

TROIA: A RESIDENTIAL AND TRADING CITY AT THE DARDANELLES

From the Neolithic until about 1900 CE, at every period when it was settled, Troia and its surrounding landscape have had an importance that is geopolitical. It lies at the junction of two continents and two seas, where it is favoured by an unusual combination of winds and currents. These have in the past routinely forced ships to wait at Beşik Bay, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, for days, weeks or even months¹. This was particularly so in the summer months, from May to September². On the one hand this brought Troia wealth and power; on the other hand it brought also insecurity: Troia always felt a need to protect itself.

We can sum up our knowledge of the mound of Troia by saying that it was a sequence of fortified settlements built one upon another. In Troia VI and VII, c. 1700 - 1100 BCE, we are dealing with a citadel: this can be stated quite definitely, as there is now ample proof for the existence of the lower settlements that belonged to them³.

It was Schliemann's collaborator and successor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who discovered this Troia of the Second Millennium BCE. If the Trojan War ever took place - as both Dörpfeld and Blegen believed - then it did so in front of the walls of Troia VI or VII. They are indeed most impressive, and certainly comparable to those of Mycenae; but they have always posed a problem. If we compare the settlement exposed by Schliemann, Dörpfeld and Blegen with the picture to be gained from Homer, the walls have until now always seemed to enclose an unexpectedly small area.

Dörpfeld, in his final campaigns of 1893 and 1894, devoted himself mainly to the fortification wall of the citadel of Troia VI and VII: this he cleared over a length of 300 metres. But he did not forget the question whether there was also a lower town - a question which Schliemann, too, had raised for his own "Troian" phase, Troia II. Dörpfeld made some soundings to the South of the citadel; but he states that the excavators, to their great regret, did not succeed in bringing this work to completion⁴. But just to the South of the Graeco-Roman city wall of Ilion they did find two cremation burials dateable to Late Troia VI (Pl. XXIII, c. area uv32/33)⁵.

More burials were found in this area in 1934 by the Cincinnati expedition under Carl W. Blegen - probably the edge of cemetery (Pl. XXIII, c. area BD33/35) - and they could

1 M. KORFMANN, *Troy and the Trojan War. A Symposium held at Bryn Mawr College 1984* (1986), 1-16.

2 J. NEUMANN, *StTroica* 1 (1991), 93-100.

3 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 123-146; M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 14-28; H. BECKER, J. FASSBINDER and H.G. JANSEN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 117-134.

4 W. DÖRPFELD, *Troja und Ilion. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870-1894* (1902), 236.

5 W. DÖRPFELD, *Troja 1893. Bericht über die im Jahre 1893 in Troja veranstalteten Ausgrabungen* (1894), 123.

now be dated more precisely to around Troia VIh, *i.e.* to the middle of the 13th century BCE ⁶.

Roughly 200 m to the Northwest of the cemetery they found the remains of a heavily burnt mudbrick structure with pillars. This too was dated to Troia VIh, and was interpreted as the remains of a "Crematory" ⁷. To us, however, these remains suggest a perfectly normal burnt building - such as might belong to a lower settlement of Troia VI ⁸. For the following reasons.

We began our search for the lower settlement in our first season, in 1988 ⁹. The details were published shortly afterwards and in subsequent years, so I shall not discuss it to any length. We found the remains of the Troia VI lower settlement lying immediately below and often in between those of the lower city of Roman times ¹⁰. Both had been almost totally neglected in earlier work. We have already learnt quite a lot about the Roman lower city, both from excavation and from magnetometer survey. In excavation it soon became clear that Ilion's lower city was planned "at least as early as the Augustan period" ¹¹. It is not hard to imagine the practical consequences of this pre-planning of houses and streets. It was an ambitious project, there was a new city to be built: every reachable stone must have been needed. The Romans, and probably the Greeks before them, re-excavated almost every stone from the buildings of Troia VI and VII. Since they were in the habit of founding their buildings on the limestone bedrock, inevitably they time and again found the remains of the earlier buildings and made use of the stones which came to hand. The building of the Greek and Roman fortification walls must have made equally great inroads into the abandoned masonry of Troia VI and VII. And what is more, during the 500 years of Roman activity here the insula city was rebuilt several times. So we could not expect to find *in situ* remains of Late Troia VI or Troia VII except in very rare cases. Nevertheless we did sometimes encounter them, and that at a depth of only 1 to 1.5 m below the present surface ¹². The chances were better that the deeper and older phases had been preserved; and for the oldest settlement of Troia VI, founded directly on bedrock, they were good.

But in the process of going down between the Roman foundation walls, we were surprised to find a considerable number of post holes ¹³. Their interpretation, and the consequent reconstruction of house plans, was made more difficult, especially for one of the periods, by the fact that the area had been inhabited by colonies of squirrels (*citellus*). But even this had its importance. Their presence suggests a period of devastation or steppe conditions - that is to say, a hiatus. Probably this came after Troia VII and before the re-settlement in Greek and Roman times. Clearly we have to envisage a period of time when in this area there no longer existed any settlement and when the land was no longer cultivated. I shall come back later to the question of the "Dark Age".

Deep down, cut into the underlying limestone, we recognised a sort of architectural "negative": a linear foundation trench cut directly into the rock ¹⁴, as 35 cm wide and 70 cm deep, and the associated building horizon was directly on the surface of the rock. Inside

6 C.W. BLEGEN *et al.*, *Troy III. The Sixth Settlement* (1953), 370-391.

7 BLEGEN *et al.* (*supra* n. 6), 391-394.

8 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 128 figs. 4-5.

9 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 1 (1991), 26-28 fig. 24.

10 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 126 fig. 1.

11 CH.B. ROSE, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 112.

12 E.g. M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 1 (1991), 24 fig. 24.

13 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 26 fig. 27.

14 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 27 fig. 28.

the foundation trench there were post holes; and on the supposed habitation side of the feature were regularly spaced cuttings at right angles and, further in, large post holes. All this encourages us to think of a structure with buttresses and supporting posts. The 1993 excavations showed it to be at least 15 m long. It seems to have been a wooden palisade, probably within the lower settlement - part of an enclosure. At all events we can say that here, far away from the citadel, there were large wooden buildings in Early Troia VI. This indication of architectural design from the earliest period of the settlement may be helpful when we come to reconstruct the buildings attested by the later post holes.

