

Tavet Tat Satyam

Studies in Honor of

Jared S. Klein

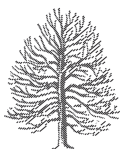
on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday

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Beech Stave Press

Ann Arbor • New York

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Typeset with \LaTeX using the Galliard typeface designed by Matthew Carter and Greek Old Face by Ralph Hancock. The typeface on the cover is Magnum by Steve Peter.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

ISBN 978-0-9895142-3-1 (alk. paper)

Printed in the United States of America

19 18 17 16 4 3 2 1

Table of Contents

TAVET TAT SATYAM



Preface	vii
Bibliography of Jared S. Klein	ix
List of Contributors	xx
Gary Beckman , Aḥḥijawa und kein Ende: The Battle over Mycenaeans in Anatolia	1
Joel P. Brereton , Word Positioning in R̥gvedic Poetry	13
Jessica DeLisi , A Second Look at First- and Second-person Deictic Suffixes in Modern Eastern Armenian	22
Joseph F. Eska , On Pragmatic Information Structuring at Séracourt à Bourges (Cher) and Related Matters	34
Bernhard Forssman , Griechisch βούλομαι ἦ und προβέβουλα	45
José Luis García Ramón , <i>Anthroponymica Mycenaea</i> 9: Compound Names in °me-de, °me-ta and Pylian me-ti-ja-no	52
José Virgilio García Trabazo , Sobre indio antiguo mygá- ‘animal salvaje’ y el texto hitita KUB 43.60+ (‘El gran camino del alma’)	65
Toshifumi Gotō , vi-leš/lis, vi-riṣ und die Verstauchung des Opfers	76
Dag Trygve Truslew Haug , PIE *k ^w i-/k ^w o-: Interrogative, Indefinite or Both?	86
Hans Henrich Hock , Pāṇini’s Language: Real or Not?	101
Stephanie W. Jamison , Inter-hymnic Rhetorical Structure in R̥V I.68–70: Parāśara Śāktya’s Vaiśvānara Cycle	113
Jay H. Jasanoff , Toch. AB ākl- ‘learn’	123
Brian D. Joseph , Balkan, Indo-European, and Universal Perspectives on ‘be’ in Albanian	130
Götz Keydana , Kausative im Frühvedischen	138
Ronald I. Kim , Studies in Armenian Historical Phonology I: Aspiration and Spirantization of PIE Voiceless Stops	151
Masato Kobayashi , The Adnominal Locative in Indo-Aryan	168

Table of Contents

Martin Joachim Kümmel , * <i>syá-</i> im Indoiranischen: Zahlwort und Demonstrativum? ..	179
Melanie Malzahn , Vedic <i>ásáni-</i> : Another Stone from Heaven?	191
H. Craig Melchert , Hittite <i>kī</i> (<i>kuít</i>) and Vedic “ <i>sá-fjge</i> ”	204
Alan J. Nussbaum , A Note on Latin Syllables and Anaptyxis	214
Norbert Oettinger , Altindisch <i>Agní-</i> ‚Feuergott‘ und hethitisch ^d <i>Agni</i> / ^d <i>Akni-</i>	228
Birgit Anette Olsen , Zarathustra and the Needle’s Eye of Etymology	236
Georges-Jean Pinault , Reflecting the Divine Mansion: Vedic <i>amāti-</i>	246
Joseph Rhyne and Andrew Miles Byrd , Stressful Conversions: Internal Derivation within the Compositional Approach	258
Elisabeth Rieken , Repetition und Variation in den hethitischen Gebeten	269
Don Ringe , The Nature of the South Greek Dialect Group	278
Caley Charles Smith , The Kaṭhapaniṣad and the Deconstruction of the Fire-Altar	284
Olga A. Thomason , Indicating Path: Evidence from New Testament Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic	294
Elizabeth Tucker , Rigvedic Root-accented Neuters in <i>-ana-</i> and Animate Forms in <i>-ana-/-anī-</i>	309
Brent Vine , Latin <i>bēs/bessis</i> ‘two-thirds of an <i>as</i> ’	324
Michael Weiss , The Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals and the Name of Cilicia in the Iron Age	331
Chlodwig H. Werba , Ur(indo)arisches im Nūristānī: Zur historischen Phonologie des Indoiranischen	341
Kazuhiko Yoshida , Hittite <i>parḫattari</i> Reconsidered	360
Index Verborum	369

