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The Kültepe Tablets in the Hilprecht-Sammlung. A Contribution to the Chronology of their Trade and Collecting

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[U]nd durch private Angaben wusste ich, dass eine Zeitlang bei Händlern in Konstantinopel zahlreiche dieser Tafeln zu haben gewesen waren. Wo sie, wie so viele andere von Boghazköi, von denen man mir erzählt hat, geblieben sind, wird vielleicht immer unbekannt bleiben. H. V. Hilprecht hat eine ganze Anzahl davon und in Kaisariye erworben — veröffentlicht ist darüber noch nichts. (Winckler, 1906: 5)

Introduction

Hilprecht had many passions and one of these was for a relatively new branch of Assyriology, the study of Old Assyrian tablets found in Cappadocia. This article deals with the texts from Kültepe in the Hilprecht-Sammlung in Jena and those in other collections, and addresses the questions of how and when they were collected.²

1. Kültepe: the site

Kültepe, ancient Kanesh, attracted the attention of the academic world in the late nineteenth century because of clay tablets that local villagers unearthed there and sold to antiquity dealers. Interested travelers and scholars bought these distinctive texts in Kayseri and Constantinople and the tablets were called Cappadocian after their region of origin. Hugo Winckler was one

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² I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Johannes Hackl, Jena, for allowing me to consult the pertinent part of the catalogue of the Hilprecht-Sammlung. Thanks are also due to Prof. Dr. Enrique Jiménez, München, for making available to me passages from unpublished letters relating to Hilprecht. Of great value were the documents in the *Nachlass* (with HSN signature) kept at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena and accessible on the website of the Hilprecht Archive Online (<https://hilprecht.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de>), created by Prof. Dr. Manfred Krebernik, and at Nippur Digitized (<https://nippur-digitized.com>), the work of Dr. Aage Westenholz, Inger Jentoft and Dr. Ulla Koch. Other documents are kept at Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections (with BPL signature). The word “text” in the present article denotes not only complete tablets and envelopes, but also (small) fragments thereof.

of the first scholars, if not the first, to point out the harmful effects on archaeology exercised by foreign buyers of antiquities.³

The first ‘discovery’ and scholarly discussion of a Cappadocian tablet were by Pinches in 1881; the understanding of the texts was enhanced by Golenishchev whose 1891 publication considerably increased the number of texts available for study, and especially by Delitzsch (1893). Jensen was the first to recognize the toponym Kanesh.⁴

There were strong indications that this type of tablet was found at Kültepe.⁵ Until 1925, it was widely believed that the tablets were found on the mound,⁶ and an unknown number of texts were indeed unearthed there.⁷ Hilprecht found a small fragment on the mound during a visit to the site in 1900.⁸ Excavations were conducted on the mound by Chantre in 1894. A German concession to excavate at Kültepe⁹ led to one short excavation by Winckler in 1906.¹⁰ But neither Chantre nor Winckler found any texts in the mound.

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- 3 Winckler, 1906: 9: “In diesem Jahre bestätigte dann derselbe Händler in Kaisariye, durch dessen Hände die meisten der Tontafeln von Kül-tepe gegangen waren, dass er auch ‘grosse Tafeln’ von Boghaz-köi in den Handel gebracht habe. Das aufkaufende Globetrottertum hat also auch hier seine der Wissenschaft nachteilige Rolle gespielt”.
- 4 Jensen, 1894: 76.
- 5 Boissier (1897: 37): “Il est possible, il est même probable que toutes les antiquités qui sont vendues au bazar de Césarée proviennent de cet endroit. (...) Mais les habitants du petit village voisin au pied du grand tertre connaissent seuls le lieu où il conviendrait de pratiquer des fouilles fructueuses”.
- 6 Thureau-Dangin (1911: 142): “Les tablettes dites cappadociennes forment un ensemble homogène provenant d’un tell appelé Gül-tépé ou Kara-euyuk”.
- 7 Cf. Hrozný (1927: 12 n.1): “D’après les informations des villageois on n’a trouvé que rarement des tablettes au Kultépé même. Seul un homme m’a raconté qu’une fois — il y a longtemps — on avait trouvé au Kultépé un assez grand lot de tablettes. Il m’a montré cette place, mais c’était dans les derniers jours de mon séjour à Kara Euyouk, de sorte que je ne pouvais plus y faire quelques sondages. Si cette information est exacte, on pourrait supposer que les premières tablettes cappadociennes, publiées par exemple par Golénischeff, où il y a des noms un peu différents de ceux des autres tablettes, proviennent de cet endroit”. See also below. Siegelová (2017: 103) writes that Hrozný learned that “[T]he first tablets were found on the mound. It would have been sometime in the 1880s–1890s that these diggers have found ‘perhaps some hundreds of tablets and nice envelopes’ at two places close to each other (...). The digs and discoveries in the meadow below the mound would have followed later (...) and lasted until as late as the summer of 1914”.
- 8 TMH 1, 6e HS 290; the preserved text consists of five lines with two or three signs each, too few to identify even a single word. It is unknown where on the mound Hilprecht found this fragment.
- 9 Sayce in a letter to J. Garstang from 10 November 1907, quoted in Alaura (2020: 55): “The German concession includes Kara Eyuk (or Kül Tepé) near Kaisarya, where the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets are found, as well as Boghaz Keui”.
- 10 Winckler (1906: 27–28) reports: “Der erste Blick auf den eigenartigen Hügel zeigte, dass nur von einer völligen Abtragung des scharf umrissenen Hügels eine Gewinnung der darin begrabenen Altertümer zu erwarten ist. Die Stellen, an denen die Tontafeln gefunden worden sein sollten, wurden zwar ungefähr bezeichnet, aber es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob wahrheitsgemäss. (...) Aber eine wissenschaftlich wertvolle Ausbeute könnte, wie gesagt, nur von völliger Abtragung erwartet werden, und für diese wären recht beträchtliche Mittel nötig. Einige in Kaisariye erworbene Stücke — kleine Pferdeköpfe aus Ton, nur wenige Bruchstücke von Tontafeln — stellen dar, was wohl jetzt noch von früheren Funden gesammelt werden konnte. Wir haben im ganzen 8 Tage dort zugebracht und mehrere Versuchsgräben mit dem angegebenen Ergebnisse geöffnet”. Similarly Hrozný to Böhl (postcard from 2 July 1926, NINO collection, see Dercksen, 2014: 113): “Ich weiss nicht, ob ich bald auf Kültepe werde graben können. Die notwendige völlige Abtragung des Hügels würde viel Geld kosten. Es sind aber weitere Tafelfunde zu erwarten”.

It was Hrozný who in 1925 identified a field at the foot of the mound as the place where villagers had found many tablets over a decade ago. Hrozný was unaware of the stratigraphy of the ruins he discovered. The excavations by Tahsin Özgüç, which started in 1948, demonstrated that there are in fact two levels of what turned out to have been the lower town of ancient Kanesh which yield cuneiform documents. Most tablets are to be found in level II, which ended about 1835 BCE, with the bulk of the texts stemming from a 30-year period, about 1895–1865 BCE. A smaller number of cuneiform documents is found in a younger layer, called level Ib, which existed for more than a century until about 1700 BCE. The dating of texts is possible thanks to the Assyrian custom of dating the year after the officiating eponym in Assur, and the identification of lists of these eponyms in chronological order.¹¹ However, most texts lack any dating and references to a ‘week-eponym’ (*hamuštum*), month, or year-eponym are with few exceptions limited to debt-notes.

Continuous excavations in the lower town area of Kültepe have led to the discovery of dozens of houses and nearly 23,000 texts.¹²

2. Hilprecht as a collector

On his multiple journeys to Constantinople and Anatolia, Hilprecht acquired many cuneiform tablets. He refers to this collection in several unpublished letters. With the help of these sources we learn about the number of texts in the collection and the place where they were acquired. The first mention I was able to locate is in a letter that Hilprecht wrote from Philadelphia on 27 December 1893 to the Dutch scholar Cornelis Petrus Tiele, where he writes:

Auch mit den cappadocischen Tafeln habe ich mich jetzt eingehend beschäftigt, da ich in meinem Besitze über 50 Tafeln habe, die als Band 2¹³ erscheinen sollen. Es läßt sich jetzt mit großer Bestimmtheit sagen, daß dieselben in gutem Semitisch geschrieben u. wahrscheinlich besser als „Altassyrische Tafeln aus Cappadocien“ zu bezeichnen sind. Gegen Delitzsch stammen dieselben aus dem 3ten Jahrtausend a.C. In den von Delitzsch besprochenen Tafeln Golénischeff's habe ich 4 Städte bis jetzt gefunden — sämtlich ohne Determinativ geschrieben, was wichtig ist für meine Lesung šar Kiš in den ältesten Semit. Texten.¹⁴

This quote shows that the designation ‘Old Assyrian’ was coined by Hilprecht, who otherwise did not contribute greatly to Old Assyrian studies and his important collection remained unpublished during his lifetime. The number of tablets practically doubled in the next three

11 See Barjamovic / Hertel / Larsen, 2012, who introduced the abbreviation REL (“revised eponym list”) followed by a sequential number.

12 See Hertel, 2014.

13 See below.

14 Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 2710 Hilprecht no. 3. The publication referred to is Delitzsch, 1893.

years and Hilprecht mentions in a letter to Heinrich Zimmern dated 22 October 1896 that he possesses about 100 texts.¹⁵

In a letter to Julius Lewy from 18 September 1922, Hilprecht thanks him for sending his book *Studien zu den Altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* and writes:

*Dieser Gegenstand hat ja seit jener Zeit, wo ich in einer Note in meinem „Assyriaca“ vor nahezu 30 Jahren, ihre Zeit zum ersten male annähernd richtig bestimmte, stets mein lebendiges Interesse gehabt, und auf meinen häufigen Wanderungen in Kleinasien ruhte ich nicht eher, bis ich auf den eigenartigen Ruinen von Gültepe, dem hauptsächlichsten Fundort jener Tafeln, selbst ein kleines Fragment einer Kappadokischen Tafel aufgelesen und ein anderes von einem Bauer Gül-tepes persönlich erworben hatte, um den Ursprungs-ort der Tafeln festzustellen. Meine eigene Sammlung beläuft sich auf 400–500 Stück.*¹⁶

Hilprecht died in 1925 and most of his collection of Mesopotamian antiquities arrived in Jena in 1926. Julius Lewy published the texts in the collection in Jena in *Die Keilschrifttexte aus Kleinasien* (= TMH 1, with 119 texts) in 1932 and, referring to the letter just quoted, wrote in his preface:

Hilprecht, der als erster schon 1893 das Alter der am Kültepe gefundenen altassyrischen, damals noch allgemein ‘kappadokisch’ genannten Tafeln richtig bestimmt hat, hat diesem Teil der Sammlung stets ein besonderes Interesse entgegengebracht, insbesondere auch schon selbst für die Aufbewahrung der Tafeln in sorgfältig etikettierten, mit Inventar-nummern versehenen Kästchen gesorgt. Noch etwa 2 Jahre vor seinem Hinscheiden schrieb er voll Stolz an den Unterzeichneten, er habe nicht geruht, bis er nicht nur eine größere Sammlung solcher Tafeln erworben, sondern auch selbst ein Fragment auf dem Kültepe gefunden habe.