Given this type of building tradition in the lower settlement, it is not surprising that now and then we find quite good pieces of Mycenaean pottery. But it is not surprising, either, that Schliemann, Dörpfeld and Blegen missed these wooden buildings in the soundings which they made.

If, then, we can take the existence of a lower settlement outside the citadel as proved, let us now concentrate on an area where we can expect a better state of preservation: the area immediately outside the great citadel walls of Troia VI. This is where we can best answer the question, "What was going on outside the citadel in the Second Millennium BCE?" A crucial part of this question concerns stratigraphy. We need a complete sequence, including Late VI and VII, and something to cover the "Dark Age" if possible. This we cannot get on the mound proper because the relevant levels were removed, first, when the Athena Temple and its precinct was built; and, second, by the excavations of Schliemann and Dörpfeld.

Not all parts of the area immediately outside the citadel walls of Troia VI are equally suitable. In Greek and Roman times buildings such as the Odeion and the Bouleuterion could only be built by first laying down a thick stratum of fill - a contrast to the situation on the mound. These activities tended to obscure the sharp difference of level between the citadel and the lower city then being built. Thus, for investigating our question, we must naturally exclude those areas where Hellenistic or Roman buildings are preserved, viz:

- in the West: the grandstand and the sanctuary,
- in the South: the odeion and the bouleuterion,
- in the East: the foundations of the precincts of the Athena Temple (Pl. XXIV) ¹⁵.

But wherever it has been possible to go deeper outside the fortification wall, there have appeared or are appearing the remains of a settlement spanning the period Early Troia VI to Late Troia VI or even Troia VII - in other words, the periods when the wall itself was built and in continuous use.

To date we have excavated eight such areas, but I limit myself to describing three of them.

1. South end of Schliemann's North-South Trench - quadrat D9 (Pl. XXIV)

In 1989 we began a large trench just south of the great citadel wall, in the southernmost part of Schliemann's North-South Trench. The aim was to understand the situation there in the Third and Second Millennia BCE. To this end a huge mass of Roman and Hellenistic fill had to be cleared. From 1991 onwards the desired results started to emerge. The uppermost prehistoric stratum we encountered was burnt ¹⁶. There is no doubt that the deposit slopes down from the fortification wall and extends across the excavation area. This destruction of the citadel and its surrounding area we are provisionally taking to represent the end of Troia VIIb2, the settlement of *Buckelkeramik*

¹⁵ Cf. M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 130 fig. 6.

¹⁶ M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 141 fig. 20; M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 16.

people who had probably come from the Balkans. The probable date would be c. 1040 BCE.

An important finding here was that, after the burning, the wall was left unattended for what was evidently a considerable span of time during which it was exposed to the effects of weather and stone robbers: there are marked indications of weathering and gaps where stones were removed (Pl. XXVa). Later, in Greek times, all this area was covered over. The stratum immediately overlying the destruction horizon in quadrat D9 dates to roughly the 4th century BCE. By this date the upper part of the old fortification wall was so damaged that it was thought necessary to give it a new stone facing. This may have been either out of respect for the sacred character of Ilios or simply for practical and aesthetic reasons.

I think that after Period VII Troia was deserted. This is my provisional conclusion based on the excavation, admittedly perhaps incomplete, of several trenches. During the "Dark Ages" it was not a place of even minor importance. We can assume, of course, that there were always at least some people using the site, living in or near the ruins and exploiting its position and its remains - as a source of stone, for example. But it is clear that during the "Dark Ages" there was no substantial group of people living here - unless all our datings are wrong, which needs verification. If people did live here during the centuries in question, they did not in any case care much for the preservation of the monument. We can, however, say that in the 8th century BCE Homer or his informants, standing on the landward side to the South of the citadel, on the surface I have mentioned, would have been able to see these walls. They stood at least 8 metres high, and must have seemed to them a most impressive ruin.

In 1993, just on the burnt layer, we did find the remains of a female skeleton. Surprisingly it had not been buried, but had been left on the surface covered over with a pithos sherd. The skeleton must obviously derive from a period when citadel and lower city were settled, but we think it may mark the end of that period. There was no continuity, for the deposit over the skeleton consisted of backfill containing earlier material probably taken from the citadel and laid down as late as the 4th century BCE. Thus what seems to be represented here is the hiatus.

Below the burnt level we discovered stone house foundations built right up against the citadel wall¹⁷. This again makes it clear that, here too, during Troia VI and VII there was a lower settlement. If even the area just at the foot of the citadel wall was built on, we must conclude that the settlement was densely populated.

2. Outside the East Tower - quadrats I8 and K8 (Pl. XXIV)

In the area around the great Troia VI tower we are able to demonstrate the existence of an outer settlement from the **very beginning** of Troia VI. There we have found that the Troia citadel wall had an earlier phase than hitherto recognised: a phase using large ashlar blocks and, already, the saw-tooth technique¹⁸. The wall familiar to every visitor today was built on the remains of this earlier wall after it had been almost wholly removed. Last of all was added the magnificent tower.

In the excavation proper we have uncovered stone house foundations which are unexpectedly large. They start in Early Troia VI¹⁹. They are not as impressive as the

17 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 119-120 figs. 19-21.

18 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 30-31; M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 140-144.

19 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 20-21; D.F. EASTON and B. WENINGER, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 44-87.

buildings inside the citadel, but are nevertheless remarkable. This outer settlement continued through seven phases, one after the other, into Troia VII.

3. The Sanctuary Area - quadrat z7 (Pl. XXIV)

A cause of particular surprise were our findings to the West of the citadel. In the final days of our 1993 campaign, Northwest of the sanctuary excavated by Blegen and thus below the cult buildings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the group headed by Brian Rose reached a burnt level. This proved to belong to Troia VII - so consequently the Bronze Age Group took over the work.

One building had foundations consisting partly of large stones, with a long, narrow entrance (Pl. XXIV-XXVb). A number of puzzling details, including a small stone structure, came to light and are not yet fully understood. The finds from this topmost prehistoric horizon, in both pottery and metal, are of remarkable quality. Our initial assessment, supported by Dr Penelope Mountjoy's analysis, suggests that we may be dealing with Early or Middle LH IIIC, *i.e.* with the 12th century BCE and ending c. 1090 BCE. On the western side of the excavated area the foundation trench of a monumental Greek building cut through more than 3 metres of underlying deposit. We can therefore predict a deep sequence of strata with at least two more burnt horizons waiting for us in 1994 and later seasons. Prehistoric layers from Troia V (dated to c. 2000 BCE) were found by Blegen only 15 metres to the Southeast, in quadrat A8²⁰. So there is a good chance that here we may be able to recover a complete sequence for the Second Millennium over a moderately large area - inşallah!

