

II. TREATY WITH THE HITTITES^a

367. After possibly fifteen years of warfare in Syria, Ramses II consents to a peace with the Hittites. This peace is sealed in a treaty of alliance which forms one of the most remarkable documents which have survived from ancient Egypt. The copy preserved to us is clearly a translation from an original in a foreign language,^b and in his rendering the Egyptian translator has not always succeeded too well.

368. For recording upon the temple walls, the royal scribe has prefixed: (1) the date (l. 1); (2) the account of the arrival of two Hittite messengers with the treaty on a silver tablet; and (3) the heading of the copy as preserved in the royal archives. In content the treaty which follows is clear and well arranged. After a title or caption, it proceeds with the following eighteen paragraphs:

1. Review of the former relations of the two countries, the immemorial peace of earlier times, and the later war.

^aThere are two originals: (1) At Karnak on wall extending south of the great hypostyle, published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 195-204 (only 30 lines); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 116; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 17 (not used); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 146; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, 28 (ll. 1-20); Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 153-60; collation of the geographical names by Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 194 ff.; Müller, *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 5, Taf. I-XVI; I had also photographs by Borchardt. (2) At the Ramesseum; only fragments of the last 10 lines; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 585, 586; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 50; Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIV, 67-70. In spite of the mutilated condition of the two monuments, the frequent repetitions make restoration certain in almost all cases. Müller's edition is the only one which is done with care and accuracy; a number of readings may be added to Müller's text from Sharpe's copy, which seems to have escaped him. The following translation was already in my manuscript when Müller's publication appeared. His text added a few new readings, but otherwise the translation remains unchanged.

^bIn view of Amarna Letter No. 35, from the Hittite king, Seplul (see Knudtzon, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 141 f.), in Babylonian writing and language, the original of this treaty may have been in the same form.

2. Formal declaration of the new peace pact, which is made binding upon future generations.^a

3. Mutual resignation of all projects for further conquest in Syria, but without any statement of the boundary adopted.

4. Reaffirmation of the former treaty of the time of Khetasar's grandfather, Seplel,^b which had continued till interrupted by the war with Khetasar's brother, Metella; but with no restatement of its articles.

5. Egypt makes a defensive alliance with Kheta, depending upon the latter's assistance against all foreign foes.

6. Egypt is to enjoy the co-operation of Kheta in the chastisement of rebellious Syrian (?) subjects.

7. Analogous to 5, in Kheta's favor.

8. Analogous to 6, in Kheta's favor.

9. Extradition of Egypt's political fugitives to Kheta.

10. Extradition of emigrants from Egypt to Kheta.

11. Extradition of Kheta's political fugitives to Egypt.

12. Extradition of emigrants from Kheta to Egypt.

13. The witness of the gods of Kheta and Egypt.

14. Curse on the violator of the treaty.

15. Blessing on the observer of the treaty.^c

16. Appendix exacting humane treatment of persons

^aIt was kept by them in fact, as is shown by the relations of Merneptah with Kheta (§ 580, l. 24).

^bKnudtzon (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 141 f.) has found in the Amarna collection a cuneiform letter (No. 35) from this king (called *Šu-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma*) to a king of Egypt, called Khuri[ya], who, from the content of the letter, is certainly Napkhuriya, the cuneiform for Neferkheprure (Amenhotep IV). Seplel desires, in this letter, to continue with the Pharaoh the friendly relations hitherto existing between himself (S.) and the Pharaoh's father, who has just died. This is clearly Amenhotep III, to whom we may therefore carry back the first treaty between Egypt and Kheta. But the Amarna letters show how badly the Hittites observed the treaty. On the chronological difficulty, see p. 167, n. c.

^cThese two paragraphs form a frequent conclusion of documents intended to be valid in perpetuity, and they mark the logical conclusion here.

extradited from Kheta, who are to suffer no injury in person, family, or property.

17. The same regarding those extradited from Egypt.

18. This final paragraph belongs only to the copy, and not to the treaty. It describes the figures and seals on the silver tablet, and records the words accompanying these seals.

369. Space does not permit further discussion of this remarkable document,^a but it will be evident that, notwithstanding Ramses' conquest of such northern cities as Tunip in Naharin (§§ 344 f.), he never succeeded in breaking the power of the Hittites. Evidently his complete success in stopping the further southward advance of so powerful an invader was no small reason for congratulation.

Date

370. ¹Year 21, first month of the second season, twenty-first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-Neferhotep; shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Harakhte, forever and ever.