Aḫḫijawa und kein Ende: The Battle over Mycenaean in Anatolia*

GARY BECKMAN



Over the past century and a half cuneiform studies have experienced a number of bitter disputes, for example, the early debate over the essential character of the Sumerian language,¹ the Peters-Hilprecht controversy concerning the alleged “temple library” uncovered at Nippur,² the schism within the Italian Ebla team brought about by differences regarding the cultural affiliations of the civilization revealed at that Syrian site,³ and the argument between the Marburg and Munich schools of Hittitology about the proper use of paleography in dating Hittite tablets.⁴ But no problem in ancient Near Eastern research has given rise to more heated and lengthier debate than has that of the identity of the country Aḫḫiya/Aḫḫiyawa mentioned in a couple of dozen texts and fragments from the archives of the Hittite Great Kings at Boğazköy/Ḫattuša.⁵

Of course, what is at issue here is whether Aḫḫiyawa should be recognized as the realm of the Homeric Achaeans, that is, as the culture and polity (or polities) now known to scholarship as Mycenaean. The identification of a number of other geographic and personal names associated with Aḫḫiyawa in the Hittite sources with places and individuals from ancient Greek tradition has also been hotly disputed. And, in a closely related matter, renewed work at the site of Hisarlık on the Dardenelles has recently sparked a resumption of the argument as to whether the archaeological remains excavated there indicate the likely historicity of the Trojan War. I do not pretend that I will put to rest any of these problems here. I wish only to recount a colorful dispute from the early years of Hittitology in the hope that my friend from student days, Jared Klein, will find it amusing.

The Aḫḫiyawa question first came to the attention of a wider public with a lecture delivered by the Assyriologist Emil Forrer to the Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft in Berlin on January 3, 1924, a presentation soon followed by papers in two scholarly journals (Forrer 1924a and 1924b). In one of these, Forrer relates the personal background to his

* A good summary of the Aḫḫiyawa question through the early 1960s is given by Steiner 1964. For further references, consult Souček and Siegelová 1996:§75.6 and the annotated bibliography in Fischer 2010.

CTH = entries in Laroche 1971; HW² = Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975–.

¹ See Budge 1925:210–2 and Jones 1969:24–47.

² See Kuklick 1996:127–40.

³ Cf. Dahood 1981:271–321 and Archi 1979.

⁴ On the one side see e.g. Otten 1969 and Carruba 1971; on the other Kammenhuber 1969.

⁵ For a list of these attestations, see del Monte and Tischler 1978:1–2. These texts have all been edited and commented upon in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011.

researches: he had begun his scholarly career with an interest in the peoples of early Europe, and had therefore greeted the discovery of the Hittite epigraphic material with great enthusiasm. When in 1917 Otto Weber, Director of the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Royal Prussian Museum, had offered him the opportunity to study the tablets and fragments from the Hittite capital Boğazköy/Hattuša belonging to the collections of that institution or on loan there from the Ottoman authorities, it was his

greatest hope that these most westerly of cuneiform texts would illuminate the ethnology of the Near East and thereby also that of Europe, building a bridge from Babylonian culture to European prehistory, the scholarly field of my father.⁶ . . . It is very doubtful whether I would have had the perseverance to read through all of these 11,000 tablets had I not been driven by the quiet hope of hearing something new about Troy and Priam.⁷

Forrer's main points concerning Ahḫiyawa may be summarized as follows:

