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## THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN ḪATTUŠILI, KING OF THE HITTITES, AND THE PHARAOH RAMESES II OF EGYPT

BY PROFESSOR S. LANGDON, M.A., AND ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

THE publication in Germany, during the war, of the Hittite archives discovered at Boghazköi by Hugo Winckler makes it at last possible to compare in detail the hieroglyphic and cuneiform versions of the famous treaty concluded by the Hittite king Ḫattušili with Ramesses II of Egypt. Archaeology has no more romantic coincidence to show than the recovery in the heart of Asia Minor, a thousand miles away across the Mediterranean, of those two clay tablets reproducing in Babylonian language and writing the self-same treaty that Ramesses II had commemorated upon hieroglyphic stelae in his Theban temples. The full details of the story are doubtless unknown to many readers of the *Journal*; we may therefore be permitted to narrate them briefly by way of preface to our more technical investigations.

In the course of the expedition to Egypt, wherein Champollion sought to turn to practical account his decipherment of the hieroglyphs, his attention was especially attracted to the sculptures and inscriptions recording the wars between Ramesses II and a people whose name he read as Schéto. The sequel to those wars was a treaty of alliance of which the full terms were set forth in a hieroglyphic version upon great stelae in the temples of Karnak and the Ramesseum respectively. Champollion copied both the more complete example at Karnak and the fragmentary one in the Ramesseum, but his tentative rendering of some lines in the *Notices Descriptives*<sup>1</sup>, as well as a reference in his published letters<sup>2</sup>, shows that he did not yet divine the exact purport. This was, however, quite clearly recognized by his pupil Rosellini, the first scholar to attempt a complete translation<sup>3</sup>. Since those early days many translations and editions of the text have seen the light, but it must be confessed with some shame that Egyptologists have not yet provided themselves with quite definitive copies of this all-important historical document. The best edition available is one published by the late W. Max Müller in 1902<sup>4</sup>, and it would be doing him an injustice to suggest that there is very much amiss with it; but a collation made by Professor Sethe, which, thanks to his kindness, we have been permitted to use for the present article (see Pl. XVIII), shows that in points of detail Max Müller's copy left a good deal to be desired; and a comparison of the first lines with the photograph of Béato pointed to the same conclusion. When will our scholars realize that the accurate copying of the monuments above ground is a task of far greater urgency than the exploitation of new sites?

Champollion was inclined to equate the people whose name he read as Schéto with

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, pp. 195 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres écrites de l'Égypte*, p. 426.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenti Storici*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 268-282.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II und des Chetiterkönigs* in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, 5. W. Peiser, Berlin. A valuable translation, with good bibliography, is given in BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, Vol. III, §§ 367-391. For a bibliography of previous translations, see MASPERO, *Histoire Ancienne*, Vol. II, p. 401, n. 2.

the Scythians, and it was not until 1858 that their identity with the Hittites of the Old Testament was conjectured by Brugsch, almost simultaneously with De Rougé and Bunsen<sup>1</sup>. What at first was a mere guess has been gradually converted into a certainty. Little by little the monuments of the Hittites themselves have come to light both in Northern Syria and in Asia Minor; the El-Amarna letters have revealed the existence of a great Hittite kingdom whose warlike rulers were pressing southward towards Phoenicia and Palestine in the times of Amenophis III and his successor; and finally, in 1906, Hugo Winckler discovered the capital of the Hittites themselves, the extensive city of Ḫatti, in the great fortified ruins of Boghazköi within the circuit of the Halys<sup>2</sup>. Here, in the magazines of the largest palace, as well as at another spot, were unearthed a vast number of clay tablets that proved to be nothing more or less than the archives of the Hittite Foreign Office. All the tablets were written in cuneiform characters, but in many the language was that actually spoken by the Hittites. The diplomatic idiom of those times was, however, Babylonian, just as French is with ourselves, and in consequence the correspondence and treaties with the rulers of surrounding countries were couched in that tongue. The duplicate of the treaty with Ramesses II was recognized as such by Winckler himself<sup>3</sup>, but it was not until 1916, ten years later, that the full text was published<sup>4</sup>. Fragments of two copies were recovered; they are written in the Canaanitic dialect of Babylonian, and though there are divergences from the hieroglyphic version that will have to be considered hereafter, a cursory examination reveals the fact that in many paragraphs at least the Boghazköi tablets represent the actual original text from which the Egyptian version was translated. It had long been recognized that the phraseology of the hieroglyphic version was non-Egyptian, and the newly discovered tablets, no less than the other treaties and similar documents found at Boghazköi, now prove beyond a doubt that it was purely Babylonian. Unhappily, both the tablets from Boghazköi are incomplete: the larger fragment, no. 7 in the publication, carries forty-three well-preserved lines containing about half the treaty; no. 25 furnishes only the beginnings of the first twelve lines. The first critical edition of the Boghazköi version was given by Bruno Meissner, in a paper printed in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy<sup>5</sup>; in that paper, which has been used for the present article with much profit, a full transcription and translation were provided, together with valuable comments and comparisons with the Egyptian counterpart. In a later work<sup>6</sup> containing a *résumé* of the historical data obtainable from the Semitic texts of Boghazköi, Meissner repeats his translation of the treaty, placing the corresponding paragraphs of the Egyptian version in a parallel column; the translation of the hieroglyphic text used by Meissner is that of Breasted. A new rendering of the Egyptian text is similarly printed opposite a rendering of the cuneiform tablets in a recent well-written pamphlet by Roeder<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, Vol. II, pp. 20 foll. with a translation of the treaty.

<sup>2</sup> For the gradual emergence of the Hittites into the light of history see the account in E. MEYER, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, pp. 127 foll.

<sup>3</sup> See *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. IX (1906), col. 629; and further, *Mitteilungen von der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, No. 35, December 1907.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. FIGULLA and E. F. WEIDNER, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Part 1, Leipzig, 1916 (henceforth quoted as *KTB*).

<sup>5</sup> *Der Staatsvertrag Ramses' II. von Ägypten und Ḫattušils von Ḫatti in akkadischer Fassung*, in *Sitzb. d. kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, no. xx, April 1917.

<sup>6</sup> *Zur Geschichte des Chattireiches nach neuerschlossenen Urkunden des Chattischen Staatsarchivs*, G. P. Aderholz, Breslau, 1917.

<sup>7</sup> G. ROEDER, *Ägypter und Hethiter in Der Alte Orient*, Leipzig, 1919.

1. 2. sn. — hbw-sd 3. Illegible; end

4. Nothing visible after dbh. — end 5. -sb. 6. <sup>sic</sup>

7. 8. ptri; so too ll. 9, 11. — p<sub>2</sub> 9. ptri clear.

10. ; read A.H.G. — 'hmss?'; S. 11.

; 'read 's 12. — i.e. m [=] n<sub>3</sub>. — n<sub>3</sub> hrdw

13. After the lacuna ; 'n<sub>3</sub>'; S. — <sup>sic</sup> 15. After the lacuna ; ? S. — <sup>sic</sup>

hdw without 9 — 17.

? restore A.H.G. —

? restore by hwy, A.H.G. 18. 19. i.e. nt-htri.

20. ; 'hardly room for =>', S. — Remssw —

— end of line 21. —

read m ht. — 22. After the lacuna

24. dit in tw n p<sub>2</sub> wr — 25. mdt n p<sub>2</sub>

i.e. 26. i.e. m ss. — mtrw 9 27. n

Ht<sub>3</sub>. — d in dmi has the ordinary form — -p-i-r-n- — <sup>sic</sup> 28

— — the preceding place-name is

29. — — — p<sub>2</sub> ntr <sup>sic</sup> — p<sub>2</sub> ntr

— n<sub>3</sub> ntrw — — 30. — 31. n Ht<sub>3</sub> —

32. mtrw — — end 33. beginning i.e.

— n added later. 34. 35. 36. — [p<sub>2</sub> wr]

37. —

; 'probable', S. — inhwr 38. —

THE PEACE-TREATY BETWEEN HATTUŠILI AND RAMESSES II  
 Collation, by Professor Kurt Sethe, of the Karnak text as published by W. Max Müller

In the present article Professor Langdon offers a new transcription and translation of the Boghazköi tablets, making abundant use of the other texts from Boghazköi for restoring defective passages and for commentating those parts of the treaty that are preserved in the hieroglyphic version alone. For the new rendering of the Egyptian text and for the form in which the two renderings are presented Dr Gardiner has assumed the responsibility. The comments are our joint work; but the chronological and historical conclusions in the last section (IV) are due to Professor Langdon alone.

## I. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE HITTITE-BABYLONIAN VERSION.

## § 1.

1. [*um-ma Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i*] <sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-na šarru rabû šar* [<sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i karradu*]
2. [*ka-du Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li*]<sup>1</sup> *šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti aḫi-šu a-na*<sup>2</sup> *na-ta-ni sa-la-*[*ma damka*]
3. [*aḫûtam*]<sup>3</sup> *damikta* *ù a-na ša-ba-ti šarru-]ut-ti rabûti*<sup>4</sup> *i-na be-ri-šu-nu a-di ni-[i-nu-ú-ma*<sup>5</sup> *a]-di d[a ?-a-ri-ti]*<sup>6</sup>
4. [*rik-za ir-]ku-us*<sup>7</sup> [*Ri*<sup>8</sup>-*a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i*] <sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-na šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i karradu i-na gab-bi mātāti mār-]šu ša*
5. [*Mi-in-*]<sup>9</sup>*mu-a-ri-a šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i karradi-i mār māri-šu ša Mi-in-pa-ḫi-ri-ta-ri-a šarri rabû*
6. [*šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i karradi a-na Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti karradi mār Mur- ši-li šarri rabû*
7. [*šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti*]<sup>10</sup> *karradi mār māri-šu ša Šu-ub-bi-lu-li-ú-ma šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti karradi a-mur a-nu-ma at-ta-din*
8. [*aḫu-ut-ta*]<sup>11</sup> *damik]ta sa-la-ma damka i-na be-ri-in-ni a-di da-ri-ti a-na na-du-ni sa-la-ma damka aḫ-ḫu-ta damikta*
9. [*i-na*]<sup>12</sup> *rik-si*] <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i ka-du* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti a-di da-a-ri-ti ki-a-am*

## § 2.

10. [*ù*]<sup>13</sup> *ša šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti ul-du ta-ri-ti ilim*<sup>14</sup> *u-ul i-na-an-din a-na e-bi-ši*<sup>15</sup> *nakrûta*<sup>16</sup> *i-na be-ri-šu-nu*
11. [*i-na rik-si a-]di da-a-ri-ti. a-mur Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* <sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-na šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i*<sup>17</sup> *a-na e-bi-ši te-ma*
12. [*ša* <sup>iu</sup>*Šamaš* *ù*]<sup>18</sup> <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub i-pu-šu a-na* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i ka-du* <sup>mat</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti i-na te-mi-šu*<sup>18</sup> *ša ul-tu da-ri-ti*
13. *lim-niš (?) [ul i-na-ki-]ir a-na e-bi-ši nukurta*<sup>16</sup> *i-na be-[ri-šu-nu a-]na ša-a-di ù a-du ku-ul.*

<sup>1</sup> Restored from 25, 2.<sup>2</sup> Here begins 25, 3.<sup>3</sup> Restored from l. 8 and Eg. l. 7.<sup>4</sup> Doubtful; restored from *KTB*, I, 6, 11.<sup>5</sup> Restored from KNUDZON, *El-Amarna*, 29, 132.<sup>6</sup> Cf. l. 11 and Eg. l. 7.<sup>7</sup> These are the traces on the tablet. The following break is not long enough to carry the name and title of the king, but the editors may have minimized it in their copy.<sup>8</sup> Var. 25, 4 *Za-ri*!<sup>9</sup> So 25, 5.<sup>10</sup> 25, 7.<sup>11</sup> 25, 8.<sup>12</sup> 25, 9. Meissner retores *ina te-mi* 'by agreement.'<sup>13</sup> *ù* probably stood at the end of 25, 9.<sup>14</sup> *AN-lim*. Eg. l. 7 'the god.'<sup>15</sup> 25, 11.<sup>16</sup> Written *GALU-KÛR*<sup>17</sup> 25, 12.<sup>18</sup> 25, 13.