Hilprecht, as implied by Lewy, carefully recorded when and where he acquired texts on handwritten notes that were put in the boxes containing the pertinent tablets. Unfortunately, many of these notes and even tablets were lost during the chaos at the end of the Second World War.¹⁷ Today, 70 out of the 119 texts in the collection at Jena published by Lewy still have Hilprecht’s notes. These 70 texts were all acquired between 1897 and 1904 and their notes present the following picture (HS numbers in brackets):

- **1897:** Sixteen texts were acquired in Constantinople (274, 275 [275A and 275B=373+375+419+424+425+427+430+431], 276, 277, 278, 279, 280 [280A and 280B=

15 “Ich war diesen Sommer in Kleinasien und habe nun nahezu 100 Kappadok[ische] Tafeln zusammen. Meine Arbeit darüber soll nun bald beginnen, zumal ich den Hügel aus dem sie stammen, definitiv kenne.” (Nachlass Heinrich Zimmern, NL 144/H/177, Blatt 177, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig; reference and transcription courtesy Enrique Jiménez). Cf. “As early as 1895 I had reached the conclusion that the paleographical evidence offered by nearly 100 Cappadocian tablets which I had gathered in connection with several trips through Western Asia, points to the second half of the third millennium as the time when these tablets were written” (Hilprecht in Ranke, 1905: 40 note 9).

16 The American Jewish Archives (Cincinnati, OH), Julius Lewy Papers. Box 1, Folder 4. Reference and transcription courtesy Enrique Jiménez.

17 Oelsner, 1991: 60 with note 8, 63.

- 381a+415+418+371+420], 281, 282 [282A and 282B=416+423+421+428], 283, 284, 285 [285A and 285B], 286, 287, 288, 289);
- **1900**: one text from Kültepe (290); twenty-four (and likely three more) acquired in Constantinople (351, 352, 353 [353A, 353B], 354 [354A, 354B], 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, (also 361?), 362, (also 363?), 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, (also 369?), 378, 379, 380, 384 [384a, 384b], 385, 386, 387, 388, 432);
 - **1901**: nine texts acquired in Constantinople (306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, and a forgery [316]);
 - **1903**: ten texts acquired in Constantinople (291, 292 [292A and 292B], 293A, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299 [299a, 299b], 300);
 - **1904**: ten texts acquired in Constantinople, likely one more (434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, (also 443?), 444);
 - **1907**: a fake tablet from Konya (429).

We therefore lack direct information about the “over 50” texts that Hilprecht claimed to possess by the end of 1893. Several of the texts published in TMH 1, usually cases (the B numbers in the list above), consist of two or more joined fragments each carrying their own inventory number. Due to such composite texts, the 119 texts in TMH 1 consist in fact of 154 items, and here I count tablet and case as two, and joined fragments separately. The database of the Hilprecht-Sammlung contains 162 items, including six small fragments of HS381 and the two fake tablets that Lewy ignored in TMH 1.

How do these 160 tablets and fragments (which by joining and counting tablet and case as one can be reduced to 119 “texts”) compare to Hilprecht’s statement that he possessed “400–500 Stück” in his letter to Lewy? Granting that there will be a fair quantity of small fragments, it seems curious that a collector would allow for a margin of 25% in the number of texts. It is clear that the complete collection of Kültepe texts in the possession of his widow did not arrive in Jena in 1926, as Mrs. Hilprecht made a bequest of 59 texts (perhaps included in the “400–500”) to the Philadelphia Art Museum in 1929.¹⁸ In any case, the rest was not in Jena because it is unlikely that Lewy would have considered useless some 180–280 fragments without making a single remark about this in his publication.

The “about 100 texts” in 1896 may consist of tablets and fragments or perhaps already joined fragments. If we consider that Hilprecht according to the preserved notes acquired at least 70 texts between 1897 and 1904, he would have possessed about 170 in all, which evidently included unjoined fragments in the light of the number of texts published in TMH 1.

Among the texts bought between 1897 and 1904 are seven composite texts consisting of multiple fragments and tablets and corresponding case fragments, in all 28 items (275: 9 nos.; 280: 6; 282: 5; 285: 2; 299: 2; 353: 2; 354: 2). The remaining composite texts according to the publication in TMH 1 are five (twelve items), some of which may or may not have been included in the “about 100 texts” in 1896.

As mentioned, the Kültepe texts in the Hilprecht-Sammlung in Jena were published by Julius Lewy.¹⁹ They form a mix of well-preserved tablets and fragments, some case fragments and a bulla. There are letters, debt-notes, protocols of legal cases, and notes. There even are

18 Kramer, 1968: 2. These texts were given the numbers L29-553–631.

19 See also Lewy’s curriculum vitae, dated Giessen 8 July 1933: “Für die Universität Jena gebe ich ehrenamtlich die Publikationen der dortigen Hilprecht-Sammlung heraus.” (Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 3081 J. Lewy 10a).

some texts that belong to the Assyrian administration. The chronological range of the Kültepe texts published in TMH 1 more or less resembles that from other collections and nearly all texts dated by an eponym fall between REL 80 and 110. There is one important exception: a single tablet dates to the level Ib period (HS 444 dated to REL 194, ca. 1779 BCE).

The texts published in TMH 1 will be compared to other early Kültepe texts, that is, those unearthed prior to the major find in 1913, in the final section below to establish possible links.

3. How Hilprecht obtained tablets

Once in the hands of dealers in Kayseri or Constantinople, Kültepe tablets found their way to scholars and collectors in Europe and the United States, where they became part of private and museum collections. This was in spite of legislation to combat the export of antiquities from the Ottoman Empire, which was highly ineffective (see below). Hilprecht was a fervent collector, not only of things Mesopotamian, but also of art from other periods and regions. When in Constantinople, he would visit the bazaar and make purchases.²⁰ So, there was nothing remarkable about how Hilprecht obtained his Kültepe tablets. In his own words, he acquired his texts “auf ½ Dutzend Excursionen”²¹ — which will be only part of the story, since the surviving notes mentioned above already refer to six different years — and the same notes make it clear that the sellers were almost exclusively dealers in Constantinople. One text he found himself on Kültepe and another one he bought from a villager there, but it is not known which text this last one was and when this happened.

The documentation in Hilprecht’s *Nachlass* in Jena or in other archives does not explicitly mention the purchase of Kültepe texts for Hilprecht’s private collection. The *Nachlass* does contain some evidence of purchases paid for by the University of Pennsylvania. Much information about the trade pattern by which tablets were offered for sale in Constantinople and the dealers involved is contained in several letters written by Dr. Albert Long, who kept Hilprecht informed about any object on sale that might interest him.²²

But I start with a peculiar incident that greatly angered Hilprecht, then recently appointed professor of Assyriology in Philadelphia. In October 1888, seven years after the first scholarly attempt to read a Cappadocian tablet by Pinches, Peters bought a number of Kültepe texts (the quantity differs) in Constantinople.²³ He intended to send them to Sayce in Oxford because he

20 See the Introduction in Warden, 1997.

21 In a letter to Carl Bezold from 9 March 1907, Hilprecht writes: “Die Tafeln von Gül-Tepe und Boghazköi sind in Vorbereitung. Ich habe sie auf ½ Dutzend Excursionen in Kleinasien gesammelt.” (Nachlass Carl Bezold, Hs. 1501,83, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg; reference and transcription courtesy Enrique Jiménez).

22 For Dr. Long, see below. Long’s activities also emerge from a letter of David Gordon Lyon to Hilprecht, sent from Cambridge (HSN01221 from 10 May 1897): “When you go to Constantinople we should be glad to have you & Dr. Long spend the balance of the Sem. Mus. money now in his hands in buying for us some good Babylonian tablets, and I should be grateful to you both for this service”.

23 Peters (1899: 46): “With his [i.e. Dr. Long’s] assistance, I endeavored also to come into contact with the dealers in antiquities, only to ascertain that very little from Irak finds its way to the capital. I secured, however, a good but small collection of inscribed clay tablets from the neighbourhood of Caesarea in Cappadocia”. The tablets are mentioned by Peters in a List of antiquities from Oscar S. Straus, 1888: “By letter post through the English post-office I send a box of miscellaneous contents as follows: (...)”

considered them too difficult for the cuneiform specialists in Philadelphia to decipher. Hilprecht expressed his feelings in the following characteristic lines:

*In Stambul's narrow streets there came from Cappadocia's ancient walls eleven tablets full of wedges once in Peters' hands. (...) The tablets bought for Philadelphian gold and for the scholars of America were — as a letter tells me just received — too great and difficult to have them studied up in Philadelphia. In Oxford they are now that British scholars teach their colony of oldest times, what Assur thought and Europe thinks about this Expedition's gloria.*²⁴

Now, it appears that Sayce did study Cappadocian texts in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania, perhaps this lot.²⁵ It is not known whether Hilprecht at the time had already developed an interest in this type of text and perhaps possessed one or more of such tablets, or whether it was the action by Peters that triggered his interest.

The identical lot of Cappadocian texts that Peters bought in October 1888, is mentioned during the investigations by the Committee of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania into the Peters-Hilprecht controversy. On 15 April 1905, Peters was asked what was purchased by or through the Nippur expeditions of 1889 and 1890. He replied:

*I do not know the number of them. All my books were handed over so long ago to the University. There were, I think, two collections in London and one in Bagdad, and then there was the Noorian collection, and then there was a collection of Cappadocian tablets and there were various small objects, but I do not know in what they were, or the number of them now.*²⁶

Hilprecht referred to the same lot of Cappadocian texts in a footnote in his *Explorations in Bible Lands*:

In the course of the first expedition there were purchased through different members of the staff five distinct collections of Babylonian antiquities, containing about 1800 specimens

2. 3 bronze objects from Caesarea in Kappadokia. 3. 15 tablets & fragments of tablets with cuneiform writing from Caesarea in Kappadokia. (...)” (UPMAA_Nippur_01.06, 104–105. L-29. HO). The price of these tablets is listed in the overview by the banker, Edward White Clark, from 1889: “Kappadocian tablets £ 18 (=) 1,980” (HSN02771 Journal page 11).

24 Letter of Hilprecht to Trumbull, 3 December 1888 (UPMMA_Nippur_01.06, 60–67. L-1432.10. HO at nippur-digitized.com). Other references by Hilprecht can be found in Hilprecht's *Tagebuch* of the First Babylonian Expedition, 1888/89 (UPMMA_Nippur_10.01, 1–9. L-625. HO), 29 October 1888: “(...) Peters' Brief regt mich auf. (...) Das Schlimmste und Nichtswürdigste ist die Mitteilung, daß er etliche Cappadocische Keilschrifttafeln (13) aus Caesarea gekauft und sie beabsichtigt an Prof. Sayce nach Oxford zu senden zum Entziffern”. And from a letter by Hilprecht to Pepper, Iskanderûn, 15 November 1888 (UPMAA_Nippur_01.06, 8–9. L-1432.7. HO): “... He [i.e., Peters] bought about 11 Cappadocian cuneiform inscriptions in Constantinopel and told me he was going to send them to Prof Sayce in Oxford, as they were very difficult”.

25 Sayce, 1918.

26 Hilprecht, 1908: 58. The collection of Shemtob was bought in London for £350 according to Edward White Clark, HSN02771 Journal page 8.

