

STUDIA TROICA
Monographien 5

2014

STUDIA TROICA

Monographien 5

Herausgeber

Ernst Pernicka
Charles Brian Rose
Peter Jablonka

EBERHARD KARLS
UNIVERSITÄT
TÜBINGEN



Herausgegeben von
Ernst Pernicka, Charles Brian Rose
und Peter Jablonka

Troia 1987–2012: Grabungen und Forschungen I

Forschungsgeschichte, Methoden
und Landschaft

Teil 1



VERLAG
DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH
BONN

**Undertaken with the assistance of the
Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) – Philadelphia, USA**

**The research and compilation of the manuscript for this final publication were made
possible through a generous grant from The Shelby White – Leon Levy Program for
Archaeological Publications**

Gefördert mit Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)

und der

Daimler AG

Teil 1: 536 Seiten mit 42 Farb- und 194 Schwarzweißabbildungen

Teil 2: 552 Seiten mit 30 Farb- und 229 Schwarzweißabbildungen

Herausgeber:
Ernst Pernicka
Charles Brian Rose
Peter Jablonka

Lektorat:
Hanswulf Bloedhorn
Donald F. Easton
Dietrich und Erdmute Koppenhöfer

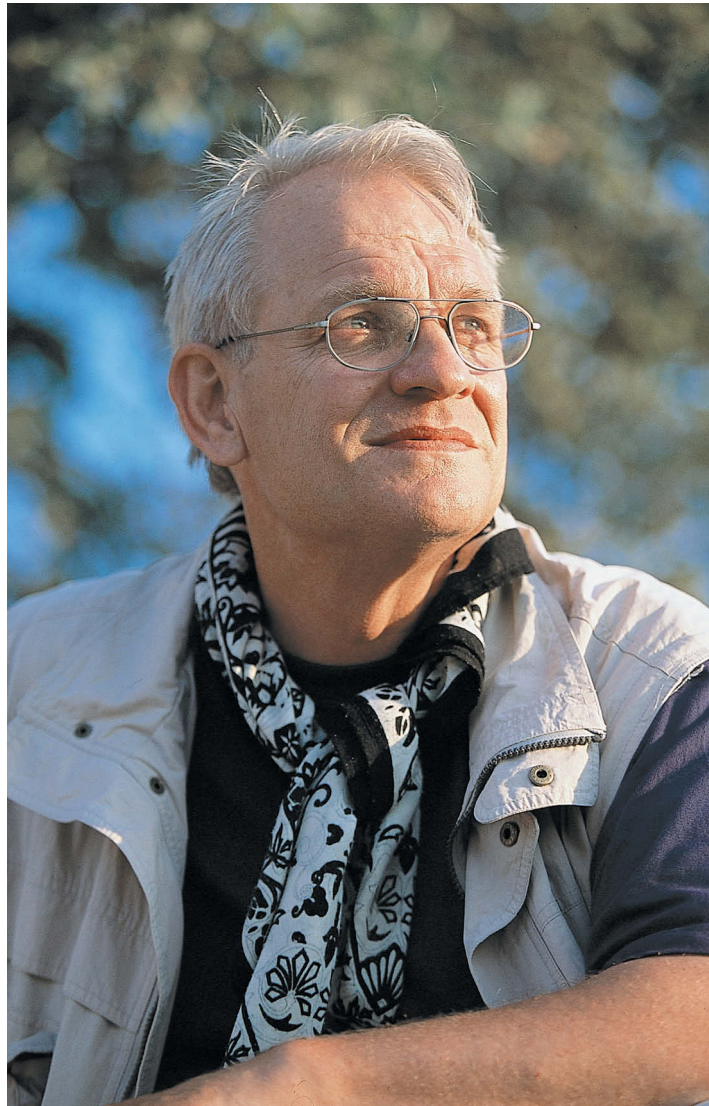
Wissenschaftliche Redaktion:
Stephan W. E. Blum
Peter Jablonka
Mariana Thater
Diane Thumm-Doğrayan

Layout, Satz:
Frank Schweizer, Göppingen
Druck:
Bechtel Druck GmbH & Co. KG, Ebersbach/Fils

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <<http://dnb.d-nb.de>> abrufbar.

© 2014 by Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn
ISBN: 978-3-7749-3902-8

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung
des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigung, Übersetzung,
Mikroverfilmung und die Speicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.



In memoriam
Manfred O. Korfmann

26. April 1942 bis
11. August 2005

Teil 1

Ernst Pernicka Preface	10
Forschungsgeschichte	
Rüstem Aslan Unterwegs nach Troia. Reisende in der Troas von Ruy González de Clavijo bis Heinrich Schliemann	18
Donald F. Easton The First Excavations at Troy: Brunton, Calvert and Schliemann	32
Diane Thumm-Doğrayan Die Ausgrabungen in Troia unter Wilhelm Dörpfeld und Carl W. Blegen	104
Getzel M. Cohen How Cincinnati returned to Troy	142
Peter Jablonka Bronzezeitliche Archäologie in Troia seit 1987	158
Charles Brian Rose Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troy, 1988–2005	190
Methoden und Strategien	
Archäologie und Vermessungstechnik	
Peter Jablonka Der Raum: Die Fundstelle und ihre geographische Lage	218
Peter Jablonka Archäologischer Survey im Stadtgebiet von Troia	262
Ralf Becks und Stephan W. E. Blum Methoden der prähistorisch-archäologischen Ausgrabung und stratigraphischen Analyse in Troia	364
Eberhard Messmer Die Vermessungsarbeiten in Troia seit 1987	394
Matthias Cieslack Die Bestimmung einer hochgenauen Höhenbezugsfläche (DFHBF) für Troia	420
Erhaltung und Präsentation	
Elizabeth H. Riorden Conservation and Presentation of the Site of Troy, 1988–2008	428
Donna Strahan and Simone Korolnik Archaeological Conservation	520

Teil 2

Methoden und Strategien

Archäologische Untersuchungen am Fundmaterial

Diane Thumm-Doğrayan Fundbearbeitung in Troia	548
Billur Tekkök – John Wallrodt – Sebastian Heath Post-Bronze Age Ceramic Data at Ilion, from In-Field Use to Digital Publication	582
Ivan Gatsov – Petranka Nedelcheva Lithic Industry of Troy I–VII: Objectives and Methods of the Excavations 1987–2006	592

Naturwissenschaftliche Methoden

Simone Riehl – Elena Marinova Archäobotanik	602
Henrike Kiesewetter Paläoanthropologische Untersuchungen in Troia	610
Ernst Pernicka, Thorsten Schifer, Cornelia Schubert Keramikanalysen in Troia	642
Norbert Blindow – Christian Hübner – Hans Günter Jansen (†) Geophysikalische Prospektion	666
İlhan Kayan Geoarchaeological Research at Troia and its Environs	694

Die Troas: Untersuchungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte

Landschafts- und Besiedlungsgeschichte

Simone Riehl – Elena Marinova – Hans-Peter Uerpmann Landschaftsgeschichte der Troas. Bioarchäologische Forschungen	732
Stephan W. E. Blum – Mariana Thater – Diane Thumm-Doğrayan Die Besiedlung der Troas vom Neolithikum bis zum Beginn der mittleren Bronzezeit: Chronologische Sequenz und Siedlungsstruktur	770
Peter Pavúk – Cornelia Schubert Die Troas in der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit	864
Volker Höhfeld Die Troas in osmanisch-türkischer Zeit	924

Einzelstudien zur Besiedlung der Troas

Utta Gabriel Die Keramik der troadischen Fundorte Kumtepe IA, Beşik-Sivritepe und Çıplak Köyü im Kontext ihrer überregionalen Vergleichsfunde	990
Jan-Krzysztof Bertram – Necmi Karul Anmerkungen zur Stratigraphie des Kumtepe. Die Ergebnisse der Grabungen in den Jahren 1994 und 1995	1058
Adressen der Autoren	1085

Charles Brian Rose*

Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troy, 1988–2005

Abstract

I have tried in this article to present an overview of Post-Bronze Age excavations and research at Troy between 1988 and the present. This has required me to attempt the unenviable task of placing my own research in historiographic perspective while maintaining as much objectivity as possible. My success in doing so can only be judged by the reader, but I have tried to highlight the positive and negative aspects of the project in as much detail as possible, with a focus on the extent to which regional, national, and global developments shaped our research agenda.

Zusammenfassung

Ich habe in diesem Artikel versucht, einen Überblick über die nachbronzezeitlichen Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Troia zwischen 1988 und heute zu geben. Das hat mir die wenig beneidenswerte Aufgabe abverlangt, meine eigenen Forschungen unter historiographischem Blickwinkel wiederzugeben und dabei so viel Objektivität wie möglich zu bewahren. Mein diesbezüglicher Erfolg kann allein durch den Leser beurteilt werden, aber ich habe versucht, die positiven und negativen Aspekte des Projektes bis ins kleinste Detail herauszuarbeiten, mit Schwerpunkt auf dem Ausmaß, bis zu welchem regionale, nationale und globale Entwicklungen unseren Forschungsplan gestaltet haben.