Particularly noteworthy among the finds are fibulae of the earliest type: violin bow, and engraved plate. These may be dated in the range LH IIIB/C to Submycenaean, *i.e.* 12th-11th centuries BCE. We hope that further analysis of the pottery and more finds in 1994 will enable us to attain greater precision in these much debated questions.

The pottery, too, is especially interesting. One krater is decorated with a panther design; and there are motifs which look to me like compass-drawn circles. All this is LH IIIC, and middle LH IIIC at the latest - c. 1100 BCE if our dating is correct. It seems not to be Protogeometric or Geometric²¹. This is, of course, a preliminary evaluation, which further work may modify.

To sum up. Not only is there, once again, ample proof for the existence of a lower settlement; but we can now see that it spans the entire period from the very beginning of Troia VI right through until the end of Troia VIIb2!

But that is not all. We now know that it was enclosed! Some time ago I proposed just such a hypothesis, and on three grounds.

1. Despite extensive excavations over twenty-two campaigns, the mound had yielded only the sparsest evidence for long-range weapons such as arrowheads. Moses Finley took this to mean that at this site there was no evidence at all for any war. I, on the other hand, took it to show that military action with long-range weapons must have taken place outside the citadel, in the area of an outer fortification wall. My argument was based

20 C.W. BLEGEN *et al.*, *Troy II. The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Settlements* (1951), 295-297 figs. 225-228. 317; C.W. BLEGEN *et al.*, *Troy IV. Settlements VIIa, VIIb and VIII* (1958), fig. 363.

21 For discussion of these problems and the hypothesis of a continuity of settlement see D. HERTEL, *St-Troica I* (1991), 131-144.

on the limited range of the bow and the sling: usually 80-150 metres. A lower city served as a buffer zone ²².

2. There is little differentiation, as is well known, between the finds of Late Troia VI and those of Troia VIIa. There is, however, a sharp difference in the architecture (Pl. XXVI-XXVII). The interpretation arising from this is a dramatic one. It is said that during Troia VIIa, which for C. W. Blegen was the time of the Trojan War, there was a situation of stress. The space within the walls of Troia VI (then thought to be a city) was no longer sufficient, so that in VIIa the settlement had to be enlarged outwards, even across the tops of the walls.

I, on the other hand, started from the assumption, supported by the results of the new excavations since 1988, that the normal population **always** lived outside the citadel. After the earthquake of Troia VIIh (if there really was such an event), it proved impossible or undesirable to expand the lower settlement into the surrounding fields. So the population of the VIIa lower settlement, and later that of VIIb too, took over the area of the former residential citadel, filling the spaces in, around and over the "palaces" with structures similar to those in the lower settlement.

This would indicate not only a high population density, but also the presence of a fixed boundary to the lower settlement: a fortification wall ²³. In that case, we could indeed speak of a lower city.

3. The existence of a cemetery a good distance to the South actually supports, and does not contradict, the hypothesis of a lower city with a man-made boundary. That boundary was to be sought between the cemetery and the burnt house of Troia VI, the so-called "crematory".

This was how the argument stood in 1992. The relevant levels were too deep to be reached by the fluxgate magnetometer used since 1988 by Dr Hans Günter Jansen. So at this decisive point Dr Helmut Becker and Dr Jörg Fassbinder continued the survey at my request with a caesium magnetometer specially developed at the Bavarian Department of Antiquities in Munich. They carried out a search in the area just mentioned, and they did indeed find a magnetic disturbance ²⁴. This ran across the entire 120 m width of the area measured, and coincided with a ridge in the surface of the land. The arguments already outlined naturally made it seem possible that this irregularity, which was both broad and long, could well belong to the fortification system we were looking for and could reasonably be dated to Troia VI and VII. A possible gate was identified on the west side of the area investigated in 1992. Interpretation of the magnetometer readings suggested an accumulation of burnt material. This, together with its sharply defined width, led the experts to expect a burnt mudbrick wall ²⁵. This was, of course, based on the best possible calculations and simulations; and if, as happened, it proved mistaken, the reasons can easily be understood when we consider the results from our excavations of the following year.

In the summer of 1993 three areas served to clarify the archaeological situation. On the surface there was nothing to be seen: no hint of any kind. First we had to excavate and clear the foundations of a number of Roman buildings. Then we were confronted with a discovery that was both surprising and extremely important: an evenly cut, U-shaped ditch with, at its bottom, a regular width of 3.20 m (Pl. XXVIII-XXIXa). On the inner side,

22 Cf. M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 132-138; M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 361-370.

23 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 144.

24 H. BECKER, J. FASSBINDER and H.G. JANSEN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 117-134.

25 H. BECKER, J. FASSBINDER and H.G. JANSEN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 122-123 figs. 4-6.

towards the city, there was a 2.5 m rise in the level of the rock surface. The bottom of the ditch lay at c. 24 metres above sea level.

The "wall" was in fact a ditch. And this ditch was undoubtedly a defensive ditch, a fosse, not a water channel: the botanical remains, to cite but one argument, are not such as would indicate the presence of flowing water. The ditch was filled, at least in part, towards the end of Troia VI, *i.e.* c. 1300 BCE²⁶. The fortification wall itself must have lain to the North of the ditch, founded on bedrock. No trace of it remains today, but this is hardly surprising when we consider the need for stone in Greek and Roman times and the fact that modern ploughing has reached almost to the surface of the rock. This ditch now turned the hypothesis of a fortified lower settlement into a fact: we have a lower city.

And this is not all. Further work by Becker and Jansen in 1993 has shown, to our surprise, that the defensive system extends even further to the West and includes a small promontory, just as was previously envisaged (Pl. XXIII and XXIXb)²⁷. And behind the ditch, preserved over a longer distance, there seem to be signs of a remarkable fortification wall, a wall constructed on the "box" pattern²⁸. Moreover preliminary interpretation of the survey results suggests the presence on the spur of a gate oriented towards the Aegean "Harbour of Troia", Beşik Bay. But all this must be tested by excavation in 1994 and following years!

