

The Discovery of an Anatolian Empire

Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğunun Keşfi

A Colloquium to Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the
Decipherment of the Hittite Language
(November 14th and 15th, 2015; Istanbul Archaeological Museum – Library)

Editors / Editörler

Meltem Doğan-Alparslan - Andreas Schachner - Metin Alparslan



İSTANBUL
ARKEOLOJİK
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YAPIL KREDİ YAYINLARI



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Önsöz

Hititoloji'nin 100. yıldönümüne şahit olabilen bir nesil olarak, Hititçenin çözümlendiği İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri çatısı altında bu kutlamanın onuruna "The Discovery of an Anatolian Empire / Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğunun Keşfi" başlıklı uluslararası bir sempozyum düzenlemek ve yayımlamak bizler için büyük bir onur kaynağıdır.

Bedřich Hrozný 1914-1915 yıllarında, müttefik Avusturya-Macaristan ordusunun bir subayı olarak Osmanlı topraklarında bulunduğu sırada, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde (o dönemdeki adıyla Müze-i Hümayun'da) Boğazköy kazılarında bulunan çiviyazılı tabletleri çalışma imkânı buldu. Tabletler, o dönemde henüz okunamayan Hititçeyi içermekteydi. Hrozný, çalışmalarının sonuçlarını Berlin'de Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft (Önasya Derneği) için verdiği bir konferansta bilim camiası ile paylaştı ve 15 Kasım 1915 tarihine rastlayan bu konferansta Hrozný, Hititçenin çözümünü de ilan etti. Meslektaşı Ernst Weidner bu tarihi, "Hititoloji'nin doğum günü" olarak tanımladı.

Dolayısıyla 100 yıl sonra 2015'te seçtiğimiz 14-15 Kasım tarihlerinde düzenlediğimiz sempozyum ile -Arkeoloji, Tarih gibi bilim dalları ile karşılaştırdığımızda bile son derece genç olan- Hititoloji'nin tam anlamıyla doğum günü kutlanmıştır. Bu vesileyle birçok bildiride Bedřich Hrozný anılmış, hatta onun hayatı ve çalışmaları ayrıntılı olarak ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca Boğazköy'deki ilk kazıları gerçekleştiren Theodor Makridi de İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin ilk küratörlerindendi, çalışmaları sempozyumda sunulan bildirilerde ve dolayısıyla bu kitapta yer alan makalelerde yer almaktadır.

İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'nin olağanüstü bir atmosfer arz eden kütüphanesinde düzenlenen sempozyumda sunulan 25 bildirinin yer aldığı ve sempozyum ile aynı adı taşıyan bu kitap sayesinde, Hititoloji'nin 100. yıl kutlaması, gelecek nesillere aktarılacaktır.

Hititçe bir Hint-Avrupa Dili olarak Anadolu'da günümüze yazıyla aktarılan ilk örneklerini sunmakla birlikte, Mezopotamya'dan aldığı çiviyazısına kendi Hint-Avrupa Dili'ni uygulamış, Hint-Avrupa Dillerinin de temelini Anadolu'da atmıştır. Bu alanlarda araştırma yapmak üzere birçok bilim insanı Anadolu'ya gelip çalışmış ve halen de çalışmaktadır. Bu vesileyle Anadolu kültürleri, uluslararası bir şekilde tanıtılması sağlanmış ve bu sayede Türkiye pekçok dostu edinmişti. Bu çalışmaların sonuçları, Türkiye'de ve dünyanın bir çok ülkesinde uzmanların yetişmesini sağlamıştır. Yıllardan beri ülkemizde ve yurtdışında aynı alanda uzmanlar yetiştiren pek çok kurum ve üniversite birlikte çalışmaktadır. Bunun en güzel göstergesi de bu sempozyumu düzenleyen kurumlardır: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü, İstanbul Üniversitesi Hititoloji Anabilim Dalı, Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü.

Hititoloji, Türkiye için öncelikli bir bilim dalı olmalıdır. Çünkü malzemesi Türkiye sınırları içinde, Anadolu'dadır. Anadolu için yapılan en tanıdık tanımlama, onun bir "köprü" olduğu şeklindedir. Oysaki tarihsel veriler ve bunlar içerisinde Hitit Uygarlığı göstermektedir ki, Anadolu bir köprüden çok toplumların yerleştiği, kültürlerini yaydığı bir coğrafyadır. Merhum Hocamız Prof. Dr. Ali Dinçol'un da söylediği gibi "Anadolu, üzerinde yaşanılmak üzere seçilen, kaybetmemek için ihtirasla korunan bir toprak parçasıdır".

Sempozyum kapsamında İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bir de sergi düzenlenmiştir. Bu sergide, Boğazköy'deki ilk kazılardan çıkan arkeolojik ve filolojik malzemeler ile el yazısıyla kaydedilmiş ve müze tarafından arşivlenmiş olan ilk dönem çalışmaları, raporları ve

yazışmaları da yerlerini almıştır. Söz konusu sergi, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü'nün destekleriyle ve İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürü Sayın Zeynep Kızıltan'ın denetimi altında Müze Uzmanları Gülçay Yağcı, Mine Dalmış-Pembe, Gökhan Yıldırım, Elif Büyükgençoğlu, Simge Güreş, Dinçer Cefer, Müge Özcan, Üzeyir Altekin tarafından hazırlanmıştır.

“The Discovery of an Anatolian Empire / Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğunun Keşfi” sempozyumunun gerçekleşmesinde büyük katkıları olan müzenin teknik ekibine, simultane çeviri kadrosuna ve birçok işte bizlere yardımcı olan öğrencilerimiz Burcu Özer, Gülsüm Aktaş, Metin Oral ve Tolga Pelvanoğlu'na ve ek olarak bu kitabın hazırlık aşamasında, redaksiyon işini üstlenen öğrencimiz Metin Oral'a teşekkür ederiz.

Katılımcılarımızın İstanbul'a gelişini sağlayan GRH Vakfı'na sağladığı maddi destek için teşekkür ederiz. Ayrıca katılımcılarımızın İstanbul'da konaklamasını sağlayan Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü İstanbul Şubesi'ne, Fransız Anadolu Araştırmaları Enstitüsü'ne ve Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi'ne sağladıkları yardımlar ve konuk-severlikleri için müteşekkirimiz.