Introduction

From the inception of the project, the work of the Post-Bronze Age group (hereafter PBA) was inextricably intertwined with that of Manfred Korfmann, and the narrative that I present here covers his work just as much as mine. As I mentioned in *Studia Troica* 9, Korfmann's intent to explore Bronze Age (BA) levels in various parts of the Lower City led me to examine areas I would not otherwise have considered excavating, and this resulted in a more nuanced perception of variations in settlement patterns in both Hellenistic and Roman Ilion.¹

* For assistance during the preparation of this article, I thank Andrea M. Berlin and Barbara Burrell. Post-Bronze Age excavations and research at Troy were generously supported by the Taft-Semple Fund of the University of Cincinnati Classics Department. Additional support was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities (RK-20052), the George B. Storer Foundation, James H. Ottaway, Jr, Malcolm Wiener, and the Friends of Troy, overseen by Getzel M. Cohen.

¹ Rose 1999, 37.

The Early Years

The beginning of the PBA project was due to Manfred Korfmann. In 1987, after he had secured permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture to inaugurate a new project at Troy, he approached the University of Cincinnati with the offer of a joint excavation, wherein Tübingen would be responsible for the Bronze Age investigations, and Cincinnati for the Post-Bronze Age. The partnership was established during the period in which Getzel M. Cohen was chair of the Cincinnati Classics Department, and his discussions with Korfmann are chronicled in another article in this volume.

Korfmann's decision to construct the project in this way was prompted by a variety of factors. Archived at Cincinnati were all of the records relating to the Blegen Excavations at Troy during the 1930s, including notebooks, photos, correspondence, and plans. Moreover, the Classical archaeologists on the faculty included Stella Miller-Collett and me; both of us had been trained by Bryn Mawr's Machteld J. Mellink, to whom Korfmann turned for advice while forging the Cincinnati-Tübingen partnership. Since the first two excavations had been German, and the third, American, it also seemed appropriate to construct an international enterprise with German and American archaeologists working together.

Stella Miller-Collett and I visited the site for the first time in 1988 to determine whether or not to commit Cincinnati and its resources to a long-term partnership, and after a two-week stay, we agreed to do so, with the first full Post-Bronze Age season to start in 1989. We decided that the new Troy project would be different from the earlier campaigns in that the team would focus on all phases of habitation at the site, from the Early Bronze Age through the Ottoman, treating the remains of each with the same respect, so that a complete diachronic reconstruction could be produced. We also agreed that we would commit up to fifteen years to fieldwork, but no more; we would excavate only as much as was absolutely necessary to answer our principal questions about settlement patterns, with the expectation that future generations of archaeologists would have access to tools and techniques far superior to anything we could deploy. In so doing, we were following a model articulated by Carl W. Blegen, who ceased excavations at Troy in 1938 for the same reason.²

From the beginning of the project, we agreed to publish everything we found within a year of its discovery, and to that end, we founded an annual excavation journal *Studia Troica* that featured interdisciplinary studies dealing with all aspects of the Troad. The journal served as the initial scholarly venue for all articles dealing with newly excavated Trojan material, and nineteen volumes have appeared thus far. By publishing the journal annually, Korfmann and I were forced to chronicle and assess the latest excavation results at the end of each season, which made subsequent research (including the writing of this article) far easier than it otherwise would have been. In retrospect, the creation of *Studia Troica* was probably our most important decision.

Another distinctive feature of the project during its first decade was the »Hisarlık Conference« or »Komisyon«, wherein an international group of scholars and stakeholders in the Troy

² Blegen 1939, 228.

Project gathered from time to time to discuss the past and future of the excavation. This continued a tradition begun by Schliemann, although the scope of participants in the new Hissarlik Conference was much larger. The first meeting included, in addition to Korfmann, representatives from Cincinnati (Getzel M. Cohen, Stella Miller-Collett), the Blegen Excavations at Troy (Jerome Sperling); the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Kurt Bittel and Edmund Buchner), Bryn Mawr (Machteld J. Mellink), and the nearby Smintheion excavations (Çoşkun Özgünel).³ This group initially provided us with invaluable advice and criticism, and its composition reflected the international focus of the project. The new »Hisarlik Conference« met annually at Troy until 1997, and usually included the director of the DAI in İstanbul (Wolf Königs and Harald Hauptmann), Machteld J. Mellink, Getzel M. Cohen, Stella Miller-Collett, Halet Çambel, and Mehmet Özdoğan.⁴

In addition, Korfmann, Miller-Collett, and I agreed that we would schedule annual mid-year meetings in either Cincinnati or Tübingen, when we would coordinate the number and location of trenches for the following summer, both BA and PBA. This too continued until 1997, and it provided a good opportunity for each of us to acquire greater familiarity with the other's facilities, operations, and needs.

When *Studia Troica* was founded, we intended it to include articles focused on the entire Troad and the surrounding area. The first issues featured studies of Samothrace and Thermi;⁵ the fifth volume included a survey of the granite quarries at Koçali;⁶ and *Studia Troica* 9 and 13 contained articles on Gökçeada (Imbros)⁷ and the Smintheion,⁸ respectively. In time, the articles focused on material as far away as the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Didi Gora⁹ and Udabno¹⁰ in Georgia, 1999–2002), where Korfmann had begun excavations in 1997.

Just as we envisioned that *Studia Troica* would encompass articles dealing with all aspects of the Troad, we hoped that there would be reciprocal visits to all field projects in the Troad during the summer, so that the latest excavation results could be shared by all regional projects. Visits to Assos and the Smintheion, in particular, were regular occurrences during the early years of the excavation, although the number of such visits decreased as the prominence of the Troy Project increased. Nevertheless, I frequently brought students working on material for publication to Assos, the Smintheion, and Alexandria Troas; the excavators there could not have been more welcoming to us or generous in sharing their results, and the PBA Troy articles were much stronger as a consequence.

One other significant problem with which we dealt at the project's inception involved computers. Electronic resources were much newer to excavations in the late 1980's than we now re-

³ Korfmann 1991, 1.

⁴ *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 179; *Studia Troica* 5, 1995, 405; *Studia Troica* 6, 1996, 269; *Studia Troica* 7, 1997, 554; *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 332.

⁵ Matsas 1991.

⁶ Ponti 1995.

⁷ Hüryılmaz 1999.

⁸ Özgünel 2003.

⁹ Korfmann et al. 1999; Korfmann et al. 2002.

¹⁰ Hübner et al. 2001.

alize, and Korfmann and I had different ways of inputting and organizing data. PBA employed Macintosh systems from the beginning, while BA used PCs. But more importantly, BA used a numerical system to classify their pottery (with a different number for forms, wares, etc.), whereas PBA used abbreviations (e. g., ARS = African Red Slip; ESA = Eastern Sigillata A). There was consequently a rather wide structural gulf separating the two databases. Moreover, the database programs used by PBA changed frequently during the first eight years of the project. We began with D-Base 4, since that was the program used by BA, but changed to Nu-Base in 1992, FoxPro in 1993, and FileMaker Pro in 1996. It was only in 1996, when John Wallrodt joined the project, that the data from all years of excavation were linked together in a user-friendly format, which made research far easier and faster than it had ever been.

The system of trench sharing that we designed was somewhat unusual. In the areas that fell within the PBA research program, we would dig down to the earliest PBA levels, after which the trench would be transferred to the BA team. If BA wanted to excavate an area that did not fall within the PBA research program, they would excavate the Greek and Roman levels themselves, although PBA would process and analyze the excavated Greek, Roman, and Byzantine material. For PBA, this meant that each year of excavation would require twice as much time for processing and analysis as we had intended, in that we would be responsible for the trenches that constituted part of our research design as well as the upper levels of those that were excavated by BA.

One of Korfmann's principal goals was the clarification of Bronze Age habitation in the Lower City, and that area lay below substantial Post-Bronze Age deposits, much of which had already been excavated even before Miller-Collett and I arrived at Troy for our first visit. This meant that we were already far behind in processing by the time of our initial full season in 1989.¹¹

Processing these finds in 1989 occupied the majority of our time, although we also managed to complete the clearing and surveying of the large theater (Theater A).¹² We were fortunate in that much of Lower City had already been subjected to magnetic prospection, and we had a good idea of the size of the Roman residential district.¹³ The prospection results were splendid, in large part because the Lower City was essentially flat, not heavily wooded, and the ruins – at least the Roman ruins – were only a few centimeters below the surface. The use of magnetometry was not unprecedented on archaeological sites – it had been used at Gordion already in the mid-1960's – but it was not a common technique, especially at Classical sites. Troy was therefore very much in the forefront of remote sensing research, although it would become common at most sites within a few more years.

