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## NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF TROY I AND II

By JAMES MELLAART

THE PURPOSE OF this article is to draw attention to a series of problems which arise from a comprehensive study of the architectural remains of Troy I and II discovered by H. Schliemann, W. Dörpfeld and C. W. Blegen. One had hoped that Professor Blegen himself would publish at least a detailed plan showing how the newly discovered walls were related to those found by the earlier excavators<sup>1</sup>; for there are problems arising from such a combination of plans which might have been solved with little expense or difficulty by the excavators on the spot, whereas to solve them now would require a new expedition. However, it is twenty years since the conclusion of the University of Cincinnati's excavations at Troy, and neither in the final publication of the results of the expedition, which appeared in 1950,<sup>2</sup> nor elsewhere, has any such synthesis been attempted by him.

The combined plans for the first time allow one to study the growth of the Trojan fortress and, on the basis of analogy, to suggest a number of restorations of the buildings it contained—restorations which, though tentatively indicated on the plans, could only be tested by renewed excavations. They open up completely new vistas on the importance, complexity and character of this north-west Anatolian stronghold, offering numerous parallels to Poliochni on Lemnos, the only town-site known to belong to this culture, now being excavated by Italian archaeologists.<sup>3</sup>

### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE GROWTH OF TROY I AND II (Fig. 1)

The earliest settlers at Troy chose for their site the north-western corner of a limestone ridge, which rises about 18.5 m. above the level of the plain of the Scamander. As the earliest fortifications closely followed the northern, north-western and north-eastern steep slopes of the hill, the subsequent growth of the site was mainly in a southerly direction, where there was unlimited space. For the same reason the gates were, with one exception (Middle Troy I period), set in the southern part of the enceinte and owing to the limited size of the fortress there was never any need for more than two main gates, although there was at times a postern in the south-west corner.

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier plans : Emile Burnouf's plan in H. Schliemann, *Ilios*, English edition (1880), plan I. W. Dörpfeld's in *Troja und Ilion*, 1902, plan III ; cf. *Troy I*, 1950, fig. 417.

<sup>2</sup> *Troy*, vol. I. *The first and second settlements*, by Carl W. Blegen, John L. Caskey, Marion Rawson and Jerome Sperling, 1950. Princeton University Press.

<sup>3</sup> For a full bibliography on Poliochni, see *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1957, pp. 193 ff. and footnotes 1-3.

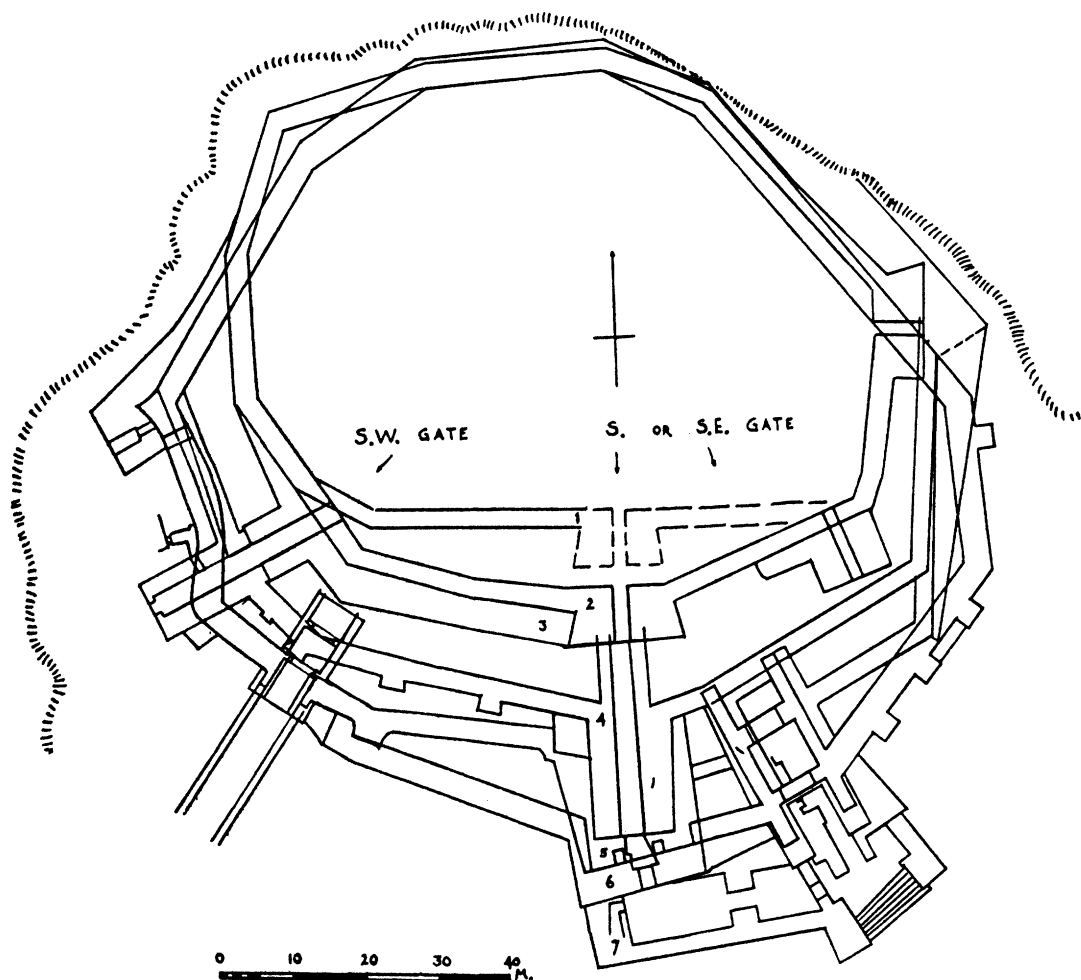


FIG. 1. Diagrammatic plan showing the growth of Troy I and II.

Legend to numbers :

- |                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Early Troy I.  | 5. Troy IIb. |
| 2. Middle Troy I. | 6. Troy IIc. |
| 3. Late Troy I.   | 7. Troy IIg. |
| 4. Troy IIa.      |              |

### TROY I (Fig. 2)

The Troy I period with its three subperiods and ten consecutive phases of building, was of considerable length. Our knowledge of Troy I is almost entirely due to the American excavators, but owing to the extremely limited scope of their soundings, Thermi on Lesbos and especially Poliochni II–IV in Lemnos give one a far better picture of the architecture of this early period. Poliochni, when published, is very likely to supersede Troy I as the type-site for this culture.

*Early Troy I.* The site appears to have been fortified from the very beginning, but all that is known of the wall is a thirteen metre stretch in Schliemann's north-south trench, marked as wall "c" on Dörpfeld's plan.<sup>4</sup> Dörpfeld seems to have observed a north-westward bend in the

<sup>4</sup> *Troy I*, p. 37, *Troja und Ilion*, fig. 7.

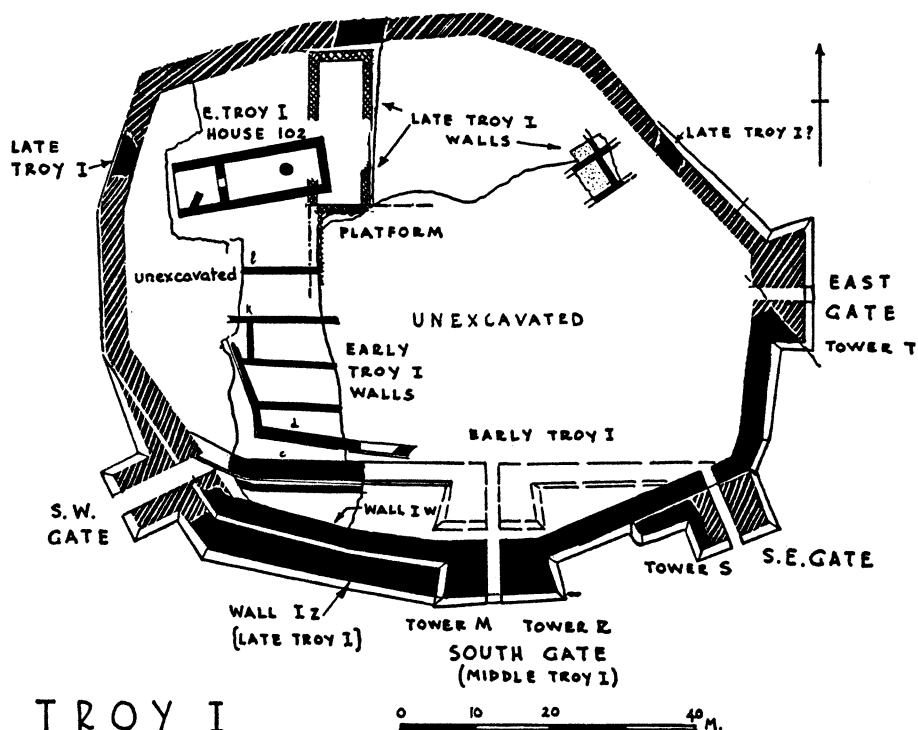


FIG. 2. Plan of Troy I, showing walls of early, middle and late subperiods. Hatched walls are restored.

wall which would bring it in line with the Middle Troy I wall along the western side of the fortress. Like it, it probably had a south gate immediately behind the later (Middle Troy I) one, but all this area, containing the centre of Troy I and much of early Troy II, the Americans left unexcavated. A narrow wall runs parallel with this fortification wall on its outer side. Whether it was meant to strengthen it, or is later in date, remains unknown.

Within the Early Troy I fortifications and roughly parallel with the wall just described lies a series of five walls, forming a group of houses or rooms with a single outer wall, which is slightly battered on the outside, but not thick enough to be considered as a possible fortification. Perhaps it enclosed a complex of houses of the "hall and porch" (the so-called megaron) type. These must have faced east on to a street, or more likely a courtyard. A fragment of the southern stretch of this wall (Dörpfeld's wall "d") was found by Blegen (Wall 105),<sup>5</sup> which shows that these houses were probably of a large size like their contemporaries in Thermi I-II (up to 18 m. long).<sup>6</sup> This complex was in use during the first two phases of Early Troy I (Ia and Ib) and is therefore contemporary with two successive free standing houses a little further to the north-west.<sup>7</sup> Of these, House 103 of phase Ia was of the hall-and-porch type, but with an

<sup>5</sup> *Troy I*, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Thermi*, plans I, II.

<sup>7</sup> House 103, *Troy I*, p. 82 f. and fig. 425 ; House 102, *ibid.*, p. 89 f., fig. 426.

apsidal end, whereas House 102 of the next phase was a large building of the hall-and-porch type. Both houses faced west and must have been preceded by an open space which extended right up to the fortification wall.

In the next and last phase of Early Troy I (Ic) all these buildings had gone out of use and miserable huts took their place in the excavated area.<sup>8</sup> Quite possibly the fortification wall also went out of use.

A similar course of events seems to have taken place at Poliochni II, which roughly corresponds to Early Troy I. Here also, the great fortification wall constructed at the beginning of the period stood for some time, during which it was repaired, and then fell into disuse. Four metres of rubbish accumulated over it before a new wall was constructed in Poliochni III, which corresponds to the Middle Troy I period.<sup>9</sup> Like early Troy I, Poliochni II represents a long period; possibly longer than the evidence from Troy alone would have suggested.