“The Discovery of an Anatolian Empire / Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğunun Keşfi” uluslararası sempozyumunun bir kitaba dönüşmesi ve bunun kısa zamanda gerçekleşmesi hiç kuşkusuz ki Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık sayesinde olmuştur. Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık'a, Genel Müdür Sayın Tülay Güngen şahsında şükranlarımızı sunmak isteriz. Ayrıca kitabımızın bir yayına dönüşmesi aşamasında büyük yardımlarını gördüğümüz Yapı Kredi Müzesi Yöneticisi Sayın Şennur Şentürk'e de teşekkürü bir borç biliriz. Kitabın hazırlanması bilindiği gibi sabırlı, titiz ve uzun bir çalışma gerektirir. Bu süre zarfında böyle bir çalışma gerçekleştiren Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık grafik tasarım bölümü çalışanlarına, Sayın İlknur Efe başta olmak üzere teşekkür ederiz.

Bölümler halinde tematik olarak makalelerin yer aldığı kitabımıza en önemli katkıyı da pek tabii ki katılımcılar yapmıştır. Bu vesileyle gerek sempozyuma gerek makaleleri ile kitabımıza katkıda bulunan tüm katılımcılara şükranlarımızı sunmak isteriz.

Organizasyon Komitesi
Meltem Doğan-Alparıslan
Zeynep Kızıltan
Andreas Schachner
Metin Alparıslan

The First Excavations at Boğazköy/Hattusa and their Prelude



General view of Hattusha, 1907
(photograph by E. Puchstein, archive of the German Archaeological Institute)

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1907 "Ausgrabungen in Boghaz-köi", Archäologischer Anzeiger 1907: 223-238
1913 Nach Boghasköi!, Leipzig.

The Tablet Finds of Temple I from the Early Excavations at Boğazköy-Hattuša (1906–1912)¹

Jared L. Miller

Introducing an Unfortunate State of Affairs

With over 28,000 tablets and fragments – currently attributable to 23,559 tablets (Table 1) – the archives of the Hittite capital of Hattuša belong among the greatest cuneiform text finds of the Ancient Near East, alongside an estimated 30,000 from Sippar; more than 25,000 from the famed library of the Assyrian king Aššur-bāni-apli from Nineveh; the more than 20,000 from Kültepe / Kaneš; the archives of Mari with ca. 20,000; and those of Ebla with some 15,000.² It is primarily on the basis of these archives from Hattuša (Boğazköy), which strongly overshadow those from a small number of other Anatolian sites,³ that philologists and historians endeavour to reconstruct a sketch of Hittite history, society and culture.

The diversity of the corpus from Hattuša also ranks among the most impressive from the Ancient Near East, comparable to that of Nineveh for example. (Table 1) There are, however, large and in some cases mysterious gaps in this diversity, indeed precisely in areas in which many other archives are very rich. Only very few economic or administrative documents were found at Hattuša for example. Letters are also relatively scarce, and private contracts are all but absent. One reason for this is, of course, the fact that essentially the entire inventory of textual material is comprised of the royal archives rather than individual or family collections, such as those from Kültepe, for example.

Festival Instructions	6735 (28,6%)	Cult Inventories	638 (2,7%)
Varia/Indeterminate	5211 (22,1%)	Myth	522 (2,2%)
Ritual Instructions	3972 (16,9%)	Sumerian/Akkadian Lit.	326 (1,4%)
Hattian/Luwian/Palaic/Hurrian	1770 (7,5%)	Hymns/Prayers	233 (1,0%)
Mantic	1587 (6,7%)	Scholarly	161 (0,7%)
Historical	1572 (6,7%)	Juridical	135 (0,6%)
Administrative	697 (3,0%)	Total	23,559

Table 1: Breakdown of the tablets from Hattuša according to genre⁴

- ¹ This paper stems in part from research carried out within the DFG-funded project 'Rekonstruktion der Archive des großen Tempels von Hattuša/Boğazköy'.
- ² Cf. the partly divergent numbers given by Streck (2010), who for the most part discusses only published texts. For thoughts on the use of the terms 'archive', 'library', 'depot', etc. in relation to the text finds from Hattuša, see most recently van den Hout (2008) and Francia (2015). This paper employs the terms 'archive' and 'collection' pragmatically simple as 'a group of texts found together'.
- ³ A convenient map of find-spots of cuneiform texts and sealings can currently be found at <http://www.hittitepigraphs.com/main-map-wos.html>, created by the project PRIN 2009, by S. Mazzoni, D. Fossati and G. Torri.
- ⁴ I.e. as defined essentially by Laroche in CTH and supplemented by Košak's online *Konkordanz* (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrageF.php). A more current classificatory scheme would modify the numbers to some degree, but not substantially.

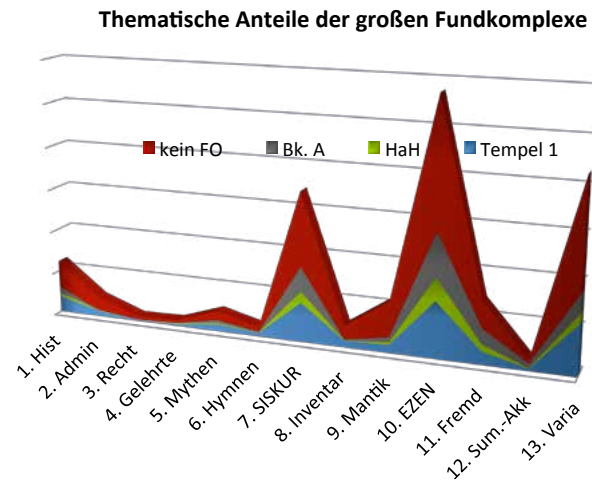


Fig. 1: Division the three main archives of Hattusa according to genre (courtesy of Jörg Klinger).

Against the occasional claim to the contrary,⁵ there are at most only very few statistically significant differences among the three major tablet finds as far as text genre is concerned, a fact which J. Klinger has illustrated of late (Fig. 1). There is, however, as is well known, an increased percentage of Middle and Old Hittite texts from Building A of the Palace Complex as opposed to the other archives (van den Hout 2008: 215f.).

The documentation from Hattusa consists primarily of three large finds or groups of finds (Fig. 2): (a) from several structures of the Royal Palace Complex on the citadel (i.e. Büyükkale, Buildings A-N); (b) from the Haus am Hang or House on the Slope; (c) and from Temple I or the Great Temple. By far the largest group of fragments from the Palace Complex was located in Building A (65% of the total), a further significant number comes from Building D (17%), two further smaller groups from Buildings E (8%) and K (10%), as well as much smaller finds from in and around several other buildings. A large majority of the tablets and fragments from Temple I originate from in and around Rooms or Magazines 9–12 (Fig. 3). The present paper offers a brief account of the cuneiform tablet finds from Hattusa, focusing on the text finds from Temple I, and particularly on those from the early excavations.

