

ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE LOWER DANUBE REGION AND THE AEGEAN-ANATOLIAN AREA AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE

Attila LÁSZLÓ

Between the Lower Danube region and the Aegean-Anatolian area have been close connections, both cultural and ethnical, all along the prehistoric times (and more recent times, too). Our paper deals with some relationships between the populations of the area situated northwards of the Balkan Mountains, on the one hand, and the contemporary civilisations which developed in Macedonia, Greece and Asia Minor, on the other hand. As for Asia Minor, we will especially refer to its western part to which the above mentioned relationships are more evident. The span of time under discussion will be denoted by terms like Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, terms whose meanings are implied by the Romanian archaeology. As related to the history of the Aegean and East-Mediterranean area, this span of time generally corresponds to the Late Mycenaean Civilisation and to the so called "Dark Age", the period including the events provoked by the "sea peoples' movement" comprised. Within this lapse of time, essential changes have happened in the political power balance and in the ethnic structure of the Eastern Mediterranean area. The Thracian world has also played its part in these changes as far as we can find out of the nowadays investigations¹

For the "Classical" or "Middle" period (according to the Romanian archaeological chronology) of the Bronze Age in the Carpathian-Danubian area, there have been reported, since the last century, especially Aegean influences on the northern regions, even if, at present, there are many specialists who have doubts about the proportion and the actual importance of these supposed "Mycenaean influences" on the development of the civilisations within the above mentioned areas². On the other hand, in the Late Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age there may be archaeologically proved a gradual infiltration of elements of Balkan-Danubian origin in Macedonia, Greece and Asia Minor. Unfortunately, for Asia Minor, this infiltration may be archaeologically proved only for the Western Coast zone, but, as professor Akurgal asserted, there are historical, toponymic and linguistic data indicating the penetration of a Thracian origin towards the inlands of Anatolia³

We are going to approach the very problem of the so called "northern intruders" and the historical consequences of this phenomenon, accepting the risk of touching a problem already discussed within the archaeology literature.

Until the 60's, the origin of these foreign elements (represented mainly by a hand-made pottery, usually defined by simplifying terms like "Coarse Ware" and "Knobbed Ware") discovered in Troy since even Schliemann's excavations, has been searched especially in

Central Europe. Starting with the seventh decade of our century, the results of the archaeological researches in Bulgaria and Romania have obviously showed that the native homeland of the so called “northern intruders” should be looked for, at least equally, within the Thracian world.

We will approach the following cultures, spread over the Balkan-Danubian area: Zimnicea-Plovdiv (named Čerkovna by Bernhard Hänsel), Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni (named Yagnilo-Coslogeni-Noua by Goranka Tončeva), Radovanu, “Pre-Babadag” and Babadag (including the related groups Insula Banului/Ostrov, Pšeničevo etc.)⁴ Elements belonging to some of these cultures may be found both in Macedonia and Greece, and in the north-western region of Asia Minor. It is not always obvious whether we can talk about results of cultural exchanges only, or it is the proof of the very presence of some groups of people, cut off from their original ethnic communities. In any way, the lower quality of this “foreign” pottery, as compared to the local one in the Aegean-Anatolian area made many specialists think that we cannot talk about “imports” but about the more or less faithful continuation by new-comers of the pottery traditions brought from their native homeland. This conclusion has been supported, in some cases, by the analysis of the pottery, too⁵ On the other hand, there is a certain chronological gap between the appearance of these elements in the two directions mentioned above: in Greece and Asia Minor. Without making reference, for the moment, to the controversies absolute chronology, we would use as reference points the data offered by the relative chronology.

In Macedonia, at Assiros, elements of Zimnicea-Plovdiv type appear in the phase 9, which comes before the early LH III C period. (On the basis of this type of pottery, the following phase, 7, at Assiros could be dated)⁶ Thus, we may reasonably admit that the pottery of Zimnicea-Plovdiv type appears in Assiros within the limits of the LH III B period. The same thing is true for Thassos island too, where Zimnicea-Plovdiv pottery appears in the phase I A of the Kastri necropolis, dated also in the LH III B period⁷. At Kastanas, the same “Čerkovna” pottery has been found in the layers 17-14a, dated also within the limits of the LH III B period. In the subsequent layers 14b-12, dated from the second half of the LH III B to the LH III C period, the presence of the pottery assigned to the Coslogeni culture has been observed. In the same Kastanas site, in the layer 13b, accompanied by early LH III C pottery, a bone pin having four protuberances on its neck has been found, which is typical for the Noua culture (tightly linked to, and contemporary with Sabatinovka and Coslogeni cultures)⁸

