

## THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF KNUDTZON'S IDENTIFICATION OF HITTITE AS AN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE

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The Vth International Congress of Hittitology convened in Çorum in 2002 marks the 100th anniversary of the identification of Hittite as an Indo-European language. The scientific world is better acquainted with Bedřich Hrozný's decipherment in 1915, but, in fact, it was the illustrious Norwegian Assyriologist Jørgen Alexander Knudtzon who thirteen years earlier demonstrated that the two Arzawa letters from Tell el-Amarna in Egypt (EA 31-32) were written in an Indo-European language.<sup>1</sup>

Among the 358 Amarna letters published by Knudtzon there are only three which are not in Akkadian: the famous "Mittanni Letter" written in Hurrian and the two "Arzawa Letters" written in Hittite.<sup>2</sup> One of the Hittite tablets is a copy kept in Egypt of a missive sent by Amenophis III to Tarhundaradu king of Arzawa (EA 31),<sup>3</sup> while the other is part of the assumed response of the latter (EA 32).<sup>4</sup> The Egyptian letter represents a political overture towards the western Anatolian kingdom at a time of decline for Hatti. In his response the king of Arzawa demands further guarantees before sending off his daughter to Egypt.

Before we turn to Knudtzon's ingenious decipherment let us briefly mention a few earlier attempts at interpretation. Preliminary overviews of the Amarna tablets, most

<sup>1</sup> *Die Zwei Arzawa Briefe: Die ältesten Urkunden in Indogermanischer Sprache. Mit Bemerkungen von Sophus Bugge und Alf Torp.* J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig, 1902. See also his corrections in "Zum sog. 2. Arzawa-Brief," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 19 (1916) 135-137 (confirmed by O. Schroeder's collation, *ibid.*, 138).

<sup>2</sup> The tablets were first published by H. Winckler & L. Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Königliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1889-90) I, no. 10; III, no. 238. Both texts were recopied after collation by A. Goetze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* (Marburg 1930) nos. 1-2. For updated transliterations and translations, see L. Rost, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 4 (1956) 328-340. For an English translation, see V. Haas in W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore and London 1992) 101-103.

<sup>3</sup> For the defective Hittite employed by the scribe who wrote the letter of Amenophis III, see F. Starke, "Zur Deutung der Arzawa-Briefstelle VBoT 1, 25-27," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1982) 221-231.

<sup>4</sup> EA 31 (VBoT 1) is in Cairo (4741) and EA 32 (VBoT 2) is in Berlin (VAT 342).

of which were purchased by the museum of Berlin, were published by H. Winckler soon after their discovery in 1887.<sup>5</sup> Several other scholars who had access to the tablets or to the preliminary reports attempted to disclose the contents of the Arzawa letters and the unknown language in which they were written.<sup>6</sup> Probably the best results were achieved by Peter Jensen in an article dealing mostly with hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Relying on the name of the king of Arzawa, *Tarhundaraus(?)*, which contains the widespread Anatolian onomastic element *Tarh-/Tark-*, he concluded that the letters are written in an Anatolian language, probably Hittite ("hittitischer Sprache"). He preferred this option, instead of the more current "Arzawa-Sprache", because he could not believe that the Egyptian chancellery would have had special scribes initiated in the languages of all the petty kingdoms ("aller möglichen Duodezländchen") with which they corresponded. Hence, he correctly concluded that the letters are written in the language of some greater state which was situated between Arzawa and Egypt, probably Hatti.<sup>8</sup> Among many false leads, Jensen correctly identified the nominative<sup>9</sup> and the accusative<sup>10</sup> cases, but thought these supported a relation of Hittite to Mitannian and to Old Armenian, a theory shared by many scholars at the time.<sup>11</sup>

Jørgen Alexander Knudtzon was born in Trondheim, Norway, on September 9th 1854.<sup>12</sup> He studied theology and Semitic languages and received his doctoral degree in Kristiania in 1889. His dissertation dealt with "The so-called perfect and imperfect in Hebrew" (in Norwegian).<sup>13</sup> He started teaching Old Testament for theologians, but his employers found him lacking in "the theological spirit". From 1891 he devoted

<sup>5</sup> *Sitzungsberichten der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (13. Dec. 1888) 1349 f.; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1889, 47.

<sup>6</sup> Archibald H. Sayce, "The Language of Arzawa," *Academy* 42 (1892) 154 f.; Alfred Boissier, "Notes sur les lettres de Tell el-Amarna," *Zeitschrift der Assyriologie* 7 (1892) 346-348.