*Middle Troy I.* With the exception of three successive phases (Id-f) of rectangular houses of hall-and-porch type<sup>10</sup> in the north-western area of the site, nothing is known of the buildings which sheltered within the new fortification wall (I W) discovered by the American expedition.<sup>11</sup> Most of the southern section of the wall was found from the point where it bends north-west towards a projecting tower (T), which probably marks the position of the East Gate. In the middle of the wall lies the South Gate, flanked by two projecting towers (M, R). The orientation of the gate-passage is almost exactly north-south and at the corner of the eastern tower (R), facing all comers, stood a series of stone slabs, one of which bore in relief a heart-shaped human face and staff. With it were found two offering tables, so that the installation is evidently of religious significance.<sup>12</sup>

Blegen's suggestion that Tower T marks the position of a similar gate on the eastern side is extremely likely. The rest of the wall probably roughly followed that of the earlier circuit, but no traces of either have been found. How long this wall remained in use remains unknown, but Blegen thinks that its construction fell late rather than early in the Middle Troy I period.<sup>13</sup>

Poliochni III, corresponding to this period, saw the construction of a new fortification wall which now enclosed a new quarter beyond the line of the II wall. The length of Poliochni III is estimated by L. Bernabo Brea to have been short.<sup>14</sup>

*Late Troy I.* To the first phase of Late Troy I (Ig) belongs the retaining wall *m*, which appears to have supported a great platform on which the Royal Residence of this period probably stood.<sup>15</sup> The western edge of this platform was probably removed when Schliemann dug his great north-

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 100 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1957, pp. 197-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Troy I*, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p. 145 f. and fig. 436.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, figs. 190-4.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>14</sup> See footnote 9.

<sup>15</sup> *Troy I*, pp. 138, 162-6 f.

south trench, for there is no continuation of wall *m* west of that trench. The Middle Troy I fortification wall (I W) was probably still in use, but the construction of a large paved ramp (I X), leading into the town at a point about 15 m. west of the South Gate, shows that the latter had gone out of use. This ramp was subsequently buried and replaced by another (I Y) of inferior construction, and only thereafter was a new fortification wall (I Z) built. It is therefore clear that wall I Z belongs to the end rather than the beginning of the Late Troy I period.<sup>16</sup>

This new wall incorporated the old South Gate and re-used the old wall as far as and probably beyond the East Gate. Along the north side of the hill three short stretches of wall belonging to this period were found<sup>17</sup> and probably the curtain here followed the line of the two earlier walls. East of the old South Gate, a Tower (S) was partly traced and a little further east, Blegen found traces of damage on the old Middle Troy I wall-face, due either to a bend in the wall or to the presence of something having been built up against it. He restores a great tower (S) at this point, but does not appear to have considered the possibility that the tower may have flanked a gate.<sup>18</sup> In his reconstruction of the Late Troy I wall there is no south gate.<sup>19</sup> This is hard to believe when one considers that since Early Troy I the Trojan fortress invariably had a south gate. If we assume that Tower S flanked a gate passage, and restore another tower of the same size on the eastern side, we find that its eastern edge would just about abut on to the damaged place in the earlier wall. A gate at this point would be much more useful than an isolated tower, but only excavation could prove this point. If there were a south gate here in Late Troy I we may assume that the earlier East Gate, like the South Gate, was no longer in use. With the South Gate blocked and the East Gate probably blocked one new South-east Gate would be inadequate. To the west the Late Troy I wall was traced almost up to the line of the South-west Gate (FL) of Troy IIa,<sup>20</sup> but the search was admittedly unsuccessful beyond this point. The South-west Gate of Troy IIa has like its counterpart, the South Gate (FN), a pair of thick walls enclosing the sloping entrance passage within the walls. In the South-west Gate (FL) these are not well preserved or somewhat doubtfully attributed to this phase on analogy with the others in the South Gate. On Dörpfeld's earlier plan,<sup>21</sup> made after the 1890 excavations, the fragments are shown, but on his later plan,<sup>22</sup> they are only dotted. I suggest that these fragmentary walls are not in fact part of the Troy IIa Gate, but remains of long towers flanking an entrance passage of a South-west Gate of Late Troy I date, similar to the possible South-east Gate near Tower S. This might also explain why

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 175, 182, 188 f.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, fig. 436.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>21</sup> C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (London, 1891), plan at end of book.

<sup>22</sup> *Troja und Ilion*, plan III.

Blegen was unable to trace the Late Troy I wall further westwards. Instead of lying under the Troy IIa Gate, part of this gate was in fact the earlier gate he was looking for.

But for a few rooms, which may have been part of a granary belonging to the last phase of Troy I (k) in the north-east corner of the fortress, the buildings of Late Troy I remain unexcavated.<sup>23</sup> The last Troy I fortress was burnt, probably by enemy action, but the fortress was soon rebuilt by the survivors and Troy IIa in many respects resembles Troy I more than Troy IIb. No break can be observed in Poliochni IV, which appears to be contemporary with Late Troy I and early Troy II and which with at least three main phases of architecture is said to have lasted a long time. During one of these phases the great bastion was added to the Poliochni III wall, which was still in use.<sup>24</sup>

### TROY IIa (Fig. 3)

In Troy IIa, a new and larger fortification wall was built, with two large gates in the southern part of the enceinte, which between the two gates was further strengthened by three large and one minute bastion.

The two gates (FL and FN) were each provided with very long projecting towers, exaggerated versions of the ones we have seen might have flanked the Late Troy I gates. Between them they contained the long sloping entrance passage and similar projections continued within the walls, certain in the case of Gate FN, not so certain, as we have seen, in the case of Gate FL, unless the old towers of the previous gate were so re-used. In both gates, the doors were placed at the outer end and it is clear that the passage was roofed over, thus providing ample space on the roof for the defence. In the South-west Gate (FL) a narrow postern was arranged in the western projecting tower, where it joins the curtain wall. This gate was aligned on the assumed Late Troy I S.W. Gate, just as the great South Gate (FN) almost exactly followed the lines of the Middle Troy I South Gate. Gate FN shows a feature of construction peculiar to IIa: its lower courses form a projecting ledge on which vertical posts supporting the roof over the gradually ascending passage were placed. The upper part of the passage, however, must have been open to the sky. A heavy retaining wall provided at regular intervals with buttresses supported a platform on which the buildings forming the Royal Residence stood. A series of steps led to an open space paved with small stones west of the entrance passage. A similar paved area extended to the east of the passage, but how far east remains unknown.<sup>25</sup> This eastern paved area must have been approached from the upper end of the passage, which is unexcavated, so that we do not know how it ended. Probably there was a porch or propylon. How this gate communicated with the Royal Residence is likewise unknown, but there must have been a doorway

<sup>23</sup> *Troy I*, p. 171, figs. 432, 433.

<sup>24</sup> *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1957, p. 198.

<sup>25</sup> *Troy I*, p. 204, fig. 453.

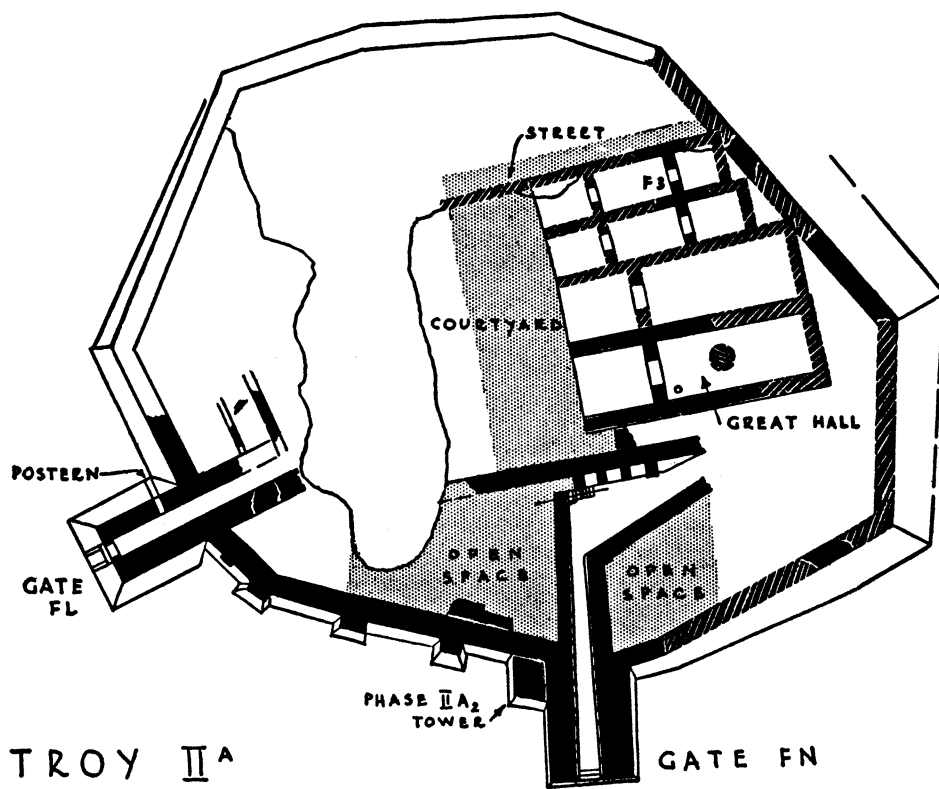


FIG. 3. Plan of Troy IIa.

somewhere, probably into the passage which ran between the retaining wall and the Main Hall.

Before describing the buildings inside the fortress attention must be drawn to the immense east wall of Troy IIa, parts of which were found in the American excavations.<sup>26</sup> The East Gate of Middle Troy I is swallowed up in this wall, which may perhaps account for its great height. Along the northern and western part of the hill, the Troy IIa wall presumably followed the line of its predecessor.

The main entrance into the citadel was undoubtedly through the South-west Gate (FL). On the plan its supposed eastern extensions are shown, though, as already suggested, these may have been part of an earlier Gate. Some fragments of walls and an associated stone-paved area lay to the north of the passage, probably forming part of some as yet unexcavated building. How far the retaining wall of the central complex extended westward is not known. Dörpfeld shows it as coming very near to Schliemann's north-south trench, but if it continued westward beyond it, it has not been looked for. It is tempting to reconstruct it further westward and joining up with the South-west Gate.

Of the Royal Residence, Dörpfeld and Blegen have excavated part of a huge building of hall-and-porch type. This showed the same con-

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p. 253, fig. 214 and p. 149.



struction as the South Gate and from its position is evidently the main unit of the Residence.<sup>27</sup> To the north of it, building II R, assigned by Dörpfeld to this phase of Troy II, has been stratigraphically redated by Blegen<sup>28</sup> to Troy IIc, but below it he found part of a well-built structure of IIa, comprising at least four rooms. Two doorways were found and the orientation is roughly, but not exactly that of the larger building further south. To the north of this new building ran a street with a well-built drain.<sup>29</sup> What lay beyond that is unknown, for Schliemann removed all building levels down to Troy I in his great east-west trench, dug in his earliest campaigns, and never properly published. The presence of a well-drained street, however, suggests that there were other buildings there, now unfortunately destroyed.

Now the presence of a substantial building with at least two ranges of rooms in the vicinity of and roughly aligned with a large hall-and-porch building is quite familiar to Trojan architecture, as we shall see. Moreover, in front of the Great Hall, as we may conveniently call this building, lay an open court, extending from the southern retaining wall possibly up to the street in the north, a width of *c.* 37.5 m., which bears comparison with the courtyard in front of the Troy IIc residence, 34 m. wide. The depth of the courtyard in front of the Great Hall and its subsidiary buildings cannot be determined without digging, but analogy with those of Troy IIc and IIId suggests that it may have been about 15 m. It almost certainly had a propylon at its western end through which it was approached from the South-west Gate. A reconstruction of the Great Hall and subsidiary buildings would leave a gap between the two of almost equal width as the Hall. It is most unlikely that this was an open space and another hall almost certainly filled the gap (see the tentative reconstruction in Fig. 3). As envisaged there the Royal Residence would then have consisted of two Great Halls side by side, with two narrow buildings of two rooms and a porch each. This type of complex appears to have been the normal arrangement in Troy II, but there is usually only one large hall. There is of course the possibility that one of these preceded the other. Blegen distinguishes two building phases in Troy IIa.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere on the site, e.g. in the building north of the South-west Gate, there is evidence for a second building phase (IIa2) in which a square tower was added to the south wall in the corner between that wall and the South Gate. The buttress on the inner side of the wall belongs to that same phase. In any case it seems extremely likely that the Royal Residence of Troy IIa was not less impressive than that of IIc or IIId. Only further excavations could reveal it.

