new First City the Troy II citadel wall previously found in the northeast trench: Schliemann 1880, 213.

<sup>155</sup> Schliemann 1880, 213. Features assigned to the new Second City are Wall BC, Wall IIc, the earlier phase of Gate FM and of the paved ramp, Dörpfeld’s II.2 building underlying Gate FM (see Dörpfeld 1902, pl. III), Wall m in D3, structures visible beneath House HS and various features in D6, CD4 and E6. Those in E6 may be segments of the citadel walls IIc and IId (Schliemann 1880, 264–274). Traill 1995, 184–185 attributes some elements of the differentiation between Cities II and III to observations by Sayce and Calvert.

<sup>156</sup> Schliemann 1880, 587.

<sup>157</sup> Schliemann 1874a, p. vi; Schliemann 1875, 13.

levelled off the top of the mound, removing the remains of earlier periods and shooting the spoil over the edge.<sup>158</sup> This was largely true and was again a sophisticated observation and one which laid the foundation for the analysis which Dörpfeld was later able to crystallise in accurate graphic form.<sup>159</sup> On the basis of coins Schliemann made, in Cook's words, a »commendable attempt«<sup>160</sup> to date the end of occupation on the site, which he placed in the Fifth Century AD.<sup>161</sup>

A consequence of the new stratigraphic scheme was that the »Burnt City« previously designated as the Second Stratum now, in *Ilios*, became City III. Included in the »Burnt City« was what Schliemann took to be a »suburb« of smaller structures found in the eastern half of the mound. At this stage Schliemann was simply aware of tall accumulations of walls and burnt mudbrick rising up in three unexcavated pinnacles from c. 31 m AT to c. 38.82 m and, to their east, of other similar deposits belonging to the »suburb.«<sup>162</sup> He assumed that they were all of the same date.<sup>163</sup>

The discoveries of the 1882 season, however, caused Schliemann to move the designation »Burnt City« back again to City II, which he then subdivided into two phases (here called II.1 and II.2). This moving of the epithet »burnt« came about because when the pinnacles were excavated Megarons IIA and IIB came fully to light in and beside them. They were preserved to c. 32 m AT and were surrounded by deep deposits of mudbrick debris.<sup>164</sup> The buildings and the surrounding mudbrick debris both showed signs of severe burning. But, moving away from the megarons, this stratum was found to be much thinner, even as little as 20 cm thick.<sup>165</sup> It also included other buildings contemporary with the megarons, one of which would later be identified as Megaron IIH.<sup>166</sup> But Schliemann found that the deposits of the »suburb« were stratified over these. It thus became clear that the megarons on their destruction had in fact left a peak rising above the rest of the burnt ruins of the same period,<sup>167</sup> and that the deposits of the neighbouring »suburb,« although similar in appearance and altitude, were in fact later.

The megarons of City II, along with the newly identified Propylon IIC, all had parastades.<sup>168</sup> But parastades could also be seen in the second phase of Gate FM,<sup>169</sup> which had in *Ilios* been treated as belonging to City III. So Schliemann now decided that the gate should belong to the same phase as the megarons, and re-allocated it to City II. With it he moved the other, associated parts of the fortification system: Wall IIb with its superstructure, Gate FO (now fully exposed) and a newly-discovered section of circuit wall to its east.

<sup>158</sup> Schliemann 1880, 328–329, 588.

<sup>159</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, fig. 2.

<sup>160</sup> Cook 1973, 101.

<sup>161</sup> Schliemann 1880, 612.

<sup>162</sup> Schliemann 1880, plans I and III.

<sup>163</sup> Burnouf, however, already saw a distinction. See note 127 above.

<sup>164</sup> Schliemann 1884, 76

<sup>165</sup> Schliemann 1884, 76, 182.

<sup>166</sup> Schliemann 1884, plan VII.

<sup>167</sup> Schliemann 1884, 175. This is an observation which has been confirmed by more recent excavations. In E6 the strata of Blegen's Troy IIc and IIg (equivalent to Schliemann's City III) came down to c. 30.60 m and overlay quite thin deposits of Troy IIc, d and e. (Blegen et al. 1950, 303–314 fig. 450). In E4/5 by contrast they began nearly 1.5 m higher (Friedrich 1997, 152 fig. 33, M12 and Mansfeld 2001, 77 figs. 1:50–1:51).

<sup>168</sup> Schliemann 1884, 89–90.

<sup>169</sup> Schliemann 1884, 68–69.

Since all of the buildings collected into this phase, especially the megarons, were heavily burnt, Schliemann transferred the epithet »burnt« from City III to City II.<sup>170</sup> This important change<sup>171</sup> was most unfortunately misunderstood by Blegen who supposed that after 1882 »the whole of the »Burnt City« was re-assigned by Schliemann to Troy II.«<sup>172</sup> In fact, in the citadel interior, most of the buildings attributed to City III in *Ilios* remained in the City III of *Troja*.<sup>173</sup>

The new City II – with the megarons, the later phase of Gate FM and the related fortification walls – could not, however, be combined with the buildings of the City II defined in *Ilios* because that city included the earlier phase of Gate FM and the earlier circuit wall IIc. Schliemann's solution was to subdivide City II into two phases.<sup>174</sup> Essentially the City II of *Ilios* became the City II.1 of *Troja* with the addition of Gates FN and FO and some newly observed structures below Building HS and the great megarons.<sup>175</sup> It included the strata which had been heaped up at 26–30 m AT in order to provide a level platform for the buildings of City II, and the objects found in them.<sup>176</sup> The newly discerned phase with the parastades became City II.2.<sup>177</sup> The City III of *Ilios* remained the City III of *Troja* apart from the removal of Gate FM (second phase) and the related fortifications.

With the designation of the new City II.2 as the »Burnt City,« Schliemann had to decide to which phase he should assign all the objects previously allocated to City III. In practice this meant deciding where to place the burnt debris in which they had been found. He now observed that the foundations of City III had all been dug into the deposits of City II<sup>178</sup> – a fact for which he had not previously allowed. Mostly the foundations did not exceed a depth of half a metre,<sup>179</sup> but a notable exception was House HS which appeared on its south side to have had its entire bottom storey dug into deep deposits of mudbrick debris which had collapsed at the end of II.2 from the nearby citadel wall.<sup>180</sup> This encouraged him to assign »nearly all« of the objects published in *Ilios* as belonging to City III to the new City II, although he admitted that there could have been some confusion between the layers and that more study was needed.<sup>181</sup> Probably his decision was largely correct in so far as it applied to the area around Megarons IIA and IIB where the destruction deposits from City II.2 stood 1.5 m high. But since in *Ilios* he had attributed objects to strata on the basis of depth it is likely that, where the destruction deposits were thinner and the

<sup>170</sup> Easton 2000, 76–77.

<sup>171</sup> Discussed at Schliemann 1884, 52–53, 181–182.

<sup>172</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 207. Cf. Blegen et al. 1951, 3, 101.

<sup>173</sup> Easton 2000, 74–77.

<sup>174</sup> Schliemann 1884, 54–56.

<sup>175</sup> Schliemann 1884, 86–87, and shown in darker shading in plan VII.

<sup>176</sup> Schliemann 1884, 53–54, 181–182.

<sup>177</sup> In addition to phase 2 of Gate FM etc. it also included some additional features below HS: Schliemann 1884, 88–89 and shown in lighter shading in plan VII. Some of these overlay the circuit wall, thereby helping to relate the sequence in the citadel interior to that of the fortifications.

<sup>178</sup> Schliemann 1884, 176.

<sup>179</sup> That this was correct may be seen from later section drawings: Frirdich 1997, 152 fig. 33; Mansfeld 2001, 77 figs. 1:50–1:51; Blegen et al. 1950, figs. 449–450, 465.

<sup>180</sup> Schliemann 1884, 176.

<sup>181</sup> Schliemann 1884, 182.

strata of City III went deeper, many of the items in question really did come from City III as understood in *Troja*. Without a day to day record of finds such as we have from 1872–73 it is impossible to disentangle the confusion. In reality, therefore, the objects published in *Ilios* as belonging to City III – where they are not already known from the seasons of 1870–73 – must be treated as a mixed lot deriving in part from City II and in part from City III.

The dating of the various periods was left vague. But since Schliemann now believed City II to be the city of Priam, destroyed c. 1200 BC, and City VI to be Lydian, dating to c. 1000 BC, with all of Cities III, IV and V to be accommodated in the two centuries in between, a chronological problem was clearly beginning to emerge.<sup>182</sup>

The excavations of 1889–90 again modified the numbering of the strata, in this case by adding a further subdivision within City II and by defining two new archaeological periods towards the end of the sequence. There was also an important chronological discovery.

Within the citadel, where *Troja* Plan VII had already shown a small number of walls underlying Megarons IIA and IIB, excavation now brought many more to light and required Schliemann to add an even earlier phase to City II.<sup>183</sup> Thus a new phase II.1 was introduced, and the previous phases II.1 and II.2 became II.2 and II.3 respectively.

In excavating the south-western area within the citadel, Schliemann found a third circuit wall, IID, which was earlier than either IIB or IIC.<sup>184</sup> This suggested that the three phases already established for the City II interior were paralleled in the fortifications. The architectural history of the gates seemed to confirm it. The newly discovered Gate FL originated with the first circuit wall and had two phases; and it underlay the third circuit wall.<sup>185</sup> Similarly Gate FM overlay the first circuit wall and had two phases, the second of which tied it to the third circuit wall.<sup>186</sup> The three phases of the citadel interior could be related neatly to the three phases of the fortifications because there were II.2 buildings which lay over Gate FL but which were destroyed when the second phase of Gate FM was built in II.3.<sup>187</sup>

The most important findings of the season came from the excavations in ABC5/6/7, where Schliemann had hoped to find royal tombs outside the gate of City II, but where there was an undisturbed overburden through to the Roman period and Schliemann's own spoil on top. Here he found a sequence of four periods following the prehistoric strata. Two were previously unidentified in his publications, those of the »Archaic« and »Hellenic« Greek periods, now separated clearly for the first time and, with the Roman, producing periods VII, VIII and IX where formerly there had been only VII.<sup>188</sup> According to Dörpfeld, Schliemann had in fact asserted the existence of corresponding »Aeolic« and »Macedonian« layers already in 1882,<sup>189</sup> but whether on the basis of pottery<sup>190</sup> or of the history is not known. Now, however, there were identifiable layers

<sup>182</sup> As Sayce implicitly recognised: Schliemann 1884, pp. xv–xvi. Cf. Traill 1995, 223, 309.

<sup>183</sup> Schliemann 1891, pl. III.

<sup>184</sup> Schliemann 1891, 21, 41, 42, 45 pl. III.

<sup>185</sup> Schliemann 1891, 13–14, 43–44, 46–48.

<sup>186</sup> Schliemann 1891, 46, 51.

<sup>187</sup> Schliemann 1891, 56–57.

<sup>188</sup> Schliemann 1891, 14–17, 58.

<sup>189</sup> Traill 1995, 309 note 2.

with buildings.<sup>191</sup>

A crucial development, arising from the same excavation area, was Schliemann's recognition for the first time of buildings which could be attributed to his »Lydian« city, City VI.<sup>192</sup> These were Megaron VIA and a part of Megaron VIB. The latter had already been encountered in 1870–73 but had incorrectly been regarded as a »Hellenic Tower.« Alongside the familiar »Lydian« (i. e. Grey Minyan) ware which occurred with these structures, Schliemann now also found significant quantities of Mycenaean pottery.<sup>193</sup> This brought centre-stage the chronological crisis which had been waiting in the wings. Mycenaean pottery was known to occur in Egypt in contexts dated to the reign of Ramesses II, c. 1350 BC, but Schliemann had been advancing as the »Homeric« Troy, destroyed 150 years later, the stratum five metres or four »cities« deeper. Initially he both accepted the Mycenaean pieces as imports from the Greek mainland and acknowledged the Egyptian synchronism.<sup>194</sup> But he did not want to surrender the Homeric date of City II,<sup>195</sup> and in the following month we see him trying to get around the difficulty by arguing that the Mycenaean pottery at Troy was actually Ninth or Eighth Century in date, merely the survival of a tradition brought from Greece at the time of the Dorian invasion.<sup>196</sup> He was still hankering after this solution in the overview written for *Troja 1890*,<sup>197</sup> which he had completed by early September.<sup>198</sup> Dörpfeld in the same publication tactfully left the question open.<sup>199</sup> It is related, however, that during the season he had put to Schliemann the alternative, that it was City VI which was the »Homeric« Troy, and – after a four-day silence from Schliemann – had apparently gained the quiet admission, »I think you are right.«<sup>200</sup> Certainly by early October Schliemann found himself able to state unequivocally that City VI was contemporary with the royal graves at Mycenae.<sup>201</sup>

We must consider how Schliemann's division of the sequence into nine »cities« relates to the usages of Blegen and of the new excavations. Blegen's Troy I and Troy VI–IX are more or less the same as Schliemann's Cities I and VI–IX of 1890<sup>202</sup> but, as we have seen, Blegen misunderstood the re-numbering of 1882 to mean that City III had been re-designated as City II. Intending to maintain consistency with this revision, he inadvertently produced a distortion in which, broadly, the City III of Schliemann and Dörpfeld was incorporated into Troy II (as phases IIf–g), City IV became Troy III, and the earlier phases of City V turned into Troy IV.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>190</sup> As in Schliemann 1891, 17.

<sup>191</sup> Schliemann 1891, 58.

<sup>192</sup> Schliemann 1891, 17–20, 58–60.

<sup>193</sup> Schliemann 1891, 18, 59.

<sup>194</sup> Schliemann 1890, 30, 36.

<sup>195</sup> Traill 1995, 287 quotes Schuchhardt's recollections on this point.

<sup>196</sup> Traill 1995, 346 note 13 notes Schliemann proposing this in June 1890.

<sup>197</sup> Schliemann 1891, 18.

<sup>198</sup> Traill 1995, 292.

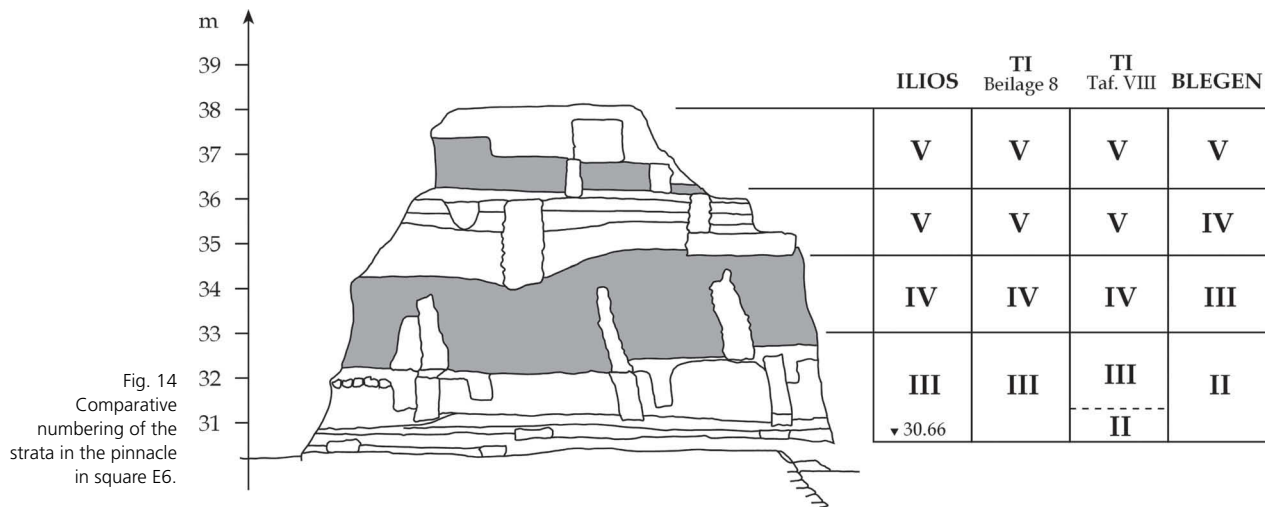
<sup>199</sup> Schliemann 1891, 60.

<sup>200</sup> Sperling 1986, 30.

<sup>201</sup> Saherwala et al. 1993, 142; Easton 1994b, 174.

<sup>202</sup> Troy VII, when it was first found in 1890, was however thought to be no earlier than Geometric, Schliemann 1891, 17.