5 Hutter (2011: 113), e.g. has stated, 'Eine gewisse Tendenz lässt sich jedoch feststellen, indem fremdländische literarische Texte v.a. in Tempel I aufbewahrt wurden, während Gebäude E (auf Büyükkale) v.a. diplomatische Texte, Verwaltungstexte und religiös-kultische Texte und mantisches Schrifttum zeigt.' The first part of the statement is simply incorrect (see Fig. 1), the second is largely incorrect and statistically not robust: An unfiltered (as per below and n. 9) search in the *Konkordanz* yields 160 mantic, 56 festival, 42 miscellaneous / indeterminate, 31 historical, 28 ritual, 19 foreign language, 17 administrative, 14 judicial, 4 sum.-akk., 3 mythological, 1 scholarly, 1 prayer and 1 cult inventory fragments, all of which, where statistically at all relevant, closely mirrors the distribution of the other archives, the one exception being the somewhat higher percentage of mantic material. Van den Hout (2006; 2007: 401) has pointed *inter alia* to the dearth of specific subsets of administrative and economic texts from Büyükkale as one of the differences that can be ascertained, but for the most part the subsets are too small to be statistically robust. His claim concerning the storeroom inventories (CTH 240-250), however, according to which 'the majority of all these was recovered in the Storerooms of Temple I' is, if I am not mistaken, simply incorrect. I count 44 texts from Bk., 36 from T.I., 3 from T.II., 2 from HaH, 2 from Bkaya, 2 from the Oberstadt, and 1 from the Unterstadt. Thus even the raw numbers show a slight majority for Bk. (48,8%) vis-à-vis T.I (40%) and just 11,1% for all the rest. Since the T.I. finds are by far the largest, in relative terms the CTH 240-250 texts are in fact somewhat underrepresented in T.I.

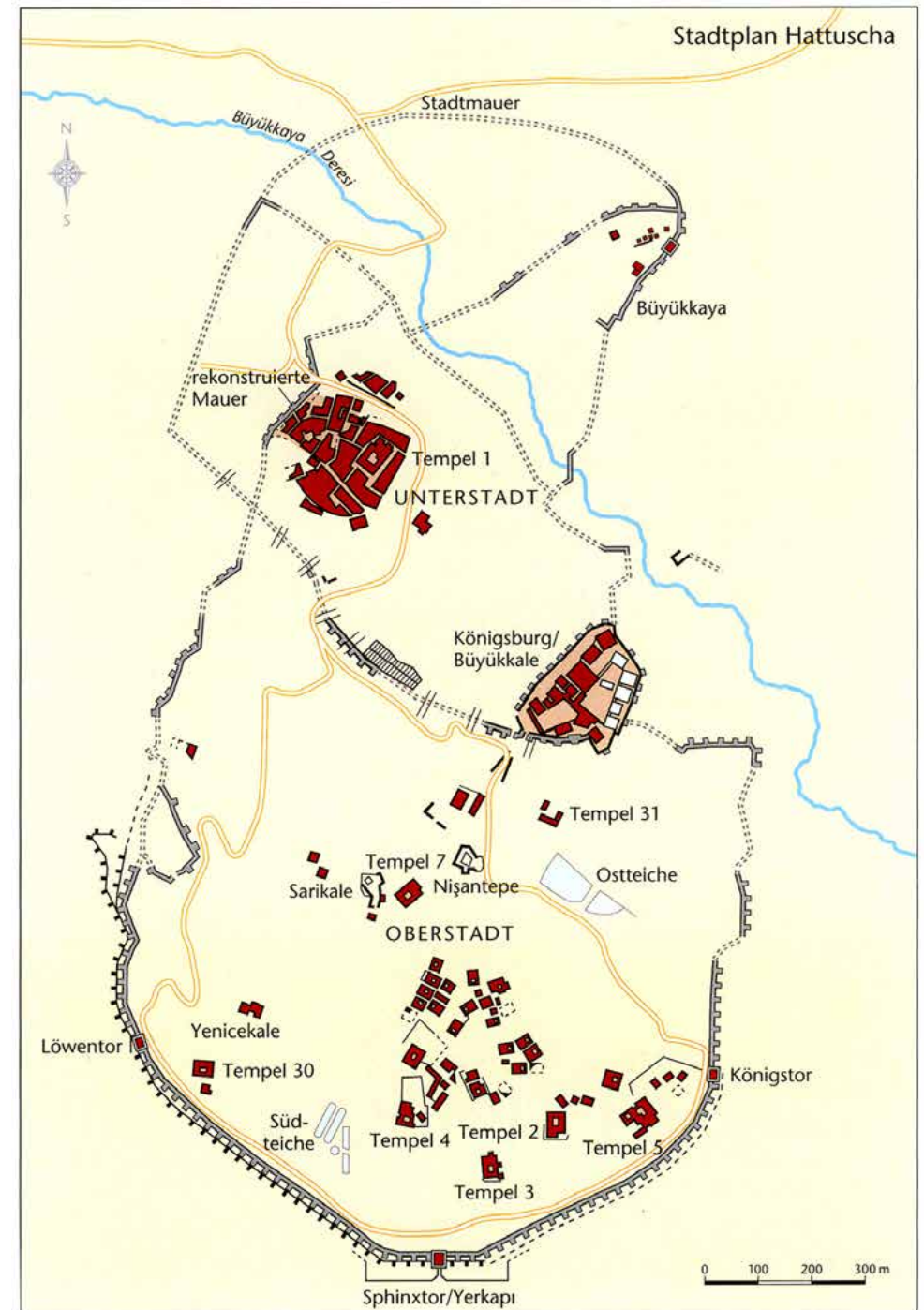


Fig. 2: Plan of Hattusa with its three main tablet find-spots (from M. Zick 2008, *Turkei, Wiege der Zivilisation*: 92).



Fig. 3: Aerial photograph of Temple I.

Unfortunately, the tablets and fragments from Hattusa are currently scattered among several museums, not to mention dozens of small public and private collections. There are 2,957 texts and fragments in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum; 377 in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin; 247 in the Louvre; 122 in the British Museum; and several hundred in the museums in Boğazköy and Çorum. Most of the remainder, ca. 25,000, is housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. A disproportionate number of the best-preserved and most important texts are in Istanbul and Berlin.