The following year, 1990, represented a change in our work program in several respects. In 1988 and 1989, we had lived in the village of Yeniköy, located seven kilometers from the citadel mound, and all of the finds had been processed in the village schoolhouse. As of 1990, a new excavation village with space for all of the participants was assembled on the northeast side of the

¹¹ Miller 1991.

¹² Rose 1991.

¹³ Jansen 1992.

mound, which meant that the analysis of the finds and the trenches in which they were found could proceed more quickly and accurately.

The building in which we would now work, which was situated next to the colossal wooden horse, was the one that Blegen had built. A new roof had been added to the building in 1989; the walls had been strengthened; and the plumbing had been repaired in several rooms.¹⁴ The funding for the renovation came from the Taft-Semple Fund of the University of Cincinnati, which also provided the bulk of the funding for PBA excavations, and so it was christened »Semple House.« Louise Taft Semple, a relative of William Howard Taft, US President from 1908 to 1912, had provided funds that supported the Cincinnati excavations at Troy during the 1930's, so the use of her name for the restored working quarters represented a prominent link to the last campaign of excavations.

That was not the only connection to the Blegen excavations: one day in 1990 we assembled from the surrounding villages all of the men who had dug with Blegen, and we gleaned new information about the location of some of his trenches, about the general tenor of the excavation, and about the ways in which the project had been viewed by the region. Two members of Blegen's staff were also occasional visitors during the early years of the project: Jerome Sperling, who contributed an article to the first *Studia Troica*,¹⁵ and Margo Taft Tytus, a descendant of Louise Taft Semple.

The new Semple House contained nine rooms and would ultimately house areas for drafting/surveying, finds processing, faunal analysis, photography, conservation, and workrooms with excavation supplies and photocopies of the trench notebooks. Miller-Collett and I chose as the center of PBA operations a rather small room between conservation and photography because we wanted to be as close to the finds as possible, even though the cramped quarters made it difficult to work. The BA group was based in another section of the building, and although there was constant traffic back and forth between the two areas, the employment of such separate areas led to decreased communication at a time when it should have been augmented. Since there were so many different activities ongoing in the complex, Korfmann appointed Dieter Hertel as Semple House coordinator, who was also, in a sense, intended to serve as a link between BA and PBA, since he was a Classical archaeologist working in Germany.

This year, 1990, was the last in which Stella Miller-Collett and I divided responsibility for PBA operations. She was of enormous value to the organization of the project, especially with regard to the design of PBA ceramic analysis and the small finds inventory, both of which were modified from the system used at the Athenian Agora, where Miller-Collett had worked extensively in the late 1960's and 1970's.

Dieter Hertel would also soon leave. In 1989 and 1990 he had worked at the site on early Greek pottery, moving in 1991 to supervise the excavation of two trenches near the southern end of the Lower City (quadrant x33/34) as part of a search for the Hellenistic fortification wall. In the course of that summer, he and Korfmann quarreled over the digging of the trench and its interpretation, and Hertel left the project at the end of that summer.

¹⁴ Korfmann 1992, 35.

¹⁵ Sperling 1991.

Architects and Architectural Conservation

We added our first architects to the team in 1990, with Manfred Klinkott as *Bauforscher*, and he brought several students annually to draw newly discovered PBA architecture. That same year, Elizabeth Riorden also became a member of the staff. She focused initially on drawing the PBA structures uncovered by Blegen, beginning with the West Sanctuary, and would play a key role in architectural documentation and site management at Troy during the following two decades.

We also began to acquire greater expertise in stone moving and architectural conservation. The initial source of that expertise was Friedmund Hueber, with whom I had worked at Aphrodisias in the early 1980's. After consultation with Korfmann, we agreed to ask him to join the team to oversee architectural conservation and potential anastylosis.

Hueber's influence on the presentation of the site's architecture would be felt much more strongly in 1991, when he purchased stone-moving equipment and showed the Troy workmen how to use it. This made it possible for us to excavate areas that we knew would yield heavy blocks, such as Theater A and the Bouleuterion, both of which began to be explored that year. At the same time, Hueber and Riorden began work on a revised version of the Dörpfeld color phase plan of Troy, since there had never been a comprehensive plan that incorporated all of the remains discovered by Schliemann, Dörpfeld, and Blegen.¹⁶

We also began architectural conservation in earnest in 1991, and here too Hueber's involvement was key. The conservation of the site's monuments was of paramount importance to us, since the earlier excavators had devoted little if any attention to stabilizing the walls they had uncovered. The exposed marl (soft limestone) foundations of many of the PBA structures had been steadily disintegrating for decades, and the limestone walls they supported were in danger of collapsing.

Hueber's experience with such architectural conservation issues was extensive, and his conservation philosophy had been sharpened in the course of his anastylosis of the Celsus Library and Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates at Ephesos. He encouraged us to develop a strategy that followed the guidelines laid out in the 1964 *Charter of Venice*, which specified that contemporary additions should be easily distinguishable from the ancient materials, yet the new configuration should not detract from the aesthetic integrity of the building being conserved or restored.

His solution was as follows: new blocks added to a wall as infill would correspond to the shape and dimensions of the original stones, yet these new blocks would be composed of smaller stones so that they could easily be identified as modern interventions. This strategy conformed well with the *Venice Charter*, and it was quickly adopted by our conservators for both BA and PBA monuments.¹⁷

Perhaps one of the reasons why we were so focused on the rescue of deteriorating ancient structures was because the First Gulf War had just occurred, and so much material culture in both Iraq and Kuwait had been destroyed. The effects of the war were certainly very visible that

¹⁶ Hueber – Riorden 1994.

¹⁷ Hueber 1994.

year in that the number of tourists visiting the site declined dramatically. There was also a corresponding rise in the number of Near Eastern archaeologists seeking permits to work in Turkey since Iraq was no longer a possibility.

Another change linked to politics concerned the composition of the staff. At the project's inception, Korfmann, Miller-Collett, and I had talked about the desirability of assembling a multinational team, with more or less equal representation from Turkey, Germany, and the US. For Korfmann, this was particularly important. As a child he had been deeply affected by what World War II had done to Germany, to international collaboration, and to the world. Perhaps in large part because of this, he insisted that the Troy Project involve an international community with the broadest possible representation of nationalities. He continually brought together scientists from a large number of countries (over 30 in all), including the Middle East and the Black Sea.

The participation of an even broader group of scholars was possible after the political changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1989, and as the 1990's progressed, scholars from Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Armenia, and Georgia became increasingly common. By 1993, Korfmann's annual report in *Studia Troica* included a reference to the number of countries represented on the excavation, a practice that has continued every year since then. Although the staff wasn't aware of it then, our constant interaction with such a diverse, international team probably enabled us to interpret the archaeological evidence far more objectively than would otherwise have been the case.

The Significance of Ceramics

One of Troy's attractions for me had always been the opportunity to learn more about the relationship between Troy and Rome during the early empire. Did Augustus' promotion of his Trojan ancestry result in a significant increase in support for Ilion, and was that support both discernible and quantifiable? An inscription of Augustus on one of the Athena temple architraves had been found during the Schliemann excavations, and the fact that his name was in the nominative case indicated that he had been responsible for a benefaction, conceivably the temple itself.

I initially allowed this expectation to affect my interpretation of the evidence. The latest pottery in the foundation trenches of the Bouleuterion dated to the late second century BC, which was, as we now know, the time in which the building was constructed. But I preferred to view the pottery as supplying merely a *terminus post quem*, and dated the structure to the Augustan period in my initial report in *Studia Troica*.¹⁸ I took the same approach the following year with regard to the pavement of the West Sanctuary, which was actually laid in the late Julio-Claudian or early Flavian period.¹⁹ When I published a summary of the ceramics under the pavement, I chose the earliest possible date for each of the specimens rather than proposing a date based on the full assemblage. In so doing, I began to link the renovation or construction of the major buildings on

¹⁸ Rose 1992, 52.

¹⁹ Rose 1993, 98.

the mound to the reign of Augustus, which was essentially a self-fulfilling prophecy on my part. It was only within the last decade that I corrected these assertions in print, after both William Aylward and Billur Tekkök convinced me that my earlier dating would not work.²⁰ This is not to say that money did not flow into Ilion during the Augustan period, but it was far less than I had initially reconstructed.