“Handmade Burnished Ware” (a pottery type for which Catling uses the term “Barbarian Pottery”), found inside the citadel of Mycenae, in the so called Citadel House, belongs to the VIIIth phase of that area, a phase included between a possible earthquake and a widely destructive arson. This lapse of time (and also the one at Tiryns, where there is similar pottery) may be dated between the end of LH III B phase and the first part of LH III C⁹ In the Mycenaean settlement at Menelaion, Sparta, “Barbarian Pottery” appears after the major destruction which affected the whole site, at the end of LH III B₂, and belongs to

a short occupation period in LH III C₁ phase¹⁰. The same dating has been established also for the non-mycenaean pottery at Korakou (Corinthia), and from other sites in South Greece (Lefkandi, Perati, Athens etc.)¹¹. We think that Jeremy B. Rutter made a correct assumption by searching parallel features for the I pottery group in Korakou in the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex and in the so called "Coarse Ware" in Troy VII b¹². The same parallels may be admitted for the "barbarian pottery" in Mycenae and Sparta¹³. A more complicated state of facts can be found in Korakou, where, beside this pottery we may find the pots included by Rutter in the pottery groups II and IV, undocumented in other sites. For these groups, Rutter tried to find analogies with the so-called Knobbed Ware in Troy VII b 2, and, then in Thrace, in phase I of the Babadag culture in Romania, respectively, and also in the related cultural groups in Bulgaria¹⁴. As we have mentioned some other time, vessels belonging to group II in Korakou, and especially the cups with high handles, are really alike as shape with the Babadag I pottery. But, taking into account the ornament, at Korakou we can find no the motif of concentric circles with tangents, which is specific to Babadag culture; ornamental pattern, which is also present on the Troy VII b pottery! That is why we are tempted to see in the pottery group II in Korakou elements of a cultural group immediately preceding the definitive shaping of the Babadag culture. We here take into account a "Pre-Babadag" stage, and especially the Tămăoani group which we tried to define better later¹⁵.

Summarizing, in Macedonia (at Assiros, Thassos, Kastanas etc.), the infiltrations from Thrace start with Zimnicea-Plovdiv elements within the limits of the LH III B phase and are followed by the elements of the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex, towards the end of the LH III B period and the beginning of LH III C. In Central and Southern Greece (at Athens, Lefkandi, Korakou, Mycenae, Menelaion-Sparta etc.), the intrusive elements that could be linked to Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni culture, and, probably, to a "Pre-Babadag" cultural group, appear after the destructions taking place at the end of LH III B and can be dated, mainly, within a short period at the beginning of the LH III C phase.

In conformity with the parallel proposed by Chr. Podzuweit between the stratigraphic succession at Kastanas and in Troy, the layers 17-14a at Kastanas, where we can find elements of Zimnicea-Plovdiv (Čerkovna) type, are contemporary with the later stages of Troy VI; layers 14b-12 at Kastanas, where elements of Noua-Coslogeni type have been noticed, could be contemporary with the end of Troy VI (especially Troy VIh), and partially, with Troy VII. (It seems that the layer Kastanas 13b, where the bone pin of the Noua type has been discovered, which represents a very important chronological point of reference for the North-Thracian area, would have still as its corresponding chronological counterpart the Troy VIh level)¹⁶.

However, in Troy, the elements of Balkan-Danubian origin are documented only in VII b 1 and VII b 2 levels, which must point out that the penetration of some elements, ethnic elements included, having as origins the Thracian area, has taken place first towards Macedonia and Greece, and somewhat later towards the north-western Asia Minor.

This phenomenon is as interesting as, in Troy VII b 1 and VII b 2 there can be noticed, partly, the same elements of Balkan-Danubian origin, which could be noticed also in Macedonia and Greece. Also interesting is the fact, that these elements, thought to be of Thracian origin, are archaeologically documented only in Troy (and in some places in the north-western Turkey, on European Side of Marmara), but not also towards East, in the inlands of Anatolia¹⁷

Thanks to S. Morintz's and B. Hänsel's researches we can better specify now the cultural affiliation and the origins of the Balkan-Danubian elements, present in Troy. There still exist certain doubts which hinder the historic interpretation of these finds. These doubts are due to several factors, among which we should mention, especially, the impossibility to separate stratigraphically part of the discoveries coming from levels VII b 1 and VII b 2, and the difficulties in the classification of the mycenaean and post-mycenaean pottery (original or local imitations)¹⁸, facts that led to endless controversies concerning the minuter chronology of the two levels we deal with.