1. There are significant phonetic correspondences between a number of Hittite and Greek proper names. Compare cuneiform Ahḫiyawa to Greek Ἀχαιῶνα (Achaeans); Ayawala to Aeolian; Lazpa to Lesbos; Taruiša to Troy; Tawagalawa to Eteokles; Antarawa to Andreus; Attariššiya to Atreus. It should be noted that Forrer did *not* equate Hittite Wiluša with Homeric (W)ilios, but rather with the obscure town of Elaiusa in Cilicia; nor did he identify Alakšandu with Alexandros.⁸ These latter claims were first made by Paul Kretschmer (1924), and by the American D. D. Luckenbill, already in 1911(!), respectively. Finally, Forrer did not connect Milawa(n)ta to Miletus⁹ or Apaša to Ephesus.¹⁰

2. Ahḫiyawa was a major power at the end of the second millennium BCE, as demonstrated by the facts that in the Hittite documents its king is once tentatively listed along with the rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria among the equals of the Hittite monarch,¹¹ and that he could be addressed by the latter as “My Brother,” that is, on terms of parity.¹²

3. As demonstrated by its recorded interactions with the Hittites, Ahḫiyawa held possessions in Anatolia—Forrer locates these in Pamphylia—as well as on the offshore islands (particularly Lesbos), but the kingdom was too important to have been restricted to such insignificant territories. On two occasions, ships or sea travel are mentioned in connection

⁶The reference here is to Robert Forrer, eminent prehistorian and founder of the Museum of Roman and Prehistoric Antiquities in Strasbourg. See Schnitzler 1999.

⁷“[W]ar es meine größte Hoffnung, daß diese am weitesten nach Westen vorgeschobenen Keilschrifttexte die Ethnologie Vorderasiens und damit auch die Europas erhellen und die Brücke bilden würden, die von der babylonischen Kultur hinüber zur Vorgeschichte Europas, dem Arbeitsgebiet meines Vaters, führt. . . . Es ist sehr zu bezweifeln, ob ich die Ausdauer gehabt hätte, alle diese 11 000 Tafeln durchzulesen, wenn mich nicht die stille Hoffnung getrieben hätte, von Troja und Priamus einmal Näheres zu hören” (Forrer 1924a:1–2). Translations throughout are my own.

⁸See Heinhold-Krahmer 2004.

⁹Rather with Milyas. The identification with Miletus goes back to Hrozný 1929:329.

¹⁰Rather with Tarsus. For the identification with Ephesus, see Garstang and Gurney 1959:88.

¹¹Treaty between Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and Šaušga-muwa of Amurru (CTH 105); see my translation, Beckman 1999:106 §11; and Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:60–1 §13' (AhT 2). The scribe of the tablet later incompletely erased the reference to Ahḫiyawa.

¹²As in the “Tawagalawa Letter” (CTH 181), edited in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:101–22 (AhT 4). On this context, see Bryce 2003:65–8.

with Aḫḫiyawa.¹³ Therefore its primary center should be sought overseas—undoubtedly in mainland Greece and on the Aegean islands.

In these first publications on Aḫḫiyawa, Forrer proceeds to elaborate a scenario linking personages and events in the history of the Hittite Empire with elements of Greek traditions concerning early times. Today, this part of his exposition detailing *l'histoire événementielle* may be dismissed in large part, since Forrer, like all scholars writing before the recognition of paleographic criteria for dating Hittite manuscripts,¹⁴ incorrectly conflated sources from the first half of the fourteenth with those of the thirteenth century.¹⁵ Furthermore, the recognition that *ayawalla-* is an adjective denoting high rank¹⁶ rather than a gentilic, “Aeolian,”¹⁷ has vitiated one of the underpinnings of Forrer’s historical reconstruction.

