

# WHAT CAN TROIA TELL US ABOUT THE MIDDLE HELLADIC PERIOD IN THE SOUTHERN AEGEAN?

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This paper summarizes the results of the current work at Troia<sup>1</sup> that are of relevance for this conference. The character and scope of the paper do not, however, allow for an in-depth discussion of all problems outlined here. Such information will be available in the present author's final publication of the pottery from the levels of early and middle Troia VI.

The general significance of the so-called Anatolian Grey Ware (AGW) will be discussed first, followed by a new definition of early Troia VI and its dating. Finally, we will move on to absolute chronology and the new <sup>14</sup>C dates from Troia.

## ANATOLIAN GREY WARE

For many years Aegean archaeology was dominated by labels such as Grey Minyan, Yellow Minyan and matt-painted ware. We know now that such all-embracing labels led to a lot of confusion and that the spectrum of wares common on the Greek mainland was more complex than this.<sup>2</sup>

We should also approach western Anatolia with this in mind. Here, a fine wheel-made burnished grey ware exists in the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and Late Bronze Age (LBA), covering quite a large triangle stretching from Troia in the north to Izmir in the south and to Iznik Lake in the east.<sup>3</sup> The ware used to be known chiefly from Troia and gradually became associated with the Grey Minyan Ware

(GMW) known from central Greece and the Argolid.<sup>4</sup> However, archaeological knowledge accumulated over the past 30 years has shown that such an equation is not without problems. People working in Anatolia now tend to call it "Anatolian Grey Ware". The most vocal supporter of such a name has been Susan Heuck Allen, but she was not the first. There is nothing political behind this name change, as has been hinted by others. In fact, it seems that the first to use the expression "AGW" was Vassos Karageorghis.<sup>5</sup> There was simply a need to separate the grey ware in the western Aegean from the grey ware in the eastern Aegean, which in the LBA occurs also on Cyprus and in the Levant. Using the word "Anatolian" in the name is not as neutral as one may wish, but we decided not to introduce yet another name for the same ware, which in the very beginning was even called "Lydian".<sup>6</sup> Let me here stress some important points about this ware and explain the differences and similarities with Grey Minyan.<sup>7</sup>

1. One cannot compare AGW with Grey Minyan *en bloc*, since AGW does not present a unified appearance and range of shapes over the entire area of its occurrence. This is also the case with Grey Minyan in Greece. There seems to be one group of AGW around Iznik Lake, which may possibly be the oldest group, but it is not yet very well understood. The second group encompasses the Troad, and yet another group

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the late Prof. Manfred O. Korfmann for supporting my research at Troia. I am likewise grateful to all participants of the conference for the stimulating discussions but most of all to Barbara Horejs for sharing with me her knowledge of central Macedonian material. Maureen Basedow has kindly corrected the English of the text. The work was completed with the aid of the Slovak Grant Agency VEGA, Project 1/1211/04.

<sup>2</sup> ZERNER 1993, 39–40.

<sup>3</sup> Crucial articles for understanding the distribution of AGW in Anatolia are FRENCH 1967; 1969; 1974. The major part of the related bibliography is summarized in BAYNE 1963 (2000) and ALLEN 1990; 1991. Later contributions include SCHACHNER 1994/95; GÜNEL 1999a; 1999b; PAVÚK 2002a; 2002b.

<sup>4</sup> The first to call Trojan Grey Ware "Grey Minyan" were

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possibly WACE and THOMPSON (1912, 251–2) and FORSDYKE (1914, 126–56) in response to them. BLEGEN only followed up, and popularized the expression for many years to come (e.g., 1953, 15). DÖRPFELD and SCHMIDT noticed the similarity between the two, but never used the term "Grey Minyan" for the Trojan Grey Ware (ALLEN 1990, 8–15).

<sup>5</sup> ALLEN 1991, 151; 1994, n. 4; KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1985, 268. For a good overview of the nomenclature problem see also SCHACHNER's contribution in BAYNE 1963 (2000), 300–1, 305–6.

<sup>6</sup> ALLEN 1990, 8–9, SCHLIEMANN 1881, 587.

<sup>7</sup> Some of these arguments were already presented in German in PAVÚK 2002b. The same holds true for some of the illustrations but since the volume *Brückenland Anatolien* is not readily accessible in prehistoric libraries, it was considered convenient to reprint them here.

covers roughly the region from Classical Pergamon down to Izmir.

Admittedly, the production technique of AGW is not dissimilar from that of Grey Minyan. And, indeed, the early grey ware from Troia is in particular reminiscent of the best variety of Grey Minyan Ware on the Greek mainland, namely Carol Zerner's "True Grey Minyan".<sup>8</sup> However, the ware itself does not offer enough for a meaningful comparison. One has to turn instead to the shapes and the dating of AGW.

2. Concerning the shapes, one has to differentiate between the coastal region and the inland. The potters working inland were more conservative and the shapes evolved at a very slow pace. Typical are carinated bowls, either with a bead rim or with a ridged shoulder. Both of these, being very Anatolian shapes, are entirely unrelated to anything known from the Greek mainland.<sup>9</sup> The coast, on the other hand, is more progressive and the shapes change approximately every 100 years. The coastal shapes comprise the carinated bowls just mentioned but Aegean shapes, such as the well-known Lianokladhi goblet, are also present.<sup>10</sup> But only on the coast!

3. Chronology. The inland finds cannot be any more closely dated by themselves. No imports have been recognized and, at any rate, our knowledge derives mostly from surveys. The coastal finds are datable only on grounds of the associated Aegean imports or imitated Aegean shapes. In this respect, there are only three sites with available information: Troia in the Troad, with Panaztepe and Liman Tepe near Izmir. Nearby Smyrna is promising, but not enough is published to be of use in this discussion. The earliest AGW at Liman Tepe is associated with MH II matt-painted pottery but it is only during MH III that it comes into full bloom. The sole Aegean shape published is the Lianokladhi goblet.<sup>11</sup> At Troia, AGW starts possibly a bit later, in MH III.<sup>12</sup> The shapes will be described below. In both cases, the first occurrence of AGW is

much later than that of Grey Minyan in Greece, by at least 300 years. A major difference is also the fact that AGW does not die out during LH I or IIA, as is the case with Grey Minyan,<sup>13</sup> but continues and develops almost uninterrupted down to the Archaic period, when it is known as Aeolian Bucchero.<sup>14</sup>

### The Earliest Anatolian Grey Ware at Troia

Let us move on to Troia as a case study. At Troia the first occurrence of AGW marks the beginning of Troia VI. At least, this is what BLEGEN claimed.<sup>15</sup> Despite the fact that this seemed reasonable to us, the current team at Troia has wondered whether the first occurrence of AGW might have taken place during the preceding Troia V period. Another open issue has been the question of whether and how the grey ware of Troia VI (AGW) is related to the EBA grey ware described by Blegen in his Troia V levels. The current answers are as follows.