<sup>203</sup> Easton 1990, 436 and fig. 7; Easton 2000, 81.



Because of the irregular height to which the burnt stratum of City II was preserved, the relationship between the Schliemann and Blegen schemes in fact varies somewhat from area to area within the citadel. In E4/5, where the megarons were preserved to nearly 32 m AT, Schliemann had changed the numbering of the bottom two metres from City III to City II in 1882. This change was preserved by Dörpfeld, as may be seen from the divisions drawn in *Troja und Ilios* pl. VIII. Exactly how Blegen conceived the numbering of strata here is a little unclear and has been assessed differently by Mansfeld and Pavúk.<sup>204</sup> Both agree, however, that Blegen's Troy II at this point includes at least the lower strata of what, from 1882 onwards, Schliemann and Dörpfeld called III, and that Blegen's Troy III and IV are largely the IV and V of his predecessors.<sup>205</sup>

In square E6 the picture is clearer because there are drawings and photographs which allow direct comparison.<sup>206</sup> In this part of the citadel the stratum contemporary with the great megarons was much thinner, reaching only as high as c. 31 m AT,<sup>207</sup> and the overlying deposits which in *Ilios* had been assigned to City III were, in Schliemann's mind, retained there when he made the revisions described in *Troja*.<sup>208</sup> Dörpfeld kept to the same arrangement, but Blegen treated this entire depth of deposit as belonging to Troy II. Consequently in his scheme for E6 all of the City IV of Schliemann and Dörpfeld was turned into Troy III, and the lower half of City V became Troy IV (Fig. 14). All these discrepancies are of obvious importance when it comes to assembling a full inventory of pottery and other finds for any given period, and they can distort the chronology if finds from the early excavations are cited without making due allowance.

<sup>204</sup> Frirdich 1997, 198; Mansfeld 2001, fig. 12:13. Note that Mansfeld has reversed the earlier numbering, 1–12, of his strata. Pavúk 2010, 88–90 and Pavúk *forthcoming*.

<sup>205</sup> But the »suburb« buildings shown in *Ilios* plan I as a part of City III belong not with Blegen's Troy IIg but with his Troy III. Mansfeld 2001, 197 fig. 12:10.

<sup>206</sup> Schliemann 1880, plan III; Dörpfeld 1902, Beilage 8, pl. VIII; Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 450. Jablonka 2000, 103 demonstrates the comparison by superimposing Dörpfeld's drawing onto Blegen's.

<sup>207</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 278–279 (phases IIc–d).

<sup>208</sup> Schliemann 1884, 52, 175–176.



Blegen's misunderstanding of the stratigraphic revision of 1882 included, or entailed, the supposition that Megaron IIA lasted beyond his phase II<sub>d</sub> to the end of his phase II<sub>g</sub>.<sup>209</sup> This has now been proved wrong,<sup>210</sup> and the resulting final phase of Troy II (following the Blegen scheme) is found to be virtually identical with the City III defined by Schliemann in 1882 and accepted by Dörpfeld. Since these phases also initiate a pattern of settlement within the citadel which differs sharply from that in the preceding phases of Troy II but which continues (with some modifications) until the end of Troy V, the present project has, as previously described, introduced a clear break in the numbering after the megaron phase, and has reinstated the designation of the immediately following strata as Troy III.

## 6 Schliemann's Architectural Findings

It was only gradually that Schliemann came to understand the character and relationships of the architectural features he found, and his earlier reports contain many misapprehensions and make a number of rash identifications. The purpose of this section is to strip away such difficulties and give an account of exactly what he found, where and when, presenting his findings in an order that corresponds with the stratigraphic framework which we now have.

Many of these features are systematically described by Dörpfeld in Chapter II of *Troja und Ilion* and are shown in his Tafel III.<sup>211</sup> Dörpfeld's discussion, however, is incomplete in that his knowledge of the early seasons of 1870–73 and 1878–79 was limited. In addition it includes the findings from his own excavations of 1893–94 after Schliemann's death. Here we will enumerate only the features encountered, wittingly or unwittingly, by Schliemann, where necessary taking account of evidence which he himself never published. Detailed descriptions cannot be entered into, and for these the reader is referred elsewhere.

Most of Schliemann's Troy I findings come from the north-south trench, effectively begun in 1872, deepened in 1878–79 and 1882, and widened in 1890. Three walls crossing the trench came to light in 1879,<sup>212</sup> more were found in 1882,<sup>213</sup> and excavations by Virchow exposed yet more in 1890.<sup>214</sup> Dörpfeld illustrates all these<sup>215</sup> but includes additional walls (n-r) which were found only in 1894.<sup>216</sup> Wall m, which is shown extending into the north-south trench, may first have been found on the north platform in 1873.<sup>217</sup> Unknown to Dörpfeld were Schliemann's other

<sup>209</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 321–322; Blegen et al. 1951, 3.

<sup>210</sup> Easton 2000, 78–79; Ünlüsoy 2010, 48, 163–171 plans 12–13.

<sup>211</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 26–242.

<sup>212</sup> Schliemann 1880, 54 plan I.

<sup>213</sup> Schliemann 1884, 29–30 plan VII.

<sup>214</sup> Schliemann 1891, 39–40.

<sup>215</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 43 fig. 7.

<sup>216</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 23.

<sup>217</sup> Easton 2002, 101, 137–138 figs. 55–56: wall 70. It is unclear whether this Wall 70 is to be identified with Wall m or with Wall 17 which lay about 10 m further north (Easton 2002, 102, 112). Mariana Thater kindly points out to me that the new excavations have established that Blegen incorrectly mapped his Wall m and that, contrary to my suppo-

Troy I discoveries on the north side of the mound: segments, encountered at several points, of Blegen's Wall IZ – a sloping, stone glacis which probably ran up to the foot of a circuit wall;<sup>218</sup> various house walls and pavements in square F3 which seem to fit well with features attributed by Blegen to Troy Ij;<sup>219</sup> and in DE3/4 a number of walls and a pavement of white stones.<sup>220</sup> An early wall, possibly belonging to Troy I, came to light in a deep trench made just to the east of Gate FN in 1873.<sup>221</sup> In CDE6/7, where Schliemann opened out an area to join the northern and southern legs of the north-south trench, he probably found a segment of Blegen's Wall IW over which, in the sloping strata overlying its face, a skeleton lay at an angle.<sup>222</sup>

Schliemann first encountered buildings of Troy II at the bottom of his trench in 1871,<sup>223</sup> and subsequent seasons all focussed very largely on their further exposure and elucidation. He distinguished two phases to his City II in 1882, increasing this to three in 1890 (see above, Section 5). Blegen's system of numbering also included within Troy II the features which, from 1882 onwards, Schliemann and Dörpfeld assigned to City III, but the discussion here reverts to Schliemann's practice.<sup>224</sup> We must also include in Troy II the deposits in the centre of the mound reaching down to c. 26.5 m.<sup>225</sup>

The fortifications of Troy II are thoroughly described by Dörpfeld.<sup>226</sup> He was not aware, however, that in 1872 the northern course of the circuit wall had probably been found on the north platform approximately ten metres to the south of the position he assumed for it.<sup>227</sup> A second wall found just to its south may represent an earlier phase of the fortifications.<sup>228</sup> A segment of citadel wall at the northeast corner of the citadel, in GH3/4, was first brought to light by heavy rains after the end of the 1872 season.<sup>229</sup> It was further exposed in 1873 and, it seems, in 1882.<sup>230</sup> Wall BC, variously assessed as a Lower Town defensive wall and as a ramp, was uncovered in 1872 and explored more in 1890.<sup>231</sup>

It was only gradually, and on the south side of the citadel, that the three-phase development of the fortifications was unravelled. The supposed »Tower of Ilion,« first identified in 1872 and

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sition, his Wall m and Dörpfeld's are in fact identical and follow the course shown by Dörpfeld. This means that Wall m continues to the southeast under deposits which are still standing and cannot have been unearthed by Schliemann to the extent shown by me for Wall 70 (Easton 2002, fig. 55). However the extent to which Schliemann exposed Wall 70 is in fact unknown, so the possibility remains that it genuinely was a part of Wall m that he found in 1873.

<sup>218</sup> Easton 2002, 109 figs. 44–46: wall 14.

<sup>219</sup> Easton 2002, 101, 111–112.

<sup>220</sup> Easton 2002, 139: deposits 6, 7.

<sup>221</sup> Easton 2002, 250: deposit 10, figs. 94–95: wall 57.

<sup>222</sup> Easton 2002, 191–192, 204–206: deposits 10–12. An adjoining segment of wall is shown in Dörpfeld 1902, fig. 7 as Wall s.

<sup>223</sup> Schliemann 1874a, 39, 44; Schliemann 1875, 90, 96–97.

<sup>224</sup> As proposed in Ünlüsoy 2010.

<sup>225</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 422; Korfmann 1992, fig. 13a; cf. Schliemann 1880, p. vii plan III; Schliemann 1884, 53–54, 181–182.

<sup>226</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 52–80.

<sup>227</sup> Easton 2002, 109–110 figs. 44–46: wall 15. Cf. Dörpfeld 1902, pl. III.

<sup>228</sup> Easton 2002, 110 figs. 44–46: wall 16.

<sup>229</sup> Easton 2002, 51, 92: deposit 7, figs. 36–38: wall 29.

<sup>230</sup> Easton 2002, 95; Schliemann 1884, plan VII. In *Ilios* it was attributed to City I: Schliemann 1880, 213.

<sup>231</sup> Easton 2002, 51, 92 figs. 36–38: wall 30; Schliemann 1884, 62; Schliemann 1891, 46 plan III.

1873,<sup>232</sup> turned out in 1878–79 to be the two separate circuit walls IIb and IIc.<sup>233</sup> A third and earlier citadel wall, II d, appeared clearly in 1890<sup>234</sup> although Schliemann had in fact noticed it, and dug through it, in 1872.<sup>235</sup> Other parts of wall IIb on the western and south-western sides of the citadel were progressively uncovered in 1873 and subsequent seasons.<sup>236</sup>

Gate FM with its paved ramp was the first of the gates to appear and was initially regarded as Homer's »Scaean« gate. Schliemann found it in 1873,<sup>237</sup> and distinguished two phases in 1878–79.<sup>238</sup> Those two phases he related to walls IIb and IIc in 1882 and 1890.<sup>239</sup>

Some parts of Gate FN were touched upon in 1873,<sup>240</sup> enough to cause Schliemann to indicate a projection in the suggested course for his »Outer Wall of Troy« in *Atlas* pl. 214. At this stage its character as a gate was still unrecognised. Schliemann did, however, notice a massive mudbrick superstructure preserved to a height of three metres. Within it was a group of nine pithoi.<sup>241</sup> He exposed more of this superstructure in 1878–79<sup>242</sup> and Burnouf sketched a section.<sup>243</sup> The gate continued to avoid recognition until 1882.<sup>244</sup> Closer analysis in 1890 disclosed two architectural phases, and established that the large superstructure was built in a third phase, our Early Troy III, once the gate had fallen into disuse.<sup>245</sup>

Gate FO first appeared in 1878–79, when Schliemann took its west wall to be part of his supposed City III circuit wall turning north-westwards across the centre of the mound.<sup>246</sup> In 1882 its character as a City II gate became plain, but it was still partly obscured by a rebuilding of City III date.<sup>247</sup> On the west side of the mound Gate FJ was first uncovered in 1878–79, although it was not recognised. It appears in *Ilios* fig. 186 as a »passage filled with clay cakes«. <sup>248</sup> It seems that it was only fully exposed in 1890,<sup>249</sup> when Gate FL and its postern FK were also discovered.<sup>250</sup>

Turning now to the buildings of the Troy II citadel interior, and treating the matter broadly, City II of *Ilios*, City II.1 of *Troja* and Cities II.1 and II.2 of *Troja 1890* may be considered as falling within the new Troy IIa and IIb; and some features from the City III of *Ilios* together with most

<sup>232</sup> Easton 2002, 48–49, 60–61, 63, 191–192, 203–204, 212, 225, 236, 249.

<sup>233</sup> Schliemann 1880, 264–265, 305.

<sup>234</sup> Schliemann 1891, 21, 41–42.

<sup>235</sup> Easton 2002, 191, 212: deposit 15, figs. 76, 79–80.

<sup>236</sup> Easton 2002, 68, 304: deposit 11, figs. 118–120: wall 81; Schliemann 1880, 53 plan I; Schliemann 1884, 56 plan VII; Schliemann 1891, 23, 48–51.

<sup>237</sup> Easton 2002, 267–268, 272, 283, 291–292.

<sup>238</sup> Schliemann 1880, 265–266.

<sup>239</sup> Schliemann 1884, 67–69 plan VII; Schliemann 1891, 46, 51.

<sup>240</sup> Easton 2002, 248–249.

<sup>241</sup> Easton 2002, 248: deposit 1; Schliemann 1880, fig. 8.

<sup>242</sup> Schliemann 1880, 379 plan I.

<sup>243</sup> Schliemann 1880, 308 fig. 183.

<sup>244</sup> Schliemann 1884, 23–24, 69–73.

<sup>245</sup> Schliemann 1891, 43–44, 46 pl. III.

<sup>246</sup> Schliemann 1880, 306 plan I.

<sup>247</sup> Schliemann 1884, 73–75 plan VII.

<sup>248</sup> Schliemann 1880, 311.

<sup>249</sup> Schliemann 1891, pl. III.

<sup>250</sup> Schliemann 1891, 13, 43–44 pl. III.

of City II.2 of *Troja* and City II.3 of *Troja 1890* may be said to belong to the new Troy IIc. The remaining City III features from *Ilios*, *Troja* and *Troja 1890* can be assigned to our Early Troy III. Most Troy II and Early Troy III features found by Schliemann are well described by Dörpfeld.<sup>251</sup>

Those of Schliemann's discoveries now assigned to Troy IIa and IIb can mostly be seen in the II.1 and II.2 phases shown in Dörpfeld's plan of 1890.<sup>252</sup> Of these the building underlying Gate FM was first found in 1878–79<sup>253</sup> as were the walls just to the north of Megaron IIB.<sup>254</sup> Otherwise most features of early II came to light only in 1890.<sup>255</sup> Not shown in the 1890 plan, however, is a possible additional cross-wall to Megaron IIR found in 1873.<sup>256</sup> Also to be added are some house-walls found in F3 in 1872<sup>257</sup> and, from 1873, a twenty-metre stretch of wall which may have been the northern retaining wall to the central platform on which, as Schliemann realised, the principal buildings of Troy II were built.<sup>258</sup> Wall »m,« usually considered to belong within Troy I, may have served a similar function at an earlier date and could on that account be said to mark the beginning of the Troy II sequence, as Schliemann took it to do.<sup>259</sup> Some of the walls glimpsed below Building HS in 1878–79 may perhaps have belonged to early II as well.<sup>260</sup>

The new Troy IIc is largely the well-known phase with Megarons IIA, IIB, IIE, Propylon IIC and the »colonnade«, although with some differences from the phase IIc proposed by Blegen. Schliemann first struck the buildings of this phase when he cut through Megarons IIA and IIE with his north-south trench in 1871 or 1872. The northeast corner of Megaron IIA, too, was struck and removed in 1872 without being recognised for what it was.<sup>261</sup> By 1873 more of its east wall was exposed: it appears in *Atlas* pl. 214 among the »Trojan houses and later walls built upon them.«<sup>262</sup> The excavations of 1878–79 left the east wall of IIA and the west wall of IIB visible in section in the three unexcavated pinnacles:<sup>263</sup> Schliemann mistakenly took them to belong to the eastern segment of the circuit wall as he conceived it at that time.<sup>264</sup> In 1882 the remaining parts of Megarons IIA and IIB were fully exposed, recognised and carefully described,<sup>265</sup> Propylon IIC and a part of the colonnade came to light,<sup>266</sup> and so did parts of Megarons IIF, IIH, IIK<sup>267</sup> and of Dörpfeld's »IID« building shown in *Troja 1890* plan I.<sup>268</sup> The work of 1890 clarified the

<sup>251</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 80–98.

<sup>252</sup> Schliemann 1891, pl. III.

<sup>253</sup> Schliemann 1880, 270 plan I marked »e«; cf. Schliemann 1884, 68–69 plan VII.

