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**Title:** The transmissional and functional context of the lexical lists from Hattusha and from the contemporaneous traditions in Late-Bronze-Age Syria

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## Chapter 6: The archaeological and the archival<sup>1</sup> context

The present chapter gives an outline of the archaeological structures that form the find context of the lexical tablets (archaeological context) as well as of the other textual materials that were found along with the lexical lists in the respective archives (archival context).

1. [General situation] Lexical tablets from Ḫattuša stem from all three quarters in which cuneiform texts were found in larger amounts at that site: from Temple I in the Lower City (Hatt-T.I), from the Citadel/Büyükkale (Hatt-Bk; buildings A and K), and from the so-called ‘Haus am Hang’ (Hatt-HaH; lit. ‘house on the slope’, named after its position on the slope of the Citadel), which is situated between Hatt-T.I and Hatt-Bk. A small amount of stray finds stem from other areas of the Lower City, close to T.I and/or HaH. The central find spot, according to the mere number of manuscripts, is T.I; findings from HaH and Bk make up a small fraction of the corpus only (further cf. sect. 3.1.)

As for a good deal of manuscripts, among which there are unfortunately many important pieces, the find spots cannot be reconstructed due to insufficient documentation during the very early excavation campaigns (1906/07 and 1911/12). It is known that the supervisors H. Winckler and Th. Makridi already worked at all three aforementioned areas, so it is impossible to assign the early tablet yields specifically to any one of the larger archives. Joins of individual pieces from this group with later, documented materials, prove this suggestion.

Unfortunately, not a single manuscript from the corpus has been exactly documented in its stratigraphic context, nor is it the case with the campaigns that followed Winckler’s and Makridi’s works. Apart from the impossibility of dating the finds by means of stratigraphy, it is also impossible to know whether or not the manuscripts represent in-situ finds, i.e., whether, particularly among the older pieces, manuscripts were still regular parts of the archives at the time that these were abandoned or rather if they came into the ground at an earlier point in time. The archaeological date of the archive buildings established by means of architectural typology must be questioned for various reasons.<sup>2</sup>

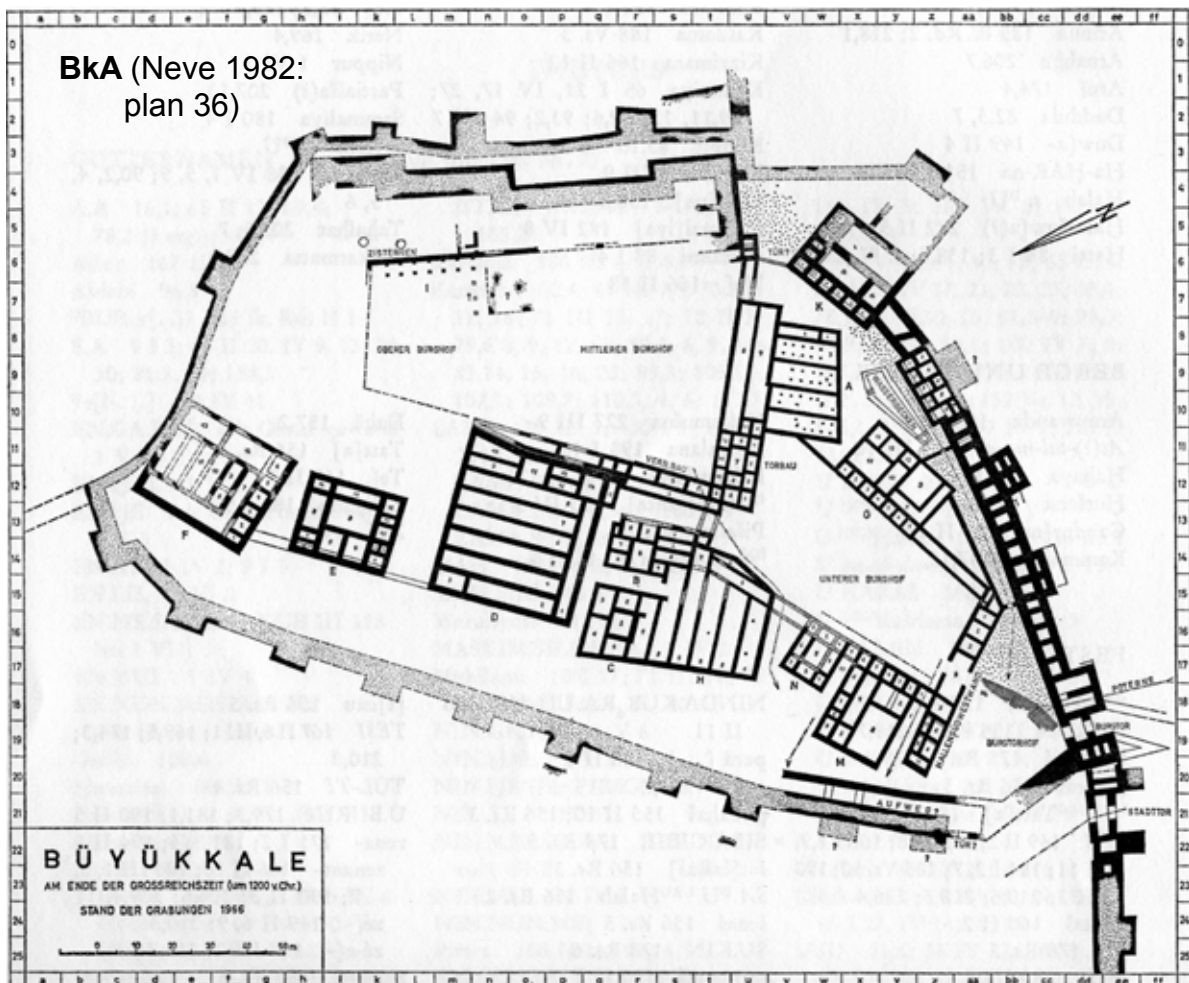
**2.1.1.** [The archaeological context – Büyükkale/Citadel (Hatt-Bk) – overview] The excavation works on the Citadel fall into three periods: H. Winckler and Th. Makridi began with a short

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1 In the following, the term ‘archive’ will be used in reference to any kind of tablet collection. If it is used in its stricter sense, i.e., as reference to collections primarily with short-term documents and in opposition to the term ‘library’, which then designates collections primarily with long-term documents, this will be marked explicitly. As for the general distinction between ‘archive’ and ‘library’, cf. Pedersen 1998: 2-9, and, with a special focus on the situation in Ḫattuša, Otten 1986.