The South Gate, the Great Hall and the building north of it all show abundant traces of the fire which seems to have destroyed the Troy IIa

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, p. 247, fig. 466.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, p. 251 f., figs. 432, 434, 277; street, p. 252.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p. 205, figs. 451, 453, 463.

fortress, whether by accident or by enemy action. In the next phase, IIb, there are some marked changes in culture, which would make it more reasonable to consider Troy IIa as the climax of Troy I culture, rather than as the beginning of Troy II. Continuity is nevertheless clear, and nowhere more manifest than in the architecture, where the Royal Residence of IIa marks the beginning of a long series of what are usually described as "Palaces" within heavy fortifications.

Were Troy I ever completely excavated, one might well find that such "Palaces" were a feature of the fortress from the very beginning.

### TROY IIb

Very little new evidence was added by the American excavations to the work done by Dörpfeld except for the redating to phase IIc of a number of walls east of the Great Hall of IIc attributed by him to IIb. A study of the remains of this period, however, makes it perfectly clear that there are at least two building phases within this period. Failure to distinguish these phases leads to such improbabilities as having three south-west gates within a forty metre stretch of wall and two south-east gates within twenty metres of each other *in use simultaneously*. It would also involve a most untidy arrangement, if not actual overlap of buildings within the citadel, such as is completely out of character with the carefully constructed fortifications.

### THE EARLIER PHASE OF TROY IIb (IIb. 1) (Fig. 4)

After the destruction of Troy IIa, the fortress was rebuilt and strengthened on the most vulnerable (the south) side, by a new curtain wall, provided with bastions, linking the S.W. and the S. Gates of Troy IIa which, with some modifications, remained in use. A new wall was also built north of the S.W. Gate and the old postern remodelled to suit the new wall, which as on the south side was built in front of the earlier one. The old South Gate (FN) was greatly strengthened and encased in a new wall and in both gates the rise in level made the use of entrance passages within the walls superfluous, so that the area available for construction inside the citadel was considerably increased. As far as the rest of the circuit wall is concerned the old walls were retained.

*The buildings within the citadel.* Of these very little is known. Fragments of a building, marked F3 on the plan,<sup>31</sup> were found in the American excavations below House II R, and belong to Troy IIb, either the first or the second phase. For reasons to be explained below, we tentatively assign it to the first phase. Other definitely IIb buildings east of Schliemann's north-south trench are a small hall-and-porch building, immediately below the Great Hall of Troy IIc. Its east wall probably underlies the east wall of the larger building and its courtyard may be delimited by the fairly thick wall which runs north-west from there.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, p. 299, fig. 432.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. 258, fig. 435.

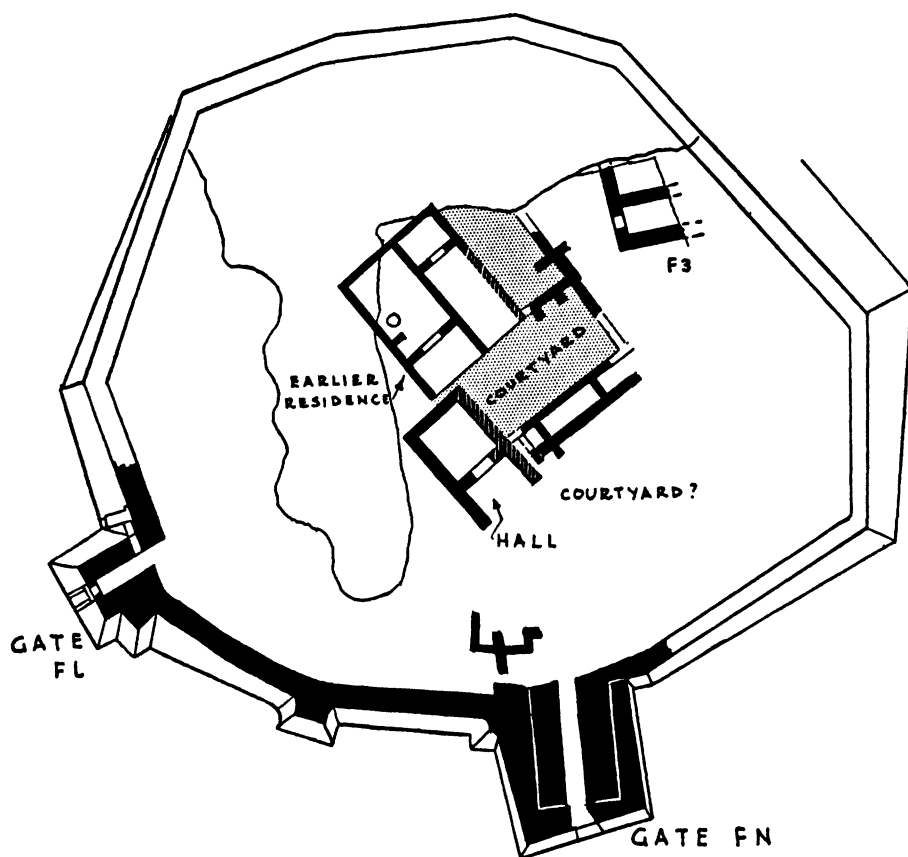


FIG. 4. Plan of Troy IIb.1.

A few walls found by Blegen N.W. of the South Gate are suggested by him to have been part of the courtyard perimeter, but their character and orientation would not support such a suggestion.<sup>33</sup>

There is another little complex of the same orientation as the little hall just described, and immediately north of it. This was ascribed by Dörpfeld to phase IIa, which is most unlikely. Blegen has not re-examined this area. Dörpfeld shows the walls of this complex overlaid by IIc and IId (Dörpfeld's IIb) walls. If they are therefore earlier than IIc, but not IIa, there is a good chance that they belong to Troy IIb, with which they have the orientation in common. As reconstructed, there would have been a small hall with a narrower building on the east side. There may have been further buildings there and the whole complex has a courtyard in front of it. Whether, as is not unlikely, similar buildings were to be found on the west of the hall, will unfortunately remain unknown, for they would have been destroyed in Schliemann's great north-south trench. If our attribution of the complex to Troy IIb is right, we evidently are dealing with two successive complexes, the southern of which is almost certainly the later, for its position straight in front of the earlier hall excludes contemporaneity. Whether the later hall had subsidiary structures on the

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p. 254, fig. 454.

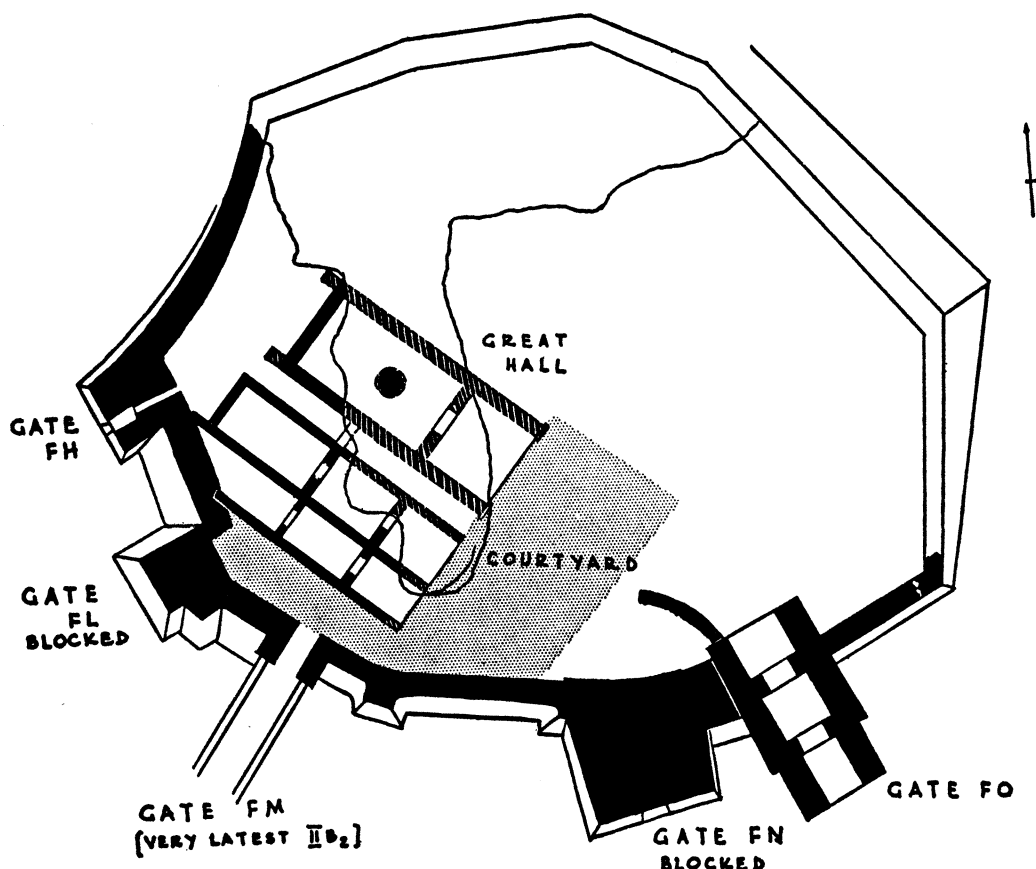


FIG. 5. Plan of Troy IIb.2.

western side might still be ascertained by excavation. It is most unlikely that it stood all by itself and we can only suggest that these two little complexes were the "Royal Residences" of the first two phases of Troy IIb. If so, it looks as if the fortunes of the fortress had somewhat declined after the burning of Troy IIa. The change in orientation from east-west in Troy I and IIa to north-south in Troy IIb and all later Troy II phases should be noted.

#### TROY IIb.2 (Fig. 5)

Whereas Troy IIb.1 is comparatively modest in its architectural expression, no doubt reflecting restricted resources of its rulers after the burning of Troy IIa, the following phase IIb.2 seems to have recovered the old prosperity and the new walls and buildings inside the citadel compare favourably with the makeshift character of Troy IIb.1.

Both gates of the previous phase are blocked up and a new gate, FH, built at the south-west angle of the fortress, together with a new stretch of wall along the western side of the hill. A huge new main gate, FO, takes the place of Gate FN and a new wall east of it supersedes the old south-east wall. About the wall in the north and east we know nothing.

Being less vulnerable, those stretches of the fortification do not seem to have needed constant rebuilding.

The S.E. Gate (FO) is of a new type, consisting of a wide open porch at either end, with a compartment closed by two double doors in the middle. The central part and the back porch were probably roofed, but the front porch must have been open to the sky for defence. The gate still projected a long way beyond the wall, but unlike the S.W. Gate FH, which had the character of a postern, this gate must have provided the main access into the citadel. From the back porch a curving retaining wall showed the way into the centre of the fortress and must have led directly to the courtyard—no doubt walled and provided with a propylon like its successor in IIc—in front of a new Royal Residence.

This complex facing S.E., i.e. towards the new gate, occupied the south-western part of the fortress and, judging from the remains of one of the subsidiary buildings, which originally may have been as much as 37 m. in length, it was as impressive as its successors in Troy IIc and IID. Two long and narrow buildings remain, with their south-eastern ends cut off by Schliemann's trench. To the north-east and in line with them there remains a corner and back wall of a building of massive construction, which Dörpfeld assigned to Troy IIb. This building would face the new main gate and a comparison with the Royal Residence of Troy IIa, c and d, make it extremely likely that this large building, which has almost entirely fallen a prey to Schliemann's disastrous trench, was in fact the Great Hall of the complex. The massiveness of its construction, its width, orientation and position relative to the subsidiary buildings on its western side, make its reconstruction as a Great Hall like those of Troy IIa and c almost certain. It should be possible to test the accuracy of this view by digging below the Great Hall of IIc, and the presence of massive walls, visible in the north-south trench at a point where its outer (east) wall should have come, lends support to our reconstruction. It is of course perfectly possible that there were still other buildings forming part of this complex, situated to the right of the Great Hall, but here again further excavation is required.

