

The Hittite Language and its Decipherment

G A R Y B E C K M A N

University of Michigan

Bien qu'il ait été parmi les plus grandes puissances de l'âge du Bronze Récent, l'empire établi par les Hittites en Anatolie et en Syrie du nord fut rapidement oublié et même aujourd'hui les restes de l'empire hittite sont moins familiers à un public cultivé que ceux de l'Égypte, la Babylonie ou l'Assyrie. L'état hittite fut multiculturel et ses membres appartenaient à plusieurs groupes linguistiques différents. Les deux plus importantes langues indo-européennes de l'empire hittite furent le hittite et le louvite. Les savants du siècle dernier n'avaient pas anticipé la présence de langues de ce groupe au Proche-Orient ancien et ils prirent un certain temps à accepter le déchiffrement du hittite par J.A. Knudtzon en 1902. Travaillant sur deux lettres seulement contenant un texte d'à peine 63 lignes, Knudtzon identifia correctement les affinités linguistiques du hittite mais peu de contemporains en furent convaincus. Par contre, le travail du père de l'hittitologie, Friedrich Hrozný, en 1915, fut bien accueilli même s'il insistait sur le caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite. Cet accueil différent fut apparemment attribuable au fait que Hrozný et ses critiques disposaient d'un corpus de textes beaucoup plus vaste. A tout événement, la tâche à laquelle firent face les premiers savants pour essayer de lire les textes cunéiformes hittites fut plus facile que celle que durent accomplir ceux qui s'attaquèrent aux inscriptions en hiéroglyphes louvites produites par le Hatti et ses successeurs.

HATTI

Since members of the Society for Mesopotamian Studies may not be as familiar with the character and historical role of the Hittite language of early Anatolia as with the place of Akkadian and Sumerian in the ancient world, I will preface my paper with a few remarks about Hittite and its speakers. Hittite was the administrative language of the state known as Hatti, which dominated what is today central Turkey from the late seventeenth century down to the first decades of the twelfth century BCE, a period of approximately 500 years.¹ At the height of her dominion in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, Hatti expanded across the Taurus Mountains into northern Syria, an area she ruled through the agency of vassal kings. During the Late Bronze Age, Hatti was one of the great powers of the Near East. Her monarchs dealt as equals with the rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. Hittite princesses entered the harem of the Egyptian pharaoh, and the widow of Tutankhamon did not feel it beneath her dignity to ask king Šuppiluliuma of Hatti for one of his sons as her new husband.

The culture of this powerful polity was a complex amalgam of elements contributed by speakers of many different languages.² The most important language of Hatti was that known to modern scholars as Hittite,³ which was spoken by the founders of the state and always remained the primary idiom employed by the royal bureaucracy.

Hittite is today recognized as the earliest known representative of the Indo-European family of languages, the dominant linguistic group in historical Europe. Prominent among the ancient Indo-European languages are Greek, Latin, and the Sanskrit of India, while living members of the family include not only our own English and French together with their Germanic and Romance cousins, but also the Slavic languages of eastern Europe and many of the contemporary tongues of Iran and India.⁴

Besides Hittite, two other Indo-European idioms were at home in the Hittite realm. These were Palaic, which was spoken along the Black Sea coast, and Luwian, which originally established itself in southern and western Anatolia. In contrast to Palaic, which seems to have died out rather early in the history of Hatti, Luwian increased its influence over time. Some authorities even believe that during the final century of the empire Luwian enjoyed wider currency in Hatti than Hittite itself. The ancestors of the speakers of all three Indo-European languages entered Anatolia from the steppes of southern Russia sometime late in the third millennium, probably through the Caucasus.

But these immigrants did not encounter an empty landscape in Anatolia. What would later be the Hittite heartland had long been inhabited by the Hattic people, whose political and material culture was decidedly more advanced than that of the newcomers. Although subjugated by the speakers of Hittite in the first quarter of the sec-

ond millennium, this indigenous population made a significant contribution to the civilization of Hatti. Obviously, the state owes its very name to these earlier masters of Anatolia. Indigenous Anatolian elements are also evidenced by numerous loan-words of Hattic origin in Hittite.