First reaction to Forrer’s presentation was positive,¹⁸ although it must be borne in mind that at the time of his initial claims, most of the relevant cuneiform sources remained unpublished and perhaps only Bedřich Hrozný had enjoyed comparable access to the Hittite tablets themselves. The general public was enthusiastic. The Greek philologist Paul Kretschmer (1924), although dissenting on some particulars, largely endorsed Forrer’s position. Other writers, such as Hrozný (1929), S. Przeworski (1924–5), and P. Dhorme (1924) were also in basic agreement. Forrer himself presented a more detailed discussion of his views in his self-published *Forschungen* (1926b, 1929b).

But within a short time, a negative reaction had set in. Most importantly, in his contributions to the series *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*¹⁹ Albrecht Götze made available hand copies of a good number of the Aḫḫiyawa texts, thus allowing other scholars to consult Forrer’s primary material. Prominent among the skeptics were the senior Indo-Europeanist Ferdinand Sommer, who had taught himself cuneiform in order to be able to participate in the new field of Hittitology,²⁰ and the Hittite specialists Johannes Friedrich and Götze.

Indeed, a sizable portion of the first fascicle of the new journal, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* (I/1, 1927), founded by Sommer and Hans Ehelolf, curator of the Vorderasiatische Abteilung, was devoted to the refutation of Forrer’s positions. In his contribution, Friedrich (1927) criticizes Forrer’s use of comparative linguistics, concluding,

I therefore consider Forrer’s hypothesis concerning the Greeks to be for the most part erroneous. Forrer himself provides us with the means to understand this false approach. In the introduction to his article in *MDOG* 63 (p. 2), he says that in working through the Hittite texts he “was driven by the quiet hope of hearing something new about Troy and Priam.” Thus from the beginning he began his investigation with certain preconceptions, and under the influence of

¹³Ten-Year Annals of Muršili II (*CTH* 61.I); see the translation by R. Beal in Hallo and Younger 2000:86. Treaty of Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and Šaušga-muwa of Amurru (*CTH* 105); see my translation (Beckman 1999:106 §13; and Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:62–3 §15’ [AhT 2]). I am not convinced by the efforts of Steiner (1989) to eliminate this attestation of Aḫḫiyawa.

¹⁴For a summary of this development, see Heinhold-Krahmer et al. 1979.

¹⁵See Houwink ten Cate 1970.

¹⁶Or perhaps the noun “son”: see Melchert 1980.

¹⁷*HW²* 1.48; see already Götze *apud* Friedrich 1927:98 n. 4.

¹⁸See the short note by Schachermeyr (1931) in a semi-popular periodical.

¹⁹Volumes 14 (1926), 21 (1928a), 23 (1928b), and 26 (1933).

²⁰See Kronasser 1963.

these ideas his fantasy sometimes lured him into unsustainable conclusions. And the agreement of the Hittite texts with our previous knowledge of Greek pre-history, which was seemingly so close, is to be explained by the fact that Forrer unconsciously read into the Hittite records things that we already knew.²¹

For his part, Götze presents three articles negatively assessing Forrer's reconstructions of Hittite geography (1927a) and chronology (1927b), and then, for good measure, his general philological competence (1927c). Götze ends the last piece with the remark:

This long list [of corrections], which in general only notes repeated offenses at their first occurrence, will demonstrate to everyone how careful one must be with Forrer's translations. In closing it must be stressed—which in any case cannot be made clear enough—that remarkably often Forrer misconstrues the syntactic linkage of sentences.²²

Forrer was stung by the criticism of his colleagues, and published a rejoinder, directed primarily at Friedrich, in the second fascicle of *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*.²³ Maintaining (p. 253) that the primary evidence in his original argumentation had been historical rather than philological (that is, points 2 and 3 in my précis given earlier), Forrer nonetheless goes on to defend most of the comparisons of proper names that he had adduced. He then effectively cuts the ground out from under Friedrich by demonstrating that one cannot expect regular sound laws to operate across language boundaries in the process of borrowing (pp. 268–72). Indeed, he points out that by the reasoning displayed in his critique, Friedrich would have had to reject Grotefend's original decipherment of Old Persian cuneiform, which had been based upon the recognition of the names of the Achaemenid monarchs.