2 As for a general methodological review of the excavation history in Ḫattuša, cf. Schachner 2006.

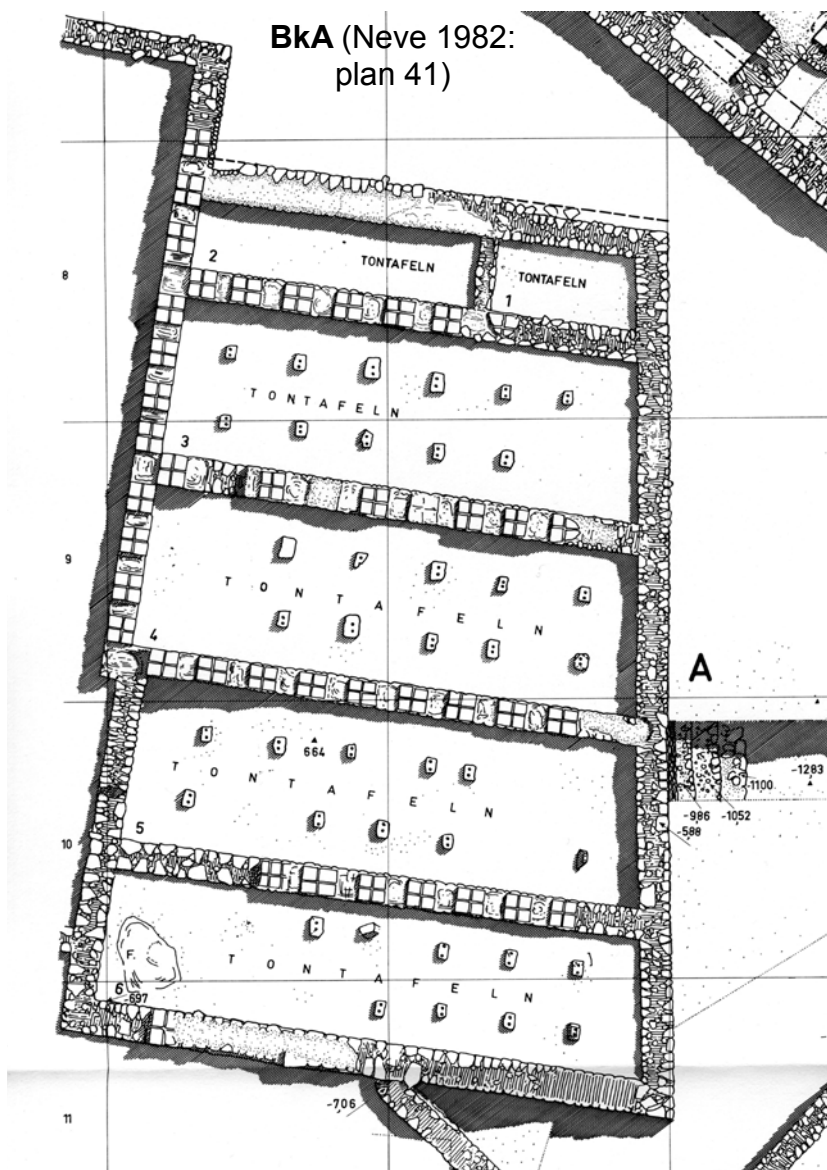
campaign at the north-western part of the hill in 1906, unearthing parts of the building now known as Haus E (Hatt-BkE), and bringing considerable amounts of tablets to light. K. Bittel and R. Naumann took up the work again in the 1930s (eight campaigns in total) with again, extensive finds of cuneiform manuscripts, mostly from Haus A (Hatt-BkA). The excavations at Büyükkale came to a provisional end in the 1950s and 1960s (15 campaigns), during which large parts of the areal were being uncovered with an additional smaller archive turning up in Haus K (Hatt-BkK).<sup>3</sup> Other individual and dispersed, nonetheless numerous, finds of cuneiform material were made continually and all over the excavated area of Hatt-Bk.



The lexical tablets stemming from the areal apparently belong to all four groups, i.e., the three archives and the stray finds, and therefore from all three excavation periods. The single fragment found in Hatt-BkE very likely joins back with a couple of fragments stemming from Hatt-BkA (Kagal Bo. B = KUB 30,8+), however this distance (of more than 100 meters) had come about. Its original place of storage was very likely Hatt-BkA, so there are no more lexical tablets left in the corpus that definitely stems from Hatt-BkE.

<sup>3</sup> As for a summarizing overview of the excavation works at Hatt-Bk, see Bittel apud Neve 1982: ix-xv.

**2.1.2.** [The archaeological context – Büyükkale / Citadel (Hatt-Bk) – the individual find spots] With the exception of the cuneiform archives, there were no further important finds of interior in the two buildings that remain under consideration, Haus A and Haus K. The reconstruction of their function relies solely on the interpretation of their architecture. Both buildings are situated in slope position so that at least the downhill-facing part possessed a second floor, which was then on the same level as the uphill-facing part. Hatt-BkA is situated between the Middle Court and the southern entrance to the Citadel, and is characterized by a set of quite sizable rooms (between ca. 17 x 6 and 30 x 5.5 m). The arrangement of the rooms strongly resembles the magazines of Hatt-T.I, as has been noted by P. Neve (1982: 106b), who consequently presumes Haus A to have mainly fulfilled storage functions, possibly with an administrative tract adjoined to it.

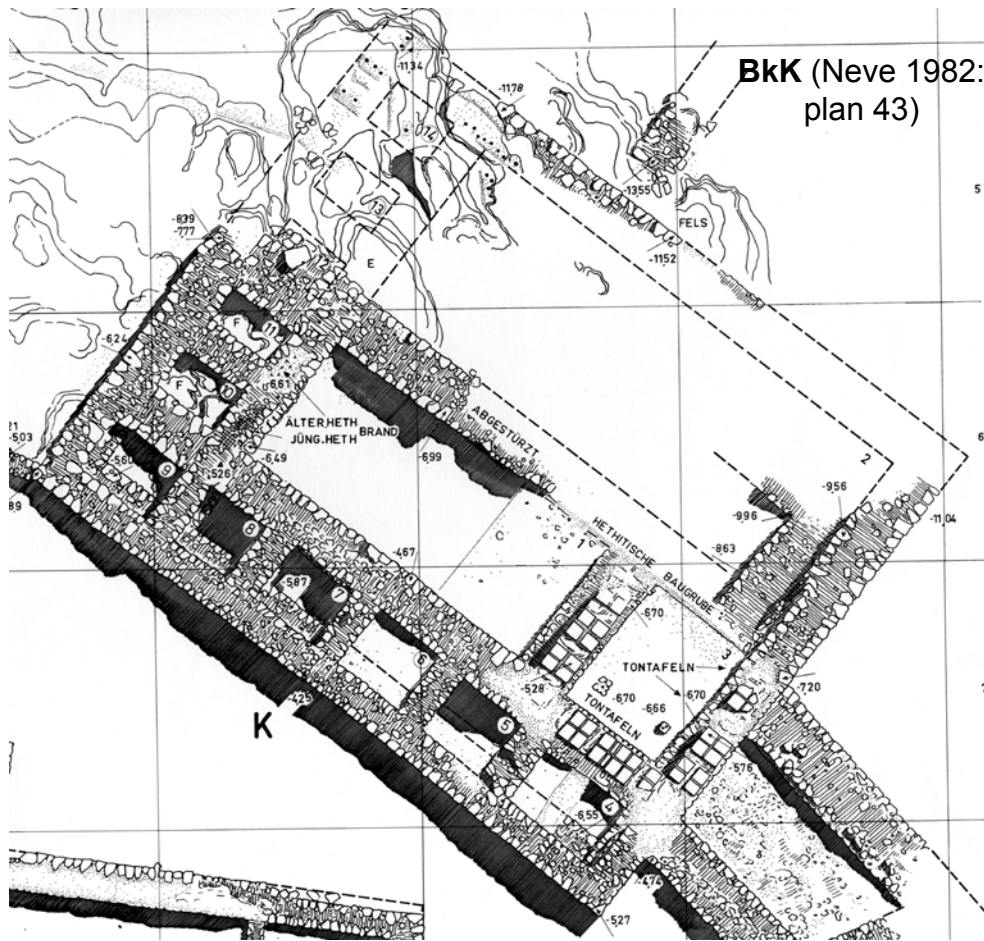


Haus K is situated opposite Haus A on the other side of the southern entrance, partly integrated into the fortification walls. It comprises a nucleus of three rooms of varying size (the largest one, No. 3, measuring 20 x 7 m), and a peripheral part with two rows of smaller rooms adjoining the central part on two sides. With regard to the long hall (room 3) and despite the relatively remote position, P. Neve (1982: 111a) assumes the building to have had a representative function, possibly to be seen in connection with the southern entrance and its direct access to the Middle Court.

According to the questionable (see sect. 1) architectural periodization provided by P.