## § 3.

14. *Ri*[*a-ma-še-ša*] *ma-a-i* <sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-na šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i i-te-pu-uš i-na ri-ki-il-ti*<sup>1</sup>  
*eli tup-pi ša kaspi*
15. *ka-du* [*Ha-at-tu-ši-li*] *šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti aḥi-š[u a-di ū-]mi*<sup>2</sup> *an-ni-i a-na*  
*na-da-ni zu-lum-ma-a damkaḥ-hu-ta damikta*
16. *i-na* [*be-ri-ni a-na*] *da-ri-ti* *ù aḥ-hu-ú it-[ti-ia sa-lim it-ti-]ia*<sup>3</sup> *ù aḥ-a-ku it-ti-šu* *ù*  
*sal-ma-a-ku it-ti-šu*
17. *a-di da-[a-ri-ti* *ù ni-]i-nu ni-in-ip-pu-uš aḥu-[ut-ta-ni sa-la-]ma-a-ni u damikta eli*  
*aḥ-ū-ti* *ù sa-la-mi ša pa-na nu*
18. *ša* <sup>mat</sup>*M[i-iš-ri-i* *ù]* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti a-mur Ri-i-a-ma-še-ša šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i*  
*i-na sa-la-mi damki i-na aḥ-ū-ti damikti*
19. *it-ti* [*Ha-at-tu-ši-li*] *šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti. a-mur mārē Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i*  
<sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-na šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i*
20. *sal-mu aḥ-[ḥu-u it-ti] mārē ša Ha-at-tu-ši-li šarri rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti a-di da-ri-ti* *ù*  
*šu-nu a-ki-i te-mi-ni*
21. *ša aḥ-ū-ut-[ti-ni* *ù sa-]la-am-ni* *ù* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-[iš-ri-i]* *ka-du* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti* *ù sa-al-mu aḥḥ-ū*  
*ki-i ni-i-nu a-di da-ri-ti.*

## § 4.

22. *ù Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* <sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-na šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i la-a ú-ḫār-ra*  
<sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti a-na la-ki-e mi-im-ma*
23. *ina libbi-šu* [*a-na da-ra-]a-ti* *ù Ha-at-tu-ši-li šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti la-a ú-ḫār-ra*  
*a-na* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i*
24. *a-na la-ki-i mi-im-ma i-na libbi-šu* [*a-na da-ra-a-ti*].

## § 5.

- [*a*]-*mur par-su ša da-a-ri-ti ša* <sup>iu</sup>*Šamšu* *ù* <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub i-pu-šu*
25. *a-na* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i ka-du* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti* [*a-na e-bi-ši sa-la-ma*] *ù aḥu-ut-ta a-na la-a*  
*na-da-a-ni nakrūta i-na be-ri-šu-nu*
26. *ù a-mur Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* <sup>iu</sup>*A-[ma-na šarru rabû]* *šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i iš-ša-bat-šu*  
*a-na e-bi-ši šu-ul-mi a-di ū-mi an-ni-i*
27. *a-mur* <sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-[ri-i]* *ka-du* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti* [*sa-al-mu*<sup>4</sup> *ù aḥ-]ḥu-ú a-di da-ri-ti*

## § 6.

- ù šum-ma* <sup>amel</sup>*nakru ša-nu-u*
28. *il-la-ka*<sup>5</sup> [*a-na* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti* *ù Ha-at-tu-ši-li*] [*šarru rabû šar* <sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-]ti* *i-šap-par*  
*a-na a-ia-ši um-ma-a al-ka a-na a-ia-ši*
29. *a-na ri-zu-ti-[ia]* *a-na ša-a-šu* *ù Ri-[a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* <sup>iu</sup>*A-ma-]na šarru rabû šar*  
<sup>mat</sup>*Mi-iš-ri-i*
30. *i-šap-par šābē-šu narkabāti-šu* *ù i-da-ak-ku* [<sup>amel</sup>*nakra-šu* *ù ti-]il-la-[ta]*<sup>6</sup> *u-ta-ar a-na*  
<sup>mat</sup>*Ha-at-ti*

<sup>1</sup> 25, 15.<sup>2</sup> Restored from l. 26 and Eg. l. 9.<sup>3</sup> Restored from Eg. l. 10. The cuneiform text appears to be inaccurate; cf. *KTB*, p. 17, 6.<sup>4</sup> Meissner restores *iš-ša-ab-ba-at* (?) *aḥ-ḥu(?)*-*zu*.<sup>5</sup> Cf. *KTB*, I, p. 18, 48 <sup>amel</sup>*nakru ša-nu-ú i-tab-bi*.<sup>6</sup> Uncertain. For *tillatu*, help, support, see *KTB*, I, 25, 44 *ti-il-la-tam irriš*, he shall ask for help. See also KNUDTZON, *El-Amarna*, 71, 21-2, *dannat tillat-šu*, mighty is his strength. A variant is *télātu*, *tillātu*; *a-na te-el-ú-ti-šu*, for his help, *KTB*, I, 16, 9, *a-na ti-il-lu-ti-ia*, I, 25, 66. The word is philologically identical with *illatu*, strength, and has the same ideogram. Note *KTB*, I, 17, 21 *ana ILLAD-ti-šu*. See now EBELING, *Religiose Texte aus Assur*, p. 333, *til-lat*=*puḥru*, totality.

§ 7.

31. *ù šum-ma Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li šarru rabû šar matḪa-at-ti [ir-da-ub<sup>1</sup> ana] eli ardé-šu at-tu-šu [ù šu-nu ih-]ta-tu-ú a-na eli-šu<sup>2</sup>*  
 32. *ù ta-šap-par a-na Ri-a-ma-še-ša šarri rabû šar mat[Mi-iš-ri-i] eli-šu a-[di]<sup>3</sup> Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i<sup>iu</sup> A-ma-na*  
 33. *šábé-šu narkabāti-šu i-šap-par [ù] ú-ḫal-la-ku gab-bi-i-[šu-nu ša] a-na eli-šu-nu [tar-da-bu]<sup>4</sup>*

§ 8.

- [*ù šum-ma*] *amelnakru ša-nu-u il-la-ka*  
 34. *a-na matMi-iš-ri-i ù Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i<sup>iu</sup> A-ma-na [šar] matMi-iš-ri-i aḫl-k[a i-šap-par] a-na Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li*  
 35. *šar matḪa-at-ti aḫl-šu um-[ma-a al-]ka a-na ri-zu-ti-ia a-na e-li-šu a-di Ḫa-[at-tu-ši-li] šar matḪa-at-ti*  
 36. *i-šap-par šábé-šu [narkabāti-]šu ú-[da-a-]ak<sup>amel</sup> nakri-ia*

§ 9.

- ù šum-ma Ri-a-ma-še-ša [šarru rabû šar] matMi-iš-ri-i*  
 37. *ir-da-ub a-na eli ardé at-tu-šu ù šu-nu i-te-ip-šu ḫe-ta a-na eli-[šu ù a-šap-par]*  
 38. *a-na Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li šar matḪa-at-ti aḫl-ia eli-[šu] ù Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li [šarru rabû šar matMi-iš-ri-i]*  
 39. *i-šap-par šábé-šu narkabāti-šu ù ú-ḫal-la-ku gab-bi-[i-šu-nu] ù (?) ana-ku<sup>5</sup> a-ra .....*

§ 10.

40. *ù a-mur mar-šu [ša] Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li šar matḪa-at-ti [ri-ki-il-ta (?) ša<sup>?</sup> ni<sup>?</sup>] ip-pu-šu<sup>6</sup>.....*  
 41. *[i-]na<sup>7</sup> aš-ri Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li a-bi-šu ar-ki šanāti.....*  
 42. *.....ša matḪa-at-ti i-te-ip-šu ḫe-ta (?) .....*  
 43. *.....narkabāti a-na<sup>8</sup> u-ta-a-ar di ..... 44..... i-na<sup>mat</sup>.....*

II. COMPARISON OF THE HITTITE-BABYLONIAN AND THE EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

Before embarking upon the translation of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic examples of the treaty, we must devote some words both to the form in which the names of gods, kings and countries are rendered in the original texts and to the equivalents adopted for these in our English versions. So far as the hieroglyphic writings of foreign names are

<sup>1</sup> Restored from l. 37, and on *ra'abu* see Meissner's note, p. 292. <sup>2</sup> Restored from Eg. l. 19.

<sup>3</sup> So also Meissner restores from l. 35. This meaning of *adi* cannot be substantiated from parallel texts and may be an abbreviation for *adi surri*, cf. MEEK in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. x, No. 76, 28.


<sup>4</sup> In the text as published there is hardly room for this restoration. Meissner's restoration *gab-bi* [*amelnakra*] *a-na mu[k]ḫi-šu-nu* is unintelligible.

<sup>5</sup> Uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Or restore [*a-na sarrū-tim i-]kab-bu-su*. Winckler may have misread *kab* as *ib*.

<sup>7</sup> After Meissner.

<sup>8</sup> *a-na*, 'where?' see *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, Vol. 29, p. 205.

concerned, it is now recognized that the so-called syllabic writing employed for this purpose was not truly syllabic at all, and that for such a geographical name as , which Max Müller transcribed *Hî-sa-sa-pa*, all that we are strictly justified in giving is the consonantal framework  $\text{H-s-s-p}^1$ . Now in many cases it has proved possible, on the strength of the Boghazköi evidence, to identify such place-names, so that nothing prevents us from inserting in our translation of the Egyptian text the fully vocalized original pronunciations. By way of precaution, however, we shall add the hieroglyphic consonantal counterpart in round brackets; thus the place-name that we have quoted as an example will appear as *Hîššašhapa* ( $\text{H-s-s-p}$ ). For those who are not orientalists it should be noted that the symbol  $\text{H}$  represents a strongly aspirated *h* and that *š* is to be pronounced *sh*.

To avoid repetition of the Egyptian consonantal equivalents it will be well to state here the form in which the hieroglyphs render the names of the land of Hatti and of its rulers. For Hatti the Egyptian writes  $\text{Ht}$ , purely consonantally. There is no more justification for the pronunciation Kheta adopted by the older school of Egyptologists than there is for Khetasar, Merasar, Metella and Seplél respectively. These names should henceforth disappear from the history books; the Egyptian hieroglyphs give no more than the consonants  $\text{Ht-s-r}$ ,  $\text{M-r-s-r}$ ,  $\text{M-t-nr}$  and  $\text{S-p-r-r}$  and provide no warrant for any vowels in which we may choose to clothe those inarticulate skeletons. The Hittites themselves doubtless pronounced the names of their kings somewhat otherwise than did the Egyptians—there are certain variations even in the consonants, Babylonian *š* corresponding to Egyptian *s*, and so forth. Nevertheless, we are not in a position to furnish the precise Egyptian equivalents of the Hittite names, and so we had best fall back on the native originals. Hence, in our translations both of the Boghazköi tablets and of the Theban stelae, we shall render uniformly Hattušili, Muršili, Muwattalli, Šubbiluliuma.

We are more embarrassed to know how to deal with the Egyptian royal names. The cuneiform tablets, in writing the *prenomen* and *nomen* of Ramesses II as Wašmuaria-šatepnaria<sup>2</sup> and Riamāšeša-mai-Amana respectively, set a standard of excellence (*mutatis mutandis*, as *š* into *s*, see above) which we cannot maintain elsewhere in transcribing Pharaonic names. Here we are usually content with the sort of pronunciation that was current in Greek times, the sort of pronunciation that Manetho used. For this reason we will adhere, in translating the Karnak text, to our conventional transcriptions Usimaṛēṣetpenrēṣ (cf. Gk. *Ὀυσιμαρῆς*) and Raṣmesse-mi-Amūn (cf. Gk. *Ῥαμεσσῆς Μιαμουν*), while preserving the richer flavoured pronunciations in our versions of the Boghazköi texts. These latter give the equivalents Minmuaria for Menmaṛēṣ Sethos I, Minpaḥiritaria (*sic*) for Menpeḥtirēṣ Ramesses I, and—in a letter, not in the treaty<sup>3</sup>—Naptera for Nefreteri, the consort of Ramesses II. It may here be noted that the hieroglyphic copies of the treaty fairly consistently alternate the *prenomen* and *nomen* of Ramesses II throughout the text, a common stylistic device at this period; the cuneiform tablets are content with the *nomen* alone. The cuneiform tablets make no distinction of title between the kings of Egypt and Hatti-land; they are *šarru rabū šar mat Mi-iš-ri-i* ‘great king, king of Mišr (Egypt)’ and

<sup>1</sup> For a careful investigation of the problem here adumbrated see the book by M. BURCHARDT, *Die Altkananäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*. Leipzig, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 203; not in the treaty itself. The *prenomen* signified ‘Power-is-the-truth-of-Rēṣ’ and the *nomen* ‘Rēṣ-gave-birth-to-him-beloved-of-(the god)-Amūn.’

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 204, end.



*šarru rabû šar matḪa-at-ti* 'great king, king of Ḫatti,' as the case may be; whereas the hieroglyphic copies have, in the one case 'the great ruler ( $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}\right)$ ) of Egypt' and, in the other, 'the great chief ( $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}\right)$ ) of Ḫatti,' with the less honorific term always applied to the Syrian and other foreign princelings.

As regards divine names, both the Hittite and the Egyptian versions exemplify the practice, almost universal in antiquity, of translating these into the indigenous equivalents. In our renderings we have perforce followed suit; the Egyptian sun-god, *Prē*, 'the Rē', 'the sun' appears in the Boghazköi texts as *Šamaš*, the Semitic name of the sun-god; the Hittite god of thunder, *Tešub*, is represented at Thebes by *Sētekh*, the stranger-god *par excellence*, an equivalence which, from the Egyptian point of view, gained rather than lost through the sinister association with the enemy of Horus and Osiris.

