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HITTITE TREATIES AND LETTERS

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The documents here translated form a small part of the archives of the Hittite kings found by Winckler at Boghazkeui in 1906. Winckler's preliminary report of his discovery, with translations of some sections of these treaties, appeared in *MDOG*, No. 35 (1907). It was hoped that the texts might be given out at an early date, but the long illness of the discoverer of the archives prevented it: all that Winckler published before his death (1913) was a discussion of the Harri-Aryan problem in *OLZ*, 1910, cols. 289 f. Here a few additional paragraphs from the texts were translated.¹ After the work of publication had been turned over to other hands, the war came on, and it was not until 1916, ten years after the discovery of the archives, that the first volume of the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*² appeared. The copies were made by H. H. Figulla and E. F. Weidner. The published texts did not, of course, reach scholars outside of Germany until after the end of the war. A study of these texts by Weidner is planned for the "Boghazköi-Studien," but with the present uncertainty in Germany there is little hope of our seeing this work for some time to come.³ A translation into English of these texts does not, therefore, seem out of place.

¹ Winckler's "Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend," published in *MDVG* (1913), after his death, added nothing to our source material.

² Abbreviated hereafter *KBo*.

³ Weidner's preliminary study, *MDOG*, No. 58 (1917), was not accessible until all of my translations had been made.

I am indebted to Meissner for many suggestions,¹ but I was not able to make use of Langdon and Gardiner's translation and discussion of the Ramses-Hattushili treaty until my translations were in type.² Nor have I seen Golla's dissertation on the treaty of the Hittite king with Shunashshura (No. 4, below).³

I do not deceive myself into thinking of the translations here offered as being final. After more than thirty years, the Amarna letters, which belong to the same category of texts as the ones here translated, still bristle with problems, both of philology and interpretation. The stilted translation English which will be found in almost every paragraph cannot be more offensive to any reader than it has been to me. But I have deemed it wiser to err in this direction and thereby preserve some of the flavor of the original together with its ambiguities and obscurities than to hide these latter under cover of a smooth translation. Translations depending on textual emendations or restorations have been bracketed. In the parentheses are found variant translations or such words as the difference in our idiom requires to bring out the sense of the original.

No. 1. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 1 and 2.

Treaty between Shubbiluliuma of Hatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni. The introduction recounts the differences which arose between Hatti and Mitanni because of the "presumptuousness" of Tushratta, the father of Mattiuaza, and also describes the disorder into which Mitanni fell on the death of that king. Mattiuaza is to be given a daughter of the Hittite king in marriage and is to be placed on the throne of Mitanni—as a vassal of the great king, of course. The document defines the conditions. Mattiuaza's relationship to Biashshi-ilim (Biashshili), another son-in-law(?) of the Hittite king, is also defined.

¹ *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXII (1918), 32 f.; *Sitzungsberichte der . . . Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1917), 282 f.; and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1918, cols. 18 f.

² *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI (1920), 179 f.

³ *Der Vertrag des Hattikönig's Muršil mit dem König Šunaššura von Kiṣwadna* (Breslau, 1920).

OBVERSE

(1-16) When with the Sun,¹ Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the valiant, the king of Hatti, the beloved of Teshub,² Artatama, the king of Harri,³ made a treaty (lit., between them they made a treaty), and thereafter, Tushratta, king of Mitanni, exalted himself⁴ against [the great king], the king of Hatti, the valiant, (then I,) the great king, etc., exalted myself against Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, the lands on this side⁵ of the river I plundered, and Mount Niblani I restored to my domain.

A second time Tushratta, the king, acted presumptuously⁶ toward me. Thus he spoke: "Why dost thou plunder that side of the Euphrates, which belongs to Tushratta, the king? If thou dost plunder the lands on that side of the Euphrates, I also will plunder the lands on that side of the Euphrates. Tushratta, the king, is desirous of keeping this (region) intact; but if thou plunderest them (these lands), what am I to do for them? I shall cross over to this side⁷ of the Euphrates, whether it is a lamb or a child (?)⁸ that I hear."

(Whereupon I), the great king, the king of Hatti, displayed (my) might⁹ before him. Now against the father of the king of Hatti, Ishuwa¹⁰ had rebelled. The Hittites (or the troops of Hatti) entered Ishuwa. The people of Kurtalisha,¹¹ the people of Arawanna,

¹ The Hittite "emperors" are regularly referred to as the "Sun," a title of royalty with which the Amarna letters have made us familiar. The Assyrian kings, beginning with Tukulti-Ninib, also made occasional use of the title. Cf. *AJSL*, XXVIII, 164.

² The chief god of Hatti; written (*ilu*) *U* or (*ilu*) *IM*, in these texts, and identified by the Babylonians of later days with their storm-god Adad.

³ The land, city, people, and king of the Harri are frequently mentioned in these texts. Winckler saw in them the Aryans.

⁴ From *na'adu*, "to be high, glorious," or (trans.) "to raise, to praise." The Hittite scribes are in the habit of assigning rare or hitherto unknown meanings to common Babylonian words.

⁵ "This" and "that" side of the Euphrates should refer to the west and east banks respectively. Considerable confusion is caused by making Tushratta, who lived east of the river, use the same designations for east and west as the Hittite king is made to use.

⁶ "Made himself big."

⁷ See above, n. 5.

⁸ Translation doubtful. I have assumed that we have a badly written *NAM-TUR*.

⁹ "Made myself big."

¹⁰ Name of a land.

¹¹ Name of a city. In these documents the determinatives "land," "city," and the double determinative "land-city" seem to be used interchangeably. Except in cases where doubt might arise I have not indicated the determinatives.

Zaz[zi]sha, Kalamashu, Timna, Mount Haliwa, Mount Karna, the people of Durmitta, Alha, Hurma, Mount Harana, half of the land of Tegarama, the people of Teburzia, the people of Hazga, and the people of Armatana, against my father they rebelled. But (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, the great king, etc., defeated them. At that time, the people who had escaped from my hand, these entered Ishuwa; and whatever peoples or lands there were that rebelled against my father, these as subjects(?) of Ishuwa in the midst of a hostile land were dwelling.

(17-24) Now (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., took measures against the presumptuousness of Tushratta, the king. The Euphrates I crossed; against Ishuwa I marched and Ishuwa in its totality I devastated. For the second time I brought them into servitude to me. The people and the lands who in the time of my father had gone over to Ishuwa, namely the people of Kurtalisha, the people of Arawanna, Zazzisha, Tegarama,¹ Timmina, Mount Haliwa, Mount Karna, the people of Durmitta, Alha, Hurma, Mount Harana, half of Tegarama, the people of Teburzia, the people of Hazga, the people of Armatana, these peoples and lands I conquered and restored them to Hatti. The lands which I seized I set free, their (former) place(s) they occupy. Indeed, all of those whom I set free returned to their peoples and occupied their (former) place(s) in Hatti.

(25-29, 6-10) Again (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., marched against Alshe.² The fortress of Kutmar I stormed, and gave (it) to Antaratli of Alshe as a present. The fortress of Shûta³ I entered. The fortress of Shûta I took as my plunder. I brought (its booty) into Washshukkani. Of the fortress of Shûta, oxen, sheep, horses, their property as well as their booty, I brought back to Hatti. As for Tushratta, the king, he marched out against me, but he did not get into the fight.

(30-37, 11-19) I returned, crossed the Euphrates and overpowered Halpa⁴ and Mukishhe. Takuwa, king of Nia, came to

¹ Also written *Tagarama* (cf. Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, 105); the *Tilgarimmu* of the later Assyrian texts.

² Probably the *Alzi* of the Assyrian documents (cf. Toffteen, *AJSL*, XXIII, 333 f.).

³ Variant *Zûta*.

⁴ Variant *Halba*, the modern Aleppo.

Mukishhe (to enter into) covenant with me. Behind the back of Takuwa, Akit-Teshub, his brother, roused land and city of Nia¹ to hostility. And Akit-Teshub won over these Mariannu (lit., turned them to one). Hishmia,² Asiri, Zulkia, Habâhi, Parria,³ and Niruwâbi,⁴ together with their chariots and their men, were brought into agreement with Akia, king of Arahti.⁵ They seized Arahti and rebelled, saying: "Let us fight the great king, the king of Hatti." (I), the great king, the king of Hatti, overpowered them in Arahti and seized Akia, king of Arahti, Akit-Teshub, brother of Takuwa, all of their Marianni, together with their possessions and brought them to Hatti. Katna, together with their property and possessions, I brought to Hatti.

(38-47, 20-28) When I went against Nuhashshi,⁶ I seized all of its lands. Sharrupshi⁷ escaped to distant parts (perhaps, died). His mother, his brothers, and his sons I seized and brought to Hatti. Takibsharri, the servant of Sharrupshi, over Ukulzat as king I set. Then I marched to Abina. But I had no thought of attacking Kinza, when Shutatarra, with Aitakkama, his son, and his chariots marched out against me to give battle. I defeated him, and they fled (entered) to Abzuia. I besieged him (in) Abzuia.⁸ Shutatarra, together with his son, his Marianni, his brothers, and their . . . (I seized) and brought to Hatti. Against Abina I marched and Ariwana, king of Abina, Luambadura,⁹ Akparu, and Artaia, his nobles, came out against me to give battle.¹⁰ All of these, their land, together with their possessions, to Hatti I brought. Because of the presumptuousness of Tushratta,¹¹ the king, for one year I plundered all of these lands and brought them to Hatti. From Mount Niblani, from that side of the Euphrates, I restored them to my domain.

(48-58, 29-39) When his son "waxed strong"¹² with his servants, he slew his father Tushratta, the king. And when Tushratta, the king, died, Teshub gave a decision in favor of Artatama, and his son Artatama he spared (lit., caused the dead to live). But all

¹ Variant Ne-ia.

⁴ Variant Ni-ru-u-a.

⁷ Variant Sharrupshe.

² Variant Heshmia.

⁵ Variant Arahati.

⁸ Variant Abzu.

³ Restored from No. 2.

⁶ Variant Nuhashshe.

⁹ Reading doubtful.

¹⁰ No. 2 omits all but the last clause of this sentence.

¹¹ Variant Tusheratta.

¹² Variant *uṣ-ṣi-im-mi-iḫ*. I can do nothing with the text of No. 1.

of Mitanni went to ruin. The Assyrians and the Alsheans¹ divided it among themselves. Up to this time (I), the great king, etc., did not cross to the other side (of the Euphrates); neither *ḥama* nor *ḥuṣṣapa*² of Mitanni did I carry off.

Now when the great king, etc., heard of the misery of Mitanni, the king of Hatti, sent palace-servants (lit., sons of the palace), oxen, sheep, and horses. But the Harri people had become discontented and Shutatarra³ with the Marianni tried to kill Mattiuaza, the prince. He escaped and before the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., he came. The great king spoke thus: "Teshub has rendered a decision in his favor." Whereupon I took Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, the king, into my hand, and placed him on the throne of his father. In order that Mitanni, that great country, might not go to ruin, because his⁴ daughter had looked upon Mitanni with favor, I, the great king, the king of Hatti, took Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, into my hand and gave him my daughter in marriage.⁵

(59-67) (And I commanded) that Mattiuaza, the king's son, should be king in Mitanni, and that the daughter of the king of Hatti should be queen over Mitanni. To thee, Mattiuaza, ten women are to be allowed. But no second wife is to be advanced over my daughter. Thou shalt not send a second wife into her presence (or, to be a rival of hers). No one shall . . . her house. Thou shalt not bring my daughter into the position (place) of a second wife. In Mitanni she shall [rule] as queen. The children of Mattiuaza and the children of my daughter, their children and their children's children, shall [rule] in Mitanni in future days. And in future days, the Mitannians shall plan no rebellion against Mattiuaza, the king's son, or my daughter, the king's daughter, [or against their sons] or sons' sons. Mattiuaza, the king's son, in days to come,

¹ Variant Alshai.