What is perhaps surprising is the apparent absence of any buildings that can be attributed to this phase in the eastern half of the fortress, but it should be borne in mind that very little digging has been done here below the level of the IIc buildings. There is, however, another explanation, which will be considered while dealing with the remains of Troy IIc, to which we must now turn.

### TROY IIc (Fig. 6)

This is perhaps the best known phase of Troy II and certainly the one most often illustrated. It appears to have developed without any interruption from the previous phase. With the exception of the south-east quarter the whole of the interior of the fortress has been excavated, though nothing was recorded from Schliemann's early E.-W. trench. Dörpfeld ascribes to Troy IIb the first construction of the S.W. Gate, FM,

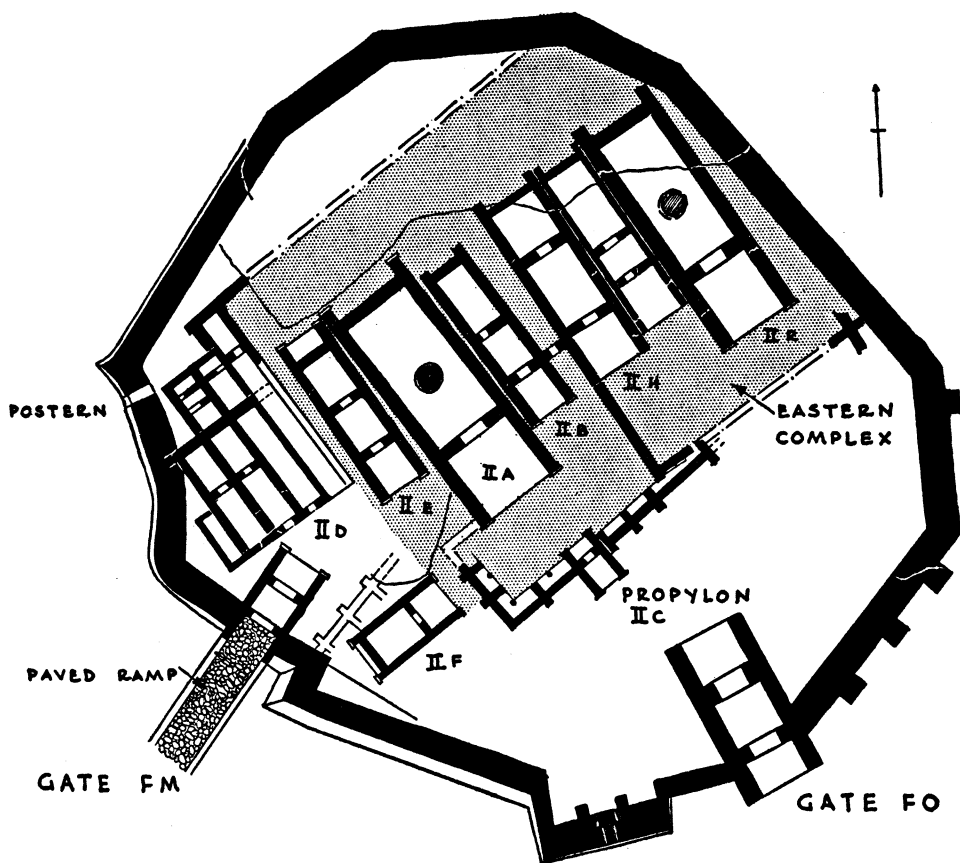


FIG. 6. Plan of Troy IIc.

approached by a magnificent stone paved ramp. He nevertheless foresaw the difficulties involved in this attribution—the two gate chambers, such as existed in Phase IIc, could not have been built with the south-west dependencies of the IIB Royal Residence still standing. He therefore suggested an earlier form of the gate, as shown in Fig. 5. It is difficult to see how this difficulty could be overcome and it seems more logical to assume that the construction of Gate FM dates from the end of Phase IIB.2 or from the very beginning of IIc. As there is no break between these two phases the reconstruction of the citadel may have been taken in hand at the end of the IIB phase and continued into IIc. In Troy IIc a new enceinte was built, of which only the northern portions are destroyed and therefore remain hypothetical. Two main gates, the new S.W. one (FM) and a remodelled S.E. Gate (FO) lead into the enlarged citadel. There is no evidence for an East Gate. A new feature of the gates is that the two gate chambers now lie within the line of the wall. As before, the front porch must have been open to the sky for military reasons, and in the south-west angle a simple postern was maintained.

If the construction of the Gate FM dates from the end of the IIB phase as Dörpfeld thought, then the curious absence of any buildings

in the eastern half of the citadel can also be explained. For the construction of the new gate suggests that the Royal Residence of IIb.2 was being replaced by a new one. Now the plan of Troy IIc <sup>34</sup> as shown by Dörpfeld does not provide a clue, but Blegen's addition of the Great Hall II R to the plan of Troy IIc provides the answer. Troy IIc did not have a single Royal Residence, composed of a Great Hall and two lateral buildings and a courtyard and propylon in front, but two, one centred round the Great Hall II A, the other round the Great Hall II R. Both units seem to have been independent of each other and there is no doorway in the wall which divides them. A glance at the plan shows that the Eastern Complex (II R) was built before the western, although it definitely remained in use side by side with it. Its courtyard also must have been provided with a propylon. This eastern complex, with its different orientation, seems to supply the answer as to why there are no buildings in the eastern half of the fortress in phase IIb.2. We may assume that when the old Royal Residence of IIb.2 fell out of use, this one was built to replace it and its construction may coincide with the construction of Gate FM. The Eastern Residence must have been inhabited when the western one was built on top of the one of phase IIb.2.

#### THE EASTERN RESIDENCE

Built at the very end of phase IIb.2 or the beginning of IIc, a phase which for convenience we may call IIc.1, the Eastern Residence consisted of a Great Hall (II R) and two narrower buildings of hall-and-porch type with two rooms each. Each of these buildings was built separately and the whole group was surrounded with a wall and preceded by a courtyard, which must have had a propylon. Its eastern end *may* have linked up with the walls shown on the plan, but that is not certain. The general arrangement is still that of the Troy IIa and b phases, with the Great Hall not in the middle, but on one side, a characteristic also of the private houses of contemporary Poliochni (V). The Great Hall (II R) Blegen has shown to belong to phase IIc, but he did not comment on the date of the fragmentary building to the west of it, <sup>35</sup> considered contemporary by Dörpfeld. Wedged in between two buildings of phase IIc (II R and II H) and forming the third element in the normal Residence Unit, I would not hesitate in assigning it to the same phase, subject to re-excavation. All three buildings have been considerably restored on the plan, but the analogies with IIb and IIc buildings are too strong to ignore.

#### THE WESTERN RESIDENCE

Later in date than its eastern counterpart, i.e. belonging to what we may call phase IIc.2, the Western Residence presents an architecturally more satisfactory arrangement of a Great Hall (II A), c. 37 m. long and

<sup>34</sup> *Troja und Ilion*, plan III, fig. 23, p. 81.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, and plan in Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*.

14 m. wide, flanked on either side by subsidiary buildings, II B and II E, of the same hall-and-porch plan, with two main rooms. These buildings were built separately and are not too well aligned. The building II B had a back porch with *antae*, and such back porches have been restored for the Great Hall and the other buildings. They have been the subject of much controversy, but they are also found in buildings of the hall-and-porch type at Beycesultan which date from the Troy IV period,<sup>36</sup> and there is therefore no reason to suggest that Dörpfeld's reconstruction introduced elements unknown to such Anatolian buildings. In front of the Great Hall and its dependencies lay a great court, provided with a gateway or Propylon, which is not aligned on the Great Hall, and a colonnade, at least in its western part. The north-western corner of the courtyard was destroyed by Schliemann's great trench and it is not known whether the wall linked up with a similar stretch of buttressed wall found south-east of Gate FM, excluding access to building II E. However one restores it, the solution is somewhat unsatisfactory. A doorway in the wall built between buildings II B and II K of the eastern complex gave access to the area behind the two residences, which was probably open to the sky.

#### BUILDINGS II D AND II F

Building II F is of the by now familiar hall-and-porch type with a well-developed back porch, like II E.<sup>37</sup> Its purpose is unfortunately unknown and it appears to be the only building which was not somehow linked to the "Palace Complex". It could be approached from the S.E. Gate, but whether it had access to any of the other buildings is not known. Its relation to the buttressed wall north of it is a mystery and one wonders whether that wall should really be assigned to this period. Could building II F have been a shrine?

Building II D is evidently not a homogeneous structure, but the result of repeated alterations, as the variety in thickness of its walls clearly shows. Its easternmost wall, restored in outline on the plan, is in line with the front of the porch of building II F and between it and the western wall of building II E there may have been a street or passage leading from the open space in front of this building and the S.W. Gate to the open space behind the Royal Residence. The long narrow chambers recall the plan of the subsidiary buildings in the residence complexes, but there is no evidence for the porches usually associated with such buildings. The wall at the back bears the character of an enclosure wall and its possible continuation is indicated by broken lines on the plan. Somewhere here there must have been a doorway through which access to the postern gate was gained. In its present ruinous state the building defies interpretation. As there is no evidence for other buildings having been erected within the citadel, except perhaps in its unexcavated south-eastern quarter and possibly in the destroyed section along the north wall, building II D may

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<sup>36</sup> *AS. VIII*, 1958, p. 99, fig. 2, and 1957 excavations.

<sup>37</sup> *Troy I*, p. 262, fig. 451; *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 96-7.



well have been a dependency of the "Palace", a view supported by its location.

The open area south of the Royal Residence could have been used as a refuge by the King's subjects in case of danger. In peacetime they seem to have lived in the fertile plains round Troy. It must be emphasized that there is no evidence for a lower town anywhere round the fortress.

### TROY IID (Fig. 7)

There is evidence that buildings II R and II B were destroyed by a fire and from the reconstruction which took place in phase IID it would appear that most of the other buildings also fell a prey to the flames. Before discussing this important point, it should be made clear that the citadel wall, both gates and postern, as well as building II F and the propylon II C, were still in use in phase IID. The courtyard and colonnade were reconstructed and widened and this by itself presupposes the existence of a Royal Residence.

The destruction of building II B of phase IIc was associated by both Schliemann and Dörpfeld with the destruction of the Great Hall II A, Gate FM, etc. at the end of Troy II. Blegen has, however, conclusively shown that Troy IIc was succeeded by not less than four other phases of Troy II, the last of which ended in a conflagration.<sup>38</sup> Now it would be easy to transfer the burning of buildings II A, II B and Gate FM to phase IIg, the last one of Troy II, but for several factors which rule out such a proposition. These are :

- (a) The destruction by fire of the Great Hall II R *at the end of phase IIc*, as it is overlaid by later Troy II deposits,<sup>39</sup> the earliest of which can be dated to IID.
- (b) The existence of the fragmentary buildings overlying building II R, and dated to phase IID. The western ends of these *overlie* the burnt building II B, which dates the destruction of that building also to the end of Troy IIc. See plan, Fig. 7.
- (c) Schliemann comments on the burning of this building and observes that the west wall is more burnt than the east wall<sup>40</sup> ; from this he concludes that the burning may have started in the Great Hall II A, which he also found burnt.

On top of the burnt Great Hall Schliemann found some miserable walls, shown in Emile Burnouf's plan,<sup>41</sup> which Schliemann considered to belong to his fourth (unburnt) city, now renamed Troy III. Schliemann thought that the Great Hall was burnt with the rest of the fortress at the time of burning his "Third Burnt City", now identified by Blegen as Troy IIg,<sup>42</sup> who also thinks that the Great Hall was in use until the end of Troy IIg.

<sup>38</sup> *Troy I*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 299, fig. 432.

<sup>40</sup> H. Schliemann, *Troja*, English edition (London, 1884), p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> *Ilios*, plan I ; *Troja*, p. 177.

<sup>42</sup> *Troy I*, p. 321.