<sup>7</sup> "Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der (hatischen oder) cilicischen (?) Inschriften," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 48 (1894) 268-270, 440-444.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, 269.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* 441: *halugatalas mis*, "mein Bote", and *hattanas LUGAL-us*, which he understood as "hatischer König" (see below).

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*: *halugatalan min*, "mein(en) Bote(n)".

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., A. H. Sayce & Th. G. Pinches, *The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology* (Liverpool 1907) 51; E. F. Weidner, *Studien zur hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft I* (Leipzig 1917) 32 f., with further refs.

<sup>12</sup> H. Birkeland in A. W. Brøgger & E. Jansen, *Norsk biografisk leksikon* 7 (Oslo 1936) 499-502. I wish to thank Mr. Bjarte Kaldhol for translating this entry and for other biographical information. Cf. also R. Borger, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6 (1983) 45. The only published photograph of Knudtzon appears in Holger Pedersen, *Sprogvidenskaben i det Nittende Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen 1924); reproduced in E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Rise & Progress of Assyriology* (London 1925) 179 and here on p.660.

<sup>13</sup> Abstracted in *Actes du huitième congrès international des orientalistes tenu 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania, section sémitique*, 73-83.

himself entirely to Assyriology and studied in London, Paris, Leipzig and Berlin.<sup>14</sup> In 1895 he was commissioned to publish the El-Amarna letters, for which task he travelled extensively to collate the tablets dispersed in various museums and private collections. In 1907 he published his magisterial *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, praised by William Moran 85 years later in the following words:<sup>15</sup> "Based on painstaking collations ... and on an unrivaled knowledge of almost every aspect of the corpus, his readings and translations excelled by far those of all his predecessors, and even today his work remains of fundamental importance." His ill health prevented Knudtzon from completing the second part of the book, which includes the commentaries and the glossaries, but his notes were extensively used in the volume published in 1915 by O. Weber and E. Ebeling. He died in Kristiania (now Oslo) on January 7th 1917.

While working on the Amarna volumes Knudtzon became increasingly puzzled by the two Arzawa letters. By 1902 he felt that he reached a breakthrough in their decipherment: Their language seemed unmistakably Indo-European! He presented the evidence before the Society of Sciences in Kristiania, and two local experts on Indo-European languages, Professors Sophus Bugge and Alf Torp, accepted with enthusiasm his discovery. In the same year Knudtzon published in Leipzig a monograph entitled *Die Zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, to which the separate comments of the two Indo-Europeanists was appended. His grammatical and lexicographical observations are preceded by chapters on the cuneiform syllabary employed in these tablets, on the designation of their language ("Arzawa-Sprache"), on the correct reading of Arzawa (rather than Arzapi) and its location, on the origin of the Hittites, and on the connection between the two letters.

The search for the location of the land of Arzawa proved to be a bewildering matter, in which Knudtzon's unparalleled erudition and sound judgment was demonstrated in full.<sup>16</sup> As it happens, the smaller Arzawa tablet (EA 32) has the same yellowish-grey colour as one of the letters of Lab'ayu (EA 252), the notorious ruler of Shechem (Šakmu) in Palestine. In his meticulous classification of the Amarna tablets Knudtzon always paid due attention to their outward appearance, and in this case, his feeling that the two tablets might be related to each other seemed to be supported by the name of the Egyptian messenger in EA 32, Labbaya. Although he was aware of the difference in spelling<sup>17</sup> and also of the alternative reading of the name (Kalbaya), he was first confounded by the coincidence and sought a

<sup>14</sup> His major Assyriological publication (besides the Amarna letters) is *Assyrischen Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals* (Leipzig 1893).

<sup>15</sup> W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore and London 1992) xiv.

<sup>16</sup> *Arzawa-Briefe*, 16-29.

<sup>17</sup> *Lab-ba-ya* in EA 32, vs. *La-ab-a-ya* of Shechem.

southern location for Arzawa. The devious trail of false clues was enhanced by a further coincidence. In a letter sent from Jerusalem (EA 289) the sons of Lab'ayu are mentioned together with the sons of Arzawa, both being denounced as enemies of Pharaoh. The cumulative evidence seemed to be decisive: Arzawa must be sought somewhere in central Palestine. Still, Knudtzon, who was well acquainted with the geo-political map of Late Bronze Age Canaan, realized that the mysterious land of Arzawa, which corresponded with Egypt on equal terms, could hardly be squeezed into the dense map west of the Jordan. Therefore, he located Arzawa provisorily in the vast open plains of Transjordan, suggesting that some Hittite or Hittite-related tribe founded there a small kingdom.<sup>18</sup> He got some support for this hypothesis from the non-Semitic names of certain Palestinian rulers (Yašdata, Šuwardata, W/Yidya).