1. Recent excavations have shown that the EBA grey ware of Troia V is almost nonexistent. We have, in fact, no idea what Blegen (and for that matter also David French and James Mellaart, who saw the Blegen material) termed as "Troia V Grey Ware".<sup>16</sup> The new excavations have brought to light only a few, but quite nice, Troia V deposits<sup>17</sup> and none of the wares can be associated with Blegen's description. The only grey pieces turned out to be either Red Coated Ware fired grey or a common EBA Trojan ware called Quartz-Tempered Fine Ware, again fired grey.

2. Concerning the occurrence of AGW in Troia V levels, we can tell that early to middle Troia V levels definitely have no AGW in them. Later Troia V levels possibly have no AGW as well. Then, at a certain point and in very low percentages, AGW starts to appear. At first, it is accompanied by an almost unchanged Troia V assortment but the hallmarks of Troia V – Red Cross Bowls and volute handles – are absent.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, we have nowhere a continuous sequence from

<sup>8</sup> ZERNER 1993, 43, 47.

<sup>9</sup> The shapes are discussed in PAVÚK 2002a, 40, 44; they are Blegen shapes A56 and A61. See also DRIEHAUS 1957, fig. 7 and BAYNE 1963 (2000), 23–5.

<sup>10</sup> PAVÚK 2002a, 47–8; Blegen shape A64.

<sup>11</sup> Panaztepe: GÜNEL 1999a, 118–120, lev. 146:3, 4. Liman Tepe: GÜNEL 1999b, 54–6 figs. 15–6.

<sup>12</sup> PAVÚK 2007.

<sup>13</sup> RUTTER 1983; DICKINSON 1977, 19–23; DIETZ 1991, 199–205.

<sup>14</sup> The best summary of Iron Age grey ware remains BAYNE 1963 (2000).

<sup>15</sup> BLEGEN 1953, 3–38.

<sup>16</sup> BLEGEN 1953, 34; 1951, 118 and 235; MELLAART 1958, 16 n. 97; FRENCH 1967, 61–4 (where it is not clear whether he is quoting MELLAART or saw the pottery himself).

<sup>17</sup> The most prominent is the trench in quadrant A5/6, meticulously excavated by MAGDA PIENIAZEK-SIKORA. For a preliminary report see KORFMANN 2001, 10–3 figs. 9–11; 2002, 7–9 figs. 6, 7. Troia V pottery is currently being studied by Stephan Blum.

<sup>18</sup> The volute handles present a separate problem. Not only are there no volute handles in early Troia VI but the current excavations have so far found no volute handles at all, not even from Troia V deposits. Nonetheless, Blegen defi-

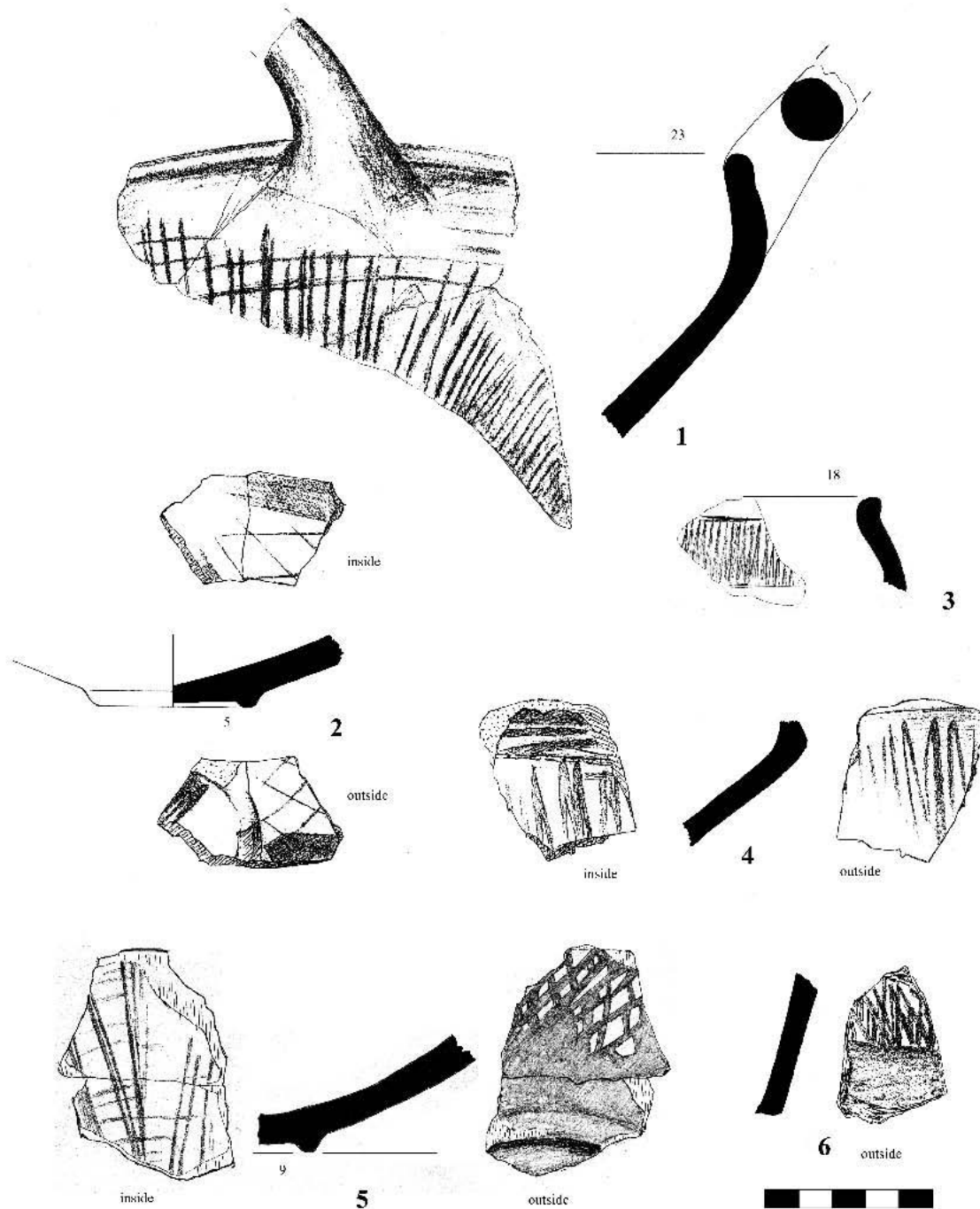


Fig. 1 Pattern Burnished Grey Ware of the First ceramic phase of Troia VI. Scale 1:2.  
References: 1) K8.113.1+K8.104.1 9 2) K8.744.1 3) K/L 16/17.1167.27 4) K8.742.2 5) K8.260.5 6) K8.704.6

Troia V down to Troia VI but the deposits immediately overlying those that contain the first examples of AGW are definitely Troia VI. Hence, we can either term the phase “terminal Troia V” or “incipient Troia

VI” – it is literally transitional. We call it Troia VI, as Blegen would also have done.