² *Ḥam(m)u*, a plant. *Ḥuṣṣapa*, probably the same as *ḥuṣṣabu*, some part of the date palm.

³ Variant Shuttarna.

⁴ The great king's daughter.

⁵ Fragments of only two lines of the rest of the obverse of No. 2 are left, but it is evident from these that the following paragraphs were not the same as in No. 1. They run: ". . . king of Hatti to Mitanni . . . —a(?)—li my oldest daughter." Since Biashshili figures in the opening lines of what is left of the reverse, it is possible that the Hittite king had given his eldest daughter to this prince. He would then have been on practically the same footing with the Hittite king as was Mattiuaza.

[to my sons], he shall be a brother, he shall be an equal of theirs, and the sons of Mattiuaza, the king's son, or sons of mine, or grandsons of mine, to my grandsons, he shall be a brother, he shall be an equal. . . .

(68-73) The Hittites and the Mitannians, in the days to come, with an evil eye [shall not look upon each other]. The Hittites shall do no evil to the Mitannians [and the Mitannians] shall do no evil to the Hittites. When the king of Hatti is at war with an enemy [of Hatti or an enemy of the king of Hatti], then the king of Mitanni [shall seek the well-being of the king of Hatti], and when an enemy of Mitanni, or an enemy of [the king of Mitanni appears], then the king of Hatti [shall seek] the well-being of the king of Mitanni.

(74) [The son] of Mattiuaza, (I), the great king, the king of Hatti. . . . (75) [Any treaty] which I, the great king, shall make (76) the land of Mitanni

REVERSE

(3) If the land of (4) are dwelling (5) is not planning, then against this enemy (6) (if) rests, and the enemy who comes to you (7) according to (?) or, under this oath, we will not place (if an enemy) (8) of Hatti come to thee for help

(9-13) If a fugitive flee from Hatti, [and the king of Mitanni does(?) not seize him, does(?) not] return him; if a fugitive (flee) from Mitanni, and the king of Hatti does(?) not seize him, does(?) not return him, nor [invokes?] the law of Shamash of Arinna. . . . The house of Mattiuaza, the king's son, in Hatti, he shall build. The fugitive for the city, Mattiuaza, the king's son, shall cause him to dwell. To Hatti

(14-21) (I), the great king, the king of Hatti, seized the lands of Mitanni. In the time of [Artatama, when I was?] a king's son, I did not seize them. In the time of Tushratta I seized them, and [crossed] the Euphrates and for my outpost I brought Mount Niblani inside my borders. All the fortresses of of Harmurik, Shibri, Mazuwati, Shurun, these fortresses as the stronghold of to [Biashshi-ilim?] my son I gave. All the fortresses of

Ashtati, on the other side of (the river from) Mitanni, . . . Ahuna and Tirga, these fortresses of Ashtati, when Biashshi-ilim, the king's son, with [Mattiuaza], crossed the Euphrates and entered Irrite; all of the fortresses on the other side, which Biashshi-ilim regained(?), these belong to Biashshi-ilim.

(22-27, 2-6) Now I, the great king, the king of Hatti, caused the dead Mitanni to live and restored it to its former estate. And thou shalt not diminish it, thou shalt not violate it. From your treaty thou shalt not depart and your — thou shalt not seek. Biashshi-ilim is a king's son and Mattiuaza is a king's son. Their border shall [be established] between them. If(?) a city of Biashshi-ilim, the king's son, sends a secret (message) to Mattiuaza, Mattiuaza shall render (send out) his decision, his . . . he shall seize and to Biashshi-ilim, his brother, he shall send (cause to be brought). As for Mattiuaza, since he is not sending *hibûti*¹ to a city of Biashshi-ilim, Biashshi-ilim and Mattiuaza, let them make a brotherly covenant with each other.

(28-34, 7-12) As to Biashshi-ilim, when Mattiuaza calls him for a conference² to Irrite or to Taita, Mattiuaza shall plan no treachery against Biashshi-ilim, his brother, nor shall he incite another to commit treachery against Biashshi-ilim. Furthermore, Biashshi-ilim shall not overthrow(?) any stronghold of Mattiuaza's nor plan treachery against him. He shall plan no treachery or evil whatever against Biashshi-ilim. If Mattiuaza calls Biashshi-ilim, his brother, to Karkamish for a conference,³ Biashshi-ilim shall not plan any kind of treachery or evil against Mattiuaza. As to the strongholds of Mattiuaza which are situated on the bank of the Euphrates, these let him⁴ hold; but any other city which is on the bank of the Euphrates he shall not seize.

(35-53, 13-29) A copy of this treaty (lit., tablet) was placed⁵ before Shamash (goddess) of Arinna, for Shamash of Arinna grants

¹ *hi(ti)-bu-ti*, some official?

² *ana bi išašši*, "calls for a word."

³ One expects Mattiuaza to be invited to Karkamish by Biashshi-ilim, not the other way round.

⁴ *likellu*, possibly a plural.

⁵ No. 2 has a different beginning to this section. It probably read "a copy be sent to — . . . before the sons of . . ."

kingship and queenship. And in Mitanni (another) was placed before Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa.¹ Kinship,² yea, kinship let them proclaim before the king of Mitanni and before the Harri. And now, if anyone, before Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, shall change this tablet or put it into a secret place; if he break it, or if he alter the words of the writing of this treaty, may the gods of secrecy and the gods whom the one who has taken (lit., lord of) the oath by the lifting of the hand has [invoked],³ may they stand, and may they give ear. For they are the witnesses. Shamash of Arinna, who grants kingship and queenship in Hatti, Shamash, lord of heaven, Teshub, lord of Hatti, Shêri, Ashhurra (of) Mount Nanni (and) Mount Hazzi, Teshub, lord of trade, Teshub lord of the camp, Teshub, lord of relief, Teshub of Betiarik, Teshub of Nirik, Teshub, lord of mounds, Teshub of Halab, Teshub of Lihzina, Teshub of Shamuha, Teshub of Hurma, Teshub of Sharishsha, Teshub of Shaganuwa, Teshub of Hishshashhapa, Teshub of Tahaia, Teshub of —biki, Teshub of Kizzulana, Teshub of Uda, the Lamassu⁴ of Hatti, the Lamassu of Garahum, Zithariash, Karzish, Hapanta—,⁵ the Lamassu of the plain, the Lamassu of the air, the Lamassu of the mountains(?), Liliwanish, Ea and Damkina, Telibinu of Tawinia, Telibinu of Durmitta, Telibinu of Hanhana, Istar, *multarihu*,⁶ Ashgawaba, Nisaba, Sin, lord of the oath, Ishhara, lady of the oath, Hebe, lady of heaven, Hebe of Halpa, Hebe of Uda, Hebe of Kizzulani, Zamama, Zamama of Hatti, Zamama of Illaia, Zamama of Arzia, Iarrish, Zappanash, Hashmilish, Hantedashshuish of Hurma, Abara of Shamuha, Gadahha of An—, the queen of Kasha—, Mamma of Tahurpa, Hallara of Dunna, Gazbâe of Hubishna, Bilala of Landa, Niawannish of Landa, gods of the Lullahi, the gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ);⁷ the male gods, the female gods, all of them,

¹ The meaning of *Kurinni* I do not know. Kapa is the name of a city.

² *e-im-mu-ti*, for *emûti*, which evidently means the relationship of the father-in-law to the son-in-law.

³ Variant has *iltasu*, "he invoked."

⁴ Protecting deity.

⁵ A number of the names which follow have been restored from No. 2. I have not thought it necessary to bracket all such restorations.

⁶ "The brilliant" or "sublime."

⁷ *ildni Lu-la-ûi-i, ildni SA-GAZ*.

of Hatti, the male gods, the female gods of Kissuadni, the gods of the earth, the river-god, Namshara, Minki, Ammuki, Tuhushi, Ammiz-zadu, Alalu, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ninlil, Nin-egal, the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds, the clouds.

(54-69, 30-37) Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, lords of heaven and earth, Teshub, lord of 'Kurinni of Kapa, Nergal (Gir) of Kurta, Teshub, lord of Uhushman, Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom, Anu, Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, the gods Mitrashshil, the gods Uruwanashshil, the god Indar, the gods Nashatianna,¹ Ellatsha, Shamanminuhi, Teshub, lord of Washshukkani, Teshub, lord of all of Irrite, Partahi of Shuta, Nabarwa, Shuruhi, Ashur, the star, Shala, Nin-egal, Damkina, Ishhara, the mountains and the rivers, the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, by the words of this treaty may they stand, and may they give ear. For they are the witnesses. If thou Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the Harri, dost not keep the words of this treaty, thou, Mattiuaza, and the Harri, together with your land, together with your wives, and together with your possessions, may the gods, the lords of the oath, destroy you, like a radish(?) from its stalk(?) may they drag you, as from a *bubuwaḥi*, having no ——. And thou, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom thou shalt take, and the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and together with your land, in that they have no seed, may these gods, who are the lords of the oath, give you poverty and want. And thou, Mattiuaza, may they overturn thy throne. And thee, Mattiuaza, together with thy land, may these gods by whom thou hast sworn, break thee like a reed. Thy name and thy seed by the second wife whom thou shalt take, from the earth may thy seed be destroyed. And thou, Mattiuaza, together with thy land, (like) a tablet laid aside, not sent, from the midst of the Harri, shall (thy) name perish. The land, may it be devastated and uprooted. The land of your country, truly it is a *ṣāḥu* which has been closed(?); it shall go under, it shall not survive. And thou, Mattiuaza, and the Harri, you are enemies of the thousand gods; may they overcome you.

If thou, Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the Harri, this treaty and oath dost keep, thee Mattiuaza, together with thy wife, the

¹ *ilānipl mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il, ilānipl u-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il, ilu in-dar, ilānipl na-ša-ti-ia-an-na.*

daughter of the king of Hatti, his sons and his grandsons, the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and your grandsons, may these gods keep you; and may Mitanni as of old, may it return to its (former) position (place), may it prosper, may it grow (become wider). And thee, Mattiuaza, thy sons and thy grandsons by the daughter of the king of Hatti, may they give thee (lit., him) the land(?) of Harri as an everlasting kingdom; may the throne [of thy father grow old], may Mitanni grow old.

Lines 18 f. of the reverse of No. 2 follow:

Shamash, lord of heaven, Teshub, lord of Hatti, Teshub, lord of relief, Teshub of Bittiarik, Teshub of (Teshub of) Shabuhā, Teshub of Teshub of Sharishsha, Teshub of [Teshub of] Gizzula[na], Teshub of Uta, the Lamassu of Hatti, the Lamassu of the plain, the Lamassu of Liluwanish, Ea and Dam[kina] Ashur, us— (the star)Dilbat, Ashkawabash, Nisaba Hebe of Gizzulani, Za[mama] of Zappanash, Hashmilish, Mamma, Tahurma, the gods and the brothers(!)¹ of the gods of the Habiri (*SA-GAZ*), Ninkigal, the river-god (Narra), Nam-sharra, Ninib, Nin-egallim, the mountains and rivers

Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, Sin of Har[rani] Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ni[nlil] Ellat, Samanminuhe, Teshub, lord of Uashshukani, Shuruhe, Ishtar, (the star)Dilbat, Shala, Nin-egal, Nin[ib]

No. 2. Text *KBo.* I, No. 3.

