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JAMES MELLAART'S FANTASIES

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1. Abstract

A scrutiny of the British prehistorian James Mellaart's (1925-2012) estate in his former study in northern London, conducted on 24-27 February 2018, revealed evidence that the famous pioneer of Anatolian archaeology had fabricated translations of alleged Late Bronze Age documents from western Asia Minor over a period of many years. Scholarly disputes in which the authenticity of the material presented by James Mellaart was questioned had arisen before, above all after the publication of the Dorak Treasure in 1958 and of alleged reconstructions of wall paintings from Çatalhöyük during the years 1984 until 1999. In 1992/93, Mellaart also briefly mentioned in publications his possession of an extensive Arzawan royal annal, the so-called Beyköy Text, written in cuneiform Hittite and said to be composed around 1170 BC for the great king of Mira, Kupantakuruntas. An examination of his study produced over a thousand pages on this subject, but no material from an external source: no translations written by someone other than Mellaart, and no correspondence regarding any envisaged publication of this Beyköy Text. On the contrary, Mellaart related the research history and details of the Beyköy Text in so many different versions in his unpublished manuscripts and notes that it was obvious that he had composed these documents himself [on this subject, see Bányai's contribution in this volume as well]. His study even contained the tool kit for the production of the Beyköy Text, including many notes on small pieces of cardboard and rough first drafts in handwriting. In 1989, Mellaart also came forward with a number of drawings said to reflect Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions found between 1854 and 1878 in western Asia Minor. The most prominent of these would have been about 29 metres long, allegedly dated to ca. *1180 BC and also accredited to Kupantakuruntas. Mellaart's former study did not contain earlier drafts of this drawing that would have pointed to forgery. However, a manuscript typewritten by Mellaart but accredited to the deceased Turkish archaeologist Uluğ Bahadır Alkım indicates that the British prehistorian handled this subject untruthfully as well.*

2. Chronology of contacts

The main discussion so far of the controversial material presented by James Mellaart during his professional career has been in three popular science books (Pearson/Connor 1967; Hamblin 1975; Balter 2005), in the reports of the investigative journalist Susan Mazur (Mazur 2005a; 2005b) and the rug expert Marla Mallett (Mallett 1990; 1992), and most recently in a popular science book by myself (Zangger 2017, 199-227, 299-316). Given the nature of the subject, which is inherently lacking in hard facts, and the main sources, it appears advisable to adopt a fairly journalistic style for this treatment.

Throughout our academic careers, James Mellaart and I have both taken the position that the Sea Peoples, who contributed to the demise of civilizations at the end of the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, were for the most part at home in western Asia Minor. When the media spread the news that major forgeries had been revealed in James Mellaart's estate, some colleagues argued in social media that this revelation also undermines the credibility of a western Anatolian provenance of the Sea Peoples. However, Mellaart's and my arguments had taken shape completely independently from each other.

The contact between James Mellaart and myself goes back to the year 1995. Already one year earlier, I had published the book *Ein neuer Kampf um Troia – Archäologie in der Krise* with Droemer in Munich (Zangger 1994), which revolved around the theory that the Sea Peoples came for the most part from western Asia Minor. The book presented a hypothetical reconstruction of events in the eastern Mediterranean during the 13th century BC in chronological order with twenty-year time slices. In February 1995, *Der Spiegel* reported on the subject (Schulz 1995), and in May 1995, the story also appeared in *Aramco World* (Zangger 1995). James Mellaart, who had subscribed to *Aramco World*, then wrote me two letters, dated 17 July and 5 August 1995. In them, he said that he had been pursuing similar ideas since 1951, and that he even possessed English translations of unpublished documents which would reveal that the Sea Peoples indeed came from western Asia Minor. These documents had allegedly been found at the end of the 19th century in Beyköy, a village 34 kilometres north of Afyonkarahisar in western Turkey. Mellaart summarised the contents of this "Beyköy Text" (BT) in his letters. On a total of 22 single-spaced handwritten pages, Mellaart produced a detailed yet convoluted account of the events as described in the BT. The contents of the letters are somewhat obscured, however, by Mellaart's difficult-to-read handwriting and the use of hundreds of – for the most part thus far unknown – names of people and places.

To obtain more details of the tablets, I phoned Mellaart. He said they were made of bronze, the script was cuneiform and the language Hittite. When asked how to proceed with the publication of these tablets, which he said had been in print for over ten years, Mellaart hesitated a moment and then replied: "Just wait five years!"

In response to my inquiry on how to deal with the situation, the Aegean prehistorian Curtis Runnels at Boston University wrote me in an e-mail dated 15 August 1995 that he questioned Mellaart's veracity: "Read *The Dorak Affair* by Kenneth Pearson and Patricia Connor (New York, 1967). He hasn't changed since then. Steer clear." Having subsequently read the book, I did not find it as incriminating as my colleague had. Nevertheless, I followed the advice and made no use of these letters until October 2017.

In September 2015, during a lecture that was part of the 11th colloquium of the Heinrich Schliemann Museum in Ankershagen, Germany, I suggested that the umbrella term "Luwian" might be used to summarise the Late Bronze Age states in western Asia Minor to make them more comparable with the Minoan, Mycenaean and Hittite cultures. The lecture appeared in print in the spring of 2016 in *Mitteilungen aus dem Heinrich-Schliemann-Museum Ankershagen* (Zangger *et alii* 2016). Three months later, James Mellaart's son Alan and I became acquainted in a chance encounter in a bookstore in Istanbul. In conversation with Alan, I mentioned the letters his father had sent me over twenty years earlier.

In May 2016, the book *The Luwian Civilization – The Missing Link in the Aegean Bronze Age* appeared, presenting an overview of the current knowledge of Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement history in western Asia Minor (Zangger 2016). During the course of the research for a succeeding book, in February 2017, I ultimately put Mellaart's letters from 1995 to some use by passing them on to the Dutch linguist Fred Woudhuizen. He converted Mellaart's letters into electronic format and suggested we jointly evaluate their contents.

Shortly thereafter, in June 2017, I met Alan Mellaart in his parents' former home in North London. Alan gave me a pile of documents that his father had marked as being particularly important. It consisted of about 500 sheets of paper (Zangger 2017, 299-316). The lion's share dealt with English translations of the Beyköy Text. In addition to the text itself, James Mellaart had kept his notes and manuscripts relating the research history of these documents and providing his scholarly analysis of them.

The papers also included several drawings of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions – including a prominent one whose original would have been over 29 metres long – which Fred Woudhuizen and I then dubbed "Beyköy 2" and published in *Talanta* online on December 9, 2017 (Zangger/Woudhuizen 2017; *Talanta*, this volume, 9-56). The rediscovery of such a massive Luwian hieroglyphic text, one that describes the events during a phase at the end of the Bronze Age to boot, would be a sensation. News of the discovery thus quickly travelled around the globe. It soon became evident that these drawings had been known to the British Hittitologist John David Hawkins and other scholars since 1989, and that many experts on Luwian hieroglyphics regarded them as forgeries, most likely by Mellaart himself. In November

2017, we learnt that the large inscription had already been presented by the British Hittitologist Oliver R. Gurney at the *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* in Ghent on 10-14 July 1989. However, it was not included in the conference proceedings (De Meyer/Gasche 1991).

In October 2017, my book *Die Luwier und der Trojanische Krieg* appeared. The publisher had allowed me to add an 18-page chapter on the latest discoveries in James Mellaart's estate. One month later, the board of the Luwian Studies Foundation met in Zurich and decided to support the investigation and publication of the documents. On 7 February 2018, the linguists Willemijn Waal and Alwin Kloekhorst from Leiden University and Ivo Hajnal from Innsbruck University came together in Zurich to discuss approaches to investigating and publishing the documents related to alleged cuneiform texts (BT) from James Mellaart's estate. It was decided, however, that further evidence should initially be sought to see whether the documents were real or not.

My first step was therefore to request Alan Mellaart's permission to return to his father's study to look for additional clues that would reinforce the authenticity of the documents. This examination then took place between 24 and 27 February 2018. James Mellaart's documents were kept in two rooms of the apartment and in two garages. Alan Mellaart and I hoped to find paperwork produced by other scholars, for instance correspondence, that would provide independent proof of the authenticity of these three-thousand-year-old-plus documents, or at least of the project to publish them. Alas, we were unable to find even a single piece of paper from outside Mellaart's study that dealt with the Beyköy documents. Instead, hidden away, I came across amateurish engravings on schist with motifs that James Mellaart had published as reconstructed murals from Çatalhöyük-a strong hint that he had made these up. In the last place to be examined in Mellaart's study, and in the last hour of our inquiry, I also retrieved a five-centimetre-thick file that indicated how James Mellaart had indeed composed the English translations of the alleged cuneiform BT himself. To prevent rumours from spreading, we decided to communicate these findings through a media release a mere two days later (https://luwianstudies.org/press-releases).

The retrieval and publication of Beyköy 2, the claims of it being forged, and the subsequent revelation of undeniable forgeries coming from James Mellaart's study caused an uproar and considerable confusion in the scholarly community. This was exacerbated further by quick, and to a large extent erroneous, media reports – all the way to stories claiming that virtually everything James Mellaart had found during his large-scale excavations of Neolithic and Bronze Age sites needed to be evaluated. Considering the complexity of the case, this confusion is understandable, but it is also partly unwarranted, because the original media release stated clearly that "there is no indication that Mellaart also faked artefacts". The items retrieved from Mellaart's excavations at Çatalhöyük, Hacılar and Beycesultan are

of course genuine. Later excavations at Çatalhöyük by Stanford University professor Ian Hodder have supported much of Mellaart's work and interpretations. The archaeological survey currently conducted in the Konya Plain also confirms some of Mellaart's main observations on settlement patterns (Bachhuber/Massa 2017).

James Mellaart clearly had an unusual personality; he was gifted in many ways and exceptionally courageous. Archaeology has him to thank for the discovery and popularisation of the Neolithic in Anatolia, quite a remarkable feat! He was without doubt an outstanding pioneer in his field. But when he lost his licence to do fieldwork in Turkey in 1965, he still had almost half a century to live. During this time, Mellaart evidently became increasingly absorbed in imaginary worlds that he assimilated in the form of drawings and texts. Today, it is virtually impossible to say for sure whether these stories contained a kernel of truth. Who can tell whether or not Mellaart had indeed seen documents from private collections which we are not aware of today?

In order to illuminate a case that must appear unfathomably convoluted to anyone not familiar with the documents themselves, here I attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of Mellaart's life and achievements and the cases of alleged forgery he was involved in, as well as a brief analysis of the documents I received from Mellaart's estate. A thorough treatment of this material would most likely occupy several scholars for several years – and lies outside my personal interest and the scope of the Luwian Studies Foundation. However, if someone demonstrates a serious interest in further analysing the material on the Beyköy Texts, I will be perfectly willing to pass it on for closer scrutiny.

3. James Mellaart's life and achievements

The information provided below about James Mellaart's career was retrieved from Pearson/Connor (1967), Balter (2005) and Hodder (2016). James Mellaart's family originally came from Scotland, where it was part of the MacDonald clan – more specifically the MacLarty family. In the 17th century, the family had to flee to Holland where, for the sake of simplicity, it changed the name MacLarty to the Dutch-sounding form Mellaart. James was born on Oxford Street in London in 1925 as the son of the art dealer Jacob Mellaart and his wife Apollonia. In 1932 the global economic crisis prompted the couple to move with James and his younger sister Helen to Amsterdam. When Apollonia died shortly thereafter, Jacob married for a second time. The children genuinely hated their stepmother, which may have contributed to the fact that Mellaart later largely suppressed his youth in the Netherlands and refused to speak Dutch with Dutch colleagues. Throughout his life he considered himself a Scot.

At the age of eleven, Mellaart received from an uncle a monumental work on Egypt. The author was James Henry Breasted from the Oriental Institute in Chicago. Mellaart was so enthusiastic about the great illustrations in the book that he bought a grammar, and for a year or two learnt ancient Egyptian. Mellaart was

fifteen years old when German soldiers invaded the Netherlands. The family moved to Maastricht. The longer the war lasted, the more Mellaart feared being summoned by the Germans, for he held both British and Dutch citizenship. He turned to the Swiss consul, who at that time represented British interests. The consul advised him not to return home at all, as the Gestapo might already be looking for him. The consul was even able to provide Mellaart with a job at Leiden's National Museum of Antiquity. There, Mellaart eventually worked for the Egyptology department, gluing together broken vessels. When the war was finally over, he remained for a time in Leiden, where he could deepen his interests with the Egyptologist Adriaan de Buck. He also waited for a place to study in England and was determined to become an archaeologist, among other things to solve the enigma surrounding the Sea Peoples. But University College London, where Mellaart was enrolled in 1947, offered no course of study in archaeology. So he had no choice but to study Egyptology; Jaroslav Černý was his most important teacher. Mellaart also learnt archaeology, and in particular digging, by participating in excavations at the Pleistocene site of Sutton Walls near Hereford. He graduated in Ancient History and Egyptology in 1951, and on the very same day set off for Ankara. A scholarship from the British Institute in Ankara enabled him to spend two years there. He planned to write a doctoral thesis on the origin of the Sea Peoples, and wanted to conduct investigations on the ground. Convinced that the Sea Peoples came from the western and southern shores of today's Turkey, Mellaart hoped to find evidence for his thesis.

Within the framework of his research, Mellaart carried out an extensive survey of archaeological sites in the southwest of Turkey from 1951 onwards. Since he did not have a driving licence, he had to be chauffeured around during the entire survey. Five notebooks from Mellaart's surveys in Anatolia in 1951 and 1952 resurfaced during the examination of his estate in February 2018. Mellaart published the findings of his survey in a series of papers in *Anatolian Studies* (e.g. Mellaart 1954; 1963a), but he never submitted a dissertation and thus never earned a PhD.

On one excavation he met Arlette Meryem Cenani, the daughter of Kadri Cenani, a descendant of a family of viziers to the Sultan. James and Arlette married in 1954. The following year, their only child, Alan, was born. From then on Arlette accompanied her husband as a translator, photographer and camp manager. Her parents possessed a grandiose estate with a large 18th-century country house and a spacious garden on the Asian side of the Bosporus, in the Kanlıca district of Istanbul. There, James, Arlette and Alan spent their summers for over twenty years. Mellaart's explorations in the south of Turkey led to a series of ground-breaking discoveries; even so, he made no progress regarding his initial desire to find evidence for the origin of the Sea Peoples. His greatest success was the discovery of Neolithic sites. In the middle of the 20th century, knowledge of this period was completely non-existent as far as Asia Minor was concerned. Mellaart was among the first to conduct extensive surveys in Asia Minor. He found a number

of Neolithic, Early and Middle Bronze Age sites. In 1954, near Çivril, Mellaart discovered an important royal residence of the Middle Bronze Age: Beycesultan – a tell site of enormous proportions, about one kilometre in diameter. In the years 1954 to 1959, Mellaart was able to carry out excavations there together with the director of the British Institute in Ankara, Seton Lloyd (Mellaart 1998). At Beycesultan, Mellaart hoped to find script that would support the identification of this region with the Arzawa lands. Since no documents were found, the dig was shut down. It is an irony of fate that one of the objects found (Lloyd/Mellaart 1958, Pl. XXVIa) was recognized much later to be a stamp seal of an overseer of a thousand men, dating to around 2000 BC and containing the thus far earliest evidence for Luwian hieroglyphic, above all the word "Mira" for a Luwian palace or town in western Asia Minor (Woudhuizen 2012).

In 1956, 23 kilometres south of today's Burdur, Mellaart found a Neolithic and Chalcolithic site extending to the 8th millennium: Hacılar Höyük (Mellaart 1961). There he carried out excavations from 1957 to 1960. Finally, in November 1958, while travelling with his colleagues David French and Alan Hall, he recognised the Neolithic age of the great Çatalhöyük settlement hill in the Konya Plain. There, in one of the first agricultural communities of Anatolia, a uniform society thrived for about 1100 years in closely connected rooms that were only accessible through the roof and whose walls were carefully plastered with clay. Excavations took place from 1961 to 1963. Having failed to obtain permission for 1964, Mellaart returned in 1965. He explored a settlement extending over some 32 acres, with more than 19 metres of accumulated debris representing at least 13 levels of occupation. In 1967, Mellaart's book *Çatal Hüyük: a Neolithic Town in Anatolia* appeared after he had already published *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East and Anatolia* and *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* the two years before (Mellaart 1965; 1966a; 1967). In these works, he showed that the great achievements of the alleged Neolithic revolution, including agriculture and cattle-raising, settling and living in village communities, and metalworking, had gained essential impetus in Anatolia. However, this was a long and "painfully slow evolutionary process", as he argued, that lasted over a thousand years (Mellaart 1989, 4).