In addition, the culture of the ruling groups of Hatti bore the imprint of the high civilization of Mesopotamia and its Syrian satellites. Most significantly, among the booty carried home by the early Hittite kings campaigning in Syria was the Mesopotamian cuneiform writing system. Since the usual method of learning cuneiform — in Mesopotamia itself as well as in peripheral regions — involved the copying of classic texts, the importation of this script to Anatolia brought with it the study of Akkadian, and to a more limited extent, of Sumerian.⁵ The scribes of the Hittite chancellery also made practical use of Akkadian in drawing up diplomatic correspondence and treaties, as well as in composing internal documents calling for particular prestige.

A final strand was added to Hittite culture by the Hurrian population long resident in Syria and northern Mesopotamia.⁶ This group, whose language is not related to Indo-European, Semitic, or Sumerian, exercised its greatest influence during the last two hundred years of Hatti, when members of a dynasty of Hurrian origin sat upon the Hittite throne.

“NEO-HITTITES”

The empire of the Hittites collapsed around 1180 BCE as a result of the tumultuous population movements which brought an end to the Late Bronze Age state system. But the glory of Hatti was to have a curious afterglow. The descendants of Hittite provincials in northern Syria maintained many of the forms of Hittite culture for almost 500 years in a loosely-organized system of a dozen or so petty states called by scholars “Neo-Hittite.” At first, the dominant language of these polities was Luwian imported from Anatolia, but this Indo-European tongue was gradually supplanted by the Semitic Phoenician and Aramaic. Many Neo-Hittite kings had records of their deeds carved in stone by means of a hieroglyphic (or pictographic) script, which had already been employed on seals and a few monuments in second-millennium Hatti. Although it resembles the script of ancient Egypt to the extent that its signs are recognizable pictures of objects, Anatolian hieroglyphic writing is of entirely independent

origin. See Fig. 1 for an example of a Neo-Hittite hieroglyphic inscription. I must stress that although texts such as this are culturally Hittite, the language in which they are composed is not Hittite but the closely-related Luwian.

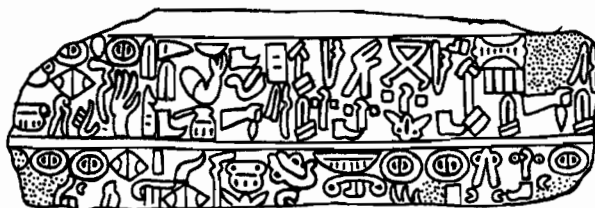


Figure 1
Fragmentary Hieroglyphic Luwian text.
[After J. D. Hawkins, “Hieroglyphic Hittite
Inscriptions of Commagene,” *Anatolian Studies*
20 (1970): 98, fig. 4.]

Their political disunity made the Neo-Hittites easy prey for the expansionist late Assyrian kings, and the last of their number were conquered by Sargon II in the decade between 717 and 708 BCE. An echo of the long Hittite presence in northern Syria, however, resonated in one of the names by which the Assyrians continued to refer to this region, namely “(Great) Hatti.”

“HITTITES” OF THE BIBLE

The Hittites of both the second and first millennia were largely forgotten by later peoples. They find no explicit mention in Classical Greek or Latin sources, although it has been suggested that the legends of the Amazons of the Anatolian interior present a garbled memory of the power of Hatti. Hittites (*bēnē ḥeṭ*) do play a minor role in the Hebrew Bible, occurring most frequently in enumerations of the peoples encountered by the Israelites upon their arrival in the Promised Land.⁷ Individuals identified as Hittites include Uriah, cuckold of Bathsheba,⁸ and Ephron of Hebron, who sells Abraham a burial plot for his wife.⁹ Chronological considerations obviously make it impossible to connect these ostensible Hittites with second-millennium Hatti. While in the Bible the term “Hittite” might refer to the people of the Neo-Hittite states, it is more likely that it is employed here in the looser Assyrian sense of “Westerner.” In any event, up until around 150 years ago most students believed that the Hittites of the Hebrew Bible were no more than a minor tribe of the Palestinian hills.¹⁰

REDISCOVERY OF THE HITTITES

The emergence of Hatti from three millennia of historical oblivion began in the late nineteenth century when Hittites turned up in the newly-deciphered Egyptian historical records as dangerous adversaries of the New Kingdom pharaohs. A connection was soon drawn between these northern enemies of the Egyptians and the Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments which European travelers had stumbled upon in Syria and Turkey. Since the greatest concentration of these inscriptions was in Syria, and since the Hebrew Bible placed its Hittites in Syro-Palestine, early researchers believed that the Hittite state had been centered in Syria, and had only secondarily expanded northward.¹¹ Although this is precisely the reverse of the actual historical development just sketched, a more accurate picture of Hatti and her people could only be drawn after her own written records had been recovered, deciphered, and interpreted.