Mattiuaza's version of the treaty entered into with the king of Hatti, as given above. Here we have additional details of the struggle between Shuttarna, son of Artatama, and Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, for the kingship of Mitanni.

OBVERSE

(1-9) [When(?)] (I), Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, handed over² to Shuttarna, son of Artatama, [king of Harri, the

¹ Evidently a scribal error for Lullahi.

² Whether Mattiuaza's withdrawal in favor of Shuttarna was voluntary or otherwise is not indicated.

rule] of Mitanni, Artatama, the king, his father, did what was not right. His palace(?) . . . together with his possessions, he wasted;¹ to give them to Assyria and Alshe, he wasted them. Tushratta, the king, my father, built a palace, filled (it) with treasures, but Shutarna destroyed it, he overthrew it. The . . . of the king, headbands of silver and of gold, vessels of silver from the "house of vessels," he smashed, and to none of the . . . of his father and his brother did he give anything. But toward the Assyrian, the servant of his father, who was bringing (lit., giving) the royal tribute to him, he became friendly² and his treasures he gave him as a gift.

(8-20) Thus (I), Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta: The doors of silver and gold which Saushshatar, the king, the father of my grandfather, had taken from Assyria by his might and power, and had set them up in his palace in Washshukkani, and then Shuttarna in his meanness gave them back to Assyria. All sorts of precious vessels of silver and gold he gave to Alshe. And the palace of the king of Mitanni, together with its wealth and treasure, he ruined (wasted), into the dust he brought it (lit., with the dust he mixed it). The palace he destroyed, and the houses of the Harri he ruined. He caused the nobles to be taken to Assyria and Alshe, he carried them off. They came back and in Taite they crucified them;³ he ruined all of them. The Harri and Akit-Teshup then fled from before him, into Karaduniash they entered. With two hundred chariots he fled. But the king of Karaduniash took for himself the two hundred chariots and their belongings, all that Akit-Teshub had brought along. And Akit-Teshub and his Marianni (*plural*) he persecuted and tried to kill him (Akit-Teshub). Against me, Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, the king, he fought, but I tore myself out of his hand. Through (?) the gods of the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., I escaped, by a road which was not — they pursued us. The gods of the king of Hatti and the gods of the king of Mitanni helped (lit., caused) us to come before the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc.

(21-30) In my — I cast myself at the feet of the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., and he took me into his hand, he rejoiced over me. Every

¹ "Went through with."

² "Warmed up to the Assyrians," if one may be permitted to use this colloquialism.

³ *ana išepl izzagabušunuti.*

customary privilege¹ of Mitanni he bestowed on me. The — of Mitanni I heard(?). The great king, the valiant, spoke thus: If Shuttarna or the people of Mitanni come, I will not turn you over (to them). I will make you a child of mine. At my head(?) thou shalt stand, on the throne of thy father I will place thee. And the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., the gods know him; the words which go forth from his mouth do not return to him.² Thus I, Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta: The words of the king, my lord, I have heard and I rejoice. And I, Mattiuaza, the king's son, to the great king, my lord, speak thus: If my lord grants me life, and the gods stand at my head, and the great king, the king of Hatti, etc., does not oppose Artatama on the throne of royalty, then I will stand under his leadership, and let Mitanni accept Shuttarna. But he made the lands "not good" while I did no evil to anyone.

(31-40) When I, Mattiuaza, came before the great king, (I had) three chariots, two Harri, two "goers-after" who go forth with him,³ one garment for my front,⁴ but no food whatever, and the great king had mercy on me and chariots, wrought with gold, horses, chariots, with a covering⁵ of —, *ZA-LAM-GAR*⁶ of —, "goers-after" of *bitga*, two *zati* of [silver] and gold, together with their *gasi* which were of silver and gold, implements [and ?] vessels of silver, four —⁷ of silver, — garments, all of them made of wool, and rings of all kinds . . . were given to me. With Biashshilim, [the king's son], he received me,⁸ and the king entrusted me to the hand of Biashshilim (to be) over his chariots and his people. On our reaching Karkamish we sent a messenger to the people of Irrite: Shuttarna alienated(?) the Harri with the riches of Tushratta and made them of one mind. To Irrite we sent word to them, and these Harri sent a reply to Biashshilim: "Why dost thou come? If thou comest to fight, come on: to . . . thou shalt not." When

¹ *parṣu*, cf. No. 14, Rev. (1-10).

² *ana kutalliku ul idr*.

³ That is, "with the great king."

⁴ Or, "which I had on."

⁵ *sariam*. In the Amarna letters the *sariam* is usually of leather.

⁶ Some wooden object.

⁷ Text has "four men of Meluhha," Ethiopians.

⁸ *uttehiranni*.

we heard the words of the people of Irrite, Biashshilim, the king's son, and Mattiuaza, the king's son, crossed the Euphrates, to give battle forthwith we marched against Irrite.

(41-47) And the gods of the great king, the king of Hatti, went before [us]. And Shuttarna sent to(?) the Harri to Irrite to guard the ——. The chariots and men of the fortress of Irrite gathered together, they waited for us. On our approaching Irrite, the men and chariot(s) which were in the city, he encouraged (strengthened) against us; every with our hands we seized, and we destroyed. When the people (lit., sons) of Irrite they sent to make peace. In Irrite and the fortress of Irrite, all of them to us (the people) of Harrana and rani, gathered together and came to us. . . . in we put them.

(48-55) he sent him. One Mariannu, to go before them, he (I?) gave Washshukkani, to make peace they do not allow (favor). When the chariots Mattiuaza, the king's son and Biashshilim, the king's son, in Irrite the Assyrian his and his chariots against the chariots a messenger to us chariots and men into Washshukkani we brought him men and chariots. . . .

REVERSE

(1-7) [lord of] Hatti lord of the bow Hanti-[dashshuish of Hurma]¹ tapa, Mam[ma of Tahirpa] [Hallara of] Dunna, Gaz[bâe of Hubishna] [Niawan]nish gods of Nulah[hi gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ), the male gods [and the female gods, all] of [them of Kissua]dni, Damkina, the river-god [Tuhu]shi, Amizz[adu, A]lalu, Anu, [Antum, Enlil], Nin-lil, Nin-egal, [the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven] and earth, the winds and the clouds.

(8-17) Of the words of this treaty [the gods of] are the witnesses. If thou, Mattiuaza, and the sons of [Harri, dost not keep] the words of this treaty, thou and the Harri, together with your land, together with your wives, together with your [possessions] and together with your treasures, may these gods of the oath destroy you [like a radish(?) with its stalk(?) may they drag you away; as from

¹ Restorations after Nos. 1 and 2.

bubuwaḥḥi, having no ——. ¹ If thou, Mattiuaza, dost take [a second wife], then to thee, Mattiuaza, together with the [second] wife whom thou shalt take, and the Harri, together with their wives, their sons, [in that they have no seed], may these gods, who are lords of the oath, give you poverty and want. As for thee, Mattiuaza, may they overturn [thy throne]. And thee, Mattiuaza, together with your land, may these gods by whom thou has sworn, break like a reed. Thy name and thy seed by the second wife whom thou shalt take, from the earth may thy (*text has*, his) seed be destroyed. And thou Mattiuaza, together with thy land, (like) a tablet laid aside, not sent, from the midst of the Harri shall thy name perish. The land, may it be devastated and uprooted. The land of your country, truly it is a *ṣāḥu* which has been closed(?); it shall go under, it shall not survive. And thou, Mattiuaza, and the sons of the Harri, you are enemies of the thousand gods; may they overcome you.

(18-22) If thou, Mattiuaza and the sons of Harri, this treaty and oath dost keep, thee, Mattiuaza, together with the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, his son, and his grandson, the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and together with your land, may these gods keep you, and may Mitanni as of old return to its (former) position (place), may it prosper, may it grow (become wider). And to thee, Mattiuaza, the sons and the grandsons of the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, may they give you the mountain(?) of Mitanni as an everlasting kingdom; may the throne of thy father grow old, may the land of Mitanni grow old.

(23-45) Teshub of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, Sin of Harrani, (of) heaven and earth, Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, Teshub, lord of Uhushmani, Ea, lord of wisdom, Nergal, Kurta, Anu and Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, the gods Mitrashshil, the gods Arunashshil, the god Indara, the gods Nashatianna, Ellat, Shamanminuhe, Teshub, lord of Washshukkani, Teshub, lord of the city Kamaribi, ² of Irrite, Naparbi, Shuruhi, Ishtar, god(dess) and star, Shala, Nin-egal, Nin-aiakki, ³ Ishhara, Pardâhi of Shûda, the mountains and the rivers and

¹ Cf. No. 1. "Having" seems to be without any object in this text. In No. 1 what may be the object is rubbed.

² Cf. No. 1.

³ No. 1 has *Damkina*.

the wells, the gods of heaven and earth: If I, Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the sons of Harri, (if) we do not keep this treaty and oath, may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our wives, together with our sons, and together with our land, like the *ushu* tree, which has no shoots when it is cut off, may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our lands, and together with our wives, and together with our sons, like this *ushu* tree may we have no seed (offspring). As water of the cistern does not return to its place, so may we, like the water of the cistern, not return to our place. I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our possessions, like smoke to heaven, may we go. Like syrup,¹ which has no seed, so may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and (we) the sons of Harri, together with our lands and our wives and our sons, like the syrup have no seed; like the sip of syrup, may we not return to our place. I, Mattiuaza, if I take a second wife, may my throne be overturned. If we do not keep this treaty and oath, may the gods, the lords of the oath, destroy you. Thus Mattiuaza, the king's son, thus also the sons of Harri (shall say): "If we keep this treaty and oath with the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., may the gods whose names we have called upon, go with us, increase our numbers (widen us), guard us, strengthen us. As lord, may Mattiuaza, go on ahead; under his protection may we enjoy abundant harvests; favor and honor may we see."

May Teshub, first of heaven and earth, forever be our ally. May Mattiuaza, and we, the Harri, forever enjoy health and peace of soul. As the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., as he loves his table, his lands, his people, his sons, and his grandsons, so may he love, like these, me, Mattiuaza, together with my wife, the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, and us, the sons of Harri, the land of Mitanni, together with our lands, together with our possessions.

(46) Tablet No. 1 of his treaty and his oath, by the hand of Kiliandi.

¹ Or "salt."

No. 3. Text *KBo.* I, No. 4.

Treaty drawn up between Shubbiluliuma and Teitte of Nuhashshi, a city-state in northern Syria, near Aleppo, after the great king had driven out the king of Mitanni and his army.¹

OBVERSE

(Col. I, 1-11) Thus, the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant: When the king of Mitanni sought to kill Sharrupsha, and the king of Mitanni, together with his picked² troops and his chariots entered Nuhashshi; when he pressed him hard, then Sharrupsha sent his messenger to (me), the king of Hatti: "The servant of the king of Hatti am I, save me." And (I), the Sun, sent men and horses to rescue him, and the king of Mitanni, together with his picked troops and his chariots they drove away from Nuhashshi.

(12-22) In this matter I did not become angry(?), but went to Sharrupsha, to rescue him. And when in those days, with the king of Hatti, the king of Hatti to (against?) Ishuwa. When he devastated Ishuwa and against of Sharrupsha in Mitanni when I (he?) reached, of Mount Kashia[ra] king of Alshe Kashiara when I devastated(?).