There are, in fact, no fewer than 598 tablets whose fragments are currently divided among two or more museums or collections. Some 33 thereof consist of fragments spread among three or more collections. Scattered among no fewer than four different museums or collections are the fragments of: (a) Copy B of the Treaty between Hattusili III and Ramesses II, housed in Istanbul (Bo 1331) Ankara (Bo 6503, 9143, 9153), St. Petersburg (Hermitage 15634) and Berlin (VAT 6207, 13572); (b) Copy A of Muwattalli II's Treaty with Alaksandu of Wilusa (KUB 21.1++: Istanbul, Ankara, Louvre, private); and (c) Copy A of the Old Hittite Ritual for the Royal Couple (KBo 17.1++: Istanbul, Ankara, Alaca, Geneva). This situation is naturally quite unfortunate, especially when one would like to ascertain if two fragments might join together. It would represent some significant progress in Hittitology if the museums and collections in question would agree to send (at least) the smaller joining fragments in their inventories to those museums in which the larger fragments are housed, and I hereby appeal to them to do so.

The publication of these texts is fortunately quite advanced compared to that of most other great cuneiform collections. The edition of the material from the later excavations of the Palace Complex, the Haus am Hang, Temple I and other smaller find groups is essentially complete, the final volumes set to appear in 2016. Only the publication of 4758 texts and fragments from the first excavations lags woefully behind (Soysal 2015: ix-x), 65 of which are in the museum in Istanbul, the remainder in Ankara.

It is no secret among those who study the cuneiform documentation from Hattusa that our knowledge of the provenance of the tablets is very far from satisfying. Nearly half of the tablets and fragments cannot even be attributed to one of the three major find-spots. Nor,

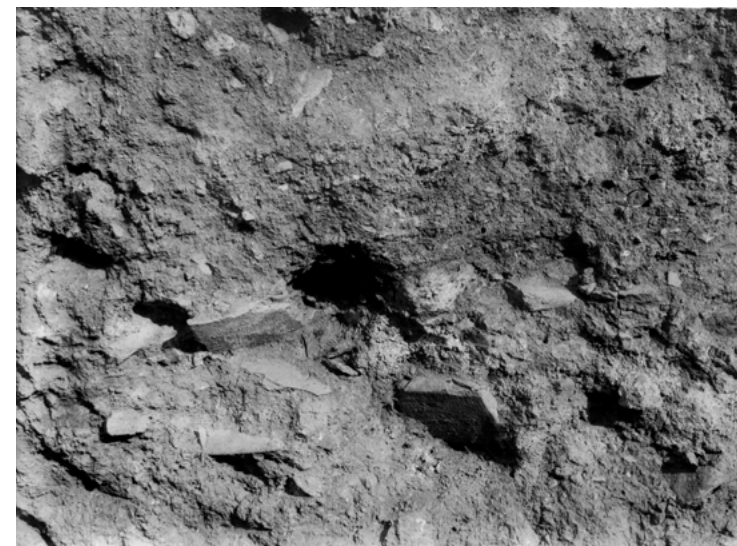


Fig. 4: Photograph of tablets in situ in one of the rooms of Temple I (courtesy of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool).

for the most part, can they even be assigned to an excavation year. This applies above all to the great majority of the larger, better preserved texts, some 11,000 tablets and fragments in all, the so-called Bo-texts.

The reasons for this deplorable situation are equally well known (see the contributions by L. Petersen, A. Schachner in this volume). The first major excavations at Boğazköy from 1906-1912, led by Hugo Winckler, Prof. für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität Berlin, and Theodor Makridi of the Antiquities Museum in Istanbul – in 1907 together with Otto Puchstein, Prof. für Klassische Archäologie in Freiburg and Generalsekretär of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin –, were in every respect of dreadful quality, even by the standards of their day,⁶ let alone compared to what is expected today. Whatever records or journals might have been kept were never published, and the notebooks kept by Winckler only rarely contain any useful information on the provenance of the tablets (Klengel 1991; 1993). Apart from a concise presentation of the architecture of a few structures published by Puchstein in 1912, almost nothing from these excavations or their text finds is documented. According to Alaura (2001: 17), *'Makridi ... bat über die Ergebnisse seiner und Wincklers Tätigkeit eine ausführliche Publikation immer wieder in Aussicht gestellt. Er behauptete, das Manuskript sei vollständig abgeschlossen, und beteuerte, daß er über Notizen, Zeichnungen und Pläne dieser früheren Ausgrabungen verfüge. Im Jahr 1935, nur wenige Jahren bevor er starb, gestand er K. Bittel aber, daß er gar nichts derartiges besitze.'*

This is all the more unfortunate, since many of the tablets from these early excavations may well have been found in situ, possibly in their original archival contexts, as suggested

6 Pace Košak (2007: 114), who diplomatically writes that the situation *'... im Zustand der archäologischen Methoden am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts wurzelt.'* One can compare, however, the contemporary excavations of Walther Andrae in Aššur or the even earlier methodology of Flinders Petrie at the end of the 19th century. According to Klengel (1991: 75 and n. 14), *'[war es] nicht zuletzt ... die Persönlichkeit H. Wincklers, die an seiner Befähigung, ein solches Projekt zu leiten, Zweifel aufkommen ließ.'* He cites a *'Gutachten der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, das zur Eingabe H. Wincklers Stellung nahm,'* which describes him as a *'nicht geeignete Persönlichkeit'* and concludes that his dig would likely have *'den Charakter von Raubgrabungen,'* as it indeed did have.

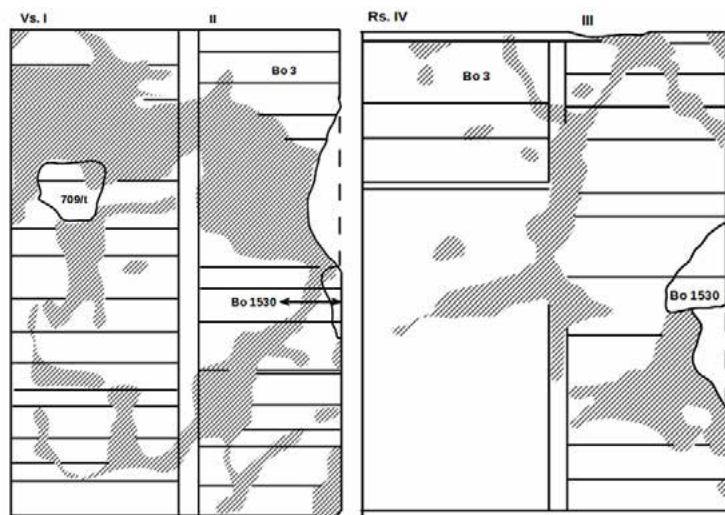


Fig. 5: Join sketch of Ex. 404.1.II.A of the rituals of Mastigga (by Silvin Košak).

by a journal entry of a visitor to the excavations, who observed that *‘in der Kammer 11 des Großen Tempels ganze, klar geschichtete Reihen schräg liegender, ganz erhaltener Tontafeln lagen’* (Klengel 1991: 77). A photograph from 1908 from the Garstang Collection (Fig. 4)⁷ leaves one with a similar impression.

