PROCEEDINGS OF THE
51ST RENCONTRE ASSYRIOLOGIQUE INTERNATIONALE
held at
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
JULY 18–22, 2005

edited by

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Cover Illustration
The Outer Portal of Citadel Gate *A*, with the Partially Excavated Central Portal Behind. *Khorsabad*, Part 2:
The Citadel and the Town, by Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, pl. 7. Oriental Institute Publications 40.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938.

A CLASSIFIED PAST: CLASSIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 1324 B.C., the Hittite Great King Šuppiluliuma received an embassy from Egypt requesting he send a son to marry the widow of the late pharaoh. Once he had overcome his initial suspicions, he consented and this great moment of Hittite-Egyptian unity was solemnly celebrated by having read aloud a one-hundred-year-old treaty between the two monarchies: "And when the tablet had been read out loud to them, my father spoke as follows: 'In the past Ḫattuša and Egypt were friends with each other but now this too has happened between the two of us so that Ḫatti and Egypt will be friends with each other for ever more!'"[1]

Judging by this and numerous other examples, Hittite kings controlled their past, that is, they were able to order and retrieve at will older records and actively did so for a range of purposes: festive occasions like the one just referred to, but also for oracular inquiries, cultic traditions, historiography, etc. Basically, they kept records of any genre which they expected they might want to consult in the future. This implies that Hittite kings and their staff must have kept a system and preserved older tablets out of an interest in their own past. Is something of this ancient system, the classification of their own written-down knowledge, retrievable for us?

It is only recently that this topic has gained a wider interest in Hittitology. One reason for this is the young age of the field: it is only a century ago that in October 1905 Hugo Winckler was shown the first Hittite tablets found near the small village of Boğazköy, and ninety years since the recognition of Hittite as an Indo-European language in 1915. To put this in perspective: just six years later, in 1921, the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary was started.[2] Priorities in those early days were editing the most important and as many texts as possible and sketching the basic political-military and cultural history on the basis of these texts. Understandably, all such efforts concerned the contents, not the tablets themselves. Another reason is the loss of information on the findspots of the first four excavation seasons between 1906 and 1912, the sometimes not very precise recording of findspots after the campaigns resumed in 1931, and the confusing or seemingly confusing archaeological record when the findspots are known. Add to this unrealistic and not always well-informed notions of ancient administration, and the idea of a futile and thankless enterprise easily takes hold.

Only occasionally do we find attempts that reach beyond the philology of single texts. As early as 1922, Emil Forrer[3] characterized the collections as a library simply because there often were multiple copies of the same composition. In 1949, Emanuel Laroche[4] looked at scribes and colophons to gain insight into the organization of the Hittite tablet collections, and in 1955 Heinrich Otten[5] attempted a wider look in his article "Bibliotheken im alten Orient." Combining archaeology and philology, he identified the main locations of tablet collections and their layout. Textual evidence came from what were considered the ancient catalogues, that is, tablets listing tablets (nowadays mostly referred to as shelf lists), and colophons as well as labels that once marked series of tablets on a shelf or in a basket. It is interesting to see how those same years of the 1950s saw a surge in publications dealing with archival matters.

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[1] Hans G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10 (1956): 98, quoting KBo 14 12 iv 33–39; for the chronology, see Theo van den Hout, "Der Falke und das Kücken: Der neue Pharao und der hethitische Prinz?," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 84 (1994): 87 f.

[2] On the CAD's history see Erica Reiner, *An Adventure of Great Dimension: The Launching of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 92, Part 3 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002).

[3] Emil Forrer, "Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Ḫatti-Reiches," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76/NF 1 (1922): 182.

[4] Emanuel Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Ḫattuša," *Archiv Orientální* 17 (1949): 7–23.

[5] Heinrich Otten, "Bibliotheken im alten Orient," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955): 67–81.