Mellaart suffered a blow in 1976 when the house of his parents-in-law on the Bosporus burned to the ground. A housekeeper had lit a fire in a cannon stove and did not notice that glowing sparks escaped through a gap in the chimney (Balter 2005, 53). Numerous records of Mellaart's excavations were lost.
Despite all the recent commotion, James Mellaart deserves to be admired for the courageous and unconventional approach which led him to the discovery of the Neolithic in Anatolia and thus boosted our knowledge of Anatolian archaeology. He remains one of the most outstanding pioneers in the field – and this should really be emphasised more. In addition, he conducted excavations at the important Neolithic and Bronze Age sites Hacılar, Çatalhöyük and Beycesultan, and there is no doubt that he worked accurately as an excavator. He was also perhaps

the biggest advocate of a Luwian culture in western Asia Minor. Unfortunately, he tried to reinforce his arguments with made-up documents, thereby ultimately doing a disservice to the field.

4. The Dorak Affair

James Mellaart became the second director of the still young British Archaeological Institute, which had been established in 1948. In 1959, he approached his superior Seton Lloyd with drawings of a treasure that Mellaart claimed to have seen in the early summer of 1958 in the flat of a young woman in Izmir. Mellaart said he had met the woman, whose name was Anna Papastrati, during a train ride from Istanbul to Izmir. She was wearing a massive golden bracelet that looked reminiscent of Troy II artefacts found by Heinrich Schliemann in the so-called Treasure of Priam. The young woman invited Mellaart to accompany her to see the other pieces in her home in the Karşıyaka district on the northern side of Izmir.

There, Anna showed Mellaart the other pieces in a chest of drawers. Mellaart said he saw a vessel of silver and gold in the form of a bird, parts of a sword with Egyptian ornament, some silver statuettes, and even embroidery. An ancient chest and a small box were decorated with dolphins, the gold foil cover of a wooden Egyptian throne displayed a hieroglyphic inscription. There were sword blades with boats and alabaster shards with Egyptian hieroglyphs. The archaeologist, however, could not take photos because he had left his camera at home. In addition to the artefacts, there were also faded, scorched photographs of skeletons in two tombs, as well as extensive notes in Greek that appeared to have been written by an archaeologist, including a sketch with the site map. Mellaart made sketches of these finds and, with Anna's help in translating, copied some of the notes.

Seton Lloyd took Mellaart's drawings on his next trip to London to show them to other archaeologists and art historians. The experts thought the material was genuine and recommended publication. But since there were no photos, Seton Lloyd ruled out the possibility of scientific publication. They finally decided to write a detailed article in *The Illustrated London News*, a popular glossy magazine that regularly reported on archaeological discoveries. The four-page article appeared, richly illustrated, on 28 November 1959, bearing the title "The Royal Treasure from Dorak – a first exclusive account of a clandestine excavation leading to the most important discovery since the royal graves of Ur" (Mellaart 1959a). However, Mellaart's account of his encounter with the treasure could not be substantiated. Some experts therefore expressed disbelief in the existence of the finds. The scholarly community eventually tacitly decided not to use the drawings of the Dorak treasure as evidence (Collon 1990, 119).

The Turkish press took a different stand. On 29 May 1962, four years after the meeting between Mellaart and Papastrati, Turkey's second largest newspaper, *Milliyet*

(the nation), launched a three-day campaign against Mellaart. The campaign began with an eight-column headline on the title page: "A historical treasury worth 1 billion Turkish pounds smuggled out of the country". The reworking of the events took on such bizarre traits that the *Sunday Times* editor Kenneth Pearson, together with the archaeologist and BBC employee Patricia Connor, conducted extensive research on the subject. Their results were ultimately published in 1967 as a book, entitled *The Dorak Affair* (Pearson/Connor 1967). The following year, the British Archaeological Institute in Ankara established an investigative commission, which ultimately led to the conclusion that Mellaart's report on the incidents corresponded to the facts. The Twenty-First Annual Report (for 1969) of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara (BIAA) states:

> "In 1968 the council set up a committee to investigate what has come to be known as the Dorak Affair … The council reached the conclusion that his [Mellaart's] drawings, which had been shown to the director in 1958, were beyond doubt genuine records of a collection which had existed at that time, and that any suggestion that he had been engaged in illegal activities was completely without foundation" (Daniel 1970, 89-90).

The case against Mellaart was largely dismissed because it had occurred before a general amnesty declared in 1960. Even if Mellaart had committed a crime before that time, he could not be prosecuted for it (Balter 2005, 49). To ease acceptance among Turkish archaeologists and media, the BIAA appointed Oliver R. Gurney, the editor of *Anatolian Studies*, as the formal director of the excavation at Çatalhöyük, while James Mellaart continued to run the day-to-day operations of the dig. During the 1965 field season, the full-time government representative on the excavation then saw artefacts from Çatalhöyük on sale at an antique dealer shop in Konya, and upon inquiry was told that they had been acquired from workers on the dig. "No one was accusing Mellaart of complicity in the stealing", writes the science journalist Michael Balter (Balter 2005, 50). But in a piece for the newsletter of his funding organisation, the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Mellaart then complained about "certain xenophobic elements aided by the gutter press", and continued that during the 1965 season "we had no less than five people to spy on us; two servants planted on us as agents provocateurs [and] a museum guard on the site with the manners of a Gestapo man" (Balter 2005, 51-52). Those statements wound up in Turkish media – and the BIAA council decided at its meeting on 28 October 1966 to "disconnect the Institute's sponsorship of Mr Mellaart's excavations in Turkey" (Pearson/Connor 1968, 264; Balter 2005, 52). As a consequence, James Mellaart did not return to Çatalhöyük for thirty years – although he had managed to land a position as a lecturer on Anatolian archaeology at University College in London in 1964, which he retained until his retirement in 1991.

Mellaart himself, the authors of the book *The Dorak Affair*, and, most recently, Michael Balter, author of the book *The goddess and the bull: Çatalhöyük, an*

archaeological journey of the dawn of civilization, came to the conclusion that the encounter between Mellaart and Anna had been staged by a dealer ring. If so, the prehistorian would have been extremely naïve to have fallen into such a trap. What unaccompanied twenty-year-old girl would wear a massive gold chain from the Trojan era during a night trip? And invite an archaeologist to her home to show him a large treasure to boot? Or allow him to publish the pieces without first talking to someone else?

The Dorak objects did not make much sense: they belonged to the Yortan culture from the middle of the 3rd millennium, which according to the knowledge back then consisted of black clay vessels and a few marble idols. Early Bronze Age finds were never made in the vicinity of Dorak, much less treasures or royal tombs. Dorak is a godforsaken hole which takes a long journey to reach – today best undertaken in a four-wheel drive vehicle. Even four thousand years ago there would have been no reason for a king to settle there. Mellaart, who had a better nose for favourable locations for Bronze Age settlements than anyone, should have seen all this.

What is more, the description of the encounter with Anna Papastrati varies considerably between the two non-fiction books that deal with the Dorak Affair. The version outlined above is based on Pearson/Connor (1967) and Hamblin (1975). The version provided by Balter (2005) was also based on interviews with James Mellaart, but in it Anna did not wear the gold jewellery during the train ride, and then only entered into a conversation about archaeology with Mellaart in which she mentioned having some antiquities that she would like to show him (Balter 2005, 45). Later, in her flat, they were greeted by Anna's father who remained throughout Mellaart's stay there, which lasted nearly a week. Also, in his article in *The London Illustrated News*, Mellaart started out by saying "A rich collection of objects … was rediscovered some years ago by the writer …" (Mellaart 1959a, 755), despite the fact that he had actually met Anna only the year before. This approach of keeping the storylines malleable to his needs is one that he used throughout his life.

Pearson and Connor realised that a letter from Anna Papastrati in which she granted permission to publish the drawings was the only evidence that she and the treasure existed. But this letter had been produced on a Remington manual typewriter at the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, one that was used by Mellaart's wife. The investigative journalist Susan Mazur writes that there are also significant stylistic similarities between the letter from Anna and correspondence from the BIAA, where James Mellaart served as assistant director and his wife Arlette as secretary (Mazur 2005a). For instance, in Anna's letter the date was written using the Roman cap "I" instead of "1" (e.g. I959), something common in Oxford/Cambridge scholarly circles (and in Mellaart's notes), but not elsewhere.

The documents in Mellaart's estate include the manuscript of a whole scholarly book about the Dorak finds. In his notes, Mellaart says: "At the request of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara I wrote a book on the Dorak Find, only to have it rejected!" Very few people have thus far seen Mellaart's scholarly analysis of the Dorak material. Patricia Connor and Kenneth Pearson browsed through it in the 1960s in Mellaart's office at University College London (Pearson/Connor 1967, 222). They estimated the manuscript to comprise 60,000-plus words. After his retirement, Mellaart took it to his study at home. When Michael Balter interviewed him there for his book on Çatalhöyük, he too was allowed to see the analysis of the Dorak finds – and was impressed by its detail (Balter 2005, 53). The manuscript is still there – and it is indeed impressive, in volume and depth worthy of a PhD thesis. However, it is unclear how Mellaart would have been able to collect that much information from artefacts and notes that he only saw once during a long weekend and that were in Greek, a language he did not speak.

Susan Mazur published an article entitled "The Dorak Affair's Final Chapter" on 10 October 2005, after she had been able to interview David Stronach, Professor of Near East Archaeology at the University of California, Berkeley, over the phone (Mazur 2005b). Stronach was a long-time friend of James Mellaart and had actually contributed a section to Mellaart's unpublished monograph on the Dorak material. Stronach said on the phone: "He [Mellaart] was copying genuine copper daggers of the Yortan type that exist in Turkish museums. The dagger drawings were Jimmie's. Rubbings made by running your pencil around the metal dagger." Stronach disclosed that James Mellaart had invented Dorak, calling it a "dream-like episode". The figurines shown in *The London Illustrated News* were drawn by Seton Lloyd's wife. Lloyd knew at least as early as 1990, and probably well before, that Dorak was a fabrication, according to Stronach.

5. Reconstructed murals from Çatalhöyük

Mellaart's preliminary excavation reports from Çatalhöyük in the 1960s contained photos of obviously genuine wall paintings whose discovery revolutionised the understanding of the Anatolian Neolithic (Mellaart 1962; 1963b; 1964; 1966b). It cannot be emphasised enough that there is no doubt that numerous walls of the 160 houses unearthed during the excavations led by Mellaart contained stunning, genuine wall paintings which are now kept and exhibited in museums. However, some twenty years later, James Mellaart claimed that there were even more murals at Çatalhöyük – and he began presenting more and more drawings of them. This led to yet another scholarly dispute in which James Mellaart was accused of having forged the drawings of the murals (obviously not the murals themselves).

At the 1983 International Conference on Oriental Carpets in London, Mellaart suggested in a presentation that patterns seen in murals from Çatalhöyük are still reflected in the woven kilims produced today. Mellaart proposed that the large paintings on some interior walls at Çatalhöyük were copies of actual woven kilims

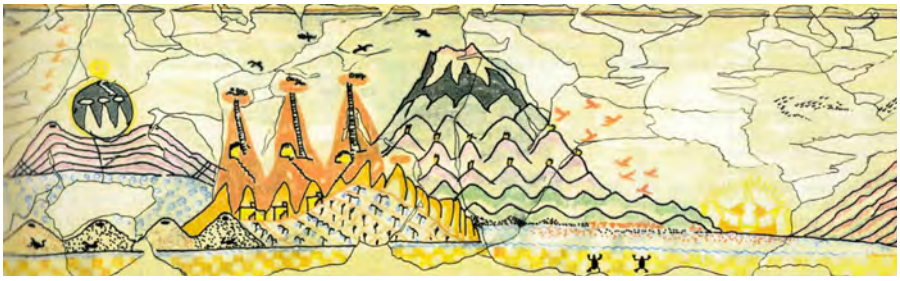

Fig. 1. One of the "reconstructed" murals from Çatalhöyük (Mellaart 1999, 83). The original figure caption is: "Level V [c. 6450 BC]. Erciyesdağ, flanked on the left by the cones of Cappadocia, with nesting storks and double-peaked Hasandağ, and on the right by the sultan marshes with flamingos, turtles, the rising sun and a spur of the Taurus Mountains."

used in other, more important buildings. The motifs that Mellaart claimed to have sketched from fragmented paintings indeed looked surprisingly like those on kilims of today. "The possibility of Neolithic roots for kilim design was intriguing", writes Marla Mallett, a veteran textile researcher based in Atlanta, Georgia, who then thoroughly investigated Mellaart's claims (Mallett 1992). A year later, Mellaart's conference presentation appeared as a contribution to the book *Early Turkish Tapestries* edited by the antique rug dealer Bertram Frauenknecht (Mellaart 1984). International rug experts then recognised major shortcomings in Mellaart's argument and documentation. The way in which Mellaart presented this material was also confusing, since drawings of artefacts, motifs from modern kilims, and thus far undocumented mural motifs appeared all mixed together.

At that time, Mellaart began showing brightly coloured drawings of what he called "sketch reconstructed" wall paintings from Çatalhöyük in his classes on Anatolian prehistory (Balter 2005, 205). His main argument was that the designs of many Anatolian kilims were based on motifs that had changed little since the Neolithic. In addition to intricate patterns that seemed to resemble those on modern kilims, Mellaart came forth with highly detailed scenes (Fig. 1), for instance of a figure holding two birds, erupting volcanoes, winged deities, globular goddesses, vultures and leopards. Mellaart reported a Neolithic Mother Goddess cult that had not been seen in wall paintings before (Fig. 2). But he was not able to show photos of these supposed Neolithic motifs; all he had were small sketches. Yet they were much more detailed than anything previously published from Çatalhöyük.

As word got around, Mellaart was asked by his departmental head to give a seminar to present these paintings to a scholarly audience at his institute (Balter 2005, 206). This talk then took place on 11 June 1987 before a large crowd of students, faculty and visitors. In the subsequent discussion, Mellaart was

cross-examined by well-prepared peers from outside his institute. The experts immediately recognised stylistic incongruities between Mellaart's new "sketch reconstructed" murals and the genuine wall paintings already published. Whereas the known murals from Çatalhöyük reflected geometric patterns rendered in red and black, Mellaart now presented intricate illustrations with striking new shades of colours, including a bright blue. Mellaart explained that he had reconstructed these "new" murals from tracings of thousands of plaster fragments that had fallen from the walls of mud-brick buildings at Çatalhöyük (Collon 1990, 121). He had painstakingly reconstructed these scenes. While the tracings themselves were destroyed when the father-in-law's summerhouse burned down, the reconstructions based on these tracings had turned up again in his office in London.

Fig. 2. Another "reconstructed" mural from Çatalhöyük (Mellaart 1999, 94). The original figure caption is: "A Goddess is enthroned on the horns of two aurochs, a bull and a cow, separated by a female figure, probably her daughter. This is one of the latest large pictures (Level I) [ca. 6150 BC]."

The debate remained simmering in the background for a little longer. Amongst the rug experts, many accepted Mellaart's claim, most likely on the basis of his reputation as a figurehead of Anatolian archaeology. Then, late in 1989, *The Goddess from Anatolia* was published (Mellaart *et alii* 1989) – a four-volume treatment of Anatolian culture as recorded in motifs and patterns from the Neolithic to the present, authored by James Mellaart, Belkıs Balpınar, former director of the Vakiflar Museum in Istanbul, and Udo Hirsch, a photographer, who had travelled extensively in Anatolia with Balpınar on her ethnographic studies of weavers on the Anatolian Plateau. The publication contained 44 astonishing drawings of wall paintings from Çatalhöyük that had thus far not been reported. Mellaart's earlier approach of placing photos of clay artefacts from Çatalhöyük next to sketched reconstructions of wall paintings said to have also come from Çatalhöyük (but that were not recorded in photographs) and modern kilims was used throughout the volume of plates (e.g. vol. I, Pl. 54).