"DECIPHERMENT"

I turn now at last to the decipherment of Hittite. The first successful modern reading of a Hittite cuneiform document was not really a decipherment in the strict sense, since the script in which the relevant texts were inscribed had long since yielded most of its secrets to scholars studying Akkadian texts. For the Hittites employed a variety of the cuneiform script which did not differ significantly from that used in contemporary Babylonia. Therefore those who first attacked Hittite texts were immediately able to assign more or less correct phonetic values to the syllabic signs.

I will illustrate this situation with a hypothetical personal parallel. The Latin script with which we represent our English and French languages graphically is also in use today for a wide variety of unrelated tongues, from Turkish to the languages of most Native American groups. If I were presented with, say, a contemporary Vietnamese text written as is now customary in the Latin script, I could make a reasonable attempt at reading it aloud. While I would undoubtedly commit some significant errors, not being familiar with the orthographic rules applicable to writing this language, or with its stress patterns, my efforts would nonetheless probably be at least marginally intelligible to a native speaker of Vietnamese, if not to me. Contrast this situation to my plight if I were faced with a Japanese text,

written in a script of which I am entirely ignorant. In this case I simply could not begin!

Similarly, the first modern scholars undertaking to read Hittite were immediately able to discern the approximate phonological repertoire of the language. From the start they could search for familiar vocabulary, as well as for patterns in word formation and grammatical usage. In their efforts they were aided by the fact that the Hittite scribes — exceptionally among their contemporaries — had left spaces between the words of their inscriptions, exactly as we do today. In any case, the ability to read cuneiform with which they began presented the pioneers in Hittite studies with an inestimable advantage, since problems of decipherment in which neither the script nor the underlying language of a body of texts is known — for example those presented by the Linear A texts of Crete or by the Indus Valley script — have generally resisted solution.

J. A. KNUDTZON

The first significant attempt to translate a Hittite text was made by the Norwegian scholar J. A. Knudtzon, who as we shall see, was not even aware that he was dealing with Hittite. Knudtzon had undertaken an edition of all pieces of the cuneiform archive uncovered at Tell El-Amarna in Egypt in the late 1880's.¹² Most of this corpus of some 400 tablets consisted of the diplomatic correspondence of pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten with their Palestinian and Syrian vassals, as well as with their equals on the international political stage. Almost all of these letters were written in Akkadian, the diplomatic language of the day, and thus posed no insuperable problems for Knudtzon. But three of them had been composed in other idioms, unintelligible to Knudtzon as well as to other scholars of the late nineteenth century.

Nonetheless, it was possible to identify the senders and recipients of these three missives, since they had been provided with the usual stereotyped Akkadian headings: "Say to so-and-so, ruler of such-and-such a place: Thus says so-and-so, ruler of some other place." Therefore it was clear that the longest of these mystery letters¹³ was from the king of the Syrian state of Mittanni to the pharaoh. The language of this record was later recognized as Hurrian, and it will not concern us further here. The longer of the remaining letters¹⁴ was addressed by Amenhotep III to Tarhuntaradu, king of Arzawa, a country

situated in southwestern Anatolia. The final piece¹⁵ was a reply to this letter by the Arzawan ruler. Although Knudtzon and his contemporaries naturally concluded that these letters had been composed in the "Arzawan" tongue, they were in fact written in Hittite.

Knudtzon dutifully undertook the study of the Arzawan documents as part of his larger project, and in 1902 he published *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe: Die ältesten Urkunden in Indo-germanischer Sprache*¹⁶ (or "The Two Arzawa-Letters: The Earliest Documents in Indo-European Language"). In addition to the formulaic headings of the letters, Knudtzon was also immediately able to discern the gist of the initial portion of the body of the larger piece, since many of the words in this section had been rendered not in Hittite, but in Sumerian or Akkadian, by means of what philologists call heterograms.¹⁷ (As a modern parallel to such heterographic writings I might mention the use of Latin abbreviations such as "etc." or "op. cit." in an English text, if they are interpreted by the reader not as Latin but as English "and so on" or "in the cited work," respectively.) Knudtzon also benefited from a comparison of this letter with other pieces of royal correspondence in the Amarna corpus written entirely in Akkadian. Following the heading, these letters often continued with a report by the sender on the prosperous state of his land and of all of his goods and subjects, followed by the wish that the recipient's land should likewise flourish.