Neve (1982: 138f.), Hatt-BkA and Hatt-BkK were erected in the (archaeological) phases IIIc to IIIa, i.e., in the period called “jünger-hethitisch“, which would be historically compatible with the second half of the imperial period (ca. 1270-1200 BCE). Haus K was apparently destroyed by a fire,

before it was re-erected in (archaeological) phase IIIc, so that the (re-)installation of the respective archive – provided that the dating is correct – must fall into the very last period of the Hittite empire.<sup>4</sup>



In both buildings, the tablet finds concentrate in specific rooms, the clearest evidence thereby coming from Haus K, where the tablets were, without exception, found in room 2. In Haus A, tablets turned up in all rooms as well as in the immediate surrounding area of the building. The specific dis-

tribution of the finds, with the find frequency rising the closer the find spots are located to room 5, strongly suggests that the archive was stored in room 5 or – more likely – above room 5 on the second floor.<sup>5</sup>

In both Haus K (in the archive room) and Haus A (also in the adjacent rooms), drilled stone bases came to light, which are most likely to be interpreted according to P. Neve (1982: 106b) as foundations for shelves.<sup>6</sup> A large part of tablet finds for both archives was done in a stratified (however undocumented, cf. sect. 1.) context, on the floors or within the debris; in parts, the context clearly is secondary, particularly in the case of Hatt-BkA and possibly as a result of the later grading of the wall remnants.<sup>7</sup>

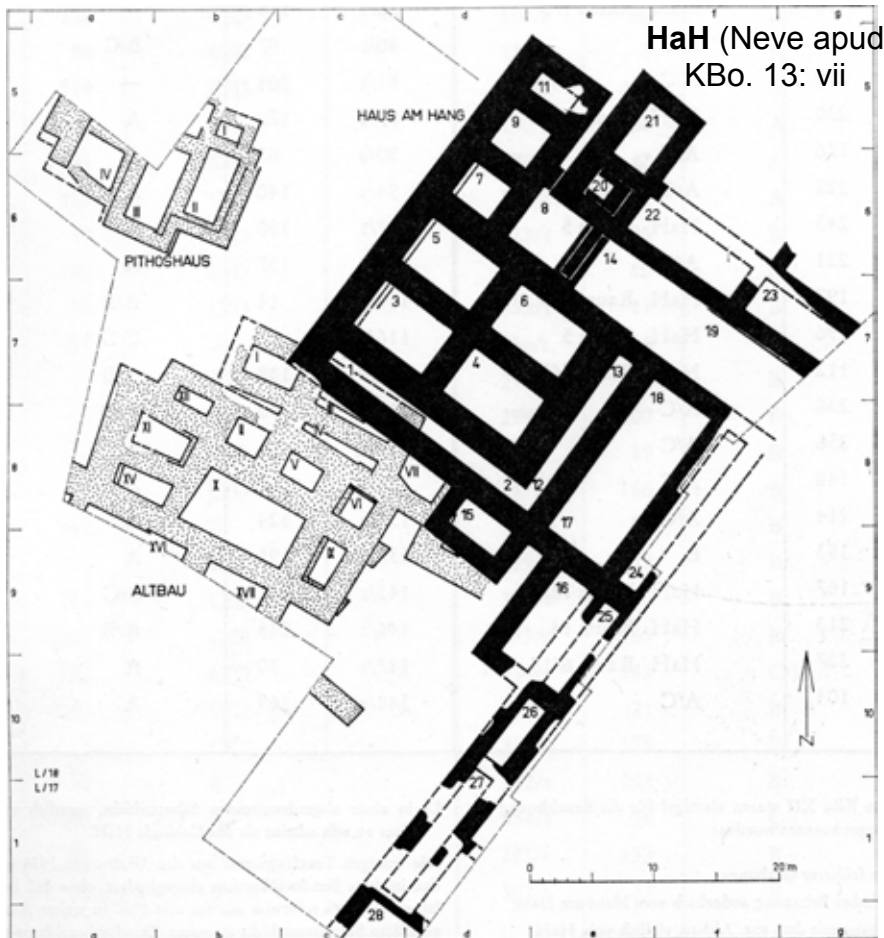
4 Neve 1982: 106a.

5 Bittel / Naumann 1938: 53ff.

6 K. Bittel / R. Naumann (1938: 49) in contrast, interprets them as foundations of pillar constructions, although there is no extraordinary width of the respective rooms and although the position of the foundations in Haus K is very close to the walls and not in the center of the room.

7 K. Bittel / R. Naumann 1952: 53ff.

**2.2.** [The archaeological context – Haus am Hang (HaH)] The so-called ‘Haus am Hang’, located on the northern slope of Hatt-Bk between the latter and Hatt-T.I, was already the object of excavation works in 1907, when H. Winckler and Th. Makridi began to uncover large parts of the building. The extensive yields of cuneiform tablets which came to light during these campaigns was further enlarged by excavations in the late 1930s and particularly in the early 1960s, when almost all of the archaeological structure of the building was uncovered.



With measurements of 25 m x 25 m, Hatt-HaH is quite sizable, providing space for more than two dozen rooms. It is situated in an exposed position on the slope. Following the architectural dating provided by P. Neve (*sic!*, cf. sect. 1.), its construction took place around the beginning of the imperial period (ca. 1350 BCE).<sup>8</sup> All lexical tablets that definitely call Hatt-HaH their provenance stem from the campaigns of the 1960s. It has to be stressed

that they were all found in a disturbed, secondary context – either in later Phrygian strata, among erosive material – or within the sizable debris mounds that were produced by the early excavation works in 1907.<sup>9</sup> These mounds, running from the western front of Hatt-HaH to the north-eastern edge of the magazines of Hatt-T.I, are built up by debris coming both from T.I and HaH, therefore it is not possible to clearly identify the provenance of all of the fragments that were found within them.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Naumann apud Bittel / Naumann 1938.

<sup>9</sup> As for a precise description of the find context, cf. Schirmer 1969: 20-23; also see the foreword to KBo. 13 by H. Otten.

<sup>10</sup> The problem becomes particularly evident with tablets joined out of fragments which were assigned to different areals, as is the case with Erim Bo. Aa = KBo. 1,44 + KBo. 13,1 + KBo. 26,20, whereby KBo. 13,1 was assigned to HaH, but KBo. 26,20 to T.I (KBo. 1,44+ is without documented provenance), with both fragments being of almost equal size.

The function of Hatt-HaH has not yet been clarified as a result of the discontinuity of the excavation works and the lack of interior. The suggestions offered are various. R. Naumann (Bittel / Naumann 1938: 28-30), basing his view on the closeness of the building to Hatt-T.I, in that it directly faces the main entry of the latter assumes a “sakrale Bedeutung“, possibly in connection with the temple office. P. Neve (1969: 55) even takes into consideration that it “als eigenständiges Heiligtum zu gelten hat.“ Naumann (apud Bittel / Naumann 1938: 29) also remarks that the plan of the building “eher zu einem Wohnhaus gehören [könnte]“, with the exceptional size of the building and of the rooms; however, marking a serious contrast to the known domestic houses and making this suggestion improbable. Naumann’s suggestion to identify Hatt-HaH with the so-called *halentuwa* house is very likely aberrant as well; since, judging from the textual sources, the structure known under this label must have comprised dozens of rooms and installations, for which Hatt-HaH is simply not sizable enough.<sup>11</sup>

At any rate and in contrast to the other archive buildings on Bk and at T.I, there is no clear evidence indicating that HaH had a storage function. The mere size and the fact that the tablet collection couldn’t possibly have occupied all of the rooms indeed suggests a multifunctional context.