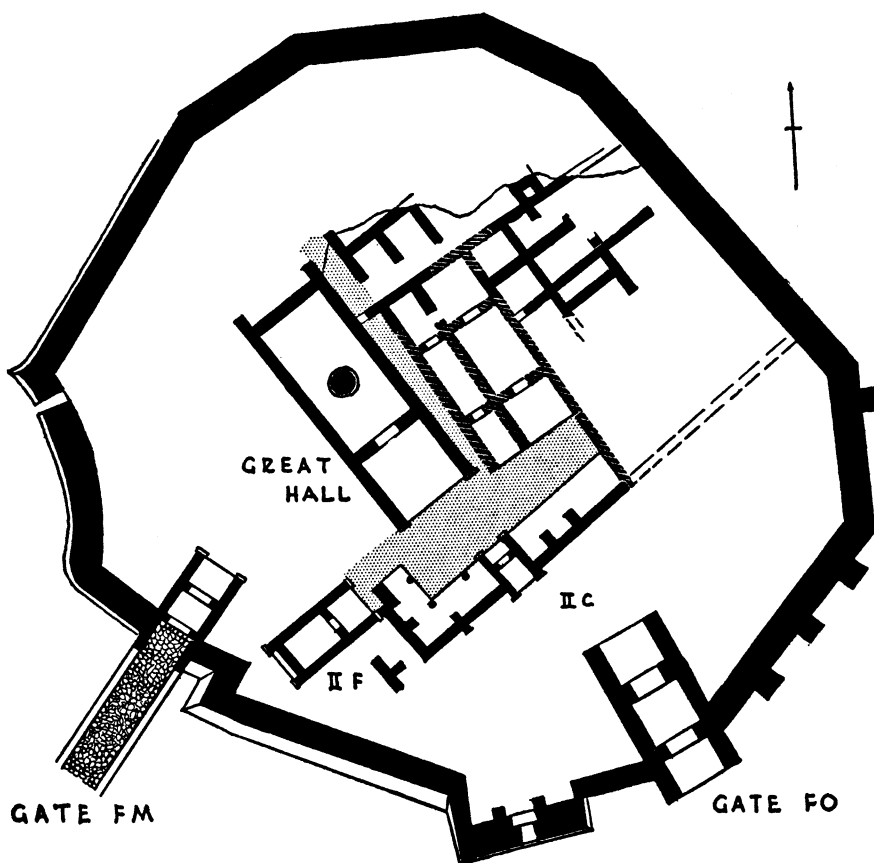


FIG. 7. Plan of Troy IId.

The walls found by Schliemann on top of the burnt Great Hall definitely look like Troy III walls and not like anything which took the place of the Great Hall in phase IId. This suggests that what Schliemann did find was a Great Hall, burnt at the end of IIg with the rest of the fortress, and not a Great Hall burnt at the end of phase IIc. As there was only one hall the only conclusion possible is that whatever happened to the Great Hall at the end of IIc the building survived until the end of Troy IIg. It could have escaped the fire, though Schliemann's observations do not appear to make that seem likely and perhaps it was not damaged enough to necessitate rebuilding. A thorough investigation of the "island" left standing by the earlier excavators as well as by Blegen over the eastern wall of the porch might eventually solve this dilemma.<sup>43</sup>

Although the Great Hall remained in use throughout the rest of Troy II, new buildings, the plans of which are exceedingly fragmentary, were constructed on top of the ruins of building II B and the Eastern Residence. The plan shows a somewhat uncertain attempt at restoring at least two of these on analogy with earlier plans. Whether any buildings

<sup>43</sup> This should be done soon, for the winter rains have already reduced the island to a considerable extent.

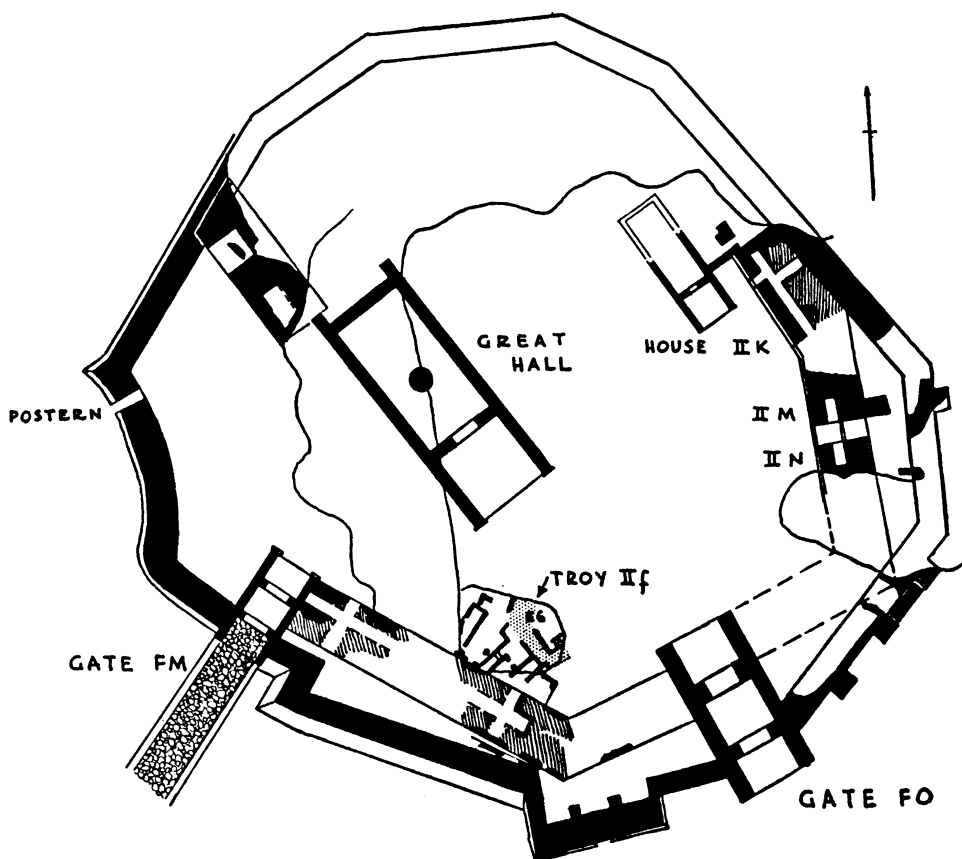


FIG. 8. Plan of Troy IIe and IIƒ.

west of the Great Hall remained in use after phase IIc is unknown, but in any case new buildings occupied the area in phase IIg.

#### TROY IIe AND F (Fig. 8)

To phase IIe, during which the fortifications and the Great Hall of IIc remained in use, belongs a series of puzzling structures, buildings II M and II N, discovered by Dörpfeld, and dated stratigraphically by Blegen.<sup>44</sup> Dörpfeld interpreted these thick mud-brick walls with internal corridors as a strengthening of the defences of the citadel, providing at the same time ample facilities for storage.

The possible course of these walls is indicated on the plan. To the same phase may belong the strengthening of the east wall, where a block of masonry built between two towers of the IIc wall formed a great bastion, approximately at the place where the angle of the interior wall south of II N would have impinged on the old defensive wall.

Structure N, which contained "Treasure L", was found to have been burnt, but in the absence of overlying structures the date of the burning could not be determined and the fact that a "treasure" was found would indicate that it might have taken place at the end of IIg.

<sup>44</sup> *Troy* I, p. 302.

To the same phase Dörpfeld's building II K is now attributed.<sup>45</sup> This was of the "hall and porch" type and may also have remained in use until the end of Troy II, as we shall try to show below.

Of phase II<sub>f</sub>, very few remains of buildings were found. In square E 6, excavated by Blegen, there were remains of houses and a street.<sup>46</sup> These actually overlie a short stretch of II<sub>e</sub> wall, which was probably part of the interior wall of the previous phase, suggesting that at least here that structure had already gone out of use. The Great Hall and the enceinte with the gates appears to have been in use as before. The destruction of Gate FM must, however, be mentioned. For reasons to be described in detail below, that gate cannot have been in use during phase II<sub>g</sub> and its destruction may plausibly be assigned to some previous stage, whether II<sub>e</sub> or II<sub>f</sub> must remain uncertain. The almost complete absence of any buildings which can be ascribed to this presumably short period may suggest that some of the buildings ascribed to Troy II<sub>g</sub> may have been built in this phase and continued to be inhabited throughout phase II<sub>g</sub>. For this the contemporary city of Poliochni offers numerous parallels. Without excavation, such as is now virtually impossible in the few areas left, this cannot be proved.

#### THE LAST PHASE OF TROY II (Figs. 9, 10)

"The designation of Troy III has been subject to confusion and misunderstanding as the result of changes proposed by the early excavators." So Professor Blegen begins his discussion of Troy III.<sup>47</sup> The confusion is perhaps best illustrated in tabular form.

Correct stratification. Blegen, <i>Troy</i> I, 1950; II, 1951.	Schliemann, <i>Ilios</i> , 1880.	Schliemann, <i>Troja</i> , 1884.	Dörpfeld, <i>Troja und Ilion</i> , 1904.
Troy I . . . .	1st city, p. 211 f. .	1st city . . . .	Troja I.
Troy IIa-c (great walls and palaces).	2nd city, p. 264 f. .	2nd city (burnt) .	Troja II, i-3 (burnt).
Troy II <sub>d</sub> -g, g burnt with "treasures".	3rd city burnt with "treasures" (Plan I), p. 324 f.	Not recognised. Troy II, but buildings to Troy III.	Treasures assigned to
Troy III (stone-built and unburnt).	4th city (stone-built and unburnt), poor finds.	3rd city (stone-built and unburnt), poor finds.	Troja III "arm- liches Dorf" (stone-built and unburnt).

Now that Blegen has finally settled the stratigraphy of Troy, it is evident that Schliemann's observations of the stratigraphy at Troy were more acute than those of his architect. He recognised a stratum undiscerned

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, p. 303, fig. 460.

<sup>47</sup> *Troy* II, 1951, p. 3.

by Dörpfeld and finally established by Blegen as the accumulated debris of Troy II<sub>d</sub>-g. The "treasures" found by Schliemann in the burnt level are matched by those found by Blegen in Troy II<sub>g</sub>. The American excavators have reassigned the "House of the City King", in and around which Schliemann found not less than nine of his treasures, to level II<sub>g</sub>.<sup>48</sup> The evidence of the metalwork, pottery, building methods and destruction in a great conflagration are all matched in other buildings excavated by the American expedition and which are stratigraphically established as belonging to phase II<sub>g</sub>.

To Troy II<sub>g</sub>, Blegen assigns the following buildings (Fig. 9) :

- (a) The house complex, dug by him in square E 6<sup>49</sup> ;
- (b) The walls and rooms in square F 4<sup>50</sup> ;
- (c) Building II S, in front of the South-east Gate<sup>51</sup> ;
- (d) House HS, Schliemann's "House of the City King".<sup>52</sup>

He further considers that the Great Hall (II<sub>a</sub>) and the defences of phase II<sub>c</sub> were still in use, which would account for the burning of their brick-and-wood superstructure.

On the same evidence (treasures, burning, construction methods peculiar to phase II<sub>g</sub>, i.e. stone or brick or both combined in alternate courses), it is justifiable to add the following structures to the list of burnt II<sub>g</sub> buildings :

- (1) The storerooms within the wall, north of building II S, which contained nine *pithoi*, the "treasure S" and two skeletons.<sup>53</sup>
- (2) The group of house remains north and east of building HS, including House HT and the house in which "treasure D" was found.<sup>54</sup>
- (3) The reconstructed section of brick wall near the N.W. postern in which "treasures" A and J were found.
- (4) The building II N, constructed in phase II<sub>e</sub>, but containing "treasure L" and burnt.
- (5) House remains in square F 4-5, found in the 1890 campaign and dated by Dörpfeld as contemporary with House HS, the others near it, and the buildings outside the S.E. Gate, the date of which is now established as II<sub>g</sub>.<sup>55</sup>
- (6) Remains of blocks of houses, east and south of the Great Hall, found by Schliemann and assigned by him, on the evidence of the

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<sup>48</sup> *Troy* I, pp. 321, 372.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 365 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 374 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 372 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Ilios*, pp. 507 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p. 490 ; *Troja*, plan VII.