Especially valuable was the involvement by some archivists venturing into the territory of ancient Near Eastern studies and interpreting the material but, unfortunately, their articles were largely ignored and the use of the terms "archive" and "library" in our fields remains highly idiosyncratic. The topic was not taken up again in Hittitology until the 1980s. It was once more Otten who briefly reaffirmed the basic library character of the Hittite tablet collections at the 30th Rencontre in Leiden in 1983.[6] Not long after, in 1991, Hans Güterbock analyzed the relationship between so-called shelf lists found in one of the major buildings and its actual tablet holdings.[7] By then, in the late 1980s, the younger generation stepped in. No doubt at the behest of Otten, the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz started the first systematic and by now invaluable project entitled *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* on the Web-site Hethitologie Portal Mainz.[8] This has been developed and maintained by Silvin Košak and has grown into a complete concordance of texts, findspots, paleographic dating, and basic bibliography.[9] In 1995 he also gave a first interpretation of the material concentrating on Building A. Dividing the material up according to paleographic dating into Old Script (OS), Middle Script (MS), and New Script (NS), Košak observed the relatively large number of OS and MS texts as well as the low number of purely administrative records and took this as confirming Otten's characterization of Building A as a library. He was followed in this by Silvia Alaura who analyzed both Buildings A and E on Büyükkale and claimed that in some cases tablets were removed from E to A while others were discarded. Correctly, in my opinion, she termed A a "Depot," although I do not agree with the idea that the tablets stored there had lost their practical value.

Despite the ongoing labeling of Hittite tablet collections as libraries, I argued in 2002 that almost the entire Hittite text corpus qualifies as archival according to the definition of archive(s) as used in archival science: "An archival collection is the whole of the written documents, … officially received or produced by an administrative body or one of its officials, in so far as these documents were intended to remain in the custody of that body or of that official."[10] The overwhelming majority of Hittite records were the product of the Hittite administration, comprising both the records produced by that administration and the incoming records from elsewhere insofar as they were addressed to that administration. In an empire such as that of the Hittites this is true both of records that in ancient Near Eastern studies are traditionally seen as archival, that is, administrative in a narrow sense (e.g., legal, fiscal, or commercial records), but it is no less true of cultic compositions such as hymns and prayers, festival scenarios, oracles, myths, and other compositions traditionally referred to as "literary" as long as they are directly related to the state cult or activities of the ruling class.

2. THE HITTITE WRITTEN LEGACY

For the second millennium B.C., the tablet collections of Ḫattuša are unique both in their diversity and in their coherence: they contain an unrivaled diversity of genres distributed over several primary locations, while at the same time genres and storage places form part of a single administration and, I would argue, a single coherent administrative system. What is more, these tablet collections not only comprised the administration of the most recent past, but also the ruling class must have held on to certain records for hundreds of years because it wanted to and deliberately perpetuated such records by repeatedly copying them—often adjusting and updating them while not throwing away the older ones. The copying of compositions is evident in the countless duplicates we possess as well as in many colophons, while the texts themselves regularly refer to older tablets.

[6] Heinrich Otten, "Archive und Bibliotheken in Ḫattuša," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, edited by K. R. Veenhof, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986), pp. 184–90.

[7] Hans G. Güterbock, "Bemerkungen über die im Gebäude A auf Büyükkale gefundenen Tontafeln," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 38–39 (1991–92): 132–37.

[8] http://www.orient.uni-wuerzburg.de.

[9] Initially published in book form as Silvin Košak, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln I–III/2*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 34, 39, 42, and 43 respectively (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, 1995,

1998, 1999; henceforth referred to as StBoT and the volume number), but since then only accessible through http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/; its most current version used for the following remarks is 0.6 and henceforth referred to as *Konkordanz*.

[10] S. Muller, J. A. Feith, and R. Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives, Drawn Up by Direction of the Netherlands Association of Archivists*, translation of the second edition by A. H. Leavitt (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1968), p. 13. After "written documents" the authors included in their definition "drawings and printed matter." Obviously, the latter is not applicable and drawings, although attested, seem to come as part of written documents only.