Arrival of the Hittite Messengers

371. ²On this day, lo, his majesty was at the city (called): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon," performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amor-Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Amon^b of Ramses-Meriamon, Ptah^b of Ramses-Meriamon, "— great in strength, son of Mut," according as they gave to him eternity in jubilees, everlastingness in peaceful years, all lands, and all countries being prostrate beneath his sandals forever. ³There came the king's-messenger,

^aSee discussion of special points by W. M. Müller (*Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 215-40).

^bForms of Amon and Ptah, worshiped in Ramses' temple at Tanis.

the deputy and butler —,^a together with the king's-messenger —^a [bringing¹ to the king] Ramses II [the messenger¹] of [Kheta¹, Ter]teseb and the [second messenger¹] of Kheta [bearing¹ a silver tablet^b] ⁴which the great chief of the Kheta, Khetasar ($\overline{H-t}^{\circ}-s^{\circ}-r^{\circ}$) [caused]^b to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., to crave peace [from] [the majesty] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,^c given life, forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

Heading of the Copy

372. Copy of the silver tablet, which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar ($\overline{H-t}^{\circ}-s^{\circ}-r^{\circ}$) caused to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., by the hand of his messenger, ⁵Terteseb ($T^{\circ}-r^{\circ}-ty-\xi-bw$), and his messenger, Ramose, to crave peace from the majesty of Ramses II, the Bull of rulers, making his boundary as far as he desires in every land.

Caption of the Treaty

373. The treaty which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar, the valiant, the son of Merasar ($M-r^{\circ}-s^{\circ}-r^{\circ}$), ⁶the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, the grandson^d of Seplel ($S^{\circ}-p^{\circ}-[rw-rw]$), [the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made, upon a silver tablet for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the son of Menmare (Seti I), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Menpehtire (Ramses I), ⁷the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant; the good treaty of peace and of brotherhood, setting peace [between them^e], forever.

^aThe names of two Egyptian envoys have here disappeared. Whence they came is not clear. They may have gone out to meet the two Hittite envoys a day's journey or two; or they may have been the Egyptian commissioners who had negotiated the treaty at the court of Kheta.

^bThe restoration is based on l. 4, where we have a verbatim repetition of this connection.

^cDouble name.

^dThere is no word for "grandson" in Egyptian; text has "son of the son."

^eThe loss is greater than this by several words. In view of the preceding words ("setting peace") and similar phrases frequent in the treaty (e. g., ll. 9, 10), it seems to me that Müller (*Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 215-21) overemphasizes the alliance side of the document. It is not only a treaty of alliance, but also a treaty of peace, and the war evidently continued until the negotiations for the treaty began, which could hardly have been earlier than a year before the date of the arrival of the messengers in Egypt. They reached Egypt in late winter or early spring (twenty-first of Tybi), somewhere around the first of February; and the preceding summer may have seen the last of the hostilities. The treaty distinctly states (ll. 8, 9) that it marks the beginning of a relation designed by the gods to conclude hostilities between the two nations.

Former Relations of the Two Countries

374. 1. Now, at the beginning, since eternity, the relations of the great ruler of Egypt with the great chief of Kheta were (such) that the god prevented hostilities between them, by treaty. Whereas, in ⁸the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* ²), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, he fought w[ith Ramses II],^a the great ruler of Egypt, yet afterward, beginning with this day, behold, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is [in] a treaty-relation for establishing the relations which the Re made, and which Sutekh made,^b for the land of Egypt, ⁹with the land of Kheta, in order not to permit hostilities to arise between them, forever.

The New Peace Pact

375. 2. Behold then, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is in treaty relation with Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, beginning with this day, in order to bring about good peace and good brotherhood between us forever, ¹⁰while he is in brotherhood with me, he is in peace with me; and I am in brotherhood with him, and I am in peace with him, forever. Since Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* ²), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, succumbed to his fate,^c and Khetasar sat as

^aA cartouche is visible.

^bRe and Sutekh are here the gods of Egypt and Kheta respectively.

^cLit., "departed (*hnn*) after his fate," this, of course, indicates his death. The succession of his brother justifies the suspicion that his death was due to his brother; but this is not certain. Furthermore, this death of Metella is clearly the occasion of the peace, and not the occasion of the war with Ramses II, as often stated (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 389). Thus the opponent of Ramses II was Metella (l. 8), and Khetasar hastens to make peace soon after his accession (l. 10). We may roughly reconstruct thus:

Amenhotep III, end of reign	}	Seplel, father of	} brothers
Ikhnaton			
Ikhnaton's ephemeral successors	}	Merasar, father of	
Harmhab			
Ramses I	}	Metella	
Seti I			
Ramses II to about year 20	}	Khetasar	
Ramses II from year 20 on			

The three generations of Hittite kings ruled accordingly over 110 years—over 37 years each—an exceptionally high average for three successive kings in the orient. This would indicate some uncertainty as to the identity of Seplel and Šubbiluliuma of Amarna Letter No. 35, which carries him back to Amenhotep III (see note, p. 164). He may therefore possibly be no earlier than Harmhab, and, as Müller has suggested (*op. cit.*, 226), the Amarna letter may be from an earlier Seplel.