(23-33, *only ends of lines left*) my words made war before him, he heard and this one the city with them

(Col. II, 1-5) In one year let the merchants of Hatti surely [bring] his *argamanna* (purple?) and with weights (stones) weigh (it). Teitte before the Sun, his lord, to Hatti shall come in his time (year).

(6-20) And with my friend he shall be at peace, with my enemy he shall be at enmity. If the king of Hatti, into Harri, or into Egypt, or into Karaduniash, or into Astata or into any lands of the enemy which are near the border of thy land, which are at war with the king of Hatti; or any lands which are near the border of thy land, which are at peace with the king of Hatti, (if) they besiege

¹ This Teitte, or Tette, is mentioned in the "Hittite" texts from Boghazkeui, cf. Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 135.

² *gábē huratišu*, cf. glossary to *Amarna Letters*.

Mukish,¹ or Halpa, or Kinza, make war on the king of Hatti, when the king of Hatti goes forth to plunder (these), if Teitte in his heart (that is, loyally) does not guard his troops and his chariots, or if in the evil of his heart he does not follow them(?); or whether it is a prince or a great lord (who comes out) with his men and his chariots (21-32) and calls on(?) Teitte for his troops to go to plunder another land, if Teitte, in the evil of his heart does not guard his men and his chariots and does not fight with the enemy, or if he does any hostile act (act of treachery), saying: "What of the oath and the treaty? If the enemy kills him or if the enemy kills thee, surely he will not know about it." And if against this enemy (he goes) thou shalt surely not write(?): "Behold the troops of Hatti are marching out to plunder, indeed he has surrounded the stronghold(?), and has departed from the oath."

(Seven lines uninscribed)

(40-47) second if the people(?) of Harri of Astata² of(?) Lubka² enter the king of Hatti [from his oath he has departed.

(48-56) (against) the king another enemy comes out and plunders Hatti, if with the king of Hatti Teitte shall hear it his men, his chariots to the forces of(?) the noble he goes forth, and if thou, Teitte, do not follow(?); whet he it be his son, or his brother, or a Mariannu, to men, chariots, and to the forces of the king of Hatti, may he come in haste.

REVERSE

(Col. III, 1-10) To anything they destroy and to the king of Hatti, goods place, and the king and if a — [or if a —] or if a king's son or if a great lord, when he sends, and that enemy and Teitte, to him(?) and because of his carelessness, if shall return to him. After men, chariots. . . .

(11-20) And and against his fortress, the king of [Hatti] —s them. The treasure he enters What of the treaty? surely does not in his heart

¹ Scribal error for *Mukishhe*.

² Names of lands.

(21-24) If to Teitte he shall seize and Teitte the woman will not send to him

(25-32 Any son of Nuhashshi who in Hatti dwells whether it be a servant, a woman, a female slave Teitte to the king of Hatti return them, he shall give to him, he shall take [them] any he shall not give him his servant to Teitte Hatti shall steal he shall go.

(33-53) And if

(54-57) Nuhashshi any he shall take, any noble he shall not take.

(57-59) Teitte, his bow, dead his we(?) will send to him.

(Col. IV. 1-10) —*hatu* [Mount] Hazzi [Teshub of A]bina, Teshub of [Teshub of Be]ltiarik, Teshub of N[irik] Teshub of Sharish[sha] [Teshub of Ki]ssuti, Teshub of Uda, Teshub of Ishhubitta, Teshub of Nuhashshi

(11-16) the Lamassu of Hatti, Zithari[ash] Daliash, the Lamassu of Karah— Ea, Alla— Durmitta, Telibinu of [Tawin]ia, [Tel]libinu of Hanahana. . . .

(17-21) lord of the oath, Ishhara, queen of the oath, Hebe, Ishtar, Belit, Ishtar of Ninuwa, Ishtar of Hattarrina, Ninadda, Kulitta, Zamama, Zamama of Hatti, Zamama of Ellaia, Zamama of Arzia, Iarri, Zappana.

(22-35) Hantitashshu of Hurma, Aparu of Shamuha, Kadahha of Anshuwa, Sharrat of Gatapa, LUGAL-SAL-NUN-ME (=Mamma) of Tahurpa, Hallara of Dunna, Gazbâ of Hubishna, Tabishûwa of Ishhubitta, Beldi of Lanta, Niawannish of Lanta, Nin-PISAN-PISAN-na of Kinza, Mount Lablani, Mount Shariana, Mount Bishaisha, the gods of the Lulahhi, the gods of the Habiri, Nin-kigal, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Hatti, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Kissuwadni, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Nuhashshi, the gods of eternity, all of them, the river-god, Namtara, Minki, Tûhushi, Ammuki, Ammizatum, Alalu, Antum, Anu, Apantum, Enlil, Ninlil,

(36-49) the mountains, rivers, wells, the great sea, heaven and earth, the winds, all of them, to this treaty and oath, truly they are the witnesses. All the words of this treaty and oath, which are written in this tablet, if Teitte does not keep the words of this treaty and oath and from this oath departs, may the gods of this oath (lit., the oath by these gods) destroy Teitte, [his brother], his wives, his sons, his grandsons, his house, his city, his land, his together with all that he has. But if Teitte keep the words of this treaty and oath which are written in this tablet, then may Teitte from his head, his wives, his his his land(?)

(50-51) This tablet according to

No. 4. Text *KBo.* I, No. 5.

Copy of the treaty between Murshili, son of Shubbiluliuma, and Shunashshura of Kissuwadni.¹

OBVERSE

(Col. I, 1-4) Thus [Murshili, the great king, etc.]: When with between them this treaty between them they drew up.

(5-7) Formerly in the time of my father's father, Kissuwadni was part of Hatti, and later Kissuwadni broke away from Hatti and went over to Harri.

(8-13) When, in Ishuwa, [the servants] of the Sun plotted evil against the Sun, the Sun went to seize them. Ishuwa was willing (to have) him (do so) but . . . fled before the Sun and reached Harri. The Sun sent to the Harri saying: "Return my servants." And the Harri afterward sent (a message) to the Sun (as follows):

(14-19) "These fortresses (that is, the people of these fortresses) formerly came to my grandfather, to Harri, and dwelt there, and then, afterward, they went to Hatti as fugitives. And, thereupon, oxen and the stables of their oxen were assigned them, so they have come to my land."

(20-24) The Harri² did not return my servants to the Sun. His men and his horses he sent and they plundered Ishuwa behind

¹ I have not seen Golla's dissertation on this text. Cf. p. 162, n. 3.

² *Sing.*, "man of Harri."

the back of the Sun. All kinds of plunder, oxen, sheep, they captured, and took them back to Harri. The Sun was stationed (lit., dwelt) in another place, making war against an enemy.

(25-29) The Harri violated the oath by the gods. The Sun sent this (message) to the Harri: "If this reaches you: Is any land separating itself from you, and going over to Hatti?" After this word, the Harri sent this to the Sun: "'Tis surely a revolt."

(30-33) Now Kissuwadni, belonging to Hatti, oxen and the stables of their oxen were assigned them. From Harri they broke away, to the Sun they went over. The Harri sinned against Hatti and against Kissuwadni greatly he sinned.

(34-37) Kissuwadni followed him (the Harri?) exceedingly much in his separation (from Hatti). Now Hatti and Kissuwadni from the oath of the gods are surely freed. Now the Sun has restored Kissuwadni to freedom.

(38-44) The Harri (the people) call Shunashshura a slave; but now the Sun makes him a legitimate king. Shunashshura shall come before the Sun, the face of the Sun shall he see. When he comes before the Sun, none of the nobles of the Sun shall remain seated on the couch(?)¹ before him. Afterward, he shall return to Kissuwadni.

(45-48) Whenever the Sun says to him: "Come before me." If he is not willing to come, whatever son of his the king commands, this one shall come before the Sun, but to the Sun he need surely give no *argamanna* (purple?).

(49-54) The Sun, the great king, shall not oppose Shunashshura, shall not make war against him. As the Sun guards his own head and his land, so may he also guard the head and land of Shunashshura. Any heir of his, whom Shunashshura shall mention to the Sun for the kingship, that one the Sun shall guard (approve of) for the kingship.

(55-59) Shunashshura shall not oppose the great king, nor shall he make war against him. As Shunashshura guards his land and his head, so may he also guard the head and land of the Sun. Any heir of his whom the Sun shall mention to Shunashshura for the kingship, that one Shunashshura shall guard for the kingship.

¹ *iqū* M.A.S. glossed *A*, which has the value *maiatu*.

(60-64) If the Sun opposes anyone the Sun, may he attain to the desire of his heart also that one. If the Sun, his enemy him.

(65-71) (*Only a few signs of ends of lines left*) He shall give to him kingship.

(Col. II, 1) Shunashshura, when (if) he wishes, with

(2-6) If any approach the head of Shunashshura, Shunashshura [shall act according to] the desire [of his heart]. If a foe [enter] Kissuwadni, if he seize a city and shut it up, as he is the enemy of Shunashshura, so shall he also be (an enemy) of the Sun.

(7-10) If the people of Kissuwadni seize that enemy, they shall kill him. If they give him over to the Sun, he shall kill him. The Sun is truly at peace with the people of Kissuwadni.

(11-15) [If an enemy of] Shunashshura desires it of the Sun, and(?) he cause him to take his seat on the throne, if the people of Kissuwadni do not slay that enemy, do not give him over to the Sun, he does not kill him, the [Sun] is able, then with Kissuwadni he is at war.

(16-18) If anyone, whether man or city, make a revolt against the Sun, or make war upon him, Shunashshura as soon as he hears of it, shall report it to the Sun.

(19-21) If anyone, whether [man or city], make a revolt against Shunashshura, [or make war on him], the Sun, as soon as hears of it, shall report it to Shunashshura.

(22-23) If another land starts any hostility against the Sun, when Shunashshura hears of it, he shall report it to the Sun.

(24-25) If another land starts any hostility against Shunashshura, when the Sun hears of it, he shall report it to Shunashshura.

(26-28) If any city starts hostility in the land of the Sun, as this one is the enemy of the Sun, so also shall it be the enemy of Shunashshura, together they shall make war (against it).

(29-30) The property of the city, which as booty the men of Shunashshura shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him).

(31-33) The property of the city, which as booty the men of the Sun shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him). The city is ground (lit., dust) of the Sun.

(34-36) And if any city starts hostility in the land of Shunashshura, as this one is the enemy of Shunashshura, so also shall it be the enemy of the Sun, together they shall make war (against it).

(37-38) The property of the city, which as booty the men of Shunashshura shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him).

(39-41) And the property of the city, which as booty the men of the Sun shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him). The city is ground (dust) of Shunashshura.

(42-45) If any land starts hostility against the Sun, and the land at the time is under oath of the gods to Shunashshura, and the Sun asks Shunashshura for "mustered troops," he shall give him the "mustered troops."

(46-48) If Shunashshura gives the troops, says: "Against the enemy take them." He shall take them. If he does not say so, they shall remain in his land to guard it.

(49-50) If he takes the troops against the enemy, the troops of the Sun, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it. The troops of Shunashshura, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it.

(51-55) If any land starts hostility against Shunashshura, and the land at the time is under oath of the gods to the Sun, and Shunashshura asks the Sun for "mustered troops," the Sun shall give him the "mustered troops."

(56-58) And if the Sun gives the troops, says: "Against the enemy take them." He shall take them. If he does not say this, they shall remain in his land to guard it.

(59-62) If he takes the troops against the enemy, the troops of Shunashshura, the spoil, the booty which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it. The troops of the Sun, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it.