Even though the southern location of Arzawa seemed to be based on solid evidence, Knudtzon eventually rectified the flaw through a series of cogent counter-arguments which tipped the scales in favour of an Anatolian location: 1) With the exception of the Arzawa letters and a single letter from Mittanni, the entire Amarna correspondence is written in Akkadian. This refers not only to vassal states in Syria-Palestine, but also to the great powers, including Hatti. It would thus be inconceivable that any land south of the Amanus and the Taurus would have corresponded with Egypt in anything but Akkadian. Arzawa must therefore be situated beyond the Taurus, i.e., beyond the Babylonian cultural sphere, yet, because it mastered cuneiform, not too far from it. 2) The name of the king of Arzawa, Tarhundaradu,<sup>19</sup> contains the element *Tarh/Tark* current in first millennium Anatolia, especially in Cilicia. 3) The list of presents sent by Pharaoh includes a certain textile or clothing article named GAD *huzzi* (EA 31: 32). It only appears in one other Amarna text, namely, a letter sent by Suppiluliuma (EA 41: 35).<sup>20</sup> This coincidence may show that the lands of Tarhundaradu and Suppiluliuma were somehow related to each other. Knudtzon concluded (like Jensen before him) that the languages spoken in the two lands could be related to each other, or even identical.<sup>21</sup> 4) Besides these three valid arguments a fourth one was based on a flawed interpretation: the compound *hatannas* LUGAL-*us* (EA 32: 16), "lord of wisdom" (referring to Ea), was rendered by all the early commentators as "king of Hatti" or "the Hattian king".<sup>22</sup> All in all, after weighing

<sup>18</sup> Op. cit. 26: "ein hatischer oder mit den Hatiern verwandter Stamm".

<sup>19</sup> The reading of the last sign in this name remained disputed for a long time. Weighing the various possibilities Knudtzon eventually opted for *-ba*. Goetze's handcopy favours *-du*, which is supported by similar western Anatolian names (e.g. Piyamaradu).

<sup>20</sup> The vocable also appears in Hittite texts. See J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, Lfg. 2 (Innsbruck 1978) 334.

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit. 13: "Ist nun jenes Wort (*huzzi*) nicht etwa ägyptisch, und kommt es nur an jenen zwei Stellen vor, so kann man sich versucht fühlen, daraus auf irgend einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Lande des Tarhundarada und dem des Subbiluliuma zu schliessen. Sollte etwa die Sprache in beiden verwandt oder sogar dieselbe gewesen sein?"

<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the compound *Haddusas* KUR-*e* (EA 31: 27), "the land of Hattusa/Hatti", was misread or misinterpreted.

the various arguments for a northern or a southern location, Knudtzon concluded that Arzawa was probably located in eastern Cilicia or southern Cappadocia and its inhabitants were related to the Hittites.<sup>23</sup>

The philological commentary itself begins with an annotated transliteration of the two letters, followed by the essential chapter on the "Indogermanischer Charakter" of their language. It follows a line to line order, stressing the main diagnostic grammatical elements. Knudtzon's part (pp. 1-56) concludes with a tentative translation of the larger tablet (EA 31). It is followed by the linguistic comments of Sophus Bugge (pp. 57-107) and Alf Torp (pp. 108-130) and the indexes compiled by Knudtzon. The following selection of correct grammatical observations (with the correct examples in parentheses) is extracted mostly from Knudtzon's contribution, with only a few additions from his colleagues.