What had begun as a question-and-answer session after Mellaart's lecture of 1987 now took the form of a public debate. Dominique Colon, an archaeologist at the British Museum and expert on Near Eastern seals, pointed out the troubling inconsistencies in the evidence presented by Mellaart (Collon 1990). Until then, Mellaart had reported one picture of a "landscape" from Çatalhöyük (Mellaart 1967, 176); now he was presenting some 70 new ones (e.g. Fig. 1)! The most puzzling question was why these "sketch reconstructed" wall paintings had not been photographed, considering that they ranked among the world's earliest architectural murals. Mellaart, who took pride as a skilled and efficient excavator, kept finding new excuses for the lack of pictures. First, he said that proper film was unavailable in Turkey, then that the project had "run out of film". Next, he argued that "coloured drawings often turn out to be the best form of recording we can make. Photography cannot be relied upon under dig conditions" (Mellaart 1989, 20). Finally, he said that "colour slides and black and white photographs of the better pieces" had been lost in the 1976 fire at his father-in-law's house (Mellaart 1991, 86).

In her review of *The Goddess from Anatolia*, Dominique Collon (1990, 121) posed a number of straightforward questions, such as: Why was no reference to the wall paintings made in the intervening years? Why is it that no specialists working on the site have any recollection of these many thousands of fragments? How can any reliance be placed on reconstructions based on tracings of such small fragments?

Rug experts such as Murray Eiland found it difficult to believe in the accuracy of sketches completed twenty years after the paintings were viewed (Eiland 1990, 19). Besides, the initial excavation reports included colour photographs of simple, monochromatic wall paintings, but why were no photos made of the far more colourful ones Mellaart allegedly sketched? Other rug experts added that the kilim motifs recognised in the "sketch reconstructed" wall paintings would have been impossible to weave since warp/weft directions were garbled (Mallett 1992).

Archaeologists and rug experts thoroughly investigated the discrepancies between Mellaart's preliminary excavation reports from Çatalhöyük and the newly reported findings of murals. For instance, in the 1966 excavation report, Mellaart had definitively stated that "no traces of wall painting" were found in Building E.VIII (Mellaart 1966b, 178). But in *The Goddess from Anatolia*, Mellaart presented a highly remarkable yurt painting attributed to this very room (Mellaart 1989, 11). And this is only one of many such cases. There is little doubt that Mellaart lost this argument and that few experts would consider these late "sketch reconstructions" of wall paintings to have existed.

In December 2017, I was able to speak to Jack Cassin, an Anatolian carpet and kilim researcher, collector and expert, who had conceived the original concept for *The Goddess from Anatolia*. Mr Cassin spoke at length with me and kindly provided an insider's perspective on what had happened at the time. While looking for the iconographic roots of the designs on the earliest Anatolian kilims, his research led him to James Mellaart's discoveries of Çatalhöyük and Hacılar. After tracking Mellaart down to his office at the London School of Archaeology in Gordon Square, Cassin proposed that he and Mellaart work on a book together. This was in late 1980, and over the course of the next two years, Cassin spent many hours and days with Mellaart. Eventually, in 1983, Mellaart agreed to co-author a book with Cassin, who also enlisted Belkıs Balpınar and Udo Hirsch. That book was provisionally titled *9,000 Years of Anatolian Kilim*.

Over the ensuing four-year period, Cassin and his co-authors were working on their contributions when Mellaart began to show Cassin newly reconstructed drawings of Çatalhöyük wall paintings (e.g. Fig. 2). Seeing these, and noticing the blatant differences between them and the others already published in Mellaart's excavation reports of each season's digs, Cassin became suspicious. When Mellaart presented reconstructions of an erupting volcano and men and women making love, Cassin knew he had to either confront Mellaart, and possibly destroy their friendship, or withdraw from the project and publish his own book. He chose the latter approach and sold the *9,000 Years of Anatolian Kilim* book project to the Milan rug dealer John Eskenazi, who then published the book under the new title *The Goddess from Anatolia*. Cassin himself produced his limited-edition publication entitled *Image Idol Symbol: Ancient Anatolian Kilims* (Cassin 1989) which appeared shortly before *The Goddess from Anatolia*, and included genuine verified archaeological materials, particularly Palaeolithic and Neolithic female effigy figures and wall paintings.

6. The cuneiform "Beyköy Text"

James Mellaart mentioned in three of his last publications the existence of a thus far unknown bronze tablet with a massive Hittite cuneiform inscription, allegedly found at a tell settlement south of the village of Beyköy (Mellaart 1992; 1993a; 1993b). According to Mellaart, the document represents an Arzawan

royal annal, the Beyköy Text, including lists of Anatolian states, kings and military actions, extending from extremely dim origins *ca.* 3170 BC until it was compiled in 1170 BC to celebrate the accession of Muksus after his victory over Hatti and Egypt. Additions by later Arzawan kings extended the account to the first year of Mita (Midas) in 720 BC.

Mellaart first mentions the BT at the end of a book review of *Centuries of Darkness* by Peter James and others (James *et alii* 1991). The book argued that the first few centuries of the Early Iron Age in the Near East and the Mediterranean (1200-950 BC), commonly referred to as the "Dark Age", are the result of an unjustified lengthening of chronology by up to 250 years of "ghost history". It contained a foreword by the eminent Cambridge scholar Colin Renfrew, who was outspokenly critical of the book's main thesis, saying that he suspects the opposite: that many dates in the existing chronologies should actually be earlier rather than later. The book's preface concludes with a quote from James Mellaart, who is also quoted in the book's main text, where the authors refer to "Mellaart's Solomonic judgment" (James *et alii* 1991, 141). Mellaart's review mentions on its final page the Beyköy Text for the first time, saying that it is an "Arzawan document translated by A[lbrecht] Goetze" that is "in press" and "adds vital material for the chronology". Mellaart says:

> "The [Beyköy] text was written for Kupanta-Kuruntas, a brother of Kuwalanazitis, king of Arzawa, and commander of the land forces (Muksus, son of the Arzawan king commanded the 'Sea-People' fleet) against Kuzi-Tesup, king of Carchemish and his ally, Ramses III. The Arzawan army crossed the Euphrates into Hanigalbat in the reign of Asur-Dan I (c. 1179-1134), c. 1176. The Arzawans reached Askalon, Gaza and the frontiers of Egypt in 1175, Ramses III made peace in the following year. The Philistines were settled in Palestine at their demand. Kuzi-Tesup made peace, was put on probation, and five years later, when Muksus became king of Arzawa, he was made vassal king of Carchemish, c. 1170 BC" (Mellaart 1992, 37).

The second reference to the BT is slightly more elaborate. In an article entitled "The Present State of 'Hittite Geography'" that appeared as a contribution to a Festschrift for Nimet Özgüç (Mellaart 1993a), Mellaart again referred to the BT, more or less in passing, seemingly assuming that readers already know about the forthcoming publication of the document. He then provides two apparently literal quotes from the BT:

> "And to Targasnallis, the king of the land of Hapalla, whose sons ruled the lands of Anta, Lalanda, Tarhuntasa and the Walwara riverland, I the Sun (Mursilis II), wrote …" (Mellaart 1993a, 420).

> "Then Mursilis appealed to Kupanta-Kuruntas, King of Mira and Kuwaliya

> for help and he came and in the course of one year he cleared Suppiluliama's troops out of the territories he had occupied, from the river Iyawanta to the frontiers of the land of Atipaliya in the Mountains of Kizuwadni. Then the people of the land of Kizuwadni rose and Kupanta-Kurunta freed them from the rule of the kings of Hatti" (Mellaart 1993a, 420).

Peter James and Nikos Kokkinos, two of the authors of *Centuries of Darkness*, then followed up on the existence of the BT. In a letter to the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, they complained about Mellaart using unpublished evidence, saying that "the information claimed to be recorded in them we find little short of fantastic" and "far-fetched, to say the least" (James/Kokkinos 1993, 80). As a consequence, Mellaart himself provided some more information on the research history of the BT (Mellaart 1993b). The editor of the *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, which had carried Mellaart's review, ultimately published a note, stating that Mellaart's "alleged documents … should not be cited as valid source material" (Gibson 1993, 82). James and Kokkinos conclude in an online commentary: "And there this extraordinary episode ended. Mellaart does not appear to have mentioned his tablet since" (James *et alii* 2000).

6.1. The tell site of Beyköy

Both of the new controversial cases of hitherto unknown material introduced by James Mellaart without original artefacts or photographic proof revolve around finds made in the hamlet of Beyköy in the district of İhsaniye in the highlands of Phrygia in western Turkey. At a distance of 2.6 kilometres south of the modern village of Beyköy lies a tell (aka Yumruktepe; DG 39.024350-30.460950) with a diameter of 195 metres on the eastern bank of the Anöz Deresi. The first scholar to have published notes from a visit to Beyköy in 1884 was William M. Ramsay. Ramsay discovered large tombs about five kilometres east of the village of Beyköy that were decorated with bas-reliefs of lions (Ramsay 1888, 368) almost identical with those at the Lion Gate of Mycenae that had been cleared from debris by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1840 and became popular after 1876 through Heinrich Schliemann's excavations. At the time of Ramsay's writing, the dates for Mycenae and Tiryns were still disputed. He thus argued that "we are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Mycenaean artists either are Phrygians, or learnt the idea from Phrygians" (Ramsay 1888, 369-370); a conclusion that is amusing from today's perspective. It should also be noted that later surveys were unable to locate these lions.

Proceeding to Beyköy, Ramsay heard about a tale regarding a black stone "covered with writing" that was found at the site (Ramsay 1888, 372). Ramsay located a man who said he had actually seen this stone, and then hired four workmen to dig at the site. During the course of one day, they came upon a short inscription (Ramsay 1889, 181) which has since been lost; its signs were soon identified to be Luwian (Messerschmidt 1900, XXXVI A) and later transcribed

and translated (Masson 1980).

Emilie Haspels reported the presence of 2nd millennium BC pottery on the hüyük (Haspels 1971, 288). Hatice Gonnet spent four weeks (5 July-5 August 1979) in the vicinity of Beyköy conducting an extensive survey. Accordingly, there are four known hüyüks (hills) in this area that were occupied during the same epochs: Beyköy, Malatça, Ablak and Sipsin (Çaybağı) (Gonnet 1981, 183). Surface finds from Beyköy indicate that the place was inhabited from the Chalcolithic until Phrygian times. Remains of Phrygian and Roman settlements occur abundantly in the area. Gonnet describes necropolises from the five rocky peaks which surround Beyköy, containing sculptured façades, "thrones", "cup marks", rock tombs and an "altar staircase" cut into the rock (Gonnet 1981, 181). She concludes by saying:

> "The site of Beyköy should therefore be studied in its regional context. Our mission showed that it was an important site of the Phrygian period, but that it had also been occupied earlier, especially in the 2nd millennium. We were not able, however, to establish the Hittite character of the occupation. From this point of view the most important aspect is the presence of many 'thrones' and 'cup marks' in the rock at the necropolises at Beyköy. It is possible that they are connected with the occupation of the hüyük in the 2nd millennium BC." (Gonnet 1981, 183).

Beyköy is also a remarkable place in terms of its environmental setting, located near an important ancient north-south trade route through western Asia Minor from Afyonkarahisar to Eskişehir. What is more, the Anöz Deresi river passing through the karstic limestone northeast of the village has produced a truly enchanting landscape that one can well imagine having served as a virtually unique hunting ground for generations of aristocrats.

6.2. The research history of the BT

Mellaart's controversial cases usually consist of four components: 1) the research history of the alleged object; 2) the history of Mellaart's involvement; 3) the contents of the documents; and 4) Mellaart's usually unpublished scientific analysis of the object. The following discussion of the Beyköy Text is organised according to these four components. The entire narrative and *all* the information about the alleged research history as provided below is taken from James Mellaart's own journals and notes as they were transmitted in his estate.

Mellaart says that the cuneiform Beyköy Text as well as the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from Beyköy were both discovered in 1878. At the time, news arrived at the Istanbul Department of Antiquities that peasants in search of building materials had found a large number of stone blocks with hieroglyphic inscriptions. The inscriptions were said to resemble the so-called Hama stones

that William Wright, W. Kirby Green and Subhī Pasha had rescued in Syria in November 1872 (Wright 1886, 1-12). Subhī Pasha was actually the great-grandfather of James Mellaart's wife.

The French archaeologist Georges Perrot, who had visited and carefully documented the ruins in Boğazköy in 1862, was staying in Turkey at that time (always according to the notes in Mellaart's estate). The government commissioned him to travel to Beyköy to produce facsimile copies of the stone inscriptions and to photograph them if possible. He was provided with an appropriate escort. Perrot was successful and returned with copies of the inscriptions, the quality of which satisfied his own high standards. The Turkish government then ordered the stone blocks to be secured. When, however, nothing happened, the government representative in charge of antiquities travelled to Beyköy himself. Having arrived there, he realised that the stones with the inscriptions had already been installed in the foundations of a new mosque. Furiously, he ordered the entire village to be searched. It was at that time that his people retrieved from the houses of the villagers three large metal tablets with cuneiform writing, which the peasants had unearthed at the "Villa of Beyköy". On the spot, the executive confiscated the plates, which were later referred to as the Beyköy Text. They found their way to Istanbul, where they were donated to or acquired by the then newly founded Archaeological Museum. In the 1880s one of the tablets was even for a short time on show. But then one tablet was misplaced. Sultan Abdulhamid II therefore decided to have the remaining two tablets brought to his residence, the Dolmabahçe Palace, where they were safely locked up.

Mellaart continues his narration, saying that during the time of the revolution around 1918, more negligence was inevitable. The tablets were stolen, moved; they disappeared and reappeared. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated, Friedrich Hrozný eventually deciphered the Hittite language, and somebody remembered the almost forgotten tablets from Beyköy (written in Hittite cuneiform). Since no Turkish scholar could read Hittite in the 1920s, Emil Forrer was shown one of the tablets so that people could find out for the very first time what the text actually said. It turned out that the Beyköy Text described with remarkable detail how the kings of Arzawa and their allies caused the fall of the Hittite Empire. The report was completely in contradiction of the version of the events at the end of the Bronze Age accepted back then and still accepted today. Mellaart tells us that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself banned further research on the text, because it was "not in the public interest". After all, he had just chosen the Hittites as a historical model for the new Turkish state. At the end of the 1930s, the first tablet, which had been lost for many years, reappeared in Istanbul, where it was confiscated at Atatürk's command. Mellaart writes in his notes that two Hittitologists, both of German origin and refugees to Turkey from the Nazis, were asked to decipher the tablets. Ostensibly, Mellaart did not know the names of these two scholars, because where they should have appeared in his manuscripts he left blank spaces

for later additions. The two experts arrived at very different conclusions according to Mellaart, not as far as the actual translation is concerned, but with respect to the geographical position of the many enemies of Arzawa.

Atatürk died in 1938, and soon afterwards World War II broke out. Several years after the end of the war (still always according to Mellaart's narration), the then director of the Department of Antiquities in Ankara, Dr Hamit Zübeyir Koşay, received permission to finally translate the texts. He succeeded in winning over the world's most respected Hittitologist, Albrecht Goetze at Yale. The publication, however, was to have a Turkish co-author and be produced by the Turkish authorities. Thus, around the year 1956, a comprehensive international project emerged which involved not only the Beyköy Text, but also various other prominent inscriptions that had been confiscated or acquired by the Ottoman government during the 19th century. The initiators of the project included Hamit Zübeyir Koşay (Ankara), Uluğ Bahadır Alkım (Istanbul), Albrecht Goetze (Yale), Edmund Irwin Gordon (Harvard) and Richard David Barnett, curator at the British Museum in London. According to Mellaart, the Turkish Historical Society handed over responsibility for the publication of the texts to Uluğ Bahadır Alkım and his wife, Handan Alkım. The first volume of the work was to include the translation of the three tablets by Goetze and Gordon. In the second volume, Alkım wanted to provide a historical commentary. In addition, he had succeeded in retracing the temporarily lost facsimile drawings of the extensive Luwian-hieroglyphic stone inscription from Beyköy, which Perrot had made earlier. This inscription was to be published in the second volume as well, more than eighty years after its discovery. Around 1956/57, the translation of the Beyköy Texts had already been completed. On the way to excavation sites in Iraq, Goetze passed the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara and deposited a copy of the translation in the library. When Mellaart left the institute as its second director in 1965, he drew the attention of the Hittitologist Oliver R. Gurney to this manuscript.

> "A copy was left by him [Goetze] in the BIAA library before his visit to Iraq. It was still there in 1965 when I left the Ankara Institute, and I drew Prof. O. Gurney's attention to it and saw him reading it with great interest."