Here is the beginning of the larger Arzawa letter:

THUS SAYS NIMUTRIYA
(Amenhotep III), GREAT KING,
KING OF EGYPT: SAY TO TAR-
HUNTARADU, KING OF THE
LAND OF ARZAWA:

<hu-u-ma-an> kat-ti=*mi* WELL-in
HOUSES=*mi* WIVES=*mi* CHIL-
DREN=*mi* NOBLEMEN-aš SOL-
DIERS=*mi* HORSES=*mi* pí-ip-pí-it=*mi*
LANDS=*mi*=kán an-da hu-u-ma-an
WELL-in

du-uq-qa kat-ta hu-u-ma-an
WELL-in e-eš-tu HOUSES=*ti*
WIVES=*ti* CHILDREN=*ti* NOBLE-
MEN-aš SOLDIERS=*ti* HORSES=*ti*
pí-ip-pí-it=*ti* LANDS=*ti* hu-u-ma-an
WELL-in e-eš-tu¹⁸

I have indicated in capitalized English those elements which Knudtzon could read with certainty. Hittite words have been presented sign-by-sign in italics. According to the considerations just out-

lined, Knudtzon surmised that the first paragraph should contain pronouns referring to the writer, and the second section pronouns appropriate to his correspondent. That is, first "my" and then "your" possessions are called for. Such pronouns are indeed to be found here, and have been rendered in bold face type: We now know that *-mi* means "to me," and *-ti* "to you" in Hittite. The similarity of these small words to the personal pronouns of the Indo-European family were obvious to Knudtzon.¹⁹

Secondly, Knudtzon expected to find a verb of wish or command — an imperative — in the second section. And behold — the cuneiform *eštu* (also indicated above in boldface) is extremely close to the Classical Greek form for "let it be!" (Εἶτω). It was primarily these features of the so-called "Arzawan" language that convinced the Norwegian that it belonged to the Indo-European family. In this conclusion he was enthusiastically supported by the Indo-European linguists — and his Oslo colleagues — Sophus Bugge and Alf Torp, who each contributed lengthy remarks to Knudtzon's book.

REJECTION

Sadly, the arguments of Knudtzon and his associates were not well received.²⁰ The only prominent linguist to declare his belief in the Indo-European character of the language of the Arzawa letters was yet another Scandinavian, Holger Pedersen.²¹ It seems that even Knudtzon himself eventually lost faith in his decipherment.²²

What accounts for such a negative reception of a view which we now know to have been correct? Reluctance to follow Knudtzon was due to both historical preconceptions and to scholarly caution: A century ago no one expected to find an Indo-European language at home in ancient western Asia, and linguists consequently demanded overwhelming proof before accepting such a notion. And in reaction to the excesses of unsystematic speculation which marked the early study of the languages of this region, most of Knudtzon's contemporaries were wary of drawing conclusions with far-reaching historical and linguistic consequences on the basis of what might very well prove to be no more than coincidental similarities in sound. It certainly did not help that the textual basis for the first attempted decipherment of Hittite was flawed: The larger Arzawa letter had been composed in Egypt by a scribe whose

knowledge of Hittite was defective,²³ and both missives were available to Knudtzon and his critics only in relatively poor copies.²⁴ In any case, a total of sixty-three lines of text was not much on which to construct a convincing analysis of the mysterious language.