An overview of Hittite text genres shows a systematic division between records that were as a rule copied and often also kept indefinitely (A), and those that were not copied and were regularly recycled or otherwise discarded (B). As a consequence, we have of the latter group as a rule only the latest records. Compare the following chart:[11]

A. *Texts in Multiple Copies*	B. *Texts in Single Copies*
historical prose, treaties, edicts (CTH 1–147, 211–16)	correspondence (CTH 151–210)
instructions (CTH 251–75)	land deeds (CTH 221–25)
laws (CTH 291–92)	lists and rosters (CTH 231–39)
hymns and prayers (CTH 371–89)	economic administration (CTH 240–50)
rituals (CTH 390–500)	court depositions (CTH 293–97)
festival scenarios (CTH 591–21)	cult inventories (CTH 510–30)
celestial omina (CTH 531–35)	non-celestial omina (CTH 536–60)
mythology, Anatolian (CTH 321–38) and non-Anatolian (CTH 341–69)	oracle reports (CTH 561–82)
Hattian, Palaic, Luwian, Hurrian texts (CTH 725–91)	vows (CTH 583–90)
hippological texts (CTH 284–87)	tablet collection shelf lists (CTH 276–82)
lexical lists (CTH 299–309)	tablet collection labels (CTH 283)
Sumerian and Akkadian compositions (CTH 310–16, 792–819) and the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual (CTH 789)	

Let us look at the basic facts first. The *Konkordanz* currently lists for the Hittite capital Ḫattuša 26,789 numbers,[12] that is, every item or fragment from an entire tablet or the smallest piece of it and everything in between, each having its own museum or excavation number.[13] Silvin Košak estimated some ten fragments to a tablet but, of course, not all 26,789 pieces will eventually fit together to over 2,600 tablets. Many fragments and tablets have been completely lost and many were recycled by the Hittites themselves. Moreover, there were also the wooden writing boards. Finally, the entries just mentioned do not include the thousands of bullae with Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that were also an integral part of the empire's administration.

Of the 26,789 pieces mentioned, 11,856 were found at what can be regarded as the three major places of tablet storage in the Hittite capital: in Building A atop the acropolis Büyükkale, in the Lower City, in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1, and in the Haus am Hang (see fig. 1). It should be remembered that for another 11,444 pieces the findspot is unknown. We do know, however, that some 8,500 to 9,000 pieces of these come from the storerooms around Temple 1 and the Haus am Hang area.[14] There were other places where tablets were found that can be con-

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[11] For this chart and more detailed comments, see Theo van den Hout, "Another View of Hittite Literature," in *Anatolia Antica: Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, edited by Stefano de Martino and Franca Pecchioli Daddi, Eothen 11 (Florence: LoGisma, 2002), pp. 857–78.

[12] This number and those used in the following were arrived at by adding the totals of fragments as given under each findspot in the *Konkordanz*. They are likely to be imprecise and will include double counted entries. However, the exact numbers are not really important: what counts is the relative size of those numbers and the resulting percentages.

[13] Each number is a *Datensatz* in the *Konkordanz* and several *Datensätze* can be joined to form a tablet or as much as can be restored of a single tablet. Silvin Košak, "The Palace Library 'Building A' on Büyükkale," in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of*

His 65th Birthday, edited by Theo van den Hout and Johan de Roos, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), pp. 173–79, uses the term "entry" for the latter.