Goetze died in 1971, Gordon in 1976; Bahadır Alkım, in his early sixties, was at that time in ill health. Mellaart then relates how, during a two-month research stay in England in 1976, Alkım and his wife approached and asked him to write an article about the historical geography outside the Hittite domain for the second volume of the Beyköy publication. Alkım himself wanted to deal with Hatti, Kizzuwatna and eastern Anatolia, as he was the expert on these regions. Goetze had already informed Mellaart in 1955 that he possessed a list of the names of about forty places stretching from the mouth of the Meander along the whole southern coast of Turkey to Syria, in which all the names of the Sea Peoples

could be found. This list allegedly was part of a comprehensive text dealing with the history of the Arzawa countries – and written in Arzawa itself, not in Hatti. According to James Mellaart, Goetze spoke of the Beyköy Text. The contents of these documents will be reviewed below (in section 6.4).

6.3. The history of Mellaart's involvement

In Mellaart's notes, Alkım is also said to have introduced Mellaart to the subject as early as 1961, when Mellaart spent a two-year lectureship at Alkım's faculty at the University of Istanbul. Alkım described a Turkish-American research project dealing with the publication of famous texts that had been sent to the state museums in Ottoman times. Mellaart writes that he thus knew about the significance of the documents and agreed to produce the article for Alkım's forthcoming book. He then received a copy of the translation of the Beyköy Text, but only in instalments over five years, between 1976 and 1981. In 1979, Mellaart and Alkım met in Istanbul. On this occasion, Mellaart saw the material for the planned publication: photographs, transcriptions, translations and philological comments. Only the appendices, bibliography and registers were missing. Moreover, work on the Turkish translation of the text, one of the conditions for the publication, had not yet begun.

Before Mellaart had completed his contribution, the designated editor Bahadır Alkım died in 1981 at the age of sixty-six. Mellaart ultimately sent the manuscript to Alkım's widow Handan, who informed him in 1984 that the first volume had finally been passed on to the printers. Its title was "History and Geography of Arzawa", or something along those lines, for the book never materialised. Handan Alkım died in 1985, followed by Hamit Zübeyir Koşay the same year and Richard David Barnett the following year. All the researchers involved in this international project were thus dead, and not a single publication had appeared. Mellaart noted that at that time at least five more people knew about the legendary text: Edmond Sollberger, curator at the British Museum in London, Emanuel Laroche, linguist at the Collège de France in Paris, Pierre Demargne, a classical archaeologist at the Sorbonne in Paris and excavator of the ancient city of Xanthos in Lycia, as well as, of course, Mellaart himself and also Gurney as is mentoined above.

6.4. The contents of the documents

The contents of the actual Beyköy Text, as retrieved from Mellaart's estate in June 2017, have not been evaluated, since it soon (in February 2018) became clear that Mellaart had fabricated these documents. However, during the spring of 2017, Fred Woudhuizen and I analysed the contents of the two letters Mellaart had sent me in 1995, in which he summarised the Beyköy Text. Accordingly, the 22 pages comprise 8,620 words. Mellaart mentions the names of 49 states, 46 cities, 21 Hittite rulers, 51 western Anatolian aristocrats and 57 Phrygian, Thracian, Greek, Cretan and Rhodian individuals, as well as those of many islands,

mountains, rivers and seas. The table below is a very much condensed version of this summary. In it, common names for people and places are used, if these are known, followed in parentheses by the original name as given in Mellaart's letters – e.g. "Troy (Atriya)". All the dates were provided by Mellaart. He had established a large chronological chart for reference, which is still next to his former desk.

Mellaart describes the Beyköy Text as an Arzawan history, recorded in Hittite cuneiform and compiled for Muksus' accession to the throne in 1170 BC, but reaching back to 2510 (with some dim memories even to *ca.* 3170). Since Arzawa was a seafaring nation, frequent reference is made in the text to Thebes (Atipaiya), Crete (Kaptara), and – from the period of the shaft graves onwards – to southern Greece (Danaya). Arzawa shared with Crete (Kaptara) control of the Aegean islands. The Beyköy Text also deals with the history of Troy (Atriya), the capital of the Arzawan kingdom of Iyalanda, from the beginning of the 3rd millennium. Troy (Atriya) controlled the Dardanelles, the islands in the north Aegean, but not the peninsula of Gallipoli in Turkish Thrace. It grew rich from the trade in metals including tin, with the island of Thasos (Tasa) and the Pangaion Mountains (Wanhuiman) of eastern Macedonia. The sequence of events as related in Mellaart's Beyköy Text letters is as follows:

Year BC	Events
2510	Troy (Atriya) overplayed its hand and lost the war it had waged against the great king of Arzawa. As a result, its population was deported and newcomers from Asuwa were settled in the town, which was rebuilt. This corresponds to the transition Troy II/III (or EH II/III).
2273	Troy (Atriya) was destroyed by Kamalazitis of Asuwa.
2120	Troy (Atriya) was destroyed by Malazitiyas of Asuwa.
2040	Tuliwalis of Iyalanda occupied Chalcidice (Harkiluwa) and the coastal region of Olympia in the Gulf of Saloniks (Warupiyanu) in order to protect its trade interests.
2000	The arrival of the "Middle Helladic Greeks" (Danaya) was chronicled in the Arzawan archives. Being landlubbers, they used the indigenous Pelasgians (Pilasiku) for their overseas raids.
1960	In reaction to piracy, Walazitis, king of Arzawa, fortified Troy V (Atriya).
1940	Oileus (Ayiwilas) founded Thebes (Atipaiya), and the town rose to prominence through trade in silver from the mines of Laurion (Alaluarina) and horses and chariots from the Troad (Iyalanda). It made treaties with king Talipadus of Crete (Kaptara), king Pariyas of the Troad (Iyalanda) and king Kuwatnalis of Arzawa.
1770	Huwatnalas, great king of all Arzawa lands, fortified Troy VI (Atriya).

1575	A coalition of forces formed by Kaptarwadus of Crete, Amarus of Thebes and prince Piyamataruwas, son of king Asuwantis of Arzawa, defeated Aiakos (Ayakuwas) of Mycenae (Mukana). From the booty gifts were sent to Inaras of Hatti and Apophis II (Apupi) of Egypt.
1540	During the 3rd year of the reign of Piyamataruwas, king of all Arzawa lands, the eruption of Thera (Tira) occurred. Survivors of the disaster were settled by the Arzawan king in Ialysos (Iyarusa) on Rhodes. Under the leadership of the sons of Minos (Minuwas), the Cretans fled to the Greek mainland.
1455	Cretans returned from the Greek mainland under the leadership of prince Daidalos (Dayidalus), who rebuilt Knossos (Kunusa).
1390	Maduwatas took the city of Troy (Atriya) from the Thracian (Ahiyawan) king Atreus (Atarusiyas).
1380	Hattusilis II of Hatti ordered an assault by the Cyprian (Alasiyan) fleet on Crete, the "Rape of Kaptara", the memory of which remained vivid in the mind of the Cretan princess Diktynna (Dikitiwana), the wife of Tarhundaradus, great king of Arzawa (1390-1350). This was a revenge for the Arzawan attack on Cyprus (Alasiya) by Maduwatas, who was assisted in this undertaking by Atarisiyas of Thrace (Ahiyawa) and Muksus, the prince of the region of Salmydessos (Pigaya) in Turkish Thrace.
1379	In response to the Hittite assault on Crete, Tarhundaradus of Arzawa assembled an international coalition in support of this island and subsequently pushed Cyprus (Alasiya) into vassalage. Hattusilis II was further punished by the gods with a disease, and, in response to his request, Tarhundaradus sent him the statues of the gods of Lesbos (Lazpa) and Thrace (Ahiyawa). His grandson Pelops (Piluwas), however, objected and was sent into exile. He ended up in the realm of the king Oinomaos (Wiyanamuwas) in Elis (Waliya), and married the latter's daughter to become king of the Peloponnese. He subsequently gave his daughter Niobe (Niupa) to Asduwatis, the son of Perseus (Parisiyas).
1362	Pelops (Piluwas) died and was buried in Olympia (Urupiya).
1322	At the beginning of his reign, Mursilis II (1322-1295) campaigned against Arzawa. The BT focuses on the Arzawan side and the military successes of the sons of the Arzawan king, Uhazitis, Piyamakuruntas and Tapalazunaulis. Thus, Tapalazunaulis is reported to have defeated the Hittite general Aranhapilizis near Miletos (Karnasa). He drove him out the Maiandros (Mayantarayan) valley. After Mursilis II's capture of Puranda, he found himself on his return journey encircled by the forces of Piyamakuruntas, Tapalazunaulis, and Targasnalis.
1318	Peace of Aura. Piyamakuruntas became king of Arzawa, Tapalazunaulis of Asuwa, and Targasnalis of Hapalla, respectively. Furthermore, Mursilis II's appointees Mashuiluwas of Mira and Alexander (Alaksandus) of Wilusa came under Arzawan supervision.
1295	After 15 years of peace, Muwatallis II (1295-1271) became hostile again. Together with his brother Hattusilis III, he killed king Malazitiyas of Wilusa and [re-?]established Alexander (Alaksandus) as king. At the invitation of Manapatarhundas of Seha, Muwatallis went on a voyage across the Marmara Sea, and after some adventures returned to Hatti to find his brother Hattusilis reigning there as king. Taking advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, Tapalazunaulis sent his fleet over the Black Sea in the direction of Colchis where he asked for support from the Gasga and in the realm of Azzi for a joint assault on the Hittite capital. This attack was agreed upon, Hattusa was burned and Muwatallis II fled to Tarhuntasa, a land controlled by the king of Hapalla.

1278	Muwatallis II was released from his place of exile when the king of Hapalla (Urazunaulis) was murdered by Hattusilis.
1274	After the battle of Kadesh, Muwatallis II sent his crown prince Urhitesup (subsequently Mursilis III) on a peace mission to the king of Arzawa, Piyamaradus, resident in Çanakkale (Millawanda) at the time. During his trip, Urhitesup visited Zidalgas, king of Thrace (Ahiyawa), Tapalazunaulis, king of Asuwa, Alantalis, king of Wilusa, and Kupantakuruntas of Mira in the regions between the Troad and Hatti land. The only Arzawan king passed over was Masturis of Seha, an enemy of Piyamaradus.
1274	Peace between Hatti and the kingdoms in the west was concluded at the city of Parsahanda or Acem Höyük.
1273	Hattusilis III murdered his brother Muwatallis II and trapped the rightful successor Mursilis III in Samuha. Piyamaradus and Uratarhundas of Hapalla came to his aid, so Mursilis III was able to escape. Piyamaradus defeated the Hittite army at Harziuna. The murder of Muwatallis II triggered a civil war in Hatti that lasted for over a century until the kingdom was ultimately overrun.
1264	Hattusilis III (1264-1239) established a vassal kingdom in Tarhuntasa, a region that belonged to the Arzawan kingdom of Hapalla, and made his nephew Kuruntas its king.
1254	Hattusilis III failed to capture Piyamaradus in Çanakkale (Millawanda), as further reported in the Tawagalawas letter. He then attacked Troy (Atriya), the capital of the Arzawan district of Iyalanda. A massacre was conducted by Hattusilis III's son Nerikailis with his auxiliaries, the Gasga from Arawanna. Among the most important figures involved were 1) Zidalgas, son of Utriyas, the king of Thrace (Ahiyawa); 2) another son of Utriyas, Awayanas, prince of Pigaya in Turkish Thrace (Ahiyawa); 3) Atpas, an official at Çanakkale (Millawanda) of Arzawan descent. Hattusilis, having killed king Priamos (Pariyamuwas) and taken a lot of booty, was chased on his way back by Piyamaradus, who managed to recover the prisoners of war.
1246	Wanaksandus, the king of Mycenae (Mukana), launched an attack against Tyre (Turuya) in the Levant. While preparing this raid, Wanaksandus called into service his vassals Adrastos (Adrastiyas) of Thebes (Atipaiya) and Hector (Ahturis) of the Trojan kingdom (Iyalanda). Both refused to join. Also absent was Warpadus of Ialysos (Iyarusa) on Rhodes. Others, like Idomeneus (Atuminiyas) of Crete (Kaptara) and the old king [Nestor] of Messenia (Masana), were forced to join. The forces were led by Wanaksandus's brother Tiwatamadas, whose wife had fled to Tyre (Turuya), the actual *casus belli*.
1239	Kuruntas was first deposed in favour of his son Ulmitesup and then reinstalled as king of Tarhuntasa by Tudhaliyas IV (1239-1209).
1219	After the raid on Tyre, the Hittites had to stop piracy in the Egyptian delta [Egypt being their ally since 1259]. Tudhaliyas IV sent his son Suppiluliumas to conquer Cyprus (Alasiya). The latter succeeded on his second attempt.
1210	Plague and famine struck Hatti. The Egyptian pharaoh Merneptah (1213-1203) sent ships with food to the Hittite harbour of Ura.
1209	According to the memoires of Arnuwandas III, the Hittite Empire was a plaything of the Arzawan kings. First Kuruntas was made king of Hatti by Mashuittas of Mira, and after Tudhaliyas died during a battle against the Assyrians in Malatya, Arnuwandas was released from his Arzawan captivity to rule Hatti.

1190	Gautas, king of Thrace (Ahiyawa), in alliance with Suppiluliumas II (1205-1180), seized the citadel of Troy (Atriya) with the help of his Cypriot (Alasiyan) fleet. Its king Tarhunaradus of the Seha riverland and his son Iliyus were killed. Troy (Atriya) was reconquered by prince Muksus and his ally Apaluhas/Apiluhas, the sons of the Arzawan king Kuwalanazitas. Muksus even drove the Thracian (Ahiyawan) king out of Çanakkale (Millawanda) and his cities in Thrace (Ahiyawa), Asarusa and Ganusa. The city of Troy (Atriya) was thereafter renamed Ilios (Iliyusa) in honour of the slain prince Iliyus. Apaluhas/Apiluhas was established as the ruler of the kingdom of Troy (Iyalanda) and Çanakkale (Millawanda), whereas Gautas, the king of Thrace (Ahiyawa), had to pay an indemnity in the form of yielding three cities in Chalcidice (Harkiluwa) to Arzawa. In the wake of these events, a rebellion arose in Azzi. Suppiluliumas II's war against Masa and Asarata and his planned conquest of Tumana and Arawanna came to nothing.
1180	Suppiluliumas II died and Ḫattusa was overrun and destroyed at the hands of the Gasga. But its north Syrian dependency Carchemish survived under its king Kuzitesup. The latter continued the war on land, in Kizuzuwatna, and at sea.
1178	The Cypriot (Alasiyan) fleet, commanded by another Suppiluliumas, the son of Kuzitesup of Carchemish, attacked the Arzawan city of Miletos (Karnasa), Didyma (Tituma), and nearby islands. Next, it wintered at Kythira (Kutira).
1177	Obtaining reinforcements from Ugarit and Amurru, the Cypriot (Alasiyan) fleet destroyed Pylos in the land of Messenia (Masana) as well as Mycenae (Mukana). On the way back, however, Kuzitesup's fleet, under the command of his son Suppiluliumas, was defeated in a battle at sea by the naval forces of the king of Thebes (Atipaiya). The remains of the inferior fleet were dealt with by Arzawan, Cretan (Kaptaran) and Rhodian (Iyarusian) ships, and even Suppiluliumas himself was captured.
1176	To settle the conflict once and for all, the Arzawans sent 500 ships under the command of Muksus from the southwest and south coast, and 10,000 crack troops under the command of Kupantakuruntas of Mira, now called Phrygia (Parukiya). The seaborne forces of the fleet are enumerated in a long list, running from the mouth of the Maiandros river in western Anatolia to Mt Amanos in north Syria.
1174	Kuzitesup and his ally Rameses III were defeated. Peace was agreed upon. Muksus became great king of all Arzawa, and the Beyköy Text was written down in commemoration of this fact.

The above events were recorded, according to Mellaart, in the so-called bronze tablet(s) which were written in 1174 BC. Up until June 2017 it was not clear how events after the composition of the BT until the reign of Midas (720 BC) had been recorded. Mellaart added a rather cryptic postscript to his letter of 17 July 1995, saying:

> "E.I. Gordon 'Asurbanipal's letter to Ardu' as yet unpublished and A. Goetze – The later part of the Beyköy text – up to year 1 of Mita (720 BC) – unpublished".