HUGO WINCKLER

More material was called for, and it was soon provided. It had already been observed that fragmentary tablets discovered by a French mission of 1893-94 to Boghazköy in central Turkey were written in the same language as the Arzawa letters.²⁵ The likelihood that more texts were to be found in the extensive ruins at the site led to the dispatch of a German expedition under Hugo Winckler, which excavated there from 1906 through 1912.²⁶ Boghazköy was soon revealed as ancient Hattuša, capital of the Hittite kings. Winckler's workmen brought to light around 10,000 tablets and fragments from the royal archives, most of which were taken to Berlin for study, while the others remained in Constantinople.²⁷

Since the Hittites, like the contemporary Egyptians, had made use of Akkadian in composing diplomatic records such as treaties and international correspondence, many important texts could be read immediately upon their excavation. On the basis of these Akkadian-language documents scholars quickly reconstructed the broad outlines of Hittite history — several years before the native language of the bulk of the texts could be understood.²⁸

FRIEDRICH HROZNÝ

The interpretation of these Hittite texts and their language was initially undertaken by their excavator himself, and Winckler had reportedly made significant advances in this project before his early death in 1913. Unfortunately, he seems to have destroyed his notes on Hittite before his demise.²⁹ The task of studying the native-language texts from Boghazköy now fell to others. Among them was a Czech professor at the University of Vienna, Friedrich (Berdich) Hrozný, who traveled to Constantinople in order to study and copy tablets in the Royal Ottoman Museum. His scholarly efforts were retarded by the outbreak of the First World War when he was called to the colors of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but he had the good fortune to be spared the horrors of combat. Hrozný's sympathetic command-

ing officer allowed him ample free time to pursue his scholarly research, and he was even able to return to Turkey to consult his tablets.³⁰

Hrozný announced the results of his work in a lecture entitled "Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems" (or "The Solution of the Hittite Problem") delivered in Berlin before the German Oriental Society in October 1915.³¹ The importance which contemporaries attached to his discovery is underlined by the fact that his talk was introduced by Germany's most eminent ancient historian, Professor Eduard Meyer.³²

The scholar from Vienna reported that his study of the newly-recovered tablets vindicated the opinion of the derided pioneer Knudtzon: The language of the Hittite Empire indeed belonged to the Indo-European group! The centerpiece of Hrozný's decipherment and of the lecture he presented that October evening was a single sentence drawn, as we now know, from a collection of regulations for temple employees.³³ Fig. 2 presents a cuneiform copy of this sentence. Note first of all the helpful spaces which the ancient scribe has left between words. The second word here, marked with an asterisk, has been written as a Sumerian ideogram accompanied by a Hittite phonetic indicator. When he considered this word, the Assyriologist Hrozný immediately recognized that it must mean "bread." Then, further along in the line, he found the sequence of signs *wa-a-tar*, which is strikingly similar to English *water* and German *Wasser*. Noting that each of these nouns was followed by a word ending in the same pair of signs (*-te-ni*), a suffix which other passages suggested must mark the second person plural in verbs, it occurred to the scholar that these words ought to indicate the consumption of a foodstuff and of a liquid, respectively. The first word (*ezzateni*) called to mind Latin *edō*, German *essen*, and English *eat*. The second (*ekutteni*), which he now fully expected to mean "drink," was reminiscent of Latin *aqua*, "water." Soon Hrozný was able to translate this sentence as "Then you will eat bread and drink water," and to point to clear Indo-European etymologies for

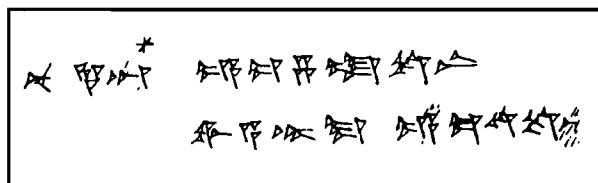


Figure 2

Cuneiform copy of key line studied by Hrozný.
[After Hans Ehelolf, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Volume 13, No. 4, column ii, line 70.]

most of its elements.

Although early in his studies of Hittite, Hrozný had himself discounted the Indo-European hypothesis — he reports that he had included only a small reference work on this linguistic group among the books he took with him to Constantinople — the Indo-European vocabulary of this sentence dissipated his scepticism. Poring over the hundreds of tablets at his disposal, Hrozný collected material for the first thorough analysis of Hittite grammar and vocabulary, an analysis which confirmed his new belief that he was dealing with an Indo-European tongue. The nuts and bolts of this decipherment, which have to do with the inflectional patterns of Hittite nouns, pronouns, and verbs, are too technical for me to rehearse here. Hrozný was only able to touch upon the high points of his research before his own Berlin audience, saving most of the details for a book published in 1917.³⁴