(tablets, seals, jewelry), namely, Colls. *Kh(abaza)*¹, *Kh*², *Sh(emptob)*, Mrs. H. V. H(ilprecht), D. J. P(rince), besides a collection of Cappadocian tablets and other antiquities.²⁷

The seals Hilprecht (and Peters) bought for the University Museum have been specified in a study by Legrain.²⁸ A few years later, when asked by the Committee of the Trustees how many objects were purchased and in the possession of the University Museum, Hilprecht's answer was: "If you include also the Kappadokian tablets and antiquities, which by a peculiar combination of circumstances I also regard as the scientific result of our four expeditions, I would say the acquired objects will number at least 1800 pieces".²⁹

If my understanding is correct that the statements just mentioned all refer to the group of texts that Peters acquired in Constantinople in October 1888, then there were at least three other times when the University obtained Cappadocian texts, this time through the agency of Hilprecht. Among the documents in the *Nachlass* in Jena relating to Hilprecht's position at the University of Pennsylvania there is one detailing expenses made by the Assyrian Department.³⁰ It mentions for April 1894: "Cappadocian tablets bought from Dr. A. Long 25.00".³¹ And a year later, on 4 April 1895, four fragments were bought for 8 dollar from Daniel Z. Noorian, the Armenian who had been the interpreter of the Nippur excavation teams and now an art dealer in the USA.³² These tablets seem to have entered the university collection, as their costs are listed among university expenses; if this is the case, they must be among the texts published in *JSOR* 11 (abbreviated KTP). Shortly after 1900, Hilprecht bought a group of texts for the Museum; these texts received CBS numbers,³³ and were published in *JSOR* 11 and part of Gwaltney, 1983: 69 texts in all.

The documents I was able to consult do not contain any information about the purchase of the 59 texts which Mrs. Hilprecht was to bequeath to the Philadelphia Art Museum in 1929 and so it must remain unresolved whether these texts had always been her property; the personal names in many of these texts suggest that this group was acquired after 1913.

Hilprecht intended to publish the Cappadocian texts in Pennsylvania in the series *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* (abbreviated BE) as appears from Appendix C in his publication of 1908; listed under "II. Volumes in Course of Preparation. Series A, Cuneiform Texts" we find "Vol. XI: Cuneiform Tablets from Kappadokia. Part 1, by H.V.

27 Hilprecht, 1903: 301 n.4.

28 Legrain, 1925: 74: Source of the collection in the University Museum, "5. Bought by Dr. John P. Peters in 1890–1891 (...). In Constantinople from Cappadocia. CBS 9346 to 9348, 9369, 9373 to 9382, and probably 9338, 9339, 9343 to 9345. 6. Bought by Prof. H. V. Hilprecht in 1889 at Nippur (...). In Constantinople from Göl-Tepe, Cappadocia. CBS 5694, 5701".

29 Hilprecht, 1908: 210.

30 HSN00077: Assyrian Department. C. Costs.

31 The Credit Line at penn.museum/collections has Dr. Long as a seller, but not of tablets.

32 "4 Capp. tablets" (HSN00078: Assyrian Department. A. Current expenses. Expenses for the equipment and sustenance of the Assyrian Department 1894). The Credit Line at penn.museum/collections/ has Noorian as seller of in all nine objects including one (non-Old Assyrian) tablet in 1891 and 1895. On Noorian as an art dealer, see Mairs / Muratov, 2015. Shortly after selling these four fragments, Noorian sold 455 tablets (more than half from Telloh) to supporters of Columbia University (cdli.ucla.edu/collections/Columbia/Columbia_intro.html). Among the items auctioned after Noorian's death, there was only one lot of "one hundred and twenty Babylonian cuneiform clay tablets" (American Art Association, 1931: 15 lot 111), but not a single Kültepe tablet.

33 Kramer, 1968: 2.

Hilprecht. Part 2, by Hugo Radau”.³⁴ This would be appropriate for texts purchased during the Nippur expedition. However, the books never appeared, and Radau worked on Sumerian texts from the end of 1908.³⁵ The number of CBS texts later published in *JSOR* 11 and by Gwaltney (1983) would justify one volume — note that the smallest volume part in the series, BE 20/1, contains only 47 texts — but to produce two parts seems odd. However, the mention of a planned “Band 2” in the letter to Tiele from December 1893 quoted above, in which the over 50 texts from Hilprecht’s own collection would be published, may well refer to a planned volume in the series BE (BE 1/1 appeared in 1893); a plan that was later revised because of the augmented number of texts in the collection and after Radau became involved. This gives the impression that Hilprecht intended to include texts from his own collection in the BE series. The copies which Hilprecht and Radau must have made were ignored or unavailable when Stephens published the texts in the University Museum in 1927, using copies made by Charles and Chiera instead.³⁶

It seems very likely that Hilprecht also obtained Kültepe texts for his private collection from Albert Long, “sous-directeur et professeur de sciences naturelles au collège Robert de Roumélie-Hissar”.³⁷ From the letters which Long sent to Hilprecht he appears to have been an amateur collector of antiquities, and he was acquainted with several antiquity dealers. Among the dealers that Long visited in Constantinople was Dikran Kelekian (1868–1951), the son of an Armenian banker from Kayseri; Dikran and his brother Kevork became antiquities dealers in Constantinople in 1892,³⁸ and soon expanded their business opening shops abroad, even in the United States. Dikran is probably the person referred to when Long writes in a letter from 9 October 1896:

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- 34 Hilprecht, 1908: 357. Cf. Hilprecht’s optimistic statement about these volumes in a letter to Zimmern from 24 January 1908: “[S]ind folgende Bände in Bearbeitung und zum Teil so weit vorgeschritten, dass eine Anzahl davon noch in diesem Jahr in den Druck gehen kann: (...) 6. Vol. XII Kappadokische Tafeln by Hilprecht (ca. nur ¼ jedes Bandes fertig), 7. [Vol.] XIII Kappadokische Tafeln by Radau (ca. nur ¼ jedes Bandes fertig).” (Nachlass Heinrich Zimmern, NL 144/H/207, Blatt 207, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig; reference and transcription courtesy Enrique Jiménez).
- 35 BE 29/1 (1911): vii. The Nachlass in Jena contains letters of Radau to Hilprecht that document the beginning of his involvement: “[E]nclosed I send you an official letter asking permission to take part in publishing your valuable Library.” (HSN01895 from 9 March 1906). And: “I shall be in Philadelphia by Nov. 1. as you want me to be and oh, what pleasure and joy it will give me to be permitted once more to spend all my time with you and the tablets!” (HSN02688 from 2 September 1906). The preserved letters from 1907 and 1908 show Radau working on the Cassite letters (published in BE 17) and do not contain any reference to the Cappadocian texts.
- 36 K. R. Veenhof identified a number of copies strongly resembling the hand of Radau among the Landsberger Papers, Chicago; the copies are of the tablets published as *JSOR* 11 nos. 3–8, 17, 21, 28, 30, 32, 34, 40, 43. The copies are better and more realistic; the obverse and reverse are changed in nos. 32 and 40.
- 37 *Annuaire oriental du commerce* etc. 1891: 352.
- 38 Simpson, 2001: 104. *The Annuaire oriental du commerce* etc. of 1891: 338 already lists “Kelekian (Kevork), curiosités orientales, R. Indjidjiler, 6, 8, au Grand Bazar, S.” (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9341936/f335.item>); in the edition of 1893/1894, 330, “Kévork” has a business partner called N. Samandjian. In a letter to Plimpton from 21 February 1907, Hilprecht refers to the dealers in clay tablets as “In the bazaars of Constantinople those agents who sell cuneiform tablets are uneducated Armenians, who do not know cuneiform writing”, see Robson, 2002: 255.

*Yesterday I was in town and I saw our young Kappadokian friend, whose life was saved by a marvel. He has just received from the old place a few more cuneiform fragments. I saw them, ten in all — two or three perhaps worth nothing but the others half size and fairly preserved and the writing I think Kappadokian. I do not know but I believe he would give them for sixty francs. If you wish, let me know and I will secure them for you. I have not seen your friend Ludovic. In fact not only Armenians but businessmen of all nationalities are very much scattered and their business ruined.*³⁹

The event alluded to in the first sentence is the massacre of Armenians in Constantinople in August–September 1896. Twelve years later, Dikran Kelekian would sell antiquities to Hilprecht from his office in New York.⁴⁰

Another dealer in Constantinople was a man of Italian descent named “senor Ludovici”.⁴¹ In a letter from 14 July 1899, Long writes:

*I am sorry that you are detained and thus prevented from your Kappadokian trip this year. ... Speaking of Kappadokia I saw in the hands of the elder Kelekian the other day four of five fragments of Caesarea tablets which I think you would buy if you could see them. ... I have not seen anything lately worthy of note. I have not frequented the *Antikadji's* [i.e. Turkish antikacı “antiquity dealer”] very much having no money to spend. Senor Ludovici enquired very affectionately after you the other day but he had nothing new to offer.*⁴²

One month earlier, Long had not seen any tablet for sale.⁴³

By means of these dealers (and Dr. Long) and during his own journeys, Hilprecht collected tablets from Kültepe. In order to find out what archival context his texts may have, I will first outline and briefly discuss the “early texts”, that is the evidence that was unearthed and sold from the first tablet from Kültepe to shortly before the great discovery made in late 1913, among which Hilprecht’s texts are to be situated. After that, the Great Find in late 1913 will be discussed, followed by an attempt to group texts in the Hilprecht collection with other publications.

39 HSN01223.

40 The *Nachlass* contains a group of four letters sent by Kelekian to Hilprecht in December 1908, dealing with Babylonian tablets: HSN02765 of 8 December; HSN02764 of 16 December: “5 tablets at \$5 each, 1 tablet (large) 10”; HSN02767 of 21 December: Hilprecht returned 1 tablet, Kelekian sent 2 other tablets, note: “one retained HVH”; HSN02766 of 18 December: H. returned 3 tablets, Kelekian sent another tablet at \$5.—. However, Dikran Kelekian sold five Kültepe tablets to Walters in 1913 (see below). Charles Dikran Kelekian, the son of Dikran Kelekian, was also an art dealer. His daughter donated several Kültepe texts to the Fogg Art Museum (Harvard) in 1983 (see Ragavan, 2010).

41 No person living in Constantinople is listed under the name Ludovici in the *Annuaire oriental du commerce* etc. of 1891, of 1893/1894, of 1896, and of 1907.

42 HSN01550.

43 Letter to Hilprecht from 3 June 1899 (HSN01548): “I have no archaeological news to give you”.

4. Cuneiform texts from Kültepe: a timeline of tablets and trade

4.1 From 1876 until 1913

Hilprecht was an early collector of Kültepe material, but he certainly was not the first. Table 1 contains an overview of the documented material that became available up to the end of 1913. It shows how initially isolated or small numbers of texts were bought, and how gradually larger amounts of tablets became available.

Table 1: Known early texts

1876	The first traceable tablet was obtained by the British Museum “in 1876 from S. Ali Shan, of Constantinople” and said to have been found in Cappadocia. ⁴⁴ This well-preserved tablet lacks any personal name. It is a note about high-quality textiles, perhaps now to be connected to AKT 3, 88. It is not known how many other tablets circulated before or after Mr Ali Shan bought this particular one.
1881	The scholarly ‘discovery’ of Ali Shan’s Kültepe text was made four years later in 1881 by Pinches, who later that same year published a tablet in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (later edited as EL 259). ⁴⁵
1882	In 1882, Mr W. M. Ramsay purchased five tablets, “more or less perfect”, in Kayseri. ⁴⁶ These tablets became part of the British Museum collection.
“before 1888”	Golenishchev bought texts in Constantinople. ⁴⁷ The number of 30 is mentioned by himself and by Sayce; he published 24 in 1891. Of the texts that entered the Pushkin Museum from Golenishchev’s collections 68 were published in KTK. ⁴⁸
1888	Peters bought 15 texts in Constantinople. ⁴⁹
1890	The Louvre Museum bought two tablets in 1890(?) from Sorlin Dorigny, ⁵⁰ published as TCL 1, 240 (AM 268) and TCL 1, 241 (AM 269). A third tablet

44 Pinches, 1881: 11, republished as CCT 5, 44a 30230.

45 EL = Eisser / Lewy, 1930/35.

46 Sayce (1883: 17): “The number of Kappadokian cuneiform tablets, the discovery of which we owe to the sagacity of Mr. Pinches, has been increased by five others, more or less perfect, which Mr. W. M. Ramsay purchased last year in Kaisariyeh”.