We now proceed to the translation of the texts, appending to each section or paragraph such commentary as is necessary. The Egyptian version has an explanatory introduction (ll. 1—4) and a heading (ll. 4—5), which are not in the parallel texts from Boghazköi; the internal evidence would suffice to show that they were not translated, but composed by an Egyptian scribe.

It is important to note, from the outset, that the cuneiform version places Ramesses in the foreground as the principal contracting party; and he therefore sometimes uses the first person (ll. 7, 16)<sup>1</sup>. In the hieroglyphic version, on the other hand, it is Ḫattušili who employs the pronoun of the first person (ll. 10, 11, 14, 26), and his name and land are mentioned before Pharaoh and Egypt. This agrees with the statement l. 4 (*cf.* l. 3) that the Karnak stela gives the translation of the silver tablet sent to Ramesses by Ḫattušili. In §§ 6—9 this reversal of rôles leads to the position that while the paragraphs retain their regular sequence in both versions, in actual substance Babylonian § 6 corresponds to Egyptian § 8, and Babylonian § 7 to Egyptian § 9.

#### EXPLANATORY INTRODUCTION (Eg. only).

(1) *Year 21, first month of winter, day 21, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima<sup>re</sup>-setpen<sup>re</sup>, son of Rē, Ra<sup>messe</sup>-mi-Amūn, granted life eternally and forever, beloved of Amen-Rē, Ḫarakhte, Ptaḥ South-of-His-Wall, lord of Onkhtowe, Mut lady of Ishru and Khons-Neferhotpe, being arisen upon the Horus-throne of the Living like his father Ḫarakhte eternally and for evermore.*

(2) *On this day, when His Majesty was at the town of Pi-Ra<sup>messe</sup>-mi-Amūn doing the pleasure of his father Amen-Rē, Ḫarakhte, Atum lord-of-the-two-lands-of-Heliopolis, Amūn of Ra<sup>messe</sup>-mi-Amūn, Ptaḥ of Ra<sup>messe</sup>-mi-Amūn and Sētekh great-of-valour, son of Nut, according as they give to him an infinity of Sed-festivals and an eternity of peaceful years, all lands and all hill-countries being prostrate under his sandals eternally; (3) there came the king's messenger, the deputy-commander....., the king's messenger..... [Usima<sup>re</sup>-setpen[<sup>re</sup>], .....-tešub (.....t-s-b) and the messenger of Ḫatti..... s-r, carrying [the tablet of silver which (?)] (4) the great chief of Ḫatti, Ḫattušili, [caused] to be brought to Pharaoh in order to beg pe[ace from the Majesty of Usima<sup>re</sup>-setpen<sup>re</sup>, son of Rē, Ra<sup>messe</sup>-mi-Amūn, granted life eternally and forever like his father Rē every day.*

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun of the second person is also once employed, referring to Ḫattušili; see l. 32.

This introduction is almost pure *cliché*; Egyptian historical stelae regularly begin with a date and titles, these being followed by an indication of the momentary residence and occupation of the Pharaoh when the situation to be envisaged arose. The date of year 21 is, of course, important; Ramesses was, as usual, residing at his northern capital by the Pelusiac river-mouth, at or near Pelusium<sup>1</sup>. The passage giving the names of the envoys is, unhappily, damaged beyond possibility of restoration. It would look as though two Egyptian military officers, perhaps commanders on the Egyptian frontier, accompanied the Hittite envoys into the presence of Pharaoh. The injured names of those envoys are a puzzle. From a passage below (l. 5) we learn that the tablet of silver was brought by the two envoys of the chief of Ḫatti Tartešub (*T-r-t-s-b*) and Raḥmōse—this last a purely Egyptian name. In the present passage the name of the first envoy<sup>2</sup> might indeed be emended to [*T-r*]-*t-s-b* (Tartešub), but that of the second was certainly not Raḥmōse, but a name ending with the characteristically Hittite termination *-sil* (Max Müller saw *Y-?-s-r*); between this and the epithet ‘the messenger of Ḫatti’ in front of it are some unintelligible foreign words ...*n-l... ?-y-m(?)*-š regarded by Max Müller as a Semitic honorific title; Roeder (*op. cit.*, p. 36) suggests ‘[Karke]mish’ for the second word, a conjecture for which reference to the original is required.

Max Müller (*op. cit.*, pp. 23–5) argues that the words *dbḫ ḥpw* ‘to beg peace’ here and below l. 5 have beguiled Egyptologists into a wrong view of the treaty as a whole; this is not a treaty of peace—one terminating a war—but a treaty of alliance. It is true that the phrase in question is a commonplace of Egyptian style<sup>3</sup>, and that every Egyptian scribe would naturally represent the foreigner as suing for peace; none the less it may in this case have corresponded roughly to the actual political situation (see below, pp. 201–5).

#### HEADING TO THE EGYPTIAN TRANSLATION OF THE TREATY.

*Copy of the tablet of silver which the great chief of Ḫatti, Ḫattušili, caused to be brought to Pharaoh by the hand of his messenger (5) Tartešub (T-r-t-s-b) and his messenger Raḥmōse, in order to beg peace from the Majesty [of Usimaḥrēḥ-setpenrēḥ], son of Rēḥ, Raḥmesse-mi-Amūn, bull of rulers, who makes his boundary where he will in every land.*

The word ‘copy’ here, of course, means translation. On the ‘tablet of silver’ sent by the king of Ḫatti, see below. The Egyptian origin of this section is again betrayed by the use of the words ‘to beg peace’; and the final epithets of Ramesses are essentially Egyptian.

#### § 1. PREAMBLE OF THE ACTUAL TREATY.

##### Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(1) [*And so be it. Riamašēša-mai-* Amana, the great king, king [of Egypt, the strong], (2) [*with Ḫattušili, the great king*], king of the land Ḫatti, his brother, in order to give good peace, (3) [*good brotherhood and to obtain*] a mighty [king]dom(?) between them as long as we<sup>4</sup> [*live*] (and) [*forever*] (4) [*a treaty*] has made.

##### Egyptian Text.

*The treaty<sup>5</sup> which the great prince of Ḫatti, Ḫattušili, the strong, the son of Muršili, (6) the great chief of Ḫatti, the strong, the son of the son of Šubbi[luliuma, the great chief of Ḫatti, the strong], made upon a tablet of silver for Usimaḥrēḥ-setpenrēḥ, the great ruler of Egypt, the strong, the son of Menmaḥrēḥ, the great ruler of Egypt, the strong, the son of the son of Menpehtirēḥ, (7) the great ruler of Egypt, the strong: the good treaty of peace and brotherhood, giving peace [and brotherhood(?)]..... between us by means of a treaty(?) of Ḫatti with Egypt<sup>6</sup> forever.*

<sup>1</sup> See this *Journal*, Vol. v, p. 181, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> There is the additional difficulty that there is barely room for the words ‘messenger of Ḫatti’ before this first name; nor is the reason for the *prenomen* of Ramesses II that precedes at all apparent.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 332, 333.

<sup>4</sup> The language of the Semitic texts from Boghazköi is remarkably inexact in its use of pronouns.

<sup>5</sup> *Nt-c*; this Egyptian word means something like ‘ordinance,’ ‘prescription,’ ‘arrangement.’

<sup>6</sup> The proposed restoration is based on the last words of the section in the Babylonian version.

## Hittite-Babylonian Text.

*Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, the strong in all lands, son [of] (5) Minmuaria, the great king, king of Egypt, the strong, son of the son of Minpahiritaria, the great king, (6) [king of Egy]pt, the strong, unto Ḫattušili, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, the strong, the son of Muršili, the great king, (7) king of the land Ḫatti, the strong, son of the son of Šubbiluliuma, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, the strong, behold now I give (8) [good] brotherhood, good peace between us forever, in order to give good peace, good brotherhood (9) by means of [a treaty (?)] of Egypt with Ḫatti forever. So it is.*

The two versions agree substantially in content, and there is a close correspondence in the phraseology. The main difference is that the cuneiform text reserves the filiation for a second sentence, this entailing the introduction of a second main verb with its adjuncts. In this place the Egyptian text alone speaks of a tablet of silver, see below, p. 189; but the cuneiform tablet has a similar reference in l. 14.

## § 2. THE TREATY IS THE RESUMPTION OF OLD PEACEFUL RELATIONS.

## Hittite-Babylonian Text.

*Behold, the policy<sup>1</sup> of the great king, king of Egypt, (10) [and of the great king], king of Ḫatti since eternity—god did not permit<sup>2</sup> the making of hostility between them, (11) [by means of a treaty] forever.*

*Behold, Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, in order to make the policy (12) [which Šamaš and] Tešub made for Egypt with the land Ḫatti because of his policy which is from eternity, (13) wickedly(?) [will not become host]ile to make hostility between them unto everlasting and unto all (time)<sup>3</sup>.*

The correspondence of the versions is again close, except for the addition of the historical reference in the Egyptian. The formulation of the last paragraph differs in the two cases, but the substance is identical.

<sup>1</sup> *Temu*, properly 'counsel,' 'plan,' just like the Eg. translation *šyr*. Since both words express the attitude adopted towards anything, 'policy' seems a suitable rendering.

<sup>2</sup> Historical present.

<sup>3</sup> Meissner explains *kul* as a Canaanitish word, Hebrew *kôl*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally translated from the Babylonian, see below, p. 189, n. 3.

## Egyptian Text.

*Now aforetime, since eternity, as regards the policy<sup>1</sup> of the great ruler of Egypt and the great chief of Ḫatti—the god did not permit hostility to be made between them, by means of a treaty.*

*But in the (8) time of Muwattalli, the great chief of Ḫatti, my brother, he fought with [Ramesse-mi-Amun], the great ruler of Egypt.*

*But hereafter, beginning from this day, behold Ḫattušili, the great chief of Ḫatti, is [in ?] a treaty for making permanent the policy which Prēc made and Sētekh made for the land of Egypt (9) with the land of Ḫatti, so as not to permit hostilities to be made between them forever<sup>4</sup>.*

## § 3. DECLARATION OF THE NEW TREATY.

## Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(14) *Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, has made himself in a treaty upon a silver tablet (15) with Ḫattušili, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, his brother, from this day to give good peace and good brotherhood (16) between us forever; and he is a brother to me and at peace with me, and I am a brother to him and at peace with him (17) forever.*

*And we have made brotherhood, peace and goodwill more than the brotherhood and peace of former times, (18) which was between [Egypt and] Ḫatti.*

*Behold, Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, is in good peace and good brotherhood (19) with Ḫattušili, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti.*

*Behold, the sons of Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the king of Egypt, (20) are at peace (and) are bro[thers with] the sons of Ḫattušili, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, forever; and they are according to our policy (21) of [our] brotherhood [and] our peace.*

*And Egypt with the land Ḫatti—they are at peace, they are brothers like us forever.*

## Egyptian Text.

*Behold, Ḫattušili, the great chief of Ḫatti, has made himself in a treaty<sup>1</sup> with Usima<sup>ḫ</sup>rē<sup>ḫ</sup>-setpenrē<sup>ḫ</sup>, the great ruler of Egypt,*

*beginning with this day, to cause to be made good peace and good brotherhood between us forever; (10) and he is in brotherhood with me and at peace with me, and I am in brotherhood with him and at peace with him forever.*

*And since Muwattalli, the great chief of Ḫatti, my brother, hastened after his fate<sup>2</sup>, and Ḫattušili took his seat as (11) great chief of Ḫatti on the throne of his father; behold I have become with Ra<sup>ḫ</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, we (?) being [together in ?] our peace and our brotherhood; and it is better than the peace and the brotherhood of formerly, which was in the land<sup>3</sup>.*

*Behold, I, being<sup>4</sup> the great chief of Ḫatti, am with (12) [Ra<sup>ḫ</sup>messe-mi-Amūn], the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and good brotherhood.*

*And the children of the children [of] the great chief of Ḫatti shall be (?)<sup>5</sup> in brotherhood and at peace with the children of the children of Ra<sup>ḫ</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt;*

*they being in our policy of brotherhood and our policy (13) [of peace].*

*[And the land of Egypt ?]<sup>6</sup> with the land Ḫatti [shall be ?] at peace and in brotherhood like us forever; and hostilities shall not be made between them forever.*

<sup>1</sup> Note that the Egyptian translates the Babylonian reflexive quite literally.

<sup>2</sup> This utterly non-Egyptian phrase is a clear translation of a common Babylonian expression; for the entire sentence cf. *KTB*, I, No. 8, 16 *ki-i-me-e Nir-gál šarru rabū [a-na] ši-im-ti-šu il-li-gu a-na-ku Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li ana <sup>ḫ</sup>kussi a-bi-ia at-ta-šab* 'When Nirgal (= *etillu*, the hero, title of Muwattalli), the great king, went to his fate, I, Ḫattušili, sat upon the throne of my father.' Further on, note that the change to the 1st person is characteristic of Babylonian.