From the **noun endings** Knudtzon identified correctly the accusative sg.-*n* (*halugatalan*=*min/tin*, *memian*, *ŠUM-an*), the genitive sg. *-(a)s* (*hattanas*, *GUŠKIN-as*), the neuter sg. (*human*), and the dative pl. *-as* (*LÚ.MEŠ GAL.GAL-as*). Surprisingly, both he and his Indo-Europeanist colleagues failed to accept the *-s* ending of the nominative sg. (*halugatalas*=*mis*, *LUGAL-us*) which had already been identified as such both by P. Jensen<sup>24</sup> and A. H. Sayce.<sup>25</sup> However, Knudtzon did not entirely rule out this possibility.<sup>26</sup>

The starting point for Knudtzon's observations on the **pronominal system** were the enclitic possessive pronouns *-mi-* and *-ti-* (*halugatalan-min/-tin*), which he correctly identified as the 1st and the 2nd person accusative, respectively. *halugatalas-mis* was erroneously identified as dative pl. by Knudtzon and as genitive sg. by Bugge. From the consonantal markers of the 1st and 2nd person, Knudtzon proceeded to the 2nd pers. dative personal pronoun *-ta* ("für dich"), to which Bugge added the 1st pers. *-mu* ("mir") and the 3rd pers. ("feminine"! *si* ("für sie"). The latter also came close in identifying the 2nd pers. *d/tuqa*, but opted for the nominative case. Probably one of Knudtzon's best insights was his identification of the relative-interrogative pronoun *ku-* (*kuis*, *kuin*, *kue*), to which he compared Latin *qu-*. He kept firmly to this opinion, which played a major role in his Indo-European hypothesis, despite his colleagues' aberrant interpretations: Torp opted for a 2nd pers. pronoun (*kuin* "dich"; *kuis* "deines", etc.), whereas Bugge rendered *kuin* as "princess", deriving it from a putative *ku-* "queen", perhaps related to IE *\*gou-* "cow".

<sup>23</sup> Op. cit. 28. This easterly location of Arzawa had persisted until the 1930ties, when it was positioned on the Aegean coast. For the latest update on the historical-geography of western Anatolia, see J. D. Hawkins, *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998) 1-31.

<sup>24</sup> ZDMG 48 (1894) 441.

<sup>25</sup> *Academy* 42 (1892) 155c; *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 23 (1901) 101.

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit. 48.

From the **verbal system** Knudtzon identified correctly the endings of the preterite 1st pers. sg. (*uienun*, *uppahhun*, *istamasun*) and the 3rd pers. sg. (*uit*, *igait*, *kitat*, *memista*), and the imperative endings of the 3rd pers. sg. (*estu*) and the 3rd pers. pl. (*harkandu*, *uwandu*). The imperative of "to be", *estu*, compared to Greek *ἔστω* and Latin *esto*, was the most decisive factor in Knudtzon's conviction that he has indeed hit upon an Indo-European language.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, both Knudtzon and his colleagues failed to identify the function of the ending *-anzi* (3rd pers. pl. pres.-fut.). Knudtzon opted for a gerundial form, Bugge for an imperative. From the remaining correct or partly correct grammatical identifications mention should be made of the conjunction *nu(-)*, which was compared by all three scholars to Greek *νυ* and rendered in German as "nun".

Knudtzon's achievements in the domain of **vocabulary** were no less impressive. Among the (almost) correctly identified vocables are the following: *es-* "be", *halugatala-* "messenger", *human* "all, full", *kissari-* "hand(s)", *kusata-* "dowry", *uppa-* "dispatch", *wiya-* "send". With *pippit* he hesitated between an almost correct "was immer (mir, dir) gehört" and "chariot", finally opting for the latter. There were of course many misleading clues along the road, such as *ammel-a*, which was mistaken for an Akkadian acc. of *amêlu*.<sup>28</sup> One of the few interpretations in which Knudtzon gave in to his colleagues was in the case of *ku-sa-ta*, "dowry". This was the reading and the rendering he initially suggested, but he then opted for the alternative reading *tus-sa-ta*, which his colleagues derived from an IE stem for "daughter" (Armen. *dustr*; Greek *θυγάτηρ*, etc.). Since this alleged word for "daughter" is actually followed by the ideogram for "daughter" (DUMU.SAL), Knudtzon solved the crux by explaining the latter as a postpositioned determinative.<sup>29</sup>