<sup>254</sup> Schliemann 1880, plan I marked »2«; cf. Schliemann 1884, 86–87 plan VII.

<sup>255</sup> Schliemann 1891, 56–57 pl. III.

<sup>256</sup> Easton 2002, 125–126 fig. 51: wall 32.

<sup>257</sup> Easton 2002, 101, 111–112, 119.

<sup>258</sup> Easton 2002, 112: wall 17; Schliemann 1884, 53.

<sup>259</sup> Schliemann 1880, 268–169 plan III – the lower of the two walls marked »V«. He assigns it to City II.

<sup>260</sup> Schliemann 1880, 270.

<sup>261</sup> Easton 2002, 134 fig. 49: wall 21.

<sup>262</sup> Easton 2002, 137 fig. 55.

<sup>263</sup> Schliemann 1880, 309 plan I.

<sup>264</sup> Schliemann 1880, 306.

<sup>265</sup> Schliemann 1884, 76–87 plan VII.

<sup>266</sup> Schliemann 1884, 87–88: »C«, »wv« and »zy« in plan VII.

<sup>267</sup> Schliemann 1884, 88: »rb« and »W« in plan VII.

<sup>268</sup> Schliemann 1884, 89: »rx« in plan VII.

layout of Megarons IIH, IIK and surrounding buildings,<sup>269</sup> revealed more of Propylon IIC and the colonnade<sup>270</sup> and of IID<sup>271</sup> and brought Megaron IIE to light.<sup>272</sup> The features IIM and IIN, with other associated fragments, also appeared in 1890. It is uncertain whether they should be considered a part of Troy IIC or of the following phase in Early III.<sup>273</sup> Various buildings found in 1878–79 to east and west of the north-south trench had floors said by Schliemann to have been vitrified by great heat.<sup>274</sup> Some of these may have been destroyed in the fire which burned down the megarons at the end of Troy IIC; others may have been burned in Early Troy III.

Troy IIC, after its destruction, was followed by a partial rebuilding of the citadel walls in the (newly defined) Early Troy III. To this phase belong a repair phase of Wall IIB attributed by Schliemann to City III<sup>275</sup> and a rebuilding of Gate FO in which it was greatly narrowed. This was already apparent in 1882,<sup>276</sup> but in 1890 the whole structure was excavated to the ground and was revealed more clearly.<sup>277</sup> At this stage Schliemann also found an extension of the gate and connected structures to the south,<sup>278</sup> all of which probably belong in Troy III. From within this City III extension to Gate FO came the horned altar found in 1873,<sup>279</sup> implying the presence of a gatehouse shrine in a tradition suggested by the stelae of Troy I and Troy VI.<sup>280</sup> In squares B5/6 in 1873 Schliemann found what he describes as a »post-Trojan fortification« with a »projecting battlement« which may possibly belong to the range of Troy III structures outside the previous Troy II fortifications.<sup>281</sup>

The principal features belonging to Early Troy III within the citadel interior are those attributed in 1890 to City III: Building HS (in square C5) and some of the later walls shown in FG4/5 in *Troja 1890* plan III.<sup>282</sup> The discovery of HS, originally the »House of the City King,« goes back to 1878–79.<sup>283</sup> Some of the walls found in 1873 and labelled in *Atlas* pl. 214 as »Ruins of the Palace of Priam« lie in the immediate neighbourhood of HS but seem to belong to the Troy IIC complex IID. Some of the walls shown there to the east of Gate FM may perhaps derive from Early III, and some may be later. The same applies to the walls shown in the same plan as lying on the north platform, in DEF4 – some may even date to Troy IV.<sup>284</sup> The »suburb« of insulae and alleys found above and to the east of Megaron IIA in 1878–79 was considered by Schlie-

<sup>269</sup> Schliemann 1891, 54–55 plan III.

<sup>270</sup> Schliemann 1891, 52–53.

<sup>271</sup> Schliemann 1891, 54.

<sup>272</sup> Schliemann 1891, 54.

<sup>273</sup> Schliemann 1891, 55–56. For the problem of their date see below, note 540.

<sup>274</sup> Schliemann 1880, 305, 313–314.

<sup>275</sup> Schliemann 1884, 57, 177 plan VII; Schliemann 1891, 57 pl. III.

<sup>276</sup> Schliemann 1884, 73–75 plan VII.

<sup>277</sup> Schliemann 1891, 12 pl. III.

<sup>278</sup> Schliemann 1891, 12–13, 51, 57 pl. III.

<sup>279</sup> Easton 2002, 225–226, 247 figs. 92–93; Schliemann 1880, fig. 6; cf. Schliemann 1884, 178–179.

<sup>280</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 134–135; Blegen et al. 1950, 155–157 figs. 185–188; Blegen et al. 1953, 95–96, 120, 124; Klinkott 2004, 67.

<sup>281</sup> Easton 2002, 264: wall 83. Other new elements were found in the new excavations – Korfmann 1992, 18 figs. 17–18.

<sup>282</sup> Schliemann 1891, 57.

<sup>283</sup> Schliemann 1880, 324–327 plan I; Schliemann 1884, 176.

<sup>284</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214; Easton 2002, 137.

mann to belong to City III.<sup>285</sup> Theoretically this should make the entire complex a good candidate for membership of Early Troy III, but in fact Mansfeld has shown that the particular buildings shown in Burnouf's plan (*Ilios* Plan I) belong, in Blegen's terms, to a later phase of Troy III.<sup>286</sup> Since, however, the neighbouring areas of Blegen's phase IIg combine parts of complexes which are so similar as to have been thought to join them,<sup>287</sup> we can confidently assume that the walls shown in *Ilios* Plan I had comparable predecessors in Early III. Numerous storage jars found in the lowest levels suggested to Virchow that the ground floors were for storage and that the living accommodation was on the first floor.<sup>288</sup> He took samples of grain and pulses from some of the jars.<sup>289</sup> To the features already discussed we must add Building HT, found in 1882,<sup>290</sup> and perhaps one or both of two superimposed complexes found in 1873 in EF7, stratified over what was later to be shown to be Gate FN.<sup>291</sup> Their dates are uncertain.

Relatively few of the identifiable features found by Schliemann can be attributed with any certainty to later phases of Troy III or to Troy IV, and none at all to Troy V. In 1878–79 he could identify no coherent fortification system that might have originated in his City IV, that is in the later phases of Troy III,<sup>292</sup> and in 1882 accepted his architects' view that the citadel wall of Early III (City III) remained in use.<sup>293</sup> A massive mudbrick superstructure seems to have remained standing on the foundation provided by the disused Gate FN.<sup>294</sup> But Blegen's work shows that elsewhere the superstructure was destroyed at the end of Early III,<sup>295</sup> and the new excavations have identified subsequent renovations.<sup>296</sup> *Atlas* pl. 214 shows various walls on the north platform some of which may belong to the later Troy III, and also a complex of rectangular rooms (numbered »7«) cutting across the north end of Gate FM. A number of walls were found in the east-west trench, but we have no plan.<sup>297</sup> We must, however, assign to the later phases of Troy III the buildings of the »suburb« shown in the eastern half of the citadel in Burnouf's plan in *Ilios*,<sup>298</sup> whose remains lay at a depth of 4–7 m. The characteristics of these are described in *Troja*: walls of stones and mud, sometimes of mudbrick; walls only one brick thick; no regular ground plan, just small rooms irregularly grouped.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>285</sup> Schliemann 1880, 327–328 plan I; Schliemann 1884, 176–177.

<sup>286</sup> Mansfeld 2001, 197 fig. 12:10. Burnouf, too, seems to have thought that they belonged in City IV – see Schliemann 1880, 309 fig. 184, plan III.

<sup>287</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, figs. 458, 461–462, 469; Mellaart 1959, 150–152; Easton 2002, 308.

<sup>288</sup> Schliemann 1880, 317, 379; Virchow 1890, 334, 342.

<sup>289</sup> Schliemann 1880, 319–320.

<sup>290</sup> Schliemann 1884, plan VII.

<sup>291</sup> Easton 2002, 225, 242, 246 fig. 92: buildings 2, 3.

<sup>292</sup> Schliemann 1880, 519–520.

<sup>293</sup> Schliemann 1884, 184.

<sup>294</sup> Easton 2002, 225, 248–249 fig. 94: wall 52.

<sup>295</sup> Blegen et al. 1951, fig. 292. Stratum 40, covering Building IIS (now dated to Early III), is a destruction deposit and is followed by strata 39–35, all dated to later phases of Troy III.

<sup>296</sup> Sazci 2007, 97–98.

<sup>297</sup> Easton 2002, 224–225, 242.

<sup>298</sup> Schliemann 1880, 327–328 plan I; Mansfeld 2001, 197 fig. 12:10.

<sup>299</sup> Schliemann 1884, 185.

Turning to Troy IV and V, Schliemann refers in *Ilios* to various »small works of defence« which he thought might possibly belong to his City V,<sup>300</sup> but more likely components of a defensive system are a large wall which he found crossing the north-south trench in D8 in 1872<sup>301</sup> and another which crossed the southeast trench in GH7.<sup>302</sup> The two segments of fortification wall tentatively attributed to City V in *Troja*<sup>303</sup> turned out to belong to Troy VI.<sup>304</sup> Schliemann recognised that the houses of his City V spread over and beyond the limits of the earlier citadel.<sup>305</sup> A number of walls on the north platform could belong to this period,<sup>306</sup> and so may some found in the east-west trench.<sup>307</sup> The building marked »8« in *Atlas* pl. 214, in E6/7, has a rhomboid plan which suggests that it, too, might belong in Troy IV or V.

Although Schliemann recognised no architecture belonging to his »Lydian« city, City VI, until 1890, he had in fact been encountering elements of it from 1870 onwards. In his first year of excavation he uncovered a part of the northeast wall of Megaron VIB in his trench in AB4/5,<sup>308</sup> and another structure of Troy VI in the adjoining trench in AB5/6.<sup>309</sup> The latter may have lain on a second terrace above and to the east of Megaron VIA. The same year exposed what seems to have been a section of the Troy VI citadel wall in AB4.<sup>310</sup> It may be this which was the second supposed bit of City V fortifications referred to by Schliemann in 1884.<sup>311</sup> The northwest and southeast walls of Megaron VIB came partly to light in 1873,<sup>312</sup> and the whole northeast end of the building appears in *Atlas* pl. 214 as a »Hellenic Tower.« More of this building and a large part of Megaron VIA were discovered in 1890.<sup>313</sup> It is likely that in 1872 a part of the northern circuit wall was found on the north platform<sup>314</sup> and another segment in D8/9.<sup>315</sup> The evidence in the latter case is conflicting, but the fact that the wall is shown in *Atlas* pl. 214<sup>316</sup> seems decisive. Yet another part of the Troy VI citadel wall was revealed in K4/5 in 1882 – the part which Schliemann wanted to assign to City V.<sup>317</sup> The southeast corner of Building VIM was found in 1872<sup>318</sup>

<sup>300</sup> Schliemann 1880, 574.

<sup>301</sup> Easton 2002, 177, 190 fig. 74: wall 27. What appears to be a continuation of this is assigned in the new excavations to Troy VI – Korfmann 1994, fig. 15, 19–20; Korfmann 1995, fig. 8, 12. The stratigraphy of this area may need reconsideration.

<sup>302</sup> Easton 2002, 215, 222–223, fig. 86: wall 44.

<sup>303</sup> Schliemann 1884, 190 and fig. 99.

<sup>304</sup> Schliemann 1884, fig. 99 clearly depicts the situation in K4/5. Cf. Dörpfeld 1902, pl. III.

<sup>305</sup> Schliemann 1884, 188.

<sup>306</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214; Easton 2002, 137.

<sup>307</sup> Easton 2002, 224, 232.

<sup>308</sup> Easton 2002, 254 fig. 96: wall 5.

<sup>309</sup> Easton 2002, 261, 263: wall 11.

<sup>310</sup> Easton 2002, 252, 254–255, 257: wall 99. Note that the same number is erroneously given also to another wall, of Troy II date: Easton 2002, 304, 311.

<sup>311</sup> Schliemann 1884, 190.

<sup>312</sup> Easton 2002, 252, 257, 259 fig. 102: walls 79, 80.

<sup>313</sup> Schliemann 1891, 58–59 fig. 4: the larger structures are VIA and VIB, and the thinner, overlying walls belong to Troy VIIa.

<sup>314</sup> Easton 2002, 104, but incorrectly positioned: see Becks 2005.

<sup>315</sup> Easton 2002, 37–38, 177, 179–180 fig. 69: wall 19.

<sup>316</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214 – »Outer Wall of Lysimachus.«

<sup>317</sup> Schliemann 1884, 190 fig. 99.

<sup>318</sup> Easton 2002, 37–38, 177, 185 fig. 74.

and appears in *Atlas* pl. 214 as the »Interior Bastion of Lysimachus.« A part of Dörpfeld's Building VID<sup>319</sup> and a part of another building in square D4<sup>320</sup> may also have been found in 1872. In 1873 the west end of Building VIG was exposed, and possibly a part of Wall Ve below it.<sup>321</sup> A number of other walls were found in the east-west trench some of which may have belonged to Troy VI.<sup>322</sup> The stones of the Troy VI building in AB5/6 were found tumbled and confused, a circumstance which, anticipating Blegen, Schliemann attributed to an earthquake.<sup>323</sup>

Troy VII was distinguished as a separate architectural period only in 1890 when some walls were found overlying Megarons VI A and VIB.<sup>324</sup> But, as in the case of Troy VI, features belonging to this phase had in fact been encountered from as early as 1870. Rebuilding on the lines of previous structures – typical of VIIa – was noticed by Schliemann over Megarons VIB<sup>325</sup> and VIG.<sup>326</sup> Three groups of pithoi found in the area of VIG, one apparently within the building, may perhaps derive from VIIa.<sup>327</sup> Other walls possibly attributable to Troy VII were found in CDE7/8/9 in 1872,<sup>328</sup> AB4/5/6 in 1873<sup>329</sup> and in BCD5/6.<sup>330</sup> A group of eight or nine pithoi was found near the walls in CD8/9.<sup>331</sup>

In separating the features of Troy VIII from those of Troy IX we shall follow the chronological system and the datings established by the new excavations.<sup>332</sup> Some walls of Troy VIII may have been among the structures reached in AB5/6 in 1870,<sup>333</sup> but the first major feature to come to light was the Helios metope, in 1872, found on the north slope of the mound together with an inscription and other marble fragments.<sup>334</sup> The Helios metope belonged, of course, to the Temple of Athena. But Schliemann's account of the Troy VIII–IX remains in *Trojanische Alterthümer* and in *Ilios* is confusing because he assumed from the metope that it was a temple of Apollo that stood on the north half of the mound, and tried to find the Temple of Athena, supposedly built by Lysimachus,<sup>335</sup> in various structures in the south half.<sup>336</sup> He dug through some of the deep foundation trenches of the true Temple of Athena in 1873, finding deposits of black earth mixed with marble chips, sand and some sandstone blocks.<sup>337</sup> The temple was described in 1882 on the

<sup>319</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214 no. 30; Easton 2002, 90, fig. 36: wall 28.

<sup>320</sup> Easton 2002, 131, fig. 49: wall 20.

<sup>321</sup> Easton 2002, 214, 218–220, fig. 86: walls 37b, 41.

<sup>322</sup> Easton 2002, 228–229; and a silo: p. 239.

<sup>323</sup> Easton 2002, 263: wall 11.

<sup>324</sup> Schliemann 1891, 58–59, fig. 4.

<sup>325</sup> Easton 2002, 254 fig. 96: wall 4.

<sup>326</sup> Easton 2002, 214, 218–220, figs. 84, 86: walls 37a, 40.

<sup>327</sup> Easton 2002, 217–218, 221.

<sup>328</sup> Easton 2002, 177, 184: wall 23; and p. 180: a »huge mass of large house walls.«

<sup>329</sup> Easton 2002, 264: deposit 2.

<sup>330</sup> Easton 2002, 266–267, 271, fig. 111: walls 49, 50, 51.

<sup>331</sup> Easton 2002, 177, 180.

<sup>332</sup> Rose 1991; Rose 1992; Rose 1993; Rose 1994; Rose 1997; Rose 2003.

<sup>333</sup> Easton 2002, 260, 262–263 fig. 96: walls 8, 9, 10.