The **lower city** between the citadel of Troia VI to the North and the Hellenistic and Roman fortification to the South was remarkably large. Present calculations are that it covered an area of 180 000 sq.m. This figure has to be added to the c. 20 000 sq.m. of the Troia VI citadel. The 1993 calculation thus surpasses even that of 1992. The city of Troia, comprising both citadel and lower city, measured in all 200 000 sq.m., making it one of the largest Aegean cities of its day.

Here we may pause to make a parenthetical comment on the impression which in the 8th century BCE this place must have made on its visitors, whether on Homer or on his informants. At that date, as we have already said, the citadel - the *pergamos* - was still visible. But probably there was still discernible a lower city, too, with ruins no less striking. Its fortification wall, with stone base and mudbrick superstructure, probably still rose out of the landscape as an impressively large earth work, broken here and there where the gates had once been. The great "cleaning up" and levelling came only later, when large-scale building activities were resumed - not in the "Dark Age"! This scene may perhaps be the one used and described by Homer c. 750/30 BCE as the background to his epic. But it tells us **absolutely nothing**, of course, about the historicity of the Trojan War or of its protagonists.

Calculations of the population size result in a figure of about 6000, maybe even 7000 people. This is based to some degree on the extent of the area inhabited, but more on the question how many people can be fed by the landscape²⁹. Such calculations do not take into account the "food contributed by pastoralism, fishing and trade"³⁰.

These new findings oblige us to revise our understanding of Troia's economic and political status during the Late Bronze Age. In fact it was far from being the "poor little

26 P. JABLONKA, *StTroica* 4 (1994), in press.

27 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 126 fig. 1.

28 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 6.

29 J. BINTLIFF, *Geographica Historica* 5 (1991), 126 fig. 27; M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 138 and literature.

30 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 138.

settlement" with "no claim to be called a city" which until recently some scholars supposed. Their arguments were good ones in their day³¹. But now, with our new perspective on the site, we have to consider afresh what kind of social and economic system Troia was operating within. The concept of the Polis, known to us from Archaic and Classical Greece (or its predecessors?), is obviously irrelevant. What is now relevant is to consider Troia alongside those settlements grouped together by Frank Kolb as "Ancient Near Eastern Palace and/or Temple Cities" or "Ancient Near Eastern Residential and Trading Cities"³². Viewed in this light Troia VI-VII, although smaller, would be closely related to the type of Anatolian citadel which was surrounded by a lower city usually with a fortification (Pl. XXX)³³. Among the best-known examples from the Second Millennium BCE we may recall, in rough chronological order:

1. The citadel of Kültepe with, outside, its Old Assyrian trading colony, Karum Kaniš, which was enclosed by a fortification system 4 km long - the details of which are unfortunately not yet fully published³⁴.

2. The citadel mound of Alişar Hüyük and its fortified lower city (Pl. XXXII)³⁵, which in several respects provides the best parallels, especially as regards the use of casemate fortification walls having an outer surface built in the saw-tooth pattern, like the citadel of Troia VI.

3. Boğazköy-Hattuša, the Hittite capital³⁶.

More Anatolian sites could be added with settlement-patterns in principle the same³⁷. Excavation of Anatolian sites - whether of Alişar, Kültepe-Kaniš or Boğazköy - for the most part shows a high density of building in these lower settlements. Kurt Bittel compared the pattern with the "Gewirr von Gassen" to be found in sub-recent oriental cities³⁸. And in them we can detect a planning which takes account of the natural lie of the land.

If it is Anatolian and North Syrian sites with which we must compare Troia, then for its citadel we must assume also inhabitants comparable to those known from elsewhere, sometimes even by name and dynasty: nobility.

We do not know, or at least cannot here discuss, how far such a pattern - of citadel plus fortified lower city - may have existed at this date in Greece or on Crete, at Tiryns, Mycenae or Knossos. Comparison within the Aegean and Crete in fact makes Troia look a very large place both in the Middle Bronze Age and in the Late Bronze Age (Pl. XXXI). In this area Troia looks an exceptional case. But viewed in its Anatolian context it looks quite normal.

Renfrew once stressed the local, Troian (or Anatolian) background of the citadel of Troia VI: "We do not observe here any indications of civilization such as are seen in contemporary Crete, or emerge some centuries later in Mycenae"³⁹. Iakovides has

31 E.g. F. KOLB, *Die Stadt im Altertum* (1984), 46.

32 KOLB (*supra* n. 31), 40-51.

33 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 27-28.

34 K. BITTEL, *Die Hethiter. Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (1976) 56 fig. 34; B. KULL, *Die mittelbronzezeitliche Siedlung. Mit einem Anhang von H. Kammerer-Grothaus und A.-U. Kossatz zu antiken Funden aus Demircihüyük (Demircihüyük V. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von 1975-1978 [1988])*, 78.

35 BITTEL (*supra* n. 34), 58 fig. 36.

36 BITTEL (*supra* n. 34), 97; KULL (*supra* n. 34), 84-89.

37 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 27.

38 BITTEL (*supra* n. 34), 59-60.

39 C. RENFREW, *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (1972), 132.

similarly pointed to many characteristics which distinguish Troia as we now know it from contemporary sites in the Aegean ⁴⁰. Mycenaean fortification systems made, according to him, no use of defensive ditches; those of Greece generally had no mudbrick superstructure; those in the Aegean area never employed the "box" pattern except perhaps in such modified forms as casemate and gallery; and there was no use of the battered face. All this remains valid in the light of present knowledge, as Professor Iakovides himself kindly confirmed in Oxford in April 1994.

It is, then, in the contemporary cities and fortification systems of Anatolia and North Syria in the Middle and Late Bronze Age that the city plan of Troia finds its analogies. The reason is that there was a broad uniformity between Asia Minor and the Middle East in the arts of warfare and fortification. Over a long period they shared in the same traditions ⁴¹. Nevertheless - and in this we follow Rudolf Naumann ⁴²- our Troia, although at the most westerly edge, fits extremely well into the picture characteristic of Anatolia:

Defensive ditches at Boğazköy, and later at Cerablus and Tell Halaf ⁴³.

Fortification walls built on the "box" pattern at Alişar Hüyük ⁴⁴ and Mersin ⁴⁵. In the course of the Second Millennium they have developed into parallel walls connected by baulks as testified, too, in Konya Karahöyük ⁴⁶.