This first ceramic phase of Troia VI seems to have stratigraphically (architecturally) two subphases.

nitely excavated and published a number of them (BLEGEN 1951, 249 figs. 248.15, 249.1–3). This presents an even more problematic situation, given the fact that the volute han-

dles had been widely used in previous scholarship for chronological correlations between Troia V, Poliochni, Beycesultan and other sites.

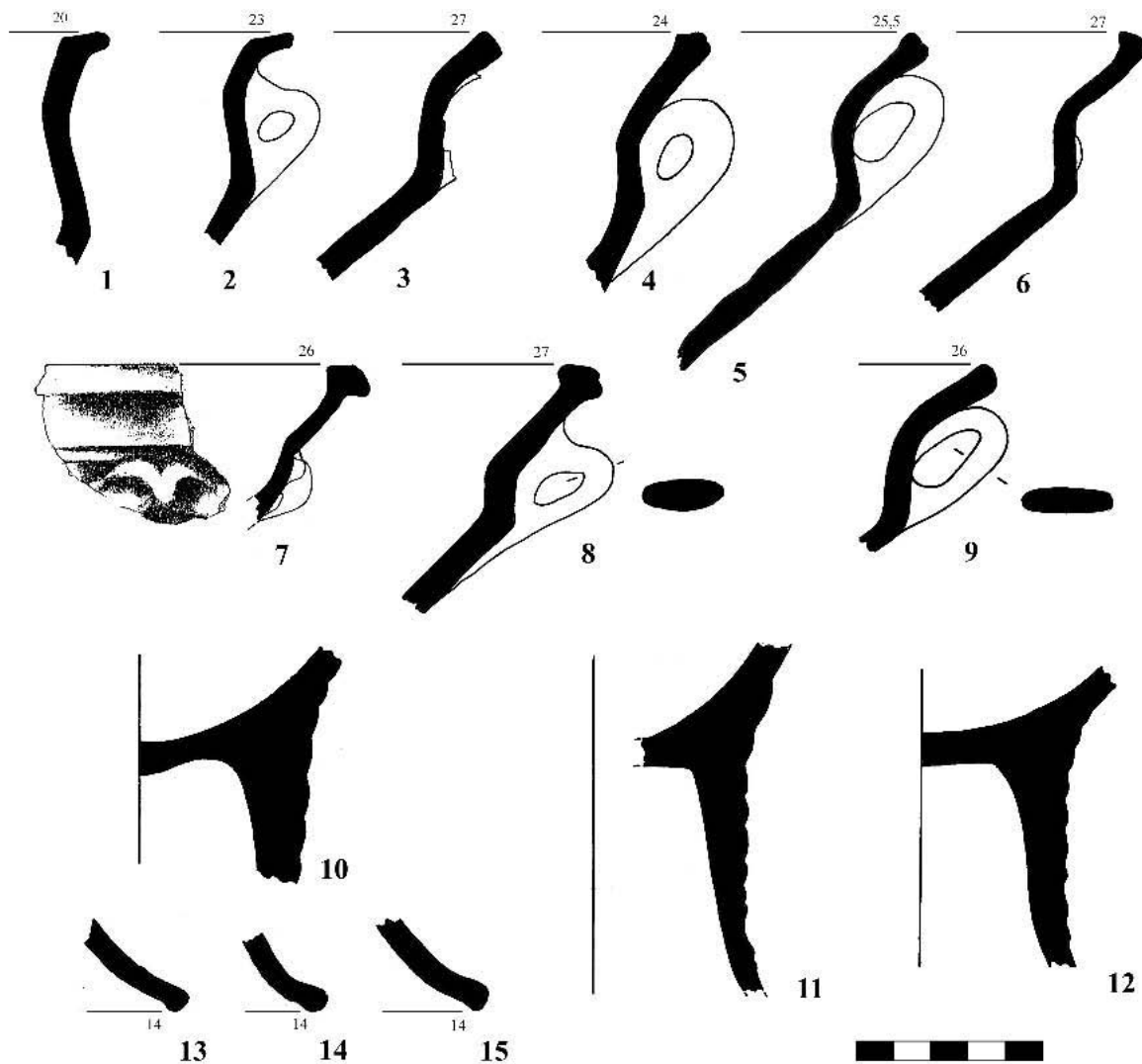


Fig. 2 Anatolian Grey Ware. Lianokladhi goblets from the First ceramic phase of Troia VI. Scale 1:2. References: 1) K/L 16/17.683.36 2) K/L 16/17.603.18 3) K/L 16/17.683.41+77 4) K/L 16/17.687.5+24 5) K/L 16/17.1189.16 6) K/L 16/17.614.21 7) K/L 16/17.792.14 8) D10.69.2 9) K/L 16/17.1189.7 10) K/L 16/17.1182.26 11) K17.1132.22 12) K/L 16/17.1189.9+15 13) K/L 16/17.1197.4 14) K17.1132.6 15) K/L 16/17.816.2

These are especially well documented in areas K8 and KL 16/17.<sup>19</sup> Within the phase the pottery does not change significantly. Grey ware simply becomes more numerous (but not constituting more than 10% of the fine wares) and the range of Troia V shapes in red wares becomes narrower. In Blegen's terms, both of these subphases would represent his architectural phase VIa or possibly even Vd. Some deposits of Blegen's final phase of Troia V, itself very poorly documented, can possibly well fit into this transitional

phase. He had some grey ware sherds in those deposits, but considered them a later contamination and did not publish them.<sup>20</sup>

However, it is this transitional phase in which another type of grey ware occurs at Troia. It is possibly handmade, less regularly burnished than the standard AGW, often with a dark grey surface and a typical sandwich effect on the break. Most produced were bead-rim bowls decorated with pattern-burshing (Figure 1). This could perhaps be Blegen's

<sup>19</sup> For a preliminary analysis of pottery from K8 see EASTON-WENINGER 1992. However, our understanding of the stratigraphy and the pottery of that trench has subsequently changed and has led to somewhat different conclu-

sions, which are beyond the scope of this paper. For K/L 16/17 see KORFMANN 1998, 49–57; 1999, 19–22; 2000, 28–9.  
<sup>20</sup> BLEGEN 1951, 283–90, 295–7.