<sup>3</sup> On the strength of the Boghazköi text one is tempted to think that some words have been omitted here: 'which was in the land (of Ḫatti with the land of Egypt).'

<sup>4</sup> It seems impossible to quote any exact parallel for this use of the *m* of definition; but in defence of our interpretation one may perhaps cite *ḫr.f m tšt* 'he said, namely the Vizier.'

<sup>5</sup> One expects *ir* at the beginning of the sentence as in ll. 15, 24, 32; but Sethe saw traces of *am*.

<sup>6</sup> Restore [*ir pš tš n Kmt*]? But Max Müller gives some puzzling traces at the end of the lacuna, which Sethe similarly saw and interpreted as *nš*.

The two versions here are closely parallel, except for the addition of the reference to the death of Muwattalli and the accession of Ḫattušili in the Egyptian text, following up the similar reference in § 2. The Babylonian version makes allusion to a tablet of silver sent by Ramesses to Ḫattušili, the counterpart of that named in earlier sections of the Egyptian version as sent by Ḫattušili to Ramesses.

#### § 4. MUTUAL ASSURANCES WITH REGARD TO INVASION.

##### Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(22) *And Riamašeša-mai-Amāna, the great king, king of Egypt, shall not trespass<sup>1</sup> into the land Ḫatti to take aught (23) from therein [forever]; and Ḫattušili, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, shall not trespass into Egypt (24) to take aught from therein [forever].*

Here there is complete correspondence, except for the omission of the specific name of Ḫattušili in the Egyptian.

##### Egyptian Text.

*And the great chief of Ḫatti shall not trespass into the land of Egypt forever to take aught from it; and Usima<sup>re</sup>-setpen<sup>re</sup>, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not trespass into the land (14) [of Ḫatti to take] (aught)<sup>2</sup> from it forever.*

#### § 5. FORMAL RENEWAL OF THE FORMER TREATY.

##### Hittite-Babylonian Text.

*Behold, the decree of eternity which Šamaš and Tešub have made (25) for Egypt and the land Ḫatti [to make peace] and brotherhood in order not to give hostility between them<sup>3</sup>.*

(26) *And behold, Riamašeša-mai-A[mana, the great king], king of Egypt, takes hold of it to make peace from this day.*

(27) *Behold, Egypt and Ḫatti [are at peace, and] they are brothers forever<sup>6</sup>.*

##### Egyptian Text.

*As to the regular<sup>4</sup> treaty which there was in the time of Šubbiluliuma, the great chief of Ḫatti, and likewise the regular treaty which was in the time of Muwattalli (sic !), the great chief of Ḫatti, my father, I take hold of it. Behold, Ra<sup>messe</sup>-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, takes hold (15) [of the peace (?) which it (?)] makes<sup>5</sup> together with us from this day; and we will act according to this regular policy.*

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian version has 'trespass,' confirming the connection of *uḫarra* with the stem קרה 'meet,' 'attain,' in Arabic 'strive towards,' 'wander' from land to land. Note also in an astrological text, Jupiter *ana kaḫkab narkabi lu ik-ri-im* 'approached unto the Waggon-star.'

<sup>2</sup> *Nkt* was perhaps erroneously omitted from the Egyptian text, as there does not seem room for it in the lacuna.

<sup>3</sup> *a-na la-a na-da-a-ni nakrīta i-na be-ri-šu-nu* is evidently the phrase that was translated *r tm dit ḫpr ḫrwy r iwd-sn* in Eg. l. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Mty* is not to be rendered with Breasted as 'former,' but rather as 'regular,' 'normal,' almost 'traditional.'

<sup>5</sup> Sethe sees traces of *iir-f* at the end of the lacuna; owing to *irm-n* following it would seem as though *pḥ nt-<sup>c</sup> mty* must be the subject of the relative form.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. l. 21. Meissner restores differently.



The divergences here are considerable. While the Egyptian version, following its wont, harks back to earlier history, the Hittite-Babylonian substitutes, in the first paragraph, very nearly the same words as were read at the end of § 2 in the Egyptian version (l. 9). Further on, the adhesion of the contracting parties to the treaty is expressed in the Babylonian by the graphic verb *šabātu*, 'grasp,' 'seize'; the Egyptian renders mechanically by *mḥ m*, a metaphorical use not in accordance with Egyptian idiom<sup>1</sup>. At the end, the Babylonian has a phrase encountered already in § 3, while the Egyptian differs.

The characteristically careless mistake made in l. 14 of the Egyptian version has escaped but few of the modern commentators; de Rougé<sup>2</sup> wished to correct 'my father' into 'my brother' (see above Eg. l. 10), but Max Müller and, more hesitatingly, Breasted have proposed to replace Muwattalli by Mursili. There can be hardly any doubt but that the latter alternative is right; Ḫattušili is referring to the old harmonious days before Muwattalli broke the peace with Egypt.

### § 6. UNDERTAKING OF A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE (cf. § 8).

#### Hittite-Babylonian Text.

*And if another enemy (28) come [against] the land Ḫatti, and Ḫattušili, [the great king of the land Ḫat]ti, send to me saying, 'Come unto me (29) for [my] help against him'; then Ri[amašeša-mai-Ama]na, the great king, king of Egypt (30) shall send his troops (and) his chariots and shall slay [his enemy and] he shall restore [con]fidence (?) to the land Ḫatti.*

#### Egyptian Text.

*And if another enemy come to the lands of Usima<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-setpenrē<sup>c</sup>, the great ruler of Egypt, and he send to the great chief of Ḫatti saying, 'Come with me as help against him'; the great chief of Ḫatti shall (16) [come to him], the great chief of Ḫatti [shall] slay his enemy.*

*But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Ḫatti to come, he shall send his troops and his chariotry and shall slay his enemy.*

A clause (§ 7) dealing with the common action to be taken against the rebellious subjects of one of the contracting parties intervenes before the reciprocal passage corresponding to § 6 is reached; and our § 9 again is reciprocal to our § 7. For this reason it might have been more strictly in accordance with the intention of the framers of the treaty to regard §§ 6-7 and §§ 8-9 each as a unity<sup>3</sup>. In § 6 and § 8 the Egyptian version expands so as to envisage the possibility that the allied king might not desire to come in person. Apart from this, there are hardly any differences in the phraseology to be noted.

### § 7. COMMON ACTION TO BE TAKEN AGAINST REBELLIOUS SUBJECTS (cf. § 9).

#### Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(31) *And if Ḫattušili, the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, [become incensed] against servants of his<sup>4</sup> [and they] sin against him, (32) and<sup>5</sup> thou send to Riamašeša, the great king, king of [Egypt] concerning it;*

#### Egyptian Text.

*Or if Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, (17) [the great ruler of Egypt], become incensed against servants of his<sup>4</sup>, and they do another offence against him,*

*and he go to slay his enemy;*

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller had brilliantly guessed the Babylonian original, see *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Oeuvres Diverses*, Vol. iv, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This is further suggested by the word 'or' in Eg. l. 16.

<sup>4</sup> The Eg. *s'wy* was long a *crux interpretum* until it was shown to be the personal pronoun third pers. sing. with emphatic meaning; see *Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, Vol. L (1912), pp. 114-117. The Babylonian version now admirably confirms this discovery.

<sup>5</sup> That the apodosis does not begin here is shown by *mtw R<sup>c</sup>mssw-mi-Imn [hḥb]* in Eg. l. 19 (§ 9).

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

straight[way] *Riamašeša-mai-Amana* (33) his troops (and) his chariots shall send, and they shall destroy all [of them] against whom [thou art become incensed].

Egyptian Text.

the great chief of Ḫatti shall act with him [to destroy] everyone [against whom] they shall be incensed<sup>1</sup>.

Here it will be seen that the divergences of phraseology are considerable, while the sense is substantially identical in both versions.

§ 8. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 6.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

[And if] another enemy come (34) against Egypt, and *Riamašeša-mai-Amana*, the king of Egypt, thy brother, [send] to Ḫattušili, (35) king of the land Ḫatti, his brother, saying, '[Co]me for my help against him'; straightway then shall Ḫa[ttu]šili, king of the land Ḫatti, (36) send his troops (and) his [chariots]; he [shall slay] my enemy.

Egyptian Text.

But [if] another enemy [come] against the great chief [of Ḫatti];

[then shall *Usi*]ma[re]-setpenrē (18) [the great ruler of Egypt] come to him as help to slay his enemy.

(But) if it be (not)<sup>2</sup> the desire of *Ra*messe-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he.....  
.....Ḫatti, [and he shall send his troops and his] (19) chariotry<sup>3</sup>, besides returning answer to the land of Ḫatti.

Besides other minor variations, the Egyptian text contains the alternative already mentioned in § 6.

§ 9. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 6.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

And if *Riamašeša*, [the great king, king] of Egypt, (37) become incensed against servants of his, and they commit sin against [him, and I send] (38) to Ḫattušili, king of the land Ḫatti, my brother, concerning [it]; then Ḫattušili, the great king, king of Egypt, (39) shall send his troops (and) his chariots and they shall destroy all [of them]; and I will.....(?).

Egyptian Text.

But if servants of the great chief of Ḫatti trespass against him,

and *Ra*mes[se]-mi-Amūn, [the great ruler of Egypt],.....

Obviously the two versions here differed considerably, but the Egyptian text is too incomplete to make a close comparison. See the notes on § 10.

<sup>1</sup> The traces here seen by Sethe combine admirably with the Hittite-Babylonian version to produce an intelligible sense.

<sup>2</sup> The word 'not' is carelessly omitted in the hieroglyphs.

<sup>3</sup> Restored from l. 16, with the Babylonian text both in § 6 and in § 8. There is no means of restoring what precedes.

## § 10. A CLAUSE RELATING TO SUCCESSION (?).

## Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(40) *And behold the son of Ḫattušili, king of the land Ḫatti, [the treaty which] we (?) have made.....(41) in the place of Ḫattušili, his father, after years.....(42).....of the land Ḫatti have committed sin.....(43).....chariots where (?) shall I return.....(44).....in the land Ḫatti (?)*

(The text breaks off here.)

## Egyptian Text.

.....the [land] of Ḫatti (and) the land (?) [of Egypt].....(20).....the life. *Supposing (?) I shall go after [my] fate<sup>1</sup>, then (?) Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, shall act (?)...coming (?) [to] the [land of Ḫat]ti.....to cause to make (?)<sup>2</sup>.....(21).....them (?) to make him for themselves to lord, so as to cause Usima<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-setpen[rē<sup>c</sup>], the great ruler of Egypt, to be silent with his mouth<sup>3</sup> forever. And after.....the land of Ḫatti and he return (?) to place (?) the great chief of Ḫatti and similarly the.....*

In both texts a passage is now reached so fragmentary that its contents are purely a matter of conjecture. Meissner (*op. cit.*, p. 293) has suggested that the Babylonian text stipulated that Ramesses should recognize as Ḫattušili's successor the son chosen by that ruler during his lifetime: and he quotes a provision of this kind in the treaty between a Hittite king and Šunaššura, king of Kizuwadna (*KTB*, I, 5, rev. 52 foll.). The Egyptian text, the crucial words of which have been misunderstood hitherto<sup>4</sup>, tends to confirm the general notion implied by this view, though it is clear that both versions differed greatly in their verbal expression. From the Egyptian fragments one may conjecture that Ḫattušili is considering the case that he should have died and Ḫatti should have selected a ruler not in accordance with his choice. Later on, there is question of some persons who apparently wish to annul or stultify the words or promise of Ramesses. The text is too defective for further discussion to be profitable.

## § 11. EXTRADITION OF IMPORTANT FUGITIVES.

## Egyptian Text.

*[If any great man flee from the land of Egypt and he come to the lands of (?)<sup>5</sup> the great chief of Ḫatti; or a town (22) (or a district.....)<sup>6</sup> [belong]ing to the lands of Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, and they come to the great chief of Ḫatti: the great chief of Ḫatti shall not receive them. The great chief of Ḫatti shall cause them to be brought to Usima<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-setpenrē<sup>c</sup>, the great ruler of Egypt, their lord, [on account of it.*

From this point onwards the Hittite-Babylonian text fails us, but the close resemblance to the hieroglyphic version presented by it in previous paragraphs affords a solid basis for restoring its general drift. Corresponding provisions in other tablets from the Boghazköi archives will be quoted whenever occasion arises. The extradition clauses §§ 11-14 present the same kind of arrangement as the clauses relating to enemies and rebels above §§ 6-9, a clause (§ 12) dealing with fugitives of humble birth intervening before the reciprocal clauses (§§ 13-14) are reached. In the lost cuneiform counterpart, § 11 will naturally have

<sup>1</sup> Read *iw-ī r smt[m]s['] [p']y ššy*, see above, p. 188, n. 2, for this expression.