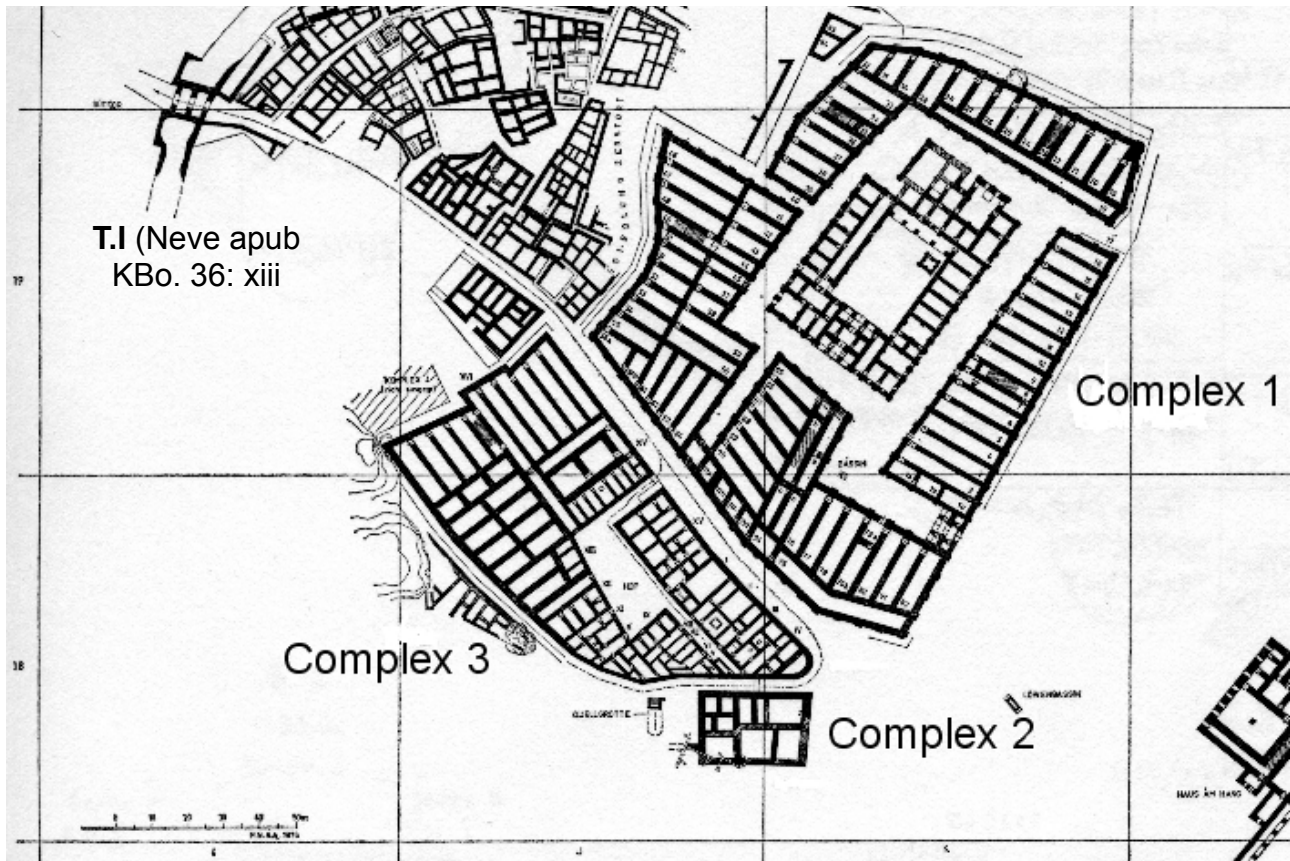
**2.3.** [The archaeological context – Temple I / Large Temple (Hatt-T.I)] Temple I, erected on a wide, artificial terrace in the lower city, is characterized by a conglomeration of magazine buildings surrounding the actual temple building on all four sides (Complex 1). That these buildings – which according to the debris found in the rooms had at least one additional floor – fulfilled a storage function is clearly revealed by the interior, e.g., through a number of large pithoi vessels with inscribed measures, from bullae with perforations, stone bases for shelves, etc.<sup>12</sup> To the south and separated by a street is a second, adjoining complex (Complex 2 or ‘Südareal’), which for a lack of interior has been interpreted variously. K. Bittel (1975: 69) tends to see in it the É-<sup>GISZ</sup>KIN<sup>TI</sup> which is known in textual sources as providing the accommodations for the temple servants, as well as rooms for the administration and for workshops;<sup>13</sup> conversely, V. Haas and M. Wäfler (1973: 29-31), basing their research on textual evidence, propose to identify the aforementioned (sect. 2.2.) *halentuwa* building with Complex 2, whereas P. Neve (1975: 78f.), by interpreting some of the buildings in Complex 2 as small sanctuaries, favors an intermediate position.

11 Cf. Naumann apud Bittel / Naumann 1938: 29f; more or less followed by K. Bittel (1976: 70). As for a discussion, cf. Haas / Wäfler 1973: 29-31; the authors state that the *halentuwa* house must have at least comprised rooms for storage, cooking, purification ceremonies, feasts, and worshipping of deities; during some festivals, it moreover served as the king’s residence.

12 Cf. Bittel 1976: 69a.; Neve 1969: 9-17; Neve 1975: 76.

13 Thus already Bittel 1969: 11-13. The text referred to is the ‘Instructions for temple servants’, which mentions the organization of the É-<sup>GISZ</sup>KIN<sup>TI</sup> ‘house of work’. As for a discussion, cf. Gordin 2010.

More to the south, there appears to be situated a third complex, which is almost untouched by the excavation works as of yet. Altogether the excavated areal covers an impressive field of about 150 to 200 meters. Analogous to Hatt-Bk, and again based on questionable architectural observations (cf. sect. 1.), the erection of Hatt-T.I was dated to the late imperial period, i.e., to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.



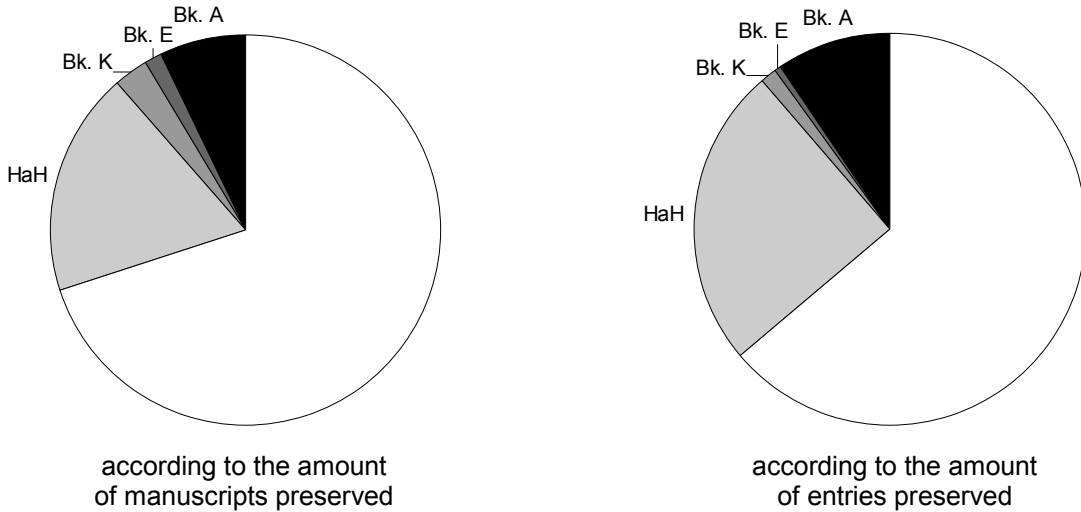
With only a few exceptions, the bulk of of lexical tablets that are known to stem from the area of T.I come from the eastern magazines of Complex 1, predominantly from Mags. 9-15 and their immediate environment. Individual stray finds were also made in the northern and southern magazines (Mags. 24 and 36), as well as in the ‘Südareal’ (= Complex 2, room III/2). However, some of these finds can be joined with fragments that again come from the eastern magazines, so that their find spots appear to be secondary. The situation is identical with regard to the non-lexical texts, which also concentrate around the eastern magazines.

Only a small number of manuscripts were found in a stratified context on the floor.<sup>14</sup> More than 20 fragments assigned to Hatt-T.I stem from the debris mounds of the early campaigns in 1907, which are situated between T.I and the HaH (also cf. 2.2.) and which were sifted again in the 1960s. Resumed excavations in the magazines during the same period brought more than a

14 Cf. Neve 1975: 77.

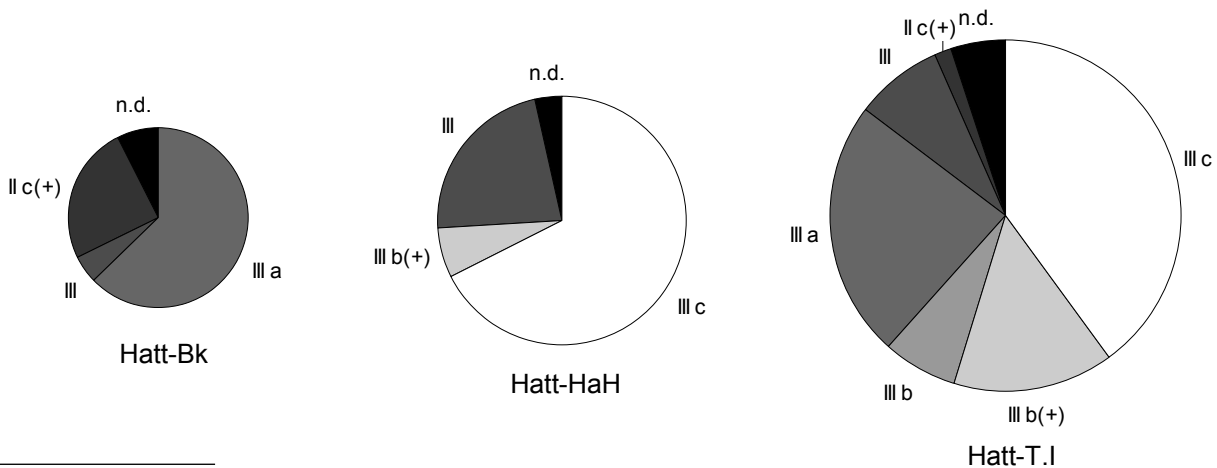
dozen additional lexical fragments to light.<sup>15</sup> Judging from the specific distribution of the relatively undisturbed finds, which is similar as to that of Hatt-BkA, the tablets must have originally been stored on the second floor, having fallen down after the collapse of the building.