The realizations noted above were possible because of a careful examination of the ceramic evidence. I have always maintained that no excavation can make much of an impact on scholarship without superb ceramics experts on the staff. I have even been quoted as saying that pottery experts should be treated like gods, and I mean it. We were fortunate to have assembled an extraordinarily talented team of experts at the beginning of the project, including some of the most notable figures in the field. The basic framework of the sherd garden was set in place by Stella Miller-Collett, who was followed, in 1991, by Susan Rotroff. In 1992, Billur Tekkök, an advanced graduate student working under Kathleen Slane at Missouri, began to oversee all ceramic analysis, with the Hellenistic and Roman pottery of Ilion forming the subject of her dissertation, completed in 1996.²¹ It was also in 1996 that Andrea M. Berlin joined the team, followed in short order by Mark Lawall, Sebastian Heath, and Kathleen Lynch.

Berlin quickly saw the potential in publishing as a group the material excavated in the Hellenistic houses at the southern end of the Lower City (quadrants C29, w28, and y28/29), which included ceramics, small finds, architecture and architectural terracottas, transport amphoras, and faunal remains. The five articles based on this material, which appeared in *Studia Troica* 9, presented the chronological framework for all further studies of Hellenistic Ilion.²² The same model was used for pre-Achaic, Archaic, and Classical material from quadrant D9, which was the subject of six articles in *Studia Troica* 12.²³ This was an easy way to publish a monograph cheaply, in that the corpus of studies appeared in the annual journal, and Korfmann followed in *Studia Troica* 11 the same system for his publication of the Early Bronze Age pinnacle in quadrant E4/5.²⁴

Berlin's research on the pottery from the Hellenistic houses occurred at the same time as Tekkök's examination of the pottery from the foundations of the Hellenistic fortification wall, which was excavated in 1996 and 1997 at its eastern and western ends.²⁵ Until that time, the wall had typically been dated to the early third century BC and attributed to Lysimachus. But the ceramic assemblage required a later date, in the third quarter of the third century BC, and thus too late for Lysimachus. After considerable discussion and debate, it became clear that the wall must have been built during the period in which Antiochus Hierax had control of the Troad (ca. 241–229 B.C.). The protection of the wall brought a level of security to the Lower City that it had never had, and Andrea M. Berlin and William Aylward were able to reconstruct a significant

²⁰ Rose 2003, 44; Rose 2006a, 151–152.

²¹ Tekkök-Biçken 1996.

²² Berlin 1999; Aylward 1999; Lawall 1999; Hasaki 1999; Fabiš 1999.

²³ Aslan 2002a; Berlin 2002; Berlin – Lynch 2002; Wallrodt 2002; Lawall 2002a; Fabiš 2002.

²⁴ Mansfeld 2001.

²⁵ Tekkök 2000.

habitation phase dating to that period.²⁶ All of this evidence proved that modern interpretations of a passage in Strabo that assigned the construction of the city wall to Lysimachus were incorrect, and that Strabo was actually referring to the wall of Alexandria Troas.²⁷

This had ramifications for the date of the temple of Athena as well. The foundations of the temple's precinct wall were bonded to those of the City Wall, and the construction fills associated with the temple, not surprisingly, yielded pottery of the same date as that surrounding the City Wall's foundations.²⁸ This meant that the second half of the third century constituted one of the major periods of construction in Hellenistic Ilion, and none of the excavators of Troy, including me, had realized it.

The West Sanctuary

Nearly every excavation report I wrote during the 1990's began with the statement that the West Sanctuary was the primary focus of fieldwork that year. When I began excavations there I had no idea how complex the stratigraphy would be, nor how large an area I would ultimately excavate. My initial goal was to determine the size and shape of the grandstand as well as any ceremonial spaces that might lay in front of it. I hoped that these excavations would allow us to construct a ceramic chronology spanning the entire first millennium, but I was less than sanguine when the first 45 days of excavation yielded very little. By the end of the season, however, I had uncovered a previously unknown monumental building at the northern end of the complex (the »North Building«), and more importantly, a destruction deposit datable to Fimbria's attack in 85 BC²⁹. This gave us our first fixed chronological anchor. When combined with the evidence from the well deposits in D8 and H17, also excavated in 1992, the chronology for late Hellenistic and early Imperial Ilion finally began to take shape.

When Korfmann and I first designed the trench-sharing agreement, we assumed that the division would be easy to determine. In most areas, the earlier excavators had found no levels earlier than Archaic, and in many trenches there were no strata between early Hellenistic and late Bronze Age. Nevertheless, in 1991 and 1992, I was overly concerned with the »border« between BA and PBA, to the extent that I was ready to stop excavation when BA sherds began to appear in strata, even if those sherds were residual. By 1993, in the West Sanctuary, I was prepared to excavate to Protogeometric levels, since I knew those strata were probably still present in the Sanctuary, and we still had a limited understanding of them.

The evidence that we uncovered showed that there was less of a gulf between BA and PBA than we had expected, although there were no strata or ceramics that could be placed with confidence in the 9th century BC. I should emphasize that such a discovery was not totally unexpected. Dieter Hertel had begun to work on early Greek pottery at Troy in 1989, and had iden-

²⁶ Berlin 1999; Aylward 1999.

²⁷ Rose 1997, 93–98.

²⁸ Rose 2003.

²⁹ Rose 1993, 98–104.

tified a number of Protogeometric sherds in boxes labeled »Mostly Troy VIII« that had been excavated and stored at the site by Blegen.³⁰

The presence of strata that appeared to span much of the Iron Age meant that it was unclear when the trenches should be transferred from PBA to BA. This preoccupation with determining whether the strata being excavated dated before or after 1000 BC is related to the different recording systems of the two groups. When we began the project, both BA and PBA adopted the *Behälter* system that had been employed by Korfmann in his earlier projects, which entailed the use of a running number for all finds in the trench. This was certainly a serviceable system, but it was difficult to know at a glance which finds had a stratigraphic relationship to the others, or where within the trench they were discovered. In 1991 PBA modified the *Behälter* system, so that each whole number represented a particular stratum or locus, as well as the ceramics within that stratum. All other finds within the stratum received an extension number linked to that locus, so that the full assemblage of any particular stratum would be immediately apparent. The two systems are not appreciably different, but a change in record keeping was required whenever a trench shifted from PBA to BA.

One can find several indications of the uncertainty as to who was responsible for Protogeometric pottery if one peruses the volumes of *Studia Troica*, especially those that were published during the excavation of the West Sanctuary. I considered the ceramics to be within the PBA sphere, and assigned the publication to Richard Catling, who published them in *Studia Troica* 8.³¹ Korfmann, however, regarded them as Bronze Age, and the sherds and strata in which they were found were ultimately labeled as Troy VIIb3, which seemed to reinforce their Bronze Age position.³² During the excavation, anything that might have dated to the Protogeometric period was inventoried by both BA and PBA. Looking back at this situation now, I think that Troy VIIb3 was actually the proper rubric, since the material belonged to a phase that immediately followed the end of Troy VIIb2, whereas nearly a one hundred year gap may have separated Protogeometric from Geometric.

Ironically, it was at the time of our disagreement regarding the Protogeometric material that Korfmann and I were awarded the Max Planck Prize of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in recognition of our collaboration. The money that accompanied that prize paid for much of the excavation in the Northeast Bastion and the West Sanctuary between 1994 and 1997, and both areas were enormously productive for BA and PBA. In the West Sanctuary, in particular, Korfmann had not realized that there had been such extensive occupation there during the late Bronze Age, nor that it would be so well preserved. I had not expected that I would find evidence for as many as six temples – three of Archaic date, three Hellenistic – below and to the south of the North Building. The excavation of this area supplied the first Archaic monumental architecture to have been uncovered at the site, as well as our first evidence for Ilion's »great recovery« – as Strabo called it, during the second century BC.³³

³⁰ Hertel 1991.

³¹ Catling 1998; Lenz et al. 1998.

³² Korfmann 1995, 22; Korfmann 1997, 27–28.

³³ Strabo 13.1.27.

There were a number of issues that took me far longer to understand than should have been the case. Foremost among them were the lion bones that had been found sporadically in the Sanctuary. Dorothy B. Thompson interpreted them as evidence for living lions kept in the complex in antiquity, and I accepted this until 2004, when I realized that the bones in question must have belonged to lion skins that decorated the walls.³⁴ By the same token, I did not entertain a link between the West Sanctuary and the cult of the Samothracian Gods until 1997.³⁵ This attribution has not been accepted by everyone, but there is far more evidence in favor of it than against it.