<sup>334</sup> Easton 2002, 84–85. The inscription was Dörpfeld 1902, 468 no. 40r; Frisch 1975, no. 7.

<sup>335</sup> Strabo xiii 1.26–27. Rose however argues that the passage refers to Alexandria Troas – Rose 2003, 31–35.

<sup>336</sup> E. g. Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214; Schliemann 1875, 257, 239–240, 249; Schliemann 1880, 608–609.

<sup>337</sup> Easton 2002, 82, 93–94, 96; cf. Dörpfeld 1902, 217–221.



basis of disparate blocks which had been collected and studied.<sup>338</sup> In 1872 he may have noticed a part of the northern retaining wall to the temple platform, although the segment previously exposed by Calvert seems to have disappeared by this date.<sup>339</sup> This or a related section is referred to in *Troja*.<sup>340</sup> A part of the eastern retaining wall was exposed in 1882.<sup>341</sup> The pavement of the platform came to light at several points.<sup>342</sup> A part of the south portico was perhaps found in H7/8 in 1872,<sup>343</sup> but its westward continuation seems not to have been preserved.<sup>344</sup> More was found, however, in 1882.<sup>345</sup> Propylon IXD, when first found in 1873, was taken by Schliemann for a cistern.<sup>346</sup> Its true character was determined in 1882.<sup>347</sup> The portico around the temple precinct, like its gateway (IXD), is now considered to be Third Century BC in origin.<sup>348</sup> From architectural pieces Dörpfeld found evidence for a small Doric temple,<sup>349</sup> later dated to the Fifth or Fourth Century BC.<sup>350</sup>

From Troy IX, the Roman circuit wall RM appeared in the northwest trench in 1873.<sup>351</sup> In *Atlas* pl. 214 it is shown as a part of the »Outer Wall of Lysimachus.« Parts of the northeast, central and southern walls of the stoa IXA surfaced in 1870 and 1873.<sup>352</sup> Aligned with IXA and on the summit of the mound in D5 was a rectangular building measuring 17.90 x 13.25 m with an entrance probably on the southeast side. Schliemann found this building in 1870.<sup>353</sup> Nearby in square C6 a »very elegant house« with a floor of red polished flagstones was discovered in 1873.<sup>354</sup> Numerous walls, possibly Roman, appeared along the north side of the mound in 1872.<sup>355</sup> The north wall of building IXB came to light in 1873 and was thought by Schliemann to be the south wall of his temple of Athena, which at that time he was placing in the southern half of the acropolis.<sup>356</sup> In 1872 he uncovered a short section of the west wall of the Odeion (Theatre C),<sup>357</sup> and in 1873 the north wall of the Bouleuterion (Theatre B)<sup>358</sup> as Dörpfeld recognised.<sup>359</sup> He exposed

<sup>338</sup> Schliemann 1884, 199–206.

<sup>339</sup> Easton 2002, 82, 88.

<sup>340</sup> Schliemann 1884, 195.

<sup>341</sup> Schliemann 1884, 196, fig. 99.

<sup>342</sup> Easton 2002, 214, 217–218, 224, 226, 228.

<sup>343</sup> Easton 2002, 214, 217–218, fig. 84: walls 35, 36.

<sup>344</sup> Easton 2002, 224.

<sup>345</sup> Schliemann 1884, 207, 209–210.

<sup>346</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214 no. 15; Easton 2002, 231, 250.

<sup>347</sup> Schliemann 1884, 207–209.

<sup>348</sup> Rose 1997, 96–98.

<sup>349</sup> Schliemann 1884, 196–199.

<sup>350</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 210.

<sup>351</sup> Easton 2002, 251, 256–257.

<sup>352</sup> Easton 2002, 251, 253, 260, 262–265, 292, 294: walls 3 (= 82), 6, 9.

<sup>353</sup> Easton 2002, 139–140, 142–144.

<sup>354</sup> Easton 2002, 268.

<sup>355</sup> Easton 2002, 99, 103.

<sup>356</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214 no. 11; Schliemann 1880, plan I: marked »w«; Easton 2002, 227, 239: wall 39.

<sup>357</sup> Easton 2002, 179.

<sup>358</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214: »Outer Wall of Lysimachus«; Easton 2002, 216: wall 34.

<sup>359</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 9.

more of it in 1890.<sup>360</sup> Just to its south a wall of re-used blocks came to light in 1873 just under the surface. It may have been late Roman.<sup>361</sup> The theatre was explored in 1882.<sup>362</sup>

## 7 Schliemann's Bronze Age Pottery

Schliemann was aware of the importance of pottery and devoted much attention to it in his publications.<sup>363</sup> He did not collect sherds if they had no features, but the pieces which he did collect he treated systematically, period by period, classifying them broadly by shape and function and citing a wide range of parallels. He discusses fabrics and surface treatments, albeit irregularly, and he makes rough attempts at quantification – shapes are »rare«, »numerous« or »abundant.« He illustrates many pieces.

There is no satisfactory later treatment of the Schliemann corpus. Schmidt's discussion of the Troy VI–IX material in *Troja und Ilion*<sup>364</sup> is still useful but incorporates findings from Dörpfeld's excavations of 1893–94. His treatment of the Troy I pottery is also still of value.<sup>365</sup> But for the important material from Troy II–V he abandons any attempt at stratigraphic presentation and follows a theoretical scheme based on the supposed development of techniques, shapes and decoration. The same approach is reflected in his catalogue of the Berlin collection.<sup>366</sup> My re-examination of the seasons of 1870–73 considered the pottery, proposed stratigraphic origins for many pieces and discussed parallels,<sup>367</sup> but this was without examination of the pieces themselves. Blegen's classification of shapes<sup>368</sup> was used as being the handiest and best known, but it is poorly adapted to the Schliemann material which, for the Troy I–V periods, displays an additional 89 types.<sup>369</sup> It might have been preferable to use the much more sensitive scheme devised by Podzuweit,<sup>370</sup> which takes all Schliemann's published Troy ceramics into account. But the system is very cumbersome to use, with over 560 types, sub-types and sub-sub-types and a bewildering numbering system. A disappointing feature of Podzuweit's work is that in the end he declined to include any of the Schliemann pieces in his chronological distribution charts. One therefore looks forward keenly to the forthcoming new catalogue of the Berlin collection<sup>371</sup> which, one hopes, will bring together classification, description and illustration with what can now be said about stratification and comparisons.

<sup>360</sup> Schliemann 1891, 15.

<sup>361</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214 no. 19; Easton 2002, 214–215: wall 33.

<sup>362</sup> Schliemann 1884, 210–214.

<sup>363</sup> Bloedow 1992.

<sup>364</sup> Schmidt 1902b, 281–319.

<sup>365</sup> Schmidt 1902b, 244–252. But he wrongly re-assigns *Ilios* no. 23 to Troy VI (p. 244).

<sup>366</sup> Schmidt 1902a.

<sup>367</sup> Easton 1989, 525–591; greatly condensed, with some revisions, in Easton 2002, 313–327.

<sup>368</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, figs. 129–132; Blegen et al. 1953, figs. 292–295; Blegen et al. 1958, fig. 218.

<sup>369</sup> Easton 2002, figs. 126–128.

<sup>370</sup> Podzuweit 1979.

<sup>371</sup> See Hertel 1997. The first volume has appeared, Wemhoff et al. 2008.

The present discussion can do no more than highlight some salient points in Schliemann's sequence and make some comparisons with that found by Blegen. The total picture will be greatly enlarged by the ceramic studies of the present excavations, to be described in later volumes. Readers will need to make careful comparisons with these. Between Schliemann and Blegen it can be said that there is broad consistency but also many differences of detail. For example, and judging solely from the finds of 1870–73, Schliemann's corpus of Troy I–V pottery appears to extend the chronological distribution of about 40 of Blegen's shapes, and Blegen to extend the distribution of 25 shapes beyond that found in Schliemann. Each corpus has a significant number of shapes which do not appear in the other.<sup>372</sup> Comparable discrepancies are no doubt to be expected when comparing Schliemann's sequence with that of the new excavations. What is one to make of such differences? Should the Blegen sequence, or that of the new excavations, be taken as definitive and the Schliemann findings be rejected? In some cases, probably. But it is worth bearing in mind that a much larger sample of the Troy II–V deposits was dug by Schliemann than by any of his successors. We may therefore expect the Schliemann corpus to exhibit in some respects a fuller representation of the Trojan sequence. The difficulty of course is that we generally cannot be sure how much weight to attach to any one of Schliemann's observations taken on its own. We cannot rely on them, but equally it would be unwise to disregard them. They inhabit the grey world of the possible. Thus there are no easy answers, and scholars will need to assess each conflicting case on its merits.<sup>373</sup>

The ceramic repertoire of Troy I–V is fundamentally northwest Anatolian in character, but in the Schliemann material as in Blegen's one can see that its horizons widen in the course of its development and that an increasing range of connections develops over time with southwest Anatolia, the Aegean region and to a lesser extent with central Anatolia.<sup>374</sup>

Schliemann's reports show his Troy I pottery to have been predominantly handmade grey or black polished ware, sometimes with incised and white-filled linear ornament, especially on the rims of bowls (Fig. 15:2).<sup>375</sup> He notes the presence of horizontal, tubular lugs on bowls (Fig. 15:3)<sup>376</sup> and of vertical perforations in the lugs on jars (Fig. 15:5) and in lids.<sup>377</sup> There are fruit-stands, sometimes with fenestrated pedestals (Fig. 15:4),<sup>378</sup> and tripod cooking-jars (Fig. 15:1).<sup>379</sup>

Already in 1872 Schliemann noticed that the pottery of City II was quite different from that of City I,<sup>380</sup> but the nature and stratigraphic positioning of the change were later to be defined more closely. The season of 1890 allowed Schliemann to isolate some pottery of Early Troy II, and

<sup>372</sup> 67 of Blegen's Troy I–V types do not appear in Schliemann; 89 of Schliemann's do not appear in Blegen. Easton 2002, 314 notes 149–150; 319–320 figs. 121–128.

<sup>373</sup> There may be instances where the extended distributions in Schliemann can be supported by parallels elsewhere, Easton 2002, 314 note 151. Such instances will depend on one's view of the relative chronology, or may perhaps affect it.

<sup>374</sup> Easton 2002, 313–327.

<sup>375</sup> Schliemann 1875, 15; Schliemann 1880, 216, 218–220; Schliemann 1884, 30–31.

<sup>376</sup> Schliemann 1875, 15; Schliemann 1880, 217–218; Schliemann 1884, 30, 32, 38.

<sup>377</sup> Schliemann 1880, 215.

<sup>378</sup> Schliemann 1880, 223–224; Schliemann 1884, 35.

<sup>379</sup> Schliemann 1880, 227.

<sup>380</sup> Schliemann 1875, 153; cf. Schliemann 1880, 264, 278.

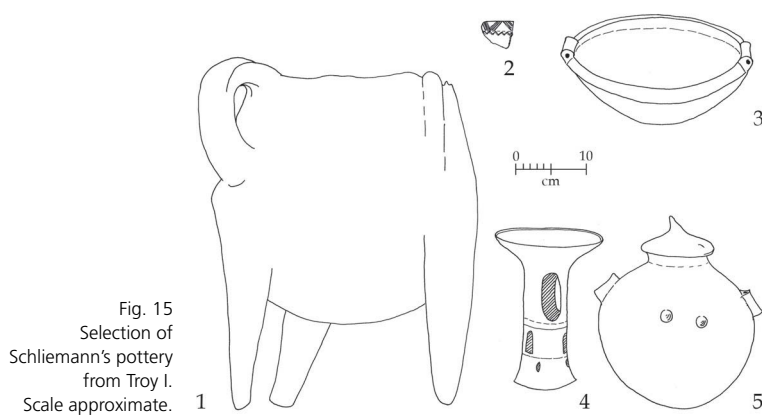


Fig. 15  
Selection of  
Schliemann's pottery  
from Troy I.  
Scale approximate.

he found it to be similar to that of Troy I but without the prevalence of horizontal lugs. It lacked the forms he thought characteristic of Troy II.<sup>381</sup> Schmidt adds that wheelmade vessels first appeared in Dörpfeld's Troy II.2, but he attributes this discovery – perhaps wrongly – to the seasons of 1893–94.<sup>382</sup> Blegen similarly found that they occurred from his phase IIb onwards, although initially only in small quantities.<sup>383</sup> Schliemann comments several times on the presence in Troy II of coarse, wheelmade plates (Blegen's shape A2, Fig. 16:1), sometimes found in great numbers,<sup>384</sup> and of other wheelmade shapes.<sup>385</sup> He also notes the frequent occurrence of large, flat, red-slipped, handmade platters (Blegen's shape A1) »peculiar to this city.«<sup>386</sup> Blegen likewise found »thousands of fragments,« and traced the shape back into Troy I as well,<sup>387</sup> but the findings of the new excavations indicate that the earlier shape is probably unrelated.<sup>388</sup>

In Schliemann's material two-handled cups and two-handled tankards (Fig. 16:2), including the depas, appear as an innovation of Troy II.<sup>389</sup> In Blegen there are no clear examples from earlier than the new Troy IIc<sup>390</sup>. They may be taken as a marker of the transition to the EBIII period.<sup>391</sup> Podzuweit distinguished a broader change in the range of shapes at this point,<sup>392</sup> and a change is also apparent in the proportions of fine wares. Plain Ware suddenly increased at the expense of Grey and Black Polished Ware.<sup>393</sup> Other innovations of Troy II appear in Schliemann to include the storage jars with faces, upraised arms and/or female characteristics (Figs. 16:3, 6),<sup>394</sup> together with

<sup>381</sup> Schliemann 1891, 21.

<sup>382</sup> Schmidt 1902b, 254.

<sup>383</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 225–226.

<sup>384</sup> Schliemann 1875, 114; Schliemann 1880, 303; Schliemann 1884, 136, 152.

<sup>385</sup> Schliemann 1875, 49, 215; Schliemann 1880, 296; Schliemann 1884, 165.

<sup>386</sup> Schliemann 1880, 281; Schliemann 1884, 150.

<sup>387</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 224–225.

<sup>388</sup> I am indebted to Dr Christiane Frirdich for this observation.

<sup>389</sup> Schliemann 1875, 25; Schliemann 1880, 297, 299–300; Schliemann 1884, 155–165.

<sup>390</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 229 states that shape A43 was »probably first produced in phase IIa«, but the claim seems unsupported. One-handled tankards do occur from Blegen's Troy IIa onwards.

<sup>391</sup> As suggested in the careful analysis in Mellink 1986. For a possible refinement of her scheme see Easton 2002, 337 note 414.

<sup>392</sup> Podzuweit 1979, 23. Cf. also Weninger 2002, 1045 who sees a major change at phase IIb.

<sup>393</sup> Easton 2002, 314, 317.

<sup>394</sup> Schliemann 1875, 86–87; Schliemann 1880, 281, 290–292, 302; Schliemann 1884, 151, Blegen types C5, C30. In the Blegen material C5 first appears in IIc, C30 only in IIg; Blegen et al. 1950, 233, 236. One fragment of a face-vase may come from Troy I: Easton 2002, 207 no. 72–1804. In the new excavations, as in Blegen, C30 jars first appear in the earliest phase of Troy III (= Blegen's IIg). I am grateful to Dr Christiane Frirdich for this information.

their complementary lids.<sup>395</sup> In the Blegen corpus such jars are introduced only in phase IIg (now Early III).<sup>396</sup> In Troy II Schliemann also records lentoid bottles (Fig. 16:7);<sup>397</sup> a range of amphorae (Fig. 16:5);<sup>398</sup> and jars with tall, cylindrical necks (Fig. 16:4).<sup>399</sup> There are various jugs, tripod jars, theriomorphic vessels and pithoi which no doubt have earlier antecedents.<sup>400</sup> Schliemann published full inventories of the finds from Megara IIA and IIB.<sup>401</sup>

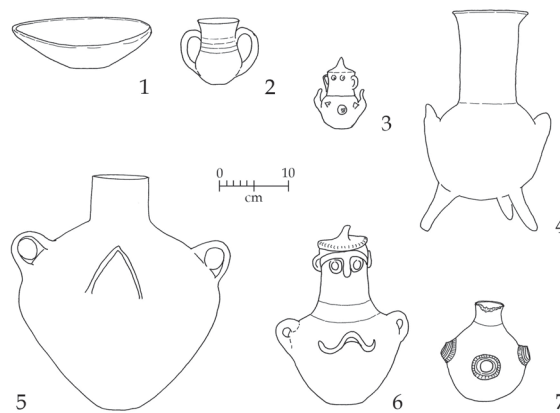


Fig. 16  
Selection of  
Schliemann's pottery  
from Troy II.  
Scale approximate.