<sup>2</sup> Read *r rdyt iry ?*

<sup>3</sup> No Babylonian equivalent for this striking phrase appears to be forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> See above, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> For the restoration see l. 23, where, however, there is but scanty room for '[to the lands of]'. Roeder understands 'comes to' (the king of Ḫatti or Egypt) in the two passages; this is possible.

<sup>6</sup> The words *r-pw w<sup>c</sup> k<sup>c</sup>h r-pw.....* found in the parallel section l. 23 should perhaps be restored here, but there is no room for them in the lacuna.

referred to the extradition of important fugitives belonging to Ḫatti. The supplementary clauses §§ 17, 18 elaborate §§ 11–14, and should be read in connection with them.

In our translation of the present passage we venture, not without some hesitation, to depart from the view hitherto accepted. The alternatives *r-pw w<sup>c</sup> dm̄i*, etc. have been universally regarded as an elaboration of the restored words '[from the land of Egypt]'; for which the parallel in § 13 seems sufficient guarantee. But if then we render *r-pw w<sup>c</sup> dm̄i* by 'or<sup>1</sup> (from) a town,' not only are the absence of the preposition *m* and the separation from *m p' t' n Kmt* highly remarkable, but also the tautologous repetition in the phrase 'and come to the great chief of Ḫatti' is inexplicable, and the plural pronoun in *mtw-sn* 'and they (come),' referring to 'any great man' has to be glossed over as due to looseness of style. All these difficulties are overcome if the nouns in 'or a town (or a district.....)' [belong]ing to the lands of Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn' are regarded as subjects of *w<sup>c</sup>r* 'flee' and alternatives to 'any great man'; on this view, whereas §§ 12, 14 refer to the flight of 'one or two unknown men,' §§ 11, 13 are concerned with the secession either of an important man or of whole towns or districts. It was not unknown in Hittite times for the population of a town or district to emigrate *en bloc*, and indeed in *KTB*, I, No. 1, 10 foll., reference is made to a number of districts that had gone over to the land of Ischuwa in the time of Ḫattušili I. It may, however, perhaps be objected that it would have been far more difficult for a town or region subject to the Pharaoh to abandon its allegiance.

### § 12. EXTRADITION OF FUGITIVES OF HUMBLE BIRTH.

#### Egyptian Text.

*Or if one man or two men who are unknown flee (23).....<sup>2</sup>, and they come to the land of Ḫatti to be servants of another, they shall not be left in the land of Ḫatti, they shall be brought to Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt.*

There is a similar provision in the well-preserved copy of a treaty between Šubbiluliuma and Mattiuāza, king of Mittanni, *KTB*, No. 1, reverse, 9–13. *Šum-na<sup>ametu</sup> mu-un-na-bi-du iš-tu<sup>mat alu</sup> Ḫa-at-ti in-[na-bit ù ana<sup>mat alu</sup> Mi-it-ta-an-ni il-la-ak mārē<sup>mat</sup> Mi-it-ta-an-ni] (10) ū-da-ar-ru šum-na<sup>ametu</sup> mu-un-na-bi-id-du ša<sup>mat alu</sup> Mi-[it-ta-an-ni in-na-bit ù ana<sup>mat alu</sup> Ḫa-at-ti il-la-ak] (11) šar<sup>mat alu</sup> Ḫa-at-ti ul i-ša-bat-zu ul ū-da-ar-šu ul par-zu ša<sup>iat</sup> Šamaš<sup>alu</sup> A-ri-[in-na ina eli-šu ?] (12) bit-tum ša Mat-ti-ū-a-za mar šarri i-na<sup>mat alu</sup> Ḫa-at-ti i-ip-pu-uš<sup>ametu</sup> mu-un-na-ab-ta.....(13) a-na āli pan Mat-ti-ū-a-za mar šarri ū-še-iš-ša-ab-šu a-na<sup>mat alu</sup> Ḫa-at-ti-ma.* 'If a fugitive flee from the land of the city Ḫatti [and come to the land of the city Mittanni, the sons of Mittanni] (10) shall return him. If a fugitive of the land of the city Mittanni flee and come unto the land of the city Ḫatti, (11) the king of the land of the city Ḫatti shall not seize him, neither shall he return him, the laws of the sun-goddess of the city Arinna [do not apply to him]. (12) A house (of refuge?) for Mattiuāza, son of the king, in the land of the city Ḫatti, he (Šubbiluliuma) shall build. A fugitive.....(13) he shall cause to dwell in the land of the city Ḫatti in a city in the presence of Mattiuāza<sup>3</sup>. The peculiarities of this clause are due to the fact that Mattiuāza, who had been placed on the throne of Mittanni by the Hittite king, ruled over an unstable country that had been at war with Ḫatti and had just been pillaged by the Assyrians. It is important to note that by the laws of the sun-goddess of Arinna fugitives were bound to be restored to their native land.

### § 13. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 11.

#### Egyptian Text.

*Or if a great man flee from the land of Ḫatti, and [he come to the lands of (?)<sup>4</sup> Usi]ma<sup>c</sup>[rē<sup>c</sup>]-setpenrē<sup>c</sup>, the [great] ruler of Egypt; or a town or a district or (24).....*

<sup>1</sup> Roeder and others have translated the first *r-pw* as 'either'; for this there seems to be no justification.

<sup>2</sup> Max Müller shows a lacuna, but it is not large enough for his restoration '[from the land of Egypt]'; the reciprocal clause l. 24 has 'flee' without any addition.

<sup>3</sup> This passage, which was first translated by BöHL, *Theologische Tijdschrift*, 1916, p. 177 and first compared with the Egyptian treaty by MEISSNER, *Der Staatsvertrag*, p. 293, is defectively preserved and the restorations here given are not altogether certain.

<sup>4</sup> Doubtful; see above, p. 192, n. 6.

belonging to the land of Ḫatti, and they come to Raḥmesse-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt: Usimaḥrēḥ-setpenrēḥ, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them. Raḥmesse-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the chief.....<sup>1</sup> they shall not be left.

The same difficulty of interpretation occurs here as occurred in § 11, where it was fully discussed.

#### § 14. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 12.

##### Egyptian Text.

Likewise<sup>2</sup>, if one man or two men (25) who are [not] known flee to the land of Egypt to be subjects of others, Usimaḥrēḥ-setpenrēḥ, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not leave them; he shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Ḫatti.

#### § 15. THE GODS OF ḪATTI AND EGYPT ARE WITNESSES TO THE TREATY.

##### Egyptian Text.

As for these words of the treaty [made by (?)] the great chief of Ḫatti with Raḥmes[se-mi-Amūn], the great ruler (26) [of Egypt, in] writing upon this tablet of silver<sup>3</sup>; as for these words, a thousand gods, male gods and female gods of those of the land of Ḫatti, together with a thousand gods, male gods and female gods of those of the land of Egypt—they are with me as witnesses [hearing (?)]<sup>4</sup> these words: Prēḥ<sup>5</sup>, the lord of the sky; Prēḥ of the town of Arinna (ʾI-r-n n); (27) Sētekh, the lord of the sky; Sētekh of Ḫatti; Sētekh of the town of Arinna (ʾI-r-[n]-n); Sētekh of the town of Zippalanda (D-p-ī-r-n-d); Sētekh of the town of Betiarik (P-?-r-ḳ); Sētekh of the town of Ḫiššašhapa (Ḫ-s-s-p); Sētekh of the town of Sarišša (S-r-s); Sētekh of the town of Ḫalab (Ḫ-r-p); Sētekh of the town of Liḫzin, (R-ḫ-s-n); Sētekh (28) of the town of...r(?)...; Sētekh [of the town of.....; Sētekh of the town] of [S?]-m(?)-s; Sētekh of the town of S-ḫ-p-n; Astarte<sup>6</sup> of the land of Ḫatti; the god of Zithariaš (D-ī-t-ḫr-r-y); the god of Karziš (?) (K-r-d-nr?); the god of Ḫapanta[ri]aš (Ḫ-r-p-n-t-r-y-s); (29) the goddess of the town Karahna (K-?-ḫ-n); the goddess of Tyre (D-r); the goddess of ?-w-ḳ (?); the goddess of D-n-?; the god of P(?)-n-t; the god of ?-r; the god of Ḫ-?-b-t<sup>7</sup>; the queen of the sky; the gods lords of swearing<sup>8</sup>; this goddess, the mistress of the earth; the mistress of swearing Iḫara (ʾI-s-ḫ-r)<sup>9</sup>; the mistress of {...}; (30) (the) mountains and the rivers of the land of Ḫatti; the gods of the land of Kizuwadna (K-d-w-d-n); Amūn; Prēḥ; Sētekh; the male gods and the female gods; the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the earth; the great sea; the winds; the clouds.

<sup>1</sup> With the text as given in Sethe's collation it is not possible to restore 'the [great] chief [of Ḫatti].'

<sup>2</sup> The use of *m mitt* to begin the clause seems un-Egyptian and is perhaps due to over-literal translation of the cuneiform original. Neither here nor in l. 34 does it seem possible to construe *m mitt* as the end of the foregoing section.

<sup>3</sup> Roeder, overlooking the demonstrative 'this,' translates 'they shall be written on a tablet of silver' and wrongly ends the clause here.


<sup>4</sup> Perhaps restore *sdmw* 'hearing.'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* 'the Rēḥ; or 'the Sun'; *p*, (*p*) is here the definite article.

<sup>6</sup> Written ḥ-n-ḫ-r-t; the *n* is a mere sculptor's error for *s*, as Max Müller and others have recognized.

<sup>7</sup> Ḫ-[n]-b-t or Ḫ-[r]-b-t are both possible.

<sup>8</sup> Max Müller has a wrong reading here, and Sethe's collation modifies several of the geographical names in the preceding lines, as will be seen from Pl. XVIII.

<sup>9</sup> The first group  is confirmed by a Berlin photograph quoted by MEISSNER, *Der Staatsvertrag*, p. 295.



The details of this section are almost entirely Hittite-Babylonian in character, but for the opening words other Hittite treaties have a standard form, namely: *meḫir tuppi annūti ana pani* <sup>iat</sup>Šamši <sup>alu</sup>Arinna šakin.....*ū ina* <sup>mat</sup>A ana pani <sup>iu</sup>B šakin. 'A copy of this tablet was placed in the presence of the sun-goddess of Arinna.....and (a copy) was placed in the land (here name of land with which the treaty was made) in the presence of the god (here name of principal god of that land)'; thereupon follows the phrase *ū lu-u ši-bu-du* 'and lo, these are the witnesses,' with a long list of the gods of Ḫatti and of the land in question<sup>1</sup>; the next section with blessings and cursings begins *ina libbi amāte annūti ša riksi lizzizzu lettemu ū lā šibidu* 'in these words may they stand, may they hear and be witnesses of the treaty.' A treaty between Šubbiluliuma and Tetti, king of Nuḫšaše, begins the curse as follows: 'Mountains, rivers, springs, the great sea and the earth, winds, clouds for this treaty and curse verily are witnesses<sup>2</sup>.' It is not easy to judge how far the departures from type here are to be attributed to the Egyptian translator and how far they represent the cuneiform original.

To turn now to detailed comparisons; the translated Egyptian text is here printed in italics:

*A thousand gods, male gods and female gods of those of the land of Ḫatti*. The Hittite-Mittanni treaty has: 'The male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Kizuwadna.<sup>3</sup> The Hittite-Nuḫšaše treaty has: 'The male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Ḫatti, the male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Kizuwadna, the male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of Nuḫšaše, the gods of eternity all of them.<sup>4</sup>

*Prē* (i.e. 'the Rē', 'the sun'), *the lord of the sky*. In Hittite treaties the list of gods usually opens: *iat*Šamši <sup>alu</sup>Arinna ša *ina* <sup>mat</sup>Ḫatti šarrutta ū šarratutta *uma'ar* <sup>iu</sup>Šamaš *bel šamē*, 'The sun-goddess of Arinna who in the land of the city Ḫatti sends kingship and queenship, the sun-god, lord of the heavens<sup>5</sup>.'