ACCEPTANCE

Although initial reaction to this renewed assertion of the Indo-European character of Hittite was mixed,³⁵ within a decade most authorities had come to accept Hrozný's views concerning the linguistic affiliation of the language. Why was he successful in putting this idea across when Knudtzon had been unable to prevail? It was certainly not because the Czech was a better linguist than the Norwegian. Indeed, many of Hrozný's etymological speculations were disproven quite early on, which is not surprising since he did not have the benefit of any systematic training in Indo-European linguistics. No, Hrozný fared better than Knudtzon simply because he came to the problem twenty years later. In contrast to the sixty-three lines of text available to Knudtzon, Hrozný had personal access to a large number of tablets. Perhaps even more important were the twenty or so volumes of Hittite-language documents which had been published in handcopy by the end of 1925. This significant body of texts allowed all interested researchers, including the sceptics, to test Hrozný's revived Indo-European hypothesis for themselves. With so much material to study, it became ever more difficult for naysayers to dismiss the mounting number of apparent Indo-European elements which Hrozný and others identified in Hittite as the product of mere chance or as the result of borrowing from some other genuinely Indo-European tongue. A few linguists even began to brave the "treacher-

ous difficulties" of the cuneiform writing system³⁶ in order to participate directly in Hittitological research. Ever more evidence studied by a growing number of scholars soon resulted in a clearer picture of Hittite grammar and of the place of the language within the Indo-European family. By 1930 Hittite was so well understood that many historical texts had been translated in German editions accurate enough to remain in use today.

DECIPHERMENT OF THE HIEROGLYPHS

However, a problem of decipherment still remained for students of Hittite culture. Although they had come to the attention of Orientalists well before Hittite cuneiform texts were recovered, the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions (such as that pictured in Fig. 1) held onto their secrets much longer. Already in the past century scholars began to propose interpretations of the hieroglyphs, but these efforts were halting at best and fantastic at worst.³⁷ In the 1930's the great Hrozný turned his attention to these texts, but he was unable to match his earlier success with the cuneiform records. A number of other important scholars also attempted to decipher the hieroglyphs, but progress was slow, and these authorities were seldom in agreement as to their results.

The primary difficulty confronted by would-be decipherers of the hieroglyphs was that although they could reasonably assume that Hittite or a closely-related language underlay the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the values of the signs in the script were at first completely unknown. This was more reminiscent of Grotefend's situation than of that faced by Knudtzon and Hrozný. A breakthrough came only with the discovery of a Hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician bilingual at Karatepe in southern Turkey in 1947. Comparison of the twin texts of this inscription allowed the secure assignment of phonetic values to many hieroglyphic signs. Even then, however, certain basic errors had become so entrenched among students of the hieroglyphs that it was not until the 1970's that the final, decisive steps were taken toward their decipherment.³⁸

These contrasting experiences from the history of Hittitology demonstrate the general principle that it is much easier to unlock the secrets of an unknown language written in a script which is familiar than it is to read a text whose language may be surmised but whose writing system remains unknown.