A few years later, in his major contribution to the subject—the still essential *Die Abhijavā-Urkunden*²⁴—Sommer compares his own work to that of Forrer, at the same time condescending to the public that had warmly welcomed the latter's efforts:

By the very nature of things, only a few will be able to evaluate the purely Hittitological side of my investigations. How far beyond that I may be able to have any effect, time will tell. I present a straightforward interpretation of texts

²¹“Ich halte also Forrer's Griechenhypothese in der Hauptsache für einen Irrweg. Diesen Irrweg zu verstehen, gibt uns Forrer selbst die Mittel an die Hand. In der Einleitung des Artikels MDOG 63, S. 2 sagt er, bei der Durcharbeitung der hethitischen Texte habe ihn ‘die stille Hoffnung getrieben, von Troja und Priamus einmal Näheres zu hören.’ Er ist also von vornherein mit bestimmten Tendenzen an die Untersuchung gegangen, und im Banne dieser Ideen hat ihn seine Phantasie gelegentlich an unhaltbaren Folgerungen verlockt. Und die scheinbar so gute Übereinstimmung der hethitischen Texte mit unserem bisherigen Wissen von der griechischen Vorgeschichte erklärt sich so, daß Forrer unbewußt Dinge, die wir schon wußten, in die hethitischen Urkunden hineingelesen hat” (Friedrich 1927:107).

²²“Die lange Liste—die übrigens wiederkehrende Verstöße im allgemeinen nur an der jeweils ersten Stelle nennt—wird jedem zeigen, wie vorsichtig man Forrers Übersetzungen gegenüber sein muß. Zum Schlusse sei noch betont—was sonst nicht deutlich genug sein könnte—daß F. auffällig häufig die syntaktische Verbindung von Sätzen nicht richtig erfaßt” (Götze 1927c:136).

²³Forrer 1929a. Notes at the beginning of the text inform us that the manuscript had been submitted in September 1927, that is, soon after the appearance of the critical essays just discussed, and that Forrer had threatened to withdraw the piece should the editors (Sommer and Ehelolf) maintain their insistence that he abandon his particular system of transcription of Hittite vocabulary and proper names.

²⁴Sommer 1932. A new edition of this material (with some additions unavailable to Sommer) is to be found in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011; an up-to-date German-language edition is in preparation by S. Heinhold-Krahmer.

whose contents, in my opinion, are not on the whole particularly fascinating, to counter a very intriguing set of assertions directed in fact to a wider audience. Already at its initial publication this argumentation was launched in a slick and captivating form. It inevitably had a resonance, and no one not fully acquainted with the difficult and irksome methodology of Hittitology is to be blamed for embracing it. However, since in my opinion the methodological shortcomings could not be overlooked, I would have expected a rather greater reserve. Even now—and this is only human—there will be those who will find it hard to admit that they have been too quick to agree. But I indeed trust that only a few have so corrupted their stomachs on a tasty pastry that they cannot bear the dry—but I believe nevertheless carefully and well-baked—bread that I am able to offer, even if in comparison it does not taste particularly good. In the end, I will be satisfied if a thorough comparison of my edition with what has previously been offered leads to the realization that a fundamentally more complicated apparatus and a far more careful and meticulous procedure must be employed in the study of Hittite documents than has been the case in regard to the Greek question.²⁵

Of course, time would show that Emil Forrer was not the great philologist that Sommer was—few scholars were, nor was he the equal of Friedrich or Götze in this regard. And Forrer was indeed susceptible to enthusiasms that led him to stretch his evidence—witness his later writings in support of the hypothesis that there had been significant contacts between the Mediterranean and the New World in the pre-Christian era.²⁶ But Forrer nonetheless had rendered significant services to the infant science of Hittitology, such as his pioneering article on the languages of the Hittite archives (1919), and his *Boğazköi-Texten in Umschrift* (1922, 1926a), which included the first sign-list for the Boğazköy texts.