Towers which appear as primary installations during the course of the Hittite Empire Period ⁴⁷. At the citadel of Troia, too, it can be seen that during Troia VI military technology laid increasing importance on towers ⁴⁸.

The geographical and economic connections of the Troad are well known, and I will not go into this further. They reach far back into the first half of the Third Millennium, especially if one takes into account the "tin question" and the many issues which arise from Troia II and its various treasures. To restrict myself to the Second Millennium and in particular to its final years, let me remind you of the connections which have already been proved or shown to be very probable:

Amber from the Baltic Sea,
Carnelian from Colchis (Georgia - the Province of Mingrelia),
Copper from Northern Turkey or Central Asia,
Fish from the shoals regularly passing through the Dardanelles,
Gold from the Troad or from Colchis (Georgia - the River Rioni),
Horses from the steppe lands North of the Black Sea,
Slaves,
Iron from the Black Sea coast in Northeastern Turkey,
Tin from Bohemia or Central Asia.

40 S. IAKOVIDES, *Archaeologia Homerica* E (1977), 161-221 and S. IAKOVIDES, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (1983).

41 IAKOVIDES 1977 (*supra* n. 40), 215-217.

42 R. NAUMANN, *Architektur Kleinasien von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit* ² (1971).

43 NAUMANN (*supra* n. 42), 125, 307.

44 NAUMANN (*supra* n. 42), 250 figs. 318-321.

45 NAUMANN (*supra* n. 42), 329.

46 Oral information in June 1994 by Sedat Alp.

47 NAUMANN (*supra* n. 42), 252 figs. 324-325.

48 M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 2 (1992), 30 fig. 27; M. KORFMANN, *StTroica* 3 (1993), 20. For the famous East Tower named "VIh" D.F. Easton and B. Weninger have proposed a date earlier than Blegen's. It does not belong to Troia VII: "A date later than the end of Middle VI or the beginning of Late VI may be unnecessary" (D.F. EASTON and B. WENINGER, *StTroica* 3 [1993], 64); that means, on D.F. Easton and B. Weninger's chronology, a construction date of c. 1470 BCE.

But to discuss items of trade would be to embark on a second lecture. It is obvious that, coming via the city of Troia, such goods could be delivered to destinations in the Aegean and serve the growing markets of the Second Millennium BCE. But what chiefly made Troia important was its very strong position enabling it to control access to the Sea of Marmara and to the Black Sea. Here it could offer all sorts of services - not just food and water, but pilotage for example, to enable visiting ships to find and use the right countercurrents through the straits ⁴⁹.

The contemporary trading system in Syria and Eastern and Central Anatolia, as summarised by Klengel for example ⁵⁰, was based primarily on city states with military power and a strong organization. "Die Form dieses Handels [...] war offenbar der über *verschiedene zentrale Plätze* vermittelte Austausch" ⁵¹. The following hypothesis may therefore be proposed (Pl. XXXIII):

That Troia was linked with this system and was one of the "central places". That its position at the Dardanelles allowed it both to distribute and to control. And that, although certainly a city with "coastal traits", Troia's political and organisational background was probably more Anatolian than Aegean.

But all this assumes that one accepts that, in the Second Millennium, there was an Aegean interest in not only Troia, and its hinterland, but also, and especially, in Thrace and in the Black Sea ⁵². For a long time now I personally have found no problem with this idea; and I think that the findings I have presented here regarding the shape and size of the city of Troia tend to support my view that there were such contacts. More discoveries of relevance to Troia's economic and political status can reasonably be hoped for. That is one of the many reasons why we plan to continue our work there.

MANFRED KORFMANN

49 For winds, currents and the geopolitical importance of Troia see KORFMANN (*supra* n. 1), 1-16.

50 H. KLENGEL, "Bronzezeitlicher Handel im Vorderen Orient. Ebla und Ugarit", *Orientalisch-ägäische Einflüsse in der europäischen Bronzezeit. Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums [Mainz 1985]* (1990), 33-46.

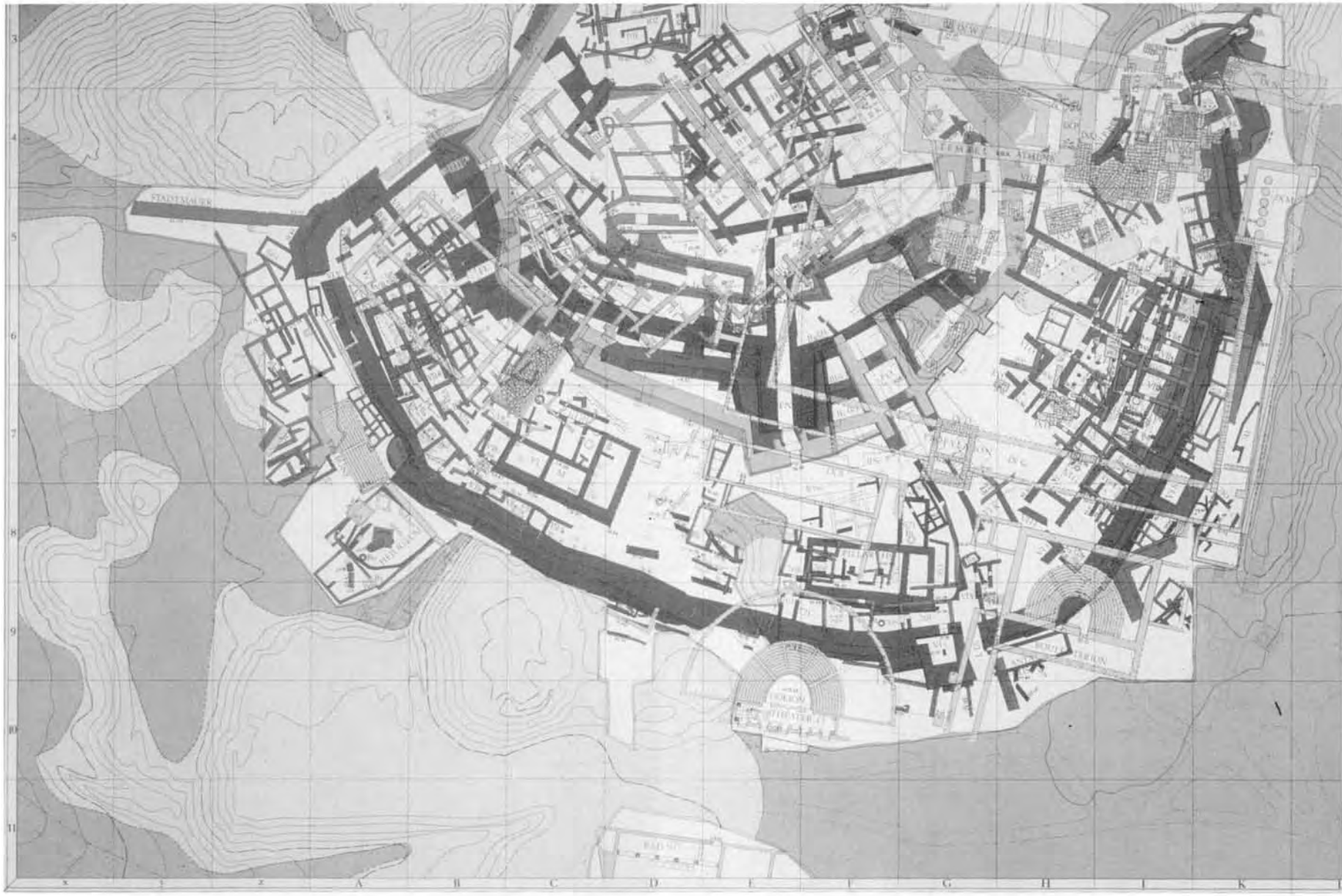
51 KLENGEL (*supra* n. 50), 35.