**3.1.** [Archival distribution of the manuscripts – general quantitative proportions] As noted in sect 1., a great deal of the lexical manuscripts lack documentation of their find spots. Among the manuscripts with find spots documented, the proportions are as follows:



Thus, Hatt-T.I is the main find spot of lexical tablets; only smaller sections of manuscripts stem from Hatt-HaH and Hatt-Bk. The manuscript Erim Bo. Aa = KBo. 1, 44+ has been provisionally assigned to HaH; in case it belongs to Hatt-T.I (which is possible; see introductory remarks in part D and note 10), the proportions of manuscripts found at Hatt-HaH is even less.

**3.2.** [Archival distribution of the manuscripts – according to paleographic date] Correlating the data with the paleographic date of the manuscripts (cf. chapter 5, sect. 2.) leads to the following archival-chronological distribution:

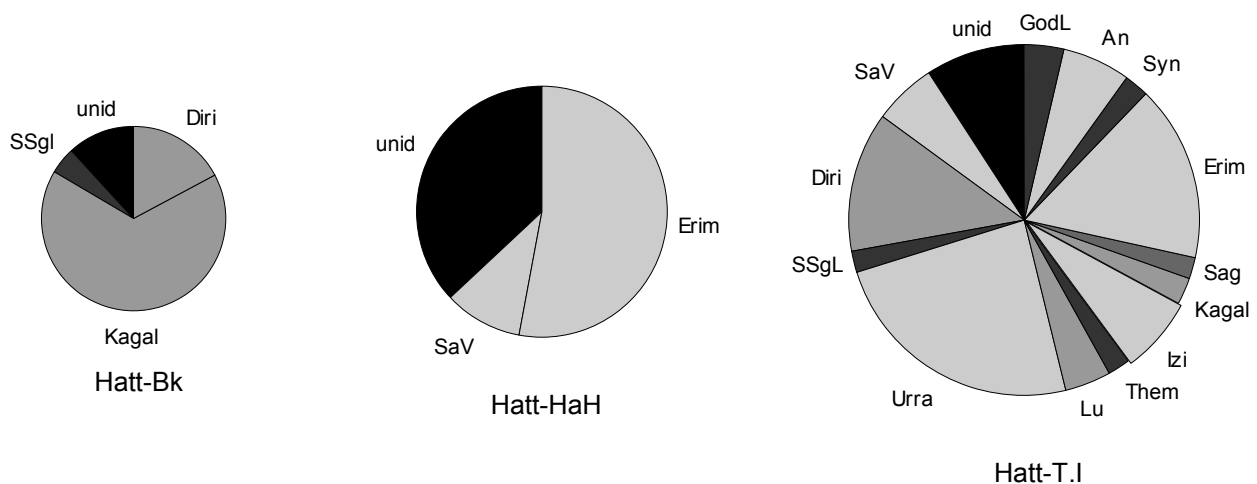


15 Cf. Neve 1969: 12f.

The lexical material coming from Hatt-Bk; thus, is clearly older than that of the other two archives, and while Hatt-T.I contains diverse material from all periods – which is not surprising, since the bulk of materials stem from this location – the corpus of Hatt-HaH is chronologically more consistent, dating to the final paleographic period(s).

Taking seriously the approximate dates established for the erection of the buildings by architectural-typological means, i.e., 1350 BCE for Hatt-HaH, 1300 for Hatt-T.I, and 1270 for Hatt-Bk (sect. 2.), and presuming that the older parts of the corpus (particularly those of period IIIa and those prior) were still a part of the contents of the archive when these were abandoned – and these are two assertions which cannot be taken for granted (see sect. 1.) – one may conclude that these older selections had been stored at a different location before the new archives – their final place of storage – had been erected. Regarding the transmissional context of these manuscripts, this must then be taken as an indication that the manuscripts were not only shelved, but that they were even transferred when their original archives were removed (this is at least the case for Hatt-Bk).

**3.3.** [Archival distribution of the manuscripts – according to series] Anticipating chapter 11, which deals in greater detail with the different lexical series preserved, the distribution of these series across the three archives will be included in the present chapter, as it is more significant for the analysis of the archives than for the analysis of the series themselves:



As Hatt-T.I was used to house the bulk of material, it naturally shows the highest diversity of lexical compositions and preserves virtually all possible series. Taking into account that the assignation of Erim Bo. Aa = KBo. 1,44+ to Hatt-HaH is uncertain, the number of identified major series attested in this archive can be theoretically reduced to a single one, SaV. In the contemporaneous Syrian curricula, SaV is notably the first series to be approached by apprentice scribes who had mastered the basic scribal exercises; since there are hardly any basic scribal exercises found within the Ḫattuša corpus (except with the small fragment SVo Bo. A = KUB 3,114 which is undatable and

without documented find spot), SaV appears as *the* initial series attested in Ḫattuša according to this traditional curriculum. Whether or not this distribution is meaningful is impossible to say unfortunately, since the absolute number of manuscripts preserved in HaH is too low. In Hatt-Bk, the distribution of series appears to be completely random.

**3.4.** [Archival distribution of the manuscripts – other specifics] Lexical texts from Hatt-Bk and Hatt-HaH are distinct from the Hatt-T.I material, also with regard to linguistic aspects and the linguistic format (see the summary in chapter 13, sect. 1.2.).

The manuscripts Kagal Bo. B = KUB 30,7+ and C = KBo. 16,87+ from Hatt-BkA appear in a format that is entirely unparalleled in Ḫattuša, with Syllabic Sumerian and Akkadian grouped in one single column and only separated by gloss wedges (<1 - 2 : 4>, cf. chapter 11, sect. 2.9.4.). Moreover the Akkadian column largely avoids logographic spellings and the Syllabic Sumerian seems to display an orthography that is different from that of the Syllabic Sumerian of the other texts (cf. chapter 9, sect. 4.2.). Also, the linguistic format of the SaV manuscripts from Hatt-HaH is deviative, showing the quite common sequence with Syllabic Sumerian (pronunciation) preceding Orthographic Sumerian (logogram) inverted (<2 - 1 - 4 - 5> instead of <1 - 2 - 4 - 5> cf. chapter 11, sect. 2.9.1.).

**4.1.** [General contents of the archives – general quantitative proportions] Only for Hatt-BkA and Hatt-BkK is the number of manuscripts the archives contained absolutely clear. As the excavation works at the other archives, Hatt-BkE, Hatt-T.I, and Hatt-HaH, was already begun in the undocumented early campaigns, the total number of manuscripts originating from these archives cannot be assessed with certainty; it may be considerably higher than it appears from the documented finds of the later campaigns. Being aware of the fact that this may result in quite an unbalanced view, one may tentatively establish the following quantities:<sup>16</sup>

	number of tablets and fragments preserved	estimated yield of original complete tablets
Hatt-BkA	4000	2000
Hatt-BkE	(2500+) 320 sure	1000
Hatt-BkK	400	200
Hatt-HaH	(x+) 1480 sure	500
Hatt-T.I	(x+) 4600 sure	800

**4.2.** [General contents of the archives – according to literary genres] Assigning the extant fragments to the different literary genres, one gains a sketchy overview of the characteristic contents of

<sup>16</sup> The table follows Pedérsen 1998. The calculations carried out for BkA by S. Košak (1995) result in only 500 original manuscripts, a considerably low number. The number of original manuscripts reconstructed for T.I is comparably low because the majority of the fragments recovered in the debris mounds of the early excavations are very small in size, therefore individual manuscripts can often be joined out of ten or more small fragments.

each of the five archives under consideration.