[14] In 1906 Winckler worked in the area of Bldg. E only and some 2,500 pieces were unearthed; see Otto Puchstein, *Boghasköi: Die Bauwerke*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft 19 (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1984; original publication Leipzig, 1912), p. 2; and Silvia Alaura, "Archive und Bibliotheken in Ḫattuša," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999*, edited by Gernot Wilhelm, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 45 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), p. 19. The remaining 8,500 to 9,000 tablets and fragments were excavated in the later campaigns of 1907, 1911, and 1912 in the Lower City.
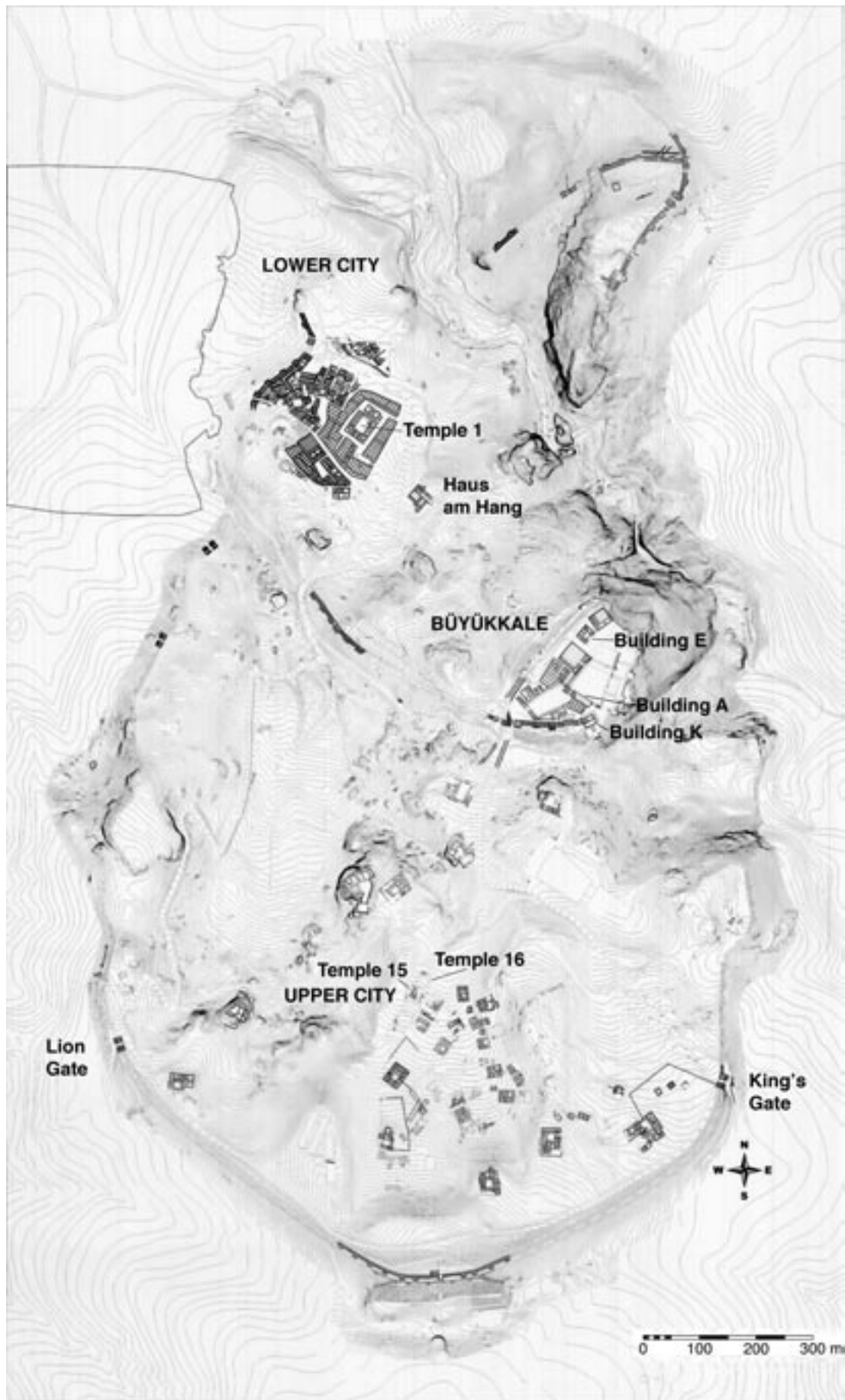
Figure 1. Map of Ḫattuša.

sidered with certainty as primary places of tablet storage in antiquity such as Building K on Büyükkale or Temples 15 and 16 in the Upper City. The primary character of some other locations is more difficult to ascertain while yet others are clearly secondary. On the whole, however, the number of tablets found at these other locations is very modest compared to those found at the three major ones.

3. BUILDING A, THE STOREROOMS SURROUNDING TEMPLE 1, AND THE HAUS AM HANG COMPARED

As found, all three locations reflect the situation as it was when the ruling elite decided to give up the residence and abandon it.[15] That is, the combination of contemporary late-thirteenth-century tablets and older ones from as early as ca. 1600 B.C. represents the real inventory of each structure.[16] The older records do not come from older strata and have not secondarily contaminated what theoretically could have been an original collection of, say, thirteenth-century records only.[17]

Focusing on Building A, the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 (StT1), and the Haus am Hang (HaH), I give below the number of pieces per building. For each building the numbers are broken down by date according to the script.