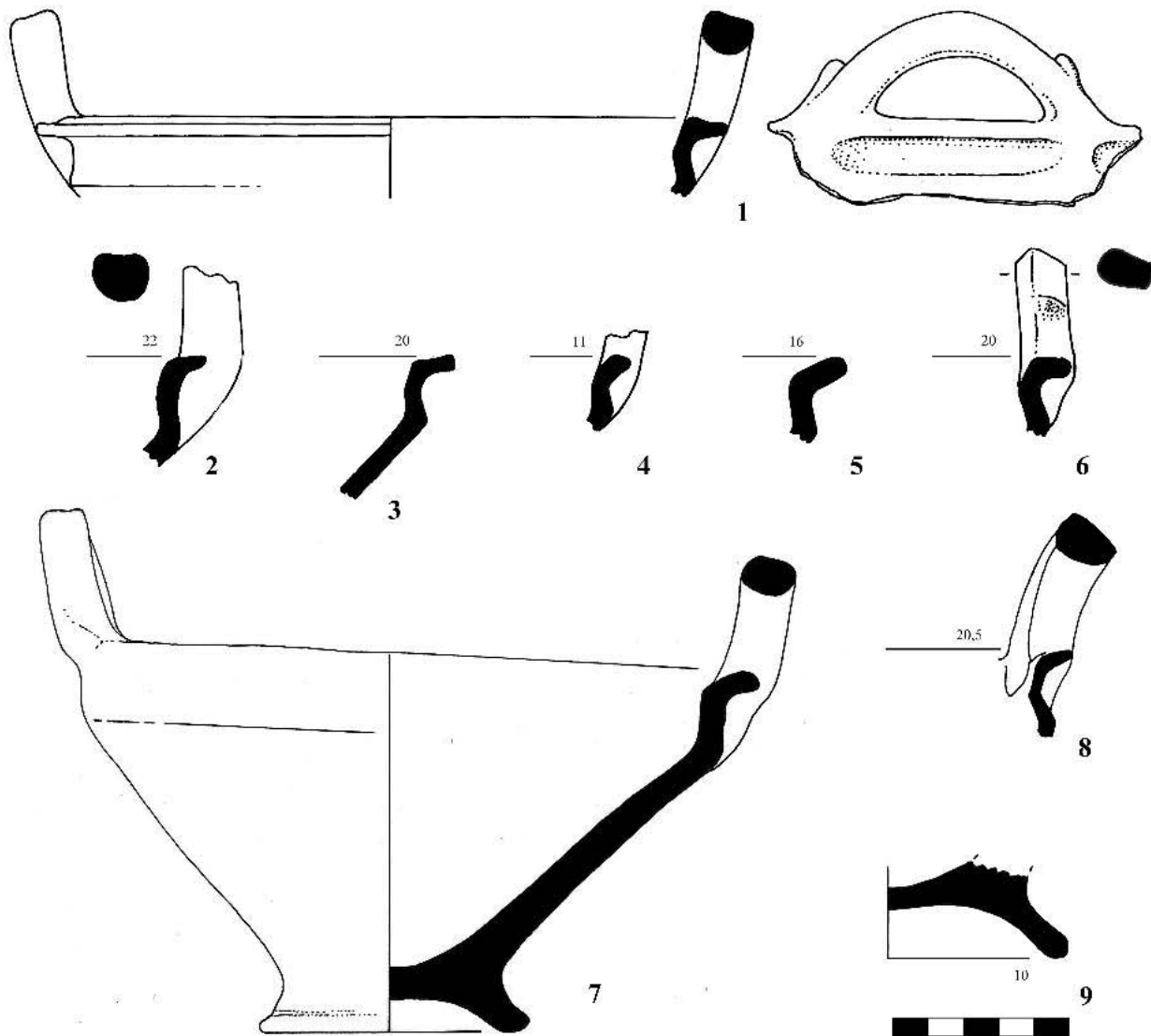


Fig. 3 Anatolian Grey Ware. Pteleon goblets from the First ceramic phase of Troia VI. Scale 1:2. References: 1) K8.298.2 2) K/L 16/17.813.21 3) K/L 16/17.1189.29 4) K/L 16/17.687.28 5) K/L 16/17.1182.32 6) K/L 16/17.687.25 7) A7.1213.7 8) F8/9.T42/53.35 (Blegen Excavations) 9) K/L 16/17.1175.3+5

Troia V Grey Ware.<sup>21</sup> At the same time it is our only candidate for David French's Inegöl Grey Ware at Troia,<sup>22</sup> which will be discussed below. The pattern-burnishing on these examples is indeed reminiscent of the Inegöl Grey Ware but not their shapes. I would rather dissociate them.

What is probably more interesting for Aegean archaeology is the fact that out of five or six shapes

in which AGW first occurs at Troia, the majority comes from mainland Greece. These are the Lianokladhi goblet (Figure 2), the Pteleon goblet (Figure 3), semiglobular cups (Figure 4) and possibly also the kantharos.<sup>23</sup> The last of these is ambiguous, for it also exists in western Anatolia in later EBA. These Aegean shapes are accompanied by a variety of bead-rim bowls and some isolated small open shapes with-

<sup>21</sup> PAVÚK 2002b, 102–3; BLEGEN 1953, 34 figs. 312.33–114, 356.1–8.

<sup>22</sup> FRENCH 1967, 62 fig. 4.

<sup>23</sup> The shapes are discussed in PAVÚK 2002a, where parallels

are listed. The most recent stratigraphical analyses have shown that there are possibly no AGW kantharoi at all in the first Troia VI phase and that they start only in the second phase, VIb/c.

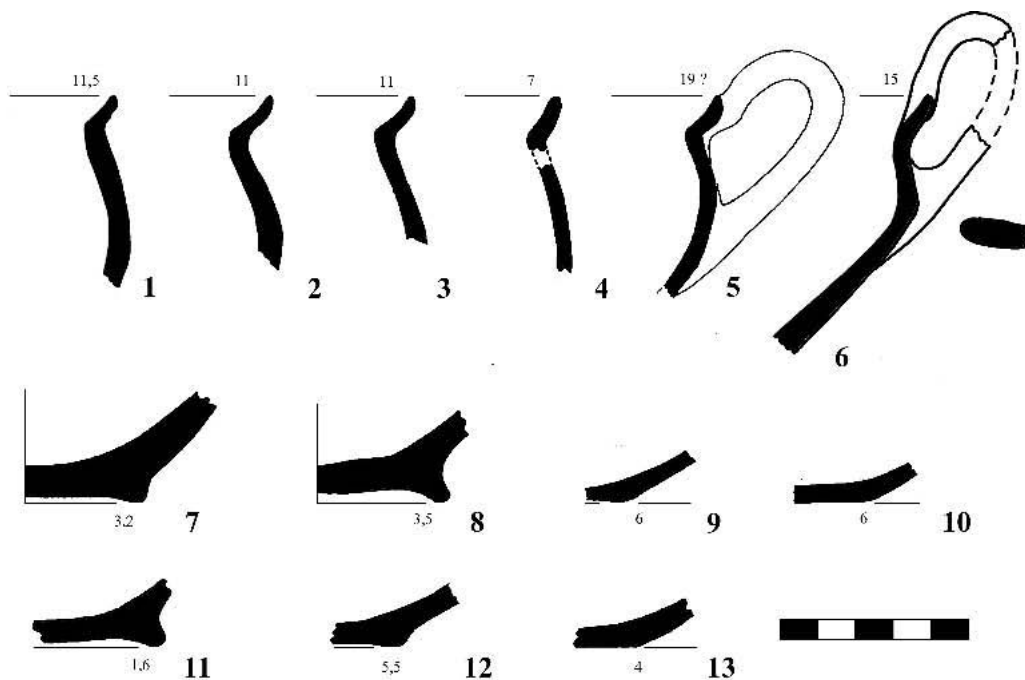


Fig. 4 Anatolian Grey Ware. Semiglobular cups from the First ceramic phase of Troia VI. Scale 1:2. References: 1) K8.733.1 2) K8.254.1 3) K/L 16/17.810.12 4) K/L 16/17.1182.32 5) A7.1469.7 6) A7.1396.3+4 and A7.1385.4+15 (Kantharos?) 7) K/L 16/17.1182.20 8) K/L 16/17.687.27+37 9) K/L 16/17.687.50 10) K/L 16/17.1182.19 11) K/L 16/17.818.8 12) K17.1123.26 13) K/L 16/17.687.40

out parallels. It seems that the potters first attempted to produce a wider range of shapes, and that only some of these became standardized.