What then might account for the most uncollegial and dismissive manner in which, as we have seen, his work was evaluated? What was the root of the patronizing disparagement and sarcasm? On the basis of the extensive biographical sources presented by R. Oberheid,²⁷ we may speculate.

It seems that Hans Ehelolf may have played a crucial role in this matter. Upon his

²⁵“Die rein hethitologische Seite meiner Untersuchungen können als solche—auch hier nach Lage der Dinge—nur wenige beurteilen. Wie weit ich darüber hinaus eine Wirkung auszuüben vermag, muß die Zukunft lehren: Ich stelle die schlichte Interpretation von Texten, deren Inhalt nach meiner Meinung fürs große Ganze nicht faszinierend ist, einer hochinteressanten, wirklich auch ‘weitere Kreise’ angehenden Behauptung gegenüber, einer Behauptung, die gleich und gerade bei ihrer ersten Veröffentlichung in geschickter und bestechender Form lanciert worden ist. Sie müßte Widerhall finden, und niemand von denen verdient Tadel, die sich ihr, mit der diffizilen und unbequemen Technik der Hethitologie nicht völlig vertraut, angeschlossen haben. Nur hätte ich, da die methodischen Mängel nach meinem Dafürhalten doch nicht übersehen werden konnten, eine etwas stärkere Reserve erwartet. Es wird auch jetzt noch, und das ist menschlich, den einen oder anderen geben, der sich schwer eingestehen kann, daß er zu schnell zugestimmt hat. Aber ich vertraue denn doch darauf, daß nur die wenigsten sich an einem schmackhaften Kuchen den Magen zu stark verdorben haben, um das trockne, aber wie ich glaube immerhin leidlich durchgebackene Brot, das ich darzubieten habe, nicht mehr vertragen zu können, mag es auch hinterher nicht besonders munden. Mir soll’s schließlich genügen, wenn ein eingehender Vergleich meiner Bearbeitung mit dem bisher Gebotenen die Erkenntnis zeitigt, daß zur Erschließung hethitischer Urkunden ein wesentlich komplizierter Apparat und eine weit mühe- und liebevollere Arbeitsart aufgewandt werden müssen, als es in der Griechenfrage geschehen ist” (Sommer 1932:xi–xii).

²⁶See Groddek 2004:26–7, and Forrer’s bibliography on pp. 41–8 of the same volume.

²⁷Oberheid 2003, 2007.

demobilization in 1918, Ehelolf took up a position in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung, eventually becoming its curator in 1927. Since his own scholarly training had been primarily in Akkadian, while his duties now included caring for many Hittite tablets and fragments as well, he prevailed upon Emil Forrer to introduce him to the study of the newly recovered language.²⁸ Forrer, it will be recalled, had been actively engaged for some time with the material from Boğazköy in the Museum, for, despite having been born in Prussian-ruled Alsace, he was a Swiss citizen and therefore not subject to conscription into the German military.²⁹

Eventually Ehelolf repaid Forrer's kindness by evicting him from his work room in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung and restricting his access to the tablet holdings.³⁰ Whether resentment over Forrer's spending the war years getting the jump on potential rivals in Hittite studies while he himself was ruining his health in the Kaiser's service in the Near East³¹ was a motivating factor for Ehelolf in these actions is uncertain, but archaeologist Kurt Bittel later speculated that Ehelolf, "who did not count among the particular friends of Forrer," was instrumental in preventing the latter from being entrusted with leadership of renewed excavations at Boğazköy in the early 1930s.³²

Forrer's chief antagonist, Ferdinand Sommer, had become a close friend of Ehelolf,³³ co-authoring a volume with him³⁴ and jointly editing *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*. Perhaps this relationship motivated Sommer's attacks on Forrer. On the other hand, O. Szemerényi (2004:92) attributes Sommer's hostility to simple jealousy of the younger man. As for Götzte and Friedrich,³⁵ they will have been dependent upon Ehelolf's goodwill in facilitating their study of the materials in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung.