In the Schliemann material, as in Blegen's, the pattern laid down in the final phases of Troy II then develops throughout Troy III (as newly defined, including Blegen's IIg),<sup>402</sup> IV and V.<sup>403</sup> Among the items from Early Troy III («City III») discussed by Schliemann we may note the »very numerous« wheelmade plates (shape A2),<sup>404</sup> the »really enormous number« of tripod jars (Fig. 17:1),<sup>405</sup> and the more than 600 pithoi.<sup>406</sup> A one-handled tankard with an »hour-glass« profile (Fig. 17:2) makes an appearance in City III.<sup>407</sup> In Schliemann and Blegen the type is otherwise noted only in Troy V,<sup>408</sup> so it may be out of context in City III.<sup>409</sup> Kraters (shape C22, Figs. 17:4–5) and jugs with long spouts widened at the base (B20) occur for the first time.<sup>410</sup> Blegen agrees that kraters first appeared in his phase IIg<sup>411</sup> but found B20 jugs only from Troy III onwards.<sup>412</sup>

In later phases of Troy III («City IV») Schliemann says that he found more than 400 one-handled tankards (Fig. 18:2)<sup>413</sup> and a further 400 two-handled cups and tankards (Figs. 18:3–

<sup>395</sup> Schliemann 1875, 25, 47–48, 86, 158; Schliemann 1880, 290–291 nos. 157–159.

<sup>396</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 236, 353.

<sup>397</sup> Schliemann 1884, 144–145 no. 77; cf. shape B8, not found before IIg in the Blegen material: Blegen et al. 1950, 232.

<sup>398</sup> Schliemann 1880, nos. 169–170; Schliemann 1884, 152 citing *Ilios* nos. 419–432, 1112, 1119.

<sup>399</sup> Schliemann 1880, nos. 162–166.

<sup>400</sup> Schliemann 1875, 158, 215; Schliemann 1880, 279, 294; Schliemann 1884, 139–142, 149, 152, 154. There were numerous pithoi, sometimes set fully in the ground, sometimes buried up to only a quarter or a third of their height: Schliemann 1884, 149.

<sup>401</sup> Schliemann 1884, 130–139.

<sup>402</sup> Schliemann 1880, 329–413; Schliemann 1884, 182–184 (City III); Schliemann 1880, 520–564; Schliemann 1884, 186–188 (City IV).

<sup>403</sup> Schliemann 1880, 574–583; Schliemann 1884, 190–192 (City V).

<sup>404</sup> Schliemann 1880, 407–408.

<sup>405</sup> Schliemann 1880, 354–363.

<sup>406</sup> Schliemann 1875, 87, 158–159; Schliemann 1880, 378–380.

<sup>407</sup> Easton 2002, 116 fig. 135 no. 72–195.

<sup>408</sup> Schliemann 1880, no. 1316; Blegen et al. 1951, 242–243, shape A41.

<sup>409</sup> But according to Schliemann two-handled tankards with a similar body-shape occurred in Cities IV and V: Schliemann 1880, 535–536 no. 1080. This two-handled type was not found by Blegen.

<sup>410</sup> C22: Schliemann 1880, nos. 437–438; B20: Schliemann 1880, nos. 360–363.

<sup>411</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 236.

<sup>412</sup> Blegen et al. 1951, 27–28.

<sup>413</sup> Schliemann 1880, 533.

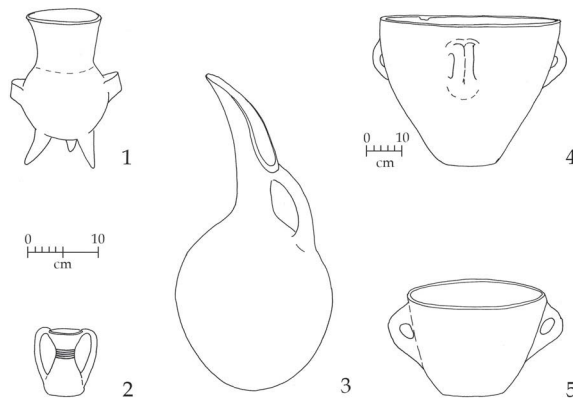


Fig. 17  
Selection of  
Schliemann's pottery  
from Early Troy III  
(Schliemann's City III).  
Scale approximate.

5).<sup>414</sup> He also states that numerous one-handled cups occurred in his City IV, continuing into City V<sup>415</sup> (Fig. 18:1). This should equate with a distribution throughout Blegen's III–V. Some will have belonged to Blegen's type A33. Blegen found the true A33 cups only in his IV and V,<sup>416</sup> a finding confirmed by the Troia Project. Schliemann's earlier examples are therefore unlikely to have been true A33 cups, but may belong to an antecedent class of cup, similar but formally distinct, noted by the new excavations as a part of the Troy III repertoire.<sup>417</sup> At least two bowls with red crosses painted on the interior are attested from Schliemann's City IV (= late Troy III).<sup>418</sup> This is early by comparison with Blegen's findings in which such bowls, together with those with exterior crosses, occur only from IVc onwards and mainly in V.<sup>419</sup> Moreover reassessment of Blegen's findings by Stephan Blum suggests that in reality they belong exclusively to Troy V.<sup>420</sup> There must therefore be a strong possibility that Schliemann's early examples were intrusive.<sup>421</sup>

Schliemann tells us much less about the pottery of Troy IV and V («City V»). Not at all apparent from his reports is a significant point of change which has been discerned in the Blegen pottery around the transition from Troy III to Troy IV. The proportion of coarse wares suddenly increases, and within the fine wares Red Coated Ware largely displaces Plain Ware.<sup>422</sup> Podzuweit noticed a striking change in the range of shapes during the course of Troy IV, sufficient to consider it the beginning of a new ceramic period,<sup>423</sup> and Weninger has described the changes in ceramic shapes at this point as »the largest pottery changes« in the whole of Troy II–V.<sup>424</sup> Podzuweit highlights a wide range of bowls as characteristic<sup>425</sup> and Weninger points to shapes A20, A33 and C22 as the most frequent in the Blegen material.<sup>426</sup>

<sup>414</sup> Schliemann 1880, 537–538.

<sup>415</sup> Schliemann 1880, 538–539.

<sup>416</sup> Blegen et al. 1951, 125, 242. Blegen notes a possibly unrelated precursor in Troy I – *ibid.* p. 242.

<sup>417</sup> I am very grateful to Dr Stephan Blum for informing me of the new findings and for clarifying this issue.

<sup>418</sup> Schliemann 1880, 225, 544.

<sup>419</sup> Blegen et al. 1951, 138, 250–251.

<sup>420</sup> I am again grateful to Dr Blum for this information. Cf. Blum 2012, 326–330; Blum *in press*.

<sup>421</sup> Of course it should also be remembered that at a number of Anatolian sites bowls with red crosses on the interior occur in late EBIII contexts, preceding the appearance of similar bowls with crosses on the exterior: Goldman 1956, 139 nos. 445–446 fig. 273:445 (Tarsus EBIIIb); Lloyd – Mellaart 1962, figs. P57: 26, 31; P64: 23, 26; P65: 2, 3; P66: 17a (Beycesultan VII, VIa); Öktü 1973, nos. I-B/06, 12, 22 (Kultepe 12); Günel 1999, 50 (Liman Tepe IV); Symington 2007, 307–308 (Kilise Tepe final Vf–Ve). If a late EBIII date came into consideration for Troy III, then the Schliemann examples would not need to be considered out of context.

<sup>422</sup> Easton 2002, 314, 316–317.

<sup>423</sup> Podzuweit 1979, 24–25, 30 Beilage 17.

<sup>424</sup> Weninger 2002, 1049.

<sup>425</sup> Podzuweit 1979, 30–31.

<sup>426</sup> Weninger 2002, 1049. For further discussion of the affinities of Troy IV–V see Easton 2002, 339–340.

Turning now to items with external connections of possible significance, the Schliemann material contains five variants of the depas which seem to be of limited chronological duration. They span Early Troy III to Troy IV (Figs. 18:6–10). Those from Troy III have external parallels ranging from Poliochni Yellow to Beycesultan VIa.<sup>427</sup>

A globular jar with double vertical lugs, *Ilios* no. 23,<sup>428</sup> is probably an imported piece of north Syrian metallic ware (Fig. 19:1). Schliemann found it below the north end of Megaron IIA in the earliest strata of Troy II.<sup>429</sup> From the Blegen corpus the type recurs in our new IIc and Early III.<sup>430</sup> At Tell Chuera it occurs in Early Dynastic and Akkadian contexts.<sup>431</sup> Ovoid jars of north Syrian appearance were found in the new IIc and Early III by Schliemann as by Blegen (Fig. 19:3).<sup>432</sup> Alabastron-shaped »Syrian« bottles (Chuera type F1) occur throughout Troy III in the Schliemann pottery (Fig. 19:2).<sup>433</sup> Their chronological range elsewhere is Early Dynastic to Ur III.<sup>434</sup> The related Chuera types F2.1 and F3 have a similar Trojan distribution.<sup>435</sup> A tumbler with sinuous profile (Fig. 19:4) comes from some phase within Troy III.<sup>436</sup> The type is also attested in EBIIIb Tarsus.<sup>437</sup>

A black-on-white painted sherd found in Troy I (Fig. 19:5) is probably an Early Cycladic II import.<sup>438</sup> An incised sherd (Fig. 19:6) found in the mudbrick debris over or near Gate FN may be a piece of early EC IIIa ware<sup>439</sup> and should date to Late II or Early III. Similarly the incised decoration on a jar found in IIc or Early III strata on the north platform (Fig. 19:7) is very reminis-



Fig. 18  
Selection of  
Schliemann's pottery  
from Troy III (later  
phases) – Troy V  
(Schliemann's Cities IV–V).  
Scale approximate.

<sup>427</sup> Easton 2002, 322–323 note 173 and fig. 194. The Schliemann material contains examples of type 3 (Fig. 18:6 – Troy III), type 5 (Fig. 18:7 – Early Troy III), type 7 (Fig. 18:8 – later Troy III), type 8 (Fig. 18:9 – later Troy III) and type 9 (Fig. 18:10 – Troy IV).

<sup>428</sup> Schliemann 1874b, no. 105–2312; Schmidt 1902a, no. 2081.

<sup>429</sup> Schliemann 1880, 214 assigns it to Troy I; Easton 2002, 163.

<sup>430</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 401 nos. 37.1117, 35.646. Unstratified are Schmidt 1902a, nos. 432, 2082, 2155.

<sup>431</sup> Kühne 1976, 49–50 figs. 250–252 pl. 18:7–8; 19:1–2.

<sup>432</sup> Easton 2002, 279, 315 fig. 182 no. 73–661; Schliemann 1880, nos. 406, 411–412; Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 396: no. 36.1152; fig. 413: nos. 45–46; Kühne 1976, 64 fig. 37. There are parallels in Kültepe 15, Özgüç 1986, 37.

<sup>433</sup> Schliemann 1880, no. 408, probably Early III; Easton 2002, 233 fig. 170 no. 73–341 = Schliemann 1880, no. 1124, probably Troy III.

<sup>434</sup> Kühne 1976, 64 fig. 65; Zettler 1978. Blegen et al. 1951, 27: type B5, occurring only in Troy III.

<sup>435</sup> Schliemann 1880, no. 407, probably Early III; Blegen et al. 1951, fig. 70 no. 34.750: Troy III; Easton 2002, 315 note 164.

<sup>436</sup> Schliemann 1874b, no. 136–2728; Easton 2002, 237, 323 fig. 172.

<sup>437</sup> Goldman 1956, 144–145 fig. 357 no. 519. The type has metal parallels in Treasure A: Schmidt 1902a, nos. 5864–5865.

<sup>438</sup> Schliemann 1875, 50 and 15 fig. 1; Schliemann 1880, 613 no. 1433; Easton 2002, 118, 315 fig. 136 no. 72–235. The piece appears to have been found beneath a pavement of white pebbles in D3. Cf. Blegen et al. 1950, 184 no. EH 566 fig. 252:1 and 185 no. EH 567 fig. 252:2; 154 no. EH 447 fig. 251:14; cf. Caskey 1972, 363 pl. 77: B4, 5, 7; Evans – Renfrew 1984, 65 fig. 1b.

<sup>439</sup> Schliemann 1874b, no. 142–2793; Easton 2002, 244, 323 fig. 174; cf. Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. V:9, 11, 12B; Evans – Renfrew 1984, 66–67.

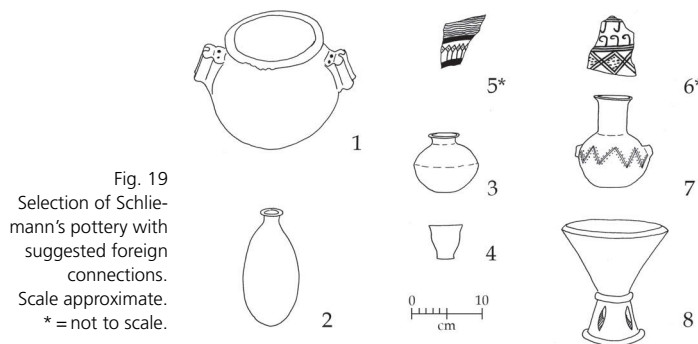


Fig. 19  
Selection of Schliemann's pottery with suggested foreign connections. Scale approximate. \* = not to scale.

cent of early EH III.<sup>440</sup> A ring-stemmed goblet from Troy IV or V (Fig.19:8) is unusual for Troy but may recall similar goblets in early Middle Cycladic strata at Ayia Irini IV.<sup>441</sup> A few items from Troy IV or V have Middle Bronze Age *comparanda* in central Anatolia.<sup>442</sup>

Troy VI and VII must be taken together.<sup>443</sup> Although Schliemann did distinguish a City VII in the nine-city scheme proposed in 1890,<sup>444</sup> he saw it as an »Archaic Greek« phase no earlier than Geometric.<sup>445</sup> It was only the

excavations of 1894 which allowed Schmidt to distinguish in this phase the presence of Early Geometric pottery alongside Troy VI grey wares, Mycenaean imports and Knobbed ware, but no Greek pottery of a later date.<sup>446</sup> This stratigraphic observation was not available to Schliemann, who includes the characteristic Troy VII wares among those of his City VI.

Like Schmidt and Blegen, Schliemann noted that in his City VI some earlier forms continued in use.<sup>447</sup> But he also observed that the pottery of City VI was »totally different« from that of earlier periods in both fabric and shape.<sup>448</sup> He found »a large quantity« in 1882.<sup>449</sup> It was dull black or grey, slipped, and like that found in the Trojan tumuli.<sup>450</sup> He records the presence of incised wavy-line decoration and animal-head finials.<sup>451</sup> A number of the shapes known from Blegen can be recognised,<sup>452</sup> and there are stirrup jars in shapes not exactly paralleled there.<sup>453</sup> He also illustrates several pieces of Knobbed Ware,<sup>454</sup> noting that the two-handled cups were »fre-

<sup>440</sup> Schliemann 1880, no. 1016 (attributed to City IV); Easton 2002, 129, 323 fig. 139 no. 73–181; cf. Rutter 1982, pl. 99:28; 100:35, 37.

<sup>441</sup> Schliemann 1874b, no. 158–3063; Schliemann 1880, no. 1185; Easton 2002, 135–136 fig. 141 no. 73–694; cf. Caskey 1972, fig. 8, D4; Overbeck 1984, 111.

<sup>442</sup> Schliemann 1874b, no. 124–2490; Schliemann 1880, no 1307; Easton 2002, 219, 324, fig. 168; Schliemann 1874b, no. 41–1001; Easton 2002, 186, 325, 340, fig. 156 no. 72–1074.

<sup>443</sup> Brief discussion of the 1870–73 material in Easton 1989, 644–649; Easton 2002, 325–327.

<sup>444</sup> Schliemann 1891, 58.

<sup>445</sup> Schliemann 1891, 17.

<sup>446</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 296–303.

<sup>447</sup> Schliemann 1880, 596–597; Dörpfeld 1902, 287–294; Blegen et al. 1953, 39.