#### Dating of the First Ceramic Phase of Troia VI

Kantharoi aside, the rest of the Aegean shapes at Troia are quite popular also on the Greek mainland and are relatively precisely datable. We have both the early type of Lianokladhi goblet, which would be suitable for MH II, as well as a variety of the later MH III/LH I examples with a longer lip (Figure 2).<sup>24</sup> We have several types of what I term a Pteleon goblet,<sup>25</sup> an expression complementing the Lianokladhi goblet.

The development of the Pteleon goblet is not as clear as that of the Lianokladhi. It is present in Keos IV but seems practically absent from Keos V.<sup>26</sup> Keos is, however, probably not the best comparandum in this respect, because the amount of Grey Minyan

diminishes in Keos V. The situation is similar on Aegina, where several complete examples of Pteleon goblets have been produced from the new excavations (phase I = Stadt IX) but the type seems to disappear afterward.<sup>27</sup> Lerna IV is still largely unpublished and the later MH levels are not so well preserved.<sup>28</sup> A complete example from Mycenae in Dark Burnished (Argive Minyan) Ware was republished by Dietz as MH IIIB.<sup>29</sup> The only other published stratified sites are Pefkakia in southern Thessaly and Kiapha Thiti in Attica, the latter being only semistratified. At Pefkakia, the Pteleon goblet starts at the beginning of the MBA, in Pefkakia phase 5. Whereas the early examples have a very long lip, later examples have it shorter as do also the Trojan ones (Figure 3). The later variant at Pefkakia occurs approximately from MH II down to LH I.<sup>30</sup> The last Aegean shape at Troia is the semiglobular cup with hollowed rim (Fig-

<sup>24</sup> For a classification of Lianokladhi goblets see MARAN 1992a, 85–7, 209–15 fig. 3.

<sup>25</sup> The name of the goblet is derived from the complete vessels excavated at Pteleon (VERDELIS 1952, 139–40, pls. 9, 10), republished by MARAN (1992a, 280–1, pl. 148.1–3). BLEGEN knew of them as well (BLEGEN 1953, 46, 129).

<sup>26</sup> OVERBECK 1989, pls. 48.X46, 56.AO22, 67.BD41; DAVIS 1986, pl. 28.U76.

<sup>27</sup> FELTEN and HILLER 1996, pl. 17.1. See also GAUSS and SMETANA in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> Carol Zerner kindly circulated a new unpublished version of pottery charts for area D from Lerna among the participants of the conference (ZERNER 2004). Two examples of the Pteleon goblet are illustrated, P475 from Lerna V:4 (early MH II) and P550 from a mixed area with graves, Lerna V:5 or V:6 (later MH II, early MH III).

<sup>29</sup> DIETZ 1991, 205 fig. 63.CB-2.

<sup>30</sup> MARAN 1992a, 86, where illustrations are listed. For Kiapha Thiti see MARAN 1992b, 121 pl. 8.276.

ure 4). According to DAVIS and others, this should be one of the few secure hallmarks of LH I in Grey Minyan Ware.<sup>31</sup>

Using this information, one can possibly conclude that the first phase of Troia VI covers MH II, MH III and LH I. The problem is that all of the mentioned shapes and variants occur together from the very beginning. We cannot account for this circumstance as a result of redeposited material, for as I have said before, AGW starts at a certain point and the material that can be identified as redeposited includes, at most, some of the red-burnished sherds from Troia V. All in all, I take MH III as the most probable dating of this phase. The only shape that does not fit is the semiglobular cup.<sup>32</sup> However, in the discussion following the oral presentation of this paper, JEREMY RUTTER pointed out that the type of base that we associate with the semiglobular cups in Troia (Figure 4) is not the concave ring/torus-base typical of the LH I examples in the southern Aegean.<sup>33</sup>

What other evidence for dating do we have? Four inhumation graves seem to be of importance. The first is a cist grave and was found in 1996 below a Troia V house (presumably late V) and contains an imported Minoan or Minoanizing jug in creamy bordered style.<sup>34</sup> The experts disagree about the relative date but it is either late MM II or early MM IIIA, which would be around 1750 on high Aegean chronology or 1700–1650 on traditional. That is, Troia VI should start afterward. There is now a <sup>14</sup>C date from the bones of the little girl buried in the grave. On 2σ probability it is 1980–1730 BC.<sup>35</sup> It is not a very precise date but for what it is worth, it seems quite high, especially if we consider that the jug needed some time to get to Troia, to be used (it is quite worn) and to be deposited into the grave. Within the discussion on high versus traditional chronology, it would probably better fit the high Aegean chronology of Sturt Manning.<sup>36</sup>

In 2001 a further two graves were found nearby in front of the later southwestern gate of the late Troia VI citadel fortification wall.<sup>37</sup> Both of them are pit

graves and contained a crouched inhumation. They cut a possible house floor, with an almost complete Pteleon goblet and a bead-rim bowl on the floor. The levels above them are of mixed character and cannot contribute to their dating. There are no offerings in the graves except for a bronze dagger and a simple needle in one of them.<sup>38</sup> There is, however, a lot of broken pottery in the fill, almost as if deposited deliberately. This pottery, mostly of finer category, dates clearly to our first phase of Troia VI. Blegen uncovered yet another grave to the east of the two just mentioned, in which a child was placed in a burial urn.<sup>39</sup> Both the urn and another jar, which could be mended from sherds lying around it, date also to the first phase of Troia VI.

The graves from current excavations were also sampled for <sup>14</sup>C but the dates on collagen from the bones were quite surprising to us. The combined date on 1σ was 1850–1770 BC and stretched at most to 1740 on 2σ, which is still too early, especially if we consider that the graves cut a deposit belonging to the first phase and cannot therefore be placed at the very beginning of Troia VI, not to mention the fact that the <sup>14</sup>C date overlaps with the Troia V date from the cist grave. Even more problematic is the fact that <sup>14</sup>C dates from charcoal in yet another Troia V grave in area D20 yielded the same combined date as the two Troia VI graves.<sup>40</sup>

A possible solution may lie in a systematic bias hidden in <sup>14</sup>C dates made on collagen samples. There is currently an interesting investigation underway in Slovakia,<sup>41</sup> which suggests that such dates tend to be somewhat older than their real date, by approximately 50 to 100 years. Such a discrepancy would already be helpful for our present problem.