(63-69) If there arise serious (great) hostility against the Sun, and the enemy enter into his land in his assaults; if into the land of Shunashshura (the call?) comes: "Shunashshura together with thy picked troops to my rescue come." If before thee any such word comes, before thy picked troops, send thy son, to my rescue come.

REVERSE

(Col. III, 1-6) If there arise serious hostility against Shunashshura, if the enemy in his assaults come into his land; if into the land of the Sun (the call?) comes, I, the Sun, will come with¹ my picked troops to thy rescue. If before the Sun any such word comes, before my picked troops, I will send help.

(7-10) Anyone starting hostility with the Sun, he is surely an enemy of Shunashshura. Shunashshura (shall say): "My assembled troops are at the disposal of the Sun. With him let us indeed make war."

(11-13) And anyone starting war with Shunashshura, he is surely an enemy of the Sun. The Sun (shall say): "My assembled troops [are at thy disposal].² With him let us indeed make war.

(14-15) [If] anyone instigates a rebellion against the Sun, I, Shunashshura will hunt him down.

(16-17) And [if] anyone instigates a rebellion against Shunashshura, thou, the Sun, shalt surely hunt him down.

(18-19) The land of Hatti, in the days to come, shall surely not instigate any rebellion or evil against Kissuwadni.

(20-21) And Kissuwadni, in the days to come, shall surely not instigate any rebellion or evil against Hatti.

(22-24) If any man of Hatti shall hear of a matter concerning Shunashshura from the mouth of an enemy, he shall report it to Shunashshura.

(25-27) And if any man of Kissuwadni shall hear of a matter concerning the Sun from the mouth of an enemy, he shall report it to the Sun.

¹ Text has "from."

² Omitted by scribe.

(28-30) If the Sun sends his messenger to Shunashshura, Shunashshura shall do nothing wicked, he shall not ensnare him in any magic (magical plant).

(31-34) If Shunashshura (sends) either his son or his messenger into the presence of the Sun, or if Shunashshura goes himself, the Sun shall do nothing wicked to them, he shall not ensnare them in any magic.

(35-36) Hatti and Kissuwadni, an exceedingly strong alliance let them make between them.

(37-39) Again: If any stronghold of Harri "overflows" against a stronghold of Shunashshura, in any city of Harri we will make war together against it.¹

(40-44) And whatever booty the troops of the Sun capture, the troops of the Sun shall take. And whatever booty the troops of Shunashshura shall capture, the troops of Shunashshura shall take. The ground of that city the Sun shall give to Shunashshura, the Sun shall surely increase (widen) his land.

(45-49) And of any stronghold of Harri that we smite, whatever I, the Sun, desire, I, the Sun, shall take. And whatever he desires to Shunashshura I will give. The land of Kissuwadni, in the days to come, shall never turn back to Harri.

(50-55) Again: If the Harri shall hear (it said): "Did not Shunashshura break away from the king of Harri and go over to the Sun?" If the king of Harri attempts any [evil?] because of Shunashshura, [I, the Sun], because of Shunashshura, will not accept any greetings (peace gifts) from the king of Harri.

(56-59) [And if] the king of Harri, shall cease from persecuting Shunashshura, [the king of] Harri shall say: "The land of Kissuwadni is indeed the land of the Sun, and I, moreover, shall not do any violence to the land of Kissuwadni."

(60-63) [And when] the king of Harri is thus placed under oath by the gods, and I, the Sun, make peace with the king of Harri, and if the king of Harri does not cease persecuting Shunashshura, his greetings (gifts) I will not accept.

¹ We will make war together against any city of Harri in which this occurs.

(Col. IV, 1-4) Shunashshura together let us make war

(5-10) Anyone of the land of Harri, whether merchant or (trades)man,¹ of the city of Urushsha, who has been given over into the hand of Shunashshura, hereafter to the king of Harri, I will never give. And hereafter, if the king of Harri seeks anything of them through a "good" claim, I, the Sun, will not permit it. The king of Harri is to be placed under oath by the gods.

(11-13) If against (me), the Sun, my enemy (comes), he shall be my enemy; if he comes against (thee), Shunashshura, he shall be thy enemy; and (if) this enemy undertakes war against us

(14-18) and (thou), Shunashshura, shalt say: "Thy troops of Hatti, may they come to my rescue, and may fear of thee be established in my land." Then, I, the Sun, will give thee troops and horses in sufficient (numbers). Shunashshura shall give me troops and horses, as many as are (needed).

(19-24) Further: If (I), the Sun, go into another country to make war, be it into Harri, be it into Arzuwa, Shunashshura shall furnish one hundred horsemen and one thousand foot soldiers for the camp. With the Sun he shall march. Their rations (food for the road) which they receive up to the time they reach the Sun, the Sun shall give them.

(25-31) Further: The tablet of the oath by the gods, which he (?) has made, we will surely destroy it: the word of the Harri, we will put it into the water(?).² In addition, Shunashshura shall not be [the subject] of the Harri. We will make a second tablet. Nor shall Shunashshura send his messenger to the king of Harri. And a messenger of the land of Harri shall not be brought into his land.

(32-39) Again: If the Sun send thee a letter (tablet), in which letter the (record) of a matter has been put down, and the messenger report (verbally) to thee about the matter which he has brought to thee: if the words of the messenger agree with the wording of the

¹ Possibly "slaves."

² Destroy the writing by putting the tablet into water. The *me* may, however, go with what follows.

letter, then thou, Shunashshura, trust (believe) him. But if the words which thou hast from the mouth of the messenger do not correspond with the words of the letter, thou, Shunashshura, shalt not trust him; and thou shalt surely not take any harm in thy heart over these words.

(40-42) Beginning at the sea (the Black Sea?), they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory) between Lamia (a city) which belongs to the Sun, and Bituratu, which belongs to Shunashshura. The Sun shall not rebuild Lamia.

(43-51) They shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory) between Arûna (city), which belongs to the Sun and Bituratu, which belongs to Shunashshura. The Sun shall not rebuild Arûna. Between Shâlia, which belongs to the Sun, and Zinziluwa and Erimma, which belong to Shunashshura, they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory). The Sun shall rebuild Shâlia. Between Anamushta, which belongs to the Sun, and the mountain of Zabarina(?), which belongs to Shunashshura, they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory). The Sun shall rebuild Anamushta.

(52-57) The ancient boundary of both of these (shall be kept). That which is in the neighborhood (lit., by the side of) Turutuna, let the great king keep, and that which is in the neighborhood of Atania, let Shunashshura keep. From Luwana to Durbina (runs) the boundary of Shunashshura. That which is on the side of Hatti, let the great king keep; that which is on the side of Atania, let Shunashshura keep.

(58-61) Sherigga belongs to the Sun; Luwana, to Shunashshura. The Shamri river (lit., "powerful, raging," river) is the boundary. The great king shall not cross the Shamri river to the side of Atania; Shunashshura shall not cross the Shamri river to the side of Hatti.

(62-66) From Zilabbuna the Shamri river is the boundary, from . . . the Shamri river is the boundary of Shunashshura. Shunashshura shall not cross the Shamri river to [the Hatti] side; the great king shall not [cross the Shamri river to the side of . . .]

No. 5. Text *KBo.* I, No. 6.

Treaty between Murshili and Rimisharma, king of Aleppo. The original having been broken, a new copy was drawn up by Mutallu, the son of Murshili. This is the text we have.

OBVERSE

(1-2) the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant
. . . . the valiant, the grandson of Shubbiluliuma, the great king
. . . .

(3-8) A treaty tablet for Rimisharma, king of Halab, my father Murshili caused to be made and the former(?) tablet was broken and I, the great king, wrote another tablet for him. With my seal I sealed it and gave it to him. By day, in the morning, any word which is in this tablet, no one shall blot out. The word of treaty of the great king, it is not to be not to be broken the oath and the treaty which my father Murshili made for him, is here written.

(9-10) Thus the Sun, Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, son of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti:

(11-14) Formerly the kings of Halab held a great kingdom (kingship), and their kingdom, Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, took away.¹ After Hattushili, king of Hatti, Murshili, the great king, the grandson of Hattushili, the great king, destroyed the kingdom of Halab and the land of Halab.

(15-18) When Dudhalia, the great king, ascended the royal throne, the king of Halab with him the king of Halab with the king of Hanigalbat and the king of Hanigalbat; and the king of Halab, because of this matter devastated for him(?) and the city of Halab he destroyed.

(19-20) The king of Halab sinned against the king of Hanigalbat, and with Hattushili, king of Hatti, he

(21-22) The people of Ashtati let us make(?) and our boundaries of Halab let us for him.

(23-24) And the king of Mitanni the people of Nuhashi, strongholds and boundaries he gave.

¹ *ullēli*, might also be translated "kept it up."

(25-27) And their tablets which these he wrote for them with his seal he sealed them the people of Halab against Hattushili, the king of Hatti, thus committed sin.

(28-32) to Hattushili, and the king of Hatti [our] fortresses [and our boundaries] of Halab, returned to him our fortresses and our boundaries of Halab which the king of Halab and to the king of Nuhashshi, and he pardoned them bears.

(33-36) king of Hatti, my father, [ascended] the throne of royalty Karkamish, Halab, and the lands of Nuhashshi which the king of Amurri(?) took from them our he established.

(37-41) the king of Ashtati and against the people of Nuhashshi king of fortresses of of Halab

REVERSE

(1-10) the great king the Sun Rimisharma I will guard, and the sons of Rimisharma, let the sons of the Sun, Murshili, king of Hatti, guard them. And the sons of the Sun, the sons of Rimisharma shall not plunder (ruin) them. The Sun, the great king, shall be the ally of Rimisharma, king of Halab, and Rimisharma, king of Halab, shall be the ally of the Sun, the great king. The sons of the Sun, Murshili, king of Hatti, shall be the allies of the sons of Rimisharma, and the sons of Rimisharma shall be the allies of the sons of the Sun. And we, the sons of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, all of us, and our house, are surely of one (mind) in this matter. The gods of Hatti and the gods of Halab are witnesses.

(11-16) In future days, for the king of Hatti, the kingship of Halab, on him shall surely not(?) —. Let Rimisharma, king of Halab, guard the Sun, Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, and let the Sun, Murshili, the great king, guard Rimisharma, king of Halab. Any to the hand of Rimisharma or to the hand of his son or his grandson, they shall surely not take it away(?). And the kingship of Halab the son or grandson of Rimisharma, king of Halab, shall hold.

(17-22) This tablet, in Hatti, before the Rabsaris, —hurunuwa, king of —naia, the Rabsaris, Gashshû urianni, A—anhabili, Lupakki,¹ chief of the sons of the palace, chief of the scribes, — washili, the scribe wrote.

No. 6. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 7 and 25.

Copy of the treaty, long since known from the hieroglyphic version, between Hattushili, grandson of Shubbiluliuma, and Ramses II. It should be read with Breasted's *Ancient Records*, III, secs. 367 f., at hand.

OBVERSE

(1) [Thus, the tablet of the treaty] of Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, [the king of Egypt, the valiant], with Hattushili, [the great king], the king of Hatti, his brother, to give [good] peace, good brotherhood, and great between them to Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, the valiant in all lands, son of (5) Minmuaria, the great king, the king of Egypt, the valiant, grandson of Minpahiritaria, the great king, [the king of Egypt], the valiant, to Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant, son of Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant, grandson of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant: Behold, now I have given good brotherhood and good peace between us, to give good peace and good brotherhood for all time in the [relations] of Egypt with Hatti, for all time, thus: Behold the relationship of the great king, the king of Egypt, (10) and the great king, the king of Hatti, from of old; god will not allow an enemy (enmity) to be made between them forever. Behold, Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, to make a relationship such as Ria made, such as Teshub made, for Egypt and for Hatti, by his relationship from eternity to prevent the making of enmity now and forever and ever; (this) Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, has accomplished this (day) by the treaty on a silver tablet (15) with Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother, in

¹ Cf. *Amarna Letters*, 170, 15.

order to give good peace and good brotherhood, now and forever. He is my brother, and I am brother to him, and I am at peace with him, forever. Let us make our brotherhood and our peace, and let it be a better brotherhood and peace than there was before between Egypt and Hatti.