*Prē of the town of 'I-r-n-n]*. So too below, l. 38. See the last note. The solar deity of the important city of Arinna was apparently the patron divinity of the Hittite kings; Mursili, the father of Ḫattušili, appeals to her in battle just as the Assyrian kings appeal to Ishtar. This deity was clearly a goddess; note *KTB*, III, No. 4, 21-5, where she is called *beltu* 'queen,' and see F. HROZNÝ, *Hethitische Texte*, p. 170. The town of Arinna is regularly written <sup>alu</sup>PŪ-na in the Hittite tablets, see *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 51 and *passim*. Sayce (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. XXIII (1901), p. 98) correctly identified Arinna with the city Arini in Kumanu (Comana), south of the Anti-Taurus and on the river Sarus in Cappadocia; captured by Tiglathpileser I about 1120 B.C., see KING, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 76-7<sup>6</sup>. It fell to Shalmaneser I, who reigned not later than 1300 B.C., and who was apparently contemporary with Sethos I and Muwattalli, brother of Ḫattušili, see LUCKENBILL, *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 162 and p. 187, l. 6: Shalmaneser here claims that Arinna had been previously subject to Assyria and had revolted; that can only refer to the conquest of Mittanni and Muṣru by Ašurballiṭ II (circa 1418-1370 B.C.), a contemporary of Šubbiluliuma and of Amenophis III and IV. When the Assyrians conquered the Mittanni region at the end of the Fifteenth and at the beginning of the Fourteenth Centuries they seem to have penetrated into Hittite country beyond the Taurus. Arinna occurs in the geographical list of Boghazköi, published by E. CHANTRE, *Mission en Cappadoce*, pp. 46-7, l. 14.

*Sētekh, the lord of the sky*. Cf. in the Hittite treaties <sup>iu</sup>Tešub *bēl šamē ū iršitim* 'Tešub, lord of heaven and earth,' *KTB*, I, 7, 54=11, 30; or 'Tešub of heaven and earth,' 14, 23. For the identification of Hittite Tešub with Egyptian Sētekh, see above, p. 185.

*Sētekh of Ḫatti*. Cf. <sup>iu</sup>Tešub *bel* <sup>mat</sup>Ḫatti 'Tešub, lord of the land Ḫatti,' *KTB*, I, 11, 18, where the variant has <sup>alu</sup>Ḫatti 'the city Ḫatti,' I, 7, 40; HROZNÝ, *Hethitische Texte*, 236, 15.

*Sētekh of the town of 'I-r-[n]-n]*. Apparently not yet found in the Hittite sources.

*Sētekh of the town of D-p-ī-r-n-d]*. Cf. Tešub of the city Zippalanda, HROZNÝ, *op. cit.*, 236, 15.

*Sētekh of the town of P-ī-r-k]*. Cf. <sup>iu</sup>Tešub <sup>alu</sup>Be-te-īa-ri-ik, *KTB*, I, 7, 41; *Be-it-ti-īa-ri-ik*, I, 11, 19;

<sup>1</sup> This formula is to be found *KTB*, I, 7, 35-9: the formula *ina libbi amāte* occurs *op. cit.*, 8, 58-9. The duplicate 11, 34 more correctly separates the invocation from the curse by a line. See also 14, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *KTB*, I, 21, 36-8.

<sup>3</sup> *KTB*, I, 7, 51; see another Hittite-Mittanni treaty, *op. cit.*, 14, 5. Both these Hittite treaties mention 'one thousand gods' in the curse, 8, 68; 14, 17 (*li-im ilani*).

<sup>4</sup> *KTB*, I, 21, 30-33.

<sup>5</sup> *KTB*, I, 7, 40=11, 17 foll.

<sup>6</sup> See too GARSTANG in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VI, pp. 109-115.

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[*Be-te-]iā-ri-ik*, I, 20, 7. MEISSNER, *Staatsvertrag*, p. 294, makes the same identification, although the substitution of four short strokes for the *t* in the Egyptian transcription is unexplained.

*Sētekh of the town of H-s-s-p*. Cf. <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub* <sup>āu</sup>*Hīššāšapa*, *KTB*, I, 7, 43.

*Sētekh of the town of S-r-s*. Cf. <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub* <sup>āu</sup>*Sa-ri-eš-ša*, *KTB*, I, 7, 42; 20, 8; 11, 20: hardly to be identified with Sareisa, Sarisa on the Tigris mentioned by Strabo, VI, i, 24.

*Sētekh of the town of H-r-p*. I.e. Aleppo, cf. <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub* <sup>āu</sup>*Hal-ab*, *KTB*, I, 7, 42.

*Sētekh of the town of R-ḫ-s-n*. Cf. <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub* <sup>āu</sup>*Li-iḫ-zi-na*, *KTB*, I, 7, 42.

*Sētekh of the town of [S ?]-m (?) -s*. *Sētekh of the town of S-ḫ-p-n*. Unidentified; for the latter perhaps cf. <sup>iu</sup>*Tešub* <sup>āu</sup>[*Ša-aḫ-]bi-na (?)*, *KTB*, I, 7, 43.

*Astarte of the land of Hatti*. Both in the Amarna letters and on the Hittite tablets the name of the Assyrian Istar and the West-Semitic 'Astoreth is written with an ideogram, but the western pronunciation is probable in both cases. Tušratta, king of Mittanni, calls her 'my lady,' written *AŠ + DAR*, the usual ideogram for the stellar deity, KNUDTZON, *El-Amarna*, 146, 25. The same king writes her name *NINNI* with the ideogram usually employed for the mother-goddess, *op. cit.*, 152, 15; 178, 13, where she is called Istar of Nineveh. The ideogram *AŠ + DAR* is that employed in Hittite <sup>iat</sup>*AŠ + DAR multarriḫu* 'Istar the shining,' i.e. the goddess Venus, *KTB*, I, 7, 45; the variant has 'star Dilbat,' i.e. Venus, I, 11, 23. If Max Müller's correction of *ḥ-n-t-r-t* to *ḥ-s-t-r-t* be right (as it certainly is), it proves the astral character of the western Aštōreth.

*The god of D-i-t-ḫ-r-r-y*. The Hittite treaties have the god *Zi-it-ḫa-ri-ia-aš*, the *š* being the nominative ending; see *KTB*, I, 7, 44; 20, 11.

*The god of K-r-d-nr ?*. Cf. the god Karziš, *KTB*, I, 7, 44.

*The god of H-r-p-n-t-r-y-s*. Cf. the god *Ḫa-pa-an-ta-[ri]-ia-aš*, *KTB*, I, 7, 44.

*The goddess of the town K-l-ḫ-n*. Probably identical with *Lamassat* <sup>āu</sup>*Ka-ra-aḫ-[na.....]*, 'protecting genius of the city Karaḫna,' *KTB*, I, 20, 12; so too Meissner.

*The goddess of D-r*. This new reading suggests Šurri, i.e. Tyre, which is frequently so spelt in hieroglyphic (BURCHARDT, *Fremdworte*, no. 1227). However, Aleppo is otherwise the southernmost place mentioned in the treaty.

The names of two goddesses and three gods follow, all unidentifiable.

*The queen of the sky*. So in the Hittite treaties <sup>iat</sup>*Ḫe-be bēlit šamē* 'Ḫebe, queen of heaven,' *KTB*, I, 7, 6; *šarrat šamē*, I, 20, 18<sup>1</sup>.

*The gods lords of swearing*. The only parallel expression in Hittite treaties is <sup>iu</sup>*Sin<sup>2</sup> bēl mamīti* 'Sin (the moon-god), lord of the oath,' *KTB*, I, 7, 46 = I, 20, 17.

*This goddess, the mistress of the earth*. Undoubtedly identical with Ereškigal, queen of the netherworld, in the Hittite treaty *KTB*, I, 11, 28, where the variant I, 7, 51 has *ilāni iršiti* 'gods of the earth'; <sup>iat</sup>*Ereškigal*, I, 21, 29.

*The mistress of swearing* 'I-s-ḫ-r'. Cf. <sup>iat</sup>*Išhara šarrat mamīti* 'Išhara, queen of the oath,' *KTB*, I, 20, 17; 7, 46<sup>3</sup>. The position of the epithet before the name is quite contrary to Egyptian usage, and, but for the Hittite parallel, the name Išhara would have had to be taken with what follows, not with what precedes.

*The mistress of (...)(?) (the) mountains and the rivers of the land of Hatti*. The hieroglyphic text, as unemended, gives 'the mistress of mountains and the rivers' etc. It is obvious that the definite article must be restored before *dww*, and the parallelism with 'the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt' (l. 30) suggests a still greater corruption, a noun having been omitted after *t' hnt*<sup>4</sup>. See the last

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian 'queen of heaven' has likewise both titles *bēlit* and *šarrat*, see LANGDON, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Meissner and Böhl wrongly *ilāni*.

<sup>3</sup> On *Išhara bēlit tamītum*, see also LANGDON, *op. cit.*, p. 126. This deity was identified with the river-goddess Ninā, and first appears in Sumerian in the Ur dynasty. At that time (circa 2500 B.C.) the Hittites came into contact with Sumerian culture, and it is historically possible that she is by origin Hittite, as ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums* I<sup>2</sup>, § 433, note, cited by Meissner, asserts. Her name may go back to a word *ešhana*, but in this case she is a Sumerian form of Ninā and not an indigenous Hittite deity, see LANGDON, *op. cit.*, p. 46. She is mentioned with Damkina, consort of the water-god, *KTB*, I, 8, 58, and with Ninajakki, I, 14, 26. Meissner's statement (*Staatsvertrag* 295) that Išhara is a goddess of mountains, rivers, wells and of heaven is erroneous; the passage I, 8, 58 invokes Išhara, the mountains and rivers, [the gods of heaven] and the gods of earth.

<sup>4</sup> However, the Ramesseum copy (SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Pl. 50) has the same text as at Karnak.

note for the curious position of the epithet 'the mistress of swearing' *before*, instead of *after*, the name of Išhara. Probably the original cuneiform had as follows: 'the goddess, the mistress of the earth; Išhara, queen of the oath; the mountains and the rivers of the land of Ḫatti.'

*The gods of the land of Kizuwadna*. These are often invoked in the Hittite treaties, see the note on 'a thousand gods,' etc. above, p. 195. Kizuwadna was a province on the shore of the Black Sea, north-east of Boghazköi.

*Amūn; Prē; Sētekh*. The Egyptian gods specified are those of Thebes, of Heliopolis and of the north-eastern Delta, all of whom were worshipped at Pi-Raḫmesse.

*The male gods and the female gods*. Namely 'of Egypt'; see the note on 'a thousand gods,' etc. above, p. 195.

*The mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the earth; the great sea; the winds; the clouds*. Cf. in the Hittite treaties 'the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds, the clouds,' *KTB*, I, 7, 53=11, 29; 14, 7; 21, 36 (this last inserts 'fountains').

## § 16. CURSES OR BLESSINGS ON THOSE WHO VIOLATE OR KEEP THE TREATY.

### Egyptian Text.

*As to these words (31) which are upon this tablet of silver of the land of Ḫatti and of the land of Egypt, as to him who shall not keep them, a thousand gods of the land of Ḫatti and a thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall destroy his house, his land and his servants. But he who shall keep these words which are on this tablet of silver, be they<sup>1</sup> Ḫatti, or be they (32) Egyptians, and who do not neglect them (?), a thousand gods of the land of Ḫatti and a thousand gods of the land of Egypt will cause him to be healthy and to live, together with his houses<sup>2</sup> and his {land} and his servants.*

This section is usually more elaborate in the Hittite treaties. Cf. in the Hittite-Mittanni treaty: 'If thou Mattiuāza, son of the king, and [the sons of Ḫarri<sup>3</sup>] this treaty and oath keep, thou Mattiuāza together with thy wife, [the daughter of the great king, king of the land of the city] Ḫatti, his<sup>4</sup> sons and his grandsons, and you, O sons of the city Ḫarri, together with your wives, your sons [and together with your land]; you may the gods protect. And the land of the city Mittanni unto old age unto its place may return<sup>5</sup>, may it be wide, may it be extended. And thou Mattiuāza, thy sons and thy grandsons, whom the daughter of the great king, king of the land of the city Ḫatti [bears thee], may rule the land of the city Ḫarri<sup>6</sup> in kingship forever. The throne of thy father make old, the land of the city Mittanni make old.' *KTB*, I, 8, 70-5. A similar blessing will be found at the end of the treaty between Šubbiliuma and Tetti, *op. cit.*, I, 21, 45-9.

## § 17. AMNESTY FOR EXTRADITED PERSONS.

### Egyptian Text.

*If one man flee from the land of Egypt, or two, or three, and (33) they come to the great chief of Ḫatti, the great chief of Ḫatti shall seize them and shall cause them to be brought back to Usimaḫrē-setpenrē, the great ruler of Egypt. But as for the man who shall be brought to Raḫmesse-mi-Amūn, the great ruler of Egypt, let not his crime be charged against him, let not (34) his house, his wives or his children be destroyed, [let him not] be [killed<sup>7</sup>], let no injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth or to his legs, let not any [crime be charged] against him<sup>8</sup>.*

This clause and the next clearly belong to the series §§ 11-14, and seem to represent an afterthought or addition to the finished treaty.

<sup>1</sup> Note the confusion of pronouns characteristic of the Hittite texts.

<sup>2</sup> Read *pryt* (Sethe); for this plural cf. *Haremḫab decree*, front, l. 36; *Pap. Kahun*, Pl. 39, l. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Restored from *KTB*, I, 14, 18. Ḫarri is another name for Mittanni.