Hänsel had in view the presence in Troy of the pottery belonging to the Coslogeni or Čerkovna (=Zimnicea-Plovdiv type) in the layers VII b 1-VII b 2 and of the pottery belonging to the Babadag culture and related groups of Romania and Bulgaria in the VII b 2 layer. He specifies that it especially belongs to the first phase, with incised pottery, of this culture, but fragments of pottery also appeared, though few in number, with printed decoration. In Hänsel's view, Troy VII b 2 is, then, compartmented in time: this layer begins at a moment when the Coslogeni-Čerkovna (Zimnicea-Plovdiv) horizon still exists, then it goes on through the period of the pottery with incised decoration (Babadag I) and it ends off during the existence of the pottery with impressed decoration (Babadag II, Insula Banului/Ostrov, Pšeničevo)¹⁹. S. Morintz considers that the oldest lot of Balkan-Danubian pottery at Troy belongs to the Zimnicea-Plovdiv culture, and the following belongs to the cultural group Radovanu, the two of them being present both in the layer VII b 1 and in the layer VII b 2 of Troy. (It is worth mentioning that Radovanu group has rather recently been defined as it constitutes a mixed aspect of the Coslogeni and of the Zimnicea-Plovdiv cultures, being ulterior to the latter). Finally, the pottery of the Babadag type, stage I, with incised ornament, but also the stage II (and the Insula Banului and Pšeničevo cultures), characterized by impressed pottery, belong to the layer VII b in general and to the layer VII b 2 in particular²⁰

Taking into account the relatively short lapse of time within which the above mentioned cultures (Zimnicea-Plovdiv, Noua-Sabatinoevka-Coslogeni, Radovanu, Babadag, Insula Banului, Pšeničevo) should be included, unlike Morintz and Hänsel we consider that the presence of the Balkan-Danubian pottery types in the levels VII b 1 and VII b 2 of Troy is not due to strictly successive penetration waves, but to the penetration of the elements belonging to some cultures, some of which had a partially synchronic development within different areas. We also consider the partial concomitance of Zimnicea-Plovdiv with the Coslogeni culture on the one hand, and of Coslogeni-Radovanu with the shaping Babadag

(“Pre-Babadag”, Babadag I) cultures on the other hand. Such a point of view would explain the presence together at Korakou, in Greece, of the pottery groups I, II and IV²¹

This image of the presence of Balkan-Danubian elements in Troy can be completed with an anthropomorphic clay statuette, coming from the layer VII b of Troy²² and whose analogies have been found in Bulgaria, at Sava, the Varna district, in a building of cult assigned to the culture which Goranka Tončeva calls “Yagnilo-Coslogeni-Noua”²³, and in Romania, at Nicoleni (Transylvania), in a settlement of the phase I of the Noua culture²⁴

To these already mentioned discoveries, made almost exclusively up of pottery, some other proofs of the links we are discussing in this paper could be added. We think about the recent studies belonging to some archaeologists from Ukraine. Starting with the weapons specific to the populations of the Noua - Sabatinovka-Coslogeni culture, they tried to prove that some representatives of this population have participated to the events in Aegean and East-Mediterranean area; and especially to the “sea peoples’ migration”²⁵. Among the discoveries that are direct linked to the above mentioned problems, V. I. Klochko mentioned an arrow-head made of bronze, of a north-west Pontic type, belonging to the inventory of Troy VII a level which is also accompanied by Sabatinovka type pottery. Unfortunately, the pottery is not illustrated and the information source is not mentioned²⁶ either. So far, according to our information, this discovery would be the first and only proof of some relationships between the Danubian-Pontic area and the Troy VII a settlement in the Late Bronze Age. When these elements of Balkan-Danubian origin appear in Troy and which is the historical significance of their presence in this area? During the last three decades the Trojan chronology of C. W. Blegen (and also the Aegean Late Bronze Age Chronology in general) has been considerably revised. Today we use a lower chronology, even if there is no concordance about the extent of this “lowering” there should have been 30, 50 years, or more²⁷. As for the end of Troy VI h, for example (now it is thought by the most specialists to be the homeric Troy destroyed by the “first Trojan war”²⁸) Ch. Podzuweit proposed a datation of about 150 years delayed as compared to Blegen’s (1150-1100 instead of 1275 B. C.)²⁹, while Jerome Sperlberg admits a difference of only 25 years (towards 1250)³⁰, to mention an excessive example. (We also must mention that the Podzuweit’s very low datations have been criticised by many specialists)³¹