Efforts at Reconstructing the Archives of Hattusa

This state of affairs began improving slightly starting with the excavations of Kurt Bittel between and after the world wars and with those of his successor Peter Neve. And while these excavations also fell far short of the standards of their generations, they did at least record the general find-spots of the tablets and fragments that were found. Significantly, they sifted through the debris dumps of the earlier excavations, above all those of Temple I and the Haus am Hang, recovering fragments large⁸ and small that had been jettisoned or overlooked by their predecessors. Crucially, these fragments can often be joined to tablets or fragments from the earlier excavations, yielding at least a general provenance.

Until recently it had been a nearly insurmountable endeavour to calculate accurately how many tablets came from a given area, for instance, or how many tablets and fragments from the earlier excavations have been given a find-spot through joins. The *Konkordanz*, built up by Silvin Košak through the last two decades and more recently made available online by Gernot Wilhelm and Gerfrid Müller, now makes this possible.⁹

⁷ I would like to thank Alan Greaves of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool for granting permission to publish the photo.

⁸ In fact some very large fragments, including KBo 53.10, 53.27 and 58.110 to name just three.

⁹ It is still not a self-evident task, however, since the numbers for fragments and tablets returned by a search do not necessarily yield what one might have expected. And the figures are often inaccurate, even for what is intended. In other words, there are still some bugs in the programming, and published figures based on the numbers given by searches in Konki are not entirely trustworthy. They are in general not far from accurate, but they are not wholly correct. For example, if one searches for all .../h fragments, that is, those found in 1938, the search yields 60 fragments, attributable to 51 tablets. If one actually counts them, however, one sees that there are in fact 50 fragments, 45 of which are .../h-fragments, and which altogether can be attributed to (a current maximum of) 41 tablets.

For the figures given here, then, the data have been extracted from the tables of the *Konkordanz* (v. 1.91) and have been filtered and recalculated. At present (Table 2) the number of tablets and fragments known to have come from Temple I during the excavations beginning with Bittel in 1931 is 6,066.¹⁰ This can be compared with 7,255 from Büyükkale and 1,550 from the Haus am Hang, totalling 14,871. Thus roughly 40% from Temple I compared to slightly less than 50% from the Palace Complex and 10% from the Haus am Hang.

Büyükkale	7,255 (48,8%)
Temple I	6,066 (40,8%)
Haus am Hang	1,550 (10,4%)
Total	14,871

Table 2: Provenanced fragments from later excavations

Hundreds of these fragments have been joined with tablets and fragments from the Winckler / Makridi dig, allowing their attribution at least to one of the three main groups of finds. This can be illustrated, for instance, with Ex. 404.1.II.A of the Mastigga rituals (Fig. 5), where the tiny fragment 709/t allows the attribution of the entire tablet to the Haus am Hang.

Currently, there are 950 Bo fragments – i.e., texts and fragments from the Winckler / Makridi excavations – that have been joined to a provenanced fragment or fragments from the later excavations (Table 3). This yields 429 tablets from the early excavations that have thereby been given a find-spot. These numbers include both direct and indirect joins. If one counts only the more reliable direct joins, then one finds that 724 Bo-Fragments have been joined to provenanced fragments, making up 322 tablets.

Bo-Nos. joined directly or indirectly to prov. frag.:	950
... belonging to tablets:	429
Bo-Nos. joined directly to prov. frag.:	724
... belonging to tablets:	322

Table 3: Bo-fragments joined to provenanced fragment(s) from later excavations

For Temple I in particular, 752 fragments from the early excavations have been joined to pieces found in the later excavations, making up 305 tablets. Limiting the numbers again to direct joins (Table 4), it is seen that 602 Bo-fragments have been directly joined to fragments from the later excavations in Temple I, constituting 244 tablets. Significantly, this means that about 80% of the fragments from the later excavations that join with tablets from the old dig are from Temple I, suggesting that roughly 80% of the Bo-Texts altogether originate from Temple I. Only somewhat less than 15%, in contrast, will be from Büyükkale, around 10% from the Haus am Hang.

¹⁰ This number includes the E (Etüde) fragments, since at least some of these were certainly found in the debris dumps in front of Temple I (Wilhelm in KBo 69, p. III) and since all provenanced texts or fragments to which an E-fragment has been joined have been from Temple I. The E-fragments totalled 1,092 in *Konkordanz* v. 1.91; in the more recent v. 1.94, however, there are 1,560 E fragments. Further, I understand that some 50± fragments have been discovered in the museum in Boğazköy and will appear in one of the last KBo volumes (pers. comm. Daniel Schwemer).

Bo-Nos. joined directly to provenanced frag. from T.I: ... belonging to tablets:	602 (83,1%) 244 (75,8%)
Bo-Nos. joined directly to provenanced frag. from Bk.: ... belonging to tablets:	66 (9,1%) 44 (13,7%)
Bo-Nos. joined directly to provenanced frag. from HaH: ... belonging to tablets:	56 (7,7%) 34 (10,6%)

Table 4: Bo-fragments joined to provenanced fragment(s) by find-spot

Projecting these percentages onto the entire collection of nearly 11,000 tablets and fragments from the early excavations, one can conclude that more than 8,000 of these will likely have come from Temple I, while some 1,500 will have come from the Palace Complex and fewer than 800 from the Haus am Hang (Table 5). This, in turn, allows one to conclude that over half of the epigraphic finds from Boğazköy, somewhat more than 14,100 tablets and fragments, would have been uncovered in Temple I. Around 35% or nearly 8,800 should stem from the Palace Complex, while just under 10%, a bit more than 2,300 tablets and fragments, can be attributed to the Haus am Hang.