Generally speaking, Knudtzon's solid philological insights, based on a total of merely 63 lines of text, produced more accurate results than the labyrinthine etymological speculations of Bugge and Torp, most of which turned out to be flawed. In fact, most of the polemic criticism that *Die Zwei Arzawa-Briefe* provoked was directed against the "wilde etymologische Methode" (Messerschmidt) employed by Bugge and Torp, and not so much against Knudtzon's cautious methodology. His grammatical sketch includes diagnostic elements of the nominal, pronominal and verbal inflectional patterns that carry an unmistakably Indo-European character. He may not have chanced to encounter a "trump" word such as *watar*; but his identification of the imperative *estu* and the relative *ku-* are linguistically no less convincing. Nevertheless, his epoch-making discovery did not arouse nearly a

similar sensation as Hrozný's publications thirteen years later. In pre-World War I studies Knudtzon's theory was either ignored or rejected.<sup>30</sup> Even scholars who accepted many of his philological insights, discounted entirely his Indo-European hypothesis.<sup>31</sup>

Beginning in 1906 Hugo Winckler's excavations at Boğazköy secured a new stream of Hittite tablets,<sup>32</sup> and the concerted effort towards their decipherment had practically driven into oblivion all earlier attempts. Winckler himself, who must have been familiar with Knudtzon's theory,<sup>33</sup> was convinced that the incomprehensible language of the Boğazköy tablets could not be Indo-European.<sup>34</sup> Beside Winckler, the Assyriologists Ernst Weidner, Friedrich Delitzsh and Otto Weber from Berlin and Liagre Böhl from Groningen had been working on the tablets and were later joined by Hugo Heinrich Figulla and Friedrich (Bedřich) Hrozný. It is not clear whether during these years Knudtzon, who was working at the time on the Amarna letters, had access to the new Boğazköy tablets. Following Winckler's death, Hrozný was officially commissioned in 1914 by the Berlin Oriental Society to publish the Boğazköy tablets. A year later he came out with "Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems," in which Knudtzon's book is only mentioned in passing, but without acknowledging his contribution to the decipherment of Hittite.<sup>35</sup> Instead, Hrozný quoted O. Weber according to whom Knudtzon, in a letter sent to him, had allegedly given up his hypothesis.<sup>36</sup> In an introductory article preceding Hrozný's presentation, the prominent historian Eduard Meyer pronounced a scornful verdict on Knudtzon's theory, based, as he says, on a few dubious "Anklänge".<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., the reviews of P. Horn, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 14 (1903) 1; P. Kretschmer, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 24 (1903) 778-781; L. Messerschmidt, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 6 (1903) 80-86. One of the few dissenting voices belonged to the Danish linguist Holger Pedersen, who accepted Knudtzon's hypothesis in principle; *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 12. 1-18; *Indogermanische Forschungen* 15 (1903-4) 280-283.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., A. H. Sayce & T. G. Pinches, *The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology* (Liverpool 1907).

<sup>32</sup> Some cuneiform fragments had already been found in the excavations of Ernest Chantre in 1894. These have been identified as Hittite by Jean-Vincent Scheil, who at that time was reorganizing the ancient oriental collections of the Istanbul Museum. See E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris 1898) 58. Cf. also L. Messerschmidt, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 6 (1903) 85 f.

<sup>33</sup> See H. Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden 1999) 8, n. 20, quoting a postcard sent by Winckler to the historian G. Kossinna on 26th Dec. 1907, in which he expresses his hesitation in coming to grips with the alleged Indo-European character of the Boğazköy tablets.

<sup>34</sup> H. Winckler, *Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend auf Grund archivalischen Studien* (Leipzig 1913) 76 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 56 (1915) 30.

<sup>36</sup> O. Weber & E. Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln. Anmerkungen und Register* (Leipzig 1915) 1074: "Die Sprache, in der diese beiden Briefe geschrieben sind, ist in ihrem Charakter noch strittig. Knudtzon hat sie für indogermanisch erklären wollen, nicht ohne starken Widerspruch zu finden, und einer brieflichen Mitteilung kann ich entnehmen, dass er jetzt selber gegen seine frühere Meinung Bedenken hegt." Cf. also, A. E. Cowley, *The Hittites* (London 1926) 42.

<sup>37</sup> "Die Entzifferung der hethitischen Sprache," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 56 (1915) 7: "Dieser Nachweis, der sich nur auf einige wenige, recht unsichere Anklänge stützen konnte, ist allgemein abgelehnt worden." Idem, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin 1914) 130: "aber der Versuch, die Sprache als indogermanisch zu erweisen, war ein Missgriff, wie jetzt wohl allgemein anerkannt ist."

<sup>27</sup> Ib. 45.

<sup>28</sup> Ib. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Ib. 52 f.