47 “[B]efore 1888 he had acquired in Constantinople ninety-seven tablets” (Perlov / Saveliev, 2014: xi). Sayce writes about a meeting he had with Golenishchev: “Golénischeff had recently bought about thirty cuneiform tablets discovered by the peasants at Kara Eyuk near Kaisariya in Cappadocia, and had succeeded in fixing the values of most of the characters employed in them. He and I spent many hours over them (...) I was able to announce the decipherment of the tablets a few weeks later at the Oriental Congress at Stockholm” (Sayce, 1923: 266). The congress was held in 1889.

48 Cf. the inventory numbers in Perlov / Saveliev, 2014: xiii table 1. In fact, Jankovskaya (1968: 241), in her publication of these texts, states that it “includes letters (Nos. 1–77) and documents (Nos. 78–121) from Kültepe bought originally by W. S. Golénischeff in Kayseri”.

49 On this lot, see above.

50 Probably Alexis, “un collectionneur français qui travaillait à la restauration de Sainte-Sophie à la fin des années 1880” (from louvre.fr). See also Merrillees, 2017: 57.

- published as TCL 1, 239 (AO 2064 = AM 271) was bought from Lemaigent in 1890.
- 1893 By the end of 1893 Hilprecht claimed to possess over 50 Cappadocian tablets.
1893–94 Chantre excavated on the mound of Kültepe in 1894, and he bought a few tablets in Kayseri, but most of those in his possession were acquired in 1893 and 1894 from local people at Kültepe.⁵¹ Sometime before, De Clercq had acquired a tablet (edited as EL 209) which Scheil published.⁵² Scheil also published a debt-note (Maspero, *Receuil XVIII* (1896) 74–75), republished as Chantre no. 16. According to Scheil, there were at that moment four other debt-notes offered for sale in Constantinople.⁵³
- 1894 The Assyrian Department (Philadelphia) paid \$25 to Dr. A. Long “for Cappadocian tablets” in April (1894).
- 1895 Noorian sold four fragments to the Assyriological Department in April.
- 1896 In a letter to Hilprecht dated 9 October 1896, Long mentions that Dikran Kelekian (Constantinople) had received ten fragmentary tablets.
- 1897 In 1897, Hilprecht acquired at least 16 texts in Constantinople. Sayce (1897: 286–288) published one of his “Gyül Tepé” texts, labelled S. 1 (edited as EL 157).⁵⁴ Sayce (1923) does not mention any purchase of the texts in his memoirs.
- 1899 In a letter from 14 July 1899, Long writes to Hilprecht that he saw four to five fragmentary tablets with a dealer in Constantinople (Kelekian), the only one to have some for sale.
- 1900 Hilprecht acquired at least 24 texts in Constantinople and one in Kültepe in 1900. Sometime after 1900, Hilprecht acquired texts for the University Museum Philadelphia (see above).
- 1901 Hilprecht acquired at least nine texts in Constantinople in 1901.
- 1903 Hilprecht acquired at least ten texts in Constantinople in 1903. The Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin bought five texts in the same year from Osman Nouri Bey (see below).
- 1904 Hilprecht acquired at least ten texts in Constantinople in 1904.

51 “Durant nos deux voyages, nous avons séjourné à Kaysarieh, et, comme nos prédécesseurs, nous avons acheté quelques tablettes dans les mêmes conditions, mais c’est à Kara-Euyuk que nous avons acquis, à des prix ne dépassant pas un medjidié (4 fr. 20), soit en 1893, soit en 1894, la majeure partie de celles que nous possédons” (Chantre 1898: 120). Boissier (1897: 36) observed during this mission: “Au bazar de Césarée l’on vend beaucoup de fausses antiquités, mais on trouve cependant des tablettes cunéiformes de la même espèce que celles que Golenischeff a publiées et qu’il faut payer assez cher. Dans toutes les villes d’Asie Mineure, l’achat des antiquités est rendu très difficile à cause des prétentions exorbitantes des marchands. A Yozgad, par exemple, il est impossible d’acheter quoi que ce soit. A Césarée les prix sont ridiculement élevés”. A medjidié was a 20 piaster coin.

52 Collection de Clercq: *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné* II (1903), p.174 no. 11.

53 Scheil, 1896: “[E]n ce moment sur le marché, à Constantinople, quatre belles tablettes cappadociennes, de même espèce que les premières de celles qui furent publiées par M. Golénischeff en 1891, c’est-à-dire des contrats, ou plutôt des prêts à intérêt”.

54 After Sayce’s death in 1933, this tablet entered the collection of the Ashmolean Museum where it received the number 1933-1055 and is among the group of Kültepe texts labelled 1933-1043–1057r. Perhaps these may all be from Sayce’s collection. The abbreviation “S” is also used by the Bodleian Library, which has six texts from Kültepe numbered S 558–563, published in Kennedy / Garelli, 1960. Most of these texts seem to belong to archives excavated in late 1913.

- 1906 Winckler acquired nine tablets in Anatolia for the VAM Berlin, five from Kültepe, four appear to belong to archives found in Boğazköy.⁵⁵
- 1907 Garstang visited Kayseri in 1907 and bought some tablets, which Pinches published in 1908 (Liv. = AAA 1).⁵⁶
- 1909 The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, acquired three tablets.⁵⁷ Thureau-Dangin bought two encased debt-notes in Constantinople in September 1909.⁵⁸ The VAM Berlin acquired one fragmentary tablet (see below). Sayce (1912) published ten texts, allegedly belonging to the University of Pennsylvania.⁵⁹
- 1912 The Walters Art Gallery acquired five texts from (Dikran) Kelekian, with the note “dealer claims the tablet was found at Caesarea”.⁶⁰
- 1913 The Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, possesses one early text.⁶¹

In all, some 305 texts were unearthed and sold between 1876 and 1913. They will be discussed in section 7, below.

4.2 The Great Find in 1913

In marked contrast to the by then customary yield of tablets and the number of diggers involved, are the events that occurred in the fields at the foot of the mound of Kültepe shortly before 1914⁶² and which led to a change in official attitude to the excavations conducted by locals. In English academic circles the story went that the discovery was made in 1914.⁶³ According to Sayce: “[J]ust before the war 1200 tablets, mostly in a perfect condition, were discovered by the peasants, 800 of which were seized by the Turkish government, but the rest found their way into the hands of the dealers. Some of them came to Paris and were bought by

55 Otten, 1957: 74–75.

56 Cripps, n.d.: 3. The texts Liv. 4, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17–23 are now in the Manchester Museum as MMUM 35416–35427, photos on CDLI P431268–431279.

57 Now called The National Museum of Scotland, collection World Culture; the texts are A.1909.585 = Dalley 6; A.1909.586 = Dalley 7; A.1909.587 = Dalley 8.

58 Thureau-Dangin, 1911: 142ff.; later republished as TC 1, 90 (one of the sealings on the case identifies its owner as a servant of King Ibbi-Suen of Ur, which led to the incorrect assumption that the Kültepe texts date to the Ur III period), and 91.

59 In fact, SUP 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 belonged to Mr A. F. Schauffler of New York, since 1935 part of the Yale collection (source: introduction to BIN 6).

60 WAM 48.1462–66; acquisition details from archival view of CDLI nos. P272898–272902, accessed 29 June 2022.

61 O 82, see Zimmern, 1918/19: 48 and 51.

62 Contenau (1934: 56): “Peu avant 1914 les fouilleurs clandestins mirent la main sur un nid de ces tablettes qui prirent le chemin des musées et des collections; j’ai pu alors en publier une trentaine”.

63 Clay (1919: 135): “In the spring of 1914 about two thousand tablets were discovered somewhere in Cappadocia, a large number of which are now in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford”. Hrozný wrote to Böhl on 2 December 1920: “Ihre Mitteilung über die heth.(?) Keilschrifttexte in England hat mich sehr überrascht; von Ausgrabungen in Kappadokien 1914 ist nichts bekannt” (BPL 3081 no. 11).

the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum at Oxford as well as by myself; what has become of the others I have failed to learn".⁶⁴

About eleven years after this find, Hrozný identified the findspots; he writes in the report on his 1925 excavations:

*[J]’ai fait exproprier la prairie qui appartenait aux héritiers d’un homme de nom de Hadji Mehmed. On m’a donné alors beaucoup de détails sur les fouilles précédentes, faites par les villageois dans cette prairie. Non seulement Hadji Mehmed, mais aussi les habitants de Kara Euyouk, de Salyr, de Gueumedj et de Moundjousoun avaient creusé là; la concurrence avait conduit quelquefois les nombreux fouilleurs à de vraies batailles. C’est pourquoi la gendarmerie avait ensuite défendu de pratiquer des fouilles à cet endroit, ce qui n’empêcha d’ailleurs pas un commandant de gendarmerie de Césarée, assisté de quelques gendarmes, de creuser pour son propre compte.*⁶⁵

The digs involved nearly three hundred people, as Hrozný adds in the preface to his *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépe I* (abbreviated ICK 1) of 1952, and seem to have lasted until the summer of 1914.⁶⁶

As a result of these finds several of the large museum collections of Kültepe texts were formed. The first sales of these tablets occurred in 1914, probably by the French art dealer Géjou (see below). From the details about acquisitions by the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, the British Museum, and the Louvre Museum, it is clear that this large find comprised at least the following assemblages:

- The archive of Aššur-nada.⁶⁷ Géjou sold texts from this archive to the VAM Berlin in 1914, to the Louvre in 1917 and 1919, and to the British Museum in 1919.⁶⁸
- The archive of Imdi-ilum.⁶⁹ Géjou sold texts from this archive to the Louvre in 1917 (e.g. TC 1, 5: a letter from Taram-Kubi and Šimat-Aššur).
- The correspondence between Inib-Ištar and Silli-Adad. Géjou sold texts from this archive to the British Museum and to the Louvre in 1919; the Louvre obtained other texts from Jean in 1922.
- Innaya son of Elali (wife: Taram-Kubi, one of his sons: Aššur-reši).⁷⁰ Géjou sold texts from this archive to the Louvre in 1917 (e.g. TC 1, 9: a letter from Bur-Aššur) and to the British Museum in 1919.
- Innaya son of Amuraya.⁷¹

64 Sayce, 1918. The 22 texts in Oxford were published by G. R. Driver in *AnOr* 6 (1933), who stated (p.69) they “were mostly, if not all, obtained by Prof. A. H. Sayce from Kultepe or its neighbourhood and were given by him to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford”.

65 Hrozný, 1927: 6.

66 Siegelová, 2017: 193.

67 Larsen, 2002.

68 Letters from Aššur-idi to Aššur-nada, Géjou 1914 [see below, Berlin]: VS 26, 11=VAT 9213; Géjou 1917: TC 1, 8; TC 1, 18; Géjou 1919: CCT 3, 2b=113314; CCT 3, 5a=113286; CCT 3, 6b=113481; TC 1, 29; Woolley 1921: CCT 4, 1a=115049; letters to Aššur-idi from Aššur-nada, Géjou 1917: TC 1, 2; TC 1, 15. The letter published by Scheil in RT 31 (1909): 55 was found near Mosul, Iraq.