The beginning of Troy VII a is now dated, according to the Mycenaean pottery interpretation, the earliest at the end of LH III B period and at the beginning of the LH III C³². The end of this city (which has been connected by Stefan Hiller to a “second Trojan war”) is dated to an earlier³³ or a later³⁴ LH III C stage, towards the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 12th (Darque, Hiller), 1180 (Sandars), 1140-1130 (Bloedow), 1125 (Jacob-Felsch), or only in the first decades of the 11th century (Podzuweit). In Troy VII a we have no native elements of the Lower Danube area attested (except the discoveries mentioned by Klochko), but the short period when the “barbarian” pottery was present in Central and Southern Greece should suit the time when this level existed (in the beginning of the LH III C phase, after the destruction in the Mycenaean centres in the end of LH III B). This fact is

very important as it could indicate a first penetration (preceding the penetration in Asia Minor) of some groups of Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni population and, maybe, of "Pre-Babadag" people as far as the Peloponese in the historic circumstances outlined by Sandars³⁵

Troy VII b (the discoveries in the levels VII b 1 and VII b 2 could not be clearly differentiated stratigraphically or typologically)³⁶ begins in the course of the advanced or even late LH III C period³⁷ (For the beginning date of the VII b 1 level see the absolute data mentioned above for the end of Troy VII a.) Troy VII b 2 is now generally assigned to the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric period³⁸. The beginning of the existence of Troy VII b still overlaps the end of the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex, but the real news in the aspect of the civilisation represented by this layer is the appearance of the so called "Early Hallstatt" Balkan-Danubian pottery with incised and impressed ornament, of Babadag, Insula Banului, Cozia and Pšeničevo type. This pottery type is surely post-Mycenaean and cannot be found in Central or Southern Greece. The penetration to Troy of the population who created this pottery type could be possible, probably, due to the new geopolitical context, which was created after the fall of the Mycenaean and Hittite power in the Aegean-Anatolian area³⁹. As Hänsel remarked, Troad becomes a member of a koiné of the cultural groups with incised and printed pottery from the Balkan-Danubian area⁴⁰. Due to the penetration of these new peoples, generally considered to be Thracian (Phrygians, Mysians)⁴¹, we can certainly speak about a "Balkanisation" of a part of Asia Minor⁴², or, as professor Akurgal said, the temporary aiming of the historical development of some Anatolian regions towards a new direction, that is towards the spiritual sphere of the Western World⁴³.

In the end I would mention some points of view about the penetration ways of the Balkan-Danubian elements to Asia Minor. Besides the supposed continental relationships, N. K. Sandars has taken into account, about 25 years ago, the possibility that a group of the Babadag population could reach Troy by sea, sailing Southwards⁴⁴. Recently, speaking about the beginnings of the use of iron in Romania, Nikolaus Boroffka concluded that the transmission of the siderurgic technology from the Aegean-Anatolian area (Greece and/or nowadays Turkey) to Dobrudja, during the last centuries of the 2nd millennium BC, was made by sea, along the Black Sea coast⁴⁵. These suppositions cannot be excluded, especially if we take into account the fact that at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, the nowadays Sinoe, Razim and Babadag lakes were probably still connected to the Black Sea. The surprising early appearance of iron objects and even of iron metallurgy on the present-day territory of Romania, at the same time as in the Aegean⁴⁶ area make us think of another hypothesis. As Sandars thinks, starting with the 12th century BC in certain European areas a real technical revolution took place in the bronze metallurgy by adopting new methods of processing, originary from Greece. She explains this phenomenon by the caption and transfer of some craftsmen by the "northern" participants in the Aegean events after their return to their native land⁴⁷. We might wonder whether such a view would possibly explain the early appearance of the iron metallurgy in the Lower Danube area, in the period

immediately following the fall of the Mycenaean Civilisation and the Hittite Empire, as well.

But such a vision upon these problems would probably not seem a speculation but a certitude and should be confirmed by new researches concerning the evolution of the natural environment and the history of the ancient civilisation (prehistoric navigation included), in the Black Sea area.