NOTES

- 1 The most recent history of the Hittites in English is J. G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*, Revised and enlarged edition (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1986). Also useful is *Biblical Archaeologist* 52, 2/3 (June/September 1989), a special issue devoted to essays on various aspects of Hittite culture.
- 2 See Emil Forrer, "Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 53 (1919): 1029-41.
- 3 The ancients themselves referred to this idiom as "Nesite," or the language of the city of Kaneš/Neša. See Hans G. Güterbock, "Toward a Definition of the Term Hittite," *Oriens* 10 (1959): 233-39.
- 4 A good introduction to the Indo-European peoples and their languages is J. P. Malloy, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989).
- 5 Gary Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 35 (1983): 97-114.
- 6 See Gernot Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989).
- 7 For example, Joshua 11.
- 8 2 Samuel 11.
- 9 Genesis 23.
- 10 On the Biblical use of the ethnic designation "Hittite," see John van Seters, "The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament," *Vetus Testamentum* 22 (1972): 64-81.
- 11 See, for example, William Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites* (New York: Scribner & Welford, 1884).
- 12 For translations of most of this material see William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
- 13 EA 24, translated by Gernot Wilhelm apud Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 63-71.
- 14 EA 31, translated by Volkert Haas apud Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 101-03.
- 15 EA 32, translated by Volkert Haas apud Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 103.
- 16 Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 17 Babylonian and Assyrian scribes frequently employed Sumerian words ("Sumerograms") in place of phonetic Akkadian spellings in their texts. Writers of Hittite took this a step further and used Akkadian spellings ("Akkadograms") as well as Sumerograms to stand for Hittite words. "Heterogram" is a cover term encompassing both Sumerograms and Akkadograms.
- 18 EA 31 = Albrecht Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* (Marburg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1930), No. 1, obv. 1-10. In light of our current knowledge of Hittite, this passage may be translated: "Thus says Amenhotep III, Great King, King of Egypt: Say to Tarhuntaradu, King of the Land of Arzawa: All is well with me. In my lands all is well for me — for my houses, wives, children, noblemen, soldiers, chariotry and . . ."
- 19 To *-mi* compare English *me* and French *moi*; to *-ti* compare English *thou* and French *toi*.
- 20 Negative reviews include those by Paul Horn, *Indogermanische Forschungen (Anzeiger)* 14 (1903): 1; and L. Messerschmidt, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1903): 80-86. Paul Kretschmer, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1903): 778-81, reserves final judgement.
- 21 "Zu den Arzawa-Briefen," *Indogermanische Forschungen (Anzeiger)* 15 (1903-04): 280-83.
- 22 See J. A. Knudtzon, O. Weber, and E. Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915), 1074-75.
- 23 The very construction with the sentence-initial dative pronouns *-mi* and *-ti* so important for Knudtzon's decipherment would not be found in a text generated by a native speaker, who would have employed the noun-enclitic genitive pronouns instead. See also Frank Starke, "Zur Deutung der Arzawa-Briefstelle VBoT 1, 25-27," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1982): 221-231, for the influence of Egyptian grammar on the Hittite of this letter.
- 24 Compare the copies of Ludwig Abel in Hugo Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1889), Nos. 10 and 238, with the later work of Albrecht Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Nos. 1 and 2.
- 25 In his review of Knudtzon's work, Messerschmidt (see above, n. 20) credits this insight to Archibald Sayce.
- 26 Winckler left a fragmentary but fascinating account of his activities which was published posthumously as *Nach Boghazköi!* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914). German archaeological work at the Hittite capital, although interrupted by the World Wars, continues to this day.
- 27 On the study of this Hittite material in Berlin, see Hans G. Güterbock, "Hans Ehelolf und das Berliner Boğazköy-Archiv," *Das Altertum* 33 (1987): 114-20.
- 28 Eduard Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Hethiter* (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1914).
- 29 See Ernst Weidner's review of Friedrich Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1920): 114-20.
- 30 An entertaining account of the Hrozný's activities is provided by C. W. Ceram, *The Secret of the Hittites* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 78-86. Hrozný himself recounts the birth of Hittitology in "Le Hittite: Histoire et progrès du déchiffrement des textes," *Archiv Orientalní* 3 (1931): 272-95.
- 31 Published shortly thereafter in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 56 (December, 1915): 17-50.
- 32 These remarks were also prefaced to Hrozný's printed report. See Eduard Meyer, "Die Entzifferung der hethitischen Sprache," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 56 (December, 1915): 5-17.
- 33 Hans Ehelolf, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Volume 13 (Berlin: Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen: 1925), No. 4, column ii, line 70.
- 34 Friedrich Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter. Ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm. Ein Entzifferungsversuch.* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1917).

- 35 While Hrozný was becoming convinced of the Indo-European nature of Hittite, his chief rival in decipherment, Ernst Weidner, had concluded that Hittite was a Caucasian language. See his *Studien zur hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1917). He was initially reluctant to abandon this opinion, as evidenced by his review of Hrozný's work cited in note 29. Also at first unconvinced were O. Schroeder, review of Hrozný's book, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1918): 679-81; and Carl D. Buck, "Hittite an Indo-European Language?," *Classical Philology* 15 (1920): 184-92, 203-04.
- 36 So characterized by one of these very Indo-Europeanists. See Ferdinand Sommer, *Hethiter und Hethitisch* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1947), 39.
- 37 See, for example, C. R. Conder, *The Hittites and their Language* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898).
- 38 See J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies, and Günter Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), for a discussion of the problem of the hieroglyphic script and the decisive contribution to its solution.