Be that as it may, the severity of this published criticism, particularly by the influential Sommer, as well as effective behind-the-scenes politicking by Ehelolf, essentially blocked Forrer's advancement within the German academy.³⁶ After World War II, having failed in his efforts to insinuate himself once more in the Berlin Museums,³⁷ he emigrated to Central America, where he pursued pre-Columbian archaeology, wrote for the local press, and served as an advisor to the Foreign Ministry of El Salvador. He died in San Salvador on January 10, 1986.³⁸ Looking back over Forrer's career, H. G. Güterbock concludes, "[T]here is no doubt that the criticism of his Ahhiyawa theory went too far. Even though his unyielding insistence provoked even more criticism, he did not deserve such harsh treatment" (2004:105).

Lest we be tempted to attribute all virtue in this dispute to one side, and all unpleasantness to the other, I should mention that there is evidence that an unsolicited evaluation of

²⁸On Ehelolf, see Güterbock 1987, 2004.

²⁹His service during the Great War consisted of a brief stint in the Swiss Border Police.

³⁰See Oberheid 2007:87–9.

³¹See Falkenstein 1940:2.

³²Bittel 1998:205.

³³See the dedication to Sommer 1932 and also p. xii of that work.

³⁴Sommer and Ehelolf 1924.

³⁵Cf. Oberheid 2007:137–42.

³⁶Szemerényi 2004:90–3.

³⁷In her diary, his wife Dorothea records that other members of the Museum staff had threatened to resign should he be appointed (Oberheid 2007:309).

³⁸See Groddek 2004:26–32.

Ehelolf that Forrer submitted to the leader of the Berlin chapter of the Nazionalsozialistisches Dozentenbund was instrumental in the failure of Ehelolf to win appointment to the professorship of Assyriology in Berlin in 1939.³⁹

Besides Forrer, in the 1920s and 1930s the most prominent German proponent of the identification of Aḫḫiyawa with the Mycenaean Greeks was Paul Kretschmer (1924, 1933, 1935). His opinions also drew the critical attention of Sommer, who dedicated a book (1934) and a long article (1937) to their refutation. However, in sharp contrast to his attitude toward Forrer, Sommer was careful to express his respect for Kretschmer's achievements in areas outside of what he called the "silly Greek hypothesis (leichtsinnige Griechenhypothese)."⁴⁰

The early debate over Aḫḫiyawa had a differential effect upon wider scholarly opinion. In general, through the 1960s authors writing in German were skeptical about equating Aḫḫiyawa with the Mycenaean, while their Anglophone colleagues tended to take the identity of the two terms for granted.⁴¹ Perhaps this intellectual isogloss can be attributed to attitudes toward the person as well as the work of Ferdinand Sommer: German scholars could well have been swayed by his acknowledged *gravitas*, while foreigners may indeed have found his German style difficult to penetrate. As a student I certainly found it so.

The 1980s witnessed a renewed interest in the Aḫḫiyawa question, with two major conferences dedicated to the matter—held at Liverpool in 1981⁴² and at Bryn Mawr in 1984.⁴³ Since then, the new excavations at Troy undertaken by the Tübingen–Cincinnati team have given rise to their own controversy, whose protagonists have been the late Manfred Korfmann, head of the excavation team,⁴⁴ on the one side, and Frank Kolb,⁴⁵ an ancient historian teaching at the same institution, on the other. Although this dispute, which has been in some ways as unseemly⁴⁷ as the earlier dustup involving Forrer and Sommer, has implications for the Aḫḫiyawa question, its primary focus is archaeological and need not distract us here.