69 Ichisar, 1981; Larsen, 1982, with reconstructed family tree on p. 219.

70 Michel, 1991 volume I: 75–202, with reconstructed family tree on p. 147.

71 Michel, 1991 volume I: 203–246.

- The archive of Pušuken and family. OIP 27, 61 was bought in Turkey in 1914.⁷² Gėjou sold texts from this archive to the VAM Berlin in 1914 (e.g. VAT 9224 = VS 26, 52: a letter from Puzur-Aššur), and to the Louvre in 1917 (e.g. TC 1, 6: a letter from Puzur-Aššur) and to the British Museum in 1919 (e.g. CCT 3, 19b: a letter from Lamassi).
- The correspondence between Puzur-Aššur and Ili-wedaku (found in the house of Pušuken/Buzazu): Gėjou sold texts from this dossier to the VAM Berlin in 1914 (e.g. VAT 9254), to the Louvre in 1917, to the British Museum in 1919 and 1928, and to Edinburgh in 1922. Oxford obtained texts in 1914 (e.g. AnOr 6, 18 and 19). The British Museum also obtained texts from Woolley in 1921. The Louvre also obtained texts from Jean in 1922 and from de Genouillac in 1924.

The occurrence of the names of the main protagonists often enables us to distinguish between early texts and those from the Great Find. Also several smaller collections consist partly or wholly of texts belonging to this find complex. For example, the thirty tablets in the collection of Contenau, which he published in 1919 (abbreviated TTC),⁷³ contain letters addressed to Imdi-ilum, Innaya, and Pušuken.

There is some unclarity about the number of texts that was found in 1913. According to Sayce (1918), 800 texts were transferred to the Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul and 400 texts would have been left in private hands. However, the number of texts sold in 1914 and afterwards exceeds that amount; the number of texts mentioned below in Table 2 surpasses 2000, which corresponds with the estimate by Julius Lewy that since 1900 about 2000 texts had been unearthed.⁷⁴ It appears that the Great Find comprised a larger number than that given by Sayce, while at the same time it is likely that more tablets continued to be found and clandestinely sold. Texts belonging to the major archives mentioned earlier, however, continued to be sold for over a decade and even longer (as appears from the purchases made by Allen and Böhl) — it clearly took time for the dealers to purchase them in Anatolia and to smuggle them out of Turkey.

5. The trade seen from a legal perspective

In the Ottoman Empire, foreign archaeologists needed a permit from the highest authorities to be able to work. Negotiations to obtain such a *firman* could be troublesome. The legislation on antiquities evolved over the years, and by 1905, the Bædeker guidebook for *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien* contained the warning to visitors that the export of antiquities was not permitted⁷⁵ and the guide therefore lacks any mention of antiquity dealers. The various stages of the law on antiquities have been summarized by Özel, from which I give the following quote:

72 The Oriental Institute, Chicago, possesses half of an envelope, no. 33 “purchased in Turkey, 1914” (= OIP 27, 61 A94, said to be “bought at Kültepe”) and the tablet once encased therein, no. 34 (= OIP 27, 57 A6009 “bought at Kültepe”), “purchased in Iowa, 1924” in Evans / Green / Teeter, 2017.

73 See also Michel, 1986.

74 Lewy, 1929: 7: “Durch weitere Raubgrabungen der Eingeborenen kamen in den nächsten zwei Jahrzehnten noch etwa 2000 Texte dieser Art zum Vorschein, die allmählich in die verschiedensten Sammlungen Europas und der Vereinigten Staaten gelangt sind”.

75 Bædeker, 1905: xvi: “Antiken dürfen nicht exportiert werden”.

[T]he 1874 decree established state ownership for undiscovered antiquities, but allowed private ownership for some portion of legally excavated antiquities. On the other hand, the objects found in clandestine excavations were to be seized by the state.

In 1884 another decree on antiquities was enacted. In this decree, the Ottoman state declared itself the owner of all antiquities. Therefore, there was an absolute prohibition on the sale or transfer of antiquities found anywhere within Ottoman territory. Antiquities found in legal excavations belonged to the Imperial Museum. Those who participated in such excavations could retain only photographs and moulds.

The decree made one exception to state ownership for those items discovered fortuitously in private lands: one-half of such antiquities fortuitously discovered on private land during the construction of irrigation canals, buildings and so on would be given to the land owner. The state could choose the pieces it wanted and could buy even those pieces given to the land owner. Thus, the 1884 decree adopted state ownership for all antiquities found in the Ottoman territory, but it made one exception for those accidentally found on private land.

A major change occurred in 1906 with the adoption of a new decree on antiquities. The 1906 decree declared for the first time that all antiquities found in or on public or private lands were state property and could not be taken out of country. As a result, all newly discovered antiquities became state property by operation of law, ipso jure, at the time of discovery and no further act of acquisition was needed. Since the decree did not apply retrospectively, antiquities already in private hands in accordance with the pre-1906 decree remained private property.

After the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the Turkish Civil Code was adopted in 1926. Even so, the 1906 Decree was maintained in full force and effect until 1973. The 1973 law preserved the same principle of state property. It again declared that all antiquities discovered in or on private or public lands in Turkey were the property of the state.⁷⁶

For cuneiform tablets from Kültepe this means that according to the letter of the law, the export of finds from Kültepe was prohibited since 1884. In practice, however, the export of tablets and other antiquities continued. In some cases antiquities were legally exported by special permission from the Sultan or the director of the Antiquities Museum. Some archaeologists painstakingly tried to adhere to the rules to enable them to conduct an excavation, yet also purchased tablets for their own collection or that of their university.

6. The modern merchant

6.1 Dealers in Kültepe texts

Most of the Cappadocian texts from the Great Find were traded by Ibrahim Elias Géjou (1868–1942). Of Iraqi descent, Géjou supplied Kültepe texts to private and institutional collectors in Europe and the United States. He lived in Paris, but had a widespread network in Iraq, Syria,

76 Özel, 2010: 179.

and Turkey. Like other dealers, Gėjou would send tablets to interested customers who could return these if they did not want to buy the objects — a practice we also find with Dikran Kelekian in his dealings with Hilprecht.⁷⁷ This may be the reason behind a set of cuneiform copies which Böhl acquired when purchasing the collection of Peiser; Peiser had copied twenty-one texts before Gėjou sold these objects to the Louvre Museum in December 1919 and which Contenau published in TC 1 in 1920. It seems that Böhl, when purchasing the Peiser collection of clay tablets and other antiquities from Peiser's widow, thought that the twenty-one tablets which Peiser received from Gėjou in June 1914 were among those that were still in the Prussia Museum in Königsberg.⁷⁸ The identification of the copies was made by Julius Lewy.⁷⁹

Whereas the early texts from Kültepe were sold by men such as Daniel Z. Noorian, Dikran Kelekian, and Osman Nouri Bey (aka Cherif Osman Bey), it appears that many of the over 2000 tablets unearthed as part of the Great Find were bought by Gėjou, who held a key position in the trade in tablets from Iraq and now expanded his business to include Cappadocian antiquities.⁸⁰ It is not known who his agents were that bought them from the villagers. From his office in Paris Gėjou sold the first objects from this find in 1914 and the last in 1928. It is likely that the tablets Jean saw during his visit to Constantinople in 1921 stem from this find.⁸¹ Even as late as 1928, tablets from some of these archives were still offered for sale at Kayseri; almost one-third of the tablets purchased by Allen (now in the British Museum) can be assigned to the archive of Puşuken and family.

The measures taken by the Turkish authorities to prevent the smuggling of antiquities out of the country did have some success. It emerges from the correspondence between Böhl (Groningen, later Leiden) and Gėjou in the Leiden University Library that it became increasingly difficult to export clay tablets and other antiquities out of the country of origin.

77 See note 40 above.

78 See the letter Böhl sent to Toni Peiser on 15 November 1923: "Hoffentlich gelingt es, die fehlenden Stücke noch aufzufinden. (...) Ferner sende ich Ihnen als Belegstück beiliegend den Umschlag, auf welchem Ihr entschlafener Gatte notierte, dass die letzte Sendung Gėjou's im Geldschrank der Prussia deponiert sei. In diesem Umschlag befanden sich 21 Kopien von der Hand des Verstorbenen, die ich hier zurückbehalte, aus welchen sich aber ergibt, dass diese (sic) Sendung von 21 Tontafel (sic) am 23. Juni 1914 in Königsberg eingetroffen ist." (Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 3081 folder Toni Peiser, no. 34).

79 Letter of Julius Lewy to Böhl, from 13 May 1929: "Nehmen Sie meinen herzlichsten Dank für die liebenswürdige Übersendung der Peiserschen Kopien! Die Texte haben mich natürlich sehr interessiert. Sie sind sämtlich bereits veröffentlicht, denn sie sind identisch mit Nr. 43–55; 70–72 und 105–109 in Contenau's "Tablettes Cappadociennes" (1920). Trotzdem sind Peisers Kopien, obwohl teilweise etwas flüchtig und, wie nicht anders möglich, damals noch ohne eigentliches Verständnis des Inhalts der Texte, wertvoll, weil Peiser die Texte offenbar zum Teil in weniger beschädigtem Zustande gesehen hat, und weil seine Abschriften eine gelegentlich doch recht wünschenswerte Nachprüfung der Contenau'schen Editionen ermöglichen. Schon bei der flüchtigen Arbeit der Identifizierung der Stücke Peisers mit denen Contenau's ergab sich einmal, dass Contenau eine Zeile ausgelassen hat und dergleichen mehr." (Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 3081 folder J. Lewy, no. 1).

80 On Gėjou's trade in Babylonian mathematical tablets, see Dessagnes, 2017; for that in Babylonian omens, see Ait Said-Ghanem, 2021.

81 Jean, 1921: 62–63 (15 May) "Dans une visite aux bazars de Stamboul, j'ai découvert peu à peu un nombre relativement considérable de tablettes: quelques-unes sont de provenances diverses; la plupart des autres sont de Tello et de Cappadoce. (...) J'ai dû renoncer aux cappadociennes parce que le Turc qui les possède tient à les vendre par lots et que le prix de chaque lot est trop élevé pour mes finances personnelles".

Although the flow of Kültepe tablets was diminishing, Gėjou announced in February 1938 that he might obtain some 200 pieces: “On vient de me proposer un lot d’environ deux cents tablettes cappadociennes et si je réussis à les avoir je me ferais un plaisir de vous en parler et de vous en donner les détails — elles sont encore à Constantinople”.⁸² Böhl refused this offer for financial reasons. Nevertheless, Gėjou sold two Cappadocian tablets to Böhl in April 1938.⁸³ One wonders what happened to the nearly 200 other texts.