<sup>448</sup> Schliemann 1880, 588. Schliemann published illustrations of very few pieces, but drew more in his notebooks. See Easton 2002, 346.

<sup>449</sup> Schliemann 1884, 193.

<sup>450</sup> Schliemann 1880, 588; Schliemann 1891, 18.

<sup>451</sup> Schliemann 1880, 590, 595, 598–601; Schliemann 1884, 193.

<sup>452</sup> Clearer examples are *Ilios* no. 1383 (A92), no. 1384 (A95), no. 1363 (A99), 73–256 (B25), 73–240 (B26), 73–594 (B29), 72–409 (B30), 72–664 (B31), 73–257 (B32), 73–666 (B34), *Ilios* no. 1367 (C43), 72–881 (C48), 72–960 (C53), *Ilios* no. 1390 (C55), 73–148 (C64), 73–332 (C67), 73–111, 73–237, *Ilios* nos. 1399, 1401, 1402 (D46). To trace the 72– and 73– items see Easton 2002, Index III.

<sup>453</sup> 73–498, 73–456. See Easton 2002, fig. 173.

<sup>454</sup> Schliemann 1880, nos. 1368–1376, 1379–1381; Schliemann 1884, 193–194.



quent<sup>455</sup> and that he had found about 40 pitchers with knobs, vertical ribbing or incised decoration.<sup>456</sup> Stratified Mycenaean pottery was first found, or perhaps first identified, in 1890;<sup>457</sup> but a vessel in the shape of a pig, found in 1872, was painted according to the Mycenaean convention for depicting animal hide.<sup>458</sup>

## 8 Schliemann's »Treasures«

Of the many items included by Schliemann among his treasures more than 330 were already missing in 1902<sup>459</sup> and have still not been located. Much of the remainder, however, was documented in Berlin<sup>460</sup> where the alphabetical nomenclature A to S was devised.<sup>461</sup> The study of these objects has been greatly helped by the availability since 1994 of the numerous pieces in Moscow and St Petersburg which derive from that original collection.<sup>462</sup> There has been no full publication of the objects in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. A small number of objects in the National Museum, Athens have been illustrated in an exhibition catalogue.<sup>463</sup> Sazcı has recently performed the useful task of bringing together into one volume full listings of what Schliemann says he found with illustrations of all available objects and a catalogue showing their present locations. He also includes the comparable material from later excavations.<sup>464</sup> In view of the previous publications, therefore, there is no need for another hand-list of the treasures. In some cases, however, there are new considerations regarding the circumstances of discovery, and these are largely what will be discussed in this section.

The season of 1872 produced Treasures N, R and P.<sup>465</sup> The discovery of Treasure N, a collection of jewellery together with a rod ingot of electrum, is not recorded in Schliemann's notebook or in his despatches from the site. But the principal items must have been found by the end of 1872 because they are illustrated in the *Atlas* plates compiled at the end of that season.<sup>466</sup> Schliemann's first account of the treasure appears in *Trojanische Alterthümer*. He says that it was found as a single, fused agglomeration which subsequently split, only then revealing its contents. This

<sup>455</sup> Schliemann 1880, 594.

<sup>456</sup> Schliemann 1880, 593.

<sup>457</sup> Schliemann 1891, 18.

<sup>458</sup> Schliemann 1880, no. 1450; Easton 2002, fig. 144 no. 72–741; cf. Rodenwaldt 1912, figs. 60–62; Furumark 1941, 246, 376 (who dates the style to LHIIIb).

<sup>459</sup> Detailed in the footnotes in Schmidt 1902a, 237–247. Some of these disappeared in a theft from the Imperial Museum in Constantinople between 1879 and 1881: Saherwala et al. 1993, 225.

<sup>460</sup> Götze 1902, 325–343; Schmidt 1902a, 225–247.

<sup>461</sup> Subdivisions are needed to A, H and S. Easton 1984a, 150, 156 (A); Dörpfeld 1902, 335–336 (H); Easton 1984b, 202–203; Easton 2002, 244 (S).

<sup>462</sup> Antonova et al. 1996; Piotrowsky 1998.

<sup>463</sup> Demakopoulou 1990, 149–152.

<sup>464</sup> Sazcı 2007.

<sup>465</sup> Treasure N: Schliemann 1874a, 117; Schliemann 1875, 164. Treasure R: Schliemann 1874a, 168; Schliemann 1875, 209–210; Schliemann 1880, 270–274. Treasure P: Schliemann 1874a, 165; Schliemann 1875, 206; Schliemann 1880, nos. 1418–1420, 1429–1430.

<sup>466</sup> Schliemann 1874b, nos. 98–2070, 2075–2079.

may explain the initial silence in the notebook and the despatches.<sup>467</sup> Schliemann's account implies that the treasure was found at c. 9.5 m deep in the north-south trench in the region of Megaron IIA. This may have been the case (and he was at this stage unaware of the building's existence or character). Or he may have attributed the objects to this findspot because he had noticed what he thought was a widespread layer of molten metal spread across the area.<sup>468</sup> This could have provided him with a plausible findspot for metal objects whose true context had gone unnoticed. Traill suspects, however, that he had been hoarding the pieces with a view to announcing a glamorous find.<sup>469</sup>

Treasure R, a small group of jewellery, was found on 17 th May in square D4.<sup>470</sup> In his notebook Schliemann corrected the depth at which it had been found from 9 m to 14 m. If it came from 9 m, as is perhaps more likely, then it will have lain in or near Megaron IIA. If the true depth was 14 m it will have belonged to Troy I. The gold beads and oval ring publicly listed by Schliemann as a part of this treasure<sup>471</sup> do not appear in the notebook and seem to have come from elsewhere.<sup>472</sup> The association of Treasure R with a skeleton found two months later in the Troy I strata overlying Wall IW in square D5<sup>473</sup> is false, and may have been caused by a stratigraphic confusion in Schliemann's mind.<sup>474</sup> Traill suggests, rather, that Schliemann wanted to create a dramatic picture of a woman trapped in her jewellery as her house collapsed in the fire that destroyed her city.<sup>475</sup> At this stage he still believed that Priam's Troy might include deposits below those of Troy II.<sup>476</sup> Traill's suggestion is not impossible, but it should be noted that in *Trojanische Alterthümer* Schliemann still placed this complex, with the skeleton, in his First Stratum despite his now placing Priam's Troy in the Second. So if any Trojan picture was intended in 1872 it was soon forgotten.

The items attributed to Treasure P, a small group of bronze tools including curved sickles and a double axe, are illustrated in Schliemann's diary entry for 31st July.<sup>477</sup> They were found at a depth of 1 m, apparently somewhere in CDE6/7.<sup>478</sup> Schliemann himself did not treat them as a group: in *Ilios* he discusses them as individual pieces deriving from City VI. It was Götze who noticed from the similarity of the patina and from impressions left by one object on another that they must all have formed a single find.<sup>479</sup>

<sup>467</sup> The items listed at Schliemann 1880, 491–493 do not belong to Treasure N: Traill 1992, 183 note 1.

<sup>468</sup> Schliemann 1872, 379, 403.

<sup>469</sup> Traill 1995, 329 note 27.

<sup>470</sup> Schliemann 1872, 349; Easton 1984b, 200–201; Easton 2002, 132–133.

<sup>471</sup> Schliemann 1874a, 168

<sup>472</sup> The oval ring may be illustrated at Schliemann 1874b, no. 17–521.

<sup>473</sup> First associated in Schliemann 1872, 478.

<sup>474</sup> Easton 1984b, 200–201; Easton 1992, 194.

<sup>475</sup> Traill 1995, 99–100.

<sup>476</sup> Although Schliemann had decided at the end of 1871 that the »Trojan« ruins were to be seen at 10 m deep (Schliemann 1874a, 39, 44; Meyer 1953, 197), he apparently remained uncertain how much deeper they went (Schliemann 1872, 379). Thus the woman in the ruins of Troy I could be seen in 1872 as having perished in the fire that destroyed Priam's Troy.

<sup>477</sup> Schliemann 1872, 484.

<sup>478</sup> Easton 2002, 191, 194.

<sup>479</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 394–395.

Treasures A, B, C and S were found in 1873.<sup>480</sup> Treasure A, publicised by Schliemann as »Priam's Treasure,« should strictly be subdivided into A1, the principal group found on 31st May 1873, and A2, a group of three silver vessels found some days later.<sup>481</sup> The whole discovery has been extensively discussed, especially with regard to its authenticity.<sup>482</sup> Essentially the issues are (1) whether various discrepancies in Schliemann's account of the discovery – relating to date, precise findspot, exact contents, the presence of his wife – indicate a premeditated deception or simply reflect poor management of a genuine discovery; and (2) whether the presence of additional objects in *Atlas* plates 192–209, going beyond the list published simultaneously in *Trojanische Alterthümer* ch. xxiii, is to be put down to deceit or to a disregard for accuracy.<sup>483</sup> Readers will make up their own minds. The position taken here is that the discovery as listed in *Trojanische Alterthümer* was substantially genuine, but that Schliemann became confused or careless as to some of the details, and in particular as to the exact inventory of objects. This confusion has left us with a problem that is very difficult, if not impossible, to resolve completely.

The slight variations in Schliemann's account of where the treasure was found – whether outside the citadel wall, on it, or only near it – have prompted discussion.<sup>484</sup> Dörpfeld's suggestion that it was found in the mudbrick superstructure of the wall<sup>485</sup> is theoretically attractive but lacks any real foundation. It is a piece of rationalising by one who first came to the site nine years later. Much more convincing is the eyewitness account of Schliemann's foreman Yannakis, given to William Borlase in 1875, that it was found close to the outer face of the wall »in a little place built round with stones, and having flat stones to cover it.«<sup>486</sup> The location accords with that shown in Schliemann's earliest plans,<sup>487</sup> and the »little place« sounds like a stone cist. On this evidence

<sup>480</sup> Treasure A: Schliemann 1873a, 273–275, 300–314; Schliemann 1874a, 289–303; Schliemann 1874b, pls. 192–209; Schliemann 1875, 323–342; Schliemann 1880, 453–485. Treasure B: Schliemann 1873a, 268, 292–293; Schliemann 1874a, 296–297; Schliemann 1874b, nos. 171–3303 to 3306, 3308, 176–3401; Schliemann 1875, 333–334; Schliemann 1880, 472–473. Treasure C: Schliemann 1880, 43, 485–488. Treasure S: Schliemann 1873a, 130, 136, 149, 152–156, 163, 170–171; Schliemann 1874a, 232, 246–247; Schliemann 1875, 267–268, 279–281; Schliemann 1880, 506–513.

<sup>481</sup> Easton 1984a, 150, 156.

<sup>482</sup> Principally Traill 1984b; Traill 1986b; Traill 1992; Traill 1995, 111–121; Traill 2000; Easton 1984a; Easton 1994a; Easton 2002, 23–24, 296–301.

<sup>483</sup> The argument in Traill 2000 in favour of Treasure A being a fraudulent composite depends in part on a misreading of the drawings in the 1873 notebook. Lempessis first sketched the objects into the notebook in pencil and then inked over the sketches later, but not always quite exactly, so that sometimes traces of the pencilling remain visible. Thus in some cases a single object appears to have several outlines. It seems that Traill has been working with a copy in which the distinction between the pencil and the ink drawings is not clear, for in some of these cases he has misunderstood the multiple outlines to represent bundles of several objects corroded together. Traill also argues that 56 earrings shown in *Atlas* pl. 196 must be an addition to the treasure because he takes the drawing to have been made at Troy by Lempessis, for which there can have been no time if they were found with Treasure A on 31st May 1873 and immediately smuggled off the site. In fact it is not certain that the drawing was by Lempessis. Schliemann 1875, 357 credits him only with pl. 119–190, and in pl. 196 the objects are poorly laid out, which is unusual for Lempessis. Nor is it certain that it was made at Troy. But in any case the subsequent Ottoman investigation appears to have uncovered evidence that small items of jewellery from the treasure were smuggled out of the Troad, not with the larger objects on 6th June, but by Schliemann on his own person and only at the end of the season (Aslan – Sönmez 2011, 46–47). Thus they were apparently not among the objects immediately removed from the site on 31st May, and so could have been drawn there after their discovery.

<sup>484</sup> Easton 2002, 296 for references.

<sup>485</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 8. The idea was evidently raised in 1882: Schliemann 1884, 57.

<sup>486</sup> Borlase 1878, 236.

<sup>487</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pls. 215–216; Schliemann 1875, 306, 347.

it seems likely that the treasure was found in a stone cist which had been dug into the debris overlying the face of the citadel wall. The deeper and earlier findspot suggested by Korfmann – a niche in the underlying gateway of Early Troy II – seems to depend on a misreading of the stratigraphic information given by Schliemann.<sup>488</sup>

The date of the treasure has been variously assessed. Makkay has argued that the earliest possible date of deposition is around 2,200 BC, which agrees well with at least one possible date for the destruction of Early Troy III although the absolute chronology remains somewhat fluid. He also observes that the assemblage itself could be the result of a hoarding process which had spanned the previous two centuries.<sup>489</sup> Its compilation would thus have taken place largely during Troy IIc, the phase with the great megarons, in Mesopotamian terms in the period ranging from Early Dynastic IIIb through Akkadian to Post-Akkadian. The long-handled pan<sup>490</sup> and the five gold earrings with very fine granulation<sup>491</sup> have been argued to be no earlier than Ur III in origin, and probably of Second Millennium date<sup>492</sup> and to point either to a late date for the treasure as a whole<sup>493</sup> or to its being a composite.<sup>494</sup> The pan, never a grave problem,<sup>495</sup> has ceased to present any difficulty since the discovery of a comparable vessel in an EBIII context at Eskiya-par.<sup>496</sup> With regard to the earrings, Treister notes that one element in their make-up is toothed discs like those found in other items of Troy II–III jewellery and that they cannot be regarded as Mesopotamian imports.<sup>497</sup> It should be borne in mind that, since Maxwell-Hyslop wrote in 1971, the extent and originality of Anatolian metalwork in the Third Millennium has become much clearer, and that it can no longer be assumed that in technique and style Mesopotamia and Syria led the way.<sup>498</sup>

It is an open question whether the treasure was part of a burial or a cache of valuables. As there was no evidence of human remains and no disposition of the objects which might indicate that they had been laid out on or around a body, it is perhaps more likely that it was a cache.

Treasure B, a small group of silver and bronze vessels, was found on 23rd May in the deposits overlying the (originally) Troy II citadel wall, very close to the point where, a few days later, Treasure A came to light. They may both have been parts of a single deposit, or two deposits intentionally placed side by side.<sup>499</sup>

<sup>488</sup> Korfmann 2001. Schliemann says that the Treasure was at a lower stratigraphic point than two superimposed walls. Korfmann (p. 222) takes the lower of these to be a late phase of the Troy II circuit wall, whereas in fact Schliemann was referring to the »Hellenic Tower,« Megaron VIB. The upper wall belonged to IXA.

<sup>489</sup> Makkay 1992.

<sup>490</sup> Schmidt 1902a, nos. 5817, 5822

<sup>491</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 196 nos 3562–3565, 3569.

<sup>492</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 58–59; Calmeyer 1977.

<sup>493</sup> K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop and S. Hood, *Dating Troy II* (unpublished manuscript 1979), cited by Makkay 1992, 199.

<sup>494</sup> Traill 1984b, 115 (= Traill 1993, 152).

<sup>495</sup> Spanos 1977.

<sup>496</sup> Özgüç – Temizer 1993, figs. 48, 50 pl. 117 nos. 3a–b.

<sup>497</sup> Antonova et al. 1996, 229.

<sup>498</sup> In January 2007 Mrs Maxwell-Hyslop told me in a telephone conversation that she now considered her whole approach in 1971 to have been wrong in that she had been thinking that Anatolia had had to receive ideas from Syria whereas, since then, »the whole picture has changed«.

<sup>499</sup> Easton 1984a, 165–167.