How does the Aḫḫiyawa question look now after three-quarters of a century have passed? It seems to me that many of the contributions I have touched upon earlier approached the problem on the wrong level, namely that of linguistics, in particular by trying to justify—or to disprove—the equivalence of proper nouns attested in cuneiform Hittite on the one hand, and in the Greek language and script on the other. This is precisely the methodology recently employed by I. Hajnal (2003), and he has predictably reached an uncertain conclusion.

³⁹The text of this unpleasant document, which the Swiss citizen Forrer concluded with "Heil Hitler!" is reproduced in Oberheid 2007:239–45.

⁴⁰Sommer 1934:5; 1937:169.

⁴¹So Goetze 1957:183; and Schmökel 1957:131 n. 2; but cf. Schachermeyr 1935 and 1944:75–6.

⁴²E.g., Gurney 1954:46–58; Huxley 1960; Page 1959:1–40. French scholars also tended to accept the equation; see Dussaud 1953:74–6.

⁴³Proceedings: Fox and Davies 1984.

⁴⁴Proceedings: Mellink 1986.

⁴⁵The discussion came about in the wake of an exhibit of antiquities recovered at Hisarlık; see the catalogue, Theune-Großkopf et al. 2001. The "official" viewpoint is presented, for example, by Easton et al. (2002) and Jablonka and Rose (2004). See also the Projekt Troia website (<http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/deu/>) and Latacz 2004.

⁴⁶See Kolb 2004, 2010, and Hertel and Kolb 2003.

⁴⁷See the charge of academic malfeasance leveled by F. Kolb against M. Korfmann (Kolb 2003:135).

But we are dealing here with an historical investigation, and we should rather address it as historians, not as linguists. After all, Forrer pointed out long ago that it is unrealistic to expect or demand that regular sound correspondences or sound laws prevail when words pass from one language into another. The well-known constraints that the syllabic cuneiform writing system imposes on the representation of phonological realities must also be recognized.

Archaeological evidence has continued to accumulate for the presence of Mycenaean settlements on the mainland of western Anatolia, as well as for (perhaps indirect) trading relations between Mycenaeans and Hatti. Material, albeit scanty, has been recovered at the Hittite capital⁴⁸ and in the provincial centers of Maşat Höyük/Tapikka⁴⁹ and Kuşaklı/Şarişša.⁵⁰

In his 1984 review of the Aḫḫiyawa question, H. G. Güterbock made what in retrospect seems the obvious point that the Hittites must have known of the presence of the Mycenaeans to their west, and furthermore he asked: If the Mycenaeans did *not* constitute Aḫḫiyawa, then how *were* they designated in the Hittite texts? Conversely, if the land of Aḫḫiyawa did *not* correspond to the realm of the Mycenaeans, then just what *other* (quasi-)great power might this term have indicated?⁵¹ Most students of the ancient Near East have now recognized the wisdom of this approach,⁵² although Ahmet Ünal (1991) continues to disagree, while Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer (2003a, 2003b) maintains her usual cautious skepticism.

In sum, it seems to me that Emil Forrer was basically correct about Aḫḫiyawa after all, even if he was mistaken on numerous philological and historical details, while the more erudite, meticulous, and cautious Ferdinand Sommer erred in his conclusions regarding the historical identity and role of Aḫḫiyawa. I believe that he could not see the forest for the trees. Nevertheless, Sommer's *Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden* remains a monument in Hittological studies, while I doubt that few other than myself have recently consulted Forrer's *Forschungen*.

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⁴⁸Genz 2004:77–84 (LH IIIA2–LH 3B).

⁴⁹Özgüç 1978:66 and Tf. D, 83–84 (LH IIIA2).

⁵⁰Müller-Karpe et al. 2004:55–7 with Abb. 13 (LH IIIA2).

⁵¹Güterbock 1986.

⁵²See most recently Taracha 2006 and de Martino 2011.

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