Table 2 presents a selection of the texts from the Great Find and subsequent illegal diggings that were sold to institutions and private persons:

Table 2: Selected post-1913 sales

1914–26	The Antiken-Museen zu Stambul obtained 160 texts, published in KTS 1.
1914	The VAM Berlin bought 91 texts (perhaps from Gėjou) in June 1914.
1917	The Louvre bought from Gėjou AO 7047–7086 and 7101–7102.
1919	The British Museum bought 400 texts from Gėjou.
1919	The Louvre acquired from Thureau-Dangin AO 7297–7413 (incl. two early texts) in April 1919.
1919	The Louvre bought nine texts from Gėjou and another 21 texts in December 1919.
1920	The British Museum bought 20 texts from Gėjou.
1920	The VAM Berlin acquired 104 texts in June/July 1920.
1921	The British Museum acquired 269 texts from Woolley.
1921	The Louvre purchased AO 7709–7713 from Virolleaud in December 1921.
1922	The National Museums Scotland acquired three texts.
1922–23	The Louvre bought from Jean AO 8221–8310, AO 8627–8635 (in January), and 8671–8789(?).
1924	The Louvre bought from de Genouillac in 1924 (AO 9246–9401).
1924–25	The Sammlung Frieda Hahn (Berlin) acquired 40 texts.
< 1925	Clay bought about 480 texts for James B. Nies, probably from Gėjou. ⁸⁴
1926	The Gießener Hochschulgesellschaft acquired over 50 texts. ⁸⁵
1928	The British Museum bought 22 texts from Gėjou.
1928	Allen bought 25 texts in Kayseri.
?	The Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz (Berlin) obtained 18 texts.
1928–34	Böhl bought ca. 150 texts from Gėjou and others.

82 Letter of Gėjou to Böhl from 24 February 1938 (Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 3081). See also the letter of Gėjou to Böhl from 11 May 1938: “[J]e suis toujours en négociations pour le lot des tablettes cappadociennes, la difficulté est de les faire sortir.” (Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 3081).

83 Letter from Gėjou to Böhl, 9 April 1938: “Quant aux deux tablettes cappadociennes (...) je n’en fais pas une affaire et si je m’occupe de vous procurer des tablettes, c’est uniquement pour le désir de vous être agréable c’est pourquoi je me suis empressé de les prendre pour mon compte, sachant d’avance qu’il est très difficile avec les difficultés d’envoi du pays d’origine, elles deviennent de plus en plus rares.” (Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, BPL 3081).

84 See below on the purchase of 69 texts.

85 “... und zum Ankauf einer Anzahl sehr wertvoller kappadokischer Keilschrifttafeln”, *Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft* 6 (1927), 6. J. Lewy writes p. 42 that this happened “in den Jahren 1925–27”. See http://geb.uni-giessen.de/geb/volltexte/2013/10278/pdf/NGH_6_1927_1.pdf, accessed 30 August 2022. Among the lost items is a case fragment with impressions of the seal of King Sargon, depicted as Abbildung 4.

- 1930 Dougherty (Yale) is willing to buy five tablets from Gėjou.⁸⁶
 1982 The Louvre acquired a collection of Rutten, formerly in the possession of Jean (AO 29156–29288).

The majority of texts from Kültepe in private and institutional collections stem from the Great Find, and in some cases the collection consists of tablets from this complex find only. The Hilprecht-Sammlung contains only two tablets from this find, which were both obtained in 1975.⁸⁷

6.2 Forgeries

Not long after the antiquity dealers had noticed that Kültepe texts formed a profitable genre, forged tablets appeared on the market, varying from at first sight realistic ones made from casts of real tablets to awkward imitations. Many collections contain one or more of these modern forgeries.⁸⁸ Hilprecht bought a fake tablet (HS316) in Constantinople in 1901 and another one (HS429) in Konya in 1907; with his expert knowledge he supposedly did this consciously. At about the same time, Winckler observed: “[U]nd schon in Kaisariye und Kültepe ist die Fälschung von Tontafeln in den etwa 20 Jahren, seit die dortigen Tafeln bekannt sind und gehandelt werden, in viel versprechender Weise vervollkommen worden”.⁸⁹ Most of the forgeries in collections other than that of Hilprecht seem to have been bought together with texts from the Great Find. Some forgeries are unique, copies of others exist in several collections.

Böhl obtained several forged tablets and in the Leiden collection there are no less than seven forgeries of Kültepe texts. Their origin is not documented. Since Böhl also bought tablets from Gėjou, this art dealer may, perhaps unwittingly, have sold him some of the forgeries which Böhl for whatever reason did not return, contrary to what Clay had done in a similar case.⁹⁰

Among the tablets which Allen bought in Kayseri in 1928, were two casts of the same tablet (BM 120511 and 120512).⁹¹

7. Hilprecht and the Early Texts

It is now time to establish how the texts which Hilprecht collected relate to the other early texts. In principle, clay tablets are found in Kültepe in the ruins of houses once inhabited by Assyrian merchants or local Anatolians who for whatever reason possessed documents — all written in Assyrian. An unknown number of early texts, both from Anatolian and Assyrian archives, were found on the mound but we have no means of reconstructing which those were.

86 Dessagnes, 2017: 223.

87 HS 2931 and 2932, published by Th. Sturm (2000).

88 See Michel, 2020.

89 Winckler, 1906: 9.

90 In an undated letter Clay writes to Gėjou: “The 69 Cappadocian lot had one fake double tablet which I returned, sending at the same time another similar fake tablet for which I paid you three pounds a few years ago”, quoted in Dessagnes, 2017: 117.

91 See Garelli / Collon, 1975: 24.

Since 1948 about 40 tablets and case fragments were found there during the excavations by Tahsin Özgüç.⁹² These finds date to tepe level 8 = lower town level II and to tepe level 7 = lower town level Ib. The Anatolian texts from tepe level 8 are from private dossiers, whereas those from level 7 relate to the palace. The Assyrian texts which Özgüç found on the mound all seem to date to level 8.⁹³

The richest archives were found in houses located in the lower town which extended at the foot of the mound. The uppermost layer which might contain tablets is level Ib. According to the excavator, the lower town was densely settled during the level Ib period.⁹⁴ It is now clear that only few of the level Ib houses contain any tablets. Below these houses are the remains of level II houses which yielded most of the tablets. Some may also be found in destruction layers closer to the surface.

The mass excavation in late 1913 seems to have been unprecedented. For the first time, people actually discovered tablets in considerably larger numbers than hitherto. As the whole region around Kültepe was aware of the financial value of such tablets, individuals from neighbouring villages came to Kültepe, as described by Hrozný. It seems as if diggers for the first time reached deep enough into level II to find the archive room,⁹⁵ and did not depend on occasional finds made during agricultural activities and the digging of ditches, or construction work.

Tablets usually do not occur in isolation, certainly not in houses where Assyrians lived, but are part of groups once kept in bags and wooden or earthen containers and usually stored in special rooms. The number of individual tablets in a house varies considerably. A text group might belong to the archive of an Assyrian merchant and could number up to over a thousand tablets, or belong to the archive of an Anatolian money-lender or another household that possessed a few deeds and some other documents of legal interest.

Each text once belonged to a specific archive or to a dossier about a person or event that was stored in his or another individual's house. It is evidently much easier to identify such dossiers in the case of properly excavated houses than from isolated texts whose origin is unclear, as is the case with nearly all early texts. A well-tested means of assembling or reconstructing such dossiers is to group individuals on the basis of their occurrence in the address of letters,⁹⁶ and in general the occurrence of proper names is of paramount importance. Yet, not all texts are letters and not every text contains a personal name.

The number of early texts (until 1913) is about 305, and letters form 24% (74 texts) of these.⁹⁷ The number of letters among the total amount of texts varies per archive, but to give an idea of the range of possibilities it can be mentioned that in the archive of Ali-aḫum (Kt

92 Balkan, 1957: 4–5; Michel, 2003: 115–117.

93 See also Michel, 2011: 95.

94 Özgüç (1959: 71): “In this phase [i.e. level Ib] all areas of the Karum Kanesh were densely settled. There is no doubt that the city of level Ib covered a wider area than that of level II. The foundations of level Ib can be seen at various depths, gradually becoming lower from the center of the Karum area towards the north and west”.

95 Hrozný (1927: 6) reports that large quantities of tablets were found at a depth of 2m30–2m60.

96 As successfully done in Ichisar, 1981 and Michel, 1991.

97 The addresses of 14 letters are missing: HS330; 337; 360; 365; 398; 399 (Assyrian authority?); KTP 1; POAT 61 = CBS 5675; POAT 62 = CBS 4074; POAT 77 = CBS 4066; POAT 78 = CBS 4040; POAT 81 = CBS 4085; POAT 82 = CBS 4084; SUP 6.

c/k) letters form 40% of the texts (312 out of 788), in that of Elamma (AKT 8) about 40%, and in that of Šalim-Aššur (AKT 6) about 48%.⁹⁸

Of special interest are texts that stem from an Anatolian archive, determined on the basis of the Anatolian name of the stakeholders. In general, such texts are rare. Among the early texts there are eight documents from Anatolian archives from the level II period or its equivalent on the mound: AM 1484 (= AO 4663 = TC 1, 62 [1910]); De Clercq (edited as EL 209); Liv. 8; SUP 1; TCL 1, 240; VAT 4536 and 4537; WAM 48.1464. From the subsequent Level Ib period, there is only one text from an Anatolian archive (KTP 43), and only a single text from an Assyrian archive, TMH 1, 21d HS444 (edited as EL 276).

To identify groups among the early texts as possibly emerging from the same archives, I have listed the letters (L), deeds (De), debt-notes (D), service contracts (B), and receipts (R) in the table below, arranged by name of the possible archive holder or a member of his family or business, being the (main) recipient of a letter (or the sender in the case of archive copies), the creditor, the new owner of a property or slave, or the person freed from future claims. If known, the year of acquisition is mentioned in brackets.

Table 3: Possible dossiers among some of the early texts

- L: Aḥu-waqar (recipient) < Šumma-libbi-iliya (sender), HS281 (1897)
 R: receipt for Agua, AM 1486 = TC 1, 64 (1910)
 L: Nabi-Suen, Šarra-Suen, Alu-šarrum < Ababa, KTP 5 (>1900)
 R: receipt for Amaya, cr. Puzur-Ištar, HS434 (1904)
 D: cr. Amur-il s. Inuba, deb. Saḥar-[il] s. Aššur-emuqi, Gol. 9 = KTK 83 (1888?)
 L: Amur-Šamaš and Ali-aḥum < Mannum-balum-Aššur; Gol. 16 (1888?)
 D: cr. Amurru-bani, deb. Ennum-Aššur s. Kukua, HS353 (1900)
 D: cr. Anaḥ-ili, deb. Tarḥunu, Gol. 10 = KTK 96 (1888?)
 L: Ar-x < Šimši[...], HS350
 D: cr. Aššur-bel-awatim, deb. Šilli-Ištar and Šu-Kubum, Gol. 7 = KTK 91 (1888?)
 R: receipt for Aššur-idi s. Buzazu, TCL 1, 239 (1890)
 L: Aššur-malik < Šalim-aḥum, HS438 (1904)
 D: cr. Aššur-malik s. Enna-Suen s. Sukkaliya, deb. Dadiya s. Nanibum, Gol. 3 = KTK 79 (1888?)
 L: Aššur-našir + Man-maḥir < Alula + Ṭab-aḥi, KTP 15 (>1900)
 L: Aššur-muttabbil + Tariš-matum > Aššur-rabi, HS 336
 L: Aššur-malik > Aššur-rabi + Ḥarubi, HS338+355
 L: [PN] > Aššur-rabi, HS340
 D: cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Ali-abum and Suen-iddinaššu, HS367 (1900)
 D: cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Aššur-lamassi and Naqidu, HS278 (1897)
 D: cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Aššur-šamši, TC 1, 91 (1909)
 D: cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Biradi, Gol. 6 = KTK 97 (1888?)

⁹⁸ For the archive of Ali-aḥum, see Dercksen, 2015: 48; for that of Elamma, see Veenhof, 2017: xxviii; for that of Šalim-Aššur, see Larsen, 2008: 80.