Treasure C derives from three groups, one in a jar, consisting mainly of jewellery but including also some gold ingots and a bronze flat axe. They were partially recovered by the local police from a theft by workmen, and all are said by Schliemann to have been found originally to the northeast of »Priam's Palace« (in C5) in March 1873.<sup>500</sup> A different findspot, in the eastern half of the mound, was claimed by an anonymous writer, presumably Frank Calvert or someone connected to him, in *The Levant Herald* in January 1874.<sup>501</sup> Calvert, however, would have had a clear interest in putting such a story about because the treasures would then have been found on his land and half of them should have been his. Traill nevertheless accepts this alternative claim on the grounds that there was no digging in square C5 in March 1873. But he overlooks the likelihood that the »March« date elicited from the workmen was a Julian date,<sup>502</sup> and that in Gregorian terms the discovery was made in April – a date when Schliemann was in fact digging there.<sup>503</sup>

Treasure S is a group of uncertainly-related finds all recovered, with two skulls and a human mandible, from the mudbrick debris overlying Gate FN in squares EF7. The objects came to light over several days between 26<sup>th</sup> March and 4<sup>th</sup> April 1873. Schliemann in his publications imaginatively interpreted them as the remains of two fallen warriors with their accoutrements.<sup>504</sup> It is possible that the finds might derive from burials disturbed during or at the end of Troy II or of the first phase of Troy III.

Six of the treasures were found in 1878. Treasure D (jewellery)<sup>505</sup> appeared in an obliquely placed jar in square D4 in what was later to be identified as Megaron IIE. The jar contained a white powder. Treasure E was recovered in or close to Building HS in a stratum of grey ashes »just 3 ft above the ground.«<sup>506</sup> Treasure E (jewellery and some lumps of gold) was in two jars, one horizontal and the other lying obliquely, with three bronzes nearby. Three feet away but »on the house-wall itself« at 8 m deep Schliemann found Treasure F.<sup>507</sup> Here there were three groups: some bronze tools and weapons, a bronze vessel containing jewellery and gold ingots, and a broken *depas* containing jewellery and sixteen gold »currency bars« with incised divisions. White powder is mentioned, but as surrounding the bronze objects and not in either of the vessels.<sup>508</sup> Treasure M,<sup>509</sup> which included a faience staff-head, lay in a large, broken jar on the citadel wall in square C5. Treasure G (jewellery)<sup>510</sup> came to light in D3 at or near the north end of Megaron

<sup>500</sup> Schliemann 1880, 43; Easton 2002, 62, 280–281 fig. 112. The 1874 report by İzzeddin Efendi gives more information about the circumstances of what seems to be this theft: Aslan – Sönmez 2011, 46–47.

<sup>501</sup> Traill 1995, 125–126.

<sup>502</sup> The thieves appear to have been Greeks, for it was one of their wives who gave the theft away by parading herself in the jewellery on a Sunday. Schliemann 1880, 485.

<sup>503</sup> Easton 2002, fig. 28.

<sup>504</sup> Easton 1984b, 202–203; Easton 2002, 226, 244, 334 note 375.

<sup>505</sup> Schliemann 1880, 490–491.

<sup>506</sup> Schliemann 1880, 493–494; the find may have been made at c. 31.4 m AT.

<sup>507</sup> Schliemann 1880, 494–498.

<sup>508</sup> Schliemann 1880, 494.

<sup>509</sup> Schliemann 1880, 429.

<sup>510</sup> Schliemann 1880, 498–499; Traill 2000, 29 notes that the earrings in Athens attributed to this treasure by Götze are in fact a part of Treasure A. Note that *Ilios* no. 835 also belongs to Treasure G although listed by Schmidt under Treasure O – see following note.

IIA or IIB. Treasure O (two gold pins found within a foot of one another)<sup>511</sup> came from a depth of 14 m in square B4. This means that they must have been found in the deposits outside the Troy II citadel wall. Schliemann implies as much, for in discussing them he observed that in this area the strata of City III (i. e. from the Burnt City of *Ilios*) dropped to a much deeper level than usual. We may conclude that the pins were found in the destruction deposits of Troy IIc which had fallen or been dumped outside the citadel wall. Typologically the pins are consistent with such a date.<sup>512</sup>

From 1879 come Treasures H and I. Treasure H<sup>513</sup> is composed of two separate finds from square E4: Ha, some EB jewellery recovered from a wheelbarrow, and Hb, three gold discs from a higher stratum, probably Troy VI. Treasure J (jewellery and small valuables)<sup>514</sup> was found scattered over the face of the Troy II citadel wall not far from the findspot of Treasure A.<sup>515</sup>

From 1882 we have Treasures K and Q. In *Troja* Schliemann gives an extensive inventory of objects found in and around the megarons, which he believed to be temples.<sup>516</sup> Traill doubts whether the list is entirely genuine, speculating that Schliemann may have included finds secretly brought to him from elsewhere by the workmen.<sup>517</sup> But it is far from unexpected that large and important buildings caught in a conflagration should produce such inventories, and in fact Schliemann describes quite separately a very wide range of pottery and small finds which he says came from other parts of the site.<sup>518</sup> Among these are Treasure Q (jewellery),<sup>519</sup> apparently found in front of the porch of Megaron IIA and not in it, and Treasure »K.«<sup>520</sup> The latter (bronze tools and weapons together with an anthropomorphic handle<sup>521</sup>) was apparently found in square C4 in or near what was later identified as Megaron IIE. Traill's supposition that this and other of the 1882 finds were clandestinely brought to Schliemann by the workmen<sup>522</sup> seems to rest on a mistranslation. He quotes a letter to Virchow in which he has Schliemann say of Treasure K, »Since I got all these things secretly on the side, I cannot send you a drawing [...].« What Schliemann actually wrote is »Da ich alles dieses im Geheimen beiseite gebracht habe, [...].«<sup>523</sup> A more accurate translation would begin, »Since I have secretly set all of this on one side [...].« Schliemann is talking about his secreting of the objects in order to remove them from the site, not about how he acquired them.

<sup>511</sup> Schliemann 1880, 488–489. Antonova et al. 1996, 184 wrongly include their no. 240 (*Ilios* no. 835) in this treasure, influenced no doubt by its out-of-place listing in Schmidt 1902a, 245–246. Schliemann in fact includes it in Treasure G (Schliemann 1880, 498).

<sup>512</sup> Antonova et al. 1996, 213–214; Easton 1997, 266 note 28.

<sup>513</sup> Schliemann 1880, 499–502.

<sup>514</sup> Schliemann 1880, 502–503.

<sup>515</sup> Virchow's observation: Dörpfeld 1902, 336.

<sup>516</sup> Schliemann 1884, 91–139. The inventory includes Treasure »Q.« found in front of the porch of Megaron IIA.

<sup>517</sup> Traill 1995, 219.

<sup>518</sup> Schliemann 1884, 139–174.

<sup>519</sup> Schliemann 1884, 106.

<sup>520</sup> Schliemann 1884, 165–169.

<sup>521</sup> For the so-called »Palladium«, *Troja* fig. 84, cf. the ceramic vessel found in G6 in the new excavations: Sazcı 2007, 92–93, 272.

<sup>522</sup> Traill 1995, 219–221.

<sup>523</sup> Herrmann – Maafß 1990, 306.

Treasure L (which included the well known ceremonial axes)<sup>524</sup> was found on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1890 in Building IIN. Schliemann records the discovery in his notebook: »Digging between the foundations of the houses of the 2nd city near the eastern city wall, Dimos today found lying together many valuables occupying a space of approximately 0.50 m in length and width.« Dörpfeld apparently gave Götze to understand that he had been present at the discovery, adding that the collection appeared to have been set in a niche in the wall.<sup>525</sup> The fact that it passes unmentioned in Dörpfeld's notebook is not especially disturbing<sup>526</sup> since that document is rather sketchy and largely architectural and stratigraphic in its focus. The ceremonial stone axes have suggested to some that the finds might have a much later origin.<sup>527</sup> Treister, however, cites a wide range of Third Millennium parallels including pieces from Alaca Höyük and Chernomorsk in the northern Caucasus.<sup>528</sup> In addition to the axes Treasure L included sceptre-heads, rock crystal lenses (many of them perhaps decorative bosses), jewellery, and a large number of silver and gold nails. It is possible that the bosses and the nails were attached to an object or objects of perishable material, such as a wooden box or stool.

Viewing all of these treasures together we can say that the inhabitants tended to keep jewellery and »currency« (gold ingots etc.) in jars. Larger items such as bronze tools and weapons, which did not easily fit into jars, were stored loose or perhaps were wrapped in cloth or matting as the white powder surrounding the bronze items in Treasure F suggests. This in turn casts doubt on the idea that the white powder in some of the jars was from cremations.<sup>529</sup> Really large hoards such as Treasures A and L were kept in cists or cupboards. Some groups which appear to have been found loose may, of course, have been stored in bags or boxes which did not survive. The mixed character of the smaller and obviously deliberate hoards (C, D, E, F, M)<sup>530</sup> suggests that they may have been collections of personal assets. Treasures L and A (+B?) look different. L contains what are probably symbols of status (the ceremonial stone axes and the crystal sceptre-heads), and Treasure A is exceptionally large. It seems reasonable to speculate they belonged to elite individuals or institutions such as royalty or temple.<sup>531</sup>

There is some evidence that there were burials within the citadel, presumably in areas that were in disuse at the time. A cist burial was found by Blegen<sup>532</sup> and another was found by Schliemann in 1890.<sup>533</sup> Human remains were found in four other places by Schliemann.<sup>534</sup> In addition

<sup>524</sup> Schliemann 1890, 59–60; Dörpfeld 1902, 338–340; Easton 1984b, 199–200.

<sup>525</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 338.

<sup>526</sup> Pace Traill 1995, 291.

<sup>527</sup> Traill 1995, 291, 346 note 27.

<sup>528</sup> Antonova et al. 1996, 220–222.

<sup>529</sup> As apparently supposed in Sazcı 2007, 220, 232, 238.

<sup>530</sup> Bittel 1959, 18–19 regards Treasures A, C, D and parts of E, F and M as closed groups, hoards in the true sense.

<sup>531</sup> Bobkhyan (2008, 282–288) notes that the spatial distribution of many of the treasures coincides with that of a number of balance weights, and suggests plausibly that they were craftsmen's collections. Bachhuber 2009, by contrast, argues that the treasures were deliberately thrown away in acts of conspicuous consumption intended to enhance the prestige of the owners. This latter interpretation seems somewhat to disregard the character and variety of the various likely findspots – see below.

<sup>532</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 255 figs. 282, 284, 452.

<sup>533</sup> Schliemann 1890, 33. The grave included a human skeleton and the silver vessel Schmidt 1902a, no. 6254.

<sup>534</sup> Schliemann 1874a, 167–174, 232, 246–248.



Fig. 20  
Find-spots of  
»treasures« possible  
deposited in Troy IIc.

there are several features which could have been cists, three near Blegen's burial in E6<sup>535</sup> and a fourth to the west of Gate FM.<sup>536</sup> It is therefore possible that some of the scattered finds might derive from burials disturbed by levelling operations at the end either of Troy II or of Early Troy III. Treasure S is the most obvious candidate, since skeletons were found in its vicinity.

There can of course be no certainty as to the exact findspots of most of the treasures<sup>537</sup>. Looking at such evidence as we have, however, it seems very likely that Treasures N, R and G came from Megaron IIA. They are mainly jewellery, and it is noticeable that, if this location is correct, they would all have been stored at the furthest and least accessible end of the building. They may have been caught in the building's collapse at the end of Troy II. Treasure Q, found just outside the porch, may have fallen in the collapse of the upper storey – unless it was deliberately buried at a later date from within an overlying building of Troy III. Treasure D seems to have come from Megaron IIE, unless we accept the view that it was a cremation burial deposited in Troy III. Treas-

<sup>535</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 452.

<sup>536</sup> Schliemann 1874b, pl. 214, »stone benches.«

<sup>537</sup> Cf. the earlier discussions in Easton 1997; Bobkhyan 2008.



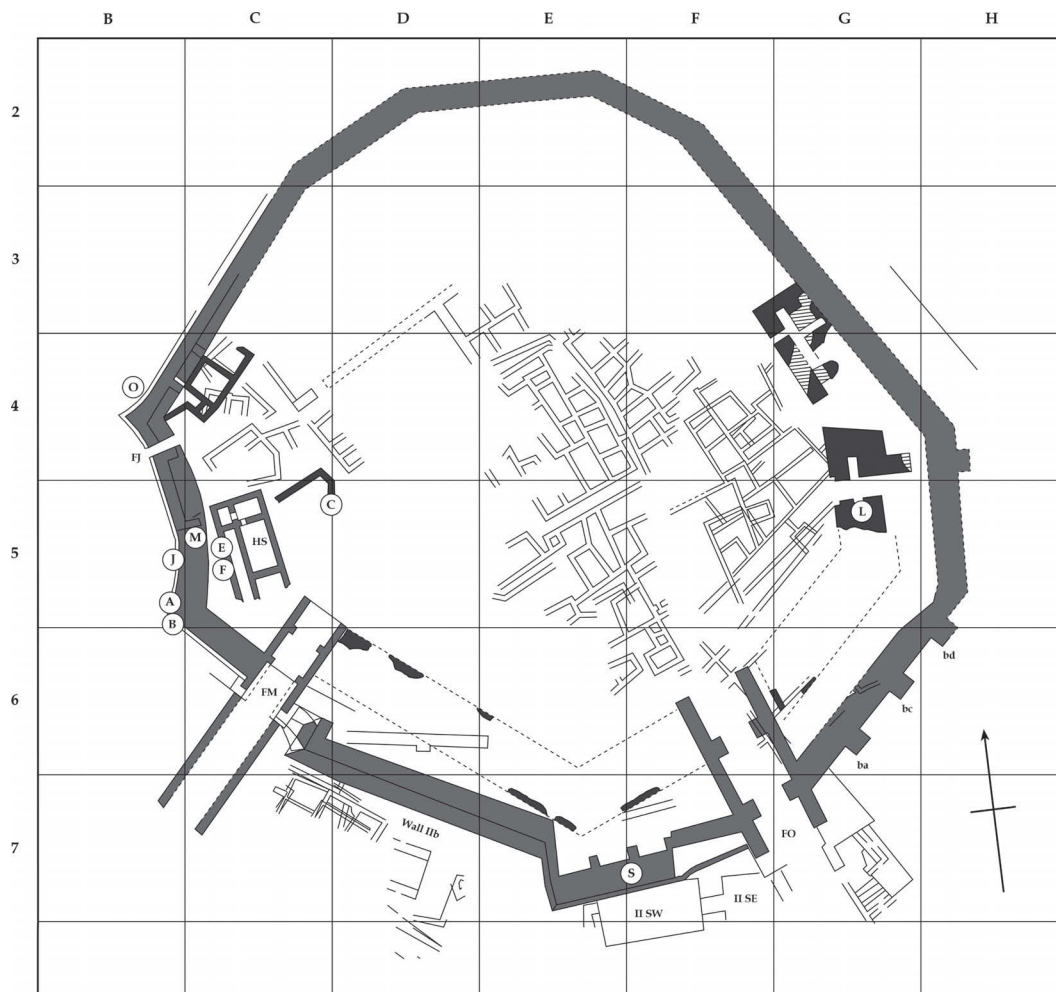


Fig. 21  
Find-spots of  
»treasures« possibly  
deposited in Early Troy III.  
For the uncertain  
attribution of Buildings  
IIM, IIN and associated  
features to this phase,  
see note 540.

ure K likewise comes from Megaron IIE. Here the attribution to Troy IIc is more secure, for Schliemann recognised that it was found in the debris of City II which by 1882 he had learned to distinguish from that of City III. Treasure Ha may derive from the north end of either Megaron IIB or Megaron IIH. Thus we have a number of collections which can reasonably be attributed to the palatial suite of buildings which occupied the centre of the citadel during Troy IIc and which were destroyed at the end of that phase (Fig. 20). Numerous pits were dug into the burnt ruins of Troy II, perhaps in an attempt to recover some of these lost treasures.<sup>538</sup>

Treasures C, E and F seem to belong to the next phase, Early Troy III. They were all found in or near Building HS, Treasure F being discovered »on the house-wall«. Partly on account of

<sup>538</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 277–278 figs. 456–457. Apparently some valuable items were not recovered and thus remained to be found by the American excavators: Blegen 1950, 281–282; Bachhuber 2009, 6. Blegen notes that most pits had probably held pithoi, but whether the pithoi were installed before his phase IIc, and in some cases contained valuables, or whether they were all installed during his IIc, after valuables had been extracted from the ground, one cannot now determine.