Old Script (OS)	1650–1500 B.C.
Middle Script (MS)	1500–1350 B.C.
New Script (NS)	1350–1180 B.C.

As a subgroup of NS we can identify

Late New Script (LNS)	1240–1180 B.C.

Needless to say, all dates are approximate and transitions were gradual. Note also that especially small fragments do not always contain enough diagnostic signs to determine a paleographic date. The number of dated pieces per building will therefore always be smaller than the total number for a building. In the following tables I have combined in the second column "OS?" with OS; likewise "OS?/MS?" and "MS?" were counted as MS. NS and LNS (Late New Script), however, I have kept separate.

Building A			
Total: 4,719			
Total datable to distinct periods (OS, MS, NS, LNS): 3,852			
OS	247	279	7.2%
OS?	32	—	—
OS?/MS?	9	—	—
MS	1,087	1,359	35.3%
MS?	263	—	—
NS	2,051	2,051	53.3%
LNS	163	163	4.2%

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[15] For the latest assessment of the end of the Hittite capital, see Jürgen Seeher, "Die Zerstörung der Stadt Ḫattuša," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg*, pp. 623–34.

[16] Cf. explicitly Otten, "Bibliotheken im alten Orient," pp. 71–73, further Peter Neve, *Büyükkale, die Bauwerke: Grabungen 1954–1966*, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 12 (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1982), pp. 104–07; see also Güterbock, "Bemerkungen," p. 136, and Otten apud Košak, *Konkordanz* I, pp. 6, 8.

[17] This is exactly the reason why the recognition of older ductus types had to wait until 1952, when for the first time in an archaeologically Old Hittite stratum a fragment was found that made it possible to distinguish in previously excavated material OS from MS and NS; cf. Heinrich Otten, "Die inschriftlichen Funde," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 86 (1953): 59–64. Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Ḫattuša," p. 14, still admitted the possibility that the Hittite written tradition did not start until the beginning of the Empire period.

Haus am Hang

Total: 1,635
Total datable to distinct periods (OS, MS, NS, LNS): 1,538

OS	18	23	1.5%
OS?	5	—	—
OS?/MS?	—	—	—
MS	41	67	4.4%
MS?	26	—	—
NS	1,243	1,243	80.8%
LNS	205	205	13.3%

Storerooms Surrounding Temple 1

Total: 5,502
Total datable to distinct periods (OS, MS, NS, LNS): 4,528

OS	41	44	1%
OS?	3	—	—
OS?/MS?	5	—	—
MS	220	370	8.2%
MS?	145	—	—
NS	3,846	3,846	84.9%
LNS	268	268	5.9%

The figures for the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 and the Haus am Hang do not include the number of fragments excavated during the campaigns of 1906/1907 and 1911/1912. These excavations were carried out by Hugo Winckler in the areas of the storerooms surrounding Temple 1, the Haus am Hang in the Lower City, and Building E on top of the west slope of Büyükkale. Although it seems that at least initially the general division of the more than 11,000 fragments found over these two main areas was known, this knowledge was soon lost.[18] It is only through later joins, diary entries of Winckler, and some scattered early remarks that we sometimes know at least the general locus (that is, either the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 or Building E) of some of these pieces, but their number is extremely small.

As stated above, the end of the tablet collections of Ḫattuša came with the abandonment of the capital by the ruling elite not long after 1200 B.C. Disregarding for the moment the tablets they may have taken with them, the archaeological situation thus reflects the state of the collections at that moment. So if we take ca. 1200 B.C. as our vantage point, we can view in a very general way tablets in OS and MS as the older ones and those in NS and LNS as contemporaneous. Although the NS period is longest of all, it is a reasonable assumption that the overwhelming majority of the NS tablets dates to the second half of the thirteenth century: general recycling principles versus the preservation of older records point in that direction.[19]

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[18] Cf. van den Hout, "Another View of Hittite Literature," p. 859 n. 5, to which can be added Kurt Bittel, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy 1936," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 75 (1937): 33; Hans G. Güterbock, "A View of Hittite Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84 (1964): 107; and Silvia Alaura, "Osservazioni sui luoghi di ritrova-

mento dei trattati internazionali a Boğazköy-Ḫattuša," in *Šarnikzel, Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*, edited by Detlev Groddek and Sylvester Rössle, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 10 (Dresden: Verlag der TU Dresden, 2004), pp. 140 f.