The following table makes use of the concepts of long-term and short-term documents as the main distinction; the texts belonging to the first group were continually reproduced and rewritten, often being preserved in multiple copies (the typical ‘library material’), whereas the second group contains the products of daily use, which are mostly preserved in single copies only (the typical ‘archive material’). A somewhat ambiguous case is formed by the correspondence literature that has been assigned to the short-term documents; although individual texts, especially among the royal correspondence, are attested to in more than one copy. The categories of foreign language texts and scholarly literature are to be considered part of the long-term tradition, but are treated separately here due to the special interest they call for in the present study.<sup>17</sup>

	<b>CTH</b>	<b>Bk A</b>	<b>Bk E</b>	<b>Bk K</b>	<b>T. I</b>	<b>HaH</b>
Long-term documents		71,1 %	38,9 %	70,1 %	76,0 %	70,4 %
Historical prose, treaties, etc.	1-147, 211-216	5,2 %	5,6 %	4,6 %	11,7 %	6,1 %
Instructions	251-275	0,6 %	0,0 %	0,0 %	2,4 %	0,5 %
Mythological texts	321-370	3,6 %	0,9 %	0,5 %	6,1 %	2,1 %
Hymns and prayers	371-389	1,1 %	0,3 %	3,1 %	3,3 %	0,5 %
Rituals	390-500	21,7 %	15,3 %	25,4 %	22,8 %	20,3 %
Festivals	591-720	38,9 %	16,8 %	36,5 %	30,7 %	40,9 %
Short-term documents		8,1 %	53,7 %	7,1 %	13,6 %	11,8 %
Correspondence	151-210	2,6 %	3,3 %	2,5 %	1,2 %	1,0 %
Administrative/juridic texts	221-50, 276-97	3,4 %	8,6 %	2,5 %	3,4 %	1,1 %
Cult inventories	501-530	0,7 %	0,0 %	0,0 %	3,5 %	7,6 %
Oracle Reports/Dream Reports	561-590	1,4 %	41,8 %	2,1 %	5,5 %	2,1 %
Texts in foreign languages		14,1 %	5,3 %	14,2 %	8,5 %	13,8 %
Hattic	725-45	3,1 %	2,4 %	3,0 %	1,9 %	8,3 %
Palaic	750-54	0,7 %	0,0 %	0,5 %	0,7 %	0,8 %
Luvian	757-73	3,4 %	2,9 %	7,1 %	1,7 %	1,1 %
Hurrian	774-91	6,9 %	0,0 %	3,6 %	4,2 %	3,6 %
Scholarly literature		6,7 %	2,1 %	8,6 %	1,9 %	4,0 %
Translation literature	310-16, 792-96	0,2 %	0,0 %	0,7 %	0,1 %	0,8 %
Lexical lists	299-309	0,2 %	0,2 %	1,7 %	1,4 %	1,1 %
Omen collections	531-60	2,5 %	1,4 %	6,2 %	0,3 %	1,8 %
Incantations and medical texts	800-813	3,8 %	0,5 %	0,0 %	0,2 %	0,3 %

<sup>17</sup> Also note that the proportions given in the following can only be an approximate representation of the material due to the following factors: (1) For reasons exposed in sect. 1., there are a good deal of manuscripts which must stem from one of the five archives but cannot be specifically assigned. And (2), although the ‘unit’ used in the statistical evaluation is the smallest one available, i.e., that of the fragment (as opposed to the (joined) tablet), fragments are known to be of varying size, and there is no guarantee that the size of the fragments is the same in all categories.

A careful examination of the data leads to the following results:

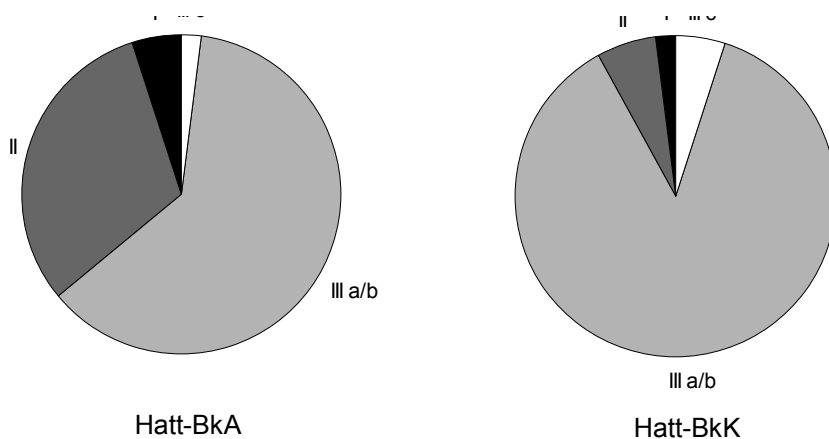
(1) The archives show diverse contents, but in this diversity they hardly differ from each other; i.e., almost every genre is represented in every archive. Thus, apart from general tendencies, it is principally impossible to deduce the function of any one of the buildings from the literary genres they housed in their archives.

(2) The general proportion of long-term and short-term documents is quite constant (70-76% long-term; 7-14% short term), with the exception of Hatt-BkE, as for which the proportions are 39% : 54% (mainly caused by the disproportionately high frequency of oracle reports). Rituals and festivals make up the vast majority of texts (50-60%, in Hatt-BkE 40%).

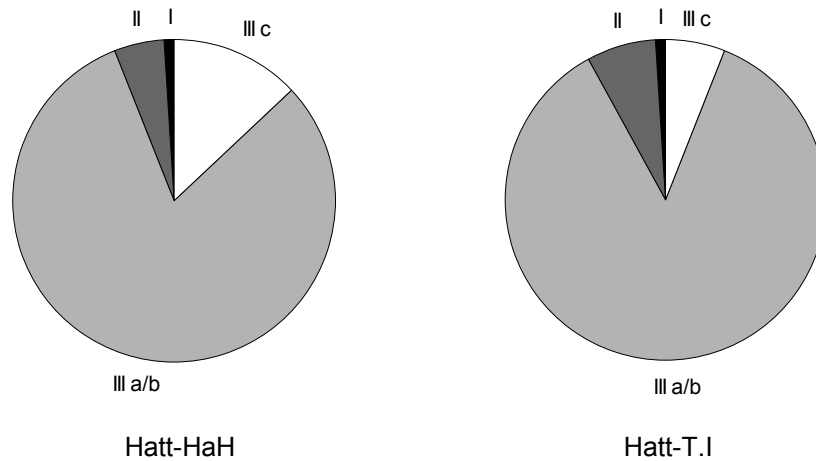
(3) The proportion of scholarly literature is generally low (2-9%). In a certain way, it seems to be interrelated with the proportion of foreign language literature in the individual archives (archives with a relatively high share of scholarly literature also show a relatively high share of foreign language literature); yet, this may be due to chance. Whatever the scribal activities that formed the context of the lexical texts, they apparently made up only a fraction of the archival activities that were housed by the buildings.

(4) The genres that correspond to the presumed two curricular stages of the Mesopotamian school, i.e., the lexical texts as the first stage; and the Sumerian and Babylonian literary, religious, and medical texts as the second stage; do not concentrate in the same places (lexical texts in Hatt-T.I and Hatt-HaH; literary texts: Hatt-Bk, with smaller bits in Hatt-HaH and Hatt-T.I, and with a special concentration of incantations and medical texts in Hatt-BkA).<sup>18</sup> Similar distributions can also be observed with regard to archives from Ugarit (see sect. 5.1.).

**4.3.** [General contents of the archives – according to paleographic periods] According to the assessments done by J. Klinger (2006: 12-14), the total manuscripts of the four most relevant archives were written down in the individual paleographic periods as follows:



<sup>18</sup> Further see Fincke forthc, with mention of an additional manuscript from Temple XVI in the upper city.



The proportions shown by Hatt-BkK, Hatt-HaH and Hatt-T.I are quite compatible with each other, with the slight exception that the yields of LNH manuscripts (paleographic period IIIc) are somewhat higher in HaH than in the other two archives. Hatt-BkA differs from the others by the comparably high share of manuscripts in OS and MS (periods I and II) that make up one third of the material, and by the very low number of LNH manuscripts. With regard to that, Klinger concludes that “die Tafelsammlungen in Gebäude A einen anderen Charakter gehabt haben müssen als die zuvor untersuchten [i.e., the other three] Fundgruppen.” (2006: 13).<sup>19</sup>

Note in this respect that the chronological proportions of lexical tablets according to archives, as given in sect. 3.1., neatly fit these general proportions. The lexical lists found at Hatt-Bk mostly date to the periods IIc and IIIa, while there are exceptionally large quantity of tablets dating to the LNH period among the lexical lists in Hatt-HaH.