Treasure F's position Sazcı regards them all as cremation burials,<sup>539</sup> in which case they should have been dug down into the ruins of HS during later phases of Troy III. Schliemann, however, noted that E and F were found in a layer of grey ashes »three feet above the ground.« His supposition that they had fallen to this position with an upper storey during the collapse of the building is quite plausible. On this scenario they would have been lost at the end of Early Troy III. Also lost at the end of Early Troy III were probably Treasure L,<sup>540</sup> and perhaps Treasure S in the sense that it may have been then that a burial was disturbed (Fig. 21).

Treasures A, B, J, M and O were all found in the neighbourhood of the Troy II citadel wall on the southwest side of the site: Treasure M on the wall itself, Treasure J scattered on its sloping face, Treasure O among the destruction deposits fallen in front of it, and Treasures A and perhaps B deliberately dug into those deposits. Thus there are two phases and styles of deposition here: the loss of treasures at the time when the superstructure of the citadel wall was destroyed (J, M and O), and the deliberate deposition of a hoard or hoards at a time when the sloping face of its stone substructure had been covered over (A and B). The first of these two events certainly occurred at the end of Troy IIc, after which a new superstructure was erected on the wall.<sup>541</sup> This is therefore the date at which Treasures J, M and O were lost (Fig. 20).

The second event cannot be placed earlier than Early Troy III. Its precise dating would depend on the subsequent history of the citadel wall and its immediate surroundings, but this can now only be guessed at. A mudbrick wall was rebuilt in Early III along the line of the familiar circuit wall known from Dörpfeld's plan (*Troja und Ilion* pl. III). If Treasure A was found in a stone cist, as Borlase's report suggests, then outside the wall there must also have been a surface or a structure into which the cist was dug. *Prima facie* the presence of structures of some sort is to be expected, since valuables are unlikely to have been placed in a cist in open and unprotected ground. Evidence of a series of defensive structures from II and Early III was found just outside the Troy II citadel wall in square D7 in 1990 and 1991.<sup>542</sup> Similar buildings may have continued into C6, passing around or over the long-disused Gate FL, because Schliemann thought he had found another fortification of some kind a little further to the southwest.<sup>543</sup> If so, an upper level or a later phase could have supplied the necessary surface running up to the base of the mudbrick circuit wall, which in that case possibly now no longer had a defensive function. Treasures A and B could have been sunk into such a surface in Early Troy III or in one of the immediately follow-

<sup>539</sup> Sazcı 2007, 206, 232, 238.

<sup>540</sup> Previous excavations have suggested that Building IIN, in which Treasure L was found, belonged to a larger structure which extended around the south and east sides of the citadel interior: Schliemann 1891, pl. III; Dörpfeld 1902, 77–78 pl. III; Blegen et al. 1950, 302 fig. 459. An additional segment may have been identified by the new excavations in square G6: Sazcı 2007, 87–89, cf. Korfmann 2000, 17–19. Its date is not wholly clear. Ünlüsoy, like Dörpfeld, places it with the buildings of his Phase IIc. Blegen, however, found that Wall II.18, which may be a part of the feature, was stratified over a preceding wall, II.19, which seemed contemporary with the buildings which we would now consider to have perished in the fire at the end of Troy IIc: Blegen et al. 1950, 279. This seems to favour a later dating for Buildings IIM, IIN etc. and consequently also for the loss of Treasure L.

<sup>541</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 74–76, 79–80.

<sup>542</sup> Korfmann 1992, 17–19 fig. 17.

<sup>543</sup> Schliemann 1880, 40; Easton 1989, 520; Easton 1990, 435; Easton 2002, 261, 264–265 fig. 198. Schliemann does comment on the wall's »comparatively modern structure« but does not specify in what this consisted.

ing phases (Fig. 21). If, however, we dismiss the possible existence of Early III structures immediately outside the wall, then the alternative must be a later date for the deposition of these two Treasures. If we accept the traditional picture, which envisages the wall remaining in use, unencumbered by external additions, until the end of Troy III, then they would have to have been dug down from a period even later. Considering the chronological distribution of the treasures generally and the depth of hole that would have been required, this seems a less attractive option.

## 9 Schliemann's Investigations in the Lower Town and in the Troad

In 1873 Schliemann made twenty sondages on the surrounding plateau and identified the presence of a lower town of classical date, but nothing earlier.<sup>544</sup> The sondages are shown on *Atlas* pl. 213 (*Troy and its Remains* Plan I). In *Ilios* Schliemann discussed what was known of the lower town and was still aware of nothing earlier than the classical periods.<sup>545</sup> He also gives an account of the cave on the western edge of the lower town, where he had resumed the exploration begun by Calvert. In the entrance chamber he had found an opening in the roof and, at the far end, a division into three branches. He had noted water channels which were still active.<sup>546</sup>

In 1882 Schliemann's concern at the apparently small size of the site, combined with the hope of finding rich tombs, led him to re-examine the area of the Greek and Roman lower town. He dug five long test-trenches and a number of other shafts where, in the lowest strata, he now consistently found pottery of the type found in Cities I and II.<sup>547</sup> He also noticed the presence of possible Mycenaean sherds<sup>548</sup> and of grey wares which he recognised as similar to his »Lydian« (i. e. mainly Troy VII) wares, but which he took to be later.<sup>549</sup> All this was important in providing the first evidence of a pre-classical lower town. Schliemann sketched a possible line for its outer limits, taking into account the lie of the land and the distribution of the pottery.<sup>550</sup> The result has been strikingly replicated, or nearly replicated, by the work of the new excavations.<sup>551</sup> He further excavated the three galleries within the cave, and found flowing water, a Roman pipe and an earlier conduit, and Roman basins outside the cave-mouth.<sup>552</sup>

In 1890 excavations in the lower town exposed more of the Bouleuterion,<sup>553</sup> investigated graves outside the Roman city wall,<sup>554</sup> and resumed work below the north slope of the mound and found a skeleton, possibly from a Byzantine burial.<sup>555</sup> To the west and south of the citadel

<sup>544</sup> Schliemann 1874a, pp. xi–xii, 304–305, 307; Schliemann 1875, 17–18, 343–344, 346; Schliemann 1881, 38–39.

<sup>545</sup> Schliemann 1880, 38–39, 610–612.

<sup>546</sup> Schliemann 1880, 625–626.

<sup>547</sup> Schliemann 1884, 25–27 plan VIII.

<sup>548</sup> Schliemann 1884, 216.

<sup>549</sup> Schliemann 1884, 218.

<sup>550</sup> Schliemann 1884, 62–63 plan VIII.

<sup>551</sup> Jablonka 2006, figs. 8–9.

<sup>552</sup> Schliemann 1884, 63–65.

<sup>553</sup> Schliemann 1891, 15.

<sup>554</sup> Schliemann 1891, 24.

<sup>555</sup> Schliemann 1890, 6.

Schliemann dug a number of 100-metre-long trenches and found walls belonging to Greek and Roman buildings.<sup>556</sup> The three galleries in the cave were cleared further.<sup>557</sup>

Further afield, in the broader area of the Troad generally, he sank a vertical shaft into the tumulus of Paşa Tepe over four days at the end of April 1873, but found only hard brown earth interleaved with layers of limestone.<sup>558</sup> In 1878–79 Schliemann's activities included explorations in the plain<sup>559</sup> and a journey through the Troad with Virchow.<sup>560</sup> In 1879 Burnouf and Virchow made a number of soundings in the plain to try to elucidate its geomorphology.<sup>561</sup> Alluvial deposits were clearly attested, but the soundings never went deep enough to find the marine deposits now known to exist. Schliemann concluded that the plain was little changed since the time of the Trojan War. Virchow drew a contrary conclusion, describing the plain, more accurately, as »an old fiord which has been filled by river deposit.«<sup>562</sup>

In this season Schliemann also investigated six of the Trojan tumuli. At Beşik (Sivri) Tepe he correctly identified the presence of a prehistoric village overlaid by a later tumulus.<sup>563</sup> More recent excavation has shown the tumulus to be of Hellenistic date and the underlying site to be Chalcolithic.<sup>564</sup> Üvecik Tepe he plausibly took to be the Tomb of Festus erected by Caracalla, with an underlying monument of classical date.<sup>565</sup> At Intepe, beside the Hadrianic tumulus marking the former Tomb of Ajax, he may have dug into an ancient spoil-heap.<sup>566</sup> At a mound just south of Ilion he found only fragments of Roman bricks.<sup>567</sup> Kesik Tepe and the supposed Tomb of Ilus near Kum Köy turned out to be natural features.<sup>568</sup>

In 1882 he made excavations in three tumuli to the north of Sigeion, three tumuli on Cape Rhoeteum and in the »Tomb of Priam« on the Ballı Dağ. None yielded anything that was clearly earlier than Archaic.<sup>569</sup> Anne-Ulrike Kossatz-Pompé, however, has revived a suggestion of Dörpfeld's which postulates a preceding Late Bronze Age phase for this and other tumuli in the Troad.<sup>570</sup> On the Gallipoli Peninsula, in the »Tumulus of Protesilaos,« Schliemann found clear evidence of another settlement of Troy I–II date.<sup>571</sup>

In 1890 the work at Paşa Tepe was resumed and a burial found, but no grave goods.<sup>572</sup>

<sup>556</sup> Schliemann 1891, 24.

<sup>557</sup> Schliemann 1890, 5–7.

<sup>558</sup> Schliemann 1873a, 207–209; Schliemann 1875, 301; Traill 1995, 109.

<sup>559</sup> Schliemann 1880, Appendix I; Traill 1995, 189–192.

<sup>560</sup> Schliemann 1880, 55–60.

<sup>561</sup> Schliemann 1880, 84–91.

<sup>562</sup> Schliemann 1880, 676.

<sup>563</sup> Schliemann 1880, 665–669; Cook 1973, 173–174.

<sup>564</sup> Gabriel 2001, 344–345; Korfmann 1999, 29.

<sup>565</sup> Schliemann 1880, 658–665; Cook 1973, 172–173.

<sup>566</sup> Schliemann 1880, 652–653; Cook 1973, 88–89.

<sup>567</sup> Schliemann 1880, 669.

<sup>568</sup> Schliemann 1880, 83, 669; Cook 1973, 165–166.

<sup>569</sup> Schliemann 1884, 242–263; Cook 1973, 133–134, 164–165.

<sup>570</sup> Kossatz-Pompé 1992, 180–188. A similar view is expressed in Bayne 1963, 55.

<sup>571</sup> Schliemann 1884, 254–262.

<sup>572</sup> Schliemann 1891, 24.

## 10 Schliemann's Collections

The finds from Schliemann's Troy excavations have, through a variety of circumstances, become quite dispersed. From 1871 he dug under the terms of successive permits from the Ottoman government. These all required that at least a portion of the finds be handed over to the Imperial Museum in Constantinople (now the Istanbul Archaeological Museum),<sup>573</sup> and a division was made at the end of each season.<sup>574</sup> Treasure C was recovered from thieves by the Turkish police at the end of 1873 and also went to Constantinople.<sup>575</sup> Between 1879 and 1881, however, there was a theft at the Imperial Museum in which, apparently, many objects were lost,<sup>576</sup> and in 1885 Schliemann bought back the pottery and stone artefacts found in 1878, 1879 and 1882.<sup>577</sup>

The eastern half of the site belonged to Frank Calvert and for 1871–73 there was the same arrangement with him as there was with the Ottoman government.<sup>578</sup> This must have been modified as Turkish legislation became stricter. Again, some parts of the collection were bought back by Schliemann, including the Helios metope found in 1872.<sup>579</sup> The Calvert collection was eventually broken up by a series of sales and disasters, but by various routes the majority came to form the nucleus of the collection in the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum.<sup>580</sup>

Schliemann himself was determined not to give way totally to the terms of his permits and, throughout his time at Troy, made a habit of smuggling many of the best of his finds out of Turkey.<sup>581</sup> Notoriously these included »Priam's Treasure« which, with the rest of Schliemann's collection, became the subject of a legal action brought by the Turkish government in the Greek courts in 1874.<sup>582</sup> According to Schliemann the case was resolved by his paying an indemnity and by the Turks relinquishing all claims.<sup>583</sup> It remains to be seen whether documents recently found in the Ottoman archives will confirm this.<sup>584</sup> Much of his collection he gave to the Königlische Museen in Berlin in 1881,<sup>585</sup> but he could boast afterwards that he still had two thirds of his collection in Athens.<sup>586</sup> He made further gifts to the Berlin museums in the following years, and be-

<sup>573</sup> The requirement in 1871–73 was that, of the finds made on the western half of the site which belonged to the Turkish state, one half be handed over. In 1878 the requirement was raised to two-thirds from the western half and one third from the eastern half (owned by Calvert), and by 1890 to the totality of finds from all parts of the site. Easton 1997, 197–198, 266 notes 33, 39, 48, 54, 58.

<sup>574</sup> Easton 1997, 197–198.

<sup>575</sup> Schliemann 1880, 43; Dörpfeld 1902, 332.

<sup>576</sup> Saherwala et al. 1993, 81, 224–225.

<sup>577</sup> Saherwala et al. 1993, 36–37, 116–117.

<sup>578</sup> Schliemann 1873b; Schliemann 1875, 144.

<sup>579</sup> Meyer 1953, 212, 226; Traill 1986a.

<sup>580</sup> Allen 1999, 238–246.

<sup>581</sup> Easton 1981; Saherwala et al. 1993, 99, 142; Schliemann 1890, 31, 38, 41, 44, 46, 49; Herrmann – Maafß 1990, 548; Traill 1995, 288–289.

<sup>582</sup> Easton 1994a, 228–230.

<sup>583</sup> Schliemann 1880, 44.

<sup>584</sup> Aslan et al. 2009, 246 note 9.

<sup>585</sup> Bertram 1992; Saherwala et al. 1993, 19–35.

<sup>586</sup> Meyer 1958, 430 note 125.

queathed to them most of the remainder at his death.<sup>587</sup> In fact not quite everything went to Berlin. Schliemann often gave away individual pieces to friends, visiting dignitaries and institutions, as was customary at the time. After his death his widow gave more than 205 items to the National Museum in Athens<sup>588</sup> and, in 1928, his collection of coins to the Greek National Numismatic Museum.<sup>589</sup>

The Berlin collection was partly broken up in 1895 when duplicates were given to 37 other institutions.<sup>590</sup> But most remained and was published in Schmidt's catalogue of 1902. There were still 9,704 inventoried items. During the Second World War the collection was split into several groups for safe keeping.<sup>591</sup> The most valuable items were by the end of the war stored in an anti-aircraft tower at the Berlin Zoo from where, in May 1945, they were transported to Moscow. The full story of these events emerged only in the 1990s<sup>592</sup> until when the location since 1945 of the Troy Treasures had been a mystery. The objects are now in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>593</sup> Other parts of the collection were stored elsewhere, some in Berlin and some further afield.<sup>594</sup> Some found their way to St Petersburg and are now in the Hermitage Museum.<sup>595</sup> Much was recovered after the war and was returned to the then separated museums of East and West Berlin. Since German re-unification the collections have been re-combined and are gradually being published.<sup>596</sup>

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<sup>587</sup> Saherwala et al. 1993, 46–47, 228. Technically Treasure L was not a part of the legacy – Saherwala et al. 1993, 232.

<sup>588</sup> Konsola in Demakopoulou 1990, 79.

<sup>589</sup> Korres 1974b, 246.

<sup>590</sup> Schmidt 1902a, 331–336; Bertram 1992, 400.

<sup>591</sup> Unverzagt 1988; Goldmann 1992, 379–383.

<sup>592</sup> Akinsha 1991a; Akinsha – Kozlov 1991a; Akinsha – Kozlov 1991b; Schliemanns Gold 1993; Akinsha – Kozlov 1994; Easton 1994a; Akinsha et al. 1995; Goldmann – Schneider 1995. For the broader context in Western Europe and in the USSR see Akinsha 1991b; Akinsha 1992; Goldmann – Wermusch 1992; Nicholas 1994; Akinsha – Kozlov 1995; Simpson 1997, esp. Part 5 »Reappearance and Recovery«.

<sup>593</sup> Antonova et al. 1996.

<sup>594</sup> Goldmann 1992, 381–382.

<sup>595</sup> Piotrowsky 1998.

<sup>596</sup> Griesa 1992; Hertel 1997; Wemhoff et al. 2008.

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