In retrospect, I would say that we excavated too much of the West Sanctuary. I was delighted to know the number and form of all of the PBA buildings in the complex, and since they have been so extensively explored, I can date them all quite precisely; but we have not left as much unexplored territory for the next generation as we should have. Parts of all of these structures still remain to be uncovered, however, and I did not touch the complex at the southeast of the West Sanctuary, of which one wall was uncovered by Blegen.³⁶

The Luwian Seal and the Spring Cave

It is difficult to over-estimate the impact of the discovery of the bronze Luwian seal on subsequent BA and PBA excavations. The seal was found in quadrant E9 in 1995 and represented the first writing of Bronze Age date to have been found at the site.³⁷ The discovery of the seal prompted Korfmann to look more closely at links between Troy and the Hittites, as one can see from Frank Starke's article in *Studia Troica* 7.³⁸ In short order, »Wilusa« was accepted as the Hittite word for Troy, and by 2000, the annual excavation report was entitled »Excavations at Troy/Wilusa.« This identification meant that the physical features of Wilusa described in the Hittite texts might be discernible at Troy; and if such features actually were discovered, that would cement the link between Troy and Wilusa.

As a consequence, new attention focused on the treaty between Muwatalli II and Aleksandu (ca. 1280 BC), preserved on a tablet from Boğazköy, which mentions a deity named Kaskal.kur by whom the oath is sworn. »Kaskal.kur« translates roughly as »underground water course,« and Korfmann believed that a cave on the northwest side of the Lower City, explored in part by Schliemann, could conceivably relate to the underground waterway mentioned in the Aleksandu treaty, and thereby supply additional evidence for the Ilion-Wilusa link.³⁹

I have described this chain of events in some detail because it yielded an enormous amount of Post-Bronze Age material during the five years in which the cave area was explored (1997–2001).

³⁴ Thompson 1963, 59; Rose 2006a, 141–142.

³⁵ Rose 1998, 87–90; Lawall 2002a; Rose 2003, 62.

³⁶ Blegen et al 1958, 305.

³⁷ Hawkins – Easton 1996.

³⁸ Starke 1997.

³⁹ Korfmann 1998, 57–62; Korfmann 1999a, 23–25; Korfmann 2000, 32–37; Korfmann 2001, 36–40; Korfmann 2002, 20–23; Korfmann 2003, 6.

The Wilusa-Kaskal.kur connection was dependent on proof that the cave had been in operation during the late Bronze Age, and that proof was elusive. Excavations began in the cave itself, and then moved to the area above and in front of it. The earliest pottery within the cave dated to the early empire; the area above it contained a late Byzantine cemetery cut within the bedrock; and the earliest pottery from the trenches in front of the cave dated to the third century BC.⁴⁰ By following the interior course of the cave, we uncovered a qanat system, which had apparently been cut in the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period.

All of this excavation around the cave was of enormous value to PBA research, especially with regard to the late Byzantine settlement at Troy. We learned that the cave functioned as the principal water source for the late Byzantine settlement, and was, consequently, the nucleus of habitation. If Korfmann had not made the decision to explore the cave, it would never have occurred to me to do so, and one of the principal phases of PBA Ilion would have gone largely undetected. Nevertheless, such extensive excavation meant that the PBA ceramics and small finds processors were overwhelmed with new material throughout our study seasons, when I had hoped that excavations would be far more limited in scope.

The Luwian seal had one more notable effect on excavations. Its discovery prompted renewed discussion concerning the presence of an archive assembled during Troy VI or VII, which had proven elusive to all excavators at the site in spite of extensive trenching on and around the mound. Machteld Mellink believed that if there had been an archive, it would have been housed within the citadel, and would have been pushed over the northern edge of the mound in the third century BC, when the ground was being leveled for the Temple of Athena. This was, of course, the area where Schliemann had deposited much of his dump. The only way to test such a hypothesis was to remove Schliemann's dump, under which one would presumably find the Hellenistic dump with the remains of the late Bronze Age archive. This undertaking occurred in 1996, the year after the seal had been found, when there were more trenches than ever before, with over 100 workmen. The accelerated excavation was possible due to the unusually high inflation in the Turkish economy, which made it increasingly cheaper for us to work.

The focus was on Schliemann's dump at the northeast corner of the mound (LM1/2), near Theater A, and the offer of a large earth-moving machine by the Çanakkale Power Company made the ambitious project possible.⁴¹ Since this area was critically important during the Greek and Roman period, the dump removal was monitored by PBA members for the duration of the activity. After nearly two weeks, however, the work became too dangerous and had to be abandoned, with only a small part of Schliemann's dump having been removed. The basic idea was a good one, and the contents of the Hellenistic dump in question will undoubtedly clarify the Geometric/Archaic phases of habitation as well as those of the Bronze Age, but the excavation will have to wait for a subsequent generation.

⁴⁰ Rose 1999, 55–61; Rose 2000, 61–65. Although the ceramics in and around the cave did not produce the anticipated evidence, the sinter from within the cave, when analyzed using the uranium/thorium method, yielded a mid-third millennium date, which indicated that it had been in use already in the early Bronze Age: Frank et al. 2002.

⁴¹ Korfmann 1997, 20.

The Lower City

In retrospect, the years between 1992 and 1998 were probably the most important for our excavations in the Lower City, both BA and PBA. In 1992, Maureen Basedow's excavations in I17 produced a line of cuttings in the bedrock that are now interpreted as part of a wooden palisade created in the early Bronze Age, although at the time of discovery, it was dated to Troy VI.⁴² Korfmann had assumed that a structure of such monumental character must have been created in the late Bronze Age, contemporary with the monumental fortification wall, rather than earlier. It was only in 1998 that a close examination of the pottery shifted the date to Troy II, or even earlier. In essence, Korfmann was making the same kind of error that I had made in dating a number of structures on and around the acropolis to the Augustan period.

At the southern end of the Lower City, magnetic prospection at the end of the 1992 season detected anomalies that were considered possible indications of another fortification wall. Excavation the following year yielded a rock-cut ditch, ostensibly intended as a fortification component, which demonstrated that the Bronze Age Lower City was considerably larger than we had expected. A second, slightly later ditch to the south of the first one was discovered in 1995.⁴³ For PBA, the discovery was no less important, in that the trenches above the rock-cut ditch yielded our first securely datable Hellenistic houses in the Lower City.

Deciphering the layout and scope of the Lower City during the Hellenistic period was particularly difficult for us, as was determining the date at which the city's grid was established. In the 1992 report, I wrote that the grid's orientation was first formulated in the early Roman Imperial period, largely because so little Hellenistic material had been found in the Lower City. But the new excavations along the southern edge clearly demonstrated that the grid had been established by the early Hellenistic period, and Peter Jablonka concisely laid out the evidence in his excavation report in 1995.⁴⁴

There was still the question as to why so little architecture of Hellenistic date had been found in the center of the Lower City. During the first years of the excavation, I had no explanation to offer, although in 1997 I proposed that the area was marked as sacred land during the Hellenistic period, held by the temple of Athena, and consequently undeveloped for habitation.⁴⁵ It was only in 1998 that excavation in the central district (KL16/17) yielded the Hellenistic architecture we had been seeking for a decade.

The news of the discoveries in the Lower City, especially the Bronze Age ditches, was initially received enthusiastically, although there was one unexpected by-product. In 1992 Eberhard Zangger had published a book entitled *The flood from heaven: deciphering the Atlantis legend*,⁴⁶ in which he identified Troy as the source of the Atlantis story. According to Plato, Atlantis was en-

⁴² Korfmann 1993, 25–28; Korfmann 1997, 62; Korfmann 1999a, 20–22.

⁴³ Jablonka et al. 1994; Jablonka 1996.

⁴⁴ Rose 1993, 111–112; Jablonka 1996, 73–78.

⁴⁵ Rose 1997, 102–103.

⁴⁶ Zangger 1992.

circled by canals, and Zangger interpreted the ditch as one of those canals, thereby fortifying the link between Troy and Atlantis that he had been trying to establish.

Most members of the staff accepted this as yet another highly unusual interpretation of Homeric Troy, but Korfmann regarded it as a personal affront, and two refutations quickly appeared in *Studia Troica* 3 and 4.⁴⁷ Zangger responded with a new broad-based analysis of the end of the Bronze Age,⁴⁸ which included an epilogue critiquing Korfmann's excavation strategy and interpretation of the size of the Bronze Age Lower City. Discussions of Atlantis and Plato were regular components of our conversations at Troy for the remainder of the 1990's.

The question of the size of the Bronze Age Lower City and, indeed, the prominence of Troy in the late Bronze Age would become a major issue in 2001, when the Troy Exhibit *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit* opened in Germany. Included in the exhibit and the catalogue was a hypothetical reconstruction of the Lower City during the late Bronze Age which showed the district as densely inhabited.⁴⁹ Our evidence for this reconstruction was limited because we had excavated less than 2 % of the Lower City, and a surface survey of the area had not yet taken place, but it was presented as conjectural, and no one at the time considered that it would become as controversial as it subsequently did.