<sup>4</sup> For 'thy'; such changes in the pronouns are inexplicable.

<sup>5</sup> The Assyrian phrase for 'to be stable.'

<sup>6</sup> Variant *KTB*, I, 14, 21 'land of the city Mittanni.'

<sup>7</sup> Restored from l. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Restored from the Ramesseum duplicate as given by Sharpe.

## § 18. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 17.



## Egyptian Text.

*Likewise<sup>1</sup>, if a man flee from the land of Ḫatti, be he one, be he two, or be he three, and they come to Usima<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-setpenrē<sup>c</sup> (35), the great ruler of Egypt, let Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, the [great] ruler [of Egypt, cause] them to be brought to the great chief of Ḫatti, and the great chief of Ḫatti shall not charge their crime against them<sup>2</sup>, and they shall not destroy his house, his wives or his children, and they shall not kill him<sup>3</sup>, and they shall not do injury to his ears, (36) to his eyes, to his mouth or to his legs, and they shall not charge any crime against him.*

## § 19. DESCRIPTION OF THE SILVER TABLET.

## Egyptian Text.

*What is in the middle of the tablet of silver. On its front side: a relief (?) consisting of an image of Sētekh embracing an image of the great prince of Ḫatti, surrounded by a legend (?) saying: the seal of Sētekh, the ruler of the sky, the seal of the treaty made by Ḫattušili, the great chief (37) of Ḫatti, the strong, the son of Muršili, the great chief of Ḫatti, the strong. What is<sup>4</sup> within the surrounding (frame) of the relief: the seal [of Sētekh, the ruler of the sky<sup>5</sup>]. [What is on] its other side: a relief (?) consisting of a female image of [the] goddess of Ḫatti embracing a female image of the chieftainness of Ḫatti, surrounded by a legend saying: the seal of (38) Prē<sup>c</sup> of the town of Arinna (ʾI-r-n-n), the lord of the land, the seal of Puduḫepa (P-t-ḫ-p), the chieftainness of the land of Ḫatti, the daughter of the land of Kizuwadna (K-d-w-d-n), the [priestess?] of [the town (?) of] Arinna, the lady of the land, the servant of the goddess<sup>6</sup>. What is<sup>4</sup> within the surrounding (frame) of the relief: the seal of Prē<sup>c</sup> of Arinna, the lord of every land.*

It is not easy to reconstruct visually the appearance of the silver tablet here described by the Egyptian translator. The determinative of the hieroglyphic word used for 'tablet' depicts a rectangular object with a loop-like appendage at the top  (l. 4),  (l. 36). It is by no means certain that this determinative represents the actual shape of the tablet sent to Ramesses by Ḫattušili, though cuneiform metal tablets are always rectangular in shape, and do not imitate, as they might have been expected to do, the common clay tablets. We may, perhaps, think of the cuneiform text as covering the entire surface of both sides, except in the middle, which bore the imitation of a seal such as might have been stamped on a clay tablet for the purpose of authentication. We do not learn whether that seal was round or oblong; or whether the legends translated into hieroglyphic for our benefit were in the cuneiform character or in the Hittite pictographic script—this last is less probable. Scholars have rightly compared with the design on the obverse a sculpture at Vasily Kaya near Boghazköi, where a god, probably Tešub, is shown embracing the Hittite king. This design appears to have been enclosed within a band of writing, and within that band again was a shorter legend stating more briefly that the whole representation was the seal of Tešub (Sētekh). The reverse differed only in so far as here it was the queen, not the king, of Ḫatti who was

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 194, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> With the help of the Ramesseum duplicate restore *mtw tm s<sup>c</sup>ḫ<sup>c</sup> pš wr-<sup>c</sup>š n Ḫtš pšy-sn btš r-sn*. The construction is unusual, but can be defended.

<sup>3</sup> Ramesseum variant: 'let him not be destroyed.'

<sup>4</sup> So the Ramesseum duplicate.

<sup>5</sup> It is doubtful whether there is room for the words 'the ruler of the sky.'

<sup>6</sup> Sethe's collation makes it practically certain that *tš nrt* was the reading, not only here, but also in the phrase *rpyt n[tš] nrt* above, l. 37. In both cases the sun-goddess, in Babylonian <sup>iat</sup>*Šamaš*, of Arinna is probably meant.



portrayed, and in so far as it was a goddess, not a god, who accorded protection and patronage<sup>1</sup>. The Egyptian scribe has got into difficulties through the fact that in Egypt the term for sun (*rē*), as well as the sun-god (*Rē*), was masculine, whereas the solar deity of Arinna was female (see above, p. 195). He is thus forced to employ the masculine definite article *pš*, *p* (*Prē*, 'the sun'), and this appears to have beguiled him further into writing 'the lord (not 'lady') of every land.' Sethe's collation shows that in the earlier words where the term *rppt* 'female image' has had to be used, *twt* being employed only for male images, the translator has hedged and has written *tš ntrt* in place of *Prē*. The reason that the sun-deity of Arinna is here named is doubtless that she was the patron-goddess of Hittite royalty, as already stated; and it is on this account, probably, that the Hittite queen was a priestess of that deity, not because she had been a princess of Arinna, as Garstang supposed<sup>2</sup>.

### III. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO VERSIONS.

The comparison of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform versions of the treaty has proved an interesting task, but it also possesses no inconsiderable value as vindicating the success of the methods by which the languages of ancient Babylonia and Egypt have been slowly and painfully recovered. Such, indeed, has proved the interest of the details, that they have obscured a further problem of some importance, namely the relation of the two versions, and the historical conclusions which emerge therefrom. Roeder is the only scholar who has faced these questions fairly and squarely, and our own consideration of them may well start at the point where he left off<sup>3</sup>. According to Roeder, the Boghazköi fragments preserve a Babylonian translation of the text on the original silver tablet which was sent (see the Babylonian version l. 14) by Ramesses II to Ḫattušili; this text, Roeder says, was doubtless composed in the Egyptian language and written in hieroglyphs. Conversely, the Karnak and Ramesseum stelae perpetuate renderings into Egyptian idiom and writing of the treaty as inscribed in cuneiform upon the silver tablet<sup>4</sup> brought to Pi-Ramesses by the Hittite ambassadors. 'Strange as it may seem to us, the treaty was not drawn up in precisely the same words in the languages of the two contracting parties, but each of the two, upon the strength of a common understanding of basic principles, gave to the terms the form desired by himself and despatched this to his adversary written in the sender's own language.'

To Roeder belongs the merit of propounding a coherent and intelligible explanation of the facts, and some part of his theory is undoubtedly correct. It is, indeed, an interesting and important observation that this most ancient of treaties differs from those of modern date in not being an impersonal and objective document of which both parties were signatories and each held a precisely identical copy. The Karnak text places Ḫattušili alone in the foreground; it is he, and not Ramesses with him, who there speaks in the first person, giving and demanding assurances; and a personal note is struck by his deprecatory allusions to his brother Muwattalli. In so far, the version of the treaty despatched by Ramesses II to Ḫattušili must obviously have differed; even without the evidence of the Boghazköi fragments we should necessarily have inferred that there Ramesses II would be using the pronoun of the first person. The reason for this difference

<sup>1</sup> Here we have a fresh exemplification of the old religious rule *similia similibus*: male deities are chiefly concerned with males, female deities with females. So in Egyptian curses: 'Osiris shall be after him, Isis shall be after his wife, and Horus shall be after his children,' LEPS., *Denkm.*, Pt. III, Pl. 140, cf. *ibid.* Pl. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VI, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 13—14, 37.

<sup>4</sup> Egyptian text, ll. 3, 4, 6, 36.



between the treaty before us and those of more recent times lies in the fact that at this early stage in international relations the notion of a treaty was not yet clearly defined. In its wording, its division into paragraphs, and the alternation of like conditions both given and demanded (§§ 6, 8; 7, 9; 11, 13; 12, 14; 17, 18) the treaty already resembled a legal contract; in its use of the first person, its onesidedness, and its occasional personal allusions it failed to liberate itself from the epistolary form which it shared with other diplomatic communications.

This brings us to a matter where we must join issue with Roeder. He rightly maintains, as did Max Müller before him, that the Karnak text is a translation from the Babylonian. Our own investigations show that this holds good, not only for the portions common to that text and to the Boghazköi fragments, but also for certain passages (the allusions to Muwattalli) where the "tendencious" interference of the Egyptian translator has been wrongly suspected<sup>1</sup>. But Roeder errs in making the symmetrical assumption that the copy of the treaty sent to Ḫattušili on a silver tablet by Ramesses was composed in Egyptian and written in hieroglyphic. The El-Amarna finds, no less than those from Boghazköi, had taught us that Egyptian diplomacy, in its relations with North and East, employed the Babylonian tongue or at least one of the tongues normally written in the cuneiform script; and that this rule applied in the case of the treaty might have been conjectured *a priori*. But further, the Boghazköi fragments afford indisputable testimony that Babylonian was the language that Ramesses used. So closely does the phraseology of the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform versions agree in a number of passages that one of the two must necessarily be the translation of the other—and it is already admitted that the hieroglyphic text had a Babylonian original; expressions like the epithet 'the strong' (*ḫarradu*), to 'take hold of' the treaty, 'good peace and good brotherhood' are characteristic of the Hittite treaties, and quite alien to Egyptian idiom. We must therefore infer that the Boghazköi fragments either contain the original text from which the text underlying the hieroglyphic version was adapted, or else that the Babylonian text placing Ḫattušili in the foreground (the Karnak version) was the prototype whereon the Ramesses version in the Boghazköi fragments was subsequently based.

To account for the Boghazköi fragments three alternative hypotheses appear to offer themselves for consideration. It might be conjectured, in the first place, that these fragments represent a draft composed by the Babylonian scribes at the court of Pharaoh and later submitted to Ḫattušili for acceptance or rejection. But it seems unlikely that those scribes should have been sufficiently conversant with the style of Hittite treaties to have framed such a draft, unless indeed they had the earlier treaties with Šubbiluliuma and Muršili<sup>2</sup> to work upon; and again, why should a draft of this kind have been preserved in the Boghazköi archives after the treaty had once assumed its final form—the other documents in the archives are mostly treaties and original letters of the highest importance? The first objection (but not the second) is met by supposing that the fragments preserve a draft that was drawn up at Boghazköi in Ramesses' name, and despatched to him for approval. But is it probable that the Hittites would have ventured to dictate to Pharaoh what he should say or not say? Surely it would have been more natural to submit a draft of what Ḫattušili might be prepared to concede, leaving it to the Pharaoh to frame his own counterpart, making what alterations he would and replacing the name of Ḫattušili by

<sup>1</sup> Eg. text, ll. 7—8; 10—11; 14. See especially the footnote on ll. 10—11, above, p. 188, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See § 5, Egyptian version, l. 14.

that of Ramesses. Far more plausible than either of these alternatives is the theory that the Boghazköi fragments really contain copies of the text sent by Ramesses II to Ḫattušili, and the sequence of events may possibly be reconstructed as follows. The treaty in its first form was drawn up at Boghazköi in consultation with the Egyptian ambassadors; when it had assumed a final shape it was inscribed upon a tablet of silver and brought to Egypt. Then Ramesses, having signified his approval, instructed his Babylonian scribes to draw up a counterpart in his own name; this naturally included most of the phrases in the Hittite original, only omitting the allusions to Muwattalli and making a few minor modifications. Finally the version compiled on behalf of Ramesses was, in its turn, engraved on a silver tablet, stamped with the seal of the Pharaoh, and forwarded to Ḫatti. There the original was deposited 'at the feet of Tešub<sup>1</sup>,' while copies were written on clay for preservation in the royal archives. The last-named copies are those which were discovered by Winckler.

We present the hypothesis outlined above as the best available explanation of the cuneiform version; but it must remain a mere hypothesis. On the other hand there can be no shadow of doubt that the Karnak and Ramesseum stelae preserve the final version of the treaty as accepted by Ḫattušili. The two paragraphs (§§ 17, 18) that appear as an afterthought may or may not have stood on the silver tablet; and it is not clear whether they were due to the initiative of Ramesses or to that of Ḫattušili. Students have not hitherto drawn the correct inference from the passages referring to Muwattalli—passages which, as we have shown, stood in the Hittite original. They seem to contain an acknowledgment of Ḫatti aggression which, whether exacted by Ramesses or not, indicates a certain humility of attitude on the part of the Hittite king. There has been a tendency of late to assume that the Egyptians were the real losers in the war with Ḫattušili; our researches, if they suggest any conclusion on this point, suggest rather that Ḫattušili was the one who sued for peace and was ready to cry *peccavi*.