Behold Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, (is in a state) of good peace and good brotherhood with Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti. Behold, the sons of Riamashesha-mai-Amana, king of Egypt, (20) are at peace and in brotherly relationship with the sons of Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, forever. And they, because of our state of brotherhood and peace, even Egypt with Hatti, are at peace and in brotherly relationship, as we are, forever.

And Riamashesha-mia-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, shall not plunder (devastate) Hatti in order to get something out of it for and Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, shall not plunder Egypt in order to get something out of it (for)

Behold the eternal decree which Ria and Teshub have made (25) for Egypt and Hatti, that there should be peace and brotherhood, that they should not allow any enmity (to arise) between them. Behold, Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, has taken advantage of (lit., laid hold on) this (decree) to keep the peace unto this day. Behold Egypt (in like manner, shall maintain) its brotherly relations with Hatti, forever. And if another enemy comes against Hatti and Ha[ttushili, the great king, the king of Ha]tti, sends to me, saying: Come to me, be my ally against him. Then Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, (30) shall send his troops, his chariots and they shall slay [the enemy] Hatti. And if Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, is angered against his servants because they have sinned against him, and thou sendest to Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, about this, behold Riamashesha-mai-Amana, will send his troops and his chariots and they shall destroy all who oppose them.

And if another enemy come against Egypt, and Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the king of Egypt, thy brother, sends to Hattushili,

(35) the king of Hatti, his brother, saying; "Come to my aid against him." Then Hattushili, king of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots, and shall kill my enemy. And if Riamashesha-mai-Amana, king of Egypt, is angered against his servants because they have sinned against him, and I send to Hattushili, king of Hatti, my brother, about [this], then Hattushili, king of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots and they shall slay all who oppose him.

(40) And behold, the son of Hattushili, king of Hatti, (whatever) he does(?) in the place of Hattushili, his father, after years (if any of) Hatti commit sin until he returns the chariots

No. 7. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 15 and 19.

As Meissner observed, this badly broken text is evidently the Hittite version of the famous battle of Kadesh, described in prose and verse by the scribes of Ramses II. Here also Breasted's *Ancient Records* should be kept in hand (III, secs. 294 f.).

OBVERSE

(3-9) And thou to hear what — when — me this matter thou could'st not. . . . Truth, not truth (are) these words. . . . Over all that was done for him, and let them do it, and when thou many to a side, and so far thou hast not

(10-14) Again: And what thou hast written me, I thus: thou art not mindful of the days when the enemy. . . . Behold, the enmity which this god and this one in the midst of the enemy of Hatti, like of Muttalli, king of Hatti

(15-23) And the armies (camps) of the great king, the king of Egypt and when the armies which were in front of the great king, the king of [Egypt] (the road to) Hatti he was taking, and they said three armies are advancing over the roads and thus far and the king is sitting on his throne by the side(?) they made, they burned, and while the king went (rushed) about, and the king did not know together with the lands that were with him, all of them his side(?), and there were no armies of mine(?) [in] my — and no armies [of his in].

(24-28, 3-7) I carried off the enemies of these lands, of the land, of . . . before the sons of Egypt (Egyptians) and before the sons of Hatti (Hittites) . . . and when thou didst say to my armies: there are no armies in . . . one of his armies was in the midst of Amurru, and a second army (was in . . .) . . . and the second army was approaching Taminta . . .

(29-31, 8-16) And when the king — thy — to Kinahhi, against (in front of) . . . [against] Hatti thou wast exceedingly haughty(?) . . . [against] Kinza and against Hareta, and against . . . and Muwatalli, king of [Hatti], . . . and he was sitting in the city . . . why these to (against) . . . against them, and if . . . me, and he(?) . . . thee(?), behold, the oath . . .

REVERSE

(1-2, 1-8) . . . Shamash of Kianna(?), before the great gods . . . which thou didst do (make) against me . . .

. . . dost thou remember the enemy . . . behold, the great gods of the lands . . . we made, thus I did not . . . I will guard him, greatly peace . . .

(3-6, 9-12) And I did not know any of these things. . . . Thou hast written to me as follows: Seize him . . . are seized, but they did not seize him. Behold, the good condition . . . for Egypt with Hatti, before me for. . . .

(7-15, 13-17) Again: And what thou hast written about the matter of Paku . . . together with a hundred others, when he . . . of the Meluhhites (people of Meluhha); Biati thou shalt not give . . . like him. Behold, Biriwnawa, the old man . . . thou shalt not give. The governor(?). . . . Behold, Riannâ(?) . . . to make, the governor of . . . to make, the king of Halba, . . . against them, and they were not like . . .

(16-22) And thou hast written about the matter . . . and the city of Kiswadna . . . about this matter . . . thus he stands and . . . before Shamash, before . . . and the king at thy side greatly . . . the great gods, they will . . .

(23-26) Behold, this . . . who was (or did) not . . . and the king . . .

No. 8. Text *KBo.* I, No. 29.

Naptera, wife of Ramses II, sends greetings to Pudu-Hepa, wife of Hattushili. On the silver tablet containing Ramses' copy of the "Hittite treaty" there were represented the figures of the Hittite king and queen. "[That which is in the middle on its other side] is a figure, in the likeness of — (goddess) of Kheta, embracing the figure of the princess of Kheta, surrounded by the following words: 'The seal of the Sun-god of the city of Ernen (Arinna), the lord of the land; the seal of Petkhep (Pudu-Hepa), the princess of the land of Kheta, the daughter of the land of Kezweden (Kissuwadni),' etc."—Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, sec. 391.¹

(1-2) Thus: Naptera, the great queen of Egypt, to Pudu-Hepa, the great queen of Hatti, my sister. Speak!

(3) To me, thy sister, there is peace, to my land there is peace.

(4-11) To thee, my sister, may there be peace, to thy land may there be peace. Behold, I have heard that my sister has written to me, to ask about my health (lit., peace), and she has written to me about the relationship of good peace, about the relationship of good brotherhood wherein the great king, the king of Egypt, (abides) with the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother.

(12-19) Ria and Teshub will lift up thy head, and Ria will give peace for thy benefit. And he will give good brotherhood of the great king, the king of Egypt, with the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother, forever. And I am at peace and sisterly with the great queen, my sister; I, now [and forever].

No. 9. Text *KBo.* I, No. 21.

Perhaps another letter from Naptera to Pudu-Hepa. It may have formed part of the correspondence which led to the visit of the Hittite king, Hattushili, to Egypt to be present at the marriage of his eldest daughter to Ramses II (1259 B.C.).

OBVERSE

(1-6) daughter against Id²— to send it to the king what my sister wishes to be sent to to send it.

¹ I have added in parentheses the proper names as they appear in the cuneiform.

² A man's name.

(7-13) these men of the land of Ga— them, and they are obedient of my brother with him the sister(?) who in it which they made for them, not for my sister(?) thou art a lady of the land of her —, all

(14-16) and what my sister has written me thus: "He will not give them in their houses(?)"

REVERSE

(1-4) what my sister has written to me, behold [the things] have been done . . . before them according to the right, and according as they do to bring(?) anything before them to bring before another.

(5-8) what my sister has written to me their — marched is desirous of coming here(?) they —, they —.

(9-13) behold, I am burning (with desire), with Riamashia to come before thee to see how you are (your peace) the peace of your land.

No. 10. Text *KBo.* I, No. 23.

A letter concerning the bringing-up of a child born to the king of Egypt, possibly a little granddaughter of Hattushili (cf. No. 9).

OVERSE

(1-2) Copy of the writing which Teshub made between Egypt and between Hatti.

(3-11) What was not¹ upon the writing which thou didst send: A daughter was born to the king of Egypt. The writing speaks thus, and the great gods of Egypt spoke to him; and to speak the truth is on their lips; and as men act, so may he; they spoke to him, saying: "This daughter which has been born to thee, bring her to us and we will make her queen (lit., to queenship) of another land."

¹ I do not understand the force of the negative. Meissner suggests it is a mistake for *ultu*, but this would not make any sense either.

(12-15) And the land in which we will make her queen shall be made, together with Egypt, their and that one said(?) they keep her

REVERSE

(1-5) Written according to the wording (mouth) of the original tablet: nothing has been changed.

No. 11. Text *KBo.* I, No. 24.

A letter from Ramses to the king of Mirâ, in which he denies having acted in a manner contrary to his treaty with the Hittite king.

OBVERSE

(1-5) Thus Washmuaria-Shatebnaria, the great king, [the king of Egypt], son of Ria, Riamashseha-mai-Amama, to Sha— (or Ku—), king of Mirâ, speak: Behold, to me [there is peace, to my house there is peace, to my wife there is peace], to my sons there is peace, to my troops there is peace, to my horses [there is peace] to my chariots there is peace, in the midst of all of my land there is abundant [peace].

(6) To thee, king of Mirâ, may there be peace, to thy land may [there be peace].

(7-13) Behold, the great king, the king of Egypt, has heard all the words [which thou hast written] to me about what follows: Concerning the matters about Urhi-Teshub, they did not [happen after the manner] of what thou hast written me thereof. And so again I say: Behold the good relationship which the great king, the king of Egypt, has established (made) with the king of [Hatti], my brother: in good brotherhood and good peace, like Ria, and [Teshub] may they live forever. Again, behold the matter of Urhi-Teshub, whereof thou [hast written me], the great king, the king of Hatti, has acted according to

(14-20) And that one wrote to me thus about him: Let him give the great king, the king of Egypt, for the quieting of his troops, let him give for the and let that one give his gold, and let that one give his silver, and let him give his horses. And give thou for the giving of his bronze, and give and let him seize Urhi-Teshub great king, the king of

REVERSE

(1-2) the great king, the king of Hatti. . . .

(3-7) this word about which I have written to thee and about which thou hast written to me concerning them (*fem.*). Behold the writing of the oath which I swore for the great king, the king of Hatti, my brother, it is placed under the feet of [Teshub], before the great gods. Are they not the witnesses [of these words?]

(8-10) And behold, the writing of the oath which the great king, [the king of Hatti], swore (made) for me. It is placed under the feet of Ria, before the great gods. Are they not the witnesses of these words?

(11-15) I have held fast to the oath, I have not let it go. Thou, do thou not [believe] the words of untruth which thou hast heard about (the matter). There is nothing in it. Behold the good relationship (of brotherhood) and peace wherein I (live) with the great king [the king of Hatti]. Therein I (abide) now and forever.

No. 12. Text *KBo*, I, No. 8.

Treaty between Hattushili and Bantishinna of Amurru. The opening lines contain references to Shubbiluliuma's treaty with Azira of Amurru, pictured in the Amarna letters, by those who did not like him, as a consummate villain.

OBVERSE

(1-3) [Thus Hattushili, the great king, etc., grandson] of Shubbiluliuma, the king of Hatti, the valiant [with Bantishinna]. . . . ,

(4-6) Before Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, Azira, king [of Amurru, had fled and thrown himself on the mercy of the king] of Egypt, and [then, later, he threw himself] at the feet of Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, and my grandfather had mercy on him and wrote a treaty of peace (tablet of treaty), the boundaries of Amurru as his fathers knew them,¹ he defined (lit., wrote) and gave to him.