- D: cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Iddin-aḥum, HS332
 D: cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Mannum-balum-Aššur, HS333
 R: receipt for Aššur-rabi, cr. Aššur-ṭab, HS284 (1897)
 D: cr. Aššur-šamši, deb. Aguza, HS354 (1900)
 D: cr. Buzutaya, deb. Adad-dugul + Azu, KTP 22 (>1900)
 L: Buzutaya > [PN], Puzur-šadue, Aššur-[...], [Puš]uken, WAM 48.1465 (1913) (archive copy)
 L: Dadaya < Suen-damiq, HS289 (1897)
 L: Dadaya < Šarra-Suen, HS388 (1900)
 L: Dadaya < Šarra-Suen, HS348
 L: Dadaya, Šu-Ḥubur, Abu-šalim < Šarra-Suen and Baziya, HS293A (1903)
 L: ‘Merchant’ and Dadaya < Puzur-Aššur, Gol. c = KTK 63 (1888?)
 L: Enlil-bani < Tariš-matum, Liv. 1 (1907)
 L: Ennam-Aššur < Enna-Aššur, Chantre 15 (1893–94)
 L: Itur-il > Ennam-Aššur, WAM 48.1462 (1913)
 R: receipt for Enna-Aššur, Gol. 24 = KTK 101 (1888?)
 L: Amur-Ištar > Ennum-Aššur, HS441 (1904)
 L: Š[alim]-aḥum < En!-um!-Aššur, KTP 7 (>1900)⁹⁹
 L: Enna-Suen < Dadiya, SUP 4 (<1912)
 L: Envoys of the city + Karum Kaneš < Karum Waḥšušana, KTP 14 (>1900)
 L: [Envoys of the city and Karum Kaneš] < Mannum-ki-Adad, Liv. 6 (1907)
 L: Envoys of the city + Karum Kaneš < *wabartum* of Šamuḥa, VS 26, 195 (1906)
 L: Envoys of city + Karum [Kaneš] < *wabartum* of [Wašḥa]niya, Gol. 21 = KTK 6 (1888?)
 L: Envoys of the city and Karum Kaneš < Karum Zalpa, Chantre 11 (1893–94)
 L: Ḥanunu < Walawala (case: Tuwituwi), Liv. 13 (1907)
 L: Enibaš > Ḥatitum and Baršibala, Gol. 18 = KTK 67 (1888?)
 L: ...ta... > Ḥištaḥšušar, VS 26, 194 (1906)
 L: Iddin-abum < Iddin-Dagan, Gol. 15 = KTK 21 (1888?)
 L: Iddin-abum < Ikuppiya, Liv. 17 (1907)
 D: cr. Iddin-Suen, deb. Iddin-Aššur, KTP 21 (>1900)
 D: cr. Ikunum, deb. Dakniš and Huruta, TC 1, 90 (1909)
 D: cr. Ikunum, deb. Narḥi, Šerdu, and Amur-Šamaš, HS274 (1897)
 D: cr. Ikunum, deb. Šerdu s. Nariya, HS279 ([1897])
 D: cr. Ikunum, deb. Aguza, HS283 (1897)
 D: cr. Ikunum, deb. Puzur-Amurru, HS351 (1900)
 L: Ikuppi-Aššur < Aššur-ili, HS439 (1904)
 D: cr. Ilabrat-bani, deb. Šumi-abiya, HS277 (1897)
 R: receipt for Ili-bani, cr. Aššur-rabi, deb. Ennamaya, Gol. 8 = KTK 98 (1888?)
 D: cr. Iliš-takil, deb. Aḥa-narši, Chantre 16 (1893–94)

99 An archive copy of a letter sent to Assur; cf. AKT 3, 65, sent by Šalim-aḥum to Ennum-Aššur.

- D: cr. Iliš-tikal, deb. Enlil-bani, Sayce 1897: “S. 1” (1897)
- L: Itur-il < Išme-Aššur, Gol. 17 = KTK 23 (1888?)
- L: Itur-il < Išme-Aššur (re Šu-Ištar), KTP 8 (>1900)
- L: Hananarum, Itur-il, Aššur-malik < Šu-Ištar, Gol. 14 = KTK 20 (1888?)
- D: cr. Itur-il, deb. Kura, Gol. 4 = KTK 78 (1888?)
- De: Kammaliya and his mother Ašielka buy a house from Perwa and Niwahšušar, VAT 4536
- L: Karum Kaneš + travellers < ..., KTP 4 (>1900)
- L: Karum Kaneš < Belum-bani, KTP 13 (>1900)
- L: Karum Kaneš < Ili-madar, WAM 48.1466 (1913)
- L: Karum Kaneš < Karum Uršu, SUP 7 (<1912)
- L: Karum Kaneš > Karum Puruḫattum, Gol. 19 = KTK 1 (1888?)
- L: Karum Kaneš < Karum Waḫšušana, Brussels O 82 (< 1914)
- L: King of Širmi < Karum Kaneš, KTP 6 (>1900)
- L: Karum Waḫšušana > *šaqil datim u beruttum* (re Šarra-Suen), KTP 12 (> 1900)
- L: Karum Waḫšušana < *wabartum* of Šalatuar, KTP 10 (>1900)
- D: cr. Kukkulanum, deb. Aguza + sons, HS288 (1897)
- Kukkulanum s. Anah-ili allowed to engage an attorney, Dalley 6 (1909)
- Kukkulanum is entitled to money from the *naruqqum* of Šu-Anum and Aguza, Dalley 8 (1909)
- D: cr. Lamassi, deb. Ḫanu s. Ḫananum, HS292 (1903)
- L: Lulu, Ša... + Iddin-Kubum < Tariš-matum (re Šu-Ištar), KTP 2 (>1900)
- L: Luzina < Miššu-rabi, WAM 48.1463 (1913)
- L: Aššur-idi > Mannu-ki-Aššur, Kukuzi, Aššur-kena-ram, Šamaš-tappai, Ramsay 2 = CCT 5, 45a (1884)
- L: (f.)Memea, Ennamaya, Beliya < Erišum and Aššur-qabia, HS276 (1897)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’,¹⁰⁰ deb. Aššur-bani, HS437 (1904)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Aššur-rabi s. Aguza, HS286 (1897)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Aššur-taklaku s. Aḫu-waqar, HS328
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Aššur-ṭab s. Ili-dan, Dalley 7 (1909)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Ennum-Aššur and Biradi, HS357 (1900)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Iddin-Šamaš, HS366 (1900)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Pilaḫaya s. Niraḫ-šululi, Liv. 7 (1907)
- D: cr. ‘Merchant’, deb. Puzur-Aššur s. Laqep, HS 280 (1897)
- D: cr. Niwašu, deb. Wališar and Ala, VAT 4537 (1903)
- Aššur-ṭab collected silver from Laban-nada, Puzur-Anna not involved, Gol. 12 = KTK 105 (1888?)
- B: service contract of Puzur-Anna to Šu-Ištar, received by the latter’s father Aguza, Liv. 14 (1907)
- D: cr. Puzur-Ištar, deb. Ennanum, Chantre 4 (1893–94)
- D: cr. Saḫar-ili, deb. Ašuwān, Gol. 5 = KTK 86 (1888?)

100 The anonymous creditor in these texts does not necessarily refer to the same person.

- L: Šarra-Suen < Amur-Ištar and Abu-šalim (in Assur; mentions a Šu-Suen), Liv. 4 (1907). Perhaps found together with the Dadaya texts in HS and Chantre 10.
- L: Šu-Anum < Ši-Lamassi, Liv. 2 (1907)¹⁰¹
- L: Šu-Belum < Aššur-taklaku, KTP 9 (>1900)
- L: Šu-Išhara < Ilabrat-bani, Chantre 12 (1893–94)
- D: cr. Šu-Ištar + Aššur-ṭab (sons of Aguza?), deb. Ištar-ilšu, HS294 (1903)
- D: cr. Šu-Ištar + Abia, deb. Adad-bani, HS341
- D: cr. Šu-Laban, deb. Aššur-bani, HS329
- De: Walkuwa, WAM 48.1464 (1913)
- L: Aššur-imitti > Wašhuru, Buzia, Ištar-lamassi, Gol. 20 = KTK 19 (1888?)

These texts may or may not stem from about fifty ‘archives’, but not necessarily from fifty different houses. Yet, the number of different dossiers or archives makes it unlikely that the information told to Hrozný, that “‘some hundreds of tablets and nice envelopes’ had been found at only two places close to each other” is correct.¹⁰²

This is not the place to investigate all the pertinent texts in an attempt to reconstruct the archives. Instead, I limit myself to those texts collected by Hilprecht which together with other early texts appear to form logical groups and may well have been excavated in the same house — whether on the mound or in the lower town. The year of purchase provides a rough indication of when the text group was found.

Four ‘dossiers’ can be identified within the corpus of the Hilprecht-Sammlung published in TMH 1:

HS Dossier 1: Itur-il

The oldest group is around Itur-il, excavated in or before 1888. It comprises several letters: Itur-il receiving a letter from Alula, HS397 (year unknown); Itur-il receiving letters from Išme-Aššur, Gol. 17 = KTK 23 (1888?); KTP 8 (year unknown); TC 1, 39 AO 7323 (gift 1919). Although the three letters sent by Išme-Aššur clearly belong to a single dossier, it is uncertain whether they were found in the same house; Thureau-Dangin may well have obtained the tablet he donated in 1919, before 1914.

There is one debt-note with Itur-il as the creditor and Kura as the debtor, Gol. 4 = KTK 78 (1888?). It is possible that also Gol. 11 = KTK 106 (1888?) also belongs to this dossier.¹⁰³ It is unclear whether two letters from Šu-Ištar, Gol. 14 = KTK 20 (1888?) and KTH 14 belong to this Itur-il.

101 The same correspondents occur in ICK 1, 88, a tablet which Hrozný excavated in locus 11 in 1925, at a place where eight other letters were found addressed to or from Šu-Anum. It is likely that Liv. 2 originates from the very same building, perhaps in soil closer to the surface.

102 Siegelová, 2017: 103.

103 See Dercksen, 2008: 118; this article contains a reconstruction of Itur-il’s business and family.

HS dossier 2: Dadaya

Excavated in or before 1893–1894.

Dadaya son of Aššur-imitti, whose brothers were Suen-damiq (TC 2, 70) and Šarra-Suen (see ATHE 66; ICK 1, 59). Dadaya received letters from Suen-damiq (TMH 1, 1b, HS289, bought in 1897), from Šarra-Suen (1d, HS388, bought in 1900; 2a, HS348, year unknown) and (with Šu-Hubur [s. Iddin-abum] and Abu-šalim) from Šarra-Suen and Bazia (1c, HS293A, bought in 1903).

The name of Dadaya's father is known from the address on bulla TMH 1, 7E (HS362, bought in 1900), where he is co-recipient together with Enlil-bani, son of Aššur-malik, of a tablet sent by Pilaḫ-Aššur.

Suen-damiq and Dadaya (wr. *Da-da*) both occur in TMH 1, 26f (HS391, year unknown).

Chantre no. 10 is a list of textiles and tin which Dadaya had entrusted to Šarra-Suen. This text gives us a *terminus ante quem* (1893–1894) for the discovery of the house where these texts were found. But other texts from the same dossier may have been sold later as is suggested by Liv. 7, bought in Kayseri in 1907, which is a letter to Šarra-Suen from Amur-lštar and Abu-šalim. Texts belonging to this dossier were thus obtained in 1897, 1900, 1903, and 1907.

HS dossier 3: Aššur-rabi

Excavated in or before 1893–1894.