The material left in Mellaart's estate indeed includes translations and analyses of what Mellaart calls "Asurbanipal's letter to Ardu". This additional document accounts for the events after 1174 BC. Accordingly, Muksus was followed by 23 Arzawan kings, up to the last one, Croesus, who lost his crown to the Persian Cyrus in 547 BC. The last king recorded is Midas (Mita), who came to the throne in 720 BC. In Arzawa, therefore, there was no Dark Age, and literacy continued. This helped the Milesian maritime colonisation of the Black Sea from about the middle of the 8th century BC onwards, backed by king Gordias (Kurtas), the father of Midas, who provided the Milesians with access through the Sea of Marmara and beyond.

Again, the original document is not known. According to Mellaart, it dated to around 650 BC and was found by Hans Henning von der Osten (1899-1960) during excavations at Ninive. Ashurbanipal recollects in this letter to the Lydian king Ardu about 450 years of history and interrelations between Assyria and western Asia Minor. It then somehow wound up in the private collection of the German banker and coin collector Hans Sylvius von Aulock (1906-1980), who owned an estate on the shore of the Bosporus, opposite that of Mellaart's in-laws. The text is said to have been translated by Edmund Irwin Gordon, an Assyriologist at Harvard University, and was part of the "inscriptions collected by Bahadır Bey from printed papers, etc., of several high Ottoman dignitaries, ca. 1854-1876 where datable – kept by their descendants". As always with such documents reported by Mellaart, everybody involved in the transmission is no longer alive, so the original has not been seen by a living person and there are no photographs either.

6.5. Mellaart's unpublished scientific Analysis

James Mellaart made several attempts at summing up the research history and contents of the BT. Rather than producing one comprehensive paper, however, he started over and over again, relating the same stories, either in longhand, or as handwritten print, or using a typewriter. There might be as many as twenty versions dealing with similar topics, but often a little at variance from each other (see below). The story he wanted to transmit thus becomes more and more unfathomable. Throughout his work on the BT – in his handwritten notes and early drafts as well as in the final typed "translation" – Mellaart also frequently used absolute dates, often on the paper margin, but interspersed within the text as well. He evidently needed those dates as pegs for his chronological framework, even though a Bronze Age document would of course not contain an absolute date "before Christ".

The BT files in Mellaart's estate include what appears to have been a title page for an intended publication:

> "Forgotten Kingdoms of Anatolia and the Aegean: History and Geography of Arzawa, the West-Anatolian Rival of the Hittites, and its Neighbours. Based on the "Beyköy Text" – the Arzawan Royal Archives (ca. 3170-720 BC.)."

Then there are about ten unpublished typewritten manuscripts, each several pages long, with Mellaart's analysis of the contents and significance of the BT. Most of these manuscripts, which may have been meant to become chapters of a book, have no titles, and many do not even bear page numbers. It is therefore difficult to determine their sequence – even more so since the material was distributed across his former study. Manuscript titles that do appear include:

- West Anatolian kings and princes in the Beyköy text;
- Hittite Geography of Asia Minor according to the Boğazköy texts;
- The State of Hittite Geography by 1990.

In those manuscripts, the discussion focuses on thus far open issues such as the nature of Ahiyawa, the location of Millawanda, etc. At least one of the manuscripts appears to have been meant (or used) for a lecture, since Mellaart writes: "In this lecture, I have briefly sketched some of the provisional results of the Beyköy text." It goes without saying that these results prove Mellaart's previous theories to be right. He continues: "To some of you, this may well be unwelcome news, even give rise to disbelief."

Even though Mellaart was a prolific writer and book author, his attempts to scientifically analyse the BT turned out to be rather brief and shallow, as is evident from the few unpublished manuscripts in his estate. He had assumed the opportunity to publish the interpretation of the political geography as recorded in the BT, but his actual manuscripts on this subject are uninspired and come across as being purely a matter of duty.

7. Revelations from Mellaart's study

The amount of detail, on the other hand, that Mellaart went into in the summary of the BT that he provided in his 1995 letters, is overwhelming. He used hundreds of western Anatolian names and never confused them. Numerous chronological charts, maps and other tools in his study show how he systematically worked with this material over many years. The information provided is inherently logical. It differs significantly from the current state of thinking, as summarised for instance by Eric Cline (2014), and it also differs a great deal, though less so, from reconstructions that tended to vary slightly from the mainstream (Woudhuizen 2006; Zangger *et alii* 2016). The sequence of events as reported by Mellaart coincides with the archaeological record in a number of regions around the Eastern Mediterranean – despite the fact that his recollection differs from established scholarship.

A number of questions immediately arise, for instance why would Albrecht Goetze not have produced a preliminary report on the BT? Mellaart relates in his notes and letters that Goetze was indeed anxious to report on the BT in his contribution to the 3rd edition of the *Revised Cambridge Ancient History*, volume II,

part 2, focusing on the Middle East and the Aegean Region *ca*. 1380-1000. The editors asked Goetze to submit a substantial chapter on the political geography of the Late Bronze Age. At that time, in 1961, Goetze, according to Mellaart, worked on nothing but the BT, and thus suggested publishing a summary of its contents. But according to Edmond Sollberger, assistant editor to the *CAH*, the editor Cyril John Gadd rejected the idea because the subject matter appeared too new and bizarre. In the end, a conventional article appeared according to Mellaart that contained the old yet wrongly dated material. In his 1995 letter, Mellaart quotes Goetze as having thought: "Gegen Dummheit kämpfen selbst die Götter vergebens" – (an old German proverb that roughly translated means: Against stupidity, even the gods fight in vain). But how would Mellaart have known that, if there was no manuscript from Goetze? Mellaart never provides a source for the details of his narratives. Sometimes he quotes other scholars in direct speech – without indicating his source. For instance, he says that the reconstruction of political vicissitudes in western Asia Minor is "clearly insufficient and amount[s] to little more than speculation", and attributes this quote to Edmund Irwin Gordon, without saying where it came from. This knowledge of what people thought and said is indeed somewhat reminiscent of Homer, who also knew what deities said in conversation with each other.

It appeared tedious and impractical to find arguments for and against authenticity from the material that I had received in June 2017. What was needed was external evidence for the existence of the BT. This search began on 24 February 2018 – again in Mellaart's former study and in the two garages (Fig. 4) where some of his estate was stored – and also ended there four days later.

Fig. 4. Alan Mellaart in one of the two garages in which part of his father's estate was stored, in February 2018.

Fig. 5. James and Arlette Mellaart in the scholar's study on his 80th birthday in 2005. Portrait by Charles Hopkinson. The photo includes all the relevant components: boxes with slides, rocks (usually from Scotland), chronological charts on the walls, a library and countless files with manuscripts covering the topics Mellaart was occupied with.

7.1 Lack of external evidence in Mellaart's estate

James Mellaart did not organise his office according to document categories, e.g. reprints, correspondence, notes and manuscripts. Instead, he kept all the materials for each subject together in separate cardboard folders – of which there were several hundred in his study (Fig. 5). Each of these folders may have contained Mellaart's notes and manuscripts on the relevant subject, the correspondence on it,

as well as hand-drawn maps and useful reprints. This applies to virtually all subjects he was working on or interested in. Yet the files dealing with the BT do not contain any correspondence whatsoever, and no externally produced documents either.

Right from the beginning it was suspicious that none of the thus far unpublished texts that Mellaart reported dealt with religious or mundane subjects. All the documents he was working with covered information that was relevant with respect to Mellaart's own interest: the political geography of western Asia Minor, a subject not treated by any document known thus far. What is more, none of the information provided came in a form that Mellaart could not deal with (e.g. in cuneiform script or a foreign language).

Mellaart said he possessed translations of the documents as well as the conclusions, but lacked the transcript of the cuneiform texts and the textual comment. However, no translations or conclusions stemming from an external source were found in Mellaart's estate. All the material on the BT – about one thousand pages – consists of Mellaart's own notes in longhand or typewritten pages produced on one of his typewriters. Despite the gravity of the BT project, its enormous duration of half a century, and the many scholars said to have been involved or have known about it, there is no evidence for an exchange in writing with any project participants. Above all, there is no source material from Goetze or Alkım that Mellaart could have worked with. What Mellaart labelled "Copy of the English Translation of the Beyköy Text – supplied by the late Professor U. Bahadır Alkım" consists entirely of typewritten pages produced by James Mellaart himself. What is more, a thick file hidden elsewhere in the study shows how Mellaart had actually composed these texts (see below).

In addition to informing me about the BT, Mellaart also initiated a correspondence with the linguist Jean Faucounau in Luxembourg, which he maintained between 1998 and 2004. It consisted of a casual exchange about Faucounau's books and the contents of the BT. In sum, there is no evidence in the material left behind by James Mellaart that anybody but himself actually knew about the BT.

7.2 Lack of evidence outside Mellaart's estate

Since Mellaart provided a number of names of scholars who had been involved in the research history of the BT, an obvious approach to verifying the existence of the documents would be to turn to the publications and notes of those people to look for clues that might indicate their awareness of the BT. Surprisingly, Mellaart himself does not seem to have proceeded along such lines. There are no indications that he ever tried to vindicate the existence of the BT. The story related by William M. Ramsay about a black stone covered with writing that was found at Beyköy (Ramsay 1888, 372) might just be one of many such tales that are contrived by local peasants. The famous epigraphist Christian Marek kindly told me that he had heard many of these stories during his forty-plus years of

searching for inscriptions in Anatolia. It is utterly inexplicable why Georges Perrot provided a discursion on the small fragmentary inscription found at Beyköy by Ramsay in 1884 (Ramsay 1889, 181; Perrot/Chipiez 1892, 79), but did not mention the 29-metre-long inscription he (or an artist from his team) is said to have recorded in 1878. Yet Mellaart claims in one of his notes that Perrot manually attached a (bad) photo of this large Luwian hieroglyphic Beyköy inscription to a copy of the book that was presented to Safvet Paşa; again without indicating how he came to know about this.

In his notes and 1995 letters, Mellaart refers a number of times to his correspondence with Albrecht Goetze back in 1955, basically saying that Goetze then revealed information from a confidential research project (on the BT):

> "In 1955 Goetze wrote a criticism of my archaeological survey with a list of Sea People country settlements."

> "As early as 1955/6, A. Goetze, in a criticism of my archaeological results of a survey that no LBA remains had been observed along the south coast of Anatolia between Silifke & Miletus was [??] by a quote from the BT, enumerating a long list of cities that produced ships for a naval expedition, led by the Arzawan prince Muksus against Hatti – from the mouth of the Mayantariya (Menderes) River to the slopes of Mt Amanus."

> "The seaborne forces of the Mediterranean fleet are enumerated in a long list – from the mouth of the Mayantariya river to the slopes of Mt Amana (Amanus) – the Isle of Iyarusa, as A. Goetze described it to me in a letter in 1955 – wanting to locate Arzawa (proper) within these confines!"

Albrecht Goetze's estate is carefully archived in the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University, where it was initially curated by the late William W. Hallo, professor of Assyriology. The archive at Yale contains the complete correspondence – incoming and outgoing. Accordingly, on 26 April 1955, Mellaart sent Goetze his only copy of the manuscript "Historical Geography of Southern and Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age". Using the stationery of the BIAA, Mellaart wrote in an accompanying letter:

> "As I thought you would no doubt be interested in the Arzawa-problem, I am sending you an article I wrote this winter … I would be very grateful to you if you would kindly read through it … I would love to hear any comments on my theory."

Goetze replied on 24 May 1955 from New Haven in a completely non-committal fashion, perfectly agreeing with Mellaart's proposed principle that localisations of place names based on Hittite texts "must be made so as to conform with the

archaeological evidence". He appended a few benevolent remarks about the ongoing discussion regarding the localisations of Millawanda, Ahiyawa, Hapalla and Lukka; but there is no long list of cities, no mention of a naval expedition led by Muksus against Hatti, and no reference to an undisclosed research project – either in this letter or in any other.

Albrecht Goetze and Hamit Zübeyir Koşay had never communicated with each other in writing, despite the fact that Mellaart claims Koşay won over Goetze to produce the translation of the BT. According to Mellaart, Koşay and Alkım began to work with Goetze on the publication of the BT in 1956 – and this project is said to have lasted until Goetze's death in 1971. Albrecht Goetze and Bahadır Alkım did exchange letters, but only between 1946 and 1953. Alkım was planning to take up a post-doc position at Yale for two years and succeeded in obtaining a Fulbright Fellowship for overseas studies. Due to his military service and his involvement in the demanding Karatepe excavations, he never managed to go. That is the gist of the correspondence. The archives in Yale do not contain the slightest hint of Goetze's involvement in a BT project. David M. Lewis, an eminent epigraphist at Oxford, reinforced this assessment, saying: "Such enquiries as I have made about the document attributed to Goetze suggest that he had concealed it from his closest surviving associates" (Lewis 1993, 80).

Mellaart also mentions a copy of Goetze's translation that was deposited in the BIAA:

> "In 1956/7 he [Goetze] passed through Ankara on his way to Bagdad and left a large parcel of transcripts of a text at the British Institute of Archaeology for temporary safekeeping. Seton Lloyd, the director asked me to witness. Neither of us knew the contents. In 1961, when Seton Lloyd left the institute, it was still there – properly sealed."

I contacted the current director of the BIAA, Dr Lutgarde Vandeput, to inquire about such a transcript. In the light of my inquiry, she kindly initiated a reassessment of the BIAA's archive holdings in London and Ankara – and informed me a few months later that the BIAA resource manager in Ankara went through the archives and found no reference whatsoever to Albrecht Goetze, let alone manuscripts by him. Colleagues in the London office also went through the archives there and nothing was found there either.

On a number of occasions, Mellaart reports in his notes that Handan Alkım had managed to submit the manuscript of the first volume about the BT to the printers shortly before she died in 1985. The Alkıms had two daughters, one of whom, Banu Mahir, already held a PhD in art history from Istanbul University when her mother passed away. She is now professor of art history at Mimar Sinan University in Istanbul – and upon inquiry as to whether she had any knowledge

regarding her parents' work on the BT publication responded that she had not heard of such a project. Her parents had left behind notes related to their excavations at Tilmen Höyük, Gedikli Höyük and İkiztepe Höyük. These were later published by Refik Duru and Onder Bilgi. Prof. Refik Duru also said that he had never heard of a project regarding unpublished documents that Bahadır Alkım may have been working on.

7.3. Inconsistencies

The summary of the BT, as provided by James Mellaart in his letters from 1995, may appear gripping and coherent at first sight. However, when the numerous notes on the research history of the BT in his estate are taken into consideration, the story falls apart, because Mellaart provides so many different and often contradicting versions of the events. This had already happened during the Dorak Affair, as Michael Balter (2005, 45) summarized: "Indeed, Mellaart's own accounts varied in some detail over time."

Retrieval of the BT:

First of all, it is not sure how the BT was found. Mellaart states on one occasion that the tablets were dug out simultaneously with the marble blocks that made up the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription.

> "They came to light, when peasants, rummaging for stone to rebuild their mosque in the village of Beyköy … came upon a cache in a ruined building which also produced a number of marble blocks with what is now called 'Hieroglyphic Hittite' inscriptions, noted by Ramsay and at least one of them published by Messerschmidt."

Messerschmidt (1900, 32, Pl. XXXVI A) did not refer to the 29-metre-long Luwian inscription, but to the small fragment retrieved by Ramsay (1889, 181, Fig. 3; Masson 1980, 119, Fig. 5). Mellaart then argued that the bronze BT tablets were confiscated from peasants' houses during a police raid that took place when governmental officials learned that the villagers had installed the marble blocks bearing the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription in the foundation of a mosque:

> "Having arrived there he realised that the stones with the inscriptions had already been installed in the foundations of a new mosque. Furiously, he ordered the entire village to be searched".

Number of tablets:

The number of tablets that make up the BT varies markedly. First it is just one, then two, then three, then twenty-five. At some point, even Mellaart placed the question in quotation marks: "how many were there?"

> "The Beyköy tablet comes from near Afyon Karahisar and is the only cu-

neiform tablet found so far in Western Anatolia. It measures around 34 x 22 centimetres and bears a long inscription in two columns on each side."

"The Beyköy text (on two consecutive tablets), eight columns, a foot in length, written in Hittite, and in Hittite (Nesite), not Luwian, is the only Arzawan document so far discovered."