**4.4.** [General contents of the archives – share of duplicated/parallel material] In contrast to archives of other sites, the archives located in Hattuša are particularly remarkable with regard to the high number of recensions they preserve not only for the lexical lists, but for compositions in various other genres. This aspect is further elaborated in chapter 12, sect. 2 & chapter 13, sect. 3.1.3.

**5.1.1.** [Comparison to the parallel corpora – Ugarit – overview] Lexical lists from Ugarit stem from at least eight distinct archives; individual pieces also stem from further, dispersed find spots. The following table gives an overview of the eight archives and of the approximate quantitative

<sup>19</sup> Klinger’s further suggestion that, taken into account the relatively high share of scholarly literature found there, “die Tafelsammlung in Gebäude A durchaus die Funktion einer Bibliothek im engeren Sinne gehabt haben dürfte” (13f.), yet, does not take into account that although the share of scholarly literature is in fact higher than in the other archives, it is still marginal compared to the other contents. Regarding the general textual genres, BkA is quite in line with T.I and HaH (cf. the table in sect. 4.2.)

shares of lexical lists and ephemeral documents they contain, also mentioning additional important genres of text found in them:<sup>20</sup>

	Abbr.	Lex. lists			Ephem. docs.		Other genres with important lots
		total	publ.	perc.	total	perc.	
Maison de Rap'ānu	Rap	194	50	63,6 %	106	34,8 %	royal+international letters
Maison aux Tablettes	MT (VS)	61	17	67,0 %	25	27,5 %	Mes. traditional literature
Maison d'Urtēnu	Urt	42	39	26,8 %	107	68,2 %	royal+international letters
Archive 'Lamaštu'	Lam (SA)	41	19	53,9 %	20	26,3 %	Mes. traditional literature
Maison du Grand Prêtre	GP	17	16	12,6 %	26	19,3 %	Ugaritic epics/myths; Hurrian religious texts;
Maison du Lettré	L	8	2	42,1 %	4	21,1 %	various
Maison de Rašap'abu	Ršp	2	1	8,0 %	20	80,0 %	none
Centre-Ville, Maison A	CVA	5	5	45,5 %	1	9,1 %	1 international letter; Mes. traditional literature
Finds in and around Ras Ibn Hani, Minet el-Beida, and the Palace (Central archive)	RIH, MeB, PC	14	10	-	-	-	-
total	-	384	159	-	-	-	-

One may group the five larger archives, Ug-Rap, Ug-MT, Ug-Urt, Ug-Lam, and Ug-GP with the amount of epigraphic finds exceeding 100 manuscripts,<sup>21</sup> as opposed to the smaller archives Ug-L, Ug-Ršp, and Ug-CVA, which only contain 20 or fewer cuneiform tablets each<sup>22</sup> and which are thus of limited use for statistical investigations.

A number of archives totally or almost entirely lack lexical lists. Most prominent among these is the Royal Palace that housed several archives with mostly ephemeral contents, written almost exclusively in Alphabetic Ugaritic; only the Central Archive (Ug-PC/C) contained a few lexical tablets. The House of Yabnīnu ('Palais Sud'/Ug-PS), and the 'Maison du Prêtre Hourrite' (Ug-PH)<sup>23</sup> entirely lack lexical tablets. Ug-PH, however, is possibly a part of the same building as Ug-Lam; it mostly contained religious and magical texts that were written in Alphabetic Hurrian and Ugaritic

20 The table is mostly based on van Soldt 1995 and Pedersén 1998: 68-80 (which is in turn based on Bordreuil / Pardee 1989, and van Soldt 1991), as for the archives Urt and CVA, also on Yon 2001, and André-Salvini 2004. The numbers given for MT also include the finds made in the section 'Ville-Sud' (VS). The numbers given for Lam (also labeled 'Maison aux Textes Magiques') include the finds made on the 'Sud-Acropole' (SA) and one manuscript (RS 25.416 = Urta 4J) found in the eastern vicinity of the 'House of the Hurrian Priest' (PH).

21 Only Lam contains less than 100 manuscripts, yet is possibly a part of the same archive as PH ('Maison de Prêtre Hourrite').

22 CVA has been unearthed just incompletely; it may have originally contained larger amounts of epigraphic material.

23 The lexical tablet listed in Pedersén 1998: 75f., i.e., Urta 4 Ug. RS 25.416, probably belongs with the lexical lists of Lam.

(for the most part, also school exercises written in Alphabetic Ugaritic stem from the Ug-PC and from Ug-PH).

**5.1.2.** [Comparison to the parallel corpora – Ugarit – details] All eight archives that are distinctly listed to have housed lexical lists in the previous section were a part of private houses. As far as the owners of these houses appear in the ephemeral documents of their archives, they can be identified as high officials either engaged in the state administration (Ug-Rap, Ug-Urt, and Ug-Ršp) or in the cult (Ug-GP). It seems suggestive that the owners of the archives Ug-L, Ug-Lam, and Ug-MT were equally high officials – L and Lam are situated in the immediate vicinity of Ršp and of PH respectively, and MT, with at least 18 rooms appearing in the documentation of the epigraphic finds, must have been similar in outline to that of Rap.<sup>24</sup> Only the status of Ug-CVA remains unclear regarding its ownership; the architectural structures, at least, point to a domestic building.

With the exception of Ug-Urt, the share that ephemeral documents make up within the archival material is relatively equal among the five larger archives (varying between 20 and 35 %, with Ug-Urt making up almost 70 %). Ug-Rap and Ug-Urt, both owned by high officials in the administration, stand out with regard to the important international letters and juridical documents they contain; the owners apparently stored part of their official affairs in their private archives. From the ephemeral documents found in Ug-Urt it is moreover clear that the enterprise conducted by the owner Urtēnu maintained commercial contacts with an outpost in Emar.<sup>25</sup> Ug-Lam and Ug-MT differ from the remaining archives as per their significant share of Sumerian and Babylonian traditional texts, i.e., texts supposed to form the basis for the second phase of scribal education. The archive with the lowest share of lexical lists among the five larger archives is Ug-GP; it has the famous myths and epics written in Alphabetic Ugaritic among its contents.

As has been explained in chapter 5, sect. 4.1., the paleography of most of the lexical lists found in Ug-Lam, in contrast to all other archives, is Babylonian (Ug-Bab); this is also true for the Sumerian and Babylonian literary texts that this archive contains. Lexical manuscripts in the ductus termed ‘an alternative North-Syrian paleography’ (Ug-NS) can be found in: Ug-Urt, in smaller amounts in Ug-Rap, and also in the smaller archives in L and Ršp. As far as is verifiable, the remaining lexical manuscripts all show local paleography (Ug-loc).

**5.1.3.** [Comparison to the parallel corpora – Ugarit – provisional dates] Since, other than for Ḫattuša and Emar, the lexical tablets cannot be dated directly by means of paleography, and since the synchronisms of scribes of individual tablets with other historical persons are scarce (see

24 There is still no archaeological plan published of MT.

25 Cf. Cohen / Singer 2006.

chapter 7., sect. 3.3.3.), it is only possible to provide an indirect approximate date for the production of the tablets through synchronisms arising from ephemeral documents which were stored in the same archives.

According to the analysis in van Soldt 1989, phases of culminating scribal activities can with some certainty be provided for the archives Ug-Rap, Ug-MT, and Ug-Urt only. Datable ephemeral documents of these archives were produced during the reign of Amittamru II and his successors until the final destruction of the site. Thus, the phase comprises approximately the last 60 years of the site's settlement. Synchronisms are less indicative for Ug-GP. The culmination point of scribal activities was possibly some 80 years earlier than is the case for Rap, MT, and Urt, i.e., within the reign of Niqmaddu II, with activities decreasing in the later periods. As for Ug-Lam, it is impossible to assess a respective chronological phase due to the broad lack of synchronisms within the ephemeral documentation of that archive.