52 The discussion whether or not in the Second Millennium BCE there was seafaring between the Aegean and the Black Sea is moving increasingly towards a positive answer. Arguments pro and contra can be found in: R. CARPENTER, *AJA* 52 (1948), 1-10; B.W. LABAREE, *AJA* 61 (1957), 29-33; A.J. GRAHAM, *BICS* 5 (1958), 25-42; J. BOARDMAN, *The Greeks Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade* (1964); R. DREWS, *JHS* 96 (1976), 18-31; D.H. FRENCH, *Thracia Pontica* 1 (1982), 19-30; T. SEVERIN, *The Jason Voyage. The Quest for the Golden Fleece* (1958); KORFMANN (*supra* n. 1); M. KORFMANN, *Proceedings of the Sixth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory. The Prehistoric Aegean and its Relations to Adjacent Areas, Athens 1987*, in press; V.M. LIRITZIS, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 17 (1988), 237-256; S. HILLER, *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse (23-25 avril 1990)*, *Aegaeum* 7 (1991), 207-216; J.C. NEVILLE, *The Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 20,3 (1993), 12-16.

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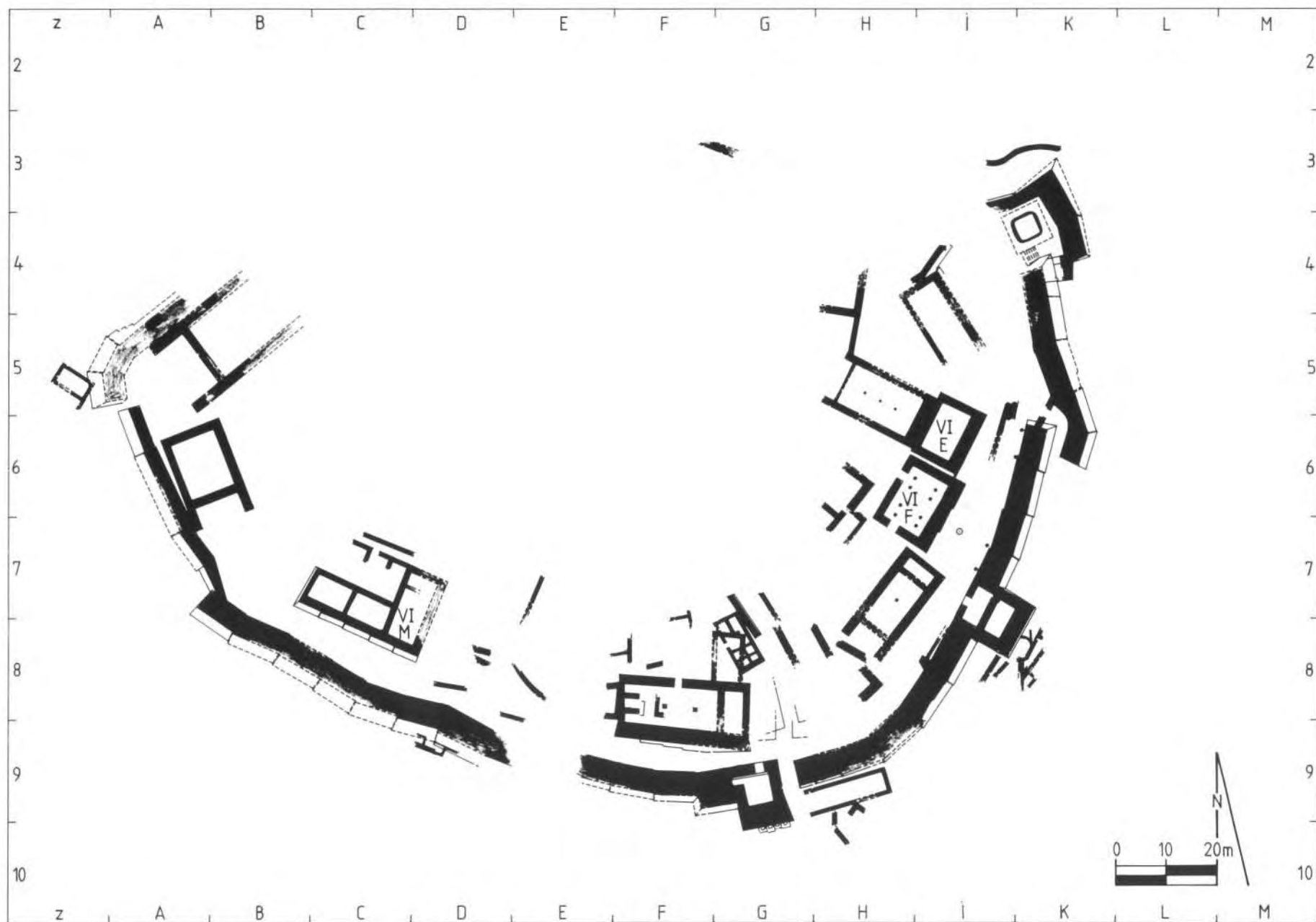