NOTES

1. Cf. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1-2, Bonn, 1976; Idem, *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.*, in: the volume with the same title (PAS, Bd. 1), Berlin, 1982, p. 1-38; V. I. Kločko (Klochko), "Narodni morja" ta Pivnične Pričornomor'ja, in: *Arheologija* (Kiev), 1990, 1, p. 10-17; idem, *Weapons of the tribes of Northern Pontic Zone in the 16th - 10th Centuries B. C.* (Baltic-Pontic Studies, 1), Poznan, 1993; A. László, *La fin de l'Âge du Bronze au Bas-Danube et le Monde Mycénien. Relations et chronologie*. Paper presented at the International Symposium *The Periphery of the Mycenaean World*, Lamia, Greece, Sept. 1994 (in the press); G. A. Lchunann, *Die mykenisch-frühgriechische Welt und der Östliche Mittelmeerraum in der Zeit der <<Seevölker>> - Invasionen um 1200 v. Chr.*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge, G 276, 1985; S. Morintz, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii. I. Epoca bronzului în spațiul carpato-balcanic*, București, 1978; idem, *Les Thraces de la Troie dans le dernier quart du I^{er} millénaire av. n. è.*, in: *Thracia Pontica*, I, 1982, p. 151-155; idem, *Noi date și probleme privind perioada hallstattiană timpurie și mijlocie în zona istro-pontică (cercetările de la Babadag)* în: *Thraco-Dacia* VIII, 1987, p. 39-71; Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.* (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 65-88; N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory*, London, 1971, p. 3-29; eadem, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the ancient Mediterranean 1250-1150 BC*. Revised Edition. Thames and Hudson, London, 1985; Reprinted 1987; M. R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: *Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist.*, III, Beograd, 1973, p. 149-159.

2. Cf., e.g., N. Tasia, *The Problem of "Mycenaean Influences" in the Middle Bronze Age Cultures in the Southeastern Part of the Carpathian Basin*, in: *Balkanica*, IV, 1973, p. 19-37 with further literatur.

3. E. Akurgal, *Das dunkle Zeitalter Kleinasien*, in: *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages"* vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr., Wien, 1983, p. 71-73.

4. A. D. Alexandrescu, *La nécropole du bronze récent de Zinница (dép. de Teleorman)*, in: *Dacia*, NS, XVII, 1973, p. 77-97; A. C. Florescu, *Repertoriul culturii Noua-Coslogeni din România. Așezări și necropole*, (= Bibliotheca Thracologica I= Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, vol IX), Călărași, 1991; B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1-2, Bonn, 1976; A. László, *Grupul Tămăoani. Asupra orizontului hallstattian timpuriu cu ceramica incizată din sudul Moldovei*, in: *Memoria Antiquitatis*, XII-XIV, 1980-1982 (1986), p. 65-91; idem, *De l'Âge du Bronze à l'Âge du Fer Ancien dans la région istro-pontique. Quelques observations à propos de certains ouvrages récents*, in: *Thracia Pontica*, VI.1, 1994(1997), p.137-146; S. Morintz, *Quelques problèmes concernant la période ancienne du Hallstatt au Bas-Danube à la lumière des fouilles de Babadag*, in: *Dacia*, N.S., VIII, 1964, p. 101-118; idem, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii. I. Epoca bronzului în spațiul carpato-balcanic*, București, 1978; idem, *Noi date și probleme privind perioada hallstattiană timpurie și mijlocie în zona istro-pontică (cercetările de la Babadag)* in: *Thraco-Dacia* VIII, 1987, p. 39-71; S. Morintz, N. Angheliescu, *O nouă cultură a epocii bronzului în România. Cultura de tip Coslogeni*, in: *Studii și Cercetări*

de Istorie Veche, 21, 1970, 3, p. 373-414; S. Morintz, D. Șerbănescu, *Rezultatele cercetărilor de la Radovanu*, in: *Thraco-Dacica*, VI, 1985, p. 5-28; M. Neagu, D. B. Nanu, *Considerații preliminare asupra așezării eponime de la Grădiștea Coslogeni, jud. Călărași*, in: *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, II, 1986, p. 99-128; G. Tončeva, *Problèmes de l'art de l'âge du bronze récent en Bulgarie de nord-est*, in: *Thracia Pontica*, II, 1985, p. 297-306.

5. H. W. and E. A. Catling, *"Barbarian" Pottery from the Mycenaean Settlement at the Menelaion, Sparta*, in: *BSA*, 76, 1981, p. 74, 82; D. P. Dimitrov, *Troja VII b 2 i balkanskite trakijski i mizijski plemena*, in: *Arheologia* (Sofia), X, 1968, 4, p. 9; E. B. French, *Possible Northern Intrusions at Mycenae*, in: *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Thracology*, Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984. Ed. by J.G.P. Best and N.M.W. de Vries, Leiden-Sofia, 1989, p. 48; J. B. Rutter, *Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic III C Period*, in: *AJA*, 79, 1975, 1, p. 17, 29-30.