**5.2.** [Comparison to the parallel corpora – Emar]<sup>26</sup> With a single exception: Urta 7b Em. 39=548C, which was found in the archaeological district C, lexical tablets in Emar were all excavated in district M within building M<sub>1</sub>. The architectural remains were originally interpreted as belonging to a small temple; however, after the examination of the archival data they proved to be the residential house of a family of incantation priests, named after its genealogical head, the Zū-Ba'la family. The archive contained more than 1000 manuscripts written in Akkadian and as of yet unpublished manuscripts in Hurrian and Hittite; this constitutes by far the largest accumulation of epigraphic finds at Emar. The collection consists of two sections that are marked by the contrasting find areas M III (the main hall of the building) and M I (the adjacent room 3). This distribution may be artificial, resulting from the original storage of the tablets on the upper floor, which had collapsed during or after the destruction of the building.<sup>27</sup>

The approximate quantitative proportions of manuscripts assignable to individual types of documents are as follows:

	M I		M III		total	
	absolute	relative	absolute	relative	absolute	relative
ephemeral documents	125	50.0 %	100	15.5 %	225	25.1 %
local rituals	100	40.0 %	0	0.0 %	100	11.2 %
lexical lists	15	6.0 %	255	39.5 %	270	30.2 %
traditional Mesop. texts	10	4.0 %	290	45.0 %	300	33.5 %

<sup>26</sup> The following section is based on Pedersén 1998: 61-64, Fleming 2000: 13-21, Beyer 2001: 1-11, Gantzer 2008: I, xix-xxviii, and Cohen 2009: 10-12.

<sup>27</sup> This seems to be confirmed by the many (though virtual and uncollated) joins of lexical tablets done by M. Gantzer (2008), with pieces from M I and M III as part of the same tablets.

The total share of ephemeral documents thus is very similar to the shares observed with regard to the private archives of Ugarit (see sect. 5.1.1.). In its overall composition it specifically resembles the archives Ug-Lam and Ug-GP, which was also owned by a cult official. The ephemeral documents deal with the private affairs of the members of the Zū-Ba°la family, which also involve other, often high-ranking persons such as members of the local royal family.

**5.3.** [Comparison to the parallel corpora – the smaller corpora] The archival context of the four Alalah manuscripts is practically lost. Only one piece, Urra Al. 10A = ATT/47/25, has its find spot documented; it is an isolated find from a room in the Fort,<sup>28</sup> a locus in considerable distance from the main find spots of the Alalah tablets, i.e., from the Palace. Also chronologically, the four pieces are isolated from the bulk of epigraphic finds which were mostly produced in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century (archaeological layers VII and IV), whereas the lexical lists belong to a small group of tablets that date to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (archaeological layers I-III; von Dassow 2005: 19), which is confirmed by paleographic observations (see chapter 5, sect. 4.3.).

Cuneiform tablets found at El-Amarna comprise 382 pieces; the largest part of these (349 manuscripts) form the famous corpus of international letters making up the so-called ‘Amarna correspondence’. Furthermore, 29 manuscripts belong to a corpus of scholarly texts, including the 12 lexical lists and a number of traditional Babylonian literary texts. The so-called ‘Records Office’ (house Q 42.21), which is located close to the Palace and to the Great Temple, housed the archive where all of the letters and the largest part of scholarly texts were found. Two lexical lists were unearthed at outlying find spots: the unique Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary EA 368 in house Q 49.23, in relative vicinity to the Records Office; and SaS EA 379 in house N 47.3 some 1.5 kilometers away. Yet, as remarked by Sh. Izre’el (1997: 9), the distant find spots at least do not contradict the assumption that the manuscripts originally belonged with the main corpus.

The lexical list from Ortaköy is apparently a stray find made on the surface.<sup>29</sup> In any case, there is generally little information published about the composition of the Ortaköy tablet collection(s). Also regarding the archival context of the lexical lists from the three Palestinian sites: Ashkelon, Apehek, and Hazor, data is sparse. The Ashkelon manuscript is the only epigraphic find made at the site, and the function of the archaeological structure in which it was found is unclear.<sup>30</sup> The two lexical lists from Apehek belong to a lot of eight manuscripts; as far as they are identifiable, the remaining texts are ephemeral in character; as is the case for the archives in Emar and Ugarit, the

28 von Dassow 2005: 19; Wiseman 1953: 122.

29 Süel / Soysal 2003.

30 Huehnergard / van Soldt 1999.

building that housed the archive was probably owned by a high official: by the Egyptian governor.<sup>31</sup> The manuscript from Hazor is a stray find;<sup>32</sup> the other three LBA texts found at that site are ephemeral documents.<sup>33</sup>

6. [Some conclusions] The observations presented and discussed in the preceding sections lead to the following conclusions:

(1) In contrast to the archival contexts of lexical lists in contemporaneous Emar and Ugarit and in the OB period (as for which cf. chapter 2, sect. 4.2.1.), lexical tablets from Ḫattuša were mostly found in a disturbed context, and also the stratified finds cannot be regarded as in-situ finds, since the archives were very likely abandoned successively, systematically, and (long) before their final destruction. For the same reasons, the chronological proportions and the proportions of literary genres assessed for the individual archives do not necessarily represent the in-situ state when the archives were in use. However, there is no actual need to assume that the final find spots of the lexical tablets largely differ from the places where they were being stored and/or used shortly before the abandonment of the archives

(2) Among the three archives in which lexical lists came to light in Ḫattuša, only two, Hatt-T.I and Hatt-HaH, housed manuscripts that were produced in the final archival periods. The scribal activities forming the context of lexical lists were apparently limited to these two archives in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (see sect. 3.1.); the manuscripts found at the third find spot, Hatt-BkA, were produced at an earlier date and also differ in other respects from the main corpus (see sect. 3.4.); they must be considered an earlier, possibly peripheral branch of the tradition.

(3) If the construction dates given for the archive buildings are taken serious, and if the manuscripts did not come into the ground earlier than during the final destruction of the archival buildings – which cannot be taken for granted due to the poor archaeological documentation – it is moreover clear that part of the Ḫattuša manuscripts were produced at a date earlier than the erection of the archival buildings. This in turn proves that at least this part of the corpus had been shelved (see sect. 3.2.).

(4) Within the archival contents, lexical lists make up only a fraction of the Ḫattuša material (see sect. 4.). Whatever the scribal activities linked with the lexical lists were like, these certainly did not form the main scribal activities within the archives where they were found. The scribal activities concerned with traditional Sumerian and Babylonian texts, which supposedly formed the second stage of Mesopotamian scribal education, concentrate at other archives, i.e., at Hatt-BkA and Hatt-BkK.

31 Horowitz / Oshima / Sanders 2002: 755, Rainey 1975 & 1976.

32 Tadmor 1977.

33 Horowitz / Oshima / Sanders 2002: 757.

(5) The archive buildings that housed the Ḫattuša lexical lists were public houses (see sect. 2.),<sup>34</sup> a fact that can be taken for certain because of the specific location and architecture of the buildings, their mere size, and due to the fact that besides housing the tablet collections they also fulfilled important storage functions (Hatt-BkA and Hatt-T.I). The archaeological and archival context of the Ḫattuša lexical lists in this respect is similar to that of the El-Amarna lists. Yet, the situation in El-Amarna certainly is unique due to the rather marginal and peripheral status of cuneiform within the Egyptian scribal tradition; it is hence not comparable to the archival context in Ḫattuša. The context of the lexical lists from Emar and Ugarit apparently follows the OB paradigm and is pronouncedly different from that of the Ḫattuša lists. At both sites, lexical lists were exclusively found in private domestic houses, and the character of the archives is mostly private as well. Moreover, the lists mark a considerable share within the total contents of these archives.

The differences suggest that the scribal activities forming the context of the lists in Ḫattuša and the scribal activities forming the context of the lists in the OB period, in LBA Emar, and Ugarit either were embedded in a different mode of overall organization of the scribal craft or were themselves substantially different from each other.

(8) The archival context of the lists from the Levantine sites Aphek, Aškelon, and Hazor is strongly disturbed. Sparse as the data are, however, it can nonetheless be understood that – if there are no major archives as yet untouched by archaeological works at these sites – the archival contexts of the three corpora are almost identical, with generally very little material preserved and the lists being the only non-ephemeral documents among them. In this respect they differ both from the paradigm observed for the Ḫattuša lists as well as from the paradigm observed for the lists from Emar and Ugarit.

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34 As for the – generally problematic – opposition of ‘private’ and ‘official’ in the context of OB scribal schools, cf. Veldhuis 2004: 60-62. In the preceding section, the distinction is only used with regard to the location that housed the scribal schooling and is not implied to characterize the organization of the schools or their supervision.