Early Excavations	Later Excavations	Totals
T.I: 8,098 (77,9%)	6,066 (40,8%)	14,164 (55.7%)
Bk.: 1,518 (14,6%)	7,255 (48,8%)	8,773 (35.0%)
HaH: 780 (7,5%)	1,550 (10,4%)	2,330 (9.2%)
Totals: 10,396	14,871	25,267 ¹¹

Table 5: Projection of percentages from Table 4 onto entire inventory

The question also arises, of course: How many tablets might have comprised the collections at Hattusa originally, before the city was abandoned by the Hittites at the beginning of the 12th century? One way to estimate this number would be to take the total number of tablets and fragments recovered, some 25,000, and to assume that these could ideally all be joined together to some 5,000 tablets. This presumes that on average about five extant fragments should represent one original tablet. If one opted for 10 fragments per tablet instead, one would arrive at an estimate of about 2,500 tablets originally. This is how Theo van den Hout (2008: 213), for example, arrives at his estimates in this range.

I am convinced, however, that one must take a rather different approach, one that suggests a much higher number. I base my estimates on such well-known and well-defined groups or series of texts such as the Mastigga rituals (Miller 2004: 36f.) or the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (Miller 2013: 118-121, Figs. 1-2). It is apparent, e.g., depending on where

¹¹ This number tallies the Bo Nos. (1906-1912), the .../a to .../z Nos. (1931-1967), the Bo 68/... to Bo 99/... Nos. (1968-1999) and the Bo 2000/... to 2015/... Nos. (2000-2015) This figure ignores (a) the 1,256 tablets and fragments found in other contexts during the later excavations, above all in the temples of the upper city, which brings the total fragments with excavation numbers to 26,523; (b) the VAT and BM nos., which stem from the earlier excavations, bringing the total to 27,022; (c) the AnAr (Ankara: 487), AO (Louvre: 247), NBC (Yale: 116) and MAH (Geneve: 26) inventory numbers, bringing the figure to 27,898; and finally (d) 387 various fragments scattered among other museums and collections, yielding a grand total of 28,265 fragments documented from Hattusa. Cf. similar attempts at ascertaining the numbers in van den Hout (2008: 213f.). He has 26789 total; 11856 from Bk.+TI+HaH; 11444 unprov.; of which 8500-9000 from TI+HaH.

one places the uncertain fragments, that only 6 to 8 of the 12-tablet series of the Deeds are represented by any tablet or fragment whatsoever. It is known, in addition, that several copies of the series were extant, probably as many as seven. Assuming only three copies, for present purposes, would suggest that 36 tablets were originally extant. We have, however, only one essentially entirely preserved tablet; some five fragments or blocks of fragments that each represents around ¼ to ½ of their original tablet. And we have some 20 to 25 further small or tiny fragments (Miller 2013: 118-121, Figs. 1-2). If I had to venture a guess, I would estimate that these 30 or so tablets and fragments represent some 10 to 15 of the expected 36 tablets. That is, something like ⅓ to ½ of the expected number at most. And this is a calculation concerning, alongside the Annals of Mursili II, the very best-preserved annalistic composition known to us – just as the Mastigga tablets constitute one of the best-preserved ritual series. The estimate also assumes that the three to seven copies known are all that were extant, also a generous assumption with regard to any group of texts. What percentage of the Annals of Tudḫaliya I or Arnuwanda I do we have? And how many Hittite kings composed Annals of which we have no identifiable trace at all?

As the 10 to 15 extant tablets of the Deeds consist of some 80 fragments, while we expect at least 36 tablets by a rather conservative estimate, it seems to me that one can reckon with at least one tablet in the original archives of Hattusa for every two fragments found. This would result, extrapolating from the more than 25,000 excavated tablets and fragments, in an estimate of at least some 10,000 to 15,000 tablets for the original archives at Hattusa. Again, this is a best case scenario, based on one of those rare series that we can identify and partially reconstruct, so that one can only wonder how many more than this figure must have filled the city's sagging shelves. And one might compare, e.g., the Annals of Mursili, of which only 5 of 7 tablets of Götze's (1933: 8) reconstructed Große Serie are represented by any tablet or fragment; only 4 of 10 of his Mittlere Serie; and merely 2 of 14 of his Kleine Serie. That is, slightly more than ⅓ (11/31) of the original number of tablets. And this calculation assumes that each of Götze's series was extant in only one copy, though several are known to have existed.

There is, of course, only very little hope of making significant progress in reconstructing in any detail the contents, the scribal life, the Sitz im Leben of the archives of Temple I. One data set, however, which has in fact yielded some small amount of useful information in this direction consists simply of the distribution of the inventory numbers of the provenanced Bo fragments. If one lists all of the Bo numbers from 1 to 10,300 that have been joined to a fragment with a known find-spot (Table 6), a revealing, certainly non-random pattern emerges. The following thereby becomes apparent:

- Any given Bo-fragment between 1 and ca. 50 is very likely to have come from Bk. E, though a small number of outliers in the pattern are apparent;
- Any given Bo-fragment between ca. 50 through ca. 1195 are good candidates for having come from the HaH, though these are interspersed with a significant number of T. I and Bk. fragments;
- Any given Bo-fragment between ca. 1195 and ca. 2000 are fairly likely to come from Bk., somewhat less likely from HaH or T. I.
- Any given Bo-fragment between ca. 2000 and ca. 4830/40 are highly likely to have come from T. I, though isolated or small groups of fragments from HaH and Bk. break the pattern;
- and so on and so forth.

Now, what can one conclude from these patterns and of what use might they be? Well, one can essentially assume a provenance for any given Bo fragment or group of fragments with a lesser or greater probability, which is certainly of some value for our purposes. Of course, what exactly led to this clearly non-random pattern is difficult to say, and one can do little more than speculate. Presumably it reflects to some degree the order in which the fragments were removed from their find-spots, examined by Winckler, packed into crates, shipped to Berlin, opened and inventoried.¹³

The Temple I Tablet Finds: Archive(s) or Debris and Fill Material?

It is generally assumed that the textual finds from Temple I, and especially those in and around Storerooms 10-12, represent a tablet collection or collections stored in these rooms or having fallen from rooms above them. To conclude this paper I would like to point to what seems to be some contradictory evidence concerning this issue and to pose a few questions that further research will have to address.

It is often forgotten that Puchstein reported how a number of excavators who had worked with Makridi during his ransacking of the eastern rooms of the temple complex were of the opinion that the tablets had been part of a fill; in other words, not in their original archival context. Puchstein (1912: 123) wrote:

Die Kammern 10–12 habe ich erst gesehen, nachdem sie vollständig ausgegraben waren. ... Um jedoch die architektonische Untersuchung der Magazine so weit wie möglich führen zu können, habe ich nachträglich, im Sommer 1908, Krencker und Curtius, auch Kohl, der ja erst später nach Boghasköi gekommen war, veranlaßt, ihre Erinnerungen an die Fundumstände bei den Tabletten zu fixieren, und darnach läßt sich einstweilen die folgende Darstellung geben.