6. K. A. Wardle, *Excavations at Assiros, 1975-9. A Settlement Site in Central Macedonia and its Significance for the Prehistory of South-East Europe*, in: *BSA*, 75, 1980, p. 242, 247-248.

7. Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Proto-Historic Thassos: the Cemeteries of the Kastri Settlement*, (in Greek) 1993, vol. B, p. 658, 820, fig. 158.

8. B. Hänsel, *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.*, in: the volume with the same title (PAS, Bd. 1), Berlin, 1982, fig. 1; A. Hochstetter, *Eine Nadel der Noua Kultur aus Nordgriechenland. Ein Beitrag zur späten Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken*, in: *Germania*, 59, 1981, 2, p. 239-259.; eadem, *Spätbronzeitliches und früheisenzeitliches Formengut in Makedonien und im Balkanraum*, in: *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v.Chr.* (PAS, Bd. 1), Berlin, 1982, p. 99-118; eadem, *Kastanas. Ausgrabungen in einem Siedlungshügel der Bronze- und Eisenzeit Makedoniens 1973-1979. Die handgemachte Keramik, Schichten 19-1* (PAS, Bd. 3), Berlin, 1984; and the review of M. Jacob-Felsch, in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 237, 1985, 1-2, p. 35-48.

9. E. B. French, *Possible Northern Intrusions at Mycenae*, in: *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Thracology*, Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984. Ed. by J.G.P. Best and N.M.W. de Vries, Leiden-Sofia, 1989, p. 44.

10. H. W. and E. A. Catling, *"Barbarian" Pottery from the Mycenaean Settlement at the Menelaion, Sparta*, in: *BSA*, 76, 1981, p. 74.

11. J. B. Rutter, *Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic III C Period*, in: *AJA*, 79, 1975, 1, p. 17, 23.

12. J. B. Rutter, *Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic III C Period*, in: *AJA*, 79, 1975, 1, p. 17-32 + Plates 1-3; idem, *"Non-Mycenaean" Pottery: a Reply to Gisela Walberg*, in: *AJA*, 80, 1976, 2, p. 187-188; E. French, J. B. Rutter, *The Handmade Burnished Ware of the Late Helladic III C Period; its modern historical context*, in: *AJA*, 81, 1977, 1, p. 111-112.

13. H. W. and E. A. Catling, *"Barbarian" Pottery from the Mycenaean Settlement at the Menelaion, Sparta*, in: *BSA*, 76, 1981, p. 71-82, Plates 5-8; E. B. French, *Possible Northern Intrusions at Mycenae*, in: *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Thracology*, Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984. Ed. by J.G.P. Best and N.M.W. de Vries, Leiden-Sofia, 1989, p. 39-51; J. B. Rutter, *Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic III C Period*, in: *AJA*, 79, 1975, 1, p. 17, 27.

14. J. B. Rutter, *Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic III C Period*, in: *AJA*, 79, 1975, 1, p. 17-32+ Plates 1-3.

15. A. László, *Grupul Tămăoani. Asupra orizontului hallstattian timpuriu cu ceramica incizată din sudul Moldovei*, in: *Memoria Antiquitatis*, XII-XIV, 1980-1982 (1986), p. 65-91; idem, *De l'Âge du Bronze à l'Âge du Fer Ancien dans la région istro-pontique. Quelques observations à propos de certains ouvrages récents*, in: *Thracia Pontica*, VI, 1995.

16. Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.* (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 81, fig. 4; Hochstetter, A., *Kastanas. Ausgrabungen in einem Siedlungshügel*

der Bronze - und Eisenzeit Makedoniens 1973-1979. Die handgemachte Keramik, Schichten 19-1 (PAS, Bd. 3), Berlin, 1984; and the review of Jacob-Felsch, in: Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 237, 1985, 1-2, p.35-48.

17. Cf. note 3 and M. Özdogan, in: Istanbul Mitteilungen, 43, 1993, p.160-162.

18. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, I, Bonn, 1976, p.231; S. Hiller, *Two Trojan Wars? On the destructions of Troy VII and VIIa, with a Postscript. A review of more recent literature*, in: Studia Troica, 1, 1991, p. 153; N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: The European Community in Later Prehistory, London, 1971, p.7-9; M. R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist., III, Beograd, 1973, p.153 etc.

19. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, I, Bonn, 1976, p. 229-236. He considers that these three successive moments last in time between the latter half of the 12th century and the 10th, or even the 9th century B. C.