#### ANATOLIAN GREY WARE VERSUS GREY MINYAN WARE VERSUS İNEGÖL GREY WARE

Let us come back to the similarities and differences between Grey Minyan and Anatolian Grey Ware. How are these to be explained?<sup>42</sup>

<sup>31</sup> DAVIS 1979, 255; MARAN 1992b, 120–1; GRAZIADIO 1988, 356 n. 65; DIETZ 1991, 201.

<sup>32</sup> The evidence from Olynthos/Ayios Mamas presented by B. HOREJS at this conference showed a similar chronological discrepancy, so that it is possible that semiglobular cups of this type started earlier in the northern Aegean.

<sup>33</sup> For example MARAN 1992a, pl. 124.2–4 or DIETZ 1991, fig. 61.BA-5, 5a.

<sup>34</sup> KORFMANN 1997, 32–8, figs. 28–32.

<sup>35</sup> The full information on the new <sup>14</sup>C dates from all of the graves mentioned here will be published in *Studia Troica*.

<sup>36</sup> For example, MANNING 1999.

<sup>37</sup> KORFMANN 2002, 18–9 fig. 16.

<sup>38</sup> KORFMANN 2002, 18–9 fig. 15.5, 6.

<sup>39</sup> BLEGEN 1953, 164–6 fig. 325.36-1177, 326.36-721.

<sup>40</sup> KORFMANN 1994, 31–4 figs. 36–9; KORFMANN *et al.* 2003, fig. 5.

<sup>41</sup> This study is being conducted by PETER BARTA and will be published in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*.

<sup>42</sup> The opinions expressed in this chapter are based on autopsy of almost all of the types of pottery mentioned.

There is, to begin with, no doubt that Grey Minyan developed in central Greece and that it has nothing to do with the so-called İnegöl Grey Ware (İGW) from around İznik Lake as has been suggested by Mellaart. It has likewise nothing to do with the other early second-millennium grey wares in the inland Kütahya region, most notably from the tell settlements of Tavşanlı and Köprüören, which was Mellaart's alternative suggestion.<sup>43</sup> The İGW *does* have the famous soapy touch as the best Grey Minyan, but the range of shapes is quite limited – shallow bowls and plates – and is entirely different from the Grey Minyan range.<sup>44</sup> These early west Anatolian grey wares are all hard to date but some may go back as early as EB3. If not late third millennium, they should certainly be early second millennium, but at present the evidence is not very clear. Outside of Troia, there is no clear evidence for the close of the third and beginning of the second millennium for the entire area between the Dardanelles and Eskişehir, on the threshold of the central Anatolian plateau. For these areas we have mostly survey finds, few pits and no proper stratigraphy.<sup>45</sup>

Nevertheless, the date of the İGW should be corrected here. Ever since Kurt Bittel, in his publication in *Kleinasiatische Studien*, described the stratigraphy of Cuma Tepe (İnegöl I),<sup>46</sup> the ware has been typologically associated with Troia V and therefore with the end of EBA, ergo the end of the third millennium. That view used to be the predominating one on the relative and absolute date of Troia V, as visualized in D. French's chronological chart.<sup>47</sup> However, since Troia V has subsequently been definitely moved to the beginning of the second millennium BC<sup>48</sup> and since the only Trojan ware possibly related to İGW dates even later, to Troia VIa (the pattern-burnished grey ware discussed above), it seems recommended to move also the majority, if not the whole, of İGW also to the early second millennium. The possibility that the beginning of the İGW does indeed go back to the late third millennium cannot, however, be excluded.<sup>49</sup>

So, what then is AGW? David French, a sort of father figure in the study of this ware, used to call it simply a Troia VI Grey Ware – which again is not the most objective name because it implies that the ware either originates or is being produced mostly at Troia, neither of which implications is true. In his final article on the topic, back in 1973 – and nothing much of importance on the topic has since been published – he stated of AGW that “although there are demonstrable connections with MH groups from the Greek mainland (e.g. the Lianokladhi goblets at Troia), in shape and surface treatment it remains essentially one of the varieties of Western-Anatolian second-millennium pottery.”<sup>50</sup> Little can be added today. As I stated above, there are the inland sites and the coastal sites. If we had only the inland sites, there would be almost no doubt that the two wares are not related. Inland, the AGW is accompanied by similar burnished wares, either plain beige or with a red wash or slip.<sup>51</sup> It is the coast, with the MH shapes, that makes the issue so problematic. In a way, it is logical that the coastal regions around the entire Aegean Sea communicated in some way. What is intriguing is the fact that, when AGW appears for the first time on the coast, it appears together with the MH shapes. Is this a mere coincidence? Or are we still to call the coastal grey ware “Grey Minyan” and refer only to the inland variety as “AGW”? That wouldn't work. Moreover, in the next ceramic phase at Troia, Blegen's VIb/c, which we tentatively date to LH I, all of the Aegean shapes disappear and are replaced by an entirely new range of Anatolian types of bowls. If there was, then, a direct contact, it lasted only for the first phase of Troia VI, a period of two or three generations. This observation applies also for Liman Tepe.

Petrographic analysis of the early AGW from both Troia and Panaztepe has shown that the examples are local,<sup>52</sup> which leads to the conclusion that even the Aegean shapes were produced locally and were not ready-imported. However, only a selection

<sup>43</sup> MELLAART 1955, 61–4; 1958, 15–8. A similar view is expressed also in BAYNE 1963 (2000), 15–20, 119–20.

<sup>44</sup> FRENCH 1967, 61–4, e.g., figs. 8.8–21; 10.39–45; 12.39–45; 15.18–22, 41, 42; 19.33–6; 20.20–8, 51–5, 57, 58, 80–4. THISSEN 1989–90, 93–4, 107, 110–1 fig. 18.3–6.

<sup>45</sup> See for example EFE 1994.

<sup>46</sup> BITTEL 1942, 159–62.

<sup>47</sup> FRENCH 1967, fig. 5.

<sup>48</sup> KORFMANN *et al.* 2003, 48 fig. 5. The new evidence is summarized in PAVÚK 2007.

<sup>49</sup> In one of the pits from Ilımar III İGW occurs along with a Depas Amphikypelon base (THISSEN 1989–90, 107 fig. 18.8). There may be more stages in the development of İGW, but it is possible that the depas base is simply intrusive.

<sup>50</sup> FRENCH 1974, 51–2.

<sup>51</sup> These are quite well represented, for example in surveys evaluated by D. FRENCH (1967, 64–5; 1967, 68–72). See also ÖZDOĞAN 1993.

<sup>52</sup> KNACKE and LOY 1994, 100–7; GÜNEL 1999a, 193.