¹¹great chief of Kheta upon the throne of his father, behold, I am together with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and he is [[with^a me in] our peace and our brotherhood. It is better than the former peace and brotherhood which were in the land. Behold, I, even the great chief of Kheta, am with ¹²[Ramses II], the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the great chief of Kheta shall be in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, being in our relations of brotherhood and our relations ¹³[of peace], that the [land of Egypt] may be with the land of Kheta in peace and brotherhood like ourselves, forever.

Mutual Renunciation of Further Conquests

376. 3. There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land ¹⁴[of Kheta, to take anything] therefrom, forever.

Reaffirmation of the Former Treaties

377. 4. As for the former^b treaty which was in the time of Seplel (*S²-p²-rw-rw*), the great chief of Kheta, likewise the former^b treaty which was in the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r²*), the great chief of Kheta, my father,^c I will hold to it. Behold, Ramses-Meriamon, the great

^aSo Müller, but he does not give room for "with."

^bThis word (*mty*) has not been hitherto understood in this connection; there is no doubt about its meaning, "customary, usual, habitual," and then "former." Compare Amada Stela (II, 798), where a new four-day list of offerings is established for Anuket "as an increase upon the 3 days of her customary (*mty*) feast;" or II, 619; after new offerings are presented, the old ones are to be offered "according to the measure of the customary (*mt*) offering which is in this temple;" after a feast a god returns to his "customary (*mt(t)*) seat" (*Recueil*, 16, 56, l. 6, above).

^c"Father" is either used here as in Egypt, where any predecessor on the throne is called "father;" or the name "Metella" is an error for Merasar, who was certainly the father of Metella and Khetasar. Now, as Khetasar has already (ll. 7, 8) referred to the ancient peace as continuing down to, but broken under, Metella, a new treaty under Metella above mentioned (l. 14) is surprising. He may be marking the beginning and end of the same treaty: beginning under Seplel and ending, because broken, under Metella. The Pharaoh with whom Metella's treaty was maintained can hardly be any other than Seti I. (See "it," ll. 14, 15.)

ruler of Egypt, will hold ¹⁵[to it] with us ¹[together], beginning with this day. We will hold to it, and we will deal in this former manner.^a

Egypt's Defensive Alliance with Kheta

378. 5. If another enemy come against the lands of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Kheta, saying: "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of Kheta shall ¹⁶[come], and the great chief of Kheta shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Kheta to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy.

Chastisement of Syrian Subjects

379. 6. Or if Ramses-Meriamon, ¹⁷[the great ruler of Egypt], be provoked against ¹[delinquent] subjects,^b when they have committed some other fault against him, and he come to slay them, then the great chief of Kheta shall act with the lord of Egypt ¹— ¹.

Kheta's Defensive Alliance with Egypt

380. 7. If another en[emy come] against the great chief of Kheta, [and he shall send] to the great chief (sic!) [of Egypt], Usermare-Setepnere ¹⁸[^cfor reinforcements] then he] shall come to him as reinforcement, to slay his enemy. But if it be [not]^d the desire of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he shall [send his infantry and his chariotry ¹and shall slay his enemy]. ¹Or^e ——— ¹⁹— seeing them, besides returning answer to the land of Kheta.^e

^aThe stipulations of the former treaty, as known to both parties, are not stated.

^bThis word (modified by *s w*, which Müller regards as a conjunction) must refer to Asiatic subjects of Egypt, who rebel or fail to pay tribute. Kheta is not, in such a case, to interfere in Egypt's attempts at punishment, but is to act in harmony with Egypt. Egypt's obligation in the corresponding clause is much more elaborate, but is unfortunately not clear, owing to its fragmentary condition. Evidently the two clauses mean that both are to act in harmony in Syria; each is to assist the other there, and not take advantage of any revolt in the other's dependencies, for self-aggrandizement.

^cThere is not room for the message, as in the corresponding paragraph.

^dOmitted in original.

^eThere is evidently a second alternative of some kind here, to which the Egyptian king may resort, which is not found in the corresponding clause defining the Hittite obligation.

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