<sup>55</sup> Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's excavations*, Appendix I, p. 347, by Dörpfeld, and plan.

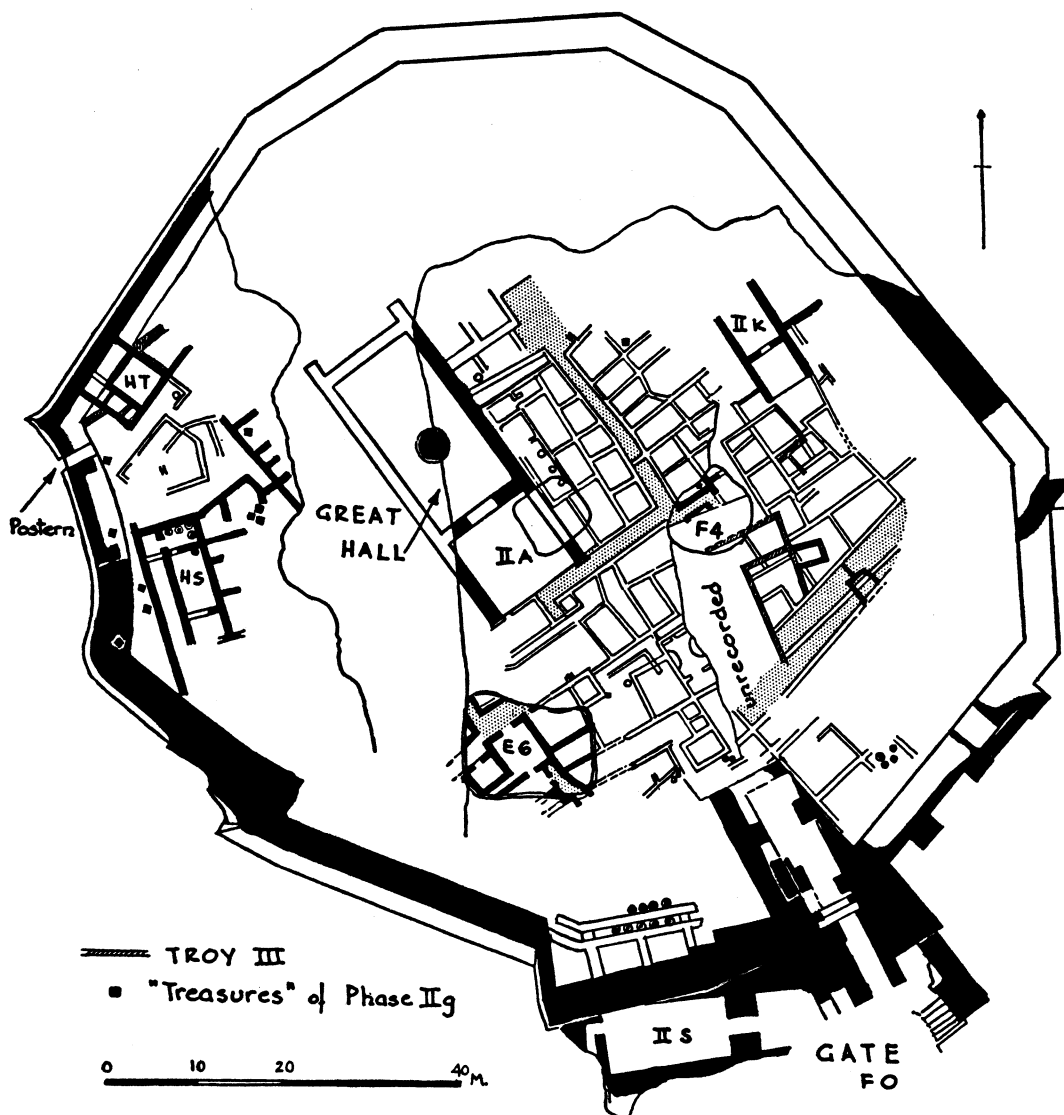


FIG. 9. Plan of the remains of Troy IIg. Hatched walls belong to Troy III.

conflagration, the stratigraphy, the "treasure H" and the pottery, to his "burnt city" <sup>56</sup> (i.e. Troy IIg). Illustrated on plan I in *Ilios*.

- (7) The additional strengthening of the South-east Gate, dated by Dörpfeld to Troy III.<sup>57</sup>

When Schliemann in 1884 reassigned his burnt debris to level II (*Troja*, pp. 52, 175 ff.), he was persuaded by Dörpfeld that the walls of House HS and of the small houses mentioned above under No. 6 belonged to the level above the burning, i.e. level III, and this view has been taken

<sup>56</sup> *Ilios*, pp. 327-8.

<sup>57</sup> See footnote 55.

over, somewhat inconsistently, by Blegen (*Troy* II, pp. 3 and 5) in the case of the small houses, in spite of the fact that he has now assigned House HS, Building II S and the additions to the South-east Gate, to the last phase of Troy II. It is probably true that some of the walls in front of and overlying the Great Hall are later, as recognised by Schliemann<sup>58</sup>; they and the walls in F 4-5, hatched in my plan (Fig. 9), are probably of Troy III date, and agree in alignment with a Troy III room in F 4 found by Blegen.<sup>59</sup> This alone, however, would suggest that the underlying houses belong to phase IIg, and indeed it will be seen from my plan that portions dug by Blegen in squares E 6 and F 4 actually fit on to the buildings excavated before, whereas those belonging to level III do not. This conclusive point was apparently missed by Professor Blegen. Plan I in *Ilios* is therefore in its main essentials that of Troy IIg, and it is Dörpfeld who is responsible for the confusion, of which Professor Blegen has become a victim.

In Fig. 9 I have replanned the buildings assigned to Troy IIg from all the relevant plans,<sup>60</sup> omitting only those walls which are obviously later in date in squares F 4-5 and in front of and above the Great Hall. Between the groups of houses in F 4-5 and those dug by Schliemann further west there is a gap which is unrecorded in any of the early publications. There are likewise no records of the buildings which occupied the areas of Schliemann's great E.-W. and N.-S. trenches. I have also taken care to go back to the earliest and more complete plans of Houses HS and HT, which on Dörpfeld's plans somewhat inexplicably tend to become smaller and more crooked the later the plan. In this respect it should be pointed out that both houses were excavated before Dörpfeld even arrived at Troy! Allowing for some inaccuracies—such as the unexcavated "island" over the eastern porch wall of the Great Hall, which does not correspond in Burnouf's and Dörpfeld's plans—the apparent maze of streets, passages and small rooms does not seem inconsistent with the orientation observed in the earlier phases of Troy II. Unfortunately there is no indication of doorways or courtyards on either of these plans, which would seem to be an obstacle to reconstruction. The character of the buildings within the citadel in phase IIg appears to have been the subject of much misunderstanding. Unlike Blegen, I do not consider the Great Hall (II A) as the Royal Palace of this period, nor the blocks of houses as the simple dwellings of his impoverished subjects. On the contrary, at least for this period, I believe Schliemann to have come much nearer to the truth in thinking of the complex west of the Great Hall, of which House HS formed the centre, as the Royal Residence and of the Great Hall as the temple, for which I would substitute Assembly Hall or Public Building. It is unrealistic to assume that the King of Troy would have been living in this single

<sup>58</sup> *Troja*, p. 177.

<sup>59</sup> *Troy* II, fig. 286.

<sup>60</sup> *Ilios*, plan I; Dörpfeld's 1890 plan (see note 55); *Troja*, plan VII; *Troja und Ilion*, plan III; *Troy* I, figs. 462, 469, 471.



FIG. 10. Restored plan of Troy IIg.

enormous barn-like structure, deprived of all the privacy and comforts his subjects were enjoying in their by no means small many-roomed houses, like House HS.

It also fails to explain why absolutely nothing of domestic nature, be it pottery, jewellery or storage vessels, was found in this presumed palace. The use of a single *megaron*, i.e. a *freestanding* house of hall-and-porch type, as a house, seems to have been found insufficient, at least by the rich, after Troy I. The Royal Residences of Troy IIa-IIc.2 all appear to have consisted of a series of buildings of hall-and-porch type, which even if built separately, were not free-standing, and formed a complex in which the *megaron* was only a unit, and not a "Palace" by itself. The Great Hall, more likely than not, served as a Hall of Audience or of Assembly and Court of Justice. In towns, such as Poliochni, a similar



building found facing the main square is interpreted by Professor Brea as the Town Hall.<sup>61</sup>

The wealthy citizens of Poliochni, probably merchants, lived in spacious houses, often of some complexity, which were arranged in blocks or insulae on either side of a main street, 200 metres long, which ran in a N.-S. direction from one end of the town to another, Figs. 11-12. This town, Poliochni V, has now been shown to be contemporary with and destroyed at the same time as Troy II, which can be demonstrated by numerous parallels in the pottery, the jewellery "treasure" in Room 643 of Insula VIII<sup>62</sup> and now also by its architecture. For it is here in the houses of Poliochni V that we find the best parallels for the insulae of houses in Troy IIg. At Poliochni only the poorest houses consist of a single hall-and-porch, used by itself, but nearly every sizeable house contained this unit as the core of the complex. Of freestanding *megara* there is no trace in Poliochni V and by the end of the period most houses had been enlarged or subdivided to a considerable extent. If one makes the experiment of drawing Insula VIII, for example, without any doorways or courtyards, one obtains exactly that sort of "rabbit warren" that at Troy has misled many reputable scholars into believing in a poverty stricken village consisting of hovels with one or two rooms and walls not even parallel! If other parallels are wanted, the Castle of Ahlatlibel provides the same apparent agglutination of hovels,<sup>63</sup> but like Poliochni V and Troy IIg, it also produced rich weapons in intramural graves, which are inconsistent with such an interpretation. The size of Ahlatlibel is 40 × 30 m., not quite that of two insulae at Poliochni.

With contemporary Poliochni as an example, it becomes possible to interpret the plan of the Troy IIg insulae, and without any excess of imagination, to restore them by analogy. That the restoration as shown in Fig. 10 is *tentative*, needs no further explanation.

#### INSULAE AND STREETS IN TROY IIg

The centre of the fortress was still occupied by the Great Hall. In front of it lay a courtyard, now much reduced in size, but there is no evidence for a propylon or colonnade. On either side of the Great Hall and built up against it lay blocks of houses, a large one on the eastern side with the fragment of another north of it. On its western side lay the House of "treasure D" and possibly another insula, south of it and destroyed by Schliemann's N.-S. trench. His great E.-W. trench has deprived us of any buildings which may have lain in the northern part of the fortress. Streets or passages run along the eastern side of the great insula east of the Great Hall and no doubt also west of the two insulae west of it. A short street led from the eastern street into the courtyard of the Great Hall and another separated the courtyard from a group of buildings, partly excavated by Blegen, which look most like magazines

<sup>61</sup> *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1952, p. 343 and fig. 40 (megaron 317).

<sup>62</sup> *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1957, p. 198 and fig. 7. "Treasure," *ibid.*, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>63</sup> *TT*, II, 1934, p. 7.