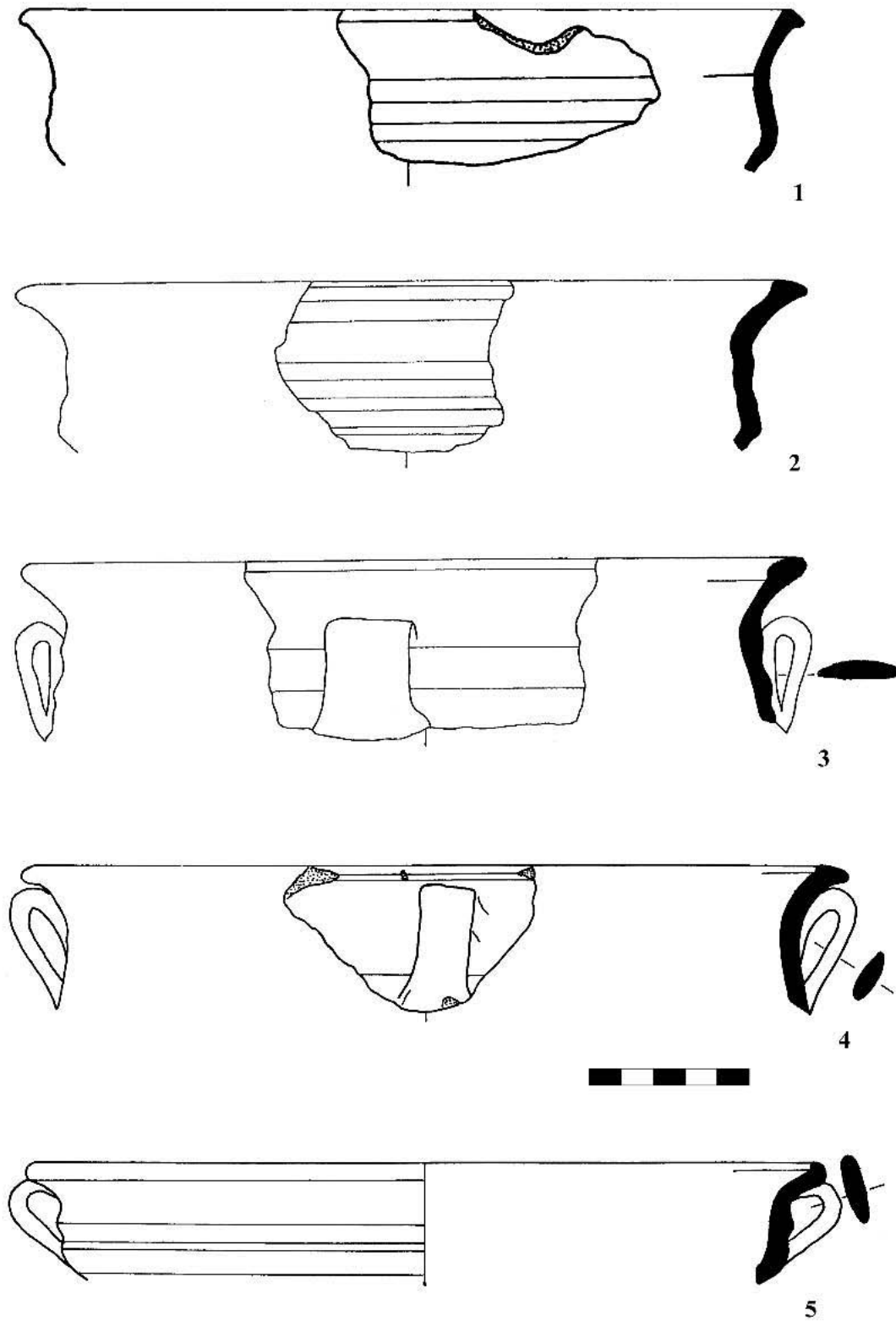


Fig. 5 Anatolian Grey Ware. Lianokladhi goblets from Panaztepe (1, 4, 5) and Liman Tepe (2, 3). Scale 1:2. References: GÜNEL 1999a, Abb. 144:6, 146:3-4; GÜNEL 1999b, Abb. 16:30-31.

of sherds has been sampled, so we cannot exclude the possibility that some grey vessels were indeed imported from mainland Greece.

The grey ware that existed further inland seems to betray no interest in the coastal developments and maintained the indigenous style of bowls with bead rim and ridged shoulder. Both the coastal and inland grey ware continued to be produced for many more centuries, regardless of the sad fate of Grey Minyan on the Greek mainland. And this, in my opinion, would not have been the case if the grey ware in Anatolia had not been locally developed, possessing its own tradition and context.

The logical next step is to ask who was the mediator of such a contact. For this we should probably start with the existing regional differences along the west Anatolian coast. Admittedly, archaeological exploration in the area is of uneven quality and quantity, but I would still like to stress the following points.

**A.** Whereas at Troia we have more MH shapes in grey ware than are presented around İzmir, they have MH matt-painted pottery and we do not.<sup>53</sup> The matt-painted sherds from Troia published by Blegen are of unknown provenance and are mostly LH IIA in date.<sup>54</sup>

**B.** Whereas there are Lianokladhi goblets from Liman Tepe and Panaztepe (Figure 5), the matt-painted has only been published from Liman Tepe.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, Old Smyrna (Bayraklı), situated between these two sites, yielded neither Lianokladhi goblets nor matt-painted ware.<sup>56</sup> That is also the case with the nearby Larisa on Hermos, which can still be considered a coastal site. However, Larisa is not a completely lost case in this respect, for some of the ribbed hollow feet published from the site as Archaic could just as well belong to Lianokladhi goblets.<sup>57</sup> But Larisa and Smyrna are probably not the most representative sample, for the Bronze Age excavations on the respective sites were carried out on only a very small scale.<sup>58</sup>

**C.** Whereas the Trojan early grey ware resembles the Boeotian Grey Minyan, the grey ware from Pergamon and from other sites in the Balıkesir region is more related to other local wares common in that period and region.<sup>59</sup> The grey ware from Liman Tepe falls somewhere in between these two.

**D.** When we move to the littoral islands, we reach yet another world with its own culture. There is no, or almost no, MBA grey ware but there are matt-painted imports from Koukonisi on Lemnos.<sup>60</sup> However, whereas the matt-painted sherds from Liman Tepe are possibly from Aegina, because of the presence of gold mica and the type of decoration, the matt-painted jars from Koukonisi are from an entirely different source. They look very similar to finds from Pefkakia 6, which Joseph Maran ascribed to one of his matt-painted wares, now called “Magnesia Polychrome Class”, which in turn may be related to David French’s Polychrome White Slip type, noted by French in Boeotia, Euboea and Thessaly.<sup>61</sup> This shows quite nicely how complex the cross-Aegean contacts might have been.

Zerner described two trade networks in the southern and central Aegean, related to distribution of Lustrous Decorated and Aeginetan Gold Mica wares.<sup>62</sup> Maybe it is now possible to add a kind of third, northern, network connecting Boeotia, southern Thessaly, Chalkidiki and the northeastern Aegean – not only because of the matt-painted imports on Lemnos, but also because of the finds of high quality Grey Minyan in Chalkidiki (see below) and the striking resemblance of the earliest AGW in Troia VI with the Boeotian True Grey Minyan. However, such a communication in the northern Aegean must have been less intense than in the central or southern Aegean. For this, see also the interaction spheres model, discussed at the end of this paper.