"In a forthcoming monograph, the late U. Bahadir Alkim has edited the publication of two large metal tablets formerly in the Ottoman Imperial collection."

"These [LH blocks] evidently belonged to the same structure in which the Beyköy Text was found on two (some say three) metal tablets."

"The texts in question are the Beyköy Text (Istanbul), an Arzawan document relating (in Hittite) its history during the Hittite Empire period on two or three tablets."

"List of Contents: "BEYKÖY TEXT, First tablet. 1.-45.; BEYKÖY TEXT, Second tablet. 46.-86.; BEYKÖY TEXT, Third tablet. 87.-132."

"Imperial Ottoman Collection: ca. 1186. 25 folio metal tablets inscribed on both sides in Assyrian cuneiform."

"What A. Goetze called the Beyköy Text (BT), but a better name for which would be the Great Arzawan Text (GAT), consists of a series of twenty-five metal tablets of folio size, discovered in 1876 by villagers at the site of Beyköy".

Dolmabahçe Palace:
Mellaart provides a variety of reasons why the BT was moved to the Dolmabahçe Palace:

"Villagers … discovered three large bronze tablets in 1878-9. They reached Istanbul and were acquired by the Grand Vizier who ordered them to be kept in the new Müze -I Humayun, the Archaeological museum in Istanbul. During the Young Türk regime they found their way into Enver Paşa's collection."

"When it was realised that they were made of 'gold', they were given to the sultan's hazine (treasury) for better safety."

"After robberies in the museum, [the tablets were] transferred to the safer custody of the Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosporus."

Involvement of Emil Forrer and Albrecht Goetze:
According to Mellaart, the BT was first translated around 1930 – either by Emil Forrer or by Albrecht Goetze, or by both:

> "Under the new regime of K. Atatürk, the Swiss hittitologist Emile Forrer was invited to translate the text, which he did."

> "In the 1930s, Kemal Atatürk gave orders for their study by the most prominent hittitologist of the time, Prof. Albrecht Goetze, a refugee from Nazi Germany and professor at Yale University in America."

> "Kemal Atatürk, President of the Turkish Republic, had the texts translated by a Swiss and a German hittitologist in the late nineteen twenties or early nineteen-thirties".

While, according to these notes, Goetze was already commissioned by the government around 1930 to work on the BT, elsewhere Mellaart says that it was U.B. Alkım and H.Z. Koşay who succeeded in getting Goetze involved in the project during the late 1950s.

Recruitment of Mellaart:
According to Mellaart, Atatürk ordered a fifty-year ban on research on the BT, because he did not consider it to be in the public interest to learn more about the demise of the Hittites.

> "When the fifty-year ban on publication expired in the nineteen-seventies, a number of eminent Turkish historians and archaeologists obtained government permission to have the Beyköy Text, discovered a century before, published, under certain conditions."

On several occasions, Mellaart reports in his notes (and his 1995 letters) how he first learnt about the project to publish the BT. The dates for this range between 1953 and 1978 (Fig. 6):

> "It was E. Laroche in 1953 on a visit to Bittel at Boğazköy, who informed me of the existence of Arzawan historical texts (written in Hittite, not Luwian), being prepared for publication by Prof. A. Goetze in America."

> "Bahadır Bey tapped a[n] unknown source of information, not accessible to (most) western scholars of hittitology and in recognition of their contribution, wanted this to be an all Turkish publication. As LBA geography is one of my 'specialities', and as I had married a T[urkish] girl and been invited to lecture at Istanbul University .... I was granted the honour of being a contributor .... ([added:] a magnificent gesture to? me? 1970) I was shown

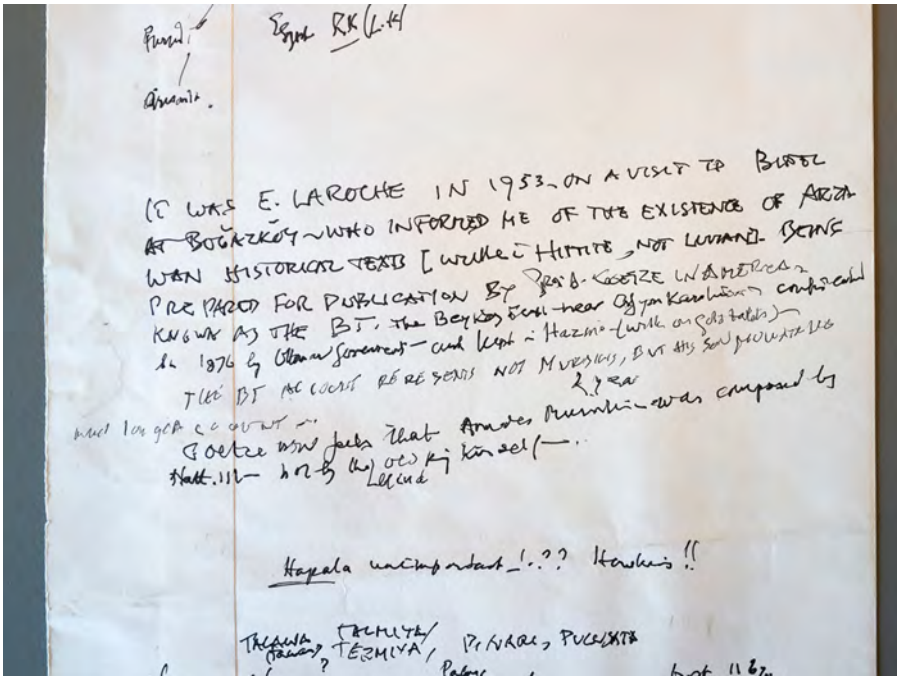

Fig. 6. Note from James Mellaart saying that he was introduced to the BT by Emmanuel Laroche during his visit to Bittel at Boğazköy in 1953.

the actual material, or photographs/copies thereof and was supplied with the copies, and Bahadır's translations for the purpose of writing my – mostly geographical part of the publication. That was all I needed."

"By 1976, a commission finally decided to make Prof. Bahadır Alkım, a most distinguished archaeologist, then rector of the new Bosporus University, the editor, and then he enrolled me, no doubt unofficially, to write on the geography."

"A formal contract of my 'assistance' was signed and kept in my father-in-law's house on the Bosporus in 1976 – within months, a fire destroyed it."

"It was this abstract of a lecture, together with an English translation of the Hittite text that my friend Bahadır Alkım gave me in London in 1977."

"While in London in 1978, Prof. Bahadır Alkım, a very old friend and colleague, asked for my advice on the subject of Hittite Geography of W. Anatolia. I told him I was preparing a book on the subject and he informed me that during the 1970s he had come upon important new evidence – a series

of rock inscriptions in H.H. in NW Anatolia, a number of HH blocks and a large cuneiform Hittite tablet – materials found by Ottoman officials in the period from 1854-1878, preserved in family archives."

The formal contract contradicts Mellaart's unofficial enrolment. The recruitment of Mellaart during Alkım's visit in England in 1976 contradicts the signing of a contract in Istanbul and its storage there. The date of his enrolment in 1977 or 1978 excludes the possibility of relevant documents having been destroyed in the fire at the summerhouse that occurred in 1976.

According to Mellaart's notes, Bahadır Alkım was on a lecture tour in London in 1976, 1977 or 1978, but he did not speak at the Institute of Archaeology of the University in London. Mellaart does not know where Alkım gave his lectures:

"When Professor B. Alkım came to England in [blank space] he was prepared to give a few lectures on these new discoveries … To my knowledge he may have lectured outside London on this subject, but not in London, or at least not in the Institute of Archaeology."

Yet Mellaart was able to retype the abstract of Alkım's talk and to quote verbatim from his lecture (Fig. 7):

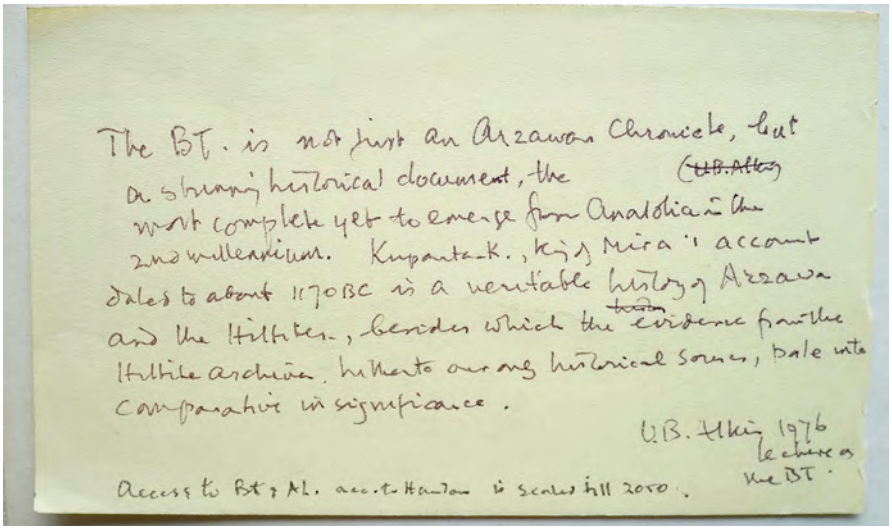

Fig. 7. Post-it sticker on the front inside cover of the photo album which contained the lion's share of the BT with a quote from Alkım's lecture of 1976 about the significance of the BT. The postscript reads: "Access to BT a[nd] AL acc[ording] to Handan is sealed till 2050." AL stands for Ashurbanipal's letter to Ardu.

> "The BT. is not just an Arzawan Chronicle, but a shining historical document, the most complete yet to emerge from Anatolia in the 2nd millennium. Kupantask., King of Mira's account dated to about 1170 BC is a veritable history of Arzawa and the Hittites, besides which the evidence from the Hittite archives, hitherto our only historical sources, pale into comparative insignificance. U.B. Alkım 1976 lecture on the BT."

The account of how Mellaart received a copy of the translation of the Beyköy Text also varies considerably. On one occasion, he says that he received it in instalments over five years, between 1976 and 1981. Then again, he says that he did not obtain a copy of the entire translation before 1984, when Handan Alkım asked him to take over the task of publishing the BT.

The fire that destroyed Mellaart's parents-in-law's house on the Bosporus was accidentally triggered by a maid, according to Alan Mellaart (Balter 2005, 53). Yet James Mellaart says in his notes that it was arson:

> "My father in law was convinced that the burning of his ancestral house – Safvet Pasa Yalisi, the second oldest vizier's residence on the Bosporus – was not an accident but of plotted arson."

> "[My wife's stepfather owned] the second oldest waterside house, until burnt by bandits in 1976."

How Mellaart came to see the BT photos:
Usually Mellaart writes that Alkım showed him the photos and transcriptions of the BT when Mellaart was visiting Istanbul in 1980, but then he also says that he did not receive the whole translation until 1984:

> "It was not until I returned to Turkey in 1979 that I was shown photographs, autographs, transcripts and coherent translation of the text (at the time not yet final)."

> "Bahadır Alkım showed me colour photographs, (Kodak, with a date around 1975) which convinced me of the Beyköy Texts' existence."

> "[Bahadır Alkım] showed me the documentation: large photographs of the tablets, older photographs of Safvet Pasa displaying the pair of tablets with evident pride. With these were hand copies of the cuneiform text and their transliteration."

> "The last time I saw her [Handan Alkım] in 1984 in Istanbul, she told me that volume I had finally gone to the printers. Bahadır Alkım's contribution on the historical commentary had not even been started and I was asked to take it on

in addition to the geography; it was then that I obtained a copy of the entire translation, approved by the philologists that had been working on it".

Material in the BIAA:
Mellaart mentions a few times that Albrecht Goetze visited the BIAA on his way to Iraq and that he deposited a copy of his BT transcripts there. The details of the story vary:

[The transcript of the BT covered] "some 56 (or 60?) large foolscap pages in cuneiform, which I was shown by Prof. Goetze during a visit to the BIAA in 1956, then on his way to Iraq. Seton Lloyd was asked to keep it in Ankara for safety. A good idea, as Prof. Goetze was not allowed entry into Iraq and returned to the USA."

"Around 1956/57 he [Goetze] passed through Ankara on his way to Bagdad and left a large parcel of transcripts of a text at the British Institute of Archaeology for temporary safekeeping. Seton Lloyd, the director, asked me to witness. Neither of us knew the contents. In 1961, when S. Lloyd left the institute, it was still there – properly sealed."

"Just to summarise: I have seen a transcript of the BT, of 48 pages, two of each tablet, in cuneiform, deposited with Seton Lloyd in Ankara by A. Goetze in 1956. Neither of us could read it, but later ([added:] 1979!), I saw the same in B. Alkım's possession in Istanbul and recognised it for what it was".

The fact that the package was properly sealed contradicts the statement that Mellaart recognised it later for what it was. It also contradicts Mellaart's claim that when he left the institute as the second director in 1965, he drew the attention of his superior, the Hittitologist Oliver R. Gurney, to this manuscript and watched him read it with great interest.

Witnesses remaining anonymous:
Already during the Dorak Affair and the dispute regarding the reconstructed murals from Çatalhöyük, Mellaart's critics noticed that Mellaart tended to involve deceased scholars in his stories, so that there just happened to be no more eye-witnesses around (Eiland 1990, 19). This applies even more so to the BT. If Mellaart mentions people who saw the evidence, they often remain anonymous.

"After robberies in the museum, [the tablets were] transferred to the safer custody of the Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosporus, where several people recall having seen them before the eventful year of 1923."

"Then a dozen years later at an archaeological conference an obscure American professor admitted that he knew that a former student of his in the U.S. Navy at Izmir had trapped me … Obviously, the Dorak material had been smuggled out through the U.S. naval base at Izmir".

Despite countless variations in detail, two things never change: Firstly, the whole BT as well as its research history have only one narrator. Secondly, the characteristic style of the narration – whether in the translations of the BT documents themselves, the recollection of research history, or Mellaart's scientific analysis – is always the same.

Clear mistakes in the contents:
After the whole typewritten "translation" of the alleged cuneiform texts had become available from James Mellaart's estate, Fred Woudhuizen read the material in August 2018 and kindly shared his analysis with me. Accordingly, Mellaart was well-informed about the most current publications of Hittite documents, thus making it hard to easily recognize his falsification. And yet, Mellaart made some clear mistakes:

1. Hattusilis II is staged as the father of Suppiluliumas I. This matter was discussed in the 1980s and 1990s, but new material from Tapika/Masat Hüyök and Sapinuwa/Ortaköy points out that Suppiluliumas I's father actually was Tudhaliyas III.
2. Ulmitesup is staged as the son of Kuruntas. This was also subject of discussion in the 1980s and 1990s, but since then it has become clear that Ulmitesup is the Hurritic birth name of Kuruntas, in other words, both names have a bearing on the same person (Woudhuizen 2015).
3. Kuzitesup of Carchemish is staged as the son of Suppiluliumas II. His seal, however, published in 1986, definitely points out that he is the son of Talmitesup, the king of Carchemish (Sürenhagen 1986).

Fred Woudhuizen thinks that the alleged cuneiform Beyköy Text was devised to reinforce Mellaart's geographical reconstruction of western Anatolia. Thus, the text is rich in geographic names that are otherwise rare in genuine documents. It also abounds in references to materials of interest to archaeologists, such as metals, that are absent in real texts.

Mellaart refers to the publication of the Kurunta treaty by Otten in 1988 (Otten 1988), thus he knew this publication when he invented the BT; but Mellaart learned nothing from this publication and kept holding on to his old views of political geography. He even argues that his geographical reconstruction is confirmed by the Kurunta treaty, even though the latter meticulously describes the borders of the province of Tarhuntasa without including Mellaart's localisation of Hapalla in this area.

7.4. The fabrication of BT

James Mellaart had kept the unpublished manuscript about the Dorak material in a cardboard box prominently labelled "DORAK", which was well visible on the bookshelf right next to the entrance to his study. Adjacent to this box – and thus just as obvious – was the pile of documents on the BT, containing, most importantly, a photo album with over a hundred single-spaced pages of English

translations of imperial documents from western Asia Minor. The album bears a title, handwritten by Mellaart using a red ballpen: "History and Geography of Arzawa and its Neighbours". Its spine shows a similar, almost completely faded, inscription: "U.B. Alkım (Ed.)". The importance of the documents is highlighted by labels and stickers on the front inside cover of the photo album:

> "This book is dedicated to the memory of Albrecht Goetze and Edmund I. Gordon the translators of the text and to Hamit Z. Koşay, U. Bahadir and Handan Alkım, the editors."