(7-10) When Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, died, Murshili, my father, the son of Shubbiluliuma, sat on the royal throne. In

¹ Lit., "of his fathers."

Amurru, Idin-Teshub seized the kingship. After Idin-Teshub, Abbi-Teshub seized the royal throne. According to the treaty which Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, wrote for Azira, the treaty (lit., tablet) of my grandfather they observed.

(11-15) After my father, Muwattalli, my brother, seized the royal throne. Muwattalli, my brother, — Bantishinna. [When Azira] died, Bantishinna of Amurru seized the royal throne. Muwattalli, my brother, Bantishinna, king of Amurru, from the throne of Amurru he removed him and brought him to Hatti. I, at that time, requested him of Muwattalli, my brother, and alone(?) I took him to Haggamishsha; a palace I gave him; no harm befell him (lit., he saw no harm); I guarded him.

(16-21) When Nergal had snatched the great king to his fate, I, Hattushili, sat on the throne of my father. Bantishinna, a second time, I made ruler(?) of [Amurru]. The house of his father and the royal throne I confirmed upon him. Between us [we established] kinship. My son Nerikka-ilim took the daughter of Bantishinna of Amurru for his wife. And the king's daughter, Gashshuliaie, in Amurru, for the king's house, to Bantishinna I gave for his wife. (In) Amurru she shall hold the place of queen (?). The kingship in Amurru shall belong to the son and grandson of my daughter for all time.

(22-27) again(?) spoke as follows: To my lord: surely a dead man was I, my of Amurru, to the throne of my father he restored me to life he restored me, and may my lord, the tablet of treaty and oath let them write(?) Bantishinna of Amurru, as king, in future days, the kingship of Amurru [shall hold]. From(?) the hand of his son or the hand of his grandson, let no one take it. Whatever thou, Bantishinna shalt ask of me, I, the Sun, will not withhold it.

(28-33) [I, the Sun, wrote] for Bantishinna a treaty tablet according to the original tablet which Shubbiluliuma, the great king [had written for Azira], the great king, wrote for Bantishinna, king of Amurru, according to the text (lit., mouth) of the treaty of my [grandfather Shubbiluliuma], and I gave it to him.

The kingship of the king of Amurru, to Bantishinna, to the hand of his son, his grandson, [Banti]shinna, and the seed of my daughter has seized (holds) it, they shall not take it from him(?). The kingship of Amurru, the son of Bantishinna, his grandson, the brother of Bantishinna, or my daughter's son. . . . If against Bantishinna or against his son, his grandson, anyone shall plan any harm, this one is the enemy of the king of Hatti and of the sons of the king of Hatti.

(34-36) a king's daughter he does not take, sons he does not have, whether a king's son of Amurru or a son of his brother, or a daughter of his [brother]. Bantishinna whom I — because of these things, of Hatti(?) and the sons of Hatti, truly they shall not —

(37-44) for thee, Bantishinna I have made in Amurru on the throne of royalty I have placed thee. And if thou this Hattushili, the king, Pudu-Hepa, the great queen, thy lady, his son, his grandson, [of] Hattushili, the king, and of Pudu-Hepa, the queen, lordship thou dost not guard, may the oath by the gods any son of mine, grandson of mine, any of mine, whether it be my brother or the son of my brother, whether it be a son-in-law (or mine) another is he. Thou my son, my grandson, thou shalt not send; to place (thou shalt not?) go; when thy wife, (thy) sons, thy brother, the head of(? the king)

REVERSE

(1-4) king of Hatti to plunder(?) he has sent out. If from — thou goest

(5-11) And if a king's son, a great lord, with his troops and his chariots against another country, to plunder, I send his chariots does not guard but with the enemy anything does not do. Thus thou shalt say to(?) and if the enemy —, I (will) indeed. . . . Shall send, behold, the troops of Hatti from the oath¹

¹ Cf. No. 3, Col. II, 6 f.

No. 13. Text *KBo.* I, No. 10.

A diplomatic letter from Hattushili to Kadashmanturgu of Babylonia (Karduniash). The latter, a minor, seems to be under the thumb of an old "grand vizier" who is not inclined to be friendly toward the Hittite king. Hattushili also attempts to settle the trouble between the Babylonian king and Bantishinna of Amurru. I fail to grasp the meaning of a number of sections of the correspondence.

OBVERSE

(1-2) [Hattushili], the great king, the king of Hatti, [to Kadashmanturgu], the great king, the king of Karduniash, my brother, speak:

(3-4) [Before me there] is peace. To my house, my wife, my sons, my troops, my horses, my chariots, my land, all of it, there is abundant peace.

(5-6) [Before thee], may there be peace. To thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy troops, [thy horses], thy chariots; and in the midst of thy whole land, may there be abundant peace.

(7-24) [When thou] and I established kinship and became good brothers again (lit., to good brothers returned), we did not do it (return) for one day, we did not establish brotherhood and kinship which shall have an end . . . let us now establish, saying: We are mortals (lit., people) . . . whether (either of us) goes to his fate or lives, let him guard his sons, and from the gods . . . who made us (or for us?). Now when thy father went to his fate, (as though we had been) brothers, I mourned the death of thy father, my tears were copious, a messenger [I sent] and to the nobles of Karduniash I am now sending (this): "If the [claim] of my brother to rulership thou dost not recognize (lit., guard), I will make war on you. [After the messenger?] I will advance into Karduniash. And if any enemy marches against you, write to me. I will surely come to your aid." Further: In days past my brother (spoke) thus: "The tablets they did not read (lit., call) before thee." Now these scribes are not living (any more). None of the tablets has been cast aside. Let them now read these tablets before thee. I

wrote these words to them as a matter of decency. But Itti-Marduk-balatu, whom the gods have allowed to grow old beyond limits (lit., no traversing), in whose mouth evil words have no end; the words which he wrote—my heart was torn by his word (message). Thus (he spoke): "Thou dost not address us as brothers, as thy slaves thou art subjecting us."

(25–35) Thus to my brother: "Why should I have subjugated them as my servants? Never have the sons of Karduniash (Babylonians) subjugated the sons of Hatti, nor have the sons of Hatti ever subjugated the sons of Karduniash." With kind word(s) I thus addressed them: "Let them guard the seed of my brother Kadashmanturgu." And this Itti-Marduk-balatu replied: "Why did I address these slanderous words to them?" These things Itti-Marduk-balatu is writing. Now let me address this to them: "If thou dost not guard the son of your lord for the rulership, never, if any enemy comes against you, will I come to your aid." I never took a word of Itti-Marduk-balatu into my heart. In those days my brother was a minor and Itti-Marduk-balatu an evil man when he was speaking before him. But surely, why should I accept his word?

(36–54) Thus to my brother: Concerning the matter about which my brother has written: "That I have discontinued my messengers. Because the Ahlamu are hostile, I have discontinued my messengers." What is this word? That thou, my brother, because of the Ahlamu, hast thou discontinued thy messengers: that the kingship of my brother is diminished: and that words which are not good are spoken before my brother by (lit., at the hand of) Itti-Marduk-balatu: and that my brother for these reasons has discontinued his messengers. In the land of my brother horses are more numerous than straw. A thousand chariots accompanied thy messenger, to Duldul they brought him (safely); as for the Ahlamu, they kept their hands off. And if my brother now says: "The king of Assyria (detains) my messenger in the midst of his land . . . he does not bring(?)." The king of Assyria with camp and chariots . . . thy land is not conquered. Surely thy messenger, because of the might . . . thy land. What king of Assyria is it who restrains thy messenger?

. . . . they go, and the king of Assyria restrains thy messengers, (why) dost thou not go with me? My brother, thou art a great king, and in might. . . . And, my brother, behold, as I am in love with my brother but my brother does not send his messengers do(es) not know. The matter about which my brother has written, surely I will attend to it are at war, their messengers do not go together why dost thou keep back thy messenger?

(55-81) [Concerning] the messenger of the king of Egypt about whom my brother has written: [About this messenger of the king of] Egypt, now to my brother I will write: [The king of Egypt] and I, we have established kinship and have become brothers again. . . . (We) say: we are brothers. And thus: with the enemy of both [we are at war, and with], the friend of both at peace. And when the king of Egypt [and I] were angry, to thy father Kadashman-turgu, I wrote: "[The king of Egypt] has made war against me." And thy father replied as follows: "[As] went against the king of Egypt, so will I go with thee. . . . I will go, camp and chariots, such as I have, for the march. . . ." Now, my brother, ask thy soldiers and let them tell thee camp and chariots, as thou shalt command(?), with me for [the march I shall take] whatever he took. My enemy, who (flees) to another land (and) comes before the king of Egypt, according to my letter to him and he, (if) he does not hand over my enemy, [I and the king of] Egypt shall be angry with each other. But [we will be at war] with each other (if) he comes to aid my enemy the king of Egypt has interrupted [the messengers of my brother] and after my brother Egypt wrote, and the matter of the messenger (the king of) Egypt thee he took (seized). Now writes (has written): I am restrained, restrain thee and now a valiant man art thou the peace of my brother let them receive (take) make(?) now if

(82-83) three times, four times son and son of

REVERSE

(1-8) Kadashmanturgu and I Karduniash king of Hatti king of Karduniash through love for his brother the son of his brother shall guard through love for his father from east to west they have heard speaks to me, let them hear.

(9-13) wrote. That (for) Adad-shar-ilani I had rendered a decision brought him(?). The lawsuits of the merchants of the king of Karkamish them. My brother, hasten, send another messenger . . . none of their litigants have I sent let them judge.

(14-25) Now thou hast written as follows: My merchants, in Amurru, (the people of?) Ugarit (. . . . ?) slew; in Hatti they did not slay them (lit., did not slay the corpse) they slew. If the king gives ear (hears) to this matter (and) he captures (seizes) the slayer (lit., slayer of the corpse), to the brothers of the slain [he shall hand him over] and the property (furniture) of the slain his brothers shall take, and they shall hang the slayer in the city in which the man was slain (lit., which the corpse was slain). And if his brothers they shall not receive. The slayer shall him. If a man who has committed a sin against the king flees to another country against killing there is no commandment(?), my brother, ask and let them tell thee. The slayer of the criminal they did not kill, a merchant they did kill whether the Subari how does he know? If they did kill (him), then I(?) will hear(?) the brothers of the slain merchants and will look into their case (suit).

(26-33) Thus to my brother: Concerning Bantishinni about whom my brother has written: "He is cursing the land." When I asked Bantishinni, he spoke as follows: "Three talents of silver were owed (me) by the people of the city of Akkad." And now, behold the vassalage of Bantishinni (to me) has come about, let my brother bring suit against him. And because of the curses against the land of my brother, Bantishinni shall take oath before my gods in the presence of Adad-shar-ilani, thy messenger. And if my brother does

not trust (me in this matter), let thy servant who heard Bantishinni when he cursed the land of my brother, come and try him. And I will press (the matter) against Bantishinni; Bantishinni is my vassal, if he curses my brother, does he not curse me?

(34-41) Thus to my brother: Concerning the physician about whom thou hast written: My physician, when they took him, prayed for him(?), but the sick man, when he — him, (saying) "Over him I sigh, — I—" . . . found (reached) him, he was dead. And his servants, behold, they have seized my messenger. My brother, (ask) them, let them tell my brother the things which my physician did. And if (what) I gave them they have lost and are afraid, let them bring the matter before my brother. My brother . . . the chariot, wagons, horses, silver, and furniture which I gave to the physician, which . . . let them return(?). And let me send a letter to my brother, let my brother hear. . . . found him, (he was) dead. My physician I am holding back, and shall hold back from you(?).