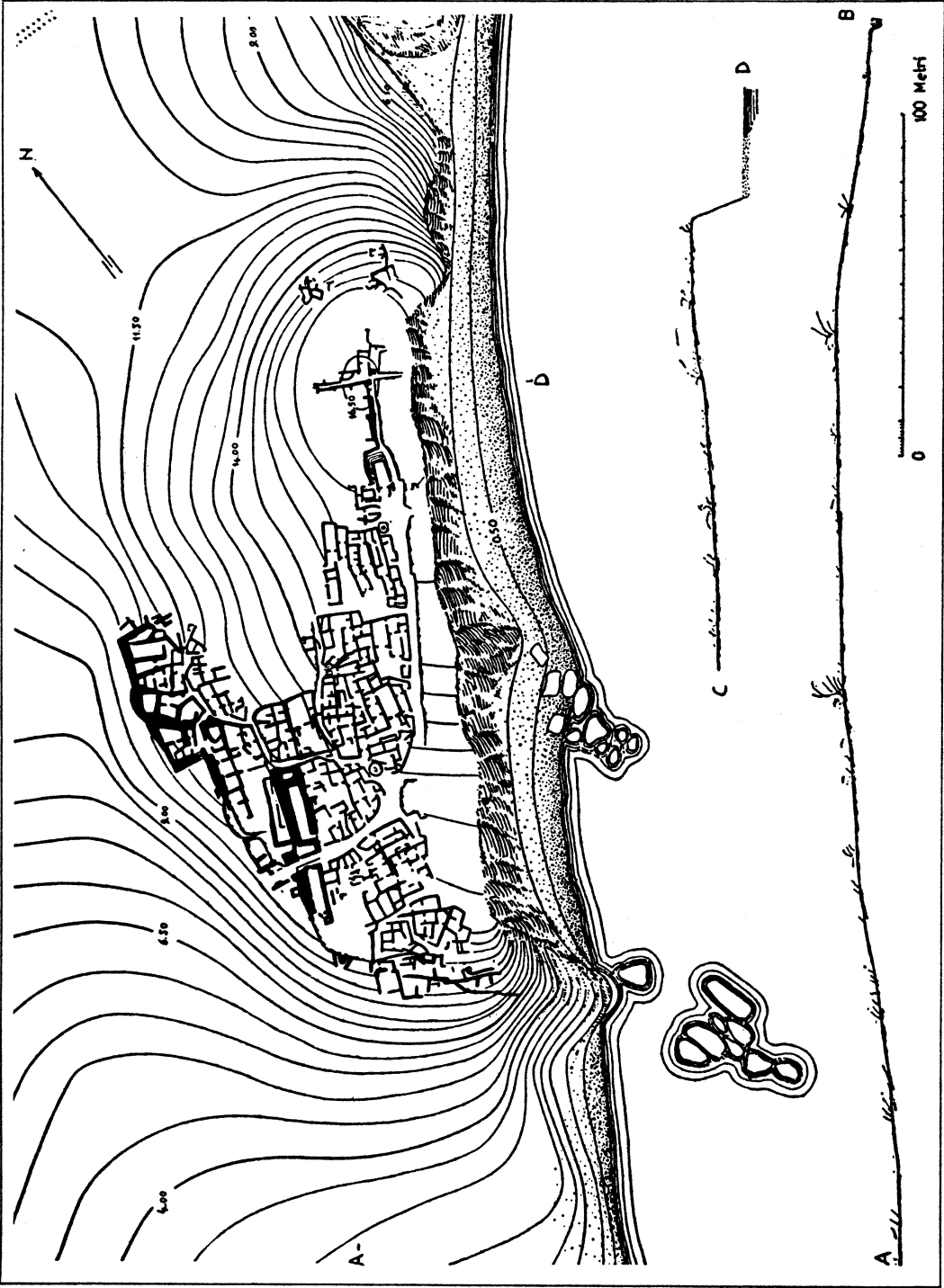


FIG. 11. Plan of Poliochni. After *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1957, p. 194, fig. 2.

and servant quarters. West of the western street lay the "House of the City King" (HS) with its dependencies to the north of it, including house HT. Along the eastern street lay the large insula east of the Great Hall, and south of it across the street two smaller insulae. East of it one large insula (the Eastern Insula) containing three houses, bordered on the northern side by an open space, on its eastern side by another street and on its southern side by a street which seems to have led to buildings II M and N. South of this street there may have been other houses, some of which still await excavation.

#### THE DIFFERENT QUARTERS OF THE FORTRESS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Theoretically we may assume that a Royal Fortress of this period would have contained the following buildings or groups of buildings :

- (a) An audience and assembly hall.
- (b) The Royal Residence with dependencies.
- (c) Storerooms and servant quarters.
- (d) Rooms for the garrison.
- (e) The private houses of princes and high officials.
- (f) Temples or shrines and accommodation for the priests.

There is no difficulty in recognising the Great Hall with its courtyard as an audience hall and the Royal Residence in House HS, Schliemann's "House of the City King", with its dependencies, House HT and the House of "treasure D". Storerooms and servant quarters lay to the south of the courtyard in front of the Great Hall and the spacious rooms outside the main gate could easily have accommodated the garrison, especially as there is good reason to suppose that this building bore an upper story. Its provisions could have been stored in the "House of the pithoi", which also contained "treasure S". Private houses of princes and high officials seem to have been situated in the eastern part of the fortress east of the line which can be drawn from the Great Hall to the Main Gate. For temples or shrines we have no evidence, but it should be borne in mind that the whole northern part of the fortress has been destroyed. The only contemporary site in Anatolia that has produced abundant evidence for religious architecture of this period is Beycesultan, levels XV-XIII of which are contemporary with Troy II, and it may be significant that the temples found in both these levels as well as the later Middle and Late Bronze Age ones were built up against the *north* wall of the city.<sup>64</sup>

If this were common West Anatolian practice the destruction of the northern part of Troy in Schliemann's E.-W. trench is much to be lamented.

#### THE ROYAL RESIDENCE

*House HS* (Figs. 9, 10 and 13:10)

This building appears to have been much larger than Dörpfeld's plans suggest. On the basis of the plan published after its excavation in *Ilios*,

<sup>64</sup> *AS. VIII*, 1958, pp. 104 ff., figs. 3 and 6.

it can be reconstructed, with some plausibility, into a mansion 19 m. long and 15 m. wide and consisting of two hall-and-porch units with subsidiary rooms, preceded by a walled open courtyard, which may have been larger than our reconstruction suggests. This is the building from which most of the "treasures" came; A, B, E, J from the area just west of it, some found in the recesses of the reconstructed fortress wall, others from the open space between it and the building, and treasure F from the west wall of the corridor.<sup>65</sup> In the house itself were found a silver spearhead,<sup>66</sup> and just to the east of it, i.e. in the storerooms, the dagger with a bull on the handle.<sup>67</sup> From the room north of the eastern hall-and-porch unit came three "treasures", of which now only "treasure C" survives in the Istanbul Museum.<sup>68</sup> It is not surprising that Schliemann thought of this building as the Royal Residence and it is difficult not to agree with him. In spite of all the wealth found here, Dörpfeld insisted on calling it the house of a miserable peasant.<sup>69</sup>

*House of treasure D (Figs. 9, 10 and 13:3)*

Little remains of this building and the surviving parts obviously formed part of the storage or subsidiary rooms, such as at both Troy and Poliochni (cf. Fig. 13:1) are attached to a hall-and-porch unit. There is just room for such an arrangement and the restoration (Fig. 10) would leave enough room for a similar house south of it (blank rectangle on plan).

*House HT (Figs. 9, 10)*

A third house of this type can be restored out of the remains of house HT, but unlike all other houses it would face north-east instead of south.

*Walls between House HS and HT*

No intelligent restoration can be made of the walls between these houses and they may have been dependencies of the Royal Residence, housing kitchens or servants.

*Storerooms and servant quarters (Fig. 10)*

This quarter excavated by Blegen, and its eastern extension, are more like magazines, yards and servants' quarters than any other recognised within the citadel. Both rooms 206 and 207 contained objects in precious metal.<sup>70</sup> These buildings are entered by several narrow passages from the west and especially south, but they have only a single outlet eastward. How far they extended south- and westward is unfortunately unknown,

<sup>65</sup> *Ilios*, pp. 453 ff.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, p. 499, fig. 901.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, p. 504, fig. 927.

<sup>68</sup> For a colour photograph see Seton Lloyd, *Anatolia*, in *Founders of Civilisation*, Thames and Hudson, 1959 (forthcoming).

<sup>69</sup> *Troja und Ilion*, p. 100. For an earlier correction of this view, see C. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparée*, p. 234

<sup>70</sup> *Troy I*, p. 358.

but there may well have been a street, comparable to that leading to building II N, all along the southern wall.

A glance at the plan then suggests that the whole western half of the fortress was occupied by a kind of Saray, including the great public building, the Royal Residence and its dependencies, storerooms, servant quarters etc. In many respects this foreshadows the Little Palace at Beycesultan <sup>71</sup> and the Mycenaean Palaces of the Late Bronze Age.

### THE PRIVATE HOUSES

*Insula east of the Great Hall* (Figs. 9, 10 and 13:6). This large house was entered from the street which ran along its southern side, connecting the main thoroughfare with the courtyard of the Great Hall. In front of the hall-and-porch unit was an open courtyard, and on either side as well as along the back, rows of storage rooms, some of which still contained *pithoi* when Schliemann found them. Those long rows of subsidiary rooms find their parallels at Poliochni (Fig. 13:7, a remodelling of the house illustrated in Fig. 13:5).

*The two smaller houses south of the Insula east of the Great Hall.* A more modest house lies south of the side street. It was probably entered from a narrow passage, which *may* have communicated with the magazines further west. On analogy, I have restored it as a modest version of hall-and-porch plan with a subsidiary room along one side and a large room at the back. Such a large back room occurs also in the eastern house of Insula IX at Poliochni (Fig. 12). The southernmost of the three houses on the west side of the main thoroughfare seems to have been of the normal plan (Figs. 10 and 13:2), similar to the House of "treasure D", House HT and the eastern half of House HS. South of it a cross wall, in which I have restored a doorway, separated the eastern and western quarters of the citadel. Perhaps there was a little propylon here, as might be suggested by the double wall on its south side. A doorway at the end of the long and narrow gate-passage is purely hypothetical, though not unlikely.

*The Eastern Insula* (Figs. 9, 10). This is about 40 × 20 m. in area and rather hard to disentangle. Later additions along its southern and eastern sides encroach upon the streets or open area (Fig. 9), just as at Poliochni.<sup>72</sup> This insula seems to have contained three houses: the *North House*, a very large one, occupying the whole width of the insula, and two smaller ones in the southern half. Of these latter, the *South-west House* (Fig. 13:4) as restored, seems to represent the normal type. The *South-east House* (Fig. 13:9) is more complicated and its restoration more problematical. It seems to consist of the normal hall-and-porch unit with one large subsidiary room beyond the normal row. A long courtyard with a door to the easternmost street (or open space) lies in front of the building and on the south side of the courtyard there are further large rooms or yards.

*The North House* (Fig. 13:12) is of much greater interest. The use of

<sup>71</sup> AS. VI, 1956, p. 105, fig. 2.

<sup>72</sup> *Proc. of Preh. Soc.*, vol. XXI, 1956, pp. 144 ff., fig. I ff.