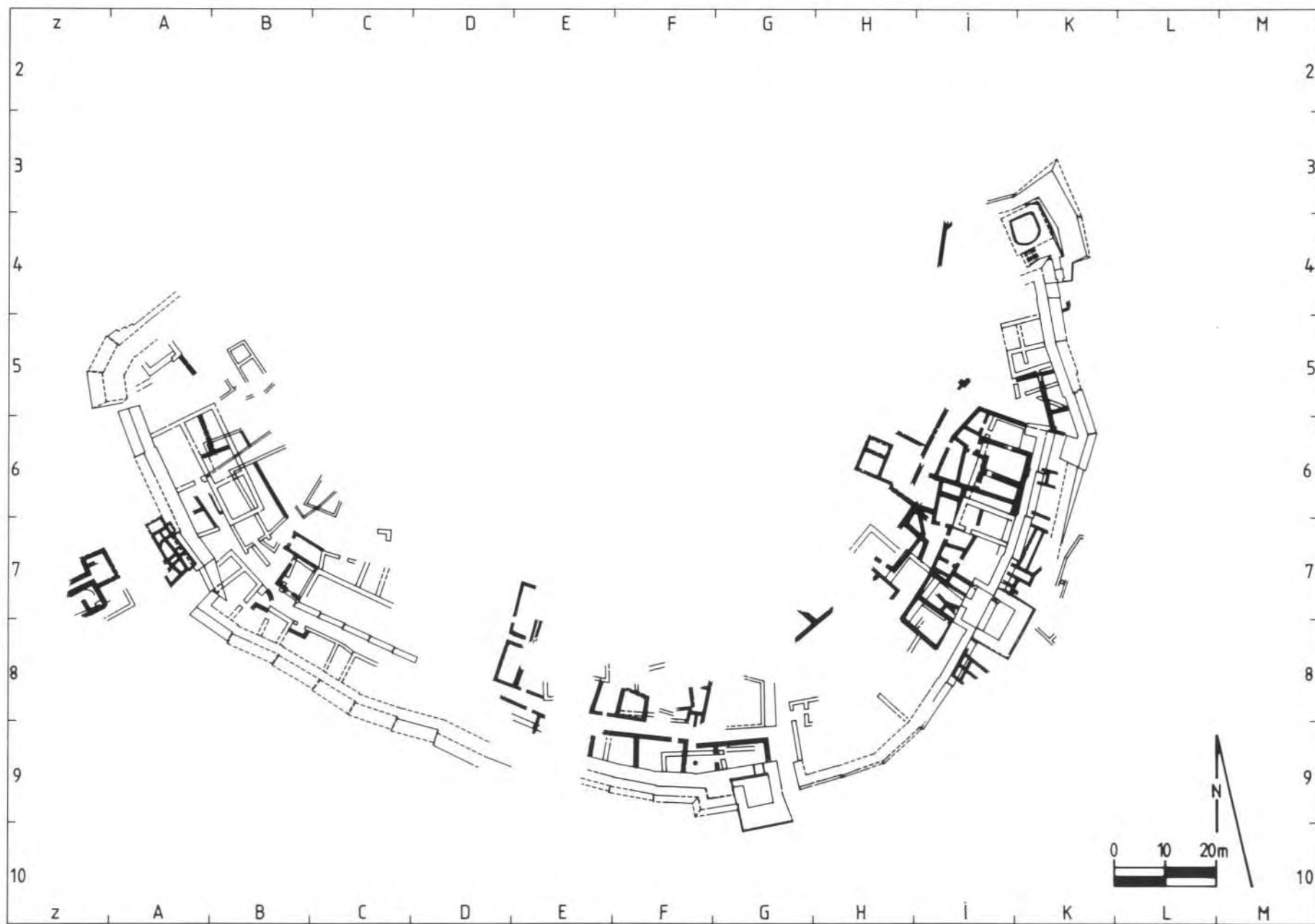


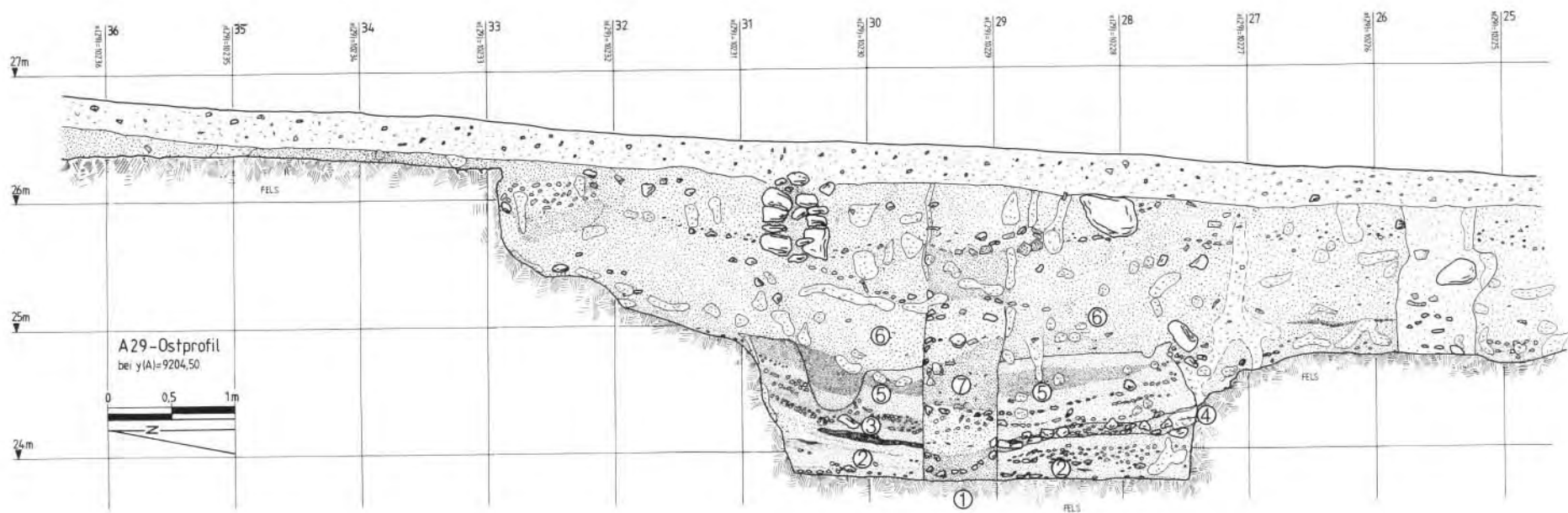
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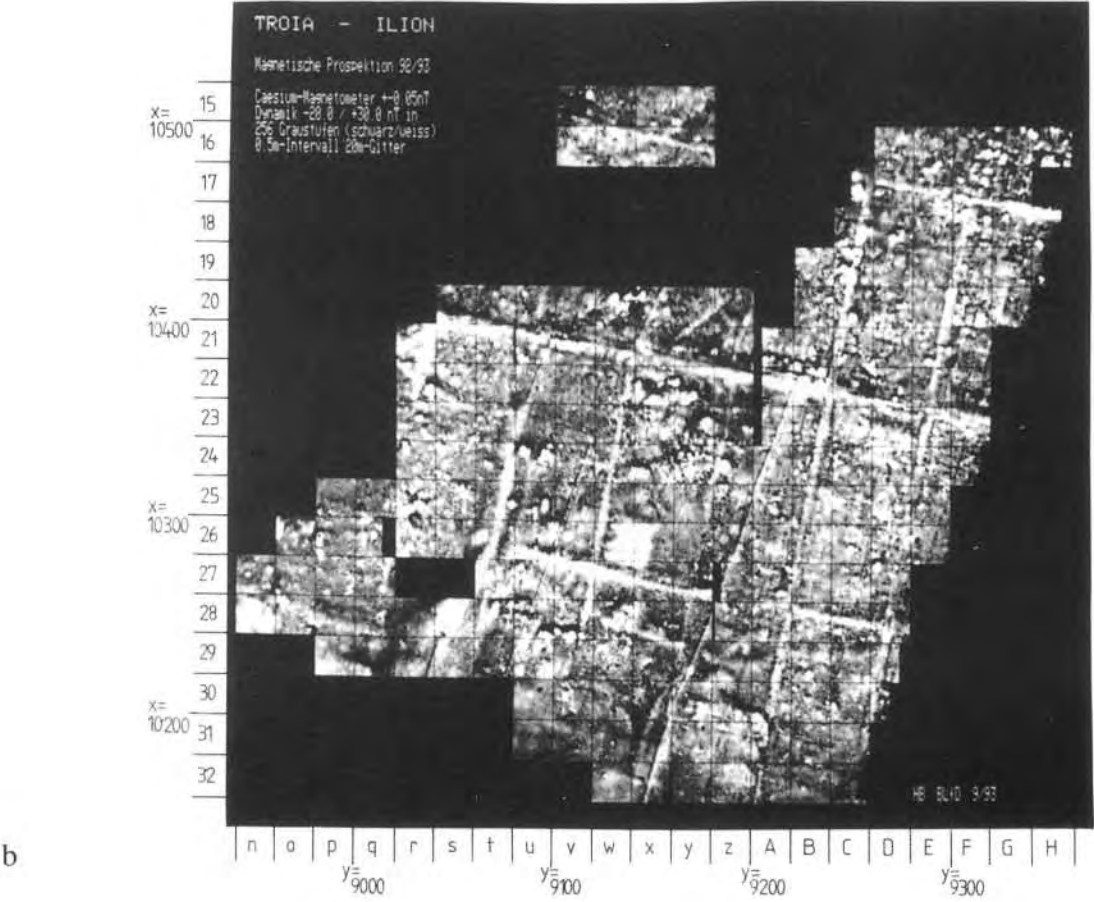


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BEYCESULTAN



MERSİN



ACEM HÖYÜK



NORŞUNTEPE



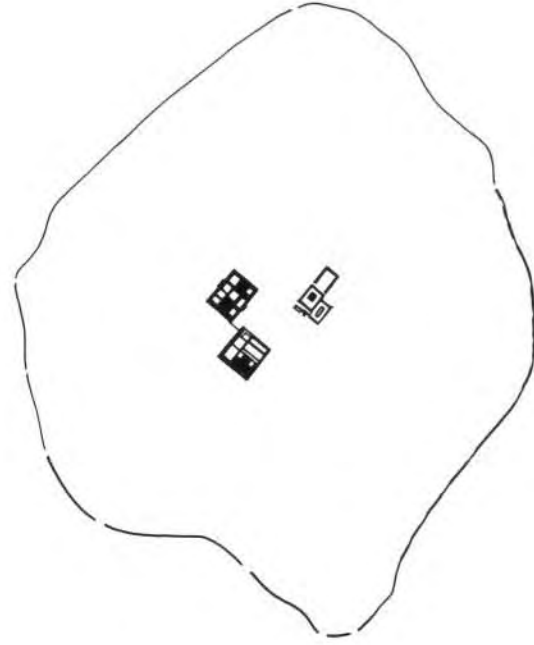
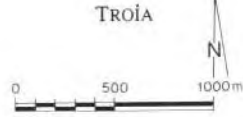
KARAHÖYÜK



TILMEN HÜYÜK



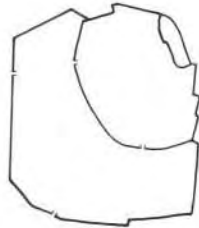
TROIA



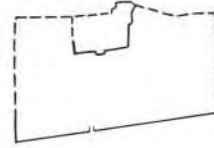
URUK



HATTUŞA / BOĞAZKÖY



KARKEMİŞ / CERABLUS



GUZANA / TELL HALAF



ŞAMAL / ZİNCİRLİ



KADEŞ
TELL NEBİ MEND



KANEŞ-
KÜLTEPE



ALİŞAR



EUTRESİS



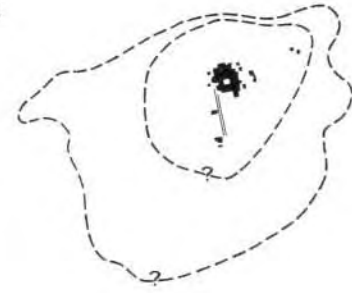
GLA



MYKENE



MALLIA



KNOSSOS