[19] See Muller, Feith, and Fruin, *Manual*, pp. 44–47; and van den Hout, "Another View of Hittite Literature," pp. 869 f.

We immediately see some interesting differences between Building A on the one hand and the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 and the Haus am Hang on the other:

	OS and MS	*NS including LNS*
Bldg. A	42.5%	57.5%
HaH	5.9%	94.1%
StT1	9.2%	90.8%

Another striking difference concerns the number of fragments in the very late script, LNS, per building:

Building A	4.2%
StT1	5.9%
HaH	13.3%

Let us look at the distribution of records in OS/MS and NS first. Building A stands out for its older holdings, an observation that can already be found in Hittitological literature although not in relation to other structures or to the empire's larger administrative system.[20] In both the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 and the Haus am Hang, OS tablets are rare while the number of MS records, though in itself not inconsiderable, is definitely small compared to that of Building A. It would now be interesting to see whether it can be determined if the NS tablets and fragments of Building A also contain a significant number of earlier records in that chronological range, that is, dating to Šuppiluliuma I, Muršili II, or Muwatalli II, roughly the period 1350–1275 B.C. As was stated above, the NS period is the longest and it may be possible that just as we can distinguish the LNS for the last two or three decades, we might also be able to distinguish an older type for the earliest NS layer.

These general observations match conclusions I recently drew from a more restricted corpus of almost 800 entries in an article on the administration in the reigns of the last three Hittite Great Kings.[21] On the basis of ephemeral records, that is, those that were as a rule not copied (see above § 2 Group B), records such as lists, economic and religious administration, court depositions, and letters on the one hand, and on the other hand those of Group A that can be securely dated to one of the last three known kings, some distribution of tasks or functions per building emerge. It is evident, for instance, that Building A does very poorly in the Group B records: lists and court depositions were never kept there while economic administration was virtually absent. The only ephemeral records that appear with some significance in Building A are oracles and correspondence, that is, the least ephemeral ones and those that, although not copied, were most likely to have longer-term implications and might be kept indefinitely if dealing with sensitive enough information.[22] Building A, on the other hand, does very well on long-term records of the most traditional kind: festivals and rituals. However, political documents such as treaties dating to the latest period are absent again.

Turning to the Haus am Hang, just as in Building A economic administration is surprisingly lacking there as well. Otherwise, all ephemeral genres (Group B) are found in good numbers there. Of these, cultic administration is clearly the dominant category of texts. Of the Group A texts, festivals and rituals datable to the latest period are rarely attested but there are four treaties — all, moreover, to be dated to the last known Hittite king, Šuppiluliyama II.

[20] Otten apud Košak, StBoT 34, p. 8; Košak, "The Palace Library 'Building A,'" pp. 173–79; Alaura, "Archive und Bibliotheken," p. 26.

[21] Theo van den Hout, "Administration in the Reign of Tutḫaliya IV and the Later Years of the Hittite Empire," in *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV*, edited by Theo van den Hout, pp. 77–106. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006).

[22] It has been claimed by Alaura, "Archive und Bibliotheken," p. 25, that the oracle texts in Bldg. A are of a different character than the ones found elsewhere, that is, those of Bldg. E would be dealing with the Hittite royal family, their political, cultic, and health-related problems exclusively; those of Bldg. A she does not characterize in similar fashion. This claim is hard to substantiate when almost all Hittite oracle texts involve such issues; for a listing of topics, see Ahmet Ünal, *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof (KUB XXII 70 = Bo 2011)*, Texte der Hethiter 6 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1978); for a listing of NS oracle texts from Bldg. A dealing with those same problems, see van den Hout, "Administration." That the only older oracle records come from Bldg. A (Alaura, ibid.) cannot be maintained either: it is true that with a single exception all older oracle fragments whose findspot we know were found on Büyükkale but only half can be traced back to Bldg. A. The older ones that were found in Boğazköy and whose findspot we do not know can theoretically come from the storerooms surrounding Temple 1, the Haus am Hang, or Bldg. E but not from A; on this, see Theo van den Hout, "Bemerkungen zu älteren hethitischen Orakeltexten," in *Kulturgeschichten, altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Thomas Richter, Doris Prechel, and Jörg Klinger (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001), pp. 432 f.