The full demonstration of the new decipherment was presented by Hrozný in his renowned book *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, published in 1917 by the same publisher who produced Knudtzon's book fifteen years earlier.<sup>38</sup> As in the 1915 article, no history of earlier research is presented, though Knudtzon's book is mentioned in a few footnotes.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, there is a long appendix with polemic comments on Ernst Weidner's book on Hittite, which appeared in the same year.<sup>40</sup> Rather ironically, Hrozný looked to his laurels, bitterly complaining that Weidner avoided mentioning his name in the book.<sup>41</sup>

Hrozný's discovery was first met with the same skepticism as Knudtzon's, and some of his colleagues even warned him from falling into the same pit as his predecessor.<sup>42</sup> However, within a few years even the most vehement sceptics had to accept the Indo-European hypothesis when faced with the growing evidence contained in the Boğazköy tablets. As pointedly stated by Emil Forrer, "a decennium of cleaning up the prejudices of the scientific world was necessary before the idea of Indo-European Hittites remained master of the field."<sup>43</sup> But whereas Hrozný was now given full credit for his ingenuity, Knudtzon was never afforded the same homage for his pioneering achievement. The circle of oblivion reached its climax in a laudatory biography of Hrozný in which Knudtzon's name is not even mentioned and the two Arzawa letters are considered as "undecipherable" before Hrozný.<sup>44</sup> Even in some

<sup>38</sup> *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm. Ein Entzifferungsversuch* (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; Leipzig 1917).

<sup>39</sup> *Ib.*, 46, n. 1; 70, n. 1; 110, n. 3; 123, n. 5; 194, n. 1.

<sup>40</sup> E. F. Weidner, *Studien zur hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft I* (Leipzig 1917).

<sup>41</sup> *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, 194, n. 1. The irony of the matter is further stressed by the following comment on Weidner's "unfairness": "So ist es gewiss auch zumindest eigentümlich, wenn er [Weidner] S. 38 von dem "aus den zusammenhängenden Texten wohlbekannten Relativpronomen *ku-is* (merkwürdig an lat. *quis* anklingend)" spricht und hierbei nicht auf meine Ausführungen MDOG Nr. 56, S. 26, 29 f., die das Pronomen *kuis-quis*, *kuit-quid* usw. erst wirklich entdeckt und "wohlbekannt" gemacht haben, hinweist, sondern auf die unzulänglichen Bemerkungen Knudtzons, Arzawa-Briefe S. 51, 129 f., die überdies von den beiden indogermanistischen Mitarbeitern Knudtzons abgelehnt und zuletzt auch von diesem Forscher selbst für bedenklich erklärt worden sind."

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., Weidner, *op. cit.*, 34. "Knudtzon hat einst das Hethitische für eine indogermanische Sprache erklärt, eine Ansicht, die er selbst inzwischen wieder aufgegeben hat [with reference to Weber's remark]. Es wäre meines Erachtens ein Schade oder zum mindesten ein bedenkliches Hemmnis für die hethitologische Wissenschaft, wenn das alte Knudtzonsche Irrlicht nun zu neuem Leben erwachen sollte." Cf. also O. Schroeder, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1918, 679 ff.; C. D. Buck, *Classical Philology* 15 (1920) 184 ff., 203 f.

<sup>43</sup> *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 69 (1937) 191 f.

<sup>44</sup> Lubor Matouš, *Bedřich Hrozný. The Life and Work of a Czech Oriental Scholar* (Prague 1949) 19.

modern retrospectives Knudtzon is denied his due credit,<sup>45</sup> and the "birth hour" of Hittitology is set on Hrozný's Berlin lecture in 1915.<sup>46</sup> May this centennial of Knudtzon's *Die Zwei Arzawa-Briefe* mark a turning point in the retrospection of our discipline!

<sup>45</sup> For example, his name is not even mentioned in two recently published exhibition catalogs on the Hittite culture: *From Boğazköy to Karatepe. Hittitology and the Discovery of the Hittite World* (Istanbul 2001); *Die Hethiter und Ihr Reich* (Bonn & Stuttgart 2002).

<sup>46</sup> H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden 1999), 9. In other retrospectives Knudtzon's discovery fares better. See, e.g., H. G. Güterbock, "Resurrecting the Hittites," in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York 1995) 2766; K. K. Riemschneider, "Fünfzig Jahre Hethitologie", *Das Altertum* 12 (1966) 174-187; O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1990) 4 f.; G. Beckman, "The Hittite Language and its Decipherment", *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 31 (1996) 25 ff.



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