The leader of the critics was Korfmann's Tübingen colleague, Frank Kolb, who pointed out that the evidence for such dense occupation in the late Bronze Age was absent, as was the proof that Troy was a major mercantile center at that time.⁵⁰ Some of his arguments picked up on the criticisms made by Zangger in 1994, and those written by Hertel in a series of publications throughout the 1990's. This scholarly dispute developed into a kind of intellectual war marked by strikes and counterstrikes, with scholars lining up on either side of a Kolb-Korfmann line. The debate dominated conversations at Troy between 2001 and 2005, and the central event of that period was a conference in Tübingen in February of 2002, at which both groups presented their arguments for and against Troy's importance in the late Bronze Age.⁵¹

Although one might not have expected it, the PBA excavation results were also brought into the discussion. Kolb believed that the rock-cut ditch could not have been used for fortification purposes because there was no evidence for a substantial wall positioned on its inner side. Korfmann proposed that such a wall had originally existed, but had been removed in the course of subsequent Post-Bronze Age building activity. The situation regarding the presence of Hellenistic architecture in the Lower City was somewhat analogous, in that many of the Hellenistic walls were dismantled and reused when the Roman houses were built. Both Peter Jablonka and I responded to Kolb's article, and it was one of the few articles to generate substantial comments in the *AJA* on-line Forum section.⁵²

⁴⁷ Szlezák 1993; Bloedow – Spina 1994.

⁴⁸ Zangger 1994.

⁴⁹ Korfmann 2001a, 17, 19.

⁵⁰ Kolb 2003a; Kolb 2003b; Hertel – Kolb 2003; Kolb 2004; Korfmann 2002, 27–30.

⁵¹ Schweizer – Kienlin 2001/2002.

⁵² Kolb 2004; Jablonka – Rose 2004.

At Troy itself there was a visual by-product of this debate, although it would not have been apparent to most viewers. One of the major disputes between Kolb and Korfmann had centered on Troy's role as a trading center during the late Bronze Age. Korfmann had argued that the strong winds of the Dardanelles had prompted ships to seek safe harbor in the vicinity of Troy, which, in turn, was one of the causes of the settlement's prosperity. Kolb had disputed this, while casting doubt on the existence of Aegean-Black Sea traffic during the Bronze Age. In 2001, new site banners were created with the slogan »the wind brought wealth to Troy,« framed by a drawing of the Luwian seal; these were translated into at least four languages, and erected on the flagpoles that lined the entrance to the site.

The same period witnessed an increase in architectural conservation in the West Sanctuary.⁵³ We restored the walls of the late Bronze Age buildings and built a new observation area above them. This program, in essence, was designed to highlight Bronze Age occupation in the Lower City, even though the buildings in question were very close to the citadel. It was probably not our most successful restoration from a didactic point of view, in that there were relatively well preserved PBA altars and buildings adjacent to the newly prominent Bronze Age structures, and viewers were often confused by the assemblage that we had fashioned.

The Granicus River Valley and Sivritepe

For the PBA team, the eastern part of the Troad also became a target for research, survey, and publication beginning in 1994. This was a period in which the looting of tumuli became increasingly common, perhaps because of the high level of inflation in the Turkish economy. Some of the most intensive looting occurred in the vicinity of the Granicus River, between the modern towns of Biga and Karabiga, and two attempts were especially noteworthy – at the Kızöldün and Dede-tepe tumuli. Both had been looted already in antiquity, but subsequent rescue excavations by the Çanakkale Museum under the direction of Nurten Sevinç yielded two extraordinary sarcophagi and a tomb chamber with painted *klinai*. One of the sarcophagi (the »Polyxena sarcophagus«) was so unusual in its style and iconography that it was considered a potential forgery, despite its well-documented excavation. Another tumulus near Çan was robbed in 1998, but the Museum still managed to recover the extraordinary painted marble sarcophagus contained within it.

During this period we began a very cordial collaboration with the Çanakkale Museum wherein we helped with the conservation of the tumuli discoveries and published them in *Studia Troica* in tandem with the Museum.⁵⁴ The joint publication of the metalwork from the Dardanos tumulus – excavated by the Museum in 1959 – is another example of this fruitful collaboration.⁵⁵ The material retrieved from the Granicus tombs was essential to our understanding of the Troad during the late Archaic and Classical periods, in that material of that date was rarely discovered at Ilion or, for that matter, in most of the coastal cities of western Asia Minor.

⁵³ Korfmann 2002, 6–7.

⁵⁴ Sevinç 1996; Sevinç et al. 1998; Sevinç et al. 1999; Sevinç et al. 2001.

⁵⁵ Sevinç – Treister 2003.

It was clear that the Granicus tumuli would continue to be victims of plunder, and I became concerned that no regional survey had ever taken place. Consequently, I launched a four-year (2004–2007) survey of the area with Reyhan Körpe, a former staff member of the Çanakkale Museum, Billur Tekkök, who had overseen the ceramics processing at Troy since 1992, and William Aylward, who was publishing the agora at Ilion.⁵⁶ I viewed this very much as a continuation of my research on Greek and Roman Troy, and it allowed me to continue to spend part of each season at the site.

The tombs along the Granicus River were not the only targets of plunderers. At several times in the 1990s, looters had dug tunnels through Sivritepe, a mound situated next to Beşiktepe that appears to have been identified as the tomb of Achilles in antiquity. The name means »pointed mound«, which had been its appearance before Schliemann sunk a trench directly through its center. In 1997 we quietly brought radar into one of the robbers' tunnels and took several readings; the resulting radargram seemed to indicate the presence of a burial roughly 1.5 m. below the base of the tunnel. Both Korfmann and I felt that a trench should be dug here given the number of attempted robbery attempts, and we thought we could do this relatively quickly by entering the tunnel and digging below it. Our architects warned us that the tunnel was not stable, and the mound could easily collapse on such a trench. The only alternative was to sink a trench on the top of the mound directly over the robbers' tunnel, which we did, although it took us two years to complete it (1998–1999).⁵⁷

Although this was an enormous effort, the results were of value to both of us. The mound was constructed of material from an adjacent Neolithic settlement, and the latest pottery within the mound allowed me to date its monumentalization to the third century BC, and to link it to Ilion's burgeoning tourism industry. We wanted to fill in the relatively large trench that we had created, since the tumulus was now part of a new National Park and a monument in its own right. I would have been content to do a simple infill, but Korfmann believed that the mound should be returned to its original shape prior to Schliemann's arrival, which is what we did.

Homer and the Troy Excavation Project

One of the accusations that was periodically leveled against the project was that we allowed the Homeric tradition to play too prominent a role in our fieldwork and research. Historiographers will be able to assess that statement more effectively than I, but I would like to review briefly the developments that may have caused such an assessment. The origins probably lie with the discovery of the late Bronze Age rock-cut ditch in 1993, immediately interpreted as a fortification component. Such ditch fortifications reportedly surrounded the Greek camp during the Trojan War, and Brigitte Mannsperger highlighted the relevant passages in the *Iliad* in her articles in *Studia Troica* 5 and 8.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Rose et al. 2007.

⁵⁷ Rose 1999, 61–63; Rose 2000, 65–66; Korfmann 2000, 41–43.

⁵⁸ Mannsperger 1995; Mannsperger 1998.

The discovery of the Luwian seal in 1995, as previously mentioned, prompted a more extensive discussion of the potential link between Ilios and Wilusa, as well as an inclination to bring the Hittite references to Wilusa into the broader discussion of the Trojan War, as one can see in Joaquim Latacz's *Troy and Homer*.⁵⁹ Homer also began to be viewed in a more Anatolian perspective than had earlier been the case.⁶⁰

During this same period, Süleyman Demirel, the president of Turkey, paid a visit to Troy, and stressed the importance of the site for Turkey and for its relations to Europe. It was in 1999 that Turkey was recognized as a candidate for full membership in the European Union, and some argued that Turkey should be accepted into the EU since it is the home of Troy, which is inextricably connected to the foundations of European culture.⁶¹ This makes a fascinating pendant to the Roman connections with Troy in antiquity.

Perhaps the most direct link between site and epic occurred in Korfmann's 1999 excavation report, where he noted »I regard Homer as a ›contemporary witness‹, this is, as reporting on whatever the condition of Ilios was in about 700 BC.«⁶² This meant that physical features associated with Troy in the *Iliad* could conceivably be identified in the late Geometric or Archaic levels of the site. As a case in point he cited the rock-cut basins in front of the cave as well as the citadel's fortification walls that were still preserved to a height of several meters above ground level during the first millennium BC.