> "And to all detractors 'May your name be as gloriously remembered as the dung of your sheep' (Gaelic curse)."

In addition, Mellaart attached three large post-its to the left page of the inside cover. One of these was an incomplete attempt at a list of contents: "BT sections 1-200 …". The second one was the abstract of Alkım's lecture quoted above (Fig. 7). The third one contains the following note:

> "Prof. Bahadır Alkım expressed the wish when he died in 1981 that these texts he was editing should see publication by 2000 AD. If delayed by any reason, the translation should be communicated widely to prevent obstruction from whatever sources. If I, James Mellaart, will not reach the year 2000 AD – see that my literary executors ensure publication. J. Mellaart."

Mellaart thus went out of his way to emphasise the significance of these documents. He also added a small closed envelope labelled "Copy of the English Translation of the Beyköy Text. Supplied by the late Professor U. Bahadır Alkım." The handwriting is shaky, pointing to a date very late in Mellaart's life for the production of this dispatch. The envelope contained a note:

> "IN CASE OF FATAL ACCIDENT OR DEATH – hand over my work on the Beyköy Text and 'Hittite' geography to Dr. Donald Easton!"

The latter is an archaeologist, former PhD student and long-time friend of Mellaart who had worked on Heinrich Schliemann's notebooks, letters and publications (Easton 2002) and, during the 1990s, had participated in the excavations at Troy where in level VIIb he found the Luwian hieroglyphic seal (Hawkins/Easton 1996). Donald Easton kindly said that he has no objection to publishing this note, and added in an e-mail of 21 August 2018:

> "Until now I had no idea that he [Mellaart] wanted to pass on his Beyköy and Hittite geography material to me. He never discussed such an arrangement with me. Had he done so it would have been an awkward conversation

as, from what he had told me, it was perfectly obvious that it was a gigantic fantasy. I could in any case never have agreed to see a Hieroglyphic Luwian text through to publication as my HL is simply not in that league. Jimmy's publication in the 1980s of new wall paintings supposedly from Çatal Hüyük finally provided the proof for some of us in London that he was capable of making things up and had probably done so with Dorak. We (Hittitologists and others) knew from at least the mid-90s that he now also had a number of texts some of which he claimed to be from Beyköy. We had little doubt that these too were inventions."

It took four days of thorough examination before in the opposite corner of the very same room, well hidden in a low bookshelf right next to James Mellaart's former desk, I found a thick blue cardboard file which proved beyond doubt that the BT was indeed entirely fabricated by Mellaart himself. Among other documents, the file contained 61 pieces of paper or cardboard with scribbled notes (Fig. 8). The material Mellaart used for these notes included the back or inside of envelopes, and most frequently the inside of cigar cartons. The notes cover well-known facts from Hittite documents mixed with ideas that sprang up in Mellaart's fantasy. There are notes on the genealogy and thoughts to be considered for the commentary. But for the most part, the notes are early drafts of the contents of alleged documents, such as:

"What followed next was Walmus, king of Asuwa's, attack on Arzawa, after his escape from Arz. Prison – lacking properly trained forces, Walmus systematically raided holy cities to pay his nomads irregulars."

Many of the notes are difficult or even impossible to read due to Mellaart's hard-to-decipher longhand writing. The bulk of documents in this file consist of 74 handwritten pages, for the most part A4 in size, that are covered with Mellaart's handwriting in capital letters – which is quite clear and usually easy to read. These pages contain the second draft of a prose text that ultimately became the documents making up the BT:

"Walmus, abandoned by Tudhaliyas, went berserk, escaped from prison, rallied nomad support, attacked Arzawa proper; singling out rich cult centres on both sides of the Mayantariya River Land from its source westward. Salawasa had to be evacuated. In Awiniya, Kupanta-Kuruntas defeated him. Walmus then destroyed the holy cities of Mira, Parnkiya, Mitasa and Paliya and murdered priests and priestesses in numbers."

For these drafts, Mellaart used for the most part white copy paper of A4 size, but he also occasionally made use of other materials, such as the back side of departmental stationery or circulars, incoming letters from archaeologists, envelopes and junk mail, as long as they had an empty side. Mellaart himself never inserted

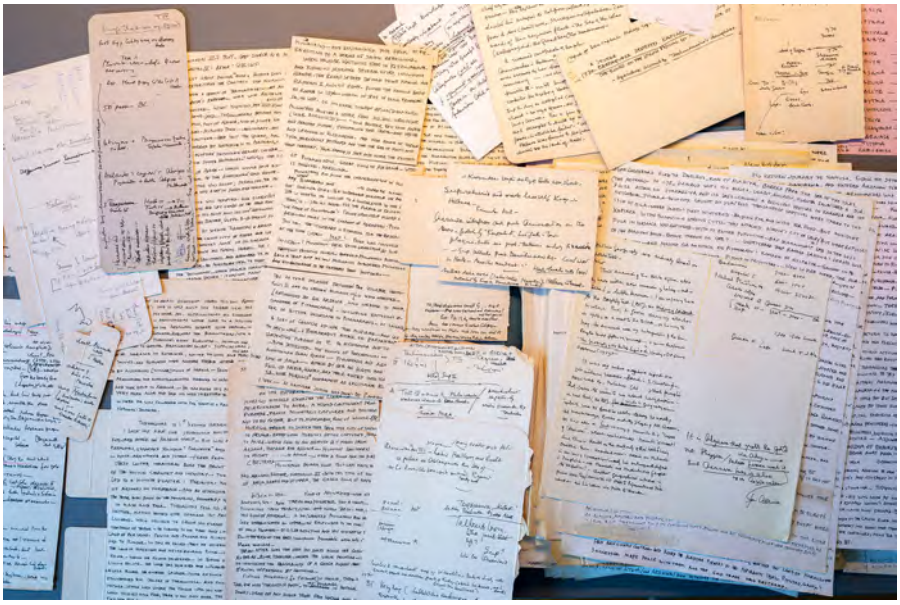

Fig. 8. Notes on individual pieces of cardboard to organise the contents of the alleged translations of the BT as well as handwritten first drafts of the prose text.

a date in his notes, but some envelopes and letters were dated, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the composition of these manuscripts. The dates in this folder range between November 1998 and February 2003. Hence, Mellaart was composing alleged BT documents over forty years after Albrecht Goetze was said to have deposited the translation of the BT in the BIAA. In 2007, James Mellaart suffered a severe stroke which left him unable to produce complex writing. It thus appears that he creatively worked on the BT as long as he could.

The same file also contained 18 typewritten pages, either carbon copies or xeroxes of carbon copies, of some final BT documents, in addition to those kept in the "official" pile next to the entrance of the study. In contrast to those, however, the text here possessed no paragraph numbers. Apparently, Mellaart added these numbers to the other BT documents relatively late in the processing. He signed the documents with a wide range of authors' names:

- I, Artahulas, wrote (this tablet) in the days of Ura-Tarhundas;
- Tablet of Tarpaliwatas;
- Tablet of Uhamuwas;
- Tablet of Piyamataruwas, son of Huwatnalis. Year 12. Written on silver and recovered from the ruins of Tarwaliya by Tapala-Zunaulis;

– Tablet of Piyamataruwwas;
– Tablet of Rukiyas, son of Kaptarwapadus;
– Tablet of the Danaiya lands, written for Uharadus, the King;
– Tablet of Akemandus, overlord of the lands of the Dei naya pe;
– Tablet of Asuwantis, the king.

What has been said, for instance about Arthur Evans, that archaeologists sometimes create an image of past societies that expresses their wishful thinking of what an ideal society should have been like (Schoep 2018, 26), much applies to James Mellaart too:

> "It was Hurimandus who introduced writing into the land, necessary in trade, it is not widely practised and the men of Iyalanda who trade bring their interpreters with them or employ the people of the isle of Iamina, who speak both languages. The language the noble Ahiyuwans speak, neither the people of Arzawa, nor the people of the Danaya lands can understand. Their great virtue is loyalty; they break no oath and make good allies. In warfare they fight to the death; but as they do no travel, they keep to themselves and are [rustic?]. I, Piyamataruwas visited them many times and what I report is the truth and I was well received and found them likeable."

Finally in March 2019, Belkıs Balpinar, the former director of the Vakiflar Museum in Istanbul and co-authoress of the *Goddess from Anatoli*a, and I met in Bodrun. Mrs Balpinar and Mellaart wer friends formany years. She says that he was indeed making fakes even in her presence. When she asked him to stop, doing so, Mellaart angrily replied: "They should finally pay more attention to this!" Evidently, Mellaart considered forgeries justified if they served the right purpose.

7.5. The Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from Beyköy

Among the material from James Mellaart's estate which his son Alan made available for academic scrutiny in June 2017 were four A4-sized sheets with drawings of an almost thirty-metre-long Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (dubbed "Beyköy 2"), as well as drawings of three other large inscriptions (from Yazılıtaş, Edremit, and Dağardı) and four fragments. Mellaart had not mentioned these documents in his 1995 letters, and so I came across them unexpectedly. The material has meanwhile been published provisionally online together with its research history as related by Mellaart in his notes (Zangger/Woudhuizen 2017 and this volume). The Luwian hieroglyphic documents will not be treated here in depth, since Woudhuizen and Zangger are dealing with this subject in the same issue.

As it turned out, these drawings had been circulated in 1989, evidently by James Mellaart himself. Mellaart had given them to Oliver R. Gurney and asked him to present the long inscription during the *Rencontre Assyriologique Internation-*

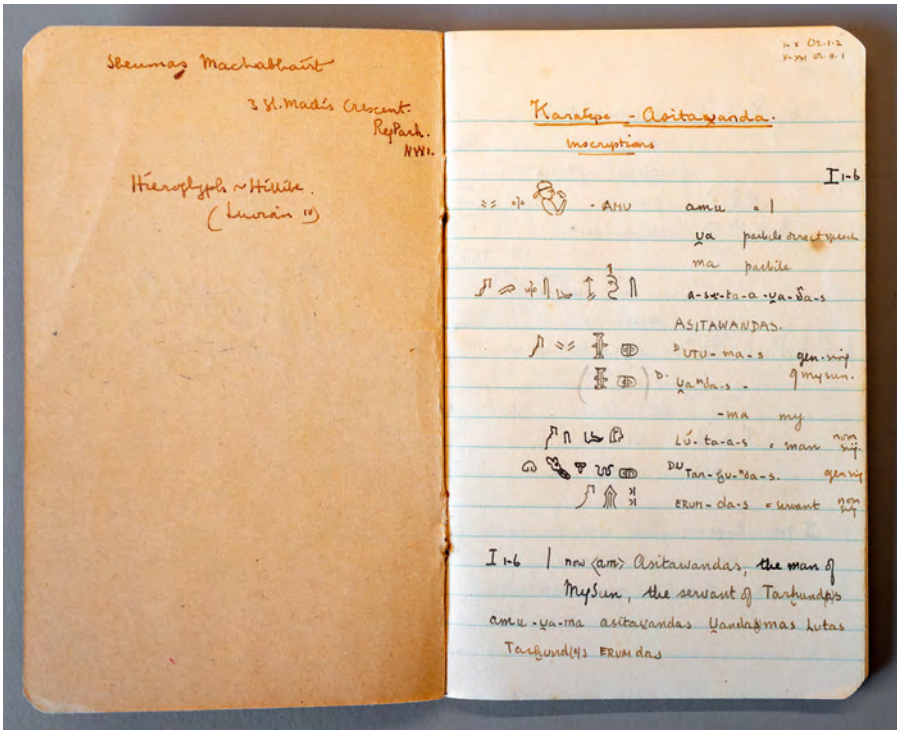

Fig. 9. One of five notebooks showing how James Mellaart learnt Luwian hieroglyphic as a student – with his name in Gaelic and the street address indicating his accommodation in the late 1940s.

ale in Ghent – most likely hoping that it would then also be published in the proceedings. Mellaart was not present when Gurney presented the drawing of Beyköy 2, but during the conference he did discuss it with other experts. We know this from letters found in his estate. One letter from Rudolf Werner dated 26 August 1989, and one from Annelies Kammenhuber dated 14 September 1989, show that the two scholars, having exchanged their views beforehand, came to the same conclusions: they regarded the drawings as forgeries, possibly produced as a hoax by a student of Helmuth Theodor Bossert.

The more thorough examination of Mellaart's estate in February 2018 brought to light a few more pieces of information regarding the Luwian hieroglyphic documents. Above all, it became evident that Mellaart had systematically studied Luwian hieroglyphic script (LH) as early as the late 1940s when he was a student in London (Fig. 9). He maintained an active interest in LH throughout his life. On one occasion, Mellaart recollects in his handwritten notes how some of the originals tragically disappeared:

> "Prof. Bahadır Alkım was able to find recordings of a number of previously unknown Hieroglyphic-Hittite inscriptions in northwest Anatolia, preserved in family papers, of at least six pashas … The Edremit blocks likewise were dispatched by boat, which is said to have sunk in or near the Dardanelles. The vali (governor) of Bursa reported that the Cardak and Levke blocks were stolen en route."

Mellaart thus implies that there is no reason to look for remains of these inscriptions. But he does not mention the fate of the Yazılıtaş inscription, which he says was hewn into the bedrock slightly below the summit of Mandra Dağ northeast of Pergamon.

The documents indicate that Mellaart (or his informants) went through four different stages of rearranging the 3thirty blocks of the Beyköy 2 inscription. If Mellaart had forged the drawing it is puzzling that he would have composed the text in the correct order, but then pretended to have needed four attempts to re-establish it. The continuing rearranging of the blocks by itself could therefore be taken as an indication of authenticity.

Mellaart wrote in longhand that the stones of the Luwian hieroglyphic text had been rearranged by B. Alkım to ultimately reflect the correct order. Yet in February 2018, I found the set of drawings showing that Mellaart himself had glued the pieces together in the right sequence. I also found handwritten drafts of the LH Beyköy texts listing all the place names – whereas the translations retrieved in June 2017 did not contain all names.

What is more, a manuscript emerged from the estate that was evidently typewritten by Mellaart, since it consisted of the original as well as a carbon copy, but was clearly accredited to the deceased Turkish archaeologist Uluğ Bahadır Alkım (see Woudhuizen/Zangger this volume, Appendices 1 and 2). In other words, Mellaart analysed the Luwian hieroglyphic texts – and pretended that this analysis was produced by Alkım. This is a clear indication that the British prehistorian was untruthful about this matter as well.

Despite all these caveats, it must be emphasised that the examination of Mellaart's estate yielded no indications that the Luwian hieroglyphic texts had been forged. As far as the work on these documents is concerned, Mellaart started out with a complete hand-drawn tracing – and this illustration never changed. All this implies that the documents were not fabricated by Mellaart, a possibility that is anyway unlikely due to the linguistic intricacies of the text. When the scholarly community learnt about the long Luwian hieroglyphic inscription in 1989, it was quickly agreed upon that this most likely represented a forgery. However, the arguments brought forward at the time can today be easily refuted (see Woudhuizen/Zangger this volume). In 2017, when we published this document,

we heard about a number of additional arguments for why the text appears to have been forged; but once again, these could be rebutted (see Zangger/Woudhuizen 2017, 43-45). Woudhuizen/Zangger (this volume) now present a substantial portfolio of new arguments for authenticity.

Above all, one argument kills all accusations of forgery, at least as far as James Mellaart is concerned: Mellaart misinterpreted the contents of Beyköy 2 – and then used this misinterpretation over a period of about twenty years for the production of countless hand-drawn maps and several hundred pages of fantasy stories (the Beyköy Text). If Mellaart had conceived and forged Beyköy 2, he would, of course, have known its actual contents – and would not have wasted the rest of his life exploiting a wrong and distorted translation of this document.

At this stage, therefore, the published information indicates authenticity. If experts on Luwian hieroglyphic have reason to doubt the authenticity of Beyköy 2 (beyond the mere fact that we know about it through Mellaart), then their reasoning ought to be properly published to gain credence. Until then, the likelihood is that James Mellaart actually saw (and copied) older drawings of these documents.

Even if the Luwian hieroglyphic documents are genuine, this does not mean that we have reason to believe any of the information Mellaart provided about their research history. In fact, it is quite possible that Mellaart invented these stories to cover up what really happened to these inscriptions.

From today's perspective, it appears as though Mellaart somehow learnt about the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions and even got hold of them. He then projected their wrongly interpreted contents onto his own (also erroneous) understanding of the political geography of Asia Minor – and interpreted this information in the form of his imaginary translations of cuneiform Beyköy tablets.