(42-48) . . . from(?) my brother Muattalli they took an *ashipu* priest and a physician. They kept them back. I said to him, why dost thou hold them back? . . . to hold them is not lawful. And now I am holding back a physician for you(?) . . . the former, whom they took, truly the *ashipu* is dead . . . the woman whom he married, she is of my seed. Then take some lumps . . . to my land I will go; let him arise, let him go . . . the physician, Raba-sha-Marduk, I am holding back for you(?).

(49-55) . . . thus; my brother has turned into a mighty man and has grown up to be a young wild-ox . . . of the seed of my brother, Kadashmanturgu, Adad (Teshub) they raise(?) . . . go and plunder the land of the enemy and I will surely hear it and . . . we(?) will slay. Thus to my brother: "The king who put aside his weapons . . . him." Not so did they speak to him . . . my brother, thou art not dwelling. To the land of the enemy go and kill the enemy . . . went (let them go). To a land three or four times as great, go.

(56-57) . . . one (a certain?) . . . angered his father, and behold, his wife, his son . . . did not bring him.

(58-61) I will make, and in the house of my family(?) I will set (it). My brother a bound man they finished(?) I wrote to him and he came. The bound man Kadashmanturgu did not seize, did not take do not hold back.

(62-66) stallions, fine young animals, send. The stallions which thy father now my brother has sent, are — and broken down, and the horses are old (in my) country it is very cold and old horses cannot live send young horses, broken down horses are plenty in my land let him tell thee.

(67-72) not good why did he bring? To the word which he brought why this? The servants of thy father I caused to be brought, and now the work and lapislazuli which he caused to be brought, make, and not good thou didst cause to be brought to me before we to the brothers any lapislazuli not from Karduniash since to my brother lapislazuli he caused to be brought.

(73-77) (of) my lord, I desired bring I will send I will cause to be brought tablets now tablets as many as which thy father caused to be brought my brother wishes, my brother for much(?) gold did not

(78-81) of my brother I know, and peace is disturbed(?) in my house there are, to my brother I will cause to be sent. . . . my brother, and anything else which my brother (desires) in my house there are, to my brother I will not

No. 14. Text *KBo.* I, No. 14.

A badly broken letter in which the king of Hatti explains to the Egyptian king(?) why he has not been more prompt in sending some iron that had been asked for.

OBVERSE

(1-5) I wrote to thee these thou didst write

(6-19) Turira plundered my land Karkamish, since here, the land of the king of Hanigalbat dug(?) for himself Turira, not any since I sent thy Turira what? Turira — not of the king of Hanigalbat, the matter of Turira, dost thou not see? When Turira, the land, was plundered, into the city of Turira the plunder was brought(?); my servants who were robbed, came(?) into Turira. If they are dwelling in Turira(?), reimburse (? , lit., fill up) my servants who are dwelling in the city; none of them shalt thou approach. If they are not dwelling in(?) Turira, write to me and I will surely reimburse(?) thy men who are dwelling in the city; to none of them will I approach. Why do the people of Turira hear my name as that of a lion?

(20-24) As to the good iron about which thou hast written to me: There is no good iron in my "sealed" house in Kissuwadna. It is a bad (time) to make iron, but I have written (ordering) them to make good iron. So far they have not finished it. When they finish it, I will send it to thee. Behold, now, I am sending thee an iron dagger-blade.

(25-28) the — which thou hast sent have no blades [I have ordered blades] to be made, but so far they have not finished them. [When they finish them, I will send them] to thee. When the weapon(?) which I — to thee, the wishes which thou didst write.

REVERSE

(1-10) the great king, the king of Karaduniash he wrote to thee to thee. [He did] not send thee any good greetings (presents). When I seized the kingship, thou didst not send a messenger. The obligation of kings, when they attain to (seize) the kingship, to send each other good greetings (presents), a kingly garment, good [oil] for anointing, this thou hast not done at this time.

(11-19) Behold now, my messenger whom I have sent to thee, and the one "mighty one" I have detained (or, detain) here, and because of these things I have detained (or, detain) him. All of the requests which thou hast written I have sent to thee. And

because of these things [I have detained (or, detain)] him. The messengers which thou didst send to me before Si(?)'in, were found to be ill; today thou shalt not speak as if the one who sees a sick man (or sickness) at that time, and thou shalt not ask a "mighty one" in their going, whether they are well anointed(?).

No. 15. Text *KBo.* I, No. 11.

Concerning the trouble which some successor of Dudhalia, son of Hattushili, had with rebels inside and outside his city, possibly Hatti.

OBVERSE

(1-9) bring me(?) he sent: go behold me rebellious, stubborn(?). Thirty chariots of the city of which entered into Ashili, they seized and to the city of Hurihhi they went). . . . Thus Kuleid:¹ "The sons of Mar-Teshub fought because of the kingship (over the kingship). . . . Thou, why dost thou turn away, and daily dost bring before the king ? As for them, they are hostile and I am hostile."

(10-21) Shanda brought the command: Thus the king: "Why dost thou not make war? in canopied chariots thou dost stand, to whatever thou dost turn, it is near (favorable) to thee. If thou didst humble thyself before him, why didst thou kill him? why didst thou fear (honor) him? Now all is done. The sons of Laria for(?) Laria sang the song of the god Zamama in Hush-kiwantesh, They brought *lazilu*, they took away an ax; they brought reeds, they took away a *kirassu*; they brought a *shakku*,² they took away all kinds of *sharmu*(?)." As(?) Dudhalia made it, so thou dost now make the request: Thus the king: "Go, ask them. When I go to the city Tashshita, wilt thou set the gate on fire? wilt thou give battle?" Thus they (reply): "For the eighth time we are giving battle, their — we will storm, the city we will destroy." Thus, the king: "'Tis well."

(22-32) Until they had destroyed every city (lit., until any city they did not make), the many servants of the king fought, and

¹ An Arabic-sounding name.

² "Bolt of a door."

many died. The king was attacked. Thus the king: "Guard the roads which enter the city and those which leave the city, guard (them) well that no enemy go out to the city of Aruar, to Halab, to the Harri, to Luppa." Thus they (replied): "We are on guard. Eighty chariots of eight men surround the city. Let not the heart of the king be cast down, to its place let it —." A fugitive going out of the city spoke as follows: "A servant of a Halabite entered five times, a servant of Luppa is dwelling in the city, men of Aruar entered and went out, a servant of Mar-Teshub, my lord, went back and forth, speaking thus: 'Behold I have gathered silver, clothes, oxen, sheep, I will give them to the soldiers of Harri. If they are opposed (hostile), seven times . . . will I carry off, if some of my land they carry off, double will I carry away, before . . .'"

The king stood up. Thus the king: "The words which were spoken to thee . . . eighty chariots of eight men . . ."

REVERSE

(1-9) Shanda brought the command: Thus [the king]: ". . . five roads Shanda, two roads Menania (shall guard)." . . . Thus the king: "Shanda, go . . . make, while thou art going, let him destroy the city; truly . . . he destroyed, and sin was committed. If thou dost stand . . . he destroyed and now thou art starting (?) to fight . . . to a distance let him(?) go . . . go, before me come, go, under . . . anyone sees him." Thus they (spoke): "We will stand, and sin we will destroy . . ."

(10-18) Thus the king: "They have destroyed the city, sin has been committed, crime has been committed." Thus they (replied): "For the eighth time we have waged battle. The city he has destroyed, but we will destroy (wipe out) the sin. May the king be gracious." *Kuru* they sent, the king went forth(?), overpowered(?) (them), not many (were there?). An evil word they brought: "May the stone of Teshub¹ overwhelm you." Thus the king: "Do not be puffed up. The *kuru* of the Harri make, and let it be put down. A *hursha* make, and set it down. A great *kuru* from

¹ The thunderbolt is meant.

Mount Hanishu bring, let it be set down is seized. Now let anyone seize his land, wage war. And what is theirs, may he smash their word."

(19-20) Thus Shariwanda: "The cold has come, may the bolt of heaven be 'poured out' by day, and may heaven —. May it be well with the king (or, may the king be gracious)."

(21-27) As king, Shanda —ed in Luhussandia, and the king questioned a servant of a man of Karkamish: "How is the land talking (what do people say)?" Thus he (replied): "If he destroys Urshu (a city), (and) a servant falls into our hand, then their servants, who are dwelling in the mountain, will see it." Thus the king: "Thou shalt think about it I will think about it. Go speak to them: If thou and if thou dost take care and it turns out favorably, there will be no evil in Hatti. But now Nusizanu and Kuliaid have done evil. Now thou hast seen what the man of Karkamish has done."

(28-33) Let anyone think (of a thing), Iriaia will come and be obstreperous. A pillar and *kuru* we bring, pillar and *kuru* they do not bring. The matter he will see and let him not —(?), he brings (will bring?). Now approach him, thus address him: "You have been obstreperous toward us and we have been obstreperous toward the king. . . . In Hatti there are no pillar and *kuru* because this one is near the yoke(?)."

(34-37) The king abandoned the word of my father, the word of my grandfather. A GIRGAL comes and a powerful soldier(?) comes in great ones in their(?) place, the chief of the shepherds did not (let him not) leave. May the king not — his command.

No. 16. Text *KBo.* I, No. 20.

OBVERSE

(1-21) your great your lord, to his eyes I At the time Adad-nirari, (our?) lord, from Hanigalbat they were hostile. Hanigalbat their fortress they left, to

they entered. That which, when the Shuprite¹ king this one, whom for protection thou didst (invite) against me, and the throne he seized fortress and fugitive who from Hanigalbat had turned to you, everyone he seized fortress and fugitive of yours (?) he (they) the wealth he (they?) destroyed, to they entered

REVERSE

(1-5) My lord, the Shuprite king your foundations(?) he your whole land, by oppression, he

(6-9) At the time Hanigalbat, when they were destroyed for their who (what) when they were many and what

(10-16) The Shuprite king, from my lord, truly while they were alive, the lord of the oath my lord, what

No. 17. Text *KBo.* I, No. 22.

OBSERVE

(1-2) despise him(?), to thus has spoken.

(3-13) they have caused them to come(?) to thee to guard(?) their command these — which that one caused to be brought to him (or them) there is not, and the king, let him write to thee all which are alike, to make it(?)

REVERSE

(1-2) before Teshub, before(?)

(3-8) into Kiswadna he marched who —ed him, there was not. Into Halsua he came who —ed him, there was none. Into Kinza he came — him.

(11-15) they came together with this man, and they that one (took) the daughter of the king with him to be his wife and if evil is done him, and if good(?) is done thy — all of them, command now, and the sons of the land of together with the sons of Amurru

¹ Gentilic of Shupria? Cf. for this land, Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 146.

No. 18. Text *KBo.* I, No. 26.

. . . . Hatti to the land of. . . . Be mindful of the oath by the
god, thou to what king art thou not writing today?
good vessels of gold, a *bibru* *nibihu* garments, horses
good *attaganna*(?) and gold —

No. 19. Text *KBo.* I, No. 27.

(1-4) my enemy is she(?) son of the messenger
(*sukallim*) the queen commanded his *madu* together
with his sons

(5-10) [Han]teli, queen of Luk— (a city) and
these he (she?) killed by the gate he caused to stand
his family seized him(?) bring them, in my hand
them

(11-15) Lishtib went to his fate. . . . Bisheni, son of
Hanteli he (she) killed which (of) Bisheni