## CONCLUSIONS

Without entering into complicated discussions of ethnicity, let us conclude with the following observa-

<sup>53</sup> GÜNEL 1999b, 56–8 figs. 17–8; GÜNEL 2004.

<sup>54</sup> BLEGEN 1953, 38 and passim, fig. 382. The ware, together with a new photograph of the best-preserved vessel from Blegen’s excavations, 37-1092, is also discussed in PAVÚK 2005.

<sup>55</sup> Supra n. 10.

<sup>56</sup> AKURGAL 1950, 54–8, 000 VIII; BAYNE 1963 (2000), 61–80 figs. 7–19.

<sup>57</sup> BOEHLAU and SCHEFOLD 1942, 13–22 pls. 2, 3; BAYNE 1963 (2000), 82–9 figs. 21, 22. For possible MBA ribbed hollow feet see BOEHLAU and SCHEFOLD 1942, pl. 48.35, 36.

<sup>58</sup> For a general review of the stratigraphy see KULL 1988, 52–3.

<sup>59</sup> RADT 1992, 172–6; FRENCH 1969, 67–72.

<sup>60</sup> BOULOTIS 1997, pl. 26.

<sup>61</sup> MARAN in this volume; MARAN 1992a, 162–9; FRENCH 1972, 36.

<sup>62</sup> ZERNER 1993, 49–50; for a summary, see RUTTER 2001, 125–7 fig. 12.

tions. The end of MH II and especially MH III is the time not only when AGW occurs for the first time – and with Aegean shapes – on the Anatolian coast, but is also the time when Grey Minyan first occurs in Chalkidiki.<sup>63</sup> Are the two occurrences possibly part of the same phenomenon?

In Chalkidiki the grey ware shows the standard range of Grey Minyan shapes with little or no local peculiarities, and remains restricted to a few coastal sites, namely Olynthos/Ayios Mamas, Molyvopyrgo, Ormylia, Sikia, Veria and Torone. The rest of the Macedonian sites, originally plotted by David French as having Grey Minyan, yielded in fact yet another type of wheel-made grey ware, occurring in the area in LH IIIC or even later.<sup>64</sup> In western Anatolia, on the other hand, the local grey ware shows a much narrower range of Minyan shapes<sup>65</sup> and is complemented by Anatolian shapes. The Minyan shapes, just as in Chalkidiki, are restricted to the coast. However, the grey ware as such occurs also for two or three hundred kilometers further inland, albeit in Anatolian shapes.

In Chalkidiki, Barbara Horejs observed one important fact: the wheel-made Grey Minyan comes first and is later replaced by the handmade imitation, as if the local people forgot how to use a potter's wheel but still wanted to produce something in Minyan fashion. This change in Chalkidiki suggests that whoever was supporting the wheel-made pottery industry there was no longer a factor either from a technical (i.e., resident) or economic (i.e., trade visitor) viewpoint.

Again, it is probably not just a mere coincidence that the change from the wheel-made to handmade version of Grey Minyan in Chalkidiki came about at the same time, when, at Troia, a new ceramic phase VIb, with mostly non-Aegean shapes, replaces the VIa phase with all the MH goblets and semiglobular cups. The bringers of the MH Minyan “style” to both locations were perhaps themselves no longer visiting and/or occasionally residing in the area. The decline and disappearance of the MH shapes in northern Greece and on the Anatolian coast may therefore be interpreted as a barometer of the rise and decline of MH interest/contact with these areas.

Let me outline one possible model: The mysterious *agent* bringing Minyan shapes and Minyan grey ware to Chalkidiki must have encountered a local population using entirely different handmade burnished pottery. Possibly as a result of this, the agent did not manage to penetrate further inland and the tradition died out after a couple of generations.

Imagine now the same agent coming to western Anatolia, with the slight difference that the length of coast from Troia to Liman Tepe is almost 300 km. There, he was also confronted with a local population, but this time the pottery was wheel-made, and had been so for at least 500 years, and its surface was of grey color. One should therefore expect that the agent arrived here under more favorable circumstances. Nonetheless, the agent seems to have had a bad day in western Anatolia as well, for similarly to the occurrence in Chalkidiki, the Minyan shapes remained restricted to the coast and died out after a couple of generations. But what if the whole enterprise was not about inland penetration at all, but instead focused only on the coast?

At this point, one more possible model should be mentioned. It was originally developed by L. Binford and later applied by Joseph Maran to the Lefkandi I period in the Aegean. They speak about *interaction spheres*, which may crosscut both traditions and culture areas. In this model, certain culture traits (such as symbols, objects or habits) suddenly grow out their own cultural area and gain a wider territorial utilization. However, in accepting such foreign elements, the neighboring “infected” cultures retain and further maintain their specific character. The acceptance of these new elements does not lead to a transformation of the whole culture.<sup>66</sup> Does this model possibly provide the answer to some of our questions?

#### POSTSCRIPT

Further evaluation of the Trojan finds and stratigraphy in winter 2004 and summer 2005 revealed, that the stratigraphical dating of the grave with the Minoan/Minoanizing jug inside is unfortunately far from clear. The grave is stratigraphically (vertically) sandwiched between two houses and its date within

<sup>63</sup> HOREJS, this volume; FRENCH 1966, 109–10 fig. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Prof. Andreou kindly allowed me to inspect the sherds in the study collection of the Thessaloniki University. For this later type of grey ware see the discussion in JUNG 2002, 198–214.

<sup>65</sup> The word “Minyan” is used here to mean typical of the True Grey Minyan Ware.

<sup>66</sup> BINFORD 1965, 208; MARAN 1998, 417.

the Trojan sequence largely depends on the dating of those houses. It cannot be dated based on its own contents, for neither the single other offering (a miniature vessel), nor the grave typology are specific enough to allow for a closer date. Since both the lower and the upper house were dated by the excavator to Troia V, it was logical to conclude that grave should be of the same date.

A renewed inspection of the ceramic material from the fills of two houses by Stephan Blum and myself surprisingly revealed that both of the supposed Troia V houses are themselves basically *undatable*. Whereas the upper one can just as well be Troia VIa (a much later date is unlikely), the lower house can be anything from Troia III to Troia V. That means that the “window” offered by the two houses is far too large for

any closer dating of the grave. *The grave therefore remains either somewhere at the end of Troia V or moves to the very beginning of Troia VI.*

Nevertheless, the impact on the overall chronology and the character of the Trojan phases should not be a dramatic one. Moving the grave to early Troia VI would in fact make more sense, since we also have other Minoan/Minoanizing finds from the earliest Troia VI levels but basically none from Troia V. This in turn would give us more maneuvering space for pinpointing of the beginning of Troia VI, which now easily accommodates the whole of MM III and can even be stretched to the end of MM II, in order to fit some of the C14 dates. However, in absolute terms, the beginning of Troia VI should not be much earlier than 1750 B.C. on high Aegean chronology.

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