7.6. Approach and motive

It is obvious that the publication of James Mellaart's fantasies brought him no material advantage or even a gain in terms of fame. The question then emerges as to why he exposed himself that much by presenting controversial evidence? After all, his publication and letters reveal how he suffered when his peers began questioning his integrity. He concluded an article entitled "James Mellaart Answers His Critics" for *Hali*, the international journal of oriental carpets and textiles, with the statement: "I fiercely resent attacks on my integrity" (Mellaart 1991, 87).

Considering the major cases discussed here of controversial finds that were introduced by James Mellaart, a number of common factors emerge which may help in the search for a motive:

- All objects were related to topics that fell under James Mellaart's primary interest
- All finds supported Mellaart's view

– All the items are unique and highly relevant – even spectacular
– All items have disappeared
– No photos were made or were still available when Mellaart presented the case
– All scholars involved in the cases had died when the evidence was first introduced
– All other witnesses that may have existed remained anonymous
– No supporting evidence could be found elsewhere
– Mellaart himself never sought supporting evidence
– Mellaart happened to be the only scholar who knew about the items in question.

Most importantly, each case arose shortly after James Mellaart had introduced a new theory to archaeology – one that the finds in question would reinforce. The Dorak treasure emerged after James Mellaart had visited Troy – together with Seton Lloyd – in 1955. Mellaart then postulated in *Anatolian Studies* that the destruction of Troy II marked the end of a powerful Bronze Age kingdom that controlled the land and sea routes into north-western Anatolia (Mellaart 1959b, 162; Balter 2005, 46). "The Dorak treasure, located more than a hundred miles east of Troy's site on the Aegean coast – and with an opulence that indicated it must have come from a royal tomb – represented stunning confirmation that just such a vast kingdom once did exist", writes Martin Balter (2005, 46). What is more, the Dorak tombs would have been roughly contemporary with the Early Bronze Age royal tombs of Alacahöyük in central Asia Minor discovered roughly two decades earlier. If, at the time, the discovery at Alacahöyük supported the origin of an allegedly "Hittite" kingdom in the Early Bronze Age, then the Dorak tombs would have supported the origin of an equally early "Luwian" kingdom in western Anatolia.

The reconstructed murals from Çatalhöyük started to emerge from Mellaart's study when rug experts around the globe began discussing potential Neolithic roots of kilim motives – an idea first mentioned by Mellaart in 1963 (Mellaart 1963b, 163). Mellaart enjoyed the subject and the discussion, and might have felt that he, as the expert on the Anatolian Neolithic, should be able to make an active contribution.

The Luwian hieroglyphic inscription appeared soon after Mellaart had casually – on the last page of a little-known paper – introduced a new theory about the provenance of the Sea Peoples:

> "On the basis of the Egyptian texts then, it would appear that the so-called Sea Peoples which appeared within their horizon in the 13th century were generally at home on the south coast of Turkey, in Cyprus and in Rhodes (or the Dodecanese and adjacent coasts)" (Mellaart 1974, 526).

A reprint of this paper in his estate bore a handwritten note: "This article [composed] of 1973 superseded by knowledge of the BT." On another reprint of a

publication (Mellaart 1986), Mellaart scribbled in red ink "written in 1980". In this paper, he says that his PhD student Donald Easton "has suggested that Atriya might be the Hittite form of Troy" (Easton 1984). A place called Atriya is mentioned in the treaty which Tudhaliyas made with his vassal Sausgamuwa of Amurru (*KUB* XXIII.1). Atriya then also figures prominently in Mellaart's depiction of the BT.

It thus appears as if Mellaart's fantasy was fuelled by his and others' recent ideas and that he felt he needed to contribute to the discussion by presenting additional, thus far unknown, evidence that would reinforce his point of view. He had acquired a tremendously broad and deep knowledge and developed a coherent historic panorama. Instead of formulating theories, however, Mellaart then sometimes fabricated drawings of artefacts and translations of alleged documents to reinforce his theories. The evidence is clear for the late murals from Çatalhöyük and for the Beyköy Text.

We found the finished manuscript on the Dorak treasure, but no drafts. The same is true for the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription said to come from Beyköy – there were no drafts or prototypes of it either. There is thus no evidence that it is forged, but no unequivocal evidence that it is authentic either. James Mellaart had a large study in the summerhouse of his paerents-in-law on the Bosporus (Arlette Mellaart 2002, 71). If he had invented things prior to 1976, the drafts would have been destroyed when this building caught fire.

Hence, when I retrieved James Mellaart's engravings on schist with the motifs from the reconstructed drawings of the alleged Çatalhöyük wall paintings (Figs. 2-3), it merely proved what had been obvious for almost twenty years. As the painter and sculptor Tullio Zanovello has pointed out to me, making sketches on rock rather than on paper was virtually indispensable for Mellaart to determine the amount of detail that an illustration on earthly materials would permit.

Trying to explain Mellaart's production of the suspicious and highly questionable drawings of murals allegedly found at Çatalhöyük, Jack Cassin told me that he did not think Mellaart wanted to benefit financially from them. Nor did he think Mellaart did it for fame or notoriety. "Actually", Cassin told me, "I think Mellaart believed these new reconstructions were real". As strange as it might sound, this is how several scholars see Mellaart's actions. As Jack Cassin put it: "People often begin to believe their own lies – and that was Mellaart's downfall. He wanted to believe them and finally did believe his own fantasies".

A potential explanation for Mellaart's incentive to continue producing fantastic ideas and supporting evidence emerges from a scrutiny of the April 1990 issue of *Hali*. It appeared in the wake of the Anatolian Kilim Symposium in Basel that took place on the last weekend of January 1990. James Mellaart is described as

Verwijzing naar fig. 3 in tekst toevoegen? Figs omnummeren?

Fig. 3. Engravings on schist, found in Mellaart's study in February 2018, with motifs that James Mellaart had published as reconstructed murals from Çatalhöyük (see Figs. 1-2).

"the prophet" whose "monumental work" *The Goddess from Anatolia* "is already assured legendary status". The editor continues by saying that "the symposium marked the apotheosis of Çatal Höyük". A small portrait photograph (Fig. 10) indicates how much James Mellaart, who had just turned 65 and was asked to give the opening lecture, enjoyed being in the limelight, twenty-five years after he had been excluded from fieldwork in Turkey. The portrait is accompanied by rough sketches with alleged "incised clay plaques" from a (imaginary) late Upper Palaeolithic stratum at *ca*. 9750 BC at Çatalhöyük. These drawings show, among other things, a clearly depicted loom, mat making and tablet weaving. Mellaart may have become so used to making a splash early in his career with his genuine discoveries, which had made him "possibly the most successful and highly acclaimed archaeologist of the second half-century" (Eiland 1990, 19), that he was anxious to continue getting a kick from the attention of his peers and the public – no matter how.

Already in his early publications of Çatalhöyük, Mellaart had associated the mural patterns with those of textiles such as kilims (Mellaart 1967, 163). Over three decades later, in a 24-page article for *Cornucopia*, he still presented 23 of his reconstructed wall paintings (Fig. 1-2) without any critical reservation as documenting everyday life in the Neolithic (Mellaart 1999). One therefore wonders whether his principal ideas (or approaches) actually evolved much throughout his professional career.

Nevertheless, had James Mellaart been content with the results of his research and publications around 1980, his reputation would probably have been unscathed – despite the Dorak intermezzo. "Çatalhöyük was James Mellaart, and James Mellaart was Çatalhöyük", says Michael Balter (2005, 205) – and this state might have endured indefinitely. However, not being able to go into the field, Mellaart was underemployed and insufficiently challenged for too long – and he therefore increasingly developed an imaginary world of what the Bronze Age may have been like; a world he enjoyed, because it wholly reinforced his concepts, and one that he became so familiar with that he increasingly inhabited it.

Determining the mind-set that allowed Mellaart's transgressions requires expertise in psychiatry. I am therefore grateful to the psychoanalyst Dr Marie Anne Nauer, president of the Swiss Society for Graphology, for examining a number of samples of Mellaart's notes. She emphasises what in the US is called the Goldwater rule, namely that a clinical diagnosis can never be made without having examined the person. Subject to this caveat, a psychological analysis of the script reveals a highly intelligent person who is intensely committed to a cause and wants to handle it as rationally as possible; a skilled brain-worker who thinks quickly and associates and combines in an extremely clever way. There are discreet signs that he wants to be regarded as important. The signature, for instance, is quite deliberately crafted (Fig. 11). The descender in the first name is an allusion to a paraph, a formula that has traditionally underscored the importance of figures such as kings, politicians and other real or supposed exponents of public life. The shape of the M and the ending of the

The Prophet – James Mellaart.

Incised clay plaques from aceramic Çatal Hüyük, level 11, ca. 9750 B.C., showing mat making and tablet weaving.
Courtesy James Mellaart.

Fig. 10.
Portrait of James Mellaart in *Hali* 1990 (Bennett 1990, 98), including sketches of artefacts allegedly found at Çatalhöyük.

Fig. 11. James Mellaart's signature under his letter dated 17 July 1995.

name point in the same direction. The script reveals a kind of careless audacity stemming from the conviction, perceived as a vocation, of being able to cope with everything and master any situation. The manuscripts and the relentlessness with which page after page is filled exude something obsessive. The writer obviously got carried away in the flow of his flights of visionary fancy. The paper comes in different formats and is often thin and almost translucent so that the writing on the reverse shows through. Most of the sketches are done on slightly thicker paper such as the reverse of stationery or letters. In these cases, the letterhead faces downwards to mark it as waste paper. The writing seems to become more rigid over the years (as far as can be chronologically traced). An actual tremor cannot be detected, but overall the writing looks disturbed and nervous on a micro level. On the basis of the handwriting alone it is not possible to confirm either phantasms or imposture. All things considered, however, Mellaart represents a case of *Pseudologia phantastica* – commonly referred to as pathological lying. It entails a narcissistic personality disorder and involves a display of contempt for all values and ideals, which is used to stave off a yearning for an idealisable parent figure or the tendency to indulge in idealising transference. Mellaart's mother died when he was a small boy, and he hated his stepmother. His longing to transgress normal behaviour may go back to way before when he became an archaeologist.

8. Discussion

All in all, there have been three major episodes in which James Mellaart was engaged in affairs where he was blamed to have forged evidence:

1. the Dorak treasure,
2. the "sketch reconstructed" wall paintings from Çatalhöyük which he presented more than twenty years after his excavations and
3. the translation of alleged bronze tablets said to have been found at Beyköy, the so-called Beyköy Text. From today's perspective it is fair to say that in all these instances the evidence was made up by James Mellaart.

With respect to the finds attributed to Beyköy, the issue is more complicated. According to Mellaart, three finds must be distinguished: two items with Luwian hieroglyphic text on stone (Beyköy 1 and 2) and a number of bronze tablets (between 1 and 25) with Hittite cuneiform text – the so-called Beyköy Text. The small piece called Beyköy 1 had been found and drawn by William M. Ramsay but was later lost. Beyköy 2, the almost thirty-meter-long inscription, may indeed have existed. The Beyköy Text, however, was invented by Mellaart, probably to leverage the information provided by Beyköy 2 as a reinforcement of his concepts of history and political geography.

When the news broke that Mellaart's estate had produced evidence of forgeries, it tended to confirm the notions of the more senior Aegean prehistorians and other scholars who had met James Mellaart, had perhaps attended his lectures or knew his articles from after the mid-1980s. Many of these contemporaries must have realised what was going on at the time; for understandable reasons, they decided to let sleeping dogs lie.

One question is whether there may have been even more incidents in which Mellaart invented things, since only the prominent cases are discussed here and similar patterns may occur in other, less well-known instances. James Mellaart had indeed earned a reputation for having "a habit of imagining evidence", as the Stanford University archaeologist Ian Hodder put it in an article on Mellaart for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Hodder 2015). Hodder reports that Mellaart also claimed to have found tablets with symbols at the base of Çatalhöyük. It appears that the ultimate judgement will have to be made by the experts in the relevant fields.

Another question that has arisen is whether James Mellaart also forged artefacts. There is no evidence for that at all. Forging a drawing of an artefact is not the same as forging an artefact – much as drawing a person is not the same as creating a Frankenstein monster. And yet, a number of journalists did not make this distinction in their articles. Forging artefacts would require much knowledge of material science and production techniques, and that was not Mellaart's field. Besides, as an excavator, he had come across many thousands of original artefacts, so there was little need to produce additional ones.

People have also wondered whether the finds from Mellaart's excavations at Çatalhöyük and other sites need to be re-examined for possible forgeries. But this will not be necessary. Each item was recorded in two inventory books, with one copy for the museum records and one copy for the excavator. The artefacts were dated and drawn, and all the spectacular finds were probably photographed too. Besides, every excavation had a government representative on site. So, the finds exhibited in the museums in Turkey are, of course, genuine (see, however, the contribution by Schürr in this volume).

The question has arisen as to why Mellaart did not try to publish the BT. He said in his letters and over the phone that he did not want to become entangled in another public dispute. On the other hand, he left a note asking his literary executors to publish the material as soon as possible. He clearly did this to emphasise the relevance of his creation.

Last but not least, my role in dealing with Mellaart's material clearly requires an explanation, since I turned overnight from a staunch Mellaart supporter to an outspoken critic. Mellaart evidently enjoyed my sympathy for a very long time. I felt that his achievements on behalf of Anatolian archaeology were undeniable. I admired his courage to literally go where no one had gone before. People close to him apparently adored him. His lectures were described as spectacular; he was a prolific writer with a clear and gripping style and a good sense of humour. One of his outspoken critics said: "While Mellaart's claims may strike some as outrageous, he is never boring, and, whatever the truth of the matter, he emerges with a kind of panache I cannot help but admire" (Eiland 1990, 26). I felt the same. Of course, I knew about the controversial cases, but in my opinion, Mellaart deserved to be presumed innocent. After all, a police commission (Hamblin 1975, 164), an academic inquiry committee, and two investigative journalists writing a book on the Dorak Affair had all led to an exoneration of Mellaart as far as stealing and smuggling is concerned. In my opinion, Mellaart had fallen victim to a scholars' dispute that had damaged his career – a fate I could relate to. The media campaign in Turkey, launched a full four years after the publication of the Dorak finds, seemed to indicate to me that some anonymous forces were pulling strings in the background.

My views of Mellaart did not change until February 2018, when the evidence for forgery of the BT became undeniable. At that point I was upset, because Mellaart had no scruples when it came to potentially harming other people's reputations. He had informed me about the BT twenty-three years prior to this. He had also tried to get other researchers interested in the subject, as is evident from the correspondence. And he wanted his favourite former PhD student Donald Easton to take care of the material should something happen to him. Was I mistaken in having given Mellaart too much credit? Yes, by all means. Should I have paid more attention to the colleagues who warned me: Absolutely!

Another question arises in this context: Why was this degree of scrutiny not applied before *any* of the material from Mellaart's estate was published? In my opinion, this would not have been feasible. All that could be said on the controversial cases had already been said. And yet even though the Dorak treasure was clearly a fabrication, the case itself remains inconclusive even today. The only items from Mellaart's estate that had been published were the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions – in relation to which the final verdict for or against authenticity has still not been made. I thus think it was a good idea that the editors of *Talanta* went forward

with the publication of the drawings of Luwian hieroglyphic texts. It was the best way to make them available for everybody in the field. Revealing Mellaart's approach of imagining evidence required a very thorough examination of his former study. The impact which the publication of the Luwian hieroglyphic had made it possible to quickly proceed with the inspection of Mellaart's estate. I am therefore particularly grateful to Alan Mellaart for having permitted and participated in such an examination. I hope that archaeologists in the future might benefit from a case that is now documented and clear-cut.

And finally, what will the effect of all this be on the archaeological community? Personally, I don't think much has changed. We recently came up with additional evidence of forgeries on which the discussion had been concluded by the mid-1990s, i.e. the reconstructed murals from Çatalhöyük. And we made some drawings of Luwian hieroglyphic texts available that had been sitting in drawers for almost thirty years. Now we should be careful not to throw the baby out with the bathwater. Much of what James Mellaart did was ground-breaking. He was in many ways a brilliant archaeologist, and subsequent research at Çatalhöyük and the Konya Plain are confirming his observations. And pieces of truth certainly remain in his constructed imaginary worlds and documents.

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