He then relates what he had heard from these three gentlemen (ibid. 124):

Nach den Türschwelen beurteilt, sollen die Tabletten, d. b. ganze Tafeln und große sowie kleine Bruchstücke davon, etwa ½ – 1½ m darunter, eben zwischen dem ehemaligen Fußboden und der Packung gelegen haben, und zwar nach oben und nach unten hin weniger dicht, an den dichtesten Stellen aber fast durch den ganzen Querschnitt der Erdschicht gleichmäßig verteilt, zum Teil horizontal eine Tafel über der anderen, zum Teil schräg von oben nach unten. Irgend eine Gleichmäßigkeit oder Verschiedenheit der Erdschichten, worin die Tafeln steckten, etwa eine Brandschicht, ist nicht zu beobachten gewesen, doch hat das Ganze den Eindruck eines Schuttes von Lehmziegelmauern gemacht, die bei einem Brande zugrunde gegangen sind.

And he describes the debris in which the tablets were unearthed, writing (ibid.):

Der Schutt war teils ziemlich hart und lehmig, teils locker (und dann konnten die Tontafeln ohne große Mühe herausgelöst werden) und grau, bisweilen rötlich meliert, mit etwas Koble, auch mit Aschenresten und Brocken von Lehmziegeln vermischt, die durch Feuer mehr oder minder gehärtet waren. Auch die Tontafeln wiesen zum Teil Spuren von einem nachträglichen Brande auf, ...; sie müssen also zusammen mit Ziegelmauern in einer Feuersbrunst gewesen sein.

This prompts Puchstein to pose the obviously relevant question and to cast doubt on how the situation had been understood up until then (ibid. 124):

Wie ist solch ein Brandschnitt mit Tabletten unter den Fußboden der Kammern, zwischen die Fundamente der Quermauern gelangt?

¹³ I understand that some further evidence along these lines might be preserved in the museum in Berlin, but I have not yet examined it or incorporated it into this table. Joachim Marzahn, former Kustos of the cuneiform collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, assures me its value is quite limited.

Makridy Bey hatte aus den Fundumständen den Schluß gezogen (und ich bin eine Zeitlang geneigt gewesen, dem zuzustimmen), daß die Tontafeln einst in den Magazinen aufbewahrt gewesen und bei deren Zerstörung zusammen mit den verbrannten und eingestürzten Wänden an ihren Fundort gelangt seien.

Finally, Puchstein, proposes an alternative view to that espoused by Makridi, one that had been suggested to him by Krencker (ibid. 125):

Im Gegensatz zu Makridys Auffassung der Fundumstände hat Krencker schon gleich an Ort und Stelle bei der Hebung des Tontafelschatzes den Eindruck gehabt, daß das ge-samte Material zwischen den Fundamentmauern der einzelnen Kammern von irgend einer Brandstelle herbeigeschafft und hier aufgeschüttet worden sei, damit es als Unterlage für den Fußboden – einen Estrich oder dergleichen – diene; mit dem Brandschutt seien auch die Tontafeln an diese Stelle geraten.

Puchstein's conclusion regarding Krencker's assessment (ibid.)? 'Das scheint richtig zu sein.' According to Krencker and Puchstein, then, what is habitually referred to as the Temple I archive or archives would be nothing of the sort, but simply the discarded refuse from text collections housed elsewhere in a building that was at some point damaged or destroyed by fire.¹⁴

Peter Neve (1975: 76f.) also made some statements regarding the tablet finds from Temple I, and in particular those from the Ostmagazinen. He first discusses how some floors in other rooms had been fashioned in order to receive large pithoi, some of which were found in situ, and he writes specifically concerning the Ostmagazine and Room 11:

Nach der Beschaffenheit der Fußböden scheinen auch die Ostmagazine für die Unterbringung von Tonfäßern vorgesehen gewesen zu sein, blieben aber – wie der Grabungsbefund zeigte – in dieser Hinsicht unbenutzt. Einige 1000 auf dem Fußboden von Raum 11, aber auch in seiner nahen Umgebung, wie z.B. auf der davor verlaufenden Pflasterstraße, vorgefundene Tontafeln und Tafelbruchstücke deuten an, daß in diesem Raum oder in dem darüber gelegenen Geschoß ein Tontafelarchiv untergebracht war. Tontafelfunde gibt es aber auch aus anderen Bereichen des Nordareals. Sie entstammen meist dem Gebäudeschutte und an einzelnen Stellen – in den Magazinen 10, 72a, 80 – aus der Fußbodenauffüllung, das heißt aus stratigraphisch gesicherter Fundlage. In diesen Fällen handelt es sich also um ältere, beim Bau der Magazine bereits verworfene Stücke, die natürlich für die Datierung der Anlage besonders wichtig sind.

Earlier Neve (1969: 13a) had written in somewhat more detail about the finds of the later excavations in Room 10 and the contrast he perceived between the finds there and the results of the earlier excavations in Room 11. Concerning the NW part of Room 10, he writes:

unter losem rezentem Füllschutt und ca. 1 m unter der erhaltenen Sockeloberkante lagerte eine mit großen Steinblöcken durchsetzte, verhältnismäßig lockere Erdmasse, die neben verschiedenen Textbruchstücken auch Scherben phrygischer Keramik enthielt und damit sicherlich sekundär bewegt worden ist. Darunter, ab 1,5 m unter der Maueroberkante und bis auf die Bruchsteinpäckung reichend, fand sich ein sehr fester, bindiger Lehm mit feinen Einschlüssen verbrannter Lehmziegelsubstanz und Holzkoble. Darauf und darin, aber auch unmittelbar über der Steinfüllung

¹⁴ I should note at this point that Alan Greaves of the Museum in Liverpool has mentioned to me that he has come to a similar conclusion based on the photo seen here in Fig. 4. He sees the arrangement of the tablets and fragments as well as what little can be seen of their context as an indication for their constituting a fill. Such a conclusion on the basis of this photo alone does not seem justified in my view, as it could, it seems to me, just as well show a collection of tablets fallen from shelves or from an upper floor for example.

und zum Teil in deren Fugen verkeilt, lagen ohne jede Anzeichen einer erkennbaren Ordnung weitere Fragmente, die dem Befund zufolge nur mit dem Lebmuschutt hierher geraten sein können und zwar, wie die homogene Struktur der Erdmasse, aber auch ähnliche Fundbeobachtungen in den Südmagazinen (1937) und neuerdings in den Südwest-Magazinen (Raum 72a) bezeugen, während der Erdarbeiten bei der Herrichtung der Magazinfußböden.