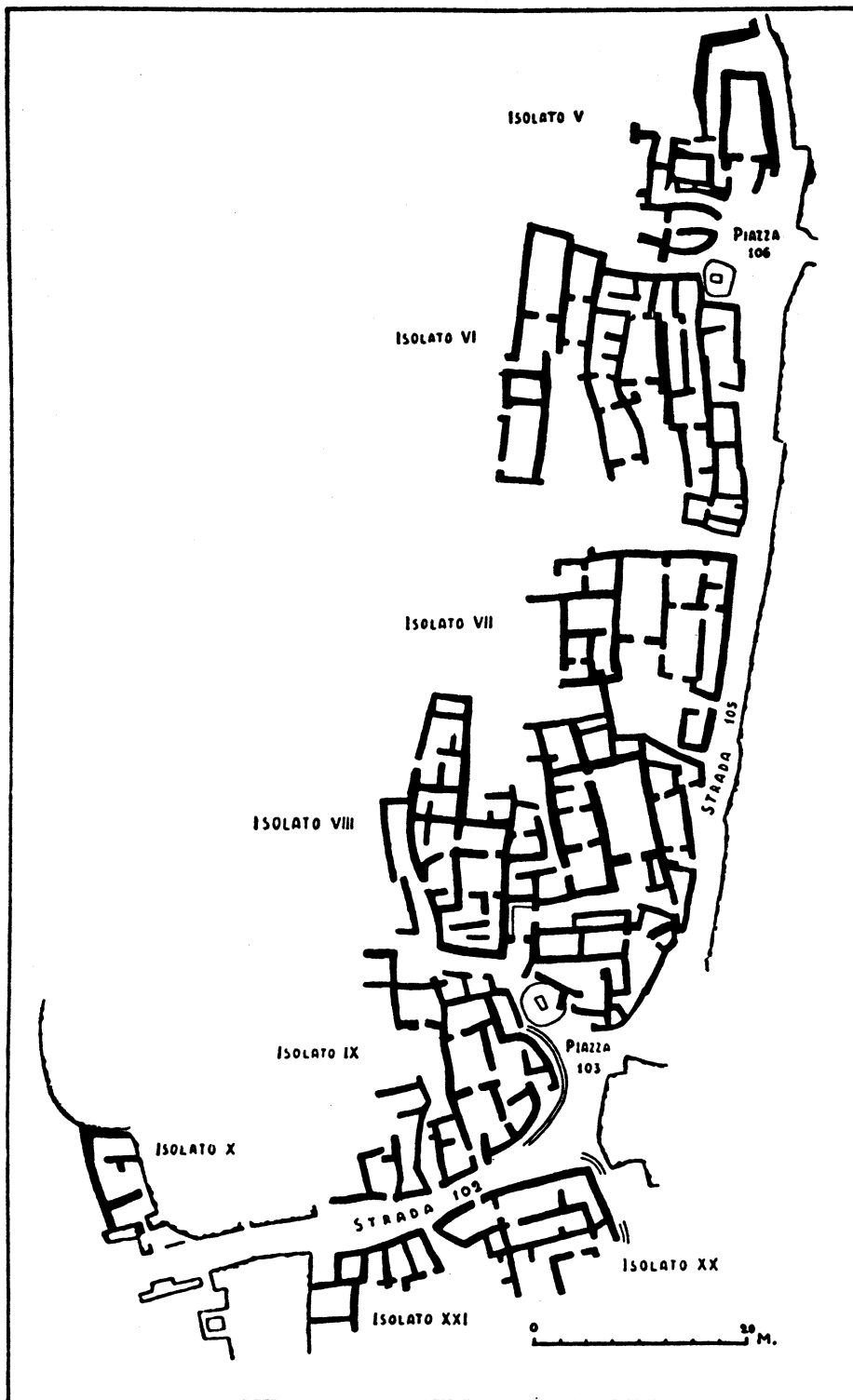


FIG. 12. Plan of the houses along the main street of Poliochni V. After *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1957, p. 196, fig. 4.

“megaron” II K or its successor almost immediately suggests in this context a series of subsidiary rooms on its western side. If one restores this there is insufficient room for a second building like it to the west and the walls found by Schliemann rule out such a plan. Those are almost certainly store- or subsidiary rooms and Blegen’s excavations in square F 4 appear to have found its S.W. corner and a passage leading to the entrance of the building. When one considers the position of the main hall of this house and its inaccessibility from the main street, the discovery made by Blegen assumes importance. Probably there was an entrance system by which access could be gained to the house from the main street, which does not prevent it having had a doorway in the courtyard wall leading into the easternmost street or open space. A system like this actually exists in the case of the eastern house of Insula VIII at Poliochni<sup>73</sup> (Fig. 13:11), where a long courtyard is laid in front of the main hall (as in the S.E. house of our east insula) and subsidiary structures contain an entrance with propylon at its western end. From the courtyard a passage branches off giving access to a small yard around which other rooms are grouped. The arrangement of our North House appears to have been extremely similar (compare the plans in Fig. 13). In size, the north house is a little over 20 m. square, nearly twice that of the original construction of the Poliochni example, but about equal to its enlarged form at the time of its destruction, which coincides with that of Troy IIg. The North House contained two small “treasures”, “treasure H”<sup>74</sup> and a cache found by Blegen in its S.W. room (room 252).<sup>75</sup> It is the only house in this part of the citadel that has produced any precious metal and there can be little doubt that it was once occupied by some very important person, for in size it is the largest single building within the citadel.

*The South-east Gate and the House N.E. of it.* The disappearance of the S.W. Gate FM, burnt at some undefined period sometime between IIc and II f, but before the construction of House HS which partly overlies it, left only the postern in the S.W. angle of the defences and the great South-east Gate. The postern may well have retained for the use of the Royal Residence and it is worth noting that in spite of the destruction and the many lost treasures, Schliemann found no traces of a massacre. Only two skeletons were found by him and those lay in the house of the *pithei* with “treasure S”.<sup>76</sup> As the main and only gate of the fortress the elaborate strengthening of its defences becomes understandable. Although it is possible that some of the alterations go back to phases II d-f, it is clear that it assumed its present form in II g, when the Great Tower (II S) with two rooms E and W and the passage or staircase leading to an upper story and the wall beyond were built. The stump of wall found at the eastern end of Room E might be interpreted as the end wall of the tower, which was here entered from the open but enclosed area in front of the actual

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*, fig. 2.

<sup>74</sup> *Ilios*, p. 499.

<sup>75</sup> *Troy I*, p. 366 f.

<sup>76</sup> *Ilios*, p. 507.

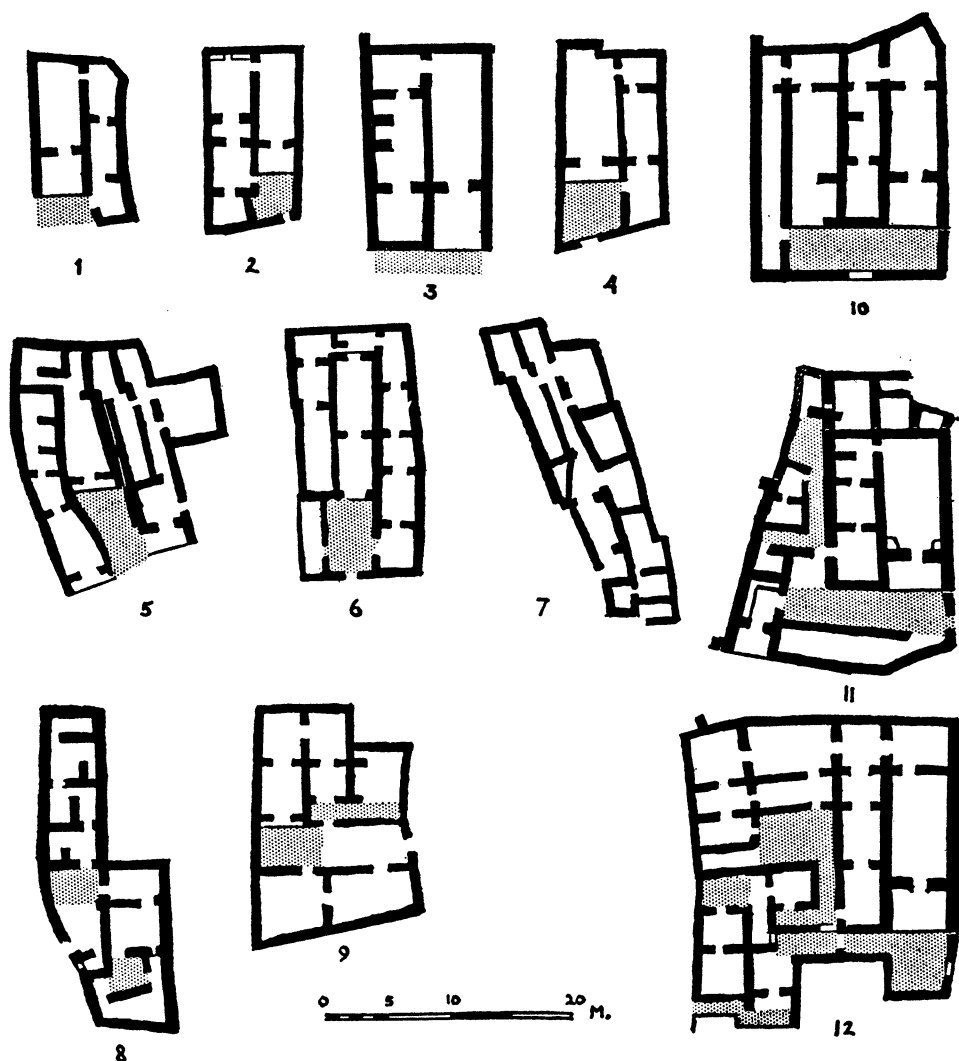


FIG. 13. House plans of Troy IIg and Poliochni V (cf. Fig. 12).

## Key to numbers :

- 1-4. *Houses of simple type. Hall-and-porch and courtyard and row of subsidiary rooms along one side.*
  1. Poliochni V. Insula VI (west house).
  2. Troy IIg. Insula north of Main Gate.
  3. Troy IIg. "House of treasure D."
  4. Troy IIg. East Insula. S.W. House.
- 5-7. *Houses of hall-and-porch type with several rows of subsidiary rooms.*
  5. Poliochni V. Insula VI (central house).
  6. Troy IIg. Insula East of Great Hall.
  7. Poliochni V. Insula VI. Eastern addition to central house.
- 8-9. *Large houses of less orthodox type.*
  8. Poliochni V. Insula VIII. West house with treasure.
  9. Troy IIg. East Insula. S.E. House.
- 10-12. *Large houses with long courtyards.*
  10. Troy IIg. House HS ("House of the City King").
  11. Poliochni V. Insula VIII. East house.
  12. Troy IIg. East Insula. North house.



gate through a heavily defended doorway. The eastern heavy buttress added to the gate on the south side would probably have been matched by another at the S.E. corner of the Tower and I have therefore restored such a buttress on the plan. A rise in level of about 1.5 m. in front of the gate was negotiated by a flight of seven steps which add to its monumental appearance. A narrow passage about ten metres long led to a heavily barred gateway. This was presumably open to the sky like the forecourt, but the long sloping entrance passage behind was almost certainly covered and may have ended in another gateway, as restored.

Very little remains of the house that was partly built over the eastern wall of the long passage, and the few walls do not lend themselves to an obvious restoration. Other buildings probably once existed further east, along the south side of the street, but most of this area is still unexcavated.

*The nature of the destruction of Troy IIg and Poliochni V*

Troy IIg was destroyed by conflagration as the result of enemy action and the "treasures" hidden by the defenders were never recovered. Poliochni V, on the other hand, is said to have been destroyed in a severe earthquake. However that may be, it does not explain why "treasures" should be hidden, or why the site was not subsequently rebuilt. That the destructions of Troy IIg and Poliochni V were contemporary is no longer in doubt, but one would like to think of the two destructions, the one of the Royal Castle of Troy, the other of the only town-site (yet) known of the Troy I-II culture, as somehow related. The possibility that these destructions marked the end of a powerful kingdom that had hitherto controlled the land road into Anatolia (via the Thracian Chersonese) and the seaways into the North Aegean should be seriously considered.

CHRONOLOGY

In "Anatolian chronology on the Early and Middle Bronze Age" I advocated a date of *c.* 2750 B.C. for Troy I and 2500-2300 B.C. for Troy II.<sup>77</sup>

These estimates now appear to be very much too low, for it is unlikely that Troy II with eleven building phases, most of them quite substantial, as we have seen, lasted only 200 years. The same can be said of Troy I and Poliochni II-IV, contemporary with it. Here again 250 years seems not sufficient for ten building phases at Troy itself and probably more at Poliochni. Even Professor Blegen's estimates,<sup>78</sup> *c.* 3000-2900 B.C. for the beginning of Troy I and *c.* 2600-2300 B.C. for Troy II may be too short. Without being able to discuss here all that a revision of the chronology of this period would entail, I would now prefer a date of *c.* 3000 or even 3100 B.C. for the beginning of Troy I (and Poliochni II) and one of *c.* 2700-2300 B.C. for Troy II. Later dates remain unchanged. It must be borne in mind, however, that the real break between Troy I and II cultures comes after the burning of Troy IIa, *c.* 2600 B.C.

<sup>77</sup> *AS.* VIII, 1957, p. 73.

<sup>78</sup> *Troy* I, p. 41.