The Issue of War

The settlement of Troy often found itself in the midst of battles due to its strategic geographic location, and the evidence for destruction spans a period of over 4,000 years – from the end of Troy II through the Battle of Gallipoli. During the time in which we were excavating those destruction levels, the contemporary battles in the Middle East were a continual subject of discussion, which raises the question as to whether contemporary politics played a role in our archaeological analysis. Shortly after the US invasion of Iraq, I began writing a long article on the Parthians in Augustan Rome, largely because the war had made me think diachronically about combats between east and west. That article, subsequently published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, included a footnote wherein I acknowledged that the war happening around me might have influenced my interpretation of the ancient evidence.⁶³ Certainly the war's effect on me was significant. As president-elect of the Archaeological Institute of America I inaugurated a cultural heritage training program for troops deploying to Iraq and Afghanistan, and there were few occasions on which I was not preoccupied by the war.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Latacz 2004.

⁶⁰ e.g. Högemann 2000.

⁶¹ Korfmann 2000, 47–48.

⁶² Korfmann 2000, 32, see also Korfmann 1999b.

⁶³ Rose 2005, 67 note 263.

⁶⁴ Rose 2007.

Were any of my interpretations of Trojan material actually affected by the war? I can think of only two. The first relates to the chapter on the Polyxena sarcophagus in my forthcoming book on Greek and Roman Troy. After the advent of the war, I began to view the sarcophagus differently, in that I realized that the carvers would have been designing and finishing the scene of Polyxena's murder while the Persian Wars were being waged around them. I wondered whether the iconography of that scene was influenced by the sculptors' experience in their own war between east and west, and I incorporated that realization in my analysis. To an extent, I had wrapped three east-west wars around that sarcophagus – Greeks vs. Trojans, Greeks vs. Persians, and the US vs. Iraq.

The other interpretation that may have been influenced by contemporary developments relates to the »North Building« in the West Sanctuary. When I published this building in 1993, I proposed that it had been showcased as a ruin during the early empire, so that the residents would have been reminded of the Fimbrian attack that had devastated the city in 85 BC.⁶⁵ In other words, I saw it as a situation analogous to that of the Parthenon after the Persian Wars, and given the extent to which Ilium used Athens as a model in the construction of its civic identity, I was not at all surprised that this had occurred. That interpretation was disputed by several scholars, and even though I still consider it the proper interpretation, I cannot deny that I was influenced by the First Gulf War in the early 1990's, in that images of bombed buildings in Baghdad were featured everywhere in the media, and I regularly included them in my classes when I spoke of ancient warfare.

The Final Years

In the discussion of the Granicus River Valley tombs above, I mentioned that I needed to continue to work for several weeks each year at Troy, even after PBA excavations there had ended. This was essential in that excavations of PBA levels were continued by Korfmann after the »final« PBA study season of 2002, and we still needed to process and understand them since the trenches in question occurred in zones that were the subject of nearly complete *Studia Troica* monographs. Fieldwork involving PBA material after 2002 included Peter Jablonka's survey of the Lower City; the excavations in vw3, near the West Sanctuary, which yielded an Archaic building as well as early Roman Imperial graves; the Northeast Bastion in Quadrant L5, in which two marble statues were found in the earthquake collapse; and x24 at the southern end of the Lower City, where excavation produced a monumental second century BC building, an early Roman garden, and more late Byzantine burials.

I was not really surprised that Korfmann continued to excavate in the Lower City, since the discovery of the continuation of the rock-cut ditch and the elusive Troy VI cemetery were of paramount concern to him, but this did represent a change in our overall strategy. At the beginning of the project, as previously mentioned, Korfmann and I had agreed to excavate not more

⁶⁵ Rose 1994, 80.

than fifteen years in deference to the next generation of archaeologists who would conduct research at Troy.

The change in strategy occurred gradually. During the summer of 1997 he approached me and asked if we could both finish our excavations in 1998 due to financial problems. I agreed to do this, and even though I continued limited excavation in 1999, that year represented the end of the PBA-launched excavations, and my last annual excavation report in *Studia Troica* 9. Korfmann initially signaled his intention to limit significantly both staff and trenches, but in the 2002 report, he referred to an acceleration in excavation following a hiatus, with new work anticipated in the Lower City.⁶⁶

There were undoubtedly several reasons for this change in attitude, but principal among them was the increasingly contentious debate with Kolb. Korfmann believed that further excavation was necessary in order to clarify the defensive function of the ditch and the mercantile significance of late Bronze Age Troy. This became especially apparent during the 2003 season, when the stone that Korfmann had identified as a Lower City fortification wall near the Northeast Bastion turned out to be a monumental drain.⁶⁷ This discovery did not mean that such a wall was not there to be found, but an additional search would be necessary.

Korfmann had also been granted Turkish citizenship in 2003, and was in the process of building a collaborative relationship between the Universities of Tübingen and Çanakkale. A complete cessation of fieldwork would not have enabled the nascent partnership to move forward at the desired speed. In any event, our last full seasons at Troy came within a year of each other, nearly fifteen years after the beginning of excavations, as we had once promised.

The reader of this article will be struck by the extent to which the project's research design was reactive rather than proactive. Indeed, I did not begin PBA fieldwork at Troy because it provided the sole means of answering a set of broad historical questions that I had already formulated; instead, the opportunity to inaugurate the project was offered and the research design was secondary.

I quickly realized the potential of the agora, the West Sanctuary, and the Lower City to answer a wide range of questions about sacred, civic, and domestic activities in the Troad, and the three monographs in the final publication series do in fact focus on those three themes. Nevertheless, much of our fieldwork was unquestionably reactive, especially with regard to Korfmann's concentrated focus on the Northeast Bastion, the Spring Cave, and the southern edge of the Lower City. If I had been in sole command of the fieldwork planning, I would not have chosen to dig in the first two areas, and would have carried out only limited trenching in the third, nor would I have dug as far as bedrock in the center of the Lower City. As a consequence, I would have missed the houses of Hellenistic date, the monumental Northeast Gate of the Hellenistic/Roman city, and the qanat system that enabled us to reconstruct the Hellenistic-Roman waterworks.

What lessons have I learned from this enterprise? As I've mentioned several times in this article, many of the important PBA results occurred because of the project's reactive design, not in

⁶⁶ Korfmann 2000, 48; Korfmann 2001, 1; Korfmann 2002, 3; Korfmann 2003, 23; Korfmann 2004, 28.

⁶⁷ Korfmann 2004, 17.

spite of it. Although a strategic plan needs to be in place at or near the beginning of any field project, that plan needs to be extremely flexible so that it can withstand the unanticipated discoveries and new research initiatives of one's colleagues. As more and more of us begin forming collaborate ventures with archaeologists based in the host country, such flexibility on the part of the excavator and his/her staff is essential. In my own case, this meant ensuring that PBA goals were compatible with the developing Bronze Age excavation strategy, and reshaping my own strategic plan to take advantage of the new (and often unexpected) areas of exploration. This was not easy to do, either for me or for Korfmann, but in the end the project was mutually advantageous, yielding results far broader than expected, and far more intellectually satisfying.

Bibliography

- Berlin 1999 A. M. Berlin, *Studies in Hellenistic Iliion. The Lower City. Stratified Assemblages and Chronology*. *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 73–157.
- Blegen 1939 C. W. Blegen, *Excavations at Troy 1938*. *American Journal of Archaeology* 43, 1939, 204–228.
- Bloedow – Spina 1994 E. F. Bloedow – G. A. Spina, *Two Tales of One City. Atlantis Surfaces from the Deluge to Claim Iliion*. *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 159–171.
- Catling 1998 R. W. V. Catling, *The Typology of the Protogeometric and Subproto-geometric Pottery from Troia and its Aegean Context*. *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 151–187.
- Frank et al. 2002 N. Frank – A. Mangini – M. Korfmann, *²³⁰Th/^U Dating of the Trojan ›Water Quarries‹*. *Archaeometry* 44, 2002, 305–314.
- Hawkins – Easton 1996 J. D. Hawkins – D. F. Easton, *A Hieroglyphic Seal from Troia*. *Studia Troica* 6, 1996, 111–118.
- Hertel 1991 D. Hertel, *Schliemanns These vom Fortleben Troias in den ›Dark Ages‹ im Lichte neuer Forschungsergebnisse*. *Studia Troica* 1, 1991, 131–144.
- Hertel – Kolb 2003 D. Hertel – F. Kolb, *Troy in Clearer Perspective*. *Anatolian Studies* 53, 2003, 71–88.
- Högemann 2010 P. Högemann, *Zum Iliasdichter. Ein anatolischer Standpunkt*. *Studia Troica* 10, 2000, 183–198.
- Hueber 1994 F. Hueber, *Konzept zur Konservierung und Präsentation des archäologischen Denkmals Troia*. *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 121–126.
- Hueber – Riorden 1994 F. Hueber – E. Riorden, *Plan von Troia 1994 and Troia. Freiliegende Ruinen und Besucherwege 1994*. *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 115–120.