He then contrasts these observations on Room 10 with the situation as he understood it in Room 11, in which case he can, of course, only refer back to earlier documentation, such as it was (ibid.):

Der Stratigraphie nach sind diese Fundstücke also älter als die Tafeln aus dem benachbarten Raum 11, in dem, wie L. Curtius notierte, »ganze, klar geschichtete Reihen schräg liegender, ganz erhaltener Tontafeln lagen«, was ihn zu dem Schlusse berechtigte, ihren ursprünglichen Aufbewahrungsort »über jenem Kellermagazin« zu ergänzen. Die Angaben von L. Curtius sind in der Hinsicht zu korrigieren, daß das vermeintliche Kellermagazin – unseren Beobachtungen in den Nordost-Magazinen nach zu urteilen (s. u.) – wahrscheinlich mit dem abgesunkenen Fußboden des im Erdgeschoß gelegenen Zimmers identisch ist, die Tafeln in Wirklichkeit, wie auch ihre Streuung bis auf die Straße verrät, aus dem Obergeschoß stammen. Auf jeden Fall unterscheidet sich dieser in-situ-Befund ganz eindeutig von den umlagerten Tafelfragmenten in der Fußbodenauffüllung des Raumes 10.

On the one hand, it is thus clear that Neve believed that the tablet finds of Room 10 were all contained in debris: Iron Age debris above and, below this, Hittite debris that had been used in the construction of the Ostmagazine.¹⁵ Perhaps significantly, he does not mention any surface, a floor for example, between the two layers. The tablet fragments in the upper debris were scattered around in Phrygian times, those in the lower debris represent no longer current tablet material that the Hittites used in their fills beneath the floors. This he bases on his own excavation and observations. The tablet finds of Room 11 in contrast were, he believed, the remains of an archive, likely fallen from above. This conclusion he seems to have based essentially on a statement by Curtius concerning the disposition of the tablets. Curtius's testimony carried enough weight for Neve to overrule his observations on the nature of the floors as designed for receiving large vessels. Why tablets falling from a room in a second story should rule out the room on the ground floor having been used for storage he does not address. Neither does he indicate why he believed the tablets of Room 11 had been found on a floor; he quotes only Curtius's statement on the arrangement of the tablets, but nothing on their position in relation to any architectural element. The tablet material from the lower layer in Room 10, used in the construction of the Ostmagazine, he sees as stratigraphically older than those he believes had been found on a Hittite floor in Room 11.

On the other hand we have Puchstein's second-hand account via Krencker, Curtius and Kohl concerning Makridi's excavations in Rooms 10-12, which Puchstein, in opposition to Makridi, interprets as indicating that the tablet finds were all contained in debris and fill. Puchstein's very different scenario seems to be based above all on the oral reports of Krencker, but apparently also of Curtius and Kohl. For the discrepancy in the two clearly divergent reports on Curtius's opinions no explanation seems immediately apparent. Puchstein's description of the situation in Rooms 10-12, in which he makes no distinction among the remains of Rooms 10, 11 or 12, corresponds in many ways to Neve's rather

detailed description of the situation in Room 10. In other words, Puchstein's descriptions of Rooms 10-12 and Neve's descriptions of Room 10 correlate very nicely; Neve's alternative description of Room 11 is based on no more than his interpretation – might one say overinterpretation? – of a statement by Curtius, which, in turn, conflicts starkly with Puchstein's portrayal of his views.

It is of course difficult to weigh such statements one against the other 100 years after the fact without access to plans, photographs, drawings etc. My research on the question of how the philological assessment of the tablets from Temple I might relate to these archaeological observations continues. Examination of the textual material as it relates to the question of whether or not we are dealing with archives or scattered debris has thus far lent no credence to the archival hypothesis. To date, I have been unable to ascertain that any single tablet or fragment clearly comes from an archival context. That Jürgen Seeher (2001) has shown clearly that Hattusa was not destroyed, but was abandoned step by step, may perhaps provide an element of a solution to these enigmas, but this will have to be examined in another paper.

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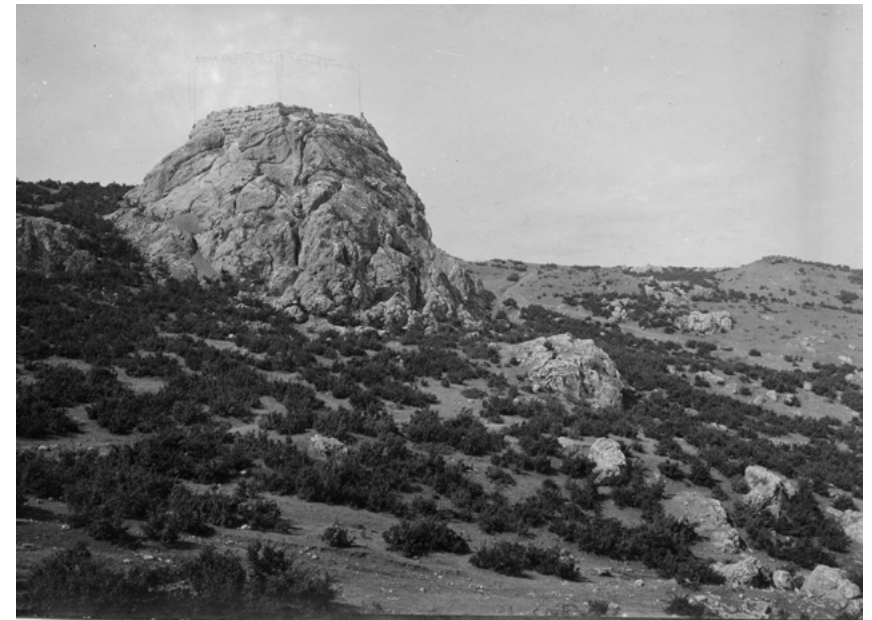
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¹⁵ All fragments from Room 72a, it might be noted, are paleographically jung- (Bo 68/13, 68/28, 68/41, 68/55) or spätjunghethitisch (68/29). The implications thereof must await another treatment.

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Bedřich Hrozný: Life and Achievements



Yenicekale from the Northeast, 1907
(photograph by E. Puchstein, archive of the German Archaeological Institute)