The storerooms surrounding Temple 1 have the widest coverage of genres of the three locations: all ephemeral genres are amply attested. It was clearly *the* center for economic administration. While relatively low on festivals and rituals, diplomatic documents such as treaties and edicts are well represented. Interesting, however, is that all that are securely datable stem from the reign of Tutḫaliya IV. No diplomatic documents of his second successor Šuppiluliyama can be identified. The same trend can be observed in cultic administration: those explicitly mentioning Tutḫaliya are found almost exclusively in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1.

So apart from the fact that the Haus am Hang seems to have had no role in the economic administration, which seems to have been handled (almost?[23]) exclusively by the storerooms surrounding Temple 1, the main difference otherwise between the Haus am Hang and the storerooms on the basis of this restricted corpus is chronological. As far as records go that mention a specific king, the Haus am Hang shows a significant presence of Šuppiluliyama records while the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 tend toward Tudḫaliya IV, his predecessor. On this basis one can hypothesize a first-line role for the Haus am Hang in the political and cultic administration, with the no-longer-quite-current documents being moved to the storerooms surrounding Temple 1. The next destination was either recycling or Building A. The high percentage of LNS records from the Haus am Hang (13.3%) vis-à-vis the other two (Bldg. A and the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 with 4.2% and 5.9% respectively) fits this observation remarkably well. A central role for the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 in economic administration is not surprising when one looks both at their layout as storage units as well as at their location between two streets that led immediately to two city gates where one imagines caravans with goods coming and going. Seen from a logistical perspective, a location of the economic administration on the acropolis — as has sometimes been suggested in the past — is quite unlikely.

Another conclusion to be drawn from all this is that there is no reason to assume a separate palace and temple administration for Ḫattuša where Building A would represent the interests of the palace while the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 would belong to the temple or priesthood.[24] The fact that storerooms contain the widest coverage of genres overlapping with both Building A and the Haus am Hang makes such a division improbable. This also means that the records found in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 do not necessarily have a connection with the temple in their midst.[25]

4. TABLET COLLECTIONS AND THE HITTITES' CLASSIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The labeling of Building A as a library[26] is, I think, confusing and misleading. The presence of old or older documents is by no means characteristic of a library and the breadth of genres represented there — even if slightly less broad than the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 — would raise the question of how this "library" differed from the collections in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 and the Haus am Hang. As I have already claimed above, almost the entire Hittite text corpus qualifies as archival according to the definition of archive(s) as used in archival science. The overwhelming majority of Hittite records were the products of the Hittite administration, encompassing both the records produced by that administration and the incoming records from elsewhere insofar as they were addressed to that administration.

An archive is passive and grows organically whereas a library actively selects. The two come together in a way when an administration regularly cleans up its holdings and through a process of appraisal and selection creates a center of records it wants to keep. Every administration faces the problem of an ever-growing number of records that have to be controlled, a past that has to be controlled. Weeding out records that are no longer useful from those that might be needed in the future is a necessary task. The result is a record center. It, too, is created through active selection, but the essential difference between a library and a record center is in its genesis: a library arises through acquisition and thus continuous *expansion* whereas a record center comes into being through a process of *reduction* of the much wider collection of the living archive.

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[23] For the possibility that economic administration was also partly located in Bldg. E, see my remarks in "Administration."

[24] See, for instance, Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 64 f.; compare also J. de Roos, "Vows Concerning Military Campaigns of Ḫattušiliš III and Tutḫaliaš IV," in de Martino and Pecchioli Daddi, eds., *Anatolia*

Antica, pp. 182 f., where he already notes the difficulties for the vow genre if we accept such a dual administration.

[25] Theoretically this may originally have been the case, but this was no longer true in, say, the thirteenth century and there is nothing that points to an older, different function.

[26] See above § 1.