- Jablonka 1996 P. Jablonka, Ausgrabungen im Süden der Unterstadt von Troia. Grabungsbericht 1995. *Studia Troica* 6, 1996, 65–96.
- Jablonka – Rose 2004 P. Jablonka – Ch. B. Rose, Late Bronze Age Troy. A Response to Frank Kolb. *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, 2004, 615–630.
- Jablonka et al. 1994 P. Jablonka – H. Koenig – S. Riehl, Ein Verteidigungsgraben in der Unterstadt von Troia VI. Grabungsbericht 1993. *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 51–73.
- Jansen 1992 H. G. Jansen, Geomagnetische Prospektion in der Untersiedlung von Troia. *Studia Troica* 2, 1992, 61–69.
- Kolb 2003a F. Kolb, Ein neuer Troia-Mythos? Traum und Wirklichkeit auf dem Grabungshügel von Hisarlik. In: H.-J. Behr – G. Biegel – H. Castrius (Hrsg.), *Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit. Ein Mythos in Geschichte und Rezeption. Tagungsband zum Symposium im Braunschweigischen Landesmuseum 2001 im Rahmen der Ausstellung »Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit«*. Veröffentlichungen des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums 101 (Braunschweig 2003) 8–39.
- Kolb 2003b F. Kolb, War Troia eine Stadt? In: Ch. Ulf (Hrsg.), *Der neue Streit um Troia. Eine Bilanz* (München 2003) 120–145.
- Kolb 2004 F. Kolb, Troy VI. A Trading Center and Commercial City? *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, 2004, 577–613.
- Korfmann 1991 M. Korfmann, Troia. Reinigungs- und Dokumentationsarbeiten 1987, Ausgrabungen 1988 und 1989. *Studia Troica* 1, 1991, 1–34.
- Korfmann 1992 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1990 und 1991. *Studia Troica* 2, 1992, 1–41.
- Korfmann 1993 M. Korfmann, Die Forschungsplanung von Heinrich Schliemann in Hisarlik-Troia und die Rolle Wilhelm Dörpfelds. *Studia Troica* 3, 1993, 247–264.
- Korfmann 1994 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1993. *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 1–50.
- Korfmann 1995 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1994. *Studia Troica* 5, 1995, 1–38.
- Korfmann 1996 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1995. *Studia Troica* 6, 1996, 1–63.
- Korfmann 1997 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1996. *Studia Troica* 7, 1997, 1–71.
- Korfmann 1998 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1997. *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 1–70.
- Korfmann 1999a M. Korfmann, Troia – Ausgrabungen 1998. *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 1–34.
- Korfmann 1999b M. Korfmann, Zusammenfassung des Kolloquiumsbeitrages und des Vortrages »Homer als Zeitzeuge für die Ruinen von Troia im 8. Jahrhundert v. u. Z.«. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 23, 1999, 35–41.
- Korfmann 2000 M. Korfmann, Troia. Ausgrabungen 1999 – 1999 Excavations. *Studia Troica* 10, 2000, 1–52.

- Korfmann 2001 M. Korfmann, Troia/Wilusa. Ausgrabungen 2000 – 2000 Excavations. *Studia Troica* 11, 2001, 1–50.
- Korfmann 2001 M. Korfmann, Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit. Eine Einführung in das Thema. In: Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit [Begleitband zur Ausstellung in Stuttgart, Braunschweig, Bonn 2001/02] (Stuttgart 2001) 4–23.
- Korfmann 2002 M. Korfmann, Die Arbeiten in Troia/Wilusa 2001 – Work in Troia/Wilusa 2001. *Studia Troica* 12, 2002, 1–33.
- Korfmann 2003 M. Korfmann, Die Arbeiten in Troia/Wilusa 2002 – 2002 Work at Troia/Wilusa. *Studia Troica* 13, 2003, 3–25.
- Korfmann 2004 M. O. Korfmann, Die Arbeiten in Troia/Wilusa 2003 – Work at Troia/Wilusa in 2003. *Studia Troica* 14, 2004, 3–31.
- Latacz 2004 J. Latacz, Troy and Homer. Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery (Oxford 2004).
- Lawall 2002 M. L. Lawall, »In the Sanctuary of the Samothracian Gods.« Myth, Politics and Mystery Cult at Ilion. In: M. B. Cosmopoulos [ed.], Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults (London – New York 2002) 79–111.
- Lenz et al. 1998 D. Lenz, – F. Ruppenstein – M. Baumann – R. W. V. Catling, Proto-geometric Pottery at Troia. *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 189–222.
- Mannsperger 1995 B. Mannsperger, Die Funktion des Grabens am Schiffslager der Achäer. *Studia Troica* 5, 1995, 343–356.
- Mannsperger 1998 B. Mannsperger, Die Mauer am Schiffslager der Achaier. *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 287–304.
- Rose 1991 Ch. B. Rose, The Theater of Ilion. *Studia Troica* 1, 1991, 69–77.
- Rose 1992 Ch. B. Rose, The 1991 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 2, 1992, 43–60.
- Rose 1993 Ch. B. Rose, The 1992 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 3, 1993, 97–116.
- Rose 1994 Ch. B. Rose, The 1993 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 4, 1994, 75–104.
- Rose 1995 Ch. B. Rose, The 1994 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 5, 1995, 81–105.
- Rose 1997 Ch. B. Rose, The 1996 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 7, 1997, 73–110.
- Rose 1998 Ch. B. Rose, The 1997 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 71–113.
- Rose 1999 Ch. B. Rose, The 1998 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia. *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 35–71.

- Rose 2000 Ch. B. Rose, Post-Bronze Age Research at Troia, 1999. *Studia Troica* 10, 2000, 53-71.
- Rose 2003 Ch. B. Rose, The Temple of Athena at Ilion. *Studia Troica* 13, 2003, 27-88.
- Rose 2005 Ch. B. Rose, The Parthians in Augustan Rome. *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, 2005, 21-75.
- Rose 2006 Ch. B. Rose, Ilion. In: W. Radt (Hrsg.), *Stadtgrabungen und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien. BYZAS 3 (Istanbul 2006)* 135-158.
- Rose 2007 Ch. B. Rose, Talking to the Troops about the Archaeology of Iraq and Afghanistan. In: R. F. Rhodes (ed.), *The Acquisition and Exhibition of Classical Antiquities. Professional, Legal and Ethical Perspectives. A Symposium held at the Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame 2007, Organized by Robin F. Rhodes – Charles R. Loving (Notre Dame 2007)* 139-151.
- Rose et al. 2007 Ch. B. Rose – Billur Tekkök – Reyhan Körpe, The Granicus River Valley Archaeological Survey Project, 2004-2005. *Studia Troica* 17, 2007, 65-150.
- Schweizer – Kienlin 2001/2002 B. Schweizer – T. L. Kienlin, Das Troia-Symposium in Tübingen. Eine Diskussion um Geschichte und Archäologie. *Hephaistos* 19-20, 2001/2002, 7-38.
- Sevinç 1996 N. Sevinç, A New Sarcophagus of Polyxena from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay. *Studia Troica* 6, 1996, 251-264.
- Sevinç – Treister 2003 N. Sevinç – M. Treister, Metalwork from the Dardanus Tumulus. *Studia Troica* 13, 2003, 215-260.
- Sevinç et al. 1998 N. Sevinç – Ch. B. Rose – Donna Strahan – Billur Tekkök-Biçken, The Dedetepe Tumulus. *Studia Troica* 8, 1998, 305-327.
- Sevinç et al. 1999 N. Sevinç – Ch. B. Rose – D. Strahan, A Child's Sarcophagus from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay. *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 489-509.
- Sevinç et al. 2001 N. Sevinç – R. Körpe – M. Tombul – Ch. B. Rose – D. Strahan – H. Kiesewetter – J. Wallrodt, A New Painted Graeco-Persian Sarcophagus from Çan. *Studia Troica* 11, 2001, 383-420.
- Starke 1997 F. Starke, Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend. *Studia Troica* 7, 1997, 447-487.
- Szlezák 1993 Th. A. Szlezák, Atlantis und Troia, Platon und Homer. Bemerkungen zum Wahrheitsanspruch des Atlantis-Mythos. *Studia Troica* 3, 1993, 233-237.
- Tekkök 2000 B. Tekkök, The City Wall of Troy. New Evidence for Dating. *Studia Troica* 10, 2000, 85-95.

- Tekkök-Biçken 1996 B. Tekkök-Biçken, *The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery from Troia: the Second Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.* (unpubl. PhD University of Missouri, Columbia 1996).
- Thompson 1963 D. B. Thompson, *Troy. The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*. Troy, Supplementary Monograph 3 (Princeton 1963).
- Zangger 1992 E. Zangger, *The Flood from Heaven. Deciphering the Atlantis Legend* (New York 1992).
- Zangger 1994 E. Zangger, *Ein neuer Kampf um Troia. Archäologie in der Krise* (München 1994).