20. S. Morintz, *Quelques problèmes concernant la période ancienne du Hallstatt au Bas-Danube à la lumière des fouilles de Babadag*, in: Dacia, N.S., VIII, 1964, p. 114-116; idem, *Les Thraces de la Troie dans le dernier quart du I^{er} millénaire av. n. è.*, in: Thracia Pontica, I, 1982, p. 151-155; idem, *Noi date și probleme privind perioada hallstattiană timpurie și mijlocie în zona istro-pontică (ceretările de la Babadag)* in: Thraco-Dacica VIII, 1987, p. 52, 62-63. These three waves of penetration reach Troy, in Morintz opinion, in the interval between the 13th and the 11th centuries B. C.

21. Cf. A. László, *Zur Chronologie des Endes der Bronzezeit und des Anfangs der Frühen Eisenzeit an der Unteren Donau. Von neuem über die Beziehungen zu Troja VIIb*, in: Dacia, N.S. XL, 1996 (in the press); idem, *La fin de l'Âge de Bronze au Bas-Danube et le Monde Mycénien. Relations et chronologie*. Paper presented at the International Symposium *The Periphery of the Mycenaean World*, Lamia, Greece, Sept. 1994 (in the press).

22. C. W. Blegen, C. G. Boulter, J. L. Caskey, M. Rawson, *Troy*, vol. IV. *Settlements VIIa, VIIb and VIII*, Part 2, Princeton, 1958, fig. 256/37 - 659 a-b-c.

23. G. Tončeva, *Problèmes de l'art de l'âge du bronze récent en Bulgarie de nord-est*, in: Thracia Pontica, II, 1985, p. 297-306.

24. A. C. Florescu, *Repertoriul culturii Noua-Coslogeni din România. Așezări și necropole* (= Bibliotheca Thracologica I= Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, vol IX), Călărași, 1991, p. 97, no. 376, fig. 95/2-3.

25. V. I. Kločko (Klochko), "Narodi morja" ta Pivnične Prič oromor'ja, in: Arheologija (Kiev), 1990, 1, p. 10-17; idem, *Weapons of the tribes of Northern Pontic Zone in the 16th - 10th Centuries B. C.* (Baltic-Pontic Studies, 1), Poznan, 1993.

26. V. I. Kločko (Klochko), "Narodi morja" ta Pivnične Prič oromor'ja, in: Arheologija (Kiev), 1990, 1, p. 15, fig. 2/9; idem, *Weapons of the tribes of Northern Pontic Zone in the 16th - 10th Centuries B. C.* (Baltic-Pontic Studies, 1), Poznan, 1993, p. 76, fig. 39/9.

27. N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: The European Community in Later Prehistory, London, 1971, p. 9; V. Hankey, P. Warren, *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age*, in: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 21, 1974, p. 142-152; P. Warren, V. Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, Bristol Classical Press, 1989.

28. E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilisations and Ruins of Turkey*, 1970, p. 60; S. Hiller, *Two Trojan Wars? On the destructions of Troy VII and VIIa, with a Postscript. A review of more recent literature*, in: Studia Troica, I, 1991, p. 153; Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr. (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 80; J. Sperling, *The Last Phase of Troy VI and Mycenaean Expansion*, in: Studia Troica, 1, 1991, p. 155-157; M. R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist., III, Beograd, 1973, p.155; with further literatur.

29. Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v.

Chr. (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 83 and note 66.

30. J. Sperling, *The Last Phase of Troy VI and Mycenaean Expansion*, in: *Studia Troica*, 1, 1991, p.

155.

31. Cf., e. g., E. F. Bloedow, *The Trojan War and Late Helladic III C*, in: *PZ*, 63, 1988, p. 35-37 and

the note 93; M. Korffmann, *Beşik Tepe: New Evidence for the Period of the Trojan Sixth and Seventh Settlements*, in: *Troy and the Trojan War* (Ed. M. J. Mellink), Bryn Mawr, 1986, p. 25-28.

32. P. Darque, *Les civilisations Égéennes du Néolithique et de l'Âge du Bronze*, Paris, 1989 (*apud* Hiller, 1991; p. 153); S. Hiller, *Two Trojan Wars? On the destructions of Troy VIIh and VIIa, with a Postscript. A review of more recent literature*, in: *Studia Troica*, 1, 1991, p. 146; N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory*, London, 1971, p. 7-9, 23, 25.

33. E. F. Bloedow, *The Trojan War and Late Helladic III C*, in: *PZ*, 63, 1988, p. 35; S. Hiller, *Two Trojan Wars? On the destructions of Troy VIIh and VIIa, with a Postscript. A review of more recent literature*, in: *Studia Troica*, 1, 1991, p. 146.

34. Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr. (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 80-82; M. Jacob-Felsch, in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 237, 1985, p. 44-47.

35. N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory*, London, 1971, p. 23; Cf. J. B. Rutter, *Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic III C Period*, in: *AJA*, 79, 1975, 1, p. 17, 31; S. Hiller, *Two Trojan Wars? On the destructions of Troy VIIh and VIIa, with a Postscript. A review of more recent literature*, in: *Studia Troica*, 1, 1991, p. 151.

36. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1, Bonn, 1976, p. 231, 234; N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory*, London, 1971, p. 18.; M. R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: *Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist.*, III, Beograd, 1973, p. 155.

37. E. F. Bloedow, *The Trojan War and Late Helladic III C*, in: *PZ*, 63, 1988, p. 35; B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1, Bonn, 1976, p. 234; S. Hiller, *Two Trojan Wars? On the destructions of Troy VIIh and VIIa, with a Postscript. A review of more recent literature*, in: *Studia Troica*, 1, 1991, p. 146; M. Jacob-Felsch, in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 237, 1985, p. 44-47; Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr. (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 81-82; N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory*, London, 1971, p. 18.

38. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1, Bonn, 1976, p. 234-235; M. Jacob-Felsch, in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 237, 1985, p. 47; Chr. Podzuweit, *Die mykenische Welt und Troja* in: Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr. (PAS, Bd. 1.), Berlin, 1982, p. 65-88; N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory*, London, 1971, p. 18; M. R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: *Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist.*, III, Beograd, 1973, p. 156; K. A. Wardle, *Excavations at Assiros, 1975-9. A Settlement Site in Central Macedonia and its Significance for the Prehistory of South-East Europe*, in: *BSA*, 75, 1980, p. 262-263. For the chronology of Troy cf. A. László, *Zur Chronologie des Endes der Bronzezeit und des Anfanges der Frühen Eisenzeit an der Unteren Donau. Von neuem über die Beziehungen zu Troja VIIh*, in: *Dacia*, N.S. XL, 1996 (in the press); idem, *La fin de l'Âge du Bronze au Bas-Danube et le Monde Mycénien. Relations et chronologie*. Paper presented at the International Symposium *The Periphery of the Mycenaean World*, Lamia, Greece, Sept. 1994 (in the press).

39. In the same meaning, cf., e.g., E. Akurgal, *Das dunkle Zeitalter Kleinasiens*, in: *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages"* vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr., Wien, 1983, p. 71-73; M.

R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist., III, Beograd, 1973, p. 155; K. A. Wardle, *Excavations at Assiros, 1975-9. A Settlement Site in Central Macedonia and its Significance for the Prehistory of South-East Europe*, in: BSA, 75, 1980, p. 263.

40. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1, Bonn, 1976, p. 235.

41. E. Akurgal, *Das dunkle Zeitalter Kleinasiens*, in: Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr., Wien, 1983, p. 72; D. P. Dimitrov, *Troja VII b 2 i balkauskite trakijski i nuzijski plemena*, in: Arheologia (Sofia), X, 1968, 4, p. 1-15; S. Morintz, *Les Thraces de la Troie dans le dernier quart du I^{er} millénaire av. n. é.*, in: Thracia Pontica, I, 1982, p. 151-155; M. R. Stefanovich, *Some Balcan Elements in the Aegean Migrations*, in: Actes du VIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhist. et Protohist., III, Beograd, 1973, p. 155 (and note 30, with reference to F. Papazoglu, *Srednjobalkanska plemena u prednjsko doba*, in: Djela XXX.... Sarajevo, 1969, p. 101).

42. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, 1, Bonn, 1976, p. 235.

43. E. Akurgal, *Das dunkle Zeitalter Kleinasiens*, in: Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr., Wien, 1983, p. 67-68.

44. N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: The European Community in Later Prehistory, London, 1971, p. 22.

45. N. Boroffka, *Folosirea fierului în România de la începuturi până în secolul al VIII-lea î. e. n.*, in: Apulum, XXIV, 1987, p. 61 and map 3; idem, *Die Verwendung von Eisen in Rumänien von den Anfängen bis in das 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1991, p. 6 and map 3.

46. N. Boroffka, *Folosirea fierului în România de la începuturi până în secolul al VIII-lea î. e. n.*, in: Apulum, XXIV, 1987, p. 55-77; idem, *Die Verwendung von Eisen in Rumänien von den Anfängen bis in das 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1991, with further literatur.

47. N. K. Sandars, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to a sequel*, in: The European Community in Later Prehistory, London, 1971, p. 23-25.