A characteristically Egyptian trait in the Karnak stele is its great inaccuracy, though Sethe's collation shows that it is not so inaccurate as Max Müller's copy implied. We have animadverted upon the substitution of the name Muwattalli for Muršili in l. 14. Once that most important of particles, the negative particle, is omitted (l. 18). In l. 32 the word for 'land' is passed over, and in ll. 11, 22 and 29 there are probably omissions. The word for 'sea' is wrongly written in l. 30, and the definite article is left out at the beginning of the same line. These errors are not necessarily to be attributed to the Egyptian translator, but rather to the sculptor who transferred the translation, written on papyrus in hieratic, to the stone. The Egyptians were always an inaccurate people, but such carelessnesses as those here recorded would scarcely have been permitted under the Tuthmosides.

#### IV. THE HISTORICAL SITUATION.

It was in the reign of Ḫattušili that the long period of warfare between Ḫatti and Egypt came to a close. Ramesses II waged his first Syrian campaign in the fourth year, and in the fifth fought his much-vaunted but indecisive battle at Kadesh on the Orontes, where Muwattalli appears to have been his opponent<sup>2</sup>. Muwattalli was the son of Muršili,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 204.

This fact is based merely on the reference in the treaty, Eg. version, l. 8.

and seems, possibly after further conflicts with Ramesses, to have died a natural death; at all events the ordinary Babylonian expression for a natural death, namely 'went to his fate,' is applied to him in the Egyptian version of the treaty (l. 10) and also in the treaty made by Ḫattušili, his brother and successor<sup>1</sup>, with the king of the Amorites<sup>2</sup>. That Ḫattušili was at first on terms of hostility with Egypt is indicated by a reference in a long letter written by him to Kadašman-Enlil, Cassite king of Babylon<sup>3</sup>. In this letter Ḫattušili claims to have made an alliance with Kadašman-Turgu (1300—1284 B.C.), the father of Kadašman-Enlil:—'*Thy father* and I made an alliance<sup>4</sup> and unto brotherhood we returned. For one day we returned not; have we not made brotherhood and alliance forever?' He then reminds the young Cassite king how, on his father's death, he wrote to the nobles of the court and insisted that he, Kadašman-Enlil, should be recognized as king. Undoubtedly this was done in fulfilment of a treaty-clause by which Kadašman-Turgu and Ḫattušili mutually pledged themselves to recognize one another's legitimate heir; the Mittanni-Kizuwadna treaty had such a clause and in the Egyptian treaty there appear to be the remains of a similar one (§ 10). The Hittite king next complains that the Assyrians and the Aramean tribe Aḫlamû are interfering with the diplomatic connections between Babylonia and Ḫatti; and he censures Kadašman-Enlil for withholding messengers and for lukewarm friendship. Then comes an important reference to Egypt; the tablet is not well-preserved at this point:—"*..... the messenger of the king of Egypt about whom my brother (i.e. Kadašman-Enlil) wrote, [and (?) the.....of the king (?)] of Egypt herewith I send to my brother. [Kadašman-Turgu thy father] and I made an alliance<sup>5</sup> and unto brotherhood we returned. .... we conferred saying, 'We are brothers,' saying, 'With an enemy who is our common foe [verily we shall be hostile and] with our common friends verily we are at peace.' And after the king of Egypt and I became angry with each other, I wrote to thy father Kadašman-Turgu<sup>6</sup>, [saying, 'The king of Egypt] is at war with me.' And so thy father therewith wrote, [saying, 'If the troops of the king (?)] of Egypt (?) come, then I will go with thee.....will I come in the midst of soldiers and chariots.' Since to go with me [thy father was ready,] so now, O my brother, thy warriors ask and they will say to thee, ['Let us go with] warriors and chariots.' So verily have they spoken in favour of going with me, .....why has he taken? My foe who to another land.....concerning Egypt went. When I wrote to him, .....then he, my enemy, caused it not to be brought. [I and the king of] Egypt were angry with each other and mutually [I and thy father] went to plunder my enemy. [And now.....<sup>7</sup> the messenger (?)] of the king of Egypt has cut off. And after thou,*

<sup>1</sup> MEISSNER, *Zur Geschichte des Chattireiches*, p. 19, states on the evidence of *KTB*, I, 24, that Urḫi Tešub was the son of Muwattalli, but there is no reason to warrant such an inference.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 188, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *KTB*, I, 38, 7—8. MEISSNER, *op. cit.*, p. 19, finds another reference of the kind *KTB*, I, No. 14, but this letter was not written to Ramesses but to the king of Babylon.

<sup>4</sup> The word *atterātu* 'alliance' comes from the root *eteru* 'to bind,' and appears to mean a written treaty, for which the proper word is *riksu*. Such is the meaning of *atterātu* in the Ḫatti-Kizuwadna treaty *KTB*, I, 27, 36, and in the Hittite-Amorite treaty, I, 35, 18. The conclusion is of the utmost importance as it proves that Amenophis III made a treaty with Šubbiluliuma, see below, p. 203, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *atterātu*, see above, last note.

<sup>6</sup> This reference compels us to place the death of Muwattalli and the battle of Kadesh before the last year of Kadašman-Turgu, *i.e.* 1292 according to King, 1295 according to Thureau-Dangin, or 1284 according to Schnabel. The dates of Cassite kings formerly based on references in Nabonidus (1352 B.C. for the last year of Kadašman-Turgu) are more than half a century too high.

<sup>7</sup> Restore 'the Assyrians' or 'the Aḫlamû.'

*my brother, didst write [concerning the matter of the messenger (?) of the king] of Egypt and the affair of the messenger.....<sup>1</sup>."*

This badly preserved passage is of the utmost importance for the synchronous history of Egypt, Babylonia and Ḫatti. It has been translated in such a manner as to refer to the treaty made by Ḫattušili with Egypt<sup>2</sup>; but the passage near the beginning of the last-quoted extract must be restored so as to refer, not to that treaty, but to the treaty concluded by Ḫattušili with Kadašman-Turgu. In fact this passage, like the similar one in a letter from Ḫattušili to Kadašman-Enlil<sup>3</sup>, refers to wars between Ḫattušili and Ramesses in the time of Kadašman-Turgu, who assisted the Hittite king in accordance with the terms of their alliance. When the letter here under consideration was written there was obviously peace between Ḫatti and Egypt, for Ḫattušili and Kadašman-Enlil are both enraged at some people who have cut the communications between Egypt and Babylonia. This is the reason why the Hittite king appeals to the king of Babylonia to honour the treaty by making common warfare upon the disturbers, *i.e.* upon the Assyrians or the Arameans. Now this position leads to two important conclusions:

(1) Ḫattušili was at war with Ramesses before the death of Kadašman-Turgu.

(2) He had declared peace with Ramesses before the death of Kadašman-Enlil.

If now we take the lowest possible Cassite dates and compare them with those currently accepted for the Egyptian kings, a discrepancy of a few years will be found to exist. At the lowest estimate Kadašman-Turgu reigned 1300—1284, and Kadašman-Enlil 1283—1278<sup>4</sup>. Breasted dates the Hittite-Egyptian treaty (year 21 of Ramesses II) in 1271 B.C. against E. Meyer's 1279, and the battle of Kadesh in 1287 against E. Meyer's 1295. The Cassite dates cannot be brought much lower, and it appears, therefore, that the solution must be sought in a heightening of the Egyptian dates. Let us place the treaty in 1280, *i.e.* nine years earlier than Breasted; the battle of Kadesh then falls in 1296 and the accession of Ramesses II in 1301. These dates, which are very nearly those of E. Meyer, clear away most of the chronological difficulties. From the letter of Šubbiluliuma to Ḫuria, *i.e.* Naphuria, *i.e.* Akhenaton (Amenophis IV) in the El-Amarna correspondence, we learn that this king made a treaty (*atterūtu*) with Amenophis III<sup>5</sup>. This permits us to reconstruct the chronological scheme with some assurance. See the table on the next page. From the scheme here given it is evident that the Pharaoh with whom Muršili made a treaty can only have been Ḫaremḫab.

A careful scrutiny of the cuneiform texts from Boghazköi has revealed no reference to the Egyptian treaty on the part of Ḫattušili. On the other hand, a letter from Ramesses to the king of Mirâ (a land otherwise unknown, perhaps the ancient Maer) begins as follows: '*Saying, Wašmuaria-šatepnaria (i.e. Usimaṛē<sup>c</sup>-setpenrē<sup>c</sup>, prenomen of Ramesses II), the great king, [king of Egypt], son of Šumaš, Riamašeša-mai-Amāna, unto the son [of a king], the king of Mirâ, say: Behold, unto me, [my wife] and my sons is peace. Unto my warriors is peace. Unto my horses is peace. Unto my chariots is peace. And unto the heart of all my lands mightily is there peace. To thee, O king of the land Mirâ, let be peace, and unto thy land let be peace. See now, I the great king of Egypt hear all the words.....to me and thee. Concerning*

<sup>1</sup> *KTB*, I, 39, 55—72.

<sup>2</sup> MEISSNER, *op. cit.*, p. 24, and *Orientalistische Litt.-Zeitung*, 1917, cols. 225—8. <sup>3</sup> *KTB*, I, No. 14.

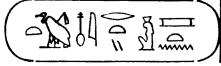
<sup>4</sup> WEIDNER, *Studien zur assyrisch-babylonischen Chronologie*, dates this king 1282—1276.

<sup>5</sup> KNUDTZON, *El Amarna Tafeln*, no. 41, 9; misunderstood by Knudtzon and Weber.



the words of *Urḫi-Tešub* *ianu ul.....which thou hast written about, for me and thee behold again.....the good relation, which the great king of Egypt has made with the king of [the land Ḫatti, my brother]. In good brotherhood, in good peace, are Šamaš and [Tešub] forever.....*<sup>1</sup>. Behold the writing of the oath which I [made] for the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, my brother; at the feet of the [god Tešub] it is laid. The great gods are witnesses (of the words). And behold the writing of the oath which the great king, [king of the land Ḫatti], made for me; at the feet of the god Šamaš it is laid. The great gods are witnesses of the words, I keep the oath and abandon it not. Not shalt thou [believe (?)] the false words which thou hast heard.....not is there anything in it. Behold the good relation of [brotherhood] and peace in which I am with the great king, [king of the land Ḫatti], I truly in it [will live] forever<sup>2</sup>. The king of Mirâ had evidently received the report of an estrangement between the Egyptians and the Hittites; Ramesses declares this report to be false, and emphasizes his own adhesion to the treaty. From this document we learn the new fact that the copy of the treaty sent by Ramesses to Ḫattušili was 'laid at the feet of Tešub,' while that sent by Ḫattušili to Ramesses was 'laid at the feet of Šamaš,' *i.e.* Rē<sup>c</sup>; probably it was the custom to deposit such binding deeds in the temples of the gods whose sanction they invoked.

B.C.	HITTITE	EGYPTIAN	CASSITE
20			
10			
1400		Amenophis III, 1419-1383	
90	Šubbiluliuma, 1410-1370		
80			
70		Akhenaton, 1383-1366	
60	Arandaš, 1370-1360	Three short reigns, 1366-1358	Burnaburiaš, 1376-1356
50			Kara-indaš?
40	Muršili, 1360-1330	Ḫaremḫab, 1358-1324	Nazibugaš?
30			Kurigalzu, 1351-1327
20		Ramesses I, 1324-1322	
10	Muwattalli, 1330-1290	Sethos I, 1322-1301	Nazi-Maruttaš, 1326-1301
1300			
90			Kadašman-Turgu, 1300-1284
80			
70	Ḫattušili, 1290-1260?	Ramesses II, 1301-1234	Kadašman-Enlil, 1283-1278
60			
50			

There is another reference to the treaty between Ḫatti and Egypt in a letter which Naptera, *i.e.*  Nefreteri-beloved-of-Mut, the queen of Ramesses II, writes to the queen of Ḫatti:—'Saying, Naptera the queen of Egypt to Puduḫepa, queen of the land Ḫatti, my sister, say: To me thy sister is peace, to my land is peace. To thee my sister be peace, to thy land be peace. Behold I hear that thou, my sister, hast written to me to

<sup>1</sup> Long lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> *KTB*, I, 24.



*inquire of my peace and that<sup>1</sup> thou writest to me concerning the relation of good peace, concerning the relation of good brotherhood in which is the great king, king of Egypt, with the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, his brother. Šamaš and Tešub will lift up thy head and Šamaš will give peace to create goodness, and he will give good brotherhood of the great king, king of Egypt, with the great king, king of the land Ḫatti, his brother, forever<sup>2</sup>.*

From the evidence quoted it is clear that the treaty concluded between Ramesses II and Ḫattušili in year 21 terminated a period of hostility which, whether or not it was manifested in actual warfare, had persisted even after the battle of Kadesh. From the twenty-first year onwards peace prevailed between Ḫatti and Egypt, the good relations between the two countries culminating in the marriage between Ramesses and the daughter of the Hittite king as recorded in the Abu Simbel stele of the thirty-fourth year.

<sup>1</sup> The text has *ši-i* < *ki-i*, a case of palatization.

<sup>2</sup> *KTB*, I, No. 29 ; MEISSNER, *op. cit.*, p. 25.