Given the fact that Building A, the storerooms surrounding Temple 1, and the Haus am Hang existed simultaneously, we should try to see them as parts of a larger, coherent system. Within that larger context Building A seems to have functioned in modern archival terms as a record center and, judging by the presence of LNS records in Building A, the practice of appraisal and selection continued until the last moment.

The existence of such record centers or (historical) archives in the relatively modern American usage has usually been denied for the ancient Near East.[27] For the ancient Near East outside of Anatolia, this seems largely true: not one (second-millennium) site shows the same diversity of genres as part of one coherent administrative system combined with the time depth of almost 500 years as do the tablet collections of Ḫattuša.

Older archival theory saw a collection of records as directly reflecting an administration. Modern archivists take a more liberal approach: they focus "on the larger or 'macro' context of the records, as revealed through their creators' functions, programs, activities, and transactions, that is, through the context of their creation."[28] This shift in approach has everything to do with the task of the modern archivist: namely, to appraise and select. The resulting archive should now be "reflective of society at large." Archivists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century wrote about record collections of a distant, mostly medieval, past as part of a historian's profession. They primarily *described* collections that had already been appraised and selected by "the rude wasting of old times." Their colleagues of the 1930s and later, on the other hand, facing an ever mounting and increasingly unwieldy number of records of contemporary administrations, had themselves to appraise and select in order to provide the future historian with the necessary and yet manageable amount of records. If we apply this view of archives as "reflective of society at large" to ancient Near Eastern collections as a descriptive tool instead of a prescriptive guideline, "society" in the Hittite case equals the empire's ruling class, the creators of the records, and virtually the only level of Hittite society we are informed about. If so, what do the above observations say about them?

Despite his use of the word "library," Heinrich Otten's words are still true: "Die Frage nach dem Vorhandensein von Bibliotheken im alten Orient ist zunächst ein geistesgeschichtliches Anliegen, ist doch, nach der Erfindung der Schrift, die Sammlung und Tradierung von Wissensgut eine der wesentlichen Voraussetzungen menschlicher geistiger Entwicklung."[29] The global distinction between administrative centers in the Lower City, right there where daily business was conducted, and a special reference collection in a record center atop the acropolis reflects not just the workings of Hittite administration but also says something of its use of history. It is a well-known fact that Hittite kings legitimized their acts not so much by divine right as by historical inevitability. Political decisions were explicitly and routinely founded on past experience. In order to do so effectively—and if anything, Hittites seem to have been effective bureaucrats[30]—one needs to preserve such older sources, to have a system in place to appraise and select contemporaneous records as well as to retrieve them. Building A was that place where older sources were kept for ready reference, and its collection was the result of appraisal and selection, reflecting the Hittites' classification of their knowledge. The organization of that classification, how texts were grouped and shelved within that center, is a question for the future, just as is Building A's exact relationship to the storerooms surrounding Temple 1,[31] but the records themselves contain ample illustration that Hittite officials were able to find their way around the thousands of records kept there.

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[27] Thus relatively recently Klaas R. Veenhof, "Cuneiform Archives: An Introduction," in Veenhof, *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, p. 7; followed by Jeremy Black and William Tait, "Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack Sasson (New York: Scribner, 1995), p. 2202a. For older remarks to the same effect, see G. Goossens, "Introduction à l'archivéconomie de l'Asie antérieure," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 46 (1952): 100; Johannes Papritz, "Archive in Altmesopotamien: Theorie und Tatsachen," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 55 (1959): 18; and Ernst Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 4 f. An interesting exception can be found at Ugarit where less current records, some of which went back up to 150 years, were kept "upstairs" and the current ones "downstairs": see on this Wilfred

van Soldt, "The Palace Archives at Ugarit," in Veenhof, *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, pp. 196–204.

[28] Terry Cook, "Archives in the Post-Custodial World: Interaction of Archival Theory and Practice Since the Publication of the Dutch Manual in 1898," *Archivum* 43 (1997): 200.

[29] Otten, "Bibliotheken im alten Orient," p. 67.

[30] See Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Ḫattuša," p. 71: "les bibliothécaires hittites étaient gens ordonnés."

[31] It is possible we will never know for lack of enough detailed archaeological evidence, but a more detailed analysis of the records kept there will no doubt bring us further.