TMH 1 contains three letters received by a certain Aššur-rabi (perhaps the son of Aguza): together with Ḫarubi he receives a letter from Aššur-malik, TMH 1, 2b (HS338+355, year unknown); Aššur-rabi receives a letter from Aššur-muttabbil and Tariš-matum, TMH 1, 2c (HS336, year unknown) and 16a (HS352, bought in 1900) deals with the same shipment mentioned in TMH 1, 2c; and [PN] sends a letter to Aššur-rabi, TMH 1, 3a (HS340, year unknown).

Aššur-rabi is also the creditor in five debt-notes: TMH 1, 9a (HS332, year unknown; date REL 97), 12c (HS367, bought in 1900; REL 91), 13d (HS278, bought in 1897; REL 100), 14a (HS333A, year unknown; REL 97), and TC 1, 91 (bought in 1909; REL 92). He settles accounts with Iddin-Šamaš in 28a (HS389, year unknown).

It is unclear whether a document about a debt of Aššur-rabi, TMH 1, 18d (HS284, bought in 1897; REL 94) belongs to this archive; Aššur-rabi occurs in 9c (HS286, bought in 1897; REL 96) as a debtor.

Goods are entrusted to Aššur-rabi in TMH 1, 16a (HS352, bought in 1900) and 16e (HS358, bought in 1900).

Aššur-rabi s. Aguza will pay a debt of Aššur-malik son of Laqep "to me", TMH 1, 18b (HS390); expenses (*gamrum*) of Aššur-rabi listed in 25h (HS344, year unknown).

Golénischeff 6 is a debt-note with Aššur-rabi as creditor (date REL 97). An Aššur-rabi occurs in Chantre 14 (1893–1894) together with a Šalim-Aššur, perhaps the identical persons as in the protocol TMH 1, 19b (HS287, bought in 1897) // 20a (HS334+331, year unknown).

HS Dossier 4: Ikunum

The fourth dossier is that of a certain Ikunum (not the son of Ili-bani; cf. TC 1,90, where that man is a witness), excavated in or before 1897. No letters received or sent by him occur in TMH 1. He is the creditor of a high functionary in Kanesh, the *rabi simmiltim* according to the Karum decision communicated in TMH 1, 21c (HS368, bought in 1900), where the Assyrian authorities impose a boycott on this Anatolian.

Ikunum is the creditor in six debt-notes, none of which is dated by month or eponym year: TMH 1, 11b (HS274, bought in 1897), 11c (HS279, year unknown), 13c (HS283, bought in 1897), 14c (HS351, bought in 1900); KTK 95 and TC 1, 90 (bought in 1909).

Another early text that may mention the same Ikunum is VAT 4535 (bought in 1903), where Ikunum is the interested party. TMH 1, 21a (HS285, bought in 1897), where a debt by Ikunum is paid; and 15d (HS311, bought in 1901), where Ikunum is a witness, perhaps belong to this archive.

8. Conclusions

A considerable portion of the texts found at Kültepe before the Great Find in late 1913 were purchased by Hilprecht, who thus formed the largest collection of this type of cuneiform document in the world at that time. Of special interest is the fact that Hilprecht successfully purchased an important lot of texts from the Assyrian administration, comprising seven letters (KTP 3, 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14) and the large statute text (KTP 19), but whether these texts were all found in the same place or come from different findspots must remain unclear.

The clustering of texts in the Hilprecht-Sammlung in the context of the early texts has led to mixed results. In the absence of any documentation as to the findspots of the individual tablets, the only criterium for ordering these texts is the presence of personal names, particularly in letters. Anonymous and broken texts and those on which rather common names occur have not been considered here although they may or may not belong to texts listed in Table 3. Tentative as these groupings necessarily are, it seems likely that several texts in the Hilprecht-Sammlung stem from the same findspot and in several instances they can be connected to texts in other collections. Four groups can be identified this way. For the early texts as a whole, the data collected in Table 3 only suggests the addition of a group with Kukkulanum and, perhaps, of the group with documents concerning the Assyrian administration. The large number of isolated texts and the groups consisting of only two texts in Table 3 might be explained by the fact that only few assemblages consisting of more than three texts were found. It is therefore an educated guess that the early texts stem from an estimated twenty or more houses or rather their ruins and the surrounding destruction layers, both on the mound and in the lower town.

When the year of purchase is considered, it seems that texts from the same dossier were offered for sale over a period of several years, as would be the case later with texts from the Great Find.¹⁰⁴

104 This is particularly clear with fragments that can be joined with each other, e.g. a letter from Šalim-ahum to Pušuken, consisting of VAT 9270 (VS 26, 59), purchased in 1914 and LB 1259, bought in 1928 or later — perhaps from the same dealer, i.e. Gėjou.

Appendix: The collections of Kültepe texts in the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin

The British Museum

There are 750 Kültepe texts in the British Museum, published in CCT 1–6.¹⁰⁵ Seven texts were certainly excavated prior to 1914. The first tablet to enter the collection was 30230, obtained from M. L. M. Alishan in 1876. Five texts were bought from Ramsay in 1884 (77809–77813). A tablet (108914) ex coll. Maimon was bought from A. Amor in 1914.

Most of the Kültepe tablets in the British Museum were bought from Gėjou: 400 texts in 1919 (113254–113653), 20 texts in 1920 (114369–114389), and 22 texts in 1928 (119403–119424). A group of 269 texts (115041–115309) was obtained from Woolley in 1921, but I found no references as to how Woolley obtained these.

Some 25 pieces (120491–120517) were acquired in 1928 from W. E. D. Allen, who had bought these in Kayseri in the same year, allegedly stemming from Goh Keni = Göktepe to the south-east of Kayseri, which is very unlikely to be correct as several of these texts belong to dossiers from Kültepe.

All texts obtained between 1919 and 1928 from Gėjou, Woolley, and Allen, seem to belong to the large group found in late 1913. This is indicated by the presence of letters belonging to the archives of Aššur-nada, Enlil-bani, Imdi-ilum, Innaya, and Pušuken and children, to name the most well-known persons.

The Louvre Museum

Nine texts are certainly from before 1914.¹⁰⁶ AM 1479–1481 were bought in 1909. In 1910, the museum acquired AM 1484 bought at Kültepe by Virolleaud, and AM 1485–1486 (= AO 4659–4660) from the brothers Agop and Mergueditch Indjoudjian.

AO 6570 was obtained through the archaeologist Sébastien Ronzevalle during his mission.

Several lots were bought from Gėjou: AO 7047–7086 and 7101–7102 in 1917, AO 7149–7157 in 1919, and AO 7450–7470 in December 1919.

A collection was donated by Thureau-Dangin in April 1919: AO 7297–7413, among which two pieces he himself had bought in Constantinople in 1909 (7298 and 7299).

AO 7709–7713 were purchased from Virolleaud in December 1921.

Two or three lots were bought from Jean: 8221–8310 in 1922; and in 1923 AO 8627–8635 (in January), and 8671–8789(?).

A collection was bought from de Genouillac in 1924 (AO 9246–9401).

Unclear is AO 10387 = TTC 28. A tablet was purchased from Segredakis in February 1930 (AO 12131–12135?).

¹⁰⁵ Acquisition details according to the object descriptions at britishmuseum.org/collections, and the details in Garelli / Collon, 1975: 25.

¹⁰⁶ Details about the acquisition of objects according to the online catalogue at collections.louvre.fr.

A collection of Rutten, formerly in the possession of Jean, entered the museum in 1982 (AO 29156–29288).¹⁰⁷

Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin

Eleven texts in the Vorderasiatisches Museum stem from pre-1913 excavations. The museum acquired Cappadocian tablets at various times.¹⁰⁸ Delitzsch mentions the first acquisitions of Old Assyrian texts in his report on the first quarter of 1903: “fünf kappadozische Keilschrifttäfelchen — die ersten welche den Vorderasiatischen Sammlungen einverleibt werden konnten”.¹⁰⁹ These texts, which received the numbers VAT 4533–4537, were obtained from the dealer “Chérif Osman Bey”.¹¹⁰

Nine tablets were acquired in Anatolia by Winckler in 1906–1912, VAT 6180, 6188, 6192, 6199, 6203, 6209, 6211, 7674, 7676, but those in italics are considered to have been found in Boğazköy.¹¹¹ The other texts, 6188, 6199, 6203, 6209, and 6211 were published by Veenhof as VS 26, 192–196.

One fragment was obtained in April 1909.¹¹²

The museum acquired (perhaps from Gėjou) 91 texts in June 1914,¹¹³ and these must be those numbered VAT 9210–9301. Another 104 texts entered the museum in June/July 1920,¹¹⁴ probably identical with VAT 13458–13561.

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110 Published in Müller / Marzahn, 2000. Osman Nouri Bey, named Cherif Osman Bey in his passport, was an art dealer and collector in Constantinople, see <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18219469> (accessed 1 July 2022).

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der Frau Professor

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im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Herausgegeben von
Manfred Krebernik

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during the Colloquium Held on March 17–18, 2022
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PREFACE BY THE EDITORS

This volume collects contributions to an international colloquium held at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena on 17th/18th March 2022. The colloquium entitled “Die Hilprecht-Sammlung vorderasiatischer Altertümer und ihre Bedeutung für die Alt-orientalistik” was organized to bring together scholars who have a particular relationship with the Hilprecht collection — taking stock of the current state of research on the objects held in the collection as well as its history. Initially, the event was planned to coincide with the retirement of Professor Manfred Krebernik, who had been in charge as curator of the collection since 1997, in October 2021. To this result, international researchers were invited who had worked in the past in the collection, among those the authors of the series TMH, in which the cuneiform texts from the collection have been published under the editorship of Manfred Krebernik during the past twenty years. Most participants submitted their contribution for the present publication, which has been complemented with some additional works by other colleagues who have a close relationship with Manfred and/or the collection. The result is a colourful mixture of research in the origin and development, as well as particular objects, of this outstanding collection.

The colloquium was set to take place in March 2021, however the global COVID-pandemic prevented this from happening and the event had to be postponed twice, finally taking place on 17th and 18th March 2022, a full year after the original date. As a result of these delays some changes were inevitable, and some papers found in the original programme were replaced when speakers were unable to travel or eventually attended the colloquium digitally. As the preventive measures against COVID were eased in early 2022 the event could finally be held on site in Jena, without resorting to a purely digital version, though most participants from the United Kingdom or the U.S.A. presented their papers using Zoom.

The colloquium was organized by the two undersigned — Jascha de Ridder in his capacity as the assistant at Manfred Krebernik’s chair in Jena and Peter Stein as representative of the “Förderverein Altorientalistik und Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena e.V.”, which has been engaged in supporting the work on the Hilprecht collection and Assyriological studies in Jena for almost 20 years now. The organizers wish to express their gratitude to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the Ernst-Abbe-Stiftung Jena for providing substantial funding for the workshop. The Förderverein financed the catering during the breaks, and we like to thank Karolin Ulbricht, the treasurer of the Verein, for her professional and logistic support. As editors of the conference proceedings, we are grateful to Stephan Specht and Ulrike Melzow of Harrassowitz Publishers for accepting the volume in the series TMH and for their editing support.

Last but not least we feel deeply indebted to the participants in the colloquium for their patient adherence to the project, which was a pleasure for us as well as — so we do hope — for them and particularly for Manfred Krebernik, to whom we all dedicate this volume.

Marburg / Jena, July 2023

Jacob Jan de Ridder and Peter Stein

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*Manfred Krebernik (left) showing the Nippur city plan during the Workshop.
Spectators from left to right: Bernhard Schneider, Aage Westenholz, Jan Gerrit Dercksen and
Grant Frame. Photo by Christine Proust.*